

**REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
YILDIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
MASTER’S THESIS**

**THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HAVING A PORT FOR
AN OPEN CITY AND ITS REFLECTION ON THE
PUBLIC SPACE: KADIKÖY AT THE
INTERSECTION OF THE LOCAL AND THE
GLOBAL**

**AYLİN UZUN
17735001**

**THESIS SUPERVISOR
PROF. DR. AYŞEGÜL BAYKAN**

**ISTANBUL
2019**

**REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
YILDIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
MASTER’S THESIS**

**THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HAVING A PORT FOR
AN OPEN CITY AND ITS REFLECTION ON THE
PUBLIC SPACE: KADIKÖY AT THE
INTERSECTION OF THE LOCAL AND THE
GLOBAL**

**AYLİN UZUN
17735001**

**THESIS SUPERVISOR
PROF. DR. AYŞEGÜL BAYKAN**

**ISTANBUL
2019**

**REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
YILDIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
MASTER'S THESIS**


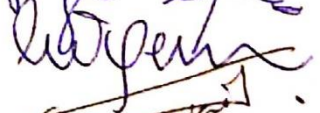
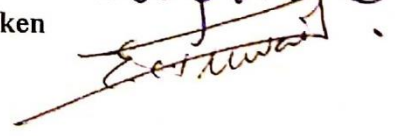
**THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HAVING A PORT FOR
AN OPEN CITY, AND ITS REFLECTIONS ON
THE PUBLIC SPACE: KADIKÖY AT THE
INTERSECTION OF THE LOCAL AND THE
GLOBAL**

**AYLİN UZUN
17735001**

Date of Submission: 23.05.2019

Date of Defence: 25.06.2019

This Thesis is Approved by the Unanimous Vote

	Title Name Surname	Signature
Thesis Supervisor	: Prof. Dr. Ayşegül Baykan	
Examining Committee Members	: Prof. Dr. M. Sait Özervarlı	
	Dr. Ebru Çiğdem Thwaites Diken	

**ISTANBUL
JUNE 2019**

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HAVING A PORT FOR AN OPEN CITY AND ITS REFLECTION ON THE PUBLIC SPACE: KADIKÖY AT THE INTERSECTION OF THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL

ABSTRACT

Aylin Uzun

June, 2019

The concept of the *open city* came to the fore especially in urban planning, architecture, and urban sociology departments in recent years. In the face of rapidly increasing gated communities in today's globalized world, open cities are the ideal cities, in which being “new” or “different” is recognized and respected. There are possibilities, unfamiliarity, and random encounters in an *open city*, contrary to pre-planned, predictable modern closed cities. This study aims to focus on the significance of a port for an *open city* on Kadıköy scale. The port identity of Kadıköy is an important motive of its cultural diversity, which is one of the main stones of an *open city*. Throughout its process of modernization, its cultural diversity has had an impact on Kadıköy's architecture, social and cultural practices. It has also enabled different people to find a place for themselves in the public space. Kadıköy is at the intersection of the local and the global due to its geographical location. While preserving its historical texture, it has also adapted to modern developments. Kadıköy, which was previously used as a recreation area, has become one of the liveliest districts of Istanbul with its cinemas, theatres, rock bars, cuisine, opera and so forth. In this study, *Yeldeğirmeni*, *Bahariye* and *Moda* districts, which developed as a port area, will be discussed through the functional mapping analysis including the food and beverage services, social and cultural activities, and alternative stores in the *open city* context. To give a better background, firstly, the historical background of Turkey within the scope of modernization will be tackled. Then, it will continue with the theoretical framework through the concepts of *the right to the city* and *open city*. Within this perspective, lastly, the spatial function analysis of Kadıköy through the mapping method will be examined.

Keywords: Open City, Kadıköy, Port City, Modernization, the Right to the City

AÇIK BİR KENT İÇİN LİMANIN ÖNEMİ VE KAMUSAL ALANA YANSIMASI: YEREL VE KÜRESELİN KESİŞİMİNDE KADIKÖY

ÖZET

Aylin Uzun

Haziran, 2019

Açık kent kavramı, son zamanlarda özellikle kentsel planlama, mimarlık ve kent sosyolojisi alanlarında gündeme gelmiştir. Günümüzün küreselleşen dünyasında hızla artan kapalı siteler karşısında *açık kentler*, “yeni” veya “farklı” olanın kabul gördüğü ve saygı duyulduğu ideal şehirlerdir. Önceden planlanmış, öngörülebilir modern kapalı şehirlerin aksine, açık bir kentte olasılıklar, bilinmeyenler ve rastgele karşılaşmalar vardır. Bu çalışma, açık bir kent için limanın Kadıköy ölçeğindeki önemine odaklanmayı amaçlamaktadır. Kadıköy’ün liman kimliği, açık bir kentin ana taşlarından biri olan kültürel çeşitliliğinin önemli bir kaynağıdır. Modernleşme süreci boyunca Kadıköy’ün kültürel çeşitliliği, mimarisine, toplumsal ve kültürel pratiklerine yansımıştır. Ayrıca farklı insanların kamusal alanda kendilerine bir yer bulmalarını sağlamıştır. Kadıköy, coğrafi konumu nedeniyle yerelin ve küreselin kesiştiği bir yerdedir. Tarihi dokusunu korurken, modern gelişmelere de uyum sağlamıştır. Önceden bir mesire yeri olarak kullanılan Kadıköy, sineması, tiyatrosu, operası, rock barı, mutfağı ve diğer hizmetleriyle İstanbul’un en hareketli bölgelerinden biri haline gelmiştir. Bu çalışmada, Kadıköy’ün bir liman bölgesi olarak gelişen *Yeldeğirmeni*, *Bahariye* ve *Moda* semtleri, yeme içme aktiviteleri, sosyal ve kültürel etkinlikleri ve alternatif dükkanları içeren işlev haritalandırması analiziyle *açık kent* bağlamında tartışılacaktır. Daha iyi bir temel oluşturmak açısından bu çalışma ilk olarak Türkiye’nin modernleşme ölçeğinde tarihsel arka planına odaklanacaktır. Ardından *kent hakkı* ve *açık kent* konseptleri üzerinden teorik çerçeveye devam edecektir. Bu perspektifte, son olarak haritalandırma yöntemi ile Kadıköy’ün mekansal işlev analizi irdelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Açık Kent, Kadıköy, Liman Kent, Modernizasyon, Kent Hakkı

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Ayşegül Baykan for her encouragement, guidance, wise suggestions, and most importantly for her patience throughout my work on this thesis.

I would like to thank the thesis committee members, Prof. Dr. M. Sait Özervarlı and Dr. Ebru Thwaites Diken for all of their valuable comments and suggestions.

I would like to thank my family for their endless support throughout all my education life.

Last, but not least, I am so grateful to my dear cat Haku for his lovely companionship and comfort even in the most stressful times.

Istanbul; June, 2019

Aylin Uzun

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
THE LIST OF MAPS	viii
ABBREVIATIONS	ix
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE MODERNIZATION PROCESS OF TURKEY	7
2.1. The Modernization of the Ottoman Empire.....	7
2.1.1. The Urbanization of Istanbul in the Ottoman Empire.....	10
2.1.1.1. The Position of Istanbul in the Ottoman Empire.....	10
2.1.1.2. The Improvement of the Port City in the Ottoman Empire....	12
2.1.1.3. The Municipal Reform in the Ottoman Empire.....	14
2.2. The Modernization of the Republic of Turkey.....	18
2.3. From a Recreation Area to a Port City, Kadıköy.....	27
2.3.1. Everyday Life in Kadıköy from the Personal Narratives.....	33
3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CONCEPT OF OPEN CITY ..	36
3.1. A Brief Overview of the City.....	36
3.2. The Public Sphere vs the Private Sphere.....	37
3.3. The Right to the City.....	41
3.4. Open System vs. Closed System.....	45
3.4.1. An Open Ville.....	46
3.4.2. An Open Cité.....	50
4. THE FUNCTIONAL MAPPING ANALYSIS OF KADIKÖY	53
4.1. Kadıköy as a Gourmet Space.....	54
4.2. Kadıköy as a Social and Cultural Hub.....	57

4.3. Kadıköy as a Space of Alternatives.....	60
5. CONCLUSION.....	64
REFERENCES.....	72
APPENDICES.....	81
Appendix 1: The Distribution of the NGOs in Map 4.2.....	81
Appendix 2: The Culture Centres and Libraries in Map 4.2.....	83
Appendix 3: The List of Theatres in Map 4.2.....	84
Appendix-4: Event Calendar of April-May in Kadıköy.....	85
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	86

THE LIST OF MAPS

Map 4.1.	Food and Beverage Distribution in Kadıköy.....	55
Map 4.2.	Social and Cultural Spaces in Kadıköy.....	58
Map 4.3.	Variety of Stores in Kadıköy.....	61

ABBREVIATIONS

WWI	:World War I
WWII	:World War II
NGO	:Non-governmental Organizations
CHP	:Republican People's Party
DP	:Democrat Party
AKP	:Justice and Development Party

1. INTRODUCTION

Kadıköy, which is also popular among Istanbul's districts, has been selected as the 43rd coolest neighbourhood in the world by *Time Out* magazine (Manning & Wertheimer, 2018). At the beginning of its history of modernization, Kadıköy was a recreation area. Its geographical position is the key factor in the development of Kadıköy. Kadıköy, which connects Anatolian cities to Istanbul as well as the Asian and European sides of Istanbul, has developed as a port city (Aksel, 1994, 342). Waterways are critical in the progress of large cities since the beginning of civilization. In addition to being trade channels, watersides have gained importance in terms of aesthetics in modern times (Sennett, 2018, 323). Ports are veins of a city, they are channels to attach to global dynamism, which shapes their urban characteristics. Port cities are charming with their shores and multicultural structures; each port city is a part of cosmopolitanism. As well as ethnic minority communities, international trade networks are also indispensable parts of the port cities (Mah, 2014, 1). Kadıköy's demographic variety, which is due to its geographic position and the port identity, increased with its integration to modernity (Akbulut, 1994, 335). Though Kadıköy has a long coastline from Haydarpaşa to Bostancı, the scope of this study is restricted with Yeldeğirmeni, Bahariye and Moda districts in Kadıköy.

In addition to its port character, Kadıköy is also important as a station of an international railroad; which unites with the port under the name of Haydarpaşa. As well as Haydarpaşa Port, also Haydarpaşa Train Station has been a big motive in the development of Kadıköy. Besides its relations with the periphery, also its global relations have improved. Kadıköy is a place where the local and the global are intertwined. The bazaar zone, also known as *Çarşı*, is the epitome of it. Today, *Çarşı* is the centre of the Anatolian side of Istanbul, as well as Kadıköy (Tunalı, 2017, 40). Traces of its cultural diversity can be seen in its multi-functional structured public sphere. The scale of the variety of activities and products are extensive in Kadıköy. It hosts people from all over Istanbul for services such as transportation, cuisine, education, entertainment, shopping, and cultural activities. People spread all over the

streets rather than concentrating on a single centre. The streets are important socialization areas in Kadıköy. Also, stores and cafés create new socialization spaces by overflowing the streets (Firidin & Enşici, 2006, 86-90).

From a historical point of view, as well as personal experiences, the following books are used in this study in terms of the history of everyday life in Kadıköy: Giz (1990), Ekdal (2004), Göze (2007), Türker (2008), Akerman (2009), Kütükçü (2014). The history of modernization of Kadıköy is important in terms of seeing the motives of its development. The role and contributions of the ethnic minorities are significant in terms of urban transformation in Istanbul. In scale of Kadıköy, Akbulut (1992) tackles the spatial transformation and urban development with relevance to the ethnic minorities and the Levantine population. Also, Erkan (2001) analyses the influence of the ethnic minorities and the Levantines on architecture in Kadıköy and its contiguous district Üsküdar.

There is no specific study which examines the relevance of being a port area to the multi-functional public space in Kadıköy scale. This study aims to fill this gap by relating the functional mapping analysis of *Yeldeğirmeni*, *Bahariye* and *Moda* districts to their port identities. On the other hand, among current debates about Kadıköy, there are rich sources from master's thesis to journal articles from different angles on the public space in Kadıköy. In this sense, the following studies are included because of their relevance at some point to this study. As one of the oldest settlements in Kadıköy, Kadıköy Bazaar is the centre of the local and the global across the sea. The relevance between the urban structure and the commercial identity of Kadıköy Bazaar and its historical development is analysed in the thesis study of Altınkeser (2000). According to Firidin's study (2000), also socio-cultural behaviour patterns are determinant in the building process of the urban fabric in Kadıköy. Kılıç (2001) examines Kadıköy Square and its function as an open public space in everyday life in Kadıköy in her study. Firidin and Enşici (2006) focus on everyday life and permeable urban fabric in Kadıköy Bazaar sample. According to them, the grid planned streets enable pedestrianization and increase the use of streets. In addition to planned public spaces, they mention social spaces, that are arisen from random social encounters. As a protection area, Kadıköy Bazaar is examined from the point of the urban renovation in the thesis study of Gür (2006). Kürkçüoğlu and Ocağcı (2015) analyse the pedestrian mobility with regard to perceptual decision-making through the detailed schemas and

mappings in terms of the urban fabric of Historic Kadıköy Bazaar, which is the nexus of the open spaces, as well as the density and stimulating factors in Kadıköy Bazaar district. On the other hand, the history of commercialization of Kadıköy and the increasing value of Kadıköy as a transit point are examined by Tunalı (2017).

In Moda scale, the socio-spatial analysis is made with regard to the use of the public space and self-expression of the counter cultures in the public space in the thesis study of Ay (2018). The secular identity and daily practices of Kadıköy and its comparison to a conservative neighbourhood are studied by Doğan in her doctoral dissertation (2018). On the other hand, the unique essence of architecture in Yeldeğirmeni is analysed by Kutun (1993) and Tunçer (2016) in their studies. The evaluation of urban vacant space and its relevance to the urban transformation in Yeldeğirmeni is studied in the thesis study of Boz (2016).

Haydarpaşa Port and the Train Station are critical in the development of Kadıköy. In this study, the influence of the port to the public space in Yeldeğirmeni, Bahariye and Moda districts is analysed. There are current debates on the urban transformation projects that prioritise economic interest over the historical value in Haydarpaşa zone. Haydarpaşa is an integral part of Kadıköy either as a port or train station. Bowe (2008) examines the transformation proposals for Haydarpaşa, though it is still an active port. She also focuses on the influence of Haydarpaşa Port on the urban identity, coastal culture and the urban transformation in Kadıköy. In addition to the urban transformation projects, the development of Haydarpaşa as a port and railroad, and its significance for the essence of Kadıköy are examined by Ünal (2008), Durmuş (2009), Akarsu (2009), who points out Haydarpaşa Port as a component of the silhouette of Istanbul, as well as Koca (2011) and Delice (2012). As an industrial heritage space, Haydarpaşa is the core of Kadıköy.

The concept of the *open city* has become an inevitable element against the modern closed city in the global world. Contrary to closed systems, which are isolated, only open to access of certain people, under surveillance, pre-planned and predictable, an *open city* looks for the “new” and “foreign”. It has permeable borders, which allows people from different strata encounter randomly. The substantiality of social and cultural differences is the key element of an *open city*, which is heterogeneous and incomplete in form, undetermined and unpredictable. In an *open city*, the public sphere and its organization are significant, it represents everyone and responds to their needs,

which constitute its simultaneous and multi-functional structure. An open city does not exclude “the other” or “marginalized” people. Openness contains the notions of equality and democracy, which emancipate people in open cities. The concept of the *open city* cannot be thought without the concept of *the right to the city*; it is the right of everyone, and it should be available for all citizens including tourists, homeless people and immigrants (Sennett, 2018, 16-23). In an *open city*, “cultural dissidents and newcomers can feel accepted in their otherness” both by people and the state (Van Leeuwen, 2015, 804). The more a city is open to new urban cultures, the more it develops. In an *open city*, dichotomies such as familiar and unfamiliar, open and closed, homogeneous and heterogeneous can be found together (Ipsen, 2005, 644-47). Instead of homogeneous built environments, open systems are more than the sum of their components, which gives the essence of an *open city* (Sennett, 2018, 57).

The urban theory on *open city* focuses on the criteria of openness in terms of social structure and architecture. There should be a balance between the built city and the social order in an *open city*, which is an ideal city. The public space and cultural complexity should be compatible with each other. Relevant to *the right to the city* arguments, an *open city*, where the notion of equality and participatory democracy is at the forefront, should be the right of all citizens without exclusion. In this study, some of the previous studies on *the right to the city* (See Lefebvre, 1991, 1996, 2003; Harvey, 1996, 2006, 2012; Deutsche, 1996; Mitchell, 2003; Lim, 2014; Brenner et al., 2009; Shields, 2013; Carlos, 2018) and *open city* (see Walzer, 1986; Sennett, 1990, 1995, 2001, 2010, 2018; Wirth, 1995; Rogers, 1997; Ipsen, 2005; Rieniets, 2009; Eisinger, 2009; Läßle, 2009; Reijndorp, 2009; Young, 2011; Shields, 2013) have been examined and it has been tried to reflect the functional pluralism in Kadıköy through the functional mapping analysis as a result of a survey analysis based on the data that I gathered street by street in Yeldeğirmeni, Bahariye and Moda districts. This study was anchored under two major line of research questions that revolve around openness and having a port factors. I tried to show the relevance of having a port to openness through the cultural complexity factor in Kadıköy sample. On this occasion, the primary objective of this study is to review the cultural complexity of Kadıköy with a view to evaluating the multi-functional public space on the scale of Yeldeğirmeni, Bahariye and Moda.

In qualitative urban studies, “the city as an object of analysis has been unbound” in recent years (Jacobs, 1993, 225). The urban studies have become a part of multidisciplinary fields like cultural studies. After the contributions of the British cultural studies, rather than positivist urban theories, particular people and processes have become subjects of urban studies. Also, the small scale urban studies, such as street studies, came to the fore as part of the spatial analysis (Jacobs, 1993, 227-37). This study, which is conducted in the qualitative research method, is composed of three main chapters.

In the first chapter, the historical background will be analysed through the modernization process of Turkey by beginning from the Ottoman Empire to make the development of Kadıköy clear. Kadıköy is a port area in a port city. In this context, the development of the Ottoman ports and their effects on the urban structure will be examined. After drawing the line of Istanbul’s position in the modernization process, the cultural diversity of it will be tackled in terms of the *millet* system. To have a better understanding of the urban development of Istanbul, the municipal reform and its effects on the urban structure will be addressed. After examining the dynamics of Turkey's modernization, the urban development of Turkey and its reflections on the social structure will be examined. After giving the macro-structural historical analysis of Kadıköy, the everyday life of Kadıköy will be presented with a micro-analysis through the personal narratives.

In the second chapter, the theoretical framework will be drawn. After the transformation of the city is briefly mentioned, the distinction of the public and private spaces will be addressed. When the changing urban and social structures are taken into consideration, the notion of *the right to the city* will be discussed to create a base for the concept of the *open city*. Then the study will continue with the contemporary theories of *open city* and *the right to the city* argument within the framework of urban theory. And lastly, after explaining the difference between open systems and closed systems, *open city* concept will be associated with the *cité* and *ville*.

In the third chapter, Kadıköy’s multi-functional structure, which reflects its cultural diversity, will be mapped with regard to the diversity of its food and beverage services, social and cultural activities, and alternative stores at the intersection of the local and the global. In this sense, the spatial analysis and space-function relation will be mapped, which based on the data gathered street by street as a result of a survey

analysis in Yeldeğirmeni, Bahariye and Moda districts. Due to the reasons such as the fact that Kadıköy is dynamic, time is limited for this study, and the size of the map rather small to represent all the spaces in Kadıköy, the maps may not fully reflect the reality. In the first functional mapping analysis, cafés, restaurants, homemade food places, pubs, and chain restaurants and cafés will be marked in the map of Kadıköy, in which I aim to signify the position of Kadıköy between the local and the global. Also, the small squares, which are central for the grid plan, will be highlighted in terms of their relevance to the functionally intense points. The second mapping analysis includes spaces of social and cultural activities such as co-working spaces, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), culture centres and libraries, theatres, cinemas, exhibition halls and concert halls in Kadıköy. In this mapping, the position of Kadıköy in relation to the innovation centres and civil society awareness, as well as the local and global cultures and experiences will be tried to be shown. In the third functional mapping analysis, it will be aimed to detect the places, where the stores are intensively located and diversified in the scale of the local and the global, and their distribution in Kadıköy. In this direction, the stores of artisans, electronic shops, chain stores, antique stores, boutiques, and second-hand stores will be included in this mapping analysis. Considering all these, this study suggests that Kadıköy, which is constantly developing and increasing in population, should develop as sustainable within the concept of the *open city*.

2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE MODERNIZATION PROCESS OF TURKEY

2.1. The Modernization of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire extended over the Mediterranean at the intersection zone of Europe, Asia, and Africa between the years 1299-1922. Even though its location was close to Europe, the Empire followed the economic improvements of the world economy with a delay because of its loose state structure and self-sustaining policy (Burke III, 2010, 199). The agricultural surplus was incorporated into the economy in the sixteenth century. Labour force and animal power were significant for agricultural production, transportation, and communication, including the caravans and messengers. There was manorialism, which was connected to the central administration, instead of private property, the agricultural surplus was also managed by the administration. By the nineteenth century, the domestic market of the Ottoman Empire was suppressed by the European market and it became semi-colonized. The control of the surplus product transferred from a feudal system to a capitalist system (Tekeli, 1982, 13-27).

Correspondingly its wide-reaching lands, the population of the Ottoman Empire was heterogeneous with different religious and ethnic groups. As an Empire, which was formed before modernity, the state structure, and organization of the Ottoman was conservative in nature. The Empire had a self-sufficient economy and a traditional marketplace. Since the landholding was related to its military system, there was no right of private property in the Empire (Tekeli, 2009a, 48). Moreover, the lands were used by people in an agricultural society in which the surplus products went to the government until the 1860s (Tekeli, 2010, 34).

Even though it appeared in Northern Europe, the project of modernity caused a global change. Modernity stemmed from the Enlightenment Era based on the superiority of the reason. According to İlhan Tekeli (2009a), modernity project is effective on four phases. First, modernity develops in industrial societies which refers to its economic phase. The capitalist mode of production prioritizes commodification

of products and labour in addition to private ownership which is derived from liberalist policy. The second phase of the modernity refers to its approach to knowledge, morality, and art in terms of their universal value. With respect to modernity, absolute knowledge is possible not only for science but also for social sciences. The third phase implies to the rationality of individuals that freed from traditional relations. Modern individuals signify citizens of urban cities. Finally, the fourth phase refers to the organizational structure of modernity. On this point, nation-states and democracy come to the fore. If all these phases are developed in a society, it points to international expansion for them (Tekeli, 2009a, 45-47). The civilization of antiquity was not open to everyone, only a few people were able to reach the products of art, philosophy, and science. After the nineteenth century, people have begun experiencing something other than the agricultural mode of production, which is capitalism. Till globalization, people spent their lives in repetitions in small scale public spaces. The global world arose after the nineteenth century and gave the opportunity to connect people around the world through the world economy, mass media, and bureaucracy. It was the beginning of a constantly changing world (Kasinitz, 1995, 7-8).

