

THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES ON THE URBAN
TEXTURE AND ARCHITECTURE OF ISTANBUL AND GALATA REGION: AN
ANALYSIS OF GALATAPORT AND IRHM IN THE LIGHT OF NEOLIBERAL
POLICIES

by

Murat Yiğit Kayış

Submitted to Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Science in
Architecture

Yeditepe University

2022

SİYASİ VE EKONOMİK POLİTİKALARIN İSTANBUL VE GALATA BÖLGESİ'NİN
KENT DOKUSU VE MİMARİSİ ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ: NEOLİBERAL
POLİTİKALAR IŞIĞINDA GALATAPORT VE İRHM ANALİZİ

APPROVED BY:

Dr. Aslı Can Varon
(Thesis Supervisor)
(Yeditepe University)

.....

Prof. Dr. Ece Ceylan Baba
(Yeditepe University)

.....

Assist. Prof. Dr. İdil Erkol Bingöl
(İstanbul Bilgi University)

.....

DATE OF APPROVAL: / / 2022

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I have fully cited and referenced all material and results as required by these rules and conduct, and this thesis study does not contain any plagiarism. If any material used in the thesis requires copyright, the necessary permissions have been obtained. No material from this thesis has been used for the award of another degree.

I accept all kinds of legal liability that may arise in case contrary to these situations.

Name, Last name Yiğit Kayış

Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my esteemed thesis supervisor, Dr. Aslı Can Varon for her unique knowledge of politics, economics and architecture, as well as for the resources she suggested and the valuable experts I was able to interact with: Bülent Batuman, İpek Yada Akpınar, Duygu Demir, Osman Erden and Rasim Burak Uras. I would like to thank my dear mother Ayşe Gül Kayış, my father Mehmet Rifat Kayış and my grandmother Sevim Özbek for their endless love, generous support and constant faith in me in all the decisions I have made throughout my life. I would like to thank Merve Cengiz, my generous, self-sacrificing and invaluable travelling companion, who helped me throughout the research process of my thesis and was one of the main motivations for writing it. I would like to thank my friends, Can Saatçioğlu and Mustafa Tütüncüoğlu, whose help, patience and unique friendship who I consider no different from my brothers. I would like to thank the esteemed Orhan Çeliktürk for his experience, help and friendship in writing this thesis. This thesis is dedicated to the precious people I have mentioned above.

ABSTRACT

THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES ON THE URBAN TEXTURE AND ARCHITECTURE OF ISTANBUL AND GALATA REGION: AN ANALYSIS OF GALATAPORT AND IRHM IN THE LIGHT OF NEOLIBERAL POLICIES

As an intersection of architecture and society, the city has been the site of political and economic struggles and conflicts throughout history. Therefore, the political and economic actors in the city affect and shape the urban space and architecture, also under the geographical and temporal conditions in which the city is located. Although this effect and shaping show differences specific to periods and geographies, a historical research path to be made in certain geography can be counted as a valid method for understanding today. The aim of this thesis is to reveal the effects of the political and economic actors in the city on the urban texture and architecture. Within the scope of this purpose, both a historical and a geographical limitation has been made and this relationship has been tried to be revealed in both a historical and geographical framework, which has been descended to the scale of İstanbul and Galata, respectively, from the Late Ottoman Period to the present. The historical range examined has been the Late Ottoman period, which can be taken as the origin of political westernization and economic liberalization in Turkey. The geographical range examined is limited to the city of İstanbul, which maintains its urban identity in the geography since the selected historical origin of Turkey, and whose economic, political-political and administrative importance is evident at the same time, followed by Galata, which is the region of the selected case study. The second part, which constitutes the historical presentation of the thesis, is titled according to the periods, and in each title, it is discussed first in the political-economic context, and then within the scope of İstanbul and Galata region, in a sequence following the title of the thesis. The Galata Region, which is examined in each section as a case study region, has been important on its own since the Late Ottoman period, even before the case study. The case was chosen to determine the validity of the analysis and determinations within the scope of all this purpose, and Galataport and its affiliated IRHM, which have been the focus of many discussions and criticisms in today's architecture, politics-economy intersection, were chosen in terms of both the project itself, its close environment and its relationship with the region.

ÖZET

SİYASİ VE EKONOMİ POLİTİKALARININ İSTANBUL VE GALATA BÖLGESİ KENT DOKUSU VE MİMARİSİNE ETKİSİ: GALATAPORT VE İRHM'NİN NEOLİBERAL POLİTİKALAR IŞIĞINDA İNCELENMESİ

Mimarlığın ve toplumun bir arakesiti olarak kent, tarih boyunca siyasi ve ekonomik mücadele ve çatışmaların mekanı olmuştur. Dolayısıyla kentsel mekan ve mimariyi, yine kentin kendi içinde barındırdığı siyasi ve ekonomik aktörler, kentin içinde bulunduğu coğrafi ve zamansal koşulların da altında etkilemekte ve şekillendirmektedir. Bu etki ve şekillendirme dönemlere ve coğrafyalara özgü farklılıklar göstermekle birlikte, belirli bir coğrafyada yapılacak olan tarihsel bir araştırma izleği bugünün anlaşılması konusunda geçerli bir yöntem olarak sayılabilir. Bu tezin amacı, kentteki siyasi ve ekonomik aktörlerin kent dokusu ve mimariye olan etkilerini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Bu amaç kapsamında hem tarihsel hem de coğrafi bir sınırlamaya gidilmiş olup, Geç Osmanlı Dönemi'nden günümüze dek sırasıyla İstanbul ve Galata ölçeğine inen, hem tarihsel hem de coğrafi bir izlencede bu ilişki ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır. İncelenen tarihsel aralık, Türkiye'de siyasi olarak batılılaşmanın, ekonomik anlamda ise liberalleşmenin orijini olarak da alınabilecek Geç Osmanlı dönemi olmuştur. İncelenen coğrafi aralık ise Türkiye'nin seçilen tarihsel orijinden itibaren coğrafyada kent kimliğini sürdüren ve aynı anda hem ekonomik hem siyasi-politik hem de yönetsel önemi bariz İstanbul kenti ve onu takiben seçilen vaka çalışmanın da bölgesi olan Galata ile sınırlandırılmıştır. Tezin tarihsel serimlemesini oluşturan ikinci bölüm dönemlere göre başlıklandırılarak, her başlıkta tezin başlığını da takip eden bir sıralamayla önce siyasi-ekonomik kapsamda, devamında ise İstanbul ve Galata bölgesi kapsamında ele alınmıştır. Vaka çalışma bölgesi olarak her bölümde ön plana çıkan Galata Bölgesi ise vaka çalışmasının da öncesinde Geç Osmanlı'dan beri kendi başına önem teşkil etmektedir. Vaka ise tüm bu amaç kapsamında analiz ve tespitlerin geçerliliğinin belirlenmesi amacıyla seçilmiş olup, hem projenin kendisi hem de yakın çevresi ve bulunduğu bölgeyle ilişkisi bakımından günümüz mimari ve siyaset-ekonomi arakesitinde pek çok tartışma ve eleştirinin odağında olmuş Galataport ve ona bağlı İRHM seçilmiştir.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
ÖZET	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF TABLES.....	xvii
LIST OF SYMBOLS/ABBREVIATIONS.....	xviii
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. AIM OF THE THESIS.....	7
1.2. SCOPE OF THE THESIS.....	8
1.3. METHOD OF THE THESIS	8
2. NEOLIBERALISM.....	10
2.1. WHAT IS NEOLIBERALISM ?	10
2.2. THEORIES FOR READING THE CAPITALIST CITY / RELATIONSHIP OF NEOLIBERALISM WITH THE CITY	11
2.2.1. 1 st Industrial Revolution;	11
2.2.2. 2 nd Industrial Revolution.....	16
2.2.3. 3 rd Industrial Revolution	21
2.3. RELATIONSHIP OF NEOLIBERALISM WITH ARCHITECTURE	24
3. STUDY OF PERIODIZING THE TRANSFORMATIONS WHICH ARE EXPERIENCED BY GALATA PORT IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEOLIBERAL CITY READING THEORIES	28
3.1. INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD ON THE GALATA PORT (TULIP PERIOD- FOUNDATION OF REPUBLIC).....	29

3.1.1.	Examination of Political and Economic Policies in the Late Ottoman Period ..	29
3.1.2.	İstanbul City Policies in the Late Ottoman Period	38
3.1.3.	Examination of Galata-Pera Region and Galata Port in the Late Ottoman Period	57
3.2.	INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE SINGLE PARTY PERIOD ON GALATA PORT (1923-1950).....	67
3.2.1.	Examination of the Political and Economic Policies of the Single Party Period	67
3.2.2.	Single Party Period İstanbul Urban Policies	85
3.2.3.	Examination of the Beyoğlu-Galata Region and the Galata Port Period in the Single Party Period	93
3.3.	INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES IN THE PERIOD OF DEMOCRAT PARTY ON İSTANBUL AND GALATA PORT (1950-1960)	113
3.3.1.	Examination of the Political and Economic Policies in the Period of Democrat Party	113
3.3.2.	İstanbul Urban Policies in Democrat Party Period	121
3.3.3.	Examination of Beyoğlu-Galata Region and Galata Port Review in the Period of the Democrat Party	133
3.4.	INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES ON GALATA PORT FROM 1960 TO 1980	144
3.4.1.	Examination of the Political and Economic Policies Between the Years 1960 and 1980	144
3.4.2.	The İstanbul Urban Policies Between the Years 1960-1980	152
3.4.3.	Examination of the Beyoğlu-Galata Region and Galata Port Between 1960 and 1980	164
3.5.	INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES BETWEEN THE YEARS 1980-2001 ON THE GALATA PORT	167

3.5.1.	Examination of the Political and Economic Policies Between the Years 1980-2001	167
3.5.2.	The İstanbul Urban Policies Between the Years 1980-2001	174
3.5.3.	Examination of the Beyoğlu-Galata Region and Galata Port Between 1960 and 1980	183
3.6.	INFLUENCE OF THE AKP PERIOD POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES ON GALATAPORT (2002 TO THE PRESENT)	189
3.6.1.	Examination of Political and Economic Policies in the AKP Period	189
3.6.2.	İstanbul Urban Policies in the AKP Period	195
3.6.3.	Examination of Beyoğlu and Galata Region in the AKP Period.....	205
3.6.3.1.	AKP'S Revenchist Architecture and the Building of a "New Nation" .	216
3.6.4.	Galataport Review	222
3.6.4.1.	Investigation of Demolition/Restoration/Construction Works in Karaköy Port Region	227
3.6.4.2.	Investigation of Demolition/Restoration/Construction Works in Salıpazarı Port Region	230
3.6.4.3.	Tender and Construction Process of Galataport İstanbul Project.....	233
4.	CASE STUDY: İSTANBUL ART AND SCULPTURE MUSEUM.....	237
5.	CONCLUSION	247
6.	REFERENCES	252
	APPENDIX A.....	280

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. The mechanism of the thesis, created by the author.....	2
Figure 3.1. Plan of the city of İstanbul and its suburbs, dated 1776, by François Kauffer [49].	40
Figure 3.2. Von Moltke Plan drawn in 1839 [54].....	42
Figure 3.3. Necip Bey Map drawn for the Galata Region dated 1918 [60]......	54
Figure 3.4. Cisir-i Cedid Bridge, built by Sultan II. Mahmut in 1836 [50]......	58
Figure 3.5. Map showing the Golden Horn and Üsküdar regions after İstanbul was divided into 14 parts [48]......	59
Figure 3.6. Karaköy Port, Package Post Office and barges in 1907 [77].	67
Figure 3.7. 1/5000 scale Historic Peninsula plan drawn by Henri Prost in 1937 [113].	89
Figure 3.8. 1/5000 scale Galata plan drawn by Henri Prost in 1937 [113].	89
Figure 3.9. Cover image of Beautifying İstanbul Magazine, which was published in 1944 and conveys the zoning work done in İstanbul during the İnönü period [112].	91
Figure 3.10. Large-scale parks included in the Prost Plan [114]......	92
Figure 3.11. In 1927, the name of Cadde-i Kebir was changed to İstiklal Caddesi [118]...	95
Figure 3.12. Pervtitich Map showing the Salıpazarı region drawn in 1926 [122]......	96
Figure 3.13. Pervtitich Map showing the Tophane District drawn in 1927 [122]......	96
Figure 3.14 Pervtitich Map showing the Fındıklı Region drawn in 1926 [122]......	97
Figure 3.15. Pervititch Maps drawn in 1927 - Karaköy and Tophane region [122]......	97
Figure 3.16. A photograph of the Gazi Bridge taken in 1944 [112]......	98
Figure 3.17. Atatürk Boulevard, Golden Horn and Gazi Bridge [112].	99

Figure 3.18. Taksim Square plan by Henri Prost, drawn in 1945 [113].	99
Figure 3.19. İnönü Gezi Park Plan drawn in 1942 [113].	100
Figure 3.20. Taksim Municipality Club and garden [124].	101
Figure 3.21. Artillery Barracks demolished as part of Gezi Park construction [112].	102
Figure 3.22. Gezi Park after the destruction of the Artillery Barracks [112].	102
Figure 3.23. Model of the first AKM designed by Feridun Kip and Rüknettin Güney [126].	103
Figure 3.24. Plan diagram of İstanbul Harbor in 1929 by Ahmet Hamdi Başar [77].	106
Figure 3.25. Photograph of Rıhtım Han in 1929 [77].	107
Figure 3.26. Galata dock and warehouses [77].	107
Figure 3.27. Drawing by Ahmet Hamdi Başar, explaining that 10 barges were delivered to the customs in five days [77].	108
Figure 3.28. Pera/Galata map with Galata Port, drawn by Henri Prost in 1940 [60].	111
Figure 3.29. Karaköy Passenger Hall [133].	113
Figure 3.30. 6-7th September events [143].	119
Figure 3.31. Roads built on the Historic Peninsula during the DP period [148].	125
Figure 3.32. Roads built on the Anatolian side during the DP period [148].	125
Figure 3.33. Road works carried out in Beyoğlu during the DP period [148].	126
Figure 3.34. Edirne-İstanbul Road built during the DP period [148].	126
Figure 3.35. The demolition works in Karaköy Square dated 1958 [157].	134
Figure 3.36. Suat Nirven map of Karaköy Ziraat Bank and its surroundings drawn in 1948 [122].	135

Figure 3.37. Between Karaköy and Tophane before the demolition works of Menderes [157].	135
Figure 3.38. Between Karaköy and Tophane after the demolition works of Menderes [157].	135
Figure 3.39. The opening of Kemeraltı Street as a result of the Menderes demolitions [157].	136
Figure 3.40. The current state of Karaköy Square and Gazi Bridge, photo taken by author.	136
Figure 3.41. The destruction of historical monuments between Karaköy and Beşiktaş during the Menderes period [159].	138
Figure 3.42. Model work showing the warehouse and docks of the Salıpazarı Port [148].	139
Figure 3.43. Construction of the Warehouse and Docks in the Salıpazarı Port [148].	140
Figure 3.44. Salıpazarı Port section, prepared by author [148].	140
Figure 3.45. Tophane Square Arrangement Project by Sedad Hakkı Eldem [160].	141
Figure 3.46. Front and rear facades of warehouse structures [160].	141
Figure 3.47. The entrance of the office building in the project [160].	142
Figure 3.48. A photograph taken from the Anatolian side of the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge [165].	148
Figure 3.49. The periods when İstiklal Avenue was open to traffic in the 1960s [183].	165
Figure 3.50. Taksim Square on 1 May 1977 [184].	165
Figure 3.51. İstanbul Metropolitan Area Master Plan, completed in 1980 [199].	176
Figure 3.52. Gökkafes built in Prost's Park No. 2 and the Hilton Hotel at behind [203].	179
Figure 3.53. Tarlabası Street before it was transformed into a boulevard (1949) [209].	184

Figure 3.54. Demolition of Tarlabası Boulevard in 1988 [210].	184
Figure 3.55. Park Hotel, which was under construction during the Dalan period [212].	186
Figure 3.56. The poster used by Bedrettin Dalan in the mayoral elections [238].	197
Figure 3.57. Logo of the Ecumenopolis document [243].	198
Figure 3.58. Zaha Hadid's Kartal Project [245].	199
Figure 3.59. İstanbul European Capital of Culture logo [247].	199
Figure 3.60. Çamlıca Mosque and Çamlıca Tower [251,252].	201
Figure 3.61. Canal İstanbul Project and the development of the project environment [259].	203
Figure 3.62. İstanbul Airport [260].	204
Figure 3.63. Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge [261].	204
Figure 3.64 Located on the Black Sea Coast, Canal İstanbul, İstanbul Airport and Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge, created by author.	205
Figure 3.65. Park No. 2 designed by Prost [113].	206
Figure 3.66. The current state of Park No. 2 [272,273].	207
Figure 3.67. Panoramic photograph of Park No. 2 today, photo taken by author.	208
Figure 3.68. Taksim Pedestrianization and Topçu Kışlası Reconstruction Project [277].	209
Figure 3.69. Construction machinery started to demolish in Gezi Park [281].	210
Figure 3.70. Actions to prevent Gezi Park from being demolished [282].	210
Figure 3.71 Taksim Square, photo taken by author.	212
Figure 3.72 Taksim Square panoramic, photo taken by author.	212
Figure 3.73. Beyoğlu Cultural Road Project [287].	213

Figure 3.74. İstiklal Street, photo taken by author.....	214
Figure 3.75. View of renewed Emek Cinema from İstiklal Street, photo taken by author.	215
Figure 3.76. View of renewed Atlas Cinema (İstanbul Cinema Museum) from İstiklal Street, photo taken by author.	215
Figure 3.77. Renewed Narmanlı Han, photo taken by author.	215
Figure 3.78. The AK Party Headquarters, where the effects of the Ottoman-Seljuk architectural style can be observed [293].	217
Figure 3.79. View of the Republic Monument and Taksim Mosque from Taksim Square, photo taken by author.	220
Figure 3.80. View of AKM from Taksim Square, photo taken by author.....	220
Figure 3.81. The 50th Anniversary Monument of the Republic in Galatasaray Square, photo taken by author.....	221
Figure 3.82. The first cruise ship to dock at Galataport İstanbul on 1 October 2022 [300].	223
Figure 3.83. The coastline that opens to the public with a modular (opening and closing) cover system, photo taken by author.	224
Figure 3.84. 2D section of Galataport Project [303].....	225
Figure 3.85. 3D section view of Galataport Project [303].....	225
Figure 3.86. The site plan of the Galataport İstanbul Project [303].	226
Figure 3.87. View of the Karaköy Port side of Galataport from the Bosphorus, photo taken by author.	227
Figure 3.88. The view of Çinili Han, which is under renovation, from Kemankeş Street, photo taken by author.	228

Figure 3.89. The view of Karaköy Passenger Hall, which is under renovation, photo taken by author.	228
Figure 3.90. The view of Merkez Han, which is under renovation, from Kemankeş Street, photo taken by author.	228
Figure 3.91. Renovation works of Warehouse No. 20, photo taken by author.....	229
Figure 3.92. The facade of the Paket Post Office on the Kemankeş Street side, photo taken by author.	230
Figure 3.93. View of the Salıpazarı Port side of Galataport from the Bosphorus, photo taken by author.	231
Figure 3.94. İstanbul Modern opened in Warehouse No. 4 of the Salıpazarı Port [308]. .	231
Figure 3.95. İstanbul Modern designed by Renzo Piano, built on the site of the Warehouse no. 4 and under construction, photo taken by author.....	232
Figure 3.96. Entrance façade of İRHM facing Meclis-i Mebusan Street, photo taken by author.	232
Figure 3.97. Tophane Museum Square and its relationship with the buildings surrounding the square, photo taken by author.	233
Figure 4.1. Atatürk's visit to İRHM [321].	237
Figure 4.2. Documentation with İRHM land and building recommendations [327].....	240
Figure 4.3. Draft of the cooperation protocol of M.S.U. İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museums and Painting and Sculpture Museums Association [328].....	242
Figure 4.4. Petition written by Belkıs Mutlu (Director of İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum) for Painting and Sculpture Museums Association's recognition as a public benefit association from 1984 [329].	242
Figure 4.5. The façade of the İRHM facing the Meclis-i Mebusan Street and also its main entrance, photo taken by author.	245

Figure 4.6. Relationship between İRHM, Nusretiye Mosque and Tophane Museum Square, photo taken by author.	245
Figure 4.7 İRHM's reinforced concrete carcass facade and cantilevered container units, photo taken by author.	246
Figure 4.8 Perception of the carcass facade of the İRHM from inside Galataport, photo taken by author.	246
Figure 5.1. The effects of economic policies on İstanbul, created by the author.	248
Figure A.1 Galataport İstanbul Vaziyet Planı [303].	280

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1. Activities of ships passing through İstanbul Port [107].....	110
Table 3.2. Table showing the development of the slum population in İstanbul [153].	163
Table 3.3. Cruise ship activities in İstanbul from 2013 until 2016 when Karaköy Port was closed [301].....	224



LIST OF SYMBOLS/ABBREVIATIONS

CHP	Republican People's Party
DP	Democrat Party
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
AP	Justice Party
MC	Nationalist Front
BINPB	A Great İstanbul Master Plan Bureau
DPT	State Planning Organization
ANAP	Fatherland Party
RP	Welfare Party
AKP	Justice and Development Party
MSGSÜ	Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University
TMMOB	Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects
İRHM	İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum

1. INTRODUCTION

Architecture, due to its nature, has never operated as a completely autonomous field in any period and geography. Architecture, which is known to be connected to many components, is especially dependent on the power relations of the time and geography and the economic organizations connected to these relations. Therefore, architecture as the production of space is in direct relation with power. The symbolic and economic value of architecture, the context around it, and its power to change the public can be shown as the reasons for this. This value and power in the production of space cause a certain cost, and this cost, which also requires a certain "power", can be met by economic and/or political powers. The concept of "power" mentioned here is not only economic power, but also a law-making, initiative-giving power that shapes the public and its resources. Economic power can undertake and cover the material cost of space production, but it can do this within the framework of the economic, political, and spatial rules of the political power. However, the power of the political powers to cover the costs in the production of space seems much more in terms of both providing economic opportunity and setting the rules for the production of (urban) space. Therefore, it can be said that political power has more say than other power mechanisms about how space is produced, as it does in the production of space. Therefore, understanding the relationship between political power and (urban) space is considered important to understand the urban projection of architecture.

