

BECOMING ISTANBUL

An Encyclopedia

PELİN DERVİŞ BÜLENT TANJU UĞUR TANYELİ

PREFACE

This encyclopedia was conceived to accompany the exhibition of the same name, in the Autumn of 2008 at the DAM (German Architecture Museum) in Frankfurt. Publications are destined to live their own lives, beyond the original intentions of their authors. Six years after its publication, not only the contents of this encyclopedia but also – and more radically – the metropolis that is the subject matter of the book, have changed. Thus, a large portion of the articles in it perhaps have become out-of-date. We still believe that the book is still *readable* beyond the doubtful actuality of its contents, since it is neither a statistical handbook of the facts regarding Istanbul, nor is it a compilation of brief historiographical texts. An innumerable amount of similar books existed then – and still do. At the beginning of the exhibition-cum-book project in 2008, our aim was to try to contest the *clichés* and stereotypes concerning modern Istanbul, which were prevalent both in Turkey and abroad. We especially intended to shake the conservatism guiding recent urban thought on Istanbul with irony and amusement, even to the

extent of ridiculing some expectations dependent on a longing to recreate Istanbul as a “new traditional city.” Dissolving the ideal of a metropolis that is non-cosmopolitan, homogenously populated, built without noticeable divergences and designed with a historicist imagination was our main objective. This ideal seemed to us then, rather it still is today, a dangerous attitude destructive of the newly emerging metropolitan pluralism, both socially and architecturally.

Five years after this encyclopedia was published, Istanbulites, or an important part of them, showed that they shared our anxiety about the immediate fate of their city, at least in a single but important case: an almost unexpected event shook Istanbul and Turkey in the peaceful riots of Gezi Park in Taksim in 2013. With a high proportion of the younger generation and an unanticipated density of urban middle classes, they were involved in what came to be called the Gezi Resistance. What they wanted to defend was the plurality they thought to be under the threat of



authoritarianism. Moreover, during these activities they placed urban issues at the forefront of the protests. It was the first time in Turkey that an architectural project became a cause of civil disobedience. As the editors of this book, we felt our positions verified and even justified by the democratic and pluralistic demands and behaviour of the protesters. Like them, we too had intended to set into motion an understanding in which every city dweller was to be tolerant towards the acts and thoughts of his/her fellow citizens without being blinded by prejudices. In this respect, we think this publication is still undoubtedly informative and humorously inventive. However, our original expectations are yet to be fulfilled. This is why we are re-publishing this encyclopedia of the most architectural city in the world. It is that most architectural city, where all of its inhabitants build, speak of, write, fight for, and destroy architecture on a daily basis.

Pelin Derviş, Bülent Tanju, Uğur Tanyeli



BECOMING ISTANBUL

An Encyclopedia

BECOMING ISTANBUL

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ADVERTISEMENT

THE RITUAL OF A MATERIALIST RELIGION STANDING
FOR THE PROMISE OF EDEN.

The spectator perceiving just the distance between the image stuck to the commodity and her/himself wants to reach and take hold of it. Advertising is a fiction that takes the viewer on a virtual journey along this distance s/he can't overcome. It doesn't produce dreams; all it does is continuously reproduce the distance between the viewer and the states s/he wants to achieve. Thus, advertising can find living space for itself in the gap between a state of desire and reality.

Advertising stimulates the fragmentary areas of the id and attaches artificial organs to them. It achieves its persuasiveness at the points where it overlaps with the dreams of the viewer. At the points of intersection with dreams, it is not real-

ity that counts, but the possibility of it. Thus, the reality of an advertisement is the promise woven with symbols and images presented by the commodity emphasizing the possibility of attaining the unattainable.

As life lived increases in value inasmuch as it is viewable, concerning the city advertising surrounds it with symbols. The reality of the city is perceived as the image it reflects. The city is how it is presented now, rather than what it actually is. Each building, each project reflects the ideologies behind them. Thus, in the context of created images and ideologies, the appearance of the city constantly renews itself.

Advertising's promise of paradise materialized with Istanbul in the 1960s. Istanbul, "city of stony ground of gold," became advertisement, shop-window and promised paradise itself. Istanbul



bul attracted to itself millions with the promise of a paradise enriched with manufactured images and began to produce the illusion that all the wealth it owned and the appearance it reflected were possible for all. Behind this egalitarian promise of paradise lay poverty, inequality, exclusion, violence and profiteering.

When in the 80s advertising began manipulating reality with images, splitting the perception of reality, concepts, values, language, word and culture all became tools in the marketing of a product. This was the inevitable consequence of the transformation into a consumer society... Istanbul received its share of this and began to be commodified and presented as a site of spectacle. The city became a show, both for its residents and for those watching from outside.

Concepts are ready for redefinition when, as part of a natural or artificial process, they lose their historical and cultural meanings. For the redefinition to take, the concept first needs to be depleted and emptied of meaning and then reshaped with new images. Once the said concept has been transformed into an image with no social significance, in the aftermath of this redefinition

anything is possible. Those who profit from this commodity are all the more happy as it continues to reproduce its meaning to the extent that it is not taken seriously. Because they want their product to keep selling, they want their product to wear out or be used up. At this point advertising functions as a catalyst accelerating the process of renewal. This is what happened in the case of Istanbul. In the process in which Istanbul evolved from being a “paradise of stony ground of gold” into the “new virgin” of global capital, Istanbul and everything that belonged to it either lost its meaning or was rearranged to fit the language of capital.

The presence of the market enables the marketing of the concept of innovation independently of quality, meaning and values. Istanbul has become a favourite of the owners of capital, who do not want great, real, long lasting and enduring things, and it is replaced in the shop window every day, voided of meanings and values through the constant repetition of the discourse of renewal and regeneration.

In becoming the subject of advertising, Istanbul is constantly being multiplied as image. The media, one of the most influential factors in



Istanbul becoming solipsistic, narcissistic and indifferent to the rest of the country, constantly reproduces Istanbul as an image to be viewed. The most popular site of incident in main news bulletins, first in weather and road reports, now the backdrop of nightlife is only Istanbul... Winter doesn't start in Turkey before it snows in Istanbul; Turkey isn't flooded before the sewers overflow in Istanbul. Made into subject of and for viewing through advertising, Istanbul's borders as a spectacle constantly expand and the city is transformed into a monolithic, all-encompassing shop-window.

The transformation into spectacle of the interventions into urban problems of regional administration under an image of urban transformation (see *Urban Transformation*) smells of advertising and only serves to cover up the idea of the management of profiteering. If the target emphasized by the image is the urban transformation of shop-window Istanbul, the reality of this image is, unfortunately, Istanbul as victim of local and global profiteering.

Although it hasn't yet fulfilled the promise of "becoming a world city" but is aware of the

possibility and therefore succumbs to commodification, blinded by the light of the promise, Istanbul no longer sees the hard fact of profiteering beneath the image. As the city and its concepts lose their own meanings and are recoded for the market with slogans of renewal and change, Istanbul is transformed into a gigantic illuminated ad sign trying to cover up the dilapidated and demolished reality, the poverty, inequality and injustice, behind it.

—Ahenk Dereli

> Urban Transformation

AKBİL

LITTLE, SMART, CUTELY MUSICAL TICKET.

It's a tiny little device. An accustomed part of everyday tasks. Its real purpose is to make things easier for its owner when travelling from one point to another. It often dangles from key rings; in some special circumstances, it is attached to the end of a card and placed in purses and wallets.



There are approximately 5 million Akbil users in Istanbul. Each of them takes their electronic cylinder clad in steel armour and joins the queue at Akbil sales points. They hand over a certain amount of cash, let's say 20 YTL, to the employee at the booth, and have credit "worth 20 YTL" added to their Akbil. Or they use the Akbil 24 credit top-up machines, and skip this particular exchange and with it – this being the reason to use this system – the queues.

This is a transaction commonly encountered in Istanbul. You repeat it every time your daily credit runs out. Still, it's best to make a strict calculation at the beginning of the month and invest from your salary or your pocket money the exact amount that will be enough for Akbil. To be left without cash but a lot of credit, or without either cash or credit will be annoying. As a result, those travellers of Istanbul who suffer the greatest obligation and have seriously long distances between their homes and work places prefer the monthly ticket option, which gives two for the price of one.

There are strong incentives for making such careful calculations: The Akbil user is exempt from the trouble of buying tickets or tokens when

s/he has only just made it to the ferry, bus, cable-car, train, underground, sea-bus, the tunnel, boat, tram or funicular, s/he wastes no time; since s/he has contributed to the operation of the Akbil system s/he is awarded with a discount on every public transport vehicle s/he travels on and s/he travels 8 % cheaper; the Akbil user is a person who deserves an even greater reward when s/he gets off one public transport vehicle and takes another, one such change increases his/her total profit by 21 %; what's more, if the Akbil user suddenly craves chocolate, soda pop or salted nuts, s/he can use the Akbil operated vending machines of the municipality.

S/he is instantly informed of the consequences of these everyday movements. There are presently two parallel systems to this end. The first is the information that appears on the small screen of the toll machine, indicating at every passing the amount of credit deducted and remaining. This information is reserved for the Akbil owner, whose eyes are fixed on the screen during this brief instant of passing. The other system utilises penetrating melodies that allow everyone around the booth to form an indirect relationship with the Akbil owner.



The A-E sound heard at the ferry port in the early hours of the morning suggests two possibilities. Either the owner lives nearby and is getting on their first public transport vehicle of the day; or to get to the port, s/he has travelled by *dolmuş* or minibus, neither being a part of the system as yet. But if the sound is B-A sharp-B-C sharp and is heard coming from a key-ring type Akbil, then it is certain that the owner began her/his journey on another public transport vehicle at the most within the last 90 minutes, and is now making their first change of the day. However, if the same sound comes from a card type Akbil, it is impossible to guess how many changes the owner has made, since the discount melody is standard on these. And when the B-E-A flat-B-E-A flat-B-E-A flat melody ascends from one of the booths, it is not that difficult to imagine the owner swearing under their breath, for his/her Akbil has just run out. It is quite probable that the queue for tokens is long, the Akbil sales point far away, the Akbil 24 out of order and the ferry just departing. It's a shame, since if this had happened on a bus, s/he could have benefited from the driver's service of lending his Akbil for use, provided for indolent, absent-minded passengers in return for cash.

These short bites of monotonous melodies turn into new and dynamic compositions performed jointly by passengers at the beginning of every inner city journey in Istanbul. In fact, it is rather silence that is frightening for the Akbil owner. You will understand if you see someone standing in front of a

booth blocking the queue and rummaging and rustling around her/his bag in panic. This concern is not unwarranted, since wherever the Akbil itself is, that is where all the other private and indispensable things are too.

—Meriç Öner

ALIENATION

THIS CONCEPT, DEVELOPED BY KARL MARX TO EXPLAIN A CONDITION RELATED TO THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND WORKING LIFE, IS NOW CENTRAL TO MODERN URBAN LIFE AND EXPRESSES A SENTIMENT FELT THROUGHOUT THE COURSE OF EVERYDAY LIFE.

For example, if an Istanbul resident who doesn't usually have to use public transportation vehicles



travels standing on the Cevizlibağ–Tuzla bus, s/he may become alienated from her/himself, from the people on the bus, the bus itself, the journey and the city. Or, if an Istanbul resident who maintains a household of 4 with the minimum wage finds herself/himself in a restaurant in Nişantaşı where a family of 4 pays a bill equal to his salary may become alienated from her/himself, her/his surroundings, the place and in fact, everything.

—İlkay Baliç

ANARCHY (I)

A TERM USED TO CONDEMN ALL TYPES OF POLITICAL AND CULTURAL DEMANDS FOR DIFFERENTIATION AND THE WILL TO ABANDON THE HERD. THE TERM MAY EVEN BE USED WHEN THE DEMAND RELATES TO A POTENTIAL THAT HASN'T EVEN BEEN VOICED YET. [ED.]

Anarchy corresponds to pre-coup conditions in the collective Turkish memory. When we look at a wider historical interval from a further vantage point than that defined by this particular event, we find anarchy to be used to define almost all manner of opposition outside the basic structure. Istanbul has been an important locality for anarchy throughout history. Almost all separatist

groups in the Ottoman Empire of the 19th century were organized in Istanbul and they brought out their own publications using the then means for publishing available in Istanbul. It is impossible to prevent this type of “dangerous” organisation that can occasionally form in a capital because of the metropolitan structure of the city; and that is why one may say that Istanbul is a zone where anarchist ideas, and xenophobic ideas that appear in reaction to these, are constantly generated. Therefore Istanbul constantly defines a zone where, on one hand, an attempt to bridle and bring order goes on, where the public sphere is closed off for a certain section of society and then reopened, and, on the other hand, a zone that possesses dynamics with a tendency constantly to violate order. It is for this reason that anarchy in Turkey can almost never be explained by the political structure it represents. It constantly contains a malicious meaning equated with terrorism. As long as the fear developed unintentionally against the production of change and difference is not dispelled, in other words, as long as the demand to control change is not questioned, it is difficult to expect a transformation of this meaning.

—Ersin Altın



ANARCHY (II)

A SHORT DEFINITION OF THE DESIRE TO DE-ISTANBULIFY ISTANBUL AND RETURN IT TO A PASTORAL CALM. [ED.]

It isn't hard to guess that the term anarchy is often used in Istanbul to mean the prevalence of chaos in the city. As is known, the word anarchy comes from the Greek word meaning "without ruler." For those who regard the absence of the sovereign as the end of order, the collapse of the pyramidal and hierarchic structure of society can be summarized in a single word: chaos. This authoritarian (or authority-dependent) perspective sees the absence of authority as the end of order. On the other hand, those who have yearned for societies based on solidarity, where the sovereign has withdrawn and vertical relationships have been replaced by horizontal relationships and authorities representing others are not recognized, have read a positive meaning into the word anarchism, forming political beliefs and the movement known as "anarchism." The sign with the letter A in a circle, which you might often come across on the streets of Istanbul too, means "Anarchy is Order."

People who blame the emergence of chaos in society on the absence of authority indicate their belief that people cannot establish order of their own accord in the absence of an authority. It follows from this that the moment central authority in society disappears is also society's moment of collapse. Anarchists do not actually represent the exact opposite of this view. That is to say, the moment central authority disappears isn't necessarily the moment of redemption for society. They do not claim that the absence of authority is the sufficient condition leading to the ideal anarchistic state. Therefore, they do not operate with the assumption that the disappearance of authority is a spontaneous step taken towards a utopian future. Anarchists rather bring up the annulment of authorities in order to establish another order organized around the principle of solidarity.

We must envision three things when anarchy is mentioned in the context of Istanbul: the presence of anarchists who combine the absence of authority in Istanbul with an ideal of society; an acephalic anarchy in the sense used by those who associate the present appearance of chaos with the absence of a central structure of governance; and the relationships and mechanisms people form



as they perpetuate their everyday lives amidst various layers of tyranny under the same scene of chaos.

A lot has been said about a type of “anarchy” unique to Istanbul, of which Istanbul anarchists are a part. It’s true, Istanbul is an unorganized city in many respects, and its residents do not by any means appear to be an organized bunch. Rules and laws are not respected, exceptions prevail, unwritten rules and the infamous law of the jungle prevail. Things get done with various shenanigans, failing to meet the expectations of a “civilised” society; therefore it is often difficult to predict the flow of events. The people of Istanbul are used to this, managing to swim amid this abundance of criteria and recognizing the signs that will help them get about. You know the famous saying, when something is not done according to the book, the warning sounds, “You’re in Turkey, my brother!” That is to say, this is not a place where laws as they occur in the book hold sway; other, unwritten rules prevail here. Istanbul is not the capital of Turkey, but it is the capital of these other rules. Istanbul is the capital of “You’re in Turkey, my brother.”

When complaints about such chaos are voiced, the dominant tone is often a certain reproach against the failure to modernize. Thus, actual disorder is followed by a disorder of concepts. When they get the opportunity, Western figures take their part in this disorder of concepts too. For instance, when they say Anarchy in Istanbul, they sometimes mean the push-carts of *köfte* vendors wandering the streets unrestrictedly. In this sense, in comparison to a Western city where a greater number of the details of life are regulated, they find different arenas of freedom, originalities as well as chaos in Istanbul (in fact, in many other “lively” cities they visit too). I am thinking here of the last ten years for instance, and Western friends we have hosted (no, I will not question the political engagements behind concepts like West–East that appear to be geographical). A Western artist dedicated himself to taking photographs of baskets dangled from windows, another swooned over the car/shop front station wagon that pulled up in front of the mosque, opened its boot and proceeded to sell slippers. Another friend recorded the sound of the streets using a sound recording device and then sold these recordings to a radio station in his country. From such perspectives, Istanbul is



a place beaming with life worthy of admiration for its unsystematicity and which deserves to be constantly recorded; it somehow offers various unexpected options within its boundless chaos. It thus produces many things beyond the boundaries of a Western city which cannot be imagined. They photograph, examine or love this “anarchy” in Istanbul. In addition to the alien eye that reaches the same conclusion but looks on with contempt, there is also an indigenous anxiety caused by the failure of modernisation embarrassed at this “anarchy.”

Life is full of coincidences. When I took a break from writing these sentences and went out for a stroll around the small English town I am in now, I met a Turkish Cypriot (I realize the curiosity of the expression “Turkish Cypriot” as I write it). Having just met, the conversation revolved around basic questions. He asked me where I was from; I answered, Istanbul. He has been to Istanbul a few times. Suddenly he opined, “But Istanbul is a bit too chaotic to live in, isn’t it?” I laughed, “Yes,” I said, “that’s what we always say.”... “But,” he said, “it must be good for you,” referring to my being a writer, “you must keep finding new material!”

Remind me which writer of ours it was who said you had to live in Istanbul and write elsewhere. The regime of chaos of Istanbul that forces and absorbs your life’s energy is often thought to deliver topics, but not the written article. After all, writing is considered the sign of a settled society. In fact, there are critics whose vociferous analysis claims we have failed to skip from the oral stage to the written stage.

Istanbul: a monster, constantly simmering with stories, constantly giving birth to stories, only to strangle those stories in the process of them being written...

In the early 2000s, when debate about the possibility of Turkey’s membership of the European Union was at its liveliest, do you remember how this possibility was often mentioned along with the possibility of the banning of *kokoreç* (seasoned and grilled lamb intestines sold by street vendors and specialist restaurants). It was as if *kokoreç* represented the “intestines” of Turkish culture resisting Western-type modernisation. It even led to a pop song reflecting the subcultures of “resistance” defending the right to eat *kokoreç*, in which pop singer Mirkelam cried out, “*Kokoreç*,



I can't live without you, let's get together in spite of those foreigners." When I asked a *kokoreç* vendor his view on the subject his answer was clear: "They can't ban it 'cause it's too good!"

The beauty of Istanbul is like that for many of its lovers. And in the face of this love runs a certain yearning for a modern Turkey, whose realisation requires the prohibition of Istanbul: Istanbul must hang with all its "anarchy", in Taksim Square. See then if it dares cause chaos again...

—Süreyya Evren

ARABESQUE

THE GENERAL TERM USED FOR THE SOCIAL/CULTURAL PRACTICES OF CROWDS MIGRATING FROM THE RURAL AREAS TO THE CITY, BUT ESPECIALLY TO ISTANBUL, WHICH EMERGE AS A RESULT OF THIS ENCOUNTER. A CONCEPT WHICH IS USED TO CONDESCENDINGLY EXPRESS A CONTRADICTORY AND COMPLEX SET OF SENTIMENTS WHICH HAS BEEN USED INCREASINGLY LESS FREQUENTLY SINCE BEING ON COURSE TO BECOME A GENERAL ADJECTIVE COVERING ALMOST ALL TYPES OF CULTURAL/SOCIAL PRACTICES FROM MUSIC TO GASTRONOMIC PRACTICES, FROM DRESS SENSE TO FORMS OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION, FROM SPATIAL ORGANISATION TO POLITICAL PRACTICES.

In the beginning, arabesque was the condescending name randomly given to every type of music and the sentiment aroused by their practices. It is related that this sentiment first appeared in the minibuses used to transport this random crowd from the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods (see *Gecekondu*) the crowd had built everywhere to other parts of the city. Later, despite the resistance of the owners of property (because previously this crowd could not present their identification documents when the police asked for them!) both the minibus (see *Minibus*) and arabesque sentiment became the norm (it could also be phrased thus: it emerged that the police asking for identification travelled on minibuses and listened to arabesque). Arabesque sentiment occupied some kind of critical agenda with intensity towards the end of the 1970s and in the 1980s, but after it was normalized, it was no longer mentioned. On one hand, the normalisation of arabesque sentiment as an ordinary type of eclecticism that releases the desire for a genuine and consistent cultural integration, becoming a part of Istanbul and the city (see *Istanbulite*), is positive. On the other hand, although it is formed of nine dissimilar elements, it would be useful to keep in mind that arabesque sentiment, like all other cultural mechanisms of



desire in these lands, carried its own obsession with sameness within itself. Therefore, it may be claimed that both the writing of the history of arabesque sentiment and its critical reading are now needed more than ever.

—Bülent Tanju

> Gecekondu, Istanbulite, Minibus

ASCENT

A REGULAR MEANS OF CONGESTION THE CITY HAS INEVITABLY BEEN FORCED TO USE IN ITS TRANSFORMATION INTO A METROPOLIS ON THE NARROW LANDMASS ON TWO SLENDER PENINSULAS STRETCHING OUT TO THE EAST AND THE WEST. ALTHOUGH A WIDE GROUP OF URBANITES APPEAR NOT TO APPROVE OF IT ON A DISCURSIVE BASIS, THEY EXPLOIT THE OPPORTUNITIES IT CREATES WITH SIMILAR DETERMINATION.

Istanbul is positioned on a landmass which is simultaneously both very suitable and very unsuitable for the emergence of a metropolis. It stands at the crossroads of important sea and land routes, therefore it is geographically advantageous. On the other hand, since it is founded on the

tail end of two slender peninsulas meeting at the Bosphorus, it is unfortunate in terms of its hinterland. There are no wide expanses of arable land in its immediate vicinity. The provision of water to the city has been a problem since Late Antiquity because there are no rivers of high, regular rates of flow in its immediate vicinity. Both peninsulas are too narrow to host significant rivers. It became apparent, as the 20th century came to an end, that there wasn't enough land to speculate on either in order to form an area of expansion for the city. Therefore, when rapid expansion and growth began in the 1990s, it soon became clear that there were serious obstacles. For instance, the northern strip of the Thracian peninsula in the west and the Kocaeli peninsula in the east comprised the forested land of the city. The same areas also contained the most significant water resources in the immediate vicinity. This meant that the most advantageously located areas for the expansion of the city were paradoxically the areas where expansion had to be checked. The result was the elongation of the Istanbul metropolitan zone along the east–west axis. Centralizing demands, thus, were forced up. However, the shortage of land made it necessary not only for central areas, but for housing settlements to rise higher



too. Thus, land supply was restricted in Istanbul again until the 1990s and, instead of generating land for new settlements, developed expansion of the city was restricted almost to the area of the late 19th century city. This, for instance, led to the rise in the average height in the area around Bağdat Caddesi (see *Bağdat Caddesi*) from two storeys in the early 1960s to over ten in the 2000s. In distant suburbs like Beylikdüzü, land was transformed from agricultural use to accommodating between ten and fifteen storey apartment blocks in only ten years. Along with high demand, the possibility of speculative profit brought on by this demand and a series of other factors provoked a constant expectation of ascent in the urban area. Land and property owners in almost all districts of the city created political pressure for an increase in the maximum construction height or the building zone in their districts. The demand for an increase in height is great even in old *gecekondu* districts (see *Gecekondu; Post-gecekondu*). As the city grows economically and demographically, ascent becomes increasingly inevitable.

However, Istanbul has a rather problematic relationship with the reality of ascent. In this city where almost everyone demands an increase in

height for their respective areas and develops expectations related to this, surveys reveal that a large majority of urbanites actually want single family homes with only a few floors. Yet wealthy groups who actually own such homes constantly seek to enlarge these houses with unauthorized sub-roof storeys and sub-basement construction. Even the demand on domestic space of the wealthy nuclear family is increasing putting pressure on vertical restrictions. Still, this source of speculative profit, to which almost all income groups participate in accordance with their means, is not granted legitimacy. Those who actually benefit from it describe the ascent of the city as a serious threat. Highrise constructions become the easiest target of reports in the press. Almost all urban problems are imagined as a function of ascent. For instance, traffic is congested because of these buildings, urban infrastructure falls short, and the silhouette is destroyed (see *Silhouette*). It is never easy calmly to discuss the ascent of the city because of this general crisis of legitimacy and rarely possible to discuss each instance of ascent in terms of its own urban and architectural complications. Urbanites constantly draw upon the material benefits of ascent and continue to express their desire to live in a two-storey city.



This urban group does not even discuss the issue sincerely and honestly with itself and does not realize it is producing the same contradiction each passing day and therefore their chance of informing public opinion on urban change and inspection is naturally quite low. Like every other remonstrance in this city, the one against ascension drops from the agenda the second it is voiced, never becoming a noteworthy reaction. The reason for this remonstrance is, perhaps, not an expression of reactions, but the removal of the possibility of its potentially forming an element of pressure before it even turns into a reaction.

—Uğur Tanyeli

>Bağdat Caddesi, Gecekondu, Post-gecekondu, Silhouette

ATM

AN ELEGANT PIECE OF URBAN FURNITURE. [ED.]

According to the operetta *Lüküs Hayat* [*The Posh Life*], a reclaimed classic of our Republic, the thing one had to have was a flat in Şişli. In the seventies

the old recording of the musical play would be broadcast over the radio and Hazım Körmükçü, with that crackly voice of his, would number the furniture one had to have in such a flat. I have seen the slightly crude, square-ish Art Deco furniture unique to Istanbul houses in various films and photographs and in homes of relatives. However, when such furniture is mentioned, I still conjure up a mental picture of some science-fictionesque, quasi-technological objects unique to the city. So when I discovered an ATM in Şişli several years ago, I wasn't surprised at all. Apparently, I had expected to come across such a thing in Şişli all along. This ATM, or cash machine, was on the main street coming from Taksim, between Osmanbey and Şişli, on the right side of the road where there was once a famous shirt maker. It was more than an ATM, it was a squat piece of furniture, the ghost of an abandoned ATM. The keyboard, the slits to insert your card and take out money remained intact for a long time. But what it really possessed was that horrid look of desolation that permeates discontinued technological gadgetry. Even more strangely, it had nestled in the lower right corner of an old, large Şişli townhouse where it was forgotten. (Who used to load it up with money? Why was it positioned so low? Did it sink when the



road was elevated? Had there once been a bank branch there? I have no idea.) On some Sunday afternoons, on my way back home from Akmerkez (see *Shopping Centre*) overcome with that strange calm that comes from staring into shop windows full of stuff I never buy, it would be waiting there, guarding its spot as a piece of urban furniture. Then it completely disappeared. It became a wall. That was five or six years ago. Just past the spot where it used to be, there is a Simit Sarayı [Simit Palace] now. (see *Simit Sarayı*).

—Fatih Özgüven

> Shopping Centre, Simit Sarayı

BAĞDAT CADDESİ (I)

MORE THAN A STREET, BAĞDAT CADDESİ IS A CONCEPT ENGRAINED IN OUR MINDS, LIKE THE İSTİKLAL CADDESİ AND DİREKLERARASI, IN ITS DAY.

Although its geographical, urban presence is venerable, it has no significance for the resident of Istanbul today as the old Byzantine trail stretching out east, just as the road to Nikomedia (now İzmit)

has no value of association. It is the road east, towards cities of the distant east, and Baghdad is not so much the actual city of Baghdad itself, but a symbol-name: like the Baghdad in the song, “there’s no point in asking the amorous about Baghdad...” Its name connotes symbolic remoteness, reminding us of another road, the name of the inner city section of the European motorway extending west in the 50s and the 60s: Londra Asfaltı [London Asphalt], the road that headed off to the city at the distant limit of the West. “Asfalt” [Asphalt] was also how its residents referred to Bağdat Caddesi in the 40s and 50s.

This old Byzantine trail, the road to Nikomedia, was in the Ottoman era also the route of passengers pausing at overnight stops or places of prayer, caravans staying the night at roadhouses from Gebze on, armies going east on expeditions and pilgrimage processions, but its development in the modern age as an artery of an area of settlement was a process parallel to railway and maritime transport in the 19th century. The ports, the steamboats, the “paddle steamers” of the Hazine-i Hassa company founded in 1843 and the companies that came after it stopped at Kalamış, Caddebostan, Suadiye, Bostancı, Maltepe, Kartal and



Pendik and, in parallel to this, the settlement that developed along the stations on the new route completed in 1888 of the railway that had reached Bostancı by 1872 added a new function to the street. From 1918 on, the name, at first of a section, and later the entire street that stretched east between the railway and the coast, the stations and the ferry stops, and parallel to both was Bağdat Caddesi. In the 1910s when development picked up, it was a dirt road wide enough for two carriages; after the 1930s it was paved with asphalt. The street was widened in the 1940s, and then again, beginning in 1958. The coastal landfill after 1985 and the opening of the coastal road was the most recent development that formed the environment and look of Bağdat Caddesi for the early 2000s.

The *raison d'être* of streets is transport. Transport at the turn of the century along Bağdat Caddesi was by horsedrawn carriage, continuing up and down the streets and the surrounding neighbourhoods until the 60s: between the coast, the ferry stops and the inland areas, between the stations and the houses, in the summer between the beach and the nightclubs, in the winter to and fro between home, school and market places, and,

for a while, between summerhouses and excursion spots. In the 1930s the first bus and in 1935, when the rails were laid, the tram were added to public transport alongside the ferry and the train, with the horsedrawn carriage becoming a short distance vehicle moving across these three main transport routes, eventually giving way to the motorcar. In the 80s, interim ferry stops apart from Bostancı were closed and the train increasingly became the means of transport serving neighbourhoods north of the line and to the east of Bostancı. The opening of the coastal road meant that Bağdat Caddesi became a one-way artery; it now coursed with a non-stop, twenty-four hour stream of motorised traffic.

Overnight stops, places of prayer and drinking fountains have gone, many of them leaving no trace apart from some names, and the same going for broad vineyards extending from the street to the sea. The possibilities offered by sea and railway transport allowed Ottoman dignitaries, wealthy foreigners and some Levantines to live in villas they had built around Bağdat Caddesi in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A location out of sight and scrutiny, the availability of various means of transport and the natural environment



made neighbourhoods along the street attractive. From the 1910s on, the number of wooden villas in the wide lots of land between the street and the coast and the street and the railway began to increase. Bağdat Caddesi formed the spine of a popular residential area including Kızıltoprak, Fenerbahçe, Feneryolu, Göztepe, Erenköy, Suadiye and Bostancı. The waterside mansion of Huguenin, the director of the Eastern railways, was in Bostancı, followed by the waterside mansions and villas of other men of renown: the Ragıp Pasha mansion, the Cemil Topuzlu villa and the villas of Botter, Degucis, Rizzo and Oppenheim. Sometimes a large property, an old vineyard or vegetable garden would be divided into lots. The best known actor of this particular type of development was Tütüncü [Tobacconist] Mehmet Efendi, who bought the wide piece of land between the street and the railway in Göztepe at the end of the 19th century, divided it into lots, formed the road system and had the mosque and its annexes built to form the nucleus of a neighbourhood centre. Large properties were divided, some wooden villas were burnt down, and, in their place on ever decreasing lots of land, new ones would be built, while the modern gridiron road plan of Tütüncü Mehmet Efendi preserved its general validity

and continued to spread outwards, the scheme of streets parallel and at right angles to the coast and the main street, Bağdat Caddesi. Both sides of some of these streets are arrayed with plane trees, and sometimes the carriage road aligned with chestnut trees once connecting an old, grand villa to its distant entrance gate became a narrow street known by the name of the old owner of the ruined villa, the way the narrow railway that cut across Bağdat Caddesi, branching from the main line and extending to Fenerbahçe where wealthy European families lived, in time formed another street... Today the railway and the names of the villa owners have gone, but as the centre and the spine of these transformed and erased tracks and orientations, Bağdat Caddesi carries, channels, restructures and expounds this faint memory and texture: it is undoubtedly a vein, rather than an artery.

This vein has a beginning: Kadıköy or, like its older inhabitants used to say, Kadıköyü, the village of the *cadi*, the judge. On city maps, in name Bağdat Caddesi actually begins a bit further on, from the west of the bridge over Kurbağalıdere [Froggy Brook] and extends along a linear track until it reaches another old bridge in Bostancı.



On maps, city guides and in the place-memory of some, the street continues after the old Bostancıbaşı bridge towards Maltepe, Kartal, Pendik and Tuzla, but from the bridge on, this route which follows the ancient Nicomedian route has already undergone an identity change, and the history stretching back to villas, mansions, past lives and the contemporary meaning and images it bears are focused on the main body of the street which connects Kızıltoprak to Bostancı, between the two bridges. In this geographical interval, the vein is also an artery: social concentration forms life-styles, images and social codes.

The wooden villas of the 1910s were replaced by the modern stone villas of the 30s and the 50s. The bureaucrats of the Republic, the post-war bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie share the area between Bağdat Caddesi, the coast and the railway with the second generation of the old elite families, the remaining Levantine and foreign merchant families and the local Greek (Rum) and Armenian communities of the district. The summer crowd, smaller merchants and Jewish families join in. From the 50s on, villas along the street are replaced with four-storey apartment blocks with gardens. First the same kind

of building, and then even taller, multi-storey blocks will rise beyond them. Three to four generations of construction will take place within the fifty years after the 50s on Bağdat Caddesi and in its environs. This process is differentiated in terms of life-style, status and architecture in parallel strips from the south to the north along a West–East axis parallel to the coast between Kızıltoprak and Bostancı. Between the coast and coastal driveway and Bağdat Caddesi, between the street and the railway and then further north, the new urbanisation continued with incremental loss of status and prestige with every new segment towards the E5 urban carriageway, and then towards the new neighbourhoods between the E5 and the TEM motorway and reached the oil slicks further north, the satellite cities and the “site”, or estates. This movement, first sign of modern urbanisation, began with Bağdat Caddesi and the development scheme of Tütüncü Mehmet Efendi, old suburbs and resorts transformed into a popular and hygienic housing zone, starting out from this axis with the main street still the spine of the prestigious strip in the south. The apartment block architecture surrounding this spine does not resound with superior quality or assiduity, but this does not affect the urban status value of



the area. The secondary veins that historically fed the main vein from north to south are streets that pass over or under the railway with bridges to connect the now less significant stations to Bağdat Caddesi and the coast... The chequerboard continues with the capillaries, alleys lined with trees and tall apartments with gardens, with the artery-vein the centre, unifier and backbone of them all.

The residential area along this backbone and its surroundings has evolved from summerhouses to villas, and then to apartment blocks, but this multi-storey and gardened bourgeois or petit-bourgeois living space has never become a dormitory-city. Although the residential zones are quiet, the main street preserves its dynamism, its accessories feeding this dynamism of the district. The flower and vineyard culture, where in the 30s and 40s smart ladies and gentlemen went horseback riding in elegant and formal dress, played tennis in the courts in the back gardens of the summerhouses and villas and went swimming from the waterside mansion embankments, with street ends leading to the sea and the beaches that opened after the 1930s, has been replaced by landscape design or car parks, gardens with pools replaced by swimming pools or fitness centres, the beaches now

land-filled, transformed and reopened as marinas. The number of cinema complexes, cafés and boutiques replacing the old nightclubs and open-air cinemas has gradually increased, and Bağdat Caddesi, where they are concentrated, has continued to be the centre, conveyor of a lively street-long, street-side activity. Along this track people “go out to the shops,” “go window-shopping” and “brand spotting”, sometimes fashion brands, sometimes cars. Bağdat Caddesi is a space of consumption, shopping and contemplation; it hosts the watchers and the watched. On Sundays, the youth of the “upper” neighbourhoods from the north and along the E5 motorway come down south and the street becomes the space of an imagination freighted with a different eroticism.

From as early as the 1930s, when the old road was asphalted, this activity has been called “going out on to Bağdat” or “going out on to the asphalt.” The neighbourhood resident from Erenköy or Suadiye goes out on to the asphalt, but “goes down to the city” by taking the ferry. One “goes out on to” Bağdat, just like one goes out on to Beyoğlu. This linguistic expression, rather than a mere geographical activity, signifies a prestige attached to the status symbols of modernity.



The road means a distance. Its length, width, its relationship with the buildings and trees around it, the flow of the vehicles on it and the life on its pavements affect its spirit and its scale, while other perceptions are added to this. The İhlamur Road of the 1910s, not officially Bağdat Caddesi yet, possessed a world of space and perception defined by the traces of sound and light of nature, the wind, or *lodos* [the regional south-westerly wind], the dirt road whose soundscape and referential distance was reformed by the distant sound of the train from the railway and the *ezan* (the call to prayer) emanating from the mosque in the station square, the sea at the end of steep narrow roads leading to the beach, its topography softened in the early 60s where it had previously ended with sharp ridges, with villa silhouettes and lines of plane tree along the road. In between there were empty areas, islets of plum trees, fragrant lilacs and blackberries, China Roses, Bleeding Hearts, aromatic with fireflies on summer nights, and tree cricket concerts in the day. The rhythm of the seasons, summer and winter, and the hours of both day and night; a natural and settled area where this rhythm could be felt. Then the sound of the tram, sirens from the sea on foggy nights or blizzards, conversations in

English emanating from a summer cinema. After the 30s, and the 50s, this history and its crumbs of memory carried the imperceptible traces of what was once natural, new intersections and interfaces, togetherness and oppositions to the new, and increasingly condensed, urban space: exclusiveness and ordinariness, particularity and reproducibility, concrete and the landscape, the spontaneous and the constructed. Neighbourhood meetings, from the 30s continuing into the 60s, moonlight celebrated like a pagan ritual on landing piers on nights of the full moon, football matches played on “ball pitches”, the “houses of acrobatics” gave way to to pre-paid parking places, Republican Holiday parades and the delirium of fanatical supporters after Fenerbahçe victories. These changes, however, were also a sign of modernisation and a specific urban formation and they didn’t destroy the attractive force, dynamism and stimulus of the street for individuals or small groups. The body and the vehicle can still coexist together in this space, curiosity and contemplation continues, petit bourgeois everyday life trying to open virtual or momentary horizons for itself, while also being a space of desire for so-called “black youth,” alien to the street scene. Pavements where objects of consumption are dis-



played in attractive shop-windows, well-groomed bodies move and luxurious sports cars park present both reality and a dream-world. And amid all its attentive, purposeful, gentle, ordinary and deceptive appearances, Bağdat Caddesi is a street, both the outdoors and a space of consumption: a 3 kilometre long, open-ended shopping mall with gaps and thoroughfares thrown in, whose entirety cannot be grasped but, within its diffuse and combinative texture, an area of socialisation and modernisation of rarely encountered intensity in Istanbul.

—Atilla Yücel (with Hülya Hatipoğlu)

BAĞDAT CADDESİ (II)

WITH ITS FLASHY SHOPS, COFFEE-HOUSES, CAKE SHOP AND RESTAURANTS LINED UP SIDE BY SIDE ALL SPILLING OVER ONTO THE SIDEWALK, AND TALL APARTMENT BLOCKS, BAĞDAT CADDESİ IS THE SYMBOL OF A CERTAIN LIFE STYLE IN ISTANBUL, AND EVEN IN TURKEY: RICH AND MODERN. BUT WHAT KIND OF MODERNITY IS THIS?

Today, during processes of restructuring and ruthless profiteering, the “multicultural” past of

Istanbul is being rediscovered. Some neighbourhoods and areas are designated “historical”; these areas are modernized to attract first of all foreign tourists and then the locals who follow and are in awe of them. (In the meantime the poor are excluded from the rewritten version of history.) Modernity’s attempt to recreate its past renders the past a profitable field. Lowenthal says that nostalgia is “memory with the pain removed” and today in Istanbul nostalgia has not only become cultural capital with the pain removed but is also sprinkled with sugar for added effect. In this context the first striking aspect of the modernity of Bağdat Caddesi is its indifference towards history. It is probably one of the few rich and famous areas that doesn’t celebrate its past and does not have a sense of nostalgia regarding itself. Although its shops do, its style of modernity does not resemble that of Nişantaşı for instance, the area of an “elite” culture. Bağdat Caddesi is served by a different kind of capital: what renders it different is the direct sanctification of modernity, without recourse to any external element, such as history or high culture, which would gentrify or classicise it. In this respect, it is an area that reflects most directly the fact that “Turkish modernisation” is essentially capitalist development. Therefore, the *nouveau riche* on Bağdat Caddesi



have nothing to be embarrassed about, because, although there are “established families” among them, as long as Bağdat Caddesi residents manage to fall in step with the requirements of the day, they qualify as *nouveau riche* and for this reason in particular as exceedingly modern.

Geographically, Bağdat Caddesi is far from the centre of Istanbul, on the Asian continent and very close to the sea. It used to be known as a summer resort. “Forty years ago there were beaches, nightclubs, summerhouses with gardens and a bit further out vineyards and gardens,” say those who remember past times. No one bothers to think further back anyway. Many people do not mention the Armenians, Greeks, Jews (who still reside there) and the Levantines who used to live in the area in the late Ottoman Empire. The history of Bağdat Caddesi embedded in the dominant narrative, if one can speak of such a history, is a story of transformation. Upper middle class Turks have settled and modernized in Bağdat Caddesi the way a young woman who arrives from Anatolia as a village girl becomes modern the moment she dons her new attire. This is a rapid transformation that progresses without looking back. Even if the old summerhouse hasn’t been demolished, it

stands amidst the tall apartment blocks erected in its garden, mute and lifeless. Because the coastal driveway covers the old beaches and nightclubs, there are rowing boats and sailing boats towed onto the concrete; they lie there watching the sea from afar. Along the coastal driveway, people of all ages jog for a longer life, without looking back or paying any attention to the cars driving past.

It is claimed that in the 19th century a man called Mustafa opened a grocery store in a dilapidated hut to sell provisions to people going on trips towards Suadiye, but was met with responses like “what’s a grocery store doing in the middle of nowhere” and got called the *şaşkın bakkal* [the daft grocer]. (Şaşkınbakkal is a neighbourhood along Bağdat Caddesi). Today, you don’t go for a stroll along Bağdat Caddesi, because the act has a name for itself, i.e. “going out on the *piyasa*,” or market. The *piyasa* of the street livened up in the 1970s and since then has developed its own culture of consumption and showing off. One dresses up to go out on the market, goes window-shopping at the shops which aren’t daft at all anymore, and in fact follow international trends closely, shops, eats ice-cream, drinks coffee, flirts with girls and boys and most importantly, draws inspiration



from what other people are wearing to keep up with fashion. Fashion, which renews itself constantly but as Simmel says, is sentenced to death the moment it appears, seems to be the guide for living only in the present tense, by consuming commodities of the Bağdat Caddesi market.

But the market also creates its own traditions. One of them is the sports car racing that has been going on for years on Bağdat Caddesi. Groups of youth gather in Fenerbahçe in the late hours of the night with the newest sports cars and organize ruthless competitions. The car races, which often end in accidents and deaths, are blamed on the “degeneration of Bağdat Caddesi youth” in the media and they have transformed the blind competition of the *piyasa* on the street to a passion. Sevim Burak wrote about the bestial passion of the Bağdat Caddesi car races in her novel *Mach 1*, where she dramatically describes the violent modernity of Bağdat Caddesi:

“The two enemies left the ambush
Jaguar-Ford Cobra (a tiger-a snake)
The Rolls Royce Phantom hit the snake
mercilessly from behind
The snake died”

Of course, there have to be far more ordinary memories related to the street. About the ennui within households, dreams of becoming a “millionaire” which ended in frustration, the struggle to preserve neighbourhood relationships in the face of rapid transformation, or memories about the daisies in the fields that hadn’t met with the concrete yet... Among the most important places of evening entertainment on Bağdat Caddesi in the 1970s were the open air cinemas. On summer nights concerts would often be held in their gardens. Modernized folk songs were as popular as adaptations with Turkish lyrics back then. I recall that at one of those concerts where it was the custom to pop chickpeas into soda pop bottles, the young men determined to be madly entertained were shouting the refrain of a song that went “*ne güzelsin ay gız*” [girl you’re so beautiful] as “*ne güzelsin Aygaz*” [Aygaz, (Turkish gas company), you’re so beautiful] at the top of their voices. The story of modern transformation on Bağdat Caddesi indifferently brought together the deadly passion for cars with the practicality of canister gas to continue at top speed and with all its might. In the same way that Bostancı, a neighbourhood of Bağdat Caddesi, used to be a border region where past entries into Istanbul were supervised, Bağdat



Caddesi itself reveals the borders of “Turkish modernity” from within capitalist development.

—Meltem Ahiska

BAKKAL

THE FORMER FOOD RETAILER OF A CITY WHERE
ALMOST EVERYONE MOURNS ITS DEMISE BUT SHOPS
FROM THE SUPERMARKET. [ED.]

In days when supermarkets had not yet evolved to what they are today, in addition to street markets set up on specific days in specific neighbourhoods, on every street there always used to be one or more small *bakkal* [grocers]. *Bakkals* would regularly provide first and foremost those products that wouldn't keep, like milk and bread, along with daily newspapers. And for the guest who turned up unannounced, one could shop for biscuits if it was tea time, and eggs or pasta if it was dinner time. Sometimes the *bakkal* would assist in emergencies by providing replacements for a washing line that broke or a bulb that burnt out. One would often encounter *bakkals* who claimed they had higher quality products than that sold in the street market boasting of butter,

white cheese or *sucuk* brought in from some special region. From nylon tights to stationery, toothpaste to safety pins, almost everything would be available. Just how this wide spectrum of goods was fitted and stowed in those rather small spaces occupied by the old *bakkal* shops and how the information as to what was where was maintained depended on the talents of the person in charge. This would generally be either the owner of the shop, his wife or one of his children, and these people would not only know their inventory of goods, but would also act as the directory of the neighbourhood. Probably because of the “credit registers,” *bakkals* would have knowledge of people and buildings almost on a par with the *muhtar* [the elected, executive officer of a neighbourhood] and passersby would also often ask them the way. People would sit on the miniature stools in front of the shop, catch their breath, ask for a cold *gazoz* [soda pop] in the summer heat; or if in a strange neighbourhood, ask for a *kaşar* cheese sandwich (see *Bakkal Sandwich*), with the *bakkal* serving as a buffet. In this sense, *bakkals*, just like any market place, have an essentially economical but also a social constitution. Another significant characteristic of the *bakkals* was the efficiency and flexibility of the service they provided. In the past, shopping was collected by dangling baskets from



windows, then it went on to being ordered by phone. But from the customer's point of view, there was still a lot to complain about *bakkals*. They were prone to sell bad goods at high prices, some were stingy and one even got into fights with them every now and then. Talking of a greedy person, people were known to exclaim, "well, his father is a *bakkal* after all, must have experienced poverty amidst wealth and was brought up hungry," some would refuse to wed their girls to a *bakkal*'s son while others saw the *bakkal* as a sign of wealth. Once one would come upon these cure-all enterprises at every 200–300 metres on the same street, but a serious threat arrived in the form of the supermarket. The slogan "The Hero Bakkal Against the Supermarket," which was also made into a theatrical play, remained in use for a long time. *Bakkals* at first blamed the supermarkets but in time they coped by "supermarketising" themselves. Chain supermarkets which opened, especially in the 1980s, in centres close to the city's public transport hub were followed by neighbourhood supermarkets established from the 1990s on. Whether big or small, *bakkals* also became the heavenly repository of childhood memories of many people of Istanbul. Since the product range of these shops where wafers, chewing gum and pencils were bought was always more attractive than any kind

of toy, some children would answer the frequently posed question, "What will you be when you grow up?" by saying, "I will become a *bakkal*." It is known today that a section of the immigrant population in Europe overcame the absence of *bakkal* services they couldn't find when they first arrived by opening their own small-scale supermarkets. And even in the most remote high plateaus of the Black Sea region does the indispensable *bakkal* shop await us, ready to supply us with toothbrushes, soda pop and paper tissues.

—Arzu Öztürkmen

> Bakka1 Sandwich

BAKKAL SANDWICH

MATURE OR FRESH KAŞAR CHEESE AND SALAMI BETWEEN A QUARTER, HALF OR WHOLE LOAF OF BREAD. AND AN AYRAN OR A COKE TO GO WITH IT. ALL BAKKALS (SEE BAKKAL) WHO SELL CHEESE AND SALAMI WILL DO ONE.

When you ask for a sandwich the *bakkal* asks you what you want in it (you can ask him to put plenty in) and takes his place at the marble counter



behind the glass display where the deli products are kept. With the big bread knife he uses to cut many other things, he first splits the bread, and then he cuts thick and formless slices off the reel of *kaşar* and the salami. He weighs these slices by placing them on the cellophane sheet he spreads out on the scales. Then in one hand he takes the piece of bread (or sometimes the whole loaf) and in the other the knife, and splitting open the bread, he inserts the ingredients on the scales into the bread. While some *bakkals* take care to spread out the ingredients equally, with others you may feel the need to rearrange the ingredients.

A *bakkal* sandwich made without hygienic gloves and presented to the customer wrapped in paper is acceptable. They are available at all *bakkals* in Istanbul, while ingredients may vary according to the scope of the *bakkal*'s deli section (white cheese, *sucuk* [Turkish chorizo], *kavurma* [braised meat]); but the classic *bakkal* sandwich must be made from the ingredients listed above. Sandwiches made at home using the same ingredients are no substitute. *Bon appetit*.

—İlkay Baliç

> Bakka1

BARGE

ALTHOUGH IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO THINK OF ISTANBUL WITHOUT IT UNTIL THE 1970S, THERE REMAINS NOT A SINGLE EXAMPLE OF THIS SEA TRANSPORTATION VEHICLE. [ED.]

My daughter doesn't know what a barge is.

She's in her twenties and, although she knows Istanbul well, she hasn't managed to work out a "mavna" [barge].

If I could explain to her just what a barge reminded me of, I might succeed in passing on to her something from the Istanbul of my youth.

Although the image of the barge is wearing off by the day, its sound still resounds in my ears.

I remember so well the "deep" sound of the barges in the wilderness of the night.

There are three distinct sounds I have recorded in my memory from the years I spent on Büyükaada and then on Kınalıada (see *Isle*) in my youth: the sound of the seagulls, the sound the



small pebbles made when the waves rolled them up the beach and the sound of the barges.

You could hear the sound of the seagulls at all hours of the day.

But the other two, the pebbles rolling in the water and the barges, were sounds heard more at night and at daybreak.

Some nights, when I awoke from my sleep, I couldn't tell exactly where the deep and interrupted sound of the barge breaking the silence of the night was coming from.

It could have been far from the island I was staying on, or very close. Only when I saw a barge docked at the port in the morning would I realize that the sound I heard in the night belonged to it.

What did the barge carry in their night runs? Often everything.

Everything from construction material to watermelons, from flour sacks on their way to the oven to tomato carts.

There's a scene featuring flour sacks I remember from my childhood.

The barge had docked at the port, and the sacks on it were being off-loaded by men who had turned all white because of the flour sticking to their bodies.

These "white men" would often wear the pointed end of an empty sack like a hood on their heads.

I haven't worked out the reason to this day.

Perhaps to protect their heads from the sun, or to stop flour getting in their eyes.

And if you ask me what suited the barge most, my answer is ready: watermelons.

Barges would often be red, or green, some were blue too. And the red and green of barges was best complimented by watermelons which were the same colour.

There would be watermelons sliced in to on top of the watermelon pile, for those who wanted to taste them.



Red and green.

Imagine a slice of watermelon.

Its shape is exactly like the barge my daughter doesn't know.

The vividly coloured barges that sometimes had naïve drawings on them have disappeared like some other sea-going vessels of the Marmara Sea.

The fishermen's boats, the sympathetic motorboats with onboard engines and the humble sailboats have been replaced by sea-buses and stylish yachts.

I can't say I know how watermelons, flour and construction materials are transported to the Islands nowadays.

In the same way that all the beautiful things about Istanbul are changing at the speed of light, perhaps they too are beamed to the Islands.

—Gila Benmayor

> Isle

BATHING/SWIMMING

A CHILDHOOD FAIRYTALE.

“Don't go bathing until you see the watermelon rind floating on the sea.” This may not be one of the 10 commandments, but it is holy wisdom for someone who has spent their childhood in Istanbul. The waters of the Bosphorus are cold and warm up rather late in the summer. (I refer, of course, to the temperature before the sewage of 15 million people flowed into the sea). The season when watermelons have hit the market and are consumed in abundance was back then the time when children could go bathing without catching a cold. The well-behaved children of the Bosphorus would sigh and gulp in early summer, but their mothers would have them wait, until the good news would arrive, “Watermelon rind spotted!”

In the past, garbage was dumped in the sea because it was not collected regularly by the city. Or, the municipality would collect the garbage and dump it collectively in the sea themselves. Since the waste did not contain non-degradable materials like plastic, it rotted quickly. So, the wa-



termelon rinds would not sink, but float like boats on the surface of the water, becoming even more meaningful with the good news they brought. Istanbul was always a large city, but until recently it was possible to bathe from anywhere accessible to the sea. People who were born in one of the villages along the Bosphorus knew each other from childhood on. The sense of neighbourhood was important but living on the Bosphorus had many advantages over the inland neighbourhoods.

Children shared their daily activities, playing, swimming, rowing and catching fish together and as they approached adulthood they took the public ferry to go to college and eventually to work. Those who proudly proclaimed themselves “the children of the Bosphorus” spent the entire summer in the sea. The grown-ups would take a dip in the sea on return from work or would go fishing with the rowboat. There were many ways of bathing. The best way of benefiting from the sea was of course residing in a *yali* (see *Yali*), the waterfront summerhouse unique to the Bosphorus. An alternative was to know the owner or the children of the *yali* so as to have access to the sea. In the past, the owners of *yali* were not necessarily wealthy but families local to a Bosphorus village. For people bathing

from a *yali*, the Bosphorus is a vast swimming pool. The joy of running along the timber quay and jumping into the waves is an incomparable joy known to those who have experienced it. In the past, not as many ships as today used to pass through the straits and you had to look out for the ships making waves. Long before the government privatized all its assets and squandered the ships of the Turkish Maritime Bank, passenger ships sailing to the Black Sea would produce ideal waves as they passed. Children would tell each other when these appeared in the distance and they would all enjoy jumping together into the wave rushing to shore behind the ship.

It didn't matter if you didn't know anyone from a *yali*. Especially on the Anatolian side, the gaps left along the embankment for fire safety were priceless locations to go bathing. The girls, boys and adults of the neighbourhood would go bathing from these points. Of course, the rather upright residents of the adjacent *yali* would get terribly disturbed because the kids made a lot of noise when they dived into the sea. At Rumeli the *yali* are not built right on the waterfront, and people who wanted to go bathing here would lie along the roadside.



Another way to go swimming was the boat. Renting boats wasn't expensive, and besides, Bosphorus kids either had small boats themselves or one of their acquaintances definitely had one. Not diving from the boat, but climbing back on board may prove difficult at first for not so sporty types. Since the sea belonged to everyone, the neighbourhood men would get as close as they could to the waterside mansions with their boats and try to prove their athleticism to girls sunbathing on the porch by diving into the sea exhibiting extraordinary acrobatic moves; when their dads weren't around, obviously.

Another type of the group of young men trying to attract attention by diving was those returning home from work on summer evenings on the ferry. As the boat approached land to dock, they would begin to undress; they would already have their swimming trunks on, pass on their clothes to their friends and climb atop the roof of the boat, and jump headlong into the white foam produced by the ship's propeller. This was actually quite dangerous because one might easily get caught by the propeller. These nameless heroes generally lacked the luxury of slacking off for the entire summer and probably passed the hot summer

days at work in some dark repair shop as an apprentice. But the moment they gained the attention of hundreds of pairs of curious eyes on the boat, the quay and even in the summer houses would make them proud and compensate for all the hardship of the day.

The biggest obstacle for a boat ride or swimming in the Bosphorus is the strong current. Bosphorus children steer clear of Kandilli, Kanlıca or Arnavutköy and other promontories where the current is strong when they go swimming. But that is not the only place where the current is strong, it follows swimmers almost like a ghost, sometimes so strong that it prevents the swimmer returning to the point s/he started. Sometimes swimmers don't manage to move at all, despite swimming with all their might.

Ghost currents are not the only unpleasant feature, with the long well-known, unpopular and recently proliferating jelly fish. There is no real use for them in Turkey other than perhaps for little boys' amusing themselves by throwing them at their little sisters to frighten them. The disgusting feeling of having a jellyfish splattered between your fingers while swimming has an im-



portant place in the memory of everyone who has experienced it. The currents not only brought the much anticipated watermelon rinds, but also other waste. People on boats or at the quay would be heard calling out loud: “Move quickly, a patch of oil spill is approaching,” and swimmers would quickly return to the boats or the quay.

One has to love the deep sea to swim like this. The Bosphorus deepens fast, but there are some natural sandbanks at the mouths of streams flowing into the Bosphorus, for instance at Küçüksu. These sandbanks were made into beaches in the 30s, and the French word “plage,” or “*plaj*” as it is spelled in Turkish, was borrowed from this dominant language of the time, to mean public beach (see *Beach*). People who were bored of the city and couldn’t swim well would have fun on the beaches. One could spend the entire day here for a small fee and the cabins, tea houses and eateries of the *plaj* were amongst the indispensable destinations of Istanbul in summer months. The tradition of the *plaj* for both women and men was introduced by White Russians who fled from the Russian revolution and settled in Istanbul in the early 20th century. The main locations of these new beaches were not along the Bosphorus but

in the real summer resorts of Kadıköy, Yeşilköy, Florya, Kumkapı, Suadiye and Moda, where natural sandbanks were made into *plaj*. During the pre-Republican period, Muslim men and women could not swim together at a public beach, so the first customers of the Russian beaches were the allied occupation forces and their families at the end of WWI. Only after the declaration of the Republic did it become possible for men and women to enjoy the beaches together.

There were other ways of swimming in the sea long before the beaches became fashionable: Sea Baths (see *Hamam*). (The idea of the so-called “Sea Baths” was also borrowed from the French “Bains de Mer.”) It is reported that there had been sea baths in Istanbul since the mid-19th century. These were wooden constructions in the water, relatively close to the shore, attached to a wooden pier and built around a rectangle framing the sea like a pool, preventing bathers from being seen from outside. People would undress in the cabins in the barracks and relax on platforms around the pool of the sea. As in the original Turkish baths, people would bathe covered with a towel. Though the first sea baths were made for men, some others were later constructed for women too. Even



in times when mixed beaches were long accepted as normal, women who did not want to be seen in swimsuits for a long time preferred these sea baths, but they eventually disappeared with modernisation.

The growth of the city brought more pollution through sewage that changed the colour, density and taste of the sea water, and increased the quantity of jelly fish and coliform bacteria. The brooks which once created the sandbanks today smell so bad that one doesn't even want to pass nearby. But did swimmers disappear completely? For a long time the number of people who went swimming dropped and the social profile of the swimmer changed. Once an activity exclusive to middle and upper class people, it spread to the masses. Since a certain section of these masses is not accustomed to bathe with women, women prefer not to bathe at the corner of the street they live on or in the gaps between the waterside mansions. Such social changes provoked significant crises in the history of beaches and bathing in Istanbul. The crisis of the "men in white underpants" is one of them. Men who did not wear swim trunks and chose to dip in the sea in their white underpants or wandered around on the shore or beach drew

a strong reaction and the topic was discussed for weeks in newspapers. Headlines included: "Pity he can't buy a swimsuit", "Swimming in underpants democratic right?", "Loutishness", "A man shows what he owns", "Does the bikini display less?" and "Indecency". Of course there was no conclusion to these discussions, but eventually the municipality banned wearing underpants on public beaches. Some cartoon magazines inaugurated "I want my white underpants back" campaigns, without success. Although the municipality is still far from solving Istanbul's sewage problem, it did make a good-will effort and reopen some of the beaches that had been closed due to pollution. However, it is difficult to say that these beaches are really clean. Anyhow, once refined places, beaches are nowadays perceived as hang-outs for common people. The "élite" places of the past meanwhile have followed the current American trend and become "beach clubs".

A new bathing costume, echoing the white underpants, has recently come into view. Due to the increase in number of women who, for religious reasons, don't want their here and there to be seen when they go bathing, *tesettür* [Islamic dress] bathing suits have appeared in the service



of the people. And for religious women who do not want to sunbathe in a plastic bag but to make deliberately sure that they display their expensive bikinis, beaches with female and male segregation have been created. Sea Baths might just make it back on to the agenda one day.

Due to pollution, people no longer swim in the Bosphorus, which has strong currents and, ironically, a lot of *yalı* owners have had swimming pools built on the waterfront. However, the growth of the city did not only bring along sewage waste, but demographic changes in Bosphorus villages too. The “Bosphorus Child” is history and neither the children nor the adults know each other anymore, because no one can bathe together. Since the old owners of the *yalı* had to sell their houses to the *nouveau riche* because they were not able to afford the expensive restoration costs or the high inheritance taxes, they have turned into places protected with cameras and armed guards. People today know the *yalı* inhabitants only through paparazzi reports in newspapers, because they don’t go to the *bakkal* or for a walk. There is no longer anyone to turn up on the doorstep to say I’ve just come for a swim.

Although the municipality’s sewage and purification work continues, it will probably take quite a time to clean the water. And even if some day it is cleaned, we may never be able to tell the right time to swim anymore, because watermelon rinds no longer float on the Bosphorus, as the city waste management collects the garbage regularly.

—Zeynep Kuban

> Beach, Hamam, Yalı

BEACH

AN INSTITUTION WHICH “TAUGHT” WESTERNISATION IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN YEARS. TODAY, A SHORE LOCATION WHERE PEOPLE GO BATHING. [ED.]

From the early years of the Republic until the 1980s, visiting the summer resorts and beaches of Istanbul was a summer tradition. Apart from the summer resorts (see *Summer Resort*) on the Princes’ Islands, inner city settlements of today like Yeşilköy, Florya, Büyükçekmece, Erenköy, Suadiye, İdealtepe and Tuzla were once renowned for their “summerhouses for rent” or “beach



estates.” In time, these places became perennial residential areas and their worn out buildings were replaced with new ones. In addition to the summer resorts, the city also had beaches where families could go swimming together (see *Bathing/Swimming*). The most famous among them were no doubt Moda, Caddebostan, Tarabya and Küçüksu beaches. Some of these beaches scheduled women-only slots, and became important socializing areas for middle and upper classes spending the summer months in the city. In fact, according to some memoirs, they even fulfilled the function of the older Turkish bath tradition (see *Hamam*) of choosing brides or creating a space for show. These beaches had special changing cabins, the families could bring their own food from home and rowboat trips could be arranged. Looking at family albums from the early Republican period, one can see that photographs depicting beach and rowboat trips occupy a prominent position.

In times when the population of Istanbul was smaller than today, the decent nature of these environments was maintained and they were seen as areas where people could enjoy the sea in safety. However, the situation changed significantly from the 1970s on with the differentiation of social class-

es brought on by increasing population and demand. The first desire of many immigrants settling in Istanbul in this period was to see and experience the sea. However, due to the fact that the section of this immigrant population that was able to show up on beaches was mostly composed of men who were alien to a more urban experience, these areas failed to sustain their status as “family environments.” Today, almost all of these beaches have been closed while there are now hopes to revitalise them. Still, the shores of the Bosphorus and Yenikapı are still used in summer months by men who have no other place to swim. Another consequence of this class-based change in the context of the city shores might be the replacement of old Istanbul beaches by the pools of big hotels (see *Hotel*).

—Arzu Öztürkmen

> Bathing/Swimming, Hamam, Hotel,
Summer Resort



BEAUTIFICATION (I)

ALL TYPES OF INTERVENTIONIST PRACTICES
INVENTED TO DESCRIBE A COMMON URBAN REALITY
OR PHENOMENON AS UGLY. [ED.]

I don't know if it was the same in the past; but beautification always arrives in Istanbul suddenly and exactly in the manner that the word implies, ending up spoiling something in the act of transforming it into something else by force. Just when a city view, say a street corner with its wall overgrown with ivy, its small *bakkal* [grocery store] and bus stop, begins to develop a harmony of its own and really "become beautiful," it will often incur the wrath of beautification. Especially if it is in full view of everyone... A huge monument-sculpture, park benches in the shape of open poetry books with, on their backs, images of poets and lines of poetry, an ugly fountain, a PVC-clad white pavilion "made to look exactly like the original" are just a few examples of the thrust of beautification this city has witnessed. Some corners, some moments, some coincidences of Istanbul are, though, spontaneously – still – very beautiful. The view that suddenly appears when one takes a turn in Balat towards the Haliç Dockyards, the small bit of Topkapı Palace visible

in the distance ahead when going down the street next to the Galatasaray Hamam or Bath are among the sudden revelations of beauty in this city. In the short intervals of time when the city possesses a unique harmony – whether a city can be completely calm and harmonious is another matter – that brilliantly shimmering thing is not allowed to last long. Having no tolerance for and being repressive of the unbridled nature of these harmonies, which come about of their own accord, may be part and parcel of the general lack of tolerance of those who rule the country and the city. It is as if beauty must be immediately reported to authorities wherever it is seen and then subjected to "beautification."

—Fatih Özgüven

BEAUTIFICATION (II)

THE CONCEPT OF BEAUTIFICATION, WHICH WAS FIRST DISCUSSED AS A PLANNING CONCEPT IN WESTERN EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN CITIES IN THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES, TAKES ON NEW MEANINGS AND DIMENSIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF ISTANBUL. CONTEMPORISATION AND MODERNISATION WERE EMPHASIZED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF "WESTERNISATION" PRACTICES;



“RENOVATION”, “SANITISATION” AND SOMETIMES “SHAVING” AND “CLEANSING” (SEE *CLEANSING*) WERE THE CONCEPTS THAT STOOD OUT ACCORDING TO THE SCOPE OF THE HISTORICAL URBAN TEXTURE. ON THE OTHER HAND, A CONCEPT OF PLANNING DEVELOPING IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE IMAGE OF A RELATIVELY “BEAUTIFUL CITY” NEEDS TO BE UNDERSTOOD AS AN INCREASINGLY COSMETIC TOUCH TO THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT.

Considering the movement of “Westernisation,” early progress in infrastructural development, beginning around the same time with the underground railways in the capitals of Paris and London, was later downgraded to easily manageable projects of beautification of progressively lower budget, with a strong emphasis on visibility. In this context, even first master plan – still in use – defining the main transport axes and functional regions of the city, may be viewed as a beautification project for it included 18 parks. The activities of the central and regional administrations in the master plan are described, in print media, as “targeting beautification.” In a similar manner, regional administrations have spoken of their own activities within a vision of “beautification” for the last 50 years; they almost conceal and hide from society the critical deficiency of infrastructural investments with the discourse of beautification.

A gradual improvement in local services can be observed in the last 25 years in a globalizing Istanbul. When considered within the context of the process of beautification, work focusing on the physical environment is in the foreground of these local services: construction of 50 centimetre-high pink stone pavements, regular changes of pavement stones in the city centre and squares, arranging beauty contests among buildings, reserving six or seven digit annual budgets for flowers planted at the sides of roads, finishing the instalment of paving in the city centre in two years and beginning the repaving immediately after that are the most significant stages in the beautification work which has left its stamp in recent decades in the city. The most important transformation in contemporary beautification practices are actually scale-related: practices which have jumped from flowers, pink stone and beautiful buildings to an urban scale, transformed into “cleansing” operations of 1000-year old neighbourhoods in the city’s historical and social texture. Accordingly, beautification includes projects (of course) that touch on the surface of the physical environment and, increasingly, projects (of course) that wound the social structure. In other words, the concept of beautification connotes disintegration within the operation of contemporary social



cleansing too. Beautification in globalizing Istanbul may be seen as a renewal of concepts of social and cultural cleansing and gentrification (see *Gentrification*) as much as the retouching of the physical texture of the city.

—İpek Yada Akpınar

> Cleansing, Gentrification

BECOMING ISTANBUL

ISTANBUL WASN'T ALWAYS ISTANBUL. IT HAS BEEN BYZANTION, CONSTANTINOPOLIS, THE SECOND ROME. IN THE MID-BYZANTINE PERIOD IT WAS SIMPLY POLIS, IN THE OTTOMAN PERIOD IT WAS KOSTANTINIYYE, İSLAMBOL AND DERSAADET, AND MANY OTHERS; BUT IT WAS NEVER JUST ISTANBUL. DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY, THESE OTHER NAMES WERE ALMOST COMPLETELY WIPED OUT. THE CITY BECAME ISTANBUL. THIS, AS ALWAYS, SIGNIFIES MORE THAN JUST A NAME CHANGE.

Each toponymic change is a manifestation of radical differentiation in urban space and a change in its social meaning. During these changes, the city of Antiquity evolved into the imperial capital of Late Antiquity. The rural city re-founded by

Constantinus would now be known by his name. However, this re-foundation also meant the symbolic transfer from the imperial capital Rome of the functions and references of the capital. The city was to be called the Second Rome. And consequently, some members of the earlier Senate moved here too. Even the topography of the city of the Seven Hills was symbolically transferred to Istanbul, although it actually has a different topographic structure that doesn't fit with the number seven. It became, like Rome, the “City of Seven Hills.”

During the mid-Byzantine period, it evolved into a peerless centre, so much so that it was known simply as “Polis” (or city). From that time on, no other settlement within the Byzantine zone of sovereignty would be known by this term. While they were all “kastron”, only Istanbul was the “polis.” Interestingly, this name was transferred to the Ottoman era. The word Istanbul may be traced to the Greek “polise.” The Ottomans, even when they had long forgotten and/or didn't care who Constantinus was, chose to call their capital Kostantiniyye, a name derived from his name. But they also called it Istanbul, Islambol and Dersaadet. A world of names and meanings was constructed, each bringing up



a different constellation of references. Moreover, the world of toponymies and meanings constructed here was not retrospective, but a world of coeval validity. Undoubtedly, for the person who called the city Islambol, the Islamic identity of the city was to the fore. Those who preferred the name Dersaadet (gate of happiness) emphasized the fact that the city was the centre of Ottoman sovereignty. Kostantiniyye indicated political continuity deemed important by the Ottoman central administration. The use of the name Constantinopolis reflected the dream of an Orthodox and Greek (or more generally Christian) city. A series of different names valid in Eastern Europe and the Near East should be added to these names. All of these names illustrated the largest city of a family of cosmopolitan settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean basin that once had many members. This was a type of cosmopolitanism which allowed for differences, but only when they were contained within the rigidly defined statuses of ethno-religious groups. It could be argued that each difference was considered normal as long as it had been accepted as the general characteristic of a certain group.

From the beginning of the 19th century on, traditional cosmopolitanism, the plurality of which

was formed from the sum of a series of fixed singularities, faced erosion. “Cosmopolitan” rapidly became a dirty word and homogeneity was defined as the goal in the emerging environment. Almost every ethno-religious group had begun to construct its own nationalism and its modern “imagined” identity. This meant almost every ethno-religious group forming the will to detach itself from that plurality, although, with the great plurality it hosted, Istanbul suggested otherwise. When the First World War ended and the Ottoman State was dissolved, however, the new Republic of Turkey borne out of the struggle of rival nationalisms set out with its decision to shape Istanbul’s fate in that direction. This place now had to become a Turkish city with an ethnically singular identity. This target was easy to attain. The Great Economic Depression of 1929 took the population of European origin away along with European capital. The local components of Ancient Eastern Mediterranean cosmopolitanism deserted the city step by step in an interval stretching from the 1920s to the early 1970s. The singularisation foreseen by nationalist imagination appeared to have been established. However, despite ideological engagements pointing in the opposite direction, a new cosmopolitanism of the city was slowly being constructed in place of the

crumbling traditional cosmopolitanism. The city of fixed communities and statuses, where inflow and outflow was strictly controlled, now set out to become a city shaped by countless parameters of individualities, preferences, expressions, interests, groupings and separations. After the 1980s in particular, a common metropolitan pluralism emerged, and continues to, in the city. It became an environment of “spontaneous freedom” where the oppression of recurrent totalitarian orientations collides with the common pluralism of the metropolis. This characteristic of the city is becoming increasingly evident. The ironic aspect of the process is how this modern metropolis singularized its name although it opened itself up to the outward expression of pluralities. Today, for everyone, it is only Istanbul. The dream of nationalist pioneers has been realized almost in an instant. They had wanted to put Kostantiniyye out of use because of its link to the Byzantine era and Dersaadet because it evoked the Ottoman past. They succeeded on a universal scale. During the phase of homogenisation beginning in the 1920s, the city forgot its countless old names. It generalized the name Istanbul, which was the least political, least religious and least ethnic among the names in use. It became Istanbul. The name of

the city became an empty category where countless existences and meanings could be produced, categorised under a single name, yet never filled. In the same manner that this metropolis itself has turned into an “empty space” which can contain different lifestyles, different existences, different preferences, is open to all manner of expression, or at least has this potential more than ever, and more than any other place in the Eastern Mediterranean... “Becoming Istanbul” is about the process where the city lost its traditional cosmopolitanism and started producing modern cosmopolitanisms. It defines a semiotic discharge.

—Uğur Tanyeli

BICYCLE

A TRANSPORTATION VEHICLE THE RESIDENTS OF ISTANBUL HAVE NEVER MANAGED TO ACCEPT AND MAKE PEACE WITH. [ED.]

A European would never imagine riding a bicycle in the streets of Istanbul (locals wouldn't either, as a matter of fact). The flow of traffic in the streets is so overpowering that it is impossible to conceive of the bicycle as an alternative to a four-wheeled



vehicle, or even the motorcycle. Reckless car drivers lack a sense of civility and also appear completely ignorant of traffic rules and the meaning of traffic signs. The topography of the city is not very inviting to the cyclist either. Still, the bicycle is not unknown to the streets of Istanbul, nor is it unfamiliar to its people.

Newspapers of the period record that the visit of an American cyclist in the late nineteenth century attracted hordes of people and the traveller was deemed important enough to be introduced to the governor. In fact, there are reports claiming that almost thousand people flocked to the streets of Ankara where he arrived on the latter part of his journey. Sales adverts in newspapers reveal that shortly after this event bicycles did come into demand in Istanbul. *Vélocipède*, the French word for bicycle, was adapted into Turkish as “*velospid*”, and the sons of wealthy families who preferred a Western life style became the first to ride them. A young man called Ahmet Tevfik published the journals of a trip he made with a friend to the Marmara region in 1900. The Ottoman army, a pioneer of modernisation, featured a bicycle brigade at the turn of the century. A regulation implemented on Galata Bridge shows that the bicycle was taken

seriously as a transport vehicle in 1914: bicycles crossing the bridge had to pay a higher toll than pedestrians.

Women only began to ride bicycles after the proclamation of the Republic. Popular magazines from the 1930s called for the modern Turkish woman to be active in sport and ride the bicycle. Photographs from the period showing women in shorts riding bicycles prove that the demand did exist. However, it was probably not widespread among women and the women in the pictures were probably the daughters of a more elite section of society. The literature of the period features short stories approving of women practicing sports and especially riding bicycles. After all, cycling revealed the athletic figure of women, and this presented an advantage when looking for a partner. The first bicycle race for women in Istanbul was held somewhat later in 1955.

Before the automobile industry boom and especially after the Second World War, the bicycle was used as a vehicle of transportation. Sadly, the bicycle gradually lost its place in the daily life of Istanbul and the minds of people because of the increasing use of the automobile, the extreme



expansion of the city and the transformation of comfort into a symbol of luxury and status. Today the motive for most cyclists is sport or physical exercise. The number of bicycle shops and repair stations is on the increase and these places have become meeting points for people who love riding their bikes. Most cyclists ride at the weekend, along the limited cycling routes designed by the municipality or at the Princes' Islands. Some other groups meet on the outskirts of the city and tour in the woods or in the countryside. One sees only a few cyclists in the city, and they greet each other with real enthusiasm. It is turning into a mission for cyclists to promote the bicycle. Moreover, it will soon become a necessity to place the popularisation of bicycles back on the agenda, since it will soon become impossible to get to work and back home on time judging by the increase of the number of vehicles on the roads, and the number of bicycles and scooters will inevitably increase, if, of course, idleness doesn't win the day. The municipality claims it plans to build a 630 km network of cycling routes. In fact, according to surveys, 80% of people stated they would be willing to cycle to and from work if more cycling routes were available. Unfortunately, existing cycling routes are mostly used as parking spaces by car

owners. Nevertheless, bicycles are still on the wish list of children and are among the favourite gifts for good school reports. Especially in the first days of summer, it is still possible to catch a glimpse of children proudly riding their brand new shiny bikes on pavements or calmer roads.

It would still probably be correct to say that bicycle use has dwindled. Many people and especially mothers are afraid of everything, in which cycling may be included. They may allow their kids to cycle in the presumably safe gated communities, but many children don't even learn how to ride a bicycle because of the danger of falling off. Therefore, when you say you cycle to work as a woman you get mixed reactions ranging from envy to praise, because people do have bicycles at home but do not possess the courage to ride them. One sometimes also comes across an expression of pity, because for them one has to have lost their mind, and would soon also lose their lives in attempting such a thing. What's more, they think, it is impossible to understand why one would waste so much energy outside the gym.

But what is the actual truth? Are cyclists who go out in traffic really mad? Won't the drivers in



Istanbul feign to run over a woman cyclist just to have fun? In fact, women might even be at an advantage, considering driving and cars are status symbols and matters of honour for men. For male cyclists are no different than male drivers. When cyclists rapidly overtake cars both from the left and the right, the male driver's pride is hurt and he may immediately want to remind the cyclist of her vulnerability. But if you don't feel humiliated, follow the right lane at a normal speed and let cars pass, you might just be surprised how polite macho male drivers, including taxi and bus drivers, can be. One of the best strategies which saves lives in traffic is not to make a move before establishing eye contact with the drivers.

Another group as dangerous as car drivers demands attention when cycling along the coast or the now expanded pavements: fishermen with their long rods. They occupy the entire pavement as if it belongs to them, and they are careless enough to sling out their rods without checking their backs, and thus the hook may easily catch in the cyclist's helmet. The danger carries on even if you cycle on the street, because some of their rods stick out too far when they are leant on railings out towards the traffic. And since they are at

eye-level, you may accidentally depart with your right eye on the end of a hook.

The heroic acts of the female cyclist alone will of course not be enough, the city's steep slopes really not being best suited to constant cycling up and down. City bikes with only a few gears aren't suited for the hills, and racing bikes with slender wheels are not the best idea because of the holes in the roads. Helmets are strongly recommended not only for safety or because of regulations; but because the helmet provides the cyclist with the image which drivers and police officers take seriously. After all, presenting the right image is far more important in Turkish society than the essence of the matter.

Unfortunately, there is still a long way to go before the bicycle is regarded as a respectable vehicle by all. Until then, the bicycle and the cyclist will continue to be taken as seriously as Don Quixote and his horse Rosinante.

—Zeynep Kuban



BIENNIAL

INAUGURATED TO GRANT ISTANBUL THE STATUS OF A BIENNIAL-CITY, BUT GRADUALLY TRANSFORMED INTO A STATUS DEFINITION WITH ITS SINGLE REFERENCE REMAINING “ISTANBUL.” A FORTUNATE CHANGE. [ED.]

The question I’m most frequently asked by visitors within the exhibition and project areas of Istanbul biennials is, “Where is the biennial?” Ironic, but actually asked naïvely, I wonder if this real question is about the visitor’s point of view regarding contemporary art or about defining the production of art at the biennial in the midst of Istanbul’s chaos. I can say that among all the biennials of the world, the Istanbul Biennial focuses most on urban space and reflects urban problems. Istanbul, in contrast to biennials realized in other geographical zones, lies amid such zones, hosts various urban cultures and reflects contemporary street-level and urban problems in a sprawling, multiple way, thus presenting the Istanbul Biennial with a multitude of materials. The most attractive dimensions of the art projects in the biennial, apart from presenting and opening to discussion a representation they have worked towards is the temporary surreal states, which also possess the potential to become per-

manent, created by the juxtaposition of projects, art works and real urban situations. Research into the spatiality of most Istanbul biennials would reveal the urban transformation of Istanbul and the strange, indescribable situations involved in this process of transformation. In this context, another aspect of the Istanbul biennial is the fact that it has shifted into reverse contradicting the claim that biennials mainly serve as accelerating catalyst of the city’s culture, its festivalisation, as they contribute to the branding of the city and become instrumentalized in urban transformations.

Compared to other biennials across the world, the Istanbul Biennial stands out for its spatial proposals for the exhibition other than the main exhibition area, Antrepo (a warehouse on the Bosphorus). In fact, these proposals are given such importance in the foreign press that a renowned English art critic wrote in his article in *Artforum* that he had difficulty finding the Kadıköy Public Education Centre, an exhibition site of the 10th Istanbul Biennial (2007) on the Anatolian side, even though he took a taxi. Another example of the disturbance the elite viewer felt took place at a book launch for a biennial project (Oda Projesi and Otto Berchem) at the Tobacco Warehouse in



Tophane during the 9th Istanbul Biennial, where contemporary art viewers were juxtaposed with the local men from Siirt spending all day in the coffee house next door. These examples are the kind of “disturbances” we would not come across in exhibitions like the Venice Biennale, which has now merged with romantic urban tourism.

In previous Istanbul Biennials Ottoman and Byzantine structures were predominant; and the works of art generally referenced the medium of the work (video, object, painting, installation, etc.), the space and the memory of the space. These space- and installation-focused presentations took a different turn with the 9th Istanbul Biennial (2005). With “Istanbul” as its main theme, the 9th Biennial shifted from the historic peninsula towards Pera and the streets of Istanbul, that is to say to spaces that would touch upon social and cultural differences. The 2005 Biennial put on view Istanbul’s potential, relations between individuals and particular aspects of the city, through artists’ research and proposals. In addition to topics like the global phenomenon of the secure settlement areas which proliferated on the peripheries of cities in the 2000s, the “gated housing estates,” (see *Gated Housing Estate*) the view of various individuals

regarding the city and modern life styles (Solmaz Shahbazi’s video), the chaos between the life-strata of Istanbul was placed on the agenda with proposals from artists to include the unremarked perceptions of the city of street children and the youth of the city (Otto Berchem’s project). The 10th Istanbul Biennial (2007), focusing on the use of urban space and its transformation by global neo-liberal strategies, as a first course of action directly defined spaces like the AKM (Atatürk Cultural Centre) and İMÇ (the Istanbul Textile Traders’ Market) under threat of demolition and transformation by local administrations as exhibition spaces. These buildings and the social heritage they represent, their status as modernist proposals, were opened up to public discussion along with the interventions of contemporary artists. The use of many exhibition and project spaces in various parts of Istanbul during the biennial drew attention to the recently much-debated definition in the public sphere of the city in transformation. Video screenings made not only at city art centres but also on its outskirts, on the periphery, in different neighbourhoods and on the streets (*Nightcomers*) were proposed so as to examine public and private spheres in different corners of the city. The Dutch artists Bik Van der Pol, who carried out research on everyday life

in neighbourhoods and districts under the threat of privatisation, observed 59 areas in Istanbul in their project. The Sulukule neighbourhood where Roma live is under pressure from urban renewal and transformation. The neighbourhood has been putting up a struggle against regional administrations in a joint initiative of its inhabitants and the Sulukule Platform, an independent formation. The Chinese artist Wong Hoy Cheong communicated the problems of the people of Sulukule under threat of displacement by creating a collaborative video-animation work with the inhabitants and the initiative active in the neighbourhood.

On the other hand, many initiatives and collectives which took part in activities affiliated with the biennial, produced research projects at various opportunities to actively make their voices heard and to struggle against the state-supported marketing of Istanbul and the increase of profit-seeking behaviour.

“Will the instrumentalisation of art and artistic production in the name of privatisation and normalisation serve cultural transformation within the processes of urban transformation?” The question may be asked for the Istanbul Biennial

too. Bilbao-Guggenheim and other such artistic catalysts, many artistic spaces and large-scale global activities, all have shown potential to trigger or contribute to specific outcomes in urban transformation. The exact opposite is happening in the context of the Istanbul Biennial.

—Pelin Tan

> Gated Housing Estate

BYZANTIUM

TO CONTEMPORARY ISTANBULITES (AND TURKS IN GENERAL), IT SIGNIFIES FAR MORE THAN AN OLD NAME OF THE CITY AND CULTURAL ACCUMULATION OF A THOUSAND YEARS.

The word itself didn't exist in the Turkish language from the conquest of the city by the Ottomans until the late 19th century. For example, when Mehmed II (see *Fatih Sultan Mehmet*) added Caesar among his titles after conquering the city, he meant he was the successor of Rome, not the continuation of the Byzantine Empire. After Mehmed II, to a large extent this claim lost its importance. Istanbul continued to be known as



Kostantiniyye in official texts until the end of the 19th century, clearly indicating the link of its origin to Constantine. However, 15th to 18th century Ottoman texts on the history of the city never mention that it was the centre of a different civilisation and that in fact it was the focal point of a specific political organisation for a thousand years. There is not a single Ottoman period text that provides a full list of Byzantine emperors. For example, the world history written by Nişancı Mehmed Pasha in the 16th century ends the sequence of Roman sovereigns with Herakleios in the early 7th century, in other words, at the time of the spread of Islamic sovereignty into Syria and Egypt. The Ottoman intelligentsia is not interested in the pre-Ottoman past of Istanbul and they conduct no research into it. When the topic comes up they immediately revert to the field of legends, not of history. This persistent ignorance could be said to be oriented towards the cultural Islamisation and Ottomanisation of the city. The pre-Ottoman past is never evoked and forgotten.

The first indication of a change in this field is seen in the book titled *Hadikatü'l-Cevami* [Garden of Mosques] which is an alphabetical historiographic encyclopaedia of all Istanbul mosques and

which was begun in the 1780s. For the first time, a Muslim Ottoman intellectual eliminates the legends from the history of Hagia Sophia to give a brief history. A process which may be termed the “normalisation” of Istanbul’s past was perhaps about to begin. However, with the foundation of a sovereign Greece as a result of the Greek independence movement after the 1820s, the climate changed. The era of nationalisms had arrived on the agenda and there was a section among the subjects of the Empire that considered itself the continuance of Byzantium and a strong Orthodox Church which underlined this claim. Therefore, just when the Ottoman ruling elite was introducing itself to modern historiography and also to Antiquity and the periods that followed, it also began, paradoxically, to generate suspicion towards its Greek subjects. For instance, the publication of the first Greek history in Turkish, *Tarih-i İskender bin Filipos* [History of Alexander Son of Philip] is all but concurrent with the independence of Greece.

Ottoman intellectuals begin to use the term Byzantium as the name of a culture and a great Christian empire in the last quarter of the 19th century. The term was transferred from Europe



and in particular from the French cultural milieu. They confined themselves to acquiring basic historiographic data regarding Byzantium until the end of the First World War. When the First World War ended with defeat for the Ottoman State and the Greek military action to capture Western Anatolia began, the perception of Byzantine civilisation in Turkey underwent a rapid change. With their gaze set on taking over the country, the occupation of the Greek army that extended almost into Central Anatolia transformed architectural remains of Byzantine civilisation into contemporary enemies. Buildings over a thousand years old that had continued to exist in many Anatolian cities up until then were deliberately destroyed during this period. For instance, the Eflatun Mesjid in Konya, the Saint Clementus Church in Ankara and the Koimesis Church in İznik fell victim to this reaction and were dynamited. *Bizans* was now loaded with negative connotations in Turkish. Clashes between the Turkish and Rum communities in Cyprus in the early 1960s expanded further the fields of this fight which even went on to include historiography. Efforts at forgetting and denial continued into later decades. There were also times when the psychosis of seeing Turkey and all Turks in general surrounded by enemies reached

paranoiac levels. For example, a periodical with the Ottoman term *Kostantiniyye* [Constantinople] in its title was closed by court decision in the early 1990s.

The climate did not really allow for the emergence of even an intellectual interest in Byzantium. So much so that even now, there isn't a Museum of Byzantine Art or a Centre of Byzantine Studies in this city, the capital of the Byzantine Empire. There are a handful of specialists who work on Byzantine history, art and architecture in Turkey, a country where there are more than 70 universities. A series of symbolic initiatives were also invented to enlarge the historical interval severing Istanbul from Byzantium. The conquest of Istanbul by the Ottomans, which no one thought of celebrating for centuries until 1953, is celebrated today with an emphasis that increases annually. A significant percentage of people expect a constant repetition of the fact that Istanbul belongs to the Turks. Wide segments of the population suffer from a nationalist fever they have developed which encourages the belief that a significant international conspiracy may be devised to "reclaim" it. This suspicion can also be observed in certain administrative organs. For instance, at-

tempts to study and restore Byzantine structures in Istanbul in collaboration with European and American specialists are frowned upon. Use of exclusively national resources and specialists is preferred. To say the least, this type of collaboration is not encouraged. However, such collaborations take place at countless Ancient Greek and Roman sites across Anatolia. On the other hand, there are also Islamist and/or nationalist social groupings that demand the re-conversion into a mosque of Hagia Sophia, the most important Byzantine church, converted into a mosque in 1453, becoming a museum in 1935.

In such a cultural-political atmosphere, popular media embarked upon the ethical condemnation of Byzantium in novels from the 1920s on and in historical films from the 1960s on. In such narratives, Byzantium is characterized by means of a series of ethically degraded, unreliable and deceitful actions. It is illuminating enough that the name of a feature film made in the 1990s which partially criticized and partially exploited this psychosis was titled *Kahpe Bizans* [Backstabbing Byzantium]. In this sense, Byzantium was not a city, a political organism or a cultural field. It is constructed in the popular imagination more as a

stanza of social and human weaknesses. In brief, both Istanbul and Turkey still have a Byzantium problem.

—Uğur Tanyeli

> Fatih Sultan Mehmet

CAKE SHOP

A PLACE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IN THE CULTURAL
NURTURING OF THE CITY.

“*Istanbul pastaneleri*” [cake shops]... The words may not evoke a response on a world-scale, considering other western metropolises are rightfully famous in this matter... However, it was the people who once took part in the urban life of them that renders the phrase significant. I don’t mean *marron de guisé*, *bavaroise* or *profiterole*. More than these, it is the loss of an Istanbul experience with its local character and the variety it brought to neighbourhoods.

Whichever period one takes, the place to look to understand the eating and drinking culture in



Istanbul is İstiklal Caddesi (see *İstiklal Caddesi* or "*Beyoğlu*"). Beyoğlu, which began to form from the 18th century on around foreign embassies, with its *bon marché* shop windows, theatres and restaurants and cake shop established during the current of "modernisation", triggered the formation of the profile of a new urbanite, different from the traditional inhabitant of Istanbul (see *Istanbulite*). For people coming from different neighbourhoods, looking at the fashionable shop windows lining the gaslit illuminated Grand Rue de Pera was a European experience. One could claim that the golden age in the chronology of cake shop, which preserved their 19th century tea and cake room characteristics until the Republican Period, among eating and drinking places was the 30s and the 50s. The cake became the source for augmenting, inscribing in memory a spatial experience through the senses of taste and smell. The slice brought home from a cake shop was also a slice of Beyoğlu, and/or a slice of Europe.

Read from Anatolia, the cake shop is a place that symbolizes the West, just like Istanbul. From this perspective it is possible to propose that if Istanbul was the name of something to eat, it would be a cake. This is the reason why there are cake

shops named after a neighbourhood in Istanbul or Istanbul itself in many of the bigger boroughs and smaller provinces in Anatolia. For it is easier to keep that object of desire alive via eating and drinking.

It wouldn't be wrong to say that cake shop are loved most by writers. This tradition continued from the 30s to the 80s, flaring up and dying down from time to time. Many did go to Baylan in the 50s and the Divan Patisserie in the 80s just to see Attila İlhan. From the second half of the 60s on, Istanbul became crowded through migration but was deserted by the non-Muslims, and the cake shops were replaced by *muhallebi* (a type of milk pudding) shops as meeting places.

When the people who keep culture alive change, places change too. This is the reason we have the *simit* palaces (see *Simit Sarayı*) beleaguering İstiklal Street. Patisserie Markiz, the veteran of the street, can only be kept alive by being transformed into a branch of an international coffee chain.

Today, some cake shops are still the place for meeting with special nostalgic Istanbul flavours



(see *Nostalgia*). Special Jewish, Greek, Armenian and Syriac festival pastries and the *kandil* [a holy night in Islam] festival pastry are included in the product range of the same cake shop. On the other hand, the cake shop has lost its uniqueness, its pull as a place, its character along with its rooms to host its customers. Baklava and other traditional pastries with şerbet have long taken their place next to the cakes in the window. *Madeleine chocolate* and *lokum* are side by side. It could be said that Istanbul has Istanbulified the cake shop.

—Funda Uz Sönmez

> *Istanbulite, İstiklal Caddesi or "Beyoğlu", Nostalgia, Simit Sarayı*

CAR FERRY

A SEA VESSEL THIS CITY DIVIDED BY THE BRANCHES
OF THE SEA CANNOT DISPENSE WITH DESPITE THE
EXISTENCE OF COUNTLESS BRIDGES. [ED.]

Often referred to as “*arabalı vapur*” [ferry with cars], the correct phrase for it is the “*araba vapuru*” [car ferry]. It is a ship designed to carry vehicles

as well as their passengers. The first ever car ferry ever was produced for the Bosphorus. Hüseyin Haki Effendi and his friends İskender Effendi and Chief Architect Master Mehmed designed the first car ferry in the world. The outstanding features of the design were the ramps at both ends of the ferry that could be lowered to the shore and its ability to travel at full speed in both directions. The main deck was reserved for vehicles and the upper deck for passengers. The name of this first car ferry in the world was Suhulet. Suhulet was produced at the Maudslay Sons & Field’s Shipyard in London by the order of the *Şirket-i Hayriye* (see *Şirket-i Hayriye — City Maritime Lines*), the Ottoman maritime company; the ferry making its first scheduled trip between Üsküdar and Kabataş. Sultan Abdülaziz awarded Hüseyin Haki Effendi medals for his achievement.

Despite the bridges connecting the two continents, the car ferry is still widely used today, as sea transport continues to have advantages over transport by land. As long as adverse weather conditions like fog and storms do not create an obstacle, the car ferry offers a quicker and more enjoyable journey compared to that by land. People step out of their vehicles to sip their tea while



enjoying the Bosphorus view from the deck of the car ferry. In addition to travelling across the Bosphorus, the schedule of the car ferry also includes trips to some of the islands in the Marmara Sea such as the Marmara Island.

If you board a car ferry operating between Harem and Eminönü, you will witness varying demographic features such as the age and gender of passengers at different times of the day. For instance, in the mornings and evenings, you will meet with commuters. Indeed, these passengers often know each other because they board the ferry at the same times. But at other hours the passenger spectrum varies greatly. The reason for this is the two centres the car ferry ferries passengers to: Harem, where the bus terminal is located, and Sirkeci, a cosmopolitan and touristy area of Istanbul. On the car ferry to islands in the Marmara, you come across domestic and foreign tourists in the summer and mostly residents of the islands in the winter. An interesting surprise awaits you if you get the opportunity to climb up to the upper bridge of the ship, especially in the summer. Various insects, carried by the wind over the sea from one landmass to another, fly over the ferry and, in fact, sometimes collide with you and continue their travel on board. The corridor of

air formed by the ferry's tailwind thus transports other living creatures along with you too.

Car ferries are more familiar with the sea than other ferries, because they have been designed to carry vehicles, not people. As such, they are more open to the wind and the view of the sea than other ferries. Perhaps this is why some of us like them the more for it.

—Bülent Usta

> Şirket-i Hayriye — City Maritime Lines

CARETAKER

CARETAKERS IN APARTMENT BUILDINGS CLEAN COMMON AREAS; OPERATE THE CENTRAL HEATING SYSTEM, IF THERE IS ONE; COLLECT RUBBISH; FETCH AND DISTRIBUTE BREAD, MILK AND NEWSPAPERS; SHOP FOR RESIDENTS FROM THE SUPERMARKET; AND UNDERTAKE SMALL REPAIRS IN THE APARTMENT.

The job description of the caretaker, who attained official worker status in the 1970s and is included in the Commonhold Ownership Law, has been determined by the TSE [Turkish Standards Institute].



Accordingly, a caretaker must speak Turkish in a comprehensible manner, possess the capacity properly to fulfil at least 4 tasks, have sufficient knowledge of mathematics and be in possession of such fundamental traits as being trustworthy and confidential.

Caretakers often live on the basement floor of the apartment they work in and the conditions of their flats bear no resemblance to those upstairs. This means that the caretaker is expected to be at the ready 24/7 to several employers on the border between the public and the private, in his low-comfort living unit, waiting on the call of a direct bell-entryphone system. In some Istanbul neighbourhoods, the job of the caretaker has expanded to take in the cleaning, the daily newspaper and bread distribution and the rubbish collection of more than one apartment.

Caretakers, who entered our lives with the process of apartmentalisation and whose rights were legally defined in the 70s, ‘foreigners inside’ to use the phrase coined by Gül Özyeğin, are often members of low income groups, having migrated to the city. Caretaker families, who because of the job settle in areas where middle and upper income

groups live, create a form of social hybridisation in the area they settle in. At the point where the “private” and public are distributed, the caretaker is the shield guarding the intimacy of the apartment/the family. The caretaker prevents the entry of a foreigner – not perceived as an enemy in smaller towns, but potentially the evil from beyond in Istanbul – entering the building. The caretaker is also a tool for middle and upper middle income groups to crystallize their class position. In the way that it was presented in the Caretaker Cafer character in the *Bizimkiler* [Our Lot] television series or the “Seyit” character in the film *Kapıcılar Kralı* [King of the Caretakers], the caretaker was an important actor in the changing dynamics of Istanbul in 80s Turkey.

The job of a caretaker job is not advertised in any job advert and is rather published by word of mouth, echoing community relations and patterns of migrant settlement in particular areas. Caretaker jobs in Istanbul are often all but shared out even when the apartment is still being constructed. Homogeneous districts form in neighbourhoods according to the places caretakers come from. The news, information transmission and support network formed by caretakers in Is-



tanbul facilitates their existence in the city in a manner unseen in the yellow pages. The lifestyles and expectations of caretakers change, while on the other hand they interact with and transform the social structure they inhabit.

The caretaker has brought about the derogatory definition “caretaker family,” indicative of a lower social stratum. The caretaker often performs his tasks with the help of other members of the family. His children go to pay the bills of the residents and distribute newspapers and bread. The wives of caretakers often earn money from domestic cleaning in the apartment they live or in the vicinity. The accelerated increase in the post-2000s of gated communities (see *Gated Housing Estate*) and high-security inner-city apartments where upper income groups live transforms the concept of the caretaker as we know it into an apartment attendant and the caretaker family is increasingly replaced by more professional service units in upper-middle class residential areas too.

—Evren Uzer

> Gated Housing Estate

CEMETERY

OUTDOOR SPACE WITH BOTH TEMPORARY AND PERMANENT USERS. NECROPOLIS-BURIAL GROUND-CHURCHYARD-CHARNEL HOUSE-SEPULCHRE-GRAVEYARD-BONEYARD-ETERNAL RESTING PLACE.

The word for grave in Turkish, *mezar*, comes from the word *ziyaret* in Arabic, meaning “to visit.” Its dictionary definition in Arabic is “a place which one visits,” but in Turkish the word changed its meaning to become “the place where a person is buried.” One could say that there hasn’t been that much of a shift in the meaning of the word, given that, in addition to the fact that one can visit a grave for commemoration and remembering whenever one wants, new developments have taken place (!) in our time which allow grave visits to be made via the Internet too. When graveyards contain streets and dead-ends, squares, fountains and entrance buildings and are found adjacent to a religious site or the garden of some other building, they begin to outline an urban space. On the other hand, sometimes one passes through cemeteries to reach a coffee house with a view, and sometimes they are obscure areas one passes by silently without wanting to see what’s behind the high walls. It’s a dark, frightening,



tense, cold, distant and withdrawn image, created over the years by various books and films calling up an alien place arousing curiosity. Partly for this reason, the relationship between the inhabitants of the city and cemeteries that are a part of urban culture and everyday life is broken. Ordinary people are content to know that the city has its share of greenery with the cypress, plane and even Judas trees taking root within their grounds. However, cemeteries are open-air museums for researchers from various disciplines. Reflections of culture and modernisation to the concept and rituals of death may be examined in cemeteries. Cemeteries have variously, at different times, played a role in the transmission of change and modernisation and at times in the creation of tradition.

Gravestones and their inscriptions reflect the worlds of thought, emotion, belief and understanding of the period they belong to. Their change in time is a social text that sheds light on history and provides clues to the political, social and economic structure of their period. Gravestones also bear stories of the identity, social status, life story, events, emotions and thoughts of the person buried beneath them. The centre of this cemetery culture, which was exported to the country from the end of the 15th century on, was Istanbul.

However, the historical significance of cemeteries has often not been known or acknowledged. For example, the Early Period of the Republic is fraught with examples of this lack of awareness. During this period, when urban development was on the agenda, cemetery sites provided fertile stages for the formation of strong symbols in the development of the city like stadiums, opera buildings and recreational areas. Cemeteries made into plots of land became areas which could be changed and transformed just like the city itself and upon which the central authority could exercise its will. Surp Agop, Ayaspaşa, Abbasağa, Kasımpaşa Aşıklar and the Kadıköy Rum Cemeteries are just a few of these. It was the Municipality Law, which contained the decision to transfer cemeteries from the General Directorate of Foundations to municipalities that accelerated efforts to clear cemeteries within the city. The municipality was given the right to use, sell, rent, expropriate or release for construction the cemeteries, cemetery sites and, indeed, any foundation property transferred to the municipality under this law.