The rupture with traditional city patterns started in the eighteenth century in the Ottoman Empire (Gül, 2009, 18). The Ottomans acquired awareness about the world beyond them. There was a growing intelligentsia, who was able to compare differences with the West and recognize the alternative ways of life. Change and progress have been critical for Western society. The modern improvements in the West were not only effective in the Ottoman Empire but also in other countries (Ortaylı, 1995, 13-15).

The Ottoman Empire wanted to strengthen its military force with a new modern army (Gül, 2009, 7-8). The military failure of the Empire influenced the Westernization process of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the constructive effects of the modernization process in Russia was an example in front of the Empire and it also motivated the Ottoman reformers (Lewis, 1968, 45). The traditional armed forces of the Empire were Janissaries. Since they had the power to revolt and took decisions against the Ottoman administration, Janissaries were disbanded in 1826. It was a key step for the Empire to reorganize its military system (Freely, 1996, 263). The Janissary quarry was replaced with the modern army and the traditional military class of the Empire became salaried officers (Tekeli, 1982, 39).

From the point of the West, civilization was only possible with the European style of the governance structure for the Ottoman Empire, because the modern institutions and the structure of the Empire were underdeveloped. The necessity of progress in European style was accepted by the ruling class of the Empire (Lewis, 1968, 124). With modern reforms, the transformation of each realm in the Empire was aspired by the Ottoman reformers. The marks of change were visible in a short span of time in Ottoman way of living, and Istanbul was a primary city, in which the urban morphology transformed dramatically via modernization (Gül, 2009, 8). Ottoman bureaucrats named this reform era as *Tanzimat*, which lasted from 1839 till 1876 (Ortaylı, 1995, 14). *Tanzimat* reforms were comprehensive and effective in many areas like the construction of the new local administration, modern police forces, postal services, modern finance centres, new transportation systems, sidewalks and city squares as well as regulations of fire service and modern infrastructural services (Freely, 1996, 273).

The adaptation of modernity of the Ottoman Empire can be embraced in four stages. In the first stage of modernity in the Empire, Ottomans realized that there were crucial problems in the functioning of the system of the Empire. They saw the remediation of the traditional system as a solution. Albeit some problems that were partially fixed by remediation, the results caused other problems. As the consideration of the reproduction of the system via the traditional way was not possible for the Empire, it brought the project of modernity to the fore. In the second stage, the project of modernity penetrated to the Empire with the reforms. The government observed the Western improvements and relied on modern reforms to fix its problems in social, economic, political and cultural realms. The third stage began with the emergence of the public sphere along with the political pluralism. In addition to bureaucratic changes, modernist thought was effective as a policy in this stage. Finally, with the emergence of the nation-state, democracy gained power against the power of the sultan in the fourth stage of the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire (Tekeli, 2009a, 49-52).

Technologic improvements had an effect on multiple realms in the nineteenth century. Manufacturing technology enabled the organization of agricultural and industrial production. Communication and transportation technology led to developments in transportation networks and infrastructure, which were seen as crucial

components of the progress in the Ottoman Empire and subsequently in the Republic of Turkey. The spreading modernity required changes also in the urban administration and the infrastructure services (Tekeli & İlkin, 2004, 126-331).

2.1.1. The Urbanization of Istanbul in the Ottoman Empire

2.1.1.1. The Position of Istanbul in the Ottoman Empire

Istanbul is surrounded by water, which has provided advantages to the city in terms of transportation, trade networks and economy (Wildner, 2008, 189). Istanbul has always had a critical position as a world city since the time of Constantine. The Ottomans kept Istanbul as the capital city after the Byzantine Empire. Even though Istanbul's position as a capital city changed in the Republic of Turkey, it is still the capital of trade and cultural diversity (Tekeli, 2010, 34). After the Turkish conquest of Istanbul, Muslims added Islamic notions to the texture of the city (Freely, 1996, 183). Before the second half of the nineteenth century, there was not any notable change, especially in the historic peninsula in Istanbul; since then, the urban fabric and the buildings have changed constantly (Kuban, 2001, 3). The Westernization of Istanbul, which started in the second half of the nineteenth century, was organized around two courses in the beginning. Firstly, the fabric of the city started to change because of the wide range of fires. Secondly, new districts started to develop through new allotment projects (Yerasimos, 1996, 52-53). Besides, the development of the new transportation networks, like ports and railways, influenced the spatial organization of the city (Ortaylı, 1996, 56). According to Edhem Eldem (1996), if a city was metaphorically matched with a body, its mouth would refer to its ports. In this direction, Istanbul has important ports, which nourishes and make it a cosmopolitan city (Eldem, 1996, 136-137).

Istanbul is a city of frontiers. The population of Istanbul has been multi-ethnic from its earliest days. The Rum, Jewish and Armenian populations were dominant by the time the Turkish conquest over the Byzantine Empire. Ethnic minorities mostly preserved their identity, but they were also under the influence of the Ottomans. Although there was the multiplicity of languages, Turkish was the common language (Kuban, 1996, 302-11). Non-Muslim populations, The Rums, Jews, and Armenians represented different ethnic and religious communities, referred to different “*millets*” (Gül, 2009, 8-12). The Ottoman administration used the *millet* system which let

minority groups to maintain their ethnic, cultural and religious identities. Furthermore, the *millet* system also included the minority groups to the administration of the Empire (Karpas, 1982, 141-2). Each *millet* had their autonomy in the care of their religious commissioners, and they settled in as groups in different districts of Istanbul. Even though Muslim and non-Muslim populations dwelled in different neighbourhoods, in other words, “*mahalle*”, they worked together without discrimination in the marketplace. The Ottomans added the Islamic character to Istanbul with its traditional infrastructure (Gül, 2009, 17-18). Varying ethnicities and religious groups led the city to absorb several cultural traditions, which bring the global and the local together in Istanbul. The openness of the city to the mobility of people made the multiplicity of the population possible without the aim of assimilation in the Ottoman Empire (Baban, 2018, 54-57).

The immigration was a result of the right of private property. In addition to the non-Muslim people, also the Muslim people immigrated to the Empire. Except for the decrease in the population as a result of the famine and fatal diseases, the population of Istanbul continuously increased until World War One (WWI) (Shaw, 1979, 265-76). Istanbul was like a small-scale representation of the Ottoman Empire in terms of economic and social transformations. Cultural transformation followed the socio-political change as a result of the demographic change in the Empire. The change spread quickly in Istanbul because of its nearness to Europe. The commercial opportunity made Istanbul attractive for the periphery countries. Migrants, who came from the periphery countries, contributed to the economic improvement via capital in addition to expertise. Istanbul improved through capitalist marketing and cultural diversity in the nineteenth century and became the nucleus of the Empire as the capital city (Karpas, 1985, 86-94).

The population of Istanbul was 1,165,866 in 1924. The Muslim population was sixty-one per cent, the Rum (Greek) population was twenty-six per cent, the Armenian population was seven per cent and the Jewish population was six per cent. The Rum population, who had been inhabitants of the city for more than twenty-six centuries and were predominant before the Muslim invasion, started to decrease. The population of Istanbul increased drastically in the following years. It was 1,466.000 in 1960, 2.132.000 in 1970, 4,433.000 in 1980 and 7,500,000 in 1990. Since its origins, Istanbul has survived sieges, conquests, civil wars, riots, plagues, fires, earthquakes, modern

construction projects and so on. It has retained its identity despite the changes of its name, population, language, religion, and social, economic and political structures. Istanbul was occupied by Rums, Macedonians, Romans, Byzantines, Crusaders, and Turks. Yet its essential character has formed and endured through the ages (Freely, 1996, 302-15). What makes Istanbul important is not only its population that makes it a metropolis, but also its intersections between the two continents, and its cosmopolitan heritage (Yavuz & Türkyılmaz, 2009, 142).

2.1.1.2. The Improvement of the Port City in the Ottoman Empire

Ports are significant for globalization in terms of mobility of people and goods. The port city, as a significant category of spatial quality, developed as a consequence of the interactions between the agrarian societies and western economy in the nineteenth century. The port city, which was essentially the city of merchants, reached its urban form in a brief time. Migration of diverse cultures from the periphery constituted a vast majority of the new population of empires. This co-existence of the minorities was the thing which had made port cities significant. Ethnic minorities, who came together to be a part of the commerce, contributed to the acceleration of modernism from below in empires (Keyder, 2010, 14-19). Cosmopolitan port-cities lived their golden era from the 1870s till the 1920s, before the destructive effects of WWI (Tabak, 2009, 79-80).

The trade dealings with Europe were initiated in some regions of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century. Even though the Ottoman Empire had a self-sustaining policy in its economic realm in the beginning, the Empire became a part of the free market with economic transformation in the nineteenth century (Keyder et al, 1993, 527-8). With the integration of the Empire to the global economy, port cities became significant places for trade marketing. The port city, which was the heart of the core and periphery relationship, was also effective on the migration routes. The relationship between the port cities and European markets was controlled by the port city itself rather than the government. In general, port cities were relatively autonomous from the governance of their states except for Istanbul, which was the seat of the state (Keyder, 2018, 27-31).

Commercial treaties with England and then with Paris, the Crimean War and the edicts paved the way for the dominance of the Western economy in the Empire.

With rights given to them which came with the treaties, non-Muslim people had the chance to expand in trade in the Ottoman Empire (Karpas, 1985, 95). This freedom of mobilization made the port cities more attractive for the people from the periphery. Also, with the arrangement of taxations, taxes for foreign traders became more affordable (Keyder, 1981, 7-8).

New global relations and modernization required new structuring from banks to hotels, post offices to government offices in the Empire. The relations with the European market and the foreign capital required modern finance centres and institutions. Also, as the bureaucracy of the Empire changed, official businesses began to be settled in the public offices. In addition to luxury consumer goods, modern places like playhouses and cafés opened in the urban centre with the influence of the European culture (Tekeli, 1982, 35). In addition to the traditional business areas, a central business zone arose. To support the improvements which were made in accordance with modernity, new transportation system networks and new infrastructure were formed around the business centre. While the connection between the centre and hinterlands were provided with new railroads and ports, new warehouses and government organizations were built in the urban centre. In consideration of these improvements, urban centres developed and gradually modernized in form. These urban centres were especially in port cities, where ethnic diversity was considerable (Tekeli, 2009b, 187).

Trading networks changed according to changing dynamics of borderlines which were effective both negatively and positively on the Empire's international marketing relations; while some of them broke off, new networks emerged. The development of the port cities in the eastern Mediterranean reached its peak with regard to the high increase of the international trade market of the Empire. The trade marketing in the port cities reached almost half of the whole trade in the Empire by the end of the nineteenth century (Keyder et al, 1993, 530-1). The port cities had various industries which were mechanized. The Empire witnessed an improvement in imports as opposed to exports at the end of the nineteenth century. For the port city, this meant loose relations with its hinterland but strong relations with Europe (Keyder et al, 1993, 536-7). The increasing amount of foreign capital led to improvements in the port cities. The railroads were connected to the port cities especially in the eastern Mediterranean (Keyder et al, 1993, 530-1).

Port cities are important to engage with the world trade, which is crucial for the capitalist economy; hence, the development of port cities is important in terms of modernization. But another important outcome of the port cities is the immigration and interaction of different ethnic minority groups via capitalist trade chains in the Ottoman Empire (Keyder et al, 1993, 519-20). The expansion of the Western economy and cultural life were adapted in the port cities mostly because of their heterogeneous populations (Keyder, 2018, 27-31). The interaction with the non-Muslim mediators made the spread of modernization easier (Keyder et al, 1993, 539-45).

Since the Ottoman Empire had a multicultural structure, different cultures of ethnic minorities were welcomed in the Ottoman Empire. The ethnic diversity of the Empire increased with the migrations with its attachment to the world trade in the nineteenth century. Integration process to Western capitalism was not only economic but also was effective in transforming the society in the Empire (Eldem, 2013, 217-20). At this point, Istanbul has always been a crucial urban city. Since the port cities attracted people from the periphery as trade centres, the population of the Empire increased (Tekeli, 1973, 259-60). According to the 1885 census, approximately half of the ethnic minorities were born in the Ottoman Empire, while the other half consisted of immigrants. The non-Muslim population was more active than the Muslims in commerce, on the other hand, the Muslim population was more dominant in public organizations (Shaw, 1979, 276-7). Ethnic diversity was considerable in the Empire till WWI, after which the population of minorities decreased as a result of the war (Keyder et al, 1993, 546).

2.1.1.3. The Municipal Reform in the Ottoman Empire

Istanbul the capital city was covered with narrow and blind streets, which had neither sidewalks nor sewers before *Tanzimat*. The aesthetic pleasure and ornamentations were priorities in the construction of buildings, which were mostly made of wood. The operations of widening streets, building open spaces and docks were performed in 1839. The gaslighting service, which was to meet the needs of the Ottoman palace at first, started to run in 1853 in Istanbul, and the first electric factory of Istanbul was built in 1913 (Ergin, 1995, 911-1029).

Especially the port cities changed drastically in the nineteenth century. The traditional government structure was not sufficient for the needs of modern changes in

social, economic and political realms. Eastern Mediterranean port cities were in the limelight for Europe as commercial earning places. It was inevitable to modernize local authorities at a time when the Ottoman Empire met with the world economy. As a modern municipality, Galata-Pera district was the first in the Empire; although the municipal works were not exactly modern, they were a combination of the modern and the traditional. According to *Tanzimat* reformers, the main tasks of the municipality were public works, lighting services and cleaning services in the city (Ortaylı, 1978, 16).

Tanzimat reforms involved various changes in the state structure including the administration. The initiative to organize public issues like health, education and security had been given to the *millets* by the traditional decentralized administration. Since the traditional administration was constructed around Islam, *kadıs* were influential on the city administration as religious judiciaries. *Kadı* had great power from managing conflicts by deciding the right and wrong side to family matters, from tax auditing to determining a price in trade, and so on. With the modernization of the urban administration, it became more systematic and centralized, which appeared as a Western type municipality after the middle of the nineteenth century (Çelik, 1993, 33-43). *Kadıs* lost their positions while the neighbourhood mukhtars took office in the local government in the wake of Tanzimat reforms which secularized the judicial system (Tekeli, 1982, 39). The right of property ownership overshadowed charitable trusts. Also, the charitable trusts were not sufficient for infrastructural services (Tekeli, 1992, 9).

The Westernization of the administration of the Empire provided a basis for the municipal system (Rosenthal, 1982, 370-371). The *şehremaneti* was established in 1854, which had the authority of tax regulation and collection, road construction and maintenance, infrastructure development, hygiene, and street orders, as the first municipal attempt in the Empire (Gül, 2009, 43). Since *şehremaneti* was dependent to the central administration and had a limited fund, it was not a good example of a modern municipality. While municipality grew as a civil society organization in Europe, civil society and democracy notions were ignored in the Ottoman Empire for a long time (Tekeli, 1992, 7). The first modern municipality took place in Galata and Pera, in which non-Muslim population was dominant as well as intense maritime commerce with Europe (Rosenthal, 1982, 369-372). Galata's maritime relations with

Europe dates back to earlier than both the Asian side and the historic peninsula. Its deep-water ports enabled interactions between the Ottomans and Europeans (Rosenthal, 1980a, 5).

The native European population had advantages under the favour of Capitulations, which connected them not to Ottoman administration, but to their local embassies; it provided protective citizenship to them. The traditional urban administration was not adequate with respect to urban developments. In this direction, *şehremaneti* was established, which was a precursor of the municipal reform. Furthermore, a municipal council, Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinance, was constituted as connected to *şehremaneti* by the Porte. *Şehremaneti* was dependent on the central administration and it did not have the potential to make modern changes in terms of municipal work. Also, Commission of the Order of the City was established as a consultant union, whose members included the Levantines, besides the non-Muslim Ottoman merchants in 1856. The representatives of the commission were chosen from each minority group in terms of balanced representation. The members of the commission witnessed the structure and works of the European municipality. They put forward a proposal, which included the division of Istanbul into fourteen districts with regard to local autonomy. The proposal was accepted by the Ottoman Porte, but they decided to evaluate the modern municipality in a district at first, rather than establishing a municipality in all districts at the same time. Municipal reforms were tried in the Sixth District, Galata and Pera, first in 1858. The non-Muslim population was predominant in Galata, which made it more convenient to be chosen for a modern municipal experiment. The directors of the municipality were also chosen among people, who had been abroad and had experience in European municipalities (Rosenthal, 1980b, 228-33). The Sixth District municipality was established with the influence of the municipal improvements of Paris. It had a privileged budget until the Republican period. Compared to the traditional local administration of the Asian continent, which was unorganized and under the reign of fires, Beyoğlu became modernized and developed. But even the Sixth District was not autonomous. The municipality was inefficient with its limited funds, and insufficient and unqualified employers in the Empire. The dependency of the Ottoman municipality on the central government lasted till 1930. The only municipal heritage of the Empire to the Republic

of Turkey was the initiation of a modern municipal system, in which there was neither democracy nor public attendance (Ortaylı, 1978, 19-24).

The influence of French civilization was noticeable in the municipal council. The role of the ethnic minorities and Levantines cannot be ignored in the urban modernization process of the Empire (Rosenthal, 1980a, 335-369). Urban reform was led by wealthy non-Muslim merchants. After the municipal improvements of the Sixth District, the municipal organization spread to other districts. The streets started to change with gas lights and became wider. Street organizations and commercial regulations were systematized by codes. Collecting taxes is significant for a municipality to set a budget. The dwellers of the Sixth District did not want to pay taxes and they used their advantage of protective European citizenship in the light of the Capitulations. The Sixth District municipality was not able to do much work because of its low budget, also the Porte had to involve directly in the administration of the municipality in 1862. The concept of the municipality was mostly about social works like medical supports. For example, there was a doctor service for poor people for free in 1864 and there was a vaccine service for children in the time of the plague (Tekeli, 1978, 338-40).

The rampart of the old city was demolished to connect Galata and Pera directly and the area was extended through Grand Rue de Pera, which corresponds to current *İstiklal Caddesi* (Liberty Street) (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, 52-55). The periphery of the business centre developed with the addition of gas lamps to the inns and carriage roads. After the intervention of the Porte, the public investments were not only for the merchants any longer. Traditional works, which referred to charity and helping the poor, were combined with modern services. However, public works for the poor were taken into consideration only after 1863 (Tekeli, 1978, 341-43).

Urban planning came to the fore as a result of modernization in the second half of the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire. New transportation systems allowed people to go to new development areas. Meanwhile, big fires were creating new places to transform the traditional frame houses by effacing them. Modernization was growing with fires in this manner via zoning legislation in Istanbul (Tekeli, 2009b, 188). The fires were mostly because of heating stove and gas lamp accidents. The use of gasoline and spirit to ignite the stove created bigger risks for fires. Because of the housing problem, wooden buildings were used as hotels. Electricity was not wired

professionally to wooden buildings and it was also an invitation to fires. Although codes were taken to prevent fires, it did not help; there were no firewalls between buildings till 1817 (Ergin, 1995, 1079-1093). The predominant factor of urban development of Istanbul was the improvement of mass transit. The first step of public transport was taken with ferryboats in the 1850s. Then, the rail transport developed with tramway, funicular and suburban train in the 1870s; electric tramway lines were included in mass transit in 1914 (Tekeli, 2009c, 23). The ferries let Levantines to settle in Kadıköy in the Asian continent of Istanbul after 1858 when the big fires devastated the European side of the city (Rosenthal, 1980a, 13).

2.2. The Modernization of the Republic of Turkey

The process of urban development was different in Asian and European cities. The authority of Asian cities was based on sovereign power, they were attached to the culture of Great Tradition. On the other hand, the governance of the western cities was based on economic reason which led up to the capitalist mode of production (Keyder et al, 1993, 521). While the migration from rural to urban areas started because of new job opportunities in industrialized Europe in the nineteenth century, rural migrations became intense because people lost their livelihood after the agricultural mechanization in Turkey (Erman, 2012, 293).

After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk initiated multiple reforms in accordance with Westernization policies. The institutional reforms of the Republic had a revolutionary character compared to Tanzimat reforms of the Ottoman Empire. There were radical reforms which signalized secularization in the Republic from administration to education in order to be a part of the contemporary civilization of Europe. The new regime emphasized the distinction between the traditional, old, backward system of the Ottoman Empire and modern, new, progressive system of the Republic (Bozdoğan, 2001, 56-63). The administration of Turkey was introduced as parliamentary democracy against the constitutional monarchy regime of the Ottoman Empire. The Republic of Turkey was organized around the principles of democracy, secularism, populism, and nationalism, which were based on national sovereignty (İnan, 1981, 133-164).

According to İlhan Tekeli (2009c), the modernization of the Republic of Turkey can be analysed in four significant time periods. The first period lasts from

1923, the establishment of the Republic, to 1945, the post-war period. The second period starts with the end of World War II (WWII) and it lasts till 1960. The third period lasts between the 1960 Coup and the 1980 Coup. The fourth and the last period starts from 1980 and it corresponds to the period of time after 1980, when the Turkish economy met neoliberal politics. The Turkish Republic, as a nation state, refers to a radical disengagement from the Ottoman Empire in terms of modernization. While the Empire followed an adaptation of modernity in urban reforms, it was the opposite for the Republic (Tekeli, 2009b, 110).

In the first decade of the Republic, radical changes took place. The Republic of Turkey was established on the idea of the Turkish nationalism. Instead of an Islamic state, the Republic pointed to a Secular state, in which a new understanding of populism arose with the Kemalist reconstruction (Berkes, 1998, 461). The economic system was defined as statist, rather than liberal or socialist, by Atatürk. The adoptions of the international calendar, number and metric systems were significant to integrate with the world economy in terms of the economic development of Turkey. The Republican state adopted the Civil Code in line with secular principles for the regulation of social life in 1926 and on this account, the rights of Turkish women were recognized by law. This was an important development as the women's rights had been restricted with the adoption of Islam and its religious law, Sharia. A lot of reforms were made "to reach the level of contemporary civilizations". Sports and health issues came into question in accordance with the social regulations. Healthy citizens were considered as an essential element of democracy in the Republic. On the other hand, the modern style of clothing was enacted through a clothing reform in 1925. The Ottoman style of clothing was seen as a big component of the backwardness due to its conservative nature (İnan, 1981, 167-77). The clothing styles varied between regions and ethnicities in the Ottoman Empire. Also, there were discriminatory rules for what a non-Muslim or Muslim woman would wear including the colours of their clothes (Ergin, 1995, 848-50). Another important development was the alphabet reform. While the Arabic alphabet had been used in the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish Republic accepted the Latin alphabet, which brought about the rise in the educational level of Turkey in 1927. The language of the Republic was announced as Turkish for the unity of language. The training programmes for qualified teachers followed the construction of new schools in accordance with the modern education system. The importance of

fine arts in a civilized country was emphasized by the republican regime. Besides, the primary school became compulsory to improve the Turkish education system (İnan, 1981, 178-99). In the first period, the urban city was arranged as a place of modernity. The capital of the Republic was determined as Ankara, which is a city in Anatolia, and it was a new page of the modernization process. As distinct from the Ottoman era railways, the Republic railed all around the country by putting Ankara to the centre. The Ottoman modernization did not include the inner cities, but the Republican administration regarded the modernization of the Anatolian cities as important. The priority was on the urban development of the capital city Ankara at the outset; thus, there was no remarkable improvement in other cities and the speed of urbanization was low (Tekeli, 2009b, 111-15).