Political powers derive their right to power (in general) from democracies. However, the power to maintain power stems from its economic methods. Therefore, it can be said that the greatest power of the government is the economic program it implements. These economic programs are parallel and/or complementary to each other with the political program they pursue. Therefore, it can be said to understand the relationship between political power and space, to understand the relationship between the politics and economy of the period in which the political power in question and space, in other words, to analyze the dialectic of politics-economy-space.

Because of the dialectic of politics, economy, and space, it can be called the trinity of architecture. This trinity has been the subject of politics, economy, and space, and therefore architecture, separately in the literature. It is possible to read the reflections of this trinity in

all three areas separately. To make an explanation about the dialectic in question, the point of the perspective should be determined from narrow to broad.

It can be said that this thesis set up the architecture from a point where the architecture is close to the observer. The mechanism is listed as architecture, economy, and politics, from close to far to the observer. The economy is viewed from the light of politics, and architecture is viewed from the light of the changing economy due to politics. With an allusion, architecture, economy, and politics respectively; described as red, green, blue. Without the lens of architecture and economics, politics will appear blue, but when the economy is put in place in the apparatus, it will appear blue relative to the color of politics. The architecture will appear red before it is placed in the setup but will appear white when it takes its place in the setup, relative to politics and economics (reference is based on RGB).

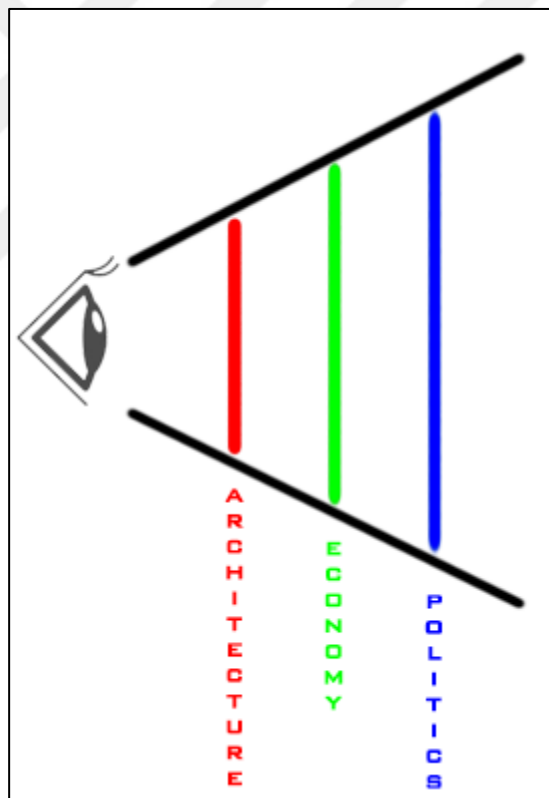


Figure 1.1. The mechanism of the thesis, created by the author.

The thesis applies this system, which establishes and operates its method, throughout its path. In this sense, it seems important how the subject discussed in the dialectics of politics, economy, and space is chosen. The handling of this trinity from an architectural perspective corresponds to the examination of urban space in the light of political and economic policies. It does not seem possible to explain the dialectical phenomenon, which is formed by the

three concepts in this study, independent of geography, except for the generally accepted evaluations. Therefore, this phenomenon can be conveyed through events based on politics-economy-space whose geographical location is determined. When the geographical pin of the case is brought to Turkey, it can be said that the city of İstanbul automatically comes to the fore.

Considering the locational importance of İstanbul in terms of being the province with the largest population in Turkey, having the largest economic activity and capacity, being the capital city of the Ottoman and Byzantine Empires, historical and artistic richness, geographical characteristics, and being Turkey's leg extending to the west and its potential is beyond doubt. As another proof of this, the governments that have come to the present day are aware of the potential of İstanbul and allocate great economic opportunities and energy to this region. İstanbul, which has grown by attracting more attention from period to period after the Single Party Period, has become almost a showcase of actions and discourses of the governments.

Therefore, İstanbul seems to be a successful field selection as the case location of the mentioned dialectic of politics, economy, and space. However, although İstanbul is the right place to explain this dialectic and related phenomenon, the narrative of the phenomenon in question will be incomplete without expressing the dialectical phenomenon through the event. Therefore, the concept of "Neoliberalism", which can be a beacon to today's power activities from the economy-politics intersection, was chosen, and in this context, it seemed appropriate to explain the urban phenomenon of the trinity through mega projects in today's Turkey and İstanbul. However, the subject of mega projects seems to be as comprehensive as a thesis topic that can be dealt with in the context of İstanbul.

Therefore, under this title, the Galataport Project, which was widely discussed especially at the time this thesis was formed, and which is the only example of its kind in terms of including a state museum in a mega-project for the first time, and the IRHM connected to it, are discussed as a case study. The Galataport Project and its affiliated IRHM are discussed in the case study section of the thesis, as a precedent, at the end of the body where the historical exposition of the trinity of politics, economy, and architecture is made.

The special mechanism specific to the mentioned thesis is used separately in each heading in the main body. In the periodization study carried out until the "case study" part, politics

and the economy connected to it, and then the space was studied in parallel with the setup of the mechanism in the late Ottoman, Single Party, Democrat Party, 1960-1980, 1980-2001, 2001-present sections, respectively. The periodical space, evaluated in the light of politics and the economy connected to it, is again divided into scales within itself, and these scales are determined respectively as İstanbul, Galata, and Harbor Region in each section. In this presentation, the historical-evolutionary development of İstanbul, Galata, and the Port Region, where today's Galataport is located, was tried to be conveyed from the perspective of the triple trinity, and it was aimed to create a background for the examination of today's case.

Neoliberalism, which is the mainstay of the economic pillar of the thesis, took place at the beginning of the thesis, and a chronological historical exposition study was made to establish the meaning and theoretical infrastructure of Neoliberalism, and it was discussed through its dialectic with space. In this part of the thesis, the lens of politics in the mechanism has been removed to understand the specific meaning of Neoliberalism in the literature that transcends geographies.

Then, the relation of a relatively out-of-field concept such as Neoliberalism with architecture is discussed to clarify what should be understood from Neoliberalism in the context of architecture. While discussing the relationship between neoliberalism and architecture, three facts that can be examined at the intersection of neoliberalism and architecture are used to explain the relationship. These cases were listed as WOW Factor, Bilbao Effect, and Starchitect. The concept of the Bilbao Effect plays a helpful role in explaining the intersection of Neoliberalism, architecture, and the city. The WOW Factor expresses the relationship of Neoliberal architecture with the users on the urban plane. The concept of Starchitect, on the other hand, can be said to have facilitated the production of neoliberal architecture as a brand value on the urban plane.

The main body of the thesis is the historical periodization study. Since the case study discussed is today's architectural event, the periodization study naturally extends to the present. However, the reader may ask why the periodization study started from the "Late Ottoman Period". In the section What is neoliberalism, to understand this economic concept correctly in every aspect, it has been transferred from other economic understandings (such as liberalism, mercantilism, feudalism) that historically preceded it, in other words, from

their historical origins. Therefore, considering the geographical scope of Turkey, although the Republic of Turkey met with Neoliberalism in the 1980s, a periodization study has been carried out since the Westernization policies of the Late Ottoman Period, which is assumed to have preceded Neoliberalism in Turkey, to better understand the subject.

Another point that may be asked by the readers about the thesis and which may seem contrary to the general theme when the contents are examined is the title of “Ankara Urban Policies”. While the spatial theme in each title shrank in scale as İstanbul, Galata, and the Harbor Region, Ankara would likely seem contradictory in the Single Party Period. However, considering the policies of the Single Party Period regarding the construction of the new nation, the shifting of the country's administrative center from İstanbul to Ankara, limited resources, and the urgent necessity of breaking away from the Ottoman heritage, İstanbul was relatively ignored in this period and material and moral resources were concentrated on the capital Ankara.

However, the handling of Ankara Urban Policies within the scope of the said period may seem contrary to the course of the thesis. However, Ankara has an important place in understanding the newly established Republic's approach to urban policies. When moving to İstanbul in the following periods, it can be compared with the urban attitude of the Republic on Ankara, and it can be seen at what points this attitude is maintained and at which points it diverges.

Although this thesis does not aim to be the first thesis written on the axis of architecture-economy-politics, it preserves its originality both methodologically and in terms of the selected case study. It is important that the three pillars of architecture, neoliberalism and today's politics in Turkey, which are chosen in terms of forming the architectural basis of the mentioned triple-axis, are brought to the present day with a parallel historical analysis, and that the transferred relationship is evaluated on a sample that can be included in the scope of mega projects today. This not only offers a brief perspective on the evaluation of mega projects, but also evaluates today's urban policies as evolutionary in the context of space. Therefore, it can be said that the expected contribution from the thesis to the literature is multifaceted.

The main hypothesis of the thesis is “Neoliberalism has an impact on the motivation of the project, as well as the construction and subsequent public disclosure of the Galataport Project and IRHM, as an ideological reflection of the political power.”

By asking the basic research questions of the thesis from wide to narrow, it was ensured that the thesis went deep in a narrow scope. Some of the research questions constitute the basic touchpoints of the thesis, while the other part is the relatively lateral questions that need to be answered during the research due to the narrative and method itself in the thesis process. Based on the basic research questions from broad to narrow, these questions are;

- What is the place of urban planning and architecture in the politics-economy axis in İstanbul?
- How does the relationship between neoliberalism, architecture and urban space occur in İstanbul?
- Where do Galataport and its affiliated IRHM fit within the axis of neoliberal policies and how should it be evaluated?

Other lateral questions arising from the narrative of the thesis and the method itself;

- How have urban policies changed in Turkey (in İstanbul) in parallel with the political periods?
- How can the urban projection of the changing political and therefore political conjuncture be read in İstanbul?

The literature scanned and used for the thesis is located under the economic, political, and architectural titles as well as in the intersection of these titles from time to time. In this sense, the main studies that form both the body of the thesis and the background of the case study are Daver, Günay and Resmor's *Beautifying İstanbul*, Doğan Hasol's *20th Century Turkish Architecture*, Şevket Pamuk's *200 Years of Economic History of Turkey*, İlhan Tekeli's *The Story of İstanbul's Planning and Development*, Fatma Cana Bilsel's *Contemporary Urban Idea and İstanbul Planning from the Late Ottoman Period to the Republic*, Sina Akşin's *Brief History of Turkey* can be counted as an article on *Architecture in İstanbul in the Republican Era* by İpek Yada Akpınar, Elvan Altan Ergut and Zafer Akay. In addition to all these, a large number of resources were used only for the period and only for the mentioned project.

Although these sources are generally composed of books and articles, documentaries, one-on-one interviews with experts, and newspaper reports were also used. It is aimed to protect impartiality and correct information in information about the period conveyed by giving importance to diversity in the sources.

While coming to the title of Neoliberalism of the thesis, it is especially important to remember the understanding of neoliberalism as a point to be encountered throughout the thesis in the architectural-economic framework.

1.1. AIM OF THE THESIS

It is possible to show the political powers as the biggest shareholder in the production of (urban) space, and to say that the biggest influence on how these spaces are, is the political views of the political powers and the appropriate economic programs. The economic program has been in line with the political view of the political powers for a long time, so the political powers were able to both meet the quantitative costs of space production and have a say on the qualitative phenomenon of space. Based on all these, it seems very possible to say that (urban) space is a kind of political space, so politics and architecture have become a field worth examining for literature.

In a broad sense, this thesis aims to clarify a limited part of understanding urban space in terms of economic policies. The reflections of neoliberal policies, which have become today's widespread economic program, on architecture is the research area of this thesis. However, since this scope is very wide, the thesis narrowed down a geographical and temporal limitation in accordance with the selected case study.

In a narrower sense, the aim of this thesis is to understand and evaluate Galataport and its affiliated IRHM in the axis of Neoliberal policies in Turkey. Narrow meaning naturally limits the thesis to İstanbul geographically. However, in order to understand the neoliberal policies adopted by today's power, it seems necessary to read the political and economic history with the urban-spatial equivalent of that period and to make a historical exposition. This exposition both illuminates the issue of how to read the urban space in the context of today's political-economic policies, and sheds light on the why and how of the political-economic policies adopted today. After this exposition, today's political economy policy and

the city of (İstanbul) will be explained, and then this mega-project, which has been discussed in İstanbul recently, especially on the axis of Neoliberal policies, will be read and discussed in the political-economic context. Therefore, in terms of the thesis conclusion, it can be said that while it aims to read IRHM in Galataport on the axis of political-economic policies, it aims to enlighten the relationship between economy-politics and architecture in terms of its content.

1.2. SCOPE OF THE THESIS

The scope of the thesis goes in parallel with the objectives stated in the purpose section. It has been stated above that the aim of the thesis is to read Galataport and its affiliated IRHM in the axis of neoliberal policies, and the necessity of historical exposition required by this reading has been mentioned. The scope, which proceeds in the path of the subject and purpose, first deals with Neoliberal policies, starting from the title of the thesis, and touches on Neoliberalism and its relationship with architecture/city. This part includes both the history of Neoliberalism and a theoretical background on Neoliberalism. The periodization study, which has been made to understand the political and economic policies of neoliberalism today, covers the time from the Late Ottoman Period to the present, within this temporal scope, the political and economic view of each period and accordingly İstanbul, Galata and Galata. It covers the Port Area. After the reading of İstanbul, Galata and its Port on the political-political axis of today, mega projects as a political city-spatial attitude of the period were briefly discussed, in this context, Galataport and its affiliated IRHM museum were explained and evaluated on the political-economic (neoliberal) axis. Therefore, we can show the geographical scope of the thesis (narrowly) İstanbul-Galata-Port, and the temporal scope from the Late Ottoman Period to today's Turkey.

1.3. METHOD OF THE THESIS

During the writing of the thesis, both literature review, articles and theses, historical documents and written sources, books, magazines, news, documentaries, as well as one-to-one interviews were used as sources, such as chronological historical period analysis, architectural analysis, interpretation, comparison, field analysis and case studies. Qualitative

methods were used. The structure of the thesis also expresses its method. In the Neoliberalism section, the historical period analysis and architectural theoretical interpretation of Neoliberalism are made. It was used in İstanbul, Galata and Port regions. Field analysis, architectural analysis and interpretation methods were used in the Galataport and its affiliated IRHM sections of the thesis, as a case study, Galataport and IRHM were handled as a general case study for the whole thesis, except for the case studies for each period.



2. NEOLIBERALISM

2.1. WHAT IS NEOLIBERALISM ?

The policies which are implemented by human being in economic meaning showed its influence on the political, cultural and legal areas which are the subjects of the daily life by means of exceeding the economical plane. The aforementioned economic policies play a primary role in shaping the consumption approach of the people. The social contract which is specified by means of the joint decisions by human being as a social creature compels the formation of a political order for the economic sustainability of the society.

By means of establishing the mentioned order, it could be said that the societies show some class differences through their consumption approaches. These classes formed develop the consumption habits, within the course of time, in compliance with their economic opportunities. The income levels and consumption approaches specify the cultural behaviors of the people as well.

Essentially, it could be stated that Neoliberalism is an economic policy which finds an area of implementation for itself since 1980's. In this regard, Harvey defines Neoliberalism as a political project which aims the reorganization of the international capitalism as an economic concept and which targets at reshaping the required conditions for the capital accumulation by means of returning the power to the elite [1].

While historically the process of Neoliberalism progresses differently in each geography, as a rough starting point, it is possible to define it as a theory of politic-economic practices which the countries that have the power to direct the world economy such as USA, England and China started to implement since 1980's [1]. It is also possible to mention many politic-economic and social-cultural influences in adopting these practices. As it will be taken up in more details in the chapter titled "Theories for Reading the Capitalist City / Relationship of Neoliberalism with the City" of the thesis, it can be said that the primary reasons in politic-economic meaning are the Petroleum Crises of 1973 and 1979 and the Keynesian policies which are considered valid in global scale before the year 1980 [2]. Sociologically, it can be further stated that Neoliberalism also benefited from the sensitivity which has developed on the subject of not touching the individual freedoms. Following the political insurrections in

1968 in particular, the masses of people that demanded much more individual freedom wanted to avoid the clamp of family, education, bureaucracy and government [1].

In order to understand the meaning of Neoliberalism in a better manner, it is significant to see how it has developed throughout the history. It is possible to say that Neoliberalism is the most recent form of capitalism beginning from the year 1980 till today on economic area directly and on cultural area indirectly. Eğilmez expressed that, though finance capitalism is valid at present, whenever the roots of capitalism are examined, the industrial capitalism formed with the industrial revolution in the 19th century and it can be taken up in Mercantilism (commercial capitalism) in the 16th century and up to Feudalism (agricultural capitalism) in the Middle Age [3]. However, dating back so further in history is considered useless on the subject of understanding the Neoliberal perspective. On the matter of comprehending Neoliberalism as the most recent phase of capitalism, it will be a more accurate framework to examine it in the process beginning from the First Industrial Revolution till today.

2.2. THEORIES FOR READING THE CAPITALIST CITY / RELATIONSHIP OF NEOLIBERALISM WITH THE CITY

2.2.1. 1st Industrial Revolution;

It can be stated that the starting point of the entire industrial revolution which is considered as the outset of the first-period industrialization is the period in which the machine production started to become dominant instead of the tool production, which started in England and the continental Europe and then became widespread in all over the world in the 18th and 19th centuries. By means of this progress, the workshop-style and singular production decreased and the factory-style and mass production started to become widespread. Consequently, the smaller and singular production areas started to be replaced by the production areas in larger scale and in less number. Because of this reason, the production and productivity increased as well. At this point, productivity can be deemed as an outset of an important concept regarding the urban life.

As a result of the Industrial Revolution, the population increase occurred in the cities with the increase of the migration to the cities on account of the increase in the agricultural production, started development of the global commerce and the better health conditions in the city life in comparison with the rural life. In addition to this, the need for houses increased with the increased urban population as a result of the migration. After the upper classed moved from the city center, the worker class started to live in the houses which are situated in the city centers. However, due to their high costs, these houses not only accommodate crowded populations but also they contain some problems such as being away from the hygiene standards [4].

With the change of the style of production, the proletariat and bourgeoisie started to form in the new cities and these classes started to constitute the urban population in line with the increased population from rural areas to the urban areas. The factor of migration from the rural areas to the urban areas which has realized beginning from the outset of the industrial revolutions till today started to be considered as a fundamental sociological issue in the cities. A vast majority of the sociological urban analyses took up the conflict of proletariat-bourgeoisie in the beginning and then that of worker-white collar. In the light of all that information, it is possible to claim that the most essential characteristic of the first industry revolution is changing the content and consequently style of the word “city” conceptually.

In this sense, it is necessary to remind that the history does not advance simultaneously in every geographical territory. Because this factor also grounds the answer to be given to the manner of meeting the increased need of raw materials by the economies which are pioneers of the industrial revolution and which discovered the production technologies simultaneously and added productivity to the production as a factor.

Two different planning practices had been developed by two pioneer countries of the industrial revolution as England and France. To take up London which is the capital of England, there occurred a build-up of labor as a result of the migration from rural areas to urban areas and the appearance of the residential areas under bad conditions was considered as a problem. The solution regarding this problem started to acquire a nature of planning following the cholera epidemics in the 19th century. After it was realized that the cholera epidemic was spreading due to the water contamination, engineer Joseph Bazalgette suggested an improvement relating to the sewerage and water system [5]. It can be said that

the transformation which happened in the cities in this period occurred thanks to the engineers.

The water canals which remained from the period before the industrial revolution and which was considered sufficient in the beginning became insufficient in transporting the raw materials in the subsequent period. With the diversification of the production process in particular, it is started to construct the railways for the transportation of heavier raw materials such as coal, iron and steel [6]. Consequently, the foundations of the main nature of the cities were laid as the center of an economic network of transportation. The first developments in railroads also started in England which is the country in which the Industrial Revolution was first experienced. Between the years 1783-1802, the production increased two times, foreign commerce increased three times, iron production increased four times and cotton production increased five times in England [7]. Consequently, the wooden rails appeared as the first example of its type which is called coal roads in England and afterwards it served as a bridge between the mine basin and the coastline. Although the first examples had limitation to make it possible to transport the mines obtained by sea, in addition to the demand for railroads, it gained speed with the developments in the rail technology and metallurgy. To the extent that, in addition to its function of transportation, the railroads started to be considered as one of the most fundamental indicators of a national union day after day. As a consequence of all of these, the railroads which gradually reached the highest quality of the function of transportation gave rise to the expansion of the market as well [7]. With the development of the railroads, the city center (also called “The City”) was connected to the surrounding suburbs. Following such connection, the city center has converted into a production and industrial center functionally. And the houses started to spread to surrounding the production centers. It can be said that the form of the city in this period has been shaped depending on the development of the production technologies and new investment areas.

The transformation of England under the influence of the Industrial Revolution can be expressed nearly in this manner. A different kind of urban planning was experienced in France which is one of the pioneer countries in the Industrial Revolution again in this period. III. Napoleon the King requested the development of a project for the purpose of beautifying the city in the manner to meet the demands of the new bourgeoisie which formed as a result of the industrial accumulation in Paris. To this end, the III. Napoleon charged Georges Eugene Haussmann who was the governor of Saine Department. As quoted by Tekeli,

Hausmann continued the urban arrangement works in Paris from 1852 to 1870 [5]. The underground water and sewerage systems were built in these works and also the elements such as railroad station buildings, governmental structures, municipal hospital and parks were added into the urban tissue. One of the most striking characteristics of these applications is opening of large boulevards. With the establishment of the cafeterias, restaurants and commercial centers surrounding the boulevards, the public areas were formed and the city life started to be shaped surrounding these areas. The only purpose of the above-mentioned boulevards was not only to construct the public areas and to beautify the city. In the rebellions which were encountered throughout Europe in the year 1848¹, the rebels founded barricades within the network of roads which is not only narrow but also complicated [8]. With the establishment of these barricades, it became quite difficult to take under control and to suppress the rebellions. With the formation of the large boulevards, it has functions not only to prevent the establishment of barricades but also ensuring the authority over the city. In the light of all of such information, whenever we compare the urban planning approaches of London and Paris, two different regulating power factors appear. While there was a city which is open to the projects of the industrial capitalism and entrepreneurs in London, another model which is managed from a single center and which develops in a well-controlled manner appears in Paris.