The decision to turn cemeteries into plots of land leaves authorities facing the problem of the transfer of gravestones. The fate of gravestones sold upon receiving no applications by grave own-



ers to notifications regarding their removal published in newspapers is to be stacked neatly in stonemason's workshops to be evaporated into use as construction material. During this process, grave owners do not object to the transfer and there is no debate on the historical value of the stones. Although some do stand up and say, "The destruction of gravestones is nothing but a genuine act of vandalism," their voices are never heard.

Among limited reactions to this process, some non-Muslims do manage to get their voices heard. They defend their rights against the obligation to transfer the cemeteries they claim as their own over to the municipality. The new national construct of the Republican period inevitably "others" certain social groups within the country in the process of the construction of the imagined social structure. Within this context, the liquidation of non-Muslim cemeteries within the city can be seen as an attempt at "othering." According to the belief that non-Muslims do not belong in the new national social, they have often been forced out of the system they inhabit by being taken together as a whole rather than as Armenians, Greeks or Jews (see *Minority*). The intervention mostly takes the form of the narrowing of their field of influence

within society. For example, one may claim that the transfer of the Surp Agop Cemetery to the municipality is a sanction applied to Armenians in respect of economic means. By depriving the community of the revenues it could have obtained in various ways from the plot of land, the idea must have been to reduce their influence within a system where they weren't considered a component in the first place anyway.

While, on one hand, cemeteries within the city are being removed entirely, the effort, on the other, to create "modern" cemeteries outside the city is a reflection of the relationship with the past. This is such that that the particular conditions and priorities of the period require the getting rid of the old which bears the traces of the past and the construction of the new in its place. The nation-state intending to integrate with the Western-centred world system via "Westernisation" and "modernisation" aimed for a renewal of Istanbul's image. Cemeteries received more than their share of this renewal.

—Sıla Durhan

> *Minority*



CENTRE

THE OLD PERSIAN PROVERB WHICH CLAIMS “SAFETY IS ON THE PERIPHERY” MAKES THE MOST SENSE IN ISTANBUL. [ED.]

The centre of life in the middle class regions of my country’s structure is the sitting room.

The “sitting room” is often small. Always smaller than you expect. Close, but only very close friends can be entertained here. The place is full of worthless things, tawdry you might say, even considering the host, but they still have their stories and may be deciphered. The parents treat the children in an entirely different, relaxed and tolerant manner in the sitting room. Almost everything the imagination of the family can contain is permissible in the sitting room. And the water finds its way in. Life always flows towards the tiny sitting room in the house. The centre for meeting “life” in the house is the sitting room. However, the sitting room is also the point of the house that is insistently concealed “from the world.”

These houses also have a “guestroom.” The guestroom is, if possible, at least twice the size of

the sitting room. Strangers, in other words, guests, are met with here. This is where one chats with them. The most valuable, most opulent things are kept here and displayed in glass cabinets. The children of the house, in other words the rebellious elements, are kept away from this part of the house. Therefore sometimes the door of the guestroom is even kept locked in some houses. The centre for meeting “the world” in the house is the guestroom. But the guestroom is also the point of the house that is carefully concealed “from life.”

An entire middle class in Turkey, both those who call themselves conservative and those who don’t, have arrived at this division of home and life. There is not one, but a thousand and one reasons for this holy compromise.

And every city in Turkey, along with Istanbul, invests in the guestroom when the opportunity comes up. Meet one another there, makes sure to be seen by the other there, “get together” there. But still can’t help returning, at the earliest convenience, to the sitting room and being happy there.

You will see, anyway you probably already have, that Turkey loves “non-places,” shopping



centres (see *Shopping Centre*), airports more than the rest of the world.

Because in Turkey they take those who don't hide from life, and don't hide their life "to the police centre."

In Turkey the centre is not the place where you express yourself, where you can express yourself. In Turkey the centre is where you are examined.

I'm writing this in the sitting room. It would be impossible to come up with it in the guestroom, even under torture.

—Gökhan Özgün

> Shopping Centre

CINEMA

THE MECHANICAL REPRESENTATION OF ANY MATERIAL REALITY. A FORM OF REPRODUCTION WHICH BOTH REPRESENTS AND CONSTRUCTS URBAN IMAGINATIONS, PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES.

The *cinématographe* (1895), an invention of the Lumière brothers, entered not Istanbul, at first, but the imperial palace of the Ottomans towards the end of 1896. A private journal reveals that Bertrand, an artist of performances charged with introducing the latest innovations in France to the palace, had exhibited the ingenuities of the *cinematograph* with the magical screen he set up in a room in Yıldız Palace. Bertrand introduced the first film screening to Sultan Abdülhamid II as a show "like *Karagöz* [traditional shadow puppet show] with photographs." The spectators were to see the shadow of reality on the screen with the dimming of the lights in the room; the trick was in the light trapped in the box; and he translated the words, "*L'Arrivée du Train en Gare de la Ciotat*" [Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat Station], reading them out loud as "*Şümendüferle Seyahat*" [Train Journey]. As this journey in time and space came to an end within a few minutes, only fearful looks remained in the eyes of the spectators from the reality of the shadows. Once they perceived that what they had seen consisted only of appearances, the device was dignified as the "truth box." However, the loyalty the device showed to the truth was slightly threatening for Abdülhamid II, especially when the city needed monolithic order.



The possibility of the *cinematograph* entering the Ottoman capital may be linked with an environment of chaos and turbulence; a time when wars and mutinies which followed in the wake of the First Constitutional Monarchy were supposedly suppressed and when the socio-political problems created by the Capitulations were being covered up by the precautions of *istibdat* [autocracy]. In fact, if it wasn't for the official application of the French Embassy for the use of the device in the city, Istanbul could have been introduced to the cinema at a far later date. In line with the modern state seeking to institutionalize itself, Abdülhamid II forwarded the application with a demand for an "examination" to the Ottoman Science Consultancy and received a reply stating it was "in scientific terms, a beneficial device for humanity," although he remained anxious. The roots of this anxious regard were perhaps in Pan-Islamism, which he conceived as the sole way of preserving the integrity of state and land. The production of images is prohibited in Islam; did not this similarity between what the *cinematograph reflects upon the screen* and *reality as it is seen* mean *attributing a partner to the eye of the all-seeing-and-knowing - Allah*? What would this European invention record and show in Istanbul?

Yet a series of optic viewing devices which formed the genealogy of cinema had already entered the Ottoman capital from its Western gate, Pera, and had been present here for over 50 years. The cosmopolitan Pera, gathering the heimatlos, the marginal, the others and aliens within its frame, was under occupation by "moving images" which brought hoodwinking and modern science together. The *Microscope Solaire* (Sun Microscope) show at a circus set up in Galatasaray (1843) was followed by the show of *Le Grand Diorama*, the moving-image device of Daguerre, the inventor of photography. The *Cosmorama* which exhibited its ingenuities at the Naum Theatre in 1855, introduced audiences to phantasmagorical devices like the *panorama* (see *Panorama*), *georama* and *neorama* where nature, city and war images painted on a revolving cylinder could be observed. The moving image, evolving with the phenakistoscope and the zootrope, approached the *cinematograph* with the representation realised by French physicist Doumlier with the "Magic Lantern" (1882); semi-documentary, semi-fantastic images covering the screen were almost like Georges Méliès's films. Three years later, the famous Verdi Theatre was the stage of the illuminated painting show and the French legerdemainist Louis Thierry in-

roduced his *Théâtre Français de Diapanorama* with a *Fountains of Turkey* theme. The Karagöz Shadow Play that Bertrand had introduced as a precursor to cinema had already become a victim of the delirium of modernity. Pera was now a *phantasmagoria*, a world of phantasms, where *flaneurs* obtained new visual experiences among the crowd of universal commodities; whereas for the Ottoman State it was a pseudo space-time mechanism articulated with world capitalism.

The move of the cinema from the illusion rooms of the palace to the dream spaces of the city was made possible by carving it a niche among the other western cultural elements (music, opera, and theatre) forming the intellectual universe of the sultan. A cinema hall was opened in Yıldız Palace following the first screening and the state organized its own film shooting and screening activities (29 March 1903). This date is paradoxically before the *cinema viewing-rooms* that began to be established in the city after the declaration of the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy (1908), because electricity could only be supplied across the whole of the European side in this period, providing the technological infrastructure necessary for the cinema. Western tradesmen and businessmen did not wait until then

for *Cinematograph* shows which they sensed to be a profitable tool of commercial entertainment. On 12th December 1896, photographer Sigmund Weinberg realized the first public film screening at the Sponeck Beerhouse in the Avrupa Pasajı [Europe Arcade] on the street known as “Grande Rue de Pera” to non-Muslims and “Cadde-i Kebir” to Muslims. This historical moment was documented with handouts featuring the words *PHOTOGRAPHE VIVANTE* in capital letters in French. After 1908, according to the spatial genealogy of all optical viewing devices, cinema viewing-rooms took over the street, in fact the public eventually began calling Cadde-i Kebir the “cinematographers’ street.” Until the 1930s, the names of cinemas, which had begun to take over from theatres, were often, like their handouts and posters, in French; the Cinema Pathé (in Tepebaşı, 1908) and Eclair (1909), cinemas opened by the two rival French companies in the film industry, were followed by Ciné Central (1910), Oriental (1911), Magique (1914), Palace (1914), Elektra (1920), Elhamra (1922), Opera (1924) etc. Cinema was the most Western, modern and universal threshold of the Ottoman Empire.

Although the films at first consisted only of stock films of the Lumière brothers, short cin-



ematographic experiments about world cities were added to them in time. Filming of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn by cinematograph operators from various countries meant that Istanbul was included in the film catalogue (1897) of the Lumière brothers. The whole city was being filmed by this point; images of Istanbul travelled from one place to another in the entertainment/recreation areas such as theatres, coffee houses, restaurants and hotels (Hôtel Particulier and Pera Palas in particular) of Pera and even in private villas. Film began to permeate the whole city following the opening of the Silahtarağa Power Plant (1911) but no place in its history would overthrow the dominance in cinema of the land where it first flourished, i.e. of Pera. This Bohemian civilisation on Ottoman land, defined, until the proclamation of the Republic, the borders of the westernisation-modernisation of social experience as the space of sign/spectacle where all types of western objects began to float. Thus, on one hand, it led to the emergence of different types of people than the subjects of the Ottoman Empire; on the other, it coded the quantitative and qualitative position of the cinema viewer and the viewed object. Whereas the people who flocked to the cinema in Europe were the masses most affected by the traumas of industrial

cities (the poor, the unemployed and the idlers etc.), in Istanbul it was Western minorities and the new Ottoman bourgeoisie. In fact, this meant that, for a certain period, cinema would be held responsible for spatial and social divisions like western/eastern, modern/traditionalist, urban/villager. Private and public spaces became the sign of the clash taking place between the Ottomanists representing the traditionalist wing and the elites carrying out the project of modernity in the city, defining the characteristics of the viewer in the meantime; the viewer was the “non-Ottoman” (see *Public Space*). Parallel to this, both the first imported feature films and their local adaptations triggered changes, transformations which defined class and spatial divisions like the shaping of individual rights and the institutionalisation of property. Modernity became synonymous with the cliché of a Western life style and the behavioural patterns, furniture and fashion synonymous with that. The pastiche of modernity, from the 1930s on, is the most important reason cinema remained an amusement of the middle and upper classes that adopted the westernisation project.

European cinema, in the meantime, had already acquired the features of an avant-garde art

with urban readings constructing the perception of modernity. Instead of this type of cinematographic experiments, Turkish films preferred adaptations of commercial American melodramas and were shaped by their clichés. Domestic film production began only with the move of the state to Ankara. Ironically, in the demographic, social and politico-economic dissolution process Istanbul faced after losing its status as the capital, film production helped the city regain its standing and magic. No doubt the universal equation of cinema, in other words, the three constants of cinema – viewer, viewing space and the object (film, spatio-temporal production) were definitive in this recovery. On the other hand, the fact that the city allowed for the occurrence of this trio was not enough to render cinema a cultural institution as in Europe; for film had become an intellectual and independent art form insofar as it constructed and represented urban spatial experiences and experiments. Although one had to wait until the 1950s for this when Istanbul suffered the pangs of urbanisation, early signs of cinema shaping the experience of modernity across the country emerged with the declaration of the Republic.

These “Belle Époque” years when cinematography penetrated almost all corners of the capital

city also witnessed the emergence of domestic production companies institutionalized under the name “Cinema Works” and a few large-scale film studios known as “Cinema factories.” Film created the media of the era on one hand, while on the other it became an object of information shaping the relationship of the urbanite with cinema. In addition to magazines and newspapers like the Ottoman *Ferah* (1914), *Sinema Postası* (*Le Courrier du Cinema*, 1923), *Opéra-Ciné* (1924), *Sinema Yıldızı* (1924–26), *Sinema Mecmuası* (1924) and *Türk Sineması* (*Le Ciné Turc*, 1927) magazines including engineering journals also pioneered this development by publishing articles on cinematic screening and the architecture and engineering of cinematic spaces. Likewise, the “worldwide cinema equation” became quite important for the regional administration of the city – the *Cemiyet-i Umumiye-i Belediye* – with the municipality claiming patronage of public art, culture, recreation and entertainment, and starting to collect a “spectacle tax” for both the construction and restoration work of cinema buildings (see *Restoration*). Both because of the narrow building plots and vagueness of their ownership, *Cadde-i Kebir* posed problems for the construction of independent cinema buildings, the municipality demanded a license for the determi-

nation of suitable buildings from the building stock and their redesign for equipment for film screening purposes. Despite this understandably difficult process, theatre buildings were transformed into cinemas according to the increase in demand. For instance, it is known that a “white screen” was set up in the centre of the *Cirque de Péra* in the Halep Arcade in Beyoğlu for screenings; the space was later redesigned to host various shows and transformed first into *Varyete* (1906), and then the *French Theatre*. The *Skating Palace* performance hall would be transformed into the *Melek Cinema* in 1924 (the Beyoğlu Emek Cinema of today); the media of the period report that the cinema was equipped with the “latest marvels of science.” Even in its period of infancy in Istanbul, film technology allowed the realisation of functions like drama, dance, music and film screenings in the same space and total art (*Gesamtkunstwerk*) as Richard Wagner had imagined it, established itself in the city thanks to the cinema. In the same period, the new Opera Cinema, opening opposite Melek, reveals the role cinema played in the transformation of urban space (see *Urban Transformation*).

The increase in number of cinema halls reflects a demand increasing year by year for “com-

mercial” films; and, taking into account strong competition with imports, local film output began to emerge as a significant politico-economic issue. Blocking this, for a while, the *Osmanlı Merkez Ordu Sinema Dairesi* [Ottoman Central Military Cinema Bureau] (1915) founded by German specialists, echoes the activities of the German Film Corporation (*Universium Film Aktiengesellschaft*, UFA, 1918), organizing itself as a collaboration of state, army, industry and art. European cinema in general and German cinema in particular regarded film not only as a product for consumption but as both a discursive practice of avant-garde movements and as a scientific form of culture. Unfortunately, attempts by the Ottoman state, intellectuals and entrepreneurs to improve the quality of film did not prove fruitful, and the end product was a combination of thematic Western clichés and adaptations from domestic literature. The most significant event the institution brings to mind today is the first Turkish film shot by founding filmmaker Fuat Uzkınay in 1914 entitled *Demolition of the Russian Monument in Ayastefanos* (Yeşilköy). Shot to document the destruction of this difficult memory symbolizing the defeat of the Ottomans by the Russians in the War of 1893, the film has not been preserved.



In the same period, the German Film Corporation produced a series of masterpieces as part of the movement today known as Weimar Art Cinema. The significant characteristic of these films, like many other experimental avant-garde films, was their working with the architectural aspects of the process. This enabled the films to decipher the influences of both modernism and industrialisation on the human subject, registering the critical view of modern art. New forms of perception of urban space, which they saw as a laboratory out of which cinematic experiment could be generated, were generated thanks to such films. Providing a series of declarations, articles and programmes remarking film's contribution to architecture and the city, and architecture's contribution to film, the Corporation thus resulted in theoretical work on the interaction between film, architecture and art. Films became diagrams of truth revealing how the problems capitalism creates in industrial cities and the new forms of production-consumption they impose are understood. For instance, two pioneering films by Danish-German director Urban Gad, *Poor Jenny* (1912) shot in a worker neighbourhood in Berlin and *Front Door-Back Door* (1915), rendered visible how socio-economic and political issues reshaped the industrial city of

Berlin, the spatio-temporal perception of which had been fragmented by transportation and communication networks. Many films in this genre became tools metaphorically and/or metonymically questioning urban phenomena. On the other hand, the reproduction of urban space using the design tools of cinema (sound, light, scenery, costume, camera frame/angles, editing) meant that film developed not only in the contextual sense but also in terms of formal characteristics. Every film which designs a network of time, space and event (or narrative) is ultimately an experience of modernity translating the relationships of the individual with the city, creating new channels of experience and perception: both a design discourse and a discursive design.

By contrast, in place of such cinematographic experiments and experiences expanding the reach of design practices, Istanbul became the object of a pseudo economic-politics and perhaps for this reason never really became immanent to a culture of modernity. Therefore, the image of the city presented in the first thirty years of the 20th century was just a touristy landscape floating on the screen or a sequential series of postcard views. This was a consequence not simply of quantitative or technical



inadequacies of the cinema factories as is often claimed, but the underdevelopment of intellectual and critical views regarding the superimposed phenomena of Westernisation and modernisation. In the subsequent Republican era, the production of its image, like the production of urban space, was shaped by an ideological vision: the first related to the construction of an *ümme*t [community], the second, of a nation. The understanding of the dream of modernity integrated with the West as the modernisation of only a certain public or a certain social class led to spatial and social structures being formed by ruptures which could not be ignored. Cinematographic vision is the sign of this perception; urban images, after Ottoman modernisation, showing discriminatory views of non-Muslims as “urban” and Muslim Turks and even Armenians as “villagers”, forming a background to idealizing images. Cinematic narratives were thus constructed at times with images that were unprecedentedly modern and, at others, with fairy tale-like and even carnivalesque images in the mould of orientalist hedonism.

Despite being a specialist in theatre, the cinema of Muhsin Ertuğrul, known for films like *İstanbul’da Bir Facia-i Aşk* [A Disaster of Love in

Istanbul] (1922), *Boğaziçi Esrarı* [The Mystery of the Bosphorus] (1922) *İstanbul Sokaklarında* [On the Streets of Istanbul] (1931) and *Şehvet Kurbanı* [Victim of Lust] (1939), focused on the opposition of the modern and the traditional in the city. For instance, in *Şehvet Kurbanı*, an adaptation of *The Way of All Flesh* (Victor Fleming, 1927), also shown in Pera cinemas, Istanbul is almost a symbol of the perfection penned by Immanuel Kant; concepts like modernity, Westernness, universality and order form the spatio-temporal context of the film. From the first sequence on, which opens with the advertisement of a bank founded along with the Republic, western icons compete with each other. The railways, clocks and streets painted by İhâp Hulusi, the first Turkish graphic artist, on the window of a bank teller represent this ideal of national modernity. Apartment blocks, arcades, hotels, public buildings etc. in neighbourhoods such as Nişantaşı, the Bosphorus, Kadıköy and Yeşilköy which developed in parallel to city’s new road, street, block and plot organisation swim through the film as if they were positive metaphors of the negative readings attributed to the image of the metropolis. We know from sources of the time – the film itself was lost – that the city was traversed by a tourist guide in *İstanbul Sokaklarında* [On the

Streets of Istanbul] (1931), which, despite being the first sound film made in Turkey, was advertised in theatrical parlance as a “Fantastic Show” on its promotional poster. The interior spaces designed by Vedat Ömer Ar who studied Fine Arts in France and the posters which resembled the cubist lines of Le Corbusier’s “modulor” design emphasize the dominance of a modern language in the film. In shots of Galata, Topkapı Palace, Haydarpaşa train station, Dolmabahçe and the shores of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn comprising the locations of the film, this language is replaced by mysterious-legendary tourist images. The spectacular images of various urban icons immediately make it clear that the film served the dream of breaking into the European market. During his visit to Istanbul which he called the “paradise of cities”, Le Corbusier said that there were “terrifying places in the heart of the city which concealed a terrifying dragon,” as if suggesting those zones which these films concealed and left out of frame. Cosmopolitan Istanbul is in the foreground, with its “orientalesque décor” as described by Corbusier in his *Voyage to the East* of 1911, in writer Paul Herigo’s film *Russian Fire* (1918) set in Istanbul and in *The Mysterious East* (1922), a film by engineer Anderes, who was a resident of Istanbul.

The representation of the city via such films marketed abroad no doubt determined the cinematic future of Turkey with the city playing a significant part in every period of Turkish cinema. Although taking a different route to European cinema, this cinematic significance of the city has also enabled the accumulation of archaeological, anthropological and ethnographic documents important for all kinds of research. In contrast to architecture, the social sciences often conceptualize cinema as a “plane of remembering” which forms urban memory in ways beyond the formal or the linguistic art work.

However, as many theorists have shown, the relationship between the modern city, architecture and cinema was based not on a simple relationship of representation but more interactively. Cinema, both for its viewers and in its narrative and formal characteristics, developed in Europe as a phenomenon related to the production, perception and experience of the modern city. In other words, the relationship between the city and cinema is a sharing of a common fate rather than some common points; this fate has been determined by a series of different and variable dynamics shaping both the ontology and epistemology as well as the phenomenology of metropolises.

As early as the first decade of cinema, the fragmentation of the city by modernist and capitalist practices such as transportation, communication, capital-monetary movements, information flow and political discourses meant that urban perception became transitive. In other words, the image of the rapidly growing city in the wake of the Industrial Revolution is actually a product of the chaos, psychological shocks and challenges caused by dynamics such as mass-production, mass-transportation, migration and demographic redistribution. The modern urban utopias of the 20th century attempt to substitute for this threatening and fragmented image a comprehensible, manageable, transparent, harmonious and eligible ideal urban image. Physical space was organized according to the panorama the city would present visually, and was thus defined as a series of regular zones serving functions such as shelter, work, recreation, just like fragmentary film sequences. Istanbul also adopted this systematic, *Hausmannian* planning approach after 1839 following the *Tanzimat* [Re-/ Organisation] reforms. The transitivity of blocks of urban space is shaped according to surveillance and the circumambient viewing of Haussmann. This multi-cellular and/or fragmented field of

visibility of the modern city became such that it could only be perceived by means of technological instruments. The urban dweller has become a “spectator” who can only perceive “sequences” of urban space from vehicles like the train, ferry, bus or plane.

As Walter Benjamin stressed, the dreams of viewers experiencing this psychic space where *phantasmagoria* and desire intersect with the cinema and modern urban fantasies coincide precisely because the city is both the space of diverse space-time transitions, like film, and also an arena of spectacle created by the imaginary-symbolic nature of commodities: hence, *phantasmagoria*. The cosmopolitan urban wanderer (the *flaneur*) is the product of this image which prevails in the city; s/he marches across the city to its most remote corner, observes and classifies the images s/he collides with and saves them in his/her memory; addiction to idle time and the “time” imposed by the urban machine are supremely contradictory since the phenomena of time have now become spatial. Movement/rhythm is related to duration, as in cinema. In eternal harmony with the space-time of the urban machine and the arteries of transportation which course

through the city, commodity flows, transparent façades and concrete buildings destroy the urban *phantasmagoria* of the *flâneur*, while creating a new and modern subjective experience of looking-observing, a fragmentary aesthetics. The moving image is the product of this aesthetic which, indeed, served to create the optical viewing devices that form its genealogy; film being the technical and aesthetic montage of diverse time-space fragments. While photomontage and collage found a role in art, montage, as well as being a design tool of cinematographic production, organizes mass-production. Through editing, the fragments that come together to construct the film form not “singular images” but “singular sequences.” As Russian director/theoretician Sergei Eisenstein proposed, the order of montage is a phenomenal-aesthetic construction closely resembling the coming together of the buildings and their structural components that produce the urban context. This construction manages to shape new aesthetic experiences only so long as it harmonizes with the possibility of the perception and reception, the experience of the *shocks* the viewer experiences in the modern city. Avantgarde cinematographers took on the modern city as formed in this genealogy as their source and began to construct urban

experiences. Towards the end of the 1920s, poetic representation of the new urban perception led to filmic urban symphonies bringing together document and editing; movement and speed of the machines building the city; striking sequences which combined human eye with the mechanic eye of the camera and music echoing the rhythm of these sequences.

Modernist vision as investigated in German expressionism, Italian futurism, Russian constructivism and suprematism, French cubism, surrealism and Dadaism embedded itself in the design tools and techniques which created the language of cinematography. The aim of all such avant-gardes is to capture an abstract aesthetics which yet manages to expose the spatio-temporal practices shaping everyday urban life as it is lived. For the tension between abstract-concrete urban images aestheticizes the experience of the visual-aural, oscillating between the fictional and the documentary. This is why urban symphonies are also, in a sense, modern urban manifestoes.

Although somewhat neglected within the modernisation project of Republican Turkey, the modernisation process of Istanbul, beginning in

the 18th century, could no doubt have produced – although it failed to create or, at least, protect its own avant-garde – a series of multi-layered, multi-semantic manifestoes. However since the cinema of Istanbul could not be formed independently of the city’s route to westernisation and, lacking infrastructure and with the damage to its fabric of changing politico-economic phases, it remained in a floating state. Some *ersatz* Istanbul cinematic symphonies were produced, but they fail to rise to the level of manifesto and consist of little more than one image after another and are perhaps more meaningful in the documentary category. *The Symphony of Istanbul*, a film shot in 1934 by Nazım Hikmet, an important poet of the Republican era who had received a cinematic education in Russia, was noteworthy as an urban experiment although it consisted only of Istanbul images edited according to Russian aesthetics of the period.

The city began to be transformed into an Anatolian mosaic with the accelerating migration of the late 40s, and, as another Istanbul poet Orhan Veli says, the “centre of Istanbul became cinema.” In the 1960s, the city was the object of films that began to become a laboratory of urban

experiences such as Guy Debord’s notion of “psycho-geography” outlined, if not of avant-garde cinematographic experiments. 60s cinema, which aimed to bring the viewer face to face with Istanbul as it had become, was still, both thematically and formally, something of an imitation; but films of the era did pioneer forms of contemporary cinema by discovering issues such as the city, the city dweller, urbanisation and becoming urban which had not been touched upon at all before. Until the end of the 80s, melodramas mimicking the American dream, hoping for box-office success, formed the main vein of production. In the 90s cinema readopted intellectual concern of 60s films; these films elaborating on the pressures and troubles caused by the then economic-political regime and urban life constructed a critical distance in relation to then current urban policies, also generated a cinematic language demonstrating aesthetic concerns. Films like Zeki Demirkubuz’s *C Blok* [Block C] (1994), *Masumiyet* [Innocence] (1997) and 3. *Sayfa* [3rd Page] (1999), *Tabutta Rövaşata* [Sommersault in a Coffin] (Derviş Zaim, 1996), *Gemide* [On Board] (Serdar Akar, 1998), *Laleli’de bir Azize* [A Patroness in Laleli] (Kudret Sabancı, 1998), the multi-award winner *Uzak* [Distant] (Nuri Bilge Ceylan, 2002), *Anlat İstanbul* [Speak, Istanbul]



(Ümit Ünal and others, 2004) conveyed images which were veiled in urban space onto the “inner field” (of the screen) and (re-)invented Istanbul as a visual experience and a field of visibility.

This change in cinematic language was related to the decades-long period of incubation of global capitalism which began to take over the city in the 2000s and the urban alienation, fear, violence, poverty and deprivation it caused. As for the viewers involved, it seems they still held Hollywood films or their domestic derivatives in esteem. The space of viewing is no longer the cultural climate cinema first captured in Beyoğlu, rather it has shifted to the entertainment centres of global capitalism, in other words, those controlled structures that are the shopping centres (see *Shopping Centre*). “Multiplexes,” rapidly penetrating the city, define both the new position and the product of cinema, which is still seen as an object of entertainment-consumption of the middle class. With the exception of a few independent directors who follow in the footsteps of the design cinema of the 60s, domestic films have become products of an industry that comes up with postmodern popular entertainments in the name of “film” in order to compete with films released by means of electronic

technologies simultaneously across the whole world. Despite their development at a rather late stage, there is a series of works of superior quality in the category of film that hasn’t reached the masses or formed a relationship with the public. Still, whether in these popular, commercial *pseudofilms* or in films produced as art, Istanbul continues to code Turkish cinema.

—İşıl Baysan Serim

> Panorama, Public Space, Restoration, Shopping Centre, Urban Transformation

CLEANSING

CLEANSING IN ISTANBUL MEANS THE PURIFICATION OF A CERTAIN AREA OF CERTAIN SIGHTS AND PEOPLE.

Cleansing operations are often carried out under names such as urban transformation (see *Urban Transformation*), improvement, hygienisation and urban renewal. A typical cleansing operation is based on the proposition that the people in the targeted neighbourhood, district or area are living in unhygienic conditions and that these



conditions have to be improved. This area will usually be close to the city centre with a majority population of immigrants and tourism potential (see *Tourism*), often a historical residential area. The local administration will demolish the houses of the people living in the area in order to improve their living conditions and usually present them with the opportunity to buy houses in a residential area on the outskirts of town whose construction is about to be completed. The cleansing process is completed when new buildings are constructed after the people living in the residential area beforehand have all moved away. Hereby, the area, now presented to foreigners, is purified of sights like women washing carpets and children playing in the street, women wearing headscarves, transvestites, washing hanging from lines, shoes in front of the door step or shabbily dressed men sitting in the coffee house and a clean area is created.

—İlkay Baliç

> Tourism, Urban Transformation

CONTRACTOR

AN URBAN ACTOR WHOSE IMPORTANCE IS NOT APPRECIATED IN ISTANBUL.

The recent history of the contractor in Istanbul begins in the mid 1950s. Developments which shape the social perception of the contractor began at this time. However, one ought to take into consideration the existence of antecedents of this social type in Istanbul in the late 19th century. They used to develop and sell the plot they had bought into small, equal rows of houses formed of a few units. The contractor-type that emerged in the mid 1950s was also an entrepreneur with little capital like them. However, in contrast to his antecedents, he didn't sell rows of houses but apartments. In pursuit of his business, the sub-contractor took over the plot of land from the landlord by agreeing to give the landlord a specific share from the apartment he was to build on it and began selling the apartment flat by flat from its construction stage on. Sales had to begin at the foundation stage, because this type of contractor-developer had only very restricted capital to work with. Completion of the construction with their own resources was out of the question. They



brought about the cheapest urban housing supply (along with the even cheaper alternative defined by the *gecekondu*) appropriate for an economy which suffered from a permanent lack of capital but which wanted to grow at a time when bank loans were still at a very early stage of development. Without encouraging congestion, they expanded the metropolitan housing stock in the interval between 1950 and 1980.

Apart from the few architects and engineers among them, these contractors of the 1950s and 60s, known as “build-and-sellers,” were once construction workers. They had often arrived in the metropolis as common labourers, were trained here in practical construction and become foremen. Since a majority of them were from the Eastern Black Sea region, they brought the phrase “Laz [an ethnic group of the Eastern Black Sea Region] contractor” into Istanbul Turkish. They developed the city with very few resources, meeting the housing demand of the middle class, but the urban environment that emerged would bear the traces of the shortcomings of their capital and specialisation. The technical and aesthetic quality of their construction was low. However, the restricted budget of their customers, as much as

the insufficient capital of the contractors, played an important role here. Those who sought to buy houses with few resources would apply to build-and-sellers who themselves had to build houses with few resources. In such an environment, it was only natural that the contractor was made the scapegoat. By the early 1960s, it was common practice to blame the contractor as the sole cause of all urban defects and lack of architectural quality.

Contractors of public buildings formed a different group than these build-and-sellers. However, they suffered from a lack of capital too. In a tender system regulated by the custom of underbidding, this lack of capital would have even worse consequences than for the build-and-sellers. Contractors with no capital had to drag their prices down to illogical levels to survive in an increasingly competitive environment.

And since it was impossible to complete the work with real construction prices, they both had to reduce quality as much as possible and exploit various legal loopholes to extend the completion period of the work, asking for repeated pricing revisions. In brief, it was impossible to achieve better quality architectural outcomes and they



didn't. More significantly, it was also difficult to accumulate capital in a system where the system was dominated by constant underbidding of incomprehensible proportions. To sum up, until the 1980s, the stage was left to the small contractor in public development programs too.

It is evident that the ideas both contractors would inspire in urban residents would be negative. Over time, all drawbacks in the urban environment and shortcomings in construction quality came to be understood as solely the fault of contractors. The large-scale damage and large number of deaths caused by the Marmara Earthquake in 1999 led to an increase in the antipathy felt towards contractors. However, paradoxically, from the early 1990s on, a contractor type with greater capital resources had begun to throw his weight around with a momentum which began to be all the more clear around that time. This type came to dominate the housing and development business of Istanbul especially. Companies constructing settlement zones of thousands of units were born. However, grabbing the lion's share of income from rent in the city, contractors now became the target of attacks not for low-quality construction as in the past, but this time because

they condensed and "concretized" the city in line with their own advantage. Besides, since their former contracting practices were not forgotten, they presented targets that were easy to shoot at. For instance, the overlapping of the developer and the contractor in the housing industry in Istanbul going back to the mid-19th century still hasn't been solved. Almost as a rule, the provider of the land, the financing, the construction and marketing company (and sometimes the planning company) still continue to be the one and same. This means that conflicting roles are performed by the same actor unified in the person of the contractor. Therefore, too, attacking the contractor means attacking everything one doesn't like about the urban sphere. Since their fields of action and the urban terrain over which they exercise influence have expanded considerably, the legitimacy ratio of the criticism is even higher than the past. But still, it is not difficult to read other urban actors' wishes to vindicate themselves in the almost hateful criticisms aimed at the contractor. A significant section of the urban population in Istanbul manages not to think about their share of responsibility thanks to the existence of this scapegoat.

—Uğur Tanyeli



CRIMEAN CHURCH

AT THE BEHEST OF SULTAN ABDÜLMECID, IN COMMEMORATION OF SOLDIERS WHO TOOK PART IN THE CRIMEAN WAR, THE CRIMEAN CHURCH WAS CONSTRUCTED IN BEYOĞLU BY THE STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN. IT IS ALSO KNOWN AS THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

Its construction took around 10 years, and it was dedicated in 1868. Around a century later, in 1972, it was closed due to a lack of congregation and remained closed until 1990. Valuable objects disappeared from the church during the closure.

Ian Sherwood, the Irish priest of the chapel in the British Consulate who came to Istanbul in 1989, played an important role in the reopening of the church for worship. The attempts of the Greater Istanbul Municipality in 1990 to transform the derelict church into a concert hall came to nothing when the Reverend Sherwood “slept for forty days with the pigeons” in the abandoned building. The emergence of a new congregation began with the arrival in Istanbul in transit of Sri Lankan workers who had to abandon Kuwait after the Iraqi invasion of 1990. The priest allowed the workers, who couldn’t – or didn’t want to – return

to Sri Lanka, an ex-British colony and the scene of a bloody civil war, to seek refuge and he restored the church with their help.

The new transnational social space formed around the churches in Istanbul after 1990 can be observed at the Crimean Church. The cosmopolitan structure of the church’s congregation on Sundays reflects the striking diversity of waves of globalisation affecting the city: on the one hand, the English, Americans, Irish and Scots who work for very high salaries at multinational companies in Istanbul or teachers who teach at English-language schools, and on the other hand, the mostly Sri-Lankan or sub-Saharan African, poverty-stricken asylum seekers who live in the dormitory of the church. The Crimean Church, which enables people of different lifestyles and socio-economic profiles to come together, turns into a unique arena of social interaction. For the immigrants, who have only limited access to public spaces and official services since most have fled here, the church becomes a “space for meeting and contact” (see *Migration*). Services like English courses, shelter, food and clothing support organized by the IIMP (Istanbul Interparish Migrant Program), formed by various churches



in Istanbul, facilitates the adaptation of the migrants, a great majority of whom have irregular status, to life in Istanbul.

Among the reasons behind the cultural diversity evident in the congregation of the Crimean Church are both relations remaining from the English colonial period and the transformation of churches in the post-Cold War period into global non-governmental actors across the world. Like the Crimean Church, other churches in Istanbul serve cosmopolitan congregations formed of people brought in by waves of migration that diversified after 1990. Although it provokes reaction from ultranationalist groups, the “revitalising” effect of new migration on churches presents an interesting example of the heterogenizing effect of the globalisation process in Istanbul.

—Didem Danış

> Migration

DEMOCRACY

DERIVED FROM THE GREEK. (*DEMOS* = PEOPLE, *KRATOS* = RULE, STRENGTH)

Kratos: Bring me an architect, I will build a democracy.

Demos: Bring me a democracy, I will build an architect.

Istanbul: Let's go to the city. Let's go to meet the future. Let's go to my place.

Turkey: I'm coming with you.

Istanbul: No, don't you come. It doesn't work when you come.

Turkey: But if I don't come, it doesn't work at all.

Ankara: Stop arguing you two. We can't sleep for the noise you're making.

And it can't either.

—Gökhan Özgün



DEMOLITION OR THE WARPED CITY

DEMOLITION IN ISTANBUL IS THE KEY TO A LOT OF CHANGE BUT TRANSFORMS LITTLE, OR IT IS THE EXPRESSION OF THE DESIRE TO ELIMINATE THE CONDITION RESIDENTS CALL THE WARPED CITY.

Cities change constantly. However, while some cities only change, some others are transformed: cities which face up to change in one way or the other, and eventually manage to form some kind of affirmative relationship with this regular changing, change quantitatively but also transform, producing qualitative difference too. Istanbul changes too, and very quickly at that, but it has great difficulty in producing qualitative difference. *Warped City* names for this city which changes quickly but fails to produce qualitative difference. Istanbul residents call their city warped, obviously not because they demand that qualitative difference, rather because they seek integrity and sameness but realize it is not and cannot be made possible. Therefore all Istanbul residents who find themselves with suitable authority or position will set out to rectify this *warped city* in one way or the other. However no one who actually attempts this task has a consistent and comprehensive proposal regarding how to integrate, how to *straighten*

out the city. Moreover, such a proposal would have to declare its impossibility from the word go, since the *straight* city, as a plane of transcendence, cannot be produced by the worldly mind. Therefore, the only possible option is to wait for the revelation and the faithful representation of the straightened city to reveal itself. The only thing to be done before the revelation is to destroy what is *warped*. Here, the meaning of urban transformation in practice is demolition. This city which prides itself on its history is actually a very new city, which was built almost yesterday: the *warped city* is the city that is demolished to prevent qualitative transformation.

—Bülent Tanju

DISTRICT VILLAS

THE HISTORICIST PUBLIC BUILDING SYMBOLIZING THE SOCIAL ENGINEERING IDEALS AND AIMS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. [ED.]

Constructed using wood and in a specific architectural style, Ottoman city villas represent the residential structure of a certain elite. This type of housing, relinquished in previous centuries, has



made a comeback as social centres, founded in certain neighbourhoods on the initiative of the AKP government, incorporating the neighbourhood *muhtar* [elected head's] office and providing a place where neighbourhood residents meet and their basic needs (nursery, cleaning, washing, language learning, children's education) are catered for.

Tophane, known as a slum area where various poor and ethnic groups (Kurds, Arabs, Roma) live, and incidentally my neighbourhood, is facing a slow process of change. Change began with the transformation of the tiny "ordinary" house in our neighbourhood where the *muhtar* worked into an Ottoman-style wooden house. This took place in the course of a few weeks. The Ottoman-style wooden house, from one moment to the next satisfying the desire for the revival of an unadulterated and hygienic Turkish identity, now shimmers brilliantly in Tophane Park. It is obviously rather difficult for me to understand this situation as a person living in an old style Ottoman-Greek apartment block on a street occupied and taken over by the Romany after the Greeks' desertion of their homes following the pogrom of 6th-7th September 1955. District villas are an example and a tool of spatial legitimisation in the reproduction of the

present state discourse, which leans on conservative neo-liberal strategies and enables the resurrection of an Ottoman-Islamic identity polished with conservative nostalgia (see *Nostalgia*). These new villas, based on some kind of "philanthropy" and produced by construction activities on the neighbourhood scale (see *Neighbourhood*) by the municipality in line with this discourse, aim to "improve the local people's quality of life" according to the internet page of the municipality. These "neighbourhood villas" where social aid, education, health and counselling services are offered to neighbourhood residents free of charge, have been and continue to be erected in the manifestly poor neighbourhoods of Istanbul.

—Pelin Tan

> Neighbourhood, Nostalgia

DOLMUŞ

ORIGINALLY, SHARING THE TRANSPORTATION PROVIDED BY A TAXI BETWEEN A FEW PEOPLE TO LOWER THE PRICE PAID PER PERSON. TODAY, MINIBUSES HAVE COMPLETELY REPLACED TAXIS WORKING AS *DOLMUŞ*. [ED.]



In times when the population of Istanbul was less than today, the *dolmuş* was a mode of transport increasing the capacity for rapid movement for the middle-upper class. Since the 1960s it has been a compromise between inner-city public transport which only called at designated stops and the once difficult-to-find and expensive taxi. They would often serve between two places which weren't served by public transport and weren't too far apart from each other (like Taksim–Teşvikiye or Kadıköy–Moda) or quickly and effectively to traverse the route between destinations which were further apart but involved a troublesome journey. *Dolmuş*, which provided transport from a stop in one neighbourhood to another via a designated route, used to adhere to the principle of dropping off passengers at any desired point en route, like taxis. It is known that old original American cars or their customized versions that had greater passenger capacity remained in use as Istanbul *dolmuş* until the early 1990s. They presented interesting sights for many years especially for tourists in the harbourside squares of Kadıköy and Beşiktaş. Some *dolmuş* routes still exist; though due to municipality incentives in the mid-1990s the old American cars have been replaced with yellow minibuses, and many others have been abandoned after proving inadequate in

the face of the expanding routes of the developing city, while new routes have also been introduced for the same reason.

Another version of the *dolmuş*, which stops and picks up passengers arbitrarily and offers the practicality of a personal car to the user at a reasonable price, is of course the minibus with its higher passenger capacity. However, it is also known that there exists a class difference between the minibus serving the lower classes and the *dolmuş* oriented towards a more refined passenger (and especially women). Mention must also be made of *dolmuş* drivers for they are as unique as the *dolmuş* themselves. Just like ship captains, *dolmuş* drivers are imbued with an authoritarian streak. Some are grumpy, some would enjoy having a chat, while others like to voice their objections to being asked to stop too frequently and for the passengers they carried each would thereby become the protagonist in a drama at times funny and at other times infuriating. *Dolmuş* routes that operated from the 1960s to the 1990s were eliminated by increasing levels of population and traffic in Istanbul and were shadowed by the increasing efficiency of public transport. They changed like the changing people of Istanbul, they turned yel-



low, they assumed the form of minibuses (see *Minibus*), and the older social texture has surrendered its place to a new metropolitan Istanbul transport system. In this sense, *dolmuş* continue to be an indispensable component of the discourse of nostalgia (see *Nostalgia*) in Istanbul.

—Arzu Öztürkmen

> Minibus, Nostalgia

DRESS

EXPRESSION OF DIFFERENT VALUE SYSTEMS IN THE
CONTEXT OF THE BODY'S VISIBILITY. [ED.]

Narratives of the demographic transformation of Istanbul from the 19th century until the 1970s when immigration accelerated feature prominently tales of how people used to dress “mindfully” and in a “Western style” when going out in Beyoğlu. In fact, certain neighbourhoods of Istanbul are today still defined by “dress codes.” Here, the “conservativeness” or “liberalness” of neighbourhoods is read more from female dress. In Fatih, recognized as a more conservative

neighbourhood, is known for its covered women, wearing sleeveless clothes with thin straps might provoke a social reaction. By contrast, in Nişantaşı and Moda, a more liberal dress sense is considered normal and creates no tension. In various centres of the city like Beşiktaş, Taksim and Kadıköy, contrasting dress senses exist together in great variety.

The jeans and t-shirt combination arriving on Istanbul markets from the 1970s on in a sense democratized class differences in senses of dress which previously betrayed themselves at first glance. Now, one needed a lot more than “dress” to analyse sociologically the young population not wearing coats, be they female or male, low or high income. Another important dimension of dress sense and living in Istanbul is the neighbourhood markets (see *Street Market*) where “export surplus goods” easily reach the consumer. Istanbul, the most important market for the growing textiles industry of Turkey, hosts places like the Perşembe Pazarı [Thursday Market] in Ulus, Salı Pazarı [Tuesday Market] in Kadıköy and the Cumartesi Pazarı [Saturday Market] in Beşiktaş where all kinds of quality clothes can be bought cheaply and enable the middle class to get some satisfaction from shopping for clothes. Nightclubs



are, no doubt, another very important platform for the exhibition of Western and branded clothing. Here the freedom to dress is experienced at its limits, and in fact can create fashion trends by making the rating charts in celebrity news programs. Looking at the picture neighbourhood market consumption provides, it can be deduced that men are dressed by women in Istanbul, as they probably are in many other cities. In this great metropolis where social mobility is rapidly developing, dress is also the most basic tool of social climbing. This is one of the explanations of how lower classes can sometimes spend their entire savings at an expensive shopping centre, even risking getting into debt to buy clothes. Knowledge of what to wear, where and when is determined entirely by a system of values structured within oral culture. Surely the most direct reflection of the rapidly changing value system in Istanbul is thus via dress codes.

—Arzu Öztürkmen

> Street Market

EARTHQUAKE

POSSIBLE EVENT THAT HAS BEEN A REALITY OF NATURE SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY BUT HAS GRADUALLY BECOME THE OCCASION OF MORE PARANOIA AND HYSTERIA. [ED.]

Istanbul is situated precisely above the North Anatolian Fault (NAF), one of the fastest moving and most active fault lines in the world. The NAF extends across the entire Northern Anatolian region from Bingöl–Karlöva in the east and the Mudurnu valley in the west passing under the Marmara Sea, south of the historic peninsula and the Princes' Islands to continue westward on towards the Aegean Sea. The part of the fault to the south of the Princes' Islands which suffered a rupture as far as Gölcük in the 1999 Marmara earthquakes last caused an earthquake in the city in 1766, and is expected, with a possibility of around 62%, to give within the next 30 years, creating a violent earthquake.

The North American San Andreas fault, which shows similarities to NAF in terms of age and structure and produces earthquakes of similar size and at similar intervals, suggests a parallel between San Francisco and Istanbul. How-



ever, more than half of Istanbul's housing stock is partially or completely illegal and a significant portion of it is vulnerable to damage because of its structural status but also as a focal point for speculative investment, consequently Istanbul is in far greater danger.

Although the 1999 Marmara Earthquakes failed to create a breaking point in the earthquake agenda of Istanbul, they did engender some changes. The majority of work regarding earthquakes and research on the anticipated Istanbul earthquake has presented a scale of risk which decreases roughly from the south towards the north of the city. In addition to other factors, data regarding the earthquake reinforced a dangerous post-1999 deployment of especially upper and upper-middle income residential areas towards the northern regions of the city where drinking water basins and forest areas are located.

The earthquake, which doesn't occupy much space in our lives apart from the luxury housing ads in the real estate pages of Sunday newspapers, has thus become one of the most fundamental marketing tools of gated housing estates (see *Gated Housing Estate*) in Istanbul. These resi-

dences, earthquake certified and which are said to survive higher magnitudes than that of the anticipated quake, wait for their new residents with their promise of prestigious, secure and modern lives. The rest of us have long given up on even occasional checking of our earthquake kits. The earthquake is no longer even as important to us as the Cup Final...

The slippage, liquidation and swallowing of those above the ground beneath our feet, which we are convinced is solid and immovable, will take place within our life times, sometime between now and 30 years later, at a possibility ranging between 62(+/-15)%.

The forecasted earthquake will be the day when the capacity to cope with the accumulated population of Istanbul, defined as one of the peerless visitor attractions of the last 60 years, is tested.

—Evren Uzer

> Gated Housing Estate



ELECTRICITY

A FORM OF ENERGY STILL NOT SUFFICIENTLY
AVAILABLE IN ISTANBUL. [ED.]

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, Istanbul was the only city among Europe's leading capitals which did not systematically generate its own electricity. The decision to bring electricity to Istanbul was taken as late as 1908 during the period of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. In Spring 1910, an international tender was announced for the construction of the necessary facilities to provide electricity to Istanbul. Eight firms tendered bids, the winners being the Belgian Ganz Company.

As there weren't sufficient rivers in the city to build a hydroelectric power plant, the decision was taken to build a thermal power station. The Silahtarğa Power Station, the construction of which started in 1911 at the mouth of Kağıthane and Alibeyköy rivers on an area of 118,000 m² and which began to provide electricity to Istanbul in 1914, was both the first urban-scale power plant in Ottoman State jurisdiction and the first thermal power plant operated by coal. Electricity

generated by this station was first provided to trams on 11th February 1914 and then to private users via three step-down sub-stations located in Beyazıt, Tozkoparan and İstinye on 14th February. Illumination of city streets using electricity did not begin until the 1920s.

The characteristics of the Golden Horn were the determining factors in the selection of the location of the power plant. Its advantages, including the fact that it is a sheltered harbour with still, wide and deep waters and that it opens up to the straits beyond, made the Golden Horn a preferred zone of industrial production starting from the end of the 19th century. (see *Golden Horn Dockyards*). It was the preferred location for building the Silahtarğa power station as it was easily accessible by sea and overland for the transportation of raw material; it was at a central location – not exactly outside the city nor inside – and thus the network required to deliver electricity to Pera, the old town and other parts of the city wasn't stretched, while water used for cooling and in electricity generation was obtainable from the river, with disposal of ash and clinker also very convenient.



Santral continued its operations extending its capacity, run by the Belgian company until 1937. By the end of the 1930s, the capacity of Silahtarağa Power Station alone was sufficient to provide electricity to the whole of Istanbul. The electrical energy of the city was provided solely by Silahtarağa until 1952; and, from then, it was also used for the distribution of electricity generated by the Çatalağzı Thermal Power Plant to Istanbul. This enterprise, which was transferred over to the Turkish Electrical Authority (TEK) in 1970, partially resuming full operation after this date, was closed down on 18th March 1983 as the plant wore out and difficulties were encountered in obtaining cooling water.

With electricity, horse-drawn trams were replaced by electric ones, local transport speeded up, longer distances could be travelled and thus mobility of locale increased. Transportation between the two sides of Istanbul became integrated and the volume of industrialisation increased. Furthermore, electricity triggered fundamental changes in people's daily lives, as it enabled the use of public areas such as streets and squares at night; new movie theatres and theatres opened up; and with the use of electricity in

dwelling new technologies were brought into the home.

—Gül Köksal

> Golden Horn Dockyards

EMERGENCY ACTION PLAN

PROPOSAL OF A SERIES OF PRECAUTIONS PREPARED TO REDUCE THE DAMAGE CAUSED BY THE BIG ISTANBUL EARTHQUAKE ANTICIPATED WITH PARANOID ANXIETY. [ED.]

The first of two important studies prepared for Istanbul by the Greater Istanbul Municipality is the Istanbul City Disaster Prevention and Reduction Basic Planning Study Including Seismic Micro-Regionalisation Study prepared by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). The JICA report was completed in September 2002. In addition, the Istanbul Earthquake Master Plan, commissioned from ITU, YTU, BU and METU [Istanbul Technical, Yıldız Technical, Boğaziçi and Middle East Technical Universities] by the Greater Istanbul Municipality was put before the public in August 2003.



The JICA study was prepared, for Istanbul and the surrounding area, in order to: 1) integrate and develop seismic micro-regionalisation work within the scope of disaster prevention and reduction planning; 2) propose a general disaster prevention and reduction programme for the city concerning any damage or danger that may befall buildings or infrastructure; 3) bring forward proposals for disaster prevention for issues including land-use planning and earthquake-focused legislation proposals etc.

The JICA study has calculated that an earthquake of the magnitude 7.5 in Istanbul, which has approximately 750,000 buildings, 3,040,000 households and a population of approximately 9,000,000, would result in 50,000–60,000 seriously damaged buildings, 500,000–600,000 families left homeless, 70,000–90,000 deaths, 120,000–130,000 seriously wounded, 400,000 minor injuries, and a financial loss in the region of 50 billion US dollars.

The IDMP study, which was prepared in line with the proposals of the JICA report, brings forward proposals concerning the assessment of current earthquake security measures (see *Earthquake*), the

necessary reinforcement of existing buildings in Istanbul in view of the threat posed by an earthquake and also regarding legal, organisational, technical and financial issues within the framework of economic, social and spatial dimensions as required by a comprehensive transformation.

The plan examines the entire technical, administrative and legal structure regarding earthquakes in order to increase earthquake security measures in Istanbul, while it determines all authorisations, responsibilities, principles and fundamentals regarding this issue and related regional and national strategies.

IDMP proposes the preparation of an action plan for the determination and obviation of earthquake risks in Istanbul within the framework of a programme beginning with priority being given to highest risk areas.

The JICA study proposes the formation of local eviction zones to minimize loss of life and reduce damage. The insufficiency of existing parks and open spaces necessitates priority decision-making regarding the obtainability of these spaces.



The first condition of reinforcing Istanbul in the short term against the risk of earthquake is the development of strategy and implementation models regarding the clearance and reconstruction of high-risk buildings and the preparation of the Emergency Action Plan (ACEP) for the provision of public security.

ACEP, which aims to minimize possible earthquake risk in Istanbul, is a planning approach outlining short-term precautions as well as criteria for the clearing of high-risk buildings, the opening of corridors for clearance and the creation of spaces of assembly. Its goals may be listed: clearing and demolishing high-risk buildings; offering permanent or temporary proposals to residents of demolished buildings; opening corridors for clearance; creating spaces of assembly; preparing temporary settlement areas; reinforcing important public buildings; removing sites which stock flammable-combustible materials; and forming emergency help points.

—Faruk Göksu

> Earthquake

EROTICISM

ONE OF THE CITY'S FORMS OF EXISTENCE.

In languages where names are gendered and in the world of concepts and imagination, the city is feminine. History, itself a masculine form of writing, perceives “place” and “place-ment”, like language and culture, as the other: a space homogeneous with the opposite sex, a geography one treads upon and passes through, to be conquered, to be invaded, which surrenders, which is made to reproduce itself by intervention, by establishing sovereignty, through planning... The reproduction of space entails ploughing the soil and spreading seeds. The city is productive and fertile; in addition to its sites of nobility, centres and neighbourhoods of splendour, monuments and palaces, stories and legends, it also gives birth to bastards and crippled children. Archetypes reaching back into the depths of history and a memory connected to them continuing to be the spine of this fecund body, stories of birth, life and death wander together in the labyrinths of space, the symbolism of architecture and the ambiguous and mimetic world of language providing its geography.



The body metaphor has multiple meanings for Istanbul. The Bosphorus divides the main body of the city in two, the waters of the deep tectonic rift flowing between two continents. Meanwhile, the Golden Horn, a more docile recess, has come to separate out various characters, cultures and life styles of the European part of the city. And these divided sectors are always trying to get back together, by means of rafts, rowboats, *peremes* (gondola-like boats), ferries, bridges and tunnels. Further, alien organs that do not belong to the city constantly travel the waterways: the long unin-vited body of a huge oil tanker or battleship splits the waters of the Bosphorus as it passes.

To refer to the metaphor of the body to talk about Istanbul's eroticism would be to seek an escapist anthropomorphic connotation also valid for other cities of water, however strong that connotation might be for Istanbul. However, the division by water, then by valleys, then other fragmentations caused by the difference in lifestyles and the differences in memory, depth, forms and symbols provides a multitude of data which multiplies the ambiguity of the city and the discontinuous and tense relations of its fragments... Such discontinuity threads its way from Kemberburgaz to the Princes' Islands.

As with Venice, New York and other port cities seen from afar, approaching from the sea, the silhouette is the most impressive aspect, though in Istanbul the perspectives offered by geography and architecture are diverse (see *Silhouette*). This silhouette has always been a source of dreamlike fictions for people arriving in the city by sea, with train stations added to this from the last quarter of the 19th century on: meadows, outlying districts, the corridor of old suburbs provide striking views that open onto two different silhouettes on either side of the city. In a manner again similar to Venice, but even more clearly, the train station doesn't lead onto the street or the square but onto the city beyond the water, its apparently timeless silhouette spreading out before you. Such an illusion, however, will evaporate in the first street one steps into. The supra-temporal existence of the silhouette is fed by topography and monuments, but this image has, since the invention of photography, also become variable. The fog, the *lodos* [the regional south-westerly wind] with its blizzards and the changing light reflecting on the sea differently at different hours alter the perception of the silhouette – lens and photograph reflecting the desired illusion rather than an objective slice of life, just like the Orientalist



views depicted in earlier engravings printed on pale vellum.

The representation is not the city or the silhouette itself, but that which is desired to be seen and shown, as with all representation. The Western voyager and the Levantine look at the same view through the lens of exoticism and Orientalism, and sees, thinks they see the mysteries of the East, its heat, its scarlet hues, its seduction and passion; whereas the Muslim Turk of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, looking from the districts south of the Golden Horn towards the north, towards Pera, developed Occidentalist fantasies driven by a different sensuality and the search for a modernity which legitimises it. The structure is symmetrical and always fictitious.

But the city stimulates the imagination, in verbal as much as iconic representation... The literary corpus of Istanbul contains images, dilemmas, cul-de-sacs, labyrinths of discourse and further, mysterious touches: Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Sait Faik, Asaf Halef Çelebi, Ece Ayhan, Latife Tekin and Orhan Pamuk wander in different Istanbuls, all picking up different vibrations. The surreal and modern

oriental dream Alain Robbe-Grillet presents in *L'immortelle* is different from Loti's. Istanbul, in recent times, is the stimulator and multiplier of these too.

And this city lives at night too. Its bridges connecting the two continents are jammed even in the dark hours of the morning. The city offers up possibilities of prolonging plans, scheduled appointments that might end up at a different address, down some street never before discovered, beyond dim lights yet in its own urban colours, and such possibilities continue to multiply thus in recent times. The city has a beyond; the border between the known and the beyond gradually becomes indistinct and spreads throughout the geography the city occupies. Curiosity is legitimate in this city; distinct locales in which to find what is being sought are always waiting somewhere. Daytime hours, but especially night hours present places and experiences open to the curiosity of urbanites and urban wanderers... What lies beyond the known, that which has not yet been experienced.

A city where discrepancies are experienced together, Istanbul is formed of spreading zones



that sometimes mingle and sometimes separate; urban historians claiming that this was the case in the pre-modern period too. This plural existence has continued since the second half of the 19th century despite all efforts at modernist unification. The metropolis of the 20th century, in accordance with its status, has been a space of ruptures and differentiations. The specificity of Istanbul when compared to other western metropolises is not these ruptures, but the indefiniteness of borders and forms of interpenetration of different zones. Istanbul is the city of the ambiguous and the obscure; nothing ends or begins in the full sense here. Even definite borders such as the city walls or the coast sometimes lose their absolute nature: the landfill areas of Eminönü, Karaköy and Kadıköy are areas where geographical and archaeological definitions have dissolved and become cloudy in modern times and are constantly open to change and shifts in image. The historical peninsula follows a flickering route, nebulous continuation of ancient Roman traces, over the Galata Bridge, hesitantly climbing a Genovese slope to skip on to Beyoğlu, heading off, from the end of the 19th century on, to Şişli and then to Maslak. Even this axis that bears the most distinctive economic and spatial changes of the city is a

meeting of disconnections, discontinuities and variations. There is no single direction, no single measure, single spatial or architectural scale and order. What seems familiar and defined carries the other, the unknown and a different state of belonging in its immediate wake, units along this axis undefined with unplanned gaps allowing for differences.

Whereas the East-West axis stretching out towards Asia is formed of a parallel structure of railway and sections of motorway, bridges and a few wide avenues, different life styles and usages, different architectural zones exist without entering into contact in parallel sectors inwards from the coast, though sometimes, they unexpectedly intersect at points where changes reach high velocity: districts like İkitelli, Maslak and Kavacık are spaces of finance where multi-storey structures host the decision making, transfer and mechanisms of association of global capital, but labyrinths of disorder, illegal building development and marginality also preserve their existence around these spaces of splendour. You may gravitate towards either when you emerge from a metro station exit which opens up onto an undefined vacuum, it's your choice. Many things may

blur just when you think they have clarified. Such uncertainty can be startling, but it also presents possibilities, it opens up onto discovery and adventure for those who are curious and seek what is different.

Changes since the mid-19th century have created new flows; usages open to differentiation and new areas of uncertainty within the city. These are sometimes areas that are used very intensively but preserve their undefined and ambiguous nature: Taksim, Karaköy and Aksaray squares, for example. Sometimes they are where new potential for utilisation is identified and they are transformed into arena of urban struggle, endless debate, sanctification and damnation, hollow promises and hollow slogans: ports, old industrial areas or slums. The constant change in the social topography of the city forms maps of uncertain ownership and use even in the most central areas. Uncertainty is a weakness of order and inspection for some and a chance to wrest living space for others.

The organisation the city hasn't been off the agenda of 19th century modernisation, 20th century planning or of today's prevailing urban

discourse. And it is never completely achieved. The effort to create an accessible and controllable city which began in the 19th century with fire regulations and with attempts to extend roads and give the city a geometrical order never managed to transform the Ottoman capital into a Paris or Barcelona, and what remains of the Menderes expropriation of the 50s is a few short boulevards and the memory of a few demolished monuments. Coastal infill produced by the urban hygiene operations of the 80s have still not achieved an aesthetic or practical consistency and Tarlabası Boulevard, first laid out in plans of the 1800s, twenty years later and ever since has failed to conform to this vision. No project is ever completed in this city, and Tarlabası Boulevard and Beyazıt Square are not the only examples. The small Galata Tunnel is one of the first undergrounds in Europe, but a large portion of the city's underground network remains incomplete even into the 2000s. The most modern and fashionable city in the country resists the rationales of modernity, to a certain extent as a consequence of the inertia of poverty. Engineering proposals of hygiene, order and positivism never manage completely to dominate the metropolis. In this context, elitist urban discourse which repeats the



same positivist themes and, sometimes, nostalgic refrains is also the discourse of an unconfessed impotence. The organizing intellect which wants to rule the city experiences the drama of its impotence with every new experience, as in Fellini's *Casanova*. The city resists, dissolves, clouds. The power of its waters nourishes its complexity; its walls may be broken, but an aspect of the city itself remains unconquered, protecting its ruins, its monuments surrounded with poverty, where every numberless thing that lives is the work not of total and perfect design but of slight movements, through which the city lives.

The power of Istanbul lies precisely at this conflicting intersection, in these interfaces where globalism touches marginality and capitalist mechanisms come into contact with poverty. Jostling identities try to find space, legitimacy and a future in this chaotic existence. The bazaar, the market place, the passage, the store and the mall (see *Shopping Centre*) are experienced simultaneously. Istanbul is the space and text of multiple lives and multiple readings, from which it gets its force of gravity and its attraction. It resists aesthetics and aestheticisation, its charm is interwoven with slovenliness, clumsiness and even

ugliness. This gives it a potential to delay, and therefore a future, excitement and hope. Istanbul is ready for the unexpected, for experimentation; that is why the city attracts the masses. It has been a “polis” since Byzantium, some of its one-time residents continue to speak of it thus: Istanbul is the polis, “City”, therefore Medina, but a Medina of uncertain civilisation. In this dilemma between Eros and Civilisation, the city has always taken sides with Eros and won't surrender to masculine reason. That is exactly what makes it attractive and worth living in.

Temples were erected in Apollo's honour during the early years of the foundation of the city, but it still maintains its loyalty to Dionysus. Its eroticism is nurtured not by a readable, reasonable and orderly beauty but by such careless, ambiguous, equivocal and provocative murmurings.

—Atilla Yücel

> Shopping Centre, Silhouette



ETHNICITY

A SOCIAL ACTUALITY ISTANBUL IS TRYING TO LEARN TO DISCUSS WITH NEW TERMS AS IT EVOLVES FROM BEING A TRADITIONAL EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN COSMOPOLITAN CITY TO THE PLURALITY OF A MODERN METROPOLIS. [ED.]

Ethnicity denominates a social group whose members identify with each other based on a perceived common ancestry or genealogy (see *Minority*). Members of an ethnic group often share a common language or an awareness of a linguistic heritage. Istanbul has many ethnic groups and language communities, old and new. A non-exhaustive selection of such groups in strictly alphabetical order: Abkhaz, Albanians, Arabs, Armenians, Bosniaks, Bulgarians, Circassians, Georgians, Greeks, Kurds, Laz, Pomaks, Roma, Tatars, Turks.

Very little is known about the population numbers of most groups, as the Institute of Statistics does not disclose data regarding ethnic affiliation. It goes without saying that Turks are the largest ethnic group, especially since there is an overlap of Turkish ethnicity and the Turkish nation, and all other ethnic groups are obscured.

The second largest ethnic group, at least since the massive waves of economic migrants and internally displaced people in the 1990s, consists of Kurds. The smallest group is that of the Istanbul Greeks, or *Rum* (from *Romioi*, Romans) as they are referred to in Turkey. They have shrunk from well over 200,000 in the early years of the Republic in the 1920s to less than 3,000 today. Armenians are the largest non-Muslim community, with around 70,000 members. The owners of CD shops on and around İstiklal Caddesi, who like to share their musical tastes with that of the passers-by, now and then play music by Djivan Gasparyan or the Istanbul-Armenian folk group *Knar*. Otherwise, Armenian is not very audible in Istanbul. Too many waves of “Citizen, speak Turkish” campaigns throughout the republican years, rising anti-Armenian sentiment and the 2007 murder of Hrant Dink have left their mark.

Ethnic identification and memory have been very much discouraged throughout the republican years – with the exception of “Turkishness” – yet even so, members of an ethnic group are generally aware of their heritage. Many are now rediscovering the wealth of folkloric traditions and historical memory, which their parents were advised to



un-remember. Even if few of the young speak the languages of their forefathers and mothers, these languages are not at all dead: Bosnian *Sevdalinka* are heard on private radio stations, Kurdish is now “out and loud” in all but the most upmarket districts of town (when heard there, it sounds almost like Istanbul Turkish). *Lazuri*, the eastern Black Sea’s distant cousin of Georgian, has come back to life in folk songs, rock ballads and in Horon folk dances, buzzing with energy at festivals, weddings or political events all over the city.

After decades of state-administered ethno-linguistic monochrome, many Istanbulites are re-negotiating their ethnic and linguistic identities within the public sphere. In the near future, some ethno-linguistic groups will be more visible and their languages will become louder and more proudly expressed, and Kurdish is surely one of them. Other groups will have to struggle for survival and might lose their voice in the hubbub of Istanbul. The latter, however, is unlikely to ebb away soon.

—Kerem Öktem

> **Minority**

EXPROPRIATION

EXPROPRIATION IS THE EQUIVALENT IN LEGAL TERMINOLOGY OF THE INTENSE CLEAN-UP OPERATIONS APPLIED TO ISTANBUL’S URBAN TEXTURE IN THE 1950S AND 1980S.

The common element of urban planning initiatives during these periods was the erasure and sweeping away of layers of Istanbul’s identity. Expropriation is back on the agenda today with the regional administration’s activities to clean up (see *Cleansing*) Romany neighbourhoods in the name of urban beautification (see *Beautification*).

The concept of expropriation in this city, which has been constantly reshaped and redefined by immigration for 2700 years, can also be considered with a view to the urban culture of regional administrators, who are mostly of immigrant origin, and their perception of urban heritage. Expropriation in Istanbul can also be described as the effort of a group of administrators, failing to perceive the wealth of the urban layers of a multilingual and multifaceted Istanbul, who carelessly and recklessly seek to bring the city into line and trample it underfoot to



the sound of the slogans of beautification and modernisation.

—İpek Yada Akpınar

> Beautification, Cleansing

FATİH SULTAN MEHMET

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MEHMED II FOR ISTANBUL AND TURKEY IS PARALLEL TO THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WILLIAM CONQUEROR FOR ENGLISH HISTORY. THE ONLY DIFFERENCE IS THAT MEHMED II CONTINUES TO LIVE ON. [ED.]

The average Istanbulite, whichever part of the city and under whatever conditions they may live, now and then feels indebted and grateful to the genius and courage of someone who in a semi-mythological, distant past achieved incredible things. These “now and thens” are those moments when they find themselves facing, rarely in a planned way, often by chance, the “historical” view of Istanbul (see *Panorama, Silhouette, View*). The view, consisting of the sea, the ferries and the palace – and, depending on the generosity of chance, sometimes with the Maiden’s Tower

in it too – looks so “timeless,” and so redeemed from the sentence of architectural and geographical fates of decay, collapse or abandonment and so proudly emanates the sense of having been seen always and by everyone in the same way, the Istanbulite (see *Istanbulite*) encountering it now and then feels as if all their troubles about belonging to the city have, for that moment, evaporated. For to feel that one is seeing something the way everyone has always seen it is like seeing it at the same moment with everyone, or like watching the same film together in a darkened hall — loneliness or unhappiness sets in only after one leaves the cinema.

Before loneliness and unhappiness set in, while the view still extends before her or him, the Istanbulite knows to whom they owe the rapturous feeling of belonging. The seventh Ottoman sultan according to the majority of Ottoman historians, and the tenth according to a few who include a few *şehzades* [princes] who managed to take hold of power for short periods, Mehmed the Conqueror was nineteen when he succeeded to the throne, and although he had matured early and was very talented – in painting, music, language, etc. – in view of the task he attempted was still something



of “a little child.” This bit of information, mixing a certain wonder with the gratefulness the Istanbulite taking in the view feels, adds not only an element of innocence to the past, the roots, or the “moment of birth” of the city, but also becomes the occasion to draw a moral about “success” and “happiness” regarding the present: “If you go after your dreams with courage you too will one day surely attain success.”

Aren’t what Mehmed the Conqueror went after, and the things he did in the course of it, slightly “overblown” dreams that we have always been warned against? Attempting to conquer a city famous for being unconquerable is one thing, but what must we make of the decision, on seeing the entrance of the Golden Horn blocked with shipwrecks and a boom threaded under them, to roll his ships overland? The Istanbulite, not knowing the exact route by which the ships were moved, scans the view for possible ship-rolling routes, then suddenly thinks, and trembles, when they realise that the view was just the same back then when completely different lives were being lived, with long surpassed technology and a long forgotten language, and would continue, long after their life has ended. Almost caught up in

feelings of transience, mortality, worthlessness and the meaninglessness of life, for a moment they sense the utmost clarity of comprehension of things like “time” and “history”; only to think that likely not much will be as long lasting as this, but that being part of this wider thing... well perhaps, that is to say, imagining that the opportunity to look at this view, the view itself, has been given as a gift such that gratefully to claim it in memory of those who generously presented it, may be the cure for the dismay that now sweeps them away.

Wanting to be able to see themselves as a meaningful and acceptable outcome, they strive to uncover the centuries-old, and therefore rather murky cause, and to imagine him a bit more hale and hearty. However, as evening falls and the time to return home approaches, the view is rapidly withdrawn from view, and realising that the child sultan can’t be pictured apart from one or two remembered portraits, a tiredness, an exhaustion sets in. They begins to feel that they will never be as smart, courageous and imaginative as Mehmed the Conqueror. “Didn’t have the means, circumstances weren’t favourable,” they think. The stagnancy and the rather useless beauty of the view angers them. Or they don’t. They make



them say, “Whatever,” it feels like they’ll handle it, until the next encounter. Since it doesn’t belong to anyone, the view belongs to everyone, that is to say, although not like a watch, clothes, television or armchairs, in some sense, it belongs to them. They makes this out from the fact that they occasionally remember the view, miss it and want to see it, but yet not without reservation. “Alright, the kid was sharp,” they think, “but rolling ships over land... what do I know.”

—Emre Ayvaz

> **Istanbulite, Panorama, Silhouette, View**

FILLED GROUND

BEFORE GROWING VERTICALLY FOR TWO CENTURIES
ISTANBUL GREW HORIZONTALLY, TOWARDS THE SEA
(AS IT NO DOUBT STILL DOES). [ED.]

The closed harbours of classical Antiquity, sea-walls, the city wall-front, the dunghill and waste dump ports, the Langa Gardens, Dolmabahçe and Çırağan Palaces, Sirkeci, Salıpazarı and Haydarpaşa piers, the Golden Horn and Marmara

park roads... filled ground is the definition of temporal-spatial transformation in coastal cities; a physical expression of the interface between the city and the sea. The border of the sea-town can be structured either in harmony or in conflict with natural shore formations. Coastal filled areas that emerge through natural processes, geological and hydrological formations, might be mentioned first. In a second sense, filled ground is a structural tool used to transform and shape natural shore lines at the sea-city border and to obtain space at a restrictive threshold; all filled grounds like piers, breakwaters, fortifications, shore roads, new settlements and artificial islands may be included under this heading. Thirdly, related to the first and in contrast to the second, the shoreline designed by human hand may be transformed by the filling caused by natural or human waste; in this case, filled ground is a threat to the sustainability of the sea-city relationship. The transformation of the shore into land is always an act against the displacement of the sea; the displacement factor is definitive in the formation and delimitation of filled ground.

As a port-city, the criterion of urban transformation along the shores of Istanbul is the amount



of filled ground; here, since Antiquity, the shore has been shaped in strata by natural formations, archaeological remains and historical and recent buildings. The borders of the stratification are not on the same level for each seafront of the city; differentiations depend on sea depth, currents and the quality of infill as much as the historical density and continuity of the settlement and the area where the sea-city interface has been structured.

The shore of Byzantium–Constantinople–Istanbul hosts, in addition to many building types established through the history of the port, also the historical development of the phenomenon of filled ground. The characteristic building style on the shores of the city from Antiquity until the Middle Ages was a closed port defined by the closing off of the city walls and natural bays with breakwaters. Thus, harbour basins architecturally define the city-sea threshold and, once the city border has been set, the formation of filled ground again becomes a problem to combat; silting in the stagnant waters of harbour basins has to be cleared. In the Middle Ages, the closed ports left from Antiquity became unmanageable for economic reasons and the harbour basins began to fill up. In recent years, archaeological excava-

tions carried out in Yenikapı as a consequence of the Marmaray construction unearthed the infill of the Byzantium port, an incomparable resource concerning the commercial connections and everyday life of the city; ship remains found on site provide a significant source of information for Mediterranean coastal archaeology.

After the Marmara ports began to fill up, the port functions of the city were mostly shifted to the Golden Horn and were configured with piers in old closed ports and filled areas in front of the city walls. The corroding effect of currents in the Golden Horn restricted the volume of infill. Port functions spread along the shore lengthways in relation to the gates, with structures in front of the city walls. From the 13th century on, on the other side of the port, a similar city wall and city wall-front pier typology developed in Galata, defining a separate area of settlement. This coastal form inherited by the Ottomans in the 15th century was developed over four centuries. The increase of coastal infill at this stage was related not only to architectural development but also to the disposal of urban waste into the sea; rubbish, sewage, debris from fires and earthquakes were piled up on the shore to make space. In these incremen-

tal expansions, the shoreline was either left as it was or supported by wooden stakes. Intense development took place on filled ground and such structures were repeatedly rebuilt after frequent fires. More infill took place in front of doorways due to the density of urban flow and waste and, consequently, such sites can be distinguished as squares with small promontories. Throughout this process, the volume of coastal filling on city wall-fronts is limited despite high flow density on the city-sea interface. Outside the city, in the building development of the classical Ottoman age along the Bosphorus, the definition of infill areas by waterside mansions and palaces built on wooden stakes with a very narrow seafront threshold is unique to Istanbul. Beyond urban infrastructural functionality, infill for this type of development was also related to the use of the shore as an area of recreation.

The increase of export trade in the Ottoman Empire following 19th century reforms placed the transformation of the ports of the city according to international standards on the agenda. Especially after the Crimean War, the restructuring of ports was stipulated as an obligation at the Paris Congress.

Projects outlined included the demolition of sea walls, the construction of modern port areas with stone embankments and the inauguration of railways and coastal avenues entailing the formation of new infill ground. Although the transformation of the entire port area was considered, the construction of modern embankments in the late Ottoman Empire was restricted to the area stretching from the Bosphorus to the Galata Bridge. Here, the corrosive power of currents slowed down construction and increased costs; during the construction of the Sirkeci embankment the coast fortification collapsed and had to be reconstructed. In other areas of the port, the coastal line continued to be shaped according to existent buildings. Outside the Golden Horn, the train station and port construction at Haydarpaşa required infill areas too. In addition to these infill areas reserved for urban services, Tophane Barracks and Dolmabahçe and Çırağan Palaces on the Bosphorus were constructed on embankments; these and similar buildings helped provide a linearity along the Bosphorus coast akin to European cities.

In the Republican period, especially after the 1950s, infill as a tool of modern planning once



more transformed the sea-city line with the construction of shore roads. Roads constructed in front of the Marmara sea walls are a striking example; embankment roads were also constructed at certain intervals along the Bosphorus. Infill parks and roads began to form a generic image of urban coasts after the 1980s. The Marmara coast of the Istanbul metropolis is united almost entirely by means of infill. This is the inevitable result of a planning mentality where the use of the sea for urban transport is limited. The move of port functions away from the Golden Horn led to the partial reformation of the historical shoreline here with the debris of demolished buildings. Coastal park roads open the sea-city interface to circulation and recreation functions, but at the same time interrupt the relationship of old buildings with the sea.

Today, a high percentage of the open spaces in the city are coastal infills. In addition to the formation of coastal zones, on the new peripheries of the metropolis an increase in building development on naturally infilled ground related to real estate speculation can be observed. This increase is dangerous when taken in the context of Istanbul's seismic risk. A portion of the debris

from buildings on infill ground liquefied in the 1999 earthquake spilled into the sea. Infill ground is marked with red on seismic maps.

In Istanbul, in addition to forming a functional threshold between the city and the sea, infill was used, especially after the Ottoman period, for individual or public recreation. However, here infill has been applied as a thickening, a lining for the existing shoreline; in a sense, the ground-form relationship between land and sea has been structured in narrow and thick layers. Today, there are fantasies of infill beyond this historical form of building between natural and human development, the most striking examples of which are the infill zones in the Persian Gulf referencing the shape of a palm, or the world map, where a different ground-form relationship between land and sea is being constructed.

—Namık Erkal



FIRE

FIRE IS AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS IN CHANGES IN URBAN TEXTURE. IN THE CONTEXT OF ISTANBUL, IT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON FOR THE TRANSITION FROM WOODEN HOUSES LINING “WINDING AND TWISTING” STREETS TO AN URBAN TEXTURE PLANNED ON A “EUROPEAN” LAYOUT.

The scores of fires throughout Istanbul’s history paved the way for the municipality, newly founded in the second half of the 19th century, with work under the heading of city planning among its duties, to transform a disaster in the city into an opportunity to plan. In this context, the aim to provide fire safety was underlined and targets were defined, namely the expansion of roads and the replacement of the established wooden residence tradition with stone buildings.

The many fires in the city during this time and especially those which caused the destruction of larger areas created the period’s “renewal areas” and a new urban texture planned with a sense of western organisation was created there. The 1856 Aksaray fire paved the way for the first case of this type of practice. The mapping and urban scale planning work in the aftermath of the fire became a turn-

ing point in terms of the urban transformation of Istanbul. The 1865 Hocapaşa fire that followed the Aksaray fire, apart from being the greatest fire in Istanbul’s history, also became the reason for urban planning work which went on for years. In addition to the widening and reorganisation of streets and regulations supporting the use of stone materials in new buildings, the removal of buildings from areas around monuments to create a city in the western sense brought forward the idea of the protection of historical monuments – even though this wasn’t yet systematic – as the monuments began to stand out in the city. Still, as seen especially in the example of Divanyolu [The Street of the Council], monuments along axes planned as main roads, earmarked for widening, caused problems for the undertaking. Even so, a section of the Çemberlitaş Hamam was demolished in order to make way for the reorganisation of the square surrounding the Konstantinos Column. An important area outside the historical peninsula shaped by fires was Pera, the Europe of 19th century Istanbul. When the fire of 1870 destroyed the entire area from Taksim to Galatasaray, a plan was commissioned but when the requirement of huge investments for the plan was combined with the opposition of the people, a reorganisation of main arteries had to suffice.



Apart from all the damage they caused, the fires of the second half of the 19th century paved the way for the development of fire insurance as a new business especially after the 1880s. Due to difficulties in the provision of infrastructure and urban services, presented as the reflection of modernisation in urban area, fires continued to constitute a threat to the city until the first quarter of the 20th century. Nonetheless, from today's perspective, the maps prepared by insurance companies against the threat of fires during that period, have now become extremely important sources including a vast amount of data about the city in the 19th century. Could this be the relativity of damage?

—Yıldız Salman

FISH

NOT A SOURCE OF FOOD BUT A RESIDENT OF THE CITY.
[ED.]

Cultural inheritance has always shaped the transformation of the cuisines of both countries and regions. In view both of its geographical lo-

cation and social diversity, Istanbul cuisine was nurtured throughout history by the various civilisations the city hosted and formed its own cosmopolitan identity.

Every culture, from ethnic groups to big empires, has left its trace in this mosaic; and this process of enrichment reached its peak with the increase in number of immigrants after the conquest of the city. Although the pace did drop in later periods, the process still preserves its variety and continues to evolve.

Since the city is surrounded by the sea in all directions, fish has always held an important place in Istanbul cuisine. From cold starter dishes referred to as the “ordövr tabağı” [hors d’oeuvre platter], which we inherited from Byzantine cuisine, to main courses using a variety of cooking methods, fish became included in all meals of the day regardless of religious, economic class or cultural differences.

The pickled or brined fish dishes Byzantine monastery priests preferred to eat with bread and wine are today served as *meze* or starters. As an example, the ingredients needed to prepare sea



bass – available all year round– using this method are sea bass fillet, sea salt, black pepper, olive oil and lemon juice. To prepare, thinly slice the fish you purchased from your fishmonger lengthwise into fillets with a very sharp knife. After separately placing the slices on a glass dish, sprinkle plenty of sea salt on them. After adding enough olive oil to cover the fish you have laid out on the dish, add lemon juice and pepper and gently shake the dish to make sure the sauce is equally distributed. The dish will be ready to serve after it has been kept in the fridge for at least 2 hours.

Although *yahnisi* [stews] in Ottoman Cuisine make us immediately think of lamb or mutton, fish stews and chicken stews are also an important part of the cuisine. You can prepare *Papaz Yahnisi* [Priest's Stew], one of the most popular, with either *lüfer* [bluefish] or *palamut* [bonito]: the ingredients include approximately half a kilogram of cleaned, skinned and filleted fish, onions, parsley, salt, pepper, tomatoes and olive oil. Peel the onions and tomatoes, slice them in rings, and chop the parsley. Lay the fish, onion rings and the tomatoes in the casserole in that order and add salt and freshly ground pepper. Pour equal amounts of olive oil and vinegar and, after adding enough water to cover

the fish, cook over a low heat for about an hour. Set aside for a while covered with the lid before serving.

Today, as a result of the diversity of this cultural heritage, fish has become one of the most popular dishes for Istanbulites both at home and when they eat out. With the popularisation of healthy eating and the emergence of fusion cuisine, the presentation on the same plate of elements of various culinary traditions using the variety of regional cooking methods, fish is being used in diverse ways and cooked in many ways. Although the wide variety of and easy access to fresh seafood means many people prefer to eat fish either grilled or fried, fish dishes served with sauce which we are familiar with from the world cuisine have also begun to appear at our dinner table. *Fener Kapama* [Stewed Angler Fish] is a dish prepared in this way. To prepare, you will need fillet of angler fish (a sizable one), carrots, courgettes, lemongrass, parsley, saffron, leeks, pepper, salt, cream and fish stock. Chop the carrots and the zucchini in strips and the leek in round discs. Place the fish in the pot, cover entirely with the vegetables and add the fish stock. Bring to the boil, then reduce the heat and add the cream, lemongrass, salt and pepper. Once it thickens a



little, add saffron and stir once. Add the chopped parsley and serve it after draining the sauce.

Much as Istanbul has changed and evolved through the centuries, we may insist that a constant in this evolution has been the importance of the part played by fish in Istanbul cuisine. Whilst many civilisations erased the culture of the past to build their own, fish dishes in Istanbul cuisine managed to survive with very little change.

—Başak Sanaç Tanrıverdi

FISH SANDWICH

THE COMMON NAME GIVEN TO THE GRILLED FISH SANDWICH (USUALLY BONITO OR OCEAN MACKEREL) SOLD FROM BOATS IN BEŞİKTAŞ, SARIYER AND EMİNÖNÜ.

For about 150 years, fish has been grilled on tiny boats anchored along the Bosphorus and in Eminönü, placed between bread, with onion added, and the sandwich is then eaten with relish. A *balık-ekmek* [fish sandwich] eaten here supplies one course for the day. On weekends, especially for families with children, it is a snack as cheap

as any. The half-bread-fish sandwich sold from the boats costs 3 YTL.

In 2003, the Preservation Board took the decision to remove the *balık-ekmek* boats, who although they had no permit were still tax payers who paid a buoy or harbour tax to borough municipalities, for damaging the historical texture and natural structure of the Bosphorus, causing visual pollution. The *balık-ekmek* boats were removed and thus the historical texture was protected. In fact, it was claimed, this texture was renewed. In the name of protecting the historical peninsula with a site protection decree, the inhabitants of the city, and especially the poorer sections who come to the centres of the city on weekends, were deprived of a delicacy which was an important part of Istanbul city culture, organically articulated with its urban texture and could be taken to be part of its cultural heritage. The image of the Galata Bridge, which cannot be imagined without *balık-ekmek*, was also somewhat damaged.

Later, the Greater Istanbul Municipality put out a “boat location” tender and leased two spaces for *balık-ekmek* boats for 55,000 YTL a year; so, in a sense, the *balık-ekmek* sellers have been tied to the



municipality. The old taste of *balık-ekmek* is gone, and the sellers in their faux-Ottoman dresses now offer up a fake image. But it's even more crowded in front of the *balık-ekmek* boats now. The glass of pickle juice that goes with it costs 1.5 YTL.

—Tangör Tan

FLAG

NATIONAL SYMBOL WHICH IN RECENT YEARS HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO A SIGN DEFINING URBAN SPACE. [ED.]

A city that has to accommodate flags. Many of the many different flags that we see in Istanbul just stay in the background of our attention; they are the routine symbolic business of consular national declaration and advertisement. They are available daily: the patriotic statement of “liberty, equality and fraternity” through the French *tricolore*; the imperial and monarchical “God save the Queen” of Great Britain’s Union Jack; or the modern, technocratic blazonry of yellow stars on a blue field of the European Union’s great community fiction. Declaratory symbols-in-bunting,

ensigns, projections of the diverse imagined communities that aim to proclaim their presence in the city: flags.

I don’t like flags. I never could believe in the significance of what they stand for. The flag, to which we may so often be inattentive, and towards whose symbolic presentation we can all too easily be inadvertent, is far from being the innocent and meaningful social device that it declares itself to be. What’s the problem? The problem is with what flags expect from us, from us all, from us in our imagined national totality: that we should subscribe to the higher cause of an imagined collective belonging. All of this flag business is grounded in a dreadful collective fiction: in the totalising illusion of a fundamental kind of collective belonging. The collective “we” may present itself as innocent and idealistic: the waving flags in the hands of little children on a national holiday — flags wave. But the flag also has its infernal Mr. Hyde face. This other countenance leads us into the theatrics of fundamental belonging, which is ultimately and essentially the theatrics of incorporation and possession by the imagined collective.



The Turkish national flag and its insistent communicative functioning in Istanbul: this is surely now an inescapable topic in the city's life, and a vital topic in the context of the city's increasingly necessary metropolitan and cosmopolitan cultural trajectory. These days we are seeing Turkish national flags in their millions, quite literally. Turkish flags, with all their patriotic-rhetorical thrust and force. Everywhere, they impose, insist and dictate. The flag has a renewed sense of urgency, that urgency that flags have always aimed to mobilise in fraught national times. Semiotic alert. Everywhere: high up on roofs, suspended from buildings, outside homes, in shop windows, on car windscreens. Big flags, small flags; state flags and corporate flags; and all the flags displayed by the ordinary citizens of Istanbul too. National flags in the city's space. What to think now of this flag in the rapidly changing metropolitan context of Istanbul?

Last summer, I took part in a conference in the city. It was a conference on the theme of intercultural and inter-faith dialogue. The general sentiment of the participants was clearly that good progress was being made in this direction; that we – those at the conference, at least – were all be-

coming more sensitive to cultural diversity issues. In my talk, I was far more cautious. Things are in reality much more complicated, I suggested (not actually such a controversial observation, I think). To underline my point, I referred to those gigantic flagpoles and flags that have come to be a new feature of the Istanbul skyline. Imperiously erected on carefully chosen sites, in order that they should be visible for miles, they have clearly been conceived as a kind of signalling chain across the city space. A totalising chain. So what, I was reflecting, what is this proliferation of giant-sized flags all about? Of course, you will know this full well. And you must surely be aware of just how far its message is from the ambitions of interculturalism. At that conference, one of my co-panellists was moved by indignation at what I had said. How dare I cast a critical eye at the national flag? Above all, how I dare I, as a *foreigner*, decide to do so? What right did I have? And thus we, both directly and obliquely, came upon the matter of what it is that stands in the way of the possibility for intercultural dialogue.

Writing about the flag isn't straightforward. Here you enter a sensitive cultural zone. It makes you nervous (this is surely a vital capacity of the national project). The flag is a symbol of the na-

tion's pride in itself. The flag stands for all the virtuous qualities that "our" historic imagined community embodies. From out of the deep caverns beneath this prideful emotiveness, however – and this is what really stirs up the nervous feelings – there emerge deeper and far more basic emotions. Fearful and combative emotions. As Cengiz Aktar observes, "A flag is the shortest way to atone the profound lack of confidence we feel against any threat to our existence, to unwind ourselves by repeating many times in various ways that this land is ours" (*Turkish Daily News*, 15 January 2008). "Such profound anxiety is nothing unique to us," he quite rightly adds. But Aktar then also invokes a particular local inflection of these fearful drives, when he refers to the national flag said to be carried in the pocket of the young man who murdered Hrant Dink.

Fear eats the soul. It can eat the soul anywhere. Though it will do so differently in the context of different imagined national dramas. September 6–7, 1955: angry mobs roam the streets of Istanbul, smashing Greek and Armenian shops. Orhan Pamuk recounts this in his *Istanbul* book: "From time to time a group would gather outside our apartment, but it just so happened that my brother

had developed a fancy for the little Turkish flags they'd just begun to sell at Alaaddins's shop, perhaps capitalising on the nationalist sentiment then sweeping the country; he'd hung one in my uncle's Dodge, and that, we think, is why the angry mobs passed without overturning it, and even spared the windows." The truth of the flag: its incarceration within a bloody and vengeful narrative drama.

Blood-painting, 15 January 2008: in the newspaper I read about a group of twenty students at a high school in Kırşehir who were pricking their fingers every day for two months in order to produce enough blood to make a Turkish flag. When achieved the flag was framed and presented as a gift to the head of the Turkish Armed Forces. And copies of it were then distributed as a promotion by *Tercüman* newspaper. The flag is a blood symbol, indeed... for these patriotic students, right through to the ultranationalists of Ergenekon. The brute fact is that an inarticulate blood symbolism can have so much more social potency than social words.

I am someone who is looking to the city space as a way out of all this blood-and-flag business. The city offers, I believe, a better possibility space for

cultural – and by that I, of course, mean intercultural, or cosmopolitan – progression. A way forward, a way beyond national cultural constructions and constrictions. Istanbul: European Capital of Culture for 2010. Istanbul with its proliferating and generative links to urban cultures elsewhere. Maybe this offers us a new cultural horizon, without the diminishing compass of the flag. Olivier Mongin, the editor of the intelligent-spirited French journal *Esprit*, has written about how the city in European history has managed to stand for emancipation from cultural servitudes. The historical nexuses of European cities has represented an alternative cultural space to that of the nation state: “The networked city of yesterday, the city ‘linked’ to other cities, corresponded to an open space, and not to an entity closed in on itself, a fortress city. This is to say that the resources of the city contradicted the possible constitution of a city conceived in the mode of being of a state (centralisation and hierarchy, closure and frontiers).” (*La Condition Urbaine*, 2005, p. 92) The city, according to Mongin’s ideal and elevating conception, is an open city. It is a space open to symbolic circulation, confluence, engagement. The flag stands for the entirely different cultural logic: that of cultural insulation, introversion and protectionism. Is it possible to

reinvent our spaces of culture in the spirit of accommodation?

—Kevin Robins

FLANEURIE

FAR MORE THAN WANDERING AROUND WITH YOUR
HANDS IN YOUR POCKETS.

Flaneurie is a state of existence concerning freedom, pursuit, the meaning of life and being in the modern city with others. It is an intersection where two acts, giving meaning to yourself and being named by others, clash. Flaneurie is unrest-rant, an intellectual lawlessness which distorts the order of the modern, opposed to working and being like everyone else in the name of progress. Flaneurs, voluntary viewers of the modern, those modern urban travelers enjoying the independence of being strangers, make keeping a distance from the flow of modern life and looking at it from the outside their identity.

Flaneurs and the modern city have a reciprocal relationship. Beyond the shared conditions of their birth, flaneurie is an inseparable part of the



modern city, and the city is almost a condition of existence as the home of idlers. Flaneurs, brought into existence by modern cities, are the external symbols of the experience of modernity, wandering urbanites who try to understand the new in a world of constant speed and transience who have made it their job to observe change in a changing life, unflaggingly in pursuit of new elements of attraction. Flaneurs are the epitome of the new gaze that seeks to experience and give meaning to the state of being modern and living in the modern city, rendering the subjective look valuable. They don't just gallivant around without purpose amid the crowds of people in the spaces of display that modern cities have now become; they refuse to submit to the division of labour and specialisation stipulated by rationalisation and opt to remain "spectators" of the modern flow, their purpose being exactly to "gallivant around." Therefore, "spectator" flaneurs possess an eccentric identity, keeping their distance from the crowds whose flow consists of nothing but work and consumption, hurled as they are from one side to the other in order to fulfill the never-ending wishes of the capitalist system. In a world where people not only earn money but free time too, flaneurs are heroic spirits committing a fatal sin. They consciously

violate work-centred arrangements dividing everyday life into the two poles of "work and free time."

Flaneurs emerged as the new urbanites of modernity in the 19th century deadlock of creation and consumption, from a world of crowds. In later periods, especially after the adoption of developing existentialist attitudes, they signify the general meaninglessness of the system, the state of being different and the refusal to what others feel they have to hold onto or attach themselves to, a refusal to conform. And they then become an inseparable part of all societies where the modern regime tries to realize itself.

In line with this, flaneurie begins to create its own field of experience from the Tanzimat [Re-/Organisation] period on, when Ottoman modernisation began to take hold and when the empire entered a great period of change both in its institutions and society. During this process, the arena of the life of the flaneur was again the city, and especially the "modernizing" capital, Istanbul.

The winds of change brought on by modernisation efforts determined urban planning in Istanbul too. Restructuring operations aiming



to change Istanbul began in areas where non-Muslims formed the majority, as in Galata and Pera. As a result of the operations implemented by the Sixth Municipality Office, Pera soon took on a different appearance compared to other parts of the city with different ways of life, understood as “European,” automatically generated by this new appearance, with its modern shops, theatres and European-style entertainment venues. Outside Pera, the first stirrings of the modern city were felt across the Bosphorus, in the Princes’ Islands, Çamlıca and Kadıköy. With the influence of new types of consumption emerging as part of this process, public spaces were reshaped by that “conspicuous consumption” which supplanted traditional humilities. In addition to Taksim and Tepebaşı Parks, the Çamlıca Garden, villages on the Bosphorus and the Princes’ Islands became important spaces of gathering and “showing-off.”

Under the influence of changes experienced under modernisation, both the appearances of the city and urban life change. This rapid process of change creates new possibilities of experience, new types of urban behaviour and new urban types parallel to the qualitative differentiation and qualitative increase of stimuli. The flaneur,

one of these types, slowly emerges and flaneurie, an inseparable part of modern cities and modern urban life, gradually begins its formation. The new Istanbul, with its wide roads, illuminated streets, shops attracting crowds, entertainment venues, passages and parks begins to transform into a city hosting flaneurs, becoming a space in which modern flaneurie may be experienced, stepping out on to the street from the privacy of the home, wandering, walking, watching, being watched and losing oneself in the chaos of the crowd. In the same manner, changes in ways of thinking under the influence of the efforts to modernise and the steps taken towards the organisation of work and free time under the influence of economic policies, clear the way for the delineation of the semantic frame of “flaneurie,” determining the qualities that separate the flaneur from the rest.

In this sense, flaneurs, the new inhabitants of Istanbul under modernisation, take on visibility as new urban wanderers submerging themselves in the possibilities of new experience, the practices of modernisation at first-hand, making the city valuable through “living” it and by losing themselves in the contemplation of modernisation and separating themselves from the practices of



work and progress. Flaneurs, bewildered by the splendour of the changes brought on by modernisation and in pursuit of what appears to be modern, are the new inhabitants of Istanbul who jauntily wander the streets of Pera; flow into the parks and gardens; identifying with strolling and observation and adopting the city as their home, with its restaurants, cafes, entertainment venues and walkways.

However, as time goes by, the new began to lose its attraction and reveal its other face, hidden behind its novelty. Incessant wars, shifting balances, toughening identity politics and social life, the borders of which were constantly being redrawn, affected the relationship with the city too. Although flaneurs were left bruised, especially after the declaration of the Republic, by the image of acceptable citizenship taken over from the second period of the Constitutional Monarchy, they continued their existence despite the demanding processes of identity construction with the formation of the modern nation-state and a society suitable to it, which simultaneously both claimed to be modern while also upholding national values at its core. Yet they never gave up on Istanbul. For, during this period, Istanbul was

a space of flaneurie open to “degeneration”, the “evil-other” of “Capital Ankara,” now transformed into a project to reflect the urban design of the Republic and the everyday lifestyle immanent to this design.

Only after the 1930s did Istanbul have the chance to regain its former dynamism. Bohemian tendencies emerging in the public space after the 1920s need not be forgotten. These tendencies, made visible especially by Fikret Adil and his circle, are expressed as the desire to transform flaneurie into a lifestyle. The real rupture, however, is seen after the 1950s.

The 1950s correspond to a turning point in the context of the modernisation process and, after the World War II, the country entered a never-before-experienced mobility brought on by its own dynamics and a variety of outside assistance. Istanbul is renewed by industrial development and immigration, and the increasing population, the transformation of the country into a market society and increasing American influence determining new lifestyles. Again in this period, the early signs of the process of ghettoisation begin to change the face of the city. Flaneurs were the



voluntary observers of all these changes and they continued to be the principal characters of the ongoing nightlife of Beyoğlu, with its film matinees, patisseries and restaurants hosting intellectual conversations, warm days in summer resorts, meetings on the Islands, ferry trips and dinners on the Bosphorus after long walks.

However, flaneurie was then situated in a new semantic frame especially as the emphasis on the acceptable citizen lost its potency; the new generation internalized its relationship with modernisation and homogenizing cultural policies began to lose their influence as the top down approach to modernisation took on a populist air. Flaneurie was no longer a state of existence in which a monotone politics was reassessed in one way; instead it adopted versatile characteristics, with different views assessed according to different interpretations. Similarly, the stability created by liberal economic policies within the context of working life, gave flaneurie an eccentric appearance within the process of capitalist development. Urban intellectuals, acting, not with the responsibility of the acceptable citizen of the first fifteen years of the Republic but as modern individuals sharing in post-World War II

movements of thought, began to change the way in which flaneurie was experienced. A slightly pessimistic stance with existentialist overtones was immanent to this new style of flaneurie. Along with this stance, flaneurie began to experience the conditions of modernism within the city and to emphasize idle rambling within the city along with expressing a condition of existence signifying alienation, nausea, autonomy, eccentricity and non-conformity to values imposed by society.

However, the real eccentricity of flaneurie emerged after 1980. To hit the streets without getting caught in the net of ossified capitalism wrapped around everyday life with intellectual aims became an impossible dream or an illusion with its own market. Although Beyoğlu continued to host subcultures, it gradually began to be transformed into a shopping centre and the illusion of flaneurie imposed its own lifestyle especially in neighbourhoods like Cihangir and Galata. Those who weren't satisfied with these illusions left Istanbul taking their own fictions to coastal "kasaba" [boroughs] like Bodrum. The Bosphorus, along with Beyoğlu, was transformed too and began to signify weekend time-out, with its nostalgic breakfast spots between cars lined



up along the roadside. But Istanbul still continues to invite urban wayfarers to the streets, because even if it changes, the modern city is always a special kind of spectacle. If flaneurs continue to exist both succumbing to the colours of modern life and feeling its dread and suffocation; if they enjoy being different and being other and, at the same time, resent remaining strangers, this call is not in vain.

—Deniz Aktan Küçük

FOREIGNER

IN A CITY WHERE TALK OF THERE BEING NO REAL ISTANBULITE IS NEVER ENDING, IT SHOULD BE EVERYONE'S COMMON EPITHET, HOWEVER, IT IS RESERVED FOR PEOPLE COMING FROM ABROAD (FOR SOME REASON). [ED.]

A person from a different nation, a foreigner. It is known that foreigners in Istanbul have lived in great numbers in Pera (Beyoğlu today) since the early 19th century. Today, foreigners who come to Istanbul to work or to live still prefer the Cihangir, Galata, Asmalımescit and Tünel neighbourhoods of the Beyoğlu area. Also, incongruous, unknown.

An adjective Istanbul residents could use to define the novelties they come across every day. In this city which changes every day, you may find that once you step out onto the street, the name of a street has changed, signposts have been removed and replaced by others, the *bakkal* (see *Bakkal*) you always shop at has folded, a building or a neighbourhood has been completely demolished in one night, a skyscraper has been erected somewhere else, bus timetables have changed or a road you always pass by has been closed. This is why Istanbul residents are said to wake up to a new city every day. Also, person or thing not belonging to the family or environment.