The chaotic population of Istanbul, which was more than 1 million in 1907, decreased when Ankara became the capital city. It only reached 1 million again in the 1950s. In this case, due to the limited budget of the municipality, there was not a specific development in Istanbul until the 1950s. Furthermore, since the urban infrastructures were built for a more crowded Istanbul, it was not possible with a low municipal budget to operate the urban infrastructural services (Güvenç, 2009a, 20). In this period, the single-party government, Republican People's Party (CHP), was in charge. The Republic abandoned the Ottoman legislations of municipality and released new codes in 1930-1935. Urban planning became crucial as a result of the influence of the Western "the city beautiful movement" and "the garden city movement" (Tekeli, 2009b, 111-15). The Republic era municipality was established in the early 1930s; the municipality was "*for the people, despite the people*" in parallel to the Republican regime (Tekeli, 1977, 32-33). On the other hand, in the 1930s, "modern" and "contemporary" notions were attached to progress by living a modern life in modern villas or apartment buildings. It means that the modernization of the private space became also important as well as the public space. Turkish woman became an agent of the public space in the Republic of Turkey. Also, health and hygiene issues started to be seen as components of modern houses (Bozdoğan, 2001, 195-215). Street organizations, street lighting, creating open spaces like parks and green spaces, water supply and health services were the priority subjects to make a civilized urban city. After WWII, in Europe, the devastation of cities carried the housing problem with it. Hence, the post-war period was an opportunity to build better cities. Capitalist

countries emphasized on the welfare state and democratic politic order in the 1940s (Tekeli, 1978, 92-118).

The influence of the image of the American city became visible in the 1950s. The reconstruction of the city became crucial for the state administrators after WWII. The reconstruction programme of Istanbul in these years was continued by the subsequent politicians. The infrastructure of Istanbul never met the needs of the city. The population grew, even more, when the immigrants settled in the state territory. Besides, the boulevards and high-rise buildings began to appear in the city. In the face of the developing city, infrastructure problems have also grown. When the industrialization of Turkey began, Europe had already industrialized. As the industrialization process of Europe was neither abrupt nor unplanned like Turkey, the processes of industrialization and urban problems went differently. England was a world-wide example of urban and rural planning through the policies that organized by four important commission reports. In these reports, England decided to search the effects of industrialization alongside the distribution of population to organize it in a balanced way. They examined how to engage in agriculture and how to industrialize, moreover, they analysed how this process would affect the rural community. Thus, England took important steps in terms of social security and zoning issues, which influenced other countries around the globe. In Turkey, the local administration became autonomous and gained power on zoning operations. The gap between the rich and the poor increased and the problem of population accumulation emerged in all cities. The municipality encountered growing urban problems parallel to the growing population in cities. On the political front, the Democrat Party (DP) was established in 1946 in addition to the ruling CHP when the multi-party system was initiated (Tekeli, 1978, 119-123). CHP, which was founded by Atatürk as the first political party of the Republic of Turkey, was the only party since the establishment of the Republic till 1950. It aimed a modern Turkish society by taking the West into consideration (Erman, 2001, 984). The multi-party regime brought on a decisive change in the modernization process of Istanbul due to the loss of the election of CHP against DP (Berkes, 1998, 423). On the economic front, there was a collaboration between the municipality and the central government to support the profits of the bourgeoisie after the 1950s (Tekeli, 1992, 10).

Under all these circumstances, the second period starts after WWII. The importance of human rights and the formation of the welfare state was emphasized in the wake of the devastating impacts of the war, which was also accepted by the Turkish regime. The transition to multi-party system corresponds to this era. Against the rapid pace of urbanization, the housing problems became one of the main problems. The agricultural modernization came to the fore in the way of external trade. The private sector came into prominence with liberal thought. Instead of railways, highway routes gained importance in this period (Tekeli, 2009b, 116).

The urban development was effective across the country which caused migrations from rural to urban areas. The people, who could not afford to live in modern buildings, built their own living spaces around the urban cities with squatter houses, also known as *gecekondu*. Because of the mismatch between the projects of modernity and the socio-economic conditions, the rapid urbanization brought problems with itself, which created a dual structured society in the urban city. On the one hand, there was the modern apartment building; on the other hand, there was the *gecekondu*, which created its own existence illegally with its own potential in the city (Tekeli, 2009b, 117-18). The urban plans of DP were similar to Baron Haussmann's project of Paris. The historic peninsula of Istanbul was connected to boulevards, and in this direction, numerous old buildings were demolished in Istanbul. The new boulevards brought land speculation along in addition to traffic problem (Gül, 2009, 3-4). The increasing population of the urban city caused a housing problem which led to cooperative housing and apartment buildings (Tekeli, 2009b, 119). Against the issues of housing problems, the government party, DP, adopted populist politics (Erman, 2001, 985). *Gecekondu*s became legalized through amnesty laws because of the political concerns of the politicians, who wanted to collect more votes (Berkes, 1998, 437). The *gecekondu* was not only added to the urban structure but also prepared the ground for new urban patterns (Güvenç, 2009a, 24).

The inhabited areas and the number of vehicles has grown rapidly since 1945 in Istanbul. The character of pedestrian city of Istanbul started to fade away as a result of the expanding zoning areas, new transportation networks and boulevards (Berkes, 1998, 424-26). The 1950s were the years of transition to mechanization in agriculture, which caused many villagers to lose their jobs and fired the immigration to Istanbul from the rural areas. Urban planners were invited to plan Istanbul in accordance with

the new socio-economic order. Henri Prost, who had experience on modernizing Muslim cities was one of the urban planners of Istanbul (Gül, 2009, 1-2). Henri Prost, who had multiple projects for Istanbul, was competent in Byzantine studies. He suggested reorganizing the historic peninsula as an archeologic park. Prost included green areas into his plans. He also prepared a plan for Kadıköy-Fenerbahçe peninsula in the Anatolian side, which gave the prominence to natural beauty. He planned a modern transportation system for the city that was based on the circulation of motor vehicles. The enlargement of city squares and reorganization of road networks were the main changes between 1939 and 1948 with the contributions of the plans of Prost. But most of the projects remained in the drawings only because of the economic inadequacies for urban planning (Tekeli, 1994, 81-88). In addition to Prost, also Eugene-Henri Gavand was a significant figure in the urbanization process of Istanbul with his tunnel project. The Turkish architectures did not include in urban planning till the 1950s (Çelik, 1993, 119).

The third period starts and also ends with a military coup. The economic problems led people, especially university students, to perform public demonstrations. Against these demonstrations, the government's approach was oppressive and violent. As a result of this conflict, the 1960 Coup was staged (Erman, 2001, 985). The Republic was turned into a welfare state through the constitution which was established in the end of the military intervention. The urban development was rapid but not as much as the previous period. Istanbul was the only metropolitan city until this period when Ankara and Izmir also became metropolitan cities. The populations of the metropolitan cities became more than one million, for this reason, they had new urban problems like air pollution. Via industrial arrangements, production centres were moved from down-towns (Tekeli, 2009b, 121-126). In 1973, "democratic municipality" arguments, which included not only profits of the bourgeoisie, but also *gecekondu* dwellers and workers. On the other hand, the centralist point of view was there as an obstacle to getting enough funds to work in line with democracy (Tekeli, 1992, 10-11). Albeit the fact that there was not any notable change in the municipal organization in the multi-party system, it gained importance in terms of the elections in 1973 (Tekeli, 2012, 148). *Gecekondu* dwellers were guaranteed by the law, which allowed better quality for the *gecekondu* buildings and infrastructural improvements in the *gecekondu* zones. Also, the number of *gecekondus* increased and the new legal

arrangements paved the way for the build-and-sell production type (*yap-satçılık*). The urban development brought urban problems from environmental pollution to insufficiency of infrastructural services. Against these problems, the municipality had neither economic nor political potential. In this period, though the first steps of mass housing were taken, it was not part of the urban policy until the 1980s (Tekeli, 2009b, 126-127). The municipality was identified with social services rather than notions of democracy and participation. With the 1980 Coup, the administration of the municipality was seized by the armed forces, who united district municipalities under the control of the metropolitan municipality in the urban cities. The only improvement in municipalities was the financial improvement in the 1980 Coup era (Tekeli, 2012, 148-9). Mass housing was initiated by the government in addition to cooperative housing projects of the municipality after 1981. The municipalities especially focused on zoning plans and housing problems between the 1950s and the 1980s (Tekeli, 1992, 126).

In the fourth period, the mass housing became legitimized and cooperative apartment houses came to the forth. The economy of the Republic, which was based on import-substitution industrialization, became outward-oriented to involve global market. The improvements in the telecommunication systems and the new financial institutions followed it to consolidate globalization. As a result of these improvements, Istanbul became a world city again and integrated with the global market network. Moreover, in addition to the maritime cities, some Anatolian cities had also external economic relations. Mass housing and apartment blocks became prevalent. The fund and authority of the municipality were increased in this period (Tekeli, 2009b, 129-133). Automobile manufacturing of global brands started in 1971 in Turkey. Private car ownership increased with this improvement as well as municipal investments on mass transit under a social democratic party. As a consequence of these changes in transportation, urban transport patterns evolved. The construction of the Bosphorus Bridge changed the routes between the Asian and European continents of Istanbul as well as the beltway in 1973. The bridge enabled a new passage between the continents. The highway routes were effective on market values of the districts, which were connected to them, and it resulted in changes in the urban structure of Istanbul (Tekeli, 2009c, 66-70). The idea of building a bridge connecting Asian and European continents is old. Even though the Bosphorus Bridge was built for the benefit of the

traffic of the city, it caused bigger traffic problems by attracting motor vehicles. A second bridge was built in 1988 by the same logic with the Bosphorus Bridge. The second bridge was still under construction and the idea of a third bridge was already considered. The traffic and environment problems became bigger with each bridge and reached incredible dimensions in a city, which hosts more than fifteen million people (Berkes, 1998, 446-47). Although urban development of Istanbul reflects a typical late industrialized city model, unlike other late industrialized countries, *gecekondu* areas became part of the city without losing their values. The *gecekondu* dwellers mostly kept their traditional rural neighbourhood values and sometimes they built their neighbourhoods as semi-villages (Berkes, 1998, 453). On the other hand, the neoliberal politics brought high-rise buildings and office towers at the end of the 1980s. Liberal economy politics integrated Istanbul into the world system and it became an important city for investments. Though new projects were suggested after the 1980s, they were not applied as most of the plans of Prost and DP for Istanbul. The projects of the current government, Justice and Development Party (AKP), can be seen as a continuation of the projects of DP. New transportation routes were planned between Asian and European continents via submarine rail systems. The re-arrangement of the Taksim square was also on the table. Through the underground transportation, it was aimed to clean the square for pedestrians. Istanbul expanded to the West and the North through the new suspension bridges and undersea tunnels, which was the catastrophe of surrounding green areas. The growth of Istanbul neither planned nor sustainable. The shopping malls and high-towers rise from every corner of the city. The land speculation stemming from the changing urban structure triggers illegal housing and this situation destroys the city both aesthetically and environmentally (Gül, 2009, 175-79). The real estate market was diversified with shopping malls, residences, and mixed-use constructions in the late 1990s (Güvenç, 2009a, 24).

Globalism gained momentum in the 1990s, when the association of the Soviet Union had a profound influence over the world. Istanbul, which was an industrial city in the 1980s, became a global city in 1990. With the effect of privatization and industrial decentralization, Istanbul has included in the producer service sector and started to lose its 'industrial city' title by letting the periphery cities industrialize. Between the years 1990-2000, Istanbul's employment in all sectors, including finance

and agriculture, increased and it received immigrants from all over the country to fill its employment gap. The rapid and uncontrolled population growth of the city took urban problems to another level. Istanbul was a cosmopolitan port city in the first quarter of the twentieth century and it lost its capital city identity since the Ottoman Empire turned into a nation-state with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in the second quarter of the twentieth century. In this time period, a major part of the non-Muslim minorities of the cosmopolitan empire had to leave from the city. Rapid industrialization came to the fore in the third quarter of the twentieth century with the increasing urban problems. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, Istanbul became a world city through its integration to the globalization process. Its transition to producer service sector increased the white-collar employees and the social differentiation became apparent (Güvenç, 2009b, 7-139). According to the official population registration of Turkish Statistical Institute reports, it is estimated that the population of Istanbul was more than 11 million while the population of Turkey was approximately 65 million in 2000. The population of Istanbul has increased at least 1 million every 5 years then. According to address-based population registration, the population of Istanbul was more than 15 million while the population of Turkey was more than 82 million in 2018 (TurkStat, Population of provinces by years, 2000-2018).

Istanbul of the nineteenth century turned into a metropolis through its wide boulevards, modernist architecture, apartment buildings and high towers in the twentieth century (Gül, 2009, 1-2). Today, the urban development of Istanbul, which started in the 1950s, continues with the urban problems that are growing day by day. The old city has been shaded in the crowd of the industrialized Istanbul by new factories, boulevards, modern architecture and skyscrapers rising from all over the city. Since no city planner could think that the city's population would exceed ten million, the plans were not fully implemented, or the results were not as expected. Modern Turkish architecture started to take place in Istanbul in the 1950s. The aesthetical concern about the buildings was mostly replaced by benefit-orientation. The urban structure is damaged before its full growth (Berkes, 1998, 430-434). Today's Istanbul overflowed the Theodosian walls and spread over wide areas in all directions in both continents (Çelik, 1993, 163).

2.3. From a Recreation Area to a Port City, Kadıköy

Although the history of Kadıköy is older than Istanbul, its urbanization is partially new compared to the other counties in Istanbul. According to the archeologic findings, the first settlement was around 5000-3000 BC in Istanbul (Akbulut, 1994, 329). As far as it is known, there was a trade colony of Phoenicians called Chalcedon in Kadıköy in 675 BC. Chalcedon expanded over seven hills (Kayışdağı, Göztepe, Fikirtepe, Acıbadem, Altıyol, Cevizlik, Koşuyolu) as the same with Istanbul (Ekdal, 2004, 6-86). Chalcedon lost its significance when the Byzantium was established on the counter shore in the seventh century BC. After many sieges by different nations in the following years, Istanbul came under the domination of Rome in 74 BC. Chalcedon became the centre of episcopacy in 451. After Constantinople overshadowed Chalcedon, it started to be used as agricultural land as well as a recreation area by the Byzantine administrators. Kadıköy was used as a recreation area also by the Ottoman elites in the Ottoman period (Akbulut, 1994, 330-31).

According to the archeologic findings, not especially from archeologic excavations but also construction pits, the history of *Yeldeğirmeni* district dates back to geological times in Kadıköy. The found seashells in the same diggings show that *Yeldeğirmeni* was covered by the sea back in the days (Ekdal, 2014, 86). As a Byzantium land, Kadıköy became a part of the Ottoman Empire after the conquest of Istanbul in the fifteenth century. Its population composed of Rums in addition to Armenians, Jews, and Turks, which was approximately the same until the establishment of the Republic in 1923 (Önce, 2004, 16). When Istanbul was conquered by Turks, the population of Kadıköy consisted of Rums, who engaged in agriculture and fisheries in the bazaar zone, *Çarşı* (Akbulut, 1994, 332). The dock zone and Kadıköy *Çarşı* were the dwelling zones in the eighteenth century. The caravan road and dairy road were the two main roads of Kadıköy (Akerman, 2009, 182). Kadıköy *Çarşı* is the centre of the Asian continent today, which includes *Osmanağa* and *Caferağa* neighbourhoods, and it extends along the coastline till *Moda*. It is the central bazaar district of Kadıköy (Tunalı, 2017, 40). *Çarşı* has a wide variety of facilities from doing grocery shopping to white goods shopping, as well as cultural and recreational activities; it has been a vivid urban space (Firidin & Enşici, 2006, 86).

Before the transition between the connection of Asian and European continents provided by the Bosphorus Bridge, eighty per cent of the population of Istanbul lived in the European continent. Furthermore, the main trade areas and ports were also on this continent. But the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge changed this situation and the Haydarpaşa port and the docks became more extended in to Kadıköy (Güvenç, 2009a, 122). After the 1980s, the commercialization of Kadıköy has increased as well as the workplaces. Due to the increased need for shops, many residences were converted to workplaces, especially to fast-food chains and coffee shops. The transformation of the function of buildings brought new urban problems with them in addition to the devastation of the historic fabric. Kadıköy has an important location, which has increased via new transportation networks. The transportation became diversified and extensive both to and from Kadıköy, which increased its value as a transition point (Tunalı, 2017, 40-42).

The centre of Kadıköy begins from the dock, in which the first institutions of Kadıköy were set, then it goes to *Altıyol*, from which it is separated into six different ways (Önce, 2004, 13). In the centre of Kadıköy, even the inner parts are close to the sea within the walking distance, which made it convenient for water sports until the 1960s. Kadıköy has two bays and two peninsulas along its coastline, as *Moda* and *Fenerbahçe* (Türker, 2008, 9-10). As far as it is known, Kadıköy was a recreation area with a few pavilions before the nineteenth century. With the increase in the number of pavilions over time, the streets began to be formed (Ekdal, 2014, 32). While there were usually pavilions and gardens along the coast, there were villages towards the inland. Apart from the ruling class, people also came for a walk in the meadows of Kadıköy. Kadıköy met the needs of fruit and vegetable as well as the dairy products of all Istanbul. It was also used as a drill field by the military of the Ottoman Empire especially in the nineteenth century. There was not a significant improvement in Kadıköy till the middle of the nineteenth century (Akbulut, 1994, 332).

Kadıköy's development was not as rapid as the European side of the city. The settlement in Kadıköy became more intense in the late nineteenth century. There were only a few wooden buildings and a few trees in the side streets of Kadıköy in the first years of the Republic (Ekdal, 2014, 86-87). Kadıköy started to develop after the use of ferryboats and railway. The ferryboats connected the Asian continent to the European continent in 1857. The railway was built between *Haydarpaşa* and *İzmit* stations in

1873, which provided access to a wider area in the Asian continent. Kadıköy began to be integrated in itself and the population was also intensified inland. After the connection of Kadıköy to the historic peninsula, it started to host people not only in summer but also in other seasons. The settlements intensified around the railway (Akbulut, 1994, 332). After sea filling operations, which started in 1899, a port was built as well as a warehouse in Kadıköy. *Haydarpaşa* train station, which became an important symbol of the city, was built in 1908. The area, where the *Haydarpaşa* station is located now, was the meadow field, where the soldiers drilled. The meadow field was separated by the rails in 1873 (Ekdal, 2004, 88-89). *Haydarpaşa* Train Station was built in connection with the Berlin-Baghdad railway. It was a significant epitome of the integration of the Ottoman Empire to the world economy (Türeli, 2018, 2).

There were only four neighbourhoods in Kadıköy in the mid-nineteenth century and it became seven in 1860. The wealthy non-Muslim and Levantine populations increased in Kadıköy after they acquired the private property right in 1868. The property speculation, which started in the 1870s in Kadıköy, has remained unchanged till today. There was a big fire in Kadıköy in late 1856, as in other districts of Istanbul, but compared to the European continent, Kadıköy suffered less from fires. After this fire, the streets of Kadıköy were reorganized with a grid plan. The reconstruction of the devastated Kadıköy paved the way for its Western development. As a result of the wars, the '93 War in 1877 and the Balkan War in 1912, Kadıköy hosted various immigrants from different ethnicities and religions (Akbulut, 1994, 332-333). According to Ekdal (2004), the regression of Kadıköy, which started with the Turkish conquest in the fifteenth century, ended with the immigration of the ethnic minorities in the nineteenth century (Ekdal, 2004, 8). The Jewish people, who settled in Kadıköy after the great Beyoğlu fire in 1872, built apartment blocks here and in this way, *Yeldeğirmeni* became the first district with the apartment buildings in the Anatolian side of the city. The Levantines were settled mostly in *Moda* and *Yeldeğirmeni* districts (Ekdal, 2014, 88). The wooden buildings were replaced by the masonry buildings, and then the masonry buildings were replaced by the apartment buildings in Kadıköy (Akerman, 2009, 173). The influence of the Western culture was visible in the streets through mansions with distinctive designs like Art-nouveau and Art-deco (Önce, 2004, 28).

There are two small squares around the Rum Orthodox and Armenian churches in the centre of Kadıköy. The streets were designed by a grid plan around these small squares, which have been still actively used by people (Türker, 2008, 15). The mosques, Gregorian and Orthodox churches, and Synagogues were located together as well as the Catholic, German, Rum, Armenian and French schools in the downtown of Kadıköy to appeal to all sections of the public in the late nineteenth century. The formation of new neighbourhoods went ahead in parallel with the population growth. For a place, having a railway station was a priority to be a neighbourhood. Also, the number of public buildings like schools or mosques around the stations was related to the extent of the neighbourhood (Akbulut, 1994, 334). Tramways and ferries had a crucial role in terms of transportation in Kadıköy, which also led to improvements by creating new connections. In addition to ethnic minorities of the Empire, also Levantine population was remarkable in Kadıköy in the nineteenth century. With new trade relations, the population diversified and the interaction between different ethnic groups played an active role in the modernization process (Önce, 2004, 26). As expressed by Ekdal, almost all of the artisans were from ethnic minorities back in the times (Ekdal, 2004, 204). Before WWI, the population of Kadıköy mostly consisted of wealthy non-Muslim Ottomans and Levantines in addition to bureaucrats (Akbulut, 1994, 335).

The Tenth District Municipality was established in 1872 in Kadıköy. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, public services began in Kadıköy with the gas pipes and running water services and the electricity was wired in 1928. Kadıköy was one of the most developed counties of Istanbul in the early 1920s. Because of its relatively wealthy population, most of the houses were built of brick or stone rather than wood. The streets were planned and they were suitable for vehicle use. Also, there was no building congestion contrary to the historic peninsula. For all these reasons, it was less victimized by fires. According to the 1882 census, Kadıköy was the fourth district, where the Muslim population was the least, with the forty-two per cent of the Muslim population. The Rums and Armenians were both twenty-six per cent of the population in addition to four per cent Jews (Akbulut, 1994, 335-36). The population of Kadıköy was 32,200 according to 1894 census, and there were only 8,272 Muslims against 7,676 Orthodox Rums. Armenians, Jews, and Bulgarians followed these dominant groups respectively (Ekdal, 2004, 167). According to 1906-1907 census, the

population of Muslims was forty-five per cent while Rums were twenty-eight per cent, which followed by Armenians with seventeen per cent and Jews with six per cent. The rest of the population included several ethnic minorities from Assyrians to Bulgarians (Akbulut, 1994, 336). While the wealthy minority groups dwelled mostly in *Moda*, *Kızıltoprak* and *Bağdat Avenue*, low-income minorities and artisans dwelled mostly in *Yeldeğirmeni* and *Rasimpaşa* districts in Kadıköy (Akerman, 2009, 88).

