

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SCIENCE
ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY

A TRANSDISCURSIVE ENQUIRY ON URBAN IDENTITY

Ph.D. THESIS

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Architectural Design Programme

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KENTSEL KİMLİK ÜZERİNE SÖYLEMÖTESİ BİR SORGULAMA

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to the formless universe,

FOREWORD

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
FOREWORD	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF FIGURES	xvii
SUMMARY	xix
ÖZET	xxi
1. INTRODUCTION : RE-THINKING THE URBAN IDENTITY WITHIN GLOBALISATION	1
1.1 Aim of the Study	2
1.2 Operational Definitions	4
1.3 Problematizing the Urban Identity in the Transmodern Paradigm.....	6
1.3.1 Globalisation vs. Global Capitalism	8
1.3.2 Transmodern Paradigm	11
1.4 Scope of the Research	14
1.4.1 Urban Fragment	15
1.4.2 Chosen Fragments of Istanbul.....	17
1.4.3 Transdisciplinary research	19
1.5 Theoretical Framework	22
1.5.1 Grounded Theory in the Research	24
2. READING ASMALIMESCIT AS A NARRATIVE	29
2.1 Narrative as a Theoretical Tool	30
2.2 Tracing the Transformation in Asmalımescit.....	32
2.3 Urban Identity as Becoming.....	43
3. DECIPHERING LEVENT-KAĞITHANE AS A PALIMPSEST	47
3.1 Unfolding the Palimpsest	47
3.2 Discourse of Gecekondu as an Other in Modernity	49
3.3 Discourse of Finance Centre as an Urban Transformation Tool in Postmodernity.....	55
3.4 Palimpsest Identity in Transmodern Paradigm	61
4. EXPERIENCING THE PLACE-MEMORY IN KUZGUNCUK	65
4.1 Methodological Tools	69
4.2 Geographical Limitations – Possibilities.....	71
4.3 Spatio-Temporal Awareness	76
4.4 Material-Immaterial Through the Everyday Life	80
4.5 Place-Memory as a Reflexive Medium	88
5. CONCLUSION: URBAN IDENTITY WITH ITS PARADOXES AND POSSIBILITIES	91
BIBLIOGRAPHY	97
CURRICULUM VITAE	105

ABBREVIATIONS

ANT : Actor Network Theory

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Table 1.1 : What makes chosen urban fragments so special.....	19
Table 1.2 : How to look at the urban fragments.....	26
Table 5.1 : The transdiscursive enquiry matrix.....	96

LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
Figure 1.1 : Relations of the disciplines (Nicolescue, 2002).	20
Figure 1.2 : Transdisciplinary research focuses on the relations between various disciplines.	21
Figure 1.3 : Elements of the transdiscursive enquiry based on the grounded theory.	25
Figure 1.4 : Visualizing the transdiscursive reading of an urban fragment.	27
Figure 2.1 : Maps showing the location of Asmalimescit.	30
Figure 2.2 : The sociocultural life in Asmalimescit (Lines quoted from Asmali 74 by Firket Adil, 1988, p. 10).	33
Figure 2.3 : Interior-exterior life in Asmalimescit.	37
Figure 2.4 : Recalling the past life in historical buildings (Sketch obtained from Asmali 74 by Fikret Adil, 1988).	39
Figure 2.5 : History as a generative force (Lines quoted from Pera by Ilhan Berk, 2000, p. 295).	41
Figure 2.6 : Urban identity as becoming in Asmalimescit.	45
Figure 3.1 : Maps showing the location of Levent-Kağıthane.	49
Figure 3.2 : The double-headed structure in Levent-Kağıthane.	51
Figure 3.3 : The spatial alteration in Levent-Kağıthane.	56
Figure 3.4 : Palimpsest identity in Levent-Kağıthane.	64
Figure 4.1 : Maps showing the location of Kuzguncuk.	66
Figure 4.2 : The geographical limitations and possibilities of Kuzguncuk.	71
Figure 4.3 : The contradictory relations in the narrow-wide streets.	73
Figure 4.4 : The triadic of water-land-sky penetrates both indoors and outdoors. ...	75
Figure 4.5 : The past-present-future trialectic constituted through repetition.	78
Figure 4.6 : The togetherness of singularities as a multiplicity through the traces of religious differences in Kuzguncuk.	81
Figure 4.7 : The contradictory relations of the inhabitants and visitors with the place.	85
Figure 4.8 : The contradiction of the meeting-hideaway space-time in Kuzguncuk.	86
Figure 4.9 : The flux between indoors and outdoors in Kuzguncuk.	88
Figure 4.10 : The overlapped paradoxes in Kuzguncuk.	89

A TRANSDISCURSIVE ENQUIRY ON URBAN IDENTITY

SUMMARY

In this thesis, a transdiscursive enquiry is employed for understanding and interpreting the urban identity as a paradoxical term within the context of globalization. The paradox of urban identity is discovered through the concepts of becoming, palimpsest and place-memory in Istanbul, here inquired as an exemplar. In three chosen fragments of Istanbul, namely, Asmalımescit, Levent-Kağıthane and Kuzguncuk, unique relations between the body and the place give rise to a constant transformation that enables understanding and interpreting the urban identity in a holistic way. These relations emphasized within the transmodern paradigm are discovered in the chosen urban fragments through transdiscursive readings. Transdiscursive readings are made with a holistic approach and through the grounded theory. A transdiscursive enquiry within the transmodern paradigm is carried out in the chosen urban fragments, in relation to the theoretical framework and methodological tools explained in the introduction.

In the second chapter the urban identity is re-interpreted as becoming that would provoke a holistic approach in architecture and urban design. In this regard Asmalımescit is investigated, in which the urban identity emerges as becoming, in Lefebvre's words "a continuous development ... punctuated by leaps." Asmalımescit as a historical settlement, where once out of sight taverns, artisan shops and artist ateliers were used to be located, became a favoured place for urban nightlife activities and entertainment, in the last two decades. This transformation took place under the control of the global capitalist economy and neoliberal cultural politics through a dominant discourse of nightlife and entertainment. Reducing Asmalımescit into a discourse conceals the productive potential of the relations between the place and the people in the favour of the capital. This material oriented process is uncovered through a transdiscursive enquiry. In this consideration, the prevalent and ongoing transformation in the area is read as a narrative, through relational experience with its discursive and non-discursive dimensions. Understanding the urban identity as becoming in Asmalımescit problematizes the relations of materiality and immateriality and carries potential to generate alternative ways of dealing with the transformation in the built environment.

In the third chapter, the concept of palimpsest identity is scrutinized in particular in Levent-Kağıthane, through how the space is constantly re-organized by discourses. Levent-Kağıthane, which is developed in relation to modern and postmodern production and consumption relations, is undergoing an urban transformation process. This process is taking place through removing the current architectural and urban spaces with the discourse of squatter area that connotes old, rotten, unhealthy and replacing them with new living and working spaces that connote new, contemporary, healthy and clean. Even though Levent-Kağıthane is rebuilt regarding the discourses ascribed to it, by denying the current architecture and urban space, this could not be

able to wipe off its relationship to its past. This points to a paradox of urban identity and refers to an urban structure that can be read between the past and the future, as a palimpsest in the present-day. The episteme of ‘palimpsest’ identity, could be grasped through the relational experience. Through a transdiscursive reading of Levent-Kağıthane -which we would never be able to grasp its whole-, it could only be possible to reach its episteme of at certain moment. In this consideration, Levent-Kağıthane, located on Levent-Maslak axis, which is developed with a “Financial Centre” discourse, is understood and interpreted as a palimpsest. The urbanization of Levent-Kağıthane with the industrial buildings and squatters and its transformation to serve sector with high-rise office and residence blocks is investigated in a transdiscursive way. Through the concept of palimpsest identity, the past and future of the multi-layered urban fragment is superposed in the present day through the relational experience. A transdiscursive reading on Levent-Kağıthane as a palimpsest opens up new ways for discursivity and allows understanding the architecture and city different than the hegemonic system’s dominant discourses.

In the fourth chapter the urban identity is considered as a spatio-temporal term called place-memory, and introduced through the relational experience of Kuzguncuk. Referring to Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s concept of the bodily experience, relational experience emerges as a vital connection between the body-subject and the world. The relational experience is motivated with the cultural codes in Kuzguncuk through which new events are constantly produced. Each event opens up to its own world throughout a dialogue between the body and the world where the place – memory emerges. Kuzguncuk exhibits a place-memory in which cultural, political, economic, psychological and social dynamics are meshed as a whole. Its place-memory brings collections of lifestyles into mind, in which three religious and four ethnic communities have lived together leaving urban traces of overlapped cultural codes. These spatio-temporal cultural codes are grasped through the bodily experience. Integration of the body, imagination and the environment gives way to the relational experience in Kuzguncuk. Due to grasping the place-memory, Kuzguncuk is being transformed slowly, contrasting with the rapid government-supported so-called urban transformation process. Understanding the urban identity as a place-memory, grasped through the relational experience, offer remarkable possibilities for future urban transformation projects, without falling into the trap of ascribing a discourse as an identity.

In conclusion, a transdiscursive enquiry is carried out in the chosen fragments of Istanbul with a holistic approach, based on a grounded theory for understanding and interpreting the urban identity within globalisation. The paradox of urban identity is pointed out in the transdiscursive readings of the urban fragments through the concepts of becoming, palimpsest and place-memory in a form of narrative. Pointing out the paradox of urban identity makes it possible to recognize the illusion created by ascribing a discourse as an identity to an urban space. By recognizing this illusion, a homogeneous and static urban space or world image could be displaced with a multiplicity in which the differences co-exist and transformation is a principal. As a result understanding and interpreting the urban identity in a holistic way through the transdiscursive enquiry could open up new ways of thinking –and acting– in architectural and urban design based on constant transformation and also open up different ways for articulating to the eternal transformation of the city.

KENTSEL KİMLİK ÜZERİNE SÖYLEMÖTESİ BİR SORGULAMA

ÖZET

Kentsel kimlik kavramı kentin küreselleşme süreci bağlamında birçok çelişki (paradox) içerir; bunları anlama ve yorumlama yöntemi alışlagelmişin dışında bir yol izlemeyi gerektirir. Tezin problematiği bu farklı arayışın nedenleri, ilişkileri üzerine temellenen bir dizi sorular örgüsü ile kendiliğinden ortaya çıkmıştır. Önceden belirlenmiş bir varsayım üzerinden değil; olgunun kendisinin oluşturduğu örüntü üzerinden problematik belirmiştir. Olgu ve değer bütünü olarak kent ve kimlik modernötesi (transmodern) paradigma içinden yeniden düşünülmüştür. Kentsel kimlik kavramına ilişkin söylemler, var olma nedenleri söylemötesi (transdiscursive) bir sorgulamaya tabi tutulmuştur. Bu bağlamda kentsel kimlik, beden-mekan-zaman ilişkisinin göreceli ve değişime açık; insan ve çevrenin birbirinden bağımsız, aynı zamanda da birbirine bağlı, birbirini vareden bütünleyen bir ilişki sarmalında, söylemötesi bir okuma ile yeniden anlamlandırılmıştır. Söylemötesi okuma, beden-mekan-zaman kaymalarıyla kentsel fragman olarak ele alınan bir yerde ortaya çıkan çokluk ortamına ilişkin bilgi edinilmesine yardımcı olur. Söylemötesi bir okuma ile o yere ilişkin söylemlerin ve söylem olmayan boyutların birbiriyle olan gerimli ilişkileri anlamlandırılabilir. Bununla birlikte söylemötesi okuma, Foucault'un gönderme yaptığı gibi "kökene dönüş" yaklaşımıyla, anlam katmanlarının yeniden okunmasını tetikleyerek yeri çokluk düzlemine taşır. Söylemötesi sorgulama, kentsel kimlik paradokslarının örtüsü kaldırılmadıkça tamamlanamamıştır; bu da çokluk ortamına yol açan bir olgudur. Söylemler ve söylem olmayan boyutlar arasındaki ilişkiler keşfedilirken yer, çokluk ortamına dönüşür; bu olgu değerlerle ilişkiye girdiğinde sonsuza uzanan bir sarmal döngüde eklenerek çoğalır / artiküle olur.

Fark ve Tekrar adlı kitabında Deleuze (1994), "farkın kimliği" terimini aynılık ve farklılık paradoksu bağlamında tartışır; bu terim küresel kentin çelişkiler içeren kentsel kimlik kavramının yeniden düşünülmesine yardımcı olmuştur. Kentsel kimlik çelişkisini içinde barındıran İstanbul'un üç fragmanı –Asmalımescit, Levent-Kâğıthane ve Kuzguncuk bu çalışmada gömülü kuram (grounded theory) bağlamında bütünsel bir yaklaşımla araştırılmıştır. Bu kentsel fragmanların söylemötesi okumaları "ilişki" terimini önceler; her bir fragmanın ilişki örgüsü modernötesi paradigma içinde sorgulanmıştır. Bu sorgulamada kentsel kimlik çelişkisi oluş (becoming), palimpsest ve yer-hafıza (place-memory) kavramları üzerinden keşfedilmiştir.

Tezin ikinci bölümünde, mimarlığa ve kente bütünsel bir yaklaşımı da tetikleyecek şekilde kentsel kimlik oluş olarak yeniden yorumlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda Beyoğlu'nun eski bir mahallesi olan Asmalımescit'te oluş, Lefebvre'nin sözcükleriyle "sıçramalarla kesilen ...sürekli bir gelişim", olarak beliren kentsel kimlik araştırılmıştır. Tarihi bir yerleşim yeri olan Asmalımescit'te, bir zamanlar konutların yanı sıra gözden uzak meyhaneler, zanaat dükkanları ve sanatçı atölyeleri varken, son yirmi yılda gece hayatında gözde bir yer olmuştur. Bu dönüşüm, küresel kapitalist ekonominin kontrolünde ve neoliberal kültür politikalarının baskın gece hayatı ve eğlence söylemi

üzerinden gerçekleşmiştir. Asmalımescit'i bir söyleme indirgemek, insan ile yer arasındaki olası üretken ilişkileri sermaye yararına gizlemektedir. Bu maddi değerleri önceleyen süreç Asmalımescit'te söylemötesi bir yolla açığa çıkartılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda, Asmalımescit'te olagelen ve süregiden dönüşüm, ilişkisel deneyim üzerinden söylem olan ve söylem olmayan boyutlarıyla bir anlatı (narrative) olarak okunmuştur. Asmalımescit'te oluş olarak anlamlandırılan kentsel kimlik, maddi ve tinsel ilişkileri problematize ederek yapıllı çevredeki dönüşüm çabaları için alternatif yollar üretme potansiyeli taşımaktadır.

Üçüncü bölümde, palimpsest kimlik kavramı, Levent-Kağıthane özelinde, söylemler üzerinden mekanın nasıl sürekli yeniden örgütlendiğiyle ilişkili olarak irdelenmiştir. Modern ve modern sonrası üretim ve tüketim ilişkileri ile gelişen Levent-Kağıthane bugün kentsel dönüşüm sürecindedir. Özellikle Kağıthane'deki mevcut konut alanlarının eski, çürümüş, sağlıksız çağrışımları olan gecekondu bölgesi söylemiyle yıkılması ve yeni, çağdaş, temiz ve sağlıklı olma söylemleriyle özdeşleştirilen yaşama ve çalışma mekanlarıyla yer değiştirmesiyle gerçekleştirilmektedir. Her ne kadar Levent-Kağıthane ona atfedilen söylemler üzerinden yıkılıp yeniden yapılıyor olsa da bu tepeden inme müdahaleler geçmiş ile ilişkisini tamamen koparamaz. Bu durum bir kentsel kimlik çelişmesine işaret etmektedir ve geçmiş ile gelecek arasında bir palimpsest gibi okunabilen kentsel yapıya gönderme yapar. Palimpsest kimlik bilgisi ilişkisel deneyim üzerinden yakalanabilir. Söylem ötesi bir okuma üzerinden -hiçbir zaman bütünü kavrayamayacağımız- Levent-Kağıthane'nin bir anlık bilgisine ulaşmak mümkün olabilir. Bu doğrultuda, bugün "Finans Merkezi" söylemi ile gelişen Levent-Maslak hattının devamında yer alan ve yarım yüzyıl önce sanayi bölgesi olarak kentleşen Levent-Kağıthane, bir palimpsest olarak anlamlandırılmış ve yorumlanmıştır. Endüstriyel yapılar ve gecekonduyla kentleşmeye başlayan Levent-Kağıthane'nin, yüksek katlı ofis ve konut bloklarıyla hizmet sektörüne yönelik olarak dönüşümü söylemötesi bir yolla araştırılmıştır. Palimpsest kimlik kavramı ile çok katmanlı kentsel fragmanın geçmişi ve geleceği ilişkisel deneyim üzerinden bugünde üstüste çakıştırılmıştır. Levent-Kağıthane'nin bir palimpsest olarak söylemötesi okuması söylemsellik (discusivity) için yeni yollar açarken kenti ve mimarlığı egemen sistemin baskın söylemlerinden farklı bir şekilde anlamaya olanak sağlamaktadır.

Dördüncü bölümde, kentsel kimlik zaman-mekansal bir terim olan yer-hafıza olarak değerlendirilmiş ve Kuzguncuk'un örüntüsel deneyimi üzerinden ortaya koyulmuştur. Maurice Merleau-Ponty'nin bedensel deneyim kavramına gönderme yapan örüntüsel deneyim, beden-özne ve dünya arasında yaşamsal önem taşıyan bir bağlantı olarak belirir. Bu karşılıklı ilişki bir bütün olarak etkileşimler, algılar, çağrışımlar ve anılar olarak zamanın akışına yol açar. Bir yerdeki kültürel kodlar, bu örüntüsel deneyim sürecini farklılaşan oluş olarak harekete geçirirken duygunun yeni bir kavranışı olarak ayrıntılanır ve sürekli yeni olaylar (event) üretir. Her olay beden ve dünya arasındaki diyalog üzerinden kendi dünyasına açılır ve bu yolla orada bir yer-hafıza ortaya çıkar. Kuzguncuk, kültürel, politik, ekonomik, psikolojik ve toplumsal dinamiklerin bir bütün olarak örüldüğü bir yer-hafıza yansıtmaktadır. Kuzguncuk'taki yer-hafıza, üç din ve dört etnik grubun birlikte yaşadığı, kentsel izler bıraktığı üst üste çakışan kültürel kodların oluşturduğu yaşam tarzlarını akla getirir. Zaman-mekansal kültürel kodlar bedensel deneyim yoluyla kavranmıştır. Kuzguncuk'ta beden, hayaller ve çevrenin bütünleşmesiyle örüntüsel deneyim gerçekleşmektedir. Bir söyleme indirgenen kentsel kimlik üzerinden yerel ve genel hükümetlerce desteklenen hızlı sözde kentsel dönüşüm sürecinin zıddına, Kuzguncuk'ta yer-hafıza olarak kavranan kentsel kimlik ile yavaş bir dönüşüm olanaklı kılınmaktadır. Örüntüsel deneyim

üzerinden bir yer-hafıza olarak kavranan kentsel kimlik, gelecekteki kentsel dönüşüm projelerinde o yere kimlik olarak bir söylem atanması tuzağına düşmeden gerçekleşmesi için önemli olasılıklar sunmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak küreselleşme bağlamında kentsel kimlik kavramını anlamak ve yorumlamak için İstanbul'un seçilen fragmanlarında bütünsel bir yaklaşımla ve gömülü kurama dayalı olarak söylem ötesi bir sorgulama gerçekleştirilmiştir. Oluş, palimpsest ve yer-hafıza kavramları üzerinden yapılan kentsel fragmanların söylemötesi okumalarında oluşturulan anlatılarda kentsel kimlik paradoksuna işaret edilmiştir. Kentsel kimlik paradoksu Asmalımescit, Levent-Kağıthane ve Kuzguncuk'a özgü olmadığı gibi, görünürlüğü kentsel fragmanlarda ortaya çıkan bu üç kavramla da sınırlı değildir. Bununla birlikte seçilen kentsel fragmanlarda söylemötesi okumaların yapılmasına olanak veren bu kavramlar diğer kentsel fragmanlar üzerinden yapılan söylemötesi sorgulamalarda da kullanılabilir. Kentsel kimlik paradoksunun ortaya çıkarılması, bir söylemin kente kimlik olarak atfedilmesinin yarattığı yanılsamanın fark edilmesini sağlayacaktır. Bu yanılsamanın fark edilmesi ile homojen ve sabit bir kentsel mekan ve dünya imgesi yerini dönüşümün başat olduğu, farklılıkların bir arada olduğu çokluk ortamına bırakacaktır. Bu tezde paradoksal bir terim olarak irdelenen kentsel kimlik, sürekli değişen ve dönüşen kenti ve mimarlığı yeniden tasarlamak için yeni görme ve düşünme yollarını keşfetme ufku sağlayacaktır.

1. INTRODUCTION : RE-THINKING THE URBAN IDENTITY WITHIN GLOBALISATION

The urban identity is a raising issue within the context of globalisation especially due to the urban transformation, taking place all around the world. The concept of “urban identity” is an outcome of urbanization of cities, which is a continuous process. In the urbanization process, cities are transformed brutally, in relation to their historical processes, geographical locations, and social structures, economic and political relations. According to Henri Lefebvre (2000), David Harvey (1992) and Edward Soja (1989), urbanization is related to the industrial mode of production and capitalist relations. Today, the spatial organization of the cities shifted once more but this time by the post-industrialization process. Following the post-industrial mode of production, the cities that are no longer related with industrial production began to lose importance, and became abandoned or left unattended. The studies on the urban identity within the context of globalisation concentrate on either the ways that a city could regain a (new) character, an urban identity, to reappear in the global arena, or how a city could change in a way that does not “lose” its identity. In these studies, globalisation is considered as a homogenizing force that totalize the cities and creates a “global identity” to put Fredric Jameson’s (1997) words. Kenneth Frampton (1987) argues that in order to resist the global modernization, it is necessary to use regional elements and develop a regional architecture. He draws attention to preservation of the urban identity by using the regional architecture against a global identity. On the other hand, Ayten Akçay (2006) argues that cultural change, such as industrialization, urbanization and globalisation, brings about an “identity crisis” in the cities and states that the continuity of the architectural identity is important for an urban identity. Süheyla Birlik (2006) offers a threshold analyses in order to detect the identity change that would be helpful to solve the “identity problem”. Melih Birlik (2011) claims that due to globalization, the cities lose qualities, thus their identities. His research investigates the process of change through which he defines if the urban identity is “transformed,” maintained its spatial qualities, or “deformed,” metamorphosed by

losing its spatial qualities (Birlik M. , 2011, p. 57). These studies consider the urban identity as a product of the relations between the people and the place, therefore the transformation is considered as a problem, which could lead to a deformation in the urban identity.

All these studies are based on a linear way of thinking, which links the urban identity with the interests of global capitalist relations and implementations. In this consideration, the capitalist forces use the urban identity as a discursive tool to regenerate these cities distinct from each other, and relocate them in the global capitalist economy. The linear way of thinking brings about the commodification of space¹ as a major urban issue and constitutes the main problematic of the thesis. In relation to this problematic, the urban identity should be scrutinized from a different perspective. This thesis claims that the urban identity is not a static image that is formed as a product between the place and the people, which is subject to deformation. On the contrary, the thesis argues that the urban identity is both a product and a process since it is formed over and over again due to the ever-transforming body-space-time relations, thus it is always in transformation. The emphasis on relations, which are not linear and having contradictions and complexities, stimulates non-linear ways of thinking.

1.1 Aim of the Study

Enquiring the urban identity as a continuous but shifting relation between the place and the body –not an end-product, but a process–, requires a holistic approach. A holistic approach to the urban identity within the context of globalisation, could enable us to grasp various meaning layers in architectural and urban environments and reveal the paradox of urban identity to challenge the problems of commodification of space. In this regard, the aim of this thesis is to scrutinize the urban identity with a holistic approach through a transdiscursive enquiry into the reflexive relation that emerges in-between the discursive and non-discursive dimensions in an urban environment. This thesis fills the gap in architectural design field regarding how the architects and urban

¹Commodification could be defined as reduction of multiple meaning layers of a place into a single meaning as a discourse of a metanarrative, for the sake of the capital accumulation. Based on this specific discourse, an urban identity is produced around a myth and ascribed to a place. A place that refers to a single discourse is being reduced to a commodity.

designers could enquire the urban identity within globalisation pointing to the shifting body-space-time relations.

The studies that followed a linear way of thinking point to the socio-cultural aspects of the urban identity but they lack the political-economic aspects. On the contrary, in this thesis by employing a holistic approach, the relations between the urban identity and the political-economy are pointed out, thus social, cultural, geographical and historical aspects are scrutinized in consideration with the global capitalist economy and neo-liberal urban policies. In this regard, globalisation is not referred as a threat but an opportunity to re-think the urban identity in a critical, relational perspective with a holistic approach. A holistic approach to the urban identity makes it unique and opens new doors for reading the urban space in a transdiscursive enquiry, which is a kind of qualitative research method.