It is known that the vast majority of the population of Istanbul are first, second or third generation migrants. When you get in a taxi, order a glass of tea in a coffee shop, while you go on your endless errand from one official to the other in some public office or, if you are a talkative person, when you chat to the person sitting next to you on a two hour journey on public transport, you ask or are asked the same question: “Where are you from, fellow country(wo)man?” A possible answer to this question could be one that begins “I was born and grew up in Istanbul, but actually...”



and the other, “Our family is from Istanbul.” (this answer often won’t satisfy the other person, and questions regarding origins will continue). The question as to who is actually one of us, and who a stranger, is a complex question in Istanbul. A comprehensive survey on the effects of the speech bubble proclaiming “I’m an Istanbulite” (see *Istanbulite*) next to gigantic photographs of Sakıp Sabancı, Rahmi Koç, Tan Sağtürk, Hülya Koçyiğit and İbrahim Tatlıses as seen on billboards a few years ago, has not been carried out yet.

—İlkay Balıç

> *Bakkal, Istanbulite*

GAS WORKS

COMPONENTS OF THE TECHNICAL INFRASTRUCTURE
OF ISTANBUL WHICH ONLY MANAGED TO PLAY THEIR
ROLE IN THE CITY AFTER BECOMING DISUSED. [ED.]

The history of Istanbul benefiting from the gas distribution service follows a different pattern compared to European metropolises. For example, the first gas works founded in Dolmabahçe

and Kuzguncuk primarily served the demand of the palaces nearby. However, in the final quarter of the 19th century gas was distributed from Dolmabahçe to Galata, Beyoğlu, Beşiktaş and Ortaköy. Gas works were established in Yedikule to supply gas to the historical peninsula and in Hasanpaşa to supply the Üsküdar and Kadıköy region. The Kuzguncuk Gas Works, on which there is very little data, aside, different approaches were implemented in the foundation of the other three. In this context, accounts of the foundation and operation of gas works offer clues which can be used in discussions of the history of the utilisation of modern urban services in Istanbul. The historian used to early modern urban services usually being founded through capitalist initiative for motives of profit encounters a more complicated outlook in Istanbul. Here, for the most part, demand is not to be related to contemporary expectations of comfort, nor can the form of supply be described as a capitalist source of profit.

The most important headlines in 19th century Istanbul newspapers feature, in addition to the hygienisation of urban life, the improvement of roads and the provision of vehicle traffic, the illumination of the city. The image of the city with



illuminated streets is seen in all types of publications of the era and is constructed with reports including expressions yearning for the West. The priority is the illumination of the Palace and its surroundings. The first stirrings for the illumination of urban areas outside the palace emerged in 1846, however the demand intensified in the 1850s. It emerges that the plan was first to illuminate the Taksim–Tepebaşı line and to use the production surplus of the Dolmabahçe Gas Works. In early 1857 a line was laid down between the Dolmabahçe Gas Works and Taksim in order to illuminate the area of the city known as the 6th Bureau and Grand Rue du Pera (İstiklal Caddesi) became the first street in Istanbul to be illuminated using public resources. With, according to some sources, the special permission of Abdülmecid, that same year the Naum Theatre in Beyoğlu was also illuminated using gas produced at the Dolmabahçe Gas Works. Gas use in households was not even on the agenda at this early stage.

The Journal de Constantinople newspaper dated 2 February 1857 reports that the side streets leading to Pera Street were being illuminated too, and that the street lamps were being installed at a distance of 80 feet from each other and only on

one side of the street. The news item also stated that Pera residents were soon to be invited to a meeting where fees for street and household illumination would be determined; and that a second gas works was necessary to extend public illumination to a wider area.

It emerges that a gas works was founded on Kuzguncuk hills, probably in the same years as Dolmabahçe, in order to illuminate the Beylerbeyi Palace. A document from mid-1889 includes a demand for the repair and activation of the gas works for the illumination of the Beylerbeyi Palace and Üsküdar. It becomes clear from this document that the plant was established but wasn't run effectively. The dimensions and production capacity of this plant, whose lifespan we do not know, was probably not that significant. Since an appeal in 1911 for the lease of the gas works in Kuzguncuk then serving the Beylerbeyi Palace for the production of coke from coal was granted, the plant cannot have been in use as such at this date. In fact, shortly after, 2000 square metres of land from the Gas Works premises were taken by the Ministry of Estates and Education for the construction of a mosque and a school. There is no further record after 1915 regarding the Gas



Works in Kuzguncuk. For a long time, the attempt to modernize urban services without taking economic facts into consideration will be a common trait for Istanbul. Gas supply, an attractive area of investment in Western and Central Europe, was often a losing business for the public sector in Istanbul.

In the final quarter of the 19th century the demand in the Beyoğlu area for modern urban services forced an increase in the capacity of the gas works and its renovation, to be undertaken quickly. To this end, first the Dolmabahçe Gas Works, run by the Imperial Treasury, was transferred to the municipality in 1874. However, since it served the function of illuminating and heating the palace and similar important buildings, it was transferred back to the Office of the Field Marshal at the Imperial Arsenal, in other words the central government, and was operated by the state for a while. In 1909 the Dolmabahçe Gas Works was returned to the Municipality and in 1914 to the Beyoğlu-Yeniköy Turkish Incorporated Gas Company which belonged to the French for 50 years. The Republican government signed a collateral contract with this company and their licence was extended. A new gas works was founded in

the Poligon area of Kağıthane so as to gradually move the Dolmabahçe Gas Works following the decision to expand the İnönü Stadium. On 15th August 1960 production at the Dolmabahçe Gas Works was aborted. The license of the Beyoğlu and Yeniköy Bureaus Turkish Incorporated Gas Company which had expired in 1964 was not renewed but the Beyoğlu Gas Works which operated under the Beyoğlu Temporary Gas Company, a Turkish-French joint venture, until 1984 was connected to the IETT (Istanbul Electricity, Tunnel and Tramway Authority) with regulations implemented at this time.

The first license for gas lighting of the Historical Peninsula was granted in 1873 to a Belgian called Johans, but it was revoked the same year. It was then tendered to the French contractor-engineer Jove, but the inadequacy of the plans made by the engineer who was to carry out the work on his behalf and the infringement of the contract interrupted the process once again. In 1874, the Belgian engineer Leon Somoza was appointed with an annual salary to establish the Yedikule Gas Works; but his appointment wasn't approved, his contract revoked, though his travel allowance was paid. Apart from Mehmed Effendi



being appointed as director in 1880 as a knowledgeable person in the field, details of the work carried out during this period are not available.

The Yedikule Gas Works was built on an area of 52,000 square meters by the sea to provide ease of access. It should be taken into consideration at this point that coal used for gas production was imported from Western Europe by sea and that coal wasn't mined in Turkey yet. From 1880 on the operating licence of the gas works run by the municipality was granted to a French group, but it was transferred to a tradesman called Hasan Tahsin on 19th September 1887 for 40 years because of the better terms he offered. In 1888 Hasan Tahsin transferred the license to the Istanbul City Illumination Company that he was a partner in and the opening ceremony of the expanded gas works took place on 20th October 1890. As the name of the company reveals, gas was used only for street illumination in Istanbul in the late 19th century. The fact that a significant proportion of the urban building stock was wooden prevented the use of gas within households and it could not be used for kitchen operations and heating in particular. Frequent fires especially in the historical peninsula destroyed the system and increased organisa-

tion costs. Therefore the Yedikule Gas Works had to abort its activities after a short period of time because the company could not offer economic outcomes and suffered from technological inadequacies and operational inexperience. A new tender was invited in 1914 and the licence was granted for 50 years to another French company.

Although gas production and distribution work for illumination purposes in Beyoğlu and Istanbul began much earlier, it appears that only by the 1890s was the capital and technological know-how provided for all of the work across the city to operate at a certain standard. The provision of a service like gas, which entailed high production, operational and utilisation costs, to Kadıköy, Üsküdar and the Anatolian side was enabled by licensing to foreign capital which showed increased interest in the market. The new gas works constructed in Hasanpaşa, close to Kurbağalıdere and the railway in Kadıköy, was a result of the changing structure of the area and a location possessing the necessary features for the establishment of a gas works. Foreign engineers, whose contribution to the Dolmabahçe Gas Works we have limited knowledge of, became more apparent with their undertaking in the foundation of the Yedikule



Gas Works. A 50-year license for gas in Kadıköy, Üsküdar and the Anatolian side was given in 1891 to engineer Charles George, a Parisian industrialist and a French-Belgian company was founded under the name The Ottoman Corporation for Illumination with Gas and Electricity.

In contracts made with persons to whom gas licenses were given, the production method, the qualities of the factories to be founded or the principles of operation were often not defined. The contract and specifications for the transfer of the operational license of the Dolmabahçe Gas Works in 1913 for a period of 50 years represent the first instance where the rules in this field are defined: in other words, bureaucratic staff have reached a level of engineering know-how to define the content of the technical services demanded. In the previous period technical services were demanded and inspected by a bureaucratic organisation unaware of the engineering content of the service.

Developments in urban space and the increase in the area using gas necessitated the construction of new production plants. Since the increase in gas production considerably increased

raw material needs and gas stock, changes had to be applied to the construction and use of gas and coal storage areas to meet this requirement in addition to production and cleaning plants. From the time of the foundation of gas works plants, many buildings serving the production, cleaning and storage of gas and the needs of the plant and the workers were built. The normal lifespan for materials used in production buildings is 5 years for bricks, 10 years for the mechanical parts and 15 years for the iron parts, however it is common for these periods to expire earlier for various reasons, necessitating renewal.

The gas works experienced their most lucrative years in terms of new investments in the first half of the 1960s. A serious demand for gas use in households of the city must have only emerged by this point. Plants were being criticized for their inadequacies. Although the service area was constantly expanding, the distribution never managed to encompass the entire developed area of the city. An interesting point is that as demand for natural gas increased in the early 1960s, the use of bottled gas (LPG) began as well. By 1970, even places with gas hardware were using bottled gas. Even more interestingly, when production volume fell short



at the Hasanpaşa Gas Works in the 1970s, liquefied petroleum gas, that is, bottled gas, was added to natural gas. Still, until 1993, when natural gas production was aborted, the Yedikule, Kağıthane (Polygon) and Kurbağalıdere (Hasanpaşa) Gas Works continued to be active within the İETT structure. The gasometre in Dolmabahçe remained in use as a gas depot connected to the Gas Works in Kağıthane until the same date.

Gas was an inefficient service in Istanbul from the beginning. The demand for gas was restricted for many years to expectations of change in the appearance of public space like street illumination. Use for heating was never even considered because of the high price of gas in comparison to the average income level. Foreign investors hoping for profits from the provision of modern urban services didn't immediately get what they were looking for either. For the same reason, almost all investors tried to sustain the business with little further investment after the initial stage, or they tried to transfer the business. The history of gas in Istanbul is the history of the proof that technical services requiring a high level of organisation cannot be provided to a city that hasn't reached this level of capitalist organisation.

However, gas works which do not operate effectively and economically when they are in use, become the object of new capitalist demands when they are put out of use, while on the other hand they are transformed into educational areas of newly emerging non-governmental organisations. In other words, their land is both a mouth-watering prospect as a speculative profit opportunity and they define targets of struggle for those who want to reintroduce them as public spaces. In brief, ironically, at this new stage of modernisation they can finally now play the social roles they were restricted from fulfilling in the past.

—Gülsün Tanyeli

GATED HOUSING ESTATE

A HOUSING SETTLEMENT TYPE CONSTRUCTED TO EXCLUDE THE "OTHER" IN PHYSICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, CLASS AND AESTHETIC TERMS. [ED.]

Wall-wall-wall – there is railing on the wall – a wire fence on the railing – hard to see inside even if you jump – not recovered but recreated green



– take-away water – houses all the same all with flower names – the magnolia block isn't white – sometimes nature is only in the name – names in an incomprehensible language – gardenşehir-citybahçe-green green grass [in Eng. in original] – using istanbul in a sentence – divide-split up-destroy – metropol-ist-anbul– bul-imi-an-ist – new names can be found – have been found – satellite city – fits us right city – “sleep city” – paranoid city – defined eclectic entry gate – security guard standing – security guard walking – security guard waiting – how secure are the security officers? – security camera – the wall railing wire fence must catch the infiltrator – doors steel with many keyholes – motion detector – see who's at the door let them in – magnetic contact – fantastic observation – locking yourself in? securing yourself? – neither me out nor him in – newly defined requirements – newly defined neighbourhood relations – not buying a house but a neighbour – asking about your neighbour when buying your house – seeing your neighbour run – seeing your neighbour swim – building a fence not to see your neighbour – an ideal environment to raise a child – babies growing up by themselves – babies and their international caretakers – they see the grey walls all day – an ideal environment for

caretakers – estate-capacity – as much as it takes – if it doesn't fit here it will fit there – it moves Istanbul moves – however far it moves away 15 minutes to the city centre 10 minutes to the bridge – the ideal city – it's what it says in the colour catalogue; can't be described has to be lived – will it be understood when it's lived? – and what else does it say in the catalogue; for you especially for you – for you especially for you but the same – how special can cloned boxes be? – independent of place – seek profit not sharing – create sides – inside-outside-the other side of the wall – one-sided curiosity – the one left out is curious about the one inside – why isn't the one inside curious about the other side – in the housing estate-in capacity-in the gated housing estate – (see *My Ideal Home, Security, Surveillance*)

—Beyhan İslam

> *My Ideal Home, Security, Surveillance*



GECEKONDU

ONCE IMAGINED AS A TRANSITORY SPACE AT THE INTERSECTION OF COUNTRY AND CITY, IN REALITY A SPECULATIVE URBAN HOUSING TYPE WHICH ALLOWS FOR THE HIGHEST PROFIT WITH THE LOWEST INVESTMENT. [ED.]

From an anthropological viewpoint, it is possible to say that *gecekondu* operate as rehabilitation centres where people from rural areas are urbanized in the process of industrialisation and therefore urbanisation. The incarceration in an apartment block of someone who has just arrived from their village home, the cultural shock a villager would suffer when isolated from nature and surrounded by restricted human relations will in most cases trigger both internal and external disaster. But the structure of *gecekondu* woven with regional relations, the existence of certain facilities which can be considered to be, albeit in a limited way, in touch with nature and the economic advantage of at least being able to raise chickens or grow vegetables in the garden can be seen as factors which ease the migrant's life (see *Migration*) in its early stages. And this in turn enables villagers to lead a life similar to the village in the city and prevents them from suddenly

facing urban reality, experiencing cultural depression and as a consequence, psychological and social quagmire. Of course, this is only necessary for first generation migrants. Subsequent generations are gradually assimilated into the process of urbanisation and within a couple of generations they cease to live and think like their grandfathers at which point *gecekondu* no longer meet the demands of these new generations. This situation actually displays a similar change in terms of spatial experience as well. The first generation migrant eventually renews the hastily built house, and as funds become available builds a further floor on top, eventually finding a way of raising his social stature by renting this floor out to a migrant who arrives after him. In the same manner that the children and grandchildren of the first generation are urbanized as they go to school and work in the city centre, the house and the neighbourhood are urbanized too. Zeytinburnu, once a slum-neighbourhood, is a good example. Considered a slum area in the 1960s, an examination of Zeytinburnu's present state provides a clearer picture of the pace of change.

However, since today *gecekondu* are not areas of the city that can be as controlled as is desired,



they are frowned upon by the state and regional administrations. In this type of area, the trends of regionalism and being from the same social class enable people to act in unison, and therefore it is more difficult to establish authority over these people than inhabitants of other parts of the city. Although *gecekondu* have various negative effects like unmonitored building development in the city, the state's reasons for wanting to disperse them are more control-related than related to the damage caused by building development. If the authorities had been acting in order to provide healthier areas of settlement, they would have already been doing it in other parts of the city. What's more, aiming to obtain the votes of the population of the area by granting amnesties to developments just before elections can be viewed as signs of their insincerity in this respect.

Contemporary understanding defines urbanisation as living in areas isolated from nature and other social classes. If the problem is irregular urbanisation (see *Irregular Urbanisation*), many institutions and experts including the Chamber of Architects have repeatedly expressed the view that Istanbul itself is in fact one big *gecekondu* neighbourhood. The problem is actually framed more

around the fact that the socio-economic balance continues to tilt to the disadvantage of the poor, and the anxieties of the upper income groups who fear this phenomenon. Another factor is that the ruling classes and interest groups have set their eyes on areas where the poor have settled and acquired property. Considering ventures concerned with selling off parkland to various companies in order to obtain revenue, one cannot be blamed for harbouring suspicions of this sort. No doubt another aspect of the problem is the anxiety created by the structure of *gecekondu* which complicates inspection and surveillance, and therefore control by the state. Because the state likes places it can easily intervene in, where solidarity is weak and people live in their nuclear families in their flats and work at workplaces fitted out with closed-circuit cameras, it prefers it when the places where people socialize, have fun, wander, work, make love and even demonstrate are pre-defined and under control. Urbanisation obviously has some positive aspects. However, models of urbanisation beyond the urbanisation experience of capitalist countries must also be taken into consideration. Otherwise, one may be deluded into thinking that the city is a totality of buildings composed of streets and squares, whereas a living city must strive to become a place where

all its problems are solved with the participation of the inhabitants of the city and where alternative living spaces can be found.

—Bülent Usta

> Irregular Urbanisation, Migration

GENTRIFICATION (I)

THE DICTIONARY DEFINITION TELLS US IT IS A TERM APPLIED TO THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE OLD RESIDENTS OF OLD AND PHYSICALLY DETERIORATED NEIGHBOURHOODS (SEE *NEIGHBOURHOOD*) WHERE THE PROPERTY PRICES ARE LOW BY MORE WEALTHY NEW RESIDENTS DUE TO AN INCREASE IN PROPERTY PRICES BROUGHT ON BY THE PHYSICAL RENOVATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD. THIS PHENOMENON CAN BE EXEMPLIFIED IN ISTANBUL IN NEIGHBOURHOODS LIKE CİHANGİR, GALATA, HALIÇ AND BALAT.

The concept itself engenders many debates. The phenomenon, a subject of discussion in the world since the 1960s, has perhaps appeared on the agenda in Istanbul in the last five to ten years. The advocates of the phenomenon glorify its “positive” consequences like urban renovation, refinement, reduction in crime rates and the

increase of property values whereas critical views point to the difficulties suffered by the displaced “old” residents of these areas and other problems brought on by this urban displacement.

In the Istanbul example the situation is different from other world cities like London and New York where the phenomenon is also experienced. For instance, in contrast to the gentrification of working class neighbourhoods by the middle class in the 1960s or the transformation of SoHo lofts into artist spaces in the 1960s and 70s, in the Pera and Galata neighbourhoods of Istanbul, first a reverse-gentrification process took place as a result of the political, economic and demographic dynamics of the day. Middle-class non-Muslim and Levantine neighbourhoods were first evacuated by their residents, and the vacuum that was created was occupied by new residents in line with internal migration and dynamics of unplanned small-scale production and trade. Now this process itself has been reversed. In a sense, middle-class neighbourhoods first became places where the lower and lower-middle class lived and now, once more, these areas are transformed into environments used by a different middle class.



As the term makes clear, gentrification is an action implicating agents. The phenomenon involves active agents who each adopt various roles: artists, fans of bohemian life, “hipsters”, small-scale property investors who profit from it, investment companies under the guidance of international capital, neighbourhood residents who find themselves in a difficult position because their rents have risen or their living space has shrunk, municipal authorities, non-governmental organisations, international organisations. It is not possible to explain the full extent of the phenomenon by means of notions of the renewal of a neighbourhood or a district or an increase in property prices.

Gentrification is perhaps an inevitable urban transformation (see *Urban Transformation*) process taking place when its time comes. However, their control by certain regulations is necessary in order not to pay a huge price later. The “neighbourhood rehabilitation” work carried out in Balat with support from the European Union is an example. Here, physical urban renewal work is being carried out without displacing city residents from lower income groups. The consequences in the near future of the gentrification phenomenon

in the aforementioned Istanbul neighbourhoods are, however, not yet certain.

—Cem Yücel

> Neighbourhood, Urban Transformation

GENTRIFICATION (II)

TRANSITION FROM GENTRIFICATION TO FORCED GENTRIFICATION AND THE CONSEQUENT LEAP IN SCALE THE PROCESS UNDERGOES.

Gentrification is a process of change neighbourhoods go through together with their inhabitants. The direction of change determines whether the process can be defined as gentrification or not. If the change is accompanied by the replacement of current users with users of higher status and a rise in property values, then the process may be called gentrification.

Istanbul first encountered gentrification processes in the early 1980s. Pioneered by the cultural middle class of the city, gentrification was restricted until the late 90s to a few neigh-



bourhoods on the Bosphorus like Kuzguncuk and Arnavutköy and a few in Beyoğlu like Galata and Cihangir. The mostly spontaneous gentrification process of the 80s and 90s evolved into a process triggered by external interventions in the 2000s. This transformation in the process can be defined as a transition from gentrification to forced gentrification. (If we use the word gentrification to describe a spontaneous process, it would be more suitable to describe processes realized through the triggering of external interventions as forced gentrification.)

It would be correct to define post-2000 forced gentrification as *third wave gentrification processes* both because they correspond to the third wave of gentrification in Istanbul (after the two waves on the Bosphorus in the 80s and Beyoğlu in the 90s) and because it is a term used for the forced gentrification processes pioneered by public and private sectors abroad following the economic stagnation in the 90s. These third wave gentrification or forced gentrification processes, generally shaped by public institutions or interventions by major capital (sometimes separately, sometimes together), can be examined under four headings according to their scale:

Flat/House scale: The Rehabilitation of Fener and Balat Districts Programme, developed by the collaboration of the European Union and Fatih Municipality, triggered, from the moment of its public declaration, a small-scale gentrification process towards the end of the 90s. The promise of investment in the region which had not witnessed investment for many years was enough to attract groups which had hesitated to settle in the area before then. The gentrification process in the Fener and Balat districts provides the first example of a shift from a spontaneous process of gentrification to a process (forced gentrification) taking place after institutional or corporate investment.

Apartment/Building scale: Another manifestation of the third wave emerged as large-scale property investors systematically bought buildings in areas in Beyoğlu (especially the Galata area) where the gentrification process continued on its own course and renovated the flats in them according to the lifestyle of upper-middle and upper classes and began to market them to these social classes. As a result, the neighbourhood that was being transformed flat-by-flat led by independent individuals or small investors,

began to be transformed building-by-building and the gentrification process gathered greater momentum.

Street scale: An entrepreneur bought all the buildings along a street behind the Galatasaray High School in Beyoğlu in order to create a centre of attraction formed of restaurants and bars, and with the actualisation of the project in 2004, for the first time gentrification took place on street-scale. Along with the street, its name was ironically “gentrified” too; the Cezayir Sokağı [Algerian Street] of many years became Fransız Sokağı [French Street]. The Fransız Sokağı project made it clear that third wave gentrification would not be restricted from now on to a process taking place on a unit basis.

Block scale: The final chain in third wave gentrification processes is formed of urban transformation projects (see *Urban Transformation*) developed in sit areas realized sometimes by public–public partnerships (municipality–TOKİ [Turkish Housing Development Administration]) as in the case of Sulukule, or sometimes by public–private (Municipality–big business) partnerships as in the case of Tarlabası. Law no. 5366

on the Preservation by Renovation and Utilisation by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties issued in 2005 forms the foundation of these projects and with the new authority of expropriation it grants to local administrations, presents the means to develop projects on block-scale. Although it hasn’t reached the implementation stage yet, the manner of operation of projects up to now point to the replacement of current residents of these areas with members of upper classes and serious increases in property values (in other words, the processes of gentrification).

—Tolga İslam

> Urban Transformation

GENTRIFICATION (III)

A SOCIAL ENGINEERING ACTIVITY CARRIED OUT IN URBAN AREAS NOT CONSIDERED SUFFICIENTLY REFINED. [ED.]

1) *Mutenalaştırma* is only one of the terms proposed in Turkish for the English word gentrification signifying the change in the physical texture of



neighbourhoods with the arrival of new inhabitants from a higher socio- economic level, especially in rundown centres of the city which have historical value.

2) Oda Projesi [The Room Project], which has developed new ideas on the use of various spaces with its “neighbours” in a street in Galata since 1997, has both been a part of this process and was displaced by it. In March 2006 it was discussed at the panel “WHO IS IT? – A Meeting on Gentrification I” organized at Platform Contemporary Art Centre. Sociologists, architects, urban historians, artists, initiators and agents involved in the process took part. During the meeting, new suitable Turkish equivalents were sought for the specific form of gentrification, keeping in mind the fact that each neighbourhood or building might experience its own distinct process of gentrification, because in Istanbul, at the early stages of the process, gentrification was as informal as other city formations (for example the *gecekondu*). In the same way that a person who migrated to an Istanbul neighbourhood (see *Migration*) invited his relatives in the village to “occupy” the neighbourhood, in a sense the “newcomers” to other neighbourhoods which were undergoing gentrification encouraged their

friends or people “like them” to buy a “place.” And relationships did form between old inhabitants and newcomers, though sometimes they wouldn’t. Thus all possible equivalents for a new conceptualisation suitable to each district, including the proposals of participants were as follows: Westernisation, Beyoğluification, Bodrumisation, Cihangirisation, Transformation (see *Urban Transformation*), Differentiation, Beautification (see *Beautification*), Gentilisation, Bourgeoisification, Refinement, Kumkapıfication, Culturating, Intimisation, Legitimation, Heritagisation, Affablisation, Gentrification, Ortaköyisation, Elitification, Elitisation, Hygienisation, Classification, Aristocrisation, Tarlabaşıfication, Alienation (see *Alienation*).

3) The word “mutenalamşa,” (*mutena*: 1- carefully done, elaborate 2- select, exclusive) first used by Çağlar Keyder, was preferred by Oda Projesi because its first meaning referred to an “elaborate style,” an old style of art, which hasn’t much of a place in today’s art. After renting a flat on Şahkulu Street in 1997, and following the growth of what then passed for neighbourly relations with older inhabitants, Oda Projesi opened one of its apartment rooms for the common use of neighbours and guests. Back then, it was not known that questions like “how

much do flats cost around here?” posed from the first day on by some of the people who came to visit the project space were the harbinger of the serious transformation of the neighbourhood and the end of the presence of Oda Projesi in the neighbourhood. In 2005 the flat was sold, Oda Projesi left, the old gates on both sides of the street were refitted, the street was closed to passers-by after 10 pm, and about half of the previous inhabitants left. Oda Projesi first moved to another place on the same street because of gentrification, found its second space with the help and effort of the neighbours, and the second time had to leave the neighbourhood completely. The discovery that artists or art projects have the power to transform the city may be inevitable but, although the unique micro-transformation of every street is less damaging than macro-transformations on an urban scale, Oda Projesi today wishes to find the most ungentrifiable place in Istanbul. What will follow the various museums (see *Museum*) or art institutions opening one after the other remains a big question mark before us.

—Özge Açıkkol

> Alienation, Beautification, Migration,
Museum, Urban Transformation

GESTALT COLLAPSE

A TERM INVENTED BY THE AUTHOR OF THIS ARTICLE TO DENOTE A LIMIT CASE OR FAILURE IN THE VISUAL RECOGNITION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF COMPLEX URBAN FORM(S).

The Gestalt principles of visual perception formulated in the early 20th century aimed at reducing phenomenological complexity by developing a system of perceptual organisation stressing the simplifying and unifying tendency of the perceiving mind in the visual reconstruction of forms. This tendency is put to the test by the dynamic and unbounded growth of the city of Istanbul. The term “gestalt collapse” addresses the perceptual discomfort encountered when the Gestalt problematic of simplification and unification is extended into an exploration of the growing complexity and information content of formal processes operating in the city. It denotes a limit case in basic operating principles of Gestalt production in relation to complex urban forms that interact and evolve with dynamic and variable influences from their contexts.

Gestalt principles of visual organisation are grounded on a holistic understanding of the rela-



tionship between the parts and the whole of a visual experience and lead to the overarching gestalt claim that the mind privileges the simplest and most stable visual reconstruction: when the mind exceeds the limit of the complexity of information present in visual experience, it proceeds to simplification by closing the image and retaining only the essential parts, while also selecting the most stable figure among various perceptual experiences (Wertheimer, 1938). These perceptual operations of closure and concision act on the visual template for a simplification and stabilisation respectively of the resulting gestalt. The emerging gestalt or form is qualified as good or strong if it is characterized by perceptual stability and low information content. From a bird's eye view, Haliç presents such an instance of perfect closure and concision, attested also by its appellation as the Golden Horn; the Bosphorus as well displays a strongly identifiable form. The Golden Horn and the Bosphorus can be qualified as strong gestalts where perception occurs by way of a clear and strong differentiation between the simple and stable figure (the sea) and its ground or field (the land).

Strong gestalts are those satisfying both the figure-field and the part-whole relationship of a

gestalt experience. The Bosphorus connects two parts into a whole, exhibiting the gestalt principle of the inseparability of the parts and the whole. In this sense, the quality of wholeness is strongest at the Bosphorus which, ironically, is a rupture in the city. However, as one moves towards eastern and western extensions of the city, this wholeness starts to lose its force while the complexity of urban forms increases with respect to an increase in information content and a decrease in perceptual stability. When the image is complex, parts of the whole are perceived as gestalts in their own right. Complexity defers closure and the perceptual experience is transformed into a kind of serial gestalt where the mind conceives of parts as sub-wholes which maintain their own status but are also continuously bound to ever larger wholes that open to the continuum of the city. This involution of parts and wholes is the sign and product of an unbounded whole, which defines Istanbul. The city is an active field of variation that subverts the gestalt notion of a bounded whole towards an unbounded one. An unbounded whole constitutes both an extension and a limit to the foundational gestalt principles of visual organisation. Replacing the requisites of unity and stability with continuity and variation, it problematizes both the



figure-field and the part-whole relationship of a gestalt experience. The dynamic growth of the city opposes the perceptual demand for completion and stability (closure and concision): urban morphology undergoes dynamic internal self-differentiations where the transformations of its diverse parts resists or annihilates closure and inhibits the stabilisation of the figure. Gestalt collapse denotes both the resulting perceptual indecision and the compelling quality of an enhanced yet unsettling gestalt experience offered by Istanbul.

—Zeynep Mennan

GLOBALISATION

THE PROCESS OF RENDERING GLOBAL A WORLD
ONCE THOUGHT TO RESEMBLE A BOWL USING NEW
CAPITALIST ECONOMIC INSTRUMENTS. [ED.]

The economic importance of cities has increased with contemporary globalisation. The enabling technology that combines computers with communications has led to simultaneous dispersal and centralisation of economic activity. The dispersal involves global corporations searching out

cheap production sites; the centralisation involves the management and advanced servicing of this new worldwide production geography. It is the servicing, in particular, that takes place in major cities through the concentration of professional, creative and financial services for global corporations.

These business service firms provide transnational services through large office networks in cities across the world. In this way they are able to provide a “seamless service” that coordinates work globally. For instance, London law firms can offer multi-jurisdictional contract solutions for their corporate clients, and New York advertising agencies can offer global marketing strategies for their corporate clients. To achieve these ends, work is required to be done in numerous city offices to cover the client’s worldwide business needs. Thus are cities connected through the everyday work of global service firms: electronic messages conveying information, instruction, professional knowledge, plans, strategies, advice, plus tele-conferencing and occasional face-to-face meetings together constitute a world city network of global service centres.



Today, all major metropolitan areas have clusters of offices of business service firms, typically located in high-rise office blocks through which they are interlocked in this process of world city network formation. The degree to which a city is integrated into this networking depends on which leading service firms have offices in the city and how important the offices are within each firm's office network. Data on office networks are collected and the network connectivities of cities across the world are being monitored by the Globalisation and World Cities (GaWC) Research Network. This research always shows London and New York to be by far the most networked cities for doing global business. But networking requires mutuality: London and New York depend on offices in other cities across the world: for instance, in Paris, in Tokyo, in Sao Paulo, in Shanghai, in Mumbai, in Dubai, in Johannesburg, and in Istanbul.

Network connectivities have been computed by GaWC for 315 cities worldwide using the office networks of 80 global service firms in 2004. To ease interpretation figures are given as percentages of the highest city network connectivity (London's). Istanbul just makes the top 50 business

networked cities in the world with a connectivity score of 37.7%. In the following table this result is put into perspective by showing the five cities above and below Istanbul in the rankings, i.e. the ten cities with similar levels of integration into the world city network. These are a very mixed group of cities including a specialist financial centre (Luxembourg), three capital cities that are not the economic centre of their countries (Berlin, Washington, D.C. and Rome), three capital cities that do economically dominate their countries (Athens, Dubai and Bogota), and three leading "provincial cities" in important countries (Hamburg, Atlanta and Montreal). Istanbul is different from all these as the leading economic centre of its country but not the capital. However, this is not an unusual happenstance: other examples are New York, Frankfurt, Milan, Toronto, Sydney, Sao Paulo, Shanghai, and Mumbai so Istanbul is in good company!

One final point, these results do not mean that the cities in the table are alike in any general sense. They are all experiencing a similar level of world city networking but the cities remain very different on numerous other levels, not least in cultural and historical contexts. But globalisation



RANK	CITY	CONNECTIVITY
43	Hamburg	38.4
44	Berlin	38.1
45	Washington	37.9
46	Lüksemburg	37.8
47	Atlanta	37.8
48	İstanbul	37.7
49	Atina	37.5
50	Montreal	37.4
51	Dubai	36.1
52	Bogota	35.9
53	Roma	35.4

has added a new layer to the meaning of Istanbul in the early 21st century: it is a relatively important player in the world city network.

—Peter Taylor

GOLDEN HORN

JUST LIKE THE BOSPHORUS, THIS TERM EXPRESSES EVERYTHING BUT A GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURE OF ISTANBUL. [ED.]

The most important difference between Istanbul and other shore cities in the world is the urbanisation around the sea that passes through it and the gulf that opens on to that sea. Everything in

Istanbul began in and around this gulf, the Golden Horn. As a natural route which, along with the Bosphorus, divides the city into three separate land masses, it is the site urban memory clings to. Civilisations which have settled in this geography over the centuries have benefited from the power of the Golden Horn's natural structure. The Golden Horn is a unique sheltered harbour, a high security strategic location, a wide, calm body of water for ships, and an open passageway to the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmara and the Mediterranean. Since the earliest times, therefore, the Golden Horn was functionalized as a naval base where trade and shipbuilding were sited and these features have been emphasized in its cultural construction and in the image of the city.

The Golden Horn encouraged a multicultural and multi-stratified structure into the 19th century, becoming the creative core of the city. The concentration of the historic peninsula hosting all manner of urban functions including trade, administration, accommodation, education, religion and entertainment began to permeate the heart of the Golden Horn, an area that until then had offered a pastoral way of life. Therefore, while the Golden Horn of the mid-17th century was a recreation spot with very few



houses, after the 18th century the number of industrial buildings on the shores of the Golden Horn increased and various types of production were introduced. Traces of various branches of production from ship building, to brick and fez production, to weaving can be found along its shores. In the 19th century, the palaces and villas along the Golden Horn were replaced by dockyards, flourmills, ship iron workshops, military ammunition plants, the Feshane and the Cibali tobacco factory. According to the plan prepared by H. Prost in 1936-37 and implemented in 1939, industrial development along the shores of the Golden Horn was further encouraged and the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation development after 1950 resulted in the shoreline filling up with industrial buildings and the hinterland with *gecekondu* settlements.

The work of transformation began in the region of the Golden Horn after the mid-20th century. However, this transformation took foreign examples as points of reference, which do not relate, and in fact stand in complete contrast to the unique nature of the Golden Horn formed by both natural and human influences. Unplanned interventions with no foundations in either data or documentation encouraged by profit-seeking

and rapid development damaged the identity of the Golden Horn instead of contributing to it. The transformation of the Golden Horn into a *tabula rasa* in the hands of Dalan (former mayor of Istanbul) in the 1984-89 period, or, in other words, the uncontrolled erasure of the traces of industry in the region, was the first sign of this. Following this general intervention, point-by-point implementations began in the Golden Horn area. The Cibali Tobacco Factory on the southern shore of the Golden Horn which now houses Kadir Has University, the rehabilitation program of the Fener and Balat neighbourhoods, the Feshane-i Amire, which most recently became a multifunctional congress and meeting venue, the santralistanbul project which transformed the Silahtarağa Power Station in Kağıthane, the Sötlüce Congress Centre constructed on the site of the demolished Sötlüce Slaughterhouse on the Karaköy road on the northern shore of the Golden Horn, Miniaturk, and the Şirket-i Hayriye Dockyards and Lengerhane buildings now home to the Rahmi Koç Industrial Museum are the principal developments in the areas around the Golden Horn since the 1990s.

The work of transformation carried out along the Golden Horn has developed until now in a hap-



hazard and random manner with no link to an urban vision, and closed circuits with weak relationships with their immediate surroundings, each other and the city are being created. Santralistanbul, the most comprehensive recent project in the Golden Horn area, despite the hybrid utility planned for it, has failed both to provide added value either for itself or its close surroundings or in terms of gentrification, to stand out from other projects. The leisure industry, paying no attention to the multi-level and multicultural structure of the Golden Horn, is destroying its riches and impoverishing it by rendering it uniform. At this stage, it is clear that the necessity of a project which takes into consideration the above-mentioned qualities and silhouette of the Golden Horn within the framework of an integrated plan is urgent.

—Gül Köksal

GOLDEN HORN DOCKYARDS

THE GOLDEN HORN IS HOME TO THE SECOND LONGEST SERVING DOCKYARDS IN THE WORLD AFTER VENICE. [ED.]

One of the significant structures of Ottoman industrial and technological history, the Golden

Horn Dockyards (Tersane-i Âmire [Imperial Dockyards]) were founded in 1455 and have preserved their function and importance to this day. In addition to the Golden Horn Dockyards, Istanbul also had the Şirket-i Hayriye Dockyards (see *Şirket-i Hayriye — City Maritime Lines*) and the İstinye Dockyards, founded along the Bosphorus in 1909 and which do not exist today.

The Tersane-i Âmire (the Golden Horn or Istanbul Dockyards) comprise the Camialtı and Taşkızak Dockyards and are located on the northern shore of the Golden Horn along 2 kilometres of shore extending from the Atatürk Bridge to Hasköy over an area of 51 hectares. (see *Golden Horn*) In addition to the technological infrastructure comprising the modern production works, the area also contains, as a result of centuries of consecutive production, extremely significant remains of historic record from the Byzantine and classical Ottoman periods (see *Byzantium*). The docks have served, alongside their regular functions, in large-scale construction projects of the city and in the fields of education and health. For instance, during the construction of complexes like Süleymaniye, the facilities were used for conveying materials, and during the cholera epidemic



in the city the first sterilizers were produced at the dockyards. The health problems of naval officers and the staff of the dockyards were treated as part of the remit of the dockyards and their training was provided on site too. The first steamboat, steam-powered factories and the first submarine of the Ottoman State were constructed here. In fact, the Mühendishane-i Bahri-i Hümayun [The Imperial Naval Engineering School], predecessor of present day Istanbul Technical University, was founded here.

In addition to their historical importance, the fact that the dockyards have managed to survive by renewing themselves, keeping abreast of international developments in areas of advanced technology, gives them characteristics of sustained industrial heritage. The Golden Horn Dockyards have established links with European dockyards, and especially those in Venice, regarding shipbuilding technology and know-how, and the flow of information has been kept regularly up to date. In addition to being the most important document of shipbuilding history and technological development, in this context the dockyards are extremely important resources where technical information regarding shipbuilding and mainte-

nance have been accumulated and updated and where shipbuilding is carried out based on product line analysis. Apart from Venice, which indeed is no longer fully functional as such, there is no other working dockyard in the world where the technological and especially shipping history of almost six centuries of an empire the size of the Ottoman State can be observed and studied.

The Golden Horn Dockyards are different from other industrial plant in Istanbul in many respects. The dockyards were founded long before industrialisation, beginning with the Byzantine period, on the northern shore of the Golden Horn. Its place in urban memory is not confined to the past and is consistent and strong enough to form a place in the memory of future generations. The dockyards are the only “virgin” area which has been spared from the work of urban transformation and its attempts to create a *tabula rasa* on both sides of the Golden Horn. The functional continuity of the dockyards creates an actual and lively production environment in the area and enables surprising urban encounters.

The continuing functioning as well as the on-site promotion of such an important area as indus-



trial archaeological heritage gives the Golden Horn Dockyards a very special privilege. Despite user interventions, uncontrolled changes and a period of rapid deterioration, the Dockyards continued their function until the end of the 20st century without losing their general character. However, policies of closure and privatisation, which began in 1993, threatened six centuries of continuity. For these reasons, new shipbuilding stopped and work at some units ceased and only ship repair and maintenance work was carried out. Rapid deterioration began in unused units due to lack of maintenance. The dockyards area was declared a SIT [conservation] area in March 1995 by the Istanbul 1st Regional Board for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Assets. In 2006 the dockyards were transferred to the Istanbul Greater Metropolitan Municipality with the decision of the High Commission of Privatisation and it was declared that the dockyards were to be used by the Istanbul Sea Buses Company. The transfer procedures ended in March 2008 and it is unclear at this point whether the repair and maintenance work of city line ferries will continue to be carried out at the yards. However, the demolition work which began at the Golden Horn Dockyards in December 2007 before the completion of the transfer, halted upon

complaints to the Preservation Board, is perhaps a clear sign that the above-mentioned production continuity is threatened. (see *Preservation Board*).

—Gül Köksal

> Byzantium, Golden Horn, Preservation Board,
Şirket-i Hayriye — City Maritime Lines

HAMAM

ONCE A TITILLATING CONSTITUENT OF THE ORIENTALIST IMAGINATION, THIS PUBLIC BUILDING IS TODAY A NOSTALGIC ELEMENT OF THE OCCIDENTALIST IMAGINATION OF TURKS. [ED.]

Notions of the “hamam [Turkish bath],” the “harem” and “belly-dancing,” construed in Western art and literature as exotic and erotic images, have settled into memory. Ingres’s painting *The Turkish Bath* is almost as well-known as the *Mona Lisa*, but the Turkish bath had a very different complexion than has been fantasized.

The culture of bathing was widespread in Istanbul even before the time of the Turkish bath. For a period of thousand years, there were baths



(*thermae*) of varying sizes all over the city during Roman Byzantion and later Constantinopolis, the capital of the Eastern Roman empire. Marking the imperial power of the Roman rulers through their colossal size, baths were built in Constantinopolis, among which the Zeuxippos Thermae near the Hagia Sophia could compete in its monumentality and sculptural decoration with those in Rome. In Roman culture baths operated as social centres, and women and men would normally visit them separately. However, the existence of several imperial edicts repeatedly banning men and women from using the baths together reveals frequent exploitation of circumstances. The Roman baths were heated by the circulation of hot underfloor air. Visitors bathed in rooms of varying temperatures from the hottest to the coolest and after bathing they would refresh in a large cold water pool. The rooms were arranged either on a row-based plan that required people to pass back through each of them on the way to collecting their clothes, or around a circular shape that allowed for a complete tour before leaving the structure.

Adjacent to the baths were school and sports facilities, and outdoor areas for various types of entertainment like juggling and acrobatics. Baths

were prestige buildings reflecting the power of the emperor, and villas and palaces also had their own private baths. Records of the city show that by the early fifth century the concept of the district bath had been established. The Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae mentions eight large palatial baths and 131 private baths in the city. The latter were smaller and were probably privately run district baths open to the public.

The ancient bathing tradition began to change with the conversion to Christianity. Although the baths sustained their existence, their social meaning changed; nudity, widespread and natural in Antiquity, was no longer regarded as proper in Christianity. Nudity in sports festivities was banned and bathing was no longer a means for social interaction, but reduced to a religious ritual of purification. Medieval urban renewal plans do not show many new public bath developments, however baths retained their importance for the royal court and the aristocracy of Constantinopolis. No effort was made to reconstruct the great baths after they were damaged in earthquakes that shook Istanbul, although some parts were repaired and, in time, only small parts of these colossal baths remained or were removed completely.



With the conquest of the city by the Ottomans in the 15th century, the tradition of bathing in monumental structures experienced a revival. Because of the importance of cleanliness in Muslim belief, the Ottomans knew the tradition closely and both administrators and notables had already ordered the construction of numerous aesthetically advanced hamams in Bursa, İznik and Edirne before the conquest of Istanbul. Accordingly, baths took on a prominent role in the reshaping of Istanbul. For instance, the first large-scale domed buildings after the conquest were not mosques but two hamams. The dome of the hamam within the Mahmut Pasha complex was more impressive than the mosque itself and the dome of the Tahtakale Hamam was even bigger, both standing out as dominating figures in the silhouette of the city alongside Hagia Sophia. It is thus worth noting that, in view of the politics of the newly conquered city, two hamams were given priority over religious structures.

Turkish baths have various architectural similarities to Roman and the later Byzantine baths. Heating is distributed from the floor and, rather than the circular plan, the linear, row-based plan where the heat gradually increases is also adopted.

Because the Muslims regarded stagnant water as unhygienic, the hamams do not have pools except for special cases like the *kaplıcas* [thermal spas]. The body is washed with water running from taps into *kurnas* [marble basins]. The water runs through separate hot and cold water taps into marble basins and thence is poured over the body with bowls. The centre of the Turkish baths is the elevated *göbektaşı*, a raised marble platform under the big dome. If desired, clients are washed by or are given treatments by bath attendants.

The perception of the body in Christianity was valid for the Muslim community too, and it still is. Since nudity was frowned upon, neither men nor women bathe naked in the hamam and there are rules regarding how the body is to be covered with the towel. There is a strict division of gender in Turkish baths. Large, prestigious hamams are designed as two separate linear sections adjacent at one point but with no passage allowed so women and men can bathe at the hamam of the same name at the same time, but effectively in different buildings. In smaller neighbourhood hamams, though, women and men use the same building at different times, women generally using it in the daytime and the men in the evening.

Although the hamam was important for the whole of society in Ottoman times, it had a particularly significant place in the lives of Istanbul women who couldn't move around the city as comfortably as men. Although small-scale bodily cleaning facilities existed within homes, they would go to the baths for a proper wash once every week or two. Since it was an opportunity to socialize as well, the visit would be made in large groups and the visit could last an entire day. Meals would be brought and eaten together. Important social events would be celebrated together in the hamam, the bridal bath, the fortieth day bath after the birth of a baby, a mother's gathering before her son's departure for military service or, perhaps most importantly, to review candidates for his betrothal. Since women could not go to coffee houses to socialize as their husbands did, they would visit the baths to enjoy the company of their friends, chat, gossip and become informed about affairs going on outside their homes.

In addition to their use and their physical existence, the baths owe much to Western fantasies. Ironically, those who wrote the stories and painted the images of women touching one another, insinuating erotic fantasies, were generally men who had never set foot in a Turkish bath. As men imagined

the necks and breasts of the young and beautiful women in the paintings, perhaps women also fantasized about the young and handsome men washing themselves. However, we do not know of any version of the "Turkish Bath" featuring men produced by 19th century female painters and, even if they existed, it is clear they didn't attract as much attention as Ingres's women. Those who dream of houris in the hamam do not add that fat and hairy men and old women with saggy breasts also had a great time at the baths. European travellers who visited Turkish baths in the 18th and 19th century do not describe the erotic characteristics of hamams either. General Helmuth von Moltke, who used Turkish baths for the first time in 1835 during his visit to Istanbul, praises them and states that those who have not had the experience should not regard themselves as ever having washed before. In contrast, Mark Twain's hamam experience was a washout, just like his whole visit to Istanbul in the 1860s. He compares the baths to stables, is shocked by the spaghetti-like dead skin scrubbed from his body arguing that they are certainly not layers of dirt, and concludes that he will never set a foot in such a place again. Mark Twain left Istanbul greatly disappointed by his failure to experience the exotic atmosphere of the hamam.

Women travellers had inconsistent experiences too. For instance, narratives by British noblewomen Lady Mary Montague and Lady Elisabeth differ considerably. Lady Montague mentions how she enjoyed her visit to the baths, and describes the social behaviour of women in the hamam in detail. She also believed that the Ottoman women owed the beauty of their skin and bodies to hamam visits. However Lady Craven blamed regular visits to the hamam for Ottoman women looking so old even at a young age, and also expressed her disgust at being surrounded by fat and ugly women.

When bathrooms with running water were installed in homes in the 20th century, the need for the hamam began to fade. As women began to take part in working life, they had no time for this type of activity. Increasing concern and caution over hygiene in modern times also had a negative impact on public baths that were accused of being dirty.

Some of the buildings that had lost their function were rented out as shops by the General Directorate of Foundations, some were converted into restaurants, and some just deteriorated away. The

Hürrem Sultan Bath in the primary tourist district of Sultanahmet is a building that could be very successfully run according to its original purpose. However, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, not particularly interested in carrying out work related to its name, had it carefully restored and then converted it into a soulless shop selling low-quality carpets. The vendors, civil servants of the Ministry, are as sympathetic as tax officers.

So whatever happened to the Turkish bath? Does anyone visit them anymore? Who are the people who still go to the baths and what are they like today? Fortunately, there are still echoes of the nostalgia of the exoticism of the hamam and tourists try to include a hamam visit in their schedule. Therefore, baths targeting tourists have developed their services according to this new clientele's demands. There are hamams closed to locals and open only to mixed tourist groups. Open until late evening, tourists can come to these baths without any further preparation and relax after a long day of sightseeing. Even though they do not know more than a few words of English such as "OK" and "welcome," the staff are experienced at communicating with foreigners. Of course, hamam visits by foreigners and changing times have af-



fects some of the customs too. Turkish women usually wrap their *peştamals* (loincloths) around their body and only take it off at the *göbektaş* (central marble platform under the main dome) or when they clean themselves by the *kurna* (marble basin); and they never take off their underwear. However, the new and most important clientele, the tourists, bathe completely naked. The *natırs* (female bath attendants) and local customers still visiting the baths used to think this improper, but they've grown used to it now. The traditional *natır* wears oversized, wet underpants clinging to her body and she has huge breasts sagging down to her belly like Kybele, the goddess of fertility. Although this particular type can still be spotted in some baths, the twentieth century Barbie effect has taken its toll among *natırs* too. Thin *natırs* with small breasts wearing lace slips go completely against the traditional look.

The refined women of Istanbul do not go to historical hamams because they are considered dirty. They may visit the hamams of expensive hotels or prefer saunas, spas and wellness centres with foreign language names. Some hamams trying to survive were not slow to follow. Although the sauna cabins didn't catch on among the tourists, the queues for

massages and treatments with scented oil indicate that wellness is the correct route to renewal.

There are of course some local customers, who go to neighbourhood and grand hamams, but they aren't many and it wouldn't be wrong to say the middle and upper-middle classes have to a large extent abandoned the hamams. A local who tries to overcome the hamam and hygiene lecture learned from moms and rediscover this culture may also feel like a tourist at first. If there is no-one among friends who remembers or knows this ritual, you really won't be very different from bedazzled tourists on a voyage of discovery. You may look different from the petite Japanese or the butch Dutch women, but the only difference between you and the other women with whom you share a similar amount of cellulite or similar hair colour, will be the chat you have with the *natır* in the local language. Before entering the hamam, you will first find the prices too high and bargain until you get a local's discount or gulp and pay up; for many women do not even know how to bargain anymore. Once inside and naked, you enter the heat with footgear which has evolved from the wooden clogs of the past to plastic slippers. You look around thinking which *kurna* to go and sit at



when you hear the command of the *natır*: “Go lie down at the *göbektaş* and let the dirt on your skin soften!” As you lie on the marble platform, you can watch the sky above through the star shaped openings of the dome; and beams of light which change as the clouds move filtering inside. You usually relax and drop off from the heat, but a drop of cold water from the heated-up ceiling will wake you up. It’s like a reminder, the essential task is to wait for the dirt to soften and call the *natır* when its time. When the whole body has softened, it means the time has come to be scrubbed down. Since it is included in the entry fee you pay at the door, the washcloth will be used first on you, and it produces a certain number of rolls of skin depending on how dirty you are. It is impossible to achieve this with a soap cloth at home, and those who see these rising from their bodies for the first time look around in a slightly embarrassed manner; hoping no one has seen how dirty they are... Sometimes the *natır* may even raise her voice and ask, “Don’t you ever wash yourself?” The hot stone, hot water and washcloth relax the muscles completely and if the *natır* softly massages you as she soaps your body and hair, you might even think you are slightly levitating off the *göbektaş*.

When the *natır* tells you she is done (she says “finish” to tourists) you suddenly feel like an orphan, and messing about with the water at the *kurna* doesn’t relieve this feeling. You suddenly realize from the wrinkles on your hands that you have spent far more time than you thought at the hamam. Time to leave. How sad. A glass of tea or a glass of fruit juice after getting dressed completes the pleasure. Once outside in the cold, you really feel as clean as if you had never washed properly before; and strong as a boiler because of the heat accumulated inside of you. Why did we exclude this place from our memory? Getting to know the hamam is like meeting a very nice person later in life, telephone numbers are exchanged and you immediately want to see each other again. But there’s no room for such extra rounds in daily life. Returning to the hamam once a week or two becomes a dream, just like the Ottoman women themselves, who used to do just that.

—Zeynep Kuban



HAN

EACH HAN IS A LINK IN THE OESOPHAGUS OF THE STOMACH-CITY.

Istanbul, like any other large contemporary city, perpetuates itself by collecting, keeping and storing “stuff” that keeps arriving from outside. Acting in this way is one of the most important constants of the city since its foundation, and it carries on as part of the city’s arrangements unaltered by the passage of centuries. Moreover, and directly because of the ports, considered to be the main access points to the city, this leaves spreading stains in the urban fabric. Yet, once one enters the city, treading the streets created by those stains and sees the “stuff” that has accumulated, it becomes clear that this is only a virtual continuity, with existence only on paper. Those stains are neither the *han* of the imagination of Kösem Valide Sultan, the founder of the largest *han* in Istanbul’s plan, or the *han* of the imagination of Kütahyalı Esma Hanım who said:

“O Istanbul, are you a han, Are you the one who swallows heroes who come” and had her Ethem Pasha swallowed by the city. Their hans are

the city itself, the nourishment of the city. Citing the word, they find themselves from then on turning in a wheel of fortune, as Aşık Veysel laments when he says:

“The moment I came into the world
I walked in that selfsame time
In a han with two doors
I carry on both day and night.”

When cities become huge market places (see *Street Market*), however, streets are transformed into market areas, bustling with street sellers (see *Street Food Vendor*) where all kinds of goods and services are sold, and thus lively public areas of barter and exchange. (see *Public Space*) The passage of “things” in and out of the city has by this point become so intensified and enriched – and since, of course, become virtual – that Istanbul undergoes a transformation: from being a *han* with two entrances, to a *han* with forty entrances; from being the oesophagus of the stomach-city to an oesophagus bunged up with “stuff.” The interspaces formed by the coming together of patches of the han, i.e. the streets, become more active than the patches themselves. They are the walls of the bending narrow streets in the new city or the mar-



ket place, perceived not as buildings which invite entry and create spacious public courtyards, but as “high walls without forty entrances” that limit the streets, or borders where the market ends. It is as if they are not above but below ground, and with the myriad virtual “stuff” that enter the city or the virtual web trade environments, both hans and their doorways have become invisible. The knowledge that the below-ground levels of the han are used as storage area for almost the entire electronics market on the streets of Tahtakale, verifies this state of non/visibility. The city and the market are packed away at the end of the day, hidden inside hans and become invisible.

“The *han* is drunk, the keeper of the *han* is drunk

The stranger on the road is drunk
 Doctor, take your hand from my heart
 The pain inside me is drunk”

Although the han, treated in many poems and songs, has, like the poor living in the city, accepted its fate and lost any hope of promotion or improvement, and although its doors have been erased and rendered unreadable, and is now impassable both day and night, just as Aşık Mahzuni

Şerif said, under the influence of the adventures of the han with two entrances becoming the han with forty entrances, it is only drunk, not unhappy.

—Zühre Sözeri

> Public Space, Street Food Vendor,
 Street Market

HEADPHONES

THE DEVICE USED TO ESTABLISH A SOUND CONNECTION BETWEEN THE EAR AND THE TRANSMITTER. IN OTHER WORDS, THE TECHNOLOGICAL WONDER WHICH HELPS YOU LISTEN TO MUSIC IN ANY ENVIRONMENT WITHOUT DISTURBING OR BEING DISTURBED BY WHAT IS AROUND YOU.

Both headphones and their owners have come a long way since the low-quality orange foam headphones that came with the first walkman. People who listen to music on headphones, whom I will call “headphone wearers” from now on, used to be only the children of relatives from Germany, but today they are everywhere. Some residents of Istanbul continue their journey on the *dolmuş*, the ferry, the street and the market (yes, the market)



with their ears closed off to external sounds. If it counts as a confession, I confess I am one of them too and in the same way one recognizes someone bearing a resemblance to herself, I cannot help but observing members of the headphone-wearing crowd. This “headphone sister/brotherhood” extends from a secret eye-contact greeting when someone sees the other on the street to checking with a transient glance the song the other is listening to when sitting next to each other on the bus.

The flock of headphone wearers is inevitably to be separated into different groups. Those who may initially be included in this group are the mobile phone users; you can tell them from the asymmetrical cable length between their two ears and the way they suddenly start speaking to themselves when their phone rings. They generally prefer to listen to the radio. And interestingly, they prefer their ears to be free when they are walking. Once in a vehicle, even for only a couple of stops, they rush to get their earphones on.

A second group is those who wander around wearing their MP3 player earphones. These are a mutated form of the group who use to lug their bulky CD players around. They often use in-ear

earphones, you may witness them silently move their lips every now and then; don't be alarmed, they are only singing along to the song they are listening to. If you are with someone from this group on public transport and if you know the song, you may wish to sing along with them because they often act inconsiderately when adjusting their volume. Another group is those who walk around wearing huge DJ headphones. And the most recent addition to the group, i-Pod users reveal themselves by their shiny white earphones.

We headphone wearers travel along to our own personal music video everyday. Even if we take the same routes at the same hours – thanks to modern life – and spend hours in traffic jams – thanks to Istanbul – we owe it to the music in our ears that the time passing by is not the same. We can perhaps find our escape in this urban vicious circle and our own special Istanbul only in this way. We turn down Istanbul's strong voice and replace it with our own theme music in the background. The poet once said “I'm listening to Istanbul with my eyes closed.” Well, our eyes are open but our ears are plugged...

—İsmet Elif Kılıç



HOLIDAYS

THERE ARE STILL SOME DAYS OF THE CALENDAR WHICH HAVEN'T BEEN DECLARED "HOLIDAYS" IN TURKEY. [ED.]

In Turkey, a country "rich in holidays", the concept of the "*bayram*" primarily applies to the two religious holidays. The Şeker Bayramı (The Ramadan Holiday) and the *Kurban Bayramı* (The Holiday of Sacrifice) have been the two major festive events which mobilize the society at large, and in particular at particular social and economic levels. The coming of the religious holidays would be marked with the increase in open bazaars where new clothes and candies would be marketed. These holidays are also marked by the intensive family visits to the elderly, a tradition which would mobilize the whole city in opposite directions and cause a visible "holiday jam". Gifts and donations are also part of these holidays, where public visits are made to traditional Ottoman charity centres all located in Istanbul. With the impact of the Islamist movement, different municipalities in Istanbul offer free *iftar* food during the Ramadan Holidays. Since the mid-1990s, the Islamist movement has also had an impact on the

way "national holidays" have been celebrated in Istanbul. Like the religious holidays, "national holidays" are also an important part of public celebrations, where all schools and state offices are closed nationwide. One such conspicuously celebrated national holiday has been "Republic Day", where there is an intense display of flags (see *Flag*) around the city and public popular music concerts and exhibits. The two other national holidays "Youth and Sports Day" and the "Children's Day" are usually celebrated within city stadiums and schools. The "Victory Day," associated more with the military falls outside the school calendar, and its celebrations in Istanbul is usually limited to Heybeliada, the site for the Marine Academy. One should also mention the locally celebrated holidays with "national significance." These holidays usually celebrate the independence day of a certain locality or a day when Atatürk paid a special visit to a particular town. The "Saving of Istanbul" on October 6 is for instance a day off for all Istanbulite schools and public offices. Istanbul is also one of the main cities reflecting the impact of global celebrations like "Mother's Day", "Valentine's Day", phenomena of the new millennium, promoted by the city's rising shopping malls (see *Shopping Centre*). This is a new global



celebration tradition, which is in fact very different than the cosmopolitan tradition of Istanbul, where Easter and Christmas would be celebrated by its non-Muslim communities. While Christmas celebrations are transferred into New Year celebrations in Istanbul, usually centered around the Taksim area, the celebration of Easter is a less noticed event, leaving its trace only in patisseries, where the *paskalya çöreği* (Easter bread) is a customary item of the year-long repertoire.

—Arzu Öztürkmen

> Flag, Shopping Centre

HOTEL

A TEMPORARY LODGING ESTABLISHMENT DESIGNED TO PROVIDE ACCOMMODATION AND OTHER VARIOUS FACILITIES.

The construction of hotels, which accelerated in Europe with the industrial revolution and the construction of railways, began in Istanbul simultaneously with the urban planning work of the Ottoman Empire in the 1850s and the efforts to transform the Ottoman capital into a European city.

In the 18th century, with the emergence of a new trend in Europe to “search for a new view of life,” the interest in the Orient increased gradually especially in France and England. Towards the end of the century, travel-books featuring more realistic narratives became more widespread and from the end of the century on, Orientalism, Romanticism and archaeological work transformed the East, and especially Ottoman lands, into one of the foremost topics of interest in Europe. This image of the Orient which was accepted as applying to the whole of the East with almost no exceptions rendered the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, a must-see place as one of the symbolic centres of the East.

The more secure environment offered to foreigners after Tanzimat [Re-/Organisation] and the development and increase in means of transportation resulted in more short-term visitors from Europe to Istanbul. At first foreigners who came to Istanbul for official duty or trade stayed at hotels, with the first tourist groups beginning to arrive in the second half of the 19th century.

The first hotels constructed in the city in the early 1840s were situated close to the port in Galata. On the hills of Galata, where the foundations of the new



financial centre of the city were being laid, hotels were also opened, at the same time, along the Grand Rue de Pera (see *İstiklal Caddesi* or "*Beyoğlu*"), which would soon come to host European-style housing, culture and trade buildings. The owners of these first hotels were the Levantines and non-Muslims living in Istanbul. Throughout the second half of the 19th century, the most important hotels of the city would be positioned around this spine and in its vicinity where foreign embassies were also located. The Pera Palace opened in 1895, and achieved fame as part of a hotel chain and as a stop on the Orient Express tour.

Beyond being luxury accommodation buildings, these hotels entered the everyday life of the city as indispensable sites of the European lifestyle which was being introduced to society. They hosted balls, invitationals and concerts attended by non-Muslims, the European population and the notables of the Ottoman bourgeoisie. By the final quarter of the 19th century, the summer sites of these hotels began to appear in the newly suburbanized summer resorts (see *Summer Resort*) of the city like the Bosphorus and the Princes' Islands. In a similar manner, these places also hosted changing everyday living spaces with their ballrooms, tennis courts and beaches.

The city was re-included among the preferences of international hotel chains in the 1950s with the construction of the Hilton Hotel, and after the 1980s hotels diversified and increased in number as a sign of emerging values. With regional interventions to serve tourism, the industry to direct the city's dynamics, these buildings of accommodation diversified amid the recent pursuit of historicity in areas hosting the densest historical layers of the city.

—Yıldız Salman

> *İstiklal Caddesi* or "*Beyoğlu*", *Summer Resort*

HOUSEHOLD

THE TERM IN PRE - 20th CENTURY TURKISH WHICH DESCRIBED THE HOME AND THE FAMILY LIVING IN IT AS A SINGLE UNIT. [ED.]

In 1907, Kazım Bey, then a boy of 14, was a member of what he referred to as a "modest" household [*hane*] of four, including his mother, father and brother. They lived in a two-storey wooden house in Fatih, in the heart of Muslim Istanbul. His



simple household was a far cry from the image many have of what they presume to have been the populous multi-generational Istanbul household of the past. Indeed, Kazım Bey's household is just a bit larger than the mean at the time of 4.2 persons. Though there were striking examples of grandiose households in the past in this once imperial city, as far as we can tell, for most of its history most Istanbul residents of modest means – which was most people in the city – lived in rather small two-generation households. While the symbolic value of what the late Ottoman sociologist and nationalist ideologue, Ziya Gökalp, referred to as the grand *konak* household was great, the reality for most people was quite different. And even the *konak* household, emblematic of an era, did not, by and large, survive the economic and political traumas of the First World War, the end of empire and the establishment of the Republic, falling away with so many of the trappings of imperial Istanbul.

The word *hane*, which largely focuses on common residence (as opposed to family, which points to relationships regardless of where one lives) conjures up an image quite rigid and static. Households in Istanbul in the past were anything

but static, with the comings and goings of visiting relatives who often stayed for long periods of time. But most importantly, households were very fluid things, changing in size and composition as one moved through the various stages of life, adding on and dropping people as they were born, married, aged, and eventually died. This included live-in servants, common at the beginning, but not at the end of the century for the well-off. Servants were typically young girls who stayed until they were married off. In addition, though they might not have lived under the same roof, family members such as parents, aunts and uncles, and grandparents of all classes often lived – and still live – close by one another, and are persistently involved in each other's lives. So, in that sense, the Istanbul household is a social construction, assembled and disassembled as need arises. Despite the extraordinary growth and changes in the ethnic and social class composition of the population that have taken place over the past 100 years or so, the households of ordinary people in the city have been points of relative stability in a sea of change.

Contrary to common knowledge, the size of the household at the end of the 20th century was,



at 4 persons on average, not much different than it was at the beginning (then 3.6 counting family members only), except, perhaps surprisingly, for the working classes, who now are living better and longer and in somewhat more populous households. Istanbul 100 years ago was, as it is today, a city of migrants (see *Migration*). At the beginning of the last century, if they were Muslim, many of the migrants came from distant parts of the crumbling empire under difficult circumstances and tended not to have as many relatives residing with them as the longer-term residents of the city, but may have had a live-in servant or two. Over time they replaced, in more than a demographic sense, the numerous non-Muslims who were departing from the city, also under trying conditions. We know little about the lives of non-Muslims of Istanbul from a sociological perspective, even though they were about half the population at the time. Today they are perhaps two percent of the total. During the second half of the twentieth century most of the migrants to Istanbul were coming from more accessible Anatolia, and their households ebbed and flowed with live-in relatives they were sheltering, and whose fate, at least for a time, they were sharing in the transition to city life. Though their households today are somewhat larger than

a migrant household was 100 years ago, they are rarely multi-generational. The migrant household and the wider family and other personal connections have provided major entry points and the social capital for migrants moving into the urban world of work and sociability, and eventually set the foundations for their residential communities.

While the rich more likely lived under one roof in a *konak* at the beginning of the last century, by the end they were living in separate flats but, if they could manage it, in the same or neighbouring buildings. The most typical move was for such a family to sell their *konak* and put up an apartment building in its place where they would each occupy separate flats, while maintaining intensely intertwined lives. Their maids, rather than living in, were more likely to be day workers. In the communities where migrants from rural Anatolia live, family members reside as near to each other as they can. For the growing middle classes, such family propinquity and face-to-face intercourse is less easily attainable in the new residential communities in which they are now choosing to live.

One hundred years ago it was more likely that households of different economic and social levels



but of the same religious faith, would be interspersed throughout the same neighbourhood, creating a web of social connections grounded to some extent in religious sentiment and traditional social obligations that cut across class lines and provided a degree of local integration. Today, households in Istanbul are much more likely to be located in proximity to like households in neighbourhoods quite homogeneous in terms of social class, though for those from rural Anatolia, also largely homogeneous in terms of region of origin and ethnicity. For the middle classes in the city, social class and life-style have come to trump ethnicity and region of origin as bases of proximity and solidarity. While not living altogether in one flat, and perhaps not even in the same neighbourhood for many nowadays, close relatives of all social classes still maintain close contact and are intensely engaged in each other's lives. Istanbul, in that sense, is truly a city of families.

—Alan Duben

> Migration

HYBRID-ISING/ISATION

THE NATURAL CONDITION OF HUMAN BEINGS AND CULTURE. [ED.]

Perhaps the discourse of hybridisation belongs to minorities more than to anyone else. Although the mainstream doesn't have many definitions as a putative category, hybridity is almost never one of its qualifiers. The mainstream is more often characterized by either appropriating or classifying as entirely separate categories groups positioned outside it in order to "preserve inner qualities." Therefore the hybridisation of a country or a city and, in this case, Istanbul is not preferred by dominant authorities or the holders of power. However, hybridisation does take place in all groups claiming to be dominant, even if they don't desire it and tend to turn a blind eye to change.

The minority in this context is not only religious or ethnic. It includes everyone who falls outside the aforementioned mainstream. I would like to claim the following: not only in Turkey, but across almost the whole world, even in countries like the United States which maintain that they exist in a state of diversity, hybridisation is the dis-



course of minorities. Let's say a field of discourse in which those who refuse to be assimilated but do not necessarily define themselves as points of resistance. Thus, one might even discuss whether the process called hybrid/isation really exists at all. Actions formed with the suffix “-isation” point mostly to the existence of some kind of centre of power. Those who speak of a spontaneous becoming-hybrid, in line with their discourse, are generally those who are looking on from outside this centre of power.

Probably this undefined mainstream in Istanbul presents itself most in the expression “being from Istanbul” (see *Istanbulite*). The story of the inhabitant who wants to leave or does actually leave because s/he feels like a minority in Istanbul ought to sound very familiar to everyone. However, it is precisely because of this mobility, the source of complaints, that Istanbul doesn't turn into an open air museum and continues its existence as a living city. Things aren't what they used to be; they neither can nor should be anyway. Life-styles, ways of claiming the city, habits of using public/private space and other similar patterns are changing. Does that mean that what turns out to be the case is bad, just because it doesn't fit

what was planned or desired? Perhaps the whole problematic is not accepting the impossibility of living Istanbul according to the user's guide stipulated by some. Rather than trying constantly to “correct” hybrid lifestyles, or the hybrid spaces that emerge, let's try to understand and share in the affluence.

—Burçak Özlüdil

> *Istanbulite*

IDENTITY

THE CONSTANT OF SAMENESS WHICH, ACCORDING TO THE DOMINANT DISCOURSE, ISTANBUL IS THOUGHT TO BE PERMANENTLY LOSING AND THEREFORE MUST BE PROVED BY THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENT WHICH CAN NEVER BE PRESENTED AT EVERY DEMAND OF THE CULTURE POLICE.

In exactly the same manner as the illusion that a document of identity is the answer to who everyone is, it is a common assumption that Istanbul has, or rather should have, a total, constant and immediately recognizable identity to be presented on demand. The desire invested in



the need for a transhistorical essence rendering all the events, people, practices and the physical environment produced by them unique to Istanbul, is the productive force behind all the discursive production regarding what this city is and what it will be. Yet actions oriented by different expectations, interests, possibilities, desires and conditionings and their consequences cannot somehow be assembled under the singular umbrella of being unique to Istanbul. In a sense, *becoming Istanbul* emerges with this ironic contradiction: on one hand Istanbul is this plurality which cannot be totalized under a singular sameness. On the other, Istanbul is also the fear of the untotizable multiplicity of its own multiplicity and the dream of sameness as it multiplies. Desire invested in *always* conceals *everyone*, yet the appearance of *everyone* is only possible if the image of *always* is erased and diffused. Istanbul's problem is not a loss of identity, on the contrary, it is the belief and will that such a multiplicity can hide behind an Istanbul identity and the partial success of this concealment.

—Bülent Tanju

IRANIAN IMMIGRANTS

EMIGRATION FROM IRAN TO TURKEY HAS A LONG HISTORY. BUT THE MORE RECENT FLOW OF IRANIAN MIGRATION TO AND THROUGH TURKEY WAS LINKED WITH THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION IN 1979, CAUSING MANY OPPONENTS AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

Another important factor was the Iran–Iraq war, which lasted from 1980 to 1988, taking the lives of many young people on both sides. In the absence of official statistics, estimates claimed that 300,000 to 1.5 million Iranians entered Turkey after 1979 and stayed in the country until the end of the 1980s (Ghorashi 2002: 111; Kirişçi, 2003: 85). Iranians who emigrated at this time included members of religious minorities, especially Bahais and Jews, intellectuals and the political elite, members of ethnic minorities, political opponents of the government in Tehran, and some young men who deserted from the military or sought to avoid conscription. Although initially most of these migrants considered Turkey to be a transit country and obtained visas to go to the West or to unite with their family members, some ultimately remained in Turkey due to difficulties in reaching their final destinations; a minority

obtained residence permits and even citizenship (Kirişçi, 2000: 11-12; Pahlavan, 2004: 270).

There is no formal evidence of the exact number of Iranians in Turkey except a small number of those given residence and work permits, those holding student visas, and asylum seekers. The existing flexible visa regime between Iran and Turkey put into effect since 1964 further facilitates tourism and all kinds of flows of migration from that country. At the moment, Iranian nationals can stay in Turkey up to three months without a visa requirement. In 2003 and 2004 there were more than a million Iranians that entered Turkey visa free (Kirişçi, 2005: 351).

In contrast to the political migration of the 1980s, after the mid-1990s emigration from Iran reportedly became more economic in nature (Roy, 2003: 174-175; Bozorgmehr, 1997: 88). Despite their increasingly socio-economic motivations, many Iranians choose the asylum route to migrate to the West. Iranians constitute the highest number of asylum applicants in Turkey. According to the UNHCR Ankara office, between 1997 and 2006, there were a total of 48,957 asylum applicants in Turkey, of which more than 50% were Iranians.

Apart from Sunni Iranian Kurds, and Persian and Azeri Shiites, there are some religious minorities among Iranian asylum seekers in Turkey, like Iranian Bahais and converts to Christianity. Bahaism is regarded as an offshoot of Islam and some Bahai leaders were killed in the past. In short, the Bahai religion is not recognized and there are reports that many Bahais are discriminated against in Iran. Conversion from Islam to Christianity is punishable by death although those born Christians in Iran are among the protected minorities, alongside Zoroastrians and Jews, and they are represented in the Iranian Parliament.

Iranian asylum seekers also consider their stay as a temporary stop on the way to better life standards in the West. Their stay in Turkey is temporary mainly for two reasons. First, this is borne out by the law and regulations concerning asylum seekers and refugees as Turkey retained its geographical limitation, together with Congo, Madagascar, and Monaco, in the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention, accepting non-Europeans as refugees through UNHCR Turkey but not allowing them to stay within the country. The Turkish authorities together with the UNHCR Office in Ankara handle all asylum applications and after

long procedures that might even last for more than four years, the UNHCR tries to find a resettlement country outside Turkey. Second, Turkey is a key location in the flow of international migration from the Middle East to Europe. Those coming from the Middle East and from Iran usually have the objective of going to further “west” and staying in Turkey is not a desirable option because of high costs of living, economic difficulties, and lack of available social services.

As a result of the growing awareness on immigration issues in Turkey in recent years and pressure from the European Union to control irregular migration as well as the flow of refugees, the number of irregular Iranian migrants apprehended in Turkey has increased greatly. According to statistics from the Turkish police, between 1995 and 2004 the number of Iranians apprehended without proper visa was almost 22,000. It is important to note, however, that there are many unapprehended cases, such as those who use the help of human smugglers to facilitate their passage to the West. It is widely known that only a small number of people apply for asylum to the UNHCR Turkey and wait for resettlement in a third country, whereas the majority – especially those

with more resources – try to find their own way to the West. A large number of Iranians, including rejected asylum seekers who are unwilling to go back to Iran, were still estimated to live in Turkey, often under irregular circumstances. Apart from irregular Iranian migrants, rejected asylum seekers, and an established Iranian community with skilled and semi-skilled professionals, including businessmen, doctors, engineers, and owners of small to medium-sized companies, there are also so-called “tourists” who are staying in Turkey legally. Some of the Iranians remain as “tourists” in Turkey after their applications are turned down by the UNHCR. Instead of going back to Iran, they exit Turkey and enter again on the same day every three months as the visa requires.

The reasons for leaving Iran and choosing Turkey are usually a combination of social, religious, political, and economic problems, like oppression in Iran, lack of rights for and social pressure on women, religious discrimination especially in the case of Bahais and those converted to Christianity, and economic difficulties. For most Iranian migrants, Turkey’s proximity, visa exemption for three months, smuggling networks along the borders, the existence of an UNHCR of-

fice just across the border in Van are important factors in choosing Turkey. Knowing Turkish language and culture was another factor cited by the Azeri-origin Iranians. Kurdish origin Iranians coming from Northern Iraq decided to come after 2001 when the resettlement opportunities were frozen even for accepted refugees, due to the precarious situation and then due to the war in Iraq. Bahais generally remain in Turkey for several months to two years, as they are accepted as refugees on grounds of religious persecution in their homeland. They have a strong group identity with their co-religionists and the Spiritual Assembly of Bahais in Kayseri extends help whenever needed.

Means of entry into Turkey involve most Iranian migrants and asylum seekers usually entering Turkey legally, but some also resort to human smugglers to cross the border. They arrange human smugglers either in Iran or in Turkey to take them to Greek islands, mainland Greece, Italy, or elsewhere. Bosnia was one of the transit zones until the end of 1990s. It is reported that deception is very high and there are many cases when human smugglers disappear with the money or leave them in the middle of the international waters in the Aegean. If they are caught in Turkey, they are

usually deported and may resort to human smugglers in Iran to get back to Turkey again. There are also many who were caught by the Greek authorities and dumped back in Turkey, in violation of existing repatriation agreement between the two countries. Those who do not use human smugglers prefer different modes of travel to Turkey: by bus (running between Tehran and Van in Eastern Turkey or Istanbul) by train (between Tehran and Kayseri), and even by plane.

Considering the major problems Iranian migrants face in Turkey, we may note many Iranians have prior knowledge about Turkey before arrival thanks to satellite dishes and Turkish programmes aired on Iranian TV. They also receive information from their friends or relatives or they have already visited the country before they make their decision to emigrate. Life on TV and the real life in Turkey for an extended time as an illegal migrant or an asylum seeker, however, are quite different. Especially when the money they bring with them for their journey is used up, they have many problems to deal with, such as bad housing conditions, harsh economic disadvantages, having to work as sex workers or bar dancers, lack of education for children, and discrimination. They

say Istanbul hides them quite well, but in smaller and more conservative cities like Van and Central Anatolia, they may become the target of the native population for soaring crime rates, indecent behaviour, and unemployment.

Concerning religious conversion among Iranian asylum seekers, some convert in Iran, some in Turkey. The main reasons for religious conversion from Shi'a Islam to Christianity (especially to Evangelicalism but also other Protestant denominations and Catholicism) are complex. It was known among the asylum seekers that if their conversion is documented properly, they could earn refugee status. In fact, some "born again" Iranian Christians who converted in Turkey earned refugee status and resettled in the United States and Canada in recent years (Köfler Akçapar, 2006). Although conversion is used as a migration strategy for some, it is not possible to argue that most of these conversions are not genuine. This new and re-created social and religious space inside some churches serves as a means to cope with illegality, helps them both psychologically and physically, and becomes an indispensable part of their lives. Some of the factors leading to religious conversions include rejection by the UNHCR, long years

of "illegality," help they receive from Christian missionaries in Turkey, and support available for converts through migrant networks.

Although Iranian migrants have many problems in Turkey, they are not passive victims. They try to find ways to solve their problems – like learning Turkish to find labor in the informal economy to make ends meet; marrying a former refugee in Turkey or someone else they know who has been living in Western Europe or in North America. They construct a new community, establish new networks, define new places for daily life, and develop strategies to control their lives. Furthermore, the dimension of hope and accounts of "successful" migrants after years of illegality in Turkey operate as a protective "space" in their world of hostility and deception. Postcards and photographs from their friends and relatives living in the West – former asylum seekers or illegal migrants like themselves – occupy a special place decorating the unpainted walls.

Most see their lives in Turkey as temporary. Even though they occupy a social space in Turkey, most of the Iranians are "invisible" and simply incorporated into poor and neglected parts of

Turkish neighbourhoods. The prospect of having a better future in terms of their standards of living, cultural and religious freedoms, or educational opportunities for their children play an important role in their decision to migrate in the first place as well as their decision for choosing or preferring a destination in the West. As social networks are the most important source of information among Iranians in Turkey, reasons for choosing final destinations depend on the presence of family members in these countries of destination, or on the information gathered in Turkey from friends. But the choice of the final destination mainly depends on the immigration or asylum policies of nation-states, the availability of quotas, and how far human smugglers can take them. Nevertheless, Iranian migrants in Turkey extend and diversify their existing social networks in order to reach scarce resources or information that could carry them further West. For many of them indeed, Turkey is nothing but a waiting room before entering one of those Western countries they often idealize too much.

—Şebnem Köşer Akçapar

IRAQI IMMIGRANTS

A GROUP AMONG THE FOREIGNERS IN ISTANBUL ESPECIALLY IN THE 1990S. AS ISTANBUL BECAME THE “TRANSIT CITY” FOR MIGRANTS COMING FROM VARIOUS COUNTRIES (SEE *IRANIAN IMMIGRANTS*), THE PRESENCE OF IRAQIS AMONG TRAVELLERS STOPPING OVER AT THIS COSMOPOLITAN TRANSIT STOP BEGAN TO LEAVE TRACES BOTH ON SOCIAL AND SPATIAL PLANES.

Many Iraqis today perceive Turkey as a springboard on the route to the West, with the only group of Iraqi origin that has permanently settled in Istanbul being the Turkmens. Following the Treaty of Ankara signed in 1926 which finalized the Mosul problem, Turkey gave Turkmens who so wished the right to adopt Turkish citizenship. Agreements between the two countries in later years made it easier for Turkmen students to come to Turkey for their education. The number of young Turkmen students increased after the 1950s and they received university education especially in the fields of medicine, engineering, law and pharmaceuticals. The mostly male Turkmens who came to Istanbul during this period, settled along the Aksaray, Fatih and Fındıkzade axis where the universities were and contributed



to the formation of a small Turkmen community in this area. A reflection of the increasing population of Turkmens in Istanbul was the founding of the Iraqi Turks Culture and Solidarity Association in 1959. The association is today based in Aksaray and forms one of the leading centres of attraction for the Turkmen presence in Istanbul.

Increasing political pressure in Iraq and the commencement of the Iran-Iraq war in 1980 were influential in the transition to permanent residence in Istanbul of the young Turkmen population who came to Turkey for education. The vast majority of Turkmen in Istanbul today could not visit their families during the war and later period of pressure that continued until the toppling of Saddam Hussein in 2003 and they increasingly established a life away from Iraq. The Turkmen population that came and settled in Istanbul before the mid-1990s integrated seamlessly due to their ethnic and cultural proximity to Turkish society, their high level of education, their professional qualifications and their ease in obtaining citizenship. These people, who have lived in Istanbul for a long time, many of whom becoming Turkish citizens, have increasingly adopted a Turkish middle class lifestyle and begun to move to new neighbourhoods other than

their traditional areas in Istanbul, Fatih, Aksaray and Fındıkzade. This group, residing in areas from Kadıköy to Kartal and from Bakırköy to Sarıyer, show no differences from groups coming to Istanbul from Anatolia as internal migrants.

The profile of Turkmens in Istanbul began to change after the mid-1990s. The uncertainty of the legal status of the newly-arrived Turkmens from Iraq who had difficulty in obtaining a residence permit led to them experiencing difficulties similar to those of irregular migrant groups in the city. The main business activities for Turkmens who came after 1991 are the wholesale textile firms and cargo companies serving Arab customers. Informal import-export business that developed with the transition to export-oriented liberal economy in the Turgut Özal era enabled Turkmens to create for themselves an ethnic niche thanks to their knowledge of Arabic. In companies operating in Osmanbey and Laleli, newcomers serve as sales-clerks or interpreters under the migrants who arrived before them and are now the owners of these companies or senior employees.

The population of Iraqi origin in Istanbul began to diversify after the Gulf War in 1991. Fol-

lowing the huge refugee crisis in April 1991 when about half a million Iraqis sought refuge in Turkey, Istanbul formed a corridor of passage for Kurdish and Christian Iraqis wanting to go to the West. Throughout the 1990s, the worsening economy due to international embargos, the increasing pressure of the regime especially on minorities and the clashes between Kurdish groups in Northern Iraq accelerated the escape from Iraq. Istanbul was one of the first stops on this escape route and the city hosted hundreds of thousands of Iraqi migrants many of whom didn't even have the necessary travel and residence documents like passports and visas.

Although the greater part of this migration is transitory, Iraqis staying in Istanbul have left certain traces on the urban fabric. As with the example of Iraqi Kurds, some of these were indeed indistinct due to this state of "transitivity," and in fact disappeared when volumes of migration decreased. Kurds, who formed the majority of migrants from Iraq until the American occupation in 2003, were the most "invisible" group in urban space. During their stay in Istanbul, which they considered a temporary stop on their journey to the West, most of them worked in informal

unskilled jobs without social security in order to meet their basic costs and to make the money that would enable them to be on their way. Since the sole aim of Iraqi Kurds living in bachelor's rooms in Eminönü, Kumkapı and Tarlabası was at all costs to reach European soil, the centre of their lives in Istanbul was dominated by a combination of smuggling, fake documents, police raids, the fear of extradition, yearning for those left behind and mixed feelings of anxiety and hope regarding the future. From 2003 on, the acceleration of the formation of an independent Kurdish entity in Northern Iraq under American rule decelerated the external migration of Kurds and the sporadic few that did come lost their importance among other irregular migrant groups of Asian and African origin.

Another group who used Istanbul as a transit migration stop in the post-1991 period is the Iraqi Christians, most of which are members of the Chaldean Church. Christians who during the 1990s left the country for similar reasons to those of the Kurds and Turkmens are now leaving Iraq *en masse* because they are directly being targeted as religious minorities in the environment of aggravated violent in the aftermath of the American

occupation of 2003. In contrast to Iraqi Kurdish migrants who are mostly single males, Christians migrate as families and on reaching Istanbul they apply to the states of Australia and Canada to benefit from family unification and refugee programmes. Church organisations and institutions like Caritas play an important role in catering for the needs of Iraqi Christians during this process which lasts 2 to 5 years on average and up to 10 years in exceptional circumstances.

For Iraqi Christians, Istanbul corresponds to an undetermined period of purgatorial waiting. The church is the most important social space on this road with no return. Iraqi Chaldean Catholics living in the Tarlabası–Kurtuluş–Dolapdere–Elmadag district celebrate Sunday mass at churches in Beyoğlu. Iraqi Chaldeans and other Christian migrants have provided fresh blood to churches that had lost Istanbul's local and Levantine communities. This new transnational social space signals a different face of Istanbul that has emerged amid processes of globalisation. Further, for Iraqi Christians now dispersed across various regions of the world, Istanbul has become a new transnational meeting place. Migrants to Australia, Germany, Denmark or Greece get together in

Istanbul with their relatives who have remained in Iraq and have their weddings here. This new role adopted by Istanbul under the influence of new waves of migration is no doubt an impact of globalisation not yet well enough recognized.

—Didem Daniş

> Iranian Immigrants

IRREGULAR URBANISATION

THE NAME GIVEN TO THE SETTLEMENT LAYOUT DEFINED WITH DISREGARD FOR THE UNIQUE DYNAMICS OF EACH CITY, ONE THAT IS BASED ON THE "PERFECT" WESTERN CITY WHICH ISN'T "AWRY" BUT "STRAIGHT," AND IS SUPPOSEDLY BEING "CORRECTED" IN THE NAME OF "URBAN TRANSFORMATION" (SEE *URBAN TRANSFORMATION*) TODAY.

I will propose "hand-made cities" as an alternative equivalent. The term "hand-made" is a proposal formed to counter the negative associations of "irregularity" by extolling, especially in cities defined as irregular, the dynamics brought forth from the core of the city with reference to the likes of collaboration in urbanisation, borrowing, collective creativity, face-to-face relationships and

spatial sensitivity. We all know that eventually every component that forms the city transforms into nothing more than a wall created for security. And what's more, this happens in the name of "freedom."

—Özge Açikkol

> Urban Transformation

ISLE

NINE AND A HALF PIECES OF ISTANBUL, COMPLETELY
SURROUNDED BY THE SEA OF MARMARA.

What appears to you as aesthetic or even utopian is conveyed by geomorphology in such a simplified, brief and exact manner that you may often be challenged when objecting to its definition. Yet the concept of "island" is beyond physicality. Each mind has one or more isles of its own. And sometimes those mental isles coincide with physical ones.

The islands of Istanbul have played their roles, and still do, in this arrangement. Perhaps

the reason that the city islands play the part of providing relatively more protected surroundings is the result of the Istanbulite's trial by sea. The sea, passing through the city and twisting to the southeast, acts as a shield that prevents the islands from melting away into the Istanbul-İzmit conurbation.

Physically close-by, but spiritually isolated from mainland Istanbul, these land masses, on the axis of sunrise to sunset, line up as follow: Sedef/Terevinthos, Büyükağa/Prinkipo, Tavşan/Nean-dros, Heybeli/Halki, Kaşık/Pita, Burgaz/Antigoni, Kınalı/Proti, Yassı/Plati and Sivri/Oxia. The nine-strong group surround the Island of Vordonisi, which sunk due to an earthquake a millennium ago, as if they are celebrating its funeral.

Together with Vordonisi, the great earthquake sent the monastery and the tomb of Patriarch St. Fotius on the island into the shallow depths of the Marmara too. Fortunately, tens of monasteries on the nine islands have survived. You may be greeted by a monastery or a chapel on almost every hill and cove. These structures, devoted to religious figures such as Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, Archangel Michael, Aya Yorgi [Saint George]



and Aya Nikola [Saint Nicholas or Santa Claus], are the reason the islands used to be called the “Priests’ Islands.” A better known name, popularized by Gustave Schlumberger’s book, has been “Princes’ Islands” — attributable to the exile of princes and statesmen here during the dominion of the Eastern Roman and Byzantine Empires.

Today, the archipelago officially has the name “Adalar” [islands] in Turkish. However the locals and insiders prefer to use “ada” in the singular. The island sometimes leads to huge conflicts in tiny spaces, as with Yassıada which in its short history has been, for Sir Henry Bulwer-Lytton, a pleasure island but also an island of grief where fatal decisions were taken, while yet still inspiring master poets and artists with its natural and human attractions. Mathematics fails here. Whilst the island belongs to many, each dreamer, a nameless Greek fisherman or a famous artist, can have a separate island of his own.

As for mine, it’s a delicate slice of Büyükada/Prinkipo where Leon Trotsky was exiled to write his letters. Called Prinkipo Palace and, occupying 26,000 square meters of land ringed by a fence made of Marseille fire bricks and railway tracks,

she is an orphan child of that modern colonizing process, tourism (see *Tourism*).

It is possible to perceive tourism as the most civilized tool of imperialism, such that tourist activities have enabled access to the attractions and resources of the third world by a method that is kinder than its hard-handed accomplices. Seeded through Thomas Cook’s invention of package travel, today’s industrialized tourism utilizes the best of developing countries’ resources and turns them into products of capitalism. Consequently, chains and their dependent organisations take more control of the lodging industries of tourist-receiving countries, and thus the irrevocability of the system is further guaranteed.

19th century Istanbul was something of a milestone in this “touristic” modernisation. At the intersection of growing westernisation movements in the Ottoman Empire and the Europeans’ Orientalist wonder (see *Orientalism*), a fruitful market developed. Optimizing this opportunity, the Wagons-Lits Company chose Istanbul as a primary destination for its flagship train, the Orient Express.



Settling quickly into shape, Wagons-Lits also started to invest in Istanbul lodging through its subsidiary hotel chain firm, Compagnie Internationale des Grand Hotels. 1894 witnessed the opening of the Bosphorus Summer Palace in Tarabya (a.k.a. Therapia), followed by the establishment of the legendary Pera Palace. The two have served the luxurious needs of those enjoying Istanbul discovering the historic peninsula and entertaining themselves along the Grand Rue de Pera, one of the most significant icons of the post-Crimean War urban transformation era, while Büyükkada was targeted as the location for a third investment.

The island, which has been home to fishermen for about 400 years, encountered a rapid urbanisation process beginning in the second half of the 19th century and became elite-ridden just like Pera (Beyoğlu) and the Bosphorus. Yet the professional investor realized that particular attractions of the destination by themselves were incapable of overcoming seasonal factors, and therefore opted for a special concept in hotel investment that provided a quality and functionality beyond that of the destination: a Monte Carlo style Luxury Casino Hotel embedded in a unique structure, namely Prinkipo Palace...

The architect Alexandre Vallaury did not design Prinkipo Palace simply as an expansive version of the Ottoman timber-housing art. The building, erected on a supremely piny hilltop and still recognized as one of the largest mono-block wooden buildings of the world, is a unique case, with its complex structural design, the plain but splendid exteriors and the play on interior details. The rectangular windows positioned according to the golden ratio right in the middle of its 100 metre-wide facade provided a panoramic view that makes anyone forget the grandeur of the building. Yet the view also blocks 110 years of decline...

Just as her construction had been completed in 1899, ongoing local conservative attitudes and rumours spread by rival hoteliers' claiming that this would be a venue for anti-governmental meetings were enough to arouse the anxious Red Sultan's suspicions, and this led to his veto of the opening of Prinkipo Palace, under the cloak of a prohibition on gambling. Subsequently, Grand Hotels, fearing loss of profitability without the casino facilities, placed her up for sale. She found no market. Till the Ottoman-Greek community led by the Zarifi family purchased it at a bargain price...



The Greeks were permitted by the Sultan to use the building as a replacement for their orphanage in Yedikule, which had been ruined in a major earthquake. Thus, the casino hotel built according to highly capitalistic motives took on the humanitarian mission of sheltering a dependent population. However, looking after kids led her to being unable to care for herself, and torn by years, she had to be abandoned in 1964. Since the same year witnessed the events in Cyprus and the increase in tension in Turkish–Greek relations, she became a scapegoat while politicians and power brokers alike fought for her ownership. Eventually, the orphanage became the orphan herself. She lost her character, children and her vital roof. The red ochre, the reason she was known as the “Red Palace,” almost vanished. Having already forgotten her colour, she struggles for survival while still awaiting her grand opening postponed for over a century...

Nature buried Vordonisi in the Sea of Marmara. And now it looks as though the human hand, trying to emulate nature regardless of its essential weakness, will bury Prinkipo Palace in history. Or maybe, she will manage to survive after all and have the opening she once deserved, form-

ing a contrast with modern ritzy hotel buildings and thereby responding with some irony to the conservatism she faced at her birth. The decision will be made in time, of which we have plenty and she has almost none...

—Osman Cenk Demiroğlu

> Orientalism, Tourism

ISTANBULITE

AN URBAN LEGEND.

In its plain dictionary definition, the word describes people who have been born and have grown up in Istanbul. However, at least in recent decades, its use has hardly been restricted to this meaning alone, and it almost never indicates birth register data. It almost always signifies the position of the person it describes within a field of ambiguous values ascribing the condition of being born in Istanbul with “specific” meaning. This field of values in turn is a legend the existence of which outside the social imagination is very doubtful. That field is a cultural Atlantis; a culture-space which once existed but has now been lost. The



Istanbulite, the resident of the said space, is imagined as having lived in a past which can never be fully described and has now unfortunately become extinct.

In this sense, the concept cannot be said to be in use before the late Ottoman period. However, it is known that Istanbul has been a focal point of unrivalled attraction since the mid-Byzantine period and that the obligation to leave it feels like an unparalleled deprivation to a member of its upper class. In the early centuries of the Ottoman period, being driven away from Istanbul doesn't have a similar meaning. The Ottoman intellectual/bureaucratic elite cared more about being removed or cast away from a centre of power than having to leave Istanbul. Moreover, considering that almost no member of the bureaucratic elite was born in Istanbul, it is clear that it would not be realistic to attribute any special meaning to being an Istanbulite to them. The term probably began to be used to describe the people of the city assumed to possess a refined culture in the 19th century. Its emergence is definitely related to the administrative elite no longer being of rural origin. Perhaps it is also an expression of the chronological earliness of the capital in the con-

text of modernisation. From the 18th century on, a distinctive gap opened up between the capital and the country in every cultural, social and artistic field. In the mid-19th century, as contact with Europe developed especially with the alliances formed for the Crimean War, the term began to describe the people of the city who benefited most and in the most rapid manner. Although this is never expressed clearly in this way, it is not difficult to sense, behind the term Istanbulite, the implication of a "local" close to the "other," the Westerner. However, the use by people of Turkish origin of the term in the 19th and 20th century very rarely referred to a "local" non-Muslim (see *Etnicity, Minority*).

The concept faced a rapid revision of meaning after 1980. For it to be revived, Istanbul had to regain its unrivalled economic and cultural position lost in the 1920s following Ankara's replacement of Istanbul as the capital. Therefore, the "invention" of the Istanbulite with a newly assigned meaning is a paradox. With the re-emergence of the lost figure of the Istanbulite, Istanbul obtained a new gravity, ruralizing Ankara in a manner which wasn't intended at all. In sum, as Istanbul was reborn, the Istanbulite



died. This death was functional too... The articulation of a giant metropolis of the city in the global network of relations earned it exceptional and incontestable power, whereas the death of the Istanbulite enabled the return of this metropolis to a common state of belonging to Turkey as nation. Precisely, since the inhabitants of Istanbul aren't Istanbulites anymore! Not even being born in Istanbul, let alone living there, is enough to be considered an Istanbulite (see *Foreigner*), because those hurled here from all corners of the country are considered to have lost their local moral/cultural/human values to a large extent on arrival. This in turn leads to the invention of a further imaginary state of internalizing Istanbul and identifying with Istanbul. It is as if the city were losing its identity and deteriorating because the people living in Istanbul do not internalize it, because they are unable to comprehend its values. The meaning of this depends on the concept of belonging to Istanbul being understood according to ancient patterns of compatriotism dominant across Turkey. In other words, an attempt is made to construct a model of an urbanite projected for the metropolis from within a framework of traditional Turkey's narrow communitarian patterns of belonging.

And since this is impossible, a mythology of belonging to Istanbul is founded.

—Uğur Tanyeli

> Ethnicity, Foreigner, Minority

İSTİKLAL CADDESİ OR “BEYOĞLU”

NEITHER A STREET, NOR A NEIGHBOURHOOD... FOR AT LEAST TWO CENTURIES IT HAS BEEN THE MOST SIGNIFICANT SPACE FOR TURKS WHO WANT TO MAKE INDIVIDUAL CULTURAL CHOICES TO EXPRESS THEIR DECISIONS. [ED.]

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, who provides always the most fitting, and at the same time the most tolerant commentaries on our cultural life, judged Beyoğlu in an unexpectedly ruthless manner, saying “this imitation of Paris reminds us of the poverty of our lives.” Beyoğlu has often taken on our aspirations, affectations, lazy moods, wanderings, dates, love-making and our quota of book-music-film and secret yearnings. Like those underground passageways in Eminönü, it has a whirling intensity, especially at the weekend. The very desire to “tramp” its streets, exhibited by the people who crowd Beyoğlu, tires one after a while. As does the



idea that we will always have to return to it... Our beloved Beyoğlu, I feel affection for it and must spare it. Beyoğlu, highly celebrated when I was a child, later to fall from favour, is now once again like a favourite enjoying flattery. Once again the paint has just about started to peel, or is peeling already. As far as one can tell, it has always been like this. However much the gilding has faded – or is about to – let’s face it, passing through that glitter still does me, all of us, some good.

—Fatih Özgüven

JUNK ECONOMY

A GLOBAL ACCUMULATION OF MATERIAL AND IMMATERIAL PRODUCTION IS INCREASINGLY CREATING A SURPLUS THAT CALLS FOR AN EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF STORED AND STORABLE ENERGY RESOURCES ON EARTH. JUNK ECONOMY IS ONE SUCH FORM OF MANAGEMENT ACTING AS A SELECTIVE ECONOMY OF CONSERVATION AND DISPOSAL.

Transposed on a scale of values, the global stock in a junk economy displays itself in three forms: junk, or the ultimate state of matter or non-matter that has exhausted its use value; the “not-junk”, which has been ascribed a cultural or

economical value securing its status of preservation; and an in-between category called “not-yet-junk”, presenting an undecidable value that oscillates between both ends of the scale. The junk economy of Istanbul extends from an existing and growing junk deposit to a historic sedimentation of not-junk. In between this double accumulation is the development of not-yet-junk formations that are continuously being added to the urban stock. Istanbul needs to articulate a critical and effective configuration to confront this triple accumulation that is being experimented with in the real time and real space of the city. Such a configuration is the elaboration of a system of selective preservation in which it is essential to define and differentiate the conditions of junk, not-junk and not-yet-junk.

Junk denotes the condition of any object or material which has lost its use value, its purposiveness and efficiency, and therefore is prone to destruction and disposal. What we no longer want is that which can no longer be employed, exercised, practiced, and consumed, no longer presenting any benefit, nor privilege, no more fulfilling a service or an end. Junk identifying criteria are not only functional but also quantitative; hence the junk deposit is also evaluated in terms

of the space that it occupies. Any encumbering object unnecessarily occupying habitable space on earth needs to be evacuated. The junk candidate is characterized by its size or the expiry of its use value or efficiency. On the other hand, the definition of what would be not-junk extends into more qualitative terms. The not-junk is attributed a universal value of a material, economic, historical or cultural order. It is conserved regardless of its size in specific depositories or repositories that our culture has created; institutions of safe-keeping such as the museum, the archive and the library, in which cultural and historical stock is contained, inventoried, saved, sealed and secured. The not-junk may also display itself, as in the case of Istanbul, in the physical/material structure of the city, sedimenting in its cultural/ archaeological strata.