In addition to all of these facts, it is crucial to understand the opinions underlying the developments of the period as well. John Lock who deeply impressed the Industrial Revolution with his opinions in political meaning in particular should take part in this framework which is already drawn. Locke, who is considered one of the most important thinkers of the 17th century, is primarily mentioned as the founder of the political liberalism and he points out to the political aspect of the industrial revolution which could be considered not only economic but also intellectual starting point. It formed the first generation of the concept which is called human rights in some sense by means of alleging that particularly life, property and freedom rights are the natural rights, as the wish of freedom of the mass of people is spread over an intellectual foundation, which could be considered a consequence

¹ The riot which started against the authoritarian administration of Louis-Philippe who is the King of France in that period is turned into a revolutionary movement with the support of the workers and students in a short period of time. The bad and intensive working conditions and also serious tax burdens on them could be listed among the reasons of participation of the workers in this revolution. In addition, the unemployment rate increased and the worker wages decreased with the decrease in the prices of the agricultural products in 1845 before the revolution as well. In the end of this revolution, a period of republic continued for four years and, afterwards, the III. Napoleon dethroned the republic and announced his own emperorship [8].

of the 1968 events as mentioned above in particular [1]. These first-generation rights carried a system, in which the individual is gradually set free from the intervention of the government, and consequently the individual rights and freedoms and demands to the politic and economic plane. Adam Smith who is an important thinker who brought the continuance of the intellectual foundation in politic sense to an economic foundation put forward the economic aspect of liberalism with its book titled *Wealth of Nations* in 1776. The welfare which increased with the growth of goods and economy which increased in the market together with the productivity which is brought with the varying production approaches brings an approach of exchange value which is assessed with the value of buying-selling beyond solely the usage of the products [9]. Adam Smith also mentions this subject in his book in particular and attracts attention to the subject of exchange and social division of labor. The concept of productivity which comes with the production approach appears with Smith as well. Smith places division of labor and exchange instead of meeting the needs by the people themselves and he states that the societies shall be much more productive in this manner and their welfares will enhance by means of reaching a higher benefit. Thus, Smith opens the way for the development of the money economy and makes the commodities a product of exchange and further emphasizes the significance of the social division of labor which lays the foundations of the advanced-level customized matter of specialization in today's world [2].

It could be considered useful to look through the etymology of the word “liberalism” before summarizing the conception of the period starting from Locke and Smith who put the politic and economic aspects of liberalism. Liberalism stems from the root *Liber* in Latin and it indicates the meaning of free human being. The word “liberalis” which is again a word with Latin origin and stems from the root *Liber* in Latin means “pertaining to the free people” or “suits the free person” [10]. The intellectual atmosphere of the period can be observed in the etymological root itself. In accordance with such knowledge and quotations from Aktan, summarizing liberalism which shows its influence beginning from the first industrial revolution in particular shall clarify this intellectual atmosphere. In this meaning, liberalism;

- Individualism: It can be defined as an approach which appears with the influence of liberalism, prioritizes the individual rather than the community and collective, that is to say, puts the individual in the front place by means of getting rid of the traditional thoughts in the dilemma of government and individual.

- **Rationality and Economic Human Being:** It can be said that it is an approach which prioritizes the interests of the individual over those of the collective and the government in economic meaning in line with putting the individual in the front place in the social area. It is in the opinion that what is rational is in the economic interest of the individual, by means of grounding the rationality on an economic area in particular.
- **Freedom:** It can be considered as one of the indispensable principles of liberalism. Freedom should be established not only in social area but also in the market. It is in line with the principles of individualism and economic human being and it is based on the foundation of thinking whatever they wish, making production and making exchanges by the individual without being under any pressure and force whatsoever.
- **Laissez – Faire and Natural Order:** In line with the other above-stated articles, it is an article which aims at decreasing the influence of the government over the individuals and investors and tells the government “let them do, let them pass”. By means of this economic motto, whenever the government keeps its hands off from the market, the natural order and balance of the market will be formed by the “invisible hand”. This motto which targets at the government against the private sector in particular defends a market in which the private sector is dominant and emphasizes on the unnecessary of the external interventions into the market [2].

In the light of all of them, it is possible to state that the economic and social environment of the first industrial revolution had been shaped in the frame of the free-market economy and individual freedoms and it has influenced the subsequent industrial revolutions in evolving the capitalism in this respect as well.

2.2.2. 2nd Industrial Revolution

Whenever we pronounce the Industrial Revolution, Fordism which is being used nearly as a synonym in order to express the period is recalled [11]. Fordism corresponds to not only a production system but also a social-economic understanding which is brought with the production system. It is possible to state that what should be firstly understood from Fordism is a new production system. It can be said that this new and developed production style which

is firstly implemented in the automobile factory of Henry Ford and which showed its influence in the period following the Second World War in particular carries the simultaneity and multi production which is observed in the first industrial revolution to the highest point. This line which decomposes the production processes of the same object into pieces and advances them in a sequential ordering beginning from the raw material to the final product on a production line enabled the unqualified workers to work in very tiny pieces of the production process and put a new distance between the worker and the commodity. This distance causes each worker to be far away from the general dominance of the production process, by means of decomposing the entire production process which is brought with the line system into very tiny pieces on the production line and working by another one in every small piece. Consequently, the worker tightens the nut of each coming screw, however they are almost not aware of what and how they produce. Consequently, the worker who is “estranged” with the commodity produced, is considered a person who sold his efforts for the purpose of production of the product rather than the worker who produces the product according to Marx’ opinion [12]. In addition to this, as another situation which is brought with the sliding line system, the unification of the commodities could be shown as a consequence of producing one type of product on a single production line and optimizing the process thoroughly.

Before examining the urban results of all of them, it seems important to understand the Keynesian policies which affected the economic and urban area in partnership and equal manner with Fordism as well. The European countries printed unbacked moneys in this period in order to prevent the poverty which was experienced throughout the Europe following the First World War. The inflation increased after printing unbacked money and the European banks reached the level of bankruptcy. On account of the economic problems experienced in Europe, the European investors had sent their moneys into the banks of the USA which was a powerful country in economic meaning. As about 40% of the gold reserve in the world was in the USA banks in this period, New York became the new finance center of the world. Following the economic leap experienced by the USA economy, the permanent rise of the stock exchange values continued up to October of 1929. However, in 1929, the USA stock exchange collapsed completely on 24th October 1929 after the stock exchange increases stopped and even some of the holdings lost their values and the foreign investors started to dispose of the stocks in their hands. This date is called “Black Thursday” in the

economics literature [13]. This economic crisis which started in the USA is called 1929 Great Depression. Although it has been mentioned in many different resources with lots of different names such as 1929 Great Stress, 1929 Global Crisis, 1929 Great Depression, it will be tried to be mentioned as 1929 Great Depression in the coverage of the thesis. As a result of this crisis, it influenced the USA and the European countries for about a decade and caused serious economic problems and unemployment. The 1929 crisis is recorded as the worst crisis which the capitalist system has ever encountered. As one of the reasons of the 1929 Great Depression, this approach which is known as classical liberalism today and in which the government does not intervene with the country economy caused the USA government not to intervene with the excessive development of the market as well [13]. Lots of reasons could be put forward for the 1929 Great Depression, however, these are considered out of the coverage of this thesis. At this point, after the Liberalism and understanding of Laissez Faire as set forth by Adam Smith caused the uncontrolledly growing economy and thus a global economic crisis in this period, it was required to form a new capitalist approach. Following the neoclassical economists, the English economist John M. Keynes criticized the classical liberal approach resulting from the consequences of the 1929 Great Depression and then set forth the Keynesian Policies in his book titled “General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money” which he wrote in 1936 [2]. The lack of supervision and consequently the visible hand of the government over the market in Classical Liberalism are criticized by Keynes and he suggested the intervener government approach accordingly [14]. It can be stated that this approach argues a mixed economic approach in which the state and public investments have also a significant contribution in economy in addition to supporting the private sector. As a result of the Keynesian policies, the capitalist economies overcame the economic crisis by means of the state intervention approach. This system stayed in force until it has lost its functionality in 1980’s and until the petroleum crises of 1973 and 1979 experienced.

In the light of these information, Fordism and Keynesianism are qualified as a new epoch which is initiated in capitalism by Gramsci [15]. Gramsci who expresses that it is more than a mere planned economic understanding, in this new era, considers the change of the production approach as the fundamental reason and motivation of creating a new type of worker class [16]. According to Harvey, the origin of the Fordist production approach is deemed as the 1929 crisis, however, he thinks that the development and getting widespread

of Fordism take time. Following the end of the Second World War in particular, it can be said that this approach became widespread throughout the world [11]. The second industrial revolution process under the influence of Fordism and Keynesianism presents itself as a solution for the crisis which is created by the capital accumulation regarding the absolute added value which is influenced by liberalism in the period of the first industrial revolution. According to Şahin, the new capitalist phase started to be implemented in which the Keynesian policies based on the employment and demand management are applied in particular in this process [17]. This crisis mentioned is the capitalism before Fordism, namely crisis of classical liberalism, and it could be shown as a reason for the heavy living conditions, long working hours and low wages which are caused by the absolute added value. At this point, the fundamental reason of the added value which is reached in the classical liberal process is considered the labor exploitation and the productivity which increased with the development of the increased technology had been used as a contribution to the capital accumulation without reflecting on the worker wages. Consequently, some important decreases were observed in the purchasing powers of the workers and it can be stated that the economic environment in which the commodities existing in the market could be exchanged eventually disappeared. As a result of this, this crisis is converted into the depreciation of the capital in the excessive capital accumulation process, the market is congested with the deficient demand crisis and then the 1929 Depression occurred. The Fordist-Keynesian policies responded to this crisis, which the classical liberalism is involved, by means of targeting at the mass production. It can be also said that they have made the price accessible in the market by means of producing numerous numbers of a product through the Fordist production system. In addition to this, it is also seen that an understanding of welfare state came in which the state is able to intervene with the economy for forming the mass demand again. The standardization which is considered the most important factor of the welfare society is reflected not only on the production itself but also on the construction of the daily life and, in this manner, the general atmosphere of the second industrial revolution is established. The deep inflation which is created by the global market and the excessive capital accumulation and the related classical liberalism crisis are replaced by more closed economies in this period and this incentive for opening to the global market decreased on temporary basis as well. As a consequence of all of these, according to Saklı and Şahin, some important improvements had been observed in the living conditions of the workers in the Fordist-Keynesian period in comparison with the classical liberal period,

crucial opportunities are recognized for seeking their rights by means of syndication in particular and the worker wages increased [16,17]. Consequently, in consideration of the classical liberal first industrial revolution, the workers had more shares from the added value. As a result of this, the states which adopt the Fordist-Keynesian approach are called social states. The approach of the first period industrial revolution which puts the individual freedom in front of the community and collective decreased in this period, the state supervised the private sector and the individual restrictions and supervisions intensified. The period of Laissez-Faire Laissez-Passer (let them do, let them pass) is over, capitalism continued under the supervision of the state and the state supported monopolization rather than pluralism. All such changed economic order and social understanding are reflected on the cities indirectly with some influences and it can be stated that the urban population nearly became proletariat.

In this new type of capitalism, the city could be defined in the form of worker-city. The worker city processed by means of taking the factories which are deemed as the sign of industrial capitalism in the center [4]. The city is converted into a factory and the urban people became workers. The city is designed in the manner to answer the needs of the workers which became the most important element of the city in that period. It is further observed that the services such as the destruction of the suburbs and the infrastructural services are politicized and the discrimination of bourgeois-proletariat differentiated by means of the services which are provided to them on the city tissue [18]. By means of the Fordist-Keynesian policies, the structures which are focused on the development of the opportunities of the workers in the city are constructed. The structures which are focused on the development of the opportunities of the workers in the city center are constructed by the government. The houses and also hospitals, public buildings, state schools, recreation areas and public areas which are built by the government in the city center in the manner not to make their purchasing power difficult as well as the fundamental needs of the workers are also added to the city tissue by means of observing the public interest by the government.

Starting from this point of view, it can be stated that the city which developed as a result of the second industrial revolution is a byproduct of the industrialization.

2.2.3. 3rd Industrial Revolution

And the Third Industrial Revolution came in 1973. This period with the developments which occurred following the petroleum crisis which was experienced in 1973 is called Post-Fordism in literature. On account of the second industrial revolution, the Fordist-Keynesian approach had already its share from the intermittent crises of capitalism and particularly the economic depression which was involved in 1970's required finding a new way of solution. This economic depression reached the summit with the increased petroleum prices following the OPEC petroleum crisis (1973-1974) and became quite chaotic with the complaints of the major investors that they could not make enough profit due to the worker rights and practices as a consequence of the previous industrial revolution [19]. As a result of these developments, the investors intended to get into a new system which will cause more profit for them. This period which is called Post-Fordism is also called Neoliberal period; and while Post-Fordism implies conveying Fordism to a more advanced level on the subject of the technical capabilities and opportunities, in line with this, Neoliberalism establishes the new economic understanding of the period in favor of the investors. The most important characteristic of this period is considered a new approach which is developed by the capital and this new approach could be expressed as forming supply instead of satisfying the demand. On contrary to the Fordist-Keynesian understanding, the formation of this supply hindered the unification and excessive standardization in the market and not uniform but various versions of the products fulfilling the same function have been put into the market [20]. In this manner, it is ensured to choose the most appropriate one for the given lifestyle among the products which perform the same function among different economic, cultural and social groups. This point brought a form of exchange in which the market is much more integrated with the visual culture and lifestyles and the commodity appeared not only with its value of exchange but with its some kind of culture and status value. We can say that this opportunity is based as the first nearest point to the understanding of the culture of today which the people express themselves with the preferred objects of consumption. Post-Fordism formed the technical progress understanding in the production process of this period and rather Neoliberalism responded to the deadlock in which the Fordist-Keynesian policies are involved [11]. As to Neoliberalism, it seems possible to make more than one definition. Reminding the definition which is quoted from Harvey in the beginning of the title "What is Neoliberalism?" in this thesis seems crucial in this meaning. As it could be remembered,

Harvey defined Neoliberalism as an attempt for forming the capital accumulation again by means of returning the power and economy to the elite in economic meaning [1]. While all of them are true, this solution attempt is firstly suggested not by the states but by the academy. The voices of three contemporary liberal thinking schools are particularly heard in the academic and politic environments beginning from 1970's towards the questions which appeared as a consequence of the crisis [2]. As it is also quoted by Aktan, the Neo-Austria School which is founded by Friedrich von Hayek, Chicago School of Economics which is led by Milton Friedman and Virginia Polytechnic School of Economics which is led by James M. Buchanan played significant roles in bringing to light the liberalism again [2]. Among these three schools and three names, it can be stated that the main lines of Neoliberalism are specified under the leadership of Friedman in particular. Friedman who is granted the Nobel Economy Prize in 1976 with this new economic system which he developed in particular almost revived the liberalism by means of going behind the Fordist-Keynesian approach and stated that it will be realized by means of paving the way for the human welfare, strong private property rights, free market and commerce again [21]. As it is also quoted by Çelik, Friedman who assumes that the individual and social ideals could be realized with a better and unchained market emphasizes the privatization of the public goods and services, leaving the commercial regulations to the market completely, decreasing the governmental capital and effort controls and the need of eliminating all kinds of obstacles towards the foreign investors by means of such revived liberal approach which is called Neoliberalism [22]. Using the expression of revived liberalism for neoliberalism does not express to take the classical liberalism of Friedman and to carry to the third industrial revolution exactly. While basically the approaches such as the freedom of the market and the personal freedoms are in front of the collective are in line with classical liberalism, the mission which is imputed on the state varies [21]. As it is quoted by Çelik here, while the classical liberals refuse the state completely, the Neoliberals state that the state is obliged to create and protect the appropriate corporate and legal framework in order to regulate the competition conditions in the market and for the formation of the market [22]. In this regard, Neoliberalism is in need of the state as differently from the classical liberalism, however, it does not grant to the state the power to establish domination over the market as much as the Keynesian policies [21].

Nearly the first example of having the today's appearance by the cities which are usually called the Neoliberal cities in literature and in everyday usage which developed under the influence of Post-Fordism appeared in the period of the third industrial revolution. Neoliberalism which takes the added value of the worker cities which are formed by the Fordist-Keynesian approach and gives the same to the capital has formed the global city with the additional contribution of the developed innovations and technologies. However, the transformation of the cities into global cities in that stage of the history did not realize simultaneously for each city. Şahin, who also stated that the cities of various countries which take part in certain categories in rating the world global cities take the highest share from the world global revenues at the same time, emphasizes that the global cities are the windows for their countries opening to the world [17]. It seems that the international organizations such as biennales, fairs, Olympic Games and world cup which are organized and performed in these global cities in particular constitute the fundamental element of the competition between these cities. In the neoliberal period, the power of a global city is not limited with its economic activity only, but the factors such as prestige and brand value appear as prominent ones "The city is no longer only a "physical" space which the capitalism also formed its requirements while reproducing itself." [17]. Of course that, together with the global cities, they continue their activities to be a city in economical meaning with the other cities all over the world. However, Sassen who felt the need to put an indicator between the global city and the other cities is the name who first invented the concept of global city. All of these international activities which make the global city a global city bring with the specialized human together with the new service areas and developed production forms. Now, each individual of the community who participates in the economy should be a good specialist on much more singular and specific area in comparison with the past. All of these developments seem to have influence and penetration on the tissue of the city as well. Fundamentally, the worker cities which are formed by the Fordism and Keynesian policies are replaced by the brain team and specialized individuals who are also the present owners of the aristocratic global cities of the day [17]. The worker city is replaced by the upper class that constitutes a majority of the exchange experienced in the global city as the city centers by means of ending to the peripheries of the cities. Consequently, the urban services and facilities are provided in a standard from the city center to the city peripheries in a decreasing order. While the city centers still includes the shopping centers, luxury residences, restaurants, hotels, museums and cultural and artistic structures and related high-quality

roads, airports and mass transportation systems in higher standards; the low-income people were living in the periphery areas and therefore they have managed to benefit from the social services in the related city center. Again as quoted by Şahin, the modest city and its public and green areas and the cheap public and residential buildings of Fordism are replaced by postmodern structures which provide expensive services in high standards which attract attention with its charming and expensive architecture [17]. As it is already known, the construction sector is also affected by these developments and the construction sector owners are considered as one of the most important financiers [23]. It can be further stated that another significant feature of the global city is that it is open to all of the people coming from every part of the world as it is indicated by its attribution in title as “global”. All that vanity, artistic and cultural activities, developed transportation systems and shifting the economic range in the service sector towards the upper class are for the visitors and tourists rather than the inhabitants of the city. Consequently, a vast majority of the commercial activities of the global city usually occurs with the influence of tourism and service sector indirectly [23]. Unearned income occurred with the congestion of all of the facilities in the city in the city center. Such unearned income also suited the capital and the privatizations started. The public areas which are open to the people in every income level were privatized in particular; the coasts, green areas and various state lands were used for commercial activities or for the service sector.

2.3. RELATIONSHIP OF NEOLIBERALISM WITH ARCHITECTURE

Particularly all of three architectural concepts which appear in this period seem to represent the spirit of performing general architecture which the period is involved. It can be said that these are acquired from the period itself to the literature as Starchitect, The Bilbao Effect and The Wow Factor.

In an age in which the urban production has got standardization, the form of the mass production changed the way of performing architecture as well. Determining the labels, standards, certificates, legal regulations and processes accelerated the modern architecture and further enhanced its predictability. In that period, the decrease in unpredictability accompanied the rationality of the period abstractively. However, the form of continuing the modernist model architecture experienced a crisis at a certain point and could not produce

anything new. Molina puts “constructive imagination” (*imaginaire bâtisseur*) against this crisis [24]. The process which is directed at producing the global city is delivered to the owners of international and quite customized architecture having a high brand value as a type of its own notion. The forms of performing the modern architecture were criticized and the architects became an image which started to lose its popularity in the society on account of the social and large mass housing projects in particular. This loss of popularity which started in the end of 1960’s caused the appearance of the star architects (Starchitect) in 1970’s [24]. The 1970’s could be seen as the years in which the branding attempts gained speed considerably. The establishment of the worldwide famous brands like Saatchi&Saatchi in 1970, Starbucks in 1971 and Apple in 1976 may have accompanied all that craze. In this period, the brand attempts quite increased and accompanied all kinds of value of exchange in the market. Of course that broader opportunities on the subject of influencing the city silhouettes were also recognized to the starchitects due to this brand value. The nearly sculptural structures which stand separately from the silhouette of the entire city considered its presence called with its own architect in title as an added value to the city. These architects removed the “dead” soil of the homogenous and “boring” architecture of the modern times and then presented themselves with the eclectic and unique assertions in the golden ages of functionalist thinking.

Afterwards, the competing works of the starchitects, namely star architects, could be assumed as leading to the developments in the construction technologies with not only new but also brave trials and even with the infiniteness of the experimentality. However, one of the works which took attraction of the cities and showed themselves as the summit of not only mastery but also pleasure like “haute couture” customized work gave its name to the influence created and included its name in the literature of architecture accordingly. The industrial silhouette of the cities which remained from the Fordist-Keynesian period in particular became a factor which is to be get rid of in the process towards post-Fordism and Neoliberalism. Just like in many European countries, Spain also wanted to take its cities out of the industrial silhouette and to give them a brand-new form. After all, the owners of the city have already changed, the workers living in the city center were pushed to the periphery areas and the city center was left to a higher social-economic class of people. Particularly when we look at the location of this museum which is the first example of the influence created with the Guggenheim Bilbao Museum, Bilbao took its own share from Neoliberalism

just like in the other cities of Spain. The economy which worsened as a consequence of the economic crisis of the world could not deal with the European market as a result of the efforts of accession to the European Union which started with the end of the dictatorship and the harmonization process and the shipyards in Bilbao remained functionless because of the trend of shifting the shipbuilding activities to the Asia Continent as well [25]. Thus, the city center became almost a ghost city and the industrial nature of the city lost its importance as a consequence of the new economic and political developments. At this point, the project of converting the Bilbao city into a global city started and, in the coverage of this project, some essential principles have been put forward following the understanding of the new plan to be implemented on the city. While these principles seemed special to Bilbao, it can be said that these became the direct or indirect principles of every global city which removed the dust of the industrial revolutions. It can be said that these specified principles principally covered modernizing the old industrial areas and using all of these spaces mostly by the service sector, attaching importance to the human resources in the region, improving the accessibility and mobility in the city, renewing the urban space and the works of reviving the city, cultural activities and in this regard coworking of the local administrations, private and civil corporations [25]. As an iconoclast sculpture of the values which were set forth as an accompaniment to the time spirit as a way of fulfillment of all of these aforementioned principles, Guggenheim Bilbao Museum which is built by Frank Gehry in the heart of Bilbao opened its doors to the entire world in October 1997. The fundamental motivation behind the construction of that museum comply with and support the upper scale urban principles. The Bask Government aimed at not only creating a sign as an attraction point which would become the cultural center of the city for Bilbao but also changing the fate of the Bask people who failed to perform any artistic activity during industrial period and the dictator Franco regime. To this end, the government got together with Thomas Krens who is the director of the Guggenheim Corporation and then they attempted to construct this splendid urban sculpture which would gather the investors throughout the world thanks to its precious prestige. The museum showed more than the expected impact just after its opening and the economic revenue which is gained from its visitors became nearly five folds of the investment cost of museum only in two years period of time [26]. Although the urban environment surrounding the museum remained in contrast to the museum itself at the time of its first opening, new investments flowed into the city thanks to the economic activity which is created by the museum and it contributed to the renovation of the museum

surrounding and the remaining urban spaces as well. As a consequence of having its own architect on it as a brand label as a sculpture museum in the city, becoming a uniform strategic product by means of the national and international traffic which is brought with its attraction, cultural and artistic function and all of these mentioned strategies, this case is called “The Bilbao Effect” and started to be used by the other global cities afterwards.