In the studies following a linear way of thinking, the quantitative research methods are employed with space analysis techniques. However, these methods are inadequate to understand the urban identity as a continuous but shifting relation between the place and the body and there is a necessity to develop new methods in the field of architectural design. This thesis suggests a new method for making thorough readings in the urban space, for understanding and interpreting the existing environment in a cyclic process (hermeneutic circle²), rather than presenting research findings and results out of the urban fragments. In this thesis, a qualitative research is carried out by a transdiscursive enquiry, which is conducted regarding a grounded theory. The grounded theory, which also provides a conceptual framework for this enquiry, is employed as an interwoven whole of the theory and the method within this qualitative research. In this regard, transdiscursive enquiry into the urban identity, has been carried out as a holistic experience of the urban fragments in Istanbul. These urban fragments should not be considered as a case study that was the subject of the researches focusing on the results. Instead, each of the urban fragments were considered as an exemplar that explains how to read the urban identity in different ways through a transdiscursive enquiry. Each urban fragment had completed each other referring to the different concepts that constitute the theoretical framework of

² “The ‘hermeneutic circle’ implies an unending repetition and an imperfect process, oscillating between here and there, then and now, establishing impermanent truths and ensuring the recreation of meaning” (Linder, 1992, s. 174).

this transdiscursive enquiry. This holistic approach, having a critical perspective, could offer a new insight to the architectural episteme for enquiring the paradox of urban identity within globalisation.

1.2 Operational Definitions

The operational definitions consist of conceptual roots of the terms and references, direct and indirect definitions that offer an insight into transdiscursive enquiry, which is the spine of the thesis.

Referring to Michel Foucault's (1998b) concept "transdiscursive", the paradox of urban identity that gives way to new relations having contradictions could be revealed. Foucault defines the term transdiscursive through an author of a work -may it be a book, a theory, a tradition or a discipline- that is the "founder of discursivity". According to him, transdiscursive authors transcend their works, in which they provide "an endless possibility of discourse" (Foucault, 1998b, p. 217). In other words, the discourses in their works have potential to offer new openings by generate possibilities and encourage new works. Similar to what the transdiscursive authors do by producing a work that has a potential to inspire different works, a transdiscursive enquiry on the urban identity could make obvious the potentials in an urban space in a form of multiplicity. Understanding the urban identity within globalisation requires transdiscursive reading of this multiplicity that could be considered as a way of doing transdiscursive enquiry. Throughout the transdiscursive reading in an urban space, the relation between discursive and non-discursive dimensions could be explored. An urban space that motivates a transdiscursive reading inhabits differences and also opens up ways for alternative interpretations. A transdiscursive reading did not limit the meaning of the urban identity to certain discourses; on the contrary, due to the shifting body-space-time relations it encourages the relation between the discursive and non-discursive dimensions. The transdiscursive enquiry arouses the endless possibility of discourse by pointing out paradoxical situations the urban identity entails. In general speaking the urban identity transcends a single discourse, since the paradoxes are not dissolved but re-constituted every time they are unveiled. And by doing so, an endless possibility of discourse is generated, as an alternative to a single discourse that is used for articulating an urban space to the global capitalism. Moreover, Foucault argues that discourses of transdiscursive authors give rise to

differences as well as similarities (Foucault, 1998b, p. 218). Thus an opposing discourse on the works of transdiscursive authors, in one way or the other, includes their discourses. In this context, when a transdiscursive enquiry is pursued, the urban identity is understood by various discourses that might be in conflict with each other and maybe more important their relations to non-discursive dimensions could be discovered³. Another aspect that differentiates transdiscursive authors from other authors is that re-reading their works transforms both their works and their discourses, which Foucault refers as a “return to the origin”. Foucault emphasizes that the return does not denote a “historical supplement” but he states that “this return, which is part of the discursive field itself, never stops modifying it. The return ... constitutes an effective and necessary task of transforming the discursive practice itself” (Foucault, 1998b, p. 219). In this regard, in the transdiscursive enquiry, understanding and interpreting the urban identity through the shifting body-space-time relations in an urban space, does not put an end to the transformation of the urban space or the interpretation of the urban identity. Discovering the relations in an urban space by moving between discursive and non-discursive dimensions through a transdiscursive enquiry, transforms both the body-space-time relations and the urban space. This transformation encourages further transdiscursive enquiries and thus inspires re-interpretation of the urban identity, which is a return to the origin, but every time it is different than the previous one, thus it is modified or transformed.

In a transdiscursive enquiry, reading the relations between discursive and non-discursive dimensions in an urban space could be represented by a metaphor of “kayaking movement”. Bruno Latour defines the term “kayaking” as a continuous and articulated movement between opposing banks of a river:

³Foucault points out the importance of exhibiting relations between *the discursive domain* and *the non-discursive domain* and notes:

“...there is nothing to be gained from describing this autonomous layer of discourses unless one can relate it to other layers, practices, institutions, social relations, political relations, and so on. It is that relationship which has always intrigued me ...I tried to define the relations between these different domains (discursive domains and non-discursive domains). ...the discursive domains did not always conform to structures they had in common with their associated practical and institutional domains, that they obeyed, rather, structures they share with other epistemological domains - that there was a kind of isomorphism of discourses among themselves in a given period. So one is presented with two perpendicular axes of description: that of the theoretical models common to several discourses, and that of the relations between the discursive domain and the non-discursive domain.” (Foucault, *On the Ways of Writing History*, 1998a, pp. 284,285)

... instead of trying to cross this river and build this bridge, you decide instead to go with the flow, that is, to get involved in a bit of canoeing, kayaking or rafting. Then the absence of a bridge is not such a problem. What counts is your ability to equip yourself with the right paraphernalia so that you can go down the river without drowning yourself. You might be scared to get into the turbulent river, you might regret the task of bridge building, but you will probably agree that the two riverbanks are bound to look rather different once you apprehend both of them from the point of view of such a kayaking movement forward. (Latour, 2008, pp. 13-14)

In an urban space, the discursive and non-discursive dimensions could be considered as opposing banks of a river. In the transdiscursive enquiry, the body makes a kayaking movement between the both banks. While moving from one bank to another, the body constitute relations that are not fixed at a point, or denoting a single discourse as a bridge, but a process, which is transformed and articulated in a continuous movement. In this movement, the positioning of the body shifts which enables to re-constitute new relations regarding the both sides, and gives way to further interpretations. In this regard, a transdiscursive enquiry on the urban identity is not a bridge building between the opposing poles of discursive and non-discursive dimensions in an urban space. On the contrary, in the transdiscursive readings the holistic experience of the body could be considered as making kayaking movements between discursive and non-discursive banks of a river. The urban identity thus has similar domains with the metaphor of the river giving way to a transdiscursive enquiry.

1.3 Problematizing the Urban Identity in the Transmodern Paradigm

A transdiscursive enquiry on the urban identity could make the architects and urban designers to be aware of the consequences of the urban transformation projects that occur through certain discourses ascribed to the urban spaces as an urban identity, and influence them to develop alternative architectural and urban design approaches. Unless such an awareness is raised, the urban scale interventions could continue to speed up the transformation of cities all around the world with certain discourses, regarding the globalized capitalism. Especially certain cities and its citizens are exposed more to the reckless implementations of the neoliberal urban and cultural politics of the global capitalist economy. Harvey states that capitalism destroys and rebuilds the spaces, as a tool for “space relations, territorial organization and systems of places linked in a ‘global division’ of labour and functions”, where the memory, do

not inhabit as an accumulation (Harvey, 2000, p. 59). For instance in Istanbul the urban fabric of the inner city is being redefined and replaced with the spaces of the capital, such as upper class luxury residences, shopping centres etc. In this process, while the architectural heritage is being razed, the individual and collective memories of the citizens are being erased and replaced with certain discourses. The loss of the individual and collective memory leads to the commodification of the space, because a commodity is free from space and time, and only refers to the discourse. The awareness of the dynamics that vitalize the memory in an urban space regenerates the body-space-time relations and the urban identity refers more than a discourse. On the other hand, Istanbul is forced to extend its natural limits, to be articulated to the global capitalist economy through the neoliberal politics in another way. In this regard the north forests as the scarce natural resources of air and water of the city, are being destroyed to make way for the projects of embodied capital such as the biggest airport, the third bridge etc. Although the transformation is inevitable in cities, capital-oriented fast-paced urban interventions point to negative effects and consequences on the city and the citizens. It should be emphasized that not only the city but also the world in general -including every living or non-living organism- and the universe itself has been and still is changing at every instant. Therefore, the question is not about how to prevent or to defeat this transformation, but it is about discovering the possibilities of different ways of transformation within the present-day relations. Considering that the transformation of the urban environments is inevitable within the shifting present-day relations, the research question could be formulated as: is it possible to understand and interpret the urban identity in a holistic way that the transdiscursive enquiry would give rise to an architectural and urban design in reference to a constant transformation?

In order to understand and re-interpret the urban identity, it is essential to question the profit-driven urbanization process. This could be done in relation to the present-day relations such as the wider structuring of globalisation, post-industrial mode of production, global capitalist economy and neoliberal cultural politics. In this regard, the urban identity could be problematized and re-interpreted within the “transmodern paradigm”. The transmodern paradigm refers to profound changes in how we perceive and conceptualize the world in relation to the emerging discoveries and developments in natural and social sciences. In this sub-section, first, how global capitalism re-organizes the urban space regarding the post-industrial production is going to be

scrutinized in relation to the urban identity. Then the transmodern paradigm is going to be introduced in which the urban identity could be enquired regarding the shifting body-space-time relations.

1.3.1 Globalisation vs. Global Capitalism

The modern city was organized regarding the industrialization (Fordism), capitalist economy and nation-states. In 1970s the cities began to be re-organized around the post-industrial (post-Fordist, flexible) mode of production, global capitalist (late-capitalist) economy, international companies, neoliberal politics and their sociocultural extensions such as multiculturalism. In this shift from modern to postmodern paradigm, the information technologies and the accelerated transmission of knowledge enabled the world to be more integrated and gave way to globalisation. Capitalism, as the hegemonic economical system of the world for over two hundred years, is mutated over time and in the end of 20th century adopted itself to post-industrial mode of production. Post-industrial mode of production brought flexibility in production by mass-customized products. The flexibility of the post-industrial production enabled “flexible accumulation of the capital” as well (Harvey, 1992, p. 164), and the capitalism stretched out globally (global capitalism).

In the postmodern paradigm every product, which comes out as new and different, diverges from the aesthetic understanding of modernism and intends to legitimize the post-industrial production of late capitalism (Jameson, 1997, pp. 453-460). The equality discourse of standardization in the industrial mode of production is replaced with the heterogeneity discourse of mass-customization in the post-industrial production. Mass-customization is a way of producing same product according to the costumers’ necessities or properties, which is neither the same nor a different product. In other words, the number of so-called different products that are serving for the same need are differentiated through different discourses only, rather than how they serve for that need. The discourse makes these products differ in quantity rather than quality, which according to Marx (1982), make them commodities. Jean Baudrillard refers to this trick of postmodernism in his book *Consumer Society*:

“What mother has not dreamt of a washing machine specially designed for her alone?” asks an advert. And, indeed, what mother has not? Millions, then, have dreamt of the same washing machine, specially designed for each of them alone. (Baudrillard, 1998, p. 95)

Besides the sexual discrimination in this advertisement, Baudrillard points to the difference that mass-customization offer, which does not go beyond a discourse. Similar to a washing machine, the urban space becomes an extension of global capitalist relations when considered as a product to be marketed. The post-industrial production that introduced mass-customization as a tool for heterogeneity is reflected to the space through branding. Branding is ascribing a single discourse as an identity to an urban space, which could be regarded as mass-customization of an urban space. The space is reproduced through a brand, a discourse that is ascribed to it –given-identity. Heterogeneity is produced out of given-identities where identity, as a brand, turns into a tool for marketing the space in order to articulate the urban space to the global capital flow. Branding as a neoliberal cultural policy goes hand in hand with the neoliberal economy politics. The neoliberal economy anticipates re-using the space for various post-industrial ways such as spaces of the cultural capital or the service sector, for instance in Levent-Kağıthane. Levent-Kağıthane is being reproduced for the service-sector with the discourse of “Finance Centre” (OECD, 2008) (İstanbul Altyapı Komitesi, 2011), in which the factories are replaced with high-rises of offices, upper-class residences and shopping centres. However, these post-industrial spaces of capital are so similar to each other, that the costumers who will buy them or rent them should have reason to choose one of them but not the other. In this regard, mass-customization used as a way of differentiating between these post-industrial spaces of capital. In order to differentiate them, they are branded as the tallest, thinnest, one with the open-air shopping mall and so on. Branding is also used to differentiate Levent-Kağıthane from other service-sector based places, its counterparts, for instance, Ataşehir (İstanbul Finans Merkezi Altyapı Komitesi, 2011) in Istanbul. Behind the discourse of heterogeneity that is based on identity as a brand (mass-customization), an urban space is treated as a commodity to be marketed. Thus in global capitalism ascribing an identity to an urban space through “local nostalgias” (Jameson, 1997) and “myths” (Baudrillard, 1998) leads to commodification of the space by mass-customization.

The control and management of the world sources under global capitalism, without leaving anywhere out of this system, aims to produce market and capital focused spaces. In this context, the urban spaces are totalized (homogenized) through neoliberal cultural politics with so-called recognition of differences (heterogeneity)

(Jameson, 1997). Manuel Castells (2010) argues that the globalisation under capitalist relations gives way to a certain kind of space, which he refers as the space of flows. According to him, the space of flows is formed in a society organized around flows of capital, technology, information, images, sounds, symbols and organizational interaction (Castells, 2010, p. 442). He further states that the space of flows comprises “the symbolic connection of homogeneous architecture”, and points to a new imaginary where the all forms could be reinvented in any place, thus avoids the history and culture of any society (Castells, 2010, p. 448).

While global capitalism aims to homogenize the urban space and praise material culture, globalisation as a present-day phenomenon always generates multiplicity. Harvey (2000) and Doreen Massey (2001) argue that globalisation stimulates the specificity in an urban space opposed to the global capitalism. Massey (2001) points out that globalisation is one of the sources of reproducing the locality as a uniqueness, because of the geographical uneven development that it engenders. Every urban space is a unique historical-geography that constitutes and inhabits unique social, cultural, economic and political relations. Therefore, due to the geographical uneven development, globalisation could only intensify their uniqueness.

The globalisation could be opened up to a dynamic argument through the open-ended dialectical approach of historical-geographical materialism that Harvey (1992) suggests. The globalisation is grounded in the political-economic relations that could uncover what the capitalist relations conceal by constantly reproducing the space (Harvey, 2000, p. 54). The historical-geographic materialism points to the singularities of the urban spaces that are immersed within the global relations. Within globalisation, an urban space is a singularity that is just transformed in another direction, in relation to the global flow of sources (money, people, information etc.).

As Arjun Appadurai (2010) asserts globalisation is also a “localizing process”, since “different societies appropriate the materials of modernity differently” (p. 17). In relation to the globalisation, an urban space is articulated to the global flow of people, capital and knowledge in various ways. It could be argued that this articulation shifted the existing developmental view of modernity and postmodernity and gave way to a new paradigm, namely transmodern paradigm.

1.3.2 Transmodern Paradigm

The spatial organization of global capitalism that in mutual relation with postmodernity does not ameliorate the problems in the urban space arose in modernity, on the contrary lead to further problems such as commodification of space. Jameson (1991) argues that the spaces of postmodernity cause a disjunction between the body and the built environment. Baudrillard (1997) states that in postmodern architecture, “a culture of simulation and fascination” replaces “a culture of production and meaning” (p. 212). The issues with conceptualizing the urban identity within globalisation is related to this space production crisis of postmodernity.

It could be argued that the architecture and urban design practiced within modern and postmodern paradigms are inadequate to afford socially and economically satisfactory built environments. There is a need for a new paradigm for re-thinking the urban identity in order to handle the space-time-body relations in architectural and urban design a different way in relation to globalisation. Thomas Kuhn (2012) claims that even though it is not a necessity, it is often true that a paradigm shift is followed by a crisis; a common agreement on there is something going wrong with the ongoing paradigm.

Not only in the field of architecture and urban design but also capitalist economy with its cultural, social and political extensions is in crisis. This crisis, in a way, arouse concerning the new developments especially in natural sciences. As Kuhn asserts, invention of new tools or new laws in one field of science can cause a crisis in another field. For instance, new discoveries in physics could alter the relations of space-time and recognizing these new relations could lead to a paradigm shift. Today, various thinkers from different fields of study are aware of a paradigm shift, due to the new relations. The term “transmodern paradigm” used in this thesis to refer to this paradigm shift, even though there is not a common-agreement of a term to define this new way of conceptualizing the world within new relations.

Marc Ghisi (2010), portrays these new relations regarding the shifts in social, cultural, political and economic contexts. For instance he argues that the value creation process is changing in economics, since instead of an object, knowledge gain importance, which could not be traded (“because *you keep the knowledge* you are ‘trading’” (Ghisi, 2010)) but could be shared. This new situation, which is also in relation to the changing

cultural, social and political values, requires a different logic in economics, other than the logic of capitalism.

The awareness of entropy (the second law of thermodynamics) could provide a new point of view, which would be useful to produce new logic in economy-politics. Jeremy Rifkin (2014) argues that the economic activities rely on the available energy as the source for production. However when the sources are consumed, they become unavailable for further production due to the entropy. The first law of thermodynamics states that the total amount of energy is constant. However, before and after a chemical activity, it changes form. While the energy before the activity is a useful one, the energy that remains is not a useful one. The scientists refer to this useless energy as the entropy and therefore the energy is not reduced but turns out to be unavailable to perform further useful activities. Rifkin explains this process as:

While the energy remains fixed, it is continually changing form, but only in one direction, from available to unavailable. ... According to the second law, energy always flows from hot to cold, concentrated to dispersed, ordered to disordered. ... While no energy is lost, the dispersed energy is no longer capable of performing useful work. Physicists refer to the no-longer-useable energy as entropy. (Rifkin, 2014, p. 14)

The entropy points to an asymmetrical relation between opposing poles, such as production and consumption relations. Considering the asymmetrical relation between the supply and the demand, it could be argued that an economy based on capitalist (or global capitalist) relations is not a sustainable one. Not only the economic relations but also space-time relations are also shifted in relation to the asymmetrical relations.

In relation to the entropy, Ilya Prigogine (1997) altered the theory of space-time when he took the classic view of quantum theory to a different level of argument, by introducing probability and irreversibility. For him irreversibility that the entropy stimulates, brings about instability and uncertainty thus changes the known laws of nature. Prigogine further argues that due to this instability the past and the future are not symmetrical anymore, encouraging probability instead of deterministic views.

Marcos Novak (2000) as a pioneering architect in the transmodern paradigm, states that the developments in science and technology gave way to a “new space”. Regarding this new space, he makes experiments on the realities different from a retinal one, through his works on “multiplexed time” and “invisible architecture.” He

claims that new realities require a new vocabulary and thus he refers to “transmodernity”, among other terms, to discern these new spatial conditions.

The term “transmodernity” was coined by Rosa M. Rodriguez Magda (1989) in her work *Saturn's Smile towards a Transmodern Theory*. She states in relation to Hegelian dialectical triad of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, that transmodernity does not only diverge from modernity and postmodernity but also, carry along from both introducing something new (Magda, 2004). The dichotomy between modernity that connotes homogeneity, affirmation and consistency, and postmodernity that connotes heterogeneity, negation and disintegration as their antithesis, is dissolved in transmodernity and their relations are disclosed instead, as a dynamic synthesis:

Transmodernity presents itself to us as a type of dialectic synthesis of the modern thesis and the postmodern antithesis, and in certainly the light, hybrid and virtual form typical of these periods. (Magda, 2015)

In this consideration, it could be argued that the shifts from modern paradigm to postmodern and to the transmodern paradigm are not strict breaks. The modern world turns into something different, becoming-globalized, but it carries along its prior properties and contradictions as well. This paradigm shift, in accord with globalisation, enables re-conceptualizing the world in many different ways and points to asymmetrical relations and encourages critical thinking. Semra Aydınli (2004) states that critical thinking is based on the asymmetrical relationship between contradictory concepts such as the subject and the object. In the critical thinking, which is a process rather than a result, the asymmetrical relation emerges since neither the subject nor the object can be reduced into one another, but they make one another visible.

The starting point of this thesis is based on a critical thinking that focuses on the urban identity. In relation to this term, globalisation and global capitalism, transformation and the desire for stability are taken into consideration for developing a holistic approach to the urban identity. In order to get out of the vicious circle of the global capitalism that absorbs all the meaning systems and translates them into a commodity a holistic approach to the urban space and the urban identity is required. Within the transmodern paradigm, globalisation could be considered as an opportunity to generate different worldviews and approaches, and tolerate their co-existence. Although different world views consist of contradictions and complexities, coexistence of them intensifies the interaction of the contradictions that unfolds relations as a multiplicity.

In this regard it could be argued that the transmodern paradigm refers to a web of relations that is provisional, and where the differences co-exist as a multiplicity.

Urban transformation that triggers the differentiation of the space-time from itself, or as Gilles Deleuze (1994) puts it, the difference in itself, creates a multiplicity and points to the paradox of urban identity. This paradox could be revealed through a transdiscursive enquiry by reading Istanbul, as an exemplar. A transdiscursive reading on Istanbul does not focus on understanding the urban identity of Istanbul, reversibly, it concentrates upon the critical concept of urban identity within globalisation. Istanbul and each of its urban fragments were thought as an exemplar –an ideal mean / pattern / archetype– for understanding and interpreting “the concept of urban identity in globalisation” having particularity that gives way to generality. In this research transdiscursive readings focused on the shifting body-space-time relations that gave rise to transdiscursivity (an asymmetrical relationship between discursive and non-discursive) within and through which the urban identity has emerged as a paradoxical term. Re-thinking the urban identity in relation to the transmodern paradigm through a transdiscursive enquiry could allow grasping the potentials of urban spaces and understanding the world in a different way. This transdiscursive enquiry on the urban identity focused on certain urban spaces, as fragments of Istanbul.

1.4 Scope of the Research

It is not possible to think Istanbul as a homogenous place, composed of similar built environments, social structures or cultural habits in the different areas throughout its history. Because not only Istanbul, but also in all the cities the geographical location of every neighbourhood is different as well as their historical processes, in relation to the socio-cultural as well as political-economic developments. For instance, even in the same historical process and within the same urban space such as in modernization period in Beyoğlu district of Istanbul, social, cultural and economic relations –which are in relation to the city as well as the country and the world in general– could vary in its various neighbourhoods. In this regard, this thesis aims neither to consider the city as a homogenous whole, nor to interpret an identity as a universal constant. On the contrary, in this thesis, the reductionist approaches that generalizes the city and fixes the urban identity are criticized and a holistic approach is employed instead. The urban identity could be understood within globalisation, through a holistic approach to

scrutinize various patterns of social, cultural, economic and political relations of the chosen urban fragments in relation to their transformations.

The scope of this research is limited to distinct urban fragments of Istanbul, in the age of globalisation. It could be helpful to mention why some urban spaces has a potential to be regarded as a fragment of the city, and why the urban identity is proposed to be understood and interpreted through these urban fragments.

1.4.1 Urban Fragment

It could be helpful to mention why certain urban spaces are regarded as fragments, and why the urban identity is proposed to read through these fragments. A fragment⁴ is a whole in itself, because it constitutes relations in a form of a narrative that is unique to itself. However, a fragment is also interdependent and is connected with other fragments and the whole (which could also be a fragment of another whole), and establishes relations with them also in a form of a narrative⁵, which could refer to the whole –which it is part of. A fragment constitutes a narrative through the unique relations it includes as a whole in itself and the relations it establishes with the whole, as one of its parts. The narrative is what makes the fragment different from just being a part of a whole.

The narrative emphasizes the temporality of the fragment, which lacks in a static image, in Edward Said's terms "vision", of a part. Contrary to a vision, a narrative does not reduce the fragments to a static image, but points to the transdiscursivity in the fragments. Said defines the narrative as a dynamic entity, which refers to particularities and distinguishes it from the vision:

⁴ The way Romantics, especially Friedrich Schlegel, employed fragments distinguishes from the dictionary meaning of fragment as "a small part broken off or separated from something (Oxford Dictionary)." For Schlegel (1991) a fragment is "like a miniature work of art," which "has to be entirely isolated from the surrounding world and be complete in itself like a hedgehog" (p. 45). Furthermore, in the Romantic notion of the fragment is not only a whole in itself but also emphasizes an incomplete whole. Rodolphe Gasché (1991) states that fragment thematizes an "essential fragmentation of the whole, an essential incompleteness that itself is a mode of fulfilment" (p. xxx). In this regard, a fragment could be considered both as a part of a whole and also a whole in itself, which exceeds the dichotomy of the structuralist part and whole relationship.

⁵ Alberto Perez-Gomez (1994) refers to the narrative in architecture as a "'metaphoric' projection grounded on recollection" (p. 24). Paul Ricoeur (1980) emphasizes the "temporal aspect" of narrative as "open-ended series of events" (s. 179) that combines "chronological and configurational order" (s. 178).