Though diametrically opposed in their definitions, junk and not-junk deposits in Istanbul are equally problematic in terms of inefficiencies in the respective measures taken for their disposal or conservation. The production of junk always exceeds its extermination, increasing further with respect to an increase in the number of junk producers. In Istanbul, just domestic junk production rises to 12–13 thousand tons per day, requiring the allocation of

urban areas reserved for its disposal. This excess or the impossibility of dealing with junk conclusively is met with techniques and forms of postponement: junk that cannot be removed needs to postpone its disposal status and be stored and/or processed for re-circulation and re-use. Storage and re-processing are the two forms of postponement – re-processing being itself a form of postponing storage – by which a possible junk condition is being deferred. Junk, then, can be redefined as the ultimate state of matter or non-matter that has exhausted its own possibilities of storage and/or (re-)processing. Extending this definition, what remains of the global stock after the exclusion of what has been classified as junk and not-junk can further be differentiated into a third category that emerges as a by-product of junk postponement, the “not-yet-junk.”

Not-yet-junk is an in-between category which oscillates between its possible classification as junk or not-junk. It denotes a production the value of which has not yet figured itself. Its junk condition is delayed by positive and conscious postponement in virtue of this promise that it contains. Squatter settlements in Istanbul (see *Gecekondu*, *Varoş*) provide for a pertinent illustration of not-yet-junk, as would any illegal construc-

tion at any scale. Illegal status in Istanbul does not present a fixed but shifting economic value that varies with respect to changes in regulatory policies by decision-makers, keeping alive the expectation of illegal settlements acquiring a different status or value at a different time. Here postponement of junk status comes as a necessity tied to the unpredictable quality of the stock unfolding, arising from undecidability as to when, where and how re-processing will take place. Multiplicity and undecidability delay assessment and add to the becoming-stock's life-span, which further exhibits mobility, freedom and spatial invasion.

The peculiarity of the junk economy of Istanbul is that distinctions between the three categories of urban stock are surprisingly blurred and undifferentiated. An intricate mix of junk and not-yet-junk invades what is expected to be the secured space-time of the not-junk. It can also be noted that the value of the latter is all the more secured in so far as it acquires a globally recognized value, as in the case of the inclusion of the historical peninsula in the Unesco World Heritage List, while local/regional attributions of cultural/historical value can be more unstable and shift or degrade the universal value of the not-junk can-

didate to the uncertain status of the not-yet-junk. On the other hand, the not-yet-junk which would be expected to have a rather precarious life-span and storage value is seen to acquire an invasive presence at times competing with junk deposit.

—Zeynep Mennan

> Gecekondu, Varoş

KANYON

ONE OF THE LATEST ADDITIONS TO ISTANBUL'S SHOPPING CENTRES; AND THE MOST LUXURIOUS. [ED.]

The Kanyon (for Cañon) Shopping Centre (see *Shopping Centre*) owes its name to the deep intersecting crevice separating its various components into clusters of antagonistic volumes. A belt of staged open-air galleries runs along the so-called cañon and provides a lively circulation area for the inhabitants of the nearby slums who crowd the place at weekends. Thus, the complex which was initially meant to be “the new heart of the city,” “a new city integrated within the old one,” acts as a physical bond between the slum



area behind and Maslak, the developing zone of towered and embattled banking, better known nowadays as Mashattan. But, by offering its services to the pulse and wishes of both the hopeful on one side and the satisfied on the other, it may be taken as a metaphor of the progress of the local neo-con movement, so characteristic of 21st century Turkey.

On the other hand, Kanyon and its mishmash setup is very reminiscent of a big awkward Dodo bird which, unable to pursue its flight towards its initial destination, the Gulf, ended up by landing on strange territory, amongst an indifferent muddle of pretentious skyscrapers, not far from the neighbouring Metrocity tower, its rival and predecessor.

An critical text found on the internet defines the complex as “a building whose architectural beauty is in proportion with the expensive boutiques that [it contains]” and advises one “to bend one’s head and enjoy this “unusual” building. Which would be all very well if only the comparison of architectural beauty and expensive boutiques had a chance of providing a valid form of rhetoric, though it may be added that such a

degree of parvenu kitsch, whether in text or in architecture, deserves a prolonged salute.

—Ayda Arel

> Shopping Centre

KAPAN – WEIGHING OFFICE

A COMMERCIAL FACILITY WHOSE NAME CONTINUES TO LIVE ON IN A NUMBER OF TOPONYMS BUT WHOSE MEANING HAS BEEN FORGOTTEN IN EVERYDAY LANGUAGE. [ED.]

The *kapan* or weighing offices of Istanbul continue to live on in the memory of the city in place names: the Unkapanı Bridge, the Unkapanı Market, the Balkapanı and Yağkapanı Hans. However, the past of the weighing offices of Istanbul is not restricted to places known by such names. The definition of the term “kapan” includes all official control sites related to the provision of the vital requirements of the city in the Ottoman period, in other words, to food supplies in general. The history of Istanbul weighing offices and their transformation is related to economic border structures, urban customs and the inspection of markets. In this context, etymology provides for some striking thoughts.



The Weighing Machine/The Official Weighing and Distribution Centre: The word *kapın*, derived from the Arabic *kabban*, has two different meanings in Turkish. The first, derived from the verb *kapmak*, meaning to snatch and to seize, indicates the snare which is used to hunt some animals and is triggered by the contact of the animal's foot; it also has the metaphorical meaning of a spurious scheme, deriving from catching by setting a trap. Formal and thematic derivatives of a similar word exist in European languages too, with definitions "to snatch, to catch, to seize, to occupy, hunt, to hunt, to profit and benefit," derived from the Latin *capare*, *captus* and *captura*.

The second meaning of the word *kapın*, derived from the Arabic *kabban* and Persian *kepan*, is "large weighing machine, scales for heavy loads." It describes the caravanserais or markets where this type of weighing device was placed to weigh goods and collect taxes from the early periods of the Ottoman state. In the context of Istanbul, *kapans* are official weighing and distribution centres.

However, the two homonymic meanings of the word can be conceptually associated; in a

sense, the Ottoman *kapans* were "apparatus of capture" designed for the control of economic flows and to provide profit via this control. From this viewpoint the *kapans* are antecedents of devices which inspect economic flows in the name of the state; and they form a unique representation of the urban border. An overview of the historical development of the economic functions of the urban border enables the establishment of a more integrated framework for the interpretation of the formation and transformation of the *kapın* phenomenon in Istanbul.

The Economic Functions of the Urban Façade: In pre-modern cities, and especially in fortified settlements, the architecturally-defined urban front – with walls, moats, towers and gates – defines, beyond its military and political function, a space of economic control, in other words a customs border. In this model where borders are clearly structured, goods coming in and going out of the city are sorted out at the periphery and thresholds according to their qualities; separated into units at official weighing scales; taxed according to the requirements of a valid economic system and valued in the presence of administrators and other actors. Vital goods for consumption in par-

ticular are stocked by the state, tradesmen or small traders to avert the threat of famine. The economic border is not restricted to the physical front of the city. As the customs area can extend to peripheral regions via a series of control points located along transportation lines, it can also be partially integrated with trade areas and markets in the city; and differentiated along a line extending from the scale of daily transportation to intercontinental networks. In the pre-industrial period, capitals and harbour towns were differentiated from other cities in that economic relationships formed a complex apparatus of capture beyond their immediate peripheries. The borders of cities, especially at the termini of main roads and at thresholds, were structured according to a closed city model to enable the control of economic flows and to provide profit to the administration from both product and production. Along with the expansion of urban space from the 19th century on with new vehicles of transportation, the propagation of the line of defence to the whole of the land of the state and its borders and with structural changes towards the free circulation of raw goods and commodities in the capitalist system, the closed city typology evolved towards an open city model. In the process of this transformation where architectural city bor-

ders were partially removed, the economic control and customs functions were also shifted to certain areas in connection with new transportation lines; and in most cases to national borders. In this period, important cases where the economic border continues to exist in the centre of the city are harbour cities; here, customs functions preserve their existence in the vicinity of inner city spaces for a further period. However, the emergence of the container system and large cargo liners rendered inner city harbour areas insufficient; and harbour functions were moved to new settlement areas. After the 1950s, customs returned to large cities in another format with airports. Today, trade-based economic control spaces are spread out along the constantly changing peripheries of the urban area in connection with new circulation environments in places such as the customs areas of harbours, railway lines, highways and airways, wholesale food markets, warehouses, cold storage houses and container areas; while the spaces of the old facade of the city are being transformed, in many cases with new functions.

The transformation of the economic border and the urban customs area in the transition from the closed to the open city is a frame valid also



in terms of the history of *kapans*. As an instrument of pre-industrialisation economic control mechanisms, the weighing and distribution centres of the Ottoman state, the *kapans* are restructured along with the process of modernisation. In the specific case of Istanbul, *kapans* began to be transformed from the 1850s, a date that marks the beginning of the general historical change under consideration here. However, they may be seen to continue in the same areas until the 1980s within a modernisation process of the general supplies and wholesale sites of the city. This characteristic, besides signalling a resistance to change, can be explained by the phenomenon of the harbour city and the historical continuity of harbour functions.

The *kapans* of Istanbul must first and foremost be regarded as devices of the pre-modernisation Ottoman economic system. In the classic Ottoman system, regions of agricultural production and a limited number of small industrial regions were liable for providing a predetermined amount of surplus products to urban centres in accordance with certain standards as tax. The state registered in advance from where the supply goods would be provided and their amount, with the economic contribution of each region different

in terms of goods: grains, dried and fresh fruit, salt, beverages, fish, small and large cattle, slaves, firewood, construction material, fabric, mines and other products. The collection of these products and their transfer to centres was tendered out to wholesale tradesmen. The practical order of the separation based on products forms a complicated inspection and distribution network from the city boundaries to market centres. When supply goods are brought to the city they are delivered to predetermined points generally on the periphery of the city and separated according to product in order to be checked by the inspection mechanisms of the state. The authorities at these places providing municipal police services (hierarchically, the *kadı* [governor, judge], *ihtisab ağası* [superintendent of markets] and the *naib* [reserve judge]) check the quality and conformity to units of measurement of domestic import goods. Stoppages like entry tax (*mastariye*), market tax (*bac*) and weighing tax (*kantariye*) are also collected. Here, the fixed sales price of the goods (*narh*) is determined with wholesale tradesmen and small guilds and the fair distribution of imported goods to smaller tradesmen is overseen. In addition, the storage of a vital proportion of stock partly by the state and partly by tradesmen is supervised.



Economic border structures established at regional transfer points in accordance with the requirements of the supply of specific materials correspond to the *kapans* in big cities; *kapans*, the “official weighing and distribution spaces” form an interface between production centres and markets in the supply of the essential requirements of cities. These are spaces where diverse actors in the economic system – porters, wholesale traders, the municipal police of the state and small trade guilds – face each other, clash and bargain. An important point in the understanding of the prevalence of *kapans* in cities is that not every place where an official weighing device was located was known as a *kapan*; *kapans* could also be located within the structure of an *emanet*, an official distribution and storage centre.

Whether defined, in Fernand Braudel’s words, as a “monumental parasite” or as a “stomach city,” Istanbul, the Ottoman capital, is the most important domestic import point, the economic focal point and consumption centre of the Empire. The scope of economic control in the Ottoman Empire, which meant the Eastern Mediterranean in the pre-19th century, is organized in the capital with all its reverberations. In a sense, Istanbul is

a miniature of these commercial flows, providing the most comprehensive case in terms of the spatiality of Ottoman *kapans*.

The *kapan* areas of Istanbul began to be established during the phase of the restructuring of the city after its conquest by Mehmed II (see *Fatih Sultan Mehmet*). Period sources reveal the names of customs weighing offices, flour weighing offices, honey weighing offices and oil weighing offices. The most comprehensive exposition regarding the Classical Era weighing offices of Istanbul is in the *Seyahatname* [travelogue] of 17th century writer Evliya Çelebi. According to Evliya Çelebi there are 37 weighing offices in the city; some of them are directly known by the name *kapan*, while the majority are known as *emanets*, where official scales are located. An *emanet* is a government office authorized to inspect, tax and distribute under the administration of *emins* [stewards] affiliated to the *sadrazam* [grand vizier]. Common to both *kapan* and *emanet* locations is the presence of official scales – *miri kantar* – inspected by government officials. According to this source, the *kapans* and *emanets* contain *kapans* in Istanbul are as follows: flour and oil *kapans*; coffee (2), wax, gilded thread (silver and gold), silk, fish, slaves, the *pencikhane*

(another office for slaves), salt, rusk, alcoholic beverages/wine, gunpowder (5), the mint, broadcloth, wheat, barley, the cellar (of the palace kitchen), firewood (3), priming powder, pastrami, the *salhane* (slaughterhouse), the vegetable house, the *matbah* (the royal kitchen), the *çardak* (the office of the overseer of trades), the horse market, the *nüzul* (military expedition), dockyards, land customs, central customs and city customs offices. The *emanets* housing the *kapans* listed by Evliya Çelebi contain, in addition to food, all the essential goods for consumption for the capital, army and the palace. The distribution of *kapans* and *emanet* spaces across urban space is generally related to the gates and ports along the border zones of the city. Harbour areas on both sides of the Golden Horn (see *Golden Horn, Golden Horn Dockyards*), both in front of and within the city walls, are important *kapan* areas; certain ports and gates are reserved for the diverse products and commodities of the general supplies system. In a similar manner, areas immediately inside and outside of inland city walls are important customs and *emanet* areas; apart from the land customs, *emanets* especially for livestock and hazardous *emanets* in terms of health and security like the gunpowder *emanet* are located around the inland

city walls and especially around Yedikule. There are also *emanets* along the Divan Yolu, the main street which connects the inland city walls with the harbour area; the horse market, the mint, and *emanets* for broadcloth, gold and silver gilded thread and slaves are along this axis. Another zone of *emanets* was the shore and land peripheral to Topkapı Palace which coordinated the essential needs of the palace, the city *emanet* responsible for the provision of the supplies to palace kitchens and imperial buildings in the city. The order of official weighing and distribution centres continued amid other changes in the same areas until the mid-19th century.

Given the diversity of organized *kapans* and *emanet* spaces from large-scale customs to the mint, from the vegetable exchange to palace kitchens and from the horse market to the slave market, it is naturally impossible to speak of a fixed architectural typology; the *kapan* is not a structural form. Inspection and taxation is carried out by carriage, saddle, barrel, bushel or head count according to the type of goods, and the spaces diversify accordingly. The main structural space-types where *kapans* are located are as follows: large cellars with stone walls and curbed

roofs (the customs and flour *kapans*); hans with stone or wooden courtyards (the honey *kapan*, silk and slave *emanets*); long thin wooden lofts (barley and dockyard *emanets*); city wall towers (salt, gunpowder *emanets*); city squares (the first coffee *emanet* in Tahtakale square and Karagüm-rük); storage areas with borders delineated in the open (firewood *kapan*). Offices of government employees at such sites were often located in traditional wooden structures known as *çardaks* or *konaks* (the fish and office of the overseer of trades *emanets*).

Kapan sites also have short-term storage functions for distribution; and this is related to the scale of general supply goods coming into Istanbul. Economic historians have shown that the storage carried out by the state was limited and that goods were distributed to small tradesmen after inspection so the function of keeping critical stocks was provided by them. Offices for the general supplies stock of the palace and the army are not included in this observation; there are permanent storage functions here.

The character of economic control areas in Istanbul is their positioning in a mixed order in

relation to transportation routes between various parts of the city, market places and, in part, residential areas, especially in the harbour region. In other words, a spatiality where inner-city flows clash with arrivals from out of town is a characteristic of the urban periphery and threshold. The control of the given spatial structure also forms a vital field of work for the capital's administration. In this connection, it is not easy to differentiate the spatiality and locations of weighing offices and government office structures from the urban texture.

The functions and prevalence of *kapans* within the city as weighing and distribution centres of the Ottoman Empire are so varied that it is impossible to talk about them along a single line of transformation within the process of modernisation. Along with the abolition of fixed pricing in the changeover to free trade, the termination of the practice of collecting tax on the basis of agricultural produce and the development of wholesale traders in the private sector, the function and scope of state *kapans* was transformed. After the 1850s, in accordance with the new economic system some *kapans*, especially in the harbour area, were unified under a single customs office, while

others continued their localised existence within the structure of traditional markets as distribution centres. In modern urban planning, in the context of goods for daily consumption, the municipal police function exists in wholesale food markets; municipal wholesale food markets still collect a weighing tax known as “*kantar resmi*.” The spatial continuity between *kapans* and wholesale food markets is related to the places where the expansion of the city and economic flows terminate. During modernisation, while the ecology of the advantageous natural harbour of the Golden Horn was fully in use, places where food supplies coming by sea were distributed remained fixed along a clear line of continuity. In this connection, there is continuity especially in fruit and vegetable distribution extending into the 1980s. The wholesale vegetable and fruit market was constructed on the site of the old firewood *kapani* in the 1930s and was expanded with annexes as far as the Unkapanı Bridge.

This continuity suffered a serious rupture after 1980 when harbour services were moved away from the Golden Horn. Only a very small portion of the commercial flow which had continued for centuries along the shore area extending from

the Galata Bridge to the Unkapanı Bridge remains today. The remnants of the *kapani* system beyond the roads and parks that cover the shores can be seen in traditional market areas. The control of the economic flow of goods coming into the city has been moved to the periphery, apart from the Haydarpaşa port and train stations. In terms of urban transformation (see *Urban Transformation*), the existence of land, air and naval customs and wholesale distributors is especially concentrated around the Bosphorus bridges and ring road connections. Beyond being just economic border structures, *kapans* were a part of a complex system integrated with markets amidst everyday operations in the centre of Istanbul (see *Centre*). This overlapping takes place in different forms in contemporary Istanbul via land roads, bridges and harbours; the new capture apparatuses of the city are positioned on the modern circulation networks of the metropolis.

—Namık Erkal

> Centre, Fatih Sultan Mehmet, Golden Horn, Golden Horn Dockyards, Urban Transformation



LANGUAGE

A FICTION.

Since so many methods of expression and communication are accepted as languages, cities must also have a unique language through which they express themselves and which serves to understand them.

In multi-layered, multi-coloured cities like Istanbul which are full of games and playthings and which appear to reveal themselves candidly but always conceal a mysterious side allowing for ambiguous interpretation, one speaks not of a single city image but of spatialities which have seeped into urban life becoming an inseparable part of the city, urban and spatial symbols, monuments mentioned in the same breath as the city and of urban scenes which have taken their places in our minds, in all their locational and atmospheric detail, to be remembered like postcards. In Istanbul, the things of the city become words and begin to speak in the mind of its inhabitants. Language is an important factor in the formation of the image of the city in the mind of society. It would not be wrong to claim that urban discourses

are the linguistic expressions of the image of the city formed in the mind of society. Urban codes sustain their life through the language used in living spaces (physical environments, buildings, media, maps) which produce their own characteristic texts. Understanding and using language, which actually means the ability to define the human condition, connects social actions, conveys judgments and responses and regenerates beliefs, relationships, values and spaces.

Everyone has a different individual relationship with the various layers of the city. This leads to the subjectivisation of language. The grammar of cities with monotonous, limited and routine activities is quickly grasped, their language is easy to decipher. But with their varied living spaces and thousands of different images, metropolises not only offer up different dialects of the language for use, but also host islands whose specific areas are reinforced, fortified with the monologues constructed by the inhabitants of the city. In metropolises, the language of the city is woven with the individual dialogues of its inhabitants.

In each city, language is realized in a unique form. The borders of the language are drawn by



those who use it, while the discourse that forms these borders changes, transforms, metamorphoses, and therefore has a historicity.

Culture and its objects – and not just its architecture or cinema – such as the street as a jungle of gestures, physical features that have played a part since the city's foundation, colours loaded with the climate, autumn, or the noises of the city, they all share in, communicate through and augment the language.

The language of metropolises is actually a metaphor as varied as the city itself, where virtually thousands of images and phenomena are reified. The language of the city, depending on the user and the urban situation it is looked at from, becomes romantic, petulant, stagnant or chaotic.

—Funda Uz Sönmez

LEVANTINES AND NEO-LEVANTINES

PEOPLE OF NON-OTTOMAN, EUROPEAN-ORIGIN WHO SETTLED IN ISTANBUL AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. KNOWN AS “FRESH-WATER EUROPEANS” IN PRE - 20th CENTURY ISTANBUL TURKISH. THE TERM EMPHASIZED THEIR DIFFERENCE FROM EUROPEANS HERE FOR SEA TRADE AND ON A TEMPORARY BASIS. BOTH TERMS HAVE DISAPPEARED FROM EVERYDAY LANGUAGE. [ED.]

Levantines are the Genoese and Venetians who, instead of their home country, lived in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Latin community of Italian mariner colonies who in the Byzantine Empire engaged in trade within rather restricted privileges and neighbourhoods were also called Levantines.

The origin of the Istanbul Levantine community goes back to the Italian colonies that settled in the Byzantine Empire for trade purposes. The peoples of the Italian mariner republics, the Amalfitans, Venetians, Genoese and Pisans began to flow into this city founded on the intersection of two continents from the 10th century on.

The document approved by Emperor Alexios I Komnenos in 1082, which granted a neighbourhood to the Venetians in Istanbul, is actually the



founding document of the Italian colonies. The neighbourhood, or “foundouk”, contained warehouses for trade goods, stores and lodgings for travelling businessmen and along with the church, provided the main structure for the whole Italian community in the East. As each group was allocated specific locations by the Byzantine Empire for their particular material benefit, at the same time they were granted the authority to establish churches for worship and charity, chapels, cemeteries and other public spaces. The members of each of these colonies gathered around their place of worship to keep the customs of their distant countries alive.

The Levantine Community of Istanbul lived on the right side of the Golden Horn, around the Byzantine city walls, in the vicinity of the harbour between the Neorion (Bahçekapı), Peramatis (Balıkpazarı Kapısı) and Droungarion (Zindankapı) gates. All European colonies with privileges from the Emperors had a central institution in this area between the three gates within the city walls – *intra muros* – and a port on the shore constructed as an extension of these institutions for trade transactions.

The Latin or Levantine community of the Byzantine Empire collapsed with the conquest of Istanbul by the Turks in 1453. From the second day of the conquest on, however, it was re-founded but this time with consideration to legal difference of the two elements forming it. The firman Mehmed II issued to the Galata Genoese after he took Istanbul is the founding document of the Ottoman Latin Community (see *Fatih Sultan Mehmet*). This firman granted the Latin Community the privileges that would form the legal basis for practices of worship and the protection of churches until the foundation of the Republic of Turkey.

From this moment on, the Latin Community, previously formed by foreigners of different nationalities, was reshaped around these Latins, also known as Ottoman Latins or the Levantines. This difference even within particular families is quite clear: those who were Ottoman subjects remained in place during the surrender of the Genoese neighbourhood of Galata, whereas those who were foreign subjects chose to escape to their countries to return later.

It was difficult for foreign communities to get together on Ottoman soil because of the laws of

the time and the process was often interrupted. Known as *müstemin* [one who applies for safety, quarter or amnesty, used for alien in Ottoman dominions], foreigners who set foot on Ottoman soil were not allowed to stay for more than a year. And at the end of this period they would be considered a member of the *reaya* [also *raya*, the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire] subject to *cizye* [capitation tax collected from non-Muslims] and could not leave the territory again. However, during the era of capitulations, precautions controlling the settlement of foreigners in Istanbul were invalidated. In order to establish an environment of trust and revitalize trade in Istanbul, Mehmed II signed a capitulation granting trade freedom with the Republic of Venice; according to this document there would be “absolutely no trade barriers” (Ottoman laws would not hinder trade freedom) and tradesmen would be exempt from any type of tribute or tax to the Sublime Porte.

The first capitulations were agreed in 1535 between François I and Suleiman the Magnificent extended the residence period of French subjects on Ottoman soil. This article can be seen as the first step of the rebirth of the Latin community in Istanbul. After this date, foreigners, and espe-

cially the French, were allowed to settle freely on Ottoman soil without changing their citizenship.

Freedom of residence in the empire allowed foreigners to live on Ottoman soil and preserve their identity of origin at the same time. The capitulations granted to France in 1569 again mentioned the settlement of the French within the borders of the Empire: their residence period was no longer related to a change in citizenship. Even after residing for long periods here, foreigners went on living in the Ottoman Empire without losing their foreigner status.

With the announcement of the *Tanzimat* [Re-/Organisation] firman in 1839, a new period, which may be described as the golden age of the Istanbul Latin Community, began. The Law of 1867 gave foreigners the right to purchase real estate and, with this important spur to the settlement and growth of a non-indigenous community, a new addition was made to the spectrum of privileges.

We witness the most dazzling period of the Istanbul Latin Community from the mid-19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. Characteristic of this period was the accumulation of

foreign migrants in search of work and a more prosperous life in the Ottoman Empire. Clear signs of this process can be seen in church and embassy records including the opening of schools and colleges, the establishment of charitable institutions, the construction of new churches and even the emergence of a new neighbourhood, Pancaldi (Pangaltı).

The decline of the Latin Community began with the signing of the Lausanne Peace Treaty in 1923. Although the Ottoman Empire declared their annulment in 1914, the capitulations were only definitively abolished with the Lausanne Treaty. This meant the end of an era and the annulment of the capitulations lifted all the advantages legitimizing the mass presence of foreigners in Turkey. For these and related legal and economic reasons, the number of Levantines gradually decreased gradually and today they have disappeared almost completely.

In the narrow sense of the term, a Levantine is a Latin Catholic who is a foreign subject in the Ottoman Empire. Our aim is to underline the presence of a foreign community in Istanbul legislated for by capitulations, without attempting a redefi-

nition of the term “Levantine.” Being a foreign subject was a sign of superiority in the Ottoman Empire. Capitulations had created a privileged class of foreigners. This community cannot be equated with the Latins who were Ottoman subjects or the Ottoman Latin community which was part of the *reaya*.

On the other hand, the Ottoman administration never openly recognized the Ottoman Latin community as a “*millet*” [people or nation]. Besides, Ottoman Latins, fearing to be treated a lower class, did not want to insist on a new status that would legally separate them from foreign Latins. By silently letting their new and slightly humiliating status lapse, they tried to undermine the division created by the conditions separating them from the foreign Latins, the only group accorded the benefits of the capitulations. Ignored and distorted, this difference was eventually not taken into consideration at all.

Foreigners nostalgically seeking to imitate this past community, adopting the name “Neo-Levantine” and settling in Turkey have absolutely no similarity with the real Levantines whatsoever (see *Nostalgia*). It is impossible to become

the inheritor of Levantine culture just by saying “I’m a Neo-Levantine.” Levantines used to have a unique manner, language and way of thinking. The most distinctive and important characteristic of Levantines was their lifestyle, which was shaped through a centuries-long synthesis of the cultures of the East and West.

Levantine culture, which can no longer be resurrected, may only be kept alive via historical research and the publication of books on this community, and not by hiding behind new names recalling this culture.

—Rinaldo Marmara

> Fatih Sultan Mehmet, Nostalgia

LITERATURE

CLASSIC OTTOMAN LITERATURE DOESN'T HAVE A CONCEPT OF SPACE. THE SPACE OF TURKISH LITERATURE IN THE PERIOD OF MODERNISATION ON THE OTHER HAND IS FIRST AND FOREMOST ISTANBUL, ALTHOUGH IT DOES TRAVEL OUT TO THE COUNTRY ONCE IN A WHILE. [ED.]

Efforts at modernisation, especially once the Tanzimat [Re-/Organisation] period had initiated a process creating distinctive ways of life in ways that affected everyday life in unexpectedly violent and fragmentary ways, brought about a dichotomy between the traditional and the “new.” Anxieties brought on by this dichotomy also created a panic in the search for control over this process of social transformation. The field of expression for this panic was literature, itself transforming within the process of modernisation. The Tanzimat intelligentsia, shaped by the efforts at modernisation which took material form after the declaration in 1839 of the Tanzimat firman, began to produce its own literature after 1860 and, with the impact of the rupture experienced within the framework of modernisation, to break away from the literary forms of production it identified as “old.” This new literature, which embraced Western literary genres, forms and most importantly currents of thought, conveyed its times into literary format, putting changes in the city and urban life and the dichotomies created by this intelligentsia at its centre. However, in a twist which validated the anxieties and panic mentioned above, the relationship this new literary coterie, made up mostly of intellectual bureaucrats and journalists formed



out of a sense of responsibility for this process of modernisation, resulted in them putting a certain distance between their work and the changing city along with its new urbanites emerging out of these changes. Protected by the project of modernisation they supported, the increasingly modernized Pera and its “ostentatious consumers” or “new snobs” immersing themselves in new experiences made available by modernisation were heavily criticized. Thus, the “Properly Westernized Ottoman,” opposed to such snobs, was placed at the centre of these novels as a topic of debate. For those who chose the new Istanbul and its snobs as the subject of their novels were not those losing themselves in such experiences, but rather responsible – intellectual – writers.

As time went by, however, the stirrings of a new literature were felt, breaking the relationship Tanzimat writers formed out of a sense of responsibility for this process of modernisation negating the will to control and steer the flow of the “transient, unruly, conditional” modern experience which had led to them putting a distance between them and the city along with its new urbanites. A new generation, which had grown up during the modernisation process, lived in the environment

it created, knew the West well and felt the troubles of the Abdulhamid II period, began, in the deeply complicated time of the ending of their century, to open the door to a period when they would produce their own texts in the literary field. This generation, which gathered as a group around the journal *Servet-i Fünun* [Treasure of Arts and Sciences], pioneered a new school in writing, producing a discourse in which the absolutist mind was shattered, secularisation was activated and the relationship to religion changed. Through its more introverted narratives, this new literature proposed new views of the cardboard snobs and the urban transformation made visible through them, presented as issues of debate by the entertaining and dramatic but always didactic tone of the Tanzimat novel that had moved through antithesis. Thus, snobs take their places in these novels not as generalisations loaded with implications of what should be, but as “well-founded types of everyday life” moving through the city as the space of modern experience; chasing an aesthetic taste coded as modern; wanting to shape life around this, organizing their lives according to Western sources they have “mastered”, while also beginning to question the relationship formed with the crowd and the uniformity brought on by the

habits of this relationship. From this viewpoint, *Servet-i Fünun* novels in which the snob-type is gradually transformed into proper characters present clues revealing that not only the colours but also the dread and suffocation of modern life are beginning to appear in the city. Together with a sense of searching, a feeling of distress/boredom is expressed via characters who are caught up with the crowd in the flow of the modern, but who also begin to realize the danger of vanishing into the flow or turning against it and “failing to hold on”, seeing a transcendence they call love as a branch to hold on to. The spatial counterparts of the aforementioned division are Beyoğlu and the Bosphorus. With its fast life, streets, restaurants and hotels alluding to transience, Beyoğlu intimates an absence of space, while the Bosphorus stands for settlement, even the possession of a specific space.

The city, which opened up itself a field of expression in the *Servet-i Fünun* period via characters who were allowed to embrace their life styles with all the feelings of contradiction, struggle and lack, came differently wrapped in a period of continuous war. The twentieth century had opened with a period in which conditions would

become increasingly difficult for the Ottoman Empire, and this also defined the urban narrative. The oppressive administration of Abdulhamid II and the activities of opposed groups emphasising fundamental principles taken from the French Revolution such as liberty, equality, fraternity and justice defined the significant polarisation of the turn of the century and a new course for literature. Following this period, which ended with victory for the supporters of constitutional monarchy following the Revolution of the Young Turks in 1908, political and social dynamism continued with full momentum. Nationalist uprisings which increased with the Second *Meşrutiyet* [Constitutional Monarchy] and the *İttihat ve Terakki* [Union and Progress Party] government, the Balkan Wars and World War I which followed in their aftermath left their mark on the first quarter of the 20th century. This period during which the collapse of the Empire accelerated also prepared the transition to the nation-state following the period of *Milli Mücadele* [National Struggle]. The Constitutional Monarchy can be viewed as a general “reorganisation period” during which the individual/citizen was regulated by a set of policies, the borders of “right and wrong” were redrawn and certain new models were imposed from above. In the pro-

cess of the standardisation of daily behavioural patterns amid an atmosphere of social unity, the city was also viewed through questions of how “satisfactory” the discourses produced in the first quarter of the twentieth century were perceived to be. These discourses spread their four main branches, namely Ottomanism, Islamism, Westernism and Turkism, and defined their own fields of expression in flux, reflux and in parallel with the sensitivities of the period, defining the “grand narratives” of the intellectual borders of literary production. A shift of emphasis towards Turkist narratives parallel to the rise of nationalism in particular led to the retreat of literature centred around the individual and the city was no longer the space of the individual’s experience but “the motherland” where grand ideals were to be realized and which had to be cleansed of internal and external enemies in a rapture of patriotic action.

This discourse was preserved after the foundation of the nation-state. For the new literature of the new Republic, the image of the city centred on Ankara, “where the rebirth of a country from its own ashes was staged.” Istanbul, the remnant of the Empire, was now the back street of literature. However, along with novels written to create

a Kemalist canon, especially after the 1930s and as a result of aesthetic concerns rather than out of a responsibility for a frozen national literature, novels began to appear which reflected the repercussions of the new and increasingly dynamic modern life on the inner world of the individual or on the intellectual complexities of the interwar period, that era of social change. The location hosting the anxieties underlined in these novels was Istanbul, the evil-other. Related to this choice of location emerge leitmotifs like the experience of change, mixing in public spaces and watching the crowds of modern everyday life, as well as not being like others rather than striving to resemble the projected model citizen, reinforcing individuality and subjectivity in order not to be reduced to one of the countless stimuli of the external everyday world, a negligible quantity as part of the whole. This choice of location brings along its own sub-dichotomies. Neighbourhoods like Beyoğlu and Harbiye echoing with the speed of urban transformation were queried as spaces of disquiet and doubt, whereas old Istanbul, and especially Fatih, was identified with a stagnant, conservative lifestyle calling out for the synthesist’s new modernisation proposals.

Following the first fifteen years of the Republic, from the 1940s to the 1960s, dynamism in the social arena was reflected in important literary movements. The first thing that catches the attention in the literary milieu is the “polyphony” of the period. The most important actions of the Milli Şef [National Chief] era paving the way for this literary dynamism/polyphony after the 1940s were the Village Institutes inaugurated by Hasan Ali Yücel, the Minister of National Education, in 1940 and the Translation Bureau opened in 1941. The Village Institutes shifted the focus of the novel from the city to the village, whereas translation activities became the source of important cultural developments. During this process, the urban narrative became immanent to short stories shaped especially with existentialist tendencies and Istanbul is transformed once again into the space of the individual experience of “distressed young men.” This reversion in a sense also enabled the formation of a “modernist” literature focusing on the affects of modern urban life and projections of the modern condition onto the individual.

The novelistic history of Istanbul after the 1960s bifurcates even more with the emergence of fragmented narratives. Literature is reshaped

by successive *coup d'états* and traumatic social change, and Istanbul is presented in various guises. The new agenda is the history of a far more crowded city shattered into pieces. Spatial beauty is now the expression of excitement and suffering remembered under the weight of lost dreams and in the dark tones of melancholy. Istanbul is the space of nostalgic praise or historical reckonings, an interrogation of identity. In this process, the city is no longer a tale of ancient ages founded on reproduced orientalist images. The tale of Istanbul is also a tale from the garbage hills creating their own form of expression with the increasing impact of *gecekondu*-isation. Narratives of poverty are an inseparable part of Istanbul narratives, the other side of the coin, whereas for postmodernist fictions, which bends the coin, dispersing and questioning reality, Istanbul is visible as the vehicle of a historical texture or experientiality.

This city, now living a different existence with its skyscrapers, satellite cities and underground metro, never bored with change, continues also to rewrite itself into novels.

—Deniz Aktan Küçük



MAIN STREET

AN INTERIM PERIOD STRUCTURE.

As a concept, *ana cadde* [main street] is based on a transport network hierarchy with recognized criteria of classification. It has branches that nourish it, a beginning and an end. Or, as in the case of smaller towns, main street is a solitary road. Neither the first nor the second are valid for Istanbul. Since the hierarchy, articulation and order of the streets of various sizes, avenues, roads, some called boulevards, others highways, with some operating as inner city motorways, of a city of this magnitude, the main street category being neither exhaustive nor effective, it's difficult to use.

Some of the significant “street”s of the pre-modern city period, of the Ottoman city, still bear traces of the old Roman and Byzantine period, but apart from a few examples like the Divanyolu and İstiklal Caddesi, they do not have any significance recognizable in the terms of use and social memory. The old narrow streets leading to the sea are today cut off by the new shore road and landfills before they can meet the water, but these new arteries are often transit ways that do not have main street char-

acteristics. Both the shore roads and the new axes heading north to the new business and residential areas are not spaces in line with the identity of a main street as in the plans of Classical and Baroque periods and their rational urban models. Some plans and construction work aiming to create main streets in this sense have sometimes resulted in unfinished projects which extend no further than a few hundred metres as in the case of Cihangir Caddesi, or remain as urban chasms that have failed to become spaces in themselves or blend in with the architectural texture over twenty or even fifty years, as with the Menderes and Dalan operations.

The main street entered urban literature as the child of the conceptual and ideological repertoire of modernisation efforts of the 19th and 20th century, and it has only a few examples in Istanbul that possess the distinct historical continuity and intensity of utilisation in line with its original definition: Divanyolu, İstiklal Caddesi and Bağdat Caddesi stand out as urban spaces that bear the unique identity of their type.

—Atilla Yücel

> Bağdat Caddesi, İstiklal Caddesi or "Beyoğlu"



MCDONALD'S

LOCAL EXTENSIONS OF THE MOST GLOBAL FAST FOOD COMPANY. A SUBHEADING OF GLOCALISATION. [ED.]

Despite the global anti-propaganda aimed at the company following its globalizing phase, obesity and an increase in the number of its outlets, with Anadolu Holding becoming its licensor for 20 years in 2005, both continue to accelerate. McDonald's's presence in Istanbul goes back to 1986 and at present it has 53 restaurants in the city. According to the definition of the Competition Board it is in the "fast-food restaurant market" category and serves the people of Istanbul as the fourth biggest company in its group, competing with the following companies: Arby's, Borsa, Burger King, other burger/hamburger restaurants, Domino's, Hacıoğlu, KFC, Kristal, Little Ceasar's, Mudurnu, Pizza Hut, other Pizza outlets, Schlotzky's, Sultanahmet Köfte, Tatlıses, and other fried chicken outlets.

The "fast-food restaurants market" definition in the Competition Board Report drawn up to describe their status in 2005, when the Anadolu Group became the Turkey licensor of McDonald's, naturally considers regular restaurants to be out-

side this category but, unnaturally, street buffets too, and therefore the list is limited as above. As might have been expected, the said definition and list was compiled not from viewpoint of fast-food's effects on the eating habits of humankind as consumer, but from the viewpoint of the conditions and rules the owner of capital operates under as administrator. In other words, this definition relies only and oddly on feeding customers in more than one outlet, for the number of places in Turkey where you can order food by phone, or which wait for their customers to down their meals, prepared in the shortest possible time, as quickly as possible are of course much higher than the number of branches the companies listed above have.

McDonald's's adventure in Turkey carries on ascending, apart from one big fall. The stampede at the opening of the first branch in Taksim in 1986 has left a deep mark in the memory of many Istanbul inhabitants (see *Taksim Square*). The scene was described years later in a newspaper with the following sentences: "The metres-long queue in Taksim on 24 October 1986 was neither for gas nor for bread. The reason for the stampede was a hamburger worth 400 TL at the time." (Aylin Löle, *Takvim*, 29 April



2007.) However, for McDonald's, despite the continuing queues front of this first branch in the following days formed of people in their best clothes, Turkey was not such an easy market.

In a country where there are a thousand and one types of *köfte*, it was long expected that McDonald's be confronted with the resistance of taste. However, the resistance came not from this standpoint, but from the allergy caused by the range of values the company represented. The role of becoming the symbol of said resistance fell to the Middle East Technical University, itself designed and founded in the 1960s on behalf of the USA. METU students protested, in various ways, the McDonald's branch opening on campus in 1997 for a full four years, mostly by not shopping there. When McDonald's temporarily closed down its campus branch in 2001, the protestors said they had secured this result whereas McDonald's directors claimed the reason for the closure of the branch was the continuing economic crisis. The accuracy and inaccuracy of both claims is debated. But it's true that McDonald's was seriously affected by the crisis in Turkey.

After the crisis began in 2001, McDonald's, seemingly a disadvantaged tenant, closed 56 out-

lets until mid-2003. Rents calculated in dollars led to the bankruptcy of many branches. However, it wasn't possible for the company to give up on a fast-food market of 1.2–1.3 billion dollars and to leave the country before reaping the reward of an investment of 130 million dollars up to that date. Still, the losses suffered by the company and the closure of 56 branches did give some of us hope. For instance Haluk Şahin was hopeful enough to write the following on 5 January 2003, "Apparently, countries now prefer their own products to 'Made in USA' products. The experience in Turkey reflects this universal trend. McDonald's is rapidly shrinking in Turkey too. Turkish TV series are more popular; American TV series are mostly at odd hours and on less popular channels..." A news article in *Radikal* newspaper a month before Şahin's column was published (7th December 2002) revealed that domestic fast-food companies weren't really bemoaning the losses of McDonald's: for instance, according to Fatih Güner, the owner of Istanbul's famous Bambi Café, the reason for the failure of McDonald's and the like, was not the public's dislike of fast-food but their reaction to the USA; he believed that the public "was reacting to them taking our money abroad." The manager of the Taksim *Simit*



Dünyası, Hülya Kızıl said, “Places like McDonald’s and Burger King should go back where they’ve come from and give up on Turkey.” (see *Simit*, *Simit Sarayı*) And according to Metin Tezcioğlu, the manager of the İpek Sucuk Shop in Beşiktaş, “[the popularity of] McDonald’s and similar places began with a desire to show off, but people care more for taste now.”

The development of the company accelerated with the foundation of the Turkey office of McDonald’s Corporation in 1991. Continuing its activities as a company with hundred per cent US capital, McDonald’s finally found its local “developer” in November 2004. Tuncay Özilhan, the owner of the Anadolu Group, finally succeeded in 2005 in getting the long sought-after privilege of licenser he had first applied for in 1977 after a series of meetings and the fulfilment of necessary procedures. When reminded of the reactions McDonald’s may face for being a US company, Özilhan gave the following reply: “By coming under the Anadolu Group, the entire capital of McDonald’s has become Turkish. It provides 98 per cent of its supplies in Turkey. All its employees are Turkish. Its meat is from Turkey, its water is from Turkey, its coke is from Turkey... I don’t think

a company gets much more Turkish than this.” From the viewpoint that the universal is actually the local, Tuncay Özilhan wasn’t that wrong. Moreover, his wasn’t the only “local capital” McDonald’s had given a hand to. For instance when Fersan, a company founded in 1978 in Kemalpaşa, İzmir, was on the verge of deciding between remaining a small producer and closing shop, it suddenly went on the attack with Arcan Çelengil buying the majority of its shares in 1986, the year in which McDonald’s opened its first branch in Turkey. In 2003, Çelengil voiced his satisfaction with McDonald’s: “McDonald’s restaurants are our best client in pickle sales. However, McDonald’s Turkey represents only 2 percent of our total pickle sales.”

As stated above, McDonald’s didn’t face any resistance from the standpoint of taste, and even if it did, it didn’t filter through. however, probably because McDonald’s realized that it wasn’t that easy to sell standard meatballs to Turks, and in fact, that portions in McDonald’s restaurants would not satisfy Turks, it didn’t neglect to come up with some specially designed menus and products. The MaxBurger was specially produced for Turkey. Ali Saydam, the Turkish public relations



guru, adjudged not giving this product, apparently developed specially for Turks, a Turkish name to be a great failure, but McDonald's's response was: "We Turks are in the habit of giving foreign names even to brands we create ourselves." Its name aside, MaxBurger, with a thick beef patty, 2 slices of cheese, green onions, salad, tomato and garlic, thyme, cumin, black pepper and spicy sauce served on a square shaped black seed "pide" (Turkish pitta bread), took its place in history as the Turkish contribution to McDonald's. Another product called McTurco was later developed. But there really couldn't be meatballs without *ayran* (a traditional Turkish drink made from yoghurt, water and salt) and finally *ayran* arrived in the McDonald's outlets in Turkey.

The *ayran* issue was important. Although McDonald's had invited *ayran* into its restaurants to sell meatballs to Turks, its closest ally Coca Cola imposed, when it could, a condition of not selling *ayran* in small restaurants which wanted to sell its products and which had fewer customers (because Coca Cola didn't produce *ayran*). The popularity Coca Cola had created by force made even kebab shops, in some cases, give up on *ayran*, at the expense of middle-aged and middle-income

customers, in order to draw younger and better-off customers.

McDonald's landed on our agenda not only with its "taste," but also with various explosions.

On 28 September 2001, 3 people were injured following the explosion of a bomb left in the toilets of the McDonald's branch in Levent, Istanbul. Explosions in the Sirkeci, Aksaray and Pendik branches of McDonald's on 15 April 2003 didn't result in any deaths, but it did draw attention to the possibility that consumption in the restaurant might be more dangerous than had been thought. The explosion in the car park of a McDonald's in Acibadem, Üsküdar, on 20 May 2004 provided the police with the pretext to evacuate all other McDonalds's branches (see *Parking Lot*). It doubtless remained a temporary measure.

But McDonald's's real cracker broke when a 10-year old girl selling paper tissues was locked in a refrigerator in a McDonald's in Beylikdüzü in August 2000.

Despite all this, McDonald's is a huge chain with 106 restaurants in Turkey, its 2006 sales



amount to 151 million YTL. It is not known yet whether it has reached its 2007 turnover target of 185 million YTL.

—Ayşe Çavdar

> Parking Lot, Simit, Simit Sarayı,
Taksim Square

MIGRATION

THIS SINGLE WORD COLLECTIVELY EXPRESSES ALL TYPES OF INDIVIDUAL OR MASS TRANSLOCATION, FROM MOVEMENTS OF NOMADIC GROUPS TO THOSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SCALE. IT REVEALS THAT ALL THESE ACTIONS EXPRESS A SINGLE SOCIAL CONDITION IN TURKISH. THEREFORE THE TERM IS A SIGN OF RESISTANCE TO UNDERSTANDING CERTAIN ASPECTS OF CHANGE AND TRANSFORMATION. [ED.]

Public opinion in Turkey often understands migration as a process of moving from the village to the city, and, as such, limited to domestic migration. Both from a statistical point of view, and from the perspective of urban administration and the everyday lives of urban inhabitants, the interest it receives is not unjustified. Meanwhile, international migration, a process which has strong

repercussions both in academic and public circles in many other countries, is rarely discussed here (see *Iranian Immigrants, Iraqi Immigrants, Post-Soviet Union Migrant*). Of course, the connection between this relatively low interest and the present condition of Turkey is obvious. For example, Spain, from being a traditionally emigrant country, rapidly became an immigrant country with its accession to the European Union in 1986. Parallel to this development, immigration research and the number of related institutions rapidly increased too. Although the statistics cannot be compared, Turkey does actually have a past and present related to international emigration and immigration. The first instance that comes to mind is of course the guest-workers who emigrated following the labour recruitment agreement signed with Germany in 1961. The term “Almancı” [Germany-bound, Germaner] describes a population and the second and third generations that followed it which are rarely considered and discussed apart from all the meanings and clichés they host. Emigrants who went to Australia to join the labour force can be considered as part of the same group. And we are aware of populations that have settled in other countries mainly for economic reasons. However, it appears that we



continue to view these movements of population as deviations from the norm rather than the expected consequences of global economic structuring. We hear in some travel documentaries or a section of news programmes about a group of Turks having “strangely” settled in, say, a certain area of Japan – reported with undertones of irony – and then we forget about them.

Stories of migration share a common point. The departure or arrival point of most of them is Istanbul. Train stations and ports... One can see that Istanbul has taken its place in collective memory as much as individual memories. Across the world, museums aiming to relate the histories of migration of countries or individual and common histories of migrants are being founded at a rapid pace. Perhaps the most famous example of this type of museum is the Ellis Island Immigration Museum at Upper NY Harbor. Ellis Island, the main immigrant entry facility from 1892 to 1954 and once known as the “gateway” to America, was inaugurated as an immigration museum in 1990. Another of the early examples of these museums is DOMiD, founded by a group of Turkish immigrant intellectuals in Cologne, Germany, again in 1990. Istanbul is represented as the stage of memories of a history of

immigration in DOMiD’s collections. For instance, the guest-workers of the time and the emigrants of today, posing beside a train with their suitcases in their hands at Sirkeci train station render these spaces significant parts of a broader history of immigration. Istanbul is certainly not only the memory of departing from a country; it is also a nodal point of visits to Turkey. Whether by car, train or plane, the itinerary crosses Istanbul at one point. Istanbul doesn’t only belong to the people of Istanbul; it belongs also to those who pass through it. Therefore, to think of migration only as that from rural areas to urban areas, and even then only to transform the city into a “village,” presents an incomplete picture. As mobility increases, metropolitan areas, and especially Istanbul in the context of Turkey, begin to take on different meanings for different groups. To understand what makes Istanbul what it is, we have to utilize the possibilities of seeing it as a dynamic node where population mobility, transport and economy intersect, rather than a geographical point inhabited by a certain population.

—Burçak Özlüdil

> Iranian Immigrants, Iraqi Immigrants,
Post-Soviet Union Migrant



MINIBUS

AN URBAN PUBLIC TRANSPORT VEHICLE SMALLER THAN A BUS. OPERATES ON A SIMILAR SCHEDULE TO BUS LINES, BUT CAN PICK UP PASSENGERS AND LET THEM OFF BETWEEN STOPS. [ED.]

Minibuses come in all shapes and colours. There are more than 6,000 of them on the streets of Istanbul. They run on routes determined by the municipality. The licence, which authorises a minibus to operate on a specific route, costs several hundred thousands Euros. Minibuses clog the main arteries of the city, and their drivers are infamous for their kamikaze driving operations and their belligerence towards other participants in Istanbul's traffic mess.

So, where did the minibus come from and where is it driving? Above all, the minibus was the vehicle of choice for rural immigrants, who since the 1950s have kept on flocking to the city whose "stones and ground were made of gold." Where these new city dwellers built their *gecekondu*, there were no regular bus services. To be fair, there were hardly any roads at all. Yet, there were informal entrepreneurs, themselves new to the city, who saw the emerging market and acted. They

bought whatever vehicle they could find and started to circulate between the immigrant settlements and central squares in the city. Without schedules, dedicated stops or formal job agreements for the drivers, the minibus was the equivalent of the illegally built, yet officially tolerated house of the immigrants; informal and self-regulated.

A "*gecekondu* on wheels", the minibus did not only carry domestic cleaners and pedlars to their workplaces in the established parts of town, but it also transported the new immigrant culture to the centre of the city. Catering to a target group still predominantly illiterate in the 1970s and 80s, every driver had an assistant, usually a young man who had lost the prospect of a respectable job elsewhere, who would cry out the final destination and the stops on the line. Loud Arabesk music, the wailing songs bemoaning the new immigrants' frustrated hopes, plastic flowers, images of a boy in tears and mottos on the outside of the bus like "*Who fails to love you shall not live*" would greet everyone embarking on a journey to and from the newly-built areas. Many established Istanbulites avoided the minibus together with the socio-economic world it represented (see *Varoş*). Ignore it, however, they could not. The minibus



was too loud, too fast, too brash. And it was everywhere. As the city expanded in all directions in the 1980s, new lines were opened, and the minibus became the dominant player in the city's traffic wars – largely unimpeded by traffic lights well into the early 1990s, and used by almost everybody without access to a car.

Today, the minibus as “*gecekondu* on wheels” (see *Gecekondu*) is about to disappear. Long ago it stopped to be the vehicle of choice for the immigrant working classes, many of whom now enjoy the marvels of solid lower-middle class life. The system became formalised by ever-growing municipal control and the concentration of profit-based power. What has remained are the informal work arrangements and the belligerent driving style. What has changed is that the owner of a minibus plate is now considered a rich man with at least 200,000 Euros at his disposal.

Yet, after the rise and the consolidation, the fall of the minibus is now imminent: already banned from some main roads like the city's lifeline “E-5” including the airport highway and the Bosphorus Bridge (named after its former designation the Trans-European Road Nr 5), the

minibus is gradually being replaced by metro, tramlines and express buses. The old immigrants have become citizens. And the latest newcomers, from Iraqi to African and Afghani immigrants, have to negotiate the city without the help of the mobile support network that the minibus offered to many of the old immigrants.

—Kerem Öktem

> *Gecekondu, Varoş*

MINORITY (I)

THE POLITICAL LABEL REFERRING TO THE NUMERICAL MAJORITY OF A GROUP WHICH CHANGES ACCORDING TO THE POINT ONE IS STANDING AT.

According to a new point of view or illusion produced by the post-politically correct period, being in a minority is almost more advantageous than being part of a majority. Besides, coming face to face with a member of one of these groups who have been deprived of their basic rights and face social isolation, obliges one to act in a constantly apologetic manner towards an individual from minority groups which now have become the sole



representatives of the tribulations of the past. However, the difficulty in determining which groups are in fact minorities seems to prove that the problem is more complicated than it appears.

Today the concept of minority, even though it responds to new politically correct discourses, is still a construct produced to separate the other from the “more equal” group. Dominance has nothing to do with the size of the population. The dominance of the theory of assimilation is still on the agenda as a significant political fact. Assimilation is still a prerequisite of becoming more equal. On the other hand, there are no hosts with boundless tolerance trying to make “someone from the outside” one of their own. We can only speak of theoretical hospitality. Although the term minority should naturally represent the unwanted, there are hosts who claim they will approach them with compassion and there are now thus “domesticated” minorities. To claim that the feelings of the host have changed seems difficult. The host mentions the minority only when s/he looks out from a location where s/he feels secure. The domestication of the minority is related to the rhetorical power of the host. Therefore the danger is the cancellation of the dangerous, othered minor-

ity’s existence. An individual who is a member of a minority group cannot abandon the dominant political wave s/he was subjected to in becoming part of a minority. Istanbul is positioned in the centre of this general picture, while what goes missing in Turkey is the rhetoric. After a form of modern panic triggered the trend to construct a national identity, the minority was left outside the newly created cultural atmosphere and re-structured. What’s striking is the persuasiveness of this construct. The unpersuaded have left already and those who remain have chosen to appear persuaded. However, the social package which comes along with being a minority in Istanbul defines a position where the system feels entirely confident with itself. Therefore the host doesn’t even feel the obligation to lie about its feelings. This is what makes being persuaded dangerous. No one speaks up, for instance; despite everything, it’s those who define the minority who prefer to speak. And their numbers are unfortunately not 10–15 but just one or two, and, again unfortunately, they are not even allowed to live.

—Ersin Altın



MINORITY (II)

THERE ARE FEW PROBLEMS AS CONTROVERSIAL AS WHO IS TO BE CONSIDERED A MINORITY IN ISTANBUL. A “CONSENSUS HAS BEEN REACHED” TO CONSIDER NON-MUSLIMS MINORITIES. BUT ALEVIS AND KURDS ARE CONSIDERED MINORITIES OR NOT DEPENDING ON THEIR CHANGING POLITICAL POSITIONS; THEY SIMILARLY CONSIDER THEMSELVES MINORITIES OR DON’T. OR THEY SOMETIMES DO, AND SOMETIMES DON’T. [ED.]

Being a member of a minority or, failing that, being perceived as one is something most Istanbulites would prefer to avoid (see *Ethnicity*). Whether one is queer, Kurdish, Armenian or African, Istanbul is not a cosy, welcoming place, and, across space and time, it never was. Fascinatingly, it is also one of Europe’s messiest and exciting places in terms of diversity and difference. So what, when and how is a minority? And why is it such an uncomfortable thing to be the member of a minority in such a heterogeneous city?

There are many minorities: ethnic, religious, linguistic, gender-based. Some of these categories overlap. Some are dwindling like the Assyrian-speaking Chaldeans, some are numerous like the Kurds, some are very visible like the Roma, some

are less easily recognisable like gays and lesbians. Some suffer from a terrible trauma like the Armenians, some encounter every-day racism and police harassment as they try to make a living like the African immigrants, and some negotiate their identity vis-à-vis the Sunni Muslim majority like the Alevis. Some have a better life than others, and many who belong to the latter category are ex-pats.

Among the places where they all meet is Beyoğlu, on İstiklal Caddesi, Taksim Square and in Cihangir. In this urban bubble, almost anything goes, or at least it seems so. The architecture is *fin-de-siècle* European, providing a perfect setting for the fantasies of a cosmopolitan way of life to unravel. This part of town has always been inhabited by minorities, especially Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Levantines. There are churches of all denominations here and, a bit further towards Galata, half a dozen synagogues (see *Synagogue*). Yet, there is also the memory of the events of 6th–7th September 1955, or as some call it, Istanbul’s *Reichskristallnacht*, when all explicitly non-Muslim shops, businesses and temples were looted by a mob let loose to strengthen the government’s hand in the Cyprus conflict.



The churches and temples, which make for great ‘dialogue of civilisations’ photos, especially when there is a minaret and a few seagulls in the background, have scars on them, even if they are not visible at first sight. The narratives of ‘tolerance’, ‘five-hundred years of generosity towards the Jews’ and ‘equality of citizens’ obscure these scars, but do not heal them. Governed by an unforgiving regime of limitations, being a member of a minority means above all not to be able to do certain things or to be allowed to do them only after frustrating, endless struggles with the authorities: to re-build an annex to a church or to renovate a bell-tower, to claim the property of one’s religious foundations, to be protected against the state’s greed which has an eye on the community’s belongings, to remember the parts of one’s own history that are excised from school-books. In short, it means not to have the space to breathe and flourish fully.

Even though Istanbul is better off than the rest of the country in terms of ethno-religious diversity, it is the nation-state’s gaze and its obsession with a long-obsolete treaty signed in Lausanne that determines who is a minority: there are only non-Muslim minorities, and of them only Armenians, Greeks

and Jews are entitled to any minority rights, which means above all that they are even more closely monitored by unsympathetic state agencies than the non-recognised ones. Altogether, they only just reach a total of 100,000, not even one percent in a city of more than eleven million.

Yet, the picture changes when other communities are included: the Kurds, the Bulgarian Turks, the Syrian Jacobites and Nestorians, the Jewish Donmeh, the Zaza-speaking Dersimli, the Laz, the Arabs from Hatay and Urfa, the transvestites from all over the country who seek refuge in the relative anonymity of the big city. Despite the spatial hegemony of flagpoles and new minarets all over the city – competing only with each other in height and their quest for symbolic penetration – the majority of Istanbul’s residents are in fact members of a minority, even if they do not exist in the eyes of the state.

—Kerem Öktem

> Ethnicity, Synagogue



MOAT/PIT

AN ATTEMPT TO UNDERSTAND THE PAIRING OF SECURITY AND FEAR BY READING THE CITY IN REVERSE.

A defensive obstacle surrounding the entire city and functioning as a second barrier in front of the medieval city walls. Fortification, the walls of the city, was never considered sufficient for security and a further defensive tool surrounding the city was required. But what is most significant is what creates this security device, the concern, the “fear” that the unity within the walls may be in danger.

Although since then, in a globalizing Istanbul, there has been some change and the agents who experience or generate the fear have changed, the “fear” itself and the moat/pit, its imaginary expression, continue to exist in various forms. Security, the main principle of state policy after the foundation of the modern state, is situated in the face of a similar fear driving the formation of society (see *Security*). The contrasting positions of the concepts of security and fear are mobilised not in opposition, but in unison by the holders of power in the twentieth century and since, and

especially across the city: producing a paranoid fear creating the need for security. All the real and virtual walls that surround the “closed circuit residential blocks” (see *Gated Housing Estate*) constructed independently from each other are nothing but the repetition of the moat/pits created by the joint movement of security and fear. What’s more, the everyday lives of people – and especially children – living in these miniature medieval cities created within the city are monitored in the name of security, with their freedoms restricted through complete isolation from the “other” city dwellers with whom they live.

In Victor Hugo’s description, “...the houses began to sink deeper... the street was hollowing out and narrowing constantly...,” while the city can be thought to be developing upwards, he admits that it is actually pitting downwards. He thus reverses readings of the city silhouette by drawing attention to fallacies regarding the hill/pit (see *Silhouette*). The increasingly hollowed out and pitted city has reached such a state that global acts of terror which are, in R. Tiersky’s words, “an attack on the idea of the city, on the idea of living together,” are actually producing their own particular senses of the architectural,



creating moat/pit images on an unprecedented scale. What's more, in the case of Istanbul – by strange coincidence – the selected target is the exact heart – Büyük Hendek [Great Moat] Avenue – of the memory transmitted by the city of today of the ancient Galata city wall moats and its own hole driving into the earth.

The moat/pit has now been transformed from a mechanism of defence into the imaginary expression of modern wars in the city. It should not be forgotten that the city that takes security as the most fundamental problem and its provision a route to legitimacy becomes an extremely fragile structure, the very target of those who aim to demolish it (see *Demolition or the Warped City*). Therefore, just as not knowing which in the increasingly mixed-up pairing of security/fear comes first, whether the intervention of global terror in the city is destruction or reconstruction remains an unanswerable question.

—Zühre Sözeri

> *Demolition or the Warped City,*
Gated Housing Estate, Security, Silhouette

MOSQUE

A PUBLIC SPACE OF WORSHIP IN ISTANBUL BEFORE MODERNISATION. TODAY, THE SPATIAL EXPRESSION OF A SERIES OF POLITICAL PREFERENCES. [ED.]

According to year 2000 data there are 2562 mosques in Istanbul. The Fatih borough comes first in terms of the number of mosques, followed by Ümraniye, Üsküdar and Gaziosmanpaşa. This ranking is not at all surprising, and in fact reinforces urban narratives through which a consensus has been reached.

A building of worship, it is impossible to conceive of the mosque as independent of aspects of organisation and the power of representation. The number of mosques in Fatih and Üsküdar directly overlaps with the image we have of these boroughs, which were the focal points for the city beginning to become Muslim under Ottoman rule. In the same way, Ümraniye and Gaziosmanpaşa seem to reinforce their position by means of the equation of “migration” and “gecekondu,” declared to be, since the 1950s, the fundamental reason of the thousand and one problems of Istanbul



for which no cure has been found. Well, isn't it the case that people who come from out of town also bring the mosques with their shoddy plaster and brick minarets along with the never ending low-quality housing production to Istanbul? A scrawny image, stuck between the half-tile, half-corrugated roofs of peripheral boroughs complete with satellite dish, is the representative document of those who want to package Istanbul in familiar forms. This photograph of the *gecekond* mosque is essentially not very different from the historic peninsula postcards where elegant minarets ascend. References of the first to the present, to poverty and ignorance and to the past, to glory and to civilisation of the second unite in their habit of speaking from memory.

However, it is possible to study this particular type of building for worship, whose symbolic value has become sharable through daily newspaper discourse with debates like "A mosque for Taksim Square," (see *Taksim Square*) and "A mosque for Göztepe Park," according to a very simple system, and in a new way. The proportion of the number of mosques registered in the province of Istanbul in the year 2000 to the registered population tells us that the number of people per mosque in Istanbul

is 3931. This data is of course useless by itself. However, when the same calculation is repeated on a borough-by-borough basis, the established template clearly doesn't fit anymore. First of all, the people of Gaziosmanpaşa, whom we have surrendered to the prejudice based on *gecekond* area-oriented mosque production with their 164 mosques, are below the Istanbul average with 4663 people per mosque. In fact, intensities of mosque use which reveal the opposite of expectation in boroughs like Bayrampaşa, Zeytinburnu, Bağcılar, Esenler and Güngören, reach record levels with 16793 people per mosque in Avcılar. On the other hand, Beşiktaş, Bakırköy and Kadıköy, which stand out as the most privileged areas of the city according to educational level and professional profile are, as boroughs where one would expect congestion in places of worship, actually on the same side of the scale with the newly developing areas of the city. It won't be surprising after this, where our judgments regarding the city have proven hollow, to reveal that Fatih and Üsküdar are above the average with rates of 2217 and 2837. One must also take into account that the mosques in these two boroughs, which have become centres of attraction for worship with their historic pasts, also serve larger crowds on both the Anatolian

and European sides of Istanbul. Another case at this end of the scale is the borough of Eminönü, where the people per mosque rate rises to 524. The chasm between the general average of the city and the borough average emphatically points to the transformation of boroughs from residential areas into trade areas since the 1960s.

Even this simple population/mosque calculation forms a response to approaches that isolate urban transformation from its natural course and stereotype it, contributing to a narrative of active dynamics in the city. The idea that in Istanbul a neighbourhood can be founded without a mosque and that a mosque can be left without a congregation indicates that space and representation must be questioned in different ways and unconditionally.

—Meriç Öner

> Taksim Square

MUSEUM

ACCORDING TO THE MOST UP TO DATE DEFINITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF MUSEUMS, THE MUSEUM IS A SUSTAINABLE PUBLIC AND NON-PROFIT INSTITUTION IN THE SERVICE OF SOCIETY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT WHERE THE NATURAL AND CULTURAL INHERITANCE OF HUMANITY IS COLLECTED, PRESERVED, INTERPRETED, PRESENTED, PROMOTED AND DISPLAYED FOR PURPOSES OF EDUCATION, RESEARCH AND APPRECIATION.

Museums have been the spaces where the scientific and artistic production of human civilisation since Antiquity has been preserved. “*Museion*,” the home of the muses in Hellenistic mythology, is adapted into other languages to define spaces of memory where documents of intellectual and physical production are brought together. The use of the word museum for places where various collections are gathered and exhibited corresponds to later periods.

While the Cabinets of Curiosities of the 17th century have been known as museums, the Ashmolean Museum founded as part of Oxford University in 1682 became the first institutional museum open to the public. In the 18th century many special collections were brought together



in museums, the number of museums open to the public increased and, towards the end of the century, the concept of a public museum developed with the influence of the French Revolution. The 19th century is the golden age of museums when they increased both in variety and fields of specialisation and in terms of content and space.

Although the institutional past of the museum is much shorter than similar spaces of memory, science-like archives and libraries, the museum rapidly earned a place in the order of urban life with its significance as a particular site of attraction and spatial presence. Along with other main components of 19th century urbanisation such as the opera, theatre, library, municipality and public administration buildings, the museum took its place in the centre of the city.

According to architectural historian J. Mordaunt Crook, researching the British Museum, the museum “is the product of 18th century Enlightenment, 19th century democratisation and 20th century modernisation,” in other words, a result of the Western mind and a Western institution. The museum is, in the fundamental sense, European. It evolves parallel to the processes of

development of the Old Continent. And there are different reasons for its popularisation in different cultural contexts; such as being a tool to emphasize cultural identity, ideological unification and social appropriation of symbols of belonging, or as a sign of modernisation...

The museums we inherited from the Ottoman Empire were modelled as indispensable components of westernisation and, in contrast to other public institutions that were developed out of necessity, were founded in order to establish authority in a field where the West had intensified its interest. The museum organisation formed in 1846, during the early years of the innovations of the Tanzimat [Re-/Organisation], with a collection including a part of the old weapons and other seizures kept in the Aya Irini [St. Irene] Church since they were deemed unsuitable for the Treasury and antique architectural elements from the vicinity of the Hippodrome, was the first attempt in this field. The core of the museum was opened with two sections, and the sole reason for its development around antique artefacts was the interest of Europe in the Age of Antiquity. The declaration by Safvet Pasha in 1869 to the grand vizier concerning the rationale for the founding of an impe-



rial museum, “It is not right that no museum has been established in our country while European museums are full of rare artefacts taken from our land,” can be seen as the sign of the “need” for museums. Even as the Ottoman Empire got the museum it wanted, the awareness that this space was an institution serving the transmission of social memory and the physical documents of its past to future generations, lost out to the interest from Europe. At the inauguration of the Çinili Köşk [The Tiled Pavilion] as the Müze-i Hümayun [Imperial Museum] on 16th August 1980, the Education Minister Münif Paşa expressed the importance of the Museum in the following words:

“In the past, the value of ancient artefacts was not recognized properly... Many ancient artefacts in European and American museums today are from our country... They did this because we showed no interest and demand in this subject. For a while now, interest in the subject has begun among Ottomans and a law regarding ancient artefacts has also been issued. The foundation of the Müze-i Hümayun is the clearest example of this, and one hopes that the ideas and actions of Europeans regarding us will change from now on.”

Towards the mid-1880s, artefacts sent from all corners of Ottoman territories to the capital began not to fit into the Çinili Köşk, constructed in 1472 during the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror and functioning as a recreational residence of the sultan and his entourage when they played traditional games like jereed [a team sport on horseback]. The façade of the new building, designed by Alexandre Vallaury for the museum directed by Osman Hamdi Bey, is said to have been inspired by the Sarcophagus of Mourning Women and the Alexander Sarcophagus brought a short time before the construction of the museum from Sidon. Whatever the inspiration, the Müze-i Hümayun building, with its neo-classical emphasis like all the other museums constructed in the West at the time, is the first and only European presence in Topkapı Palace which for centuries opened its doors to Westerners only “as a sign of grace.”

The Müze-i Hümayun is also a monument to a centralist understanding of museum development. The museum that rose to prominence with the collection of all types of antique artefacts for the capital of the Empire made an attempt with a regional branch opening in Bursa in 1904, but its continuity could not be maintained. Despite



the political chaos of the first decades of the 20th century, all the new museum projects developed in the Ottoman state were for Istanbul.

The traditional approach brought on by the structuring of the Ottoman Museum according to Western norms and for Western appreciation continues almost intact in the present despite the ideological interventions of the Republic. The museum, it seems, is assessed for its qualities of catching up with the levels of modernity and attracting the interest of the West rather than serving society, as with other cultural and scientific institutions adapted from the West. Although a tendency to open museums for typical regional arts or everyday life significant for the cultural make-up of society began in the late years of the Ottoman Empire, the collections passed on to the Republic weren't of a great extent. Furthermore, since the ideology of the Republic instrumentalized museums, in line with reclaiming the lands of Anatolia salvaged by the Republic, promoting national unity and continuity and the worldwide significance of Anatolian culture, archaeology, searching for and revealing the cultural uniqueness of the "Turk" in ancient cultures and ethnology became the main concern of museums opened

across the country as symbols of modernisation. As a result, with the exception of a painting and sculpture museum, military museums and converted palaces and villas, the museum culture which spread through Anatolia consisted of collections which began historically with ancient, regional periods, were flavoured with ethnography, had no continuity and were displayed in the same setting for decades.

Although never admitted specifically, it was again Istanbul which received the greatest attention in museum development in the early Republican period,. Although Ankara was decked with public buildings to emphasize its political sovereignty, and witnessed concrete developments regarding museology like the construction of an Ethnography Museum and the establishment of an Archaeology Museum in the 1940s, the lion's share still belonged to Istanbul. Museums as the signature of the ideology and revolutions of the Republic, with the conversion into museums of the Topkapı Palace (1924) as a symbol of the sovereignty of the people, the Hagia Sophia Mosque (1937) as a sign of secularism and the founding of the Painting and Sculpture Museum (1937), all as steps towards the level of development of

contemporary civilisations, showed that despite its loss of position as the administrative centre for 600 years, the city would continue to be the cultural capital.

The excitement and interest in all cultural institutions (concert halls, opera houses, theatres...) in the first decades of the Republic plateaued out with public attention shifting towards political and economic matters. The overriding understanding of museums until recently was that they were places where one had to be silent and respectful, places containing treasures much appreciated by tourists and therefore a cause of pride for us as a nation.

The early Republican Period established another museum tradition: since museums offered a quick solution to the problem of how to utilize the immovables expropriated from the Ottoman era, the “recruitment” of all types of monumental building as museums became prized. The custom of assigning all public building types which had lost their original function, presented a problem in terms of their use, yet could not be demolished due to concerns of historical sensitivity and city silhouette and no one wanted in the first place

anyway, was established (see *Silhouette*). The new role and perhaps the fate which would provide untouchability to a han, a madrasah, a mansion or an industrial building abandoned in the middle of the city upon land of high economic value and difficult to demolish was to designate it a museum. The concept of the museum was still seen as the simplest solution to deal with a spatial irregularity, and the way to give meaning to such spaces was still understood to involve putting a few interesting “objects” inside. This approach actually resulted in the disfunctionalisation of museums and the minimisation of social benefit since it forced site-focused museological planning which was forced to adapt to existing architectural potential.

The frequent allusion in recent years to museums across Turkey, the advance the “museum sector” has taken and, of course primarily in Istanbul, the attempt to establish more direct relationships with the society they are serving, with the use of various methods of communication to attract the interest of society, as well as the increase in the number and content variety of museums are still not sufficient to change this approach. When a new museum is proposed, and in its early stages of foundation, the understanding which seeks reasonably pro-



portioned old buildings in the city or extensions to them still prevails. All well-intentioned efforts, the development of museology and even the adoption of technology relevant to museum requirements and progress does not remove the problem of old buildings, turning the sustainability of museums into painful and expensive operations.

The allocation of a position to museums as significant actors in the development of the city is not simply a matter of the utilisation of monumental “antiques.” Since the 19th century, museums have shared with other public buildings the task of highlighting the style of the periods they have been constructed in with changing architectural emphases in the modernisation and urban transformation of cities (see *Urban Transformation*). In fact, since their utilisation may be considered more “flexible” and categorically different compared to buildings for performance, science or administration, whose functions are rather defined by strict boundaries, they open up a space of freedom for the application of experiments in original architectural form. Despite the functional concerns of a relatively small number of museum professionals who think that the content, collection, display, scientific and communication functions are fundamental, strik-

ing contributions to the city silhouette are always admired and the museum may be approached as a privileged “architectural artefact.” In this context, as seen in various contemporary examples, proposals which ought not simply to be defended in actuality, conceptual constructs presenting the architecture of a museum to society independent of the works it contains and the services it offers to society has become easily acceptable within the logic of urban transformation. This operates as such a dominant in contemporary planning that it drives one to think, somewhat indifferently, that a similar architectural visuality that restored popularity to a forgotten harbour, for instance, must exist within the historical texture of Istanbul as well.

Another mitigation of demands for priority existence in socialisation and urban culture can be sought in the range of services provided by museums. In the metropolitan life of the 21st century, museums take on important roles through their peripheral activities as much as their basic responsibilities outlined above. The research areas of the museum open to the public (library, documentary, visual and aural archives), workshops which contribute to education, rest areas (cafeteria or restaurant), multifunctional halls open for cultural



activities and economic operations providing a contribution to the museum's functioning and promotion (bookshops or souvenir shops) are not simply other places to visit, secondary to the main spaces of memory of the museum but also places linked to and enabling society's use of the main museum. For all that, they are not always indispensable to the museum. However, given urban forms of consumption, especially in cultural centres like Istanbul reputed global metropolises, the spell of the traditional prestige of museums runs the risk of negatively influencing the functional balance of museums, rendering certain shared spaces and especially recreational areas overly popular. Once museums desert their fundamental mission and are treated as spaces of cultural activity, emphasis on the scientific structure serving the development of society weakens and their vision of building bridges from the past to the future within relations of memory, belonging and identity begins to fray. To assess a museum that is "consumed" for its restaurant, café, special concerts or cinemas as a unique space of a society genuinely valuing its art, science and history, its cultural heritage, fails as a justification. The increasing dominance of such a practice in the cultural life of Istanbul leads to the formation of areas for socialising within museums that have no

connection to the main space or its guiding concept, failing thereby assimilate the examples of transformations in some other cities. In such cases, it is thoroughly mistaken to generalize the social and cultural vitality Istanbul has experienced in terms of museology in recent years and identify it with the development of the country's heritage.

Consequently, if the part of museums in cultural transformation does not impress beyond the city of Istanbul, and if museums here are not concerned about promoting the inheritance of the city where the first museum of the country was founded, if they do not look back and reconsider the progress they have made, if they do not take the real needs of the city and its dwellers into consideration, and if they advance towards universality with the sole aim of rendering the city more cultured and making its architectural "quality" more visible without changing a viewpoint which is 160 years old, or only by adapting to the norms of consumption of today, then perhaps it is best not to write or even think about these things.

—Burçak Madran

> Silhouette, Urban Transformation



MUSIC PIRACY

A FORM OF DISTRIBUTION AIMED AT INCREASING THE CIRCULATION OF MUSIC VIA ITS REPRODUCTION IN VARIOUS FORMS.

The contemporary domestic form of music piracy is based on the downloading of songs to computers via internet programmes. This method, against which many music and record companies – and especially the big names – respond with a variety of security and locking systems, also has many advocates because of its facilitation of access to music. On the other hand, the use of formats like mp3, in which the information content of songs is compressed and transformed, result in up to 50 % loss of data and hence sound quality. Yet it looks as if no one seems to mind that much. In other words, the advantages provided by easy access and low cost can even overcome the perception of the loss in sound waves as a problem.

The street version of pirate music distribution is mp3 CDs prepared specially according to bands or genres. With this system, which has beaten music shops to take over the market, music shopping in the city has been reduced to the question “Need CDs, sister?” persistently asked when one goes

past shops. For instance, in shops at the Yazıcıoğlu Business Centre in Kadıköy and its surroundings, vendors sell, in addition to computer programs and films, music CDs burned with enough music for you to listen for weeks for a very cheap price. There is an international trade going on behind the counters. And this trade has a very negative affect on the trade of the ‘big names’, and the sound of the slogan “No to Music Piracy!” echoes on TV.

But back in the days when the real problem was not buying or not buying music but actually gaining access to it, music piracy and distribution were emotional acts, often quite removed from trade. Music shops and music stalls positioned in the vicinity of these music shops would open the archive of an elder brother or sister to the listener by recording it onto blank tapes. In those days when the listener was oblivious to concepts like copyright or musician’s rights, the only calculation was about the option of buying three dubbed tapes for the price of one original cassette tape, yet listening to more music. Besides, even if the licensed original copies of albums dubbed to tape were on display, that didn’t mean they were on sale. The vendor’s profile was as far removed as possible from a tradesman trying to fill his pock-



ets; he was more likely trying to include you in his circle. In brief, both the buyer and the vendor were genuinely happy.

Each stall or shop had its own unique style of presentation. This style was determined by diverse variables from the handwriting used in the song titles and band names on cassette sleeves to the colour of the pen, from the dimensions of the photocopy of the original cover in the cassette cover to the make of the blank tape. Receiving music prepared with such special personal treatment and in unique form, you inevitably thought that it was just for you. In fact, depending on the friendliness of the chat you had with the vendor, the extra minutes added to the gaps at the end of each side which meant “if you liked this then you might also like this too,” were the most beautiful signs of how special you were and that you would remain secure in this by holding on to this community.

As can be observed in all urban spaces where such counter-activities are carried out, it was often the case that the shops initiating pirate music distribution in the late 80s and the 90s preferred to stay close to others carrying out similar acts. The first place this dual position of external soli-

tude and internal link-up brought to mind was the Kadıköy Akmar Arcade and its surroundings, where many kids were banned from going by their parents. Although Akmar now has the appearance of an ordinary arcade where the second hand book dealers sell university preparation books, where toilets are cleaned regularly, and where the only access from its café is to the internet, it used to be like a door opening onto boundless music for the curious music listener. At the same time, the arcade expressed the self-sufficient mood of Kadıköy people who shied away from the outside world with remarkable ease and without hedging their bets.

Pirate music distribution via dubbed cassette tapes and older brothers and sisters was perhaps the best thing that ever happened to Istanbul – in the name of music. Just like punks having a place to hang around in front of and that place being in the heart of the city... That is the reason why my anxious childhood makes me search around for the Akmar Arcade in every city I travel to. I know that even if the arcade isn't there, there are definitely people somewhere who still keep those tapes.

—Ekin Sanaç



MY IDEAL HOME

FROM VITRUVIUS' TIME TO THE PRESENT DAY, THE "IDEAL HOME" HAS BEEN ONE OF THE FOUNDING MYTHS OF HUMANKIND AND IS STILL USED FREQUENTLY BY DESIGNERS AND RESEARCHERS. HOWEVER, IN THE CONTEXT OF ISTANBUL AND WITH THE SLOGAN "MY/THE IDEAL HOME," THIS MYTH MUST BE READ AS THE SPATIALISATION OF THE EMERGING TURKISH BOURGEOISIE.

At first, the "ideal home" myth of 1950s Istanbul is a symbolic space visualizing the dream of "becoming little America" reflected in the slogan proclaiming "a millionaire in each neighbourhood." The "ideal home" given away by banks under this slogan with lotteries organized among account holders is the beginning of the spatialisation of the Turkish bourgeoisie the system was trying to create. In today's globalizing Istanbul, the active dissemination of communication services, advertising and information encourage the consumer to yearn for the "ideal home" of luxury standards reflecting a "different" and "elite" life style.

In this scope, the myth of the "ideal home" in the process of the physicalisation of global capital in Istanbul is the critical space visualizing the social class one belongs to or envies and is the

focal point of oral and verbal representations of luxury real estate advertisements (see *Advertisement*). "My/the ideal home" has now opened the door of a "privileged" world we could describe as hyper-reality, with a new architectural language symbolizing prestige, status, and power and their credentials. The element which renders the spatialisation in Istanbul critical is the spatial disassociation of two social groups through the marketing of luxury residence by means of a discourse of work, entertainment and especially "my/the ideal home": those who succeed in becoming part of globalisation and those who can't. In this process of dissociation, the Istanbul upper-middle and upper classes, also described as "white Turks," have assimilated their symbolic class identity, embracing the myth of "my ideal home". In the third millennium, for senior executive Istanbulites, buying "their ideal home" doesn't only mean buying a "house": owning the "ideal home" is synonymous with the visualisation of attaining this "new and elite lifestyle"...

We encounter the dissociative consumption culture of globalizing Istanbul in the marketing processes of the "ideal home" and in textual and visual representations in advertisements. Adver-



tisements published for the sales of new luxury residence development,s spreading into forested areas towards the Black Sea coast on the European side and towards water basins on the Asian side, provoke Istanbulite buyers by presenting the home as a tool of investment and status with the slogan “my/the ideal home.” Closed spaces (see *Gated Housing Estate*) where socially and economically similar groups can coexist according to their habits of consumption are being marketed with strategically chosen thematic images by means of staged scenes where such images can be realized. The “ideal home” abstractions of the 2000s removed from the context of relationships and actual objects through scenes of schematic site plans showing transportation distances, three-dimensional utopian visual renderings and an exaggerated discourse which can be grasped under three main headings: security (see *Security*), exclusiveness and luxurious architectural design. Security is the main theme of advertisements of luxurious housing complexes that are distant from the dark of the city but in its immediate vicinity, and will protect the prospective buyer from unidentified crimes. An environment shaped by an increase in individual violence, global terrorism and dynamics of uncertainty is expressed in the

form of exaggerated urban legends and with no reference to statistical data. More critically, the “secure and organized environment” discourse of the “ideal home” also evokes the sense of spatial and social distance from the city’s neighbourhoods of complicated communities. Secondly, the “ideal home” is the spatialisation of the imaginary construct which creates the image of exclusivity. An exclusive and happy life is reflected through slogans of a “utopian, happy and privileged life.” A “clean social environment” indicates living close to people from similar social environments and the sharing of this “exclusive life style” with your social equivalents – in fact, a spatialisation emphasizing cultural dissociation – and reflects the dissociation from residents of ordinary neighbourhoods. Finally, the “ideal home” is described as having luxurious architectural constituents. Accompanied by schematic site plans showing transportation distances to the two airports of the city, exclusive ultra-luxurious shopping centres and privileged urban centres, the precondition of “my/the ideal home” is that it is always “out of town” but “very close” to it... On one hand door-jambs, ornamentations, eaves and blinds are used to evoke the Ottoman era amid fantasies of the old values of the villa or manor; on the other hand, the

emphasis on transparency using contemporary materials in ultra-bright representations creating fictions of space-age spaces adorned with English names is to the fore... With kitchen and bathroom as symbolic transmission of cultural homogenisation and social identification, luxurious architectural standardisation consolidated with built-in equipment and matching home textiles represents “enviable installations”... And the latest development in luxurious contractor residences is the increasing frequency of the signature of the famous architect below our “ideal home”...

The myth of “my/your ideal home” which may be taken as an imaginary construct is essentially determined by mechanisms using similar cliché-producing visualisation techniques and media. The race through policies of consumption to produce difference in actual fact operates via similarities. This myth has become a directly saleable and purchasable commodity, overlapping with global consumption culture. The element of “my/your ideal home” advertisements in 21st century Istanbul that, at base, makes the difference is their emphasis on social and cultural dissociation in the discourses of their textual and visual representations. In this context, the spatialisation

of the “ideal home” in a manner that sharpens social privileges is actually a visualisation, a mirror held up to the processes of hybridisation (see *Hybrid-ising/isation*) and fragmentation of other spaces in the city.

—İpek Yada Akpınar

> Advertisement, Hybrid-ising/isation,
Gated Housing Estate, Security

NEIGHBOURHOOD

THE HYPOTHETICAL SOCIAL UNIT THAT CONSTANTLY REAPPEARS ON THE AGENDA AS THE REINCARNATION OF A FORGOTTEN ORDER OF URBAN ORGANISATION AND INSPECTION. [ED.]

A private housing company calls the project it will realize in Istanbul a ‘neighbourhood,’ and describes the project in its adverts like this: “Neighbourhood Istanbul will provide you with a peaceful life amidst nature, and it aims to recreate the old, warm bonds of neighbourhood, the friendly chats, solidarity, in other words, the old neighbourhood spirit you miss so dearly.” The company sets to work with the aim of recovering



a value we have lost, and it looks as though this will be neither the first nor the last example of this trend. The Istanbul neighbourhood marks such a distinct structure and such a strong desire is felt for it that it defines the backbone of the most significant advertising strategies (see *Advertisement*) of commercial housing projects, while it is in the process of being renewed as a high-density housing estate (see *Gated Housing Estate*). However, as both the developer and the advertising agency know quite well, calling a development a neighbourhood will not be enough to make it one. The idea of bringing back old neighbourhood relations always attracts a premium. Yet it is debatable whether those much yearned for neighbourhood relations existed at all, or at least in the way they are imagined today. It can be claimed that the neighbourhood is first and foremost a mental construct and therefore appears more in series, film sets and advertising campaigns for housing estates. At this point, it seems relevant to refer to Weber's relation to the concept of the neighbourhood.

More than the physical environment that the word often problematically refers to, the concept of the neighbourhood actually represents a field

of appraisal for the Weberian community/society theory much approved of in Turkey. The best known indicator of this situation may be defined as the attempt to construct a community structure which never existed: in brief, the creation of a system of lost values integrated within a national construct. A confession of sins is carried out through the notion of the neighbourhood. We first imagine what we have lost, and then we mourn it and plead forgiveness. Even more curiously, the critical view of this imagination actually owes a lot to Weber's discourse too. This time, the neighbourhood is reconstructed as a focal point for pre-modern behavioural patterns. Thus a double reading, between pre-industrial communal relationships and the society of the modern world, emerges. The blockage the intellectual arsenal that leans on Weber suffers from, then, defines another problematic issue regarding the neighbourhood.

There is a considerable number of publications in Turkish concerning how the metropolis of the contemporary world separates itself from its neighbourhoods which haven't shed their communal relationship structure. In this context, the neighbourhood construct is formed to

question contemporary urban structures rather than trying to understand the past's network of relations. Therefore we constantly hear, read and listen to how Istanbul has developed a resistance to modernisation and how neighbourhoods contribute to this, or how *gecekondu* neighbourhoods represent a life peculiar to the traditional world (see *Gecekondu*, *Post-gecekondu*). Of course, these neighbourhoods are not in Nişantaşı or Ulus but in Gaziosmanpaşa and Ümraniye. This construct claims that existing social capital in the city sustains the constant flow from the rural areas to the city, and because of neighbourhoods which haven't received or can't receive their share from the city for a variety of reasons, Istanbul never goes beyond being a gigantic village. Consequently, both views are nothing but efforts to reconstruct a web destroyed by modernity, which the confused ethico-epistemological crisis is trying to restore.

—Ersin Altın

> Advertisement, Gated Housing Estate, Gecekondu, Post-gecekondu

NORTHERN ISTANBULITE

IF WE WANTED TO IDENTIFY THAT NEW FORM OF EXISTENCE OF THE GROUP THAT HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS “WHITE TURKS” IN TERMS OF THE HISTORY OF PHYSICAL GENERATION IN THE MODERN CITY, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO COIN THE PHRASE “NORTHERN ISTANBULITE.”

The sphere of the Northern Istanbulites was born in the 19th century, in the era of early modernism, receives a comprehensive renovation with the founding of the Republic and matures, losing its influence in 1950s–1980s Istanbul as it changed through migration, and finally shed its shell and was resurrected in a neo-liberal format in the 90s (see *Migration*). If the physical make-up of the city and the forms of existence it shelters are, to a disastrous degree, perceived differently by different actors, both old and new northern views and attitudes can be traced at the foundation of this condition.

Early modern origins/The construction of the north by capitalist sleight of hand: As the city modernized in the 19th century, geographical-topographic thresholds began to overlap with socio-economic differentiations or to indicate



them. Social strata that had a high level of capital accumulation and were articulated with the global economy of the era concentrated themselves to the north of the Golden Horn. This area was further differentiated within itself: the upper and eastern parts facing the sea along the airy, scenic ridge, the main spine of which extended from Tünel to Şişli, with a branch extending out to Maçka above the new palace, presented a tendency for refined development; whereas the Tarlabası–Dolapdere–Kasımpaşa area, to the rear of the ridge, along with the area south of the Golden Horn, was abandoned to more modest income groups. The central areas of the old Bosphorus villages may also included in this second group to a certain extent. The northern attitude is also an elevated attitude. The urban topography of this era is legible: socioeconomic differentiation and spatial differentiation directly coincide and overlap. In contrast to the economic position of the northern and elevated districts that were articulated with the movements of global capital, and their social structure which was open to western trends with their liberal ideological structure supporting modernisation, we observe that the “southern” or “lower altitude” districts were the space of a secondary or parallel modernisation process

maintained with more regional discourses, with these districts presenting their labour force, services and smaller commodity production first and foremost to the regional market. This was a differentiated world, yet also a world where everyone knew where they stood. Ottoman conservative modernisation, which finds its most perfect incarnation in Abdülhamid, had deciphered the secret of slotting the very diverse pieces of this world into place and keeping them there without much fuss.

The incarnation of north and south in early modernity/The apartment and the block plot layout as opposed to the shore palace: Apartment typology crystallized as both a sign and guarantor of northern capital accumulation. It has often been said that the apartment was a status symbol or a sign of the times – until it lost its reputation in the 1960s when the build-and-sellers entered the fray. There is another way of looking at it: the apartment provided reassurance for the differentiation of socioeconomic groups on a spatial basis. The rupture from the southern neighbourhood may not have happened so comfortably if not for the radical differentiator, the unique spatial filter known as the apartment, or, in other words, the

apartment provided a perfect infrastructure for the rupture. What we refer to as the suffocating customs of the neighbourhood which we often define in a religious/cultural field, is nothing but, in the final analysis, a series of rites and mores forcing the redistribution of social resources; thus the neighbourhood can also be read as a physical/spatial front for the emergence of capital accumulation and a modern bourgeois class. Keeping at arm's length from the neighbourhood is thus a compulsory step for social strata that want to take part in the cycles of modern capital accumulation. A high-density settlement beyond the Golden Horn on top of the ridge, separated from the others, also witnesses the birth of a class that has increasingly minimized its social relationships with the old city.

The process of modernisation which opened “virgin” land in the north beyond the Galata city walls to development and transformed vineyards, gardens, orchards, meadows and arable fields and then cemeteries into building sites for the first time brought the urban investor to the forefront as an actor. This was a period when capital liberated itself from common sense, and the land in the north/the highlands opened to profiteering and speculative

use. An overload of building concentration due to expectations of high yields affected the quality of life in the developed environment in areas like Pera, for instance, and, as circumstances changed, in time a loss in value became inevitable. The main parameter of northernness is thus defined by pure and reckless attacks on untouched land along the northern periphery of the city.

The Northern State/A brief intermezzo: The complementary element to capitalist northernness was the northernification of the Great Ottoman State along with its dignitaries. From Fındıklı to Ortaköy, from Beylerbeyi to Küçüksu, the migration of the sultanate to the north took place along the shore. The primary motive, as well as the geographical axis of this movement, was different: its main impulse was to compensate for an aristocratic life that had never been (could never have been) experienced properly in the past. The state found its northern character in the typology of stone seafront palaces it affixed to the cool waters of the Bosphorus. Being northern in lower elevations was synonymous with being imperial.

and the Others: On the other side of the medallion were the southern neighbourhoods who



were stewing in their own juice. The insufficient or humble capital accumulation here only allowed for moderate solutions: The capital deficit of the modernisation of the south was met by planning. The power of urban planning was equalled only by that of the urban actors of the south and they found a rich mine here. Fires played the determining role in the transition to this humble block/lot order defined by 2–3 storey detached and/or terraced family housing with narrow façades. A quarter of the pre-disaster area was expropriated while the remaining three-quarters were given title deeds. For the southern urban dweller, modernisation meant at every moment feeling in their bones the regulatory will of the government through its road and building regulations. The Pera fires didn't have the same consequence, for example; the will of resident Pera property owners acting as investors determined new development processes.

Northerners who modernized on the strength of capital and southerners who modernized by public means found a way of living side by side, keeping out of each other's business with "each keeping to their own neighbourhood."

Republican conditions/The maturation of the northern ideology of reconstruction: The Republic didn't fundamentally interfere in the north–south divide of the city it inherited; it didn't attempt to surpass it. Meanwhile, the city was shrinking anyway, the existing divide was simplified and in line with this simplification it ossified and became ideological. The first outcome of the equation was the state factor; the state deserted the centre and moved north. The clear choice of the new Republican elite was the north; it formed a bond with the north and kept a distance from the south. It never managed to like the Bosphorus which it identified with the "leftovers of the decrepit empire," abandoning it and choosing to dwell along the ridge. At the highest point of the hill, a new centre was invented and opened: Taksim Square (see *Taksim Square*). The square was surrounded by exemplary neighbourhoods which either rose from nothing or were comprehensively renewed, the outstanding examples being Talimhane, the Mete Caddesi / Gümüştuyu block and Cihangir. The complex including the square and integrating Taksim Esplanade and Maçka Park became the public space of the Republic, with the Republican elite living along an arc surrounding this complex. Neighbourhoods of the Ottoman past which formed the arc,



Teşvikiye chief among them, renewed themselves according to the example set by Taksim.

The falling property prices of the shrinking city meant that the new elite of the north were introduced for the first time to the concepts of public investment and planning. New exemplary settlements were purified of the negative aspects of the unplanned urban pile-up of 19th century turbo-capitalism and embraced comfort, green and light, seen as a blessing of the Republic.

On the other hand, the south decreased radically in size in the same period and, “shrinking”, it no longer received a substantial share from public investment; as a result becoming dilapidated almost without any renewal at all, collapsing, with fire damaged areas becoming fields, going into withdrawal. The contrast between the area within the city walls and the area beyond the Golden Horn became more apparent. Those looking down from the north began to perceive this as a simple but equally insurmountable duality since it was static in nature.

However, in the early modern period everyone was aware of the fact that the choice of neighbourhood was basically a matter of monetary means

and its consequences were accepted with a form of resignation. The differentiation in life styles was nothing other than a natural consequence of this. The ones who earned more could naturally consume more and differently, and set sail to the pleasure worlds of more expansive lands thanks to the means they possessed. These differences, which provided ample material for literature, were often subject to ridicule. Social climbing could open the door to new lifestyles, thresholds were not insurmountable.

The money the new Republican elite had in its pockets was a drop in the ocean compared to the old cosmopolitan elite. How much could they show off with the money they had, anyway? If there was a material resource which made a difference to the physical environment it wasn't private, it belonged to the government. Therefore the identification with government ideology which offered a higher quality urban environment, reading and explaining the city accordingly, was naturalized, became natural. The north became the environment of a self-styled republican enlightenment; the south became the embodiment of traditionalism and unenlightened conservatism. The othering and ghettoisation of northern neighbourhoods



in the north that were more impoverished and belonged to non-Muslims began in this period. (This is a subject that deserves to be taken up on its own, but I won't go into detail here.)

The golden shot of the Republican north / The Menderes operations: In contrast with the populist demagoguery which was used to legitimize them ("bringing services to the 'neglected' urban area within the city walls which had received no share of public investment before"), the Menderes operations, which left their indelible mark on the period, derived from an extraordinarily northernist agenda. A new express road network was completed according to an attitude which entirely disregarded the area within the city walls by reducing it to a simple transit terrain to be by-passed. For the northerners, this area was a cheap territory that one sped through to get to Ataköyü, for instance. The Taksim-Ataköyü line was the connection between the centre and this new colony positioned beyond the city walls by Emlak Bankası/The Real Estate Bank (a public institution), which in the most general sense focused on the housing problem of the new elite rather than "society." (see *Centre*) Although it has been more than 50 years since their inauguration, Vatan Caddesi could not

dream of becoming Champs-Élysées; nor could the shore road, also known as Kennedy Street, dream of becoming Kordon, Izmir; their fate is to cause pain to the city as pseudo-highways tacked on to the area within the city walls. The first step was taken in the deterritorialisation process of the north with the establishment of Ataköyü on the southern shore. When the North was restructured shortly after, it would transcend space and become more conceptual.

The interim period / The classical duality takes a back seat and new potential polarities are masked: In the period from the 50s to the 80s, the parameters of early modernity and the dualistic city as founded by the Republic turned upside down and were invalidated. The intense demographic pressure emerging with industrialisation and migration eliminated the parties, spaces and settlement typologies of the old opposition as they had been known before; the new formation, whatever it was, had not managed to form or find its language and consistency yet.

Two new urban production models, which dissolved and re-established classical sociological borders and typological thresholds were to leave their mark on the period: *Gecekondu* and Build-



and-Sell (see *Gecekondu*). They are also answers to two basic questions of the Republic: How can we industrialize without forming a proletariat and the troubles it would bring — like communism? How can we equalize all citizens on the basis of a common worthlessness? Vital questions for Istanbul, the most dynamic city of Turkey in the post-Second World War period, as well as the city which attracted most capital investment, developed fastest and therefore contained the potential to produce the most contradictions.

The pragmatic and successful answer to the question was to “universalize the cheapest property at whatever cost.” The first model, the *gecekondu*, involved the presentation of a simulation – and, in the long term, reality – of private property on public land in a horizontal arrangement which would allow the villagers not to feel that they were now in the city: produced with rural know-how and situated on the periphery of the city. New urbanites who gathered in garden cities they had produced themselves were in limbo between the country and the city, between being a worker and a villager: neither one nor the other but both at the same time. The second model, build-and-sell, in a second wave addressed to

the base universalized apartmentalisation, now elevating everyone who considered themselves urbanites off the ground to equalize them at the level of cheap flat ownership to prevent envy. It did not differentiate between thresholds, spaces, typology or period etc., pestering all areas which had already urbanized, dissolving and erasing them plot by plot, and uniting the nation of city-dwellers at the apartment meeting which would from now on become their minimum democratic common ground.

The old classical south which was considerably weakened was almost completely removed by a wave of migration, and became “peripheral”: fire sites, declining to cheap plot status and snatched by the *gecekondu*, with such areas joining the land-mass where the border between country and town was blurred, while relatively better maintained areas were surrendered to the build-and-sellers following the Menderes trauma, in the process transforming into a rather horrible caricature of the north which it had envied for centuries.

Just as a chance appeared on the horizon for the classical north, that combination of Ottoman remnants and *nouveau riche* Republican gen-

erations, to refine itself and to evolve into a fully equipped elite (education + materiality + gestus + spatiality), this possibility was flatly denied and it “committed suicide by committing itself to its nation” with an attitude worthy of the best Yeşilçam melodramas, and, to echo such a train of events, entered the bridal chamber with the build-and-sell traders.

Paradoxically, the production of popular culture benefited a lot from the dualist perception of the city: in the caricatures of the period, the contrast of vertical apartments and horizontal *gecekondu* forms the dominant landscape, background or foreground. The “contrast” easily perceived by the eye is actually quite a robust consensus, so much so that in the undeclared civil war of the 70s, these two poles collaborated in comfort.

From the 80s to the Marmara Earthquake/The extra time of the interim period or the birth pangs of the new: The interim period wasn’t to escape unscathed, however, and the accident of 12th September (the date of the 1980 military coup d’état), which assured the permanence of the damage, meant that it would evolve towards new phases.

12th September would activate two opposing dynamics: first the standstill of this interim period, which extended until the earthquake in 1999 or even the economic crisis of 2001–2002. This extension was nothing other than the birth pangs of the new (or contemporary) northern Istanbulites.

In extra time, there was lots of time-wasting thanks to the skills of post-*gecekondu* and housing estate construction, and demographic pressure which gradually increased was met on the basis of private property bought on the cheap. In a third wave, post-*gecekondu* spread apartmentalisation across old classical *gecekondu* settlements; in this sense it fully complied with interim period strategies. At the same time, it was ringing its own death knell: it monopolized the growing urban profit for itself and circulated it here, thus making enemies for itself. By preventing the flow of capital to both the old middle classes stuck in first and second generation apartment zones in the centre and to well-fed and healthy new capital demanding its share of urban profit, it wrote its own death sentence. The coalition that formed against it and the attitude it adopted is best referred to as the new northern Istanbulites (see *Post-gecekondu*).

The resurrection of the “Northern spirit” as a neo-liberal project: For past eras, we defined the concept of northernness via the shift of the centre of gravity of inner-city investment areas to the north, examining the environmental characteristics and behavioural patterns that derived from this. The contemporary condition and attitude emerges as a new phase in northernness displaying continuity with the past. As investment in Istanbul has once again shifted north since the late 80s, we see that various patterns from previous periods have re-emerged and have been re-blended as they assume new meanings in a contemporary context.

The undisputed engine and main actor of transformation this time around is finance capital and it has shifted its centre, as if by reflex, from the historical headquarters at the mouth of the Golden Horn (Karaköy/Sirkeci) north to the Mecidiyeköy–Gayrettepe–Zincirlikuyu–Levent–Maslak axis where the main north–south artery on the European side intersects with the two ring roads; and, in a parallel initial movement, prestigious housing areas in turn moved to forest areas further north. At this point, the new north can be imagined as a “front” externally enfolding

the poor centre of the metropolitan area, providing access to the north via the junctions of the second ring road opened in 1989. The following move of the north will be, and is in fact already, a re-conquest of the south from the frontlines in the north (see *Tourism*).