After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in WWI, Istanbul was occupied in 1920. Some English, French and Italian soldiers settled in Kadıköy till 1923 (Ekdal, 2014, 102). The *şehremaneti* was built in 1913 in Kadıköy (Akerman, 2009, 169) and it became a county in 1930. Before that, it was connected to the administration of Istanbul *Şehremaneti* in 1855, and then to Üsküdar district in 1869 (Akbulut, 1994, 336). Electricity was wired in 1928 (Ekdal, 2014, 149), and the first tram line started to service in 1929 after the use of electricity in Kadıköy. There were several projects for the zoning planning of Istanbul in 1933 and some of them included Kadıköy. None of these projects was accepted, which were about transforming Kadıköy into an industrial zone. On the other hand, Henri Prost made some touches to Kadıköy as well as the European continent. Contrary to his city plans for the European side of Istanbul, he did not plan to make radical changes in Kadıköy. In this direction, instead of an industrial zone, he planned a stadium and a marina for it. Compared to the European continent, urban plans and investments were small scales in Kadıköy till the 1980s (Akbulut, 1994, 336-37). After the establishment of the Republic, the beach culture that was introduced by the White Russians was adopted in a short span of time in Kadıköy. The coast became more attractive for the settlement in this period. The beaches of Kadıköy were popular all-around Istanbul till the marine pollution in the 1970s. The beaches were completely destroyed by the sea filling works in the 1980s (Akbulut, 1994, 336).

Kadıköy had its unique characteristics on its architecture with its two-storey buildings. They mostly had gardens in which there were flowers and fruits and vegetables behind them. Kadıköy had a planned to inhabit on the contrary to the European side of the city (Akerman, 2009, 76). After the 1960s, the regular and organised city plan was covered with apartment buildings and shops built on the land of destroyed pavilions (Önce, 2004, 52). After some plants were built around Kadıköy in 1955, stock splits of building plots became legal and the *build-and-sell* period

started for housing (Akerman, 2009, 86). The Property Ownership Law was enacted in 1965 and the population increased since then. Kadıköy's development became rapid. The population of it, which was 164,000 in 1965, increased to 578,000 in 1985 (Tekeli, 1994, 258). As a result of Istanbul's Industrial Area Plans, which was prepared in 1955 and then again in 1966, the industrial zones of the Asian continent of Istanbul reached from Maltepe to Tuzla districts. The increasing number of working people in the Asian side, especially around Kadıköy created an increasing housing demand, and in consequence, the density of settlements increased rapidly in and around Kadıköy. Another arrangement, which increased the density of the population in Kadıköy, was the Zoning and Development Plan in 1972. In addition to the increase in industrialization in the Asian side, the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge has also led to an increase in housing in Kadıköy. The oldest settlers of Kadıköy, the Levantines and the non-Muslims started to move from Kadıköy after the 1950s. Kadıköy became more than a simple recreation area and attached to the European continent as a sub-metropolitan alternative with the expansion of the service industry and trade sector (Akbulut, 1994, 338). The cultural effects of the migrations to and from Kadıköy became visible after the 1960s. The interaction was both-sided, also, the modernization of Islamic lifestyle was an issue in the 1990s (Akerman, 2009, 95-96).

The Municipality of Kadıköy became mayor's office in 1984 while it was a branch office before (Ekdal, 2014, 13). After the 1950s, Kadıköy became one of the wealthiest districts of Istanbul and at the same time, it also included a *gecekondu* zone and housing estate. Haydarpaşa Port and D-100 Highway were under construction in the 1950s, which increased the population of Kadıköy in addition to the coastal road, that was built in the 1980s (Kütükçü, 2014, 25). In 1985, a development law legitimated to have more than one building in a parcel of land, which paved the way for new apartment buildings (Akbulut, 1994, 338).

Kadıköy is one of the most essential districts in Istanbul, not because of production but commerce and service sector. Bahariye and Yeldeğirmeni quarters are vital points of Kadıköy in terms of the service sector and retail trade. Yeldeğirmeni and *Çarşı* are protected areas, and as far as it is known, the history of Kadıköy lies beneath them. Furthermore, Yeldeğirmeni is also important as a residential area after Moda district. Pedestrian mobilization has been at the forefront in the heart of Kadıköy (Giz, 1990, 96), which allow spending more time here. There is a more balanced

expansion of pedestrianization, which gives its porous essence, in *Bahariye* Avenue compared to *Istiklal* Avenue in *Beyoğlu*. The permeable urban fabric of the centre of Kadıköy arises from its grid planned streets, which make easier to walk without making long walks along streets. The centre of Kadıköy attracts people from all over Istanbul with different concept cafés, culture centres, theatres and cinemas, well-established schools, various religious buildings, bazaars and so on. Streets and the use of streets are significant in urban life in Kadıköy. The expansion of the stores, cafés and restaurants towards the streets contributes to social interaction and social spaces (Firidin & Enşici, 2006, 87-90). Kadıköy is at the intersection of the Anatolian cities and Istanbul, as well as the European and Asian sides of Istanbul, and Haydarpaşa Station has been the heart of it (Aksel, 1994, 342).

2.3.1. Everyday Life in Kadıköy from the Personal Narratives

As a recreation area, Kadıköy had several facilities from sports to art. In the first years of the Republic, especially open-air cinemas and orchestras attracted great attention in addition to yacht clubs in Kadıköy (Önce, 2004, 69-83). In the late 19th century, there were numerous Greek plays as well as Greek movies in Kadıköy, which continued till the breakdown of Turkish-Greek relationships in 1963. One of the first cinemas, *Theatron Halkidonas*, also known as *Apollon*, was opened in 1873 in Kadıköy. Its name was replaced with a Turkish one, *Hale*, in the first years of the Republic. Again, in these years, *Cinema Süreyya*, one of the most impressive buildings of Kadıköy, was opened. *Cinema Süreyya* brings people together with cultural and artistic events as *Süreyya Opera House* today. Cinema Hale was the previous version of *Cinema Reks*, which has been one of the most-known cinemas in Istanbul. Even though there were changes in its name and function, the stage has served more than a hundred years in Kadıköy (Türker, 2008, 41-46).

Kadıköy has been a prominent place in terms of bringing an initiative. In 1920, a Turkish actress, Afife Jale, got on the stage for the first time in *Apollon Theatre*. Till this date, there was no Turkish woman who acted on a stage because of Islamic prohibitions (Giz, 1990, 71). In WWI, Kadıköy hosted a vast number of authors. Theatre, opera, orchestra, poems, sports, art, and caricature have been important components of the cultural structure of Kadıköy (Giz, 1990, 162). In the first decade of the 20th century, music became a critical part of theatre plays and Apollon Theatre

started to host opera singers (Giz, 1990, 75). Levent Soysal (2010) mentions Kadıköy as “a district home to intellectuals, professionals and radical youths and with a reputation to vote en masse for the left and social democrats” (Soysal, 2010, 310). Also, Adnan Giz (1990) refers to the old generation of Kadıköy as intellectuals (Giz, 1990, 7).

The stores were lined one by one in the 1930s. Artisans were mostly composed of pharmacists, haberdashers, stationary sellers, confectioners, tailors, fishmongers, and greengrocers. The cuisine was extensive as it is today. After WWI, some family-run businesses started to food transport services to the home. Though most of the stores were replaced with new projects, some of them are still open. According to Giz (1990), artisans and their services were partly organized around the traditional division of labour according to their ethnicities. Turks mostly owned bakeries, coffeehouses, candy and halva stores, while Rums owned grocery stores, taverns and herbal products, and Jews owned pharmacies, greengrocers, fish stores, and so on. In addition to *Çarşı*, there were bazaars also in *Moda* and *Yeldeğirmeni* districts. The bakeries have been the main components of the traditional bazaars of Turkey. The bazaar in Yeldeğirmeni was still crowded in late hours after Kadıköy *Çarşı* was deserted. After electricity, bazaars stayed open longer and became even livelier. Giz (1990) asserts that the herbalists’ stores had the widest range of products, while the pharmacies were small culture centres, in which people talk about politics, public agenda, herbs and so on (Giz, 1990, 36-105). Since Chalcedon, there has been plenty of fishmongers, grocery stores, herbalists, and fruiterers with a rich variety in *Çarşı*, along the Moda route (Türker, 2008, 17).

Central Kadıköy has always been suitable for pedestrians (Giz, 1990, 96). Bahariye district was a woodland, at which people went for a walk to breath fresh air (Ekdal, 2004, 105). While the carriages used to be around the Kadıköy public square, there are bus and minibus stations on both sides of the square today (Türker, 2008, 17). The centre of Kadıköy includes *Bahariye*, *Yeldeğirmeni* and *Moda* districts, that each of them has a unique essence. Tamer Kütükçü (2014) defines Bahariye as a “hybrid neighbourhood”, Moda as “the aristocrat of Kadıköy”, and Yeldeğirmeni as a “cosmopolite slum” (Kütükçü, 2014).

Before the Bosphorus Bridge, ferries connected the continents of Istanbul. In the 1950s, ferryboats served between historic peninsula and Kadıköy. Ferryboats have

been a means of transport; furthermore, they have been spaces of socialization themselves as well as ferry quays (Akerman, 2009, 87). Kadıköy starts and ends with a pier. The piers were significant spaces in which people present themselves through their fashionable clothes and attitudes. The ferry quays have also been meeting points for people. The sea and the sea coast have an important place in people's daily life in Kadıköy. Also, public enterprises like municipality, polis station, tax offices; parks, tram and bus stations were around the dock (Giz, 1990, 4-27).

Especially the balmy summer nights, walking along the coast, parks as places of entertainments in Kadıköy were highly mentioned in personal narratives about Kadıköy (Giz, 1990; Ekdal, 2004; Önce, 2004; Göze, 2007; Türker, 2008; Akerman, 2009). There were big parks, in which either Greek plays or Turkish muppet shows were played. These parks were also used for both circumcision feasts by Turks, and summer entertainments by Rums until the 1960s, till they were buried under apartment buildings. As a result of the relationship breakdown between the Turks and Greeks, as well as the Greek population, also most of the Ottoman Rum population left Kadıköy. In the 1970s, Kadıköy became more crowded with an increasing number of Turks (Türker, 2008, 46-88).

The population of Moda was mostly composed of non-Muslim Ottomans and Levantines till the establishment of the Turkish Republic (Giz, 1990, 66). The socialization spaces brought people mostly from the middle class from all ethnicities together in here (Türker, 2008, 47). Moda was also famous for its meadow, which does not exist anymore as the other meadows of Kadıköy. The meadows and the coastline were significant socialization spaces back then. The meadows left their places to the apartment buildings in Kadıköy. The 'apartmentization' process had an impact on also the social life and the apartment buildings brought people from all strata together (Göze, 2007, 78).

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CONCEPT OF OPEN CITY

3.1. A Brief Overview of the City

A city is more than a mere physical organization which combines streets, roads, and buildings; it also involves a moral order and mobility of social life (Park, 2012, 1-2). According to Lefebvre (2002, 1), “society has been completely urbanized” and therefore, the urban city should be taken into consideration. The mode of production defines the specificity of its time. Like people, also cities evolved after the Industrial Revolution from agricultural cities to industrial cities (Lefebvre, 2002, 1-7).

Although the history of the city dates to thousands of years ago, people experienced the urban city in the late eighteenth century. In that space of time, people adjusted themselves from rural life to a more particularly urban life (Lofland, 1998, 1). People walk around and learn the world via experiencing the unknown inside the built space of the urban (Lefebvre, 2002, 39). Social relationships take shape in the city. Everything comes together in the urban city, even the dichotomies. Differences and conflicts are the primary elements of the city, which is a combination of the tangible and intangible, natural and artificial, active and passive, inner and outer, known and unknown and so forth (Lefebvre, 2002, 117-18).

The city has changed prominently after the transition from the rural to the industrial city then to the urban city, so as the society. Urban space is neither fixed nor stable, it is in continuous change. People leave their traces through the built space of the urban city. Urban space is a huge complex, which combines the industrial and agricultural together with the multifaceted time and space (Lefebvre, 2002, 151-167). Before industrialization, there were three main cities as “the oriental city”, “the antique city” and “the medieval city”. The oriental city was dominated by the Asiatic mode of production, which is organized by the state as agricultural production-oriented. The antique city of the Greeks and Romans was the city of slavery, the inhabitants of the ancient city were connected to the judicial rationality and the agricultural lands were tamed by slaves. The replacement of free tenants with *latifundia* prepared the death of

this city. The medieval city was dominated by feudalism. Till the medieval city, the cities were mostly political. On the other hand, the medieval city was associated with trade in addition to its political essence. The class conflict is based on this time when bourgeoisie and territorial feudal system were confronted. The industrialization and the rise of the capitalist mode of production paved the way for the rise of the bourgeoisie. The cities and urban centres developed through commerce. The urban city became an “*oeuvre*” with its streets, squares, and monuments (Lefebvre, 1996, 65-106). Every space leaves a mark behind, as they do not disappear, they renew themselves according to current conditions (Lefebvre, 1991, 164).

3.2. The Public Sphere vs the Private Sphere

The discrimination of the public and the private, which has a major place in Western thought, dates to the classical antiquity (Weintraub, 1997, 1). The Middle Age cities grew steadily regarding the needs of the society and were built considering life and space harmony. On the contrary, the modern cities have a rapid growing, which does not include the life-space harmony (Gehl & Svarre, 2013, 3). The rise of modern city refers to the division of the living place and the working place. Changes in social and spatial structures led to the separation of the public and the private spheres, which reshaped the interrelation between individual and society as well as the self and the other (Madanipour, 2005, 2-5).

In the late eighteenth century cities, the public sphere was the realm of social life. The preindustrial societies did not have technologic opportunities to communicate; hence, interpersonal verbal communication was significant for the people. Also, to announce the news and declarations to the public, town criers held an important mission in the public sphere. People had to walk in the public sphere to reach the person they wanted to communicate with if they were not elites who could afford carriages to go somewhere in privacy. In addition to communication, being in the public sphere physically was also necessary for shopping, water supply, political actions, religious rituals, and so forth. The private sphere was not comfortable for most of the people, because their houses were mostly crowded. Considering this, the public sphere was the realm of freedom (Lofland, 1998, 15-17). With the technologic improvements, new types of social interaction occurred. Instead of face to face meetings, virtual communication ways made interaction possible. Active presence and

participation of the agent left its place to passive participation of the agent with the widespread use of the television, telephone, internet and so forth. Also, private cars have let people to avoid unwanted random social activities by giving the opportunity to choose activities to the drivers (Gehl, 2011, 49). The modernist change in society created new needs for people. In the eighteenth century, people attained freedom of socialization in urban parks in Western countries. There were also pedestrian-oriented arrangements for streets. People encountered in social centres like cafes and exhibition centres, which became more accessible for people. The urban market expanded through the cash economy, and the means of finance and investment became “rationalized” and took place in offices and stores. In the eighteenth century, the distinction of public and private was defined through “civility” and “nature” separation. While the public realm was connected to civility and cosmopolitan structure, the private realm was connected to nature and family circle. In the nineteenth century, industrial capitalism had an influence on public life through mass production and new consuming patterns (Sennett, 2017, 9-13). In the nineteenth century, a connected and balanced “the lived” and “the built” cities, in other words, *cité* and *ville* came to the fore. However, the *cité* and *ville*-balanced projects were reversed in the twentieth century and “urbanism became a gated community” (Sennett, 2018, 30).

The public space is for people to walk, encounter and interact spontaneously. It is the space of ‘representation’ since “the rhythms of the people” are also related to space (Lefebvre, 2004, 96). On the other hand, the extent of the private space is defined by the state through the codes of private property. Today, the separation of the public and private spaces is a blur. While most of the public spaces from media institutions to public houses are privately owned, the use of the private space is defined through public regulations from private property laws to state surveillance of individuals (Smith & Low, 2006, 4-5).

Public life is dynamic and flux, it changes as time goes by. Furthermore, there are several factors like “design, gender, age, financial resources, and culture” and so forth, that are determinant on use of the public space. Public space refers to the built environment including whatever happens there (Gehl and Svarre, 2013, 2). The meanings of the public and the public sphere can change according to the context. If something is not exclusive and open to everyone, it is called public. But on the other hand, the public may refer to official institutions or something out of the authority

(Habermas, 1989, 1-2), because of the “openness” or “publicity” standards for state actions (Weintraub, 1997, 5).

The private sphere is where public visibility and state control are absent, but the individual has control. Individuals manage their interactions with others in this sphere. The private sphere is mostly connected with private property, which epitomizes home. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that there are certain boundaries between the private space and the public sphere since a private space can be created within the public sphere (Madanipour, 2005, 5-46).

Public sphere brings strangers together. What distinguishes the private sphere from the public sphere is the familiarity with others. The individuals in the private realm are mostly known well, on the other hand, people have less knowledge about each other, and anonymity is in the foreground in the public realm, which does not refer to a mere physical space but also social interactions (Sennett, 2010, 261). “Publicity demands heterogeneity”, urban city is composed of differences contrary to rural (Mitchell, 2003, 18). The public sphere may refer to a corporeal space or on the contrary to an empirical space (Weintraub, 1995, 281). It is the realm, where strangers interact with each other or not, in a concrete environment. In a democratic society, people can experience the unfamiliar and it frees them from their fixed lives in the public realm (Sennett, 2010, 261). The “public space” is comprised of heterogeneities, conflicts, and particularities (Deutsche, 1996, 57). It brings people together “for politics, religion, commerce, sport” and it is a space of “peaceful coexistence and impersonal encounter” (Walzer, 1986, 470). The *ville* is composed of “economic network of production, distribution, transportation, exchange, communication, service provision, and amusement” (Young, 2011, 237). The heterogeneous public is both emancipatory and inclusive. People are free to represent their differences in public and social institutions, and decisions taken about the city include all inhabitants rather than a small privileged group of people. The public realm should embrace all sexes, ethnicities, ages, and incomes. It belongs to everyone and therefore, all citizens should be able to participate in public life and should be effective in the decisions to be taken (Young, 2011, 119).

There have been different perceptions of the public sphere in modern times, which can be embraced in three main modes of thought belong to Hannah Arendt, Jürgen Habermas and Richard Sennett (Sennett, 2010, 262). The common points of

these main approaches to the public space denotes the distinction of an *open system* and a *closed system*. Arendt (1998) matches the private sphere with the family circle and the public sphere with the political realm. Political organization is the opposite of the natural organization of the household in Greek thought. Another sphere of life, the public sphere was added to the private sphere with the rise of the city. The public sphere includes political action and speech. Being political requires words and consent instead of force. According to Arendt, people come together equally, and they express themselves freely without any discrimination in the public sphere. Everything is visible in the public sphere contrary to the private sphere, in which there is no 'the other'. People exist with others in the public realm (Arendt, 1998, 24-58).

Habermas (1972) connects the publicness to public communicability. He suggests participatory democracy as a model, in which all citizens have the right to speech. The participatory democracy is possible with a social integration, which is sensitive to differences. The existence of different cultures, as well as a strong communication, is necessary to ensure consensus among different people in the public sphere. In the sense of Habermas, the public realm is wherever the public communication takes place, including the cyber-space (Habermas, 1972, 238). According to Habermas (1989), the public sphere appeared in civil societies with the emergence of the bourgeoisie in connection with commodity exchange. Considering the historical development of the public sphere, it is seen that it originally corresponds to the realm of *polis*, which is common to free Greek citizens, and it is separated from the private realm, *oikos*, that corresponds to the personal space of individuals. The citizens did not use the Hellenic public sphere only as a marketplace, they also shared and discussed their ideas and performed their common routines in the public sphere. The patrimonial slave economy was dominant, and the status of individuals in *oikos* was decisive on their status in *polis*. Being wealthy and having prestige in labour power were significant criteria for having a good status in the public sphere. The private sphere was the domain in which the masters had the authority. On the contrary, the public sphere was the domain of freedom and openness (Habermas, 1989, 3-4).

In the sense of Sennett (2010), the public realm is where people represent themselves to unfamiliar people and interact with each other. So as Clifford Geertz and Erving Goffman, he focuses on people's rituals, self-expression, interaction ways and so forth by relating the public life to a theatre stage, which is based on *theatrum*

mundi tradition (Sennett, 2010, 261-62; Sennett, 2018). He suggests a co-production of the public space, which includes planners and “life-experienced” dwellers. Even though planners are technically educated, they cannot assume the best for the dwellers all the time. With the co-production of the public space, different versions of places are created in the direction of the plurality (Sennett, 2018, 293-303).

In an ideal public life, different people can gather around affinity groups without excluding other people. The public life should not discriminate people, in this point, Young (2011) suggests a “side-by-side particularity” (Young, 2011, 238). People come across with unfamiliar people and cultures, which give them the chance for new experiences. The similar and the different come together in the urban city. A democratic society is only possible with a “politics of difference”, which based on giving the right of representation to each group of people. Social justice is possible if differences are recognized and affirmed. In a city based on differences, people should not decide whether to exclude people or activities from the public realm. People should be free to open stores and places for different activities in accordance with the demands of the inhabitants (Young, 2011, 239-255). In addition to the cultural complexity of society, also individuals are multiple. A person cannot be defined by reducing into a single, fixed identity. The differences of people should not affect their rights and chances, the city is for everyone to be there and to live in (Young, 2011, 124-157).

3.3. The Right to the City

The right to the city, which is currently on the table of the United Nations, was brought to agenda by Henri Lefebvre (1996) in the political environment of 1968. The change in society manifested itself also in the representation of the public space. The transition from the commodification of products to the commodification of space stands out as a result of the capitalist economy. Nature has also been commodified and unnaturalized by the exploitation of industrialism and it became an object of leisure time activities and landscape designs; the urban has engulfed the countryside (Lefebvre, 1996, 158). Space has become a product for people to consume, rather than being produced by them in the modern city (Mitchell, 2003, 18). Space is empty at first, it is organized by social life. Changing life is possible through changing the space. Social space includes different natural and social components from social relations to trade networks, it is multifaceted. It refers to the space of everyday life and it is a social

product; on the other hand, it is the “abstract space” that the state and investors consider for profit. It has been produced and consumed in addition to becoming a part of the “means of production”. In the capitalist mode of production, the chain between labour and the process of reproduction became broken. In this point, in addition to “abstract social labour”, “abstract space” came to the fore. *Abstract space* includes social relations and functions as if they are subjects. It works connected to power through technology, knowledge, and science (Lefebvre, 1991, 77-190). It is “the locus, medium and tool of this positivity” and it creates “the silence of the users of this space” (Lefebvre, 1991, 50-51). In capitalist urban society, the clash between the social and abstract spaces is inevitable. The rural society turned into an industrial society, then to urban society. The urban society is a complex of multifaceted times and spaces (Lefebvre, 2002, 154-167). The urbanists or planners are not the ones who produce and control space as a global object, the motives are the capitalist relations. Space itself is not there just as a part of the context, it became also a production. According to Lefebvre (2002) space has always been produced, but the new thing about it is “the global and total production of social space” (Lefebvre, 2002, 155). The populations of cities have also changed from homogeneous to heterogeneous through migrations (Zukin, 1995, 260).