As a third concept, the concept of The Wow Factor seems important following Starchitect and The Bilbao Effect. As an answer to the need of gaining a powerful (corporate) identity for the global city, the avant-garde trials of the starchitects who abandoned the traditional forms of doing and what is done in order to show the final points of the construction technologies and innovations namely their developments just like in the old-world fairs is a good way like the constructions of Bilbao – Guggenheim style as seen in the above-stated example [27]. The primary object of such forms of doing result from admiring in front of its spectators like an artistic work and saying “wow!”. By means of triggering the economic activity which formed in its own and in its surrounding and becoming a gigantic object of desire, it targets at our satisfaction of the unreachable desire to it just in its surrounding and periphery. Consequently, the new economic value of the global city results from not only its usage value but also the value of desire, prestige and brand; and it causes our thirst for it like a cola commercial which is viewed just before a movie whenever we go to movie.

3. STUDY OF PERIODIZING THE TRANSFORMATIONS WHICH ARE EXPERIENCED BY GALATA PORT IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEOLIBERAL CITY READING THEORIES

As it is tried to be expressed in the first chapter, the relationship which is established by capitalism with the urban life changed and became more complicated with the capital accumulation and the diversification of production. However, with the influence of the economic crises which happened in the capitalist order, it is tried to state that there is a need of new production and capital forms and such transformation could be read through the cities.

The capability of reading the changing dynamics of capitalism through cities indicate the situation in two different scales. It is pointed out here that not only the singular units namely structures which form the city but also the urban planning at the upper scale have experienced changes in the frame of capitalist economy.

It can be said that the cycle-kinetic functionality which is established at this point by Harvey in order for the capitalism to sustain itself and its reflection on the space are quite identical. Harvey says that the space encounters a crisis under the influence of capitalism and it ensures its continuity by means of reconstructing itself on continual basis [1]. The expansionism should be also considered important with the reconstruction in ensuring this continuity. This expansionism could be read not only through refunctioning and gentrification but also through the urban unearned income regions.

At this point, it is crucial to take up the transformation which is experienced by İstanbul in accordance with the political and economic policies which are influential also at the city scale, in order to examine the political and economic policies which are put forward to be influential on IRHM and Galataport forming the main theme of this thesis. It seems obvious that İstanbul of today is a global city in the light of the Neoliberal policies and throughout the historical process. However, the direct and indirect influences of not only Neoliberalism but also those of capitalism which form its intellectual foundations could be seen on İstanbul in an evaluation to be carried out including İstanbul. The transformation which is experienced by İstanbul in accordance with the capitalist policies date back to the 18th and 19th centuries in which the Late Ottoman Period is experienced. İstanbul, which met the

influences of the capitalist capital with the westernization movements in the Late Ottoman Period, still continued its development under the influence of the liberal and statist policies in a transformative manner beginning from this period till today.

Because of this reason, it is considered necessary to present the influences of the political and economic transformations which are experienced beginning from the Late Ottoman Period till today on İstanbul, Galata and Galata Port in the form of historical periodization study in order to examine İstanbul which is shaped in accordance with the policies of today and the Galata Region which is directly affected by it.

3.1. INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD ON THE GALATA PORT (TULIP PERIOD- FOUNDATION OF REPUBLIC)

3.1.1. Examination of Political and Economic Policies in the Late Ottoman Period

Although Ottomans did not enter into the period of stagnation directly following the failure of the 1st Vienna Siege dated 1529 which was experienced in the time of the Suleiman I in the period of rise of the Ottoman Empire, it can be asserted that it indicates a state of deterioration which is caused by the absence of victory towards the western world. This deterioration is followed by the developments not only in which the huge land losses were experienced but also which reinforced the military superiority of the European States such as the 2nd Vienna Siege in 1683 and the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. Following these developments encountered, it can be stated that the Ottoman palace circle and its managers reached an opinion that it is compulsory to make some changes in the social-economic-administrative system. It is quite understandable that the direction of the search for a systematic change was the west. Because the Ottoman realized for the first time that it can be defeated and the European armies could outrival the Ottoman ones. In other words, this situation can be classified and considered as an acceptance of the fact that the western world is superior to the Ottoman and an onset of looking for a new way out.

As a result of the Treaty of Passarowitz which is signed in 1718, it was put an end to the ongoing wars with the European countries and a period of armistice started lasting

approximately for twenty years [28]. In this period of armistice, the Ottoman not only accepted the superiority of the western world but also desired to catch the west by means of the modernism-triggered westernization movements. As a starting point of these movements, the period which is called the Tulip Period (1718-1730) could be considered a period in which Europe is taken as an example through its system, consumption, culture and architecture but also the improvements were made in this direction. Among the improvements made, opening the first printing house in 1727, opening the paper and porcelain manufacturing facilities, opening the fabric factories, establishing the fire brigade organization and the developments on the areas of art and literature could be mentioned [28]. In addition to this, the ambassadors were sent to the European capitals such as Paris, London and Vienna for the purpose of seeing the developments in the west onsite and it was instructed to observe and report the western lifestyle and the systems implemented. Among those ambassadors sent, Yirmi sekiz Mehmet Çelebi who is a well-experienced person on the subject of foreign relations and sent in the time of III.Ahmet examined and reported the finest details as charged after his sending to Paris as an ambassador [29]. He established a model for the Ottoman on the subjects of architecture, education and science in particular by means of the ambassador's journal which he wrote. He prepared a ground for the change in the architectural structures and the appearance of the Western style works in the Ottoman.

If we perform an evaluation in terms of the qualifications and results of the modernization movements which happened in the Tulip Period, it can be said that it is a quite important period in which the developments which affect the following century started in terms of taking the first steps with regard to modernization. However, not only much relief was not experienced in political, social and economic meaning in the period of implementation of the improvements which were realized in the Tulip Period (1718-1730) but also it attracted the reaction of the people and that of the Guild of Janissaries as well. As a result of those reactions which were shown towards the Administration, the Tulip Period ended with the Patrona Halil Revolt which occurred in 1730 [30]. However, as the idea of westernization entered into the Ottoman political and economic life in this period; it became the starting point for the New Order, Baltalimanı Trade Agreement, Imperial Edict of Reorganization, establishment of Party of Union and Progress and the process of announcement of the Constitutionalism [31].

Regarding the process of westernization of the Ottoman starting from the beginning of the 17th century which started with the Tulip Period and discontinued in 1730, it was understood that the westernization movements which were attempted with the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774 and the loss of the Ottoman-Russia War in 1768 were out of functionality on the political and military planes. Upon the conditions of this situation, III.Selim was convinced particularly upon losing the wars that the westernization movements should be much more systematic on the military area [32]. Because of this reason, the westernization process which was reactivated by III.Selim forms the period from 1789 to 1808 which is also called the New Order.

The New Order (Nizam-ı Cedid) means the New Order in today's Turkish. These new arrangements which were brought by III.Selim were performed on two separate planes. The first one covers disciplining the Ottoman administrative, judicial and social positions. The expression of "disciplining" here indicates some sort of palliative practices in the form of adding the new ones by means of removing the older articles without giving rise to the radical changes in the laws [33]. It can be said that it is not in the form of a systematic and rooted change.

On contrary to this movement in which the traditional systematic order is preserved in managerial meaning, it is decided to bring a new western order which is known to be much more rooted on the military area. It can be said that the coverage of these renovations which are implemented on the military area brought a new approach in the meaning of western style technology, politics and diplomacy. However, it caused also experiencing the duality of traditionalist and modernist approaches, while maintaining the Janissary order in addition to the New Order army established [32]. The New Order army is decomposed and III.Selim is dethroned with the revolt raised in 1808 by the Janissaries. Although the attempts of Westernization encountered reactions also in this period, the idea of Westernization which is settled in the Ottoman thinkers and the palace circle continued with a certain reinforcement and, with this purpose, a period started in which the mass of people who were against the westernization movements were suppressed [34]. The footsteps of the westernization period which started with the New Order increasingly continued with the renovations of II.Mahmut as well.

After dethroning III.Selim in 1807, II.Mahmut ascended to the throne in 1808. However, before the examination of the period of II.Mahmut, it is considered necessary with regard to the analysis of this period to firstly mention the French Revolution dated 1789 which started to affect the world and its influences on the Ottoman. The concepts of equality and freedom started to take part in the political literature with the French Revolution in 1789. As the principles of individualism, national homeland and freedom of nations which developed in line with these concepts became widespread throughout the Europe, another period began in which the empires in the traditional system started to lose power [35]. Because of this reason, a period was experienced in which the nationalist movements advanced, the idea of liberalism became widespread and the revolts started in the continental Europe of the 19th century. The spread of the idea of liberalism in Europe had not only politically but also economically important consequences. It is a period in which the development was seen regarding the production technologies and capitalism which developed with the Industrial Revolution. In summary, the European States developed imperialist policies in accordance with the liberal policies together with the nationalist movement which developed in Europe as a result of the French Revolution and then implemented these policies on the developing countries and underdeveloped countries by means of the financial, political and cultural methods. Following such developments, it can be said that a period began in which the countries in the continental Europe have formed a power block on the world. It can be said that the most important factor of the mentioned power block is an order which produces with the financiers and industries, realizes its commerce with its traders and occupies and colonizes with its armies.

There is no doubt that the western-oriented age of development of the Europeans which influenced the world either directly or indirectly also influenced the Ottoman Empire which had the widest surface area among the empires of that period when the 19th century came. II.Mahmut who ruled the Ottoman in this period continued to make renovations in western style, just like III.Selim As II.Mahmut abrogated the Guild of Janisseries which was one of the most important obstacles against the westernization movements in 1826 (which is also known as the Auspicious Incident), an appropriate environment was created in order to realize the renovations intended. The different aspect of the renovations of II.Mahmut from the Tulip Period and from the those of III.Selim is to form some significant changes in the structures and forms of the administrative organizations. The most outstanding ones among

the changes in the administrative organizations are the abolishment of the Manorial System, Enderun and Imperial Council and establishing the new councils and ministries. Although the renovations made were considered quite important by means of suggesting the western style systematic changes for the Ottoman history, the political and economic problems of the Ottoman could not be eliminated completely [33]. Encountering serious losses by the Ottoman navy in Navarin (1827) with the attacks of the Russian, English and French navies upon requesting independence by Greece as a consequence of the nationalist movement which appeared in this period, the Ottoman-Russian War which was experienced between the years 1828-1829 following the naval warfare and the revolt of Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha who is the Governor of Egypt who was declared as rebel upon requesting the Syrian lands just after the war had determinant influences on the Ottoman-European relationships [36]. The Ottoman Empire managed to stop the revolt with an increasing area of influence by means of the Kütahya and London Treaties which were signed with the intermediation of the European States such as England, France and Austria.

Following not only the Russian threat but also the revolts of Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha in the Ottoman territory, it was understood that the future of the Empire is dependent upon the good relationships to be carried out in political meaning with the powerful states of the Europe and with England and France in particular. On account of that disastrous situation of the Ottoman, England signed Baltalimanı Trade Agreement with the Ottoman Empire in 1838 which would involve the Ottoman into the global and liberal economy [37]. The economic influences and consequences of this relationship which started with the political purposes can be considered as a treaty which officially caused the economic troubles for the Ottoman in the future. As a consequence of the treaty, the Ottoman was involved in a process in which the liberal moves were made in economic meaning, the country lands became open marketplace and the economic colonization process started. In this process in which the economic privileges were granted in order to protect the political future of the Ottoman, the levied tax rates were 12% for exportation and 3% for importation [38]. In consideration of the above-stated data, in this period in which the foreign traders obtained a significant revenue by means of making sales with quite low tax rates in the Ottoman lands, a market was formed in which gaining revenue was considerably difficult for the domestic industry and traders with such higher taxes levied from exportation in this period. This commercial privilege which was granted to the English at first expanded its scale in the subsequent years

and recognized also for the powerful European capitalist countries such as France and Italy and thereupon the Europeans considered the Ottoman as the cheap source of raw materials and a gate to the eastern markets [38]. As it is already mentioned in the previous chapter, in this period in which the Europeans leaped forward in terms of technology together with the realization of the industrial revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries, since the Ottoman did not have any production to compete with the market in comparison with the Europeans at the basis of the industrial production, a market with much cheaper raw material sales formed and the Ottoman economy which obtained revenue from the raw materials only did not manage to ensure the sustainability in the subsequent period and started to get indebted heavily by means of the grave borrowing agreements within the course of time [39].

The Ottoman Empire got involved in the liberal economic system in economic sense after signing Baltalimanı Trade Agreement in 1838. It is an obvious fact that this change which realized in economic plane will also require some political and social changes, otherwise, the economic leaps would remain inconclusive. Because of this reason, in the time of Abdulmecid who ascended to the throne just after II.Mahmut, the Imperial Edict of Reorganization was declared in 1839 upon not only the westernization-oriented opinions of Abdulmecid but also his recommendations in order to develop the commercial opportunities of the Europeans.

The scope of the Imperial Edict of Reorganization guarantees that the life and property safety will be protected by the government without any sort of language, religion and race discriminations in the coverage of the principles of equality and freedom which developed in line with the liberalization policies [40]. All of the Muslim and Non-Muslim citizens are considered equal in front of the law. Consequently, it is aimed to bring a western style order to the community and to the state by means of the Imperial Edict of Reorganization. However, there are some important differences between the structures of the European states which adopt the liberal ideas and the Ottoman Empire. It is a controversial factor to what extent the liberal ideas could be valid for a community which is multi-national, non-industrialized and most of the people are working in the agricultural areas like Ottoman Empire. According to Aktel, while the renovations which are brought with the Imperial Edict are towards the Muslim and Non-Muslim people, it is particularly welcome positively by the traders that bring the European culture, consumption and commerce [41].

In the process following the Imperial Edict of Reorganization, playing an active role by England and France in winning the War of Crimea which happened because of the desire of the Russians to have access to the Balkan lands and to the Mediterranean trade routes between the Ottoman and the Russian Empires in 1853, the Paris Treaty dated 1856 which is signed in the end and the declaration of the Edict of Reform are the important developments in the process of opening to the western world for the Ottoman Empire [31]. It can be stated for this period that the political relationships which are required to be established by the Ottoman with the west against the Russian threats had the intention to guarantee the territorial integrity of the Ottoman. In addition to this, because of the fact that the Ottoman treasury was incapable of financing the war in this period, it was an obligation to take foreign loans for the first time during the war period and then the rights of establishing companies and banks in the Ottoman territory were also recognized in addition to the privileges of Baltalimanı Trade Agreement [42]. With the privileges gained, particularly following the War of Crimea, it is known that the population of the European trades increased in İstanbul. It is another fact that İstanbul got importance in the coverage of the international shipping trade in this period in which the commercial relationships between the Ottoman and the Europe intensified. As it will be taken up in the following chapter of the thesis, the changes which are created by the economic developments in Galata Area and on the structure of the port will be taken up.

It is known that the target which is desired to be reached by means of the Edict of Reform which is declared following the war could not be approached and it did not become a solution against the political disintegration of the Ottoman [36]. Because, in this period, the Nations living in the lands under the Ottoman dominance started to revolt with the nationalist ideas.

The western-oriented renovations which were implemented in the political, economic and military fields in this period between the years 1839 and 1876 which is called as the Tanzimat Reform Era of the Ottoman in literature could not ever reach the points which are targeted on these subjects by the Ottoman and could not stop the deterioration in any manner as well. In particular, the declaration of bankruptcy by the Ottoman economy in 1871 puts forward the perils of the situation exactly [42]. The Young Ottoman movement of thought who alleged that the renovations which were made in the coverage of the implemented traditional order of the Ottoman remained inconclusive and because of this reason it is required to perform the systematic changes managerially and economically started to strengthen and

they aimed at bringing solutions with the nationalist and liberal ideas against the economically troubled situation and increasing land losses of the Ottoman [43]. In this regard, transition to the constitutional monarchy and establishing a council under the supervision of the sultan in the administrative management can be given as examples among the changes which are suggested by the Young Ottomans.

As the roles of the Young Ottomans increased in the Ottoman politics within the course of time, as II.Abdulhamid who accepted the constitutional monarchy administration ascended to the throne, the Period of Constitutional Monarchy officially started. The Basic Law (Kanun-i Esasi) was declared as the first constitution of the Ottoman in 1876 and then the Chamber of Deputies (Meclis-i Mebusan) was opened in 1877 [44]. Although it was targeted at strengthening the Ottoman with the adaptation of much more democratic regime of government in comparison with the western-style monarchy administration, the outbreak of the Ottoman-Russia War in the years 1877-1878, gravely broader land losses which were experienced in the Balkan lands as a result of signing Stefano and Berlin Treaties and requesting independence by the Non-Muslim nations under the influence of the nationalist movement pushed the Ottoman to a way of solution again [44]. In this period, II.Abdulhamit closed the Chamber of Deputies and annulled the Basic Law and ensured the transition to the monarchy administration again. Whenever the policies of the period of II.Abdulhamit are examined, he performed the practices which could be considered as the balance policies towards England, France and Russia in particular in the coverage of the foreign policy as well as the education and development of İstanbul. In this period, the Ottoman lost its economic independence officially, with the establishment of the Administration of General Debts (Duyun-u Umumiye) which is a control mechanism which directs the payment processes of the domestic and foreign debts and supervises the taxes which are levied from the citizens in 1881 [36].

However, II.Abdulhamit was obliged to declare 2nd Constitutional Monarchy in 1908 with the strengthening opposition movement which was carried out against II.Abdulhamit by the Party of Union and Progress which continued the liberal ideas of the Young Ottomans in 1889 and experiencing the Armenian Events and then he was dethroned by the Party of Union and Progress in 1909 shortly [44].

After the takeover of the administration by the Party of Union and Progress there was a belief to remove the censorship practices which were considered wrong in the time of II. Abdulhamit, to give the equal rights and freedoms to all of the citizens and to form a unity for the entire community without any discrimination of Muslim and Non-Muslim under the common idea of Ottomanism [44]. However, because the Ottoman is a multi-national state as of its structure and the idea of Ottomanism is not accepted by most of the non-Muslim people, the idea of Ottomanism was laid aside. The influence of the ideas of Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism is seen under the ideological attitude which was exhibited by the Party of Union and Progress until 1915, namely up to the First World War. However, with the onset of the First World War, the idea of Turkism became clearly influential. There is no doubt that the most influential name behind adopting the ideology of Turkism by the Party of Union and Progress is Ziya Gökalp and they have implemented the political and economic policies in the light of his ideas [45]. One of the factors on which the ideology of Turkism became influential is the National Economic Approach which was put forward as of 1908 with the idea of liberalism of the Party of Union and Progress. This approach adopted revised in İzmir Congress of Economics in the first years of the period of Republic and constituted the principles of the period in which the economically liberal policies were exhibited in the Republic. The National Economic Approach which was implemented in the period of the Party of Union and Progress is a policy in which the National Bourgeoisie class became prominent against the superiority of the non-Muslim citizens in the Ottoman Bourgeoisie [46]. The Industrial Promotion Law (Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu) is enacted for the purpose of supporting the industrial investments of the domestic bourgeoisie class in the coverage of the National Economic Policy [47]. According to the Unionists, the foreign commerce should be removed from being free just like in the times of II. Abdulhamit and more conservative attitudes should be exhibited. It was also attempted in this period to revive the agricultural sector and to establish the national banks. As it could be understood from the name of the law enacted, it could be observed that there were some liberalization/capitalism movements though they failed to satisfy the concept legally in the Ottoman. The National Economic Approach could be implemented with restriction with the onset of the First World War in 1914 and experiencing the economic problems before the period of the Party of Union and Progress as well.

The Party of Union and Progress left the country after losing the war by Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary and German Empire block which also included the Ottoman in the First World War in which we participated in the period of the Party of Union and Progress [44]. As a consequence of Mudros Armistice in 1918 which was signed as a result of the First World War, İstanbul was officially occupied by the British army on the date 13th November 1918 as a result of this treaty which opened the way to invading the Ottoman lands in case of any potential threat towards the European States. As it will be mentioned in the Single Party Period of the thesis, it will be dwelled upon the economic results of the War of Independence and the Lausanne Discussions and the westernization and economy policies will be examined.

3.1.2. İstanbul City Policies in the Late Ottoman Period

As it is tried to express in the previous chapter, starting from the Tulip Period, the Ottoman Empire recognized the superiority of the west, started the modernization movements and got involved into the political and economic transformation process accordingly. The Ottoman started to be liberalized with respect to political and economic aspects by means of the treaties such as Baltalimanı Trade Agreement and the Imperial Edict of Reorganization in the coverage of the modernization studies performed. In line with the liberalization of the Ottoman economy, it would not be wrong that it took a more active role in the global market as well. At this point, as it is already stated in the previous chapter, it will be a period in which the modern applications are tried to be made on the traditional urban tissue of İstanbul in a similar way in the urban tissue, such as bringing the applications of constructing a modern system on the traditional structure of the Ottoman. As it is mentioned in the chapter “What is Neoliberalism?” of the thesis, it is stated that the urban tissue also underwent some significant changes together with the changes experienced in political and economic meaning. In this chapter, the urban examinations will be set forth about İstanbul in the Late Ottoman Period.