It is important first to make clear that the contemporary north and northernness is a rather pure product of private initiative. The point we are at has only an indirect relationship with public investments and vision, or rather, is subject to capital; the public sector emerging more in activities oriented towards clearing the way and removing obstacles ahead of the processes of capital accumulation, occupying a “supporting” position in the background. Secondly, this is not such a meticulously planned process, developing more as a spontaneous reaction and reminding us of the first “unique” movement in the 19th century. When the expansion of the arena of operations of finance capital that led the process in the mid-1980s emerged as an urgent need, the “plan” foreseen by the public sector was not at the point we have arrived at today. The intention of Dalan’s operations which left their mark on the period – in a sense, we may say, similar to the case

of London – was to expand the central business area from the Sirkeci–Karaköy axis it inhabited towards the inner areas of the Golden Horn on one hand and towards the hills of Beyoğlu in the Taksim direction on the other, in brief reshaping it as an inflated centre. The large-scale urban operations in the Golden Horn and Pera–Taksim directions met with serious opposition; when the city mayor lost the election for a third term, finance capital chose to solve its urgent need for space in the central zone of the dual carriageway of the metropolitan transportation network. Yet the Mecidiyeköy–Maslak corridor had not been planned for the role it fulfills today at all.

The main motive which is reshaping the city today is the new capital accumulation model. the production and reproduction of the physical structure of the city and the service and goods supply chains in the city are directly within the sphere of interest of large-scale capital. (This wasn't the case until recently past, with all such areas rather the monopoly of smaller-scale capital.)

The collective suicide of the elite class in the interim period “earned” the city a timeless new elite, defined without exception according to in-

come level. This new elite made it a habit to look at the city from the north, the periphery and the outside where it had physically positioned itself. During this period, the south, the centre and the inner metropolitan zone was restructured as an area to be conquered, especially as a potential area of work: a wide and virgin landmass where services and goods had to be supplied in a renewed format. However, the physical capacity of this “irregular” landmass wasn't up to the task; it had “collapsed” and therefore had to be “rectified.”

The discourse of “irregular urbanisation” was a founding element and common denominator of new northernness. Northernness in Istanbul is today the name of a coalition which can be imagined in opposition to the predominantly poor and informal cityscape that is brought together and othered under the concept of irregularity (see *Demolition or the Warped City*).

The contemporary north has produced its own settlement typology: the gated community. It formed its ideal model in reaction to what it perceived as irregular, becoming its antithesis, and going as far as to ideologise its model, marketing it, aggressively proposing and imposing its



exclusive model of living across the whole of city. The tendency to settle in closed communities in housing estates surrounded by walls and entered via a gate emerged as the dominant period-type, and was linked especially to the concept of security that assumed a mythical meaning after the Marmara earthquake. The city, threatening our security in every sense, now became the name of the thing that had to be avoided in its current state. We cannot break up with the city as long as our existence fundamentally depends on it, but we can structure the order of our settlement at a maximum distance from it (see *Gated Housing Estate; Security*).

The main strategy of the north, given its evident problem with the city as it is now, is being formed as a “conquest” through the transformation of the identity of the remaining landmass to resemble the north. To the extent that the typology of the distant, gated community structure spreads from the north towards the inner city, it defines first and foremost an overarching threat to all forms of publicness within the city.

The discourse of irregular urbanisation, the main legitimizer of this process, is today shared by

the new elite, the stage of politics and large-scale capital; whereas the kitchen of discourse production is the various disciplines of academia. Heading the convoy, there are the critical discourses of professional groups composed of architects and planners who were excluded from the main vein of the development of the environment for roughly 60 years. A faction of this professional group had since the 70s made it its habit to describe the urbanisation model produced without them as irregular. The transformation of a discourse formulated by the left as a reaction to the shortcomings of public policies into the mainstream of a new elitism in less than 30 years is a story unto itself, still to be written.

We mentioned that new northernness was parallel to the northernness of early modernity as a movement of capital. It approaches the northernness of the Republican elite by perceiving the city as a dualistic opposition according to its sectarian ideological stance. It differentiates itself from all past eras by seeing its ideological stance through aggressively to its final conclusion, by initiating a movement of total war and conquest against the rest of the city, and in its boldness in receiving support from public authorities; and thus becomes something entirely different in the

history of Istanbul. Its relatives should be sought in the land mass of the global north which grew up in the 90s.

—Orhan Esen

> Centre, Demolition or the Warped City,
Gated Housing Estate, Gecekondu, Migration,
Post-gecekondu, Security, Taksim Square,
Tourism

NOSTALGIA

NOSTALGIA CAN BE THOUGHT OF AS A TRAUMATIC
CONFRONTATION WITH THE PRESENT.

Although it appears to be constructed from a cross-section of the past, nostalgia can, in contrast to a yearning for the past and the pleasure of history, transform a segment selected from that past into an indispensable need. How the whole which contains what remains is to be fragmented and restructured has more to do with today's requirements, mood and environment, and therefore the content of nostalgia is unstable, corresponding to the removal, isolation and

restructuring of components to serve as a remedy for the malfunction of the present from within a true-to-life, and thereby certain and stable past. The birth of nostalgia, signifying the well-known and inert, clarifying through gilding, is also related in a contradictory manner to rapid changes which scatter and blur the future. Istanbul is a city which, in recent centuries has produced nostalgia out of the tensions between the pre- and post-Tanzimat [Re-/Organisation] periods, the pre- and post-*Meşrutiyet* [Constitutional Monarchy] periods and the pre- and post-Republican periods. However, writers have not fictionalized a single golden age, a single Istanbul where there aren't chasms between virtue and action and where the fear of the future doesn't exist. Fictions of individuals, with different expectations and therefore different disappointments, of the generations experiencing transitions from a multicultural empire to a homogeneous republic weren't alike either.

For instance, Said Naum Duhani was the son of an Ottoman diplomat. In the final period of the Empire he had been a member of the upper crust, of circles close to the palace in Beyoğlu, then, in the Republican period, because of per-



sonal problems, he virtually confined himself to a flat in the attic, transforming his life into a ritual that oscillated between obvious points, perpetuated only by sheer persistence: eating in the same places every day, the Touring Club where he would drop by every day and chat to the same people about the same topics, and everyday the same newspapers and clothes... In 1947, he went beyond newspaper articles, writing in French about his reminiscences of the buildings along İstiklal Caddesi (see *İstiklal Caddesi* or "*Beyoğlu*"), past which he strode up and down in unswerving regularity every day: *People of the Past, Houses of the Past – The Social Topography of 19th Century Beyoğlu*. Under this ambitious title pointing to a claim to reveal the social landscape of an entire Beyoğlu, Said Naum Duhani wrote about the houses lined up from Tünel to Taksim, their inhabitants, gossip and memories. Duhani first selected a scene for his fiction – İstiklal Caddesi/Grand'Rue de Pera – and then defined his actors with meticulous care: people of all nations who complied with the requirements of being a member of the upper class. The back streets beyond the main street had no say in his game. In 1956, he published *When Beyoğlu was called Pera*, its subtitle *Times Which Won't Return*. Thus, Said Naum

Bey made official what he had known all along: those times would never come back. Although he doesn't dedicate a single word to them, the *Varlık Vergisi* [wealth tax] and the events of September 6th–7th 1955 must not be forgotten when thinking about the conditions that prepared for this confrontation. Moreover, Said Naum Bey doesn't mention *Meşrutiyet* [Constitutional Monarchy], the World War or the Republic either. The world he constructed was almost timeless, or had spread out into the "monolithic, vast moment" Ahmet Hamdi [Tanpınar] wrote of. By standing within the present and looking into the past he wasn't investigating what he had lost; he was no longer in a space where he would come across "the last fragments of great and ancient customs of which one did not know where and how they continued" like Mümtaz in Ahmet Hamdi's *Huzur* [*A Mind at Peace*]; what's more, in contrast to him, he did not feel the need to understand "what had happened to us" and wasn't attempting to use the past as a bearing to interpret the present.

On the other hand, it may be misleading to see nostalgia as a condition necessarily linked to melancholy. For instance Yahya Kemal makes his stance, his perception felt as the bridge of conti-



nuity between the past and the future when he says he is “the future rooted in the past.” Architect Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, who withdrew from working life to dedicate himself to writing and a life of culture, had, around an entirely different focal point, established a part of the past as a reference of the real, the authentic and the valid. By underlining the era of Mehmed the Conqueror (see *Fatih Sultan Mehmet*) and Istanbul as a Muslim city purified from Greek and Latin traces he also determined his plan of action and political orientation for life, and even more importantly, created a hypothetical origin for today’s society: the Turkish, Muslim, Ottoman intellectual who had created the only unique, rich culture on Ottoman soil, and had in fact taught order to the Anatolian peoples in disarray. Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar who almost fulfilled a ritual by fictionalizing the Bosphorus as a civilisation apart from all others including even that of Istanbul itself, Peyami Safa’s *Fatih-Harbiye* which depicted the Fatih neighbourhood as a symbol of traditionality and Harbiye as the symbol of debauchery imported from the West, reflecting an Istanbul divided between two contrasting poles, or Münevver Ayaşlı who brought to life a cosmopolitan Istanbul woven with the grace and meaning of Islam as a remedy

for the hedonist and materialist present... Or Said Naum Bey, who felt himself to be, along with Western diplomats, the member of an elite class which knew no boundaries. Duhani often complains in his books about the capitulations (see *Kapan – Weighing Office*) which imply he is not equal to the representatives of other states; perhaps because of the feeling that he possesses a culture not only on the same level, but also unique, like that of the Westerners. It is for this reason surprising and hurtful that he couldn’t find himself a place within a Republic which had institutionalized Westernisation. However, he is not the only one who was surprised; all these writers, of separate stances, were members of a generation which had witnessed the collapse of an empire; and more importantly, they were the children of it. Along with the empire, Istanbul would rapidly change in the face of the new dynamics of the modern, giving birth to various cities of the golden age germinating out of the plural environment of an empire.

In the 1980s a new wave of cultural nostalgia appeared in Istanbul which had weak ties with these sociological disappointments, or rather preferred to use them, trading on the past as an



exotic product. The presence “in the past” of the non-Muslims erased from Istanbul throughout the 20th century paved the way for profits to be made from the cultural traces they left behind. From 1984 on, the municipality demolished many old neighbourhoods apparently in order to “return Istanbul to its former state.” (see *Demolition or the Warped City, Neighbourhood*) In this process, with the removal of a series of settlements parallel to İstiklal Caddesi, the street was isolated from the weave inhabited by a low-income population and made available to new organisations; in 1990 the “nostalgic tram” began carrying passengers along the street (see *Tram*). With a marked softening of relationships with Greece, the old non-Muslim communities of Istanbul were emphasized and names reminiscent of the “plural paradise in the past” were given to increasing numbers of newly opened businesses; like the wine houses with non-Muslim names which were re-opened in the late 1990s. In 1982, Said Naum Bey’s books were translated into Turkish and published; in the following period books on Istanbul rapidly flooded the market and the fiction of Beyoğlu as the place where “polite, elegant people who had taste and did not go out without their hats and gloves” would stick and even increase its operative value. This pro-

cess continues using diseased yearnings founded upon disappointments. The “Istanbul of the past” must then perhaps be sought in the experiences and views withheld from expression, ignored and blurred, rather than in what those who have witnessed great changes chose to narrate.

—Saadet Özgen

> *Demolition or the Warped City, Fatih Sultan Mehmet, İstiklal Caddesi or "Beyoğlu", Kapan – Weighing Office, Neighbourhood, Tram*

ORIENTALISM

A CLICHÉD ORIENTALIST PREJUDICE TO BE ABANDONED AT ONCE: ISTANBUL IS A BRIDGE; BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST, EUROPE AND ASIA, ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY, OR WITH THE POPULAR EXPRESSION, BETWEEN CIVILISATIONS.

It should be kept in mind that Orientalism is more than the homogenisation via totalisation of the East. First and foremost, Orientalist discourse homogenizes the West as much as its object, the East, the subject of the discourse emerging from within the totalizing of that Western discourse.



Other than that, even though the discourse constructs a sovereign West, the illusion of a totalised East as the object of the discourse cannot be reduced to an ineffective component. Eventually, many actors within the multiplicity reduced as the East, attempt, albeit from a different perspective, to reproduce the East–West homogenisations divided by essential, impervious borders and are articulated with Orientalism. After the construction of two essentially separate holistic illusions of identity, the defendants of a simple-minded cultural pluralism demonstrate the magnanimity to build bridges over insurmountable chasms.

Thus one has to ask, who are the East and the West, where are Europe and Asia, what is understood as Islam and Christianity and how have civilisations existed without overlapping, apart from encyclopaedia texts? One has to thank though also remind bridge lovers that bridges separate as much as they unite and that the terrain is full of numerous paths large and small providing for passage. Perhaps then it will be possible to imagine release from the traffic congestion on the bridge.

—Bülent Tanju

OTHER SIDE, THE

DESCRIBES THE SITUATION IN ISTANBUL OF SHORE AREAS FACING EACH OTHER WITH THE SEA SEPARATING THEM. ASIA IN RESPECT TO EUROPE, EUROPE IN RESPECT TO ASIA; BEYOĞLU IN RESPECT TO HISTORICAL PENINSULA.

The spatial and vital dialogue between the other sides has continued since the foundation of Istanbul. The first settlements positioned on the peninsulas on the southern tip of the Istanbul Strait form the foundation of fragmented settlement development: the first Istanbul, founded according to the prophecy of the Delphic oracle, was positioned on the Lygos promontory (today *Sarayburnu*, the Seraglio Point) opposite the “city of the blind” (Chalcedon, the city where today the districts of Kadıköy and Üsküdar are located); and Pera (today’s Galata) founded on the promontory on the northern coast of the Golden Horn takes its name from being positioned on the other coast. The sea between the peninsulas forms a powerful borderline for settlements and at the same time a spatial centre.

Settlements facing each other centred on both sides of the sea route between them spread



more densely along the Bosphorus especially after the second half of the 19th century. The shores along Bosphorus comprising a series of promontories and bays acquire a spatial character of their own with the formation of villages. Hills swirling and wrapping themselves around each other, the valleys between them and the sea route passing through the middle of this topographic structure present a continuous *counter-formation*. Villages lining the two shores facing each other along this natural topography form the parts of a settlement system resembling a constellation. The fact that the sea between the two other sides was a transport route until the end of the 1950s when the shore roads (see *Shore Road*) were built on both sides, meant that it preserved its spatial and functional status as the single and central spine towards which all spatial openings were oriented and where transportation took place. This central spine bifurcates with the appearance of the shore roads after the 1960s. The Bosphorus accelerates especially after the 1980s and becomes a part of the metropolitan area and enters a process of spatial transformation (see *Urban Transformation*) which has tended rapidly to obscure the natural topography. The perception of the hollow spatial structure of the counter-formation, with its

benchmark points scattered in between, changes. The compact texture of settlement develops on land aping the power of the water; the ground is covered; the constellation is dimmed. The compact texture of the water route and settlement dominates the Bosphorus. During this process, the entire fragmented structure of Istanbul experiences the same transformation, it becomes compact and turns into a metropolitan area; however, the delimiting power of the sea is still dominant, the other sides preserve their existence through continuous change and transformation, they are signs of memory.

—Senem Deviren

> Shore Road, Urban Transformation

OTTOMAN NEIGHBOURHOOD

UNIT OF URBAN SETTLEMENT COMPRISING FAMILIES
CONNECTED TO EACH OTHER BY TIES OF COMMUNITY
(GEMEINSCHAFT) LINKED TO A CERTAIN REGION
RATHER THAN LINEAGE. [ED.]

It has become the custom to yearn for the “multi-culturality” of the Ottoman order. It may be



beneficial to investigate the rules of Ottoman *mahalle* [neighbourhood] life to comb out the share of idealisation in this stance and the urge to search for a “lost paradise.” (see *Neighbourhood*) Bear in mind the following elements: from the 16th to the end of the 19th century, two types of segregation dominated the neighbourhood order of the city of Istanbul, the segregation of women from men and Muslim from non-Muslims. Let’s begin with the latter: thanks to firmans exhibiting in each detail the religious plan of the city, rendering every citizen’s attachment to their respective religious community visible and regulating their dress codes, Istanbul is a “transparent” stage. The individuals of Kostantiniye carry their religious loyalty on their bodies: the Rum had to wrap a black cloth around their turban, the Armenians red and the Jews blue. Green was forbidden to non-Muslims. Neighbourhoods were formed on the basis of religious ethnic identity. There were Muslim, Rum, Armenian or Jewish neighbourhoods, and their residents followed the same religion, frequenting the same masjid, or mosque, church or synagogue. The same language is spoken in the streets of these neighbourhoods – Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Spanish or Bulgarian...

So are these “ghettoes” reminiscent of those in Europe, and can they be compared to the Jewish Ghetto in Rome, in existence since 1555, or to the Frankfurt ghetto? Elements both factual and fundamental elements can be enumerated that separate the *mahalle* order from the ghetto. For instance, the *mahalle* did not have walls surrounding it like the ghetto, or gates which restricted entry and exit, open in the daytime and closed at night. There was no timetable set by the central authority regulating contact times with the outside world. Unlike the ghetto, the neighbourhood population may not be completely homogeneous, and it was possible to come across Muslim and Jewish households in an Armenian neighbourhood. There are no visible borders between neighbourhoods, no physical thresholds to cross from one to the other. However, most significantly, there is no common point to the logic which forms the *mahalle* and the logic (and discourse) which “legitimizes” the ghetto. To imprison a community in a ghetto operates according to the logic of protection from impurity, taint and abjection, , segregating members of one religion from the “other” and minimizing contact with it. It finds expression in a “discourse of hate” towards the religion of the other. The language of official documents which determine the rules are formed



by this rhetoric of religious hatred. In contrast, what determines the Ottoman neighbourhood order is the will to render the city transparent and to see immediately when looking out onto turban space from the palace who is who in terms of religious/ethnic loyalty. The transparency which emerges is not oriented towards providing equality to all, it renders visible and recreates the hierarchy and priority among communities. However, it has not been woven out of a rhetoric of hatred and disgust and the value judgments it transmits are not these.

The control of female sexuality, on the other hand, is no doubt one of the most important pillars of the neighbourhood order. The real authority which determines in precise detail the dress code of women, and regulates how women will act in the city and at which days and times, in which parts and under what conditions they will be allowed to be present in the city is neither the family, the neighbourhood, religion, market, nor fashion. It is the firmans of the Bab-i Ali [Sublime Porte] expressive of state authority. If the state partially defers this authority of regulation to another social authority, then this authority be is the neighbourhood order. In the eyes of the state, the neighbourhood has the highest legitimacy in social control – as

an institution and its mechanism – and the state shares its authority with established institutions within the neighbourhood. And their “actions” are fundamentally related to the control of female sexuality. For instance, unmarried men whose parents are not locals are not allowed to live in the neighbourhood, which is a settlement unit for the family. Immigrant young men from other cities and villages live in the “bachelor hans” and “bachelor rooms” along the borders of the city. As revealed by a decree from 1596, even male street vendors (see *Street Food Vendor*) have to appoint a resident of the neighbourhood as guarantor in order to be granted the right to roam the neighbourhood streets freely: “Declared to the Kadı [Ottoman judge/administrator] of Galata... There are many residents from the Rum and Armenian community in Galata and Tophane who work as boatsmen, grocers and porters who are up to mischief and desert their areas without guarantors and this decree orders and announces that these men who are unmarried and not locals, are adults and have come from outside the neighbourhood must provide guarantors to the police force of Galata (...)”

It is impossible to imagine that neighbourhoods, where the logic of double segregation was



prevalent and religious–ethnic–linguistic identity was strong, had particularly close relations with neighbourhoods of other identities. It is true that men from all religions worked side by side in the business world, in trade and crafts, in the same *hırfet* [occupation] as part of the same *tai'fe* [administrative hierarchy]. However it would be a mistake to think that there was an exchange of visits etc. by residents of one neighbourhood, as an everyday living space, and another. It should be considered that in homogenizing Ottoman times, when not even primary education was mandatory, women did not speak the languages of other communities since they were outside the business world, and not everyone could even speak Turkish. Thus we are speaking of a state restrictive of intercommunal communication, and a linguistically heterogeneous Istanbul. So instead of this myth of *cultural mosaic* continually imagined to the point of banality, we must look at old Istanbul neighbourhoods as settlement units of an order where different communities lived “not overlapping but rather back to back.”

—Nora Şeni

> Neighbourhood, Street Food Vendor

PALIMPSEST (I)

THE WORD PALIMPSEST DERIVES FROM THE ANCIENT GREEK WORD “PALIMPSESTOS”, MEANING “SCRAPED AGAIN.” MANUSCRIPTS WRITTEN ON PARCHMENT OR VELLUM RATHER THAN PAPER CAN BE SCRAPED AND USED AGAIN.

The Archimedes Palimpsest, the most famous of all, may be a suitable metaphorical tool to bring to life today’s changes concerning Istanbul’s palimpsestic state. It was the golden age of the Byzantine Empire when Archimedes’s 3rd century BC texts were copied on to a parchment in the mid-10th century AD in Istanbul. The Byzantine palace was a wealthy and secure cultural centre, and a safe harbour for antique texts. However, after its sack in the early 13th century during the Fourth Crusade, the city lost its wealth and security, and cultural activity weakened. The informed guess of the experts is that it was under these circumstances the manuscript containing the Archimedes texts became a palimpsest, overwritten with hymns. The fateful events concerning our rare palimpsest during the centuries of its life as a book of hymns may be summarized as follows:

1) Book scribes would unbind old books and separate their pages to use their parchment folios,



scrape the parchments and stack them. There are six palimpsest manuscripts which provided parchment for the hymn book: the complete book containing the seven texts by Archimedes, a book containing the works of the Athenian orator Hyperides, pages from a Neo-platonic philosophy book, a liturgical book and two others which remain undeciphered.

2) Since Mediaeval books were folded in newspaper format to be written, the order of the superimposition of the pages of the scraped *Archimedes* and the *Euchologion* liturgy is complicated enough. In addition to this, to make for the smaller size of the book of hymns, after the parchment layers were scraped and stacked, each layer was divided in two, rotated 90 degrees and folded again, resulting in upper and lower texts being positioned at right angles.

3) The palimpsest, which changed hands and locations several times after the Archimedes texts below the prayer texts were discovered in 1906, was rather frayed when it resurfaced in New York in 1998. Some pages were missing and some pages suffering severe mould damage had been partially erased. What's more, the covering of four pages of

the palimpsest with Byzantine-style paintings in the late 30s added a third layer to the palimpsest; the fake paintings were removed but the damage to lower layers could not be repaired.

Therefore, although it is called the Archimedes Palimpsest, we are actually talking about a book which has little left to do with Archimedes. The original manuscript written in Istanbul 1000 years ago now consists only of the resuscitation by new visualisation techniques of the faint palimpsest running at a right angle to lines of prayers left beneath Evangelist paintings. The erasure by scraping of antique texts from parchments is related to an act of sanctification of a pagan past as much as to a tradition of recycling based on a shortage of resources. The spiritualism in the transformation of Archimedes's book into a book of hymns is contained in the word of God brought to it after it was scraped. A greater religious merit in the demolition of a pagan structure so it can be reconstructed for Christianity may be imagined. The reconstruction of a pagan or Christian structure for Islam would be a further source of religious merit. Although it isn't that easy to scrape and completely erase antecedent texts. When the old structure becomes part of a

palimpsest, retaining something of its place and material, it leaves a trace both under and above ground. The urban palimpsest can be read above ground in re-used stones, the old text appearing in the most unlikely parts of the new building. However, as stones are not re-used for building transformations of the city in the modern era, it becomes more difficult for subtexts to leave traces on the surface. It is also easier to scrape the modern layer and the result is clearer, with not even a shadow of past debris remaining.

The deciphering of Istanbul is, of course, a more complicated challenge than the deciphering of the Archimedes Palimpsest formed by the superimposed thrice-used material assembled from six books. The scraping, erasing and rewriting of Istanbul has happened so many times that it could be claimed that the city has acquired the ability to erase itself. The only thing that hasn't happened to Istanbul, one could claim, is its smuggling from one location and reappearance in another. Although earthquake strategies that propose moving Istanbul outside Istanbul are a new development in this direction, what is to be moved is not the palimpsest state of Istanbul as it is, but its potential to be scraped and rewritten in the shortest possible time.

When the day comes when the deciphering of the layers of postmodern transformation is required, the grandeur of the waste and debris that will emerge can already be estimated. The description of what appears when the waters of the Bosphorus subside in Orhan Pamuk's *The Black Book* comes to mind, adding obscured majestic architectural residues to the scene.

—Aydan Balamir

PALIMPEST (II)

THE MEMORY SLATE OF THE CITY.

It is very difficult to speak of memory in a city developing as rapidly as Istanbul. It is only possible to speak of a structure continuing to accumulate, rendering the layers beneath more unreadable with every newly added layer. Moreover, such layers mustn't only be taken as physical. The social structure, life and habits of using the city are all part of this writing slate. What's more, as if the difficulty brought on by rapid change wasn't enough, the slippery basis to the way things are done, to procedures and norms, makes things



even more difficult. With a tradition of recording, organizing and regulating so weak that it appears not to exist, a few significant interventions in the second half of the twentieth century have condemned the memory of the city to even greater unreadability. With a history of several thousands of years but without a past, it's an illegible city. Total chaos, and an environment extremely difficult to follow and to live in would seem the inevitable consequence, wouldn't it? Bewilderingly, it isn't exactly so. This rapid transformation and restratification renders Istanbul a city of vibrant dynamics. Such dynamics make it difficult to understand Istanbul from within, but on the other hand they make it easier to look at the world. Today the view of the world from Istanbul is clearer than most.

To what might we owe such conditions of distinct illegibility, or visible invisibility? How could such a writing slate, such an agglomeration of things still manage to retain all of its previous characteristics? I believe the secret is concealed in the concept of the palimpsest. Palimpsest is the name given to the parchment page which is scraped and used again. A Latin term that comes from the Greek words *palin* (again) and *psestos* (scraped). It involves neither tearing the parch-

ment nor preserving it as it is. Memory accumulates by stratification on the physical entity of the parchment. It becomes slightly more difficult, but not impossible, to access what lies beneath with every act of cleaning and writing. Parchment was expensive; reuse was both economic and something quick and easy. I believe this is where Istanbul's secret lies. It has developed, and is developing, by the principle not of demolition and reconstruction but by stratified alteration (see *Demolition or the Warped City*). After all, we are talking about a city which rises by an average of hundred centimetres per hundred years. Love it or leave it! Nobody is perfect.

—Cem Yücel

> Demolition or the Warped City

PANORAMA

THE TERM "PANORAMA" DESCRIBES A 360° VIEW OF THE ENTIRETY OF THE NATURAL OR URBAN LANDSCAPE AND ITS REPRESENTATION. IN THE CONTEXT OF ISTANBUL, THIS DEFINITION COMES TO MEAN A HISTORICAL EXPRESSION OF THE VISUALITY OF THE CITY.



The natural geography and architectural structure of the city includes many points for panoramic viewing. Here, the surface of the sea, hills, the palace, the coffee shops, towers, minarets, squares, and even residences provide for fixed or mobile panoramas. From the 16th century on, panoramic views of Istanbul and especially the view from the Galata Tower, become the most widely accepted of the West's visualisations of the city; and, in a process extending to the present day, these representations form diachronic frames in which continuities and changes can be traced. Over time, the circular view has become almost a natural form of representation for urban landscapes; Istanbul is panoramic.

In contrast to what the word brings to mind, it is not a concept whose origins go back to Antiquity or a distinctive feature of natural views. It is the name of a particular mode and space of visual entertainment that emerged in the late 18th century, deriving from the Greek words *pan* (all) and *horama* (sight) used to describe the invention by the Irish illustrator Robert Barker (1739–1806) which he patented in 1787. Providing “a comprehensive view” of the landscape included in a 360-degree circular view from a single observation point stretching out to the horizon, the term is

also used to describe the large cylindrical display space designed for the exhibition and viewing of this type of picture. The architectural typology of panorama theatres is formed of one or two circular exhibition areas and an observation tower in their centre, with the size of the exhibition space sustaining the representation's proximity to reality. Panorama production requires a series of technical and artistic operations. Using visual devices such as a camera obscura or a transparent frame, a painter produces sketches of the urban or natural landscape to be exhibited, it being important at this stage to select a vantage point that takes in the entire landscape. The sketches are brought together using certain methods which prevent shifts in perspective and enlarged according to the seamless canvasses covering the walls of the exhibition hall. The paintings are coloured and naturally illuminated using the glass skylights in the ceiling of the exhibition hall. Visitors are taken through dark passageways to the observation tower in the centre where views of other places are presented to them with the claim of bringing reality to life. In addition to orientation maps featuring a miniature of the panorama painting and numbered place names, a brochure is distributed in which the landscape on show is promoted. In this way,

an experience of the exhibition is constructed through visual representations and printed text.

The first panoramas, which became popular simultaneously in England, France, Germany and America in the first quarter of the 19th century, are known as circular or fixed panoramas. The notion of the panoramic becomes prevalent through other spectacles of landscape and spatial animation that emerged in the West in the 19th century: the “dioramas” invented by the French chemist Daguerre, the “moving panoramas” formed by scrolling long paintings past the audience, among other types of collective and individual spectacle, like stereoscope machines, may be included under the heading of the panoramic. These representations, which may be considered predecessors of photography and cinema, are in fact the first visual examples of mass media. Panoramas had a significant influence in the 19th century on the masses’ conceptions of art and the world.

In recent decades, panoramas and similar spectacles have formed a significant focus of interest especially in cultural studies. This type of representation has been studied as the first examples of 19th century Western visuality and

visual regimes and been interpreted as the historical beginning of the “society of the spectacle.” In reference to French philosopher Michel Foucault, the panorama was considered a derivative of the “Panopticon” and the “panoptic gaze.” In the era of colonial empires, panoramas exemplify the international hunger for a physically, geographically and historically unbounded gaze.

Panorama exhibitions had a great influence in the popularisation of panoramic urban views and the formation of a collective memory regarding cities. These spectacles, first emerging as a means of visualizing the West itself and other locations, later became a means of general urban representation. Although the panorama craze or “panoromania” gave up its place to other visual media after the 19th century and especially after the popularisation of photography, the panoramic view still has validity as a means of the presentation of cities. The influence of this view in the development, auto-representation and visuality of modern cities continues.

The panoramic visuality of Istanbul was discovered before the invention of the panorama as a mass spectacle. Especially in urban representa-

tions made by Westerners in the 18th century there are many totalising views comprising the city and its surroundings. Picturesque travel-books are important examples in this context and their production continued parallel to the panorama.

Throughout the 19th century, Istanbul was a popular case among cities on show in the panorama theatres of the West. The timing of the Istanbul panorama exhibitions opened in cities like London, Paris, Berlin and Copenhagen generally coincided with the Ottoman Empire emerging on the agenda of contemporary politics. These mass displays are important resources regarding the West's perception of the Ottoman capital in the 19th century and the generic representation of the city; and the brochures distributed at the exhibitions contain particularly striking expressions regarding the interpretation of the visual material.

Following these spectacles instrumental in the popularisation of the iconic image of the city in the West, the panoramic view of Istanbul was adopted in the city's representation of itself as well. The use by the Empire of panoramic views to represent its own capital began in the 1850s. In this sense, the panoramic views in the Hagia Sophia

album published by Gaspare Fossati in London in 1852 with the support of Sultan Abdülmecid are a first and stand at the intersection of the pre- and post-photography eras. The Fossati album, published in London with the support of the sultan, would be followed by others in the age of photography. These panoramic views often taken from the Galata and Serasker towers are significant in the adoption by the Ottoman Empire of the West's viewpoints and modes of presentation in its own representation. This internalisation has continued to this day. The panorama is widely used in the representation and touristic promotion of the city.

Istanbul, as a natural and architectural settlement, is a panoramic location. In addition to being an abstraction, the panorama here becomes a way of looking which can be consistently experienced at different points in the urban space. Beyond tourist vantage points, Istanbul animates the panoramic experience as a characteristic of its visuality. In fact, the development of the city has been, at least on paper, restricted according to "views taking in the whole." Notions like front and rear view areas used in decisions concerning conservation of the Bosphorus and the historical peninsula reveal the overlapping but also the

clash of historical and contemporary views of an urban structure which has to constantly look at itself from the outside. Beyond plans, urban transformation in panoramic Istanbul finds its expression and limits in the most striking manner in totalising views and elevations (see *Urban Transformation*).

—Namık Erkal

> Urban Transformation

PAPERMEN

THE PAPERMEN (AS THEY CALL THEMSELVES) GO THROUGH THE GARBAGE OF THE CITY, THE REJECTED AND THE EXCREMENTAL TO EXTRACT AND REINTRODUCE MATERIALS FOR SALE. THOUGH VARIOUS INITIATIVES EXIST, IT IS AN ACT DONE TO EARN MONEY, AND SOMETIMES IN A VERY ORGANIZED AND TERRITORIALIZED MANNER.

Unrecognized and unofficial, the papermen walk through the streets with their carts and occupy sidewalks organizing garbage. They act against the official garbage collection system, and against the system in general, however what they do supports

the very system due to the enormous increase in recycling rates.

The papermen, who operate in Istanbul and most major cities constitute a profession that is not only about recycling in the city, but also a profession that helps to understand the way the city operates and provides a certain position that is worth thinking about in terms of its relation to the overarching systems of the city. Two particular issues in understanding how the city operates are directly related to the practices of the papermen, namely, recycling and reconfiguration (of meanings and spaces). In the context of the city, it is never a matter of *tabula rasa*. Unless significant physical growth is at stake, urban space builds itself layer by layer via the reconfiguration of existing areas and elements. Unless radical decisions of destruction are not on the agenda (which unfortunately has been the tendency in Istanbul during the 20th century and remains so today) nothing is erased, but also nothing can remain exactly as it is, or was (see *Demolition or the Warped City*). Old narratives are re-told in unforeseen ways, whether they are constructed or lived forms in the city. Urban space allows the solid and the precarious, the precious and the discardable to co-exist,



or even switch places. Acknowledging this will be liberating from the curse of the will to control that has been so dominant in the disciplines of planning and architecture, and open doors for the questioning of the ways in which one can take an active role in shaping an ultimately uncontrollable environment.

The other thought provoking aspect of papermen is their relation with the system. This relation is founded in the way they escape distinctions such as good or bad and useful or harmful, while providing income from something conceived as having zero value, and the way they dwell in the streets, somewhere between visibility and neglect. These aspects on the one hand tend towards a criminal structure, but on the other provide a perfect recipe for oppositional urban production.

—Can Altay

> Demolition or the Warped City

PARK HOTEL

A BUILDING ON BAD TERMS WITH ISTANBUL FOR
ALMOST 20 YEARS.

The “Park Hotel Incident,” which may also be seen as an intervention in finance capital’s enthusiasm for obese buildings, is essentially the gift to Istanbul of the Tourism Incentive Law and Bedrettin Dalan, the Mayor of Istanbul at the time (see *Hotel*). (The Tourism Incentive Law no. 2364 passed during the September 12 military government [on 12th March 1982] gives the Minsitry of Tourism the right to grant privileged development rights. Plots of land declared tourist centres by the Cabinet can be granted extraordinary development rights.)

The story of the building, in brief, is as follows: the historic Park Hotel in Gümüßsuyu, purchased by Yalçın Sürmeli in the 1980s for 20 billion TL, was demolished on the basis of a decree by the High Council of Monuments and following the purchase of Ağa Çırağı Street between the two adjoining lots containing the old building for 1 billion TL, the design, which spread out across the entire site, began to rise to its target of 33 floors and 123 metres, although the contiguous buildings in the vicinity were of between 5–8 floors. With the efforts of the Ayaspaşa Environmental Beautification Association (see *Beautification*) and the Istanbul Branch of the Chamber of Architects, the building was closed off three times during the legal process and finally,



with the added influence of Nurettin Sözen, the Mayor of Istanbul and Dalan's successor, 12 floors of the building were demolished in 1993–1994 at a cost of 47 billion TL and the height of the building was reduced to the height of the adjacent German Consulate. Although proposals were made during the process to expropriate the building and use it as a cultural centre, these received practically no response. Recently, the construction of the building has been returned to the agenda and, although it was stated that Park Otel will not exceed its present height, its future looks uncertain at the moment.

Completely abandoned since 1993, continuing its existence as a monument of deadlock in urban administration, the only positive aspect of this building is its enabling of a debate regarding the built environment through the acts of construction/ demolition (see *Demolition or the Warped City*). Although it forms the ultimate cult example of a civilised, legal battle resulting in victory, it is also a clear sign that winning the case and ensuring demolition does not do away with the urban crime itself. In this context, the question as to what the remains of the building symbolize defines a field of production which may prove productive. Students of Istanbul Technical

University opened an “object lesson” exhibition there, the King of Spain was invited to the demolition because, passing by, he expressed his “opinion” and Behruz Çinici “donated” 77 million TL for its demolition; so what does Park Hotel tell us through the way it stands today?

The building no doubt informs us that capital has and will have its say in Istanbul. The relationship this building and its like form with their “location” is problematic enough to be made the topic of a lesson, instructing us that they are the objects of expression of their various arbiters. It tells us that it is possible to fight these objects by means of the legal process along with various other initiatives, but that we cannot prevent even this building, occupying the most valuable plot of land in Istanbul and such an important test case, from becoming a “legal nightmare.” It reveals that it is possible to instil fear by building, demolishing and/or leaving buildings within the city, thus underlining the fact that concepts like the environment, law and urban awareness cut more than one way. It questions the workability of formal proposals concerning templates and regulations concerning not exceeding the height of historic buildings; it underlines that the built



environment cannot only be assessed on the basis of height. It advises that respect for proportion, topography, nature, texture, history, the built-up environment and human life, in sum, professional ethics should not just be part of the educational curriculum.

Park Hotel perhaps best serves mind-flexing exercises concerning the kind of range of interventions it provoked. It enables the questioning of the building's acquisition of a public profile through spatial strategies and its transformation, participation in and preoccupation of urban life through the debate on the value of design arising from a lack of design.

The only issue that remains ambiguous in the midst of this is whether Istanbul residents derive a secret pleasure from this state of inertia left by the sentence handed out to Park Hotel.

—Ayşen Ciravoğlu

> Beautification, Demolition or the Warped City, Hotel

PARKING LOT

THE “OFFICIALLY” DEFINED AREA FOR THE PARKING OF MOTOR VEHICLES IN ISTANBUL. THE AREA WHICH LIES OUTSIDE THIS DEFINITION BUT IS USED FOR PARKING IS THE ENTIRE URBAN SURFACE. [ED.]

“We have built 16 parking lots with a vehicle capacity of 8025.” This sentence is taken from one of the banners the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality fixed on ring-road crossovers to share its achievements with the public. This achievement is definitely good news for car drivers viewing it from the ring-road. Because not long ago, in fact a mere eight years, the total number of parking lots in Istanbul was 57, and their total vehicle capacity was 14,204. However, it is still a bit early for Istanbul drivers to start celebrating. The number of vehicles on the roads in the year 2000 was 1,563,590, while by 2008 the number has increased to 1,731,732. This means that there is a single parking lot place for 78 vehicles.

In brief, we 78 drivers are circling incessantly waiting for each other's parking places with the hope of, at some point, being able to park. Still, if the height clearance of the parking lot we're eye-



ing allows minibuses and trucks to get in, don't even ask us how we're doing.

—Meriç Öner

PARKS AND GARDENS

URBAN GREEN AREA. [ED.]

According to 2007 data, the green space per person in Istanbul, a city with a population of 12,573,836, is 5.39 square metres. 2.3 square metres of this space is parks, gardens and groves, collectively known as active green areas. Fortunately, each Istanbul resident has enough green space to stretch her/his arms, spread out and get rid of stress. The Istanbul Metropolitan Parks and Gardens Directorate is trying to increase this percentage. However, it seems as if it will still take quite some time before the norm of 10 square metres per person as determined by the Ministry of Environment is achieved.

According to the inventory of the Istanbul Metropolitan Parks and Gardens Directorate, 368 new parks have been built in Istanbul in the last

four years. 10,366,990 square metres of the revised and newly constructed 15,425,567 square metres of total green space are newly made green areas. 461,409 trees, 1,405,657 shrubs and 30,500,000 flowers have been planted in an area of 300,000 square metres.

In recent years, the most important topic the Istanbul Metropolitan Parks and Gardens Directorate has focused on is the planting of tulip bulbs. A total of 19,075,000 tulips were planted in 2006 and 2007 within the scope of the annual Istanbul Tulip Festival inaugurated by the Municipality in 2006. While the money spent on tulips and the vital importance given to the tulip issue amid Istanbul's many priority problems were discussed, millions of tulips with a lifespan of 3 weeks were planted in parks, squares and refuges in all four corners of Istanbul for the 2008 April Tulip Festival. Work has begun, as part of a 2 million dollar project, to combine the genetic structure of the three remaining relatives of the Istanbul tulip, which disappeared in the 19th century. There was a great variety of tulip scenes: tulips at the sides of traffic islands dropping their petals within two days; tulips surrounded by a police barricade in Taksim Square; tulips uprooted and given to the



beloved; colourful society and art world names, and two metre high tulip sculptures set up in squares.

Despite efforts to increase the green space of Istanbul, problems caused by the unbalanced distribution of green areas cannot be solved. Still there are people who have picnics along the TEM immersed in exhaust gas. There aren't enough parks to provide haven for people following a probable Istanbul earthquake.

Although the number of green areas made and flowers planted seem positive, we still see areas which could be made into green space used for construction and covered with concrete. TOKİ [Turkish Housing Development Administration] suddenly becomes owner of public land, and plots that appear to be regional parks in planning documents are sold at public auction. As gaps in the city are filled in where they should be transformed into public spaces, all the top model residential projects are trying to jump on the park concept bandwagon. Millenium Park, Kemer Park, Doğa-Meşe [Nature-Oak] Park, Sarıyer Park, Merter Park, Hele-nium Park and Uplife Park are a few of them. Such projects, which are nearly always constructed on

sites with green area status, promise 60% of green space within their closed zones. Amid their calm, the residents are privileged over other Istanbul residents in terms of green space too.

Still one has to be optimistic. Associations in Kuzguncuk and Cihangir and neighbourhood groups in many parts of Istanbul struggle to protect and save green sites. The municipality suggests forming gardens on rooftops to increase the green in Istanbul, and fixed fitness machines are installed in parks to increase use. Maybe one day the wall surrounding Maçka Park will be brought down too.

The “Do not tread on the grass” signpost of our childhood is today becoming “You can tread on the grass but don't pick the flowers.”

—Bengi Göldoğan



PAVEMENT

THE PART OF THE ROAD RESERVED FOR PEDESTRIANS;
AN URBAN INTERFACE.

The pavement can be understood as an interface between both the outside and the buildings and between movement and social activities, while it is also a space where drivers become pedestrianised (see *Pedestrianisation*) and private and public worlds meet. According to Jacobs, the pavement, as the stage of urban life, is an urban platform carrying much more than pedestrian traffic. In reality, this urban platform is an abstraction because the pavement does not have a meaning in itself. The pavement takes on meaning in relation to the surrounding buildings and its use. At the same time, this platform also generates the first image that we call up regarding urban life. The question posed by Jacobs is very appropriate in this context: “What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of a city? Its streets. If the streets of a city are interesting, then the city looks interesting; if they are boring then the city is boring.” If being interesting is one aspect of vitality, the other is safety. In fact, only the “living” pavements of a street, main or otherwise, make

for safety in the city. In this sense, the reduction of roads to the mere carriage of humans and goods can be interpreted as the loss of the most striking riches of human history.

As Gehl has also stated, walking is the first and most fundamental form of transportation; however the pavement as we understand it today, a space exclusively for pedestrians, only emerged at a relatively later period, playing a role in changes in the conditions of walking. Historically, a pavement-like platform, which was either elevated or defined by a difference in the material used, would protect the pedestrian from the dust or mud of horsedrawn carriages, whereas protection from the albeit more numerous motor vehicles of today provide almost the sole reason for the building of pavements. Therefore, the continuity of the pedestrian’s field of mobility begins to assume an importance previously unseen in historical examples given that the obstacles to the act of walking may be harder and more damaging.

However, the pavement, which achieved a stronger presence and inner-city continuity in Western cities with industrialisation, has actually almost never existed in the panorama of transfor-



mations belonging to Istanbul, if we don't count the contemporary extensions of a few cases which could be considered areas of spatial demonstrations of attempts at Westernisation. The "pavement" is still an area of push-and-shove where personal interests clash with each trying to take precedence over the other. Although roles may be changing, it could be said that the concept of the public good has not been internalized and that personal interests still loom large. Vehicles which park on the pavement, shopkeepers who see no wrong in completely occupying the area in front of their shops are the remnants of the rule of *finâ*, implemented by the Ottomans within the framework of Islamic Law. As Yerasimos states in his analysis, the concept of *finâ* almost excludes the concept of the border: "According to Roman Law, the concept of the border is at the foundation of land ownership law in the Western city; this border separates two entirely separate legal entities, for instance, two private properties or a private property and a public space and has no thickness. However, in the Islamic city the border is replaced by the concept of *finâ* which denotes a gradual transition from one unit to the next. *Finâ* is the section of the area used commonly by street residents who are rightful owners, and the

rights of each party increase as one gets closer to that party's property." In such a situation where we can't speak of actual public space, since it is impossible to speak either of the pavement or in fact of the pedestrian as an abstract being who exists outside his house, there is not much point in comparing the past and the present or the Ottoman Empire and the West, whose example was occasionally followed. The presence of pavers among Ottoman guilds should not mislead us.

As Orhonlu states, "kaldırım" [pavement] is a "yol" [way, road] constructed by laying down stone on soil. Pavement and paving are terms that have been used for roads and road-makers. The terminological differentiation into a pedestrian pavement, describing an area reserved for pedestrians is first seen, as Tekeli states, in the context of work to create the infrastructure to serve urban development in the second half of the 19th century. Moreover, the pedestrian pavement did not appear on the agenda on its own, but together with road expansion. At this point, insufficient resources meant that the desired result was not attained in the targeted period. The change in this period remained a series of fragmented implementations failing to form a totality, and

a discontinuous structure without internal links appeared in the organisation of inner city transportation, which itself wasn't fully integrated.

Since main streets, streets and buildings developed before the car joined in living in the city, problems and restrictions have been encountered in the process of transformation in the 20th century. The main reason for change is the effort to harmonize with this new situation that developed as a result of growth; and it's a complicated process, including successes, failures and processes of renewal. As in many cities, the main problem in Istanbul is the priority given to road networks suitable for automobile-based transportation in the development of urban space. In the case of Istanbul, change in the development of urban form is realized by fragmented applications and without the totality of a plan. These planning efforts carried out without fully understanding the negative effects of change have resulted in unsuccessful implementation: during such work, oriented according to models based on practices in Western cities, the existing infrastructure, scale and road width were forced using new technologies and devastating boulevard opening operations to the advantage of the automobile but with no integrity of planning were car-

ried out at the cost of destroying the texture of the old city. In the 1950s the colossal Vatan and Millet main streets, the opening of the Beyazıt-Aksaray axis and the Eminönü-Unkapanı road were some of the striking projects undertaken as part of the Menderes operations. New wounds were, in time, added to those opened in the urban texture of Istanbul the city of pedestrians, with this type of grand development action from the 1950s on. As a result of highway-prioritized transport policies, urban areas that became the most concentrated centres within the developing texture of the city also turned into spaces of suffering for pedestrians: Mecidiyeköy and Beşiktaş are the most striking examples, not only as centres of intense urban activity, but also as intense nodes of transportation. Although interaction, the main quality in the formation and development of social organisations in cities, is nurtured with intensity, the issue is the question of thresholds for it! In terms of forming a habitable urban system, high intensity is directly related to the concept of public transport. This relationship is mandatory for the economy of highly expensive public transport systems, and as Lozano also points out, when it is neglected in favour of the private automobile, pavements, the elementary spaces of interaction, either become parts of the design as mandatory technical



requirements or they remain dead vacuums. As with Vatan and Millet streets, the pedestrian is either not included in the first place in transport networks formed by motorway-like boulevards or the pavement is occupied as in city centres like Mecidiyeköy and Beşiktaş. The private car, as a tool and symbol of the possibility of personal mobility, tactlessly sneaks into the city, and what's more, sees no harm in intruding into the space of pedestrians.

The concept of civility is related to two terms used for the city, *civitas* and civilisation. The city is surrounded by cultural intensity and civilised social behaviour. In terms of pavements, considered a sign of “civilisation,” which is the totality of rules expected to guide the actions of the community, Istanbul is a city where interesting negative cases (apart from rare positive ones) may be observed. In the professional sense, it could be claimed that the design of these sites of meeting is seriously unsuccessful. In these interface spaces, which may be seen as the entry-point to the transition to becoming an urban community, taking a step into social life, particular modes of use are born, formed and begin to carry particular meanings. Whereas with Istanbul in question, the pavements are covered with cuts and bruises: closed up but bumpy with

the scab that's formed, dented a bit further down with a newly opened wound, and buckled up at street level with the heavy weight it has had to bear... Take a step, now jump, slide sideways, jump over and c-l-i-m-b... We often see reports of accidents in newspapers: people who have fallen into manholes opened for infrastructure work and not closed up... Or disasters narrowly avoided after the groundwork for a new construction starts digging down although it doesn't have a permit and reaches the tube... Vehicles which disregard traffic rules and slaughter – by accident! – pedestrians on the pavement... Not only the elderly and the physically disabled, everyone must move knowing they're not secure on Istanbul pavements. The paving of the pedestrianised İstiklal Caddesi (see *İstiklal Caddesi* or “Beyoğlu”) has for almost fifteen years been something of a jigsaw puzzle. This condition the result of what Kuban calls “pavement diseases” is also something like the summary of the experience Istanbul is going through and of the geography it belongs to.

—Ela Çil and Hülya Hatipoğlu

> *İstiklal Caddesi* or “Beyoğlu”,
Pedestrianisation



PEDESTRIANISATION

PROHIBITION OF AUTOMOBILE TRAFFIC.

One of the most important triggers of urban transformation (see *Urban Transformation*). A planning tool borne of pre-war modernism of European origin which foresaw that the separation of pedestrian and vehicle traffic would create a more functional, hygienic and rational city and that both vehicles and pedestrians could circulate more efficiently and soundly on roads designed specifically for them. After the war, many pedestrianisation projects were implemented especially in northern European countries, the pedestrianised streets in Europe became the symbol of modernisation and civilisation for the people of Istanbul, and, for instance, the pedestrianisation of İstiklal Caddesi (see *İstiklal Caddesi* or "*Beyoğlu*"), against the wishes of the notable retailers of the street like Vakko, met with great satisfaction from the print media and the wider masses, perceived almost as a badge of Europeanisation.

Other than being a sign of modernisation, pedestrianisation is an economic instrument that significantly affects the commercial activity of the

tradesmen in the pedestrianised area. Considering that pedestrianisation will increase the number of people passing through a section of the street per minute, one may predict that the number of people looking in the shop-window, asking for prices as well as actually shopping would increase too. However, the restriction of vehicle traffic within certain hours or to service routes only will also restrict the flow of heavy goods and customers who come to the entrance of the store by automobile. Therefore pedestrianisation filters the functions of stores, shops and buildings and rewrites the program of the city. This is what we see when we look at the pedestrianisations implemented in Istanbul. The examples of İstiklal Caddesi, Bakırköy İstasyon Caddesi, Sultanahmet, Talimhane and Bahariye Caddesi on the Anatolian side allow us to observe that pedestrianisation proceeds side by side with trade, shopping, retail, inner city and global tourism and that the program of the city is rewritten after pedestrianisation.

The pedestrianised areas of Istanbul are becoming the foremost spaces of urban identity and the marketing of the city. Main streets and side streets shared by high numbers of various urban users are suddenly institutionalized ac-



cording to the political will, municipalities and beautification associations (see *Beautification*) that enable their pedestrianisation, followed by their subjection to some kind of brand identity design. Streetcars (see *Tram*) are sought out from warehouses, lit up during festivals, while the signposts and shop-windows of businesses are forced to accept certain standards in the name of visual harmony and the struggle with visual pollution. It's a bit like what happens in shopping centre (see *Shopping Centre*). Thus we see areas of the city like Sultanahmet and Talimhane which are institutionalized by means of pedestrianisation become important intermediaries in urban identity design and tourist destination production.

Pedestrianisation, starting out with the idea of relaxing and liberating pedestrian circulation, its meaning taking on extra depth and its aim blurring in the new dimension of liberating the need to consume, is today also used to displace the tradesman who doesn't want to leave her/his shop, to create new vacant zones and to make room swiftly for new functions by deporting shops and stores incompatible with reduced vehicle/increased pedestrian traffic. For instance, in the Talimhane case, the speed of change engendered

by pedestrianisation allows us to observe that pedestrianisation manages to transform an area of the city far faster than other dynamics. The transformation of Talimhane from a residential area of distinguished apartment blocks to a business centre with a high concentration of offices, associations, hotels and especially car spare part dealers took place over a period of more than ten years from the early seventies to the late eighties. Yet the desertion of the car spare part dealers of the area following pedestrianisation, the increase in exchange bureaus and souvenir shops and the transformation of Talimhane to an area of the city specializing in the tourism industry as a result of a change in user profile has been completed over a short period of two or perhaps three years.

One of the most interesting developments since the street was invented and it was accepted that it was a good idea that people wandered among buildings, "non-pedestrianisation" practices appear hand in hand with and as natural or forced extensions of pedestrianisation. If the work of pedestrianisation takes a long time, the pedestrianised streets will remain pedestrianless for a long time and become depedestrianised. For instance, the work to change the paving of İstiklal



Caddesi was spread over years to force, in a sense, the tradesmen that couldn't do business any more to move and to desert their places in order to make room for new investors.

Pedestrianisation remains a popular but heterogeneous tool of transformation, which is becoming increasingly complex as it assembles the values of political discourses, mechanisms of persuasion and proposing of solutions it comes with, containing, usually, more than one contradictory solution, and satisfies all approaches to a certain extent, leading to its reason for implementation not being that easy to read. It continues to be implemented by local administrations in Istanbul as a trigger for urban transformation and an unconditionally positive, rational and healthy operation without its suitability to the conditions of that area being discussed candidly and comprehensively.

Finally, the pedestrianisation of Beşiktaş Square must be mentioned as a contemporary example deserving of observation. The area pedestrianised under the name of pedestrianisation is actually more an intersectionised area, the implementation of an intersectionisation

imagined more as a knot of vehicle traffic rather than an area of the city, hidden behind the regenerative discourses accumulated for years by pedestrianisation.

—Saitali Köknar

> Beautification, İstiklal Caddesi or "Beyoğlu", Pavement, Shopping Centre, Tram, Urban Transformation

PERFORMATIVE TRAFFIC

IF WHAT IS MEANT BY "PERFORMATIVE" IS WHAT ORIGINATES NOT IN THE ESSENCE BUT IN THE PERFORMANCE OF CULTURE, THEN WHAT IS MEANT BY PERFORMATIVE TRAFFIC IS THE SHAPING OF TRAFFIC NOT BY PRE-ESTABLISHED RULES OR GOOD PRACTICES BUT LIFE, CULTURE AND PERFORMANCE.

Let us imagine a zone without layout, rules or regulations and where extraordinary conditions prevail concerning the flow of traffic (this shouldn't be difficult in the context of Istanbul). It is highly likely that planned and unplanned flow will not be very different from one another. There will be rule violations in planned zones and unwritten rules in unplanned ones. Just as



it's ok on a street where there is no one-way sign to make do with a single lane because there are vehicles parked on both sides, an oncoming vehicle on a one-way street isn't necessarily more of a problem. Any warning to comply with the rules is unnecessary from the users' points of view. No one is waiting someone to turn up to solve the problem, and the flow of life isn't interrupted that much, because, being a matter of relativity, the flow is governed by relations between agents and things rather than rules. The right of way at an intersection is determined by the body language of vehicles and eye contact as much as traffic lights. Performative traffic is one of the folds of the city. It operates and comes to life in unforeseen ways. The rules and regulations sometimes exist, and sometimes don't. Therefore, local information is vital. However universal standard traffic rules and regulations might at first sight seem, the uncertainty of when and where the folds might appear renders them relative to time and place.

On the other side of the matter, a flow organized and sharpened by traffic rules is open to the concern of robotizing people. It may come to mind that such organisation prevents people from forming relationships or destroys their habits of thinking

and reasoning. Thus, the dream might emerge of a traffic conducted by white-gloved traffic wardens at intersections where people give way to each other through eye contact: a scene where people respond to each other, where decisions are based on people rather than rules. However, there is always a pin to burst such a pleasant dream balloon: malevolence. Although the absence of rules in performative traffic does not endanger the flow of life, it is also possible that the "performative rule" is formed by the standards of the one who shows no tolerance to others. Potential creases do indeed contain possibilities, including all their risks...

—Nalân Bahçekapılı

PEYOTE STAGE

A STAGE COVERED IN BLACK PLASTIC, MEASURING APPROXIMATELY 5.5 METRES WIDE AND 2 METRES DEEP, LOCATED ON THE SECOND FLOOR OF THE VENUE RUN UNDER THE NAME PEYOTE WHICH IS IN THE NEVIZADE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BEYOĞLU AND SPREADS OUT OVER THREE FLOORS, THE TOP FLOOR A TERRACE. READY FOR USE ARE A DRUM SET, TWO GUITAR AMPS AND A BASS GUITAR AMP. FOR UNABASHED INDEPENDENTS WHO TURN UP WITH THEIR INSTRUMENTS AND PLAY WHATEVER THEY FEEL LIKE.



Large according to some large, and to others small, the music scene of mostly independent Istanbul music groups, meeting and forming under its roof, was established at and continues to spread from Peyote. To briefly summarize Peyote's 10-year history: the venue first opened in 1998 on İmam Adnan Street, soon becoming the favourite haunt of people from the underground music and art crowd who didn't like definitions and couldn't find a place where they felt comfortable amid the mass of bars around İstiklal Street (see *İstiklal Caddesi* or "*Beyoğlu*"). Peyote closed up shop in 2001, for reasons unknown to us, and its rebirth took place in 2004 in Nevizade.

It didn't take much for Peyote to return to its glory days among the İstiklal Street bars that had long lost their attraction due to crowds and lack of character. However, the formation of the 'Peyote scene' actually began with the renovation in 2005 of the empty second floor as a concert venue. Especially when Hakan, manager of Peyote, entrusted the stage to groups who had turned their back on the market to play their own music and go after innovative, independent and other forms of music, a new period on the Istanbul underground music scene began. The concerts kicking off with Replikas

in 2005 enabled countless groups, resisting making music for the market, who couldn't even dream of one day taking to the stage and had shut themselves away to play only what they wanted, to come out of their holes and share their music with the audience. Pretty soon, Istanbul was introduced to a new and promising group every week. This was important since a city like Istanbul had finally embraced its productive musical kids and, like many other metropolitan cities in the world, the Istanbul underground music scene began to develop an identity of its own. Can Peyote do for Istanbul what The Haçienda did for Manchester? It wouldn't be wrong to say that, for now, it has partially succeeded. For a fully tested diagnosis we will have to wait a little longer...

—James Hakan Dedeoğlu

> *İstiklal Caddesi* or "*Beyoğlu*"

POLITICAL SPACE

INTERVENING IN URBAN SPACE, RESTRUCTURING IT, PRODUCING AND CONSUMING IT, HAS BECOME THE NORM WITH CAPITALISM. ESPECIALLY IN A PERIOD WHEN THE DYNAMICS AIMING TO SOLVE THE STRUCTURAL CRISIS HAVE WEAKENED, FOR CAPITALISM SPACE ACCRUES THE VALUE OF BEING A CRISIS-SOLVING TOOL. FROM LEFEBVRE TO MARX,



THIS HAS BEEN CALLED THE “EXCHANGE VALUE OF THE COMMODITY.” THUS, URBAN SPACE IS AMONG THE CENTRAL COMPONENTS OF ALL POLITICAL STRATEGIES AND, EXACTLY FOR THIS REASON, NO DISCUSSION ON THE CITY OR THE SYSTEM CAN AFFORD TO LEAVE IT OUT.

Capitalism opened space to the interventions of the ruling political centres. Renewal, transformation, restructuring etc. often gain in importance as part of the official terminology of intervention. In other words, intervention as such exhibits as much diversity as its different modes. As space is reproduced on one hand by all these forms of intervention, on the other hand, it loses a part of its old characteristics and functions. In terms of social structure, this means the rupture of the old social texture of spaces. As a consequence, some parts of such spaces, purged of their traditional owners, lose their old functions along with the arrival of the new owners.

Although intervention in urban space has sometimes come from the bottom-up through dissident social movements, the forms of intervention of ruling political powers have dominated in terms of reshaping space in a radical manner. The actors in this interventionist process are sometimes local administrations and sometimes cen-

tral governments. Often they act simultaneously and as part of a common strategy to intervene in the city. Or rather, local and international capital ascribed functions on behalf of the public carry out the task. As bottom-up spatial intervention develops through “illegal” forms, interventions from the field of reigning political power establish their own legal platform too. In this context, urban transformation projects in Istanbul (see *Urban Transformation*) are fairly good examples in terms of explaining both the form and content of top-down interventions in urban space.

The effects of a top-down intervention in urban space often faces a reaction, in the short-term, from spaces created bottom-up. The paths of different interventions coming from different points of focus intersect again in the space. We may say that, following the paths of top-down intervention, we arrive in the spaces of bottom-up intervention. It is sufficient to observe the new language developed by top-down interventionists: “suburbs,” “the other city,” “ghetto,” “gecekondu neighbourhood” etc. (see *Gecekondu, Post-gecekondu, Varoş*) Because this language is the shortest route to access the political spaces of the city.



As expressed by this exclusionist language, first among the oppositional political spaces in Istanbul are the neighbourhoods of Güzeltepe in the borough of Eyüp, Gülsuyu in Maltepe and Mustafa Kemal in Ümraniye (see *Neighbourhood*). In reality, these settlements share a series of political and cultural links and therefore are distinctly separate from the other neighbourhoods of the city.

These neighbourhoods were founded as the product of bottom-up interventions in city space in the second half of the 1970s. As a product of an understanding and a collective practice which took space as public land, considering it legitimate to use it for public purposes and perceived as clashing with the system when it took it upon itself to prevent the exercise of this legitimacy, they were, when they were established, known as “salvaged areas.” Constructed through the mediation of central organisations, this social movement from below named these spaces according to their unique identities: Çayan, 16 Haziran [16th June] and May Day neighbourhoods. These names were determined by the collective will of the local residents. They had their own budgets and their committees organized in a top-down fashion and the members of these committees were

determined by election. They had made sure that the area they controlled was a public domain and they had specific criteria for the distribution of the land divided into plots: being a worker, a tenant, and not owning a house, a car or a plot of land in the city, for instance. Almost all problems in this physical and social texture emerging from these bottom-up interventions in urban space were solved within the existing organized structure.

Forming relations with local and central governments in order to bring public services to the new spaces of the city, they had established committees of those who were able to serve. As a matter of fact, schools, health centres and police stations, the first public institutions, had been founded towards the end of the 1970s on the initiative of such committees. It is true that, bizarrely, these neighbourhoods had no legal identity yet and they did not exist on official documents, but state schools, health centres and police stations had been established. As official and non-official settlements, they had taken their place in urban space. The city had acknowledged these neighbourhoods and their political identities. Public institutions had too.



In the past, such urban spaces had been described as spaces of fear by the language of ruling politics. People who went there weren't heard from later. For the police and gendarmes these neighbourhoods were no-go areas etc. Yet, during periods when this type of report was frequently published in the press, the relevant committees were impeding public institutions to bring public services to the neighbourhoods. Top-down narratives were rather alien to the political spaces of the city.

Not much has changed today. The dissident political spaces of the city are described as centres of fear and crime and the great dangers this scourge may bring are often voiced. Reports and assessments claiming that these spaces, which "do not belong to the city" and in fact "threaten the city," are the focal points of disasters holding the entire country in their grip are increasingly frequently circulated.

It may be said that these assessments do not take into account the processes of establishment of these neighbourhoods, their political characteristics, cultural identities or state of poverty and deprivation, or the inadequacy of the benefit they receive from public services etc. Thus, it is clear

that we need a new and inclusive account. The fact that groups defining themselves according to their political identities are on one side of the tension in the political spaces of the city shows us that public authority is on the other. Thus, given that what goes on in these neighbourhoods is taken to be their responsibility, and since the struggle against public authority is defined at an infra-local level, it is clearly inevitable that the majority of their actions will target local/central authority.

As the residential areas of the poor and the wage earners, certain political spaces of the city have similar characteristics to these other, *gecekondu* neighbourhoods. The population of such areas is also formed by migration from Anatolia. Class decomposition has been taking place here too, especially after the development amnesty. However, the social consequences of these tensions do not materialize in the same manner everywhere because cultural patterns and ethno-political identities step in, and areas of struggle diversify. Therefore, although we do not often encounter forms of struggle with economic, social, political, cultural etc. demands in the old and new *gecekondu* neighbourhoods of Istanbul, a

vast diversity of tools and forms of struggle, from everyday political demands to legal and political organisation against urban transformation projects, as in the case of Gülsuyu, can be organized in the political spaces of the city.

To sum up, we need to understand within the plural structure of the city. The key concepts here are space and politics. Urban space is both the space of conflict and the space over which discursive clashes take place. In other words, the politics of space are performed in the space of politics. The political spaces of Istanbul are the product of this process in both senses. And, precisely because of this, it is not hard to understand that urban transformation projects as a tool of top-down intervention in the city will receive strong social reactions in such areas.

Decades or centuries later, will there be an image of political space in the memory of the city or will it be erased by acts of transformation and restructuring?

The answer to this question depends largely on the course of the relations, contradictions, consensuses, clashes etc. between urban social

dynamics which will continue to intervene in space.

—Şükrü Aslan

> Gecekondu, Neighbourhood, Post-gecekondu, Urban Transformation, Varoş

PORNOGRAPHY

A WAY OF GRASPING A SPACE.

In the case of Istanbul, it describes a stage, in the reading of urban space and the processes and activities that generate it, of such clarity and speed that the imagination is not triggered anymore. Only a fully oppositional reading qualifies as erotic. When the observer and/or urban dweller is involved in the perception of an erotic space (or the production of an urban space with erotic content), the power to interpret quickly what s/he sees goes missing. It appears that actions, causes as well as results can't be diagnosed all at once. Indeed, the city and its architecture leave the impression that their secret will be revealed only as a result of great effort and awareness will be produced only gradually. Scenes



and spaces are even to be thought as codes referring to far deeper meanings and processes than the eye can perceive. Thus, the effort to decipher the erotic city is the main factor in the production of urban engagement. This is the kind of pleasure a detective feels when s/he reveals – and of course the kind the reader feels while observing – the unfolding of the mystery to the background of a case. However, there is no need for the deciphering and detection of the pornographic city. Addicts of urban pornography already know the city which is their object before seeing it, questioning it and imagining it. But they take pleasure from seeing once again what they have grown accustomed to seeing and speak “obscenely” about it using the same terms. This pleasure is the masochistic pleasure of the addict; not the pleasure the detective derives from speculative activity. Only one these has been experienced, over the last one and a half centuries, in Istanbul. It is precisely because it is the site of pornographic/masochistic pleasure that saying, for instance, that it is undergoing IRREGULAR URBANISATION, is the site of profiteering, its silhouette has been distorted, it has become a village but never a metropolis etc. is enough to understand what’s going on there (see *Demolition or the Warped City, Silhouette*). Or rather, the pornographic activity is fulfilled when

one believes that these suffice. However, the changes and transformations expressed and cursed in the above terms are related to the production of urban space in the same manner common sexual acts are related to the continuation of the human species. In precisely the same way as the example of sexual intercourse, they become pornographic when they are shown to be shown, perverted when they are exploited in a manner which injures either party, medical when biological references are made and erotic when they are equipped and represented with barriers of engagement to occupy the imagination (rather than just being shown).

In this context, Istanbul has long been pornographic, on a scale rising from the late 19th century to this day. For a very extensive group of people, it has no secret to be revealed. The pornographic manifestation of urban activity believed to be manifest must be disciplined and corrected with moral and pedagogic tools. For example, the transformation of the city’s planning, or in other words the “contemporary” and “European” changes in its existing structural characteristics was almost the only thing intellectuals looking at the urban scene could see. Late Ottoman urban pornography sees in Istanbul nothing but an “error” which must be

corrected by planning and the imagined European urban rationality which formed a contradictory reference to it. The Early Republican era inherits and maintains this pornographic legacy. A conception of urban reality, (which appeared to be) clear from the threshold of 1960 on, problematized the urbanizing masses. As a usual result of their own expectations of clear, pornographic legibility, those looking at Istanbul all found explanations for the rapid urbanisation taking place here and the persistent failure of new inhabitants to urbanize. This is later, especially after the 1980s, followed by profit, which is a regular fact of all capitalist economies, into a “*deus ex machina*” capable of producing all manner of explanations in the context of the transformation of Istanbul. But some general erotic awareness forms, no matter what. Often, observers and urbanites refuse to accept that they have not yet understood the countless paths of change and transformation of the city, and that it requires effort and labour to do so. They know the “immoral” truth always without seeing it, and declare its sentence without hesitation, because, in urban pornography as in all pornographic activities, the aim of preventing the sight of the thing which, as immoral, should not be seen is at least implied. It is neither mean-

ingful nor correct to think of the pornography which is clearly visible in the urban scene. Since the demand is thus, thinking about that which has achieved visibility is prohibited per se. After all, isn't the prohibition not of the common sexual act everyone knows about but the description of it which renders pornography what it is?

—Uğur Tanyeli

> Demolition or the Warped City, Silhouette

POST-GECEKONDU

WE FACE A JUMBLE WHICH WE ROUGHLY CODIFY AS “VAROŞ” (SEE VAROŞ). HAD WE TRIED TO READ THE IDEOLOGICAL INGREDIENT WE ADDED TO THIS MIX IN TERMS OF THE ACTUAL PRODUCTION PRACTICES OF THE CITY, WE WOULD CALL IT POST-GECEKONDU.

This is basically the classical or original *gecekondu* (see *Gecekondu*), constructed as a human requirement or for its “use value,” reproduced within the framework of the “neo-liberal revolution” as exchange value. In other words, it means the inclusion of informal housing areas in the real estate market and the addition of their capital to the reproduction cycle.



The builders of the classical *gecekondu* had been welcomed so they would produce goods for the city and the country would develop. And they more or less achieved this goal: something like a hobby. They eventually found their true mission outside the factory, especially after the 80s. The pay they received from producing goods was pocket-money, but the real income came from elsewhere: they did not settle for village-style, build-it-yourself/live-in-it-yourself garden towns, they produced a serious “under-the-counter” town, registering income from it to their accounts; not letting anyone else have a sniff at it. Post-*gecekondu* describes this under-the-counter town. It was, of course, “too late” by the time everyone realized what was going on.

Tolerating under-the-counter production posed a difficulty for the old owners of the city. Smaller owners did not have the strength to deal with what was going on; they couldn’t keep up with the newcomers, so they started “complaining.” And so the *gecekondu*, traditionally associated with something positive, disappeared from circulation, leaving its place to the “*varoş*.” Within the discourse of irregular urbanisation, conquering all castles and winning everyone’s hearts at an

astonishing speed, “*varoş*” became the name for all places which were not (could not be) Istanbul, were not (could not be) regarded as Istanbul. The border of the *varoş*, the place one did not want to go, was where “Civitas” ended.

The elderly, some eagerly and some patiently, waited for their turn. They observed the *varoş* become the name of the capital of the empire of fear. Whoever builds an illegal building is also capable of all corruption; stealing away the ground of this land that we know under our feet like a carpet. Just like an earthquake (see *Earthquake*); in fact, it is the earthquake’s twin, it is incalculable. It strikes fear into our hearts. Gets on well with the earthquake anyway; they are pretty much indifferent to each other and get along light-heartedly. The fear of the *varoş* is irrational just like any other fear; its object is fickle and it is paradoxical in its essence. The *varoş* is uncanny due to the new poverty it hosts within and exceedingly threatening precisely because of the fresh, shiny capital it shelters which constantly demands more. The *varoş* openly accommodates the indifferent flirtation between forms of poverty and dependence the natives of North Istanbul (see *Northern Istanbulite*) are not used to, and the new forms of

capital generated in the same *varoş*; and strikes fear precisely by holding this mixture together. The more s/he has difficulty in solving the codes of the *varoş*, the more the native of North Istanbul is inclined to perceive it as a whole and “the other,” seeing the basic ingredient of the dangerous mixture the *varoş* contains as the common culture of communities of rural origin. And if that is the case, the way out is to define it on a cultural basis or as a “lifestyle” in order to monotonize it and transform it into the other.

Post-*gecekondu* simply points at a historical phase in the production of the city. It does not judge, it does not create emotional motivations such as fear, pity, hatred, exclusion, segregation etc. It explains the main transformation which took place in informal residential areas during the Özal era, when an entire society learned to make money using money. Previously occupied land was legalized and made into start-up capital for migrants. Rural-based small capital became a dominant part of city production and included in the primitive accumulation process of capital. Shelter, the sole function of the classic *gecekondu* was replaced by a complex totality of functions including labour-intensive small neighbourhood

production, storage and marketing; and the relatively homogeneous socio-economic structure consisting of villagers and workers was replaced by a multi-layered system which abandoned poverty watch to the latecomers.

As a result, small capital acted much faster than large capital in terms of accumulating capital from the land of the city and reshaped the morphology of the city according to the needs of its own reproduction. This is precisely where the problem lies for big business, which is only recently starting to take to the stage in the field of mass housing production. Post-*gecekondu* extending across the terrain from Esenyurt to Tuzla does not leave breathing ground to big business. The forthcoming period will be marked by competition over large expanses of residential areas. The bigger players do not have time to complain, and they have already set to work.

The substitution of the post-*gecekondu*, a candidate for calm analysis, with the *varoş*, the target of bitter feelings, serves a purpose here: in the transition from *gecekondu* to post-*gecekondu*, it becomes easy uncompromisingly to ignore the possibility that these spontaneously evolved

settlement areas may accommodate authentic solutions which are formed according to social, economical and physical requirements and have a positive influence on the structure and quality of life. The discourse of irregular urbanisation legitimizes the presentation of everything produced by the post-*gecekondu* as not even a partial solution but a total problem – without feeling the need to turn and look closer once more – to be bulldozed in order to be got rid of. The urban transformation law, only days away from being approved at the Turkish Grand National Assembly, is a law designed to brand the post-*gecekondu* as ghetto in order to ignore it and ultimately to liquidate it.

—Orhan Esen

> Earthquake, Gecekondu, Northern Istanbulite, Varoş

POST-SOVIET UNION MIGRANT

POST-SOVIET UNION MIGRATION REFERS TO THE FLOW OF MIGRANTS THAT ISTANBUL HAS RECEIVED SINCE THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOVIET UNION IN 1991.

Overall, this process has marked a new period in the history of migration to Turkey (see *Migration*) for two reasons: the immigration of people for economic or labour purposes without necessarily claiming some affinity with the “Turkish nation” and the predominance of women among migrants, as well as the significant role that “gendered occupations” have played in attracting them.

Migration in the post-Soviet period was first initiated by the suitcase traders who, continuing with their practice of small scale trading pursued as part of the shadow economy of the Soviet era, began a transnational trade in apparel, leatherwear and footwear. At its peak in the mid-90s, suitcase exports from Turkey to the countries of the former Soviet Union were estimated at \$9–10 billion annually with nearly 1.5 million people travelling to Turkey. In time, the shuttle trading and the circular migration it initiated turned urban districts in Istanbul like Laleli and Aksaray, not to mention cities like Trabzon, into semi-global/regional centres, becoming the meeting places of citizens of the former socialist countries while they stayed in Istanbul. With the emergence of commercial sex and domestic work done by migrants, these locations acquired all the more



importance, accommodating the necessities of maintaining a diasporic lifestyle for the migrants of post-socialism who could easily fulfil their various needs such as purchasing Russian pop albums or cheap wine in these areas.

Although in fact there are generally only some loose ties between the different post-socialist migrant groups in Istanbul, the apparent predominance of women among them has resulted in a public disposition stigmatizing them under the generic term “Natasha.” While the name was first used to allude to sex workers, it was intended to connote the potential sexual promiscuity of all the women who have emigrated from that region. Similarly, although all the post-soviet migrants are commonly referred to as “the Russians” in daily conversations, in reality, except for the earlier groups among the shuttle traders, migrants of post-socialism in Turkey come from very different countries other than Russia. While sex workers are mostly from Romania, Moldova and Georgia, for example, domestic workers come from Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, as well as from the Caucasian and central Asian countries like Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, who joined the former in the post-2000 period.

Whichever sector they are initially pulled towards, post-soviet migrants come to Turkey on tourist visas that are valid for one or two months and then overstay them. Starting in the mid-90s, those who wanted to secure their position while staying in Turkey and circumvent having to pay the fines for overstaying visas while leaving the country, practiced fake marriage with Turkish citizens which would provide them with their only chance for naturalisation. The amendment made to the Turkish Citizenship Law in 2003, however, introduced a three-year waiting period before obtaining citizenship, which has decreased the number of these marriages significantly. While the Turkish Parliament passed a law that enabled obtaining work permits for undocumented workers in the same year, very few of them have actually been able to attain the document, entailing that they continue staying, and working in Turkey illegally.

—Ayşe Akalın

> Migration



PRESERVATION BOARD

THE INSTITUTION RESPONSIBLE BY LAW FOR THE REGISTRATION OF CULTURAL ASSETS, DETERMINATION OF THE BORDERS OF SIT [CONSERVATION] AREAS AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION, AND THE APPROVAL OF RESTORATION PROJECTS.

Regulations regarding museums and artefacts of cultural heritage implemented in the 1880s as part of the Late Ottoman Empire's efforts to establish a European-type system were followed by the first regulations in the 1910s regarding the preservation of monuments. Legal regulations regarding protection were drawn up in a similar manner as part of the planning work carried out in the first years of the Republic. Archaeologists and architects sat on the boards of the four commissions established in 1935 to register and protect all the monuments in the country. In the early 1950s a similar institutional structure was reorganized with the authority to determine regulations for the maintenance, repair and restoration of the architectural and historical monuments requiring protection. With regulations once again renewed in 1983, Preservation Boards were granted full authority over all types of decisions regarding the preservation of cultural and natural assets in

particular districts. The boards today are formed in a structure accommodating specialists from the fields of architecture and restoration with other members from a variety of disciplines.

Beyond the above mentioned regulations and the profile of members changing over time, in the specific context of Istanbul, due to the historical density of the city, the Preservation Board stands out as an institution with a vocal right in planning decisions. While the conceptual basis of preservation is not often discussed even among specialists in the subject, preservation board decisions provide the platform for public discussion via the newspapers. Although the apparent debate gives the impression that it is about preservation, the real debate is about what and who should steer the dynamics of the city. These boards are expected miraculously to provide the balance between the usual pressures of profit-seeking behaviour and "conservation." The miraculous aspect of the phenomenon to a large extent derives from the intentional chaos of legal mechanisms. More often than not, this chaos is accompanied by illusions of historicity and errors in terminology. Amidst these multiple contradictions, preservation boards are positioned on the thin line



between becoming the protector of the history of the city and its cultural heritage and the sole culprit in its destruction.

—Yıldız Salman

PUBLIC SPACE (I)

ACCORDING TO THE DEFINITION BY A “GREAT” STATE OFFICIAL OF THE VERY RECENT PAST, THE PUBLIC SPHERE IS THE PLACE WHERE THE POLICE CAN ASK YOU FOR IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENTS, THEREFORE PUBLICNESS IN ISTANBUL IS THE POLICE DEMANDING IDENTIFICATION AND THE CITIZEN PROVIDING IT. ACCORDING TO THE SAME LOGIC, THE POLICE CAN ASK FOR IDENTIFICATION ANYWHERE, THUS EVERYWHERE IN ISTANBUL IS PUBLIC SPACE.

Nowhere in the world are social practices simply positioned along the ideal dual axis of public–private. However, the public can still be defined as the relative openness at various levels to the social production, forms of debate and expression of difference. In a similar manner, it could be said that all tools enabling this openness define the public sphere and the spatial organisation of these tools defines public space. And the private sphere exists as a result of the effort to restrict the

appearance or visibility of the other in the production of difference. Even such a coarse attempt at a definition reveals that the duality of public–private cannot be grasped as an ideal openness or closure in view of all types of difference; rather, these concepts are meaningful as long as they signify a continuous debate regarding social practices. The emphasis on openness and closure can sometimes be reversed: when norms which are the object of strongly-maintained consensus do not allow for the expression in the public sphere of certain differences they have declared abnormal, then the private sphere may become the shelter of difference. The social organisation of sounds might describe my singing as beyond the norm, or terrible. In such case, a special space, such as a live performance space, neither clearly public nor private but open to amateurs like me who produce terrible sounds, may be vital in the context of the production of difference. When even such an opportunity for openness is not available, no one (I hope) will prevent me from singing in my bath (or ask for my identity!) Still, taking into consideration the fact that if an expression is not received, it cannot produce meaning, what counts is that my voice is heard by at least one neighbour and attains some form of public openness.



The dominant factor in the social formation of Turkey, both in the past and to a certain extent today, is the closure of the social production of difference. Therefore, neither the public sphere nor the private sphere can be defined as locations of negotiation which engender the production of difference, but in contrast locations which are functionalized in the production of sameness. And the only criterion which serves to differentiate public from private among all locations defined as sites of the production of sameness is, in a rudimentary sense, property relationships; the public is the location which hasn't been expropriated by someone yet.

The noun *kamu*, the origin of the adjective *kamusal* which corresponds to the concept “public” in English, is of vital importance in this context. According to the dictionary of the TDK [Turkish Language Institution], *kamu* means, “all/always [*hep*], the whole and the whole of the people, all the people.” What is striking here is the word *hep*, which, again according to the TDK [Turkish Language Institution] dictionary, is that which is, “not excluding or lacking anyone, whole, complete” and even better “continuous, always.” Therefore, it is meaningful to define the public sphere as the

place where police can demand identification; the principal obligation is to be a part of *everywhere always all*. *Hep*, the entirety of a *halk* [people] can somehow never transform itself into *herkes* [everyone], “all the people, no matter whom, whomsoever.” Neither is the public sphere the multiple sphere of expression of everyone, nor the private sphere everyone's singular shelter; on the contrary, both are the sphere of existence of *hep* only, whether all together or alone. In such a social formation, the distinction between public and private space is a quantitative distinction which can easily be overcome. As long as the identity necessary to prove one belongs to *hep*, all public spheres and spaces can be privatized; and the converse is valid too. According to the same hierarchy of identity, the private sphere and its spaces can become public. The difference between Gök-kafes and the citizen who cuts through the iron post installed to prevent parking, adds a padlock and makes himself a private parking place or the *bakkal* who transforms the pavement into a shop is a (great) difference in quantitative power; but there is no qualitative difference between them, they are compatible (see *Parking Lot*). In a similar way, bodies are expropriated to prevent the expression of bodily differences, which could be

defined as the borders of the private sphere, as with the turban, the mini-skirt, the beard and sexual orientation, and an attempt is made to make them compatible with the identity of the *hep*. The concept of the public good becomes indisputable under these circumstances, because the mythical illusion of *hep*, which will always exist only as a complete totality, produces the illusion that this totality has a completely knowable and absolute benefit. No doubt, those who know of this benefit are rulers who are the representative owners of property, where the first and foremost *hep* resides, sitting at the top of the hierarchy of identities. Opposition is carried out based on claims of state; otherwise no one takes into consideration the fact that everyday people, no matter whom, may have something to say about this benefit.

—Bülent Tanju

> Parking Lot

PUBLIC SPACE (II)

ALTHOUGH IT MEANS “EVERYWHERE OUTSIDE PRIVATE SPACE,” SUCH A SIMPLE DEFINITION MEANS NOTHING IN ISTANBUL. [ED.]

The public sphere is formed by a multitude of spaces and discourses. Historically, the term denotes the meeting space where only certain social sections –prosperous male citizens – had the right to enter and, along with the development of civil society, where political demands were voiced. The *agora* in ancient Greece, which was in the city centre and where these sections of society discussed social issues, is an example. From the present perspective, these spaces are places where power is represented and concerns regarding public benefit are expressed. The public sphere is shaped according to architectural ideals. However, since it isn't only a physical space, it doesn't come about only by construction. The public sphere is also a basis of discussion focusing on conflicts of interests, participation and social exclusion. The urban public sphere is a physical, social and discursive space reflecting social conditions and the social state.

The “public sphere” in Istanbul can be examined from various viewpoints too, but the Western concept, which expresses the division between the private and the public, is replaced by a different content here. When the strict division between a private, personal and individual space and a pub-



lic and collective space shared by all is translated into Turkish, it assumes a complex and pluralist social and psychological status. In a conceptual study, Uğur Tanyeli (2005) explains that private spaces express intimacy, secrecy and a place concealed from others if also loneliness, and in contrast the public space expresses what appeals to and what is accessible to all. The term public in Turkish is generally used as a place where the state applies regulations oriented towards the individual: the inspection of clearly defined spaces by a public hand loaded with rules and orders. The public is the space representing power and ideology; spaces organized for parades and public speeches or institutions where the public is trained. The public will is valid here; controlling dress and behaviour, allowing the covering of heads, or banning demonstrations.

However, in the historical “Ottoman city,” spatial publicity had a multidimensional structure progressing from the recognized to the foreign. Slow transitions in dress sense and behaviour defined space and belonging: thus from the intimacy at the centre of the home which hosted different rooms according to gender or guests and the multidimensional neighbourhood com-

munication formed of the togetherness of residents, though not including the “foreigner,” to areas extending the mosque and the institutions surrounding it, the baths, the caravanserai, and hotels where foreigners stayed. Such transitions also extended to the gathering and festivity areas outside the city walls, forming an inter-space between state control and collective use. Referred to as non-places today, these could be roadside areas, which have high visibility but are beyond public benefit and control, suitable for picnics, or an illegal market place.

In Istanbul, the Bosphorus is one of the best examples of public space. It is a node of transportation, an entertainment-recreation area and a symbol all in one. The structures of public spaces emerging along the shores on its two sides are completely different; they are used as tea houses or for other activities. The view and the silhouette of the city are observed with wonder and shown with pride (see *View, Silhouette*). Shore residents have the right to be heard concerning the ferries and the public intervenes in construction activities on the shores. There are debates over issues of ownership, authority and right of way.



When public space is discussed today, in Istanbul as much as other places, the emphasis is on the link of urban transformation with global parameters and how the city will be shaped (see *Urban Transformation*). The “French Street” in Beyoğlu is a typical example of the privatisation and commercialisation of public space as part of a transformation project. The former Cezayir Sokağı [Algeria Street] is redefined – here in the form of French coffee shops and restaurants – as a consumption and entertainment space by a public–private joint venture company in line with public space designed and idealized according to an “imaginary culture.”

A modern shopping centre – a closed, commercialized space under surveillance – in Levent’s central business area forms a new kind of meeting place particularly for women, something which isn’t widespread in other markets and bazaars and is in fact deemed “risky.” The announcement of the plans for the urban development project GalataPort which aims to open the old port area of the Bosphorus to hotels attractive to tourism and to transform the area into a cruise ship terminal provoked heated discussions on the meaning of public space (see *Public Space (I)*). Local groups

of the adjacent neighbourhoods Cihangir and Galata demand the area be organized as a promenade with tea gardens facing the sea and other recreational facilities rather than a tourist shopping centre (see *Tourism*). Political groups and artists adopt a stronger discourse to emphasize that commercial use does not give residents of the neighbourhood the chance to come together and that the pompous buildings and activity structures encourage an alienating cultural production and that this would exclude the majority of local people (X-urban 2006).

These debates, in other words the constant confrontation between different interests and value judgments and the bargains between them, actually form the foundation of the public sphere. The public sphere is never open to everyone to an equal degree. There are always various groups competing with each other, a part of the public can temporarily dominate and look upon others with curiosity and interest at best. Sometimes things taking place simultaneously, next to each other, drive each other down, struggling among themselves to stand out and have themselves accepted. In this sense, the urban sphere, whether physical or discursive, takes



on a public aspect only through contradiction and its negotiation.

—Kathrin Wildner

> Public Space (I), Silhouette, Tourism, Urban Transformation, View

RESERVOIR WATER LEVELS

THE NAME OF A NEW PHENOMENON TURKEY AND ESPECIALLY LARGE METROPOLITAN AREAS LIKE ISTANBUL, ANKARA, İZMİR AND BURSA WERE INTRODUCED TO AFTER THE WINTER OF 2007, WHICH WAS PARTICULARLY DRY DUE TO GLOBAL WARMING AND CHANGING WEATHER CONDITIONS.

With the rapid decrease in water levels in reservoirs supplying water to large cities, with reserves coming within weeks of reaching dead pool level, a new section entitled “reservoir water levels” was added to television weather reports. This meant that global climate change related to global warming, up to then believed to be something to come at some uncertain date in the future, became an actual reality and began to be thought about and discussed by “the man on the street.”

In fact, this kind of representation as reflected on screen may be read in the following way. The city is the most complex system created by humanity. Seen from the perspective of the Enlightenment and modernity, the city is the most dramatic example of humanity’s quest for the transformation of and dominion over nature. As the demonstration of this quest, the modern city has been founded under complete control and by observing rational criteria, as a second nature surrounding the human being. As an extension of modernity’s crisis in philosophy and the social sciences, the city has today spiralled out of control; and large metropolitan cities now struggle with problems such as transport, population density, housing deficit, inadequacies in infrastructure and the failure to use resources equally and efficiently.

Keeping this in mind, one could project that in the future, when mankind loses its control over nature in a more profound manner, weather reports broadcast following news reports will feature accounts with statistical information on reservoir water levels, road and traffic conditions, electricity and gas cuts, carbon monoxide levels in the air and specific regions where ozone layer



depletion has led to increased exposure to ultra-violet radiation.

—Hakkı Yırtıcı

RESTORATION

THE ELIMINATION BY VARIOUS METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF INHERENT AND STRUCTURAL DAMAGE TO A BUILDING WHICH HAS BEEN APPROVED FOR PRESERVATION FOR THE HISTORICAL VALUE IT POSSESSES, IN SHORT THE PROTECTION OF THE AGEDNESS OF THE STRUCTURE.

What renders restoration different from any other activity of repair or reuse is primarily the importance of the building in its historical actuality, though also the acceptance of this actuality. “Historical document value,” a conceptual cornerstone of contemporary restoration theory, expresses this originality and actuality. A historical building has to exhibit traces of history.

The fundamental stance scientific restoration rests on has, since the final quarter of the 19th century, been based on a retreat from subjectivity, and therefore keeping a critical distance from

the building. The building must be preserved for specific values independent of the personal preferences of the architect or the property owner.

Considering Istanbul’s historical past, it is clear that the city could be an extremely rich source for the discipline of restoration. In fact, among the late Ottoman Empire’s efforts to establish a European system, regulations regarding museology and movable historic property entered the agenda in the 1880s, and the preservation of monuments in 1910. Restoration also found a place at least on the legal platform within the planning work regarding the preservation of natural and historical values in the early years of the Republic. However, neither before nor during the period of architectural practice beginning in the 1950s and lasting until the 1980s stressing the production of new buildings did restoration manage to establish its conceptual foundations as a field of specialisation. This deprivation was accompanied by nostalgic grumbles (see *Nostalgia*) aimed against the accompanying results of dynamics shaping the city. Approaches to restoration coming to the forefront in the post-1980 period were naturally shaped on the basis of this nostalgic view. Efforts at preservation and protection flounder amidst



semantic shifts. The ground became ever more slippery as, in addition to the failure to establish a common terminology, the subject of protection was open to debate. Illusions of historicity began with the preference for renewal over restoration. Will historical streets or houses be preserved or representative streets or houses constructed? Should the past be preserved or created? The answer to these critical questions was sought in the construction of the historical identity of the city via the representative reproduction of the period and building types selected, and almost sanctified, from among the many layers of the history of Istanbul and the “beautification” and “gentrification” of historical streets and neighbourhoods (see *Beautification, Gentrification, Neighbourhood*). Focusing especially on neighbourhoods of old wooden houses, the waterfront residences along the Bosphorus, the “reconstruction”, beyond what was actually there, of an Ottoman identity rendered supreme but also according to a scale of values in its application, took place in the name of restoration (see *Yalı*).

Along with legal regulations, the considerations determining the public presentation of such aforementioned approaches and the discussion or

approval of the production of the new “old,” the Preservation Board (see *Preservation Board*) and its decisions always reappear on the agenda too.

—Yıldız Salman

> *Beautification, Gentrification,
Neighbourhood, Nostalgia, Preservation
Board, Yalı*

SCAFFOLDING

THE VERY RECENT HISTORY OF ONE OF ISTANBUL'S
INSTABILITIES (2003–2007).

All that is solid melts into air – fair enough, it's true – but on the other hand, the money that circulates in the city like air is rapidly solidifying into buildings and assuming an appearance which, it seems, will never disappear. The best shortcut to understanding the intensities of Istanbul's transformations, which have been divided into fragmentary intervals, is probably not chasing after its covered buildings. However, I can imagine that this documentation, which will never be completed, may reveal over the years the veiled face of the city which is shown to no other – like Harvey Keitel

in the film *Smoke*. There is almost no building in front of which scaffolding will not be erected. And if this is what will befall these buildings one day, and the city is covered, then it will also be possible to produce a huge painting of it suspended in time. On the other hand, the instabilities of architecture aren't limited to scaffolding. There are other, special Istanbul far more immediate and fragile. For instance, reflections of the oblique rays of the winter sun falling on blind walls from windows of other buildings, resembling the letters of a strange alphabet or sketches drawn with light, are among these instabilities. It requires even more persistence and time spent walking the city streets. Even if the reflections do appear, they do not stay in the same place during the same hour, and they are at a different position on the face of the building the next day for instance. At least scaffolding stays where it is until it is brought down.

01. "Very soon" (!)

In *Saturn in Opposition* [*Bir Ömür Yetmez*], the latest film of director Ferzan Özpetek we witness ordinary scaffolding being used as a proclamation that the fragile carnival of life can suddenly end. The awaited unveiling loses all the splendour of

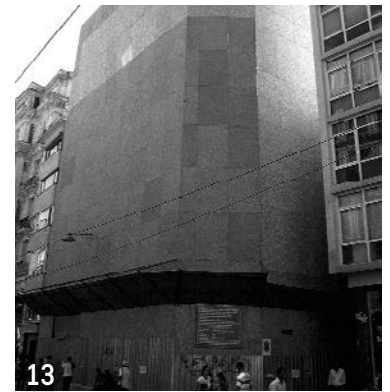
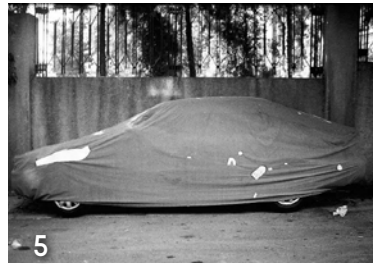
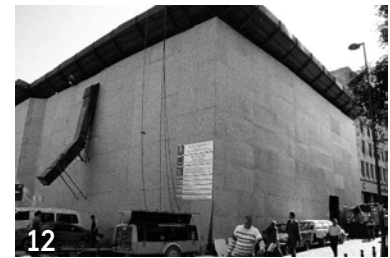
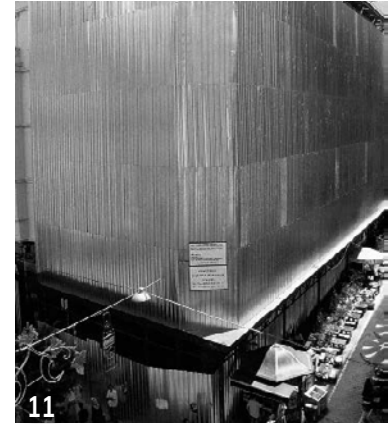
its inauguration with the arrival of the news of death and becomes the scene of the staging of pain. Indeed, the relationship scaffolding forms with the body and death seem as plural as the city. Besides, when you add a "t" to the word "*iskele*," meaning scaffolding in Turkish, you get the word meaning both the skeleton that holds up the body and the structure that holds up a building, "*iskelet*." Those who walk past the curtain before a staging on İstiklal Caddesi (see *İstiklal Caddesi* or "*Beyoğlu*"), are actually walking past a veil, a dead body. We are forced to wonder; everyone must be forced to wonder. Indifferent, *blasé*, the operative words of the urban scene.

02. The Curtain Parts

In Çağlayan, the plasterer opens the curtain – he works for his daily pay to give new faces to the city, in other words, faces that will bring in money. Çağlayan, an extension of the first industrial belt of the European side of the city, is one of the *gecekondu* areas of the city which, especially from the 70s on, flowed in like waves to surround the industrial areas of Istanbul and are today being transformed into increasingly dense urban textures. Factories in Kağıthane, some which have



BECOMING İSTANBUL



ceased production, continue, as they have for the last half century, to release their poisonous secretion into the brook which leads to the Golden Horn and their carcinogenic chemical gases into the air, because they know that after midnight they won't be penalized according to the law. But the similarly stubborn urban dweller may at any moment be confronted with new buildings, even a more useful built environment. Such a seamless scene of usefulness and its open display doesn't suit the manners of the urbanite though. Since construction is based on openly rough work and the direct physical labour of members of lower social strata, the display of skin and smell may induce invisible creases in the suits of "business" people, and even cause injuries with a handful of sand or debris spilling from above, innocuous but it may put an end to someone's swagger. Therefore, they have to be immediately excluded from the zone of use/aesthetics of the majority and rendered safe. The urban dweller is contented with a screen, something acceptably obscure, a sight which is preferably commercialized and decked out with images of erotic objects until the moment people will actually benefit from this labour (the opening of the store). This is what is called a scaffold.

03. The Curtain Parts

In Taksim, opposite the Aia Triada Church, on one of the side streets opening onto İstiklal Caddesi, "trendy" spaces will soon be edge to edge. If İstiklal Caddesi were an inland water route and indeed perhaps an allegory of the Bosphorus made up of bodies, then there are countless locales and gaps to nourish this flow with their intensity. Tens of thousands of people flow here throughout the day from hundreds of frayed focal points, from Gümüşsuyu, Cihangir, Kurtuluş, Galata, Kabataş, Karaköy and Tepebaşı.

04. The Curtain Parts

In Pera, on Bankalar Street, banks compete to show that they maintain their street and their corporate identities, that they know the value of history. It is well-known that they do nothing without competition. The neoclassical, prestige buildings on Bankalar Street, which could be considered the symbol of the financial transformation of the Ottoman State in the 19th century, was also a stage for actors of an architecture unique to Eastern Mediterranean metropolises who would be erased from the city by the mid-20th century.



Minorities and everything they represent are still being made to pay for the political crisis of the Ottoman State even today.

05. The Object Awakens

Unaware of the wrapping performances initiated by Christo and Jeanne Claude in the 1970s, beginning with objects and spreading to buildings, that restored the public and political meaning of sculpture, one Saturday morning in İstinye, an Istanbulite awakened an object from its sleep when he removed the cover of his car to get into it.

06. The Object Awakens

Everyday on the Karaköy jetty, a motorcycle becomes a sculpture. As the transportation crisis in the city multiplies along with the ambition to own a private car, the metro network, albeit a century after its equivalents, continues to grow under a ground seething with the historical layers of the city. As the undersea tunnel to connect Asia and Europe progresses from the shore of Üsküdar towards the Historic Peninsula, the construction of the Third Bosphorus Bridge, which will create new queues and congestion, is about to begin.

Although in other global cities, distances of hundreds of kilometres don't determine everything in the everyday work routine thanks to fast train networks, for the Istanbulite roads are battlegrounds where the appetite for driving is whetted. The motorcycle becomes a serious alternative.

07. The Object Awakens

In contrast, the motorcycle on Kazancı Hill in Beyoğlu has extended its life as a readymade with packaging long-lasting enough to host a cat. The buildings of Beyoğlu left ownerless for decades and have decayed as they wait are gradually coming within firing range of large-scale “gentrification” projects and are being seized upon as part of the “Cleansing Beyoğlu of Beyoğlu” fantasies of various conservative capital funds (see *Gentrification*). Not only Beyoğlu, but many old *gecekondu* areas or historic areas known to host diverse ethnic identities are being “transformed” by this type of conservative capital (see *Urban Transformation*).

08. Construction Begins

Investors trying to work out how to cope with their new rivals in Levent began erecting a huge



urban stage by putting up steel scaffolding. Medium-scale, insipid malls with faux-historical interior design like City's and huge shopping and entertainment centres like Kanyon which stake a claim to innovation are constructed at the same speed (see *Shopping Centre*). It seems that scaffolding is one of the main components of medium-scale mall construction. On larger scales, in constructions of hundreds of thousands of square metres like Kanyon (see *Kanyon*), the use of scaffolding as a trademark as perceived by the urbanite is not that significant.

09. On the Façade of the Same Building

A condescending technique is being developed to exhibit the scale of investment: "The latest innovation will be constructed here." Very soon, Nişantaşı residents will be "astonished" to see that they can purchase the most expensive new products from the centre of innovation in their own neighbourhood, without having to travel even a few kilometres.

10. Demolition Continues

Another gigantic-scale demolition reveals itself on İstiklal Caddesi only from a vantage point

twenty metres above street level (see *Demolition or the Warped City*). Everything was done so that not the slightest information was leaked regarding the demolition, which went on for months, and the construction which followed, and a huge but expressionless draft image of a building was installed and "the people were prepared" for the star to step on stage. Since there wasn't another plot this size suitable for repurposing on İstiklal Caddesi, the value of the land increased at rates unseen in the history of the city. Behind the scaffolding, there is a hole sixty metres deep which makes the heads of even the most sober customers leaving the Nevizade taverns a street away spin. Another mall will rise from this hell hole reserved for parking lots (see *Parking Lot*).