The human rights are an integral part of civilization, from “right to work, to training and education, health, housing, leisure” and “life” (Lefebvre, 1996, 179). On the other hand, *the right to the urban city* makes the use of the city possible for all citizens from demanding the use of the city to making and changing the city (Lefebvre, 1996, 179). Every city can achieve spatial justice through social consciousness and grassroots for better living conditions for each inhabitant, including migrant workers (Lim, 2014, 230). According to Lefebvre (1996), urban inequity and consumption ideology are major obstacles to the city becoming an “oeuvre”. The urban revolution is not about bringing the rural community back, it requires new urbanism. *The right to the city* is possible via two ways as “oeuvre” and “appropriation”. The restructured urban city may become an oeuvre with the change in power relations, by which the city is produced. The urban revolution is possible by questioning each realm of the urban city. To generate an urban strategy, there is a need for social and political power against the dominant order. An urban strategy, which does not include the participation of all citizens, refers to hierarchy and power relations. Lefebvre (1996) asserts that the

urban city should be planned in such a way that there is neither discrimination nor exclusion (Lefebvre, 1996, 153-80). Lefebvre (1991) makes a separation between “dominated spaces” and “appropriated spaces”. He claims that “dominated space is usually closed, sterilized and emptied out”. On the other hand, appropriated spaces refer to spaces that are modified for the needs of a group of people (Lefebvre, 1991, 165).

The urban planning from above answers the needs of the capitalist means of production and it reproduces the capitalist power relations (Lefebvre, 1996, 188). Through collective rights, the bottom-up city-making is a step to bring down capitalism and its relations based on exploitation (Harvey, 2012, xviii). Hence, *the right to the city* should include all citizens for “the freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities” (Harvey, 2012, 4). It is “the priority of constructing cities that corresponds to human social needs rather than the capitalist imperative of profit-making” (Brenner et al., 2009, 176). It is a demand for democratic control over the surplus for everyone without discrimination (Harvey, 2012, 22). Since the urban city is a part of globalization, *the right to the city* should be thought in a global scope. *The right to the city* includes all citizens, and it depends on “centrality” so as the urban city, which brings people together as well as including their relations and productions. It is a right to protect the citizens from prejudices, inequalities, and any kind of discrimination. Lefebvre (1996) asserts that the inequalities stem from the neglect of the citizens, whom neither have economic or political privileges, nor the power of decision-making. *The right to the city* brings people together around their real needs rather than oppressing their struggles (Lefebvre, 1996, 194-95). People cannot make their “future places” without struggle, in which every person is an agent of it. Different people from different social, economic, and political strata have a different sense of time and space, and hence, they experience city life differently. The alternative “future places” are emancipatory because they are built regarding differences. Different struggles unite under the demand of *the right to the city*, which unites different struggles (Harvey, 1996, 207-326). The relations of people from different social, economic, and political strata are produced in the public space, which cannot be understood without showing regard to the “social and historical context of the space itself” (Zukin, 1995, 291).

What makes the urban city is the urban practice rather than agricultural or industrial production. According to Lefebvre (2002), the urban city cannot be defined through a single or certain form since it is made of *heterotopias* instead of *isotopias*. The urban city is where the differences coexist, it is not harmonious. It involves the synthesis of separate times and spaces (Lefebvre, 2002, 173-75). The urban city should supply with people's social needs. People need security, openness and certainty, information, employment and business areas, entertainment and creative activity, freedom of isolation and socialization and so forth, which are experienced and demanded differently by different people (Lefebvre, 1996, 147).

The urban city consists of gated communities, suburbs, and monitored and privatized public spaces. According to David Harvey (2006), there is a relationship between the organization of public space and politics. He claims that public space has surrounded by commodity fetishism, which veils the "other" and class relations inside. The bourgeois society gained political privileges besides economic ones by hegemonizing the public space to have control over it (Harvey, 2006, 17-32). According to Deutsche (1996), also the state censorship and privatization might be hidden under the name of the rights of the people. The government may propose itself as a decision-maker on behalf of the public. She asserts that when it comes to the public sphere, democracy should be at the forefront, not state control. Democracy is the key element of the public space. The urban public space shades in democracy as a social unity, which is for the benefit of the public in terms of human needs, technological improvements, social organization and so forth. On the other hand, it pushes democracy aside through state control over the space. In a democratic society, the public sphere is significant for political space which questions the state authority. Conflicts constitute urban space (Deutsche, 1996, 265-88). The city is for both individual and social experiences. In capitalist societies, the division of public and private spaces is not sharp. Political power, as well as capital accumulation, regenerate itself through the reproduction of space. In urban cities, private ownership is decisive on inequality in terms of reproducing space through the capitalist mode of production. The city basically functions for work, leisure time and private life. There are multi-dimensional consequences of modern life. On the one hand, technology may connect all people around the world, on the other hand, people may become isolated from each other in reality. The exchange value surpasses the rights of citizens. Public spaces are

also privatized through commodification and globalization, which affect the use of the city negatively. Top-down planned spaces block creative possibilities. *The right to the city* is against top-down planning, passive citizens, exclusion, abstract agents, repressive market relations, and the homogeneous, consumption-oriented character of public space (Carlos, 2018, 31-41).

Cities became centres of consumption with globalization. The exchange-value trumped the use-value through capitalist mode of production. According to the *right to the city*, citizens are not only the users of the city, but they also produce and change the city through interventions. The “appropriation of space” can be seen in numerous ways from using shopping malls for just lingering around to squatting. Alternative spaces add substantiality to the public sphere through interventions separately from the polity. In this sense, the “Occupy” movement became a successful example of the use of *the right to the city* by creating new opportunities for citizens, primarily for “marginalized and exploited” communities against privileged elites of a finance centre, the Wall Street, in 2011 (Shields, 2013, 346-347). Also, the “Gezi Park” movement is another example, which was to protect nature and public space against the commodification of the park as part of neoliberal politics in Istanbul in 2013 (Sadri, 2017, 5-6).

3.4. Open System vs. Closed System

Public spaces give clues about social life in a city, which does not include only the residents of the city, but also any person who use the city for some purposes like tourists and commuters. The people in interaction in a public space may be strangers but they are significant in terms of creating “human society”, which characterizes the city. For example, according to its public life, a city might be open to differences or not (Zukin, 1995, 259-60).

An open system is complex, full of ambiguities and uncertainties rather than being fixed and familiar. It is a resistance against top-down, pre-planned cities (Sennett, 2018, 23). In the sense of Richard Sennett (2010), closed systems are enemies of the public sphere in terms of human relations. He makes a connection between transitional forms and products of the encounters of different people. In different conditions, people adjust themselves to new conditions and it creates new dynamics in an open system. On the contrary, closed systems are already formed and completed

before social interactions. Hence, closed systems cannot adjust themselves to changes. Fixed, rigid systems are imposed into building forms in the name of security. Single-function, isolated spaces are over-determined in terms of urban experience (Sennett, 2010, 263-64).

Sennett (2010) emphasizes the separation between boundary and border as related to open and closed systems. In this separation, sharply dividing, closed and isolating complexes refer to the “boundary”. On the other hand, he exemplifies the border with a selective, porous cell membrane. Boundaries do not have to refer to concrete walls, indeed city walls of the medieval city were borders rather than boundaries. The walls were porous through the gates, and around the walls, there was resistance with the population of misfits as well as the trade of informal and untaxed goods. On the contrary, in the urban city, transparent plate-glass walls of modern buildings refer to boundaries, though it is possible to see behind the glass. People are divided through highways and single-function constructions. Highways work as motion-walls. As a way of transforming boundaries to borders, he suggests that using the public space is not only for consumption but also as a complex for working and producing. Otherwise, pedestrian zones would be nothing more than shopping zones (Sennett, 2010, 266).

According to Young (2011), public means “what is open and accessible” (Young, 2011, 118). If something is public, it should appeal to all citizens without any exclusion. Hence, public spaces should be open and accessible to everyone, which make it suitable for encounters of different people. In an inclusive public space, heterogeneity of people and functions come to the forth; differences are recognized and respected (Young, 2011, 118). Cosmopolitanism is “the mixture of difference and indifference”, it “consists of stimulation by the presence of others but not identification with them”. The population of the urban city grows through immigration. To be a cosmopolitan city, just bringing people from distinct groups is not enough, also migrants should participate in political and economic realms. Through the “border”, people can learn from each other and recognize the differences (Sennett, 2010, 270).

An *open city* leads up creative improvements against top-down designed projects. Newcomers are valuable in terms of their contributions to the heterogeneous essence of an *open city* (Shields, 2013, 347). There is not “the” *open city* since each one of them is unique with all differences they have (Sennett, 2018).

3.4.1. An Open Ville

The democratic and truthful city should be organized in an open and interactive manner (Sennett, 2018, 316). An *open city* is not homogeneous; it includes differences, discrepancies and contrarities which make the city itself more than the sum of its components. An *open city* is more comprehensive with all the differences it has, which enrich the urban practices and widens people's experiences in the urban city. On the contrary, in a *closed city*, since everything is fixed, and planned by the designers, the experiences of people are limited (Sennett, 2018, 16-18).

According to Richard Sennett (2018), there is a balance between the *cit  * and *ville* in an open city. A city can have identity only with the openness which will keep it from a stereotyped character. While *ville* refers to the whole city, *cit  * is the part of the city, which is related to issues of cultural diversity and neighbourhood (Sennett, 2018, 12-20). The public life is "complex, ambiguous, uncertain" in an *open city*, it is a resistance against totalitarian administrations. "Stadtluft macht frei (city air makes you free)" statement, which dates back to Middle Ages, brought "making the self" to the table. The city gives the chance of mobility in social and economic strata to citizens (Sennett, 2018, 20-25). In the sense of burghers, contrary to being subject to a manor, the medieval city was a place in which they could make their own secular codes (Sennett, 1990, 135).

The gaps in urban plans and designs give an opportunity to citizens to think and decide about their living spaces. There is a significant difference between closed and open systems, their organization forms are separated in a way, in which the closed system has an authoritarian structuring, and an open system is participatory and democratic. An *open city* does not have a destiny, the course of events is shaped through possibilities in the process (Sennett, 2018, 204-237).

In terms of design, according to Richard Sennett (2018), there are five open forms of the *ville* as *synchronous*, *punctuated*, *porous*, *incomplete*, and *multiple*, which give the complex essence of the *cit  *. In *synchronous* forms, different things happen at the same time, as in agora and bazaar. Contrary to sequential and single-function spaces, the *synchronous* space offers a diversity of people and facilities. *Punctuated* forms do not have additive components. Closed systems have homogenous and replaceable parts. For instance, the apartments in a mass housing project are almost or

exactly the same. The parts of *punctuated* spaces are distinctive. Sennett (2018) states that an *open city* is designed with remarkable monuments or constructions which works as punctuation marks and gives the space its essence. A *porous* building or place works like a membrane, it is not isolated or closed that it creates a flux. The difference between an *open city* and a *closed city* in terms of porosity can be seen in border-boundary distinction. Boundaries are strict lines, which is based on closure. On the other hand, an open city has permeable borders, which is open to people from different strata. *Incomplete* forms are flexibly designed to involve inhabitants to its building process through their labours in accordance with their own needs and desires. Furthermore, in poor communities, *incomplete* forms are totally built by the dwellers rather than an architect. Lastly, the *multiple* forms refer to what Sennett (2018) calls *seed planning*, which is based on the idea of getting different results from the same kind of seeds under different conditions and spaces. In an *open city*, the same concept of buildings evolves and works spontaneously according to the context (Sennett, 2018, 248-285).

Michael Walzer (1986) separates space as “single-minded” and “open-minded”. “Single-minded” spaces are designed for a fixed, limited function, contrary to “open-minded” spaces, which is multifunctional and open to the participation of everyone, including unforeseen users. A single-function place meets the needs of consumption (Walzer, 1986, 470). It is atomized by its every part that is for a particular activity. It is closed to changes in case of needs because it is designed for a significant function. It limits the urban experience to a single job and prevents complexities (Sennett, 1995, 229-30). On the other hand, an open-function place is designed for common needs and different uses, people are open to other people to interact. People do not act in the same manner in different spaces. While they are mostly in a hurry in a “single-minded” space, they are “prepared to loiter” in an “open-minded space”. While residential zones and housing projects, shopping malls, business centres, medical centres, highways, and automobiles are “single-minded” spaces, central cities with their own shops and small factories, lively streets and squares, forums, parks, sidewalks, and urban blocks are “open-minded” spaces. (Walzer, 1986, 470-471).

“Niches” and “borders” are important for an open city to have space for new cultures to exist. They are useful only if they are not isolated from the rest of society. “Niches” show up when some space loses its property value and becomes an “urban

waste”. They are convenient spaces for new cultures to exist because they have the potential to develop and gain value. “Borders” are spaces, in which the spatial control of the state is loose, and they are gaps for immigrants to settle in by creating their own living places. In most cases in developing cities, these illegal constructions of immigrants become legal through state regulations. The urbanization process of immigrants may result in marginal groups of people if they are isolated from the development of the city. “Niches” and “borders” are attached to the urban city and they generate third cultures generally with the “sense of community”. The complexity of an open city lies in the “different levels of adaptation” (Ipsen, 2005, 649-50). Since it is full of ambiguities and alternatives, there is no fixed type of an *open city*. An open city provides opportunities for people to widen their perspectives and experiences. Rather than homogenous and identical inhabitants and places, an *open city* allows a richer collective life (Sennett, 2018, 285-89).

Today’s urban city has changed with globalism and modern technologies in communication and transportation systems since the first years of modernization. According to the current time, an open city might seem dangerous with all its ambiguity, which is the reason for the increase in gated communities and enclosed building complexes with security and surveillance systems. Today, “closed” zones are in demand mostly in metropolitan cities. Against the dense population and urban flux, they promise order and security to their residents (Rieniets, 2009, 15-19). While ruptures can flame new beginnings in open systems, closed systems progress linearly through the accumulation of small events. When a problem occurs in closed systems, it may cause the entire system to collapse. The loose structure between the form and function of an *open city* make an intervention to the city easier. It is equating and emancipatory with interactive administration. The ville become more multifaceted with synchronicity, and less fixed with incompleteness. Social interaction and encounter of various people increase because of porosity. To develop a complex cité, a city should include open forms (Sennett, 2018, 336-44).

Sennett suggests an “open” and “interactive” model of making the city, which includes inhabitants to decision making and building process of their living spaces (Sennett, 2018, 316). Closed systems are not friendly against differences. Different religions, cultures, and ethnicities are not accepted in a “closed city if they are not the

majority” (Sennett, 2018, 150). A *closed city* is not for everyone to access, it is predetermined that which criteria provide access to it (Sennett, 2018, 201).

3.4.2. An Open Cité

In spite of urban problems, most of the population lives in cities. People can experience living with strangers in cities, they can learn about new and different cultural components and lifestyles. Homogeneity does not give the opportunity to improve the mindset, but “diversity stimulates and expands it” (Sennett, 2001, 1). Urban dwellers do not have a single fixed identity since they are in interaction with strangers, they represent themselves in different ways in different social contexts (Sennett, 2001, 2). The urban city brings people from different cities together. Its population is heterogeneous. A city is a place, where different people meet and it is fed from individual differences. Homogeneous, closed societies consist of the same continents, which are fixed and certain. On the other hand, in heterogeneity, differences allow people to teach and learn from each other. In urban city, there are a considerable number of people from different cultures, ethnicities and socio-economic strata. The diversity of people requires the diversity of public spaces in the urban city. It should meet the needs of different tastes, cultural heritages, ethnicities, life styles, and so on. The social structure of the urban city is constituted by variations (Wirth, 1995, 66-72).

While at the beginning of the twentieth century, only ten per cent of the entire population was living in cities, it reached fifty per cent at the end of it, which is currently approximately seventy-five per cent (Rogers, 1997, 3-4). Current cities are more divided according to incomes, which make the public space less accessible for the poor (Lim, 2014, 229). Today, urbanites mostly focus on the negative effects of cities like alienation, pollution, concretion, traffic, isolation and so forth. Most of the people show less attention to issues about streets, squares, participation, community, beauty and so on. When the expectation of “quality of life” does not match the potential of the city, people may prefer to settle in middle-class suburbs if they can afford it. The “private guarded territories” of the rich are closed systems which exclude the poor. Since the city became a part of the consumption culture, it became more attached to individual needs rather than the social needs of a community (Rogers, 1997, 8-9).

This social interaction brings different people together, which increase the “sense of tolerance, awareness, identity and mutual respect”. The urban development brought isolated and territorial complexes for a single purpose like shopping centres and business parks, which kill the “diversity, vitality and humanity of everyday city life” (Rogers, 1997, 9-10). The urban city is rich in terms of employment opportunities. In addition to its diversified population, it includes different activities and places, in which people from different ages, incomes and social backgrounds come together. In an *open city*, the citizens have active roles to determine their cities’ future, they involve the process of making their own public space as active citizens with the responsibility of communal ownership. The public sphere is “the theatre of an urban culture” in this sense (Rogers, 1997, 11-15).

There is a both-sided function of cultural complexity in a city. As it can be produced through exchange among different cultures, it can be also turbulent with segregation and isolation of different people, even though they live side by side in the same neighbourhood. The novelty comes as a product of social and cultural exchange among diversified people, which is the touchstone of an *open city*, and it enriches the urban life. In an *open city*, cultural diversity is recognized and welcomed. On the other hand, the notion of the *open city* refers to an ideal city, in which the richness of cultural diversity is taken into consideration in urban planning and politics as an advantage of the development of the city. An *open city* includes contradictions like known and unknown, anxiety and curiosity or harmony and conflict; it is receptive to possibilities. The openness of a city is measured through its position against the “new”. There is no place to novelty in a closed city which is based on homogenization. On the contrary, open societies are convenient to adopt innovations through their internal and exterior interactions. A city cannot be open if it does not contain cultural diversity. Also, even if it contains diverse cultures, a city cannot be open if the rights of immigrants are not guaranteed by law and they cannot express themselves freely (Ipsen, 2005, 644-46). “Emancipated individual existence” is possible in an *open city*. Since the individuals encounter in cities, it gives them the chance to discover their aesthetic selves and they can practice the individual experience of urban city (Eisinger, 2009, 41-42). An *open city* is based on mobility and interaction and it includes spaces of socio-cultural exchange (Eisinger, 2009, 44-45).

In the sense of Ipsen (2005), “the modern city demands openness for the development of new urban cultures” (Ipsen, 2005, 647). The interaction of separate cultures creates alternative cultures. Since different cultural components come together in different contexts, they transform into new patterns, which generates a third culture, that is not completely the same or totally different than the cultures it is derived from. For an *open city*, individual cultures should be productive together as well as separately. “Third culture” is more than a mere combination of specific cultures, it is also a collective product (Ipsen, 2005, 648-650).

The city is the place to turn differences and otherness into an advantage of productivity through “social and cultural niches”. The urban city includes the familiar and unfamiliar at the same time. An *open city* refers to “culture of difference”, which does not exclude the participation of any social group to urban social life from occupation to education. Globalization is both friend and enemy of the “*open city*”, it brings diverse people together but on the other hand, it has a homogenizing essence (Läpple, 2009, 51). Newcomers are able to reach urban networks in the “*open city*”, which seeks the “new” and “foreign” in perpetuity. The “*open city*” is explained through two different perspectives, which are top-down and bottom-up perspectives. According to the top-down perspective, an *open city* is an “emancipation machine” in terms of better life quality and opportunities. On the other hand, the bottom-up perspective regards it as a space of “exchange, of culture, knowledge, experience, and news” (Reijndorp, 2009, 93).

The “*open city*” is not fully open in every aspect, it is a combination of openness and closure. In terms of security, closure can be the solution rather than being open to crime. In an “*open city*”, all citizens feel safe everywhere. It should be organized the way, in which there is no segregation between rich and poor neighbourhoods. As well as residents, it also makes non-residents feel like home. One of the most important conditions of an *open city*, which is the emancipatory public space, has been occupied by privatization. Most people prefer private and guarded shopping malls over streets and parks. In the name of security, the privatized spaces exclude people like the homeless and street vendors, which is against the “*open city*” (Frug, 2009, 168-70). Participation of citizens in decision making in public life is critical in terms of equality (Weintraub, 1995, 290).

4. THE FUNCTIONAL MAPPING ANALYSIS OF KADIKÖY

In this study, *Yeldeğirmeni*, *Bahariye* and *Moda* districts are included considering their central positions in the port area. Although many places are shown on the maps, some may not be included due to the limited areas of the maps, as well as time limitation and the dynamism of Kadıköy; hence, they may not reflect the exact number shown.

Kadıköy square is at the seafront and there are the bus, minibus and taxi stations on both sides of the square, which is surrounded with many transportation networks such as the subway stop and the tram stop, as well as ferry quays, that provide sea routes to the European side and Prince Islands along the square. Kadıköy Square and its surroundings are the meeting and socialization spaces for people. It is also used by flower sellers, musicians, political parties and activists, blood donation centres, and so forth. On the other hand, the small squares, which locate in *Çarşı*, are also important socialization spaces. They create new encounters by connecting the streets. The small squares are the connection points between the dock and Moda Avenue, the bazaar has been spread around these squares. One of them refers to the small square in front of the Ayia Efimia Rum Orthodox Church, and the other one refers to the small square in front of the Surp Takavor Armenian Church. Although most of the official institutions were in the vicinity of the docks, some of them were moved to other districts as the settlement zone spread over a wider area by time. There are official institutions and shopping places on the one side of the dock, while on the other direction there are hotels, hostels, and airway and bus companies for intercity travels. *Çarşı*, which is one of the oldest neighbourhoods in Kadıköy, as well as the traditional shops, mainly fishers, grocery stores, herbalists and confectioners; on the other hand, there are global companies at the same area. The viability and crowdedness of the bazaar continue today as it was before. Around the bazaar, there are different stores ranging from grocery chains to three hundred years old confectioners, from churches to mosques, from health policlinics to tattoo places, from historical fountains to the automated teller machines. On the other hand, the urban fabric around the Bull Square changes in each

direction; compared to *Çarşı*, there are mostly modern trade palaces and chain stores in addition to the local stores along Söğütluçeşme Avenue. The squares are used as meeting points, they also play an active role in the everyday lives of the people as public spaces, which are suitable for collective actions, demonstrations, pantomime shows and so forth. The viability of the streets in Kadıköy is significantly due to the fact that the streets were organized according to a grid plan, and that pedestrian access has been a priority in these streets.