According to Çelik, whenever an examination is made regarding the city İstanbul in 1838, it is seen that the city is composed of three main regions as the Historical Peninsula, Galata and Üsküdar [48]. As a matter of fact, the region which is called the Historical Peninsula took part in the historical resources with the name of İstanbul in that period; however, in

order to avoid any kind of confusion in narration in the coverage of the thesis, the expression of Historical Peninsula will be used as the current denomination of that area. In this period, in addition to having the broadest surface area of İstanbul, the Historical Peninsula had the importance to be the center of the city together with the mosques and monuments taking part in seven hills within its own territory. Galata region takes part at the north of the Historical Peninsula, in other words, at the opposite shores of the Golden Horn. Galata region is a region which developed within the walls which remained from the Genoese period. Because of this reason, it covers a smaller area in comparison with the Historical Peninsula. The vast majority of the non-Muslim population in İstanbul resides in this region. Galata was rather a commercial center of İstanbul in this period. Although Üsküdar which is the third region does not have much population like the Historical Peninsula and Galata region, the high number of monuments in this region points out to the importance which is shown to this region by the Ottoman government.

İstanbul port which spreads over to the Historical Peninsula and Galata regions at the entrance of the Golden Horn is an important source of income for the city economy. Apart from the commercial areas such as the port region, the city inhabitants lived in different neighborhoods according to various ethnical roots and religions involved. In addition to the separation as Muslim people and non-Muslim people according to their religious beliefs, there are also ethnical separations such as Turkish, Greek, Jewish and Armenian people. There is an irregular system at the roads of İstanbul and there is a tissue which gets narrowed and extended from place to place and turns into the dead ends at lots of points and which could not function in terms of transportation as well. It is obvious that the neighborhoods developed in the surrounding areas of the religious structures such as mosques, churches and synagogues and in compliance with the topography and the settlement was not made in accordance with a certain plan.



Figure 3.1. Plan of the city of İstanbul and its suburbs, dated 1776, by François Kauffer [49].

As it is already mentioned in the previous chapter, the ambassadors were sent to the European capitals for the first time during the Tulip Period. Among these ambassadors, the most important one is Yirmi sekiz Mehmet Çelebi who made a great contribution by means of his observations which he made with regard to forming a model in the architectural and urban tissue of the Ottoman. Yirmi sekiz Mehmet Çelebi who is a person who was sent during the time of Sultan III. Ahmet and a well-experienced diplomat on the subject of the foreign relations examined Paris with its finest details after his sending to this city as an ambassador and then wrote down his own observations in his book titled “Ambassador’s Journal” (Sefaratname) [29]. Mehmet Çelebi mentioned the canal and arch architecture, the architectural characteristics of the city, the multi-storied structures which form the urban fabric and the landscape details of the French Palaces in full details as he observed in his work and then made a great contribution to the architectural aspect of the modernization movement which the Ottoman experienced and the appearance of the western style works [29]. According to Çelik, although the Ottoman palace circle which was influenced by the examinations of Mehmet Çelebi attempted to construct the European style palaces and gardens, most of them were totally destroyed because of the Patrona Halil Revolt which was raised against the Tulip Period [48]. However, there is no doubt that, the architectural language which they tried to put into implementation in the Western style deeply affected the approach which the Ottoman showed to the city and architecture in the process of Westernization.

As it is already taken up in the previous chapter, in the coverage of the renovations of the New Order during the period of III.Selim, it is observed that Selimiye Quarters which was constructed in this period in which the western-style renovations were taken as basis on the military area and the residential structures in the neighborhood of the quarters were arranged in grid system. As it is quoted by Bilsel, the Selimiye Quarters and its surrounding arrangement are the first example with regard to be taken up at the neighborhood scale and making the construction in accordance with a certain planning [50].

Following III.Selim, II.Mahmut (1808-1839) who put forward more holistic approaches on the subject of the westernization movements of the Ottoman ensured making radical changes on the military and administrative areas. The successful leaps which were put forward on the subject of westernization by II.Mahmut became influential on the urban arrangement of İstanbul as well. As it is quoted by Çelik, the powers which the Muslim judges that had a voice over the urban administration of İstanbul till that date were fully annulled [48]. Again in this period a supervisory state mechanism was established on the subject of constructing the structures such as mosques, schools, theological schools and libraries with their own budgets by the foundations. This organization is called the Ministry of Foundations (Evkaf Nezareti).

The Ministry of Accountancy (İhtisap Nazırlığı) which is established in 1826 is also important. İhtisap Nazırlığı could be expressed as the Ministry of Bookkeeping in today's Turkish as well. The duties of this organization included the supervision of the traders, collection of the taxes, arrangement of the urban life and reparation of the transportation facilities such as road, streets and pavements.

In addition, among the modified organizations in 1831, the Guild of Architects is annulled as well. The duties of not only the chief architect but also those of the municipality presidency were gathered together in a single organization by means of the "General Directorate of Structures" (Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürlüğü) which is established instead of this organization [51]. After that, this organization was attached to the Ministry of Public Works in 1849 [52].

Although various industrial facilities which are formed of the governmental capital were established in this period in İstanbul (Fez Factory "Feshane" which was opened in Eyüp in 1835 and Glassware Factory "Billur-u Fabrika-i Hümayun" which was opened in Beykoz

1846 could be listed as examples), in comparison with the industrial facilities which were established by the capitalist countries, these domestic institutions remained quite old-fashioned technologically and the cognitive environment of the day was not sufficient to reinforce the investments and to settle the industrialization on a certain system.

The most influential one among the plans which were applied on the urban fabric of İstanbul in that period is 1839 Improvement Plan, in other words, Van Moltke Plan [53]. The principles and suggestions of this plan are considered important with regard to forming the basis for the urban arrangements to be implemented in the subsequent years.



Figure 3.2. Von Moltke Plan drawn in 1839 [54].

Not only the westernization movements but also the factors which constituted problems on the urban tissue of İstanbul became influential in putting forward the 1839 Improvement Plan. Because of this reason, after the examination of the urban tissue of İstanbul and expressing its problems in 1839, the suggestions of the 1839 Improvement Plan were tried to be transferred. In this period, it can be said that it was a serious problem to comply with the renovations which were brought in managerial sense. Some troubles were experienced on the subject of work sharing between different units by means of bringing modern revisions to the classical understanding of urban administration of the Ottoman. As another problem, the supply of houses was not sufficient against the intensive population increase towards the city as a problem which started beginning from the Period of Reorganization

("Tanzimat") (1839) and then continued till the first years of the Republic. In this case, as the population got intensified in the limited regions of the city, this issue posed another problem on the subject of making the infrastructural services widespread throughout the entire city. It was aimed at bringing a solution to the fire problem which continued beginning from the Byzantium period in İstanbul. One of these solutions was to shape the urban tissue with the grid system by means of bringing the modern urban approach to the city. It was targeted, by means of this system, at preventing the fire scale to grow and reach the urban scale. Another solution was the wooden structures which formed the morphology of İstanbul since the Byzantium Period. The wooden structures caused the growing losses by means of causing the spread of the fires due to the materials used in these structures. Because of this reason, the necessity of constructing the destroyed structures with the stone brick materials instead of the wooden ones in the regions where the fires were encountered most frequently in particular was emphasized in accordance with the regulations which were enacted during the Period of Reorganizations. Because of this reason, one of the problematic issues not only causing the spread of the fires but also on the subject of the urban safety was the requirement to open the dead dead-end roads. It was targeted at opening all of these dead-end roads and streets throughout entire İstanbul in the urban practices of the Period of Reorganizations.

While the fires were taken up as an urban problem of İstanbul in the Period of Reorganizations, they also formed the area of implementation of the urban transformation points which were adopted in western sense. As it will be taken up in this chapter, it was targeted at making the necessary arrangements by means of enacting the required regulations following the fires experienced. However, as it will be discussed in further details, another problem of this approach of transformation was that the functional transportation facilities could not be established among these pieces while the urban transportation was performed in pieces in İstanbul and various problems were also experienced on the subject of infrastructural services. In short, an urban transformation to address the entire İstanbul could not be implemented in this period.

As it is already taken up in the first chapter, one of the most important factors in speeding up the urbanization with the Industrial Revolution was ensuring the sound infrastructural services. The reason of not playing an important role in the international commerce by İstanbul was not only the unsuitable conditions for commerce. In addition to this, continuing the construction of the wooden structures beginning from the Byzantium period was another

factor in encountering the chronic fire problems in İstanbul resulting in huge material losses. The dead-end roads which were again frequently encountered in the urban tissue of the city in this period not only made it more difficult to extinguish the fire but also posed a crucial problem for the urban safety.

Another purpose of the 1839 Improvement Plan was to form an appropriate urban image as not only reason but also result of the westernization process, by means of creating an image which fits the philosophy of the Period of Reorganizations. Although this plan which was created and designed by Von Moltke was not implemented exactly, it is still considered quite important with regard to specifying the change of the Ottoman approach towards İstanbul city and influencing the subsequent urban plans. As it is quoted by Gül and Bilsel relating to 1839 Von Moltke Plan, they asserted that this study was a map rather than a plan and it was not a work to arrange the city as quoted from Moltke by Bilsel, because of this reason, this study should be considered and classified as a regulation of improvement [50,53]. Although Arnodin and Bouvard had some suggestions, apart from 1839 Von Moltke Plan, for the purpose of having a nature of international city of commerce by İstanbul in the Period of Reorganizations, these suggestions are not covered by our thesis since these were not implemented in any manner.

As it is quoted by Bilsel, the “certificate” (ilmühaber) was published on the date 17th May 1839. As it is quoted by Tekeli, İlmühaber is in nature of a compilation of the Von Moltke plan. In line with the improvement ideas, because of the fact that the roads and streets needed to be expanded as the number of the horse carts increased in the city and lots of destructions were also required to be made for the purpose of performing such expansions, since the sufficient economic power was not available in order to realize all of these applications, it was emphasized that it is necessary to implement them in accordance with a certain plan in the regions which are destroyed in the fire. It was also stated that the stone-brick structures should be built instead of the buildings which were destroyed during the fires in order to prevent any recurrence of the losses caused by the fires. It was also suggested that the engineers and architects having higher knowledge of architecture and who are capable of making drawings according to the geometrical rules should be brought for the purpose of implementation of the plans [53].

This transformation process which is experienced at the basis of the organizations in the period of II. Mahmut is considered important with regard to forming the foundation of the reforms which are brought to the urban administration understanding in the Period of Reorganizations.

As it is also expressed in the previous chapter of the thesis, the Imperial Edict of Reorganization was declared signifying the official entrance into the period of westernization of the Ottoman in the times of his son Abdulmecid who ascended to the throne following the death of II. Mahmut.

With the declaration of the Imperial Edict of Reorganization, the coverage of the reforms towards the westernization with respect to the educational, legal, artistic and administrative aspects expanded. In this period, the urban fabric of İstanbul was taken up as a whole and it is seen that the urban modernization was targeted. As a general expression for this period, there is no doubt that getting inspired from the Western urban administration forms and its legal approach is an obvious indicator of being influenced by these reforms [50]. In addition to this, by means of the renovations which were made to the urban administration in this period, the Ottoman administration started to appear prominently as a factor of supervision over the city.

In the coverage of the Certificate (“İlmühaber”) which is declared in 1839, the urban rearrangement suggestions regarding the modernization of İstanbul found areas of implementation in the coverage of the “Structures” (Ebniye) and “Roads” (Turuk) Regulations in the Period of Reorganizations. As the first architectural activity regulation of the Period of Reorganizations regarding İstanbul, the “Structures” (Ebniye) Regulation came into force in 1848. According to the changes in this regulation, the streets and roads were divided into three classes as “large street”, “ordinary streets” and “other streets” [48]. By means of classifying the streets in this manner, their sizes were standardized and these three types of streets were targeted to be valid at the scale of İstanbul. In addition to this, by means of this regulation, it was also targeted at removing the dead-end roads because they posed problems in terms of not only transportation but also safety. Following the 1848 regulation, another regulation was enacted in 1849. According to Çelik, this regulation repeated the 1848 regulation in general terms, however, it differs from the previous one only with regard to the height limitations of the buildings to be constructed. The first project in which the

1849 Regulation was implemented was performed in Pera with the order of Sultan Abdulmecid. It was decided for approximately 27 hectares of land to be zoned for housing in this regulation which was made against the worsening spatial conditions with the intensive population increase in this region. According to this implementation, it was targeted at laying stones for facilitating the traffic of the cars, making the infrastructural works concurrently with the construction of the street and constructing all of the structures in this area with the stone-brick materials. According to Çelik, only 12 blocks of 20 targeted construction blocks could be built until 1870's from this project which was quite difficult to be applied exactly according to the conditions of that time. According to this, it can be stated that the regulations which were put into force were not prepared in a quite realistic way in line with the present situation conditions of the Ottoman.

The first urban implementation of the 1848 and 1849 regulations in Aksaray is considered important with regard to expressing the Ottoman look towards the city. It is a grid plan in which the rectangular blocks were separated from each other with the right-angled roads instead of the old organic tissue in the plan arrangement which was made to this point following Aksaray fire dated 1856. The cuttings with forty-five degrees which were implemented for emphasizing the place structure blocks which take part in this plan also signify that it was inspired from the European urban plans [50].

According to Bilsel, financing the large scaled transformations which were experienced in the cities like Barcelona and Paris from among the cities in which the grid plans were implemented in Europe results from the industrial capital which they obtained in that period [50]. However, because of the fact that the implementations which were made in İstanbul were performed with restricted public resources, these plans were implemented in the fire areas destroyed. The applications which were made only according to the points of the location of the fires could not establish an order over the city and caused the appearance of the streets and roads which could not intersect. With the increase in the fires which are a chronic problem of İstanbul, the number of places for which the decision of transformation was taken in accordance with the regulation increased as well. As it is quoted by Bilsel, the areas such as Fener (1855), Kadıköy, (1855), Salmatomruk (1856), Sakızağacı (1857), Unkapanı (1860), Ayvansaray (1861), Küçükmustafapaşa (1861) could be given as examples for the regions which underwent transformation [50].

As it is already mentioned in the previous chapter, it is well-known that the Ottoman economy was unable to finance the improvement of İstanbul. In this period, the Ottoman brought some regulations regarding the expropriation by means of observing the public benefit in 1855 on the subject of performance of these services.

The 1848, 1849 and Structures (Ebniye) regulations which were in force in the period in which the urban transformations were experienced in İstanbul were gathered together in a single regulation by means of the “Regulation regarding the Roads” which was enacted in 1858. It is known that the regulations were enacted only regarding the urban arrangement of İstanbul until this period. However, with its validation in 1863, by means of the “Regulations for Roads and Structures”, the scale of the urban regulation exceeded İstanbul and became valid for all of the cities of the empire as well. The plans of the areas which were to be zoned for housing were prepared by means of this regulation and it was necessary to obtain the prior approval of the Ministry of Commerce for the evaluation of the plans in order to ensure the public benefit. It was decided to implement it by means of obtaining the prior approval from the Sublime Porte (Bab-Ali) firstly and then from the Sultan in case the plan is approved by the organization. According to this, although the administrative and local regulations were made and enacted by means of getting inspired from the European-style local administrations, on account of the fact that the entire empire is considered the sole property of the Sultan, only method of implementation was to obtain the prior approval of the Sultan at first. This situation may indicate that the duality of traditionalism and modernity is experienced in the applications of the local administration. However, thanks to these applications, the miri (treasury) and foundation lands were opened to development and the ownership of the structure which is constructed on this land was given to the structure owner in case the rental price is paid to the government. On the other hand, the first area of implementation of the Regulations of Roads and Structures was the Fire of Hocapaşa which caused a devastating destruction between Sirkeci and Kumkapı and which is considered as one of the most important and largest fires of the history of İstanbul in 1865 [48]. The Commission of Improvement of Roads was established by the government in order to eliminate the destructions caused by that fire and to construct it in compliance with the modern city conditions as it is stated in the related regulations. As it is quoted by Tekeli, although the Regulation of Roads and Structures remained in force for more than twenty years period of time, it was not still sufficient to ensure the required arrangements for

İstanbul [52]. Because of this reason, “another regulation concerning the constructions of the structures to be constructed in İstanbul and in Three Regions” was put into force in 1875. It was decided in this regulation to construct the new buildings to be constructed at the points with intensive building stocks only with the stone-brick materials against the danger of fire in İstanbul. It was allowed to construct the wooden structures in case of taking the necessary measures against fire at the points where the structure intensity decreases. As the Law of Structures was put into force in 1882 in the following period, it was targeted to implement all of the mentioned urban regulations throughout the entire empire.

Although it was assumed to give a holistic change to the city by means of the regulations which were enacted in this period, the inability to provide the sufficient budget for the conditions which were determined with the regulations and the unfeasible nature of the standards which were determined with the regulations are considered the fundamental problems on the subject of failure in ensuring a complete transformation at the city scale. In addition to this, although the transformations such as making the grid system on the areas which pass through the fire in İstanbul, providing the infrastructural services and the obligation of using stone-brick materials were brought and achieved, the failure in providing this transformation throughout the urban fabric caused the formation of an urban fabric which is fragmented and which is not in interaction with each other in İstanbul.

As the awareness of İstanbul increased among the English and French people following the War of Crimea (1856), the European population living in İstanbul increased and the commercial relationships increased as well. This increased interest for İstanbul revealed the principal missing points of the existing commercial environment. The insufficient infrastructural facilities were deemed as the most important one among those negative aspects of the situation of İstanbul in that period. In addition to this, there were other significant problems such as it takes a very long time to transport between the port and marketplace areas because the roads were not maintained properly and the roads which ensure the transportation between the port structures and the commercial areas were quite unsuitable to carry commodities at the primary commercial axes of the city. As it was already tried to be expressed in the previous chapter, ensuring the infrastructural facilities as one of the most important factors in the growth and development of the major developing cities in the Industrial Revolution became one of the essential requirements of a modern city. The countries like England and France established the local administrations in order to meet the

infrastructure and service requirements systematically and in long term. At this point, it can be said that the changes which realized at the urban plane developed as focused on Bourgeoise and the local administrations started to be organized in accordance with the target of reinforcing the Bourgeoise class. As an advantage of the westernization movements in this period in which the foreign commerce of the Ottoman also developed in particular, it was tried to overcome the problem of being unsuitable for the foreign commerce of İstanbul by means of the western style solutions. One of the most remarkable solutions of this period was the formation of an Ottoman local administration by means of following the legal regulations in France.

First of all, the deployment of the British and French soldiers in İstanbul during the War of Crimea and establishing a military hospital there (Florence Nightingale) are considered important with regard to increasing the interactions of the İstanbul population with the consumption habits and cultures of those countries. Together with the foreigners that were added to the existing multicultural structure of Galata, Galata became the most cosmopolite region of İstanbul and created an opportunity to be introduced with the world market. The developed commercial relationships with England and France following the War of Crimea could be considered as a natural consequence of the aforementioned interaction. As it is quoted by Çelik, the most important step which was taken regarding the urban administration in this period was the establishment of “Municipality” (Şehremaneti) in 1855 [48]. With the establishment of “Municipality” (Şehremaneti), it was targeted at meeting the fundamental needs as the foodstuffs in particular, ensuring the road construction and reparations and the city hygiene and supervising the traders and guilds. The transition to the understanding of local administration could be interpreted as the developments regarding the democratization and civilization in administration which are the principal aspects of the westernization movements of the Ottoman. In the classical Ottoman administration, the maintenance of İstanbul, Galata and Üsküdar regions was undertaken by the religious judges who carried out also the legal affairs, foundations, architect chiefs and trader corporations [55]. According to such information, it can be seen that they did not bring any centralist approach on the subject of the urban services before the Period of Reorganization. According to Çelik, processing the Municipal rules and regulations through the unwritten resources such as non-legal traditions and mandates caused problems on the subject of the standardization of the services carried out [48].

Sultan Abdulaziz participated in the Paris World Exhibition upon the invitation of III.Napoleon in 1867. As it is quoted by Gül, Abdülaziz was deeply affected by the urban order of Paris and met Eugene Haussmann who laid the foundations of Paris of today [53]. Moreover, Haussmann came to İstanbul in person and inspected the modernization studies and made some suggestions. According to this, just like it was inspired in the Tulip Period, it can be said that the Ottoman administrators considered Paris as an expression of modernization with regard to the squares, grid system, broad streets and hygienic conditions which form the urban order of Paris in this period as well.

In 1870's, it was a period in which the Ottoman was at the edge of bankruptcy economically. In this period, an arrangement was needed following a fire outbreak on an area of approximately 3000 hectares and covering the areas such as Taksim, Big Street (İstiklal Caddesi) and Tarlabası within Beyoğlu region [48]. In compliance with the regulation in force, although a plan was developed concerning the hotels, theaters, parks and broad roads, it could not be implemented because of the present economic situation of the Ottoman.

In the light of this information, it is seen that the western-style urban arrangements which started in the period of Sultan Abdulmecid who is one of the Sultans of the Period of Reorganizations continued with an expanding scale in the period of Sultan Abdülaziz as well. However, as it is stated above, the urban arrangements slowed down considerably in this period in which the Ottoman economy was at the edge of bankruptcy in 1870's. As it is quoted by Bilsel, a few arrangements realized were limited with Dolmabahçe Palace where the Ottoman palace family lived and the other palace circles [50]. In such a period, his participation in the Vienna World exhibition in 1873 is an important progress. The book titled "Ottoman Architectural Style" (usul-i mimar-i osmani) was prepared for this exhibition. As it is quoted by Gül, the plan and facade examples were drawn in full details in this book and it was aimed to introduce the classical elements of the Ottoman architecture to the western world [56].

With the start of the period of II. Abdulhamit (1876), the Ottoman which was still in economic depression lost its independence with losing the war dated 1877-1878 which is called the 93 War and then establishing the Administration of General Debts in 1881 and it was able to carry out its economy only by means of borrowing. Though the significant amount of land losses which were experienced in addition to the 93 War, as it is quoted by

Gül, the population increased from 382.376 in 1883 to 873.875 in 1885 [53]. However, in this period, it is remarkable that the urban planning and arrangements for İstanbul were implemented again. After the Administration of General Debts became dominant over the Ottoman economy, it is observed that the construction of the railroads increased throughout the country [57]. The operational privileges of the railroads constructed were transferred to the English and French companies and in this manner, it can be said that the railroads which were made in the Ottoman were constructed mostly for the European capital. However, with the increase in the railroad projects and the expansion of the transportation and telegraph network in the Ottoman land, some important investments were made for the communication infrastructure. As it is quoted by Bilsel, the construction of Sirkeci Railroad Terminal in 1890 and the construction of Haydarpaşa Railroad Terminal which forms the starting point of Baghdad Railroads between the years 1906-1908 are important examples. In addition to this, as it will be taken up under the heading of Galata Port in the Late Ottoman Period, transferring the operation of the İstanbul port to Michel Pasha and renting free of charge for 85 years in this period can be shown among the works which were carried out in the country by the foreign capital as well. As a result of these investments which were made in the period of II.Abdulhamit, it can be said that the importance of the Ottoman in the global market showed an increase.