... narrative is the specific form taken by written history to counter the permanence of vision.
... Narrative asserts the power of men to be born, develop, and die, the tendency of institutions and actualities to change, the likelihood that modernity and contemporaneity will finally overtake "classical" civilizations; above all, it asserts that the domination of reality by vision is no more than a will to power, a will to truth and interpretation, and not an objective condition of history. Narrative, in short, introduces an opposing point of view, perspective, consciousness to the unitary web of vision; it violates the serene Apollonian fictions asserted by vision. (Said, 1979, p. 240)

The narrative is about the relational framework/network/web of the fragment (which is always in transformation) as a whole in itself, and at the same time, it gives an idea about the whole, which the fragment is a part of. Since a chapter could be regarded as a fragment of a book or a song could be a fragment of an album or a trailer could be a fragment of a film; in the same sense a specific space-time can be considered as a fragment of a city. What is common in these different kinds of fragments is that they are complete wholes in themselves while at the same time they are related to the whole, like one of its parts through narratives. The narrative relates them to the whole as well as to other fragments. In this thesis, an urban fragment refers to the narrative at any given moment of a historical-geography where social relations occur and transform.

A city could be regarded as both a whole, which is composed of various urban fragments and a fragment of another whole, such as a region or a country. Massey (2001), who refers to an urban fragment as a locality, emphasizes that localities themselves are not independent structures but rather they should be understood as products of a wider structuring, such as globalisation. She further argues that the localities can only be understood within 'nets of social relations' which are "always provisional, always in the process of being made, always contested" (Massey, 1993, p. 148). These nets of social relations that construct the places, bind them to other places as well. For instance, Istanbul is a fragment of Turkey, through which the economic relations of both Istanbul (as a part) and Turkey (as a whole) could be narrated. It is not possible to reach the knowledge of Istanbul as a whole, since it stretches through space-time and always in the process of being made. However, it could be meaningful to scrutinize it regarding the relations it constitutes today. Thus, it is not possible to reach a never-changing knowledge of Istanbul; but it could be possible to reach a knowledge of any given moment, when it is experienced.

Experiencing a city, as a confrontation in the present time, within the relational network, could enable one to constitute a narrative in relation to the past and imagine the future. Steven Holl (1994) states that we experience the individual buildings, open spaces and various elements of the city in a continuous process as a “whole.” Still this experience, according to him is incomplete, consisting of partial views (Holl, 1994, p. 44). He argues that the partial views of the foreground, middle ground and distant view are merged in the “enmeshed experience (Holl, 2012, p. 26). In the enmeshed experience, the relation between the body and the city gives rise to a flow of time as a whole of interactions, perceptions, connotations, and memories. Cultural codes in an urban space motivate this process of relational experience into a differential becoming that elaborates a new conception of sense and constantly produces new events. The relational experience is based on a holistic approach that facilitate to make connections between the discursive and non-discursive dimensions and to find an interpretive frame for the narrative. Narrating an urban space at any given moment, as an urban fragment, could make possible to re-think the urban identity and understand it as a paradoxical term.

In the stretching whole of space-time, determining an urban fragment, could enable to investigate a certain physical environment along with the relations it constitutes, at a certain moment. An urban fragment, which is a whole in itself, could be understood as both horizontal and vertical (space-time) sections of the whole as one of its fragments. It is in relation to other urban fragments and the whole simultaneously (the city / country / world / solar system / universe ... etc.) through the relations stretched through space, horizontally. Also experiencing an urban fragment, as a confrontation in the present time, relates the past to the future, as the vertical section. The body experiences the urban fragment via the spatial traces, which could motivate him/her to recall the past. At the same time, this experience could enable the body to transform the urban fragment through which the body is articulated to the future.

1.4.2 Chosen Fragments of Istanbul

In this context, the paradox of urban identity could be revealed in the chosen fragments of Istanbul. Asmalımescit, Levent-Kağıthane and Kuzguncuk are the urban fragments chosen as exemplars in order to problematize the urban identity in relation to the present-day global dynamics, namely post-industrial production, information

technologies, neoliberal economy and politics with their social and cultural extensions both in Turkey in general and in Istanbul in particular.

It could be argued that Asmalımescit, Levent-Kağıthane and Kuzguncuk have spatial relations giving clues to understand and interpret the urban identity as a paradoxical term in a form of narrative.

One of the reasons that influence to choose these urban fragments as exemplars is that each of them are defined with a popular discourse. Asmalımescit is defined in the media as a nightlife and entertainment place intertwined with creative industries with the discourses of “entertainment locomotive of Istanbul (Habertürk Kültür Sanat, 2010)” and “centre of bohemian lifestyle (Çini, 2010).” While Levent is referred as the “main centre” (Istanbul Altyapı Komitesi, 2011) for developing Istanbul into a “finance centre” (OECD, 2008) in the global arena, Kağıthane is referred as “new business centre on the European side” (Nef) where new housing projects are marketed with discourses such as “a new lifestyle in the centre of Istanbul” (Levent Loft). And Kuzguncuk is referred as a “nostalgic” (Nil Konuk Evi, 2012), (Mills, 2006) settlement area by its inhabitants as well as its visitors.

It is claimed that these discourses are inadequate to grasp an urban fragment as a whole, and the hidden potentials in these urban fragments could be uncovered through a transdiscursive enquiry.

Another point that guides the selection of these urban fragments is that they are not recently established urban spaces, thus they have different histories that are also related to the specific paradigm shifts in Istanbul. Asmalımescit is a settlement dating back to 16th Century, through which the modernization process of Ottoman Empire and the implementations regarding the neo-liberal cultural politics in the recent-past could be interpreted. Levent-Kağıthane is urbanized in the second half of the 20th century, through which both the industrialization and post-industrialization in Istanbul could be interpreted. Kuzguncuk is a residential area since 17th Century, through which the cultural variety in Istanbul as well as political processes in relation to it could be interpreted.

The last reason that effects the selection is that each of these urban fragments undergoes a certain transformation process, regarding the neoliberal urban policies. For instance, in Asmalımescit cultural capital leads a regeneration process, whereas in

Levent-Kağıthane the international finance policies determines the route of the transformation, and in Kuzguncuk a user-oriented process takes place.

Table 1.1 expresses these relations between the chosen urban fragments that made it possible to investigate them in separate chapters but in relation to the research question of the thesis, with the common sub-question of how an urban fragment is differentiated from itself revealing the paradox of urban identity. Further sub-questions as follows: How could understanding and interpreting the urban identity be possible in Asmalımescit where the urban space is constantly re-organized related to the cultural politics; in Levent-Kağıthane where the physical environment –and the social structure in relation to– it is being razed and re-built in relation to the political economy; in Kuzguncuk where the urban space is adopted to the present-day requirements in relation to the cultural history?

Table 1.1 : What makes the chosen urban fragments so special.

• They have a popular discourse either defined by local government or generally accepted by the users/people aiming an urban segregation due to accumulation/agglomeration of a single function at a certain place.
• Their geographical locations in the city, having spatial qualities, offer potentials for the users/people that get in relation with them in more than one way that exceeds the dominant discourse.
• They refer to paradigm shifts that both constitute a collective memory and enable to read the transformation patterns in relation to the urban policies.
• They have narratives that points to the present-day urban transformation patterns in Istanbul.

1.4.3 Transdisciplinary research

The constant transformation in the upper mentioned urban fragments that constitutes narratives, could be investigated through a transdisciplinary research, in order to re-think the urban identity in a transdiscursive way. The transformation of the urban fragments occur due to their social, cultural, historical, economic and political extensions. Social acts, cultural habits, technological developments, economic relations, political decisions, historical processes and geographical conditions are indivisible from the formation and transformation of urban fragments. Some of these aspects affect an urban fragment more, some affect less, but they are decisive in its spatialization. Not to mention that the spatial elements in an urban fragment also has undeniable effects on these dynamics in a reflexive way. For instance, technological

developments give rise to, in Harvey's (1992) term, "space-time compression". An urban fragment can be experienced differently through let's say communication and recording (visual/audio) technologies with smart phones, tablet computers or the space can be produced differently such as the smart buildings, in relation to remote control systems. Today, it is necessary to take into account the relation between technology and culture, in order to understand an urban fragment.

On the other hand, urban space is deeply related to the economic system. For example, the skyscrapers in Levent-Kağıthane could be considered as the visualization of the capital. A transdiscursive reading on skyscrapers or on Levent-Kağıthane necessitate a reference to the political-economy. Furthermore the cultural-geography marks various relations regarding architecture. The spatial qualities of Kuzguncuk cannot be understood unless its hilly topography and its relation to water is taken into consideration. Socio-cultural dynamics in Kuzguncuk is closely related to political-economy as well. While the political decisions play an important role on the spatialization of Beyoğlu, at the same time it is the locus of political acts of society. For instance, the anti-government protests, especially for the Gezi Park and against the corruption scandal, are deeply related with the spatiality of Beyoğlu.

How various disciplines could be scrutinized in a transdiscursive reading, in order to understand the urban identity? Regarding the above-mentioned issues, a transdiscursive reading could only be made by entering into various discipline areas, thus a transdisciplinary research is required.

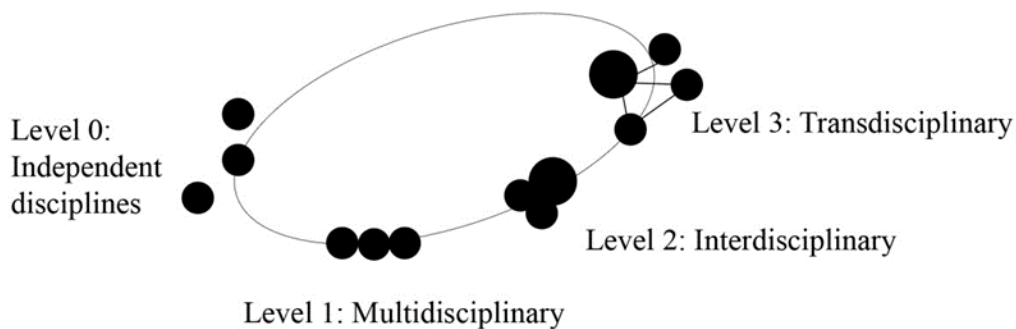


Figure 1.1 : Relations of the disciplines (Nicolescue, 2002).

Multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary researches are inadequate to understand the urban identity that emerges through the shifting body-space-time relations. As shown in Nicolescue's diagram (Figure 1.1), while, in multidisciplinary research these various disciplines are considered separately, interdisciplinary research is pursued through the intersection of various disciplines. In order to open up ways to develop alternative ways of architectural design within the relations in today's world, globalisation, the notion of identity could be re-thought through a transdisciplinary research.

Transdisciplinary research diverges from multidisciplinary research and interdisciplinary research in the sense that it focuses on the relation between various disciplines. The transdiscursive enquiry employed in this thesis with a holistic approach, does not only related to architecture, but also to other disciplines such as philosophy, geography, history, sociology, economy and politics. Although these disciplines are involved in this research, transdisciplinary approach does not aim to integrate them, but aim to investigate the research question through the relations between these various disciplines. As interpreted in Figure 1.2, the transdisciplinary research does not focus on the disciplines, the nodes, instead on the shifting relations in-between, the pathways. In this regard, the research question is enquired through these pathways (making a "kayaking movement" to refer to Latour, between the related disciplines) exceeding the discipline-specific approaches and methods. Furthermore, a transdisciplinary research does not necessarily be carried out together with participants from other disciplines.

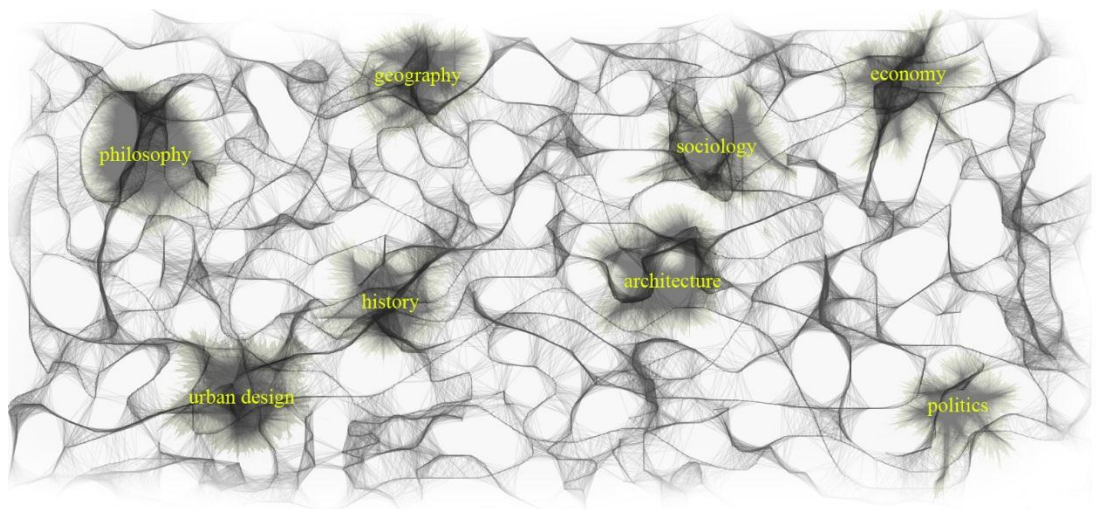


Figure 1.2 : Transdisciplinary research focuses on the relations between various disciplines.

This thesis suggests that understanding and interpreting the urban identity cannot be independent from the historical geographies and their specific social, cultural, economic and political structures. The urban identity emerges as a relation between the body and the place with all its dimensions (social, cultural, historical, economic and political). Both the contradictions of the images of the authorities/hegemonic system and the imagination that arises through the experience of the urban fragment are the constituents of this network relation. In order to enquire the urban identity within this network relation, a grounded theory⁶ is proposed as both the theory and the method of this transdisciplinary research.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Re-thinking the urban identity within the transmodern paradigm, that emphasizes shifting relations and multiplicity due to globalisation, necessitates a transdiscursive enquiry. A transdiscursive enquiry on the urban identity focuses on the asymmetrical relations in which an urban fragment is both merged in and emerged from. In other words the urban fragment is formed through the body-space-time relations and in reverse, reading the urban fragment is a way of articulation to these relations which gives rise to new body-space-time relations. Regarding this asymmetrical relation the urban fragment is in a continuous transformation as an extension of the body-space-time relations. Georges Bataille emphasizes this continuous transformation through his concept of *formless*:

Formless is not only an adjective having a given meaning, but a term that serves to bring things down in the world, generally requiring that each thing have its form. ... affirming that the

⁶ Grounded theory which is developed by the sociologists Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, in their work *Discovery of the Grounded Theory* in 1967((Sharan B. Merriam and Associates, 2002), (Given, 2008)), refers to both a qualitative research method and the outcomes of that research. In the grounded theory, the research does not begin with a theory or hypothesis to be proven, but with questions referring to a phenomenon (Sharan B. Merriam and Associates, 2002, p. 142). The grounded theory method aims for a theory construction through the guidelines it suggests for conducting an inductive qualitative research (Given, 2008, p. 374). Observations, interviews, literature, previous research and documentary materials, can be used to obtain data in the grounded theory (Sharan B. Merriam and Associates, 2002, p. 142). The researchers are involved actively in the data obtaining, as well as analysing, regarding their perspectives and backgrounds (Given, 2008, p. 376). Throughout the qualitative research, the data is obtained and analysed in reference to each other in a cyclical process, which “guides researchers to make systematic comparisons and to engage the data and emerging theory actively throughout the research process” (Given, 2008, p. 374).

universe resembles nothing and is only *formless*, amounts to saying that the universe is something like a spider or a gob of spittle. (Bataille, 1995, pp. 51-52)

Everything is formless according to Bataille, since at every instant/moment world is in transformation. The living and non-living organisms are all connected -through the relations they establish- to this process of being formed and in this regard being formless. Bataille's concept of *formless* could be considered as a way of understanding the relations that transforms an urban fragment and the body that experiences it. Furthermore this continuous transformation process is a productive relation rather than a fixed one, tracing non-linear trajectories. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari make use of concept of "rhizome" in order to emphasize the relations, which are not fixed but productive:

A rhizome may be broken, shattered at a given spot, but it will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines. ... There is a rupture in the rhizome whenever segmentary lines explode into a line of flight, but the line of flight is part of the rhizome. (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005, p. 9)

Regarding the concept of rhizome, both the urban fragment and the urban identity can be understood in a state of being made, as a process not an end-product. In a *rhizomatic* relation, even if an urban fragment is affected from an intervention, or tried fixed in time with a discourse ascribed to it as an urban identity, it finds ways to be transformed again from within its old connections and produce new connections. The urban fragment is like a rhizome, where the shifting body-space-time relations that give way to opportunities as the line of flights, which could be revealed through a transdiscursive reading.

In this consideration it could be stated that the buildings or cities are always in continuous transformation as the body that experiences and transforms them. As Bruno Latour and Albena Yaneva (2008) state, the problem arouses when a building (or a city) is regarded as a static object, rather than "a series of transformations". In order to challenge the static view to the buildings (or cities) and grasp them as a series of transformation, Latour suggests the actor-network theory (ANT).

Latour (2005) claims that the relations between living things or between the living and non-living things, both of which he considers as *actants*, constitute a *network*. Furthermore, actants are also network themselves, since they come into existence through relations, and they are also merged in the relations they constitute between

each other. The body and the place (buildings and cities) constitute a network through relations between them that give rise to an urban identity. The urban identity that emerges through the relation between the body and the place, gives an impression as if it is a continuity, and it could be defined with a single discourse. However this relation is not an end, it is re-constituted since both the body and the building are in transformation. In this consideration, the urban identity is far from being a frozen image of a city, but a conglomeration of moments that emerges at every relation that is constituted and re-constituted between the body and the space. The relations that form a continuity, which is also in transformation constitutes the paradox of urban identity. ANT is not a way to overcome the paradox or solve the problem but it is a way to “follow them elsewhere” to put in Latour’s terms (1999). It could be possible to follow the paradox of urban identity elsewhere, by focusing on the asymmetrical relations in an urban fragment with a holistic approach.

1.5.1 Grounded Theory in the Research

A grounded theory is carried out in this thesis, which is at the same time the method, referring to Latour’s perspective; where the dichotomies are blurred and relations come into prominence instead. This grounded theory is rooted in theoretical grounds with literature reviews on Deleuze, Bataille and Latour among others. In each urban fragment, the relations are grasped and narrated by asking certain questions to the environment through this theoretical framework. Departing from the research question, in each urban fragment methods for obtaining and analysing data differ. The visual and verbal texts as the representation techniques of this grounded theory are in relation to each other structuring a narrative in each urban fragment (Figure 1.3). These fragments are both independent having idiosyncratic characteristics and dependent to each other through the theoretical framework that brings them together as a whole.

The theory and the method are interwoven since the methodological tools are employed regarding theoretical framework, while the theoretical framework is developed in relation to the data obtained from the methodological tools. In this thesis a transdiscursive enquiry based on a grounded theory is employed in the chosen urban fragments as follows:

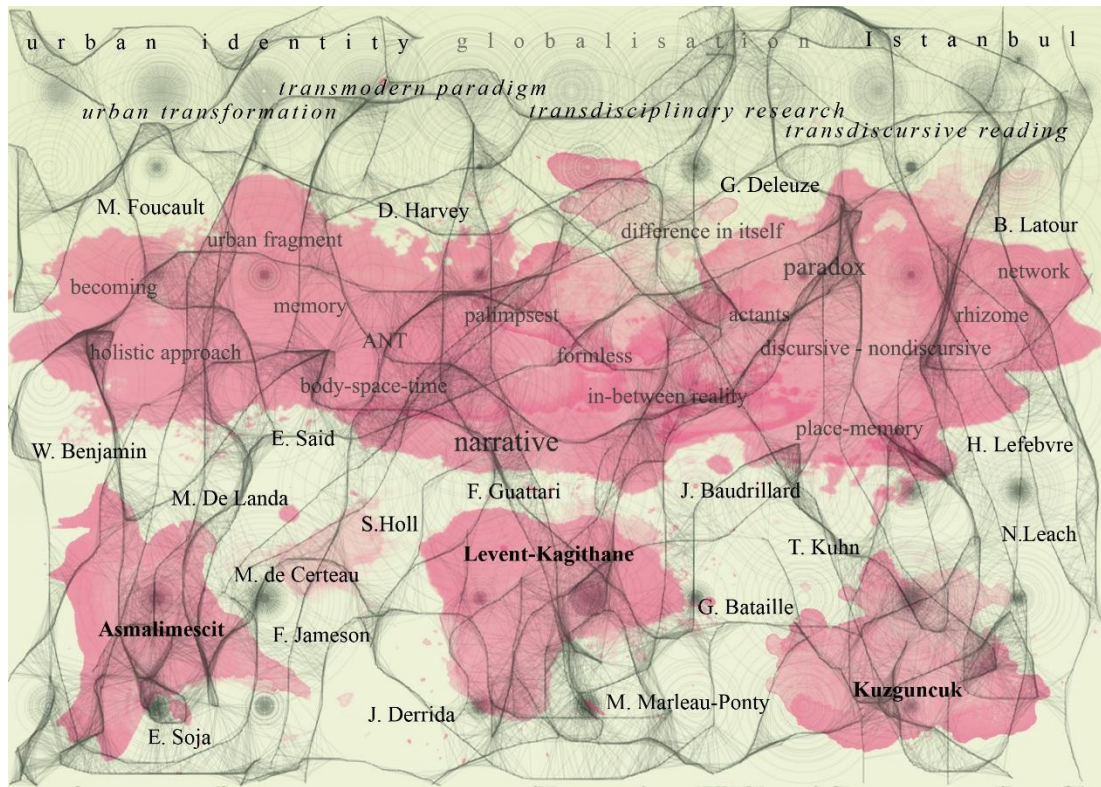


Figure 1.3 : Elements of the transdiscursive enquiry based on the grounded theory.

Transdiscursive enquiry has been done like making “kayaking movements” between the empirical research methods and theoretical framework. In this regard, a literature review related to the concept of urban identity has been done with theoretical readings, before determining the urban fragments to be investigated. While thinking on the urban identity in relation to this literature review, certain fragments of Istanbul came forward to enquire the urban identity. In the light of the theoretical readings, a number of visits are made to the chosen urban fragments. First-hand observations⁷ are made in the urban fragments, by experiencing them in consideration with the theoretical readings. Visual and verbal documentations has been made by taking photographs, sketching and taking notes during the first-hand observations. Further theoretical readings have been made in the following process as well, through which certain concepts have been associated with certain urban fragments for a deeper understanding and interpretation of the urban identity. A conceptual framework has been structured in relation to both the theoretical readings and the first-hand observations of the urban fragments. The

⁷ First-hand observations are used to obtain field data by observational notes, taking photographs of the environment, including the researcher’s ideas, thoughts and feelings (Given, 2008). David Seamon (1979) states that the knowledge of space could be achieved in fist-hand accounts, in which “the person is bodily and emotionally immersed in place” (p. 90).

first-hand observations that have been made in the further visits to the urban fragments and the in-depth interviews that are conducted in two of the urban fragments are carried out regarding to this conceptual framework. All the data obtained from first-hand observations and in-depth interviews in each urban fragment, have been interpreted visually with diagrams and verbally in written texts through this conceptual framework forming a narrative (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2 : How to look at the urban fragments.

- In a transdiscursive way: What are the cracks of the discourse that is ascribed as an identity to an urban fragment? Discovering alternative patterns of transformation that cause a deviation from the dominant discourse, through the asymmetrical relations between discursive and non-discursive dimensions in an urban fragment.

- Through the grounded theory: using empirical research methods in relation to the theoretical readings; constructing a conceptual framework in the urban fragment, which relates the theoretical readings with empirical research methods; discovering a concept that is relevant to the urban fragment, through theoretical readings and first hand observations made in the urban fragment, and constructing a conceptual framework; re-reading the urban fragment with this concept, in relation to the conceptual framework emphasizing the relations between discursive and non-discursive dimensions; pursuing the relations of how do people relate themselves to the place; finding personal stories through in-depth interviews conducted in relation to the conceptual framework; interpreting all the obtained data regarding the conceptual framework in a form of narrative through visual and verbal texts.

“Diagram” as a spatio-temporal mapping, could be considered as a visual representation technique of the transdiscursive readings. The asymmetrical relation between the discursive and non-discursive dimensions in an urban fragment are narrated through these diagrams. Deleuze (1993) defines the diagram as “a chaos, a catastrophe, but also a seed of order and rhythm” (pp. 235-236). He further argues that the diagram is bounded to space and time. According to Deleuze (1993) the diagram is both active and regulative that is, the visual material that form the figurative data does not fully vanish but “a new figuration” appears within them. Maps, photos, texts, drawings and sketches constitute the visual material of the diagrams. The juxtaposed and superimposed visual material forms a multi-layered medium and creates an ambiguity in the diagrams. The ambiguity that inhabits in the multi-layered medium of the diagrams is seeking for clarity, in a state of becoming-clear. The diagrams operating between ambiguity and clarity (like making a, in Latour’s terms, “kayaking movement”) reproduce the figurative data, as a new figuration. While the constituents

of visual material merge into each other, their distinct figurative data is reduced and at the same time, a new figuration appears. This new figuration refers to the relations in an urban fragment that emerge through transdiscursive readings. Furthermore, every time one contemplates with a diagram a new figuration can appear, since the diagram allows a multiple interpretations of the relations at the urban fragment.



Figure 1.4 : Visualizing the transdiscursive reading of an urban fragment.