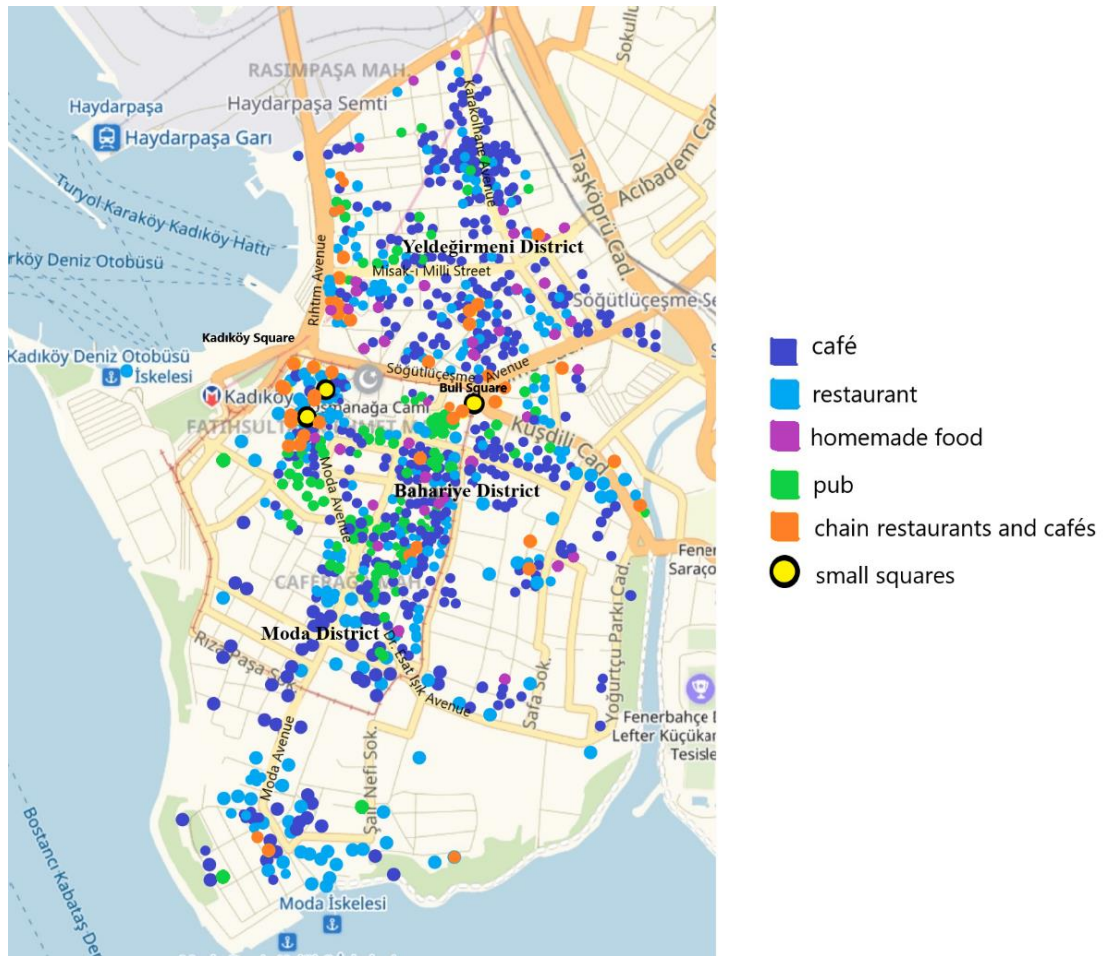
On the other hand, Yeldeğirmeni and Moda districts mostly kept their historical textures as dwelling zones. Yeldeğirmeni became popular with the third generation coffee places recently. There are modern apartment buildings and pavilions side-by-side in both districts. Though the fabric of the neighbourhood has changed, the streets are even more alive in Yeldeğirmeni. The cosmopolitan essence of Kadıköy is well preserved in Yeldeğirmeni, Bahariye and Moda districts. Each district has developed as a part of an open system. In the mapping analysis in this study, Yeldeğirmeni district includes the area, which ends in the middle of Misak-ı Milli Street and Söğütluçeşme Avenue. According to the 2018 census, 458,638 people live in Kadıköy. Yeldeğirmeni is in Rasimpaşa Neighbourhood, whose population is 13,898 according to the same census. Bahariye district includes Osmanağa and Caferağa Neighbourhoods. Despite Bahariye district is the most prominent one among other districts according to the function mapping analysis in this study, the population of Osmanağa Neighbourhood is only 8,487 according to the 2018 census. On the other hand, Moda district starts from the area, where Moda Avenue and Dr. Esat Işık Avenue intersect. Moda district is in Caferağa Neighbourhood. According to the 2018 census, the population of Caferağa Neighbourhood is 23,379 (TurkStat, İstanbul Kadıköy Belediye, Köy ve Mahalle Nüfusları, 2018).

4.1. Kadıköy as a Gourmet Space

The *Map 4.1*, which shows the food and beverage distribution in Kadıköy, includes cafés, regular restaurants, home-made restaurants, pubs, chain restaurants/cafés. Also, the location of areas, which are used as small squares, are shown in terms of their positions in this distribution. According to the mapping analysis conducted in Yeldeğirmeni, Moda and Bahariye districts, *Map 4.1* shows that there are mostly cafés among all food and beverage places followed by restaurants,

pubs, chain cafés/restaurants, and home-made restaurants respectively in Kadıköy. The cuisine in Kadıköy serves to a wide range of people from different social strata and income. Kadıköy hosts numerous restaurants from vegan cuisine to kebab house, homemade food to fast food, traditional street food to international cuisine; that can be seen as the reflection of its multicultural neighbourhoods to the restaurant menus.

Confectioneries have been important places in Kadıköy for centuries and they are mostly around the small squares in *Çarşı*, where the historical texture of the bazaar has been widely preserved. Differences are recognized and take place in the public sphere in Kadıköy. The needs and desires of different social and cultural groups are mostly addressed either on the local scale or the global scale. The geographic location of Kadıköy and its connection to the sea has been advantageous in its inclusion in the global world. Kadıköy has always had a diverse population as far as it is known. Kadıköy's port identity and cultural heritage influenced the architecture and the public sphere, as well as its rich social and cultural practices. Kadıköy has a multi-functional public sphere, that is a part of its character as an open city.



Map 4.1. Food and Beverage Distribution in Kadıköy

In recent years, the increasing number of coffee shops spread all over Kadıköy. Especially with the re-organization and commercialization of Yeldeğirmeni district, this neighbourhood has become a place where cafés and young population intensify. The cafés in both Bahariye and Yeldeğirmeni districts are prominent in number. According to the *Map 4.1*, while there are at least 100 cafés in Yeldeğirmeni, 250 cafés in Bahariye district, and 80 cafés in Moda district. Also, there are various restaurants that offer different flavours. According to *Map 4.1*, another prominent place in the food and beverage sector is the home-made restaurants after the regular restaurants in Yeldeğirmeni. Homemade restaurants have gained popularity, especially in recent years. Especially considering the student population in Yeldeğirmeni district, there are various places that serve people from different economic and social backgrounds. After the home-made restaurants, the pubs, and then the chain cafés/restaurants follow it in number in Yeldeğirmeni. Despite the balanced distribution of the cafés, regular restaurants, and home-made restaurants, it is seen that the chains and pubs are mostly clustered in an area. Also, it is observed that the routes of food and beverage spaces densify along the main streets and the sea coast in Yeldeğirmeni. *Map 4.1* shows that the cafés densify along Karakolhane Avenue and spread to the side-streets from there.

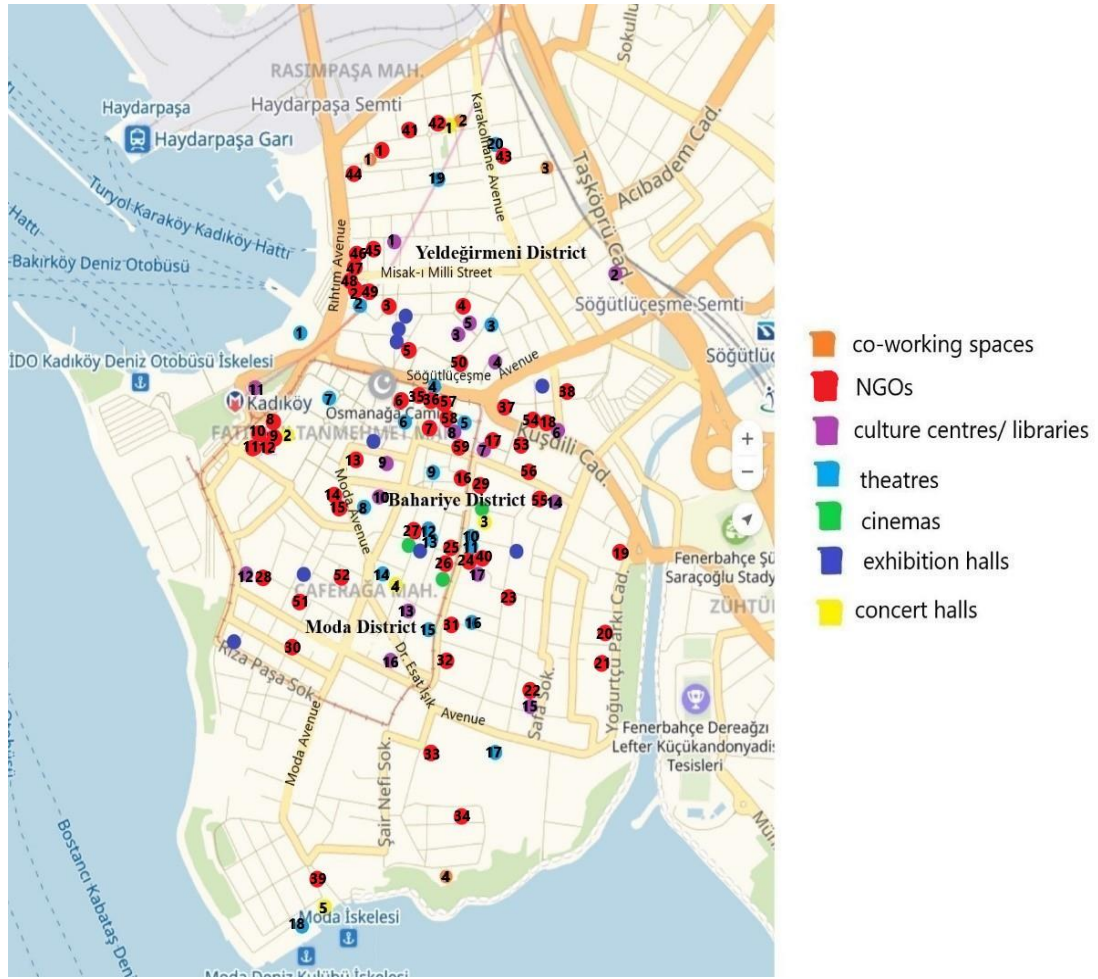
In Bahariye district, there are all kinds of food and beverage services that concentrate around the small squares in *Çarşı*, and the main streets. Considering the central location of the dock in terms of transportation networks in Kadıköy, the number of coffee shops and fast food restaurants along the sea coast is remarkable in Bahariye. Another food and beverage route begins from Bull Square, which is in the middle of the crossroads, and it keeps its vitality until the housing zone in Moda district. Compared to Yeldeğirmeni and Moda, Bahariye district is the consumption centre with its wide range of diversity in the service sector. Bahariye also comes to the fore with the bar street. It is famous for its rock bars and street life. It is common to drink with people also on the streets, especially on the sidewalks. The use of streets is prominent in Bahariye. Each street has its own essence with its all different components. As a place, where the differences and innovations are accepted, it is possible to find each kind of bar, from the concept of Turkish folk song bars to rock bars, from night club to jazz bar in Bahariye. As the liveliest district among Yeldeğirmeni and Moda, Bahariye has the largest number of chain cafés/restaurants. According to *Map 4.1*, the

chains are intense around the small squares in *Çarşı*, as well as around the Bull Square in *Altıyol*.

On the other hand, it is seen that the number of shops decreases towards Moda. Moda district has the least number of food and beverage spaces among the other districts. There are mostly cafés and restaurants in each district. In Moda, where is basically a dwelling zone, there are not as many places as the other districts. In addition to dwelling houses, school buildings are also located in Moda. Compared to the other districts, Moda is well-known as a peaceful, beauty spot. In Moda, seaside and the main street are at the forefront in terms of food and beverage services. The population of Moda is relatively older and wealthier than Yeldeğirmeni and Bahariye districts, in which also university students have a significant majority. The parks are important public spaces in Moda. People from different ages, social environments come and sit together in Moda Park toward the sea view. Also, a woman labour bazaar, which is called *Potlaç*, was set up in 2018, and women sell their products in solidarity, also in association with the non-governmental organizations in Moda Park.

4.2. Kadıköy as a Social and Cultural Hub

The *Map 4.2*, which shows the distribution of the social and cultural spaces in Kadıköy, includes co-working spaces, NGOs, culture centres and libraries, theatres, cinemas, and concert halls. Since some of the places include more than one activity in terms of the social and cultural categories, this study focuses on only one service of each space to avoid confusion. In this map, each district has a balanced distribution of social and cultural activities and each of them includes all categories of social and cultural activities, even though they may not be shown on the map.



Map 4.2. Spaces of Social and Cultural Activities in Kadıköy

Yeldeğirmeni district, which hosts three of four co-working spaces, stands out with its artistic and creative community identity. Yeldeğirmeni has been open to the “new” and “different” as the oldest settlement in Kadıköy. It is also integrative through its co-working spaces and NGOs. The list of the NGOs, which are enumerated on the *Map 4.2*, will be annexed to the Appendices section as *Appendix-1: The Distribution of the NGOs in Kadıköy*. Co-working spaces create new spaces in the public space for people to work and at the same time, they present spaces to encounter and interact with each other. According to their numbers on the *Map 4.2*, the co-working spaces in *Yeldeğirmeni* are *Yeldeğirmeni Hub*, *İskele47* and *Tasarım Atölyesi Kadıköy* (*Design Studio Kadıköy*) respectively. Another co-working space, which calls *IDEA*, is in Moda district. People from different departments, vocations, social environments come together in these places to work or study. In some cases, people gather for a project about the neighbourhood and produce collectively, co-working spaces can serve also as social spaces. Yeldeğirmeni is the innovation hub of Kadıköy, which was

also a witness to the first squatted house in Istanbul in the time of the Gezi Park movement. The squatted house, which called *Don Kişot (Don Quixote) Social Centre*, was a symbol of the right to the city, and it was used as a social centre for all neighbourhood. As an epitome of the collective conscious, it was a witness to co-production activities, cultural exchange, art workshops and collective organizations till its demolition. The use of streets is at the forefront in each district. The streets in Yeldeğirmeni stand out with its unique architecture and artistic graffiti.

There are also many cultural centres and libraries, which are open to everyone in each district. The list of the numbered cultural centres and libraries in *Map 4.2* will be annexed to the Appendices section as *Appendix-2: The Culture Centres and Libraries in Kadıköy*. Bahariye district is in the forefront also in terms of being a social and cultural centre. The number of NGOs, art and culture centres and social centres are significant indicators of the development of a society. According to the *Map 4.2*, there are adequate social and cultural centres in each district. At this point, Yeldeğirmeni, Bahariye and Moda districts are culturally developed and prosperous districts considering the diversity of all social and cultural activities. Furthermore, since all these centres are accessible to everyone, people from all over Istanbul benefit from them. Kadıköy is also popular among tourists. The permeable feature of it makes it home to everyone. Rather than isolating people, it unites people through the “borders”, not “boundaries”.

According to the *Map 4.2*, Bahariye district, which is one of the most active and crowded neighbourhood in Kadıköy, has the largest number and variety of social and cultural spaces, except co-working spaces, compared to the other districts. Yeldeğirmeni and Moda have approximate numbers of the built social and cultural spaces. Kadıköy is a county, where alternative cultures exist together and find niches for themselves in the public sphere; this multi-cultural essence of Kadıköy also influenced the variety of social and cultural activities. The event calendar from April to May 2019 will be annexed as *Appendix-4: Event Calendar of April in Kadıköy* to the Appendices section. In the event calendar, the type of the events and the places where they take place, are represented and matched with the same colours. Only some of the most prominent cultural and art centres, *Süreyya Opera House, TESAK, Yeldeğirmeni Art, Dorock XL, Haldun Taner Stage, REXX Cinema, Moda Stage*, in Kadıköy are included in this table. According to *Appendix-4*, there are at least one

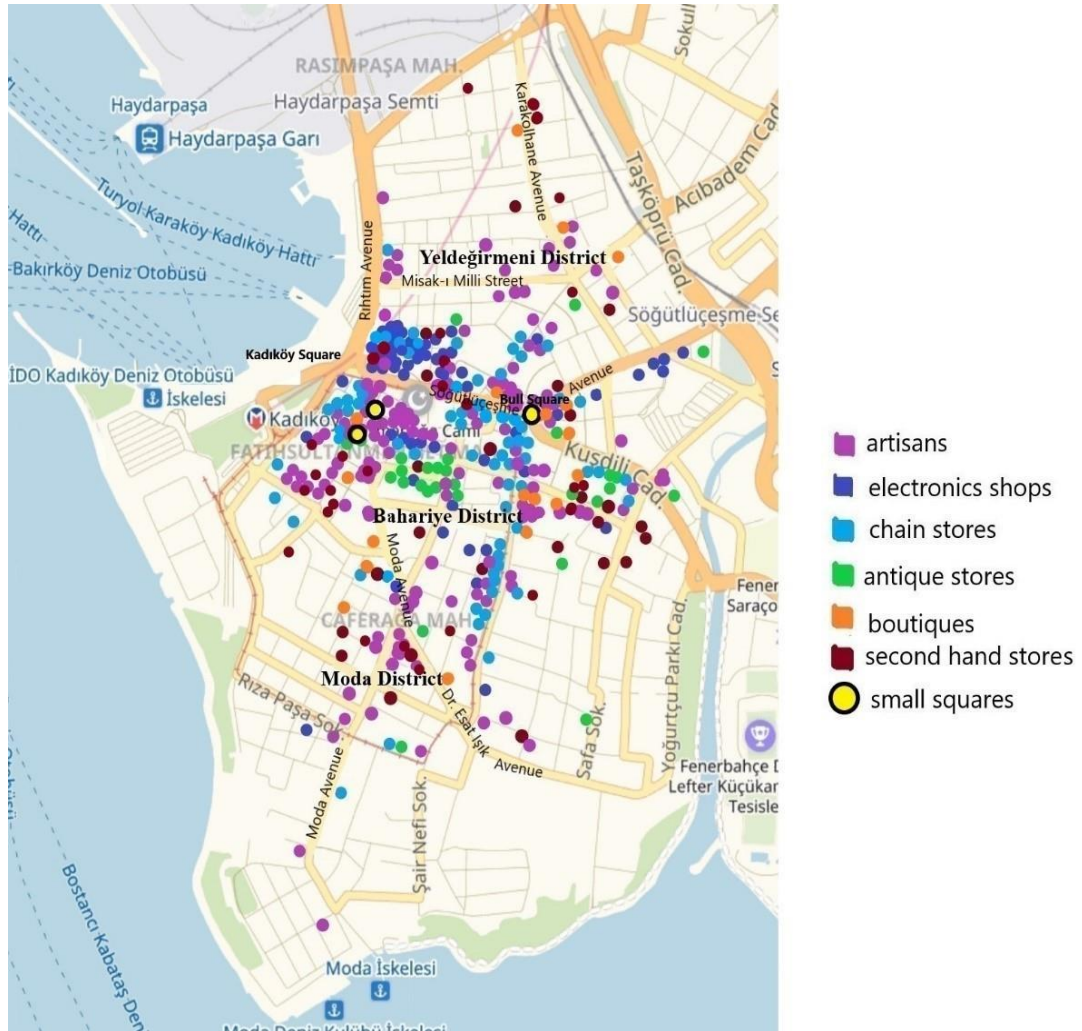
theatre play, concert and cinema event every day in Kadıköy during the April in 2019. Bahariye district is the cinema centre among the other districts; *Cinema REXX*, which hosted a movie festival also in April, is one of the established movie theatres in Istanbul.

Concert halls offer events ranging from rock music to classical music, the concerts of the celebrities to the concerts of amateur bands. There are many music bands, especially rock music bands, with Kadıköy origin. In addition to local musicians, also international musicians arrange concerts in Kadıköy. Places with different concepts from Turkish folk song to opera offers a wide-range diversity at the local level as well as the global level. According to their numbers on the *Map 4.2*, the main concert halls are *Kadıköy Belediyesi Yeldeğirmeni Sanat Merkezi (Kadıköy Municipality Yeldeğirmeni Art Centre)*, *Dorock XL Kadıköy*, *Süreyya Opera House*, *KargART* and *Moda Kayıkhanesi (Boathouse) Event Hall* respectively. Kadıköy, which started to develop as a promenade area in its history of modernity, stands out especially for its cultural and artistic activities. For example, Afife Jale, the first Turkish theatre actress, got on the stage in Kadıköy. Theatre and cinema have had a key place in Kadıköy since the beginning of modernity, and the diversity in culture and art has been kept. It is home to many fringe theatres, and workshops, which is open to everyone. The numbered theatres in the *Map 4.2* will be annexed to the Appendices section as *Appendix-3: The List of Theatres in Kadıköy*. Kadıköy offers a wide range of social and cultural opportunities and includes people from different strata in the public sphere. As it is seen in *Map 4.2*, there are at least two exhibition halls in each district. It is possible to access the social, cultural, and artistic activities either in planned centres or on the streets in Kadıköy.

4.3. Kadıköy as a Space of Alternatives

The *Map 4.3*, which shows the distribution of different kind of stores in Kadıköy, includes artisans, electronic shops, chain stores, antique stores, boutiques and second hand stores. For this study, artisans include pharmacies, barbers and hairdressers, photographers, tailors, fishmongers, greengrocers, watch and shoe repairers, herbalists, stationery shops and book stores, and bakeries. Second-hand stores, which are included in this study, consisting of used books, furniture, and clothes. The artisans are predominant among the included stores, and it followed by

chain stores, electronics shops, second-hand stores, antique stores and boutiques respectively. According to *Map 4.3*, it is seen that the artisans and the other stores become dense around *Çarşı* and along the tramline. In this respect, Bahariye district is the most prominent neighbourhood in this map.



Map 4.3. The Distribution of the Alternative Stores in Kadıköy

The *Map 4.3* shows that all kind of stores can be found side by side in Kadıköy. For example, there are boutiques and chain stores collocated in *Bahariye*, electronics shops, and antique stores in Bahariye and Yeldeğirmeni, chain stores and antique stores in Bahariye and Moda districts. Kadıköy, which has a nostalgic side with its antique shops, traditional bazaar, historical street texture, and unique architecture, also stands out with its modern and developed urban structure, and diversity of its facilities. Rather than industrial production, Kadıköy comes to the fore via its developed service and retail sector. It attracts people from all over Istanbul, not just from the Anatolian side. It is a place, in which the local and global products are together. Kadıköy is an

important shopping place with its product range. *Bahariye* is the centre of the Anatolian side, on the one hand with the imitation shoes, low-cost clothing options, cheap computer, and smartphone accessories, the second-hand books, the antique stores, excess of exports; on the other hand with the transnational chain stores, haute couture, yachts and leading world brands. There are numerous electronics shops. In the *Map 4.3*, the shops densify along Söğütlüçeşme Avenue, and from there they spread to the side streets with the same density. In *Yeldeğirmeni*, the stores gather seaward, as well as a line that starts from the Bull Square and goes along Karakolhane Avenue in *Yeldeğirmeni*. The streets and the use of streets are important in Kadıköy. The locations of the stores are distributed in proportion to the prominent activities of the streets. *Bahariye* district, where many houses have been converted into workplaces, is the centre of the service sector in Kadıköy. *Bahariye* district also includes *Çarşı*, where the bazaar has kept its position and enhanced its variety. While there are various local stores like grocery stores, fishers, herbalists, confectioners and coffee shops in *Çarşı*, at the same time it is home to the world brands. In *Bahariye*, the shops are found intensely across Kadıköy square, as well as around the small squares.

The intensity follows the tramline as it goes to Moda. *Yeldeğirmeni* and *Moda* districts are characterized by mostly artisans in terms of stores. On the other hand, there is also a small number of second-hand and antique stores. There are various products in the second-hand shops, which are relatively cheaper. The chain stores, like the chain restaurants and cafés, stand out across the dock, around the small squares, and along the tramline. The small squares and the bull statue serve as small centres for the stores on this map. Although *Bahariye* district has the greatest number of shops and varieties, also *Yeldeğirmeni* and *Moda* districts have various stores from artisans to chain stores. The boutiques are distributed to all districts with their unique designs and costumes.