One another of the important developments regarding the urban planning of İstanbul in the Period of II.Abdulhamit is that Sultan Abdulhamid personally requested the Paris ambassador Salih Munir Pasha to bring the urban planners and architects to İstanbul. In addition to Eminönü, Galata and Karaköy Squares which were used actively by the foreign travelers in İstanbul of that period in particular, it can be said that the need to clean the streets and roads from Sarayburnu to Yedikule gave rise to this search of planning [48]. In this period, two separate urban project suggestions were given for the constructions between Beyazıt and Eminönü Karaköy by Joseph Antonine Bouvard who is the Chief Architect of the Municipality of Paris. In addition, again in this period, the railroad projects which cross the Bosphorus as one between Sarayburnu and Üsküdar and the other between Rumelihisarı and Anadoluhisarı were suggested by the French Engineer Joseph Arnodin. As it is quoted by Çelik, it can be said that this project is a plan which is presented at the urban scale with its suggestions of arranging the pedestrian and vehicle traffics in the city [48]. However, both of these two projects suggested could not be implemented because their expenses could

not be covered due to the economic conditions of that time. As it is quoted by Duymaz, one of the important changes which were seen during the development of İstanbul in the period of II.Abdulhamit was experienced in the architectural language. In this period in which the foreign architects were prominent, it was targeted at creating a language which reflects the Ottomanism approach with the east-west synthesis. The examples to be given for the foreign architects and their important works include Raimondo d'Aronco - Yıldız Palace, Sheikh Zafir Tomb, Botter House, Jasmund - Sirkeci Railroad Terminal, Vallaury – Administration of General Debts, Museum of Archeology (Asar-ı Atika Museum), Fossati Brothers - Narmanlı House.

As it is quoted by Bilsel, the most important factor in shaping the urban fabric of İstanbul in the 19th century is the increased transportation opportunities and technologies. As it is also expressed above, it can be seen that the new transportation applications such as railroads, sea transportation, port facilities, quays and tunnels were made and performed in this manner as well.

The Party of Union and Progress which took the country administration just after the declaration of the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy (1908) made some important contributions on the area of improvements in İstanbul between the years 1908-1918. As it is quoted by Çelik, a newer and more effective organizations was realized in the municipal organization in this period. The police and fire brigade departments were arranged for ensuring the safety of the city and the arrangements were brought by means of the services which were provided on the area of transportation [48]. According to Gül, the Party of Union and Progress developed a new urban management model in the year 1912 and divided İstanbul into nine separate municipalities [53]. Thanks to this system formed, the revenues of the Eminönü and Karaköy municipalities increased and the ancient Galata Bridge was renewed in the year 1912. The liberal and western-oriented policies of the Party of Union and Progress opened the way for city's meeting new technologies as well. It is seen that the electricity services were provided to some areas of İstanbul by means of Silahtarağa Power Plant which was completed in 1914 [53]. As one of the most important events of this period, the Party of Union and Progress appointed a German company in order to prepare the detailed map of İstanbul and the German Blues maps were prepared in the years 1913-1914 [58]. Thanks to the detailed form of the maps, it can be said that they may influenced the development arrangements and urban designs which are planned in the subsequent years.

The failure in obtaining the support of the Muslim citizens that were categorized and defined as “ummah” (Islamic community) during the Ottoman times, losing Albania which was also Muslim and the grave defeats which were experienced in the Balkan War which happened in 1912 because of the failure of taking any assistance to the call of Ottomanism from the Muslim Arab tribes can be expressed as the main reasons behind intensifying on the Turkism movement by means of leaving the Islamic ideas for the Ottoman identity. Although it stemmed from the Ottomanism approach of the Young Ottomans in intellectual meaning, the Party of Union and Progress which took over the political power developed policies based on the Turkism / Turkish Nation following the year 1913.

The efforts of defining the Turkish national identity by means of giving up the Ottomanist identity created some visible changes on the politic, economic and architectural areas. Ziya Gökalp is the most important name who affected the Turkism ideology of the Party of Union and Progress [44]. Understanding his approach for the culture and civilization in the definition of Gökalp for the Turkish nation is quite important for understanding the First National Architectural Movement as well.

The First National Architectural Movement is defined by many different resources as the National Architectural Renaissance for the Neoclassical Turkish Style [59]. The leading names of the First National Architectural Movement are Mimar Vedat Tek, Mimar Kemaleddin, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu and Giulio Mongeri. This movement, which undertook representing the nationalist opinion, used the Seljukian, Classical Ottoman and Islamic motives on the outer fronts. For example, they used the wide eaves, domes, projections, columns, stalactite covers, sharp arches and porcelain coating on the interior and exterior front arrangements. The National Architectural Movement could be interpreted through the buildings pertaining to the public. It was not used in the housing architecture.

As it is quoted quite accurately by Can (2021) from Bozdoğan, the First National Architectural Movement can be defined as transferring the Turkism ideas of Ziya Gökalp on the architectural plane exactly [45]. According to Gökalp, the First National Architectural Movement is an architectural movement which is composed of the Classical Ottoman decorations as an expression of the Turkish culture with the Western design and construction techniques. The ideological background and the opinion which is represented by the First

National Architectural Movement underwent a change in 1918. The classical Ottoman decorations made became the representative element of Turkism instead of Ottomanism.



Figure 3.3. Necip Bey Map drawn for the Galata Region dated 1918 [60].

With the foundation of the Republic in 1923, it was also used in the first years of the Republic because of the fact that these are in an appropriate structure for the Turkism ideology due to the Turkish art represented. As it is stated by Can (2021), the First National Architectural Movement which firstly appeared in the period of 2nd Reorganizations (1908) and then underwent a change of meaning in 1918 as an expression of the Turkism on the architectural plane underwent another change of meaning together with the young Republic and then continued its architectural journey accordingly [45]. As it will be explained in further details in the chapter of the Single Party Period Urban Policies, this movement came to an end in 1930.

As the Ottoman officially entered into the process of westernization officially with the reforms of the Period of Reorganizations, it can be said that what was taken as an example in terms of the urban reforms are the planning motivation of Paris city, the reactional demands of the capitalist system on the urban space, the urban space organizations which are brought with the process of industrialization and the improvement of the urban conditions. However, the new motivation of the Ottoman regarding the urban spaces is about the prevention of the fires which caused devastating destructions, improvement of the means of transportation in order to ensure the pedestrian and vehicle traffic with the intensifying commerce in this period, legal – spatial solutions which aimed at constructing the multi-storied buildings as well as the expropriation of the lands towards the increasing urban population. The urban fabric which is dominant over the Historical Peninsula of İstanbul in particular formed a undesigned organic tissue together with the traditional structure typologies in this period. The first area of implementation of the spatial arrangements beginning from the times before the period of Reorganizations (Tulip Period) was realized in Galata region which could be accepted as the most western area of the Ottoman land at present.

Some changes in the ways of commerce are observed in İstanbul which is the port city which is opened to the international market in which the political, economic, cultural and legal relations which are established with the Europeans are organized by means of reform of Reorganizations. İstanbul became particularly prominent in international shipping and the structures such as Galata Port and Haydarpaşa Port in its structure became much more important. In addition to this, the perimeters of the city got expanded with the increased population and consequently the increased need for transportation was met with the addition of the vehicles such as cars and tramcars. It can be said that all of these developments were changing the urban tissue of İstanbul at least in a fragmented way.

These solutions which were brought regarding the urban space of İstanbul are similar to those of Paris which was taken as an example in the Western world in particular. Forming the rectangular structure areas through the wide streets and roads, making interruptions with forty-five degrees for the purpose of emphasizing the junctions between the rectangles and implementing the grid system ideas can be shown among the examples of this similarity. In addition to this, the annexation of the public areas such as Gülhane Park which found an area of implementation in this period into the urban fabric of İstanbul can be interpreted in the

manner that it was intended to annex the western city and social culture to the Ottoman social and city culture.

The grid system was implemented in the rearrangement of the areas which are destroyed following the fires in general and the new settlement areas were opened as a solution to the increased population in accordance with the regulations which were implemented during the period of Reorganizations and the municipal administration which was also tried to be implemented in the western style. Performing the spatial change in the city by means of the “Sultan’s permission” as it is quoted by Bilsel and Çelik [48,50] points out to the fact that the traditional urban administration approach in compliance with the Islamic religion and politics of the Ottoman was tried to be changed even partially before the westernization movements.

As a conclusion, it can be stated that the urban reforms which started with the Westernization movements of the Ottoman found an area of implementation after the fire and especially affected by the Western urban settlement and development culture. The fundamental reason of this situation is the existence of the differences between the urban tissue of İstanbul and the specific requirements which shape the Western cities. As it is stated above, the western cities which are inspired in implementations provided the capital accumulation with the impetus of the industrialization and the urban arrangements were made for the purpose of developing the urban services for increasing the capital revenue and increasing the urbanization. The restricted capital which was obtained by the Ottoman from the development of the international commerce, the taxes collected from the people and the traditional administration approach which developed in compliance with the Islamic religion and politics of the Ottoman formed a developing urban tissue of İstanbul with the synthesis of the Western-style urban arrangement practices. Because of this reason, the result which is obtained from the Western cities and the result which is obtained from the arrangements in İstanbul are different from each other. As a result, it is seen and observed that the duality which arises from activating the western applications without being completely detached from the traditional order just like on the political and economic level of the Ottoman by the Westernization movements which we put into implementation by the Ottoman in the Period of Reorganizations including the Tulip Period was experienced on the subject of the arrangement of the urban tissue as well.

3.1.3. Examination of Galata-Pera Region and Galata Port in the Late Ottoman Period

Galata Region is one of the regions where urban regulation movements that started with Westernization in the Late Ottoman Period were felt intensely. During this period, foreign traders, diplomats and non-Muslims settled in the Galata Region and Galata Region is home to European society. These communities, in line with their demands and capital, had a say in the shaping of the urban fabric in Galata in the Late Ottoman Period.

With the Tanzimat Fermanı, the state secured the private property owned by Muslims and non-Muslims, on the condition that the public interest is pursued. This assurance given by the state had an impact on the planning of the region. Again in this period, the Ottoman Empire liberalized economically and tried to integrate into the capitalist system that became widespread in the world. Beyoğlu region, which includes Galata, has become the international trade center of İstanbul [61].

When the urban texture of Beyoğlu is examined at the beginning of the 19th century, a suburban texture consisting of houses with gardens is dominated by the permanent residence of minorities and the summer mansions of wealthy Muslims. During this period, there was no regular street structure in Galata. For this reason, horse-drawn carriages can be used in very few places. Based on this information, it can be said that there is no effective transportation network in the Galata Region. At the beginning of the 19th century, Kumbaracı Yokusu, Dört Yol, Asmalımescit, Tozkopran, Yüksekaldırım and Grande Rue de Pera (known as İstiklal Caddesi today) were the most active areas in the Galata Region. During this period, the walls remaining from the Genoese began to disappear in certain regions [61]. However, in 1836, During the reign of II. Mahmut, the Cısr-i Atik bridge was built, connecting the two sides of the Golden Horn. This bridge is located between Unkapanı in the Historic Peninsula and Azapkapı in Galata. In 1845, during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid, the Cısr-i Cedid Bridge, which forms the connection between Karaköy and Eminönü, was built [53].



Figure 3.4. Cisir-i Cedid Bridge, built by Sultan II. Mahmut in 1836 [50].

It can be said that with the construction of these bridges, a bridge was created between the conservative understanding in the Historic Peninsula and the modern understanding in the Galata Region, and it was aimed to homogenize the society in socio-cultural terms. Considering all these developments, there was no significant change in the urban fabric of the Galata Region, except for the Cisir-i Atik and Cisir-i Cedid bridges, during the period from the beginning of the 19th century to the Tanzimat Edict.

After the proclamation of the Tanzimat in 1839, the fires in 1830, 1848 and 1870 were effective in shaping Galata. The zoning model of Paris was inspired by the shaping of the urban texture of İstanbul, including Galata, in the areas opened as a result of the fires.

As discussed in the "Late Ottoman Period İstanbul Urban Policies Analysis" section of the thesis, in the Crimean War that took place between 1853-1856, Western soldiers who came to support the Ottomans settled in the Galata Region. The incoming soldiers fused with the non-Muslims and Levantines in the region and brought their life habits to Galata. The addition of Western culture to Galata's already multicultural structure has brought innovations in architectural language and function. As Akın reports, the development of Beyoğlu coincides with the second half of the 19th century. The first hotels, restaurants, cafes and bars, entertainment venues, arcades, places for theater and cinema, foreign schools and hospitals in the Galata Region began to appear in this period [62].

Municipal services were insufficient in the Galata Region, which was the headquarters of the Western soldiers who came during the war. After the demands for the improvement of municipal services were formed, the first application of the modern-style local government approach was realized. Accordingly, in 1857, the Sixth Department of the Municipality was established under the Şehremaneti district, responsible for the Galata Region. In the regulation issued for municipalities in 1857, İstanbul was divided into 14 different regions. However, it was aimed that the Sixth Department of the Municipality would be a prototype for other municipalities, and the largest budget was given to this municipality [48]. According to Aydın, the name of the Sixth Office of the Municipality was inspired by the Sixieme Arrondissment in Paris, where the most elite and modern people lived [63]. The requirement that the members of the Sixth Department of the Municipality's assembly own property in Galata also ensured demilitarization in the municipal administration and paved the way for democratization.



Figure 3.5. Map showing the Golden Horn and Üsküdar regions after İstanbul was divided into 14 parts [48].

The Sixth Department of the Municipality has implemented practices that will affect the urban texture in the Galata Region. In 1860, the Grande Rue de Pera, where the pedestrian traffic of the Galata Region was the busiest, was paved with stones. Among the most striking practices of the municipality is the demolition of the Galata walls between 1863 and 1865. With the demolition of the walls, new streets were opened, existing roads were widened and new areas were created for settlement. New stone structures were built in the region with parts of the destroyed walls.

As Çelik relates, Şişhane Square was arranged in the form of a common square in 1868, where the streets around it would open to it. The arrangement of the square was inspired by the "Etoile" square made by Haussmann in Paris. Between 1879 and 1883, the Sixth Office of the Municipality was built on Şişhane Square. This palace is important in that it is the first municipal palace of the Ottoman Empire. The palace was built in Neoclassical style by Italian architect Giovanni Battista Barborini [48].

Apart from the above-mentioned activities, the Sixth Department of the Municipality has carried out cleaning of streets and streets, lighting of large streets, road and pavement repairs and infrastructure services. As Gül reports, horse-drawn trams came to Galata in 1869, and in 1912, electric trams were added and the transportation network was strengthened [53]. In this period, Cadde-i Kebir (Grande Rue de Pera/İstiklal Caddesi), Tepebaşı and Voyvoda Avenues were widened so that the tram line could pass. In 1875, the "Tunnel" connecting Galata and Pera was built by the French engineer Eugene-Henri Gavand [64]. The transportation networks established with the West in İstanbul in the 19th century were also strengthened. Transportation was provided between Europe and İstanbul by rail. As Baslo reported, passengers arriving from Europe by railroads stayed in hotels in Tepebaşı [65].

After the fire in the Galata Region in 1870, a plan was put forward in accordance with the modern urbanism approach in this area. Within the scope of this plan, it is aimed to build modern structures such as wide streets and squares, theaters and hotels. However, as Çelik reported, the project could not be fully implemented due to the high cost of expropriation and construction of the plan, and only some streets were widened [48].

As it is mentioned in the section of the thesis "Examination of the Urban Texture of İstanbul in the Late Ottoman Period", it is aimed to open the dead-end streets seen throughout the city. In this period, applications such as the transition from wooden houses to masonry

structures were also seen in the Galata Region, as was discussed in the regulations for the regulation of the urban texture of İstanbul. However, as Baslo reported, dead-end streets were formed in Galata due to the locations of foreign embassies, churches and foreign schools. Since the areas where these structures are located are considered foreign state land, these streets could not be opened in practice [65].

Parallel to the development of commercial relations with the West in the Tanzimat Period, it is seen that the Galata Region grew in the direction of Şişli. Public transportation by sea started in İstanbul in 1844. These developments have been particularly effective in the growth of Galata both in terms of population and area [61].

As mentioned in the section of the thesis "The Study of Political and Economic Policies in the Late Ottoman Period", there were political developments that prepared the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the early 1900s. With the abdication of Abdülhamit in 1908, the Committee of Union and Progress came into power.

The most important application in Galata during the Union and Progress Period was the construction of a new bridge between the Historic Peninsula and Galata. It was decided to be built by the German Company Maschinenfabrik Ausburg-Nürnberg in 1907. However, due to military and political problems in this period, the bridge could be completed in 1912 [53].

According to Akın, practices that facilitated transportation, such as the construction of the first electric tram between Beyoğlu and Şişli in 1913, had an impact on the change and development of İstanbul [66].

At the end of the First World War, which started in 1914 and ended in 1918, the Allied Powers, including the Ottoman Empire, were defeated. After this defeat, the signing of the Armistice of Mudros in 1918 will cause the Ottoman lands to be occupied by the Europeans. The Allied Powers officially occupied İstanbul on March 16, 1920. As Baslo reports, Galata, which has not experienced war or occupation since the Genoese, became the region where the soldiers of the Entente States settled [65,67]. Galata is one of the regions where the anti-communist Russians, who were defeated during the occupation of İstanbul and fled during the Russian Revolution, settled. As Arkan reports, the Russians escaping from the Revolution left traces of their own way of life and consumption in the Galata Region. During

the First World War and the War of Independence, the state experienced economic difficulties. However, the Galata Region, with its capital power, has been the region least affected by these problems [67].

As stated in the "Late Ottoman Period İstanbul Urban Policies Analysis" section of the thesis, It is known that the First National Architecture movement was active from 1908, when the II. Constitutional Monarchy was declared, to 1930. In the Galata-Karaköy Region, many works were made in line with this trend. In this movement, inspired by the Western architectural style of the period, symmetrical and axial plan schemes were introduced. While the decorations taken from the classical Ottoman religious architecture in the 15th and 16th centuries formed the national side of the movement, the Western influence also showed itself in the structure and form. The facades of these structures are symmetrical, ornate and magnificent. In some examples, eclectic façades bearing traces of Art Nouveau and Neo-Classicism can be seen. Examples of this trend in Galata-Karaköy include the Generali Han built by Giulio Mongeri in 1909, the Tütün Han by Eduardo de Nare in 1910-1911, the Ankara Han in 1911-1912, the İşbank Building built in 1918, the architect Giulio Mongeri in 1920. Karaköy Palas, where Architect Vedat Tek and Architect Kemaleddin also took part, can be counted [68–70].

In the light of all this information, it can be said that Galata Region is an area where multiculturalism is experienced, but also polyphony and these are reflected in daily life [71]. Developing as a cosmopolitan port area since the Conquest of İstanbul, Galata has a different texture from the rest of the city of İstanbul.

During the Tulip Age, Galata developed in line with its historical port structure and Westernization movements. In the following years, with the Baltalimanı Trade Agreement signed in 1838 on the axis of Westernization and liberalization movements of the Ottoman Empire, the importance of the Galata Region will gradually increase and it will evolve into a center where the direct effects of the Westernization movements on the city level can be read.

According to Gül, with the development of international trade on a global scale in the 1830s, İstanbul and especially Galata became of strategic importance as it provides both a natural harbor and a link between Europe and Asia. It is inevitable that the importance and value of the region will increase in this commercial activity [48,53]. However, there is a lack of

existing infrastructure services in İstanbul and limited transportation opportunities between commercial points. According to Gül and Çelik, port structures in İstanbul during this period needed to undergo a long-term maintenance process in order to adapt to the conditions required by international trade [48,53].

The first proposed solution to all these problems in İstanbul, in line with the modernization movements of the Ottoman Empire, is the 1839 zoning plan during the reign of Abdülmecid. The proposals of this plan for Galata are the construction of a larger stone dock instead of the wooden dock in Tophane [48,50]. In addition to the port structure, the pavements and roads around the port were renewed and afforested. Based on this information, it is noteworthy that the planning is not just about the units within the port structure, but the repair of the transportation axes that will be effective in the operation of the port and the beautification of its surroundings. For this reason, it can be seen that the approach to port structures is evaluated within the scope of a project on a regional scale.

Before 1840, the port area on the Historical Peninsula and Galata side contains old wooden docks, shops, inns, warehouses as well as customs offices [48]. As part of the renovation of the İstanbul Port, some quay arrangements were made before the Crimean War. As Çelik reported, the Karaköy Pier was repaired in 1848. In 1849, an additional pier was built to meet the customs needs of the pier and it has been stated that it has entered a regular maintenance process since this period [48].

It was stated that a wide coastline was created with the expropriation of the coffee houses along the coast and an abandoned garden in 1846 at Tophane Pier [48]. From this point of view, it can be said that the port structure project has been considered as an urban project in order to facilitate access to the port and provide favorable conditions for trade, not just the port space.

In this period when the population of the city increased, with the establishment of the Company-i Hayriye, intra-city sea transportation was provided. The company, which was established in 1851 with the approval of Sultan Abdülmecid, has a special importance as it is the first joint stock company established in Turkey. The realization of city line ferry services between 1854-1945 contributed to the arrangements to be made on the coastline and directed the studies on how to shape the quay conditions [72]. In 1855, upon the request of

foreign embassies, the pier and port structure were aimed to facilitate transportation within the city as well as military and commercial ships.

According to Çelik, especially after the Crimean War (1856), maritime traffic in the city increased with the emergence of İstanbul as an international trade point. However, since the ports of İstanbul were in primitive conditions at that time, there was a need to renew the quay structures at the request of the foreign companies doing business here. In parallel with this view, the Ottoman elites, while carrying out the work of transforming İstanbul into a western city image, stated that compared to their contemporaries, the commercial opportunities provided in primitive conditions and the neglected buildings did not suit İstanbul. After the development of international trade, Galata Port had to meet both the increasing commercial needs and the increasing demand for daily transportation in the city [48].