The diagram above is an exemplar, which narrates how a transdiscursive enquiry is employed in Kuzguncuk, as an urban fragment (Figure 1.4). In the diagram, the written texts represent the theoretical readings, while the photos and sketches represent to the obtained data. However, the way they superimpose to each other in the diagram refers more than what they represent separately. By reading all these layers simultaneously, the process of the transdiscursive reading could be interpreted. On the right, a photo from the urban fragment is overlapped slightly with a quotation. This represents the beginning of the transdiscursive reading, in which the theoretical framework is constituted, and first-hand observations made to in the urban fragment. Certain concepts and words that refer to discursive and non-discursive dimensions are extracted in this process. The urban fragment is experienced while making kayaking movements between discursive and non-discursive dimensions in relation with these concepts, as the constituents of the conceptual framework. In the middle a sketch⁸

⁸ Mert Eyiler made the sketch used in the middle of the diagram in the in-depth interview, when he was asked to constitute a mapping representing his understanding of Kuzguncuk.

could be noticed which is merged in with the texts. This sketch could be read together with the quotation and the photo, and could be interpreted as how the in-depth interview was done regarding the theoretical framework. Within this diagram, there is another diagram on the right which is overlapped with this sketch, another text and other concepts. This represents how the data obtained from first-hand observations and in-depth interviews came together in the thesis regarding the conceptual framework in the form of verbal and written texts, –in order to interpret the discursive and non-discursive dimensions of the urban identity in Kuzguncuk. This diagram could also be interpreted in other ways, because while the eye moves on the diagram, each visual and verbal material come together in different ways, forming a new figuration.

Regarding this theoretical framework, a transdiscursive enquiry is conducted based on a grounded theory by the transdiscursive readings in the aforementioned urban fragments, in order to reveal the paradox of the urban identity that triggers multiplicity. In the transdiscursive readings, in which the body experiences the urban fragment by making kayaking movements between the discursive and non-discursive dimensions in relation to the conceptual framework, while enables us reveal the paradox of urban identity, at the same time gives way to an articulated knowledge of the urban fragment. In this regard, the transdiscursive enquiry could be a method to discover the urban identity as a paradoxical term and intervene to the ongoing transformation of cities. Understanding and interpreting the urban identity as a paradoxical term within globalisation through the transdiscursive enquiry could open up new ways of thinking –and acting– in architectural and urban design that is in constant transformation.

The chosen urban fragments are the means for employing the grounded theory in order to constitute a transdiscursive enquiry in relation to the concept of urban identity. In this regard it could be noted that, while the concept of urban identity is narrated through the chosen urban fragments, the thesis itself is also constituted from fragments in the form of narratives. Each urban fragment is covered in a separate chapter, constituting a fragment of the thesis, which emphasizes the relation of the context, and meaning in the thesis. Each of these chapters is a whole in itself, while at the same time it is a part of the transdiscursive enquiry on the concept of urban identity based on the problematic of the thesis. Even though the fragments of the thesis are in relation with each other, this is not a hierarchical one; they do not have a strict order and they might be read in the desired order.

2. READING ASMALIMESCIT⁹ AS A NARRATIVE

The urban environment is in a constant transformation in relation with its inhabitants, users as well as governments, non-governmental institutions and professionals such as architects, urban designers and planners. In an urban space, the implementations of different actors could lead this constant transformation to different ways. For instance in Beyoğlu district of Istanbul, the local government is pursuing an urban politics of transformation that only targets an economic development, but not necessarily a socio-cultural improvement. In order to adopt an urban space to the global capitalist economy, for instance Asmalımescit in Beyoğlu, a dominant discourse (for instance a nightlife and entertainment area) is ascribed to it as an urban identity, which arises a problem of commodification. This triggers a capital-oriented transformation and leads consuming the urban space as a commodity. In order to be articulated to the urban transformation process with a socio-culturally beneficial political economy, a different understanding of the urban identity could be adopted. The aim of this research is to understand and re-interpret the urban identity that emerges as becoming in Asmalımescit that would provoke alternatives in architectural and urban design while dealing with the constant transformation in the urban spaces.

Asmalımescit is a fragment of Istanbul, which exceeds the legal boundaries of a quarter (Figure 2.1). It refers to an endless whole of lived experiences, memories and future projections constituting a lifeworld with multiple meaning layers, which is always in transformation. Although Asmalımescit is being transformed over the centuries, in more than a decade, it is subject to implementations that aims to stabilize it within the discourse of a nightlife and entertainment area (Çini, 2010), (Habertürk Kültür Sanat, 2010)). These implementations do not put an end to its transformation but reducing Asmalımescit into a single discourse leads to commodification that excludes differences and conceals multiple meaning layers. In this research, Asmalımescit is going to be considered as a narrative text, in a metaphorical sense that transcends the

⁹ This chapter is not a research about Asmalımescit, but a constituent of a transdiscursive enquiry for understanding and interpreting the urban identity through Asmalımescit.

given definitions or defined uses under any dominant discourse, such as nightlife and entertainment. Asmalımescit as a narrative, includes both discursive and non-discursive (tacit-knowledge) dimensions (or “discursive formations and non-discursive domains” to use Foucault’s words (2002, p. 162); (1998a, pp. 284-285)) which are always in transformation in relation to each other. A transdiscursive reading is going to be carried out in Asmalımescit for understanding and interpreting the urban identity in relation to its transformation.

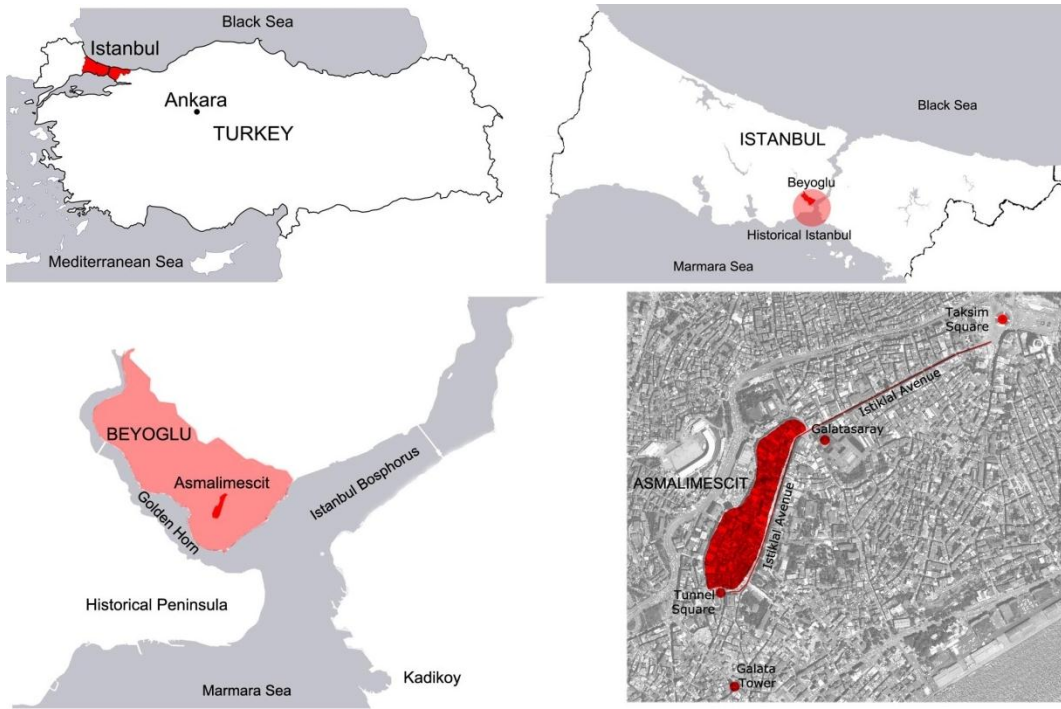


Figure 2.1 : Maps showing the location of Asmalımescit.

2.1 Narrative as a Theoretical Tool

Reading Asmalımescit as a narrative text necessitates understanding the shifting body-space-time relations. The relations in Asmalımescit that go beyond the popular discourse of nightlife and entertainment area, could be revealed through a transdiscursive reading. A transdiscursive reading is one of the methods for investigating an urban space, which is always in transformation, as a narrative, in a transdiscursive way. The transdiscursive reading focuses on the process, and takes place in the present time. It is rooted in the relational experience which is both fractal and continuous. The body perceives, experiences and imagines Asmalımescit through the relational experience. At every encounter, Asmalımescit and images related to it are re-produced. Moving from the tangible aspects in Asmalımescit, the body relates

them to its intangible aspects, and they got in a relation that transforms both the tangible and the intangible (discursive and non-discursive), thus the narrative text. In the present-day, past memories and future projections are superimposed in the relational experience of Asmalimescit. These ever-transforming and superimposed body-space-time relations transcend a single discourse by forming a narrative and the urban identity emerges as what Lefebvre defines as *Becoming*:

The *Becoming* is a continuous development (an evolution) yet at the same time it is punctuated by leaps, by sudden mutations and upheavals. At the same time it is an involution, since it carries with it and takes up again the content from which it began, even while it is forming something new. No *Becoming* is indefinitely rectilinear. (Lefebvre H. , 2009, p. 32)

Lefebvre is not referring to *Becoming*, as a development, which pursues a linear path and aims for the better. Quite the opposite, the path of *Becoming* is constantly being interrupted by many dynamics, regardless for better or worse. In this consideration, the transformation of Asmalimescit does not follow a linear path; it is interrupted with various breaks. For instance opening of Babylon Music Hall in Asmalimescit, is a threshold of the urban regeneration process where culture becomes an economic development strategy. Babylon Music Hall could be considered as an interruption, which has its both positive and negative effects on Asmalimescit. Every interruption shifts the route of the path, transforms it, while transforming both the subject of interruption and the path itself. Although the path of *Becoming* is not linear, the shift in its route does not put an end to its relation with its previous route. In the present, it is still in relation with its past as well as its future in one-way or the other. The abovementioned break in Asmalimescit's history does not put an end to the relation with its past. For example, back in the beginning of the 20th century, Asmalimescit had a vivid cultural life. It was densely populated with artists and artisans, who both used to live and work in their ateliers. Today, cultural activities that are revitalized with Babylon Music Hall, still take place in Asmalimescit but within different relations. Live and work ateliers, where arts and craftsmanship are both produced and consumed, are replaced mostly with consumption-focused hotels, dining and entertainment places. Lefebvre's understanding of *Becoming* points to the shifts, the relation with the past as well as the future grasped from the present day. Referring to Lefebvre's approach, the urban identity could be interpreted as becoming in Asmalimescit, where the shifts always have the potential to produce something new and yet related to the old.

2.2 Tracing the Transformation in Asmalımescit

The transformation in Asmalımescit is traced by reading it as a narrative. A transdiscursive reading is pursued through relational experience, which is used to both obtain and interpret data. In the relational experience, the first-hand observations and literature reviews are brought together to produce a knowledge of urban identity as becoming. Departing from the theoretical framework formed through literature reviews, the data is collected in Asmalımescit through relational experience, in the form of observational notes and photographs. The relational experience of both the physical environment and the socio-cultural life in Asmalımescit is a journey in space-time within one's consciousness. Although relational experience takes place in the present time, it includes the reflections of both the past and the future; memories and imaginations. Therefore, the process of relational experience continues while the data is obtained as well as interpreted, in the form of visual and verbal materials such as diagrams and narrative. In the following scenes¹⁰ a transdiscursive reading of Asmalımescit, as a narrative, based on the relational experience is carried out, through which the urban identity could be grasped as becoming.

Scene 1

On a cold winter night, getting out of the subway at the Tunnel Square, I pass the Ziraat Bank Art Gallery and walk through a tiny street, its walls filled with graffiti. Just in couple of minutes, I enter Şehbender Street with an ease and headed directly to the Babylon Concert Hall, which is located between the historical buildings, quite noticeable with its red aluminium façade and green lights. My friends were outside, having their cigarettes and chatting, like many of the fans who were there for the concert of the group Chinawoman. The concert was about to begin so we passed the black metal door showing out tickets and there we were in front of the stage, behind which was a bare brick historic wall, with masks hanging in its niches. We found ourselves a spot close to the stage, which is not that easy at every concert to find that kind of good spot to stand in the ground floor, or up on the balcony. This made me think of the time when, as three university students, we tried to find a last minute ticket for the Duman concert. It was the beginning of 2000s, the early days of Babylon when

¹⁰ The scenes below do not have a strict order for reading, but because of the thesis writing format they are given in a sequential order instead of being parallel to each other.

the people were thirsty for listening to a rock concert at a small-scale venue, specially renovated for music performances only. Many of the audience did not know Asmalımescit until Babylon was opened, however that night it was not even possible to enter the Şehbender Street, which was full of fans. I also remember how we arrived at Babylon, there were hardly any streetlights, and some weak lights were transpiring through the windows of the few taverns. The streets were so strange to us, as if we were walking to an unknown since we have never been to Asmalımescit at night, back then. However, after that night, I continued to visit Asmalımescit as a university student and later as a white collar, mostly for dining and entertainment (Figure 2.2).

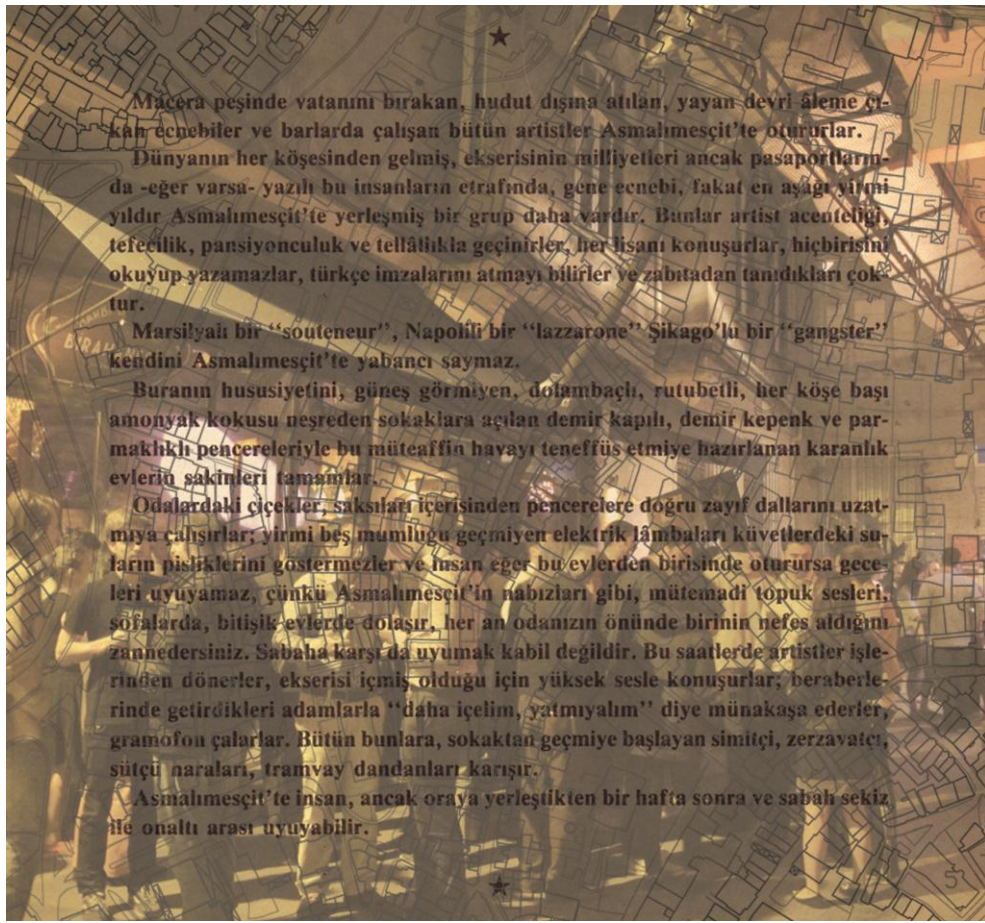


Figure 2.2 : The sociocultural life in Asmalımescit (Lines quoted from Asmali 74 by Firket Adil, 1988, p. 10).

It is possible to claim that Babylon was a seed that regenerated Asmalımescit from a hide-away place to a focal point of Beyoğlu. Recently, the vivid cultural life in Asmalımescit made it a profitable place for investment and attracted big-scale business alliances. As Sharon Zukin (1999) suggests the cultural institutions support raising property values especially at historic districts where while they offer aesthetic contemplation at the same time trigger commercial development. In the last decade,

lots of new places opened, such as restaurant and bars as well as art galleries, offices of creative industries and accommodation places for long and short term visitors. While new places and functions are articulated to the historical texture of Asmalımescit, the new types of customers were also beginning to visit it. Seeing Asmalımescit as an investment opportunity attracts more entrepreneurs but also speeds up the transformation. Even though the renovation and restorations are uplifting the physical appearance of Asmalımescit, since they depend on the discourse of nightlife and entertainment they leave barely any space for other possibilities. It is becoming harder to coincide with small art galleries, artisan ateliers, workplaces of various creative industries and so on because of the increased property values and rent rates in Asmalımescit. Furthermore, the recently opened cafes, bars and restaurants either began to change hands or closed in short period of time. I noticed that the more Asmalımescit began to transform rapidly, the less I began to visit it, because for example I prefer to be a regular customer of a café that I would be used to the atmosphere, the menu and also the staff, that I can accumulate memories.

The preferences and expectations could certainly differ, and this is definitely reflected on the way Asmalımescit is transformed. Neither before Babylon opened, nor after it boomed the commercial facilities and cultural activities, Asmalımescit reached a culmination. However, Asmalımescit turns into a commodity, a static thing as if it reached a culmination, when used only as an instrument for differentiation, as a way of showing the cultural capital of its users. This is an example of misuse in the way Baudrillard defines it. Baudrillard (1998) argues that in the “social logic of differentiation” (p. 92) the objects are misused as differential, as signs, which is a level that precisely defines consumption. In this regard the use-value of the objects are left aside. He further claims that if one does not give personal meaning to the objects, (here commercial and cultural facilities he/she uses), they remain as a fetish and become a way for him/her to get in an advantageous relation to one another. There is a similar problem in Asmalımescit due to the speed-up transformation. The displacement and replacement of commercial and cultural facilities does not provide an occasion or enough time for the users to contemplate with the places they use and ascribe any personal meanings and values to them. This leads to “fetishization” (Benjamin, 1969) and “aesthetization” (Leach, 1999) of Asmalımescit as a cultural sign, but not as a narrative that could be read through their own relational experiences. Therefore seeing

Asmalımescit only as an investment opportunity for the entrepreneurs or as a cultural sign of differentiation for the users reduces the differences in it and conceals its potentials. Rather than giving priority only to the investment opportunities, it is important to concentrate on the life in Asmalımescit with the social and cultural dynamics.

Considering Asmalımescit as a cultural sign or a discourse, creates a vicious circle of consumption but reading it as a narrative, would trigger both socio-cultural and economic transformation. Contrary to the discourse, which refers to an instant (paradoxically as if it would last forever), the narrative points to a process and requires a duration to be understood. The transdiscursive reading brings about the co-existing discourses on Asmalımescit as well as non-discursive elements that could only be grasped through the process of relational experience. In this process, the body grasps the tension between discursive and non-discursive elements in Asmalımescit that give way to an urban identity as becoming.

Scene 2

On one spring evening, I met with a dear friend at Asmalımescit to catch up and have a dinner. Walking along the Sofyali Street we decided to sit at Otto, even though it was opened recently, we knew it from its previous place on Şehbender Street. We found a table for two on the balcony where we could also watch the people flow in Sofyali Street. The spacious balcony was a little different from the other balconies on the street, but still reminded both the cigarette ban in Turkey and outside table placement ban all around Beyoğlu and also in Asmalımescit. Regarding the process of alignment with the European Union norms, Turkey banned smoking in indoor public areas in 2008. As a way of dealing with this ban, the users began to hang out in front of the cafes and bars. To improve comfort and to utilize outside, the shop owners took permission from the municipality to place tables and chairs on the narrow streets of Asmalımescit. This reflexive process could be considered in relation to De Landa's ideas on how the historical processes are shaped. In his book *A Thousand Years of Non-Linear History*, Manuel de Landa (2000) argues that the structures that surround us and compose our reality is a product of certain historical processes. The product of these processes coexist in multiple forms since these process are not linear but always shift due to a "bifurcation" (parallel to what Lefebvre refers as "punctuation by leaps"). The interplay of the political decisions and implementations with its effects on

Asmalimescit and the reaction of the users marks a certain fragment of a historical process. This historical process could be interpreted through De Landa, when he explains the evolution of the species and the ecosystems:

... once the question of coevolution is introduced (as when an improvement in a prey's armour puts pressure on its predator's fangs and claws to further sharpen, which in turn stimulates a thickening of the armour), it becomes clear that interacting species in an ecosystem have the ability to change each other's adaptive landscapes. (de Landa, 2000, p. 140)

A political decision given way to a bifurcation in the historical process by encouraging people to use the outside space in a way that might not be possible otherwise. I remember that it was nice to enjoy a dinner or few drinks in the open air, where you interact with the dynamism of the street as well. The street tables were full of people especially in the evenings and at night, which makes dense the pedestrian flow on the streets. For instance the previous place of Otto, which was located at the basement of an old apartment block renovated as a restaurant and bar, also had street tables. It used to be a busy place not only because it was serving good food but also it was playing good music that spread out to Şehbender Street. Especially on the weekend nights, no matter if, it was summer or winter; the crowd used to gather outside of Otto, to drink, chat and dance. The people that get out of a concert at Babylon also join to the crowd to continue the night.

However today that crowd is not visible on the outside because of the outside table placement ban of the municipality. This is another ban that has political intention of making the alcohol consumption invisible to the citizens, if not able to move it away from the city centre. This political implementation caused another bifurcation in the historical process of Asmalimescit. The crowded streets are left empty, while the users moved to the terraces of the buildings or to the back gardens on the ground floors. For the ones who preferred to stay on the street (for smoking or breathing in the autumn or spring breeze) were moved to the tiny balconies that are added to the upper ground floor of the buildings (Figure 2.3). The balcony of Otto was not added to the building, but instead the balcony was formed by moving the façade on the ground floor an axis behind. This provides a large space to put more tables outside and increase the interaction of the customers with the atmosphere of the Sofyalı Street –although not as much as it used to be before the outside table placement ban. Furthermore, these balconies could be read as the reflection of a political act and the social and economic

reaction to it, to the built environment. Like the evolution in the prey-predator relationship, Asmalımescit is being transformed in relation to the acts of the municipality and the local businesses' counteraction to it (or vice-versa is also valid), which every time re-defines the place.



Figure 2.3 : Interior-exterior life in Asmalımescit.

Today, the table-free streets turn out to be a trigger for the dreams of the future while at the same time they are a reminder of the recent past in Asmalımescit. Just like when the crowded streets with the people and tables were the reminder of the times when the place was only known by regular costumers of out of sight taverns and artisan ateliers. The constant transformation in Asmalımescit could be visible through the relational experience of the contrast of the materiality of the balconies and empty streets, and the immateriality of the emotions it recalls, when the streets were crowded and full of life. The urban identity emerges as becoming in one's consciousness when Asmalımescit is read as a narrative through these constant but ever-shifting body-space-time relations.

Scene 3

In summer 2013, the Gezi protests were extended from Taksim Square to various surrounding areas, one of which was Asmalımescit especially on the night of May 31st that continued until the morning. I remember the evening of June 1st, when the Gezi Park was saved from the police invasion, me and a friend of mine walked down the

Istiklal Avenue to Asmalımesit. We took photos of the fresh traces of the resistance for our personal records on our way to Asmalımesit. There were graffiti on the walls of the buildings, tear gas cartridges scattered on the pavements and shop windows broken with tear gas cartridges. We passed through the Tunnel Square, went down the stairs, to a friend's house in Asmalımesit. Even though it was a Saturday evening, the people were too concerned to have any fun in Asmalımesit. It suddenly struck me that this was not the first time that the social life in Beyoğlu has been disturbed by a political event. The streets and buildings were witness of worse events in 6-7 September 1955 that deeply affected the social life in Asmalımesit in particular, and made it a rundown area for a couple of decades. In September 1955, a bomb was set in Atatürk's house in Selanik. 6-7 September refers to the event that began as a protest, especially in the streets of Beyoğlu, and turned into indignation and the actions of plunder and destruction towards the Greek community. This event forced the Greek minority to emigrate, who were highly populated in Beyoğlu. When Beyoğlu district was abandoned in the mid-1950s and 1960s, Asmalımesit was also neglected. Abandoned houses of the minorities all over Beyoğlu including Asmalımesit were occupied by the workers migrated from Anatolia in the 1960s.

Following 6-7 September, the workers that migrated from Anatolia chose Asmalımesit to settle not only because the houses were abandoned, but also it was very close to Taksim, the centre of the city. The economic situations of these newcomers were not enough to cover necessity maintenance expenses, and this led to a physical decay. The rental prices of the apartments went down because of their decaying physical conditions regardless to their location in the city. In 1980s, many artists, writers and journalists moved their houses and/or ateliers to Asmalımesit (İnce, 2011). The spatial properties of the apartments that attracted them were offering an inspirational environment while the low prices provided a moderate choice of accommodation. The relation between these historical buildings and the people who live and work in Asmalımesit constitute an aura where the past transpires to the present and offers a territory/ground to challenge, transform the present.