11. What Kind of Face Do We Want?

The sports store covered with aluminium from top to bottom on İstiklal Caddesi begins showing its "difference" through the singularity of its scaffolding. So: "Impossible is nothing." An unconventional material for covering scaffolding for İstiklal Caddesi buildings on this scale is selected. But no one will remember it like this anyway: the smoke-coloured stone façade of the



building will allow the sports equipment to be presented as some contemporary youth elixir and its design will continue to create the alchemy of the new metropolis.

12. Covering

A bank building in Eminönü adjacent to a historic fountain has been tightly covered for radical renovation and, indeed, almost suspended: there would be almost no clues to announce that it is being crushed up and demolished if it weren't for the pipes discharging the rubble, the excrementalized state of its sealed body. There is a new movement in Istanbul where big banks found museums to evoke their past (see *Museum*). Normally, walking along this route, you see the people feeding the pigeons in front of Yeni Cami and go past the monumental Vakıf Han, which has been made into a hotel, and your facial expression tells the vendors who sneak up on you in front of Doğubank that you won't be buying porno CDs. And then off to Hagia Sophia. (!) Or, you could have your slides developed at Enis Bey's shop next to an old hamam; for years he has only developed slides and, in his huge aquariums, he only keeps cichlids. You can then eat your almond *ay çöreği*

and your *Pürüsyen* [moon and Parisien pastries] at Konyalı under the signed photograph of Turgut Özal and Father Bush, and drink your mixed fruit juice, which for some reason is known as Ottoman sherbet. When you're finished, buy a Lamy, and begin writing with purple ink: "Scaffolding. The Very..."

13. Cover

At Tünel, in front of a new art centre, a different type of waiting continues, until the day when the culture apparatus emerges from under a singular, stout, aspect-less appearance.

14. Cover

Just like armchair covers are changed at home, the covers of buildings are changed too. They are covered in new fabrics. Renovation reveals itself in the covering. The site being covered is a point of dilution in the city's flows of goods, bodies, heats, sounds and bacteria. It is the moment of becoming before all these flows begin to form a new fold. The covered building announces the arrival of an innovation in the city. The frivolity of the covered building whispers

sentences of the ethics towards which it draws city-dwellers.

15. Cover

A bank branch in Gayrettepe genuinely deserves appreciation as a rare building where there is only a small difference between the scaffolding and the end result. It is not a Herzog-De Meuron building we are looking at, just a scaffolding.

16. Awaiting Demolition

Progressivist or developmentalist urbanism is the enlargement of the city's utilitarian economic order against the rural. In contrast to the frivolity of the rural and the proximity of rural production practices to raw materials, the city is synonymous with a distance from raw materials.

17. Awaiting Demolition, "Upstarts"

Construction takes its share from this principle of urban usefulness and is formed of practices realized not openly but behind the scenes. The idea of an order that isn't enclosed but has been removed out of sight dominates the visual regime of contemporary construction. On the other hand

this out-of-sightness facilitates the justification of this curtaining along with the individual becoming a component in an increasingly more sterile and sheltered zone. Distant from the eye, distant from the heart: "Community, Identity, Stability," n'est-ce pas, Mustafa Monde?

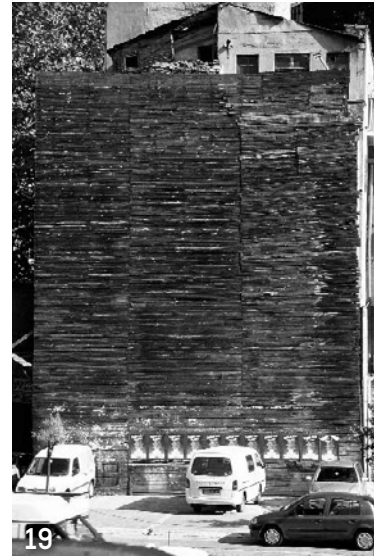
18. Awaiting Demolition

An apartment on Siraselviler Street. Cihangir, a bit further on the underground and the waters under the ground of İstiklal Caddesi. The homeland of anarchism which has managed to remain itself without becoming gentrified (see *Anarchy*). A compressed bomb of intellectuality. At the same time, a living environment where dissimilarities are gradually becoming standardized too. The sourtimesian poetic equivalent on the European side of Kadıköy.

19. To be Demolished

A building in Karaköy. On the other hand, a group of buildings which are good-for-nothing, hoi polloi, left with no property or security, the forgotten, those which are neglected await demolition.





20. Awaiting Demolition

The condition of the less-useful against the more-useful on İstiklal Caddesi. Urbanites tolerate this face made of tarred planks in the name of another bit of novelty.

21. *Gecekond* Covering

A makeshift cover on İstiklal Caddesi presents an example of low-budget renovation. A sentence passes between the planks to reach us in a whisper: “Do whatever you want, but just never show your face.”

22. Mezzanine Covering

A rare type of covering in Babıali, which reminds one of apartments in the Middle East, where society closes off itself and its women. Once the centre of publishing, it is the home of ready-made clothing warehouses today.

23. and 24. Repair and Advertisement

Urbanites will of course not notice a GSM operator not missing the opportunity to display itself with a huge advertising hoarding during the “rescue” work on the PTT building in Galatasaray. As Jean Baudrillard said, the masses will accept any content containing a bit of spectacle. The building was “saved” by demolishing everything but the façade. This place remained standing when a truck full of bombs drove into the British Consulate. But it obviously couldn’t resist the magic wand of transformation. A bomb which exploded in front of a building in Levent on the same sunny November Thursday resulted in the erecting of the scaffolding which would stay there for years, but it would first cause a bloodbath.

25. Yeni Cami/The New Mosque

Scaffolding and large-scale repair. When scaffolding becomes the means of drawing attention to, tending for and looking after a building, it resembles cancerous growth on it. The building carries on standing, changing slowly, but the scaffolding which has settled upon it grows, keeps on changing form and its intensity changes too.



26. In front of Hünkar Kasrı [The Sultan's Pavilion]

The “modesty” of the Chamber of Commerce in the heart of Eminönü: the more you shout in public space, the less your voice is heard.

27. Vakıf Han

The hotel emerging from beneath its cover creates the arcade as the “kept woman” of capital. Money and gentrification are instituted as plugs of the social. Only hotel customers are in the arcade now. The clothing store and the optician have taken over both entrances of the u-shaped, marble-floored arcade.

28. With Sea-View

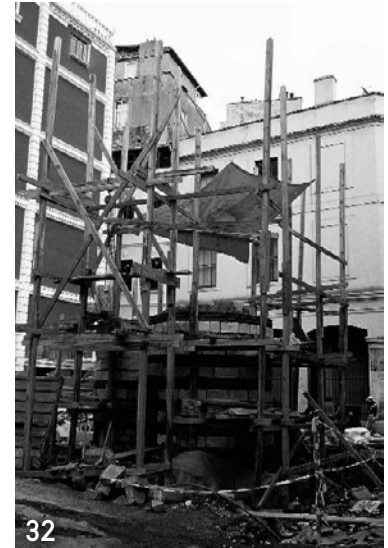
A billboard advertisement with a view of Kadıköy harbour. Urbanites are discovering the facelessness of their buildings. And sometimes, harbours receive their share of the benefits of the age of aquarium fetishism. Every day, hundreds of thousands of people travel to the European side of the city from the harbour here. Seagulls, the smell of sewage, jellyfish, kiosks, tea on the

ferry, fruit juice and *sahlep* [drink of orchis root, hot milk and cinnamon], and the never-ending sound of electronic tickets at the harbour turnstiles. Haydarpaşa train station and further back, if not veiled by the fog, the view of the trilogy of Topkapı-Hagia Sophia-Sultanahmet. Along the route, the cranes of Haydarpaşa port and the silos. The linear labyrinth of hundreds of (see *dolmuş*) on the Kadıköy shore changes by the second. However, this big GSM operator repeats the same slogan over and over again, as if it is unaware of all this: “Connect to life.” As if anything other than the magnificent sadness of Istanbul was required to connect to life.

29. On Galatasaray Square

The YKY [Yapı Kredi Publishing] as an example of neighbours imitating their older brothers, not want to be “left out.” The building covered in scaffolding seems to whisper: “Do whatever you want, but create an effect of novelty. Conceal the old face, even if it is just for a brief while. Repeat the hide-and-seek on the scale of the main streets and side streets.”





30. 'Haute Couture' Scaffolding in Osmanbey

Stylishness and the design of the anticipated façade of the building. These sentences continue to be whispered into ears: "In the meantime, conceal the operations on the old face, hide the workmanship and the bodies of the workers, the rubble that falls out, keep them away from suspicious folk so that the old face is forgotten more easily. Do to buildings what you do to all bodies and provoke curiosity. Prepare for the applause that will come when the curtain is raised."

31. Traces of Hellenism at the Greek Consulate

The immaculate new face on İstiklal Caddesi with its references to Hellenism. We hear another whisper from an unknown origin: "Always imply that the future holds something better than the past."

32. Tower Rehearsal

The fountain near the Galata Tower takes on the appearance of a ready-made.

33. The Temporary Monument More Monumental than the Monument Itself

The repair of the Çemberlitaş (The Column of Constantine). Scaffolding makes off with the object as it becomes present itself. It is an undeclared public sculpture. But no one comes to see it. The strange fate of accidental monumentality: no one seems to know it is one of the city's temporary ready-mades. Would it be a bad thing to put in a request for this scaffolding to replace the rocket-monument in Beşiktaş once it's finished with?

34. Inter-institutional Competition

As İş Bankası declares that it will not fall behind its neighbour Akbank at the entrance of İstiklal Caddesi, the whispers continue: "Always announce that what you do is in the name of the good. Do not let eudaimonism stray from people's minds. Keep alive the feeling that there is an organic harmony between Bentham's utilitarianism and city dwellers. Make everyone believe in the necessity of keeping things standing, of demolishing and reconstructing, but above all in a never ending investment in buildings."



35. Standing on the Corner of an Island in Nişantaşı Looking Uphill

“Convince folk they can’t create the city without buildings. Nurse belief in buildings rather than streets, and in rooms and cells rather than squares.

36. There is a Game in Alemdağ Called “İstanbul As Souvenir”

In the middle of the international game of the hotel business, another body without organs: playing a game of dressing up and reflections.

37. Faceless in Beyoğlu

In one of the side streets, coming across scaffolding posing well even though simply functional, whispers are heard again: “Normalize not only markets, but all types of covered spaces which are constantly growing in size. For more police, declare the city insecure; for more kitsch, declare the city ignoble.”

38. Meeting the Tram in Tünel

The cover, as the face of another corner says the following: “Convince everyone that everything is removable, that no building can remain standing unless it reinforces existing codes and is subject to those in power.”

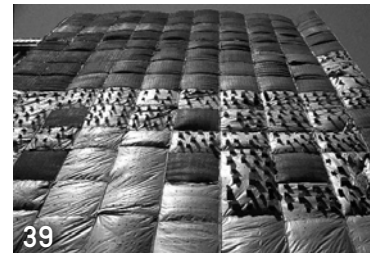
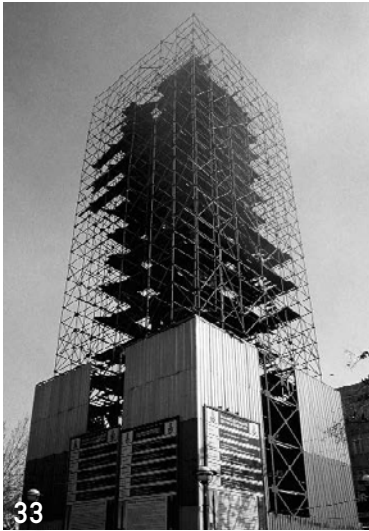
39. and 40. A New Hotel

A building preparing to spectacularly take the stage at the opposite corner of the Taksim Esplanade and the Divan Hotel and a detail from its façade. Courageous steps in “Beautification” or neo-liberalism implemented in the context of “purging Taksim Square of traces of the public” are taken here (see *Beautification, Cleansing*).

41. In Kuştepe

In one of the stacked-up, layered, streetless *gecekondu* neighbourhoods of dwellings in the city, rising by climbing on each other’s backs, a building that unpretentiously displays its veiled face meets the light. In these uncanny areas buildings are ready to fall onto and flow into each other even before the earthquake comes (see *Earthquake*). When Levent was being constructed in the 50s, Gültepe was the excavation dumping





ground. When they get the opportunity, buildings in Kuştepe break away from the loose ground they are still attached to today and begin to slip downhill: with huge housing blocks leaning on them. On the other hand, there are such huge-scale excavations being carried out in Mecidiyeköy that Kuştepe, which happens to be on the truck route, can be coated in a thick layer of clay dust for months.

42. The Eye-catching Presentation of Final Preparations Before the Construction of Skyscrapers in Mecidiyeköy

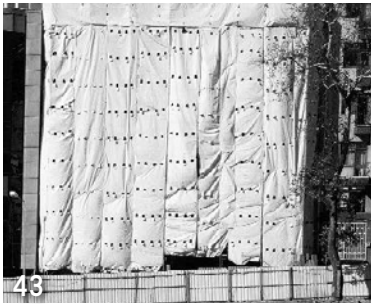
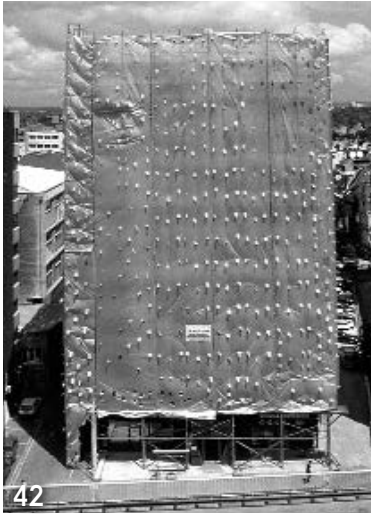
The commercial building covered in scaffolding joins the political economics of the city the day it opens. From day one, architecture truly begins to work as an abstract machine and desire is transformed into the object of a bio-politics. Architecture forms the final leg of the trilogy of labour, insistence and ecstasy existant in everyday structures of power. Architectural attraction serves to divide social gender in two, male and female, or in other words, to produce hetero-normativism. For instance, the architectural “cathexis” structure is shared out between the encoded feminine and elements of simulation: the shopping centre, an

organisation of screens, transparent surfaces and reflective materials, promises to women that they will become more like women and to men that they will become more like men by constantly having bodies circulating within the illuminated mechanism. It hybridizes both, but it does not refrain from increasing the severity of the division between them (see *Hybrid-ising/isation*). As it announces the new, the ordinariness of the market is made to look like a half open door. Scaffolding does not hide difference but ordinariness, it feigns to hide it. When the scaffolding is dismantled, the unexpected ends. Without the great fluctuations of economy, population, the earth’s crust and other networks, the apparatus stops inscribing its tariff of experiences.

43. Covering just by the Huge Excavation and Construction Activity in Şişli

One of those rare moments when the earthly strata of the city and the “building as a body without organs” can be seen simultaneously. It has become ordinary to come across excavations tens times the size of this one. The cavities of the city are being closed vigorously, and all forces are being mobilized in the name of spatial continuity.





44. Scaffolding Predating the Shiny Surface which will Emerge from behind it in Harbiye

“The building does as the building thinks.”

45. On İstiklal Caddesi

A final whisper emanates from the building dressed up and waiting above the arcade opposite Odakule, then the voice is suddenly cut off: “Spread the freezing and silencing tyranny of the singular against the energy of pluralities. Do not let the festivities of the construction business slow down.”

46. Just before Looking at Aia Triada

The smoothness of the building’s façade could compete with the surface of water the skin of a structure without organs. The veiling of the building is one of the rare moments when it is allowed a chance to speak. In contrast to a coded, visualized building which has surrendered to the identification of perception, the building is captured in a moment of truthful discourse, its organs gone missing and reverting to a pre-built state just before attaining its organized and functional

state. The structural truth of the city is its state of being constructed. Its state of being invented. Its historicity. It has no ancient history, essence, even a single corpuscle which has managed to resist change.

47. On Akaretler Hill

A cascade of curtained, eroticized buildings await the sledgehammers and cranes of investors, as if they were waiting for a mysterious event to take place. After years of waiting and although it has not yet been completed, Akaretler Hill, symbol of Ottoman modernisation, has begun, in the grandest manner, to integrate Beşiktaş, where university students live in awful conditions paying ridiculous rents, with the Teşvikiye of the middle-class and the silence of Maçka Park with the hubbub of the shore.

48. Tulle in Osmanbey

A face of marginal geometry succeeds in becoming invisible as long as it is not covered in tulle. It is neither the first nor the last of buildings where consecutive extra floors have been added without planning permission. The corner of Halaskargazi



Street and Rumeli Street, leading to Nişantaşı and the Osmanbey area, witnessed the gathering of a great crowd following the assassination of journalist Hrant Dink on that bloody day, 19th January 2007. A few days later, hundreds of thousands of people began walking from this building's street, close to Sebat Apartment where the offices of the Agos newspaper are, passing the Golden Horn and on to the Marmara shore, to Yenikapı.

49. Scaffolding Taking Part in the Game of Urban Leakage

The building covered in scaffolding blinks one last time, solidifies and cools down between layers. And this turns not scaffolding, but buildings covered in scaffolding into ephemera. On one hand, buildings covered in scaffolding are from the same lineage as political announcements on the handouts commingling as they are distributed on the city streets, promotion leaflets for cafeterias or invitations to conferences about phoney doctrines. More than to the field of the clean and noble of the puritanical elite, it belongs to the temporary field of existence of the dirty majority and the street.

50. "Very Soon"

We will be presenting our services to you here "very soon." We will be at your service "very soon" to show you all the buildings in the city in their covered, pre-demolition, confined, veiled, shrouded, scaffolded or utterly naked states. It's clear, however, that we won't be succeeding "very soon" in producing a definitive catalogue in which the organisation of the organs of the utilitarian urban game of truth has been suspended and, one by one, buildings will momentarily appear and disappear, "bodies without organs." See you in a catalogue of ghosts, which would be as futile as dreaming of making a definitive inventory of all the people who have lived and died in this city, but worth trying precisely for the sake of that futility.

—Levent Şentürk

> Anarchy, Beautification, Cleansing, Demolition or the Warped City, Dolmuş, Earthquake, Gentrification, Hybrid-ising/isation, İstiklal Caddesi or "Beyoğlu", Museum, Parking Lot, Shopping Centre, Urban Transformation



SCREEN

THE SCREEN IS INCREASINGLY EVERYWHERE IN URBAN LIFE: IN THE PRIVATE OR PUBLIC SPHERE; MOBILE OR FIXED, IN VARIOUS FORMS AND DIMENSIONS, IN CARS, PLANES, IN THE STREET OR IN THE HOME. THE SCREEN HAS BECOME AN ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENT IN THE CONTEMPORARY METROPOLIS, BOTH INSIDE AND OUT.

In Istanbul, it covers the façade of Nişantaşı's City's Shopping Centre; it's the news channel of Taksim Square; advertising on top of the Marmara Hotel; a decorative component in bars, pubs, cafes or bookshops; and a gallery space on top of the Marmara Pera Hotel.

Thinking of the city and the screen makes one think of the space rather than the screen itself. In the city, the screen enters everyday life as a field of representation, it presents its content with a promise of sincerity, wanting the viewer to believe, inviting the viewer into its reality. The screen in public space presents the coexistence of many dualities. For instance, it hosts a non-material world in contrast to the physical space presented by architecture; and, in contrast with the flow of a dynamic view, it evokes immobility.

In Istanbul, the thing the screen reflects most is the logic of marketing communication. It presents a standard, abstract subjectivity. It exists in the public sphere along with the abstract reality it has to offer. Urban culture intersects with and is complemented by visual culture. The screen in public space, rather than making sense through participation, preserves a certain distance based on the act of seeing, and constructs the space by means of this distance. In addition, the screen also claims continuity with urban space (see *Public Space*). For instance, the huge screen on the shopping centre ascribes Nişantaşı the function of shopping (see *Shopping Centre*); the function of the building it is placed on becomes the function of the neighbourhood. It presents urban space not with its differences but according to its totality. Thus, it takes its place as a powerful tool within late capitalism's homogeneous understanding of space. Because late capitalism needs this construct in metropolitan space which assumes meaning by means of its differences. Thus, the screen in the metropolis assumes a function as a tool of space.

The moving image presents itself in accordance with the logic of rapid consumption via the screen.



In this sense, its message is static. It is a gathering and integrating element amidst the multilayered structure of streets. In contrast precisely to the phenomena of motion, transience and lightness, emphasized by proliferating digital technologies, in its posture it resembles a motionless monumental structure. The movement of images serves a static logic, the logic of rapid consumption rather than the rapid flow of everyday life. In this sense, it is an extension of physical space rather than a virtual reality independent of physical space. Thus it is possible to announce the formation of a new urban architecture containing the non-physical.

It is worth watching to what extent projects that seek to translocate the screen in public space into cultural space – like the YAMA project, an artistic production site on the large screen on the roof of Marmara Pera – can break this fundamental function of the screen and preserve their independence as spaces of production.

—Ayşe Erek

Public Space, Shopping Centre

SECURITY

HAS BECOME INSATIABLE IN THE LAST TEN YEARS, ALTHOUGH IN TERMS OF NUMERICAL DATA THIS NEED IS FAR FROM DESPERATE. [ED.]

With the abolition of “welfare state” administration, established in the West after World War II though realized only partially in countries that often managed – again partially – to effectuate the social structure of Western modernity only as an economy of substitution for imports, “security” and the discourse of security have become the most fundamental bases for the existence of the state. With the disappearance of health, education and basic services, which formed a platform of legitimacy between state and citizen for the power of the state, the state’s “monopoly of violence,” to use a Weberian expression, became its sole point of legitimacy. However the removal of the welfare state also comprises the release of security from the state monopoly over it – at least in the practical sense. Although the right to use violence is still theoretically under state monopoly, the privatisation of the security sector increasingly transforms the state into an intermediary institution regulating the relationship between the service receiver and service provider, i.e. citizens and private security companies.



In a deliberate inversion of cause and consequence, an increase approaching 60 % in offences against property in the years 2005–2006 according to data supplied by the Security General Directorate of Istanbul is presented as the ground for “the need for the private security sector.” Devoid of social research on the transition from worker-centred working groups where relative solidarity could be produced to an unsecured services sector (from proletariat to precariat), and from the easily socializing “neighbourhood residents” (see *Neighbourhood*) to the “housing estate individual” (see *Gated Housing Estate*) whom Loïc Wacquant refers to as zonards, the emergence of large vacuums in urban morphology (shopping centres that only operate at a certain time of the day, central business areas, convention centres etc.) and again using Wacquant’s phrase, “neighbourhoods of relegation” formed by lower classes of those “without” (the homeless, those without title deeds or identification papers, the uninsured, the unemployed etc.), the “security discourse” forms a temporary valve for the process of the commodification of urban space by private security, the fastest growing industry in the late neo-liberal period.

Districts, many established as worker neighbourhoods during the import-substitution production process, are being demolished – as in the case of Ayazma – to be reassessed for real estate profits with production shifting outside the city and the country, or while demolition is awaited – as in Başbüyük, Kağıthane and Güleusu – the parties involved in demolition use the discourses of “security” and “transition to a civilised life” in a reciprocal dialectic. The president of TOKİ [Turkish Housing Development Administration] says that the aim of the public housing they will produce is to provide life quality at the level of “contemporary civilisation” and claims that slum areas he wishes to see demolished subsist on “prostitution, theft and a gang of organisations.” Before mentioning the unemployment, transport problems and loss of solidarity the “zonard” will quite probably face, shelter camps are being constructed from cheap materials along the southern and northern peripheries of the city, offered on the basis of 15 year-loans with nowhere else to reside in the meantime. Some of the young people who are driven to unemployment in the rolling seas of the services industry operate as “mallrats” in shopping centres (see *Shopping Centre*) harvested from public space or constructed around “slum” neighbourhoods (see *Gecekondü*), where they are perceived



as threats by shoppers and are harassed – as in the case of Cevahir Shopping Centre – or kept under constant surveillance. Central neighbourhoods like Tarlabası where those with little seek shelter, which are different from worker neighbourhoods yet which have still managed to survive thanks to the gains of the previous generation, are vacated on grounds of security and crude discourses of aesthetics and the modern, with no examination of the history of the victims of forced migration, African immigrants (see *Migration*) or the Roma who live here.

However, there are abundant numbers of employees within the security industry from the displaced social segments mentioned above. As the “boutique” centres of the metropolitan zone are protected by security employees from the lower income class that haven’t yet entered the unionisation process, security for protected housing estates is recruited from the residents of slum neighbourhoods who have become the target of real estate speculation, or, in other words, from communities whose deed allocation documents and even, in fact, title deeds are dispossessed of the guarantee of shelter. Research carried out by Orhan Esen and Tim Rieniets in Göktürk Mahallesi [neighbourhood] reveals that some security

officers of protected housing estates come from the neighbouring village, effectively protecting the estates from their own villages.

Neighbourhoods that don’t have the economic income to hire security officers and who lack the means to transfer the limited social rights and rights of settlement they gained a generation ago to the next generation, face an introverted security problem, as voiced by Timur Soykan, the editor of *Radikal* newspaper, in the research he carried out in Alibeyköy: as Mehmet Aslantürk from the neighbourhood says, “the kids of our neighbourhood were robbing the houses in our neighbourhood. People couldn’t go out at night.” However, as the increasing crime rate in these “peripheral neighbourhoods” is not sufficiently mentioned, crime is discursified around the reflexes of middle to higher income groups.

It has to be added that this shift in discourse triggering the process of urban separation is also constructed in other respects along the axis of “national security” and that this creates a more essential argument on its behalf through referencing the danger of “terror” via the personal security problem of the “visible individual” in order to free



up urban profiteering. We encounter this in its crudest version in “Istanbul Terror Maps”, frequently published in newspapers like *Posta*. Often content with limiting themselves to the Kurdish problem and leftist factions, these maps legitimize neighbourhood demolitions by playing the “terror card.” From a sociological perspective this emphasizes an avoidance in the light of public conscience of the “state’s duty of security” mentioned above.

To the contrary, the security discourse perpetuated in Istanbul implies the “control society” described by Foucault where the ideal mechanism of power operates through individuals inspecting themselves, and municipality heads and police authorities do not refrain referencing the tedious investments in this control society such as more lighting, visibility and MOBESE (Mobile Electronic System Integration, a common expression for security cameras). However, the severance by the state of the connection between public economics and politics, which will in turn lead to continued migration to the peripheral “megapolis” of Istanbul and the gradual transformation of Istanbul into an oasis of subcontracted, informal service sector workers raises the question of how much further the state-monopolized security

discourse can stretch in the face of concrete conditions.

—Ulus Atayurt

> Gated Housing Estate, Gecekondu, Migration, Neighbourhood, Shopping Centre

SEWAGE

THAT WATER WHICH PASSES THROUGH HUMAN BODIES AND FLOWS INTO THE SEA IS CALLED SEWAGE [KANALİZASYON].

This is water in its transformed state. It’s a transformation unfronted, in which leaving behind and banishment are necessary. This state of non-encounter is accelerating and becoming increasingly sterile. Civilisation is the flush. Sewage begins its journey as a crime, a secret behind closed doors. We get rid of our crime without even looking behind us. Then, all crimes are mixed up and progress through pipes towards tunnels underground.

3.5 million cubic metres of sewage runs into the waters of Istanbul’s seas, making us forget



we're a part of this. But whose water/fault is it? The colour of Istanbul's sea has visibly changed in the last fifty years. How many people can the sea purify before it develops a skin?

—Senem Akçay

SEWER

THE SEWER [KANALİZASYON] IS THE ONLY PLACE IN THE CITY WHERE ROBOTS CAN LIVE.

Does the sewer system of Istanbul have a complex enough structure to develop a separate proto-circulation system within it, for instance like the sewer system of Paris which became the stage for novels and revolutionary movements, or the sewer system of New York, whose construction has been documented with fascinatingly striking photographs? It is unfortunately impossible to provide an answer to this question by means of the mapping studies or publications drawn up about the sewer system of Istanbul. Efforts to decipher the sewer system via street maps and holes dug at ten metre-intervals along streets at every hitch in the passage in use are a consequence

of this lack of knowledge regarding the system. However, developing Istanbul has found a creative solution to this problem too, and the İSKİ [Istanbul Municipality Waterworks] robots are called upon for help. If no new additions have been made recently, 7 robots are at the moment working in order both to unravel the sewer system of the city and determine and photograph problems in the passages on the spot. If you see an open manhole cap and a minibus close by, don't forget to bend over the hole and wish the İSKİ robot "More power to your elbow!" But also think about the volume of waste material the city has produced over the centuries and is now trying to regurgitate, the Ottoman terra cotta water pipes found during the recent Yenikapı excavations, the Byzantine brick vaults in the sewer network which reach a height of two metres and still carry oil lamp stains, and the great tube of the Aksaray underground line which has been diverted because of the excavations...

—Zühre Sözeri



SHOESHINER

A MARGINAL PROFESSION RAPIDLY LOSING ITS ORIENTALIST SHINE. [ED.]

Shoeshiners used to be among the symbols of Istanbul, the same way they are in many other Eastern cities. Positioned in crowded squares with their golden coloured shoe-polish boxes embroidered in various styles, their shoe brushes and their sociable manner, and even their traditional dress, shoeshiners were a novelty that illuminated everyday life from Ottoman times to the present. But the variety in shoe production and the affluence brought on by technology in factory production has resulted in shoeshiners losing their function. In the past, longevity was valued in shoes, and hence they were maintained regularly. The increase in use of plastic shoes, sports shoes, etc. has meant the gradual disappearance of the profession. Yet still, in some places around the city, and especially in harbours and squares, shoeshiners are seen continuing with their activities.

Shoeshiners are colourful people. They manage to keep a beat that attracts your attention by hitting their shoe-polish boxes with their shoe-brushes. They develop various strategies to get

you to have your shoes shined, like starting up a conversation by asking for a cigarette from you. If you do not want your shoes shined, you should abstain from encouraging such strategies.

In the neighbourhood of Istanbul where I live, an elderly shoeshiner regularly sets up shop at the entrance of the neighbourhood (see *Neighbourhood*) every day. Amiable and good-tempered, he gets to work in the early hours of the morning to shine the shoes of people heading off to work. Inhabitants of the neighbourhood voluntarily have their shoes shined, although they don't actually need to. This man always keeps his patch and the surrounding area on the pavement at the entrance to the neighbourhood clean. His cats, loved by the neighbourhood and whose names are known by everyone, reside with him on this spot. Our shoeshiner may be seen as a member of the group of neighbourhood tradesmen. His presence in the neighbourhood may be seen as one of the characteristics of the neighbourhood that makes it what it is. However, today, his existence as a shoeshiner is under threat. The increase in real estate prices in Istanbul, migration and similar factors have started to change the profile of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, previously stronger neighbourhood solidarity and awareness



has weakened, and since the isolated and selfish individuals created by capitalism do not care about their environment or have begun to perceive other people as threats, the number of people who have their shoes shined by the shoeshiner, who ask after his health or stroke his cats have diminished. It is probable that in the near future, our shoeshiner will take his place next to the tailor and the sewing machine repairman among the past of our neighbourhood.

—Bülent Usta

> Neighbourhood

SHOPPING CENTRE (I)

A NEW BEHAVIOURAL PATTERN, A FORM OF EXISTENCE. [ED.]

With their “You can have it too”, “You can do it too” and their “You can be that too”, some of the promises of shopping centres overlap with the all too general promises of advertising. What matters in shopping centres is not this familiar discourse itself, but the numbing affect of these sentences on people who come there to stroll around on

the stage erected for them. What these sentences mean for those strolling around on this stage is “Walk along these corridors, you don’t have to buy anything, relax and feel good.” And at the same time, “Everyone who comes here is equal, at least until it is proven otherwise.”

Does the shopping centre unite us as a “utopian” project? What brings together suburban youths hawking tables with a single drink in front of them at weekends, kids from rich neighbourhoods, young married couples who wander around with their small kids and get bored, jaded sun-bed beauties trying to look as if they’re talking about the most important thing in the world with nonchalant expressions on their faces, young men with gelled hair jingling their car keys, uneasy types sitting on the metal benches in the corridors smoking cigarettes waiting to be told off any second, and even the sophisticated couple whom you would think has acquired a certain irony towards consumption? More importantly, what holds them together? The car lottery they claim every shopper can participate in? The plastic bags accumulating to greater or lesser degrees in everyone’s hands? All of the above and none of them. Regardless of the entirely different lives



that await them at home, for those who wander around here, there is an absurd, theatrical sense of belonging which envelops them at that very moment. “We are here, we’re fine, we’re cool and we’re walking the corridors together.” This sense of belonging is both false and real at once and this is how the shopping centre performs its shopping centre-ness. A promise of togetherness.

—Fatih Özgüven

SHOPPING CENTRE (II)

ARCHITECTURAL EXPRESSION OF CAPITALIST
PRODUCTION RELATIONS. [ED.]

Often called the cathedrals of consumption cathedrals of our age, shopping centres have become an inseparable part of everyday life. It may be said that urban life is not centred around the street anymore, but the shopping centre. Shopping centres spread throughout the urban texture in a network-like structure and define a new urban lifestyle, public life, urban experience and centres of gravity within the city. In a sense, this is a claim to replace the city; to become a city within

a city. An artificial “park” and children’s “play area”, the restaurant “square” and “street” of flowersellers provide the strongest evidence of the shopping centre’s claim. They absorb the city with the force of gravity they create but, at the same time, mechanisms like security checks at the entrance and air-conditioned environments serve as filters. This filter leaves street incident, coincidence and real experience outside, replacing it with pre-produced displays and absolute control. The hygienic and homogenous environment inside creates the illusion that the outside, the city is “dirty,” “dangerous,” “complicated” and “incomprehensible.” In short, all the cultural richness and liveliness that seduced 19th century modernists like Baudelaire and make the city a true city is excluded. In this sense, it might even be said that shopping centres are against the city.

The origin of the shopping centre goes back to the retail store Bon Marché, opened by Aristide Boucicaut in 1852 in Paris. With the Bon Marché, the manner of consumption of products circulating on the market and the spatial arrangements made for their presentation began to be differentiated from traditional relations (barter or the supply of only limited requirements) and forms



(the market place, or production and sales being carried out in the same space). The first modern department store breaks with traditional forms of shopping with principles such as a low profit rate per item, large sales volume, fixed price and the right for everyone to browse the store without actually having to purchase anything.

The most important phenomenon that separates the organisation of contemporary capitalism from capitalism's early periods is the shift in emphasis from production to consumption in globalised capitalism along with the founding of all manner of social and economic relationships on a consumption-centred discourse. It isn't a coincidence that, especially after the 60s, a discourse grounded on the concept of consumption and social structuring based on consumption was developed in the social sciences. The founding of social structure on relations of consumption requires the formation of the physical environment of the social structure in a manner that allows and facilitates this type of relation. Today, not only shopping centres, but all spatial appearances of everyday life are being restructured within the framework of relations of consumption.

Beyond being spatial organisations where stores are assembled in one place, shopping centres are tools of consumption and its manipulation. Parallel to the sense that factories are tools that organize and supervise production, spaces of consumption like modern shopping centres and hypermarkets are tools that organize and supervise consumption. The factory reorganizes production within the framework of space-time. The spatial organisation of the factory determines the rhythm of work and the manner and conditions under which labour is used. Compared with previous eras, the factory is the tool that intensified and disciplined labour at certain times on certain days in a particular space in a time-oriented manner, rather than an unrestrained and task-oriented labour in a structure of the everyday. The shopping centre does in the field of consumption what the factory does in the field of production. Capital has constantly to reduce the time of circulation; therefore it organizes production on a factory basis and consumption on the basis of the spatial formation unique to the tools of consumption.

The necessity of production being constantly stimulated by consumption requires the repetition of what capitalism does in the factory, namely



the organisation of space and time to increase production in the field of consumption. The necessity for capitalism to develop tools and techniques of production in order to engender growth in turn makes it necessary to develop new tools and techniques of consumption to increase consumption. The development of new marketing strategies, the expansion of the advertising industry, the emergence of fashion as a consumption-fueled socio-cultural phenomenon, the use of the internet as a new tool of consumption parallel to the developing informatics technology and the reorganisation of shopping centres as tools of consumption are part of this process. Therefore, shopping spaces, which took on increasing importance and underwent a change in atmosphere especially after the 60s, appear before us as the regulation of space-time organized by capitalism to increase consumption in addition to their cultural, iconographic and social meanings.

However, while it is not necessary to conceal what the factory actually is, the main difference between the factory and the shopping centre is the necessity to conceal the fact that tools of consumption exist only in order to organize consumption, that they possess a secret assembly line and

that people are transformed into a “consumer proletariat” within such a mechanism. Beyond personal taste, what hides behind the resplendence, the variety of expensive and varied materials, the attractive entertainment and dining opportunities, the hygienic appearance, the plentiful light and transparent glass shop windows is the fact that the people inside are in a factory of consumption.

The second biggest shopping centre in the world, after the “Mall of America” in Minnesota, USA, is in Istanbul. Opened recently with the slogan, “We have brought Europe to Istanbul, but you don’t need a passport,” the Cevahir Shopping Centre was presented as a symbol of development and a brand new and important value added to the life of the people of Istanbul. Descriptions of the building featured its size, its capacity at any given moment, its annual capacity, the number of stores, cinemas, entertainment centres, fast-food restaurants, escalators, lifts and columns it contained, and the length of railing used. Like a city within a city. It’s possible to find everything there, to spend the entire day inside without leaving the premises. For exactly this reason it excludes the context it finds itself in; and it sits there with its

huge mass, in the middle of the city, doing nothing. It does not require the social network of the texture that brings life in the real sense to the city, so long as people can manage to enter just that once and fall under the seductive web of consumption concealed beneath its fascinating images.

All the shopping centres across Istanbul, and the chains of hypermarkets at the intersections of the motorway network which ties together the loose structure of a large metropolitan city, point to a large-scale transformation. The city is being reorganized in order to accelerate the circulation of capital, to enable and increase the continuity of consumption, and the city itself turns into a tool of consumption. The main criterion here is movement, the movement of people, goods and knowledge. There is nothing actually new about this; in fact, the process is quite an old one. Wasn't it the possibility of a transport network that allowed the masses, who until then had lived in their own districts, to access all parts of the city, i.e. the opening of the famous boulevards of Paris that made Bon Marché possible?

It is not a coincidence that the Greater Istanbul Municipality has allocated 60% of next year's

budget to transport. The “absolute” priority given to transport instead of treating the problems of a growing metropolis like Istanbul in a totality of its social and physical texture, means abandoning the city to the speed and perception of the car. Shopping centres appear on sites where this movement forms a knot. A series of new roads, intersections, bridges, transit roads and rail systems presented by the municipality as “116 solutions to Istanbul's traffic congestion” will accelerate the movement of the city and ease circulation. However, everything is uncertain in the modern world. Nothing is only itself. For example, the metro line between Taksim and Levent is on one hand a transport system that relieves traffic congestion, but on the other is a tool extending the entrances of the Cevahir, Metrocity and Kanyon shopping centres, which already have direct connections to the metro system, to the other parts of the city.

In the modern world, nothing manages to be either the way it appears or the way it is meant to be.

—Hakkı Yirtıcı



SHORE ROAD

TRANSPORTATION ARTERIES EXTENDING ALONG THE SHORES OF ISTANBUL, ALL OF WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSTRUCTED UPON RECLAIMED LAND. [ED.]

Described in encyclopaedic definitions generally as land adjacent to a sea, lake or river, the shore includes two basic areas when defined as a spatial field: the body of water (sea, lake, river etc.) and the land beyond the waterfront in question (hinterland [in Eng.]). This type of definition then requires the understanding of the phenomenon of land–water interaction in all its characteristics and the requirement to consider this phenomenon *as a whole*. The reason all the shores in Istanbul are *different* from one another, despite all the infill and artifice of activities of repair and the discourses of depletion, degradation and homogenization, arises from the perception of the *shore* as a spatial area. Therefore, although the shore roads extending along the waterfront of Istanbul are made of basically the same material and are structurally similar, they are different in terms of their spatial definition. Each shore road is known by the name of its hinterland: the Bosphorus shore road on both sides of the Bosphorus, the Sirkeci–Florya shore road, the Kadıköy–Bostancı–

Pendik shore road, the Unkapanı–Silahtarağa shore road etc.

In the hundred-year-long period from the 1850s to the 1950s, Istanbul, even where mass transport via sea routes and tramway (see *Tram*) existed, was still predominantly a ‘pedestrian’ city. Transportation policies based on land routes as implemented throughout Istanbul after the 1950s, became the main factor influencing the physical development of the city. The first change brought on by the development activities of the period to the physiognomy of the city was the opening of roads of hitherto unseen width, and the second was the speed at which this took place. The newly opened main arteries and the road network that developed in relation to them, began to form its own topography on top of the natural one. The new topography developing in relation to the road network became the main factor orienting the shape of the macroform of the city, now becoming a metropolis, and the axis of settlement development became multidirectional. The Istanbul shore met a land road designed for a motor vehicle for the first time towards the end of the 1950s. From the 1960s on, the shores of Istanbul began to experience a change and transformation equivalent to the city’s flux. With the construction



of the shore roads, the road layout facilitating and accelerating transportation from the inner districts to the shore sealed the network. Water routes were left outside it.

This period is a significant point of rupture for the whole of Istanbul, but especially for the shorelines. With the introduction of the shore road the morphological transformation on the shores of the city began. Focusing on this transformation in the case of the Bosphorus alone, we see that an almost empty page is opened for new spatial developments and projects to be proposed for the land behind the shore, the hills. When the road is assessed as a vector parallel to the shore, it intervenes as a border element between the main components of the topography, the water route (the strait) and the hills; when it is assessed on an axis fully perpendicular to this, it forms a vacuum along the road. This newly created border develops on one hand as an extension of the new topography of the city, while on the other the vacuum has difficulty in forming a vital relationship with the main components of the existing natural topography.

Over time, the point of rupture became stratified: because the two transportation networks,

which could not have been thought of in coordination at the start of the process of urban transformation (see *Urban Transformation*), and their infrastructures didn't develop in a synchronized manner, the shores of the Bosphorus villages (*the foreground*) began to experience spatial congestion, which over time became permanent. With the increase in the speed of transportation and access between Bosphorus villages, the open space (*the background*) which remained behind the water-side mansions (see *Yalı*) and palaces is no longer a place of visitation, spectacle or recreation; it has become the dispersion zone of new neighbourhoods developing and linking up on both sides of a united Bosphorus space, covering slopes and hills, where upper and middle class residences and service units multiply, attaching themselves to the Bosphorus villages. Now each “-köy” [village] is the next piece in a consecutive series; borders are blurred; villages retain their names, however they experience spatial and constitutional transformation. Since the building and population density of neighbourhoods increase the occupancy rate of the shore space, some kind of spatial-overlay formation emerges, the variety of settlement is erased and destroyed with a continuous mass development of building density, and a physiog-

conomic unity appears. At this point, diverse identities, which had sustained their perpetuity since Antiquity along the Bosphorus, either lose their importance or are forced into the background, and the space begins to be reformed according to the force of new dynamics. These dynamics intensify on land, and define a new network of relations within the nature of the landmass: streets leading to the shore reach the shore road before they reach the water, and the shore road forms a threshold between *the foreground* and *the background*. This is also a space of mass transit, where things take place, on to which the entrances of waterside mansions, also accessible via the sea, have now been opened, with new residences expanding from the shore road up on to the hills and service spaces opening along the road.

Parallel to the transit on water routes along the Bosphorus, transit thus takes place on the shore road by land. In contrast to the experience of coming and going provided by the water routes between the two opposing shores, the shore road has naturally developed as a unidirectional connector. Through the increase in speed and movement and the consequent compression of time, it becomes easier to read the Bosphorus as an integrated space.

After the 1960s, the determiners of location and direction of the development of settlement not only along the Bosphorus but along all of Istanbul's shorelines have been the shore roads rather than the sea routes. The shore zones around the Sirkeci–Florya and Bostancı–Pendik shore roads, with their low gradients and somewhat flat topography, are different from that of the Bosphorus, which is limited by lines of hills that begin to ascend immediately beyond the shoreline. As the Bosphorus shore road plots a route through phenomena and settlements there before it came along, other shore roads attach settlements which so far have failed to unite socially, culturally and economically. Following these other shore roads, you go past series of buildings with no clear beginning or end, with the sea on one side and the sprawl of constantly transforming metropolitan Istanbul on the other. Here, the shore road is a peripheral space, the element with the highest potential for the coming development of the metropolis as either a sea or a land city, containing the potential to create simultaneously both a new 'dialectic' and a 'hiatus' within its fabric.

—Senem Deviren

> Tram, Urban Transformation, Yalı



SILHOUETTE

A VIEW COMPOSED OF OUTLINES ONLY. FOR THE PANORAMIC VIEW OF CITIES (SEE *PANORAMA*), MOUNTAINS AND GEOGRAPHICAL COMPONENTS OF A CERTAIN HEIGHT, SILHOUETTE CAN ALSO BE DEFINED AS THE LINE WHICH ASSOCIATES THE CONCEPTION OF THE URBAN TERRAIN WITH THE LAND AND SKY. IN THIS SENSE, IT IS A PART OF URBAN MEMORY; IT IS THE INTERSECTION OF THE ASCENDING CITY WITH THE SKY.

The perception of the silhouette of Istanbul changes from each direction because of the presence of the sea, its surrounding of the landmass and the dynamic structure of the topography; rather than something linear, the perception is more of an interface whose depth changes according to the position and speed of the viewer.

The silhouette of a settlement is the result of a process of accumulation. Looking at Istanbul's silhouette is similar to taking a section of a moment of this process of accumulation, perpendicular to the interface. This momentary representative section bears the traces of clashes in the formal logic of the settlement from the emergence of the idea of the first settlement to the present day. The examination of sections enables the assessment

of the metropolis the process of change and transformation of which remains unfinished in such a structure, an extremely slowed layer of time. Only when it is independent of all manner of judgments, aesthetic, architectural, urban etc., does this enquiry for evidence produce data ready to share the clues of Istanbul's memory.

The special geography Istanbul is founded on is a determining characteristic in examining its silhouette. The silhouette of the historic peninsula, which can be viewed from different locations because of the presence of the sea framing the land, reveals a relationship between the conceptual model in the establishment of the city and the place. This was clear from the second half of the 19th century until the 1950s and still to a large extent remains. With the increase of development activities in the 1950s and their acceleration in the 1980s, an increasingly double-layered dynamism in the metropolitan silhouette emerged: the metropolitan silhouette has a variable character as the city continues to spread out laterally across the earth and upwards towards the sky, with additions and subtractions following one another constantly. The metropolis can be approached from all directions, once again because of the



presence of the sea and the dynamic topographical structure, and the perception of the silhouette changes from each direction. In which case, before each subsequent change, the interface (silhouette) defines a buffer memory.

This buffer memory forms the outer membrane of the constantly changing metropolis in its spreading out across the earth, increasing in plenitude and density. The eye, not trained to catch every new difference in the puzzle, does not want to be woken as it continues its sleepwalking life, hypnotised at the level of the spreading out. It continues its life within this wrapping, absorbed in human activities. And when the eye is lifted out of the wrapping to look at the silhouette and begins to view the wider framework ahead, it encounters what is largely disturbing stimuli. By activating those judgements, aesthetic, urban, architectural, social etc, it sentences the silhouette it isolates simply from geography and universality — and from the earth entirely. It does not make an effort to view the buffer memory. Yet what we often observe and come to know from a reading at the level of the wrapping are the tracks of urban schizophrenia. The earth data concerning geography and universality is secret; it cannot

be revealed. Schizophrenia finds a perfect expression when the clashes between all the functional, economic, cultural and social phenomena in the city and the structuring which is their reflection in urban physiognomy are conveyed in words. But because new applications based on faults in perception or the expression of reality are transferred to the language of construction as hallucinations, strange vagaries and disorganized utterances and thoughts, incongruence and therefore the tiresome burden of multiplicity persists; just like schizophrenia becoming chronic.

However, viewing its dynamic silhouettes – its buffer memory – it is possible to view a boisterous sprawl of a rapturous and energetic metropolis in a reading with an eye that sees from a level above the wrapping of the earth. Once we can stand outside ourselves, see ourselves *somewhere* and overcome the trauma of realizing that that somewhere is Istanbul, the buffer memory presents an opportunity for us to find and emphasize the universal dimension in everything.

Looking at the buffer memory, the reflection in the physiognomy of conduct oscillating between universality and globality fills the human



mind with many questions and only a few answers: take a cross-section and re-think!

—Senem Deviren

> Panorama

SİMİT

THE ISTANBUL SİMİT IS AN URBAN OPEN SOURCE APPLICATION.

The perfect marriage of wood-smoked flour, water, salt, yeast, grape molasses and sesame is quite anonymous but yet uniquely authentic and singular. It has achieved its current refined form through the contribution of various hands throughout the centuries. The aroma and taste of a real Istanbul simit baked in stone-ovens, its 'outer crisp, inner dense' texture, above all its bloom, is discerned by those that know a simit, and is indeed in persistent demand.

For the less privileged, it is a guarantee of a cheap, delicious and balanced diet. In middle class homes, it turns the five o'clock tea into a festival. It brings out the last energy reserves at offices

when motivation is down just before the end of the working day. It is the number one candidate to fulfil the quota of "local colour" at ostentatious bourgeois dinner tables.

The natives of Istanbul know its taste (see *Istanbulite*). Even though they cannot describe it in words, they know. They know it by comparison. Their knowledge turns into consciousness when they bite into that sesame bun with a hole in the middle.

The Istanbulite who knows does not consider that round soft bun from the cake shop a simit. If s/he can't find a traditional stone-oven baked simit, and ends up having to buy that cake shop one, the head will hang in embarrassment and will consider it to be the generally accepted practice to say, "I could only find a cake shop simit," with the emphasis on "cake shop", "so we'll just have to make do for the day."

Inseparable from his push-cart, the simit-seller is the deliverer of the simit: An army of simit-sellers seep every morning into the capillary vessels of the city, after they load the goods from the stone-oven bakeries onto their mobile



sales units, made out of strollers, or bicycles, or may simply consist of a table on wheels with a nylon cover, or may have squeaky-clean windows, yet which have all been certified by the PDA (the People's Design Academy)! The vehicle of the simit-seller is as authentic as the simit it carries.

The attempt of one of our municipalities that we need not name, along with a crafty designer that we should in fact name, to discipline the simit-sellers within the boundaries of the municipality by means of identical outfits and push-cart designs, and force them to become items of window-dressing under uniform point-of-sale signs in golden letters on wood, is comical beyond farce. Natives of Istanbul did not quite buy that. We expect that things will all be back to normal quite soon.

Its companions are *çatal* and *açma*: The recipe for this proletarian puffy bun is somewhat simpler and bears little mistakes. Its standards are pretty fixed, and it rarely misses its mark. The child's palate starts off with *açma*, the horizon of the fantasy world of the toasted chocolate spread sandwich. Aged warriors with one tooth left hanging will eventually revert to their first love.

Çatal is the most sophisticated of this trio and it is obviously much harder to get the correct consistency and crispness. It feels as if each stone-oven bakery has its own authentic recipe and claim. As it seems, when the master steps out for a smoke and the apprentices mess it up. It will either get rubbery or will harden up like a bagel and will be inedible altogether after a few hours of being left aside. Given the many versions of it on the market, there is a multitude of opinions as to which one is the original. The consistency of the *çatal* dough and the correct cooking time are the eternal battleground where the thin line between failure and love of variety is violated countless times. The writer of these lines credits himself with the ability to distinguish a proper *çatal* with only barely noticeable additives, crisp yet waiting to dissolve in the mouth, from the rest of the crowd.

In sum, of the gang of three, the *çatal* stands alone and absolute. An authentic *çatal* of Istanbul is a conceited type and will always remain so.

Simit is the main element in minimal combinations: In a classical order, it comes together with tea and *kaşa* cheese. At middle class tea times,



the simit is divided up and slit sideways so as to place the kaşa cheese inside, and is put in the oven with sprinkles of red pepper (there are sectarian opinions which insist that the circle must be cut into 4, 5 or 6 pieces, which we thought we should note down in passing). It is considered *nouveau riche* to use the newly derived mass-produced *kaşar* cheese in nylon packaging, instead of the traditional peppered *kaşar* cheese of the Thrace or Kars region. The melting and browning of the cheese in the oven is impatiently awaited.

During the stand-up breakfast of the less privileged, kaşa cheese is replaced by triangles of cream cheese, sourced from the local grocery store. Access to tea will require a second lunge in the direction of the nearest teahouse.

Simit has recently found a place in gourmet kitchens as well. It has been cut up in smaller pieces, crisp-baked and turned into “croutons with local seasoning.”

Simit “Palaces” are an effort to acquire the copyright of something open source: The *Simit Sarayları* [Simit Palaces], Simitoriums, Simitoteques and Simithouses are undoubtedly the main

contributions of the 2001–2002 economic crisis to the culture of eating and drinking in public areas. (see *Simit Sarayı*) The idea of serving simit together with its comrades tea and cheese in the same location at no additional cost is what brought about such institutions. The advantages of economies of scale and a certain level of investment power have stepped in to create this cheap but successful marriage. Those who could not afford cafés during the economic crisis, as well as those who were never a café customer in the first place, have embraced these outlets; hence this new typology of venues has been institutionalized and become widespread. And the baking of the simit there paid the price, its ties with the stone-oven severed and sentenced to the lower cadres of industry-type electrical ovens.

Chivalry eventually died, and the young generations now think that the puffy sesame bread with a hole in the middle is a simit. It looks like an open sourced publicity move and a campaign to recover visibility is necessary to save the dignity of classical Istanbul simit.

—Orhan Esen

> *Istanbulite, Simit Sarayı*



SİMİT SARAYI (I)

FAST-FOOD SHOP SELLING VERNACULAR FOOD
INCLUDING SİMİT AND ITS DERIVATIVES. [ED.]

Sometime between three to five years ago, before *Simit Sarayı* [Simit Palace] had begun sprouting all over, we fancied the simit vendor as a figure of urban folklore or, at worst, a plain-clothes police officer. Although *Simit Sarayı* haven't bestowed upon us the feeling that the simit (see *Simit*) is a real necessity, and haven't introduced us to new varieties of simit, they have established the sense that they correspond to a brand new need as meeting–waiting–time-wasting spaces. There in front of the trio of simit–cream–cheese–tea, a new state beyond the characteristics we used to ascribe to *kıraathanes* [tea and coffee houses], coquettish patisseries and *muhallebicis* [milk-pudding shops] which have lost their old significance is born; one of the states of waiting unique to the city... Sometimes killing time until the awaited party arrives at a dodgy appointment, sometimes just waiting to move on, or simply, generally waiting for the city... To wait anxiously until one can rejoin the city, until one musters the strength or courage to join in. It seems to me that simit palaces are stations for those who

want to join in with the city but for various reasons have failed to step into the crowd, hesitating to take that step. It's to sit, sad or resentful, far from the privileged members of the crowd. Or sometimes it's to accumulate sadness or resentment during that wait: so much so that, this feeling of not being able to participate might even turn into animosity or ideological belief. The rumour that one of the most terrible assassinations of our recent history was planned at a meeting at a *Simit Sarayı* stands out as more significant even than the white cap worn by the man who pulled the trigger, which is now being made into a symbol by some.

—Fatih Özgüven

> *Simit*

SİMİT SARAYI (II)

SİMİT SARAYI [SİMİT PALACE] INTRODUCED A FORM OF RE-ORGANISATION BASED ON THE “FAST FOOD” CONCEPT OF PRODUCTION, SALES AND SPACE FOR THE TRADITIONAL SİMİT, AND AFTER THE OPENING OF THE FIRST OUTLET IN MECIDIYEKÖY IN 2001, EXPANDED ACROSS OTHER NEIGHBOURHOODS OF ISTANBUL AND OTHER CITIES OF TURKEY.



Simit (see *Simit*) is produced every morning in its traditional form in small ovens and is sold via pushcart vendors on street corners (see *Street Food Vendor*). Here, the ovens and simit sellers aren't brands. An anonymous product is again sold through anonymous sellers. In this format, it is the simplest and cheapest snack for the lower-middle class. The scene where the villager has come from the village to the city, hasn't managed to find a job, buys a simit with his remaining coins and eats it on a bench in the park is the best case of what the simit expresses in social memory (see *Cinema*).

Simit Sarayı took this traditional, lower-middle class food, restructured it within the logic of mass production and consumption of a capitalist economy and made it a brand within a fast-food set-up. And in doing so, it repeated a production and sales model based on the components of productivity, computability, predictability and supervision in reference to Georg Ritzer's concept of the "McDonaldisation of society." (see *McDonald's*) Today almost 100 Simit Sarayı products are produced at a single factory covering 7000 square meters and are presented for consumption by sales staff wearing uniforms in well-lit, clean

and homogeneous spaces via outlets organized according to the franchising method.

The presentation of the simit appealing to the lower-middle class in spaces called "palaces," as well as signalling a new economic value, is the sign of a new change in cultural identity with its popularisation among the upper classes. In a similar manner to the identification of the McDonalds restaurant, opening in 1986 in Taksim Square (see *Taksim Square*) in Istanbul, with higher income groups in Turkey, while being a place which the lower-middle class frequented in the United States, the simit climbed a social level with the appearance of the Simit Sarayı. Of course, it was impossible for the simit to remain just that within this construct. The Simit Sarayı redesigned the simit: new simit varieties in different forms with different tastes were produced, supported by other bakery products on the side.

Thus the simit, a local cultural value, was reconstructed and circulated within the logic of the global economy. The new form of globalizing capitalism ambiguously places local relationships on the agenda. The concepts of global and local, which at first glance appear opposed, from the



viewpoint of capital have merged. As locality becomes more important in the scale of things, social relationships, cultural values and the geographical structure of that space are pushed into the foreground. All these phenomena which were ignored in earlier deductions are now becoming important sub-parts of the organisation of capitalism.

The situation outlined above reveals that, contrary to what is supposed, globalisation does not mean the “uni-”fication of the entire world but rather that locality is relocated in a global scale as a new dimension. Globalisation does not only mean the adoption of the West’s values by the rest of the world, it also means local characteristics entering into circulation on a global scale and being evaluated within the market economy. There is a bidirectional flow between global and local relationships. For example, “McDonalds,” a “fast-food” chain and the symbol of the West’s propagation of its values to the rest of the world, is actually a network forming a relationship between the global and the local. From this viewpoint, McDonalds does actually encapsulates the global circulation of Western-style eating and drinking culture. However, changes including the unique characteristics of particular geographies have

been made to menus of McDonalds restaurants across the world. For instance, the “McKöfte”, the “köfteburger suitable to the Turkish palate” at McDonalds restaurants shows the addition of a local characteristic to the global process.

However, the point not to miss is that, in the interaction between the global and the local, the new forms of capitalist organisation emphasize events in space and use them to increase the output of global fluidity and only the localities which can articulate with the process and have an economic value are included in that process. Global relations are still dominant in the relationship between globality and locality. The only way in which spatial and cultural differences can protect their existence in the face of the transformative power of capitalist economy is to find themselves a place within the global flow of capital. Processes that cannot take part in this flow, but create the value and difference of the space in local and cultural terms fail to conserve their existence and rapidly deteriorate. In fact, this new spatial relationship between the global and local accelerates the perishing of those left outside the process. Within this framework, the conservation of the existence of all manner of local values which cannot take



part in the process depends on their proving their circulation value within the system determined by capitalist economy according to the ideology of consumption or in a structural change which will grant them this circulation value.

Still an organisation on the national-scale at this stage, Simit Sarayı is seeking ways of moving its operations on to the international stage as a necessity of capitalist economy. Work continues in Greece as a new market and promotional days have been organized in the USA. It's only a matter of time before we see the Simit Sarayı in other large metropolises of the world. Once it manages to become profitable on a global scale, then the inhabitants of cities like New York, London, Paris and Tokyo will be able to taste the new synthetic version of this traditional Turkish food.

—Hakkı Yırtıcı

> Cinema, McDonald's, Simit, Street Food Vendor,
Taksim Square

SKYSCRAPER

TALL BUILDING OPEN TO OXYMORONIC
CONNOTATIONS.

Tall buildings can be read easily since they form pronounced traces in the city. Therefore, it is possible to read, in bold outline, the urban developments in Istanbul oriented by economic, political and social events. As is well-known, in parallel to international developments, globalisation (see *Globalisation*) and neo-liberal economical policies have been transforming Istanbul too since the 1980s. Along with its target of becoming a world city, Istanbul is experiencing a series of changes. Nowadays cities are attractive to capital for their business centres suitable for global production and consumption, tourist zones and for housing investments. This approach is supported by tourism incentive laws, giving certain areas of land privileged status leading to the erection of high-rise buildings. For example, the 5 star hotels of Istanbul positioned in palace gardens are the products of this policy. Efforts to create an international financial centre in Istanbul have focused on the Büyükdere–Maslak axis which has a high skyscraper density and in interventions



into certain spotlight zones throughout the city. Multinational corporations requiring offices in the city centre seek prestige, image and advertising spaces and consider tall buildings suitable for the purpose. In this context, it may be said that the determining factor in the height of a building today is the purchasing power of the client rather than any technical or technological development.

On the other hand, the connotations of skyscrapers for Istanbul are often contain contradictory. In this context, the inhabitants of Istanbul keep their distance in their relationship with skyscrapers. Some see this type of building as a criterion of contemporaneity that every city must make theirs. Others, in line with topics dictated by the city's administration, prefer to limit the debate to the "illegality" of the plots some tall buildings are built on, their effects on the silhouette of the city or their irresponsible consumption of public resources. However, it is impossible for the inhabitants of Istanbul either to avoid these 20th century dreams or "freaks," which at first glance evoke both excitement and fear, or completely to internalize them. Therefore, although they are defined as "the most recent picture of dystopia," the discussion almost never moves towards their

habitability via the parameters of suitable planning, the importance placed on structure–environment–human interaction or the contribution of technology. Another question to be asked is how much longer this type of building will adorn the Istanbul skies if it no longer has any further meaning than the symbolic value of skyscrapers in the age of information we live in.

—Ayşen Ciravoğlu

> Globalisation

SLOPE

THE TOPOGRAPHIC DEFINITION OF EACH AND EVERY CORNER OF THIS METROPOLIS WHICH DOESN'T HAVE A FLAT AREA. HOWEVER, THE TERM IS ONLY USED TO DEFINE A FEW STREETS. [ED.]

Of the tunnel connecting Pera to Karaköy, writer and poet Sait Faik said: "We made the tunnels for the people. So they could get to the bottom of hills in an instant, and straight away climb the hills."

Taking into consideration the fact that Istanbul is also known as the "city of seven hills,"



the importance of the slopes that connect the neighbourhoods (see *Neighbourhood*) built on these hills emerges more clearly. These slopes each have a different name and location, and in several parts of Istanbul actually function as neighbourhoods themselves. Those who go up and downhill develop a familiarity with each other, and shopkeepers like *bakkals* [grocers], greengrocers and electricians on the slopes know and keep up with their regulars. Some are slopes where the upright middle classes live. Since Ottoman times, the Serencebey and Asariye hills in Beşiktaş have been areas defined first by their villas and then their apartment blocks with their changing family life. The geographical position of the slopes also determines their identity. For instance, many slopes in Beşiktaş leading downhill to the sea are known for their serenity, they are residential areas where one can easily go down to the shore when required. Family memories feature stories of fiancées tired of climbing these slopes getting married in a rush, of being stranded at home when it snows and, on a sadder note, of family elders who suffer heart attacks when climbing one. People who grow up along these slopes possessing a neighbourhood atmosphere come to visit them years after they have moved

away and, in fact, form virtual groups using more recent communication tools like facebook.

Some Istanbul hills have hosted the class, ethnic and cultural texture of the city. Once again, this is how Sait Faik describes one of the slopes between Taksim and Dolapdere: “An area bustling with private brothels on one hand and public brothels on the other... Tradesmen of all sorts, shrimp vendors, the electrician, the bread seller, the vinegar seller, the carpenter’s apprentice, the waiter, the barber, the accordion player, the guitar player, the bar artist, the revue extra, the tailor’s apprentice all pile up along the slope, and every night, from this strange neighbourhood full of all religions and denominations, Turks, Russians, Armenians, Greeks, Nestorians, Arabs, Romy, French, Catholics, Levantines, Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians, Persians, Afghans, Chinese, Tartars, Jews, Italians, Maltese and many others, young walk-on girls go down to the gulley. Barber’s apprentices walk behind them and the tailor’s girls; and an Albanian with a twisting moustache tags along behind the barber’s apprentices.”

Some hills are wholly associated with a certain profession. For example, Mercan Hill is known



for its bag shops and Şişhane Hill for its lighting shops. Slopes going downhill to Karaköy are not considered “safe” and Yüksek Kaldırım, also the subject of an Orhan Veli poem, which starts off with electricians and electronics shops lining the street, is known for its brothels further down, where street vendors sell cheap food to guests. Some slopes between the new residential areas of Istanbul have spontaneously taken on a new character as the city experiences rapid population increase. The Bağlar Slope connecting Yeniköy to Ferahevler, the Bebek Slope leading up to Etiler or the Fulya Slope connecting Nişantaşı to Beşiktaş are more often traversed by car. These new slope-roads are, in a sense, spaces that have acquired new meaning with the growing and diversifying new Istanbul.

—Arzu Öztürkmen

> Neighbourhood

SPARROW

THE SPARROW IS A TRUE ISTANBULITE – SHE IS BRAVE,
AND BRAVERY IS THE ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT HERE.

Every newcomer hears a voice on their first night in the city: “Are you brave? Are you brave enough to be here, to stay here, without running away?” The thing to fear is different for everyone – some are intimidated by the pace, some by the threat of impending calamity, while some are afraid of their fellow travellers, traveling through the time of the city. Those who can give a genuinely affirmative answer get to stay, and they stop hearing the voice. It is clear that the sparrow passed the test a long time ago. She never seems to mind being dwarfed by the wingspan of the seagull or the full-chested cooing of the pigeon. She is not intimidated even by the dark cunning of the crow that easily terrorizes cats and dogs. You can see the sparrow nibbling away on tiny crumbs on the ground, be it in a tea garden, a side street or on a wharf; she treats the other birds surrounding her as dubious, larger-than-life works of art, respectfully but without genuine interest. She is smart enough – just look at those eyes – but vulnerable nonetheless; at her own risk, she makes her nest on the balconies of human inhabitants of the city. Seagulls come into close proximity with humans only when they are flying over water, chasing ferries for morsels thrown at them — this is their territory. Crows prefer treetops, stooping down only to retrieve



the broken nuts they have dropped from above. Pigeons are always in flocks when they are on the ground — they meet their feeders *en masse*. The sparrow, however, is never afraid to wander out on her own. Her heart beats fast, but there she is, looking at you sideways; it is that fast beat that suggests her bravery may be laced with a certain amount of trepidation, though this may very well be a reflection of the tenderness she evokes in the observer. All the other birds may claim they are the rightful owners of Istanbul, but it is the sparrow, the sparrow that deserves the epitaph.

—Cem Akas

STADIUM

URBAN SPORTS FACILITIES WHOSE LOCATION AND FUNCTIONALITY EVERYONE COMPLAINED ABOUT WHEN THEY WERE PUBLIC PROPERTY, BUT WERE NO LONGER THOUGHT PROBLEMATIC ONCE THEY WERE TRANSFERRED TO THE OWNERSHIP OF SPORTS CLUBS.
[ED.]

After almost every game, footballers in Turkey are forced to say a few words on the pitch in front of the cameras. This has now become an expectation

both for television viewers and the players. It is actually quite obvious what the players will say; the viewers guess very well what they are about to hear. As he progresses towards the dressing room the player generally utters a few clichéd sentences and, finally, points to the terraces using this sentence: “We would like to thank our amazing supporters.”

The thanks are of course not only to a few people, but to all the supporters in the terraces. This sentence has only one meaning: the football player perceives the supporters in the stands as a whole and declares them to be an “us.” If they exist, the supporters of the rival team, who have gathered in a smaller section of the terraces, are, again in a homogeneous perception, defined as the “other.”

The first point of departure for someone trying to say something about football is no doubt the collective emotion of supporters and the common identity supporters form with their club. This absolute idea forms a safe road into comments to be made on football. And it is true that people taking their place in the terraces, whatever their social position may be, are willing to get closer to



the others whom they do not know at all, having to sit side by side and share in that club identity equally. Thus there is an effort of common intention to reduce all differences to a minimum during the game. A goal scored means the shake-up and instant omission of social status, all investments, all calculations of profit and all projects the person has planned. The goal affects the crowd on the terraces in the same manner and releases an emotional explosion. Although the emotions of the goal scorer or the conceder reach us as different images, the intensity of the two feelings is very similar. The scream of the goal scorer in the stands and the withdrawal of the conceding party form bonds between people sitting side by side. The embrace of people who would never share their feelings or, in fact, even look at each other outside the stadium for any length of time, jumping for joy or offering each other a cigarette feeling each other's heart sinking, can only be the result of a goal watched from the terraces. Therefore, could we say, by a simple act of implication, that "the quality of being a supporter removes all differences and 'otherness' between social strata"?

Both in Istanbul and the other cities across the country football has been played according

to the logic of national identity and neighbourhood or community solidarity. Thus, the football grounds in this city were born as spaces hosting homogeneous identities and collective emotions. The English, who came to İzmir for the cotton trade in the 19th century, were the first to bring football to this land. In the last quarter of the same century, football was known in the city of Thessaloniki too, which was within the borders of the empire. From the early 20th century on the Turks formed their own teams and began to play against English, French and *Rum* [Greek] teams. These games were a national struggle for the Turks. Especially in the occupation period, the struggle in football the Turkish teams undertook versus the forces of occupation was seen as part of the War of Independence. The Turkish football tradition thus found its foundations in collective emotions in the fullest sense.

The First Centre of Collective Emotions, Taksim Stadium: Taksim, Istanbul's most famous square, has always embraced collective emotions throughout its history, becoming the scene of political demonstrations and mass entertainment. For sure, the masses gathering in this square both at political demonstrations and on days of enter-



tainment are cosmopolitan groups who come from all parts of the city (or in fact the country). However, the behaviour of these groups in Taksim has constantly developed towards creating common emotions. No gathering in this square has initially foreseen political divisions or clashes or differences in social expression etc. However, as the hours of these gatherings progress, said differences often begin to raise their head and thick walls are erected between “us” and “them.” The fate of the Taksim Stadium, opened in 1921, eventually resembled that of Taksim Square.

The Taksim Stadium was the site of the barracks where the 1st Artillery Regiment was stationed in the Ottoman period; for a short period during the occupation of Istanbul it also served as the barracks of Senegalese soldiers. Football matches held at the field just next to these barracks called Talimhane [Training ground] had become a national struggle between Turks and occupation forces. Increasingly the matches shifted to the barracks; various entertainments or wrestling competitions and horse races were organized on days which didn't feature matches. The fixtures between Fenerbahçe, Galatasaray and Beşiktaş, which are also the strongest teams in Turkey today, and English and French

teams of the day attracted thousands of spectators to Taksim Stadium. Records show that this stadium converted from the barracks had terraces with a capacity of 8000 seats. In particular English teams, like Sporting, Iron Duck, Essex, Lighting, Revenge, Filotilla, Malaya and Guards, competing with Turkish teams filled this stadium to capacity with Turkish spectators. The logic of national struggle experienced in Taksim Stadium during the occupation reached its peak in a game held after the occupation. The Turkey–Romania game, played only three days before the declaration of the Republic on 26 October 1923, was nothing more than a football game now, but it was observed with full collective emotion as Turkey's first national competition.

In later years Taksim Stadium gradually lost its image as a “centre of national struggle” and the emotion of the masses gathering here turned into community solidarity in games between the teams of the *Rum* [Greek], Armenian and Jewish communities and Turkish teams (see *Minority*). At that point, the crowds gathering in the stadium were once again separated amongst one another into “us” and “them.” A feeling of neighbourhood or community was emphasized in games

between Turkish teams too and the same division was witnessed. Although barely consisting of rough squabbles at a football match, this state of opposition among the crowds gathering at Taksim Stadium was perceived as polyphony in the “single-party” period of Turkey and thus football was deemed comforting, as it always has been. For instance, the poet Nazım Hikmet wrote the following about a match he watched at the stadium:

“The spectators are divided into two sections. Each would encourage the children of its own aidse, and keep swearing at the enemy. Everyone says whatever they want to. Everyone shouts and bawls at will. A freedom of expression, and thought, at full speed... I would be lying if I said I didn’t like many aspects of this business. Those who want to understand democracy in a specific sense should go to Taksim Stadium. I, for my part, spent a beautiful and lucid two hours there.”

The Taksim Stadium was demolished in 1940 and the area was made into a park. In the meantime, the projected design of the İnönü Stadium had been completed and construction had begun. This meant that from then on the centre of football in Istanbul would shift from Taksim to Dolma-

bahçe. Meanwhile, the construction of another stadium in Mecidiyeköy, a neighbourhood close to Taksim, had come up too. Construction began here in 1943, but was completed 21 years later: this was the Ali Sami Yen Stadium, used today by Galatasaray and known to foreign teams as the “Hell of Istanbul.”

Differences in Style on the Terraces and Divisions in the Stadium: Claiming that the thing we call “being a supporter” has the characteristic of removing all differences entirely and coming up with justifications for such a claim is easy according to approaches and experiences customary for Turkey. However, on the other hand we inevitably have to take into consideration some data which destroys the emotional collectivity which exists in Western football. The football of Western industrial societies had developed around class loyalty rather than neighbourhood, community or national loyalty. But in Turkey, where the process of industrialisation took place belatedly and with serious deviations, club identity was naturally perceived to be outside class loyalty and in the direction of a traditional identification and, indeed, in the formation of a community. Ethnologist Christian Bromberger who studied



“the place of football in Western Mediterranean culture” in the late 1980s, examined the disposition of Olympique Marseille supporters on the terraces and saw the stadium as a model of the city in Western industrial societies. The study tells us that social strata, professions, age groups, gender ratios, transportation means between stadium and districts and special interest in particular footballers influences this arrangement. Each part of the stands is the physical space of a particular social stratum. Therefore Bromberger’s research presents a variable relationship between the collective club identity and the social identities in the stands. In other words, although a goal scored will create strong emotional ties among the supporters in the stands, and although the excitement or the sadness experienced at the moment the goal is scored forms an emotional homogeneity, this wholeness is not necessarily a condition related to club identity. Frankly, it would not be entirely accurate to speak of an absolute relationship between momentary emotional bonds on the terraces and club identity. For club identity cannot be explained by the homogeneity brought on by collective emotions; and this identity is formed depending on the preferences in modes of expression of team support of people from different so-

cial strata. In other words, it is a division formed by “what they like to talk about” regarding the team they support... A difference of style between the supporters of the same team... Here, supporters gathered under the identity of the same club, express this identity in the public sphere (in the stadium, in its full meaning) with differences.

Departing from the example of Marseille given by Bromberger, a general look at stadiums especially in the 80s reveals that these structures are indicative of a profoundly ideological planning as public space. The clash of contexts between urban and architectural logic of Western industrial societies and stadiums is evidenced quite distinctly. Let us mention a principle that modernist urban and architectural approaches, and therefore public spaces, try to create: the meeting place of people from different social strata was no doubt going to be a zone where identities and signs of class affiliation would be protected. For instance, squares, parks etc. designed as the meeting places of the city were sites where diverse identities could freely express themselves; but these places would never adopt the permanent signs of any social stratum, and no social stratum would be allowed to define that particular area



with its signs of affiliation. The language of public space reconciled pluralities. The modernist city and architecture were roughly trying to say this: the public principle would prevent the arbitrary actions of capital or any social stratum, stand up with ease for the installation in public space of its own symbols and limit its sovereignty over life as an absolute power. It is debatable how successful this project has been in urban practice; however, the place where such a principle has probably been practiced in the most effective manner in Western industrial societies is the stadium.

In the framework of these explanations, a look at stadium plans of the 80s generally revealed three main blocks: 1- The covered stand, 2- The open, middle stand, 3- The ends behind the goals... In some stadiums the open, middle stands would be covered too, adding another covered stand. Then the covered stands facing each other would be known as “the numbered seated stands” and “the seated stand without numbers.” These blocks would first and foremost form a hierarchy in terms of match viewing comfort. The most comfortable seating, the clearest view of the pitch, protection from rain, sun and wind etc... We must emphasize at once that the difference of price between these

blocks did not form an unassailable gulf: in many stadiums, the goal stands and the open, middle stand had been combined and their prices were the same. Therefore, the distribution of supporters in the stands according to differences in “identity–style” was free and unrelated to ticket prices.

In this sense, the first large-scale stadium in Istanbul designed in accordance with the modern public space principle was the İnönü Stadium.

The All-Turkey Stadium, İnönü: The architectural design of the İnönü stadium is by Italian architect Vietti Violi, the Turkish architects Şinasi Şahingiray and Fazıl Aysu taking over for its implementation, construction beginning in May 1939. However, the construction almost stopped during World War II due to adverse economic conditions. On the other hand, disruptions in ground clearing operations led to constant changes in the design. The stadium was finally opened 8 years after the foundation was laid, and had to serve for a long time with incomplete equipment. The İnönü Stadium, supported with portable stands and functionalized with temporary fixtures, only managed to reach a state close to the original project in 1960. However, with a design loyal to modernist public

principles, the stadium is an important building for Istanbul. Although mandatory changes in the project and its implementation prevented adherence to ideal architectural ratios, the fact that this stadium was designed not just for one neighbourhood and its team, but for all residents of Istanbul never changed. The İnönü Stadium was a central stadium. In other words, it was a public space where all Istanbul teams and the supporters of those teams met. So much so that until the early 1980s, up to 10 games in different categories would be played at this stadium in succession, and the supporters of those teams would be in the stands from the early hours of the day until the evening when the last game was completed. Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, one of the most famous painters and poets of Turkey, mentioned the bond between the people of Istanbul and the stadium in a poem. The great excitement he felt as he experienced Istanbul drew him closer to the people of the city and took him automatically to the stadium:

“When I think of Istanbul I think of the stadium

I feel my blood boil warm
For the people of my country.
And I want to get closer to them

So I shout with them
With all my might
Swelling my breast with pride:
Pass it to Lefter and write one in the book”

It was clear what the poet wanted to say: with their different characteristics, people who had come to the stadium from various neighbourhoods of Istanbul to support their teams presented a profile of the city. The plural structure of Istanbul was faithfully reflected in the stadium. Besides, taking into consideration the supporters of non-Istanbul teams who had games with Istanbul teams, it is possible to say that the stadium reflected, beyond the profile of a city, a profile of Turkey. Although the poet doesn't indicate it clearly, it is obvious that the stadium he has in mind is İnönü Stadium, because the name “Lefter” mentioned in the final line of the poem has a privileged place in Turkish football. He was one of the greatest players in the history of Turkish football and he played for Fenerbahçe. And like all top-level teams of the country, Fenerbahçe used to play at İnönü Stadium. And thus the sentence repeated at İnönü Stadium: “Pass it to Lefter and write one in the book”... In other words, pass the ball to Lefter, and let him add another goal to the proceedings...



The road leading down from Taksim Square to Dolmabahçe Palace first gives a view of the İnönü Stadium from the top, and then passes tangentially by it and reaches the sea. Until a few years ago, there were no obstructions preventing the perspective of Istanbul along this route. The Dolmabahçe Clocktower, the gates of the palace, Üsküdar, the district on the opposite side of the Bosphorus and the Maiden's Tower would glisten like an attractive stage set. It was its position within this perspective that meant the İnönü Stadium was many times considered one of the most beautiful stadiums in the world. For instance, a journalist from the Guardian newspaper, reporting in his column on the Galatasaray – Manchester United game at the Ali Sami Yen Stadium (1994) ignored the game he was reporting on for an instance and began writing about the difference in quality between the stadium he was in and the İnönü Stadium. This sports journalist wrote more about the unsuitable location of the Ali Sami Yen Stadium in the city, its ugliness and the bad viewing conditions and added in contrast how the İnönü Stadium, which he had seen during his Istanbul tour, had great harmony with and suited this beautiful city.

However, parallel to recent urban corruption and the financial requirements imposed by the football industry, the beautiful appearance of this stadium has begun to change and become “kitsch”-ified. First a horrible skyscraper was erected right beside it, what's more, it is still unclear how the permission for its construction was obtained; and the stadium's harmonious perspective with the city was destroyed. Then, a rather slipshod version of the “double eagle” symbol of Beşiktaş, the club which has officially rented the İnönü Stadium since 1998, was placed above one of the closed stands, and the area surrounding the symbol was filled with badly proportioned advertising hoardings. The patchwork eagle figures only just managed to stand. In fact, the famous manager John Benjamin Toshack who was in charge of Beşiktaş at the time reacted angrily upon seeing the signboard, exclaiming, “You've turned this place into an amusement park.” Ultimately, following the end of the 2003–2004 season, operations during the work to install a tensile system overlay fitted on top of the goal end stand and the terrace expansion work completely destroyed the architectural characteristics of the stadium. The stadium expansion work had been halted by the Ministry of Culture for the stated reason that



“such a construction could not be carried out in an area where monumental and historical values existed,” and the issue was left to the decision of the assessment of the Preservation Board of Natural and Cultural Assets (see *Preservation Board*). There was no outcome to these interventions and not only did İnönü Stadium lose its urban harmony along with the uncontrolled development of Istanbul, but it also sacrificed architectural refinement in the face of the rapid cash flow of the football industry. Today, the complete demolition of this building and the implementation of an entirely different stadium project is being considered... The history of this stadium can be defined as the “history of destructive attacks and ill-fortune”; however it was not that innocent itself in this context either (see *Demolition or the Warped City*). The stadium was built on the historical stables of the Dolmabahçe Palace and the palace annexes.

After all this, we can claim that as a public space the İnönü Stadium has further different, more complicated characteristics than Bromberger’s observations regarding Western stadiums. In the actual fact, the İnönü Stadium was more a public project in the Western sense rather

than a football pitch... However, it is difficult to interpret this stadium either within the modern stadium type or in line with the tradition of collective emotions in Turkish football. First and foremost, in the sense that this space created a profile not of the city but the country itself, it possessed a stylistic plurality beyond club identities. Supporter factions in the stands weren’t formed according to the stylistic differences of the same city or the same club. In other words, it wasn’t possible clearly to determine the different sections forming the club identity in this stadium. Only the most fanatical supporters of a number of teams who had a game on the same day could be made out as a group and their voice discerned. Other supporters who weren’t part of this fanatical group formed mixed groups in the stands and supporters of different clubs often sat next to each other. So the stylistic difference at İnönü Stadium could only be observed through general social status of the city or the country, not club supportership or identity. Yet there was something even more interesting: these groups which formed in the context of the styles of their social status weren’t separated by clear lines. Those groups were formed of fifty to a hundred people there and then, and it was always possible for many groups

of “dissonant styles” to get jammed into a narrow area in an unplanned way. This meant that status styles and loyalty symbols had transformed the public space formed in the İnönü Stadium into a “space of transience.” These groups were formed of people who randomly came across each other on match day, who then randomly dispersed: “a random public.” Thus this stadium was wholly a space of transition where no social stratum, no identity and no symbol of loyalty dominated.

Let us now return to the case at the beginning of the article, the footballer pointing to the terraces and saying, “We would like to thank our amazing supporters.” If this player had said the same thing in the random and transient environment of İnönü Stadium it would have been laughable, and there would have been no one to understand the sentence. The sentence of the footballer became meaningful only after the stadiums in Turkey began to be rented out to clubs and the İnönü Stadium lost its central position... Because in the process of the transfer of stadiums to clubs, the clubs began (especially after the late 1990s) to allow only their own supporters into the stadiums they had seized. Once the opportunity for opposition supporters to come to the games was reduced to a minimum,

the terraces became “we.” The “others” were exiled beyond the stadium walls and the sentence of the footballer pointing to the terraces became a must of today’s understanding of football.

From Open Pitches to Stadiums, Vefa and Eyüp: Although pointing to the “we” in the terraces, and speaking of collective emotions, homogeneous masses and solidarity is a sign of today’s understanding of football, this is in fact (as we have stated before) the traditional stance of Turkish football. Turkish football is based on national identity, neighbourhood solidarity and competition between communities, and the habit of declaring the stands a homogeneous “we” has always existed. Until the construction of the İnönü Stadium, football was played on pitches claimed by neighbourhoods or districts. Later, some of these pitches were developed into stadiums. Therefore games held here often had the air of competitions where national, neighbourhood or community identity and solidarity were expressed. For instance, the foundations of the Vefa Stadium, the Eyüp Stadium and the Fenerbahçe Şükrü Saracoğlu Stadium, which is today the most magnificent stadium in Turkey, are the wide expanses of old neighbourhood pitches. And the history of these sites is full of incidents that

took place around competitions between neighbourhoods, communities and nations.

The Vefa Stadium in the Karagömrük neighbourhood is within the premises of the Aetius Cistern built during the era of the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius II. The ground of this cistern built in the 5th century rose with the silt deposited here by the brooks that supplied the water and it was used as a vegetable plantation in the Ottoman era. When the young sportsmen of Karagömrük founded their own football team in 1926, they started to use this area as a football pitch. In 1940, the pitch was bought by the Vefa Sports Club, made into a stadium and its name was changed to Vefa Stadium. Vefa Sports Club belonged to Vefa High School and Hasan Âli Yücel, the Minister of National Education at the time and a graduate of this high school, had been very influential in the purchase and name change of this stadium. Although Vefa was among the stronger clubs of Istanbul for many years, it failed to keep up with the savage professional change in football and had to return to amateur status. Karagömrük continues its professional life in the lower leagues. The cistern walls around the small but comfortable stadium used by these two teams and many amateur clubs in Istanbul are still preserved.

The youth of Karagömrük were of tough temperament. They were in competition with Eyüp, an adjacent neighbourhood of strong solidarity. Like Karagömrük, Eyüp is one of the oldest settlement areas in Istanbul and is on the shore of the Golden Horn. The young athletes of Eyüp had established their football team as early as 1919 and opened their pitch in an area close to the sea. However, Eyüp's pitch had to wait until 1976 to become a stadium. Today, there is a beautiful 3000-seat capacity stadium erected on the ground of that old football pitch and the rivalry between these two historical neighbourhoods, Karagömrük and Eyüp, continues to glisten like a steel wire. In this sense, when the young players of Karagömrük and Eyüp turn their gaze from the pitch to the terraces, they no doubt see what they call "us."

Playing Football at the Palace, Şeref Stadium: Founded in 1903, Beşiktaş was one of the oldest clubs in Turkey, but didn't have a stadium where it could regularly play its own games and experience the feeling of "us." It is almost impossible to play football in Turkey without experiencing this feeling at home. With a share of 5000 liras the club obtained from its stake in the Taksim Stadium, the team found a home here from 1929



to 1933. But what they really wanted was to have a place in the Beşiktaş neighbourhood. Şeref Bey, the Football Director of the time, showed great effort to find a plot of land that could be made into a stadium for Beşiktaş. As a result of these efforts, he succeeded in 1932 in finding a suitable piece of land in the Beşiktaş neighbourhood and obtained permission for the construction of a stadium from the Ministry of Finance.

The Beşiktaş neighbourhood is an area of Istanbul where there are many palaces. Along the shore line of Beşiktaş there are the Dolmabahçe Palace complex and Çırağan Palace, and further inland Yıldız Palace and many summer palaces. The plot Şeref Bey found was the garden of Çırağan Palace. This palace had been built in 1871 by Sarkis Balyan, the imperial architect who was also the architect of Dolmabahçe Palace, but in 1910 the palace had completely burned down and lay in ruins. This enabled Şeref Bey to rent a highly suitable piece of land for the stadium for 99 years for a symbolic monthly payment of 10 Turkish lira. The construction of the stadium was completed in 1940; and a structure including a covered and an open stand, modern changing rooms and a swimming pool rose right on the

shore of the Bosphorus. And it was named Şeref [Honour] Stadium. Beşiktaş now had a stadium where it could hold its games and train; besides, the pitch was also rented out for the games of other clubs, earning Beşiktaş serious revenue.

The Şeref Stadium was a sympathetic stadium. Its sea view would attract almost as much attention as the football played on the pitch and release the tension of the supporters. The burnt down remains of the adjacent palace would give the place a startling atmosphere. Still, it was a great pleasure to watch a game at this stadium on a sunny day. But when the İnönü Stadium was completed and the games began to be played there, the importance of this stadium faded. It served only for Beşiktaş's training sessions, preparation games and amateur games. In the process, the stadium was not kept up to scratch, the changing rooms became unusable, and the stands fell into ruin. For along time, though, the swimming pool preserved its indispensability for Istanbulites in the summer. However, as the stadium fell further into ruin, the sympathy felt for it increased. People came and went between the swimming pool and the stadium, which began to resemble a picnic area, refreshed themselves in the pool and



then came to watch the games and kept chatting as they gazed at the sea view. The unusable state of the changing rooms meant that the players went over to the remains of the palace, and players who dressed and undressed here looked like “zombies” amidst the ruined walls, with their muddy strips and dusty bodies and hair. On the other hand, balls kicked into the sea by players unable to restrain their strength had to be waited for for minutes on end and the spectators in the stands began to listen to music from their transistor radios. Because, back then, a game had to finish with the ball the game began with; it was against the rules to change the ball during the game (unless it had burst).

During the wave of transformation of almost all public buildings into tourist establishments that Istanbul has been suffering recently, the palace which was in ruins was renovated and turned into a 5-star hotel, and the Şeref Stadium became history in the year 1991, along with its pool.

The Most Unrelenting Definition of the Concept of “Us”, The Ali Sami Yen Stadium: The demolition of the Taksim Stadium and delays in the construction of the İnönü Stadium had left many

teams without a ground. Beşiktaş had gone to the Şeref Stadium and Fenerbahçe had begun to use the Fenerbahçe Stadium in Kadıköy, solving the problem for these two teams. But a stadium was needed for the teams of the Beyoğlu neighbourhood, including Galatasaray. The General Directorate of Physical Education bought a plot of land in the Mecidiyeköy neighbourhood and rented it out to Galatasaray Club for the construction of a stadium. Just like İnönü Stadium, the completion of this stadium was delayed. In the first place, the construction could only begin late and, because of the material impossibilities of the Galatasaray Sports Club, the General Directorate intervened again to accelerate the work which had slowed. The stadium was opened on 20 December 1964.

With its two “closed” and two “goal” stands, the opening game in this stadium, named after the founder of the Galatasaray Sports Club and its no. 1 member, Ali Sami Yen, was held between Turkey and Bulgaria. There was a reason for the selection of Bulgaria for this game. The Turkish National Team had won its first official game many years ago against Bulgaria and such an opening game would likely render this stadium a “lucky” stadium. However the expectation of hope had to give way as early as



the first day to chagrin. The reason for this wasn't the goalless draw but the stampede caused by terrible organisation which resulted in many spectators falling from the terraces and getting injured. That day, the Ali Sami Yen Stadium literally turned into hell. In later years the same word would overlap with the expectation of "luck" in this same stadium. Galatasaray overcame the strongest teams in Europe at this stadium and achieved the most brilliant success in the history of Turkish football. The most important international cup yet brought to Turkey, the UEFA Cup, was eventually won as a result of Galatasaray's victories at this stadium. Many banners put up in the Ali Sami Yen Stadium declare "Welcome to Hell" and supporters seek ways of transforming this hell into an even hotter experience for "others."

Towards Hypermarket Stadiums, The Fenerbahçe Şükrü Saracoğlu Stadium: There is no way we are going to save football from the grip of savage capitalism. The global organisation of this system has mobilized all its means through football in such a manner that the situation resembles wars created by strong and aggressive nations to test out their new weapons. The media bases its biggest undertakings on football, the stock market encourages shares in football teams, goods for consumption are designed

to reflect the characteristics of clubs, the money in the footballer transfer market creates many parallel sectors, and football is seen as the most suitable agent in the transformation of practical life and cultural spaces into "a world of images." The overlapping of consumption and "the world of images" directly benefits consumption and it is thus also important for the secure future of the current economic system...

This naturally leads to a change in the appearance of stadiums... It is possible to say that these structures no longer have pre-1980 plans, and that for instance Bromberger's observations regarding the "city-stadium relationship" are now left behind in the distant past. The private suites we increasingly come across in stadiums today (it wouldn't be wrong to compare them to luxurious time-share residences) and commodious media broadcast rooms are indispensable units in modern plans. Stadiums also contain big restaurants, comfortable cafes and glittering stores marketing club products (these products form the most significant part of consumption). The increasing change in stadiums is obviously not related to the bright ideas of architects or their boundless professional creativity... The source of change lies more in the logic of the "hypermarket," first and strikingly



explained by the French sociologist Baudrillard. Although Baudrillard's observations regarding the everyday social system and the life style it imposes are exaggerated and lack the proposal of an alternative, it is impossible to ignore the "hypermarket world" he claims we live in. Baudrillard says the following: "The hypermarket is already beyond the factory and traditional institutions of capital, the model of all future forms of controlled socialisation: retotalisation in a homogeneous space-time of all the dispersed functions of the body and of social life." [Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulations*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser] The clear meaning of Baudrillard's words is thus: the reorientation from a single centre of all vital activities in the city, like leisure, health, transportation, media and culture... This is a centre, but it never tries to impose its methods on the vital activities in the city. It organizes those activities all urban strata may show an interest in, again according to their demands and tendencies. In brief, it seeks to inform and convince them that it is "beneficial." The word "benefit" here is important. It conforms to the "logic of advertising"... A closer look reveals that no advertisement we watch is interested in the physical qualities of the consumer goods it promotes. The function, dura-

bility, beauty and cheapness etc. of the product are of little relevance. With which "image" does the product re-include us in life, how does our social status change when we use it and in what kind of "atmosphere" does it situate us? This is the issue... There is a second-hand and carefully concealed imposition here: the imposition of consumption...

The changing appearances of football and stadiums can be explained as a result of the process of transforming these stadiums into hypermarket buildings. This line of thought presents us with another problematic: are stadiums thus returning to the state of being "a model of the city," as Bromberger indicated for his own period? Perhaps... Urban consumer strata released from common identities or clichéd actions may in the future choose stadiums as spaces where they may express themselves in the best possible manner. However, such stadiums would not be erected with a predefined or publicly debated club identity; they would only reflect club identity as an insignificant aspect in the articulation of consumer identity... Meanwhile, let us not overlook the power of advertising: surprising manoeuvres, such that no one would manage to work out how the trick was done, demonstrating the insignificance of club identity in relation to the

oh so “significant” consumer identity. The changing face of all stadiums does not fully reflect the speed of consumption yet, but progress in that direction can be sensed. In the future, we will be puzzled when we compare stadiums past and present (from a photograph or from memory), because the stadiums of the future will have turned into paradises of all types of scenes from life in which the game of football is allocated only a small part of their huge sites. However, there is still a possibility that we will go with love and a sense of loyalty towards our club: would you like to watch the game from the stands or from one of the television halls right beside them with giant screens? Or will the thing we call football turn into a result delivered from the digital displays fitted in the interior walls of stadiums? Just like the computer games of today...

The sources of the postmodern condition are found particularly in the process of the “emancipation of capital.” The unbridled movement of capital released from modernist public principles situates its symbols in public spaces demonstrating disregard for all efforts at planning. It is no coincidence that the era known as postmodern revealed itself significantly first in architecture and then in changes in urban planning. The stage of globalisation, in turn,

means an ignorance of urban planning, its complete replacement with the “symbols of capital” and the flat declaration by these symbols of their sovereignty in the built city. A language that would bring plural identities together in something held in common or the old symbols of that language have now faded and disappeared. Besides, the failure clearly to perceive the features of identity and their transformation into “non-places” is a further result of the era of “mass culture.” Defining the postmodern city, David Harvey speaks of an environment where the target is the dollars the rich allocate for consumption; therefore the particular pleasures and complicated aesthetic preferences of the customer stand out in urban design rather than principles of public space. Harvey’s claim fits in with Bourdieu’s concept of “symbolic capital”: according to Bourdieu, this concept refers to a collection of luxurious goods which may serve as evidence of the distinction of the taste and social position of the owner. If status symbols have begun to gain prominence in society and if a connection has begun to emerge between “the power of capital” and “respectability,” then the reorganisation of public spaces according to this tendency won’t be delayed. Now, in the light of this, it is easier for us to give meaning to the changes in design stadiums have exhibited as the public spaces of an era shaped by



new conditions. What we observe today is a distribution of supporters based on the difference in ticket prices. Besides, one can sense some groups being erased from or pushed into a very narrow area of the stands. This is a classification that emerges with the stage of the emancipation of capital... The fixing of ticket prices so that there are big differences between sections of the stands show that clubs have learned how to use status symbols and transform them into revenue. The meaning of luxury suites in the stands can also be found in the logic of “symbolic capital.” The stadium has now begun to carry a very different content compared to a model of the social structure of the city. The hierarchical structure of modernist society has lost the ability comfortably to represent itself on the terraces. The owners of luxury boxes and the area surrounding them are the temporary members of the sharing of capital in the aftermath of modernism. These areas in the stands are often rented annually for big “ready money” and their customers vary according to the fluctuation of capital. What’s more, as “commercial initiatives”, there is a clear danger of these places remaining empty. Moreover, we must not forget that sections which have now become status symbols take up a very large area in stadiums today.

The Fenerbahçe Şükrü Saracoğlu Stadium was the first constructed taking into consideration the above. It is an “intelligent building” with the systems of security, comfort and cash flow football requires today. Yet that very curious situation arises here too: during TV broadcasts from the pitch after the game, players point to the terraces and say the same thing: “We would like to thank our amazing supporters.” Who exactly is this “we” the footballer is talking about? The “we” of the traditional neighbourhood, community or national solidarity in the way it was experienced in the old Fenerbahçe football fields in the early 20th century, or the “we” of the current economic system? The point is not clear.

A Stillborn Stadium, The Atatürk Olympic Stadium: This stadium was built in the years 1999–2002 as a necessary part of the city of Istanbul seeking to organize an Olympics. It is distant from the centres of the city, in the middle of a wide chasm reminiscent of the moon’s surface, standing there with its 80,000 seat capacity. Equipped with modern technology, it waits on one hand for the realisation of Istanbul’s Olympic dream while on the other it hosts the games of some mid-table teams in the Turkey Super League. Although it is something of a spectacular stadium, its planning



is closer in general to modernist public principles. Since the day of its opening it has hosted only two or three important games, and the stadium had its finest hour with the European Champions League final between Milan and Liverpool; but on that day it also witnessed a “transport fiasco.” All the Italian and English supporters along with the Turkish spectators either had to walk for kilometres in darkness to return to the centre or they were stuck in traffic jams in their cars on the motorway all night. The stadium is just a “building”, that is to say, it has neither transport routes or a crowd has a sense of belonging to it. Amidst the whistle of violent winds, it waits there both day and night and ponders whether that stupendous day of the final will ever again be repeated. One can guess it does not harbour much hope for the future because not a single city dweller has an anecdote about it. The Atatürk Olympic Stadium is an “empty” stadium in the full sense of the word. It doesn’t offer up an emotion in the context of a neighbourhood, a community or a nation, nor does it present a life in the context of the contemporary economic system. It presents a terribly sad view; it corresponds fully to what the famous Uruguayan journalist Eduardo Galeano wrote:

“Have you ever been in an empty stadium? Try it once. Stand in the middle of the pitch and listen. There is nothing sadder than an empty stadium, and nothing more speechless than empty terraces.”

There are many other stadiums in Istanbul than those mentioned in this article. The state’s “concern for football” and its “aim to provide a football world” for the masses has covered the whole city in stadiums. Today, almost every neighbourhood has one regulation standard stadium, or more. Although these stadiums fill up for the games of the neighbourhood teams at weekends, their stories don’t go as far back as the stadiums mentioned here, their witnessing of life isn’t as deep, or they don’t fully comply with the necessities of the contemporary economic system. In brief, they aren’t that interesting... These stadiums may only be deemed important in that they reflect the quantity of stadiums in the city and the state’s “love of football.”

—Emre Zeytinoğlu

> Demolition or the Warped City, Minority,
Preservation Board



STRAY DOGS

AMONG THE MOST SIGNIFICANT SUFFERERS FROM THE MOTIVE OF “ACHIEVING A LOT IN A SHORT TIME.” FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE MOVEMENT FOR OTTOMAN MODERNISATION TO THE PRESENT DAY, AN ANIMOSITY BETWEEN THE DOGS AND THE ADMINISTRATION, AT TIMES IN THE FORM OF CLASHES OVER LONG PERIODS AND AT TIMES BASED ON “INSTANT INTERVENTIONS,” HAS CONTINUED ACROSS THE CITY.

It is remarkable that the arguments related to dogs during the early stages of the pains of modernisation had nothing to do with hygiene or public health. The fact that there wasn't a single case of rabies on record in Istanbul throughout the 19th century indicates that the variable urban ecology did not permit the establishment of a direct link between dogs and rabies. We can say that the mention of rabies in connection with dogs, actually a disease more often seen in cattle, squirrels, bats and farm animals, is a relatively new phenomenon for Istanbul.