At this point, the İstanbul Harbor Area, which is stated to be subject to renewal, is the part that stretches from Sirkeci to Balat on the Historical Peninsula and from Azapkapı to Tophane on the Galata side, as Bilge reports [73,74]. Undoubtedly, Haydarpaşa Port, which is located on the Üsküdar side and will come into service in 1899, has undergone a significant transformation in the Westernization process of the Ottoman Empire and has affected the commercial life; but it falls outside the scope of the thesis [75].

One of the important legal regulations expressing the view of the Ottomans on port structures was the regulation in 1863 to allow the structures on the coastal lands to be built by considering the public interest [48]. This decision can also be seen as a decision that paves the way for the privatization of the quay businesses.

There are two initiatives regarding privatization policies regarding ports. The first of these is the 75-year concession granted to Michel Pasha in 1879. The agreement made with this concession granted to Michel Pasha² covers Sirkeci and Unkapanı on the İstanbul side, and Tophane and Azapkapı on the Galata side. However, the dock could not be built due to the construction costs arising from the current and muddy ground in the dock area. However, as Bilge reports, the Ottoman bureaucracy abandoned the initiative and agreement with the

² French sailor Marius Michel is mentioned as Michel Pasha in Ottoman documents. As reported by Zihni Bilge and the İstanbul Head Galataport Documentary, Michel Pasha was a captain who came to İstanbul many times before receiving this privilege, dominated the Mediterranean, and received the Ottoman Lighthouses Administration privilege in 1857 [73,74].

concern that the company privileges given to Michel Pasha would fall into the hands of the British [73]. The failure of these attempts due to the concerns of the Ottoman bureaucracy caused the continuation of trade and transportation problems in İstanbul Port. As Örenç cites, examples of these problems are the inability of the ships to dock at the pier, and the long loading and unloading processes [76]. In addition to this, the increase in urban maritime traffic due to merchant ships can be given as an example of the indirect results of the pier project, which could not be realized. Therefore, it can be said that the need for a modern port is increasing day by day and is coming to light.

The second attempt was made in 1890, 11 years after the failed attempt in 1879. With the 85-year concession granted to Michel Pasha by the order of II.Abdülhamit, it was requested to establish the Dersaadet Dock, Dock and Warehouse Company (Societe de Quais et Entrepots de Constantinople) where port operations would be carried out. Public health (hifzissihha), which would gain particular importance in the Single Party years, was considered important in this period as well, and as Örenç reported, the main reason behind the construction of the port structure was expressed as public health and the regulation of the built environment [76]. With the contract signed in 1890, it was requested that the works on the quay be completed in 1904. In the following years, the realization of tram transportation along the coastline was transferred to this company. Although Michel Pasha's studies in the Historic Peninsula made significant contributions to the economy of İstanbul, they are outside the scope of the thesis.

As Bilge reports, the construction of the dock started in April 1892. Due to the soft ground of the quay area, a part of the quay was built on a filled area. With the arrangements made, it was decided to create a 20-meter strip between the quay structure and the residential area. Three meters of the lane are reserved for the pedestrian sidewalk, nine meters for the driveway, and eight meters belonging to the dock are considered as loading areas [73].

It can be said that the project has gained an almost regional character since it is also involved in the relationship of the port structure with the residential areas. As Çelik stated, in line with the law allowing the construction of quays and piers in 1863, if the public interest is in view, the expropriation law will be applied for the necessary areas for the dock company in this region. Despite this practice, the company undertook the maintenance of the roads, pier and quay to be built [48].

In addition, after the arrangement of the quay area, the land values around the area increased, and the pier project was supported by the wealthy of the region, with the profits of the landowners around the quay. As a result, the works started in Galata in 1892 were completed in 1895. Between Tophane and Karaköy, a 758-meter-long dock was built [73].

After the construction of the dock, which was completed in 1895, according to the agreement signed with Michel Pasha in 1890, it was deemed necessary to build warehouses, warehouses and administrative buildings for customs in the port areas. Such plans and proposals, which are planned to be implemented in this region, were submitted to the state by the Dersaadet Rıhtım Company in 1905. While the structures to be built in this meeting were made of masonry made of stone and brick by the state, the company wanted the structures to be reinforced concrete. As a result of the negotiations, the reinforced concrete structure was allowed on the condition that the company takes responsibility for all damages that may occur during construction. Construction started in 1907 and was completed in 1910. At the end of the construction, while the Medical Building and the Harbor Master's building were built for the state in Galata, the structures built in the filling areas of the dock belonged to the company. The buildings belonging to the company on the Galata side are the Paket Post Office, Çinili Rıhtım Han and Merkez Rıhtım Han. The buildings are examples of Art-Nouveau, Neoclassical and Eclectic architectural styles. The Paket Post Office was built between 1907 and 1911 as a customs house. The building is one of the first reinforced concrete buildings of the Late Ottoman Period. Only package purchase and customs procedures were carried out here. Due to its location, it has a thin and long morphology located between the Bosphorus and Kemankeş Street. Çinili Rıhtım Han was built between 1910-1911 for 733,000 francs, and Merkez Rıhtım Han was built between 1912-1924 and cost 834,000 francs. The area of the project on the Galata side is 7000 m². The port activities of the Dersaadet Rıhtım Company are 1,242,797 francs for the Galata side and 620,000 francs for the Historical Peninsula [73].



Figure 3.6. Karaköy Port, Package Post Office and barges in 1907 [77].

3.2. INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE SINGLE PARTY PERIOD ON GALATA PORT (1923-1950)

3.2.1. Examination of the Political and Economic Policies of the Single Party Period

Although the Westernization period which started with the Tulip Period and then officially declared with the Period of Reorganizations changed the Ottoman approaches on the political, economic, cultural and legal areas, its failure of detachment from the traditional understanding and also the fact that the ideas of Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism could not form the expected unity during the stagnation period of the Ottoman Empire are considered the fundamental factors which cause losing the political and economic independence. In this period in which the Ottoman was in stagnation, a blocking was being experienced which may also influence the First World War through the efforts of obtaining economic interests in the continental Europe. The First World War has many political and economic reasons; however, the essential conflict behind the blocking is that Germany

dropped back in comparison with England and France in terms of the Industrial Revolution and the colonialization movements [78]. And the Ottoman eventually had to take a side among these political blocks. Otherwise, the Ottoman encountered the danger of being invaded and colonized by the prevailing block of the war. In the end of the 19th century, there were Italy, Austria-Hungary and Germany (which is called the “entente powers”) against France, Russia and England (which are called the “central powers”) in the blocking in Europe. At the end, such polarization which will be converted into the First World War resulted from the expansionist and colonist policies of the capitalist approach as it was already mentioned in the previous chapters. As it is quoted by Akşin, the Ottoman Empire entered the war at the side of the Germany, Italy and Austria-Hungary block on the date 23rd July 1914 not for the purpose of having colonies but for taking back the lands which were lost following the Balkan War in 1913, not to be colonized by the European states and to obtain the economic support of Germany [36,79]. Following the attendance of the Ottoman to the alliance, we entered into the First World War officially on the date 11th November 1914, however, following the conclusion of the war with the definite victory of the entente powers, the Ottoman had to sign the Armistice of Montrose on the date 30th October 1918. According to this armistice, as a result of the decisions which were taken for the Ottoman, İstanbul and Dardanelles Straits were left to the absolute supervision of the Entente Powers, the Ottoman army was disarmed and, in addition to this, it was further declared that the entente powers were able to invade the Ottoman lands in case they saw any sort of threat from the Ottoman side against them at any point [80]. According to these results, it can be said that the political and economic independence of the Ottoman was officially left to the ultimate freedom of the entente powers. According to the articles of the treaty, the French, English, Italian and Armenian powers started to invade the Ottoman Empire. According to some resources, although the invasion of İzmir by the Greece Forces on the date 15th May 1919 is considered as the starting date of the War of Independence, the arrival of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk at Samsun on the date 19th May 1919 following the invasion of İzmir is usually accepted as the official starting date of the war in question.

In accordance with the coverage of the thesis, the foundation of the political and economic policies which were implemented in line with the modernization of the Single Party Period, the decisions of the National Pact which were accepted on the date 20th January 1920 by the Chamber of Deputies which is also known as the Ottoman Parliament are quite important

with regard to expressing the fact that no concession will be made on the subject of the economic independence and on drawing the boundaries of the country. Although the size of the Turkish geography varied according to different maps drawn, the generally accepted boundaries of the National Pact is region which covers the Western Thrace, Dodecanese, Kars, Ardahan, Batumi, Aleppo Mosul Province, Province, Kirkuk, Deyr-i Zor Sanjak and Cyprus [81]. As it will be mentioned in more details in the next chapters, as a consequence of the Lausanne Negotiations, it became compulsory to make concession from the original boundaries of the National Pact. As it is quoted by Akşin, the decisions of the National Pact on the economic area were to open the Straits for the international commerce on the condition of ensuring the security of İstanbul and Marmara Sea and to remove the capitulations in order to ensure the national and economic development [36]. Moreover, in addition the above-mentioned decisions, it was further expressed that a solution will be sought without making concessions from these economic decisions during the structuring of the Ottoman debts. Not only the War of Independence was organized by means of the Amasya, Erzurum and Sivas Congresses which were organized during the wartime, but also the concession-free nature of the future-oriented political and economic independence was repeated and emphasized in these congresses. The War of Independence which started on the date 19th May 1919 came to an end with signing the Armistice of Mudania which was signed on the date 11th October 1922 as a consequence of the battles which were fulfilled at the Eastern, Western and Southern fronts of the war. Following the official end of the armed struggle after this armistice, the Grand National Assembly (TBMM) signed the decisions to officially shape the political character of the Republic to be established under the leadership of Atatürk. Among these decisions, the abolishment of the sultanate on the date 1st November 1922 points out to a community which will be differentiated from the Ottoman understanding of administration. In addition to this, as it is quoted by Akşin, it was referred that the current social status of the people that were in the form of vassal of the Sultan only will change as a consequence of this decision [36]. It can be said that it is a decision which lays the foundations of a nation-state approach in which the nation is the ruler rather than the sultan.

Although the armed struggle was officially won following the Armistice of Mudania, this victory still needed to be recognized through the international diplomacy and to bring independence with respect to the political and economic aspects as well. İzmir Economic Congress (17th February – 4th March 1923) which was organized during the time on which

the long-lasting negotiations were interrupted because of the conflicted points on the subjects of country boundaries and unarmed territories is in the nature of manifesto of not only political but also economic policies of the Republic. The close relationships which were established by the Grand National Assembly (TBMM) during the Turkish War of Independence with USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) which had the communist ideology caused an unrest with regard to the threats to be created by adopting the Communist ideology potentially by Turkey [82]. The Grand National Assembly (TBMM) declared that Turkey is a capitalist country which adopted the liberal economic approach, in the form of a response to such aforesaid unrest in İzmir Economic Congress [83]. It can be also said that this declaration opened the way for the decisions to be agreed in the Lausanne Negotiations to be carried out. At the same time, it can be further interpreted in a way that Turkey is on the side of western block/Capitalist with regard to the Capitalist and Communist blocking in case of any potential political blocking circumstances.

The decisions which were taken in İzmir Economic Congress and which were declared as the National Economy could be basically taken under two main headings. First of all, the fundamental underlying problem in the Republic of Turkey which will adopt the liberal economic approach by means of the decisions of the National Economy is that fact that the sufficient capital accumulation was not available. In accordance with the liberal understanding, the private entrepreneur that has the capital should convert the capital in hand into investment and to enhance its welfare accordingly. It can be thought that it was not possible for the capital to make any attempt in a country the foundations of which were laid after a war of independence which was continued and won under quite difficult conditions for three years period of time following the Ottoman Empire the political life of which ended in debt. Because of this reason, it was aimed to establish a liberal order in which the government will play not only credit-providing but also a regulating role. In other words, it can be said that it was a period in which it was targeted to industrialize with the support of the government and with the hand of the private sector in collaboration.

The second matter which was evaluated in the coverage of the decisions of the National Economy was dwelling upon the nationalization of the foreign companies having privileges in the congress, it was also stated that it is necessary to put an end to the capitulations which were in the form of deteriorating the competition environment and it was further stated that it is necessary to construct a foundation for the economy policies from a national point of

view [83]. As it is mentioned above, it was intended to transform the Ottoman market which was reinforced by means of the capitulations which were granted beginning from Baltalimanı Trade Agreement dated 1838 and then became an open market for the foreigners together with the Administration of General Debts into a form of privilege towards the domestic traders rather than the foreign monopoly. The opinion of domestic industrialists and domestic bourgeoisie appeared at the times of the Party of Union and Progress. It can be expressed as the Congress decisions which were taken as a continuance of the National Economy approach.

The Lausanne Conference which was held again on the date 23rd April 1923 as a result of the diplomatic contacts which were made following the National Economy decisions concluded with the peace treaty which was signed on the date 24th July 1923. The political and economic results of the Lausanne Peace Treaty are quite important for the Grand National Assembly (TBMM). The capitulations which could be deemed as the economic concessions which were granted mostly in order to open the way for the political agreements in the Ottoman period were removed completely and the supervision of the Administration of General Debts over the public revenues were fully ended [84]. With the removal of the capitulations, it can be considered a decision which ensured the domestic traders to be much more powerful in the country market in particular and facilitated the formation of the Turkish bourgeoisie class. As another economic issue is the regulation which was made on the matter of paying the remaining debts of the ottoman. It is necessary to underline that sharing the debts among the states which were separated from the Ottoman considerably decreased the burden of debt although still a substantial part of the debts was required to be repaid by the Grand National Assembly (TBMM). It can be also said that this situation made a contribution to the governmental funds and made a minor contribution to the investments of the Single Party Period [84]. According to the treaty, it was decided not to collect any customs tax by the Grand National Assembly (TBMM) for 5 years period of time, namely until 1929, on the subject of independence of the customs and then to decide freely on the subject of the customs tariffs [85]. As it is already mentioned in the above-stated principles of the National Pack, guaranteeing the security of the straits is not only a factor which will protect the country against the foreign enemies but also an indispensable principle in order to ensure the international commerce. Although it was decided to disarm the straits and to administer them by the International Commission of Straits in accordance with the Lausanne Peace Treaty,

Turkey acquired the right to deploy soldiers in the Turkish straits by means of the Montreux Convention which was signed in 1936 and then the commission was abolished accordingly [36]. The concessions which were given from the boundaries of the National Pact include Batum in accordance with the Moscow Treaty dated 16th March 1921 signed during the Turkish War of Independence [86] and Hatay in accordance with the Ankara Treaty dated 20th October 1921 (which will be attached to Turkey again in 1939). Following the Turkish War of Independence, ceding the West Thrace in accordance with the Lausanne Peace Treaty dated 24th July 1923 and Mosul-Kirkuk in accordance with the Ankara Treaty dated 5th June 1926 were the other concessions which were given from the boundaries of the national pact. It can be said that all of these concessions which were given from the original boundaries of the National Pact damaged the country in economic sense in terms of not only the underground sources but also tourism and this situation became influential on the subject of the capital accumulation of the country and consequently shaping the economic policy of the country in the subsequent periods.

As a result of these decisions which were taken following the Lausanne Peace Treaty, the political and economic independence of the Grand National Assembly (TBMM) was registered in front of the entire world and then the Grand National Assembly (TBMM) started shaping the political and economic restructuring of the country to be newly established. The necessary modifications were made in the Constitution dated 1921 and the Republic was declared on the date 29th October 1923. Adopting the Republic ideology plays a significant role on the matter of Atatürk's Reforms realized and enhancing to the level of contemporary civilizations as it will be taken up in further details in the next chapters.

Following the establishment of the Republic, one of the reasons behind the abolishment of the Sultanate on the date 3rd March 1924 was to prevent the possibility of raising a revolt surrounding the last khalif Abdulmecid Efendi by the supports of the sultanate idea taking part in the periphery of the assembly. Thus, the third revolution which will form the political order of the Republic of Turkey by Atatürk who is the founder of the country was also completed by means of abolishing the sultanate, declaring the Republic and abolishing the Caliphate [36]. In the light of all of such information, it is seen that the Western-triggered modernization movements which started with the Young Turks and continued in the period of the Party of Union and Progress has been widely adopted by the founder staff of the Republic. The most important difference in the transition period from the Ottoman period to

the Republic period became the mentality regarding the westernization [87]. There is an administrative and economic system which is managed according to the Islamic customs and traditions in the process of westernization which officially started with the Period of Reorganizations. It can be said that the renovations which are made in the coverage of the Westernization are also some smaller-scaled actions which do not assume to create systematic changes, without moving away from the Islamic and traditional understanding, in comparison with the period of Republic. It can be also said that the final purpose of the westernization movements which were made in the period of Republic is to create a systematic and direct change and, in comparison with the slow speed of the westernization process of the Ottoman period, to make a rapid and radical move of westernization [88]. However, to set forth it chronologically, the westernization movements which officially started by means of the reforms of the period of Reorganizations and then underwent a transition into the constitutional monarchy system (Constitutional Monarchy Periods I and II) reached the final stage by means of the Atatürk's Reforms during the Period of Republic and targeted at some important renovations with respect to political, economic, legal and cultural aspects. In the light of such information, after the abolishment of the Sultanate, declaration of the Republic and abolishment of the Caliphate, the subject of Secularism and the construction of the national identity (Turkish identity) targeting at a national change followed among the fundamental grounds of the process of modernization [87]. Hence, it can be said that there is an approach of creating a new state and community in the mind of the founders of the Republic which was declared in 1923. While it was aimed at interpreting the Islam according to the requirements of the modern times by means of the establishment of the Directorate of Religious Affairs following the abolishment of the Caliphate, it can be stated that the religious life was intended to be taken under the supervision of the government. According to Aslan, while it was targeted at changing the state order in legal meaning with the abolishment of the caliphate, he argued that the main purpose of the implementation of the secularization-oriented policies following the abolishment of the Caliphate was to change the social life fundamentally [87]. By means of closing the lodges and Islamic monasteries, prohibiting the sects and madrasahs, the hat act, the alphabet reform and afterwards removing the article that "the religion of the state is Islam" from the Constitution, it can be sad that it was ultimately targeted at moving away from the Islamic attitudes of the community and the traditional Ottoman mentality in political sense in line with the Islamic approach [89].

Aslan underlines the subject of the construction of a national identity which is the second stage of creating a contemporary and secular community as follows; “The interrelations of the states and the people also took a new form as capitalism became the dominant form of production throughout Europe. The state apparatus which was dominant with the unlimited powers of the kings in the previous periods was replaced by the approach in which the sovereign power of the people was taken as basis with the capital accumulation and awareness. The state approach which took the sovereignty of the people which is called nationalism as basis resulted in the appearance of the nation-state structures” [87].

The argument in the nation-stated discussions whether the state forms the nation or whether the nation forms the state has been a controversial matter which varies between different geographical territories. Whenever we look into the nation-state approach of Turkey, there is no doubt that the state obviously forms the nation. As it was also taken up in the previous chapter, the policy of nationalism or, in other words, Turkism which was put forward as the solution for independence following the Balkan Wars in particular in the period in which the administration of the Party of Union and Progress was dominant in the Ottoman state deeply influenced the political, cultural and economic policies as well. A new country is founded after the First World War is lost, the administration of the Party of Union and Progress lost its power, entering into and winning the Turkish War of Independence. Following the Turkish War of Independence, as it is also quoted by Alakel, the administration of the Republic had a community with Turkish and Muslim majority [89]. The administration of the Republic took over the nationalist opinions of the Party of Union and Progress, however, in contrast to the Party of Union and Progress, it took up nationalism not as a solution of independence but as a main element which shapes the national identity in the construction of the nation-state. According to Saklı, “Republic of Turkey is founded as the “nation-state” based on the Turkish elements remaining from the multinational structure of the Ottoman [90]. In addition to this, following the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the country adopted the unitary structure and it was intended to construct a nation-state, differently from the Ottoman Empire. As it is already expressed in the 3rd article of the 1924, 1969 and 1982 Constitutions of the Republic of Turkey, “the Turkish State is an undivided whole with its country and nation.” It can be read as the most fundamental expression of the transition into the unitary structure.

It can be said that the policy nourished on the matter of formation of the national identity is the policy of Turkification. As implemented in accordance with this policy, the Turkish Language Society and Turkish Historical Society were established and it was also intended to construct some theoretical and scientific foundations such as the Sun Language Theory [91]. In the light of such information, the nation-state structure of the newly established Republic and its idealized community is the aim of creating a homogenous community in which the Turkish nation and the religious opinion became also secular in the coverage of the unitary state approach.

It can be said that the founder staff of the Republic created the national identity in the construction of a nation-state by means of getting influenced by the nationalist idea of the Party of Union and Progress and giving it a new meaning. We have already stated that the Party of Union and Progress intended to create a nationalist-liberal Turkish Bourgeoise for which it carried out works in order to implement it in the period in which it administered the Ottoman. As it is stated by Varlı and Koraltürk, the decisions of the National Economy were taken in İzmir Economic Congress which clearly evidences that the founder staff of the Republic tried to implement the liberal understanding of the Party of Union and Progress by means of adopting the same according to the situation and conditions of the period [46]. It can be said that taking up the nationalist and liberal approaches as two factors which are complementary for each other in the period of the Party of Union and Progress could be also read in the political and economic policies of the Republic. In this direction, the national identity which is intended to be formed in the period of Republic can be considered the fundamental basis for liberalism at the same time. As it is already taken up in the first chapter, the principles of freedom and individualism which are listed among the essential principles of Liberalism can be considered the targets which are intended to be attained for the community together with the national identity which is attempted to be created. It is another controversial subject to what extent the national identity which is put forward as a result of the Republic policies is near to the principles of freedom and individualism which are implied by liberalism in a western sense. However, it can be thought that as in integrated component of the liberal policies which were chosen as a model in economic meaning in this period. The examples to be given for the process of liberalism which started with the decisions of the National Economy as mentioned above include the foundation of İş Bankası, annulling the dime levy and the foundation of Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası (Bank of Industry

and Mines) and Eytam Bankası (Bank of Orphans). By means of these developments, it was aimed at creating a fund for the industrial and agricultural investments [37]. According to Kepenek, the factories such as Alpullu Sugar Factory, Uşak Sugar Factory, Bakırköy Weaving Factory, Bünyan Weaving Factory were established and implemented through the wealthy land owners of the area where they were founded by means of these supports and incentives provided by the government [92]. The implementation of the Law for the Encouragement of Industry in 1927 and the establishment of the Supreme Council of Economics are the decisions which were taken for the purpose of developing the industry sector by means of the collaboration between the government and the private sector [36]. As it is quoted by Hasol, the implementation of the Law for the Encouragement of Industry caused bringing foreign technical specialists, architects and engineers in order to establish the industrial facilities in this period as well [59].