John Berger (1972), states that a reproduction of a painting cannot be compared with the original painting in the sense that the original painting has a silence and stillness that the information of it could never have. According to him, its silence and stillness

is merged in the actual material, the paint, and one can see –contemplate–, the movement of the painter in the moment of painting. Berger further argues that “this has an effect of closing the distance in time between the painting of the picture and one’s own act of looking at it” and “in this special sense all paintings are contemporary.” This effect could also be sensed with the historical buildings in Asmalımescit. For instance, the art-nouveau apartment blocks have unique spatial organizations, genuine textures, materials and ornaments that close the time distance between the users in the past and the users experience them today (Figure 2.4). Even the patina layers accumulated over the years on the facades of these historical buildings encourage the contemplation. This would also motivate new ways for re-use, like in Babylon and restaurants such as Helvetia, Sofyalı and Akbabalı. Through this contemplation as an extension of the relational experience, the present-day in Asmalımescit is grasped in relation with the traces of its past and hints to its future that denotes the urban identity as becoming.



Figure 2.4 : Recalling the past life in historical buildings (Sketch obtained from Asmalı 74 by Fikret Adil, 1988).

On the other hand, large-scale historical buildings, such as the Sixth Municipality Building, are torn down and their replicas are built in their places. In the same way several of the large scale apartment blocks are rebuilt mostly to be functioned as hotels. In these replicas, the information of the historical buildings could be given (regardless if this information is right or made-up) but this information as a representation does not substitutes, in Berger's words, silence and stillness of the original. The replica is not enough to establish a sincere connection with the past that would also nurture a future rooted in it. On the contrary, these implementations aim to interrupt the oscillation of one's mind in-between the past and the future in Asmalımescit, and reduce the urban identity into a bare image, or in other words, an information of Asmalımescit. This image/information/representation only speaks the single discourse of the nightlife and entertainment area in a historical setting that blocks the other possible ways of experiencing and interpreting Asmalımescit. On the contrary, a transdiscursive reading could enable us to disclose the asymmetrical relations between discursive and non-discursive dimensions in Asmalımescit and give way to new possible experiences and interpretations.

Scene 4

On a Friday evening in September 2014, we got out of the office and walked through the streets of Asmalımescit, which was getting crowded already. To have a few drinks we entered the bar in the corner of Müeyyet Street and found a table back in the garden. The garden was surrounded by a high wall on one side and a haphazardly-made fencing on the other. Behind the fences, the garden was continuing up to a building with a passage in the middle of its long façade. Then I realized that it was the courtyard of Narmanlı Han, which brought back my high school memories. In our graduation year in 2002, with my eight friends, we walked around the streets of Istiklal Avenue, down to Asmalımescit to take photos for our annual. Narmanlı Han, which used to be the Old Russian Embassy building to the end of Istiklal Avenue, pulled us in. Even today the Doric columns on its façade, makes it visible in the cacophony of the avenue. I remember that the arc entrance in the middle of the shops, on the ground floor, seemed like a gateway to another world to us. Passing through the arc, we entered to the courtyard enclosed by second-hand record and bookshops, a notary public and some unattended shops. The green space in the middle of the courtyard was covered with bushes; one can tell that it was neglected for a long time. The scenery was not a

polished one, neither with its landscape nor with its dusty shop windows. However, the historical atmosphere was somewhat attractive to us. We went around the courtyard and found a perfect spot in front of a second-hand records shop where we checked some as well. There we took some group photos for our annual and then moved to the almost empty streets of Asmalımescit with a joy of as if we discovered a secret garden. Then it made me think about Narmanlı Han today, which is unattended for some time now. The iron door of the inviting arc is locked and nobody is allowed inside the courtyard since it has been sold to a private property couple of years ago. It is waiting for the decision on its future, was it going to be renovated as a shopping mall, a hotel or a less profit-oriented more human-centred facility.



Figure 2.5 : History as a generative force (Lines quoted from Pera by Ilhan Berk, 2000, p. 295).

The individual and collective memory should be interpreted for the future use of Narmanlı Han. If Narmanlı Han is considered only through its exchange value as a large square meters space in a preferred urban space, it is most probably be restored with a profit-oriented attitude and a historicist approach. This would also reinforce the

dominant discourse of entertainment and nightlife place, since Narmanlı Han needs to be reduced into a bare commodity in order to be consumed. On the other hand something new could be acquired for its future if its past is not treated as an image, a historical object but as an interface, a trace that triggers memories and imagination. This could also open it to unpredictable scenarios, encounters as well as confrontations that would stimulate discursivity¹¹.

As an alternative, the renovation process of Narmanlı Han could be integrated differently with the existing culture based development strategy pursued in Asmalımescit for more than a decade (Figure 2.5). In this regard, its historical and cultural significance could be highlighted and made public to allow accumulation of common memory. For instance it could be inspiring to recognise how it was used throughout the centuries. Although Narmanlı Han was built as the Russian Embassy, it has been used in many different ways since then. It had been a host for Jamanak Journal, various artisan shops and ateliers for artists such as painters and writers. In the first half of the 20th Century, it was one of the significant places for producing and consuming art in Asmalımescit. As argued above (Scene 1), following the opening of Babylon, the commercial facilities as well as the cultural facilities increased in Asmalımescit. However, these art galleries, concert halls etc. are not places of production of arts (unlike music studios, artist ateliers and artisan shops) but they just offer consumption of arts and culture. This makes them and Asmalımescit in general, a tool for social differentiation through culture, without generating a cultural capital. As Zukin (1999) points out, the cultural capital is created and accumulated in places where arts are both produced and consumed. Considering this, the culture based development strategy that only invests in consumption so far, could be differentiated when the production of arts is also made a vital component of this strategy. It is possible to renovate Narmanlı Han in a way that would not only function for consumption, but also include spaces of production. While the sole consumption conceals the multiplicity, the production would encourage possibilities that could give way to differences and create and accumulate cultural capital. These possibilities could be

¹¹Foucault defines transdiscursive authors as the founders of discursivity and notes that: "'founders of discursivity"... are unique in that they are not just the authors of their own works. They have produced something else: the possibilities and the rules for the formation of other texts. ...(founders of discursivity) have established an endless possibility of discourse." (Foucault, What is an Author, 1998b)

understood through the relational experience of Narmanlı Han as well as other historical buildings in Asma-limescit. The relational experience of Narmanlı Han in particular, and Asmalimescit in general, brings together the past and the future that breaks the vicious circle of sameness (sameness is a must in commodity consumption) and gives way to the difference production. While the difference production creates the cultural capital, also new meaning layers occur which are articulated to the transformation in Asmalimescit that points to the urban identity as becoming.

2.3 Urban Identity as Becoming

In this transdiscursive reading the urban identity is re-interpreted as becoming by the relational experience. If something is becoming something else, they are both transformed (Deleuze & Parnet, 1987, p. 2). The relational experience is a reflexive relation between the body and the place, where both of them are subject to transformation. According to Deleuze, this transformation is a ‘non-parallel evolution’ since they are evaluating in relation to each other, but neither assimilating nor imitating one another. In this consideration, Asmalimescit is read as a narrative, by the series of scenes, based on a reflexive relation between the body and the place. In this process, while the body grasps Asmalimescit with its both discursive and non-discursive dimensions, it becomes an extension of the lifeworld in Asmalimescit. Through this reflexive relationship, body-space-time relations superimpose and form a complex, fluid –and endless– entity in Asmalimescit, which belongs to both a past and a future that opens up ways for relational experience in the present. The relational experience triggers difference production and gives way to transdiscursivity where the urban identity exceeds a single discourse in Asmalimescit.

Deleuze takes the concept of becoming one-step ahead than Lefebvre, and he makes a connection between the identity and becoming referring to Nietzsche’s concept of eternal return:

... being is said of becoming, identity of that which is different, the one of the multiple, etc. That identity not be first, that it exist as a principle but as a second principle, as a principle become; that it revolve around the Different: ...which opens up the possibility of difference having its own concept, rather than being maintained under the domination of a concept in general already understood as identical. Nietzsche meant nothing more than this by eternal return. Eternal return cannot mean the return of the Identical because it presupposes a world (that of the will to power) in which all previous identities have been abolished and dissolved.

Returning is being, but only the being of becoming. The eternal return does not bring back 'the same', but returning constitutes the only Same of that which becomes. Returning is the becoming-identical of becoming itself. Returning is thus the only identity, but identity as a secondary power; the identity of difference, the identical which belongs to the different, or turns around the different. Such an identity, produced by difference, is determined as 'repetition'. Repetition in the eternal return, therefore, consists in conceiving the same on the basis of the different. (Deleuze, 1994, pp. 40-41)

Deleuze's understanding of identity in relation to becoming, could be helpful to sum up the abovementioned scenes in Asmalımescit. It could be stated that every differentiation that arises from repetition is a part of Asmalımescit. That is to say that, for instance, getting used to a place such as a café, a concert hall or an art gallery that being a regular costumer/visitor requires a repetition. However every time one uses or visits the place, let's say a café, even though sits at the same table at the same hour of the day and orders the same coffee, he/she experiences something new, ascribe new meanings thus produces a difference. This repetition binds one to the café, as well as Asmalımescit, and at the same time, in Deleuze's terms, "opens up the possibility of difference". The difference is articulated to Asmalımescit, as a narrative, through the repetition of the reflexive relation between the body and the place that transforms both of them.

Furthermore the urban identity could be understood in relation to becoming through Narmanlı Han, which is a fragment of Asmalımescit. Although Narmanlı Han is waiting decisions about its future, it is still in relation with Asmalımescit and its users in various ways. The shops are located at its exterior front façade on the ground floor. The courtyard is partly occupied by a café-bar and its surrounding exterior walls are used both as a giant canvas with graffiti and an announcement board with various exhibition and concert posters on it. It is not enough to refer to Narmanlı Han only as a historical building, or an old embassy or an artist atelier etc. Narmanlı Han is more than each one of these definitions or all of these definitions. Because how it is used today, how it was used by different users in many different ways and meant different things to its different users in the past and how will it be functioned and perceived in the near future are all the distinct components, singularities in the identity of difference, as Deleuze puts it "the one of multiple". Since Asmalımescit is constantly transformed, reading it as a narrative at any moment is just one of the multiple readings. At every moment, the narrative could be read differently through the

relational experience, which is both the reason and the result of the transformation. Every transdiscursive reading of Asmalimescit as a narrative is a re-interpretation of the urban identity, and the previous urban identities are in Deleuze's terms "abolished and dissolved". Thus, it could be stated that the urban identity transcends the domination of any discourse, or in other words it is in a state of becoming which does not refer to a continuity of the same (Figure 2.6).



Figure 2.6 : Urban identity as becoming in Asmalimescit.

As a result, in the present world, attempting any spatial intervention to an urban space without understanding it through relational experience carries the risk of transformation that could be in favour of global capitalism. In Asmalimescit, the neoliberal cultural politics that emphasize the discourse, as opposed to its non-discursive dimensions, leads to commodification. This tendency could be unstabilized, by understanding it as a narrative through the relational experience and re-interpreting the urban identity as becoming. Understanding and re-interpreting the urban identity as becoming, gives rise to the interplay of discursive and non-discursive that engenders multiplicity in Asmalimescit as well as in other places. Through the relational experience, the body generates transdiscursivity; an interplay discursive and non-discursive that neither predominates one another nor balance them at one point. In this process, the body constantly transforms discursive and non-discursive dimensions as well as being transformed, through which the urban identity is explored as becoming.

3. DECIPHERING LEVENT-KAĞITHANE¹² AS A PALIMPSEST

In this chapter, the concept of palimpsest identity is scrutinized in relation to Levent-Kağıthane in order to understand and interpret the paradox of urban identity within globalisation. Levent-Kağıthane is located on the European side of Istanbul, in the intersection of Kağıthane, Beşiktaş and Şilli districts (Figure 3.1). In order to grasp the palimpsest identity within the social, economic, political and cultural relation nets a transdiscursive reading is made in Levent-Kağıthane, which is deciphered as a palimpsest. Palimpsest is a parchment paper, which is used for new texts by erasing the previous old texts (Oxford Dictionary). After some time, the erased text (one or more) becomes visible under the new text. This creates a multi-layered situation, and makes it possible to read two or more texts from a palimpsest.

3.1 Unfolding the Palimpsest

Taking a walk around Levent-Kağıthane, is like a going through a palimpsest, a piece of parchment paper on which the old written texts has been scratched out and replaced with a new text and after some time, the old text appeared beneath the new one. On a palimpsest, a simultaneous reading of the both old and new texts is possible that suggests something different than reading both texts independently. Referring Levent-Kağıthane as a palimpsest could disclose how the spatio-temporal relations emerged and transformed throughout its history and in the shift from industrialization to post-industrialization. The multi-layered structure of this urban fragment is composed in this process, and today it is not possible to distinguish one layer from the other. However, both in modern and postmodern paradigms, Levent and Kağıthane are identified as two different urban spaces that are not in relation with each other in any way. Furthermore they are also regarded as separate from their past, in the shift from industrialization to post-industrialization. While in the modern paradigm Levent was

¹² This chapter is not a research about Levent-Kağıthane, but a constituent of a transdiscursive enquiry for understanding and interpreting the urban identity through Levent-Kağıthane.

defined with the discourse of “suburban housing area” (Vassaf, 2010), Kağıthane was defined as the “squatter area” (Akin, 2010). Within the postmodern paradigm, they were seen as commodities to be mass-customized with different discourses; Levent as “a finance district” and Kağıthane as “a middle and upper-middle class housing area”. Describing Levent-Kağıthane through certain discourses isolates it from time and conceals its meaning layers. On the contrary, palimpsest identity, that is rooted in the past and grasped at the present time, concentrates on the relations between the will for stabilization and irresistible transformation. A transdiscursive reading on the intertwined urban fabric of Levent-Kağıthane not only reveals the meaning layers by collecting clues on transformation of the historical-geography throughout the industrialization and the post-industrialization processes but also enable to understand the urban identity as a paradoxical term; a palimpsest identity. This conception could inspire the urban actors to get involved in the transformation of the city in a way that the unavoidable difference production is not reduced into a single discourse.

The transdiscursive reading used in this research is based on the grounded theory, in which the theoretical framework is merged with the empirical research. The literature review is made with theoretical readings on the issues of post-industrialization, urbanization, urban transformation, globalization, neo-liberal economy, and the concepts of identity, palimpsest, difference production, subjectification etc. A conceptual framework constituted through the theoretical readings are brought together with in-depth interviews and the first-hand observations. The first-hand observations are made based on the relational experience. The relational experience as an encounter with Levent-Kağıthane in the present day, brings together the conceptual framework with the recollections from the urban fragment and enables to understand the urban fragment within the relations it is merged in. In order to obtain further data, in-depth interviews are made in relation to the conceptual framework as well, with the users of Levent-Kağıthane, such as the demarch of Ortabayır (one of the neighbourhoods in Kağıthane), a local taxi driver, local tradesman, and white-collars working at the high-rise office buildings in Levent. The transdiscursive reading expressed with written texts and visual materials such as photos, sketches and diagrams in order to understand and interpret the palimpsest identity in Levent-Kağıthane.



Figure 3.1 : Maps showing the location of Levent-Kağıthane.

3.2 Discourse of Gecekondu as an Other in Modernity

Walking on the pavement by Büyükdere Road is not a preferable thing to do, unless you work in one of the offices located on a high-rise office building. Since this road is located on a busy transportation route, designed for vehicles, it is not a common destination for strolling around city or a day promenade. Neither the pavements give a sense of closure in any way nor do the skyscrapers on the side invite you in, even though most of them have a shopping centre on their entrance level. One of the reasons is that this route was mainly connecting the city to an industrial site and a suburban housing area. The skyscrapers are built on the land that was once hosting factory

buildings such as Eczacıbaşı Medicine Factory, Yıldız Porselen Ceramic Factory, Tekfen Light Bulb Factory began to be built in 1950s on the west side of Büyükdere Road ((Akın, 2010), (Altıok, 2006)). On the east of Büyükdere road, the skyscrapers are accompanied with detached houses, which were developed and built in 1950s, as middle class housing projects by Emlak Kredi Bankası (Real Estate Credit Bank) ((Vassaf, 2010), (Karabey, 2010)). The factories and the sub-urban housing area across them were to symbolize industrialization and urbanization that offer a modern city identity in the modernity. In the process of industrialization and modernization that would form a modern city identity to Istanbul, an illegal housing stock that inhabit the immigrants who came to work at the factories in Levent are also developed in Kağıthane. Since these illegal settlements, in Turkish *gecekondu*¹³, areas were not planned in an urbanization process, they were not meeting the required standards for a modern city image, and considered as the other.

In the process of industrialization, Levent-Kağıthane developed differently but in relation to each other. The double-headed creature that is fed from the same stomach could be scrutinized referring to what Michel de Certeau defines as a “strategy” and a “tactic” (Figure 3.2). De Certeau (1988) defines a strategy as a power relation that occurs by isolating a subject of will and power, such as an urban space, from its exterior. A strategy presumes that an urban space is a commodity, a proper (proper) to put in de Certeau’s words, that motivates relations on its own, apart from an exterior (de Certeau, 1988, p. xix). A proper is a victory of space over time according to de Certeau, which refers to a totality, having an unchanging essence. For instance, locating factories on the one side and the detached houses on the other, in Levent, which used to be at the peripheries of the city, is an urban policy that constructed on a “strategy”. Planning a certain space in the city that is only to serve for production or accommodation could be considered as an act of isolation. Isolating Levent from an exterior, the city it is located in, presumes that an urban space can be designed and controlled as a constant, which is not subject to transformation.

¹³ In the book *Becoming Istanbul Gecekondu* is defined as: Once imagined as a transitory space at the intersection of country and city, in reality a speculative urban housing type which allows making the highest profit with the lowest investment (Derviş, Tanju, & Tanyeli, 2009).



Figure 3.2 : The double-headed structure in Levent-Kağıthane.

As opposed to a strategy that depends on a proper, de Certeau argues that a tactic spreads in time thus it does not have a place. A tactic, through which the user finds his/her own way to survive in a world that is built on a strategy, brings about fragmentation, rather than a totality:

I call a "tactic," on the other hand, a calculus which cannot count on a "proper" (a spatial or institutional localization), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a tactic belongs to the other. A tactic insinuates itself into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance. ... The "proper" is a victory of space over time. On the contrary, because it does not have a place, a tactic depends on time—it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized "on the wing." Whatever it wins, it does not keep. It must constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into opportunities. (de Certeau, 1988, p. xix)

The illegal housing stock in Kağıthane does not meet the certain standards that were applied in the sub-urban Levent; however, they exhibit one of the alternative ways for converting the land for an accommodation. The houses in Levent was designed for upper middle class, so the workers, who were mostly migrated from Anatolia, required an affordable solution. Settling close to the factories in Levent, by building squatter houses on the empty public land (that belong the state treasury) behind the factories, down to the Kağıthane Creek, could be interpreted as a tactic. Even though the name “gecekondu” suggests a house that is built over a night, the process of squatter area development (*gecekondulasma*) occurs over the years.

Bülent Usta (2009) argues that in the early years of migration from the countryside to the city, the migrants were able to continue their habits in a limited way. He states that there were two main reasons that enabled the migrants to do so. First, the location of the squatter areas was in relation with nature, such as Kağıthane in mid 1950s and 60s, and allowed them to grow vegetables as well as few barnyard fowls. In the early years of migration Kağıthane was a village, where the main sources of income were agriculture, farming and running brickyards (Altıok, 2006, p. 68). This socio-cultural fabric made it easier for the newcomers to adopt their new living areas. According to Usta, another reason was that the migrants were building regional relations with each other, since the people who migrated from certain parts of Anatolia settled in certain areas. For instance, the first migrants in Kağıthane are mainly migrated from Black Sea, Central and East Anatolia Regions. These conditions made the first migrants to resist a cultural shock up to some point and enabled them to produce a different kind of relation with the city (Usta, 2009, p. 92). These squatter areas, their inhabitants and the life in them neither belong to the modern city image, the modern citizen and the urbanized social life, nor to the village, villagers and the life in villages. It could be stated that different spatial organizations produce their own economy politics and socio-cultural values.

Within the modern paradigm, it could be claimed that Levent is a modern place having an identity since it meets certain standards defined in the discourse of modernity, while Kağıthane does not have an identity, since it is not urbanized according to those standards. This marks a paradox of urban identity discourse, since both places are subject to the implementations related to modernity, but transformed differently, the

prior is considered as having an identity and latter is not. In order to understand this paradox, the urban identity should be grasped as an in-between reality that emerges through subjectification. Foucault (1995) refers to subjectification as a process of constitution of the self in the encounter with another body. A reflexive relation between two bodies, in other words intersubjectivity, transforms the individual, which is neither assimilation of one another nor a togetherness of the both but a production of something new, denoting a difference. Latour (1996) takes this idea of intersubjectivity a step further and suggests the concept of interobjectivity, which refers to the reflexive relation between actants that is to say not only between bodies but also between living and non-living organisms. In this consideration, it could be stated that the process of subjectification takes place between Levent and its inhabitants as well as Kağıthane and the migrants (and the villagers). While the relation of the prior is more predictable in the sense that it is defined as a homogenous whole referring to modernization (even though it is not and cannot be a homogenous whole), the relation of the latter is more unpredictable and exposed more to the difference production and heterogeneity. Subjectification of the latter does not match with what modernity defined in the duality of subject-object as a given fact, a discourse, but rather it emerges as a new relation between actants. Although these actants (the components of the relation such as urban, village, pastoral life, peasant, worker, nature ...etc.) were not new, how they come together and relate to one another was forming something new and different in kind. Furthermore, this new phenomenon was not given in the modern image, and therefore the hegemonic discourse claims that it does not belong to the modernity.

Bataille (1985) claims that it is not possible to imagine a thing or an entity, which does not deviate from the ideal, the norm, what he calls as “the common measure” (p. 29). He states, “each individual [in our case culture and identity] escapes from this common measure and is, to a certain degree, a monster [in our case the other culture / the identity of the other]” (Bataille, 1985, p. 55). What emerges from this deviation does not lose its similarity to the common measure, but at the same time differs from that common measure. Although the modern city identity suggests the establishment of factories and the suburban housing stock in Levent, Kağıthane deviated from this “common measure” with the insufficient urban politics. The accommodation of white collar workers of middle and upper-middle class is designed and organized, as a strategy

while accommodation requirements of the blue collar workers that have lower income is not fulfilled which led them to develop tactics. Furthermore, the inhabitants of Kağıthane are considered as not civilized enough to live in a city, since they carried their lifestyle in village to the city, which is claimed to be not suitable.

Similarly to Bataille's monster metaphor, Deleuze (1994) states that difference has been regarded as "evil or having a maledictory state" (p. 29) for it raises the ground and dissolves the form. Kağıthane is considered as evil since it is not subjected to urban design prior to its development, like in Levent, but produced its own forms that dissolves the designed spaces in Levent. For instance, the grid-like designed streets and roads in Levent leave their places to organically shaped streets that are in relation with the hilly topography, in Kağıthane. Although both in Levent and Kağıthane the houses built in 1960s are 2-3 storey buildings, in Levent they are a part of a homogenized totality, whereas in Kağıthane, each house reflects the inhabitant's (who most probably also constructed the house) lifestyle and culture. The difference in the social and economic structure of the inhabitants in Levent-Kağıthane could also be recognized through the physical appearance of these buildings. The buildings in Levent are designed and built in batches, therefore each stage of development has given a name to its districts such as 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and New Levent (Yıldızeli, 2015). These districts are developed sequentially and the buildings in each stage are identical to each other with their plan schemes as well as facades. Moreover, the owners of these buildings are expected to have very similar socio-cultural and economic statuses. Contrary to these designed batches of buildings in Levent, the squatter houses in Kağıthane reflect a variety in height, size, material and colour. Each one of them are built according to the need and income of its user (which might also be the one who constructs it). Furthermore, many of them did not build a roof on top, but instead they used to leave the column sprouts open to add another floor when some additional space is needed. This could be referred as a tactic that does not aim a completed whole, at least not at once. Time-dependent and user-designed building stock in Kağıthane is believed to be evil since it was unpredictable and developed irregularly. This irregularity scattered to Levent, when the living conditions required differences for each user. What is more interesting is that in the upcoming years, squatter housing as a tactic, became a strategy of the municipalities with their political decisions. The municipalities did not deal with the problems of squatter areas; instead, they

overlooked the illegal building stock, and even legalized them with forgiving laws –in order to collect votes from the inhabitants of squatter areas. This could be interpreted as the evil raises the ground and dissolves the form, the form of the modern city.