From the period of Mahmud II on, stray dogs, notable for three important functions in the city, were regularly destroyed *en masse*. In his article titled “Istanbul Dogs” in the September 1993 issue of the journal *Tarih ve Toplum* [History and

Society], Taner Timur tells us that dogs worked in the city's security, hygiene and cleaning sectors. The bands of dogs in each neighbourhood assumed the guardianship of the neighbourhood and, apart from some Europeans who didn't know how to “get along” with stray dogs, they didn't cause harm to strangers passing through as long as they didn't exhibit threatening behaviour. They also prevented an increase in problems of cleanliness or hygiene since they fed on waste from houses. However, although there was no reason for them to be deported, there was an attempt in the Mahmud II period to exile them to Hayırsızada [aka Oxia, one of the small islands near Istanbul, literally the ill-omened island], however they managed to get away when the ship they had been loaded onto was forced back to land in the ensuing storm. The job left undone was completed during Abdülaziz's reign. However, the thought that a fire in the city was brought on by this atrocious exile led the exilers to release the dogs.

The increasingly violent hostility of the state to dogs resulted in another “forced exile” during the era of the infamous and notorious *İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası* [Committee of Union and Progress]. 50–60,000 dogs were first ban-



ished to Hayırsızada and, when they had been destroyed after starving, killing and eating each other, their carcasses were exported as manure and animal fodder by a French entrepreneur. The tendency to top-down cleaning, at least when dogs are in question, has not altered since the time of Union and Progress; one could even claim it has increased, step by step. The writer of these words saw a plastic bin full of cats and dogs murdered to please foreign visitors during the 1996 Habitat Conference on “settlement.”

Just as in the case of the settlement infringements carried out in the name of urban transformation (see *Urban Transformation*) without consulting the “neighbourhood under transformation” and indeed on a basis of economic bargaining, the administration seeks a “solution” for the relationship between the urbanite and the dog using top-down methods. However, it wouldn’t be accurate to say the same thing for the relationship between the urban-dweller and the dog. In his article, Timur indicates that the public protested against each intervention of the administration and he reports, based on quotes from Colombani, a teacher at a French school at the time, that the public tried to save and release the dogs and suc-

ceeded in some cases during the exile in 1910 ordered by Cemil Topuzlu, the mayor at that time.

“Turks should not be considered for the rounding up of the dogs. This very profitable job where fifteen franks were paid per dog was taken up by the Gypsies,” writes Colombani. Later in the text we understand that by “Turks” is meant the Muslim community. Indeed, we see that among the Istanbul residents of the time Europeans in particular support the “solution” of the dog problem. The poodle of the Pera Palace Hotel, one of the rare domestic dogs of the time and very popular among the foreign guests of the hotel, was sought in vain among other dogs, probably taken away with stray dogs during the exile.

However, it would be a mistake to generalize about Europeans’ ideas about dogs starting out from consideration of negative cases. Dogs continued their existence in Pera, which was generally inhabited by Westerners, simultaneously with dogs in other neighbourhoods and they still do. Although he didn’t like dogs in the West, Claude Farrère, who was in Istanbul in 1902–1904, respected Istanbul dogs for their “reasonable and pensive” demeanour. Secondly, the desire to “get rid of”



dogs shows that the idea of urban planning in the Western sense, which was first implemented by the City Government of the 6th Bureau, concerned not only physical but also sociological relations, not that Europeans simply did not like dogs.

Today the stray dogs and people of Istanbul still inhabit the same urban ecology. To understand better why policies of “forced exile” have not gained operability in Istanbul, it might be useful to look at the relationship between Istanbul dogs and people from a nominalist point of view.

It does not appear possible to explain the relationship between the people and dogs of Istanbul via a Peter Singer-esque utilitarian ethical philosophy based on an objection to speciesism and the minimisation of suffering. It is difficult to speak of such an absolutist ethical impulse in Istanbul residents. For instance, some domestic dogs which are found boring by their owners after they have been purchased and some stray dogs which are unwanted in the neighbourhood are often exiled to remote woody areas of the city or to the Princes’ Islands where it is impossible to return to the city (though dogs which manage to “think of” getting on the ferry must be acknowledged here as excep-

tions) and most die here either from starvation or because of harsh weather conditions. Therefore if there is an ethical side to the ongoing relationship between the two types of Istanbul residents, this doesn’t derive from reason as assumed by the individual in possession of the universal mind (spirit) constructed and outlined from Descartes to Kant and analysed by philosophers like Singer, or from the behavioural theory based on it. (Let us not move on from here without pointing out that the debates in the West on general animal rights have rapidly progressed but have failed to change much in reality and that their analysis has remained just that.) Istanbul residents are hand in glove with dogs but they don’t categorize them under general rules or within temporal extensiveness, perhaps acting indifferently towards them at times, but without supporting their destruction.

Although the unique texture of the city, with its green valleys and hills which continue to exist along the Bosphorus despite the land plunder which has going on since the 1980s, the open spaces between neighbourhoods which begin to stand out towards the north and south of the city, and the land along ring roads and thoroughfares creates natural shelters and living spaces for dogs where



they can, to a certain extent, retreat from humans, since we can also see stray dogs in Beyoğlu, on the doormat in the entrance of an Ottoman restaurant geared towards tourists, or around the luxury residences in Bağdat Caddesi (see *Bağdat Caddesi*) and its environs, the wealthiest suburb of the country since the construction of the Second Bridge and the general headquarters of consumer society, we could say that urban texture has only a partial influence on the continuance of their existence.

Following from this last case, we should add that the existence of dogs in neighbourhoods does not only derive from class division. Yes, they are most probably destroyed more frequently in middle and upper class neighbourhoods like Ataköy, Suadiye or Nişantaşı, differing in terms of nutrition standards radically from their fellow creatures inhabiting the homes of these neighbourhoods; yet it is almost always possible to come across significant numbers of stray dogs.

This close-knit life relatively independent of class structure may be explained by the provision of security requirements. There are dogs in wealthy neighbourhoods that have been semi-domesticated because they are adopted by car park

staff and residents of luxury apartment blocks, and in poorer neighbourhoods there are considerable numbers of dogs carrying out their role as guard, feeding off the waste and what the residents provide. However not all dogs act as guards, and we often come across nomadic dogs wandering the streets with waste collectors or the homeless.

The love of dogs, attributed to the structure of the religion of Islam, is a claim that is difficult to support either concretely or via Islamic Law; and it also contains the danger of rendering the metropolis too dependent on Islamic culture. In the Istanbul Encyclopaedia, Reşat Ekrem Koçu tells us that although Muslims do look after dogs, they ridicule *Rum* [Greeks] who go as far as to take them into their homes. So should we think that the aforementioned dog lovers described by Western travellers as “Turks” include the *Rum* as well? At any rate, it does not seem possible to explain the past co-existence of the people and dogs of Istanbul only with reference to religious motives. Taner Timur is cautious about some 19th century Western travellers tracing the relationship of Turks and dogs back to Turkmenistan. After all, kumis [Central Asian fermented mares’ milk] is not among our current beverages.

The 2004 law no. 5199 For the Protection of Animals ruled that stray animals be sterilized and released. Since other health problems would also be dealt with during the process, the possibility of other diseases including rabies would also be eliminated. However, we learn that there are serious problems in the implementation of the law from non-governmental organisations such as the Association for the Protection of Ownerless Animals or the Association for Homeless Animals and Nature Conservation. For one thing, because of the rapidly spread of the system of subcontracting of recent times, this “job” has also been assigned to a private company. It is enough for the company to show post-sterilisation organs to receive payment from the municipality. In other words, we don’t have any information regarding whether the animals have returned to their neighbourhoods, or whether they have been killed after this operation. The fate of the anti-rabies fund from the EU is unknown too. However, every Istanbul resident occasionally comes across dogs poisoned with strychnine. These “operations” sometimes aim to clean a neighbourhood (see *Cleansing*), and sometimes are a result of personal grudges. The poisoning of two dogs in Kuzguncuk last year within the

same week they bothered a top bureaucrat is an example of this type of grudge match.

The observations above on the relationship between stray dogs and people in Istanbul may not provide a full answer as to how this relationship has managed to continue for centuries, but it does contain some clues. Besides, it does not seem methodologically possible to present a single argument regarding the relationship between the city, dogs and people. A work of genealogy, not seeking an ultimate outcome, but bringing together intricate power relations, the ethical codes they give rise to, the factor of chance, efforts at Westernisation, the various stages of the “individual,” given, variable environmental conditions and many other accidental phenomena will help us steer clear of a progressivist understanding of urban history. And we will bring at least a glimmer of an explanation as to how the “culture of living together” we have been yearning for for so long has continued to struggle on with our four-legged companions in existence.

—Ulus Atayurt

> Bağdat Caddesi, *Cleansing*,
Urban Transformation



STREET ANIMALS

THE COMMUNITY OF STRAY ANIMALS WHO SHARE THE URBAN SPACE WITH HUMAN BEINGS. [ED.]

The Silent Millions (or street cats and dogs). The number of Istanbul's non-human users, its cats and dogs (see *Stray Dogs*), are far more than its visitors – especially if they are coming from the West – would expect to see. They have the opportunity to circulate freely in the city without requiring any legal document. They can be seen everywhere. In his writings from the end of the 19th century, Edmondo de Amicis mentions dogs as the second population of the city, less in numbers in terms of a crowd, but no less strange. All the dogs together form a gret republic of vagabonds, without collars, jobs, names, homes or law. They do not hesitate to curl up underfoot in the middle of the most crowded streets, but they sleep with one eye open, prepared in advance for an intolerant walking stick or a kick. They are easily accused of indolence and laziness because they are seen asleep during the day, yet the day is their resting time and the night their time to work. When they get tired of protecting their area in bands, determining the levels of hierarchy and socializing, it's time to abandon themselves under

the warm sun. The vast number of cats on the other hand could easily make one think they are worshipped here. They rarely change their location as long as they are not looking for food or lovers. Protected gardens between blocks of dwellings formed of contiguous buildings in the old city texture or undefined spaces are places they often prefer in particular. Dozens of cats live in the seaside caves along the Caddebostan–Kartal shore. The early hours of the morning after sunrise, when no one has yet left their homes, is usually their time to search for food. They exist in the city both with people and in the gaps of space and time where there are no people.

The relationship of the urban dweller with animals hosts contradictions and multiple poles. These poles contain transversal partnerships and oppositions. Destroyers and protectionists, individuals and organisations sometimes come up against each other and sometimes end up on the same side. Many Istanbul residents have vivid memories of taking to the streets with yoghurt to administer first aid to dogs following the laying out of poisoned meat by municipality teams. There are also many stories of residents going to the dog shelter to bring the dog of the neighbourhood back after it has been taken away by



the municipality following complaints. And between these poles, animals live the lives shaped by chance where they will be born-fed-get injured-fall in love-give birth and die.

There are both individual and organized torturers and protectionists. The motivation of those who act individually is nurtured by culture or personality traits, whereas the organized are nurtured by ideas, with the common denominator of both poles apparently a progressivist mindset. The destructive organisations have been in action since the rulers of the Tanzimat [Re-/Organisation]. The protectionists are more recent. Institutions defending animal rights no doubt heal many wounds and prevent maltreatment, but they also stand side by side with those who want to destroy the animals. Both often try either to isolate animals from urban space or regulate their existence within it. While one uses destruction as a tool, the other uses animal shelters and campaigns, for sterilisation and to find owners. In fact it seems possible to read the tensions caused by the desire to modernize Istanbul via the regulation of stray animals. Stray dogs and cats will probably be in trouble as long as modernisation in Istanbul is understood as an inane “non-place”ification,

sterilisation and the adaptation to an image of a human and civilised city.

Those who try to “straight”en things out are always confronted with “fold”ing and “creasing” elements. Stray animals survive in the niches among those creases. The folds hosting these lives are sometimes explained by tolerance, sometimes by indifference and sometimes by function (mouse catcher-cat/guard-dog). At this point it is revealed that the two poles emerge not between those who try to protect animals and those who try to destroy them, but between a group perceiving the existence of animals in the city as a problem and another: a group which can be brought together along an axis of tolerance–indifference and functionality. Can a city be imagined which exists for animals as much as humans? Should the folds in places be out of the way and illegal? Cannot folds hosting niches of life be created willingly? Can’t the city be designed and constructed for animals as much as humans?

—Nalân Bahçekapılı

> Stray Dogs



STREET FOOD VENDOR

THE STREET FOOD VENDOR SELLS A DIVERSE SELECTION OF FOODS INCLUDING RICE WITH CHICKPEAS, RICE WITH CHICKEN, FISH SANDWICHES, LIVER SANDWICHES, *KÖFTE* WRAPS, BAKED POTATOES, SANDWICHES WITH CHEESE-EGG-TOMATO-PEPPER, *SUCUK* SANDWICHES, *KÖFTE* SANDWICHES, STUFFED MUSSELS, ÇİĞ KÖFTE [RAW MEATBALLS MADE WITH MINCEMEAT, POUNDED WHEAT AND CHILLI POWDER] AND *KOKOREÇ* [GRILLED SHEEP'S INTESTINES] AT DIFFERENT HOURS OF THE DAY IN DIFFERENT LOCATIONS.

Offering a stand-up dinner break proposal for a reasonable price in a traffic jam, during a match, while leaving a concert, such vendors – sometimes chased by the municipal police force – wander around in the city or sometimes return to the same spot, and are stationary enough for us all to get accustomed to them. Their mobility allows them to test different points of intensity to find the most suitable sales points.

Their vehicles, depending on the type of food and route they select, can be a fisherman's boat (see *Fish Sandwich*), a three-wheel bicycle connected to a pushcart with a display counter or a pick-up truck that doubles as a counter. Their locations cluster around the focal points

of pedestrian traffic like ports, main stations and squares. Different types of street food vendors can be found in Üsküdar, Kadıköy, Eminönü, Karaköy and Beşiktaş.

The variety of food ranges from cooked food kept warm to be served like rice with chickpeas, rice with chicken or stuffed mussels to other food where the ingredients are kept prepared and cooked to order like *köfte*, *sucuk* and *kokoreç*. Fried fish placed between half a loaf of bread is sold from fisherman's boats in Eminönü. In a similar manner, there are the *sucuk*-and-bread and *köfte*-and-bread stalls on the corner of the Open Air Theatre or on the Bostancı shore, which are originally mobile but do not seem to budge much through summer and winter. *Gözleme* [savoury pancake] vendors add to the *sucuk*-and-bread and *köfte*-and-bread stalls after concerts.

The fully mobile vendors follow a predetermined roster so as to be in the same place at the same time every day, and this is how most of them form a regular customer base. Some, like Ali Bey who for many years arrived in front of the entrance of Atlas Arcade after 6 o'clock in the evening in his white overcoat and sold *içli köfte* [bulgur meat-



balls stuffed with mincemeat] he brought along in a basket covered with a cloth which had the word *Sabırtaşı* [stone of patience] embroidered on it, have earned an important place in the memories of those users of İstiklal Caddesi (see *İstiklal Caddesi* or "*Beyoğlu*").

Like daily cleaners and baby sitters, as part of the informal economy, the street food vendors also carve out their own network of contacts in the city. They determine their field of sovereignty according to these networks and create their internal economic order. The majority of street food vendors carrying stuffed mussel trays who appear on İstiklal Caddesi after 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening are from Mardin. The *sucuk*-and-bread you eat in Maçka and Tahtakale won't be the same price, while the *içli köfte* you eat on İstiklal Caddesi is quite a refined product for the street, on the other hand the cheese sandwich found in Eminönü can be produced without much knowledge or ability. Maintaining a standard of quality in the food and accumulating regular customers secures the lastingness of the street food vendor.

The content of the dish changes seasonally, and a vendor may sell chestnuts in winter and

salted cucumbers in summer. In the summer heat, and at later hours, better lasting and less treated foods appear on food vendor pushcarts. The mobile food units, which also create temporary points of social contact through short chats with the vendor, can also sell deserts like *tulumba* [fried batter soaked in syrup] and *burma* [cake of filo pastry and nuts].

Although it is not possible to categorize the consumers of certain street foods according to class or age group, cotton candy did steal our hearts in our childhood; stuffed mussels with lemon was eaten on the way back home on a boozy night in our youth; and rice with chickpeas has often been our lunch squeezed between two meetings on a high-tempo workday.

—Evren Uzer

> Fish Sandwich, İstiklal Caddesi or "Beyoğlu"



STREET MARKET (I)

AN ELEMENT OF URBAN TRADE WHICH HAS PRESERVED ITS EXISTENCE FOR CENTURIES, ALTHOUGH ITS FUNCTION AND ECONOMIC MEANING HAS RADICALLY CHANGED. [ED.]

Istanbul is a trade centre and it has a great variety of shopping places. The word *çarşı* [market] brings to mind areas of trade such as the historic commercial buildings like the Kapalıçarşı Covered Bazaar, the Mısır Çarşısı/Corn Bazaar and the *hans*, shops and *arastas* [rows of shops] affiliated with mosques in their vicinity. In addition to this, the big, American-style shopping malls can also be perceived as *çarşı*. Streets with rows of shops on one or both sides, the Beyoğlu Fish Market or the permanent public markets in various parts of the city also fulfil the function of *çarşı*. The common feature of these trade areas unique to Istanbul is that they are all permanent. However, there are also other mobile, dynamic-temporary *çarşı*, which don't actually have any special architectural features but whose presence changes city space: street markets.

Street markets are set up often along streets in a certain area, and in some cases in open areas

like parking lots (see *Parking Lot*) or squares for one or two days a week. Erected below awnings of white canvas from the early hours of the day until it gets dark, stands with the colourful goods displayed on them provide for colourful zones of trade.

In the Istanbul of 2008, a total of 358 street markets are set up during the week; with 243 street markets on the European side, and 115 street markets on the Asian side. There are 43 different markets on Monday, 48 on Tuesday, 57 on Wednesday, 59 on Thursday, 54 on Friday, 52 on Saturday and 45 on Sunday, so it would be easy to find one every day.

The size and number of stands varies according to the market but at each daily goods are generally on sale. In addition to foodstuffs such as vegetables, fruit, cheese, eggs, rice, dried nuts and fish, the markets also have clothing, various fabrics, bags, shoes, toys, smaller furniture items and various tools and devices. Since they are set up in the open air, weather conditions are taken into consideration. Without air-conditioning, they just stretch out their awnings over head, and therefore these trading areas are ecological, environmentally-friendly places. Since trade is



related to the weather, some goods are only available at certain times, for instance fish isn't sold in summer. Although many vegetables are available throughout the year with produce coming from greenhouses, the four seasons are always felt at street markets. The dynamism of markets changes during religious holidays and on eves of holidays the crowds swell significantly.

Since cars can't enter the streets on days when the markets are set up, a natural pedestrian area forms. In this pedestrian area vendors and buyers can directly communicate face to face and a street that is calm for six days can suddenly come to life for a day. For that day only, below these awnings, the voices of the sellers and the generally female customers mix and a cheerful crowd brings life to the neighbourhood.

A number of mobile side services in tandem with the dynamics of this mobile trade system form spontaneously. In permanent markets cold and hot beverage services are generally supplied from a teahouse or a tea range. If there is a teahouse just next to the market place or on one of the streets they erect their stands, market vendors use them. If not, a temporary tea range is

set up under one of the awnings or in a corner of the market and is immediately put into service. In big markets like the Kadıköy Tuesday Market it is possible to see temporary food stalls where small snacks like wraps are available.

A visit to a street market is essential to get a view of everyday Istanbul.

The lively scenes of the street market reflect important characteristics of the city. In 1995 there were 321 street markets. This number has increased by 37 in 13 years to reach 358. Of course, the population of the city has increased as well and there are now more areas of settlement in the city. However, one must not forget the increase in the number of supermarkets and hypermarkets, which cripple small trade.

Street markets have enemies as well as regulars. There are many people among those who live along the streets where the markets are set up who complain to the municipality that the street gets too crowded or it becomes difficult to go out. People are disturbed when they can't park their cars in front of their houses or by the noise of the crowd. There are also those who don't like such

markets because the streets get dirty when they are used by so many people.

To become a vendor in a street market one first has to register with the Istanbul Chamber of General Street Market Vendors, then an application is made to the municipal police of the street market where a stall is requested. Rents vary according to the location of the stall and its surface area. A vendor erects her/his stall, moving like a nomad from market to market depending on the day of the week: the vendor may be in the centre of Kadıköy on Tuesday, in the centre of Fatih on Wednesday, in Fındıkzade on Friday, in Bakırköy Çırpıcı on Saturday and in Beyoğlu Dolapdere on Sunday. The municipal police try to check on one market every day. These controls should not be perceived as aimed just at checking on the vendors, but also as an effort to provide a comfortable shopping atmosphere for customers. A line is drawn on the surface of the street to determine the position of the stall, protecting the pedestrian area for the customer. Streets around the market may also be organized for pedestrian passage on the day of the market to provide comfortable access for customers through streets around the market. The municipal police are also trying to solve the problems of people who live in the streets where the

markets are set up. There are also markets which have designed and developed new systems where special posts are used to attach the guide ropes on the corners of the canvas so as to stretch out the awning without using the walls of the building along the street and disturbing the residents.

In addition to neighbourhood markets supported by the municipality, there are also other interesting, private initiative markets in Istanbul which receive permission from the municipality. The Kastamonu market set up in Dolapdere on Sundays is one of these. This is a market formed by villagers and garden fruit, vegetables, homemade grape molasses and special bread are brought here from Kastamonu and İnebolu by truck, therefore migrants from Kastamonu and people living in the vicinity of the market gather early Sunday morning in the market place, forming a big crowd waiting to buy the freshest produce. On Saturdays the Ecological Public Market is opened on the permanent market in Şişli, Feriköy. Ecological products are brought here from various regions of Turkey and are sold at far more affordable prices than shops. This market, which was opened in June 2006 as the first 100% ecological market in Turkey, is a pioneer in its field and should create



an example for the inclusion of ecological products in normal street markets at affordable prices.

Street markets, which once a week bring significant vitality to each neighbourhood of the city, can continue their existence in the long term as spaces which reveal a unique aspect of Istanbul as long as they continue to be pleasant spaces which consider the security of the neighbourhood residents, customers and the market vendors.

—Yoshiko Tsuruta

> Parking Lot

STREET MARKET (II) [PAZAR]

STREET MARKETS ARE A HISTORIC URBAN ARCHETYPE IN THE REGION, SET-UP WEEKLY FROM VILLAGE TO VILLAGE AND DAILY FROM NEIGHBOURHOOD TO NEIGHBOURHOOD IN MAJOR CITIES. THEY REMAIN A PRIMARY SOURCE OF SEASONAL VEGETABLES, FRUIT, DAIRY PRODUCTS, GRAINS AND SIMPLE HOUSEHOLD ITEMS FOR LOCAL RESIDENTS.

Although seemingly an informal network of places, structures and merchants, street markets are in fact formalized with yearly rental fees,

established locations, and merchants who do business in five different locations a week. Intensifying the open-space infrastructure of Istanbul, they set-up in streets, open parking lots, watersheds, but also occasionally establish permanent structures. Residents of neighborhoods know the day and location of their local street market, as well as the time-honored specialty street markets (fish, organic, clothing, imported goods, etc.) dispersed throughout the city, typically in permanent locations operating seven days a week.

The focus of the street market is on the transformation of open-space infrastructure into vibrant public spaces and the tectonic impermanence of their structures. What makes street markets unique from farmer's markets elsewhere is that they remain a primary supplier of perishable goods for the diverse social cross-sections of Istanbul's society. Moreover, they represent an incredible collaboration between merchants, who come directly to each neighborhood and create a comprehensive covered structure that keeps the sun, rain and snow off the goods and shoppers.

Two municipal districts in Istanbul were observed to uncover urban spatial patterns and neigh-



borhood zones, the pre-20th century district of Fatih and the post-20th century Beşiktaş, both on the European side. Both municipalities host two street markets on Monday and Tuesdays which range in size from small (20–100 merchants) to mega (over 1000). The mega street market is the only street market located in a place designed for public use, Fatih Külliye (an Ottoman civic complex); this is unique as street markets typically only occupy Istanbul's urban open-space infrastructure and rarely use public-spaces like parks, squares, plazas or pedestrian streets. It is also important to note that some weekly street markets in the 20th century had nestled into their locations for daily business with more permanent structures (steel frames with nylon tarps that could be locked). But in the past year in Beşiktaş, the city has begun to remove these merchants and transformed those sites into plazas.

Street markets are open for business year round with sophisticated, yet simple, means to create a “shared canopy” – a whole – to cope with Istanbul's four distinct seasons. The shared canopy is made from three basic parts: tarps, ropes and poles. These parts are brought and owned individually by the vendors (tables are rented on-site as part of their annual rental fee fixed

throughout the municipalities). The ropes create a hybrid tension and kinetic structure. The tension structural system connects to buildings, vertical structures (trees, telephone poles, fences), and merchant tables, while the kinetic dimension of the system uses poles in friction with asphalt, concrete, dirt and rocks. Weights are also used to hold their position against the forces of the tensioned tarps; and, we think, also used to keep people from tripping over the poles in the middle of the aisles. In creating this structure, merchants borrow rope line space, canopy space, connection points and context to create the elaborate web of the structure. The merchants take great pride in their ropes and tarps, placing a great value on their quality and maintenance. Both natural materials and synthetic materials are used for the ropes and tarps, while the poles are almost always made from simple steel tube. Poles are also used on rainy days to poke at the tarps to drain the puddles collecting on their horizontal surfaces. The tarps let light through, shade against harsh sun, and protect all from the rain and snow — hence different tarps are used during different seasons.

The importance of the endurance of the street market as a common urban archetype in



the fabric of Istanbul is in its intensification of existing open-space resources, its impromptu collaborative structures, and the rhythmic, yet ephemeral animation of urban neighborhoods' public spaces. Everything that is used to create the 'market-place' for a day comes and then goes, for the duration of purpose. It generates value for the city in social public-space, income and access to affordable goods for the residents. It makes no pretension to exclude different social classes nor become permanent. Its structures are simple and timeless, yet use sophisticated structural forces we are only now beginning to understand in the design of permanent structures. And, although there is no sign posting, flyers, or advertisement, it relies on social networks and neighborhood word-of-mouth to learn the locations, best vendors, and the day of the event. The street market has not lost its relevance in the contemporary fabric of Istanbul and its minimalism delights our imaginations for other means to transform existing open-space infrastructure into theatrical public-space. (In Turkish, the word "*Pazar*" means both marketplace and Sunday).

—Alexis Şanal and Murat Şanal

SUBURB

THE TERM DESCRIBING NEIGHBOURHOODS ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF TOWN IN FRENCH DESCRIBES ONLY PLANNED NEIGHBOURHOODS WHICH HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED WITH PLANNING PERMISSION. UNPLANNED OLD *GECEKONDU* NEIGHBOURHOODS BUILT WITHOUT PLANNING PERMISSION ARE TODAY CALLED *VAROŞ* [GHETTO]. [ED.]

1871: the Yedikule–Küçükçekmece suburban line.
1872: connected to Sirkeci to become the Sirkeci–Küçükçekmece line. 1873: the Haydarpaşa–Pendik suburban line. Stations added in between and to the end of the line are in brackets. The Sirkeci and Haydarpaşa railway stations are built according to the Latin system, the train and the city are at the same elevation. Intermediary stations are Germanic; the train travels above, the city or settlement remains below. The vehicle the passenger boards is called the "train" according to custom, though sometimes also "*banliyö*" [suburb/an] like some of the stops it passes through.

–SİRKECİ – Yedikule – Bakırköy – Yeşilköy
– KÜÇÜKÇEKMECE – Yeşilköy – Bakırköy –
Yedikule–SİRKECİ–



–HAYDARPAŞA – Kızıltoprak – Feneryolu
 – Fenerbahçe – Göztepe – (Erenköy–Suadiye extension) – Bostancı – Maltepe – Kartal – PENDİK
 – (connected to Tuzla–Darıca–Hereke–Gebze)
 – PENDİK – Kartal – Maltepe – Bostancı – (Erenköy–Suadiye extension) – Göztepe – Fenerbahçe
 – Feneryolu – Kızıltoprak – HAYDARPAŞA–

1955: Sirkeci – Soğuksu suburban line. It was extended to Halkalı to become the Sirkeci–Halkalı line. The first electric train. The underlined are the main stops (railway stations): Sirkeci, Bakırköy, Florya, Halkalı. The two name changes of intermediary stops, one built later, and one cancelled, are in brackets. The system is Germanic; train above, city or settlement below. When the train accelerates its lighting goes off for a few seconds. The vehicle is often called the “*banliyö*.” The suburban arrives, the suburban departs, you catch the suburban, you miss the suburban. As the suburbans boarded have become increasingly provincialized, the suburbs lived in have become urbanized.

–SİRKECİ – Cankurtaran – Kumkapı – Yenikapı
 – Samatya (became Kocamustafapaşa) – Yedikule –
 Kazlıçeşme – Zeytinburnu – Yenimahalle – Bakırköy
 – Baruthane (was not constructed) – Yeşilyurt –

Yeşilköy – Florya – Şenlik (became Menekşe) –
 Küçükçekmece – Soğuksu – (KanaryaStation was added in between) – HALKALI – (Kanarya Station was added in between) – Soğuksu – Küçükçekmece – Şenlik (became Menekşe) – Florya – Yeşilköy
 – Yeşilyurt – Baruthane (was not constructed) –
Bakırköy – Yenimahalle – Zeytinburnu – Kazlıçeşme
 – Yedikule – Samatya (became Kocamustafapaşa)
 – Yenikapı – Kumkapı – Cankurtaran–SİRKECİ–

2012(?): the Marmaray line. Gebze – Haydarpaşa–Sirkeci–Halkalı unite over one line. The names of the stops in square brackets are not included in the new route. A question mark for Haydarpaşa. The underlined are the underground stations (deep station); drawings presented to the public under the heading “probable design” are without design (modelled before their architectural design emerged). There is a tube passageway between the coloured printed Kazlıçeşme (surface station) and Söğütluçeşme~Ayrılıkçeşme. There is only a faint possibility of the vehicle to be boarded along these lines being called a “train” or a “suburban.” The term may be “taking the metro,” with a metropolitan connotation. If it’s expressed as “taking the Marmaray” its translation will be easy, it’s global.

–GEBZE – Osmangazi – Fatih – Çayırova –
 Tuzla – İçmeler – Aydıntepe – Güzelyalı – Tersane
 – Kaynarca – Pendik – Yunus – Kartal – Başak
 – Atalar – Cevizli – Maltepe – Süreyya Plajı –
 İdealtepe – Küçükyalı – Bostancı – Suadiye –
 Erenköy – Göztepe – Feneryolu – Söğütluçeşme
 ~ Ayrılıkçeşme – [Haydarpaşa?] – Üsküdar –//–
 SİRKECİ – [Cankurtaran–Kumkapı] – Yenikapı
 – [Kocamustafapaşa – Yedikule] – Kazlıçeşme
 – Zeytinburnu – Yenimahalle – Bakırköy – Ataköy
 – Yeşilyurt – Yeşilköy – Florya – [Menekşe] –
 Küçükçekmece – Mustafa Kemal – [Soğuksu–
 Kanarya] – HALKALI – [Kanarya–Soğuksu]
 – Mustafa Kemal – Küçükçekmece – [Menekşe]
 – Florya – Yeşilköy – Yeşilyurt – Ataköy – Bakırköy
 – Yenimahalle – Zeytinburnu – Kazlıçeşme
 – [Yedikule– Kocamustafapaşa] –Yenikapı –
 [Kumkapı – Cankurtaran] – SİRKECİ –//– Üsküdar
 – [Haydarpaşa?] – Ayrılıkçeşme~Söğütluçeşme–
 Feneryolu – Göztepe – Erenköy – Suadiye –
 Bostancı – Küçükyalı – İdealtepe – Süreyya Plajı
 – Maltepe – Cevizli – Atalar – Başak – Kartal –
 Yunus – Pendik – Kaynarca – Tersane – Güzelyalı
 – Aydıntepe – İçmeler – Tuzla – Çayırova – Fatih
 – Osmangazi – GEBZE –

—Aydan Balamir

SUMMER RESORT

RESIDENCE USED AT CERTAIN TIMES OF THE YEAR
 AND ESPECIALLY IN THE SUMMER, AND AN URBAN
 AREA WHERE THIS TYPE OF RESIDENCE FEATURES
 PROMINENTLY.

In the context of Istanbul and in the interval from the early 19th century to the first quarter of the 20th century, the word *sayfiye* [summer resort] defined districts, and residences in these districts, which were within the borders of the city but were visited often only in summer months because of both transportation methods and the lifestyle they determined. With the creation of new settlements, the pre-19th century tradition of palace circles maintaining summer residences in distant localities of the city became no longer a reserved privilege reserved, spreading to the wealthy section of the public like top level bureaucrats and tradesmen who lived in the prestigious parts of town.

The most important summer resort of Istanbul in the early 19th century was the Bosphorus, a water route passing through the city with water-side mansions (see *Yalı*) lining both its opposing shores. The existence of transportation solely



dependent on the sea enabled the development of the Bosphorus as a shore settlement. This summer resort quality of the Bosphorus brought along a unique lifestyle based on the sea and the seasons (see *Bathing/Swimming*). The move to the Bosphorus in early summer, spending the summer months in the midst of nature and the return to 'Istanbul' in autumn, was a luxury and a ceremonial migration belonging to a privileged section of the city. Although the borders of Bosphorus villages expanded with the reinforcement of sea and land transportation in the second half of the 19th century and the Bosphorus began to integrate with the city and turn into a suburb (see *Suburb*), it didn't change the summer resort quality of the waterside mansions' shore. However, the profile of seasonal users and the cosmopolitan demographic structure influenced the development of these Bosphorus villages. With the appearance of foreign embassies, the summer residences and the wealthy non-Muslim population of the city, European lifestyles became widespread in these neighbourhoods too. The Bosphorus was the chief summer resort of Pera residents, but the Marmara shores and the Princes' Islands (see *Isle*) also underwent similar development. The use of neighbourhoods like Yeşilköy and Erenköy as

summer resorts continued almost until the first quarter of the 20th century.

The summer resort tradition, which throughout all periods allowed a short break from the dense and complex structure of Istanbul without travelling too far away from the city, began to seek new locations outside the city with the population increase and the shifting city borders after the 1950s. And although it is also in continuous settlement today, the Princes' Islands preserve their status as the only inner city summer resort in Istanbul.

—Yıldız Salman

> *Bathing/Swimming, Isle, Suburb, Yalı*

SURVEILLANCE

AN ACT OF CREATING SPACE, A SOCIAL AND
ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE.

The term surveillance brings to mind "being under surveillance." These two concepts are interrelated. In the context of both physical and spatial social control, the relationship between



the individual and space is based on the dichotomy of “surveillance/being under surveillance” and the concept of the Panopticon is based on the control mechanism developed between these two concepts. In recent years, public space has been defined according to various mechanisms of this relationship. Fundamentally, in every community, “surveillance/being under surveillance” are concepts which can influence both social structure and architecture in the organisation of cities into neighbourhoods. Surveillance is the covert monitoring and observation of the individual’s relationship with space (e.g. entrance to/exit from a location) by an/other subject/s.

Stabbing, drugs, theft, the inner fear of the “other” who we think is not one of us and all the uncanny situations we can imagine form the myths, transmitted by word of mouth, on certain streets we live on and their surroundings. For example, Tophane with its mostly Arabic, Kurdish and Roma inhabitants is very close to central cosmopolitan and heterogeneous locations like Taksim, İstiklal and Tünel, the centre of the entertainment industry. But still the Tophane neighbourhood, regarded as uncanny and dangerous, is one of the “others” in the urban subconscious, surrounded by preju-

dice which consists of security codes full of cliché; whereas I think that it is a fairly secure location (just like many other similar neighbourhoods): a modest place, about which myths are produced that legitimize alienation from the city for those who choose to live in “gated communities” (see *Gated Housing Estate*). Those myths whispered secretly among people on the streets across town do not just follow us as we stroll around its streets; they also form the prejudices which condition our perception of our surroundings. When we position “ourselves” within the city, our neighbourhood and the streets as a so-called resident, we seek to determine our trajectory with these myths and whispers. When we transform the distance between us and “the other” into an architectural environment, we nurture violence, urban fragmentation and our social taboos, and we interrupt the urban memory which makes for contact through association in public areas. In global cities, ethnic and social differences complement fragmentation; collective urban memory becomes inexpressible and unimaginable. Vague identifications regarding space lead to urban discourses dominated by concepts such as anxiety, apprehension, security and insecurity. Ghettoes, the urban periphery, gated housing estates or other urban zones with contrast-



ing socio-cultural and economic backgrounds are mythified by these urban discourses that are not based on real facts. Since the last century, concepts of the “city” and the “metropolis” have referred to heterogeneous utopias, the togetherness of diverse communities and the access of masses to public space. However, from 1990 onwards, we have witnessed the bankruptcy of urban utopias and of the multi-cultural, privileged and modern urban resident. After 9/11, discourses of security, terrorism and emergency legitimized control mechanisms in global cities. Virtual ID checks, hidden cameras in every corner of public space, restrictions for citizens whose IDs reveal their ethnic status and the architectural environment reconstructed and privatized accordingly constitute the variety of types of surveillance mechanisms.

The increasing number of gated housing estates in recent years leaving their imprint on suburbanism is one thing Istanbul has in common with many global cities. Recently, the social and cultural trajectory of urban fragmentation has been determined by the gated housing estates built from 1995 onwards on the urban periphery, protected by all sorts of security systems, offering a certain lifestyle and thus the formation of

a community, targeting especially upper middle-class clients. The new upper middle class emerging as a result of neo-liberal economic strategies after 1990 and the changes in housing legislations have played an active role in the development of these gated communities. The anti-utopian urban discourses used as part of the promotion of these residential areas describe the modernism everyone longs for: security threats, a need for hygiene, fear of the earthquake, air pollution, busy traffic and urban anxiety. Visual images and the frequent use of English expressions in posters and publicity render an imaginary discourse real.

In *Perfectly Suited for You*, a video installation about gated housing estates in Istanbul by Solmaz Shahbazi dated 2005, we listen to a lady living in Kemer Country on one of the screens installation: to this parent, who says that she ran away from the city centre in the name of a hygienic modernity, for security and to provide a better education for her children, Istanbul is nothing but a wild, dangerous forest. We can sense in the words of this Kemer Country resident who talks in detail about the new lifestyle she has adopted as part of this community that the desire to “come together,” to form a private cultural community is her motivation for



moving, rather than ethnic, religious or economic determining factors. On the other hand we observe that this artificial community redefines “the others” in their outlook on the city. Departing from the phenomenon of gated housing estates, we see that concepts such as public space, privatisation, security, identity and citizenship are reshaped. Rather than a sense of belonging to a city, membership of a community defined through collective living and property determines the identification between the city and us. At this point we witness a clash in the definition of the city and city dwellers (or citizens). On one hand the city hosts inter-related cultures and ethnic groups; on the other hand it takes up a strange new position against the right to access public space and the sharing of urban space and against the definition of citizenship based on the discourse of the nation-state. In new global cities the description of citizenship is established through “... norms, practices, meanings and identities (cultural).” What is the role, in this context, of “gated communities,” which have become progressively widespread in recent years and have gradually increased social fragmentation? How can we discuss this situation in terms of spatial organisation and civil rights? How do these urban discourses formed via the reor-

ganisation of space using biopolitics transform our security and social rights in the city? Bülent Diken’s article describes gated communities as “camps of yearning.” Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben describes the concept of the “camp” as a place where, in the bio-political context, a “state of exception” is established. According to Agamben, “the camp” is a space where the common rule of law is suspended parallel to a crisis or abnormal situation in society. The legitimizing power of the state of exception controls the individual and removes her/his political rights. The camp, where different modes of control are applied to the body is a form of space generating power and bio-political tools. Diken compares physical control in camps (walls, cameras, guards) and in gated communities with their panoptic surveillance systems and discusses the desire to be under control, to be inside such a camp, and the division between insiders and outsiders in terms of exercising or abandoning rights of citizenship (see *Security*). In this sense, he describes gated communities as camps of yearning for panoptic surveillance space. The fact that gated communities are surveillance areas equipped with security, cameras and advanced technology contrasts significantly with the idea of security in a neighbourhood like Tophane. But we can still

define the concept of security, not in terms of technology, but in terms of the relationship between various communities living in this neighbourhood. Here the power of surveillance and the security of a community or a neighbourhood do not consist of physical elements such as high walls and technology; but, quite the opposite, of an ambiguous “network of relationships.” When we compare such opposed communities and physical spaces, neighbourhoods or districts, in terms of these relational networks and everyday living practices, we renew the analysis concerning the debate about public space and rights of citizenship within the city.

—Pelin Tan

> Gated Housing Estate, Security

SYNAGOGUE

HAVRA IS A SLIGHTLY DEROGATORY TERM FOR SYNAGOGUE [*SİNAGOG*] IN TURKISH, ALSO INDICATING A NOISY AND MESSY PLACE. CLOSELY RELATED TO THE TERM ÇIFIT ÇARŞISI OR JEWISH MARKET, ANOTHER SLIGHTLY DEROGATORY SYNONYM FOR A CHAOTIC STATE OF AFFAIRS.

Only a very few synagogues are noisy these days, save on special holidays, weddings, bar mitzvahs and the occasion of bomb attacks. Synagogues can be found all over the city, on the banks of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, on the European and Asian sides and on the city’s islands, in the old economic heart of the city in Sirkeci and in the upmarket neighbourhoods further north. Istanbul’s synagogues tell many stories: about the historically changing socio-spatial distribution of the city’s Jewish communities (see *Ethnicity, Minority*), about the origins of the communities that built these temples and worshiped in them and about the profound presence of Jewish life in the spatial and historical layers of the city.

There are the medieval Jewish quarters on the Golden Horn, hosting the 16th century Ahrida Synagogue in Balat, built by Jews from Ohrid [Macedonia] and the Yanbol Synagogue, established by immigrants from the Bulgarian city of the same name. Only a very few Jews remain in these quarters, mostly in the home for the elderly and the Or Ahayim hospital maintained by the Chief Rabbinate.



The 19th century extensions of Istanbul's Jewish spaces reach out over much of what is today the central city. In Galata in Beyoğlu, there is an Italian Synagogue and the Ashkenazi Synagogue, one of the formerly three temples of Istanbul's Ashkenasim, always a minor group within the proud and powerful Sephardic community. Ironically, the many Jewish temples of Galata are located close to the Teutonia, the German community house now part of the Goethe Institute, where in the 1940s, German agents and local collaborators were busy disseminating propaganda material to instil into the Turkish public a sense of Germanic anti-Semitism. This German undertaking, however, only achieved partial success, at least back then.

The Zulfaris Synagogue is now the Jewish Museum, operated by the Quincentennial Foundation that somehow missed out on the fact that Istanbul's Jewish life did not start with Sultan Bayazit's invitation to the hard-pressed Jews of Reconquista Spain, but actually predates the Ottoman state by almost a thousand years.

The Bet Israel is a symbol of Istanbul's growing Jewish bourgeoisie and its movement north-

wards towards the modern residential areas of Şişli in the early twentieth century. Today, it is one of the most important Jewish temples of Istanbul and its slightly less than 20,000 Jews. Also on the islands the synagogues are very much a 20th century phenomenon: Hesed Le Avraam – named after its benefactor Avram Fresko – is the oldest synagogue there, built in 1904. Two other temples were added as late as the 1950s for the families who spend their summer holidays on Burgaz and Heybeliada (see *Isle*).

On the Anatolian side, most synagogues were built in the late 19th century, especially in Kuzguncuk, where only a very few Jews remain. Kadıköy's Hemdat Israel (The Mercy of the Sons of Israel) remains a splendid piece of religious architecture in the otherwise rapidly transforming residential quarter of Yeldeğirmeni. Caddebostan Synagogue is set amidst the concrete blocks and shopping centres of Bağdat Caddesi (see *Bağdat Caddesi*) in the Asian side's most established upper middle class neighbourhood. It is the centre of community life on the Asian side.

Yet, the synagogue that most deserves the accusation of mess and chaos, if not of its own



making, is the Neve Shalom, the city's largest and most important synagogue with the now hollow-sounding name "Valley of Peace." It was attacked in 6 September 1986 and on 15 November 2003 by Islamist terrorists, and in both cases more than twenty people died.

—Kerem Öktem

> Bağdat Caddesi, Ethnicity, Isle, Minority

ŞİRKET-İ HAYRİYE – CITY MARITIME LINES

FOUNDED IN 1851, THE FIRST PUBLIC TRANSPORT
COMPANY IN ISTANBUL USING MOTOR VEHICLES. [ED.]

In Istanbul, a city of water, the only vehicles of sea transportation until the mid-19th century were *caïques* [skiff-type boats]. The running of boats was an organized profession within specific regulations determined by law. The development and popularisation of the custom of visiting summer resorts (see *Summer Resort*) parallel to the change in the 19th century in Ottoman social and economic structure increased the requirement

for means of transport between the shores of the Bosphorus. On the other hand, boats which didn't provide travel security and meet the requirements of public transport vehicles, failed to meet the increasing inner-city transport demand. The need for a systematic ferry operation arose in such an environment. Described by chronicler Ahmet Lütü Efendi as a "ferry company," the foundation of the *Şirket-i Hayriye* is considered an important achievement in the field of transport. Cevdet and Fuat Pasha, who took the first step towards the foundation of the *Şirket-i Hayriye*, in 1850 penned the bill outlining the importance of a ferry company in view of the increasing demand for transportation along the Bosphorus and the need for such a company. The subject was assessed and an official report was published to announce that neither the number nor the schedule of the ferries run by the *Tersane-i Âmire* (see *Golden Horn Dockyards*) were enough to meet the demand for transport between Istanbul, the Princes' Islands (see *Isle*) and the Bosphorus. Following the official report announcing the foundation of the *Şirket-i Hayriye*, the legal foundation of the company was completed by decree of the sultan. This decree dated 1851 permitted the foundation of a company with privileges to provide transport services for



the people of Istanbul across the Bosphorus in a comfortable and secure manner for a duration of 25 years.

The first action of the company, which would run steamboats carrying passengers along the Bosphorus, was to order 6 ferries from England. The ferries arriving from England were numbered using a system that would become a custom in the future, and were named Rumeli, Tarabya, Göksu, Beylerbeyi, Tophane and Beşiktaş. The first joint stock company of the Ottoman State, *Şirket-i Hayriye* carried passengers between Istanbul and the Bosphorus with ferries until it was bought by the government in 1945, becoming the Şehir Hatları [City Maritime Lines]. This system of transportation led to increased permanent residence and development along the Bosphorus, which had been more of a summer resort until then. Therefore, it can be said that the *Şirket-i Hayriye* accelerated the process of the Bosphorus's integration with Istanbul and added a new dimension to the process.

Ports: Until the *Şirket-i Hayriye* began to operate, there were no ports along the Bosphorus suitable for ships to dock or to load and unload passengers and cargo. During the earliest era of

the *Şirket-i Hayriye*, the ferries didn't actually dock but unloaded the passengers on to boats to take them ashore. In view of this situation, a project was designed for the construction of ports suitable for the docking of the ferries operated by the *Şirket-i Hayriye* and for shelters to allow passengers to wait for the ferries, especially in bad weather. In this context, the decision was taken to build ports and shelters along the Bosphorus in Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Kuruçeşme, Arnavutköy, Bebek, Rumelihisarı, Baltalimanı, Emirgan, İstinye, Yeniköy, Tarabya, Büyükdere and Sarıyer on the European side and in Üsküdar, Kuzguncuk, Beylerbeyi, Çengelköy, Kandilli, Anadoluhisarı, Kanlıca and Beykoz on the Asian side. At first, there were no closed waiting areas at the ports. By 1914, there were closed waiting halls in almost every port.

Şirket-i Hayriye Dockyards: the *Şirket-i Hayriye* company founded its own dockyards in Hasköy in 1861 for the repair and maintenance of city line ferries and the construction of small vessels. The *Şirket-i Hayriye* dockyards were developed into the mid-20th century with various additions such as slipways and stands. The dockyards were transferred to the State Maritime Lines and Harbours General Directorate in 1945 and the Mari-



time Bank in 1952; in 1984 they were assigned to Turkey Shipping Ltd. The Dockyards, officially registered by the Preservation Board (see *Preservation Board*) in 1995, were purchased by the Rahmi M. Koç Museology and Culture Foundation, the production plant in 1996 and a plot to the west in 2001. The renovated dockyards and surroundings were opened on 10 July 2001 as a section of the Rahmi M. Koç Industrial Museum.

—Gül Köksal

> Golden Horn Dockyards, Isle,
Preservation Board, Summer Resort

TAKSİM SQUARE

THE HOLE IN THE HEART OF THE CITY.

Veins: Siraselviler Street starts out in the south, from Firuzağa Mosque. This section of the street, which connects to Cihangir and the neighbourhoods in the south, was known as Firuzağa Street in the 1900s, continues on as the Tozkoparan (also known as the Italian) Slope downhill to Tophane and the port. The name Siraselviler points to the

past of the settlement here as an area of gardens and groves, which thins out towards the old cemetery fields in the north. The part of the street included in 19th century maps is this section, the whole of the street only appearing in maps from the early 20th century. Along this track aiming north from Tophane, hospital buildings are the first landmarks to attract attention: the Italian, then the German hospitals, and the Municipality Hospital (today the First Aid Hospital) across the street. In the early 20th century we see the Rum foundation buildings, the Zapyon school built by Konstantinos Zappas in 1885, the adjacent Aya Triada Church and the properties of the wealthy Ottoman elite on the north end of the street, among which were the villas of the vizier brothers Necip and Selim Melhame, demolished in the 50s and transformed first into the Dilson and then the Keban Hotel, and the villa of one of the important figures of the Ottoman Foreign Office, Noradunkyan Efendi. The street was transformed after the 30s into a narrow urban corridor with multistorey apartments, commercial buildings and hotels, and opens onto the square at the point where the Aya Triada is now and the old Melhame villas used to be located.



The end of Kazancı Hill (see *Slope*) which opens onto the square used to be called Ahır [Stable] Street; the name probably derives from the stables of the old Artillery Barracks which used to be located here. The slope has no continuity as a road; it takes a bend at the small neighbourhood mosque down towards the Fındıklı shore following the old bed of the stream, and is now called Fındıklı Dere [Stream] Street. This short-cut between the shore and the square, just like the adjacent Mezarlık [Cemetery] Street is an aggregate of side streets branching out along the slopes of the neighbourhood rather than an axis with structural and spatial integrity. The old and majestic villa between the openings of the two streets onto the square was the residence of Sir Edwin Pears, the English director of the Ottoman Bank, today The Marmara Hotel is on this site. Pears's villa used to look out onto the old Artillery Barracks and the buildings in front of it, whereas the Taksim Gezi Park (see *Parks and Gardens*) which was built in the gap left by the demolished barracks and the increasing number of hotels form the horizon of the hotel which replaced it.

Another track which leads from the sea, this time from Dolmabahçe, to the square is İnönü

Street, or Gümüşsuyu Street to use its previous name; the connection between the palaces on the shore, the barracks on the hill and the neighbourhoods which formed in between; the old Ayaspaşa Road which climbs a steep topography not by branching through neighbourhood side streets like the Kazancı Slope, but across an empty area, with a shallow incline harmonious with the nature of the terrain, or to use its even older name, the Ağaç Dibi [Bottom of the Tree] Road. The terrain looking out to the Bosphorus used to be a grove, becoming in the 17th century a cemetery, while in the 19th century barracks were built to the north and west of the route, with houses and villas to the south in the Ayaspaşa neighbourhood, and after the 1930s with apartments sprouting up on both sides of the Gümüşsuyu road. Important buildings here towards Taksim from the 19th century on include the Gümüşsuyu Barracks, today used as the Technical University, the Military Hospital, the Japanese Embassy (later Consulate) built in the early 20th century as the villa of another director of the Ottoman Bank, Pangiris Bey, the German Embassy, the Hariciye [Foreign Affairs] Villa built in place of the former Italian Embassy. This structure first became the Miramar Hotel after the fire, and then Park Hotel (see *Park Hotel*),



after which it was demolished and a huge, vulgar hotel building was planned in its place, the construction of which now stands as a carcass of a building with its upper stories cut out. The street ends with the Atatürk Cultural Centre (AKM) at its opening onto the square, where the lodgings of the French director of the Electrical Company used to stand until the 1940s. This is the point where Mete Street begins.

Mete Street today is a short road featuring a line of apartments looking out on to the park area in front of it, the open space which used to be behind the old Barracks on the site of the Taksim Promenade, and on to an earth road. It didn't have a name until then either; it is referred to as road no.5 in the Prost Plan. During the time in office of Mayor Lütfi Kırdar, the road was covered with asphalt while the Taksim Esplanade was being designed, and extended to Taşkıışla in the north, connecting to the roads around Taşkıışla to increase its fluidity. The short street which has a line of apartments on one side and the park on the other is separated from the park area by an elevation of a few steps, but the pedestrians often don't use the park and stick to the pavement.

A second connection, parallel to Mete Street, where traffic never gets congested, and the promenade, Cumhuriyet Street has an entirely different history and identity. It continues the Siraselviler axis but it actually has assumed a spinal function of connecting İstiklal Street and the flow from the historic peninsula to the areas of development areas in the north. It has a long history as a road passing through cemeteries, orchards and sparse settlements extending to northern villages and hunting areas. Its importance increased with the development of the Şişli, Nişantaşı, Teşvikiye, Maçka, Tatavla (today Kurtuluş) and Pangaltı neighbourhoods in the 19th century. Its name in the 1930s was Pangaltı Street. Previously known as Kışla [Barracks] Street, the road became a boulevard with a line of trees running through its middle in 1869, and a tram operated here after the 1860s. The opening of the Military Academy in the mid-19th century and the granting of the right to own property to the non-Muslim population with the Tanzimat [Re-/Organisation] Firman brought life to the street; Christian schools, foundation institutions, hospitals and villas were constructed. Movement stirred further with the Prost Plan and the development operations of Mayor Lütfi Kırdar. The Radio House and the Sports and Exhibition



Palace were built on the site of the Surp Agop Armenian Cemetery and later big hotel buildings were constructed on green areas beginning with the Hilton. The training ground of the Artillery Barracks became the Talimhane neighbourhood from this period on, a district that used to be an area of refined apartments, and today is a partially pedestrianized (see *Pedestrianisation*) hotel area. Pangaltı Street became Cumhuriyet Street, progressing between the apartments of Talimhane and the shops of the Taksim Esplanade from the Elmadağ intersection on to join with the square; its extension in the opposite direction continues to be the main artery of the city's constant development towards the north, under different names, widths and formats.

The point where Cumhuriyet Street meets the square is the point where it intersects with Tarlabaşı Boulevard. The street which runs parallel to İstiklal Street towards Galatasaray branches at Şişhane Square and connects Galata, Kasımpaşa, the Golden Horn and, via the Atatürk Bridge, the area within the city walls to the north. It was conceived in plans devised in the 19th century after the Pera Fire, re-proposed in the Prost Plan, between 1986 and 1988, with the wide street

we see today opening as part of Mayor Bedrettin Dalan's development activities after the demolition of 350 old buildings. The Galatasaray and Şişhane section of the street contains prestigious buildings like the old English Embassy, the existence of which in the city has been continuous since 1596, further on the USA Consulate General until its recent move to its new and highly protected building in the north, the Pera Palace and Etap Marmara Hotels, and a constantly increasing number of museums and cultural centres; while the eastern section, subject to demolition and widening (see *Demolition or the Warped City*), and in particular the northern section of the street has become a slum area where marginality and poverty dominate. A poverty of substance lives hand in hand with the poverty of the space and, since its opening, the Tarlabaşı Boulevard has failed to establish an identity either in the urban landscape or in an architectural sense. There is a metre between the levels of the carriageways making up the road separated by a small centre strip, with pedestrians having to negotiate acrobatically the broken down steps here, while pavement widths also constantly change. Buildings which have been partially demolished and for some reason have not been replaced either



stand there in their partially demolished states, or their street façades are given tedious make-overs. The eastern end of the street, supposedly the reason it is called a “boulevard,” meets the square in this dishevelled state. The two small streets of the Talimhane neighbourhood, Şehit Muhtar Street and Abdülhak Hamit Street open on to the square at this same point in the same spatially undefined state.

İstiklal Caddesi has always had a privileged place among all the roads opening onto the square. The street begins from the Galata walls and the tower, connects the harbour from Karaköy via Yüksekaldırım, and even further on, via the Galata Bridge, the historic peninsula and the old administrative and trade areas to the north. Galata Tower, the Mevlevihane [the Mevlevi dervish lodge], the embassies, Galatasaray High School, churches and religious missions contributed to the rising importance of the street from the end of the 18th century on, and this importance continued throughout the 19th century and in certain periods of the 20th century with new buildings, apartments, arcades, trade and entertainment zones, hotels, cinemas and cultural institutions.

This formation, which developed on the ground of the Pera orchards of old, progressed north via La Grande Rue de Péra (see *İstiklal Caddesi* or “*Beyoğlu*”) or the Cadde-i Kebir [Grand Street], its Ottoman name, and crowds, activities, horse-drawn and electrical trams and automobiles followed this axis flowing to the plain where the, the water reservoir distributing water to a certain part of the city, was located, or in other words, to Taksim Square. On one side of the opening of the street onto the square was today’s French Consulate, and, across from that, the Aya Triada Greek Orthodox Church and its annexes built in 1887.

Heart: All these main veins and arteries lead to the same plain. They are joined by invisible ones, coming from vestibules under ground. One of the busiest stations of the metro dreamt of by the metropolis some hundred-odd years ago but somehow never completed is here too and, in the future, the force striking the surface from these underground veins will increase further.

Taksim is a vertex on the Beyoğlu side of the city. Water brought on the orders of Sultan Mahmud I from the Belgrade Forest in 1731 was distributed from the Maksem here to Beşiktaş,



Ortaköy, Beyoğlu and Kasımpaşa using the natural incline of the terrain. And the roads climb the same slopes to reach the square. Apart from İstiklal Caddesi, none of these roads feeding the most important square of the city can be said to be important pedestrian areas and this is a contradiction in terms of the identity of the square. But one comes here from long distances: buses, *dolmuş*, private vehicles, the small tram of İstiklal Caddesi, the funicular line which connects Kabataş and the sea and tramway lines which terminate there to Taksim, tourist buses, school, business, airport service vehicles and the underground bring their passengers to Taksim. Taksim, with its hilltop position, is the meeting point from two directions, of Bosphorus connections via Dolmabahçe and Fındıklı from the east and the harbour and Golden Horn connections via Karaköy and Kasımpaşa in the south. Further, moving on from this meeting point, it is the most important node in the city's increasing northerly growth formed from concentrated development on the sites of groves, orchards, cemeteries and sparser settlements, making for the legitimate basis of its perception as a "centre" on the urban and, gradually, country scale. For Istanbulites, for those who know Istanbul and for visitors, it is the heart of the city.

However, this heart does not comply with the known standards and tenets of being a square, in fact, this place is a windy, exposed and fluid cavity, loose in terms of its spatial definitions and weak in terms of its architectural identity.

For a point which remained "outside" the long history of the city until the last century and which furthermore displayed no architectural identity and refinement to take on the identity of a centre in both functional and symbolic senses is not a phenomenon one often comes across in a historic city. For instance, in the 15th century, when the heart of the city was beating within the walls of Istanbul, Taksim was a point where a country road leading out of Galata arrived at a plain covered with trees and orchards. The development of Pera and the hills of the Bosphorus and the settlement areas in the north transformed this plain into an expansive area of cemeteries: Ayaspaşa, Tarlabası, Elmadağ and Harbiye were covered with Muslim, Armenian, Rum [Greek], Protestant and European cemeteries. In the mid-19th century, a section of this big cemetery zone, the Grand Champs des Morts, and especially the Latin Cemetery, was gradually moved towards the north, to the Feriköy area; institutional buildings and then the neigh-



bourhoods and the square were built on the old city of the dead.

The first important building was Maksem, the building which lent the square its name. This building of hydraulic engineering with its façade of 44 metres forms the first border of the cavity that is today's square from its construction in 1731. In the 18th century the Ottoman palace began its move from Topkapı to the Bosphorus. The settlement of the palace along the Bosphorus meant the urbanisation of Bosphorus villages and their hills, and at the same time the establishment of modern military institutions protecting the palace like barracks, schools and hospitals in the same region. The plain where the Maksem was located and its surroundings were now an area of military facilities, and with the removal of a section of the cemetery on the site where the Taksim Esplanade is today during the Selim III period (1789–1807), the construction of the Artillery Barracks was completed in 1806. In the mid-19th century, in Harbiye, the Mekteb-i Umum-u Harbiye [Military Academy], today the Military Museum today, Taşkılla [Stone Barracks] which was allocated as a hospital for French soldiers during the Crimean War (1853–1856), the Mızıka-i Hümayun

[Royal Military Band] Barracks in Gümüşsuyu and on the opposite hill the Maçka Arsenal and some annexes which have now been demolished were also constructed. The old cemetery site opposite the Artillery Barracks became the parade ground of soldiers; today it is the Talimhane [Parade Ground] neighbourhood. From 1807 on, the date it was constructed, the barracks became the site of some important events in late Ottoman history: the scene of the Kabakçı Mutiny in 1807; the clash between the Hareket Ordusu (the army which came to Istanbul from Thrace to subdue the anti-constitutional rebellion) and the rebels after the 31st March uprising in 1909; bombarded and burned out, it became the shelter of soldiers from French Senegal during the years of occupation, then losing its function and abandoned. After 1921 it was used for a while as the first stadium of Istanbul, its courtyard used as a football pitch when it was known as the Taksim Stadium; the first game of the Turkish national team was held here (see *Stadium*). In some of its buildings, annexes and additional buildings some of which exhibit characteristics of *gecekondu* (see *Gecekondu*), there are agencies, shops, coffee shops, a casino, a tavern, a parking lot and even residences.



A consequence of the barracks' loss of function was the opening of the parade ground for development. Apartments were built on this site from the end of the 1920s on. The Republic Monument, the work of sculptor Canonica, was erected in 1928 right beside the Maksem in Taksim, as a symbol of the new regime in this old capital; and later the surrounding area was landscaped in a circular design emphasizing the central identity of the monument. The square became Taksim Republic Square. The three-storey Kristal Casino, its arcaded façade standing at a curvilinear angle to the monument, was built at the end of the new Talimhane neighbourhood between Şehit Muhtar and Abdülhak Hamit streets and demolished in the early 1970s. In the 1920s, the Majik Cinema was located at the point where Siraselviler Street opened onto the square; its name was changed to Venüs later, and it then became the Maksim Casino, in line with the new tendencies of the entertainment industry.

The Taksim of the 1930s comprised a small square including the monument, buildings surrounding the circular space around it and the roads leading out from this centre. The central pillar of the space and its centre was the monument; the

most important buildings the Aya Triada Church and the Kristal Casino. The stables of the barracks and the Maksem wall completed the space. The barracks, its stables and annexes, the police station, which is no longer, the developing neighbourhood of Talimhane, the apartments of Gümüşsuyu–Ayaspaşa and their extensions in the eastern and southern elevations of today's square defined the thoroughfares delimited by these series of buildings. However, from this point, the modernist imagination inclined to create wide urban spaces will not comply with this congested texture. In the Prost Plan approved in 1939, the barracks have been replaced by a park surrounded by apartments and public buildings. In the Kirdar era, this scheme was applied though with amendments: first the stables and annexes, then the barracks themselves were demolished and the İnönü Esplanade was landscaped as an elevated and axial green area without the surrounding blocks projected by Prost. The plan also foresaw a statue of İsmet Paşa designed by Belling on the square end of the esplanade and a line of grandstands for parades: each political era wants to see its own symbols in Taksim, and the plinth of the statue was installed but the change in government meant that the erection of the statue was not permitted, the plinth remaining in place for

years though eventually being removed. The 1950 change in government also meant that the İnönü Esplanade was changed to the Taksim Esplanade.

Taksim was an excursion spot in the past too. There was a garden within the Gümüşsuyu graveyards which is depicted in old engravings and in the 19th century there was another garden closed to the Muslim population to the north of the barracks at the entrance of the Surp Agop cemetery. The Prost Plan and the Kırdar Reorganisation transformed this English-style garden where tea dances and balls were held into the Taksim Municipal Nightclub and the new modern building was inaugurated in 1939, providing the location of Republican Balls, weddings of the national bourgeoisie and the new elite of Istanbul, New Year celebrations and official meetings, as well as a “decent” chess club on the upper hall. Opposite it was the building of the Tennis, Fencing and Mountaineering Club (TED). The buildings within the green area projected to extend from Taksim to Maçka in the Prost Plan didn’t survive. The Hilton Hotel rose within the park area in 1955. The Night Club was demolished and the Sheraton Hotel was built in its place, and in place of the demolished TED Club building, the Hyatt Regency Hotel was opened in the 1990s.

The most important building defining the new and expanded square space is the AKM, standing some 140 metres across from the Maksem. In the years when the Prost Plan was being drawn up, another important French architect, Auguste Perret worked on an opera building that would be located here, which project after the war years was taken over by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. The building designed by Hayati Tabanlıoğlu was first opened as the Istanbul Palace of Culture in 1969. Following the fire it suffered a short time after its inauguration, it was reopened in 1978 as the AKM we know today. The second important building of the square is that of the Marmara Hotel, which opened as the Intercontinental Hotel in 1975 exactly opposite the esplanade in place of the former residence of the director of the Ottoman Bank which was later used as the Istanbul Club, at the point where a viewing terrace was projected to be created as an extension of the promenade.

Cosmetics and symbolics: With all these changes taking place in a very condensed historical period, Taksim became a constantly changing space with no fixed periphery, dimension, geometry or scale; it expands, narrows and then



re-expands... The barracks are constructed in the middle of the gap where the gardens and cemeteries once were; when the Barracks complex is demolished the square expands; when the parade area opposite the Barracks are developed the scale of the gap is narrowed again; and then the demolitions in the Tarlabası direction enlarge the gap once more. When the barracks were demolished, the square integrated with the esplanade area, and then a hotel block was erected on one end of the square. The esplanade never managed to become what its name refers to. Membranes dissolve where streets opening onto the square join it; the perspective widens, becomes indistinct, and lines fade and disappear.

This short history is not only the history of buildings constructed and demolished, but also the history of symbols, unrealized dreams, contentment and compromise. The Republic demolishes the Ottoman barracks to build its own monument. The modernity it designs seeks to produce the space of the new regime, its ceremonialism, its political identity and lifestyle: a square designed with grandstands and parades, and an adjacent modern club to host Republican balls... Muslim conservatives don't want a

square without a temple. Aya Triada continues its dominance over the square as an overly large Christian building although it has lost its congregation. The mosque they want to build behind (or on top of) the Maksem in turn draws the reaction of the secularist children of the Republic: the symbol of reactionism defying the AKM! The tragicomic story of the İnönü Statue also becomes the battlefield of the symbolic imaginations of changing governments. Although "strange" pavilions and "artistic work" were erected in place of the removed plinth, none of them managed to catch on and all were destroyed, with Ramadan tents occasionally installed where they used to be. The symbol of the "revolution" erected in the middle of the square after the 27th May coup d'état featuring the combination of book, bayonet and laurel branch remained in place for many years, perhaps owing its removal to the construction work for the underground station. It seems as if no one finds the appearance of *gecekondu*, the ugly telephone and Akbil counters (see *Akbil*), the stations, the service booths and the irregular pile-ups of buses in the most important square of the city strange; most of these occupy the place of the demolished stables and the annex buildings which were unlicensed in their own time. The



space is not defined by architecture but by routes and uses which change every day. The square is transitory and makeshift in its nature... in fact, the city is.

Therefore, advertising hoardings and illuminated news screens which flash in the night suit the vacuum of Taksim and add more meaning to the square than the architecture of the styleless and featureless buildings surrounding it. It is possible to relate the failure of integrated design for Taksim and its environment to this quality. It is not difficult to understand this in a social environment given restricted economic resources and a modern city and urban design culture strongly emulated since the 19th century despite being so poorly adapted to be so. The proposal for the urban metro system to extend along the current route out to Kilyos was originally made in the 19th century by Eugène Henri Gavand, the engineer of Tünel (see *Tunnel*). The opening of the Tarlabaşı Boulevard, moreover within a modern urban design format, can be observed in plans made in the same century after the Pera Fire. The classic-modernist and axial Taksim Esplanade designed by Prost proposed a disciplined urbanism overlapping with the ideology of the era with

its surrounding buildings and ceremonialism. What was constructed in its place has been a green vacuum preserving the external dimensions and geometry of the design. The International Urban Design Competition held in 1987 is now an almost-forgotten document of the architectural archive with its proposals of esteemed parties. The urban rehabilitation competition held in 1989 in order to heal the “urban wound” (see *Wound*) caused by the Tarlabaşı demolition faced a similar demise. Today, in 2008, urban transformation projects aiming to socially and functionally change the same slum area and reshape urban edifices are produced and are known more for the polemics they trigger rather than their content. Indecision between urban surgery and cosmetics continues.

Body and meaning: If the heart nurtured by the veins is a vacuum difficult to define as a space, if its borders, hardware, architecture and aesthetics fall short but if this place is yet to become the heart of the city, receiving social approval, we have to understand what may fill the vacuum. We have already mentioned that the urban geography of Taksim Square and its position within the rationale of urban development is the first data required in order to understand any such ratification. This also

explains use value as the second data: the structures and institutions here and their functions.

This space is a centre of gravity and energy, not only for those who exist in it, but also for those who are in its close vicinity and along the veins that nurture it: AKM, the other cultural centres in the neighbourhood, hotels, universities, cinemas and theatres, Asmalımescit and Nevizade streets and the taverns, restaurants, cafes and coffee houses around them, the destitute joints in the nooks and crannies of Tarlabası, the spaces of post-90s alternative cultures, the stops of all the transportation systems reaching the square and their routes, their arrival points and their users... Then, all the functions Taksim assumes, supported by its position, the dimensions of the vacuum and the functional and transportation possibilities: state ceremonies, military parades, Republican Day celebrations, wreath-laying rituals beneath the monument, observations of one-minutes of silence, in other words, acts which cannot be carried out in Sultanhmet and Bayazıt anymore... Then, dissenting voices, demonstrations, protests: uprisings since the 31st March event; the Wagon-Lits demonstration, the demonstration which initiated the events of 6th–7th September, the bloody protests of the

60s and 70s, the Bloody Sunday on the occasion of the protest of the 6th Fleet, bloody May Day demonstrations... And civil meetings: New Year celebrations, public concerts, excitement, curiosity, banality and disorderly expressions extending to sexual harassment... Taksim is the space where these also take place. As in all big harbour towns known as “Gateway Cities,” the identity of the centre/square (see *Centre*) which cannot be separated from the harbour and the geographical correlation with the harbour, the energy and its various manifestations are all nourished by such a geographical position and its dynamics.

The mundane image in Nazmi Ziya’s painting which documents the years when the monument was opened blends here into the sight of believers spreading their prayer rugs out on the slops from the public toilet in front of the wretched *gecekondu* mosque with a stubby tin minaret and the resigned, tired looks of the elderly, loyal followers who have come to watch the “approved art” at the AKM on Saturday mornings. Punks, transvestites, poor Africans coming up from the depths of Kalyoncu Kulluğu, the well-dressed regulars of Café Opera and the lobby-bar of the hotel on the upper floor, the elderly musician gentlemen

of the bar orchestra and the tourists who get out of their hotels and pile into their buses do not find each other's existence strange; or the police officers who form barricades with their synthetic transparent shields in front of the Maksem and the monument, the pirate cassette and book sellers beyond them or the Romany flower vendors even further on. Taksim is a shared area with many actors.

This is the place where one gets off a vehicle and gets on to another. One meets in front of the AKM or "French Culture" [French Cultural Centre] and goes to another, more special place, and this is the place from which one departs later. One comes here, one departs here, and one has to pass from here — even if it happens underground. It always exists as a name in mind, a place to which one returns.

Social and political hygiene has always tried to clean up this careless, unkempt, sloppy and incongruous identity of Taksim – Taksim is actually always a symbol, it is Pera-Beyoğlu and Istanbul itself — but it never succeeds. The secret of the success of this huge area in becoming a place without ever becoming a square or a space lies, to a great extent, in this uninspected state.

Within its indefinability, ambiguity, carelessness and unkemptness, Taksim is a freedom station — a gap which belongs to no one and therefore is used by all individuals in the huge metropolis without any ease, albeit for short periods of time. While the street and place names around it are changed, Pürtelaş becoming Yılmaztürk, and Abanoz becoming Halas, and where symbols compete with each other, Taksim belongs to everyone. This is the reason why it became the coalition site for cemeteries, barracks, monuments, Bloody Sunday and its perpetrators, the pimps of Eftalapos Coffee Shop, religionist and secularist rituals and other contradictory existences.

Differentiation in time, ambiguity of borders, mediocrity of architecture and the inconvenience of weather on winter days are the components of this "democratic" entity. This is not a Place de l'Étoile where grandiose boulevards meet, or a Times Square where the flood of people and vehicles flows and intersects along narrow street spaces, or a San Marco Square which filters and transmits all the traces and riches of a pre-modern world or a Red Square where grandeur, ideology and pompous, frightening parades pass by. But this place manages, each day and each night, to reproduce itself

as a slightly fictive concept-space or rather as a space of uses, meanings and spiritual-bodily flux.

Despite itself and all its weaknesses and contradictions, all the ideologies and projects of architects, urbanists and city administrators, Taksim exists alone as the unrivalled focal point of the city.

—Atilla Yücel and Hülya Hatipoğlu

> Akbil, Centre, Demolition or the Warped City, Gecekondu, İstiklal Caddesi or "Beyoğlu", Park Hotel, Parks and Gardens, Pedestrianisation, Slope, Stadium, Wound

TIME

A VEHICLE OF THOUGHT TO REVIEW THE INTENSE AND INTERCONNECTED METRIC SPACE IN URBAN EVERYDAY LIFE IN ISTANBUL; A DIMENSION.

The city shelters this dimension in its physiognomy. Measured according to standard real-time systems, however, time in Istanbul is no different from other places; though this time is in fact not the time of Istanbul, because it has not been

measured as a dimension of place. Istanbul hides time in the relationship between the nature of constructed space-time and nature itself, in its aura.

The aura of the city comes from the sea rather than land. As events, people and spaces move away from the sea, the time of Istanbul is also removed from being time in Istanbul. Real-time measurement systems reveal that the population of the city has been intensifying with increasing acceleration and, in parallel to this, that it is retreating from the sea. As the intensity and occupancy of space increases, space-time consumption increases too, leading to a decrease in time. People increasingly begin to live in moments. Since real-time systems now operating in the city begin to realign the borders of space for each individual and to define interfaces between the individual and nature, the borders and dimensions defining place become invisible to the individual. As s/he carries on experiencing such interfaces, the individual is subjected to global amnesia regarding Istanbul. Yet time can only be a vehicle of thought to access and understand the invisible when it is slowed down by the individual, when its consumption is reduced and when it is produced; only then



can the individual escape amnesia. To see only the visible as shown by real-time devices, to read and express only what is signified is not enough to understand the time of Istanbul and time in Istanbul. We cannot discover time as a dimension of place on this path, where we continue to experience isolated moments. It is necessary at once to swerve.

—Senem Deviren

TİNERCİ

AN ISTANBULITE. [ED.]

Walk the square in Taksim or other places where the city circulates and when the whiff of solvent reaches your senses you turn around and see the boy, startled, expectant, dazed. Often his hand reaches out in a gesture of begging they call *sinyal çekmek* (signalling) and the media often report their violence to passers-by. Protecting and advocating them as *sokak çocukları* (street children) has become a way for urban folk to express a desire for alternative communities. ss are perceived as “matter out of place”; they are in the category of

things and people who do not fit into roles assigned to humans their age: student, friend, lover, clown, family man, apprentice to the butcher, coiffeur.

No one migrates to the city to become a *tinerci*, but it is a side effect of that journey for a better life made from provinces and hinterlands. There is a romantic *tinerci* more in line with the street urchin type and there is a violent *tinerci* that is the symbol of all that is wrong with society and is fuel for the arguments about uncontrolled population growth, deteriorating social ties, bad political parties, worse education, failing officials...

Tinerci boys should be distinguished from *ballyci* boys who prefer the comfort of glue spread into plastic bags, a more mellow bunch compared to the solvent boys who claim to be more alert but not alert enough to feel the shame of begging for money and food or the bone chill of the city winter. *Tinercis* claim they are better fighters than glue-sniffers.

The circulation of *tinerci* in the urban landscape is one yardstick for urban moral decline, population without control. “Now they are chil-



dren” people say, “but they will grow up to be men who not only sniff solvent but also do other dangerous things.” *Tinercis* are society’s impending problems wrapped in a solvent dripping tissue. Their violence to passers-by punctuates some city paths, while many *tinercis* try to join the ranks of passers-by.

The paint solvent “solves” the world for them by thinning the barriers, blurring the lines, smearing the faces of those who shoo them away from the entrance to restaurants and hotels. The solvent melts away the cold and dirt, erases memory and boundaries. On the urban canvas they are painted with a different brush.

—Meltem Türköz

TOPONYMS

DISCUSSING ISTANBUL’S URBAN TOPONYMY
MEANS EXAMINING AN ABUNDANT FIELD WHERE
DATA ILLUMINATING PROCESSES OF URBAN
TRANSFORMATION CAN BE COMPILED.

This is probably one of the most striking of historical determinations: the number of place names

transferred from the Byzantine Empire to the Ottoman is surprisingly low. Therefore, the city must have experienced a significant change or transformation in the post-1453 period. Toponyms with Rum [Greek] origins among all place names in the foundation charters extant since the era of Mehmed II are limited to Langa (Greek: Vlanga), Samatya (Greek: Psammetia) and Vlaherna (Greek: Blakherna) (and maybe Altımermer) in the historic peninsula. Üsküdar, Galata, Makriköy (today Bakırköy), Tarabya, Pendik and Kartal may be added to these from greater Istanbul within the boundaries of today’s Metropolitan Council. Toponymic accumulation, which was already very restricted by the end of the 15th century, also reveals which areas had been settled in the Late Byzantine period in the city and its close vicinity, because there is no evidence of insistence or the use of force concerning a change of toponyms after the conquest.

The designation system applied in the city from the beginning of the Ottoman period until the 18th century appears very determined. Its most significant feature is the non-designation of transportation arteries. Apart from rare exceptions main streets and side streets have no name.



Urban toponymy is restricted to the designation of neighbourhoods, districts and city gates. Gates along inland city walls are sometimes named according to the city they lead to. Important gates such as Edirnekapı, Silivrikapı and Belgratkapı are among these. However, there are some interesting names too. For example, the area of the sizeable breach opened in the city walls during the siege of Istanbul was known as the Canon Wreck Neighbourhood [Top Yıkığı Mahallesi]; the name was later reduced to Topkapı, and the former name of the neighbourhood was forgotten. On the other hand, the name Cracked Gate [Çatladı Kapı] is related to a person called Çatladı Kasım who was granted a few plots of property during that era. Neighbourhood names are often related to the name of the person who defines the neighbourhoods, who has had the mesjid at the heart of the neighbourhood constructed, like Avcı Bey Mescidi Mahallesi, Çakır Ağa Mescidi mahallesi, Defterdar Sinan Mahallesi, Hacı Halil Mescidi Mahallesi, Hacı Timurtaş Mescidi Mahallesi. Another group of neighbourhoods indicate the commercial or productive activities in the area. For instance the Demirciler [Blacksmiths], Balık Pazarı [Fish Market] and Debbagin [Tanners] neighbourhoods are like this. There are also many

names related to important buildings in particular areas. Examples include the Ayasofya Camii [Hagia Sophia Mosque], Can Alıcı Kenisası [Can Alıcı Church], Bodrum Camii [Bodrum Mosque], Çatal Çeşme [Çatal Fountain], Kırk Çeşme [Forty Fountains] and Kum Kapısı [Sand Gate] neighbourhoods.

People whom neighbourhoods have been named after are often related to the three groups forming the Ottoman bureaucratic elite, the *ilmiye* (religious bureaucracy) and the *kılıç ve kalem erbabı* (military and civil bureaucracy). They have either lived in these neighbourhoods or had the mesjid frequented by the residents of the neighbourhood constructed. Toponyms which have lasted the longest in that they were used in later centuries are often related to buildings which have been constructed by highest ranking administrators which bear their name, which are often mosques. Almost all of these place names include the title *Paşa* [Pasha] and a significant part of them are in use today. These include Mahmut Paşa, Mesih Paşa, Koca Mustafa Paşa, Cerrah Paşa, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa, Haydar Paşa, Sinan Paşa, Davut Paşa... District and neighbourhood names bearing the names of religious nobility



(like Eyüp Sultan), or religious figures (like Şeyh [Sheikh] Vefa and Molla Gürani) form a large group too. A group of toponyms which are durable as these but are wider in terms of urban distribution may be added: that is, the names of buildings and building complexes financed by sultans and their dynasties. The latter are used as district names rather than neighbourhood names. The Fatih district bears Mehmed I's name, the Beyazıt district Bayezid II's, Süleymaniye Suleiman I's, Sultan Selim Selim I's and Sultanahmet Ahmed II's. This designation system means that the urban layout was named almost entirely by reference to the representatives of the central administration and in fact in a directly hierarchic manner. There are very few areas on the urban layout which do not refer to the sultan, the dynasty and the administrative elite via a toponym or some concrete evocation. The same tendency can be observed in the two previous Ottoman capitals, Edirne and Bursa, however Istanbul is an exemplary apex in the world of Islam and Turkey for such terms. Toponymy in this city must be considered an instrument of political manipulation *per se*, or the capital is a microcosm in the context of the imperial system.

As in all other areas, the 18th century brought radical changes in toponymy as well. The new names introduced in the Tulip Period are poetic terms and phrases like Sadabad, Neşatabad, Mihrabad, Hümayunabad, Hüsrevabad and Çırağan, which have almost no political connotations. A significant proportion of these names were forgotten in the next century. Their disappearance can be explained by the difficulty of their pronunciation in everyday Turkish due to their Arabic and Persian origins. Others were forgotten after the building or building complex they belonged to was demolished. But probably the most important reason for their disappearance was their incongruity in relation to the customary toponymic tendencies of the city, since they were names coined by the ruling elite when things were founded. In previous centuries names were not designated officially and were formed within the community as part of everyday practice according to the tendencies defined above. However, although many early examples of official designation were forgotten, such a practice of naming was itself to become the rule in later centuries.

Although the Tanzimat [Re-/Organisation] brought about important political and social



changes, it did not at first significantly contribute to the place names of Istanbul. However, by the 19th century the old traditions of designation were dissolving. On the one hand, Greek toponyms began to appear on the fringes of the city which didn't exist before. Tatavla and Ayastefanos are such cases. On the other hand, urban dwellers of European origins (Levantines) took part in the practice of designation. For instance, the neighbourhood known as Taksim today (and back then among Turks) became Champ de Mars, and the main street of Beyoğlu was Grand rue du Pera. Names of individuals came to be used as toponyms also. Pancaldi, an Italian who had a store in the area, lent his name to the Pangaltı neighbourhood. The really comprehensive change took place in new neighbourhoods inhabited by Turks. "Official" names related to a fundamentally different approach to designation emerged, like Teşvikiye, İcadiye, Suadiye and Harbiye. Teşvikiye (from *teşvik*, meaning encouragement) announced that settlement in this newly established neighbourhood was being encouraged. İcadiye (from *icat* meaning invention) indicated the "newly invented" plan of the neighbourhood. Harbiye, also the name of the Military College, was related to this institution. The Constitutional Monarchy

of 1908 gifted the Hürriyet-i Ebediye [Eternal Liberty Hill] to the city. In other words, the practice of giving names directly referring to political ideology which had begun to be forgotten with the Tanzimat reappeared on the agenda under a different guise. This practice exercised an absolute sovereignty in the urban area in the Republican period.

However, old toponyms related to the city's Ottoman bureaucratic elite were not changed in the Republican period. The only change was a reduction in the number of neighbourhoods in the city according to a new plan implemented in 1934. Old neighbourhoods were merged. Therefore, tens of old neighbourhood names were rapidly forgotten. A comprehensive program implemented in the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy period (after 1908) and in the Republican period aimed at designating all squares, main streets and side streets that did not have names and/or weren't named officially. Some of these names repeated old district and neighbourhood names. The vast majority of these were named with reference to the "The pantheon of Turkish heroes and notables" formed within the framework of the new nationalist ideological structure. At least one toponym



corresponded to a notable of Ottoman and Republican history. The majority of such notables were of a military and administrative background. All other examples of different identities indicate the presence of a mechanism of ideological selection. This means that there are scores of main streets and side streets bearing names like Atatürk, Ata, Mustafa Kemal, Namık Kemal, Mimar Sinan and Barbaros in contemporary Istanbul. However, there is only one Nazım Hikmet Street, for example. The most important streets will evoke recent history, as with İstiklal Caddesi [Independence Street], Cumhuriyet Caddesi [Republic Street]... Despite the effort to establish a link between main street and side street names and ideologically approved historical personalities, events or concepts, these would never be enough for such a huge metropolis, and many streets carry “neutral” or non-referential names like Aslı, Ceylan [Gazelle], Aslan [Lion], Gül [Rose], Cennet [Paradise], Çınar [Sycamore], Çelik [Steel], Çiğdem [Crocus] and Mutlu [Happy]. It would be difficult to claim randomness for these names too. However, it is possible to observe a relative decline in ideological streets in urban toponymy in the 1950s. District names like İdeal Tepe [Ideal Hill] and Bahçelievler [Gardened Houses] appear. However, it should not

be forgotten to the largest satellite city founded in 1958 was named Ataköy.

Despite some fluctuations, the urban toponymy of Istanbul was generally stable in the period from 1923 to 1985. One can at most speak of some trivial changes brought on by the 1960 and 1980 military coups. For instance, Beyazıt Meydanı was renamed Hurriyet Meydanı [Square of Independence] following the 1960 coup. However, after 1985, a new element was added to the practice of naming although previous ideological engagements were not forgotten: words began to be borrowed from Western languages. Beginning with the first suburban housing estate Kemer County, newly constructed residential areas outside the city were given names in this style. There are scores of new residential areas whose names end with terms like “County”, “City”, “Residences.” This type of name immediately refer to the high standard of life to be experienced there, and to the disconnection from the tendencies of the city in general and class-cultural preferences. Such new settlements declare how different they are from the majority of the city with their names too. The same approach to naming can be observed in the names of shopping centres, which have gradually come to define



important centres in urban toponymy. Their foreign names indicate the high quality of the facility.

In the meantime, old place names within the city are being rapidly eroded. While, especially in the older areas of the city, for centuries the name of the neighbourhood used to change at almost every 50 metres, this distance began gradually to increase. This change may be related to the replacement of pedestrian traffic, which was dominant for centuries, with vehicular traffic, and also to street names being used in place of neighbourhood names. However, the use of street names has not spread to all areas of everyday practice. For instance, no taxi driver in Istanbul can take the customer to an address defined by street name and number. Taxi drivers still require the name of the neighbourhood first and, once there, instructions for the location of the street and the building. Therefore, what has been for almost a century regarding the naming of main streets and side streets are valid, for instance, for postmen, couriers and suppliers serving homes (generally the postal system), but it remains inoperative for the residents of these areas. Very few people know street names in their close environment — apart from the street they live on. The everyday reality

of the city to a certain extent seems to nullify and erode the ideological enforcements of the last century. This may lead us to make another determination unrelated to the insistence of ideological designation: Istanbulites even today define themselves not by an individualistic location identifier signified by street name and number, but by a community (*Gemeinschaft*) they exist in, which also signifies a geographical location. People here (or at least a significant portion of Istanbulites) do not only live at an address belonging to them, but within a community they share with others within urban topography. The name of the district or the neighbourhood as the embodiment of this understanding in a particular geography is still more significant than a regular address (composed of the street name and number and the post code).

—Uğur Tanyeli

TOURISM

“TOURISM” WILL BE USED IN TWO DIFFERENT SENSES OR FRAMES HERE. IN THE WIDER SENSE, WHEN I USE THE WORD TOURISM (SET IN REGULAR TYPE) I WILL MEAN THE TEMPORARY PRESENCE IN THE CITY OF PEOPLE WHO AREN’T REGULAR RESIDENTS OF THE



CITY IN ALL MANNERS AND CONTEXTS. IN THE SECOND OR NARROWER SENSE, I WILL USE THE WORD TOURISM (SET IN *ITALICS*) TO INDICATE A SPECIAL FORM OF THE FIRST: THIS NARROWER TOURISM IS THE ACTIVITY CREATED BY THOSE BUYING READY PRODUCT PACKAGES (TRANSPORTATION/ACCOMMODATION/TOUR-GUIDE SERVICES) FROM THE “SECTOR” FORMED FOR THIS PURPOSE. WHEN I USE THE WORD TOURISM IN THE WIDER SENSE I WILL GENERALLY ALSO BE REFERRING TO AND INCLUDING THE SECOND AS WELL.

1. Tourism in Istanbul/Two options in a self-service restaurant: A short observation as introduction: when tourism is mentioned in Istanbul, one expects *tourism* to be understood and topics regarding *tourism* in the professional sense to be discussed, as a general tendency. Let’s say the words “tourism” and “problem” have perchance come together, and the topic is suddenly narrowed down to *the problems of tourism operators*. Tourism in Istanbul is the business of those who do business in tourism; they are in charge of it. This sentence which appears to be a tautology roughly summarizes the situation. However, it is also a part of the problem.

Tourism as a “designed and planned activity for which policies have been produced and implemented” or *tourism* has existed in Istanbul only

in a very restricted manner before now. Although the industry sees this as a problem, it is not such a bad thing. There are reasons which make one think it is fortunate that they haven’t (couldn’t) design such plans.

Instead of planned policies, two phenomena which have until now belonged to the city, that is “culture” and “suitcase” tourism, have “created” and “marketed themselves” in a relatively independent manner. Istanbul-style self-service tourism is formed of these two packages which are rather unrelated on appearance: they have a certain “natural” buyer potential in the first place, and this potential will be, and is, attracted to the city even if extra effort isn’t shown.

In the last ten years, urban actors added an “intentional contribution” to these with conscious effort and planning: that is, the space they call the Congress Valley and projects carried out within it.

Self service menu 1/The Basic Cultural Monuments package: The first package is the “historical/cultural/natural tourism” package including Topkapı/Hagia Sophia/Sultanahmet/The Covered Bazaar/the Bosphorus and five more items at most.



This package includes these few item “monuments” which have by chance managed to scrape through from the city’s rather more comprehensive “permanent monument stock.” So much so that one may think that they have arrived here by some form of natural selection or mutation. This “selective cultural monuments basic kit” has formed its own myth over the centuries, and has, so to say, marketed itself. No one can easily answer the question whether this condition (being included in this basic kit) that has befallen them is a chance or a serious misfortune for these cultural monuments.

This main package also draws the borders of the generally accepted perception of tourism in Istanbul. One shouldn’t expect the effort by current generations to expand this kit to produce any significant effect: expanding the stock will first and foremost require the establishment of a non-problematic relationship with the city’s Byzantine, multi-ethnic Ottoman and early modern pasts; and the impossibility of this in the current socio-political conjuncture, and therefore the faint possibility of it becoming convincing are obvious.

The expiry period of the selective package is roughly 1 to 3 days; and the average tourist stop-

over time is roughly that anyway. Tourism in Istanbul basically survives thanks to this package; and at the same time it is aware of the restriction of the package and complains constantly about the situation. It is not possible to increase tourism profits by using the current package.

The desire to expand and enlarge the package and to get it to make a qualitative and quantitative leap is some kind of fixed idea within the industry; on the other hand it is near impossible to achieve this task with the current city. Hiding the desperation, and increasingly the anger felt concerning this situation strains the *tourism* operator. Therefore the main strategy of tourism has increasingly been positioned against or in spite of the current city; there is no end to the pursuit of correcting the city, re-conquering it and reshaping it to suit oneself.

Self service menu 2/Suitcase tourism: The second package is determined by the area in Istanbul where cheaply produced goods of consumption and especially textiles are marketed. This package sprouted up of its own accord as a result of the perfect harmonisation between the labour-intensive and informal industrial city and the post-Cold War Eastern European landmass.



Although it may seem more cyclical than the first, it has in a short time managed to produce itself as an urban area, which has constantly renewed and increasingly stabilized and institutionalized itself. The new global South, the landmass of Africa/Asia/the Middle East has also found its place within this formation.

This second package differs fundamentally from the first. Its urban/geographical volume and total number of participants are far greater than the first, like the younger surpassing the elder. Apart from small exceptions and of course accommodation services, it is not often a focus of the *tourism* industry, in fact, it could be added that it has gradually developed a considerable resistance against it. It derives its knowledge of the city directly via its interaction with the city, doesn't use intermediaries, refuses in not-so-polite terms the offer of value added service by the industry: it has learned to find its own way in the city. Many don't even consider the activity mentioned here as tourism or its area a tourist area, the pejorative "suitcase" tag added before it used to constantly rub its nose in difference and inferiority; and its seepage into this article on tourism will probably be deemed unacceptable by a substantial percentage of readers.

These two tourisms ("selective culture" and suitcase) try to fit in quite a small part of "greater Istanbul" (almost 1000 square kilometres of development), a part of the historic peninsula and the Galataport geography (an insignificant area of 10, or at most 20 square kilometres), competing with each other over this land.

2. Tourism in Istanbul/A strategy of tension: *Tourism* in Istanbul is first and foremost a north/south problematic (see *Northern Istanbulite*).

Tourism in Istanbul is an activity in which a segment of society which probably lives in the northern and peripheral regions of the city and works in offices along the Taksim–Levent axis tries to market an area of the city which lies mostly in the southern part of the city and has been completely segregated from spaces where the life of average Istanbulites takes place; it is as if it has been imagined around the hypothesis that the tourist will only end up here once in her/his lifetime. Indeed, if the "goods" are restricted to Topkapı/Hagia Sophia/Sultanahmet/The Covered Bazaar, if they are not to be diversified, there is no reason why anyone, as long as they are not mad or obsessed, should exhibit demand for a

second or third time to this ghetto full of hotels, restaurants, bars and shopping centres which only serve tourists.

Tourism in Istanbul is guerrilla warfare carried out by the industry with a hit-and-run strategy. The “marketing” of Istanbul by a *tourism* industry, dominated by a middle class which has an aestheticizing and exclusive view of its own urban reality and has not managed to adopt any other discourse than describing the current city as irregular, is no different from thinking you can win a game by scoring an own goal. The *touristic* discourse, which finds descriptions like “the capital of tolerance” suitable for Istanbul, constantly reproduces the myth that this place is a harmonious mosaic of cultures. As the Ottoman heritage of a society and space of parallel-cultures is vulgarly scythed down in a process which still continues with all its violence and extends from “Citizen Speak Turkish” campaigns to slogans of “Love It or Leave It,” the industry either acts as if these values still exist, or suffers convulsions of pathological nostalgia. The new residents of the city, the migrant population from the south east, eastern Europe, Asia and Africa which new national and global waves of violence and poverty

have washed onto Istanbul shores are, let alone being considered worthy of the multicultural “mosaic,” at best turned a blind eye to.

Tourism in Istanbul is the area of sovereignty of Turkish grammar. The urban knowledge of Istanbul, which claims to be a global space, is inaccessible to those who aren’t competent in Turkish. (The situation is only very slightly better for those who are.) For instance, there is not even a single practical city map on the market. Each page of thick books claiming to be exactly that is full of “misleading” factual errors. Existing maps do not refer to transportation systems. If the Istanbulite is not a tourism professional, the city map of the Istanbulite and the city map of the tourist do not overlap. The map distributed to tourists contains only the area within the city walls. Because of the dimensions of this segment, a bit of Beyoğlu and a bit of Üsküdar enter the frame too. Sometimes a tourist has to abandon her/his map and make a journey along the TEM with a “ghetto-view” to get to Sarıyer where for instance s/he will get on the boat for a Bosphorus tour. Tourist routes within the city are drawn out according to the principle of “avoiding unnecessary scenery as far as possible.” The first brief given to the novice guide by

the industry is on “as far as possible not letting the tourist see these monstrosities.”

Existence as a tourist in Istanbul is ultimately based on a relationship of dependency with those who have practical knowledge of the space, or the fear of “the wolf capturing the stray sheep.” The tourist visiting the city should not have the chance to contact people other than those who “earn their dough” from tourism. The system has been founded on the “full time siege” of the tourist by trustworthy professionals: only when s/he is tired should the tourist retreat to her/his hotel room to be alone.

From the moment s/he lands at the airport, her/his access to normal forms of existence in public space has been restricted; s/he has to make a special effort to receive information about these.

Customer profile: The industry also has very clear preferences regarding customer profile. It is customary to express these preferences frankly during shop-talk. The preferred customer profile is from the Global North, white and wealthy. S/he is well-educated, however a particular dimension of education is desirable: s/he must be well-trained in visitor etiquette. Which means: never question-

ing the leadership and competence of the industry which establishes her/his relationship with the place and the industry’s activities and representatives, never asking unnecessary questions, never taking up critical stances, never declaring views on the ominous topics of current politics and playing the institutional dependency game until the end. The customer is desirable as long as s/he fits this profile; the further s/he moves away from the ideal definition, the more s/he should expect surprises.

There is a serious problem of plausibility in the discourses of the *tourism professional* regarding the current state of the city, s/he appears that s/he will abandon the place at the first opportunity once s/he markets this place as far as it goes and s/he “fills the coffers.”

These observations no doubt pertain not only to the tourism industry, but they are a historical problem of the cultural and financial elites of the city of which this industry is a part.

Domestic tourism: Top-selling daily newspapers have weekly travel supplements; they sometimes report on topics about Istanbul and prepare serial articles. The way the city is taken up in these

publications is no different than exotic “destinations,” like for instance Thailand. The same orientalist discourse, the same format, the same visual material and caption use... For the target audience, the relationship with the “destination” is formed from the same distance and using the same mental templates.

These serials tell us that there is a desire for tourism professionals who go beyond the Golden Horn and into the “tourist area” to introduce this practice to north Istanbulites who do not have such a habit or need and to lead them in this venture; we are informed of the deficiencies and the preparations to overcome them.

Under the current circumstances, the historic peninsula is an area, a non-place which is passed through in one go or in transit via the Menderes or Dalan Boulevards. Crossing the Golden Horn and deviating from the main transit arteries to enter the “inside” will mean, for the Northerner, becoming a tourist, where s/he will always remain slightly European.

The Ankara “factor”: The tension-field that is tourism is not restricted to inner city factors. Ad-

ditional problems produced by the central-unitary state structure add insult to the injury caused by other current ones. All tourism assets must be shown to be as such and their suitability to relevant laws and regulations must be registered. The authority which carries out the registration and necessary inspection is an external actor, the “ministry of culture AND tourism” which resides in Ankara, the capital of the central state. The marriage of these two functions within the structure of the same ministry after constant ebbing and flowing is revealing in terms of the view of the centre: culture finds its meaning insofar as it is marketed in the context of tourism; our culture is useful insofar as it can be converted into revenue. Left to our own devices, it is probably surplus to requirements, and can be considered a luxury.

Ankara bases its reasoning on this main assumption: Istanbul’s tourism and the relationships and activities which develop around it are potential problem makers. However, the environment which produces these problems, i.e. Istanbul, does not have the capacity and ability to solve these problems on its own. Therefore, potential fields of mistakes must be regularly inspected by the higher agency.



The most significant, inevitable mistake is the failure to transfer a sufficient amount of the revenue accrued to the central vault in Ankara. Istanbul's tourism whets the appetite of Ankara bureaucrats. On the other hand, Istanbul is not happy being seen as the milk cow of the central vault.

3. Placing tourism on the agenda in Istanbul: Was it such a bad thing that *tourism* didn't succeed in becoming effective as a conscious project of its actors? No, it's probably more appealing as it is. Tourism has been increasingly included on the agenda recently; however, there are no signs that the more intense, deeper interventions of the actors with their current state of consciousness will produce more reasonable results. Two things can be deduced from the project: first, the more effective, more striking marketing of Istanbul as a destination; and second, the reproduction or restructuring of the urban space in a manner more compatible with tourism. This results in the tense situations caused by the historical matters mentioned above. Tourism becomes the prop for the re-conquest ("re-conquista") of the south of the city, which has unfortunately failed to become gentrified, or for the extension of the "northern area."

Let us take a look at an example: "Tourists from Istanbul" are touring the Balat-Fener area. When the group comes upon a desolated Kantakuzenos House, voices are heard: "Oh, this would have been such a beautiful "small hotel"... No, no, a "gourmet restaurant" would suit this spot far better..."

North Istanbulites have set out on a mission to re-conquer, on a basis of safe islets, the historic peninsula they deserted from 1850 on and Pera which they deserted from 1950 on to create enclaves where they can give meaning according to their patterns of behaviour, consumption and aesthetics and exist along with their own kind (see *Gated Housing Estate*). These islets have formed around and in the vicinity of historical cultural properties. However, northerners have not been entirely persuaded to resettle in these areas in the full sense and to reside here, and the reasons are diverse.

At this point, the meaning of the "tourism project" becomes clearer: the tourist (as long as s/he complies as much as possible with the ideal profile outlined above), by its temporary use, has to hold the space on behalf of the north and in the name of the northerners. The tourist in Istanbul does not (cannot) exist for herself/himself, s/he

has ended up in the middle of an arduous struggle which cannot allow that. Although s/he may not be aware of it at all, the tourist is “charged with a task” during her/his time in Istanbul: Her/his mission is to push away the Other and clear the way for the re-conquest using her/his existence, the demand s/he creates, the space s/he uses and her/his patterns of consumption and existence.

Eliminating Tourism: The reasonable solution to the problem of tourism in Istanbul is to eliminate tourism as a segregated area and to dissolve tourism in the everyday life of the city, in particular, to dissolve *tourism* within tourism. A strategy of normalisation is required. Not the production of new tourism advertisement projects or tourism investment areas or privatised space constructions.

The task is to bring together the visitor and the host in relation to the common denominator, opening the doors so as to allow everyone to utilize the rich potential of a genuinely unique metropolis. Producing projects not only for tourists but for all manner of permanent/temporary urban dwellers, making urban knowledge accessible to all and translating knowledge for those who aren't competent in the local language.