Kadıköy has adapted itself to the global world in order to meet the changing social structure and needs, while maintaining its unique essence. Its unique character bears the traces of every civilization and community it hosted. In addition to the presence of the old and well-established shops, also the chain stores are alive in Kadıköy. It is seen that Kadıköy has attracted more people, especially at weekends after the re-organization of Taksim Square, which has been the heart of the mobility

in Istanbul. Kadıköy, which has become more crowded, continues to develop to meet the needs of the increasing number of people.

5. CONCLUSION

In this study, I tried to show the significance of a port for an open city in the context of cultural complexity on the scale of Yeldeğirmeni, Bahariye, and Moda districts in Kadıköy. Also, I examined the reflections of the cultural diversity on the public space through the functional mapping analysis, which is conducted through a survey analysis. The mapping is done to see the distribution of the alternative spaces as a reflection of the alternative cultures. In this sense, the study shows that though each district has diversity and a multi-functional structure, Yeldeğirmeni, Bahariye, and Moda districts have their unique characters. In a further study, as alternative public spaces, co-working spaces and social spaces and their space-function relations in Yeldeğirmeni can be examined. Also, the space-function relation of streets and their relevance to the street names in Kadıköy can be analysed.

This thesis is studied in three main chapters. In the first chapter, to give a clear background, the historical analysis of the modernization of Turkey is made. In order to look at the dynamics behind the cultural diversity of Kadıköy, the development of the port cities in the Ottoman Empire within the frame of the modernization process is examined. Waterways give advantage to a city in terms of the connections to the world as well as being aesthetic sites. Most of the big cities developed through waterways since ancient times (Sennett, 2018, 323). Ports connect cities beyond the sea. Port cities have the potential of economic strength, human capital and global connections, which motivate migrations and diversity. Most of the ports are incubation centres for new and diverse products, services and activities. They can also have the most impressive urban landscapes (Girard, 2013, 4330-4333). The emergence of the port city dates back to the nineteenth century in parallel with modernity in the Ottoman Empire. The introduction of capitalism by the Ottoman Empire began in the nineteenth century when its self-sufficient economy was suppressed by the European economy (Tekeli, 1982, 20-27). As the first step of modernity, the integration of the Ottoman Empire to the world economy paved the way for the modern reforms through the Tanzimat Reforms (Tekeli, 2009a, 45). Tanzimat Reforms brought modernist changes about the

local administration, the army, the government agencies, the transportation and communication systems, the urban planning and so forth (Freely, 1996, 273). The integration of the world economy brought the port city to the agenda, which connects the periphery to the core (Keyder, 2018, 27-31). The port cities are important channels between the local and the global. In addition to goods and services, also people from different ethnicities and cultures encounter through the port cities (Keyder et al, 1993, 520).

The multicultural population of the Ottoman Empire, which was governed by the *millet* system, diversified through the new encounters in the nineteenth century (Eldem, 2013, 217). On the other hand, to analyse the urban structure of Kadıköy, Istanbul's position in the urbanization of Turkey as a port city is the key. As the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul was in the spotlight in terms of modernization (Tekeli, 1973, 259). Istanbul has been an important cosmopolitan city due to its cultural heritage and strategic location. Its lively ports have been the gates to the world beyond (Eldem, 1996, 136). Modern urban changes required a modern urban administration, and the modern municipality came to the forth in Istanbul for the first time in the nineteenth century (Ortaylı, 1978, 16). The non-Muslim Ottomans and the Levantine population made important contributions to the urbanization process through the local administration in Istanbul (Rosenthal, 1980a, 369). The modernization of the Ottoman Empire continued with the Turkish Republic in a revolutionary sense (Bozdoğan, 2001, 63).

Kadıköy, as a port area in Istanbul port city, developed as a recreation area at the beginning of its modernization process in the nineteenth century. There was not any significant change in its development till the late nineteenth century. When inner-city transportation increased the mobility of people, Kadıköy started to develop with the use of ferryboats in 1857 and the railway in 1873. Before the nineteenth century, Kadıköy was a fishing town with the Rum, Armenian, Jewish, and Turk population, which remained the same till the establishment of the Turkish Republic (Ekdal, 2014, 32). The apparent change in Kadıköy's population started with the presence of the Levantine population in Kadıköy as a result of the new trade agreements with the development of ports in the nineteenth century. The interaction of different social and cultural groups diversified the social and cultural structure, as well as the daily practices (Önce, 2004, 26). The traces of the Western culture as well as the traditional

cultures, which have been hosted in Kadıköy in different period of times, can be seen in the architecture, and social and cultural practices in Kadıköy. The port identity of Kadıköy and its international railroads have been the most important factors in its development. In this sense, Haydarpaşa Port and Haydarpaşa Train Station have been the impetus behind the integration of Kadıköy both with the local and the global. Kadıköy, which is at the heart of the Asian side in Istanbul, was connected to the Anatolian cities as well as the European cities with the new communication networks (Tunalı, 2017, 40). The following constructions of the D-100 Highway, as well as the Bosphorus Bridge, and then the coastal road connected Kadıköy and the whole Asian side to the European side in Istanbul (Kütükçü, 2014, 25). After the industrialization of the Asian side of Istanbul, the initiation of land speculation became another motive in the development of Kadıköy in the face of the increasing housing demand after the 1970s (Akbulut, 1994, 332).

The population and ethnic diversity in Kadıköy have changed mainly due to the political reasons after the 1950s. The urban fabric of Kadıköy, as a recreation area, started to change through the retail and the service sectors. Kadıköy became a sub-metropolitan area of Beyoğlu, which developed as an entertainment and business centre (Akbulut, 1994, 338). In the face of increasing commercialization, transportation networks have also extended and diversified in Kadıköy. Kadıköy became connected to the subway, the metro-bus line, the rail system from under the sea in addition to the tram, ferryboat, bus and minibus networks, which have increased the value of Kadıköy also as a transit point (Tunalı, 2017, 42). Kadıköy attracts people not only from the Asian side in Istanbul, but also all over Istanbul. It has become more popular among tourists in recent years due to the diversity of its services, as well as its unique urban fabric (Firidin & Enşici, 2006, 86).

The second chapter of this study focuses on the arguments about *the right to the city* to make the position of the concept of the *open city* clear as an ideal city. Open forms require active agents; they are constantly in flux. An inclusive public sphere comes to the fore in an *open city*, which is emancipatory and egalitarian with its multi-functional, porous, ambiguous, unpredictable and incomplete structure (Sennett, 2018, 16-353). The openness factor is an important motive of the rich urban experience. The interaction of the different components gives different outcomes in different time and space conditions, which make each open city unique (Ipsen, 2005, 644). The pre-

planned and built environment, which refers to *ville*, and the public sphere that composed of social and cultural relations and interactions, which refers to *cit *, are balanced in an open city. The social interaction spaces are not limited only with the *ville*, on the contrary, the *ville* provides the necessary conditions for the *cit * (Sennett, 2018, 30). According to Richard Sennett (1990), people from different ages, tastes, social status, believes come together in urban cities. The homogeneity of the urban city arises from the diversity of people. Strangers come together around their daily routines like walking, shopping, working, traveling in cities (Sennett, 1990). When people extricate the urban city from closed and pre-planned mechanisms, they can have more power in their lives; furthermore, they can be more aware of each other in open cities (Sennett, 1992, 198). Building an open city is more fair and truthful; it is a more interactive and collective way of creating urban space. The concept of the open city is not only related to architecture and urban planning departments, but it also includes sociological, psychological and political aspects; hence, it should be studied in a multidisciplinary approach. Local administration should be strengthened to ensure that all citizens can access to the services and activities equally. In an open city, the public sphere should include the representations of different groups and multiculturalism should be supported by creating social interaction areas. Co-working areas, creative communities, social spaces should be established and urban residents should be active agents as determinants and producers of their cities (Sennett, 2018). As a result of the historical analysis of Kadik y that is combined with the urban theory Yelde irmeni, Bahariye and Moda districts are representations of an open city in Kadik y.

In this direction, the third chapter analyses the multi-functional public space of Kadik y through functional mapping analysis, which is a result of a survey analysis that was gathered street by street in Yelde irmeni, Bahariye, and Moda districts in terms of the diversity of the food and beverage sector, cultural and social spaces, and alternative stores. As the oldest settlements in Kadik y, these districts have developed as port areas, in which the local and the global intersect. The sea and the streets have been important parts of the everyday life in Kadik y, in which the traces of its cultural diversity can be seen.

According to the functional mapping analysis in this study, Bahariye district has a central position, which is at the forefront in all of the maps. The streets have maintained their liveliness as complex places, in which the local and the global exist

together, in Yeldeğirmeni, Bahariye, and Moda. Çarşı, which has had a central position in everyday life in Kadıköy. It symbolizes the overlapping of multi-cultural and multi-functional structures in Kadıköy. While the artisans are dense around the historical bazaar in Bahariye, it is seen that the chain stores are also intense in the same area. The squares and the dock have been busy social spaces as well as the parks. In addition to Kadıköy Square, there are also two small squares in Çarşı, as well as the Bull Square in Bahariye district. The use of the small squares has not changed, though their functions have changed by time. The consumption spaces are intense especially around the small squares, across the dock, and along the tramline in Bahariye. Also, there are a great number of pubs in Bahariye compared to the other districts. Each district is active in terms of cultural activities, and it is possible to find at least three kind of events as movie, theatre, and concert every day in Kadıköy according to the *Appendix-4: Event Calendar of April-May in Kadıköy*. The streets are planned according to the grid plan in Kadıköy, in which the streets cross each other and create new socialization spaces to encounter. The density of the spaces, which is included in this study, spreads on the side streets rather than gathering around a single centre. In Kadıköy, it is possible to find a tattoo place next to a traditional glassmaking store, or a boutique next to a chain store, or an antique shop next to an electronics shop.

As a port area, Kadıköy opened itself to the global improvements to respond to the needs of the changing society but also protected its historic essence as a complex. Its cultural inheritance of the cosmopolitan population structure is seen in its characteristic architecture, which includes the traces of different styles and time periods, as well as its multi-functional public sphere. The socialization spaces do not involve only the places that are built for this purpose, they can be generated according to the collective routines in time. The interaction of different people creates new urban experiences. In this direction, the streets and the use of streets are important in terms of socialization due to the grid plan and the priority of the pedestrian mobility in Kadıköy. On the other hand, as similar with the traditional bazaars, some stores, and cafés/restaurants are not isolated from the streets, they overflow onto the streets through their stalls or tables, and they create new areas of interaction and socialization. In this sense, the permeable spaces pave the way for new encounters.

Yeldeğirmeni district, where the first apartments of the Anatolian side are located, has become a popular place with the new generation coffee shops, homemade

restaurants, workshops, and creative communities, social spaces and art houses. For an open city, adaptation is another key factor, which refers to different uses of spaces according to people's changing needs and tastes in time. In this sense, the *Don Kişot* squatted house was a successful example in Yeldeğirmeni. After the Gezi Park movement, the right to the city notion, solidarity, and urban consciousness became current issues. As one of the most important elements of an open city, active and participant citizens touch to the streets. The cultural complexity has been reflected in the cuisine in Kadıköy, which has a wide range of menus from vegan kitchens to kebab saloons. In Yeldeğirmeni district, Karakolhane Avenue is central in terms of cafés and restaurants. Also, stores and culture centres follow a route from Karakolhane Avenue to the dock. Due to the fact that Yeldeğirmeni and Moda have larger dwelling zones than Bahariye district, there is a more balanced distribution of the consumption spaces.

The main streets and the tramline are important routes in terms of consumption spaces in Kadıköy. On the other hand, the distribution of the social and cultural spaces is more balanced in each district. Towards Moda, the consumption spaces dense around Moda Avenue, across the sea, and along the tramline. Moda is well known for its parks and waterscape, it is seen that the restaurants and cafés are generally located at the seaside. Parks are important open spaces in terms of socialization in Moda. The urban consciousness rose especially through the parks and gardens as socialization and co-production spaces. Against rising concretion in the city, Moda attracts people from all over Istanbul with its open spaces and aesthetic beauty. There is also a co-working space, *IDEA*, in Moda, which is open to all citizens. The inhabitants of Moda have been relatively high-income group since the beginning of the modernization process. The Levantine population and wealthy non-Muslim population were predominant in Moda till the middle of the twentieth century. Compared to the other districts, the density of the consumption places are relatively low in Moda but mostly offer better quality services. The presence of the tradition of theatre dates back to old times in Kadıköy. It started with Greek plays and today it continues with the fringe theatres apart from the state theatre in Moda, as well as Yeldeğirmeni and Bahariye.

Kadıköy is an open city, which is synchronously used by people for their daily routines from shopping to cultural activities. It is not limited by a certain group of people; its inclusive structure attracts people from all over Istanbul. Though the historical texture of Kadıköy has been preserved in a sense, the urban fabric of

Yeldeğirmeni, Bahariye and Moda districts are different than each other; the streets may become dissimilar even in the same district. Each district symbolizes a different open form in Kadıköy. According to the functional mapping analysis, Yeldeğirmeni is significant as an innovation and social hub with its co-working and social spaces. Bahariye is remarkable as a consumption centre in all of the maps. Although the bazaar zone is central, the mobility of people spread over a wide area connected to the streets and squares. On the other hand, Moda comes to the fore with its peaceful and scenic open spaces, especially the parks.

Counter cultures can find a niche for themselves in the public sphere. There has been a place for the alternative and oppositional sounds, actions, and politics in Kadıköy. Its rich cultural heritage, which includes Levantines and the non-Muslim minorities, pashas, businesspeople, sportspeople, intellectuals, and artists, plays a significant role at this point. According to the functional mapping, there are co-working spaces and social spaces in which people can produce, use and change the public space collectively as active agents of “*theatrum mundi*” in Kadıköy. The functions of the stores in the streets are important factors in the use of the streets. In Kadıköy, people create new public spaces apart from the built and planned environment through their collective routines. The existence of the co-working spaces and social spaces indicates the use of the right to the city in all districts. The inhabitants can add something from themselves to their living spaces; people do not only consume, but they also have the opportunity to participate in production through the innovation centres in Kadıköy. Also, the municipal works such as home-care, employment agencies, and vocational courses are significant in terms of the right to the city in Kadıköy. Though there is a growing number of concretion, the open spaces are partly preserved and actively used in Kadıköy. The porosity of the streets makes the interaction of different communities possible. The public sphere supplies with the needs and tastes of different people, which make it more touristic with feeling like a local rather than a tourist. On the one hand, the cheap chain cafés are spreading all over Kadıköy, on the other hand, there are still historic local shops.

The unique essence of Kadıköy comes from its open, multi-cultural, multi-functional and irregular urban structure, which is at the intersection of the local and the global. Rather than homogeneity, heterogeneity and cultural fluidity are significant, which affect the urban fabric differently in different districts in Kadıköy.

There are plenty of different concepts of cafés/restaurants, cultural and social activities, alternative stores as a combination of the local and the global in Kadıköy. According to the functional mapping analysis in this study, the public sphere is open to alternative spaces, cultures, lifestyles, producing and consuming patterns in Yeldeğirmeni, Bahariye, and Moda districts. As a port area, the location of Kadıköy and its connection to the sea have important roles in people's everyday life routines. The port is also the main source of the diversity in the public sphere, as well as the ethnicity and the cultural structure in Kadıköy. The dynamism and diversity in the public space show that Kadıköy has been open to the “new” and “different” within the framework of mutual respect. As an open city, Kadıköy owes much to its port identity in terms of openness and diversity. What makes Kadıköy unique is its rich cultural heritage that combines the local and the global, and the balanced relationship between its *cité* and *ville* that forms a basis for its openness. Kadıköy, in other words Chalcedon entered the stage of history as a port city and it stands on with Haydarpaşa Port more than a century. The significance of the port became visible after the modernization of Kadıköy with regard to its adaptation to globalization. At this point, Haydarpaşa Port has functioned as a bridge between Kadıköy and the rest of the world in conjunction with the train station through new trade relations, migration routes, transportation networks, population structure, and social and cultural interactions. In this sense, the port identity of Kadıköy is a part and parcel of the rich cultural heritage and its reflections on the multi-functional public space in Yeldeğirmeni, Bahariye and Moda districts, each of which is unique open forms.

REFERENCES

- Akarsu, Tunay. 2009. Tarihi Yarımada Silüetinin Kent Kimliğine Etkilerinin Salacak-Harem-Haydarpaşa Bölgesinde İrdelenmesi. Master's Thesis. YTU Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.
- Akbulut, M. Rıfat. 1992. Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete İstanbul ve Kadıköy Örneklerinde Plan Dinamikleri ve Mekansal Dönüşümün İncelenmesi: Batılılaşma Aşamasındaki (Dönüşümündeki) Toplumlarda Kent Mekânının Değişiminde Yerli ve Yabancı Kökenli Azınlığı. Master's Thesis. Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.
- 1994. Kadıköy. **Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi**. Vol. 4. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı: 329-338.
- Akerman, M. Tanju. 2009. **Dünü ve Bugünü Kadıköy**. İstanbul: Siyah Beyaz.
- Aksel, Atilla. 1994. Kadıköy İlçesi. **Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi**. Vol. 4. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı: 342.
- Altınkeser, Fulya. 2000. Kadıköy Çarşı Bölgesinin Kentsel Analizi ve Sıhhileştirme Önerileri. Master's Thesis. ITU Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1998. **The Human Condition**. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Ay, Serhat. 2018. Bir Kaçış Mekânı Olarak Heterotopya: Moda (Kadıköy) Örneği. Master's Thesis. Bilecik Şeyh Edebali University Graduate School of Social Sciences.
- Baban, Feyzi. 2018. The Past is a Different City: Istanbul, Memoirs, and Multiculturalism. **Istanbul: Living with Difference in a Global City**. eds. Nora Fisher-Onar, Susan C. Pearce, E. Fuat Keyman. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press: 54-57.
- Baykan, Ayşegül, Tali Hatuka. 2010. Politics and Culture in the Making of Public Space: Taksim Square, 1 May 1977, Istanbul. **Planning Perspectives**. Vol. 25. Iss. 1: 52-55. doi: 10.1080/02665430903421734
- Berkes, Niyazi. 1998. **The Development of Secularism in Turkey**. London: Hurst & Company.

- Bowe, İlknur U. 2008. Comparative Analysis Of Post Industrial Dockland Transformation Initiatives: Guidance For Policy For The Haydarpaşa Port And Surroundings. Master's Thesis. METU Graduate School of Social Sciences.
- Boz, G. Ezgi 2016. Atıl Kent Mekanının Geçici Kullanım Yaklaşımı İle Değerlendirilmesi: Kadıköy, Yeldeğirmeni Örneği. Master's Thesis. ITU Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.
- Bozdoğan, Sibel. 2001. **Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic**. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Brenner, Neil, Peter Marcuse, Margit Mayer. 2009, June-September. Cities for People, not for Profit. **City**. Vol. 13. Iss. 2-3: 176.
- Burke III, Edmund. 2010. The Deep Structures of Mediterranean Modernity. **Cities of the Mediterranean**. eds. Biray Kolluoğlu, Meltem Toksöz. London: I.B. Tauris: 199.
- Carlos, A. F. Alessandri. 2018. The Power of the Body in Public Space: The Urban as a Deprivation of the Right to the City. **Urban Public Spaces: From Planned Policies to Everyday Politics (Illustrated with Brazilian Case Studies)**. eds. Lucia Capanema Alvares, Jorge Luiz Barbosa. Cham: Springer: 31-41.
- Çelik, Zeynep. 1993. **The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman city in the Nineteenth Century**. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Christiaanse, Kees. 2009. The Open City and Its Enemies. **Open City: Designing Coexistence**. eds. Tim Rieniets, Jennifer Sigler, Kees Christiaanse. Amsterdam: SUN: 36.
- Delice, Eyüp. 2012. Endüstriyel Miras Alanlarının Dönüşümü, Haydarpaşa Örnek Alan İncelemesi. Master's Thesis. Bahcesehir University Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.
- Deutsche, Rosalyn. 1996. **Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics**. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Doğan, Meryem. M. 2018. Türkiye’de Kimlik ve Öteki: Sultanbeyli-Kadıköy Örneği. Doctoral Dissertation. Anadolu University Graduate School of Social Sciences.
- Durmuş, Saliha. 2009. Liman Kentlerinin Dönüşümünde Turizm ve Kültür Aktivitelerinin İncelenmesi; Haydarpaşa ve Galata Limanı Örneği. Master's Thesis. YTU Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.
- Eisinger, Angelus. 2009. The Open City and Its Historical Context: A Historical Assessment of the Limits and Potentials of a Concept. **Open City: Designing Coexistence**. eds. Tim Rieniets, Jennifer Sigler, Kees Christiaanse. Amsterdam: SUN: 41-45.
- Ekdal, Müfid. 2004. **Bizans Metropolünde İlk Türk Köyü Kadıköy**. İstanbul: Kadıköy Belediyesi Sağlık ve Sosyal Dayanışma Vakfı Yayınları.

- 2014. **Saklı Hikayeleri ve Resimleriyle Kadıköy Sokakları**. İstanbul: Tarihçi Kitabevi.
- Eldem, Edhem. 1996. Ottoman Period Istanbul. **Istanbul-World City**. ed. Afife Batur. İstanbul: Histroy Foundation Publications: 136-37.
- 2013. Istanbul as a Cosmopolitan City: Myths and Realities. **A Companion to Diaspora and Transnationalism**. eds. Ato Quayson, Girish Daswani. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell: 217-220.
- Ergin, O. Nuri. 1995. **Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye**. Vol. 2. İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları.
- Erkan, Pınar. 2001. Tanzimat'tan Günümüze İstanbul/ Kadıköy ve Üsküdar'daki Yabancı Okullar ve Azınlık Okulları. Master's Thesis. ITU Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.
- Erman, Tahire. 2001. The Politics of Squatter (Gecekondu) Studies in Turkey: The Changing Representations of Rural Migrants in the Academic Discourse. **Urban Studies**. Vol. 38. Iss. 7: 984-85.
- 2012. Urbanization and Urbanism. **The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey**. eds. Metin Heper, Sabri Sayarı. New York: Routledge: 293.
- Firidin, Ebru. 2000. İnsan Davranışları-Kentsel Mekân Etkileşimi, Kadıköy, Çarşıiçi Örneği. Master's Thesis. Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University-Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.
- Firidin, Ebru, B. Aksel Enşici. 2006. İstanbul'un Gündelik Yaşamında Kadıköy Çarşıiçi'nin Önemi. **Tasarım+kuram Dergisi**. Vol. 3. Iss. 4: 86-90.
- Freely, John. 1996. **Istanbul the Imperial City**. London: Viking.
- Frug, Gerald. 2009. Legalizing Openness. **Open City: Designing Coexistence**. eds. Tim Rieniets, Jennifer Sigler, Keen Christiaanse. Amsterdam: SUN: 168-170.
- Gehl, Jan. 2011. **Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space**. Washington: Island Press.
- Gehl, Jan, Birgitte Svarre. 2013. **How to Study Public Life**. Washington: Island Press. doi: 10.5822/978-1-61091-525-0_1
- Girard, L. Fusco. 2013. Toward a Smart Sustainable Development of Port Cities/Areas: The Role of the "Historic Urban Landscape" Approach. **Sustainability**. Vol. 5: 4330-4333.
- Giz, Adnan. 1990. **Bir Zamanlar Kadıköy: 1900-1950**. İstanbul: İletişim.
- Göze, H. Hicran. 2007. **Kadıköylü Yıllarım: Çocukluk ve Gençlik Hâtıralarım**. İstanbul: Kubbealtı Publishing.