3.3 Discourse of Finance Centre as an Urban Transformation Tool in Postmodernity

The shift from industrial to post-industrial mode of production caused new strategies to emerge to be utilized in the built environment, in order to organize the new production and consumption relations. The urban transformation that takes place in Istanbul is a way to undertake this change, hinging on postmodernity that refers to a present time, which erases the past and overlooks the future. In the process of urban transformation, new norms for urban environment are set that reject the norms of modernity. Bataille (1985) notes that deviation from the common measure, leads to more deviation, and this could be taken further by stating that deviation might even lead to the deviation of the common measure itself. In postmodernity, the common measure, norms, of urban identity does not refer to a single value system or a single spatial organization way anymore, but multiple systems and organizations began to be accepted. Common measure is deviated from naming what is different from the modern as “the other” to accepting it as different, but only in a sense it is different in degree. This was because what has defined as modern was not sufficient for providing opportunities for more capital accumulation. In other words, the different should be included in the capital accumulation, which becomes possible with the post-industrial mode of production. Post-industrialization brought about the mass-customization and also freed the production from land, which has taken the spatial relations to a new paradigm. In this regard, the spatial organizations and their cultural extensions that were considered as the other in modernity are recognized under the discourse of multiculturalism in postmodernity. This “designed” heterogeneity could also be considered as another strategy, to put in de Certeau’s words. In postmodernity, the differences are being recognized as a heterogeneity, which untangled the paradox in modernity up to a point but also generated a new paradox. This approach to urban space has generated a new paradox since, contrary to the difference in kind; the difference in degree¹⁴ refers

¹⁴ For further readings on the difference in kind and difference in degree, refer to (Deleuze, 2006).

to a homogenous totality but in postmodernity it is undercover. In order to uncover this paradox, a transdiscursive reading in Levent-Kağıthane is pursued considering both strategies and tactics.



Figure 3.3 : The spatial alteration in Levent-Kağıthane.

Harvey (1989) states that capital accumulation and class struggle are the active components of a historical geography, which are necessary to theorize the urban process. Since 1980s, the neo-liberal economy that is related to the post-industrial mode of production, led the urban politics in Istanbul, as in many other cities around the world. Simultaneously the urban space is re-organized in various ways to be articulated to the global capital accumulation. For instance, the industrial program in Levent with its production facilities are strategically switched to a post-industrial program that depend on the service sector. In this process, regarding neoliberalism, culture is reduced into a discursive tool, which makes it easier to be neglected and invented through discourses, free from spatial relations. While it seems like the architectural practice is historicized through space-time-society, on the contrary, it has been totalized, and this marks the structure of discourse (Tanju, 2007, p. 24). For instance the building stock on Büyükdere Road, which is the main axis from Levent

to Maslak, is being developed with the discourse of Finance Centre ((OECD, 2008); (Istanbul Altyapı Komitesi, 2011)). The spaces of post-industrialization such as skyscrapers that host offices, hotels and residences that are located on both sides of Levent-Maslak axis, manifest this dominating discourse. As if in this urban space an industrial past and a culture that emerged in relation with it, over the years, did not exist at all, and everything appeared out of the blue. Uğur Tanyeli (2012) states that all the eras co-exist simultaneously in the city, but the ones that are built today (recent past) are located on an observable level. Even though today the skyscrapers are on an observable level, the industrial era could also be noticed by investigating Levent-Kağıthane through the relational experience. A transdiscursive reading based on the relational experience would assist to scrutinize this dominant discourse, and understand and interpret the palimpsest identity.

The transnational capital does not accept leaving any space and capital outside its boundaries. It aims to dissolve the economies outside its boundaries and appropriate the capital in these economies to its own economic rules, through space. Both national and multinational capitalist companies employ political tools and even co-operate with municipalities to achieve this goal. They indirectly intervene in the political decisions and become the decision makers in the social space. For instance Nef, as a real estate development company, hired 10 architectural firms in 2013, to form a quarter design guide for Kağıthane Municipality, as a social responsibility project (Nef, 2015). In the book *Becoming Istanbul*, Faruk Göksu (2009) argues under Urban Transformation clause that the period between 1960s until 1980s can be explained with the concepts of urbanization and becoming urbane. Göksu states that the period since mid-1980s is a renewal process especially taking place in squatter areas with demolishing and constructing according to the rehabilitation zoning plans. Following the earthquake in 1999, urban transformation appeared on the main agenda of the construction sector. The urban transformation process that takes place in Levent-Kağıthane, like in many other cities, is one of the ways for accumulating the capital within the post-industrial production and consumption relations. In this concern, Bataille further argues that nothing stays as an excluded (or included) all the time/way. If there is an outsider in a certain space-time, a great deviation from the common measure, it has a potential to be the insider as well. Since neo-liberalism does not recognize any economic system other than global capitalism, the land that was once considered as the other, is

appropriated to the global-capitalist economy through the neoliberal urban policies. In this regard, the reductionist approach of neo-liberal urban policies only value the space as a commodity. For instance, industrial production facilities in Levent are not valuable any more –thus considered as monstrous– even though they refer to a modernization history. In a similar reductionist way, the residential area of low-income people in Kağıthane that do not take part in the post-industrial production and consumption are considered evil, to put in Deleuze’s terms. Levent-Kağıthane recently became a valuable land in the city, because of its closeness to the transportation routes –such as Boğaziçi Bridge, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge, E-5 and TEM highways as well as M2 metro line and metrobüs line (a bus rapid transit route in Istanbul). According to the white-collars who work at high-rise office buildings in Levent, there is no relationship between Levent and Kağıthane in any way. One of them claims that this is because of the considerable difference between economic powers of the inhabitants in both places. On the other hand, within the neoliberal policies they are not considered as different entities, but as commodities to be included in the global flow of money at an increased rate, because of the valuable land they share.

In the process of urban transformation, old factory buildings in Levent such as Tekfen Lightbulb Factory, Philips TV Factory, Roche, Eczacıbaşı and Deva Medicine Factories are demolished. High-rise offices and residential blocks are replaced them such as Tekfen Tower, Metrocity, Özdilek Park, Kanyon, Zorlu Office that solely denotes a focus on the exchange value of the land. Even though the high-rises, resembling the post-industrial production that would clear away the monstrous connotations of the industrial production, the layout of the land it is built on reveals its “evil” past. On the other hand, tearing down old squatter houses and building new apartment blocks in their places such as Nef 163 and Apartist, is applied as a solution in order to change the image of Kağıthane as the other, and include it in the global capital accumulation. Instead of concentrating on the image, a socio-economic policy based on providing equal education and offering enough jobs with enough salaries to the low-income groups could be pursued. This would enable them to achieve better life standards, which would eventually, lead to transformation of the physical space. However, this is not how the process takes place in general; in the urban transformation process, settlement areas of the low-income people and the places they acquire property, are under the thread of appropriation of the interest groups and ruling classes

(Usta, 2009, p. 93). Although the property owners, who are mostly the early migrants, according to the village demarch of Ortabayır, could somewhat benefit from the urban transformation process, they are a minority within the population of Kağıthane. The policy makers use the urban transformation process as a tool for totalizing the urban space in Levent as a Finance Centre accompanied with a middle and upper-middle class residential area in Kağıthane as a New Centre of Life. An urban policy constructed on this strategy, assumes that ascribing such a discourse as an urban identity to Levent-Kağıthane will be valid for all times. The urban transformation is a production in the urban scale, attempting to promote a single discourse, which ignores the past and the future but only values present. Nietzsche points to contrasting motivations of the production process, by raising:

...the question of whether the creation was caused by a desire for fixing, for immortalizing, for being, or rather by a desire for destruction, for change, for novelty, for future, for becoming. (Nietzsche, 2008, p. 235)

Any attempt to stabilize or immobilize the place, is not going to pause its transformation, but it is going to be articulated to it in a different way, the way it has never been planned or thought before. For instance, Levent has designed and built as a sub-urban housing area that targeted middle and upper-middle working class. For 1950s, the lifestyle it offered was new for the city and attractive for the users, so it was serving for its design purpose. However, as the years past the users adapted to changing relations in the city, and these sub-urban houses began to be re-functioned. Levent, which today remains in the city centre became an attractive place for workspaces, because of its location and connection to the new transportation routes in the city. Although the apartment blocks in Levent mainly conserve their primary functions as housing units, the detached houses are more likely to be turned into workspaces such as offices, clinics, restaurants, showrooms, shops etc. (Vassaf, 2010). One of the reasons for this shift in use is that the ones who prefer a life at single-family detached houses move from Levent, to new suburban districts of the city such as Kemer Country. Even though it is not possible to make an accurate future prediction on how the Levent-Kağıthane is going to be differed from itself today, more difference is possible, as Tanju (2007) states, “the city is a structure that produces differences” (p. 67). Additionally, the more forces of global capitalism seek to totalize Levent-Kağıthane through the strategies of urban transformation, with the discourse of

Finance Centre or New Centre of Life, the difference it produces will be more intense. For instance, the quarter design guide for Kağıthane, mentioned above, aims to re-organize the space for better living conditions. While the proposals include general rules for building settlements in order to maximize the green spaces and public areas, it also includes the design principles for the facades of the housing blocks as well as the façade elements that the shops will use and so on. As much as the architects that work for this design guide oppose a general rule for façade, it is included in the requirements of the employer. Although it has not yet implemented, this design guide could be referred as one of the ways to reduce differences and totalize the urban space through architecture and its elements. Deleuze argues that the intention of building up a totality only brings about more transformation:

Turn and return. Dualism is only a moment, which must lead to the re-formation of a monism. This is why, after the broadening out, a final narrowing follows, just as integration follows differentiation. (Deleuze, 2006, p. 29)

In this regard, it is important to mention that even though the inevitable transformation could be directed with urban policies as a strategy, to put in de Certeau's terms, the inhabitants can always develop new tactics according to the existing conjuncture. Tactics happen in the process of the relational experience, by which potentials and affordances of space are understood. Through tactics, the body intervenes in the transformation of the urban space in many ways and, as Tanju (2007) states, "the change being good or bad depends on how much the ones that construct it are involved in the (transformation) process" (p. 9). In this process, even though the relationship between Levent-Kağıthane is not obvious on the surface, how Levent-Kağıthane is interconnected could be grasped through the relational experience. Contrary to both the perception of the white-collars who claim that there is no relation between Levent and Kağıthane and the standpoint of the neo-liberal policies who reduce the differences in them by commodification, Levent-Kağıthane is still interconnected as it was in the past. The designed spaces of strategy are not making it easy to grasp this interconnectedness, but it could be possible to disclose it by focusing on the time-dependent and opportunity seeking tactics through a transdiscursive reading in Levent-Kağıthane.

The shifts in the spatial organization regarding the post-industrialization provoke the interaction between Levent and Kağıthane both positively and negatively in economic, social and cultural sense. The village headmen points out that the high rise office and residence blocks as well as shopping centres built in Levent have provided new work areas in service sector of such as shop keeping and cleaning, especially for the women who live in Kağıthane. The young bookseller states that the shopping centres are not only workplaces for the inhabitants of Kağıthane but it is where they also spend their spare times. They do not only shop and use entertainment facilities such as cinemas, but also stroll around the shopping centre, which could be interpreted as a tactic. Through their act, they surpass the defined use in a shopping centre and appropriate the space to themselves, which in a way transform it and trigger transdiscursivity. In addition, the apartment blocks in Kağıthane that replaced the old squatter houses in the urban transformation process provide accommodation to the middle class white-collar workers, close to their workspaces in Levent. This rises up the real-estate values as well as the demand for more housing. Not only investors in construction sector benefit from this demand, but also the land owners of the squatter houses seek this as an opportunity as a tactic, for getting rich in a fast way. On the other hand, the local grocer indicates that although the development of Levent increased the land values in Kağıthane, the large-scale shopping centres affect the business of the small-scale tradesmen negatively. The resistance of the small-scale tradesmen to the chain stores of big brands, through their neighbourhood relations, protects Kağıthane from the single discourse of housing area. Through this interaction, Levent-Kağıthane is interconnected to one another. While it differentiated from itself over the years, in connection with its past not despite of it, the palimpsest identity emerges in Levent-Kağıthane.

3.4 Palimpsest Identity in Transmodern Paradigm

In this research, the palimpsest identity is referred as a conceptual tool that offers an alternative way to understand and interpret an urban fragment in the present-day world. In this regard, in Levent-Kağıthane is deciphered as a palimpsest, through a transdiscursive reading within the transmodern paradigm. This transdiscursive reading in Levent-Kağıthane uncovers the relations between the place and the people and give way to a palimpsest identity. The transdiscursive reading enables one to recognize the

totalizing implementations of neoliberal urban policies, and discover tactics used to overcome them. In the transdiscursive reading, the body grasps the relations that emerge in Levent-Kağıthane through relational experience that encourages a deeper understanding of the urban fragment. In the relational experience, the overlapped historical layers are grasped and revealed in Levent-Kağıthane, at the present time, within the social cultural economic and politic relations it is merged in. In this process, the memory is neither considered as a forgotten image of the past, nor as a nostalgic tool, but as an active element in the present that is referred to build up a future, as Deleuze states:

It is the recollections of memory that link the instants to each other and interpolate the past in the present. ... It is therefore memory that makes the body something other than instantaneous and gives it a duration in time. (Deleuze, 2006, pp. 25-26)

Past memories belonging to the time of industrial production and future projections rooted in the time of post-industrial production come together in the relational experience of Levent-Kağıthane. In this process, it is exposed that Levent and Kağıthane neither are disconnected singularities, nor detached from the past (and the future). On the contrary, Levent-Kağıthane is two sides of the same coin that share the outcomes of a common historical-geographical process. This common ground is construed in the transdiscursive reading in order to build up a future that is not locked up in the stabilizing desires of a single discourse but a possibility of multiplicity.

The neoliberal urban policies implement strategies that totalize the urban space by ascribing a single discourse to it as an urban identity. However, the strategy that aims to isolate Levent-Kağıthane from its surrounding through this given identity is always interrupted with tactics. In the book *Becoming Istanbul*, Bülent Tanju argues under Identity clause that:

In a sense, becoming Istanbul emerges with this ironic contradiction. On the one hand, Istanbul is this plurality, which cannot be totalized under a singular sameness. On the other hand Istanbul is also the fear of the untotalizable multiplicity of its own multiplicity and the dreaming of sameness as it multiplies. (Tanju, 2009, p. 171)

Strategies that are built without referring to the past or without considering the transformation as a never-ending process are predestined to be unsuccessful to form a liveable urban environment, where multiplicity could transpire effortlessly. Referring

to the urban identity as a given thing, through certain discourses exclude the time as the source of transformation and a major component of difference production. Although, the totalizing attempts do not succeed to prevent transformation in Levent-Kağıthane, it is postponed it up to some point.

On the other hand, the concept of palimpsest identity suggests that since the memory is an indivisible component of the relation between the place and the people, there is always more in an urban fragment than a single discourse. Through the palimpsest identity conception, the urban actors as well as the inhabitants could find alternative ways to relate themselves with Levent-Kağıthane that does not aim to totalize the space but to be an extension of the unavoidable transformation. This conception points out that as much as the relations are tried to be totalized through urban policies, “every action/act of architecture folds on a “memory net” that is composed of numberless fragments and cannot be totalized in any of sameness axis”. (Tanju, 2007, p. 54). The multi-layered urban fabric in Levent-Kağıthane is a medium where the inhabitants constitute discursive as well as non-discursive relations that trigger the difference production. Thus, Levent-Kağıthane, which is constantly transformed in and through these relations, cannot be reduced into a single discourse.

The paradox of urban identity also come to surface with the palimpsest identity, such as Levent-Kağıthane being the same place but also brand-new). The enormous volumetric difference between the old and new masses of buildings, does not make it another place, since they somehow is built on the traces of the past, where memory transpires slightly if not completely (Figure 3.4). Trying to get rid of the past, does not result with a totalized space, but only produces another singularity, “one of multiple” in Deleuze’s terms. The palimpsest identity could substitute the totalizing discourse and implementations and rooted in transdiscursivity where the relation between the discursive and non-discursive dimensions constitute a multiplicity. The concept of palimpsest identity is like a catalyst that is put to work in order to understand the multiplicity and internalize it for the future design practice.

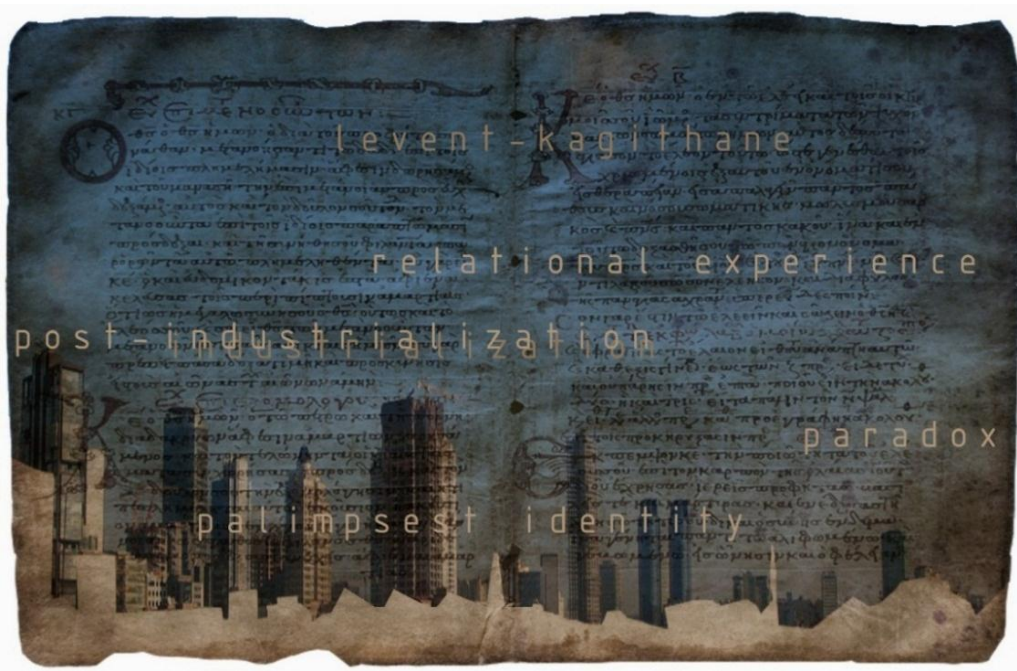


Figure 3.4 : Palimpsest identity in Levent-Kağıthane.

Deciphering Levent-Kağıthane as a palimpsest reveals the past relations in the present time and give clues on the future possibilities. In this process, transdiscursive reading takes place to understand the urban space within the continuous transformation, where the palimpsest identity emerges. Contrary to the given urban identity as a discourse, palimpsest identity motivates the difference production in Levent-Kağıthane by enabling the urban actors to notice its affordances. As a result, it is possible to generate alternative ways to deal with to the urban transformation process through the concept of the palimpsest identity.

4. EXPERIENCING THE PLACE-MEMORY IN KUZGUNCUK¹⁵

In this chapter, the urban identity is understood and interpreted by focusing on Kuzguncuk (Figure 4.1), which is an old quarter of Istanbul. Place-memory is a key concept to discuss the urban identity as a spatio-temporal entity. It is also a mediatory concept referring to in-between body-space-time relations. The concept of in-between refers to a reflexive medium, in which the human being and his/her environment continuously interact with each other. This interaction could be investigated through the relational experience, within a transdiscursive enquiry. Kuzguncuk as an urban fragment has a potential to generate the place-memory as a medium where the relational experience becomes possible.

The concept of place-memory could point out the critical issues about the urban transformation process and open up new paths of doing architecture in an existing built environment. In Istanbul, the government-supported so-called urban transformation process is taking place by tearing down old neighbourhoods and replacing them with new residential and commercial projects. In this process, new projects propose a difference in degree, not difference in kind; thus they are differentiated from one another through marketing strategies of post-industrial production and consumption relations. To differentiate a new project from one another, a pseudo-identity is ascribed to it. That is to say that the identity is used as a tool to brand these projects. However an urban identity emerges over time (duration), regarding the relations between the place and the people, as a place-memory, which produces difference in kind. Destroying the neighbourhoods erases the memory and interrupts the interaction between the place and the people.

The term identity becomes problematic when an urban transformation takes place without reading the existing built environment via the relational experience and considering its place-memory. In contrast, Kuzguncuk takes references from its

¹⁵ This chapter is not a research about Kuzguncuk, but a constituent of a transdiscursive enquiry for understanding and interpreting the urban identity through Kuzguncuk.

physical qualities and social values while being transformed. It constitutes an urban identity as a place-memory, due to the continuous social, cultural and economic relations that it engenders. Kuzguncuk is chosen as an exemplar to investigate the place-memory from a critical perspective. Investigating the place-memory could give some clues and influence the urban actors (architects, inhabitants, local and general governments, non-governmental organizations etc.) to rethink the process of urban transformation in a different way.



Figure 4.1 : Maps showing the location of Kuzguncuk.

Kuzguncuk is a historical geography, where new events¹⁶ occur regarding the shifting body-space-time relations. These shifting relations are the source of the transformation, thus the production of differences that forms an identity. Although the physical environment of Kuzguncuk and cultural diversity of its population and have changed throughout its history, it still mediates unique relations (Bektaş, 2014). It can be claimed that any urban space is unique due to its historical geography. Regarding social, economic and political relations of the historical geographies, to put in Deleuze's (1994) terms, "difference production" (pp. 225-227) is inevitable. While historical geographies are transformed through time and/or various agents, they are not only differentiated from each other, but also they are differentiated from themselves, as Deleuze (1994) puts it "difference in itself". The interaction between the place and the people or in other words relation in-between body-space-time is both the reason and the result of its transformation and thus emergence of the place-memory. Without taking these relations into consideration an urban transformation could only produce a difference in degree.

Transformation does not refer to a phenomenon that occurs in an instant or within a frozen time, instead it denotes a kind of continuous change that would last forever. Transformation is not a continuity that produces sameness, but it generates differences. Here, transformation is used in the sense Deleuze uses the term metamorphosis. In his work *Difference and Repetition* Deleuze (1994) links metamorphosis to the eternal return of Friedrich Nietzsche, in the way that eternal return exists in every metamorphosis. Moreover he states that what causes to return is also subject to metamorphosis, which he refers as the metamorphosis of the agent. He understands metamorphosis as a difference in itself. Regarding Deleuze's metamorphosis, the urban transformation could be understood as a continuous production of difference via everyday life activities of the users in a certain urban space. This production of difference that depends on the continuous social relations of the users with the place, transforms both the users and the urban space simultaneously, like in metamorphosis. It could be asked if everywhere encourage these social relations that would transform the urban space. How does Kuzguncuk retain to be a place for its social relations to

¹⁶Deleuze describes event as singularities that are produced in series and are subject to repetition (Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, 1994).

produce continuous difference? Since the urban transformation is a continuous change of an urban space, it requires to have a past, including the traces of life, that it could build up a future on, by triggering imagination. Kuzguncuk consists of a rich variety of cultural codes since it hosted three different religious and four ethnic groups namely Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Muslims for over hundred years (Bektaş, 2011). The users of Kuzguncuk could encounter with these cultural codes at any time, at any space. Hearing the sound of a church bell or the azan, seeing delicate ornaments on the timber facade of a house or entering through an iron door of a Christian cemetery, shopping from a hundred years old Muslim bakery or buying the vegetables of Ilia's Vegetable-garden at the local bazaar are just a few of the ways to encounter with the cultural codes of Kuzguncuk. These encounters could be possible in Kuzguncuk through the bodily experience.

Merleau-Ponty (2002) refers to the body as one's anchorage in the world. According to him, the world is what one perceives with one's own body. One is connected with the built environment via one's own body and understands the world, the built environment through the bodily experience (Merleau-Ponty, 2002, p. 162). In order to understand the urban identity, the cultural codes of Kuzguncuk could be discovered - the visible and the invisible dimensions of the place could be grasped- referring to the bodily experience. Throughout the bodily experience, one not only discovers the cultural codes of Kuzguncuk, but the articulated knowledge is also obtained for the urban transformation process. With the mediation of the bodily experience, these cultural codes recall memories, evoke imagination at every instant and trigger any kind of interaction between the body and the place, thus generate the process of relational experience.

In this context, it can be argued that Kuzguncuk has a strong sense of place-memory, which gives rise to an identity grasped by the relational experience. During the relational experience one's viewpoint shifts and he/she begins to grasp the urban identity between discursive and non-discursive dimensions. The relational experience articulates the urban fragment that produces differences and endless possibilities. It could be inspiring to understand this continuous interaction between the body-subject and the space-time with the Deleuze's concept of becoming. He states that becoming is not imitation, it refers to a two way process (Deleuze & Parnet, 1987, p. 16). Both

the body-subject and the space-time are being transformed in the process of becoming, while, as Deleuze and Guattari put it, one is becoming other. They further argue that becoming “is neither one nor two, nor the relation of the two; it is the in-between” (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005, p. 293). In Kuzguncuk, sitting on the stairs of a street enclosed with the old houses on both sides, chatting with the neighbours could be read as one of the countless ways for one to relate with the place. The stairs being more than just a circulation element becomes a place to share moments of togetherness. The stairs gain new meanings with the fresh memories that are just constituted on them, while the old houses re-included with the everyday life of the inhabitants. Every interaction and intervention to the place could relate the body to the place over and over again, each time in a different way. This process is triggered by the place-memory where the body is a becoming-place while the place is a becoming-body, through which the body anchors in the world changing his/her position for relational experience.