In this perspective, *tourism* has to transform: it cannot continue with hand-me-down methods. In a city where the field of tourism is expanding and becoming invisible in everyday experience, it is no longer possible to create added value using old methods and legitimacy. Tourism has to be creative, to accept the current metropolis as a fact, to observe it well and to learn how to stand on its own feet with unique and creative products with a high added value.

Istanbul has sufficient experience to dismantle tourism's status as a strategy of tension and to channel it into a bed of normalisation, this experience has formed: the space branded and disparaged as suitcase tourism, points to the practice of forming a regular relationship with everyday, regular forms of the city. An intelligent policy of tourism has a lot to learn from this experience, which insisted in forming a direct relationship with the present city.

—Orhan Esen

> Northern Istanbulite, Gated Housing Estate



TRAM

A TRANSPORT VEHICLE WHICH ENTERED USE IN THE 19TH CENTURY TO MEET THE INCREASING TRANSPORTATION REQUIREMENTS OF CITIES. TODAY, A PARTIALLY NOSTALGIC PART OF THE SCENERY (IN BEYOĞLU). IN THE REST OF THE CITY, A RAIL VEHICLE SLIGHTLY SMALLER THAN A TRAIN THAT SEEKS REFUGE IN THE LEGITIMACY OF THE WORD TRAM.

The transportation network holds an important place in the efforts to upgrade to European standards the rapidly accelerating city in the second half of the 19th century. The network, as a first step introducing public transport into city life within the scope of planning work after the fire (see *Fire*), is one of the most important components of the urban transformation Istanbul experienced in the second half of the 19th century (see *Urban Transformation*). Six horse-drawn trams were added to the transportation system of the city in the 1870s to facilitate transportation to the new neighbourhoods which developed both in the inner regions of the historic peninsula and the Marmara shoreline, and from the hills of Galata towards Şişli and on to neighbourhoods along the Bosphorus which were experiencing a rise in population. This first public transport service

primarily facilitated the transportation of the poorer section of the city's population and also supported the development of neighbourhoods along the planned lines. Within this framework, the Azapkapı–Ortaköy, Eminönü–Aksaray, Aksaray–Yedikule, Aksaray–Topkapı and Taksim–Şişli lines were the first to be introduced into service. The arrival of the tram not only facilitated transportation, but also enabled the renovation of street paving and the water and sewage system of the city along the lines so that they could be laid.

Horses used in transportation sold to the army because of the Balkan War, which broke out just before the First World War, resulted in the city being left without trams for more than a year and the idea that the electric tram, which was already being used in America and Europe, was now indispensable for Istanbul had become widespread. With the completion of the construction of the Silahtarağa Power Station in 1914, electricity was provided first to the Tünel–Şişli line and then to all Istanbul tramways. The first tram waiting to travel from Karaköy to Eminönü also connected the two sides of the Golden Horn for the first time (see *Golden Horn*). The tramway lines developed and increased considerably from



1914 to 1950, however they began to fall from grace within the framework of development projects beginning in the mid-1950s and were replaced by buses. The return of the tram began 30 years later in the early 1990s on the Tünel–Taksim line as a nostalgic urban element (see *Nostalgia*) rather than a transport vehicle. Then it reappeared on the agenda as a solution to the city’s transport problem.

—Yıldız Salman

> Fire, Golden Horn, Nostalgia, Urban Transformation

TWO-FACEDNESS (I)

THE REGULAR STATE OF ALL METROPOLISES. [ED.]

The face is the layer between the inner and the outer. The more abstract, hazy and shapeless emotions, thoughts and even lifestyles are transformed into a visual and concrete expression on reaching the surface of the face. The state of having a number of such manifestations or expressions that contrast with each other is called two-facedness. Cities

have their own unique faces, too. Often they have more than one; or they are revealed in contrast to one another. Therefore, we can say that all cities are two-faced. Istanbul is the most two-faced city among all the cities on earth. The main features of this face are determined by topography and architecture. This situation harbours a dilemma in its own right; two faces, one immortal, the other mortal... This two-faced situation revealing the permanence of topography and the transience of humanity (architecture) is brought into sharp focus in the recklessly demolished and renewed Istanbul.

Variety and contradictions reveal numerous other faces in Istanbul’s architecture. From *gecekondu* (see *Gecekondu*) to multi-storey plazas, and neighbourhood markets to shopping centres (see *Shopping Centre*), these reflect the changing phases of the faces.

The two sides of the city present a state where this two-facedness reaches its pinnacle: the European side and the Anatolian side. These two faces of Istanbul, stood facing each other, are the cause of many sociological and physical traumas. See-sawing between being half-western and half-eastern brings about a continuous “ebb and



flow” of the emotional and physical, where the greatest physical trauma appear as a “traffic jam”. This is a type of two-facedness that is difficult to tolerate; which is why the two faces of the city constantly face attempts to bring them together. Hence bridges, underwater tunnels...

Istanbul, the city where everything is harboured along with its opposite. It delivers you into a crowd when you are lonely, into captivity when you are free; and when you are about to leave it has you stay; and when in love, it has you hate.

—Senem Akçay

> Gecekondu, Shopping Centre

TWO-FACEDNESS (II)

THAT FORM OF TRYING TO ESTABLISH POWER OVER THE CITY BY SEEKING SUPPORT FROM ETHICS AND LAW.

The mirror in the sentence Baudrillard quotes in his book *America*, “*Caution: objects in this mirror may be closer than they appear!*” presents an

almost two-faced structure through the illusion it creates. The object seen in the mirror appears to be distant but it is actually quite close, in fact, it is almost inside the subject looking in the mirror. Efforts of legitimisation in cities that are symbols of power in the age of globalisation like Istanbul contain this kind of two-facedness. It is natural that the reason the city has a special place in disputes of legitimisation is the centuries old, customary, land-based understanding of sovereignty. The people of the city demand participation in all decisions regarding the territory of the city in the name of democracy, and especially architects, planners or engineers whose professions are directly intertwined with the city. But the real reason they do not express things directly but know deep down is the effort required to become decision makers, that is to say, to be in power.

Changes in urban policies especially in recent years given the effect of globalisation and the reflections of these changes upon Istanbul have triggered significant debates among the inhabitants of the city. The struggle against the construction of high-rise hotel buildings that change the Istanbul silhouette (see *Silhouette*), and its consequences, have been closely followed by the public



too. Park Hotel (see *Park Hotel*) and Gökkafes, two important cases which resulted in the “victory” of residents opposed to these buildings, added an utterly different dimension to their positions in the city with the legal penalties they received. Park Hotel, the first case, was deserted in the middle of Taksim by its contractor who gave up on the investment – and perhaps lost his head in the battle along the way – after the implementation of the decision to demolish a large proportion of its floors. The lifeless body that remains is today a structure used by the car park mafia and has become a cemetery in the middle of the city with the victory of the dissidents. A fetishist step was taken – towards power – without discussing the strategies to prevent this type of building being built, without questioning the structure, without proposing different solutions and without calculating the economic-environmental damage the demolition will cause. Thanks to this punished, lifeless structure, dissident urbanites legitimised their own power with great two-facedness, by turning a blind eye to the damage they caused to the city and focusing only on winning the argument. Baudrillard – perhaps in order to shatter a similar two-facedness – does not distinguish between the dread of dying in the twin towers, targeted for

being symbols, and the dread of living in “these concrete and steel sarcophagi” emphasizing how they actually became the most beautiful global structure through their destruction. Although the court decree has not been implemented yet, if new and different solution proposals free of the concern for power are not formed for the demolition of the second, Gökkafes, it may not be possible to solve the economic, urban and most significantly, environmental problems to come in Istanbul, in fact, it may not be possible to know who the winner is in this struggle. Especially when we don’t know, or don’t want to know what we see when we look in the mirror.

—Zühre Sözeri

> Park Hotel, Silhouette

2010

THERE ARE STORIES DESCRIBED AS UTOPIAS BECAUSE NO ONE BELIEVES THEY CAN COME TRUE, ALTHOUGH THEY WOULD LIKE THEM TO; AND THERE ARE DATES ASCRIBED TO THOSE STORIES. FOR ISTANBUL, 2010 IS A NEW TIME CODE THAT HAS APPEARED FROM BEYOND THOSE UTOPIAN YEARS.



Istanbul has always been a city of fates it could not choose. All it has managed to do is to submit to its fate with no resistance... However, Istanbul has always succeeded in maintaining the right attitude towards its fate, both when it realized the utopias of the present in the past, and when the weight of the past was lifted from its shoulders.

Istanbul did not choose the fate of becoming the 2010 European Capital of Culture either, just like all the other epithets it has been labelled with, or all the titles taken away from it...

It would perhaps be wiser to challenge the conceptual transformation which made the epithet of capital of culture appropriate for Istanbul rather than the urban transformation which led to Istanbul being identified with that epithet.

When concepts and actions, which did not have industrial value during capitalism's infancy and development, and could not link up with the market, sought shelter in the high tower of culture to look down on capital from the seven hills of Istanbul, everything was different, but equal. However, during the 60s and 70s when everything was commodified and began to take on value ac-

cording to the extent of its relation with the market, the hills of Istanbul were dwarfed by newly erected buildings while the high tower of culture began to descend too. As concepts like fashion, media, communication, image, cinema, music and lifestyle came down to the eye-level of capital, culture also became part of the market. Along with consumption, images, signs and codes that were rewritten every day began to spread across the entire field of everyday life. The city and its urban areas received their share in this process and began to be defined through images and meanings.

In the 80s consumption went beyond being a stage of economic relations and achieved new meaning as a spare time activity, a status symbol and a lifestyle, with images and spectacles of consumption becoming a part of culture. Consumption was internalized within culture. Consequently, the market took control over culture, and created different cultures and perceptions from different patterns of consumption in order to profit from them. In a de-differentiated world drowned in the same unequal conditions, the same catastrophes and cloned images, the emphasis on difference began to increase. As culture became a marketable commodity within the mar-



ket, it also became a tool in the marketing of any type of goods. The city received its share in this development, and became a commodity marketed using values, concepts and culture.

In addition to the natural flow of history, in actuality behind Istanbul's shift from political capital to cultural capital lies this variable positioning of "culture" in time. This change in the perception of culture is based on politics itself being loaded with a cultural meaning. In a period when differences on an individual and social basis come into prominence, politics also shifts away from class and nation towards ethnicity and culture.

Local and international inequalities created by the capitalist economic structure emerging within historical processes, injustice between global classes and further political differences are now being internalized and normalized as "cultural" differences. Seen as the hereditary genetic code of societies, culture is never questioned and, since it is not questioned, the codes of its perception cannot be changed. This is the reason why certain differences based on economic and political origin are rendered insurmountable.

The emphasis is on the fact that injustice, which seeks shelter behind culture when differences are questioned, cannot be changed or overcome but only be tolerated.

As a result, two concepts, the culturalisation of politics and the clash of civilisations, are articulated one to another. That is to say, the concept of the "bridge," which enabled the meeting of civilisations Istanbul hosts, and is presented as a solution to the clash of civilisations, in actual fact only manages to underline differences. Yet it produces no solutions to problems that have been conceded as insurmountable in the first place.

The concept of the "Capital of Culture" contains contradictions within itself. One of the most important elements highlighted in the process of membership to the European Union is cultural differences, but the frame of the European Capital of Culture is defined only by the concept of Europeanness. That is to say, differences are considered acceptable only insofar as they fit a certain frame. In this context, the hand that draws the frame accepts and imposes the supremacy of its own jurisdiction from the start. A superstructure claiming to promote an understanding that

defends heterogeneity stands close to cultural relativity and adopts pluralism, contradicting itself by aligning with the concept of the capital of culture and ending up merely emphasizing its own superiority.

Besides, the display-window city of a country which has not been considered politically “European” for years for having a different culture is ironically presented to cultural imperialism as a capital. So is there an Istanbul suitable for consumption as a cultural commodity even though outside the political entity of Europe and outside the Wild West of Turkey? Or is the emphasis on a country grounded in European culture and economics but left out of its politics, whose existence does not go beyond a notion of some Turkish delight?

While “Europeanness” as defined by multi-cultural Europe still remains a great mystery, two questions arise when Istanbul, a city economically and culturally divided within itself, aims to evolve towards this complex concept under the epithet “European Capital of Culture” and chooses to seek a new vision for the future within the framework of this concept: Which Istanbul? Which Europe?

And the culture of what? Which of the civilisations which have always failed to meet does Istanbul serve as capital?

Behind the title of cultural capital and the “meeting of civilisations” there actually lies an emphasis on “the clash of civilisations”, on difference and the impossibility of ever getting together. Thus, Istanbul does not deserve to be defined as a bridge connecting the two sides but failing to bring and join them together. For the bridge carries, despite its connective function and through its very existence, a constant emphasis on the “failure to unite” through its existence on different sides. The bridge exists where the two sides can’t meet, othering the other side. That is to say, it goes against its purpose and begins to serve as a thick rigid line underlining separatism rather than unification. It stresses that the other side that is never “this side” can also never be “this side.” As long as the shores do not unite to render the gap between meaningless, the bridge only serves separation.

Besides, the geographically and culturally unifying nature of Turkey did not achieve relevance only with Istanbul. Long before the un-

derstanding which stubbornly plants one foot on “egocentric” Istanbul, Anatolia was kneading and bringing together the children of this world, without depending on definitions or receiving funds from the European Union. Whereas now, the attempt to solve the trauma caused by separatist lines drawn by rulers in a land which has not known borders since ancient times and the failure of the discourse of an artificial syndrome of reunification emphasizing differences by building bridges is proving abortive. Because building bridges, even if it does increase transitivity, cannot produce any other result than an emphasis on differences and the state of permanent non-unification.

—Ahenk Dereli

URBAN FOLKLORE

FOR THOSE WHO LIMIT THE CONCEPT OF FOLKLORE TO A GENERAL FRAME OF ANONYMITY, RURAL AREAS AND ORAL COMMUNICATION THE TERM “URBAN FOLKLORE” IS ALMOST A CONTRADICTION IN ITSELF. TO THINK OF FOLKLORE AS A ZONE OF PRESENTATION AND AN EXPRESSION OF SOCIAL MEMORY WILL OPEN CERTAIN DOORS BEFORE US WHEN THINKING OF URBAN FOLKLORE.

In this context, we may also consider how to approach Istanbul folklore or the folklore of Istanbul. The majority of studies on ‘Istanbul and folklore’ that often approach the subject from a historical point of view focus on the founding legends of the city and beliefs concerning certain sites. *Folklore de Constantinople* published by Henry Carnoy and Jean Nicolaïdès in 1894 and Stefanos Yerasimos’s *Constantinople and Hagia Sophia Legends in Turkish Texts* (1993) are important sources on Istanbul’s historical folklore. In another field where a historical view of Istanbul and folklore is adopted, we find studies on the cultural expressions of the city’s social life. Mehmet Halit Bayrı’s *Istanbul Folklore* (1972), Samiha Ayverdi’s *İbrahim Efendi Konağı* [The Mansion of İbrahim Effendi] (1964) and Adnan Özyalçın and Sennur Sezer’s *Bir Zamanların İstanbul’u: Eski İstanbul Yaşayışı ve Folkloru* [Istanbul of Times Gone By: Living and Folklore in Old Istanbul] (2005) are studies that focus more on 19th century Istanbul social life and perhaps detail a cultural presentation of a period we today call “old Istanbul.” (see *Istanbulite*) However, contemporary urban folklore comprises both material cultural changes and all manner of forms of oral communication produced by social group structures within this



ethnographic context. For instance, today's urban folklore appears in many aspects, from the interior decoration of minibuses to stories told on women's days, from the planning of various *gecekondu* neighbourhoods in terms of public architecture to narratives concerning stories of public bus, minibus and taxi drivers, purse-snatching and burglary. The area of folklore known as urban legends on the other hand comprises legendary narratives produced regarding various places, actors and social groups in the city. Some form of connection between tradition and the present can still be seen in Istanbul in visitor areas in *türbe* [mausoleums]. In this sense, urban folklore includes the manners of expression and artistic communication of all types of social groups.

—Arzu Öztürkmen

> **Istanbulite**

URBAN TRANSFORMATION

A SLEEK NAME GIVEN TO THE APPROACH OF THOSE WHO WANT TO INSPECT AND DISCIPLINE THE ACTIONS IN A LIVING CITY TRANSFORMING ON ITS OWN ACCORDING TO THE MISSION THEY IMAGINE IT TO HAVE. [ED.]

The city, urbanisation and becoming-citizen are three important concepts outlining the urban process. Cities are entering a new process before properly completing the process of urbanisation and becoming-citizen. The name for this contemporary process is urban transformation. We explained the process we experienced from the 1960s to the 1980s with the concepts of urbanisation and becoming-citizen. But the process we have experienced since the second half of the 1980s was a renewal process in line with plans for renovation and improvement of *gecekondu* areas accompanied by intense demolition and reconstruction. Risks in terms of structure and quality of life which appeared following this process promoted the concept of urban transformation, especially in the aftermath of the 1999 Marmara Earthquake (see *Earthquake*), to the head of the agenda of the urbanisation industry.

A “strategic action planning process” containing spatial, social and economic dimensions has now begun to replace the “classic development planning process” in the solution of urban problems in areas of settlement where urban risks are high.



In the new process, urban transformation exhibits the necessity of the establishment of a holistic planning network system. This system will be in line with the three basic principles of sustainable development: Economy, which enables the development of local economies, Equality, which takes into consideration everyone's equal access to public resources and Ecology which especially protects environmental and cultural values (3E); it will adopt three approaches, the Urban [Kentsel] approach, in view of the spatial structuring of cities, the Cultural [Kültürel] approach from the standpoint of society's cultural diversity and wealth and the Institutional [Kurumsal] approach within the framework of the collaboration and participation of administrations with all partners of the city (3K) and will cover the three critical stages of strategic planning in Planning, Programming and Project (3P).

Risks in terms of structure and quality of life have forced Istanbul to re-enter a process of transformation and therefore the urban transformation process must be reconsidered within the framework of the basic principles and systematic of 3E-3K-3P. The enforceability of these principles is closely related to the formation of a “human

and vision focused” urban transformation with a consensus between public, private and civil organisations.

Therefore, urban transformation projects must be comprehensive projects where a collaborative environment is formed between public and private sector and non-governmental organisations affected by the projects, where the project scenario is jointly prepared and the created values are shared collectively and broad participation to project decisions is ensured.

—Faruk Göksu

> Earthquake

VAROŞ (I)

NEIGHBOURHOOD ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF TOWN
DEFINED IN CLASS TERMS. [ED.]

From the Slavic *var* (castle), and Hungarian *varos* for city, in Turkey the term *varoş* was used to designate an extra-muros urban quarter, and in many ways it still is. It is just that the walls in



question do not belong to historical castles but to upper-middle class gated communities. Out in the suburbs, such gated communities – *site* (see *Gated Housing Estate*) – whether ensembles of high-rise apartments or villas have landscaped gardens, artificial lakes and well-groomed public spaces. It is not exactly Florida, but it would like to be. The fact that the villas are often identical-looking and the high-rises a variation on a theme underlines the lack of imagination of a whole chain of actors, from investors to architects, municipal officers and buyers. Beyond the walls are often other gated communities, but eventually, there is something else.

This “something else” could be mistaken for urban wasteland: motorways, industrial estates, car dealers, outlet centres. Yet in between traffic infrastructure and places of production and consumption there are large patches of densely populated urban space: narrow streets, high-rise apartments blocking each other’s access to light and air, sparse green spaces and insufficient children’s playgrounds. Grand mosques that have lost all decency in terms of proportion and dimension, and even *Cemevi*, the new temples for Istanbul’s large and increasingly self-confident, yet still relatively poor *Alevi* communities. This is the *varoş*,

and probably a majority of Istanbulites live there. These quarters might be at different stages of full integration into the city’s formal structures, yet all of them are on their way eventually to become a part of Istanbul’s share in the amenities of middle class life.

For the socio-spatial antagonism between the upper-middle class *site* and the immigrant *varoş* to develop fully and for the term to take on the notion of imminent threat it has among the urban upper-middle classes, another ingredient is indispensable: violence, both structural and actual. The rupture that marked the nadir of both and established the *varoş* as a symbol for the dangers of urban chaos and uncontrolled immigration came in 1995, when police killed seventeen *Alevi* rioters in the neighbourhood of Gazi. Most were young men, demonstrating against a whole set of discriminatory policies, ranging from limited access to municipality services to racial prejudice in public agencies and arbitrary arrest by security forces.

While the negative connotation of the term was established by the “Gazi events,” it has taken on additional loads of symbolic baggage recently



that help some members of the upper middle-classes to distinguish themselves from their dark and dirty “others.” If it is the concrete walls and security guards that police the border between the *varoş* and the *site*, the discursive walls between “white” and “dark” Istanbulites are controlled by opinion-leaders who mistake their sense of exaggerated self-importance for cultural supremacy. In this dichotomous world, the residents of the *varoş* are black-haired, dark-skinned and unsophisticated. They work in menial jobs, eat meat when they can afford it, they are hairy and smell of sweat. When they go to the city’s recently reopened municipality-run beaches, they swim in white underwear, while their women in headscarves look on and prepare the barbecue. They beat their wives, often cannot even speak Turkish properly – especially if they are Kurds – and are generally a nuisance. They also vote for the wrong parties, because they do not know what is good for them.

The “white” residents who live in their outposts of the “city of light” are neat and clean, they smell of perfume, and they are well-educated. They prefer sophisticated meals of seafood and vegetables, which they consume with a selection

of local wines. They are secular, cosmopolitan and proud of their high Istanbul Turkish. The women are emancipated and self-confident. They vote for parties who struggle to get beyond the 10 percent threshold of the Parliament.

Residents of the “city of light” are angered when they learn that many Germans label Turks in exactly the same terms as they themselves see their unseemly neighbours living in the *varoş* next door.

—Kerem Öktem

> Gated Housing Estate

VAROŞ (II)

THE TERM BORROWED FROM HUNGARIAN IN THE 16TH CENTURY TO DESCRIBE THE NEIGHBOURHOODS ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF TOWN, BEGAN AFTER THE 1990S TO DEFINE THE SEGMENT OF CITIES WHICH DIDN'T INITIALLY HAVE PLANNING PERMISSION BUT WERE LATER MOSTLY LEGITIMIZED. [ED.]

When you jump in a *dolmuş* (see *Dolmuş*) and go to Ümraniye, Dudullu or Sarıgazi, or the



neighbourhoods between the Esenler coach station and Merter, when you go right behind the business towers in Levent or walk a few streets downhill from the cosmopolitan İstiklal Caddesi (see *İstiklal Caddesi* or "*Beyoğlu*"), you arrive in neighbourhoods which have clearly been restricted and separated, perhaps not spatially but socio-culturally. The *varoş* includes neighbourhoods where not only the economically lower class lives, but also urban strata which have been excluded from elitist modern urban culture. These neighbourhoods may also correspond to distinctive religious, sect-based or ethnic communities, networks of relationships and political identities. The internationally adopted term for these neighbourhoods, although it isn't a complete equivalent, is "ghetto." According to the definition of the modern city, they are the regions and neighbourhoods formed due to the effects of migration (see *Migration*) and identity assimilation on the periphery of the city or in contemporary mega-cities like Istanbul where the periphery and the centre have merged. Urban poverty and the visible struggle on the social surface of political-cultural identity to articulate itself to shared urban culture and life necessitates the definition of *varoş* as social phenomena rather than physical spaces. With the

emergence of the *gecekondu*-ification period (see *Gecekondu*, *Post-gecekondu*), many *varoş* have suffered from pressure from profiteering mafia and state security forces. Settlements which formed on the outskirts of cities with the migration wave from Anatolia and *gecekondu*-ification after the 1950s transformed into islets within and on the outskirts of the city with the transformation into *apart-kondu* [uneven development of apartment buildings] and full articulation in economic terms to the service industry in the 1990s, with various cultural identities experiencing social polarisation and "forced migration." The link of *varoş* to the economy of the city via cheap labour and informal economy preserve many traditional, conservative social and community characteristics. They sustained their contact with their hometown in Anatolia via links of relationship and they continue to do so. In the 1970s, Arabesque music (see *Arabesque*) reflected the social problems of migration from the village to the city and spoke of the non-urban downtrodden who were crushed under the economic and social conditions of the city. In the 2000s, a variety of hip-hop which has developed parallel to the culture of urban consumption almost under the domination of big shopping centres which are the subjects of

populist cultures of spectacle and a certain type of Kral TV Pop music reflect the perspective of the *varoş* youth regarding the city and how they connect to it.

In Tophane (the settlement between Kumbaracı Yokuşu and Boğazkesen Caddesi), the neighbourhood I live in, there are Romany, Arabs from Siirt and a small number of Kurds. This neighbourhood, which I will call a small *varoş* area in the city centre, is more romantic compared to the *varoş*s on the outskirts of Merter or other *varoş* in terms of keeping street culture alive. Security is provided via community relationships and consumption is cheap, the neighbourhood is right in the centre of the city and it is a comfortable neighbourhood to live in for the urbanite who feels s/he doesn't belong in urban culture imposed from above. On the other hand, Tophane is a place the elitist urbanite wouldn't have the courage to live in and would describe as uninhabitable because of drugs, theft and prostitution. In Istanbul, *varoş* are still places which legitimize uncanny and urban fears for modernist, elite urban residents. Theft, murder, prostitution, drugs, radical leftist tendencies and terror are the discursive codes the state and the media use to criminalize the

varoş. Under the guise of urban transformation and improvement projects (see *Beautification, Cleansing, Urban Transformation*), not only private investors, but also TOKİ [Turkish Housing Development Administration], a state institution, uses these discourses to support the rent market and legitimize transformations. Therefore, *varoş* are instrumentalized both in the legitimisation of political-cultural identity assimilation and the facilitation of its control and in short-term profiteering in the economic context. *Varoş* of the future? Unfortunately I believe that in the aftermath of projects urban transformation projects, housing estates will become *varoş*-centres. This will enable city centres to be privatized, sterilized and completely transformed into objects of consumption, and saved from the *varoş* and its problems.

—Pelin Tan

> Arabesque, Beautification, Cleansing, Dolmuş, Gecekondu, İstiklal Caddesi or "Beyoğlu", Migration, Post-gecekondu, Urban Transformation



VIADUCT

A ROAD-BRIDGE BUILT ON ABUTMENTS TO TRAVERSE VALLEYS.

Viaducts are especially built on roads where vehicles travel at high speed, like motorways. They are designed to reduce the angle of ramps and the sharpness of bends so that vehicles can travel above a certain speed without reducing speed going up and down ramps and on slopes and bends. Like its predecessor the aqueduct that brought water to the city, the viaduct enables the flow of vehicles to take place on the most energy-efficient route – in this case, the route with minimum gradient variation. The difference between a viaduct and a bridge is that it divides a wide span into smaller spans with huge weight-bearing abutments.

In a linear city like Istanbul, which is developing along an east–west axis on both sides of the Bosphorus, viaducts help the far ends of the city to become closer by means of speedways. In particular, they have been used frequently for the approach routes to the Bosphorus bridges. The relationship between the Bosphorus Bridge and viaducts must have been sensed by the administrators of the time when the second Bosphorus bridge was named

after the conqueror of the city, the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (see *Fatih Sultan Mehmet*), and the longest viaduct providing access to it was named after his teacher, Akşemsettin. They act as intermediary for the adaptation over the hills and valleys of Istanbul of motorways which connect two distant ends of the city via the Bosphorus bridges and bring space closer by accelerating time.

The viaduct divides the world in two: the ones who watch from above and the ones who pass beneath. There is a dichotomy, a discontinuity as wide as the span the viaduct covers, between the life in the valley where falls the shadow of the motorway body, almost flying on abutments from one hill to another, and the 130-kilometres-an-hour-on average-experience on the motorway itself. As the everyday hullabaloo of a city district continues in a relatively calmer manner, turmoil aimed at swallowing up long distances as fast as possible takes place between the abutments of the Sadabad or Ortaköy viaduct. The gigantic abutments of the viaduct, planted above the slow-paced time of Sadabad, once the summer resort of the sultans, signify how big, how manifold and how fast the city is (see *Summer Resort*). The bottom of the viaduct body is a unique place where



the great contradictions of the city's times and dimensions are instinctively sensed. The images reflected by the viaducts, which were not specifically designed but shaped according to transport and topographical dynamics on lives in valleys distant from Istanbul's shores, the silhouette they create (see *Silhouette*), the space they form between their abutments where their shadows fall, describes a particularly special and exceptional experience, which is directly related to, and which would not have formed if not for, the city, despite its spontaneous formation left to its own devices.

The moment one passes over a viaduct as one speeds down the motorway is perhaps one of the rare occasions when anyone can today experience that mixture of desires like curiosity, alienation, immunity, transcendence, observation, learning, documentation which one would feel when passing over a different civilisation on a different planet. The user of the city, as s/he travels over the tracks of his own mesh of life reflected on the city, assembles from the panoramic expanse (see *Panorama*) the viaduct creates, fragments, images from urban segments that s/he may never make contact with, which may never become a part of her/his experience, possible traces from distant ways of living.

The imagined body of the city takes shape in her/his mind, an integrated relationship with an expanded image of the city is launched. From the interval of possibility created by the hills and valleys of the city's topography, the individual can fit wide expanses of the city into the single moment of a glance. As time accelerates and shrinks on the viaduct, space expands and the spatial volume of a moment's experience increases.

—Saitali Köknar

> Fatih Sultan Mehmet, Panorama, Silhouette, Summer Resort

VIEW

RATHER THAN AN INDIVIDUAL DISCOVERY, IT IS A STEREOTYPICAL URBAN VALUE IN ISTANBUL. [ED.]

Anything which attracts the gaze, or the attention. "You wouldn't have believed the view I saw in the middle of the street."/(Istanbul) The silhouette of Istanbul formed of the Bosphorus, the Historical Peninsula, the Maiden's Tower and the Princes' Islands. "Don't miss this house, it's got a great view."



A house with a view: the type of house which is only possible on hills facing the Bosphorus. The ideal house with a view (see *My Ideal Home*) must see the composition including all the components of the view listed above. Houses with views that only look out upon the Bosphorus can be found as one goes further north in Istanbul. Some of these houses are in residential areas of planned development, whereas the great majority is in housing areas that have been built on forest land where there is no construction or housing permission. The value of a house with a view (especially if the house happens to be on or close to the seaside) is much higher than a house in the same district but without it. It has been witnessed that some landlords or estate agents try to market houses as houses with views where if you stretch out of the window or climb a ladder, you see the sea from afar. Living in a house with a view in Istanbul is an important sign of prestige. Clichés like, “If your home doesn’t have a view of the sea, you’re not actually living in Istanbul,” do exist. Considering the breadth of the city’s borders and the low level of average income, it could be seen as a concept that draws attention to the scale of social injustice.

Photograph of a view: in the context of Istanbul, again, a photograph of the city containing all the points mentioned above. Ferry, seagull, a man fishing and a girl looking out into the distance are among the components that complete this genre. The concept is one of the first lessons in photography courses and trips are organized for the taking of these photographs.

To sit/to drink tea facing a view: an activity which people of Istanbul (see *Istanbulite*) who don’t live in neighbourhoods where there are houses with views may opt for at the weekend. A thermos flask can be brought from home for a picnic at the seaside, or one may sit in a teahouse. There are accounts that associate the emergence of this term with the Pierre Loti Coffee House in Eyüp.

To put up a view: the act of television companies consisting of putting up various photographs of views to fill in the interval when the television broadcast is unexpectedly interrupted. The Rock Crystal Pitcher and waterfalls are among the popular television views.

—İlkay Baliç

> *Istanbulite, My Ideal Home*



WATER

A STATE OF ISTANBUL.

“Water” makes Istanbul what it is; it is the only thing that doesn’t change. Here, for sure, the unparalleled views the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn, the Göksu River and the Marmara Sea present the city with, the immersion of the Istanbul silhouette in water and the culture of water the city enables on diverse scales are of extraordinary importance. However water also finds its counterpart in urban life by means of other concepts we experience in our everyday life. For instance, the curiosity Orhan Pamuk provokes in his novel *The Black Book* for a “situation” that would emerge if the waters of the Bosphorus were to subside could be traced through the transmission of themes of leakages of water in the city. Therefore, Istanbul’s change/transformation can also be read in various states of water like rain, puddles, traffic, floods, tsunami, decorative fountains, wells, manholes, water basins and water shortage. Its absence triggers water shortage, even the slightest drop of rain causes traffic jams and when it insists on pouring down settlements on valley floors are flooded; it hides beneath dislodged pavement stones, or is the hero

of tsunami scenarios often claimed to form after the earthquake (see *Earthquake*) which hasn’t yet managed to hit; the othered children of the city cool off in decorative pools, other children fall into wells and manholes when their lids are left open; and, finally, it is again the same water in the infrastructural networks traversing the whole city. Yet, in the face of never fully internalized change in Istanbul, people always get nostalgic (see *Nostalgia*) and can’t help but say, “it wasn’t like this in the past.”

—Ayşen Ciravoglu

> *Earthquake, Nostalgia*

WEDDING TOPOGRAPHIES

A COMPONENT OF ISTANBUL’S CULTURAL
TOPOGRAPHY. [ED.]

The marriage service and wedding ceremony, founding elements of the social body, is positioned somewhere between private and public space, personal and citizen fantasy, personal desire and collective approval. An experimental and critical



ethnographic work realized within the framework of the exhibition *De-Regulation with the work of Kutluğ Ataman* conceptualized and curated by Irit Rogoff, my departure point in the project *Wedding Topographies of Istanbul* was that the marriage service and wedding ceremony with their performative dimension enable us to examine the relationship of private and collective identity and to contemplate the forms of production of race, gender and social reality. For the research project titled *Istanbul – Skin of the City* carried out within the scope of the *De-Regulation* exhibition shown at the MuHKA (Museum of Contemporary Art Antwerp) in 2005 and the Herzliya Museum in 2006, I collected marriage service and wedding photographs of different social groups, ethnic communities (Kurds, Romany, Alevis, Circassians etc.) and minorities (Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Syriacs) of Istanbul (see *Minority, Ethnicity*). In addition to this archival material, I took photographs of the display windows of photography studios and wedding dress shops. All this photographic material, which constitutes the subjective/urban landscape of Istanbul and forms its social and cultural memory, maps the multiple-space and multiple-identity topography of the city. This topography in which, instead of images provided

by a single viewpoint or perspective, broken and fragmented images gain visibility, does not only problematize the narratives we produce and categories we define for Istanbul and in the name of Istanbul, it also overturns the simple hierarchies and dualistic oppositions reflected by the West's gaze. Essentialist oppositions like East versus West, Islam versus Christianity are overthrown; categories like "Turk", "Muslim", "Eastern" and "exotic" are not only rendered powerless but also invalid. The field of representation for currently existing photographic material insinuates that recognition may actually be misrecognition or inadequate recognition and often provocatively contains the potential to create unexpected encounters with differences.

In the wedding topographies of Istanbul, we encounter "body images" outside or contrary to the imagined anatomy of the city. The marriage ceremonies of Greeks, Armenians, Jews or Syriacs disturb the representation of the city as a homogeneous space and the dynamics of the search for ethnic or religious unity. In contrast to state ideology which suppresses differences and insists on an ostracizing representation of the nation-state in the public sphere, the rich wedding culture of Is-

tanbul enables us to see that Istanbul has multiple and diverse cultural identities, lifestyles, forms of using public space and becoming visible there. As in Kurdish or Romany weddings, those who cannot be seen in a totalizing or homogeneous public sphere, those who cannot make their voice heard there, temporarily take over the space, put pressure on the present structure and push it towards its own borders. The residents of stigmatized and oppressed neighbourhoods like Tarlabaşı or the Gazi neighbourhood celebrate their weddings rapturously, bringing their visibility to the space; urban space is used in different forms to the determined and organized forms. In the wedding topographies of Istanbul, where one encounters the intricate web the city carries within itself and its unexpected sources of experience and knowledge, the tension is removed and the city is transformed into a fragmented, fluid and constantly changing landmass.

The place where the marriage service and wedding is held is also the site of identifications with conscious or subconscious dynamics, which are political choices as much as they are personal; and identifications are spaces of assignment constantly open to the influence, order and jurisdiction of fantasy. The dynamics of identification

are revealed in the exaggeration and surrounding residue and excess displayed in the poses of brides and grooms in the wedding photographs adorning the display windows of photography studios in Istanbul which prove that fantasy as directly related to desire is an exceedingly significant part of social life. The operations of fantasy, which are considered marginal, in actual fact structure our identity; they lie at the centre of our perceptions, beliefs, behaviour and actions. Whether sexual or racial, they visualize the fact that we wear our identity as bride or groom like an item of clothing. This also means that identifications are moving, flexible and temporary.

The point I wanted to arrive at by bringing together this archival material was that identifications realized along the culturally produced lines of race, ethnicity, class, gender, religion or citizenship are not valid or effective political strategies. It is necessary today to realize the transition from a politics of identity to the politics of relational identities. This is where the concept or metaphor of the “Skin of the City” becomes relevant. The physical topography brought on by weddings opens the city onto desire. The concept of the *Skin of the City* means that it is no longer possible

to speak of walls, barriers, inside and outside. The borders of the city are leaky, fragmented and broken; it is not possible to draw a border between inside and outside, between the “I” and the other. The information provided by the skin covering the body, the surface of the body, is internal and external, private and public. In the same manner that the life story of the individual is written by the body and via the body, urban topography bears the history of encounters, transformations and changes. The marriage service and wedding ceremony are inscribed in the social space of the city as lived experiences. The “skin of Istanbul” incorporates concentrated strata formed of the opposition between modernity and tradition, the taste and wishes of different social groups and new urban residents who have relocated due to internal migration or forced migration, demands of suppressed ethnic groups for social and political recognition, the memory and presence of the minority population displaced or migrated as a result of various historical events which developed following the foundation of the Republic of Turkey and which were aimed at creating ethnic and religious homogeneity in society, and the diversity and difference of desires. The visual experience presented by the wedding topogra-

phies of Istanbul enables us to see and know the transitivity and relationality between the intense strata of the urban space.

—Nermin Saybaşılı

> Ethnicity, Minority

WOUND

EACH INSTANCE OF SOCIAL PSYCHOSIS, TRAUMA AND PAIN ISTANBUL AND THE ISTANBULITE SUFFER FROM.
[ED.]

The oldest wound of Istanbul originates from its dwellers’ feeling of failure to own the city (see *Istanbulite*). The residents of the city are never at ease. Imagine that they still organize parades commemorating the conquest of Istanbul 550 years after the occupation to celebrate their own image (see *Fatih Sultan Mehmet*). It is plain to see that they still can’t believe Istanbul has been captured. Are you mine? Are you still thinking of your ex? Do you think of him/her when you close your eyes when making love to me? A pain, an affliction, a suspicion, a wound Istanbul can never be sure of.



A grand Istanbulite looks carefully at his wife's hesitation as she takes the tea off the stove to understand whether her mind is still on her old lover. 550 odd "glorious" years have passed, but when Istanbul looks into the distance, the Istanbulite still becomes suspicious, raves and rants, goes for her, demonstrates in disturbance and hoists the flag. At such moments, it is possible to think that there are no Istanbulites in Istanbul. Looking at its views (see *View*) shared out between eyes set on the distance and at the resentment condemned by nature to abortion or passing through the city at a leisurely pace and sweating profusely, the various throbbings of the same wound recur.

I will have to share with you an entertaining argument I witnessed on a public bus in Istanbul to explain my point. A crowded Istanbul bus. We were progressing at a leisurely pace through the city, sweating profusely. A gentleman who looks to be in his fifties is having an argument with a lady. The lady claims the gentleman has been rude for a reason I can't recall now and the gentleman refuses to accept the accusation of rudeness. The argument over the definition of rudeness and politeness has begun. As words elbow each other

on, the argument eventually gets tied up at a point that may be summarized by the axiom "the more recent Istanbulite is definitely the ruder." They both claim to be the deeper-rooted inhabitant of Istanbul. Finally, the woman somehow says she is from a family which is by far the older, in fact the oldest Istanbulites. Upon which the gentleman tells her, "Then you are *Rum!* [Greek]" The whole bus freezes.

Seyyan Hanım responds, from the oldest *Turkish Tango*: "The past is a wound in my heart/ My fate is darker than my hair."

Do you recall, a few years ago there was this interesting case in Istanbul in which the mother, who had lost her mentally disabled child when he was only five, had first checked his wounds when he was found thirty years later and had recognized her child from his wounds? In tears.

These were not the wounds in his heart but the wounds on his body. Those who have seen Istanbul naked know of the wounds on its body. Since it lost its mother who washed and cared for it years ago, only those who have made love to Istanbul can know of the wounds on its body.



I have just recalled that, in an interview, Subcomandante Marcos of the Zapatistas spoke about a Mexican villager who had ten children but had never seen his wife naked. The distant relatives of that Mexican in Istanbul might think the vagina a wound if they were to see it. In fact, the vagina might have become a wound for not having been seen and looked at for so long.

Oh these genderisations, this patriarchal imagination, where do you come and find me from... They tortured Gürdal Duyar's Beautiful Istanbul monument so much, and is that why no other monument can be imagined when one thinks of Istanbul? Perhaps those who go down to Karaköy Square still continue to see that female figure with her head thrown back and her hands chained uprooted from its pedestal...

Looking across the Bosphorus to the other side I realized I had to say: it's an established truth that the historic peninsula doesn't smile. It's as if it is wounded on the inside. And the republic never arrived there. If you fall over in Eminönü Square you get an Ottoman smell from the ground. Eminönü also has a quality of Middle Easternness. For instance, the Arafat lahmacun [thin round

baked dough with spicy meat topping] house adds the wounds of Palestine to its spice mix. And the hope brought from the Middle East by pigeons is stirred by Nimet Abla into the dust.

Kadıköy, on the other hand, is the republic. When you get on the ferry from Eminönü Square and arrive in Kadıköy Square, you change strata. People occasionally smile in Kadıköy too. They may read a piece of paper they have picked up from the floor, wondering what it is. The only wound of Kadıköy is not being Istanbul. The only thing in this life which stings Kadıköy inside is Istanbul being another place. We could say that if Kadıköy was in Istanbul, it would have had no problems. But it clearly understands that it isn't Istanbul as the evening falls. I suspect this is the reason they placed that hot-air balloon in Kadıköy. So the people of Kadıköy could rise and watch Istanbul from a hill. But this is not one of the hills of Istanbul, but rather a balloon-hill. This reality, this balloon, won't leave Kadıköy alone.

But is Beyoğlu like that? Beyoğlu doesn't even care where Istanbul is. It has countless secret passageways which lead to where it wants them to...



I was born, and I grew up in Fatih. The reason for the biggest wound in Fatih is sleeping with a colossal corpse. You snuggle up fearlessly to the huge walls lining the road they call Fevzi Paşa Caddesi, which turns into Macar Kardeşler Caddesi if you open its lid from one end, and you hear the snoring of the corpse.

The historico-political map of Istanbul has not been drawn up yet. We are not able to follow Istanbul's political history apartment by apartment, street by street, and day by day. Where did each upheaval begin, where was each revolutionary shot, where did each assassination take place and where did each demonstration begin?

I know that when one speaks of wounds, one has to speak of the sociological wound zones of the city. Social problems, sites of constant bleeding. Economic and cultural wound-zones with their *gecekondu*, poor people and peripheral existences (see *Gecekondu*, *Post-gecekondu*). Neighbourhoods dominated by streets which lead to nowhere (see *Neighbourhood*), all those with the unmentionable names of hundreds of streets named in a day at a single office...

There are three ways of looking at the wound-zones of the city. The first is the specialist-eye. The specialist-eye is sometimes purely scientific; it categorizes wounds, places them in test tubes, measures their pain, underlines their continuity and monitors the volume of bleeding per second. And sometimes, the specialist-eye is a manager; it calculates the influence of wounds on the economy, makes the necessary arrangements, emphasizes planning and compares treatment costs. Another option is to look with the curious-eye. The curious-eye is often the artist's eye. It is curious about how life is around here. About rhythm, entertainment, the humour. It tries to catch the rituals, the fleeting stories drifting away. It learns their language, sings along to their songs. Another way is to look at wounds with the wounded-eye. What does the wounded-eye see when it turns to look at the wound?

Sometimes the last thing a wound wants is dressing.

Taking into consideration the transformations of Istanbul, one might be expected to ask if Istanbul's wounds are healing, or if new wounds are being opened. It's as if Istanbul knows the



formula to heal its ancient wounds but doesn't tell. Beautiful but wounded. Annabel Lee before her death. The beautiful woman who is not dead but wounded. Wounded beauty. This is Istanbul's constant seduction.

The Bosphorus is always a mirage. You run towards the Bosphorus and fall into Istanbul. Ramadan tents wound Istanbul too. Everything is rendered unconvincing. Istanbul has neighbourhoods which haven't written a single word in their lifetime. Their stories always get caught up in the clamour.

Workers blown up in an illegal workshop, pulled to pieces at dockyards; the human being has no value in the below-stairs of Istanbul. The city feeds off those it shoots down there, below-stairs. A sociological reading of vampirism is made in the shadow of the taller-than-tall flagpoles wounding the Istanbul sky.

Even drinking a single beer can get you wounded in Istanbul. You turn around and the act of drinking itself has been coded as defeatist. Not even that, even smoking a single cigarette can get you wounded. If the smoke has chosen

the right day of Ramadan and the right street to blow through...

Daisy-like Istanbul tangos are famous. Those who look at Istanbul and sigh as they feel a sophisticated blues and a fading melancholy know them well (see *Nostalgia*). And of course there is the rebetiko of Istanbul minibuses, and the fado of tea gardens where beer is drunk from cans wrapped in newspaper. There are neighbourhoods where the tango is danced with a razor blade.

Today, there are no sculptures for its wounds. There are sculptures of its wound-makers in its squares.

—Süreyya Evren

> Fatih Sultan Mehmet, Gecekondu, Istanbulite, Neighbourhood, Nostalgia, Post-gecekondu, View



YALI

RESIDENCE BUILT ON THE WATERFRONT

In the context of Istanbul, the *yali* appeared as a type of traditional housing architecture unique to the Bosphorus at the end of the 17th century. The construction of *yali*, which accelerated in the 18th century, continued throughout the 19th century to create a pattern of settlement and lifestyle unique to the Bosphorus. Until the second half of the 19th century, the *yali* were differentiated from other traditional residences in terms of architectural characteristics in the organisation of the ground floors as living areas, which in other styles included service areas and were closed to the outside.

The *yali* emerged as a sultan's residence built within the premises of the sultan's private gardens along the shores of the Bosphorus and it always remained the abode of a wealthy and exclusive section of society. The area of use extending from the shore to the elevation of the hills connected *yali* with the sea on one side and the forest on the other. The typology of the plan of wooden housing architecture developing around a central space created the foundation of the formation of the

yali with a flexibility enabling maximum access to the environment, sea, flora and the sun. The fact that there was nothing between the *yali* and the sea – apart from a narrow, private embankment – and the big gardens at the back created the unique formation of this shore settlement between the hills and the sea, bringing together water and greenery.

In addition to the Bosphorus being a place far from the city one goes to enjoy and live with nature, the fact that the *yali* were status symbols located in the most prestigious place of the city determined the quality of the pattern of settlement. These buildings lining the shores of the Rumeli [European] and Anatolian sides were commissioned by palace circles, including first and foremost the sultan and his wives, but also the viziers, pashas, the trade bourgeoisie formed of a Christian minority and wealthy tradesmen. The “summer-resort” characteristic (see *Summer Resort*) of the Bosphorus and the relationship to the sea created a unique lifestyle. The move in early summer to the Bosphorus and the return in autumn to Istanbul took the shape of a migration with long preparations and defined a life determined by seasons.



Since transportation was largely restricted to the sea route until the second half of the 19th century, the presence of a boathouse below *yalı* was almost obligatory. The ground floor which contained a paved courtyard and a pool would open onto a wide garden at the back. Access to the grove stretching out to the rise of the hills and to outhouses would be provided for by a bridge if a road did not exist.

Although work in the second half of the 19th century to regulate inner city sea transport with the aim of integrating the Bosphorus with the city increased the contact of *yalı* inhabitants with it, the seasonal use of *yalı* continued almost until the first half of the 20th century.

The fact that the *yalı* was a status symbol above and beyond that of a regular residence brought together the outstanding examples of the architectural styles of various periods on the two shores of this water route. The wooden Art Nouveau *yalı* unique to Istanbul from the early 20th century and examples of Sedat Hakkı Eldem's new traditionalist residential typology from the 1960s took their place among the lineage of *yalı*.

By the 1980s, the Bosphorus, with its prestigious position in the city, emerged, on the one hand, as a leading site of attraction amidst the uncontrolled expansion of Istanbul and the usual profiteering struggles in the city, and on the other, the protection of the historical and architectural identity of this special area became an urgent issue. The restrictions implemented in this atmosphere of opposition and the new attempts to violate these restrictions led to the inevitable restoration of the *yalı* and therefore the Bosphorus. However, the “restoration” in mind (see *Restoration*) here was more an act of reconstruction rather than the repair of existing structures. Apartment *yalı*, *yalı* apartments, 18th and 19th century *yalı* bearing more recent dates and fattened up *yalı* reborn from their ashes appeared as new building types on the urban scene.

—Yıldız Salman

> Restoration, Summer Resort



YEŞİLÇAM

THE STREET ONCE CLAIMED BY ALL FILM PRODUCTION COMPANIES. [ED.]

This street parallel to İstiklal Caddesi (see *İstiklal Caddesi* or "*Beyoğlu*") used once to be, more than anything else (more than the snatch-and-run film companies clustered around there, the extras and patched up dreams), the symbol of and a scape-goat for something we did not approve of about Turkish cinema and therefore ourselves and made sure we damned. Yeşilçam was a direct expression of vulgarity, of commonness (a duty later assumed by arabesque) (see *Arabesque*) and, had using nouns as adjectives in the practice of pop sociology been as fashionable as it is today, we would have spurned many a thing exclaiming, "so Yeşilçam!" Yet in those moralizing times Yeşilçam was like that well-known "love that dare not speak its name;" it was damned and a cloud settled above the oblivious masses who consumed it with relish. Some kind of elitism, some kind of class consciousness, some kind of progressivism used to walk strangely hand in hand in this attempt at high culturedness. After the eighties, Yeşilçam became the name of something we discovered for

ourselves, like a chewing gum brand we knew to be bad up to then, or a make of car we made fun of for being rotten. We too had a "novelty" in our past to be laughed at or marvelled at or to love like one loves a disabled child – the semi mythical, semi-real street and its extensions which produced those films. It seemed as if Turkish cinema, which we thought was something other than Yeşilçam, would become sturdier somehow if we perceived Yeşilçam like this (see *Cinema*). However, it did not help to regard Yeşilçam as "the negative of a photograph," as we always do when it comes to cultural issues. Today, despite our old Yeşilçam "awareness," we have a cinema whose economic relationships are still like the street vendor economy cinema produced by that street. Perhaps more importantly, we do not possess any real love for Yeşilçam either.

—Fatih Özgüven

> Arabesque, Cinema, İstiklal Caddesi or "Beyoğlu"



ZEPPELIN

“ETERNALLY UNDECIDED BETWEEN STAYING ON
AND LEAVING | ILLUMINATED ALL OF A SUDDEN AT
A MOMENT YOU NEVER SAW COMING | YOU TOO WILL
SURELY ONE DAY COME TO LOVE FERÂHFEZÂ*” ATTİLA
İLHAN

In Istanbul, the zeppelin moves in the *ferâhfezâ* mode. It is distant to the hill, the wall, the garden, the bay window, the rooftop – as soon as you have you stepped out on to it – to every street. It is familiar with the water and the bridge; however it doesn’t recognize the Golden Horn. (see *Golden Horn*) It is not of the land, it is alien to society. The zeppelin does not belong to those who march forward with eyes fixed on the horizon or those who have the sun set and rise behind the hills. It is too frivolous even for Berlin or Paris.

There are skywatching stations in Istanbul. However, the zeppelin seeks stations suitable to its temperament in the high and dense New York sky. Stuck between leaving and staying on, free from the trouble of going around the world in eighty days, this apocalyptic object of the catastrophic metropolis appears to seek to construct a home in the sky.

It hovers over Galata hoping to come across Hezarfen Ahmet Çelebi here in Istanbul. For societies seeking their future in the sky, it is surely not a good sign to see the zeppelin in flight. But after all, it is not with the applause of the community that this zeppelin, this pumped up foreign invention, is inflated. While it is from the east that the sun rises in Istanbul, it is towards the west that the zeppelin is bound.

It waves its compliments to a few rooftops and pulls away.

*A compound mode in Ottoman music.

—Hakan Tüzün Şengün

> Golden Horn



BIOGRAPHIES

AHENK DERELİ
İzmir, 1982

Graduated from the Department of Economics of Middle Eastern Technical University. Completed a minor in Sociology and her master's degree in the field of International Management and Law. She has taken part in various international student programmes and research projects, producing academic work on European Union institutions within the framework of the master's program she undertook in Belgium and Denmark. She has worked in the fields of advertising and journalism and is interested in social and economic development, urban transformation, cultural studies and political economy. She also works as a copywriter. Since the year 2000, she has lived in the USA, Denmark and Belgium, travelling in Turkey, Europe, North and South America and North Africa. She is currently employed on a promotional project of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

> 2010; Advertisement

ALAN DUBEN
New York, 1943

Anthropologist, and professor in the Department of Sociology at Istanbul Bilgi University. He has done extensive research and writing on both contemporary and historical Istanbul and on urbanisation in Turkey. His best known work, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility 1880-1940* (Cambridge University Press) deals with the household as a demographic, social and cultural phenomenon in the city and in Turkish society in general. His work is interdisciplinary in nature, relying heavily on approaches and materials of social history, anthropology, and demography.

> Household



ALEXIS ŞANAL
Los Angeles, 1974

Architect. She received her bachelor's degree in architecture from SCIArc, and her master's degree in city planning from MIT. Her vision of a streamlined relationship between people and the design of their environments is manifested in her academic and professional pursuits. She worked in various innovative architectural offices in Los Angeles before moving to Istanbul in 2002. Most recently, she has been exploring a series of projects looking at the future potentials of location-aware computing aimed at blending digital environments intelligently with the physical environment. She was a visiting fellow at the University of Queensland teaching design studio in 2007 and continues to do research with MIT on digital cities.

> Street Market (Pazar) (II) with Murat Şanal

ARZU ÖZTÜRKMEN
Beirut, 1965

Completed her secondary education at Notre Dame de Sion in Istanbul and her higher education at the Department of Management, Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences of Boğaziçi University. The PhD thesis she wrote at Pennsylvania University was published in Turkey in 1998 under the title *Folklore and Nationalism in Turkey*. Lecturer at Boğaziçi University History Department since 1994 where she teaches History of Performing Arts, Oral History and Research Methods in History. Has published folklore research, various articles and book reviews on the *halkevleri* community centres, national holidays and the history of dance. Co-edited *Celebration, Entertainment and Theater in the Ottoman World* (2014, with Suraiya Faroqhi) and *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean* (2014, with Evelyn Birge Vitz). Her book *Raksdan Oyuna: Türkiye'de Dansın Modern Halleri* will be published by Boğaziçi University's BUPRESS in 2014.

> Bakkal; Beach; Dolmuş; Dress; Holidays; Slope; Urban Folklore



ATILLA YÜCEL
Istanbul, 1942

Architect. Completed his high school and university education in Istanbul. Continues his architectural practice and academic activities parallel to this in Istanbul. Lecturer at Istanbul Technical University until 2003 and at Istanbul Bilgi University since 2004. Urban-scale projects and restoration projects has formed the major part of his design experience since 1983. His theoretical work on Istanbul began with 19th century urban and housing texture research in the 1970s, and was developed within the framework of Habitat II, United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (1996) programme, publications and independent publications. He continues his theoretical work at Cypress International University.

> Bağdat Caddesi (I) with Hülya Hatipoğlu's contribution; Eroticism; Main Street; Taksim Square with Hülya Hatipoğlu

AYDA AREL
Istanbul, 1936

Studied history of art at Istanbul University and University of Michigan, served in history of art and architecture faculties at Istanbul Technical University, Karadeniz Technical University and Dokuz Eylül University. Upon her early retirement worked at Yıldız Technical University, IFEA (Istanbul French Anatolian Studies) and briefly at Eastern Mediterranean University in Cyprus. Published on the Western Anatolian Principalities period, 18th century Istanbul architecture and traditional Ottoman residences. Due to unforeseen reasons publication of her research on the architecture of the Aegean is delayed. A relatively old Istanbulite, who is not fond of seeing the city defeated to the loss of memory and consciousness.

> Kanyon



AYDAN BALAMİR
Denizli, 1953

Architect, lecturer. Teaches design studio, history and theory at the Department of Architecture, Middle Eastern Technical University. Sat on the administrative, editorial and selective boards of professional institutions. Organized various exhibitions, edited the 1988-2004 catalogue of the National Architecture Exhibition and Awards. Member of Ministry of Culture Preservation Boards since 1997. Carried out architectural projects and implementation for housing and educational buildings. Her publications focus on modern architectural history and its criticism, architectural education and cities.

> *Palimpsest (I); Suburb*

AYŞE AKALIN
Istanbul, 1975

Sociologist. Continues to work on her PhD in sociology at the Graduate Center of City University of New York and works as part-time lecturer at Istanbul Technical University. Her PhD is on

women from former socialist bloc countries who work in the sector of domestic work in Turkey.

> *Post-Soviet Union Migrant*

AYŞE ÇAVDAR
(Ankara, 1975)

Graduated from the Department of Journalism, Faculty of Communication, Ankara University. Completed her master's degree at the Department of History, Boğaziçi University. Worked as a journalist at various media outlets including *Yeni* , , *Yeni Yüzyıl*, *Nokta*, *Atlas* and Radyo 92.3 and as a public relations officer at the History Foundation. Since 2003 she has worked as a researcher on various documentary film projects. Published in various magazines and lectures on journalism in several universities.

> *McDonald's*



AYŞE EREK
Istanbul, 1973

Art historian. Published articles on visual culture, urban culture and contemporary art; acted on the publishing board of magazine. Managed the project entitled *City Image and Art in Istanbul and Berlin* at Berlin Humboldt University. Faculty member, Department of History, Yeditepe University.

> Screen

AYŞEN CİRAVOĞLU
Istanbul, 1977

Architect. Teaches and carries out research in the field of architectural design at the Faculty of Architecture, Yıldız Technical University. She sits on the editorial board of the *Mimarlık* and *mimar.ist* journals published by the Chamber of Architects. She is also a member of the administrative board of the Architectural Education Association. She carries out numerous formal and informal activities concerning design and the city; her publications mainly focus on architectural

education, architectural design, architectural criticism and the environment. Her fields of in-depth research include the development of the informal aspect of architectural education, the critique of the architectural milieu via environmental debates and the relationship of urban activism and “place.”

> Park Hotel; Skyscraper; Water

BAŞAK SANAÇ TANRIVERDİ
Ankara, 1976

Chef. First entered the kitchen professionally at Swisshotel in 1996; she worked on World Cuisine, Banquets, Cold Cuisine and Far Eastern Cuisine. She later continued her work on café cuisine at Dulcinea and on French-Ottoman fusion cuisine as sous-chef at the Armada Hotel's Alafranga Restaurant. She was part of the founding staff of Hai Sushi! at the Divan Hotel. She worked as chef-de-partie at Erenköy Divan Pub and Divan Food and Drink General Directorate Cafeteria. She founded her own business after working as the Food and Drink Director and Executive Chef at the Gezi Hotel. At Ume, her pop-style Japanese



fast-food venue, she built a reputation particularly with her delicious sushi. Since 2003, she has been a part of Coccolat's teaching staff and has taught on Sushi, Chinese Cuisine, Mexican Food, Snack and Invitation Cuisine, Ottoman Cuisine and French Cuisine. Since 2013 she has been the manager of the Hotel Arcadia Blue.

> Fish

BENGİ GÜLDOĞAN
Diyarbakır, 1985

Student at the Department of Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. Founding member of the "Difüzyon/ Diffusion" group, an amateur initiative which organizes design activities aiming to create a platform for the definition of the unique values of the Istanbul design circle and the establishment of productive relationships between various fields of design.

> Parks and Gardens

BEYHAN İSLAM
Istanbul, 1976

Architect. Prepared and presented a radio programme entitled "Istanbul Istanbul" for Radyo 92.3 from 2001 to 2003 with various actors carrying out work on Istanbul (writers, municipality representatives, non-governmental organisations, sociologists, architects, artists) taking part as guests. She illustrates children books and researches into children and alternative education systems.

> Gated Housing Estate

BURÇAK MADRAN
Ankara, 1970

Graduated from the Department of Industrial Design, Middle Eastern Technical University. Completed her graduate studies in Archaeology and History of Art and a master's degree in Mediterranean cultural properties at Provence University in France. Continues to work on her PhD in history on museology in Turkey at EHESS in France. She has taught at the Museum Studies Graduate Program at Yıldız Technical



University since 1997. From 1999 to 2006 she worked as a part-time and full-time lecturer at the Arts Management programme of the same university. Since 2000 she has presented seminars on exhibition techniques at the Design Culture and Management Certificate programme of Istanbul Bilgi University. Besides museology, she works in the conception and design of museum and temporary exhibitions. She has published articles on museology, history of museums and exhibition techniques in domestic and foreign periodicals.

> Museum

BURÇAK ÖZLÜDİL
Ağrı, 1975

Architect. Graduated from the Department of Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University and completed her master's degree at the Architectural History and Theory programme of Istanbul Technical University. From 2002 on she worked for four years as the editor of *Arredamento Mimarlık* magazine. Continues to work on her PhD in the USA.

> Hybrid-ising/isation; Migration

BÜLENT TANJU
Istanbul, 1964

After receiving his bachelor's degree in architecture from Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Bülent Tanju completed his PhD "1908-1946 A Conceptual Framework of Turkish Architecture" in Architectural History, İstanbul Technical University in 1999. He was awarded the Ağa Han Islamic Architecture Programme scholarship and participated in the Department of Architecture, MIT as a guest lecturer in 2002. His writings have been published in several journals and books, including *Arredamento Architecture*. Tanju works extensively on modern art and architecture, 19th and 20th century Turkish architecture and modern cultural problems. He currently works as a faculty member at Mardin Artuklu University in the Department of Architecture.

> Arabesque; Demolition or the Warped City; Identity; Orientalism; Public Space (I)



BÜLENT USTA
Istanbul, 1973

Writer. Graduated from the Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Literature, Istanbul University and completed his master's degree at the Forensic Medicine Institute, Istanbul University. He is among the founders and editors of the magazine *Siyahî* and the editor of the poetry journal *Yasakmeyve* and the short story journal *Eşik Cini*. He has edited numerous books, mostly in the field of poetry and he continues to publish articles in various magazines and newspaper supplements. He writes articles on current events and new books in his column *Karşılaşmalar* [encounters] in the culture-art section of *Birgün* newspaper, which are constructed as imaginary encounters with writers or protagonists of novels. His novel entitled *Karınca Hastanesi* [Ant Hospital] was published by Versus books in January 2008.

> Car Ferry; Gecekondu; Shoeshiner

CAN ALTAY
Ankara, 1975

Completed his higher education in Interior Architecture and Environmental Design at Bilkent University in 1997. During his postgraduate studies he studied both at this department and in Contemporary Art and Philosophy of Art. Completed the Critical Studies programme at the Malmö Art Academy at Lund University in Sweden. Received his PhD from the Art, Design and Architecture Institute of Bilkent University. Taught and worked as researcher and visiting professor in Sweden, England and Germany. He is currently associate professor at Istanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Architecture. Works on architecture, structural environment, urban social-economic-political phenomena. Produces spatial installations containing text, photography and video. His work has been exhibited at large-scale exhibitions such as the International Istanbul Biennial, Havana Biennial and the Busan Biennial, and at museums and galleries such as the Walker Art Center (Minneapolis), ZKM (Karlsruhe), PS.1 MoMA (New York) and Platform Garanti Contemporary Art Centre (Istanbul).

> Papermen



CEM AKAŞ
Mannheim, 1968

Studied chemical engineering at Boğaziçi University. Began his graduate studies in political sciences at the same university and completed them at Columbia University, New York; returned to Boğaziçi University to complete his PhD in Turkish political history. Founded the journal *Son Kişot* [The Last Quichote] with Cenk Koyuncu. Presented the programme “Okudukça” [As One Reads] he prepared with Enis Batur on TRT-2. Worked as part-time editor at Yapı Kredi publications from 1992-2004, later executive editor and publication consultant. Taught creative writing at Sabancı University. Worked as freelance editor and translator. Founded the g publishing group in 2005. Has published many books since 1990.

> Sparrow

CEM YÜCEL
Istanbul, 1972

Architect. After graduating from Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University, he

established his own architecture firm Architectural Studio. During this period, the studio realized many projects most of which were published in various architectural magazines. Completed his master's degree at Yıldız Technical University. Since 2000, he has continued his architecture practice at his co-owned studio MarS-Architects, and taught at various universities from 2002.

> Gentrification (I); Palimpsest (II)

DENİZ AKTAN KÜÇÜK
Zonguldak, 1980

Academician. After graduating from the Department of Philosophy, Boğaziçi University, she continued her studies in the Department of Turkish Language and Literature at the same university. She currently works on literary criticism and the relationship between the city and literature at the department where she also works as a research assistant.

> Flanuerie; Literature



DİDEM DANIŞ
Istanbul, 1973

Graduated from the Departments of Political Science and Sociology, Boğaziçi University and completed her master's degree in sociology at Middle Eastern Technical University. Worked as a research assistant at the Department of Sociology, Istanbul Bilgi University from 1998 to 2002. She has been working as a lecturer at the Department of Sociology, Galatasaray University since 2005. The PhD thesis she is working on at EHESS in Paris focuses on the social relationship networks of Iraqi transit migrants in Turkey, transnational flows and the relationship between religious institutions and the nation-state. She also works on urban transformation and social decomposition in Istanbul.

> Crimean Church; Iraqi Immigrants

EKİN SANAÇ
Istanbul, 1982

Following her graduation from American Academy, she continued her education at the Department

of City and Regional Planning, Istanbul Technical University. After university she began to prepare the monthly independent music, cinema, art and culture magazine *Bant* with her friends. She has been the editor of *Bant* since 2004. She also continues her musical activities in the band Kim Ki O she formed with Berna Göl in summer 2006. This synthesizer-bass duo, adopting the do-it-yourself ethos, has played live in Istanbul, Ankara and Eskişehir in Turkey and in Amsterdam, Munich, Frankfurt, Nijmegen and Stockholm abroad.

> Music Piracy

ELA ÇİL

Academician, architect. Graduated and completed her master's degree at the Faculty of Architecture, Yıldız Technical University and received her PhD from Michigan University. Worked as a research assistant at Yıldız Technical University. She currently teaches at the İzmir Advanced Technology University. Her work focuses on the "association of diverse readings of space."

> Pavement with Hülya Hatipoğlu



EMRE AYVAZ
Bursa, 1980

Graduated from the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Boğaziçi University and attended the master's program at the Department of Sociology of the same university; completed his thesis on Reşat Ekrem Koçu's Istanbul Encyclopaedia in 2007. His articles have been published in journals including *Kitaplık*, *Kaşgar*, *Sanat Dünyamız*, *Kitap Zamanı* and *Toplumbilim*.

> Fatih Sultan Mehmet

EMRE ZEYTİNOĞLU
Istanbul, 1955

Publishes articles and books on art and organizes exhibitions. He has realized radio programmes on art; and is currently producing a weekly television program on the historical and cultural landmarks of Istanbul and surrounding cities. He has published many articles and a book on the sociological and political extensions of football. He also teaches Sociology of Art, Art and Criticism,

Contemporary Art, History of Thought, and Art of Globalisation at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University and Yeditepe University.

> Stadium

ERSİN ALTIN
Kırklareli, 1978

Graduated from the Department of Architecture, Anadolu University. Received his master's degree from the Architectural History and Theory programme of Yıldız Technical University. Worked as managing editor of *Arredamento Mimarlık* magazine from 2002 to 2006. Continues his PhD work in the USA.

> Anarchy (I); Minority (I); Neighbourhood

EVREN UZER
Ankara, 1977

Urban planner, researcher and PhD candidate at the Department of City and Regional Planning,



Istanbul Technical University. Since 2001 she has worked as a research assistant at the ITU Housing Research and Education Centre and at the ITU Housing and Earthquake master's programme. Her PhD thesis focuses on cultural heritage and risk and her further areas of research include post-disaster shelter, participation and interventions in public space. She has been holding post-disaster shelter workshops at the Bergen Architectural School since 2005. Since 2004 she has been directing the roomservices initiative with designer Otto von Busch where they work on urban research, applied socio-geography, design and social art.

> Caretaker; Earthquake; Street Food Vendor

FARUK GÖKSU
Ankara, 1958

Urban Planner. Undertaken many urban transformation projects which brought together the public and private sectors and local organisations. Presents strategies, innovative models and proposals in urban development and transformation, realizes projects. Adopts the “compromise

management” method to bring together groups affected by the projects. He has published many articles on urbanisation and urban transformation. He is a part-time lecturer at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University where he teaches urban transformation.

> Emergency Action Plan; Urban Transformation

FATİH ÖZGÜVEN
Istanbul, 1957

Writer, film critic, translator. Writes film reviews for the daily *Radikal* newspaper and teaches at the Department of Cinema and Television, Istanbul Bilgi University. He has published two short story compilations entitled *Bir ey Oldu* [Something Happens] and *Hiç Niyetim Yoktu* [I Never Meant To] and a compilation of essays *Yerüstünden Notlar* [Notes from Above Ground]. He is interested in everything about the city.

> ATM; Beautification (I); İstiklal Caddesi or “Beyoğlu”; Shopping Centre (I); Simit Sarayı (I); Yeşilçam



FUNDA UZ
Konya, 1974

Architect. She is a research assistant in the Department of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University where she completed her PhD thesis entitled “Reading the Urban Discourse of 80s Istanbul from Popular Print Media.” She worked as a guest researcher at the Cambridge University Department of Architecture in academic year 2004-05. She has published papers and articles internationally and has organized workshops. She was a member of the organisation and executive council of the Architecture and Philosophy Symposium and also an editor of the books published following the symposium titled *Ethics-Aesthetics and Time-Space*. Her fields of work include popular culture, discourse, memory, modernism and architectural education.

> Cake Shop; Language

GİLA BENMAYOR
Istanbul, 1960

Graduated from the Department of English Language and Literature, Istanbul University.

Completed her master’s degree in journalism and public relations. Began working at *Hürriyet* newspaper in 1982. Worked as world news sub-editor from 1990 to 1994 and world news editor from 1994 to 2000. She has been a columnist at the same newspaper since 2000.

> Barge

GÖKHAN ÖZGÜN
Ardahan, 1962

Writer. Worked as an advertising copywriter and consultant following his economics and philosophy education. Taught advertising at Istanbul Bilgi University. Worked as a political columnist at *Radikal* newspaper for a year.

> Centre; Democracy

GÜL KÖKSAL
Istanbul, 1972

Architect, preservation specialist and lecturer at the Department of Architecture, Division of



Restoration, Faculty of Architecture and Design, Kocaeli University. Her master's thesis was on the Golden Horn Dockyards and her PhD thesis on the preservation and reuse of the industrial heritage of Istanbul, and she follows developments and work in this field closely. Her professional and scientific activities mostly focus on architectural and restoration projects and writing.

> Electricity; Golden Horn; Golden Horn Dockyards; Şirket-i Hayriye – City Maritime Lines

GÜLSÜN TANYELİ
Keşan, 1957

Completed her graduate studies at the Department of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University in 1979, undertaking her master's and PhD studies at the same institution. She has worked at the ITU Faculty of Architecture since 1984. She worked at the Adana Cultural and National Properties Preservation Board from 1994 to 2002, in 2005 she was appointed as a member of the Nevşehir Cultural and National Properties Regional Board.

She is a member of ICOMOS Turkey National Committee and DoCoMoMo_Tr. Tanyeli works particularly on the history of technology and has recently focused on industrial archaeological sites. She is a member of the Demirköy-Samakovcuk Ottoman Iron Foundry Research excavation team, a Turkish History of Science Society project.

> Gas Works

HAKAN TÜZÜN ŞENGÜN
Ankara, 1971

Graduated from the Department of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University and completed his master's education in the History of Architecture division of the same institution with his thesis entitled "The Problem of Belonging in Contemporary Turkish Architecture." He was a member of the design teams of award-winning projects like the ATK Lodgings, the Museum and Guest Centre, and the B2 House. His proposal "Zeppelinized" was printed on the cover of *Domus* no. 893 after he took part in the consultation opened by *Domus* magazine for the functional redefinition of



Ryugyong Hotel and was exhibited at the Milano Architecture Triennial. Participated in international events like the 1998 Anytime Conference, the 2004 Global Architect and Media Event, the 2005 Kassel-Kunsthalle *Collective Creativity* exhibition and the 10th International Istanbul Biennial. He works on the phenomenology of architectural structure and the interface of city and structure. Continues work on his PhD thesis as a research assistant at the Department of Architectural Design, Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University.

> Zeppelin

HAKKI YIRTICI

Adana, 1969

Architect. Lecturer at the Department of Architecture, Istanbul Kültür University. Teaches courses on design, design theory, modernity and cinema. His work focuses on modernisation and modernism, the economic politics of space, everyday life, cinema and architecture. His book *The Spatial Organisation of Contemporary Capitalism* was published by Istanbul Bilgi University Press

and his article “The Ideology of the Spatial Organisation of Consumption” was published in the book *Architecture and Consumption* by Boyut Publishers. He acted as the editor of the Turkey group at the exhibition *Capitalist Metastasis* organized as part of the 2005 Rotterdam Architecture Biennial. He has published various articles, worked as an editor, designed architectural projects and taken part in architectural competitions.

> Reservoir Water Levels; Simit Sarayı (II); Shopping Centre (II)

HÜLYA HATİPOĞLU

Osmaniye, 1966

Editor, urban designer. Received her graduate and master’s degrees from the Department of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University. After working as a research assistant at Yıldız Technical University, she worked as publication coordinator and editor at Istanbul Bilgi University, the History Foundation and Cultural Publications.

> Pavement with Ela Çil; Taksim Square with Atilla Yücel



İLKEY BALIÇ
Istanbul, 1979

Studied City and Regional Planning at Yıldız Technical University. Completed her master's degree at the Department of Sociology, Boğaziçi University. Works as a freelance editor.

> Alienation; Bakkal Sandwich; Cleansing; Foreigner; View

İPEK YADA AKPINAR
Istanbul, 1973

Architect. Lecturer at the Department of Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University. Guest lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture, Eastern Mediterranean University. Regional editor of *The Journal of Architecture*. Following her graduate and master's education at the Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University, she completed her PhD at the Bartlett School, University of London. She has published articles on architectural education, architectural and urban design, urban culture, spatial policies, Istanbul and the relationships between

architecture, the city and politics. She continues to supervise master's and PhD theses, gives lectures and organizes national and international workshops and conferences on these subjects.

> Beautification (II); Expropriation; My Ideal Home

İŞİL BAYSAN SERİM
Ankara, 1967

Architect, PhD candidate and lecturer at the Department of Architecture, Yeditepe University. Her work focuses on how cinematographic technologies transform and shape architectural epistemology and ontology, and in particular define design and spatial policies. She organizes various workshops and presents seminars under the title "sinetopia" at national and international levels at various academic institutions and culture, art and architectural institutes. Publishes writings, articles and interviews in journals and newspapers active in the interdisciplinary field.

> Cinema



İSMET ELİF KILIÇ
Istanbul, 1979

Graduated from the Department of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University in 2002. After having worked at the MArS-Mimarlar as an architect from 2003 to 2009, she researched into the practices of archiving architecture at Garanti Gallery in 2009-2010. Currently she works as an architect in the Eczacıbaşı Holding company.

> Headphones

JAMES HAKAN DEDEOĞLU
Istanbul, 1980

Graduated from the Department of Spanish Language and Literature, Istanbul University. He has been the editor-in-chief of *Bant* magazine since 2004. An amateur short story writer, his work has been published in magazines including *Trendsetter*, *Rolling Stone*, *Basatap*, *Aktüel*, *Blue Jean* and *istanbul*. With Aylin Güngör, he produces the programme “Tırtıllar” [Caterpillars] on Açık Radyo. He has played guitar in the bands Ricochet,

Geist Im Glas and Kaluza, and also has his own music projects, Oak and TSU!

> Peyote Stage

KATHRIN WILDNER
Essen, 1965

Urban Anthropologist. She has done fieldwork in New York, Mexico City, Havana, Istanbul and other urban agglomerations. In her researches she focuses on the constitution of public space, constructions of urban identities, and ethnographic methodology in urban research. With the ethnographic study on the Zócalo of Mexico City – the historical main square and symbolic center of the contemporary metropolis – she received her PhD from Hamburg University. As a freelance urban scholar she works in international contexts, lectures, publishes, and participates in expositions. Currently she is assistant professor at the European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder), Germany.

> Public Space (II)



KEREM ÖKTEM
Gelsenkirchen, 1969

Senior Researcher at the European Studies Centre and the programme for South East European Studies, University of Oxford. He studied Urban Planning in Istanbul and at the TU Hamburg-Harburg and worked at architecture offices in Berlin, before returning to academia at the University of Oxford, reading in Modern Middle Eastern Studies. He received his D. Phil in 2006 for his doctoral thesis on the spatial dimensions of Turkish nationalism. He works on contemporary Turkey, minority policies and issues of historical memory and publishes regularly in Middle East Report Online. His book *Angry Nation – Turkey since 1989* is scheduled for publication by Zed Books in Spring 2009.

> Ethnicity; Minibus; Minority (II); Synagogue; Varoş (I)

KEVIN ROBINS

Kevin Robins is working in the Faculty of Communications at Bahçeşehir University. He is presently writing a book on transnational

communications. In Turkish, he is the author of and (with David Morley) *Kimlik Mekanları*, both published by Ayrıntı.

> Flag

LEVENT ŞENTÜRK
Eskişehir, 1974

Architect. Teaches at the Department of Architecture, Eskişehir Osmangazi University. Completed his PhD thesis entitled “The Body of the Modulor” in the division of Architectural History and Theory of Istanbul Technical University in 2007. Since 1997 his articles have been published in journals including *Mimarlık*, *Arredamento Mimarlık*, *Sanat Dünyamız*, *Cogito*, *Kitap-lık*, *RH+* and *Doxa*. He has published books *aretname ve İntermezzo* [Book of Signs and Intermezzo] (YKY, 1998), *Doxa Yazıları* [Doxa Writings] (YKY, 2003), *Yerdeğitirmeler Seçkisi* [Anthology of Translocations] (YKY, 2004) and *Lilliput Masallar* [Lilliput Tales] (Sel, 2004) which are products of his interest in fields such as experimental literature, architectural design, architectural criticism and art. He has directed



the architectural studio Pomi (Studio for Potential Architecture) since 2002.

> Scaffolding

MELTEM AHISKA
Ankara, 1958

Currently teaching as Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology, Boğaziçi University. She has presented papers in several national and international conferences, on Occidentalism, social memory, gender and related issues; her articles have appeared in journals including *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, *Toplum ve Bilim*, and *Deftir*. She has been part of the editorial collectives of Turkish journals such as *Akıntıya Karşı*, *Zemin*, *Deftir* and *Pazartesi*. She curated an exhibition entitled *The person you have called cannot be reached at the moment: Representations of Life Styles in Turkey, 1980-2005*, and wrote a book with the same title (with Zafer Yenel, Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2006). She also co-curated a travelling exhibition on human rights and co-edited

its book with Zafer Yenel, *Hikayemi Dinler misin? Tanıklıklarla Türkiye’de Hakları ve Sivil Toplum*, (History Foundation, 2004). Her book *Radyo’nun Sihirli Kapısı: Garbiyatçılık ve Politik* was published in 2005 by Metis Publications, appearing in English as *Occidentalism in Turkey: Questions of Modernity and National Identity in Turkish Radio Broadcasting* (I.B. Tauris, London).

> Bağdat Caddesi (II)

MELTEM TÜRKÖZ

Lecturer at the Department of Human and Social Sciences, Işık University. Completed her graduate studies in visual arts and creative writing at Sarah Lawrence College, New York. Received her master’s degree at the Creative Writing and Literature Program at the University of Houston. Worked as a journalist at the *Turkish Daily News* from 1989 to 1993. Collaborated with members of the Street Children Association she met during this period. She organized a writing workshop in Sefaköy with children as part of this and helped them publish a photocopy newspaper titled *Bizim Sokak* [Our Street]. She completed her PhD



in folklore at the University of Pennsylvania from 1995 to 2003. She is currently compiling a book based on her PhD thesis on narratives, memoirs and documents regarding the Turkish Surname Law.

> Tinerçi

MERİÇ ÖNER
Ankara, 1979

Architect. Associate director of research and programs at SALT since 2010, she focuses on the built environment, architecture, and design of the second half of the twentieth century as a primary tool for social research and discussion. She presents her research in forms of exhibitions, publications and talks.

> Akbil; Mosque; Parking Lot

MURAT ŞANAL
Istanbul, 1969

Architect. Received his bachelor's degree from Yıldız Technical University and master's degree

from UCLA. His professional efforts focus on raising the quality of built environments in the context within which they are constructed. He began his career working in leading architectural design firms in Colorado and Los Angeles. During that time he explored the implication of regionalism and sustainable systems. While at the design firm Moore Ruble Yudell, he worked on distinguished international projects such as the Sydney Pyrmont Housing Development as well as UCSC Physical Science Lab Building. In 2000, he returned to Istanbul. He currently teaches studio as a visiting instructor at Yıldız Technical University and continues his commitment to develop robust design-processes to ensure design as a force for architectural excellence.

> Street Market (Pazar) (II) with Alexis Şanal

NALÂN BAHÇEKAPILI
İçel, 1973

Completed her architectural education at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. Her articles have been published in magazines including *Arredamento*, *Mimarlık*, *Milliyet Sanat*, *XXI* and *Varlık*. Worked as a research assistant at Yeditepe University. PhD



candidate in the Architectural History and Theory programme at Yıldız Technical University.

> Performative Traffic; Street Animals

NAMIK ERKAL
Ankara, 1969

Architect, architectural historian. Lecturer in the Department of Architecture, Middle Eastern Technical University. His research concentrates on the spatial history of the city border, harbour architecture and especially the historical development of the Istanbul harbour front and *kapan* buildings. His architectural design work focuses on the transformation of historical buildings into museums (Istanbul Sakıp Sabancı Museum).

> Filled Ground; Kapan – Weighing Office; Panorama

NAZIM HİKMET RICHARD DİKBAŞ
Leeds, 1973

Translator, artist, academician. Graduated from the Department of Sociology, Istanbul University.

Completed his master's degree in Continental Philosophy at the Department of Philosophy, University of Warwick. He translates works on culture, art and literature; translated Vladimir Nabokov and Flannery O'Connor into Turkish, and Orhan Pamuk and Hrant Dink into English. Since 2007 he has taught at the Departments of Visual Communication Design and Arts and Cultural Management at Istanbul Bilgi University. He is currently teaching the Cultural Management master's class Art and Opposition.

NERMİN SAYBAŞILI
Mersin, 1974

Faculty member in the Department of History of Art, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. Received her PhD degree from the Department of Visual Cultures at London University Goldsmiths College and went on to teach in the same department. She taught at the Department of Architecture at Edinburgh University. She has presented in international conferences on the problematics of visibilities/invisibilities in the regime of vision, the use of sound (human sound, sounds that are neither language nor music) in installations and



video works, mobility and counter-geographies, urban space and migration. She has participated in art projects such as *De-Regulation with the Work of Kutluğ Ataman* and *e-flux video rental (EVR)*. In addition to a number of catalogue texts, she has published articles in magazines including *Third Text*, *n.paradoxa*, *Architecture &*, *Journal of Visual Art Practice*, *Toplum ve Bilim*; written sections in *Art, City and Politics In An Expanding World: Writings From The 9th International Istanbul Biennial* (IKSV, 2005); *Voice: Vocal Aesthetics in Digital Arts and Media* (MIT Press, 2010); *Globalization and Contemporary Art* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), *Mobility and Fantasy in Visual Culture* (Routledge, 2014) and *Uncommon Grounds: New Media and Critical Practices in North Africa and the Middle East* (I. B. Tauris and İbraaz Publishing, forthcoming). Saybaşılı edited a special issue on Visual Culture for *Toplumbilim* magazine and published *Sınırlar ve Hayaletler: Görsel Kültürde Göç Hareketleri* [Borders and Ghosts: Migration Movements in Visual Culture] (Metis, 2011).

> Wedding Topographies

NORA ŞENİ
Istanbul

Historian, economist, urbanist. Attended high school at Notre Dame de Sion. Following her economics education in France she became lecturer at the Department of Urbanism at Paris 8 University. Her fields of specialisation include 19th century Istanbul, contemporary cultural policies and the city, patronage, philanthropy and non-profit cultural organisations. She has published numerous articles on these subjects. She compiled the translation of her articles on Istanbul in the book *Seni Unutursam İstanbul* [Istanbul If I Dare Forget You] (Kitap Publishers, 2008). Her books which have been translated into Turkish include *Marie ve Marie* [Marie and Marie]; *Konstantiniye’de bir mevsim, 1856-1858* [A season in Constantinople, 1856-1858] (im 1999; 2004), *Camondo’lar, bir hanedanın* [The Camondos, the fall of a dynasty] (with Sophie Le Tarnec, im, 2001). The translation of her book *Les Inventeurs de la Philanthropie juive* will be published by Yapı Kredi Publications in autumn 2008. In January 2008 she organized an international symposium in Istanbul entitled “Philanthropy and Patrons in the City: Towards a Contemporary Urban and



Cultural Policy.” She is also a documentary film producer.

> Ottoman Neighbourhood

ORHAN ESEN Istanbul

Independent urban researcher, writer, guide. He is interested in the performance of the city he lives in the fields of shelter, transportation, environment and identity formation etc., or, in brief, letting its dwellers live in reasonable conditions. Studied social and economic history and later history of art and architecture in Istanbul and Vienna. As a guide, he finds it important to let his guests perceive Istanbul with its “mediocrities” beyond its monumental building stock and his field of interest extends from the historical to the existent. He believes that the activity of showing and sharing the city is a good teacher and that it develops spatial awareness. He makes an effort to become a vigilant, active and participant resident of the city. He works with various civilian, academic, artistic and political platforms, writes, speaks; produces and organizes projects to achieve this.

Understanding and intervening in dynamics of urban change are his primary concern. He published the book *Istanbul: self service city* with Stephan Lanz in 2005 in Berlin, which he considers his second city.

> Northern Istanbulite; Post-gecekondu; Simit; Tourism

OSMAN CENK DEMİROĞLU Istanbul, 1980

Geographer and tourismologist, board member for the Association of Professional Tourism Writers, Journalists and Editors, member of Adalar Kültür Derneği [Adalar Cultural Foundation], faculty member of Department of Tourism Management Boğaziçi University. He completed his PhD at the Department of Geography, Istanbul University, during which he resided in Sweden, Norway and Slovakia under various scholarships for five years. He publishes extensively on sustainability and other tourism-related topics and situations. With the project he proposed for the rejuvenation of Prinkipo Palace in the context of cultural heritage and sustainable tourism, he received



a mention prize at the Barlas Küntay Tourism Research Awards of the Turkish Tourism Investors Association.

> Isle

ÖZGE AÇIKKOL
Istanbul, 1976

Member of Oda Projesi [the Room Project], a project based in Istanbul which began to operate in 2000, develops ideas on the “functions of spaces” and has participated in various international exhibitions and projects. Works as an editor and translator in various publication projects.

> Gentrification (III); Irregular Urbanisation

PELİN DERVİŞ
Ankara, 1967

Architect. Lives and works in Istanbul as an independent editor and curator. Graduated from Istanbul Technical University, completing her master’s degree in the History of Architecture

programme of the same institution. After working for 14 years in her architectural practice on projects of various types and dimensions ranging from urban inventory projects to spatial and object design, she focused on the cultural production aspect of architecture. While working as the director of Garanti Gallery, Istanbul (an institution concerned with urbanism, architecture and design) realized exhibitions and other parallel events and publications (2005-2010). Some of the publications she contributed to are: *Becoming Istanbul* (ed.); *Tracing Istanbul [from the air]*; *Mapping Istanbul* (ed.); *Istanbul para-doxa: Conversations on the City and Architecture* (ed.); *Made in : On Istanbul, Small-scale Production, and Design* (ed.). Some of the institutions that she collaborated are SALT (together with Gökhan Karakuş she took part in founding and developing the Architecture and Design Archive Turkey, and co-curated *Performance of Modernity: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1946-1977* exhibition); Vitra (coordinator of the exhibitions in the Vitra Contemporary Architecture Series); Istanbul Modern (coordinator of YAP Istanbul Modern: Young Architects Program, 2013 which is realized in partnership with The Museum of Modern Art, MoMA and MoMA PS1). She is the project coordinator of the Pavilion of Turkey’s



exhibition *Places of Memory* (curated by Murat Tabanlıoğlu) at the 14th International Architecture Exhibition of la Biennale di Venezia. The documentation of modern architectural production in Turkey, and the contemporary urban issues of Istanbul are her fields of interest.

PELİN TAN
(Hilden, 1974)

Studied sociology and history of art. Completed her PhD on the concept of locality in socially engaged art practices in urban space in the Department of History of Art, Istanbul Technical University; and her post-doc on artistic research at the Faculty of Architecture, MIT. Receiving her associate professorship in contemporary art, Tan is a faculty member in the Department of Architecture, Mardin Artuklu University. She is co-editor of *Müstesna Hali* [Extraordinary State of the Exceptional City] (Sel, 2013). She has published books entitled *Unconditional Hospitality and Threshold Architecture, Ethics of Locality: Urban Commons* (dpr-Barcelona, 2014), *Arazi/Territory* (Sternberg Press, 2015). Assistant curator to the *Adhocracy* (2012) exhibition of the

1st Istanbul Design Biennial, Tan co-curated the *Proje15* (2015) urban research exhibition at the Bordeaux Architecture Centre with Joseph Grima. Tan and Anton Vidokle's film works on utopian future art institutions *2084* is featured in Bergen Assembly, Montreal Biennial and Guangzhou Time Museum.

> Biennial; District Villas; Surveillance;
Varoş (II)

PETER TAYLOR
Tring, 1944

Professor of Geography at Loughborough University and Director of the GaWC (Globalization and World Cities) Research Network, a leading world-wide think-tank on cities and globalisation. He is a world-systems analyst who has applied his research to political geography and urban studies. He is the founding editor of two international journals, *Political Geography* and *Review of International Political Economy*. He is the author of many publications. He enjoys walking cities and turning academic ideas upside down. He was



a member of the Gulbenkian Commission on the Future of the Social Sciences, is an Academician of the Academy of Social Sciences (UK), has been awarded “Distinguished Scholarship Honors” by the Association of American Geographers, and is a Fellow of the British Academy. He has recently been awarded honorary doctorates by the Universities of Oulu and Ghent.

> Globalisation

RINALDO MARMARA
Istanbul, 1949

Received his PhD degree at the Montpellier Paul Valéry University in France with his PhD thesis entitled “From the Byzantine Empire to the Republic of Turkey: The emergence, rise and collapse of the Istanbul Levantine Community. Its influence on modern Greek as cultural heritage.” He has written articles and books on the last of the Levantine neighbourhoods, Pangaltı and the history of Istanbul, and has prepared a dictionary on the etymology of Greek words of Turkish and Ottoman origin published by the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture. He continues his work

on the history of the Istanbul Latin Community. He was appointed Chevalier de l'ordre de Saint-Grégoire le Grand by the Vatican.

> Levantines and Neo-Levantines

SAADET ÖZEN
Istanbul, 1972

Archaeologist, translator, writes on literature and history for various magazines and newspapers, carries out research for documentary works. Her book *Witness of 150 Years: Notre Dame de Sion* was published in 2006. Currently preparing her master's thesis at the Department of History at Boğaziçi University. Her fields of interest include urban history, institutions within urban history, historical processes and nostalgia, the destruction nostalgia causes to the image of the city and reading everyday history via literature.

> Nostalgia



SAİTALİ KÖKNAR
Istanbul, 1973

After graduating from Galatasaray High School, he completed his architectural education at Istanbul Technical University from 1992 to 1996 with his final project, which won the Archiprix award. While he was a student he actively took part in the Turkey Architecture Students' Meetings, which later received the National Architecture Exhibition Contribution to the Profession Award. Completed his master's degree at the Structural Design Division of the Architecture programme of the ITU Science Institute. Worked at various architectural practices from 1996 to 2001, participated in many competitions and won two awards. Worked as a founding partner with Ahmet and Hayriye Sözen from 2001 to 2006 at Mono Architectural Designs. Continues his PhD work on "Design Tools" at the Building Design programme of the ITU Faculty of Architecture by writing for and working as a consultant at various architectural publications.

> Pedestrianisation; Viaduct

SENEM AKÇAY
Ankara, 1979

Graduated from Koç Private High School as International Bachelor in 1997 and Department of Architecture, Yıldız Technical University in 2006. She worked with Ertuğ Uçar and Mehmet Kütükçüoğlu at Teğet Mimarlık from 2005 to 2011. She completed her master's degree with her research on a design guide for the Historic Peninsula at the Department of Restoration, Yıldız Technical University. With illustrator Sadi Güran and musician Deniz Cuyulan, she published *Netame* in 2007, a graphic novel incorporating a music album and considered a first in Turkey. Her projects include Restoration of the Süleymaniye Complex, Museum of Topkapı Palace Kitchens and Design Guide for the İzmir Shore prepared to aid the organisation of urban and public spaces. She continues practice at her office Tamirhane; Mimarlık established in 2012.

> Two-facedness (I); Sewage



SENEM DEVİREN

Antakya, 1973

Architect. She is Assistant Professor in the Department of Landscape Architecture at Istanbul Technical University. Took her PhD in 2001 from ITU with her thesis entitled “Place in Architecture: Conceptualization of the Relation Between Site and Building.” As a Visiting Assistant Professor at Texas A&M University she has coordinated four design studios and participated in undergraduate and graduate studio reviews as an invited jury member. She teaches at Department of Landscape Architecture and on the Interdisciplinary Urban Design MSc programme at ITU. Her research focuses on place theory and design, conceptualisation in design, inter-scale design approaches, design strategy development and energy efficient design.

> The Other Side; Shore Road; Silhouette; Time

SILA DURHAN

Balıkesir, 1974

Graduated from the Department of Architecture, Architecture Faculty, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts

University. Continues to work on her PhD thesis entitled “Development in Istanbul in the Early Republican Period (1928-1950)” at the Architectural History and Theory Graduate programme at the Science Institute at Yıldız Technical University. Her work focuses on urban history, architecture in Turkey in the period of modernisation, housing research and international world fairs.

> Cemetery

STEFAN HIBBELER

Detmold, 1963

Translator and journalist. Founder and editor of the weekly internet newspaper *Istanbul Post* which reports from Turkey in German. Has a PhD in social psychology. Works as a translator in addition to his work in the field of journalism. In addition to everyday political and economic developments, his translation work also covers history, urbanism and philosophy.



ŞEBNEM KÖŞER AKÇAPAR
Denizli, 1968

Social and cultural anthropologist. Adjunct Professor at the Center for German and European Studies, Georgetown University and a visiting scholar at the Institute for the Study of International Migration. She teaches a comparative graduate course on Muslim immigrants in Europe and in the Unites States. Her research interests include forced migration, irregular migration in Turkey, feminisation of migration, interreligious marriages, gender and Islam, immigrant organisations and political representation of immigrants.

> Iranian Immigrants

ŞÜKRÜ ASLAN
Tunceli, 1959

Associate Professor Aslan is a graduate of the Department of Sociology, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. He completed his master's degree on Urban Informal Sectors, and his PhD on Social Struggles and the City at the same school.

Focussing on city, migration and social movements, Aslan has published the books *1 Mayıs Mahallesi, 1980'den Toplumsal Mücadeleler ve Kent* [1 Mayıs Neighbourhood, Social Struggle Before 1980s and the City] (Publishers, 2004), *Kent Sosyolojik Düşünceler* [Sociological Thoughts on the City] (Mühendisleri Odası, 2007), *Herkesin Bildiği Dersim* [The Secret Everybody Knows: Dersim] (Publishers, 2010), *Dersim 38'i Hatırlamak* [Remembering Dersim 38] (with Bülent Bilmez and Gülay Kayacan, Tarih Vakfı, 2011), *Dersim'i Parantezden* [Removing Dersim From the Parenthesis] (with Zeliha Hepkon and Songül Aydın, Publishers, 2013); and in France *Les quartiers populaires et la ville* [Working Class Neighbourhoods and the City] (with Mustafa Poyraz and Loïc Gandais, L'Harmattan, 2010). Still a full time lecturer in the Department of Sociology at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Aslan has published extensive on the city, migration, ethnicity and population sociology in academic and political media.

> Political Space



SÜREYYA EVREN
Istanbul, 1972

Writer, editor of the journal *Siyahî*. His work focuses on the fields of literature, contemporary art and political theory. He has published novels, short story compilations, anthologies and essay compilations.

> Anarchy (II); Wound

TANGÖR TAN
Langenfeld, 1975

Graduated from the Faculty of Agriculture of Ege University. Worked as a professional chef. Studied gastronomy for 3 years in Italy following his career as a chef. Participated in many international conferences and workshops. Continues to work in Istanbul as a consultant in the food and drink sector and is Turkey coordinator of Slow Food. Has contributed to publications like the magazine *Yemek&Kült* [Food&Culture] and *Slow Food*.

> Fish Sandwich

TOLGA İSLAM
Istanbul, 1976

Faculty member in the Department of City and Regional Planning, Yıldız Technical University,. He researches into the transformation and gentrification processes taking place in Istanbul. İslam's works are available via tolgaislam.com.

> Gentrification (II)

UĞUR TANYELİ
Ankara, 1952

Graduated from the Department of Architecture at the State Fine Arts Academy. Began work as an assistant researcher in the division of the History of Art of the same institution. Resigned in 1982 to work at the division of History of Art, Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University. Taught as visiting lecturer at the University of Michigan during the 1989-90 academic year. Appointed associate professor at Anadolu University in 1992. He worked in the division of the History of Art, Faculty of Architecture, Yıldız Technical University from 1998 to 2011. He has



served as Dean of the Faculty of Architecture at Mardin Artuklu University since 2011. He has also been the publication coordinator of the magazine *Arredamento Mimarlık* since 1989. His works focus on Ottoman Architecture and the Era of Modernisation in Turkey. His published books include *istanbul 1900-2000*, *Konutu ve Modernleşmeyi Metropolden Okumak* [Istanbul 1900-2000, Reading Housing and Modernisation from the Metropolis] (2004), *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000* [Actors in Architecture: Turkey 1900-2000] (2007). In 2007 he prepared the exhibition and book titled *Turgut Cansever: Thinker and Architect* with Atilla Yücel and in 2008 the exhibition and book titled *Sedad Hakkı Eldem I: Early Years* with Edhem Eldem and Uğur Tanyeli.

> Ascent; Becoming Istanbul; Byzantium; Contractor; Istanbulite; Pornography; Toponyms

ULUS ATAYURT
Istanbul, 1973

Works as an editor at the magazines *istanbul*, *Express* and *Bant*. Writes articles for various

magazines and newspapers on shelter, real estate speculation, victims of urban transformation, alternative initiatives, minorities and workers. Collaborates with independent initiatives in Istanbul in order to render urban problems visible using various tools (documentaries, mappings etc.).

> Security; Stray Dogs

YILDIZ SALMAN
Istanbul, 1968

Architect and restorator. Lecturer in the Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University. Her field of interest includes topics such as urban transformation, urban preservation and the preservation of modern architectural heritage, preservation theory and concepts. She has participated in various international working groups on preservation.

> Fire; Hotel; Preservation Board; Restoration; Summer Resort; Tram; Yalı



YOSHIKO TSURUTA
Tokyo, 1969

Lecturer in the Department of Architectural and Urban Planning, Tokyo Showa Women's University. She continues her academic work on the use of markets and street markets and their urban impact in Turkey which she has visited regularly since 1995. She has also collaborated with Turkish universities on projects in smaller-scale settlements outside Istanbul like Mudurnu and Göynük. She develops various projects with designers to contribute to the sustainability of street markets in Istanbul.

> Street Market (I)

ZEYNEP KUBAN
Istanbul, 1964

An archaeology graduate and architectural historian in the division of History of Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University. She continues her archaeological work as she also carries out research into and teaches about the historical layers of Istanbul. She also carries out projects with primary school children

in Istanbul with her students to help disseminate knowledge of architectural history.

> Bathing/Swimming; Bicycle; Hamam

ZEYNEP MENNAN
Ankara, 1964

Architect, theorist and design critic. She has researched, published and lectured on history and theory in Europe, USA, and Australia. She did post doc research with Antony Vidler in UCLA, where she was on a Fulbright scholarship in 2002. She was the associate curator of the *Architectures Non Standard* exhibition at the Centre Georges Pompidou (2003-2004) as well as the co-editor of the catalogue and designer of the exhibition. Since 2004 she has lectured on architectural theory, epistemology, architectural research and digital design in undergraduate, graduate and PhD courses in the Department of Architecture at Middle East Technical University. She researches into theoretical, historical and epistemological mapping of digital design research as well as the implications of morphogenetic researches on form.

> Gestalt Collapse; Junk Economy



ZÜHRE SÖZERİ

Istanbul, 1972

Architect, researcher. Teaches as guest lecturer at various universities and writes articles on architecture and the city. In addition to her academic work, she actively contributes to the projects and events organized by the Eurasian Art Collective ASK, of which she is a founding member. She produces work on the reproduction of the concept of architecture through local relationships and a collective-collaborative structure via the proximity of performing arts and architecture. Her recent work is on natural/artificial lake environments and their sphere of influence undergoing various problems regarding water, focusing particularly on the area within the triangle formed by Bafa, Antep and Istanbul.

› Han; Moat/Pit; Sewer; Two-facedness (II)



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