- Gül, Murat. 2009. **The Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City**. London: I.B. Tauris Publishers.
- Gür, Banu. 2006. Yenileşme ve Kentsel Sit Alanlarında Uygulamaları: Kadıköy Tarihi Çarşı Sit Alanı Örneği. Master's Thesis. Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.
- Güvenç, Murat. 2009a. MG. **Tracing Istanbul [from the air]**. ed. Meriç Öner. Istanbul: Garanti Gallery: 20-122.
- 2009b. Küreselleşme Bağlamında İstanbul'a Göç ve İstanbul'dan Göç. **Eski İstanbullular, Yeni İstanbullular**. ed. Murat Güvenç. İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi: 7-139.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1972. **Knowledge and Human Interests**. Boston: Beacon Press.
- 1989. **The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society**. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Harvey, David. 1996. **Justice, Nature the Geography of Difference**. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.
- 2006. The Political Economy of Public Space. **The Politics of Public Space**. eds. Neil Smith, Setha Low. New York: Routledge: 17-32.
- 2012. **Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution**. London: Verso.
- İnan, Afet. 1981. **A History of the Turkish Revolution and Turkish Republic**. Ankara: Pars Matbaası.
- Ipsen, Detlev. 2005, September. The Socio-spatial Conditions of the Open City: A Theoretical Sketch. **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**. Vol. 29. Iss 3: 644-50.
- Jacobs, J. Margaret. 1993. The City Unbound: Qualitative Approaches to the City. **Urban Studies**. Vol. 30. Iss. 4-5: 225-37. doi: 10.1080/00420989320081931
- Karpat, Kemal H. 1982. Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era. **Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society**. eds. Benjamin Braude, Bernard Lewis. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers: 141-42.
- 1985. **Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics**. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Kasinitz, Philip. 1995. Introduction. **Metropolis: Center and Symbol of Our Times**. ed. Philip Kasinitz. New York: New York University Press: 7-8.
- Keyder, Çağlar. 1981. **The Definition of a Peripheral Economy: Turkey 1923-1929**. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- 2010. Port-cities in the Belle Epoque. **Cities of the Mediterranean from the Ottomans to the Present Day**. eds. Biray Kolluoğlu, Meltem Toksöz. New York: I.B. Tauris: 14-22.
- 2018. Imperial, National, and Global Istanbul: Three Istanbul “Moments” from the Nineteenth to Twenty-First Centuries. **Istanbul: Living with Difference in a Global City**. eds. Nora Fisher-Onar, Susan C. Pearce, E. Fuat Keyman. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press: 27-31.
- Keyder, Çağlar, Y. Eyüp Özveren, Donald Quataert. 1993. Port-Cities in the Ottoman Empire: Some Theoretical and Historical Perspectives. **Review (Fernand Braudel Center)**. Vol. 16. Iss. 4: 519-558.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40241274>
- Kılıç, Ayşegül. 2001. Kentsel Açık Alanların Kullanıcılar Tarafından Değerlendirilmesi: Kadıköy İskele Meydanı ve Yakın Çevresi. Master’s Thesis. ITU Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.
- Koca, Fatih. 2011. Kıyı Alanlarının (Waterfronts) Dönüşümü Üzerine Bir Sürdürülebilirlik Analizi: Haydarpaşa Örneği. Master’s Thesis. ITU Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.
- Kuban, Doğan. 1996. **Istanbul an Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis, İstanbul**. Istanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey.
- 2001. **Türkiyede Kentsel Koruma: Kent Tarihleri ve Koruma Yöntemleri**. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.
- Kutun, Banu. 1993. Kadıköy-Moda-Yeldeğirmeni Çevresinde Art Nouveau/Jugendstil Cephe Düzenlemeleri. Master’s Thesis. ITU Graduate School of Social Sciences.
- Kürkçüoğlu, Eren, Mehmet Ocağcı. 2015. Kentsel Dokuda Mekânsal Yönelme Üzerine Algı-Davranış Çalışması: Kadıköy Çarşı Bölgesi. **Megaron**. Vol. 10. Iss. 3: 365-388.
- Kütükçü, Tamer. 2014. **Kadıköy’ün Kitabı: Geçmiş Zamanların, Mekânların ve Hatırlamaların Rafında**. İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat.
- Läpple, Dieter. 2009. Diversity of Urbanization Patterns in a Global World. **Open City: Designing Coexistence**. eds. Tim Rieniets, Jennifer Sigler, Keen Christiaanse. Amsterdam: SUN: 51.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. **The Production of Space**. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- 1996. **Writings on Cities**. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- 2002. **The Urban Revolution**. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- 2004. **Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life**. London: Continuum.

- Lewis, Bernard. 1968. **The Emergence of Modern Turkey**. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lim, William S. W. 2014. Spatial Justice and Happiness. **Public Space in Urban Asia**. ed. William S. W. Lim. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing: 229-30.
- Lofland, Lyn H. 1998. **The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory**. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Madanipour, Ali. 2005. **Public and Private Spaces of the City**. London: Routledge.
- Mah, Alice. 2014. **Port Cities and Global Legacies: Urban Identity, Waterfront Work, and Radicalism**. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Manning, James, Kate Wertheimer. 2018. The 50 Coolest Neighbourhoods in the World. **Time Out**. 19 September. Retrieved from: <https://www.timeout.com/coolest-neighbourhoods-in-the-world>
- Mitchell, Don. 2003. **The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space**. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Önce, Gökhan. 2004. **Kendine Özgü Bir Semt: Moda**. İstanbul: Kadıköy Belediyesi Sağlık ve Sosyal Dayanışma Vakfı Yayınları.
- Ortaylı, İlber. 1978. İmparatorluk Döneminde Mahalli İdarelerin ve Belediyeciliğin Evrimi. **Türkiye'de Belediyeciliğin Evrimi**. eds. İlber Ortaylı, İlhan Tekeli. Vol. 1. Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası: 16-24.
- 1995. **İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı**. İstanbul: İletişim Yay.
- 1996. Istanbul in the Industrial Age. **Istanbul-World City**. ed. Afife Batur. İstanbul: History Foundation Publications: 56.
- Park, R. Ezra. 2012. The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment. **The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment**. eds. R. Ezra Park, Ernest W. Burgess, Roderick Duncan McKenzie. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1-7.
- Reijndorp, Arnold. 2009. The City as Bazaar. **Open City: Designing Coexistence**. eds. Tim Rieniets, Jennifer Sigler, Kees Christiaanse. Amsterdam: SUN: 93
- Rieniets, Tim. 2009. Dimensions: Introduction to Part One. **Open City: Designing Coexistence**. eds. Tim Rieniets, Jennifer Sigler, Kees Christiaanse. Amsterdam: SUN: 15-19
- Rogers, Richard. 1997. **Cities for a Small Planet**. London: Faber and Faber.
- Rosenthal, Steven. 1980a. **The Politics of Urban Dependency: Urban Reform in Istanbul**. London: Greenwood Press.

- 1980b. Foreigners and Municipal Reform in Istanbul: 1855-1865. **International Journal of Middle East Studies**. Vol. 11. Iss. 2: 228-43. www.jstor.org/stable/162286
- 1982. Minorities and Municipal Reform in Istanbul, 1850-1870. **Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society**. eds. Benjamin Braude, Bernard Lewis. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers: 369-72.
- Sadri, Senem. Z. 2017. Oeuvre vs. Abstract Space: Appropriation of Gezi Park in Istanbul. **Contemporary Urban Affairs**. Vol. 1. Iss. 2: 5-6.
- Sennett, Richard. 2010. The Public Realm. **The Blackwell City Reader**. eds. Gary Bridge, Sophie Watson. New York: Wiley-Blackwell: 261-70.
- 1990. **The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities**. New York: W. W. Norton.
- 1992. **The Uses of Disorder**. New York: W. W. Norton.
- 1994. **Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization**. New York: W. W. Norton.
- 1995. Community Becomes Uncivilized. **Metropolis: Center and Symbol of Our Times**. ed. Philip Kasinitz. New York: NYU Press: 229-30.
- 2001. A Flexible City of Strangers. **Le Monde Diplomatique**. Vol. 2: 1-2.
- 2017. **The Fall of Public Man**. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- 2018. **Building and Dwelling: Ethics for the City** (ebook). New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Shaw, Stanford J. 1979. The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century. **International Journal of Middle East Studies**. Vol. 10. Iss. 2: 265-277. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/162130>
- Shields, Rob. 2013. Lefebvre and the Right to the Open City? **Space and Culture**. Vol. 16. Iss. 3: 346–347. doi: 10.1177/1206331213491885
- Smith, Neil, Setha Low. 2006. Introduction: The Imperative of Public Space. **The Politics of Public Space** eds. Neil Smith, Setha Low. New York: Routledge: 4-5.
- Soysal, Levent. 2010. Future(s) of the City: Istanbul for the New Century. **Orienting Istanbul: Cultural Capital of Europe?** eds. Deniz Göktürk, Levent Soysal, İpek Türeli. New York: Routledge: 298-310.
- Tabak, Faruk. 2009. Imperial Rivalry and Port-Cities: A View from Above. **Mediterranean Historical Review**. Vol. 24. Iss. 2: 79-80.

- Tekeli, İlhan. 1973. Evolution of Spatial Organization in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic. **From Medina to Metropolis: Heritage and Change in the Near Eastern City**. ed. L. Carl Brown. Princeton: The Darwin Press: 259-60.
- 1978. Cumhuriyet Döneminde (1923-1973) Türkiye'de Belediyeciliğin Evrimi. **Türkiye'de Belediyeciliğin Evrimi** eds. İlber Ortaylı, İlhan Tekeli. Vol. 1. Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası: 25-123.
- 1982. **Türkiye'de Kentleşme Yazıları**. Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi.
- 1992. **Belediyecilik Yazıları (1976-1991)**. İstanbul: Kent Basımevi.
- 1994. **The Development of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area: Urban Administration and Planning**. İstanbul: Kent Basımevi.
- 2009a. Türkiye’de Siyasal Düşüncenin Gelişimi Konusunda Bir Üst Anlatı. **Modernizm, Modernite ve Türkiye'nin Kent Planlama Tarihi: İlhan Tekeli Toplu Eserler-8**. ed. İlhan Tekeli. Vol. 3. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: 45-60.
- 2009b. Türkiye’de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması. **Modernizm,Modernite ve Türkiye'nin Kent Planlama Tarihi: İlhan Tekeli Toplu Eserler-8**. ed. İlhan Tekeli. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınlar: 106-134.
- 2009c. İstanbul Kent İçi Ulaşımının Gelişimi (1927-1985). **İlhan Tekeli Toplu Eserler-9**. ed. İlhan Tekeli. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: 23-70.
- 2010. The Story of Istanbul's Modernisation. **Architectural Design**. Vol. 80. Iss. 1: 34.
- 2012. Belediyeler Demokrasi ve Denetim. **İlhan Tekeli Toplu Eserler 22**. ed. İlhan Tekeli. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: 148-49.
- Tekeli, İlhan, Selim İlkin. 2004. **Cumhuriyetin Harcı: Modernitenin Altyapısı Oluşurken**. Vol. 3. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Tunalı, Selma. 2017. Tüketim Kültürü ve Tüketim Kültürünün Ürettiği Mekanlar. **Mimar.ist**. Iss. 59: 40-42.
- Tunçer, Canay. 2016. Kadıköy Yeldeğirmeni - Tevfik Tura Apartmanı Koruma Projesi. Master’s Thesis. ITU Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.
- Türel, İpek. 2018. **Istanbul, Open City: Exhibiting Anxieties of Urban Modernity**. New York: Routledge.
- Türker, Orhan. 2008. **Halkidona’dan Kadıköy’e: Körler Ülkesinin Hikayesi**. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık.
- TurkStat (Turkish Statistical Institute). [14 February 2019]. Population Estimates, 2000-2006, Address Based Population Registration System (ABPRS), 2007-2018). http://tuik.gov.tr/PreIstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=1590

- [12 May 2019]. Belediye, Köy ve Mahalle Nüfusları, Kadıköy.
<https://biruni.tuik.gov.tr/medas/?kn=95&locale=tr>
- Ünal, Yasin. 2008. Kıyı Bölgelerinin Yeniden Canlandırılması, Haydarpaşa Limanı ve Çevresi Örnek Alanı. Master's Thesis. ITU Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.
- Van Leeuwen, Bart. 2015. Absorbing the Agony of Agonism? The limits of Cultural Questioning and Alternative Variations of Intercultural Civility. **Urban Studies**. Vol. 52. Iss. 4: 804. doi: 10.1177/0042098014528548
- Walzer, Michael. 1986. Pleasures and Costs of Urbanity. **Dissent**. Iss. 33: 470-471.
- Weintraub, Jeff. 1995. Varieties and Vicissitudes of Public Space. **Metropolis: Center and Symbol of Our Times**. ed. Philip Kasinitz. New York: NYU Press: 281-90.
- 1997. The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction. **Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy**. eds. Jeff Weintraub, Krishan Kumar. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press: 1-5.
- Wildner, Kathrin. 2008. "İstanbul Modern"-Urban Images, Planning Processes and the Production of Space in Istanbul's Port Area. **Port Cities as Areas of Transition: Ethnographic Perspectives**. eds. Waltraud Kokot, Mijal Gandelsman-Trier, Kathrin Wildner, Astrid Wonneberger. Bielefeld: Transcript: 189.
- Wirth, Louis. 1995. Urbanism as a Way of Life. **Metropolis: Center and Symbol of Our Times**. ed. Philip Kasinitz. New York: New York University Press: 66-72.
- Yavuz, Sutay, A. Sinan Türkyılmaz. 2009. 2000'li Yıllarda İstanbul Nüfusu: Yeni Gelişme Eğilimleri. **Eski İstanbullular, Yeni İstanbullular**. ed. Murat Güvenç. İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi: 142.
- Yerasimos, Stefanos. 1996. Istanbul and Its Westernization Process. **İstanbul-World City**. ed. Afife Batur. İstanbul: History Foundation Publications: 52-53.
- Young, Iris M. 2011. **Justice and the Politics of Difference** (e-book). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Zukin, Sharon. 1995. **The Cultures of Cities**. Massachusetts: Blackwell.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Distribution of the NGOs in *Map 4.2*

1. Onur Toplumsal Tarih ve K lt r Vakfı
2. İstanbul Tabip Odası Kadık y B ro
3. T rkiye  ocuklara Yeniden  zg rl k Vakfı
4. Buğday Ekolojik Yaşamı Destekleme Derneđi
5. Ateizm Derneđi
6. Spartak s K lt r ve Sanat Derneđi
7.  ocuklar İ in Sosyal Giriřim Derneđi
8. T rkiye Ormancılar Derneđi
9. Yapı ve Kredi Bankası A. ř. Emeklileri Sosyal Yardımlařma Derneđi
10. T rk Kılavuz Kaptanlar Derneđi
11. Emekli Ormancılar Derneđi
12. Develi ve Y resi K lt r Derneđi
13. T rkiye Polis Emeklileri Sosyal Yardım Derneđi
14. Atat rk  D ř nce Derneđi
15. Polis Emekliler Derneđi
16. Bosna Sancak Akademik K lt r ve Tarih Vakfı
17. Etev Emin T rk Eli in K lt r ve Sanat Vakfı
18.   lyakla Yařam Derneđi
19. T rkiye Yardım Sevenler Derneđi Kadık y řubesi
20. Fenerbah e Lisesi Mezunlar Derneđi Eđitim Vakfı
21. řerifođlu Zelkif Gezici Vakfı
22.  zgen Berkol Dođan Eđitim, K lt r ve Dayanıřma Derneđi
23. Kadık y Kooperatifi D kk nı
24. řamil Eđitim ve K lt r Vakfı
25. T rkiye Sokak  ocukları Vakfı
26. T rkiye Biliřim Derneđi
27. Bafralılar K lt r ve Yardımlařma Derneđi

28. Şehit Polis Aileleri Dayanışma Genel Merkezi
29. TMMOB Peyzaj Mimarları Odası İstanbul Şubesi
30. Aramyan Okulundan Yetişenler Derneği
31. İdari Hizmet Sözleşmeliler Derneği
32. 1884 Vakfı
33. Saint Joseph'liler Derneği
34. Dr. Ali Mümtaz Gürsoy Okutma Vakfı
35. Sosyal Dayanışma ve İletişim Derneği
36. Türkiye Görme Engelliler Derneği Genel Merkezi
37. Fenerbahçeliler Derneği
38. Tüketiciyi Koruma Derneği
39. Moda Gönüllüleri
40. Türkiye Emekli Subaylar Derneği Kadıköy Şubesi
41. Mimarlar Odası İstanbul Büyükşehir Şubesi Anadolu 1. Bölge Temsilciliği
42. İstanbul Turkuaz Turizm Folklor Derneği
43. Kiği-Karakoçan-Adaklı Yardımlaşma Derneği
44. Pediatri Derneği
45. İstanbul Bakkallar Odası
46. Türkiye Emekliler Derneği
47. Anadolu Sağırılar Derneği
48. Türk Kızılayı Kadıköy Şube
49. Evrensel Yardım Derneği
50. İstanbul İnternet Kafeciler Esnaf Odası
51. Kadıköy eskiciler derneği
52. Moda Kültür Cemiyeti
53. Sosyal Haklar Derneği
54. İstanbul Niksarlılar Derneği
55. SOS Çevre Gönüllüleri Vakfı
56. Okur-Yazar Derneği
57. Memleket Sevdalıları Derneği
58. Türk Kadınlar Birliği Kadıköy Şubesi
59. Tüsoder

Appendix 2: The Culture Centres and Libraries in *Map 4.2*

1. Aziz Berker İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi
2. Kemal Tahir Halk Kütüphanesi ve Çocuk Etüt Merkezi
3. Öteki Kültür Sanat
4. Rus Kültür Merkezi
5. Erkan Yücel Kültür Merkezi
6. Japon Sanat Merkezi
7. Nazım Hikmet Kültür Merkezi
8. Etef Emin Türk Eliçin Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı
9. Zeki Göker Kültür Merkezi
10. Kadıköy Belediyesi Barış Manço Kültür Merkezi
11. TESAK
12. Kazım Koyuncu Kültür Merkezi
13. Tiyatroevi Kültür Merkezi
14. Latin Amerika Kültür
15. Özgen Berkol Doğan Bilimkurgu Kütüphanesi
16. Toplumsal Araştırmalar Kültür ve Sanat İçin Vakıf
17. Kadıköy Halk Eğitimi Merkezi ve Akşam Sanat Okulu Kurs Merkezi

Appendix 3: The List of Theatres in *Map 4.2*

1. İstanbul Belediyesi Şehir Tiyatroları Haldun Taner Sahnesi
2. Tiyatro Mie
3. İstanbulimpro SAHNE
4. Kadıköy Theatron
5. Müjdat Gezen Tiyatrosu
6. Moda Sanat Tiyatrosu Macide Tanır Sahnesi
7. Tiyatroadam
8. Altkat Sanat Tiyatrosu
9. Entropi Sahne
10. Tiyatro 34
11. Moda Sahnesi
12. Öykü Sahne
13. Tiyatro Fora
14. Oyun Atölyesi
15. Ak'la Kara Tiyatro
16. Küçük Salon
17. Duru Tiyatro
18. İdil Abla Çocuk Tiyatrosu
19. Köşe
20. Hayal Meal Sahne

Appendix-4: Event Calendar of April-May in Kadıköy

The Event Centres and Their Colour Codes: **Süreyya Opera House**, **TESAK**, **Yeldeğirmeni Art**, **Dorock XL**, **Haldun Taner Stage**, **Rexx Cinema**, **Moda Stage**

April 1	Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x4)
April 2	Theatre, Cinema, Concert, Cinema (x4)
April 3	Theatre , Theatre, Concert, Cinema, Philosophy Seminar, Cinema (x4)
April 4	Theatre , Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x3), Cinema (x4)
April 5	Theatre , Cinema (x3), Cinema (x8)
April 6	Theatre , Theatre, Cinema (x3), Cinema (x8)
April 7	Children's Theatre , Theatre, Cinema (x3), Cinema (x8)
April 8	Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x3), Philosophy Seminar, Cinema (x8)
April 9	Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x3), Philosophy Seminar, Cinema (x8)
April 10	Classical Music Concert (x2) , DJ Party , Theatre , Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x3), Cinema (x8)
April 11	Literal Interview , Jazz Concert , Theatre , Cinema (x8) , Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x3)
April 12	Jazz Concert , Concert , Theatre , Cinema (x8) , Theatre, Cinema (x3)
April 13	Philosophical Interview , Literal Interview , Classical Music Concert , Concert , Theatre , Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x3), Cinema (x8)
April 14	Children's Theatre , Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x2), Cinema (x8)
April 15	Classical Music Concert , Cinema , Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x2), Cinema (x8)
April 16	Rock Concert , Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x2), Cinema (x8)
April 17	Historical Interview , Classical Music Concert , Concert , Theatre , Theatre, Cinema (x2), Cinema (x8)
April 18	Literal Interview , Rock Concert , Theatre , Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x2), Philosophy Seminar, Cinema (x4)
April 19	Opera , Jazz Concert , Concert , Theatre , Theatre, Cinema (x4)
April 20	Opera , Historical Interview , Classical Music Concert , Classical Music Concert , Concert , Theatre , Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x4)
April 21	Children's Ballet , Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x4)
April 22	Cinema , Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x4)
April 23	Opera , Concert , Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x4)
April 24	Opera , Historical Interview , Classical Music Concert , Concert , Theatre , Theatre, Concert, Cinema (x4)
April 25	Literal Interview , Theatre , Cinema (x4) , Theatre, Concert
April 26	Jazz Concert , Concert , Theatre , Cinema (x4) , Theatre
April 27	Ballet , Philosophical Interview , Artistic Interview , Classical Music Concert , Concert (x2) , Theatre , Cinema (x4)
April 28	Ballet , Cinema (x4) , Theatre, Concert (x2)
April 29	Classical Music Concert , Cinema , Cinema (x4) , Theatre, Concert

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Uzun, Aylin

e-mail: aylinuzun.ist@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution-Department	City	Year of Graduation
M.A.	YTU-Humanities and Social Sciences	Istanbul	2019
B.A.	Anadolu University-Sociology	Eskişehir	2016
A.A.	Anadolu University-Social Sciences	Eskişehir	2015
High School	Akçaabat Anatolian High School	Trabzon	2010

PUBLICATIONS

1. Uzun, A. and Baykan, A. 2019. Açık Kent Bağlamında Kültürel Çeşitliliğin Önemi: İki Kozmopolit Merkez, Kadıköy ve Mardin. **Uluslararası Mardin Artuklu Multidispliner Çalışmalar Kongresi**, 19-21 April 2019. Mardin: 364-380.