4.1 Methodological Tools

It can be claimed that Kuzguncuk is an urban space having a spontaneous transformation, in a state of becoming. The relational experience is proposed as a way of transdiscursive reading for understanding and interpreting the urban identity in Kuzguncuk. In this research, a method interwoven with the conceptual framework, based on a holistic approach, is used to understand and represent the place-memory. Regarding the conceptual framework, first-hand observations are made in Kuzguncuk and open-ended interviews are conducted with the local people of Kuzguncuk to gather data. A transdiscursive reading is performed in Kuzguncuk, by relational experience of the built environment, taking photographs, taking notes and sketching. The relational experience can be considered as a first-hand observation that allows the researcher to grasp the reality of the place from within, not like an outsider. The in-depth interviews are conducted with the local people of Kuzguncuk to understand the past and the present issues in Kuzguncuk, through their eyes and to figure out how they relate themselves with the place. Cengiz Bektaş, Boğaçhan Dünderalp, Mert Eyiler, Cengiz Gülsüm are chosen for in-depth interviews. Cengiz Bektaş, as an architect both living and working in Kuzuncuk since 1980s is a significant figure in the slow, human-centred transformation process of Kuzguncuk. Boğaçhan Dünderalp

is a young architect who also chose to live and work in Kuzguncuk with his family since 2001, and plays an active role in the Kuzguncuk Vegetable-garden struggle. Mert Eyiler also an architect living in Kuzguncuk, and his workshop is at the Simotas building, which is a space for an alternative way of living, working, education, entertaining in Kuzguncuk. Cengiz Gülsüm is a writer who spent her childhood in Kuzguncuk and after many years living in different places moved back in 2001.

The empirical data obtained from observations and in-depth interviews are interpreted in a critical perspective, with visual and verbal texts. Since Kuzguncuk consists of many paradoxes, a critical perspective is crucial to understand its affordances to unfold its meaning layers and to discover the urban identity.

The productivity of the relational experience can be traced through the tension of the contradictions that exist in Kuzguncuk. The contradictions such as old-new, traditional-experimental, inside-outside and so on are not pointing to a static duality but the tension they form engender the transformation of the place and the people. Deleuze and Guattari (2005) prefer to use the term “line of flight” that point to the paradoxes that are not consistent but always in a movement. In this regard it is argued that the contradictions are produced and reproduced over and over again with every interaction of the body with the space-time. When scrutinized through a paradoxical perspective, the contradictions in Kuzguncuk and also in elsewhere do not finalize or end the relational experience, but these contradictions fold on each other and generate further contemplation of the body with the place. Deleuze (1994) refers to the relation between difference and repetition as “the eternity that belongs to an instant, the unconscious that belongs to a conscious”. Because of its paradoxical context in Kuzguncuk, the old that belongs to a new, the traditional that belongs to an experimental, the inside that belongs to an outside, are inseparable from one another.

In the context of this research, diagrams are produced as a representation of the relational experience, to explain the contradictions that exist in Kuzguncuk and how the tensions give way to the shifting images. The tangible and the intangible dimensions of Kuzguncuk that constitute a place-memory can be narrated through these diagrams.

Kuzguncuk has paradoxes that give rise to a tension and stimulates the relational experience. The body grasps the tension through the relational experience that enables the body to read, imagine and interpret the place and thus explores its place-memory. The place-memory is trying to be explored with the paradoxes of geographical limitations-possibilities, spatio-temporal awareness, and materiality-immateriality throughout the everyday life.

4.2 Geographical Limitations – Possibilities

Kuzguncuk is a coastline quarter of Üsküdar district, at the Anatolian side of Istanbul, having a very specific geographical location in Istanbul that is decisive on its formation. It is located between Boğaziçi Bridge, which is an important land transportation route connecting Asia to Europe, and the district centre of Üsküdar, which is one of the main residential areas and at the same time an important transportation hub of Anatolian side. While the closeness of Kuzguncuk to the main transportation routes, makes it easy to reach to the place from both sides of Istanbul, it stays distant from the bustle and the overwhelming crowd of the city-centre. The geographical location and topography of Kuzguncuk inhabits contradictions such as narrow-wide or hilly-plain streets, as well as intensify the relation of the land to the water, the green and the sky (Figure 4.2). A geographical limit such as the water, while borders the neighbourhood, also offers ways for various relations between the people and the place, so at the same time becomes a possibility.



Figure 4.2 : The geographical limitations and possibilities of Kuzguncuk.

Narrow-wide streets

Kuzguncuk Çarşı (Paşa Limanı) Road, as the main road is parallel to the sea and links connection road of Boğaziçi Bridge to Üsküdar. Mainly houses are located on both sides of this road; waterside residences (in Turkish *yalı*) by the Bosphorus and apartment blocks on the other side of the road. This main road is busy, but since it almost passes by Kuzguncuk, even if there is any traffic jam, it does not affect the flow of the people much. On the other hand, İcadiye Road, which is perpendicular to the sea, reaching up to Bağlarbaşı district, passes all the way through Kuzguncuk. This main road links the hinterland to the sea and it is always busy with both cars and people. Most of the shops such as the groceries, patisseries, pharmacies, bookshops, real estate agencies, cafes and restaurants, as well as various boutiques, art galleries and religious buildings are located on both sides of this main road. With its comparatively large pavements, İcadiye Road becomes a gathering place for not only the inhabitants of Kuzguncuk but also for the visitors. At the weekends, especially on Sundays, the both sides of İcadiye Road are full of people who shop from the local patisserie or grocery, or sit at the sideway cafes and the restaurants. The crowd reaches up to the sea, where Çınaraltı Café is located. It can be stated that this road is where the everyday-life takes place in Kuzguncuk. Narrow and organically shaped streets are located on both side of this main road. While İcadiye Road full of people and cars passing through is extroverted, the narrow streets are more introverted. Calmness on the narrow streets, which contrasts with the vivid life on the main road, provide privacy to the inhabitants. This contrasting structure of narrow-wide streets offer a tension that encourage the body to explore the various dimensions of everyday life in Kuzguncuk (Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3 : The contradictory relations in the narrow-wide streets.

Hilly-plain streets

Kuzguncuk is located in a valley that is surrounded by two hilly green areas. On the north there is Nakkaştepe Cemetery and on the south there is Fethi Paşa Grove. On the east, Bağlarbaşı district marks the beginning of the valley, while the Bosphorus is the natural borderline of the west. The hilly narrow streets some with the steep stairs contrast with the plain streets and become another source of tension that offers various possibilities by engendering the relational experience. The stairs compose an indivisible part of the spatiality of Kuzguncuk that allows for experiencing it, at different levels. Claiming up the stairs the houses on both sides form surprising vistas that recall memories or evoke imagination. The stairs are not only used as circulation elements, but they are also places where the everyday-life of inhabitants takes place. It is not unusual to see people sitting on the steps and chatting, especially in spring and summer time. More over the stairs on Bekar Street used to work as an auditorium for the open-air theatre and various other performances for years (Bektaş, Kuzguncuk, 2011, pp. 165-168). The buildings at the top of the slopes are mostly used for residential purposes, which make the area a quiet place. Walking downstairs, the body encounters with Bosphorus at most unexpected instants. These kinds of encounters enable the body to carry the connection of the land with the water to the upper levels

of the place, where it merges with the green tissue as well. The life gets more vivid as the body reaches to the plain streets, where beside houses, cafes, shops and offices are generally located. Contemplating with various views and situations while strolling up and down hilly and plain streets, the body explores the place as both a tangible and an intangible entity.

The bodily experience of the physical (both natural and built) environment as tangible aspects of Kuzguncuk, whether it is slopes-plain or wide-narrow streets or green tissue and water, the contradictions stimulate contemplations to its intangible aspects. Through the relation of the body with the contradictory features of its physical environment, Kuzguncuk is experienced as discursive and non-discursive simultaneously that gives way to the relational experience and re-produces both the urban space and the body.

Land-water-sky

The green tissue of the valley, which surrounds Kuzguncuk from both the north and the south, reaches up the hills. This green tissue transpires through its streets at every level. The smell of the flowers of the trees and the plants placed out in the balconies, the cooling effect of the shadows of the trees on the streets, the sound of the leaves in the wind are just few ways to be aware of the connection of Kuzguncuk with the green tissue. The historical vegetable-garden in the neighbourhood could be referred as another extension of the green tissue, with the possibilities and threads it faces.

This historical greenery, called Ilia's Vegetable-garden, is a large plain green area in Kuzguncuk, neighbouring the main road and was owned by a Greek¹⁷. Beginning from the second half of 1980s, almost at every decade, the vegetable-garden is faced to interventions to open the area to construction, an ongoing debate between the Directorate General Foundations and the inhabitants of Kuzguncuk¹⁸. Ilia's Vegetable-garden is an agricultural heritage of Kuzguncuk that connects its past to the future. The

¹⁷ Today the Directorate General of Foundations owns the vegetable-garden partly since 1966 and fully since 1977 (Kahraman Bostan, 2013).

¹⁸ The Directorate General of Foundations aims to replace vegetable-garden with a building in order to provide unearned profit from this valuable land. The inhabitants with their friends and relatives and the people who care about Kuzguncuk resist the construction plans that places a hospital or a primary school in the vegetable-garden. The resistance takes place in the court, to make the Foundation withdraw the plans and also at site; physically resisting the construction vehicles entering to the vegetable-garden without a notice, to begin construction (Kahraman Bostan, 2013).

inhabitants of Kuzguncuk, not only use this vegetable-garden as an urban farm, but also they gather here for various activities, which makes it a part of their everyday lives. Through the clash of the locals and the authorities over this piece of land, they also produce a history of struggle and this conflict on land reunites the inhabitants of Kuzguncuk and binds them to the place. As Lefebvre (2000) puts it “in the urban context, struggles between fractions, groups and classes strengthen the feeling of belonging” (s. 67).



Figure 4.4 : The triadic of water-land-sky penetrates both indoors and outdoors.

Water is another geographical element that shapes Kuzguncuk and appears as a common value that the inhabitants share. Kuzguncuk, as a coastline village, has a direct relationship with water that deeply affects its social and cultural life. The Bosphorus in-between Asia and Europe forms a contrast between the land and the sky that could be encountered in various places of Kuzguncuk, out-doors as well as in-doors. Tiny streets dominated by two or three story houses / apartment blocks, either open up to the water or has a view of the Bosphorus from top of the hills. The Bosphorus, the land (European side) just across it and the sky form a triadic that can also be encountered from the windows or balconies of the houses. The waterside residences that are located just along the coastline are nice spots for experiencing the triadic of water-land-sky densely. Bosphorus has a relaxing effect and this feeling is reflected to Kuzguncuk that could be experienced in various ways, even if the water is not seen. An encounter with the breeze from the Bosphorus on the streets or the scent of water

that catches one while sitting at a café, or the sound of the waves on a windy day that come to one's ears are few of the possible ways to experience the life of Kuzguncuk deeply related the water via the Bosphorus (Figure 4.4).

The green dominated surrounding that gives a reason to locals to fight for, the direct relationship with the water giving rise to a calmness in the hustle and bustle of city life, the hills offer delicate vistas, the narrow streets that provide privacy and the large plain streets that evoke a vivid local life are some of the features that the geographical condition of Kuzguncuk provides. The relational experience is a way to perceive these features, with their possibilities and limitations, and discover the place-memory of Kuzguncuk that makes it an attractive place. As attractive as it may be for the people who want to live here, Kuzguncuk does not have a lot of potential to exceed its limits horizontally due to being in a valley and bordered by the water. In a way its geographical constraints become an advantage for it, preventing it to expand with new development sites and thus get over-populated. Although it could not develop horizontally, the population of Kuzguncuk increased slightly in the past thirty years. The shifts in the cultural diversity of the population of Kuzguncuk can be scrutinized through, in Lefebvre's words, "the trialectic of past-present-future/possible".

4.3 Spatio-Temporal Awareness

The housing stock of Kuzguncuk is mainly composed of two or three storey houses, which are more than hundred years old. Today it is seen that Kuzguncuk preserves its overall impression of a place that hosts good examples of Ottoman civil architecture, evoking common-memory. However, in the 1990s and 2000s some of these unique civil architecture examples were not well-kept or abandoned and left to decay. The inhabitants could not cope with the necessities of the old houses. Beginning from 1980s, intellectuals began to migrate to Kuzguncuk that triggered its cultural, social and economic transformation. The inhabitants and newcomers restored or renovated these old buildings throughout the years. Here, it should be mentioned that restoration and renovation are used in different senses. Restoration refers to a process of demolishing the old building and replacing it with a new building having the same façade but built using recent construction techniques. On the other hand renovation indicates that the building is conserved, but its mechanical system and/or its torn out parts are replaced with new systems and/or equipment. Through these different ways

of conservation old and left-empty buildings are begin to be re-occupied and the population of the area has increased, especially in the recent years ((Cengiz, 2013), (Dündaralp, 2013)). Furthermore the population of Kuzguncuk has shifted along with these physical improvements. The inhabitants of Kuzguncuk, despite having religious and ethnic differences –decreased relatively in the last half a century–, developed and still continue to have strong social and cultural relations with each other. Today, not only the geographical features and physical appearance of Kuzguncuk, but also the social relations that are departing from it, makes Kuzguncuk a desirable place to live, work or visit ((Bektaş, 2014), (Cengiz, 2013), (Eyiler, 2014); (Dündaralp, 2013)).

In this process the old building stock of Kuzguncuk is not replaced with completely new one, but instead the present-day conditions are articulated to the past. Deleuze points out that although past, present and future are different repetitive actions; something new is always a product of their repetition:

...the past is in itself repetition, as is the present, but they are repetition in two different modes which repeat each other. Repetition is never a historical fact, but rather the historical condition under which something new is effectively produced. ... *Repetition is a condition of action before it is a concept of reflection.* We produce something new only on condition that we repeat - once in the mode which constitutes the past, and once more in the present of metamorphosis. Moreover, what is produced, the absolutely new itself, is in turn nothing but repetition: the third repetition, this time by excess, the repetition of the future as eternal return. ... Eternal return affects only the new, what is produced under the condition of default and by the intermediary of metamorphosis. However, it causes neither the *condition* nor the *agent* to return: on the contrary, it repudiates these and expels them with all its centrifugal force. It constitutes the autonomy of the product, the independence of the work. (Deleuze, 1994, p. 90)

Through the years, the physical conditions of the buildings are improved or modified, or their functions are changed, according to the need of the inhabitants, to their way of lives and economic strengths. Adapting the houses to a different condition or a different function could be understood as a repetition of the past. New meanings are inscribed to the place while the users adapted the existing buildings to their own needs, as a repetition of the present. Both the inhabitants and the buildings are evolved into a new reality, constituting the future of the place. The past, the present and the future are overlapped in Kuzguncuk, regarding the transformation of the place in relation to the inhabitants and also new comers.

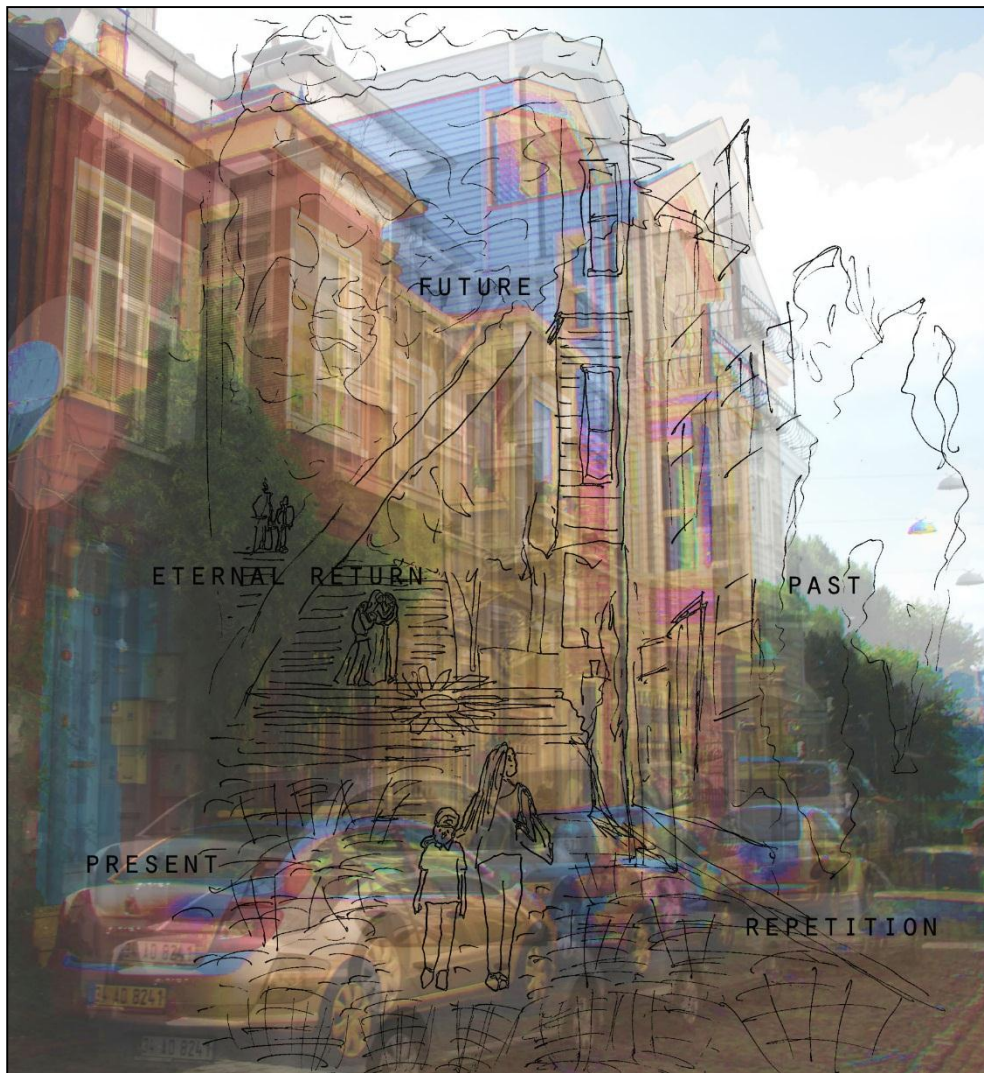


Figure 4.5 : The past-present-future trialectic constituted through repetition.

As Lefebvre (2000, s. 91) states regarding the relation of the philosophy and the city, there is “a simultaneous becoming-philosophy of the world and a becoming-world of philosophy and therefore a tendency towards wholeness. And yet ... wholeness is not reached, nor are contradictions resolved.” In Kuzguncuk, a similar relationship occurs between the users and the place. There is a tendency to reach to wholeness in a becoming-user of the place and a becoming-place of the user. However the contradiction of users and place, are not resolved in the interaction of the users with the place, but every time new contradictions emerge and new relations being produced. While the inhabitants and the new comers are being articulated to the physical conditions of these renovated or restored buildings, the lifestyle of the inhabitants merges into the affordances of Kuzguncuk as well. According to Cengiz (2013), neither only the space affects the life-style of the inhabitants, nor the life-style of the inhabitants affect the space solely, but both of them affect each other continuously.

The lifestyles of the inhabitants are being reflected to space in the way they add something new, something from themselves. On the other hand their articulation to the space opens up new possibilities and unfolds hidden potentials of the space. This reflexive relationship of the body and the built environment could be traced in Kuzguncuk. For instance, Boğaçhan Dündaralp (2013), mentions that the first 45m² space they moved in, with his wife, was not a residential space, thus it was not used as a house before. The way they intervened the space, the way they discovered its potential, turned it into a living space, a home for a family. When they moved to another house few years later, the 45m² place they intervened was no more considered just as a space, and the landlord began to rent it as a house afterwards (Dündaralp, 2013). In this process the 45m² place is being repeated regarding to its past and transformed in the present and linked to the future of the place. Furthermore the way that the people relate themselves to the space, transforms the space as well as themselves and their lifestyles reciprocally. This reciprocal, one-to-one relationship of the body and the space allows for the transformation of the place but in a slow pace. The body takes its time to get to know the place, experience it, think about its past while at the same time imagine what it could be like, and intervene with it. The affordances of the place are unfolded every time the body gets in relation with it, while every relation re-produces new affordances of that place. This reflexive relation of the body and the built environment produces memories that bond the bodies to the place carrying potentials to be articulated to its future (Figure 4.5).

A local bookshop owner, who also lives in Kuzguncuk, states that he and his wife chose to live here to raise their child. He mentions that the social relations of the neighbourhood and the abundance of green spaces, compared to other places in Istanbul, constitute a better place for his child to grow up. In a similar way Dündaralp (2013) points out that, they raise their son in Kuzguncuk, where he gains memories of Kuzguncuk, through his social relations. The basketball field he plays with his friends, the streets they use as a playground, and cafes, shops and the vegetable-garden he visits with his friends or with his family for various activities become places of his personal childhood memories. Dündaralp predicts that his son's everyday life routines in Kuzguncuk produce and re-produce his relations, through the bodily experience that at the same time bonds him to the future of the place. As Lefebvre (2000) asserts for cities "the past, the present, the possible cannot be separated" (s. 148). The social

relations Dündaralp's son establishes today, with the various people through the relational experience of the place, forms a potential for him to build the future, the possible outcome of the place. Kuzguncuk will probably be a different place in the future, but its transformation will take on regarding his memories that include the social relations he is a part of, through its affordances.

4.4 Material-Immaterial Through the Everyday Life

The relational experience in Kuzguncuk could give an insight for understanding and interpreting the paradox of urban identity regarding the everyday life in Kuzguncuk. The asymmetric relation between material and immaterial dimensions are exhibited in the everyday life of Kuzguncuk through the contradictions of places of similarities-differences, insiders-outsiders, meeting-hideaway space-time, inside outside.

Places of similarities-differences

Gülsüm Cengiz (2013), who is a local writer, mentions that she spent a very memorable childhood in Kuzguncuk that made her move back to Kuzguncuk in 2001. She tells that the multiplicity Kuzguncuk inhabits was, and still is, an indivisible part of their everyday lives. The children from various religions and ethnicities used to go to the same school and were raised up together being aware of their differences but also forming common values. Following the 6-7 September 1955 events¹⁹, especially many of Greeks as well as other non-Muslim inhabitants left the country and as a result the religious and ethnic variety is decreased in Kuzguncuk as in various districts of Istanbul (Cengiz, 2010). Even though the heterogeneity of population in Kuzguncuk is decreased, the multiplicity it inhabits could be traced through the cultural codes. The spatio-temporal cultural codes still generate a productive social and cultural life.

The religious buildings and places scattered in and around Kuzguncuk are some of the cultural codes that recall the both ethnic and religious heterogeneity that once densely inhabited in Kuzguncuk. While strolling around the streets of Kuzguncuk one sees a mosque next to a church, or a synagogue across another church, a Muslim cemetery

¹⁹ 6-7 September events that took place in Istanbul in 1955 was began as a protestation against the bombing of the house of Atatürk in Thessaloniki. The protestations took place especially in Beyoğlu but turned into indignation and the actions of plunder and destruction towards the Greek community. This event forced the Greek minority to emigrate, who were living not only in Beyoğlu but also in other districts of Istanbul such as Kuzguncuk.

neighbouring a Jewish one (Figure 4.6). Encountering a church on the way to mosque, attending a friend's wedding at a synagogue or joining a funeral of a dear old lady at a Muslim cemetery becomes an extension of the everyday life of the inhabitants. The togetherness of religious places resemble that the inhabitants of Kuzguncuk used to encounter with the people from different religions in their everyday lives. Bernard Lassus (cited in (Conan, 2006, p. 88)) uses the term “hétérodite” to point to a culture of heterogeneity that these encounters remind to the body. According to him, places that allow the personal imagination, understanding and interpretation can be able to produce a culture of heterogeneity. Today, users intervene with each other in various ways, which could transform Kuzguncuk into a space for multiplicity. For instance, the people with various backgrounds, beliefs and life views gather in Çınaraltı Cafe. While the people share the experience and relaxing effects of the water and the cool breeze, as common values, under the plain tree that make them go there, they encounter with their dissimilarities as well. These encounters are the initiators of the relational experience that give way to produce and re-produce multiplicities in the socio-cultural life of Kuzguncuk.



Figure 4.6 : The togetherness of singularities as a multiplicity through the traces of religious differences in Kuzguncuk.

Deleuze (1994, p. 182) states that multiplicity is a structure that belongs to the many, rather than being composed of the one and the many. Furthermore, this structure is not

a unity that forms a system. In his understanding of multiplicity, the one can be a multiplicity as well as the many. In this regard Deleuze (1994) points that a multiplicity constitutes of “differential elements” (p. 278), relation of these elements and the (“pre-individual”) singularities that correspond to these relations. The repetition of differences is what connects the singularities in a multiplicity, while they are conserving what makes them singular. Openness of a place to intervention and appropriation allows users to create their own perceptions, interpretations and narratives of the place and create a multiplicity. In a place of multiplicity, the differences between the users are not merged into a single unity but it enables them to be aware of their differences as singularities. Appropriation of the place by using it for un-foreseen activities can re-produce the place that inhabits multiplicity and support a culture of heterogeneity. For instance, the *Aşure* (Noah’s pudding) cooking event at Ilia’s Vegetable-Garden is an example of a re-appropriation of a place that engenders heterogeneity and form a space for multiplicity. *Aşure*, as a special Turkish desert, is cooked and shared on one of the important days for Muslims. However, inhabitants of Kuzguncuk, from different religions attend to this event, which reinforce their relations with each other. Not only people from different religions but also people of different ages, children, teenagers and adults also meet at this place, for this event. Each of them find their ways to experience the vegetable-garden in different ways; while some children play around, in the bushes, some mattock the soil with their parents, some adults cook *Aşure* and some teenagers help them to serve it to others, for free. While some walk around, take photographs or chat with the neighbours, some rest on the grass enjoying the sunny November day. The vegetable-garden, as mentioned above, was once owned by a Greek, and now is a place where both personal and collective memories are re-collected and new memories are constituted, through a Muslim religious-day. When *Aşure* cooking event take place in Ilia’s vegetable-garden, it is being more than just a place for producing vegetables, it becomes a place of gathering and sharing values. The vegetable-garden is re-produced while the cultural codes render visible in the process of relational experience, and the place gains a place-memory. Despite the differences that exist between the inhabitants they develop a sense of belongingness with the intermediacy of the place and the event they organized. *Aşure* cooking event is just one of the ways that exhibits how Kuzguncuk becomes a place for multiplicity.

Insiders-outsiders

The physical environment of Kuzguncuk is perceived and used in distinct ways by the locals and its visitors, which is another generator of tension. Kuzguncuk is a preferred place for the visitors on weekends. People from different parts of Istanbul visit Kuzguncuk on Sundays to have a breakfast by the seaside, at the Çınaraltı Café. Some continue the day in Kuzguncuk to further discover the tiny streets and take photographs as a hobby. On the other hand, while locals and most of its visitors generally comprehend Kuzguncuk as a medium that enables their social relations to take place, some of its visitors might see Kuzguncuk as a décor for a romantic photograph or a setting for an advertorial video. According to Dündaralp, the historical buildings attracted wedding photographers for a long time. The photographers used to prefer the historical buildings, just behind the market garden. These well-kept row houses are very attractive with their delicate ornaments. However, in the past few years, the photographers began to use the whole neighbourhood as a setting for wedding photography. Brides and grooms with their close friends accompanying them and photographers are invading the neighbourhood especially on Sundays. The wedding photos are taken almost everywhere, such as in a well-known street, in front of a historical house, on the stairs and so on. While the historical houses, the cobblestone pavements and streets with stairs that emphasize the topography are perceived as interesting backgrounds for the photographs, they are actually places where locals spend their daily lives (Figure 4.7).

In a similar way, the streets with well-kept historical houses on both sides attract the brands to shoot commercial videos, producers to shoot TV series or directors to shoot films. Although there are exceptions, the inhabitants are against the use of Kuzguncuk as a set. They have a slogan that expresses their feelings about the usage of the area as a décor for commercial videos, TV series or films: “Kuzguncuk semttir, set değil” (Kuzguncuk is a neighbourhood, not a set). One of the reasons for this is that the shoots violate the lives of inhabitants. For instance, Dündaralp (2013) tells that one summer night, a scene was being shot, where the lights were exploded in the houses, without even informing the inhabitants. This inappropriate behaviour annoyed the inhabitants and they did not let them shoot that scene. The visual properties of Kuzguncuk are very attracting for users, whether they be locals or visitors. However, for the locals the visual properties are an extension of their social relations that occur in that place,

whereas for the visitors it is just the image value of the place. It can be argued that certain group of users sees Kuzguncuk as a part of a static image, a historicist gaze, in Urry's terms the tourist gaze, towards the place that threatens the socio-cultural relations of the inhabitants. Urry (2002) argues that the tourist gets away from his/her everyday life "seeking authenticity in other 'times' and other 'places'" (p. 9). Furthermore, he claims that anticipation is central to consumerism since the people - here the visitors- do not intent to actually use the products-here to live in the houses- and the motivation of consumption is simply materialistic (Urry, 2002, p. 13). In this regard the place is isolated from its social and cultural relations and turned into a behaviour setting for the economical-based relations of the visitors. The problem arises when the materialistic intentions of the users take over the use-value of the place. It is not possible to avoid material culture, since it is a reality of the globalized world, however the interplay between material culture and immaterial values should continue, in order to re-produce a sense of place-memory, which is always subject to transformation. The visitors can be involved in the everyday life of Kuzguncuk, when they are not only consuming the image of Kuzguncuk as an outsider, but at the same time when they become a part of the life taking place. Sitting at the cafes, shopping from the local markets, chatting with the locals, understanding their sensitivities and respecting their values can be just few of many ways to experience the immateriality of Kuzguncuk.

The material and immaterial qualities of the physical environment carry both its threads and opportunities, for the transformation of Kuzguncuk. For instance a TV series called *Perihan Abla*, shown in 1986-88, transformed the street it was shot at and promoted Kuzguncuk. This was the first time that Kuzguncuk was used as a set for a TV series. The buildings were painted and the street was recognizable with its decoration. The name of Ayhan Street was changed into *Perihan Abla Street* as a tribute to this TV series. The recognition of Kuzguncuk through material culture, in a way improved the economic relations in it. A lot of new cafes and restaurants, shops and offices are opened, some due to the recognition of Kuzguncuk for wide range of people. These improvements in the economic relations are welcomed as long as the socio-cultural life is not changed drastically. TV series as an extension of material culture, while articulated to the life in Kuzguncuk transforms the place and the social, cultural and economic relations in it.



Figure 4.7 : The contradictory relations of the inhabitants and visitors with the place.

Meeting- hideaway space-time

The inhabitants of Kuzguncuk live a modest life with certain daily and weekly routines. The everyday-life activities of the inhabitants define the use of the place and at the same time the place affects their everyday-life activities. Lefebvre (2010) states that "... when it concerns the everyday, rites, ceremonies, fetes, rules and laws, there is always something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive: difference" (p. 6). The repetition of the everyday-life activities does not leave the place unchanged but they become the source of the transformation of the place. Repetition of the daily, weekly, monthly and yearly activities of the inhabitants of Kuzguncuk in their everyday activities form a rhythm. In this rhythm, the physical environment is being transformed slowly via every encounter of people with each other and with the place. For instance, Dünderalp (2013) mentions that certain restaurants serve certain dishes at certain days of the week. This make that restaurant a gathering place at that certain day for the people that enjoy the dish of the day. Sometimes people go there to meet their friends, knowing that they will be there without notice. These routines also allow people to choose between either to go there to meet with them, or be on their own. The place responds to the actions of the people, while the people interact with

the place through the everyday activities. The same restaurant can be a meeting space for the people at a certain day, and a hideaway place on another day. The repetition of everyday-life activities of the inhabitants constitutes a sense of place, which is predictable, but might also be surprising. Two friends can also run into each other at a café on a certain day, while both of them think that the café is a hideaway place (Figure 4.8).

Lefebvre (2010) argues that repetition not only includes differences but also produces them. The process of repetition leads to an event that arises within the series produced repetitively, that Lefebvre refers as “difference”. The everyday life of the inhabitants of Kuzguncuk is a repetition that is productive. The relation that the inhabitants establish with the place and other people (their neighbours, friends, etc.) re-produce the place, as well as themselves. Architect Mert Eyiler (Eyiler, 2014), who lives and works in Kuzguncuk, emphasizes that the everyday-life of the inhabitants of Kuzguncuk form certain paths. Workplaces as workshops rather than offices define the habits of using and experiencing the place, which points to the relation between the place and the people, especially in social, cultural and economic aspects.



Figure 4.8 : The contradiction of the meeting-hideaway space-time in Kuzguncuk.

Indoor – outdoor

It is a familiar thing to see people chilling on their balconies on a lazy Sunday afternoon, or having friends over at the terrace on the ground floor for chatting, or giving an office party at the rooftop on a Friday night. The inhabitants establish

connections with the outdoor, not only out in the streets sitting at cafes or restaurants, but also the indoors are a part of the life out in the streets that are in relation to water and green tissue in a warm climate. On the contrary the streets, cafes and shops are like the living rooms of the inhabitants. While they are passing through the streets they see familiar faces that makes them stop and have chat, or eating at a restaurant, as if they are sitting at a dinner table at a friend's house (Figure 4.9).

Çınaraltı Café, taking its name from the big plane tree at its corner, is like a huge living room where all the close and distant relatives meet at. The café has a multi-storey indoor space, and few tables and the kitchen is located on the ground floor. However, especially on sunny days the people of Kuzguncuk are gathered at the square just outside the café, sitting on the benches. The square is enclosed with the building where the café is located, a waterside residence (in Turkish *yali*) used as an office and a famous sea-food restaurant, by the sea. Small tables are put in front of the benches where the costumers sit, and if the benches are full of people few more stools are added around these small tables. The inhabitants of Kuzguncuk meet with each other and with the visitors at this very square by the sea. The café manager use the square as an extension of the café, an outdoor space which is regarded as the inside of the café. The users of the square might be at the same time the users of the café. They contemplate with the water, the scent of the sea, the breeze from the Bosphorus while they are eating the cookies they brought with them and drinking their teas or Turkish coffees, reading books or newspapers, checking their e-mails on their laptops or tablets, and chatting with each other, as if they are at home.

On the other hand, there are many workshops in Kuzguncuk, where people produce, exhibit and sell the products of their craftsmanship. Eyiler (2014) mentions that opening the door of a workshop on the street, and putting a table and two chairs in front of it, introduces the inside to the outside, while invites the outside life inside the workshop. While the outdoor is a becoming-indoor, the indoor is a becoming-outdoor. The perception of indoor and outdoor are shifted in relation to one another. The feelings of outdoor does not turn into the feelings of indoor but they both transform each other as well as the body and its understanding of indoor and outdoor. The spatiality formed with the tension of inside-outside enables encounters, which is a trigger of constitution of relations between the place and the people as well as the people with each other.



Figure 4.9 : The flux between indoors and outdoors in Kuzguncuk.

4.5 Place-Memory as a Reflexive Medium

In this chapter, in order to understand the deep meaning structure of urban identity within globalisation, a transdiscursive reading is made based on a holistic approach. It had been possible to understand and interpret the paradoxes in Kuzguncuk when the conceptual framework is interwoven with the method. The research has been conducted through the relational experience in order to find out the potentials of “place-memory” in Kuzguncuk which consists shifting paradoxes. In order to understand the methods for grasping these shifting paradoxes, the reflexivity of both the conceptual relations and the affordances of Kuzguncuk have been read through the relational experience. For example while one strolls around narrow-wide, hilly-plain streets, walks by old-new houses used in traditional-experimental ways, hangs around indoors-outdoors, relates his/herself to the sense of land-water-green-sky, coincides with differences-similarities of the inhabitants, notices material-immaterial culture of the inhabitants and thus he/she gains an awareness on Kuzguncuk. Most of these paradoxes were concealed and waiting to be revealed creating an ambiguity during the relational experience. Meanwhile the non-discursive dimensions motivated the relational experience to grasp the place-memory, which requires a prolonged interaction. In other words, throughout the prolong interaction one’s mind oscillates

in-between the paradoxes creating tension to clarify the ambiguity. However every resolution is re-tangled and every clarification is blurred. These paradoxes having spatio-temporal entities overlap in one's consciousness via relational experience, which generates place-memory simultaneously. Through a reflexive process the place-memory gives way to images, ideas and actions related to the lifeworld of Kuzguncuk. In this context the relational experience produces and re-produces the place and the relations continuously, and engenders place-memory in Kuzguncuk (Figure 4.10).

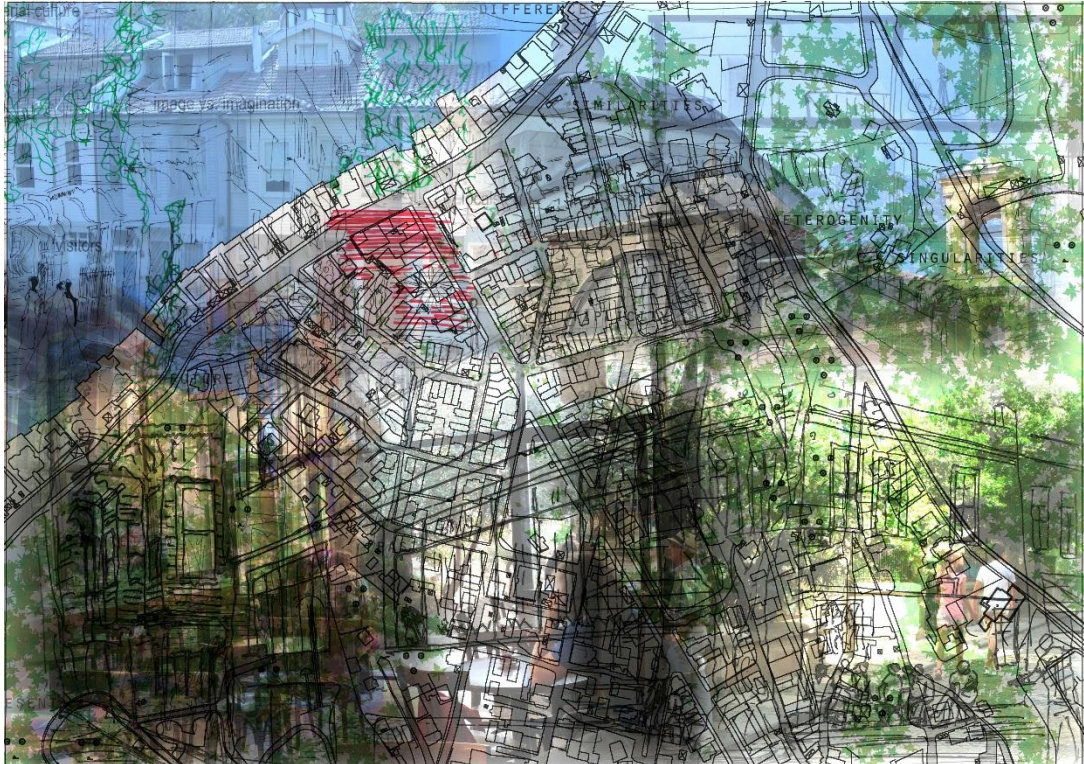


Figure 4.10 : The overlapped paradoxes in Kuzguncuk.

Through this transdiscursive reading in Kuzguncuk, spatial meaning layers are exhibited that reflect a place-memory. Kuzguncuk, as an exemplar, reveals its multidimensional codes that are grasped through the relational experience. In relational experience, Kuzguncuk emerged as a reflexive medium that creates a dialogue between its perceived entity and perceiving body-subject. As a result Kuzguncuk, offers a place-memory, where the interplay of discursive and non-discursive can be understood through the relational experience. The transdiscursive enquiry on the urban identity in relation to the place-memory could be an alternative way to approach to the urban transformation. Reading the place-memory through relational experience could allow urban actors, decision makers and implementers to handle the process of urban transformation more sensitive and intuitive. In this regard,

interpreting the urban identity as a place-memory could open a way to discover the visible and the invisible dimensions, unfold geographical, historical, social, cultural, economic and political relations of other localities as well. This approach could stimulate the interplay of discursive and non-discursive in this urban space in particular, and the city in general.

5. CONCLUSION: URBAN IDENTITY WITH ITS PARADOXES AND POSSIBILITIES

In this thesis, the urban identity has been enquired from a critical perspective, referring to Istanbul as an exemplar, which exhibits asymmetrical relations within globalisation. The problematic of the thesis is about convicting an urban space to a discourse, ascribed as an urban identity, assuming that it is valid for everyone and forever, which brings about the problem of commodification of space. This problematic is scrutinized through a transdiscursive enquiry based on the grounded theory, with a holistic approach. In this regard, the transdiscursive readings are carried out in the chosen fragments of Istanbul by concentrating on the ever-shifting body-space-time relations. The urban identity is revealed as a paradoxical term through these transdiscursive readings.

According to the problematic of the thesis, the concept of identity could only claim to give a complete and efficient knowledge of a space in an ideal situation where the time is stabilized. In this regard, ascribing a discourse to an urban space as an identity (urban identity as a discourse), defines a space where the time is stabilized, supposing that an urban space has never-changing properties. The urban identity as a discourse, is associated with being same, which is not due to change. Therefore, the urban identity as a discourse gives an impression of timelessness to the urban space and creates an illusion. Moreover, the discourse itself prevents noticing this illusion – although this illusion does not annihilate the space-time relations but only transforms them. The discourse sustains the illusion of an urban space having general and never-changing properties that are valid for everyone. When read through the industrial and post-industrial production and consumption relations, this illusion causes an urban space to be commodified. Commodity could be defined as an object of consumption, which has certain properties that are not due to change, and remain same or create an illusion of urban identity remaining same. In this consideration, ascribing an urban identity as a discourse to an urban space turns it into a consumption object that is assumed to have never-changing properties. Within the unity of space-time, in an understanding of an

ever-transforming world as a web of relations, the urban identity could not contain a whole and complete knowledge of a place, thus cannot be reduced into a discourse. Even if a knowledge of all the properties of a place which, makes it that place, were reached, it would just be a knowledge of a place in a certain moment. In this regard, the urban identity as a discourse could only refer to a knowledge of a place at a certain moment, thus it could not be generalized or assumed that it would be valid forever. This brings about the discussions on the problem of urban identity, in which architecture and the city are investigated in order to find out if the urban identity is conserved or not.

The illusion that the urban identity as a discourse conceals, has been revealed in this thesis, when the relationship between the place and the body is scrutinized in a transdiscursive enquiry. Revealing this illusion could enable us to offer alternatives to the consumption oriented one-way relationship (which assumes a symmetrical relation) with the place. Contrary to the sameness reference that is ascribed to the concept of identity, in this thesis it has been argued that the urban identity both emerges and transforms due to the asymmetrical relations between the actants both living and non-living entities, which are also constantly transforming. The body triggers transformation through the relational experience, by constituting his/her own narratives, in order to understand and interpret the urban fragment. Every interpretation could be a discourse, but taking into account that every interpretation triggers the transformation, this brings about a situation that transcends urban identity as a discourse, and points to transdiscursivity, through which the paradox of urban identity emerges. In relation to the paradox of urban identity, the architecture and the city could be understood not as never-changing or stable objects but as dynamic entities subject to transformation. Furthermore the debates on urban identity can go beyond whether or not an urban space has an identity, and make different understandings of space-time possible. In this regard, the paradox that is revealed in relation to the concept of identity have a potential to contribute to the architectural knowledge by unlocking the mind to new worlds of perception.

In this thesis, transdiscursive readings has been made in the chosen fragments of Istanbul for understanding and interpreting the urban identity paradox. In a transdiscursive reading, the problems of commodification of space could be detected in an urban fragment in relation to a popular discourse that is ascribed to it as an urban

identity. For instance the discourse of “nightlife and entertainment centre” in Asmalımescit, the “finance centre” and “new centre of living” in Levent-Kağıthane, and “a nostalgic neighbourhood” in Kuzguncuk direct the transformation of their spatial organization regarding the global capitalist relations in neoliberal urban politics (Table 5.1). Contrary to the impositions of the popular discourse ascribed to an urban fragment, the relation between the discursive and non-discursive dimensions is involved in the transformation and its spatialization process. While the popular discourse aims to stabilize the urban fragment, the asymmetrical relation between discursive and non-discursive dimensions that are revealed through the transdiscursive readings, carries it beyond that single discourse and trigger further transformation. For instance, as seen on the Table 5.1, the collective memories based on socio-political, socio-economic, socio-cultural dimensions, historical significances, the ethnic or religious variety of the past/present inhabitants and the defects of the popular discourse constitute the non-discursive dimensions in each urban fragment.

Experiencing the discursive dimensions in the urban space calls for the non-discursive dimensions in a form of imagination, recollection and definable or undefinable feelings. And these non-discursive dimensions are also unmeasurable intangibles that could only be grasped in relational experience with their counterparts. In this process the discursive and the non-discursive dimensions are not reduced or translated into one another, but they are re-produced in relation to each other, which denotes an asymmetrical relation. The transdiscursive reading is therefore based on this asymmetrical relation that the body establishes with the place, through making kayaking movements between the discursive and non-discursive dimensions that give way to new discourses as well as memories and imaginations. When the transdiscursive enquiry matrix on Table 5.1 has been interpreted, it could be argued that the urban identity that emerges through this asymmetrical relation cannot refer to a stabilized discourse, but a paradox, since this relation is in a tendency to become a discourse but always in a productive transformation.

From a critical perspective, the transdiscursive reading necessitates the relational experience for seeing, thinking and reading environmental clues as a narrative. The relational experience is based on a holistic approach that facilitates to make connections between the discursive and non-discursive dimensions and to find an interpretive frame for the narrative. In this thesis the transdiscursive enquiry matrix (Table 5.1) has

been proposed as an interpretive frame for understanding the metaphorical relations of the concept of becoming, palimpsest and place-memory which came about in the transdiscursive readings of the chosen fragments.

Table 5.1 : The transdiscursive enquiry matrix.

Urban Fragments	Asmalimescit	Levent-Kağıthane	Kuzguncuk
Discourse ascribed as an identity	Nightlife and entertainment Creative industries	Industrial site vs. Finance centre Squatter area vs. New centre of living	Historical / Nostalgic neighbourhood
Non-discursive dimensions	- Collective socio-political memories - Historical significance (artist ateliers, out of sight taverns etc.)	- Collective socio-economic memories - The bugs of urbanization regarding the industrial and post-industrial production	- Collective socio-cultural memories - Ethnic and religious variety of the past inhabitants - A sense of community
Narrative	-transformation occur with shifts -references to modernization -urban regeneration with cultural politics that has both opportunities and threats	-transformation that aims to erase the industrial past with the post-industrial relations -urban regeneration based on investment in service sector infrastructure	-transformation that is rooted to the past of the place -urban regeneration with inhabitants of the place and a resistance to top-down regeneration strategies
Concept	Urban identity as becoming	Palimpsest identity	Urban identity as a place-memory
Paradox	-Cultural capital increase attraction but simultaneously brings threats of aesthetization -Interventions of creative class vs. implementations of entrepreneurs	-Is Levent-Kağıthane the same place even though the spaces of industrial production torn down and spaces of post-industrial production re-built in their places?	-Is it still living in the past or is it a present-day phenomenon in connection with its history? -Being an attractive place to live, work or visit but resisting commodification

As seen on table 5.1 The transdiscursive enquiry matrix, a relational network could be discovered through the body-space-time relations as a narrative, regarding the concept of becoming. For instance in Asmalimescit, the asymmetrical relations between the actants gives way to a transformation directed by leaps, where the urban identity emerges not as continuity but as becoming, which points to a paradox. Understanding and interpreting the urban identity as becoming gives rise to the interplay of discursive and non-discursive dimensions having potential to constantly produce new relations.

The palimpsest identity could be used as a conceptual tool to bring about the narrative in a layered historical-geography. The palimpsest identity as a metaphor refers to the traces of the past transpires in the present spatial organization, just like the old text that become visible on a parchment with a new text. The transdiscursive reading in an urban fragment in which the past traces and the future imaginations are overlapped and interwoven in the present as a palimpsest, points out the multi-layered relations between discursive and non-discursive dimensions (Table 5.1). For instance, reading Levent-Kağıthane as a palimpsest emphasizes the non-discursive dimensions such as the connotations of personal and collective memories while the discourse refers only to the new built environment. The palimpsest identity reveals the paradox of urban traces which belongs to the various periods connecting to both the present and future spatial organizations.

The concept of place-memory could exhibit the relations in a place where the inhabitants play an important role by neither regarding the past as a nostalgia nor ignoring it, but building something new on it (Table 5.1). For instance, the spatial practices taking place in Kuzguncuk are rooted in the non-discursive dimensions such as memories and traces of the past, instead of a mythical past that the discourse assumes. Place-memory reveals to the paradox of urban identity, where something new is created pertaining to the past, and sustaining a vivid life resisting the capital.

Even though the scope of this thesis is limited with three urban fragments, the transdiscursive enquiry based the grounded theory could be applied to different places, such as other fragments of Istanbul. Neither the paradox of urban identity is specific to the chosen urban fragments, nor the emergence of the urban identity as a paradoxical term is limited with the chosen concepts. Hence, the concepts that are used in the

transdiscursive readings in these fragments can be used for understanding the paradox of urban identity in any urban fragment within the city.

In this thesis, a way of transcending the urban identity as a discourse has been pointed out through the transdiscursive enquiry based on the grounded theory. Regarding the grounded theory, kayaking movements has been made between the theoretical and empirical research processes in the transdiscursive enquiry. The literature reviews as well as relational experience in the city gave way to certain questions, and the problematic of the research has been defined in this context. The urban fragments are selected in relation to these questions that lead to further theoretical readings, through which a conceptual framework has been constituted. Further data has been obtained and interpreted regarding this conceptual framework; thus the discursive and non-discursive dimensions in an urban fragment that point to the paradox of urban identity are explored through transdiscursive readings and interpreted with the visual and verbal texts in a form of narrative. Understanding the paradox of urban identity could enable to realize the illusion created by ascribing a discourse as an identity. Transcending the urban identity as a discourse could make it possible to grasp the multiple relations of architecture and urban design in a new perspective.

As a result, the transdiscursive enquiry on the urban identity, which has been outlined in the Table 5.1, is proposed as a way to develop alternatives to urban transformation projects that raise the issue of commodification. This transdiscursive enquiry illustrates how the urban identity, giving way to both paradoxes and possibilities, arises as a ambiguous concept within globalization. The critical thinking plays an important role for understanding this ambiguous concept in order to carry out a transdiscursive enquiry through transdiscursive readings. Besides critical thinking is essential to point out the problems in the urban spaces and at the same time to be aware of their potentials within the existing reality in such a way to construct a narrative. By providing a deeper understanding of an urban space through transdiscursive readings, a web of knowledge of an urban space concerning the paradox of urban identity could be produced. This kind of knowledge could be transformed into a different way of seeing and thinking for future architectural and urban design, especially in the existing built environments where a regeneration or an urban transformation process is on the agenda.

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