In addition to this, another practice which marked the policies of the Republic on not only political but also economic areas is the Railroad policies. As it is also emphasized by the words “We have equipped the entire homeland with the iron webs (railroads)” which take part in the 10th Year Anthem, a great importance was attached to the construction of the railroads between 1923 and 1938 in which Atatürk died. It was targeted finally to create an independent and national railroad system in order to meet the needs of the people in this period in which the difficult economic conditions were experienced by the country [93]. By means of ensuring the transportation between the production and consumption centers, it can be said that it was targeted at ensuring the equal dispersion instead of intensification of the capital accumulation at any certain point of the country. According to Pamuk and Avcı, in addition to the sole economical contribution of the railroads, these railroads also played an active and crucial role in the construction of the national identity at the same time [37]. Thanks to the opportunity of transportation which was provided by the railroads, the government reinforced the supervision in the Anatolian villages in the light of the policy of statism. As it will be mentioned in more details in the next chapters, the railroads which were operated by the foreign capital were then purchased by the government by means of the nationalism movements which were exhibited in the coverage of the statism policies to be adopted following the crisis in 1929 [93].

As it is quoted by Pamuk, the establishment of the automotive assembly industrial enterprise by means of reaching an agreement with Ford Company in 1929 can be given as an example

for inviting the foreign capital under some certain conditions as a result of the decisions of the İzmir Economic Congress [37]. This factory which was opened at Tophane quay of the period will be taken up in more details on the matter of the changes which were experienced in this period by Galata Port.

Although the applications which were made on the economic area as mentioned above and beginning from the foundation of the Republic are mentioned by Eğilmez as the period of the liberal policies [13], it is argued by Pamuk that it is not possible to make a qualification as liberal because of creating the entrepreneur with the hand of the government in addition to the outward-oriented economy policies [37].

Following this chapter in which the liberal policies of the Republic are evaluated, examining the global economic situation of the World in 1929 briefly is very important with regard to the change which is created in the subsequent economic policies of the Republic. In short, it can be said that the European economy showed a regression after the First World War (after 1918). The states which laid foundation of the Industrial Revolution closed their economies to the exterior world as much as possible in order to make production. While a deep depression was being experienced in Europe, the USA enhanced its own welfare and even it became a credit-provider country [94]. In other words, the hegemony of England over the world economy in the 19th century as mentioned before ended and it is replaced by the USA instead. Afterwards, some mega industrial complexes were constructed and the automotive industry was developing as well. In addition to this, the production of the electronic goods also started and thus the capital market strengthened greatly. As a result, in 1920's, a period was experienced in which the international commerce was limited. The international policies which were implemented in the coverage of the liberal idea in Europe were replaced by the nationalist (domestic market oriented) policies [37]. As a result of the policies which were shaped according to the economic understanding in order to protect the domestic markets with the high customs walls, a period started in which the world commerce and the international capital movements experienced regression.

However, as it is taken up in the chapter titled "Capitalist City Reading Theories/Relationship of Neoliberalism with City" of the thesis, the well-doing which was experienced in the economy of the USA in 1920's was officially turned into a global depression with the collapse of the Wall Street in 1929 [13]. Consequently, it can be said

that the confidence which was felt for the capitalism all over the world decreased. Because of this reason, it will be a period which will experience more conservatist and more closed policies in economic meaning throughout the world including Turkey in 1930's.

According to Eğılmez, the foundations of establishment was at the beginning stage in Turkey in this period in which capitalism experienced the most dangerous crisis [13]. In addition to this, it is under the pressure of the free commerce and liberal policies which were undertaken until 1929 against the removal of the capitulations as well as the burden of paying the Ottoman debts which were structured as a result of the Lausanne Treaty. The lack of the sufficient economic power in order to implement the liberal policies by the Turkish economy in that period also compelled Turkey to adopt a new economic system. There is no doubt that the most important influence of the 1929 Great Depression on the Turkish economy was replacing the "liberal" economic approach by the "statist" (Keynesian) approach. What should be paid attention at this point is that the capitalist approach was not given up and only an approach in which the state is more sovereign over the economy started to be implemented. Just like throughout the world, instead of encouraging the private investments, instead of encouraging the private investments, an approach in which the state was sovereign over the economy developed. According to Pamuk, on account of the 1929 Great Depression in particular and due to the decreasing agricultural product prices, the policies were started to be implemented for forming an urban economy [37]. In line with the expression of urban economy, it is stated that a capital accumulation was targeted in the coverage of the industrialization investments which became prominent in this period. In addition to this, the failure in reaching the expected success by the industrialization movement through the private sector in spite of the Law for the Encouragement of Industry dated 1927 in the period between the years 1923-1929 in which the liberal policies were exhibited can be also taken into consideration as one of the factors leading to the state-supported industrialization process [95]. In the light of such information, Statism became the official economy policy of Turkey between the years 1929-1950. In addition, as it is quoted by Akşin, it was also included in the constitution on the date 5th February 1937 and taken up in the coverage of the Atatürk's Reforms [36]. The Atatürk's word "Each factory is a castle" clearly proves the importance which was attached to the industrial investments in that period. At this point, in the coverage of statism, the government (state) undertook the roles of not only investor but also producer. It was targeted at regulating the industrial investments by the hand of the

government in accordance with the Five-Year Industrial Plan (1934-1939) which was implemented in this scope. In order to support this plan in economic sense, the government realized investments on the industrial areas of weaving, mine operation, paper, chemistry and land through the corporations such as Sümerbank (1933) and Etibank (1935) [13]. As it is quoted by Bozoklu, Sümerbank is an organization which has a very special place in the Turkish economic history. It is important particularly with regard to being an organization which will ensure and finance the fulfilment of the projects within the related process as well as the implementation and supervision of the First Five-Year Industrial Plan [96]. Sümerbank transferred finances not only into the banking activities but also into various investment areas (weaving industry in particular) and it was responsible for operating and carrying out the factories on its own as well. At the same time, it was also targeted at establishing partnerships with the private enterprises. It carried out social responsibility projects in order to ensure the social and cultural development at many points of the country as well [97]. In this regard, it can be said that Sümerbank undertook a significant mission with regard to being an example for the industrial-cultural understanding of the period concerned.

Import substitution which was the production method which was realized in the coverage of the First Five-Year Industrial Plan means restricting the purchase of the products to be imported and producing them within the country instead. By means of the import substitution policy, the consumption which was compulsory for the community and the production of the intermediate goods were realized by means of the import substitution policy.

The Nationalization attempts were also seen in order to implement the statist policies effectively. In these attempts, the railroad companies which were established at the time of the Ottoman Empire were acquired [37]. In addition to this, a mobilization of railroads was declared at the time of Mustafa Kemal and the railroads were constructed on the supply lines of the industrial corporations in particular in Anatolia. As it will be also taken up in the coverage of the Examination of the Urban Policies in the Single Party Period” in the coverage of the thesis, thanks to the opportunity of transportation which was provided by the railroads, the supervision in the Anatolian villages was reinforced in the light of the statist approach. It can be stated that supervision is an important stage for the works of collecting under a single identity in the construction of the nation-state.

In the light of such information, according to Kongar, the Atatürk's Reforms are among the best examples of the management of creation of the infrastructural changes in a community, by means of using the superstructure tools of the community [98]. An economic structure which is based on the new social and contemporary capitalist principles was constructed by means of the political power, namely the governmental power which is owned by Atatürk. Again, according to Kongar, he targeted at creating an industrialized nation-state as a consequence of the reforms and attaining at the level of the contemporary civilizations in the end [98].

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who laid the foundation of the political and economic understanding of the Republic of Turkey and fictionalized the future of the country on the fundamental principles titled Atatürk's Reforms died on the date 10th November 1938. Following the death of Atatürk, his brother-in-arms İsmet İnönü took the chair of Presidency and he created some important changes which influenced the political and economic policies in the process until the year 1950. At the same time, this situation can be interpreted as the starting point of a military-rooted politician tradition which lasted until 1980's over the administration of the country. However, unavoidably, this situation created an atmosphere of fear based on the military power over the opponent parties and posed an obstacle against the democracy in the country, thus prevented the fulfilment of the liberal policies as well. As it is quoted by Akşin, after İnönü became the President, he stated that he had attempts for more pluralist and democratic approaches. As an example of this, his encouraging the multi-party democracy in 1946 can be shown. However, it can be argued that the attitude and manner which he exhibited with the title of "National Chief" between the years 1938-1946 were under the influence of the undemocratic single-man regime of that time.

One of the outstanding events of this period was granting the title "Eternal Chief" to Atatürk, "National Chief" and "Unchanged General President" to İsmet İnönü in the extraordinary meeting of CHP (Republican People's Party) which was held on the date 26th December 1938. However, it should not be ignored that the single-party and single-man administrations were quite popular in some of the European countries of that time including Germany and Italy in particular [99]. In this regard, this practice which was realized in the period of İsmet İnönü could be interpreted as influenced by the fascist administrations prevailing in Europe. Because, following this move, removing the picture of Atatürk on the Turkish currency and replacing the İnönü's picture instead can be considered as implemented with the anxiety that

the İnönü period may be deemed behind the period of Atatürk. This attitude further implies the nuances like putting weight on the improvement of İstanbul during period of İnönü while improvement of Ankara was emphasized during the period of Atatürk.

The most important matter which constructs the foundation of the political and economic policies of the period of İsmet İnönü is the Second World War which started in 1939. In this period, Turkey was invited to the war by the axis countries (Germany, Italy and Japan) and the allied countries (Soviet Russia, England, USA, China and France) blocks of the Second World War [36]. İnönü's policy of not supporting the allied forces until the last months of the war by means of maintaining the impartiality until the end of the war in in that war which ended with the absolute victory of the allied forces in 1945 is considered successful by some authors with regard to the political strategies observed as well as the negative economic conditions of that period (considering the destruction to be created on the development of the country by a potential defeat). According to Akşin, the purpose of the attitude which was shown at the side of the allied forces at the last instances of the war was to be accepted to the United Nations [36]. In addition to this, with the demolition of the fascist governments of Hitler in Germany and that of Mussolini in Italy in the allied states following the Second World War, it was also seen that the single-man regimes are no longer sustainable in Europe. It is also observed that the countries which implemented the Keynesian policies throughout the world following the Second World War applied heavy taxation practices in order to maintain their economies in rather good situation [100]. In accordance with the Keynesian economy policy, under all of these circumstances, it is seen that the closed economic order continued with an increase following the warfare as well.

Both during and after the Second World War, the political and economic developments of İnönü period are also considerably important. As it is tried to be explained above, it is seen and observed that Turkey which implemented the statist economic policy beginning from the year 1929 carried out the statist policy with heavy taxations starting from 1940's until 1950 [100]. This period is defined by Uzunkaya as the "war economy" period [101]. However, it can be also said that a period was experienced in which the government kept the economy under supervision and applied taxation practices in order to sustain the state economy because of the impossibilities and inconveniences which were brought by the war economy. While the state economy was tried to be sustained by means of Refik Saydam Law in 1940, Capital Tax Law in 1942 and Soil Products Tax Law in 1943, as a result of these

policies exhibited, this period is considered as period in which CHP namely the single-party regime lost prestige before the public and the opposition voices were raised as a reaction to this situation encountered [100]. Particularly the fascist attitude which was totally against the human rights adopted during the implementation of the capital tax between the years 1942-1944 (implying the opinion of obtaining shares from the wealth of the non-Muslim people) (also by means of sending the persons who did not pay any tax to the concentration camps) caused more loss of prestige of the people for CHP and strengthened DP (Democrat Party) relatively [36].

Other developments left a mark in the period among the political developments of İnönü's period include the establishment of the Village Institutes and the transition into the multi-party period. In this period, a foundation which is quite important in terms of the sustainability of Atatürk's reforms was constructed with the educators who were trained for having the required knowledge of teaching about agriculture, stockbreeding subjects and the positive sciences of the period in the rural areas by means of these institutes which were established on the date 17th April 1940 [100]. Another significant development of the period was the transition into the multi-party system. As it is already stated above, the single-man regime lost its influence in Europe following the Second World War and the democratic-capitalist and communist ideologies started to appear. Turkey showed for many times that it exhibited attitudes at the side of the Western capitalism not only before the war but also in the last part of the war. Because of this reason, the opinion was adopted by İnönü for the requirement of implementing the democrat attitude of Europe in the Turkish geography in the end of the war as well.

In addition to the statist economy policies of CHP, the strict taxation policies which were implemented during the warfare and the Law for Provision of Lands for Farmers which opened the way for the expropriation of the lands of vast land owners which was enacted in 1945 caused unrest not only among the people but also inside CHP [102]. Turning this unease into an opposing voice officially appeared with four CHP deputies who made the declaration of "Quatro Statement", that include Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Fuat Köprülü and Refik Koraltan. It is quite understandable that particularly Adnan Menderes who was a huge landlord was one of the opponents who raised the strictest objection against the Law for Provision of lands for Farmers. According to İsmet İnönü, this situation was considered the most appropriate time for transition to the democratic multi-party regime at present

[103]. He asked these four names to leave the party and to establish a separate party in order to make transition into the multi-party process. Afterwards, Democrat Party (DP) was established on the date 7th January 1946. As it could be clearly understood from the word “democrat” in its title, the fundamental purpose was democratization. It was intensified on the critiques on the subject that the statist policies which were implemented in the single-party period were no longer functional and operable. In addition to this, the groups that opposed to the administration until this period but became silent because of the conditions of the period provided their supports to DP as well. In this regard, it can be said that an opposition was formed in compliance with the title of democrat. In accordance with this purpose, DP which was established as an opposing voice attended the elections in the year of their foundation and lost the elections which were defined as rigged poll (open vote and secret classification) in favor of CHP, however, came to power by means of the elections which were performed on the date 14th May 1950. It is seen that the economy policies which were started to be implemented with the influence of the opposing voices in the last years of the single-party were not enough for the party to remain in power.

As an example of these economy policies, it is seen that an improvement was targeted in the relationships with the West and with the United States of America in particular. It is also important to analyze the economy policies with the USA exhibited following the Second World War in this period.

The "Cold War", which can be described as the secret war between the capitalist states led by the USA (United States of America) and the communist states led by the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), started from 1945, when the Second World War ended, until the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. One of the most striking developments of this process, with the expression "Iron Curtain", formed an Eastern Bloc governed by the communist regime formed by the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary. Finland declared its neutrality, while other European countries formed the capitalist Western Bloc under the leadership of the USA. Although Turkey aims to pursue a balanced foreign policy between the two extremes, since it is a capitalist country, it has positioned itself closer to the western bloc [104].

The European economy which experienced a trauma in economic sense as a result of the Second World War reached the point of stopping. On the other hand, the USA became the

most powerful economy of the world as a result of the war, in contrast to Europe. As it is quoted by Uzunkaya, it was put on the agenda by George Marshall who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USA that it is possible to help the European countries which were in need in economic sense in 1947 [101]. These above-mentioned aids are called Marshall Aids in literature. By means of the announcement of the Marshall Aids by the USA, an aid package was also prepared for Turkey and Greece in the same year as well. This aid package is called Truman Doctrine in literature. Turkey and the USA made a military agreement in the coverage of the Truman Doctrine which took its name from Truman who was the President of the USA on the date 12th March 1947. As it is quoted by Kalyon, the aids were made with the amount of 300 million dollars to Greece and 100 million dollars to Turkey in the coverage of the Marshall Aids in 1948 [105]. It can be said that the underlying purpose of these developments is not only to ensure that Turkey will stay in the capitalist block against the communist block but also to make the Turkish economy to be bound to the global economy. Kalsyon also argues that Truman Doctrine became influential in the formation of the current political and economic conditions of Turkey [105]. These aids regressed the investments of the Turkish economy on the industrial area until today and also caused Turkey to be bound to the foreign world on the military and economic areas.

In the light of such information, while it seems that it was targeted at attaining an economic welfare through the good relationships established with the USA particularly in the recent years of the Single-Party period policies, it could not prevent ending the single-party regime which continued beginning from 1923 by means of the 1950 elections.

As it will be also mentioned in in the chapter of the examination of the “Single Party Period Urban Policies” in the coverage of the thesis, the First National Architectural Movement appeared which continued beginning from the Party of Union and Progress of the Ottoman period but the content of which underwent some changes in 1910’s in the coverage of the Turkification policy which was implemented in this period. In this period, not only the architecture itself but also the exemplary city of the Republic was tried to be constructed as an urban structure and these principles were started to be implemented in Ankara and then influenced over different points of the country. Consequently, it is considered important to examine Ankara in order to understand the changing urban image of the Republic, while the scope is focused on İstanbul and Galata throughout the thesis. The First National Architecture was abandoned within the course of time and it was replaced by a more modern

approach with the influence of the foreign architects by means of the western policies. The modernity which was brought by the foreign architects was also followed by the Turkish architects of the period and, following the primary influence of the foreign architects, they undertook the mission of constructing the Turkish modernity. The searches for the New Republic continued until 1950's and this period left its place to more eclectic approach with the Second National Architecture and then the eclectic search which began in 1940's finally ended in 1950's. It can be said that İstanbul which is the castle of the Ottoman was tried to be removed from the memories for a while in this period. Consequently, İstanbul is seen in the second plan in comparison with the other periods by means of not only the social-economic orientation of the Republic but also its economic influences. However, it seems crucial for the thesis to examine the influence of all such social-economic-cultural breakdown on the city and architecture, particularly at the point of this breakdown.

3.2.2. Single Party Period İstanbul Urban Policies

We already tried to state above that, in the coverage of the ideal of creating a nation-state in the Single Party Period and the Kemalist project, the title of capital was taken from İstanbul and given to Ankara and then Ankara was targeted to become a prototype for the urbanization throughout the country.

The western policies of the new Republic concerning the city and urbanization in the Single Party Period are mostly observed in Ankara and it seems that not only the economic conditions of the period but also the special importance which was attached to Ankara because of its title of capital in the first years and that the fundamental mission regarding Ankara was an exemplary "Republic City" caused İstanbul of that period to remain at the background with regard to the urbanization and improvement activities. İstanbul which is the Ottoman Capital seems that it lost its important position in the first years of the Republic. As it is quoted by Gül, no big-scaled private or public building was constructed until 1940's except for the Republic Mansion which was built in Florya in 1935, Karaköy Port Passenger Terminal which was built in 1938 and Kadıköy Community Center which was built in 1939 [53]. Consequently, it seems it is possible to say that İstanbul could not have its share as much as Ankara in architectural meaning from the modernization of the new Republic. However, according to Yada Akpınar, the expression that İstanbul is left idle does not reflect

the reality completely. Akpınar rhetorically states that İstanbul had the nature of being a gateway of the country to outside world not only during the period of Atatürk but also in Prots's plan [106]. Atatürk's word that "İstanbul is like a summary of our history and our civilization" is very important on this subject. In line with this expression, Akpınar stated that İzmir Liman is allocated for exportation and İstanbul Port is allocated for importation and it was targeted to distribute the goods coming to Turkey through İstanbul [106].

As İstanbul lost its title of capital, the power was taken from the westernized non-Muslim class in İstanbul and captured by the Kemalist regime revolutionists in Ankara. As it is quoted by Sarı, the period which lasted beginning from the end of the First World War until 1939 namely until İsmet İnönü became President became a period in which the social-cultural structure of İstanbul was changed considerably and it had lost its commercial importance [107]. While the Muslim population was quite intensive in the Historical Peninsula Region in the recent periods of the Ottoman Empire, the non-Muslim people and wealthy Muslims were living at the north of the Golden Horn, that is to say in Beyoğlu (Galata/Pera) area. In addition to this, as the commerce and services sector formed the foundation of the urban economy, the developing railroads, ports and infrastructural services appeared in this period as well. Moreover, it is well-known that İstanbul of the Late Ottoman Period became the most important commercial point of the Empire. As it is quoted by Topuz, İstanbul Port took part at the first line with regard to importation and exportation in the Ottoman Ports in 1900's. In addition to this, it is further quite remarkable that the importation commerce volume was two and half times of the exportation volume in 1900's [108]. According to the westernization attempts towards adaptation into the global economy of the Ottoman, the products imported were coming mostly to İstanbul Port and then distributed to interior parts of the Empire. In addition to this, İstanbul which has an important place on the international area, is the opening point not only to the countries with coasts to Black Sea but also to the Middle East market. As it is quoted by Toprak, İstanbul Port was taking part among the important ports of the Mediterranean in the Second Constitutional Monarchy Period (1908-1920) [109]. However, following the realization of the First World War and after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and declaration of the Republic, it started losing this importance gradually. The population exchange as a result of the Lausanne Treaty and the removal of the foreign capital from the country in the coverage of the nationalization movements of the economy by the administration started to change the social-cultural

structure of İstanbul. In addition to this, as a result of the abolishment of the Caliphate on the date 3rd March 1924, the khalif was sent away from İstanbul where he resides. It can be said that this situation is influential with regard to losing a symbol in Islamic meaning in the social-cultural structure of İstanbul too. As it is quoted from Keyder by Sarı, the nationalization policies of the Republic period which are considered as having colonizing influence of the foreign capital in the Ottoman period became influential over the ethnical structure of the community. At this point, it is seen that the production and the community went to polarization as national and nonnational [107].

As it is quoted from Şimşir by Sarı, the commercial life of İstanbul was affected by the retreat of the occupation forces from İstanbul on the date 6th October 1923 [107]. In this period, the scarcity of foreign exchange became a serious problem and the confidence felt for İstanbul market particularly by the foreign companies considerably decreased. As the capital started to be withdrawn from İstanbul, a period started in which the industrial production decreased and the services of public works started to be hindered.

As it is quoted by Keyder, as the urban population of İstanbul started to decrease in the first 20 years of the Republic, as the proportion of the non-Muslim population who was carrying out the most part of the commercial activities gradually decreased each year, the commercial life in İstanbul gradually decreased [110]. There are some certain differences between the nation-state project which the Kemalist regime aimed at forming in this period and the social structure of İstanbul in the same period. First of all, it can be said that the westernization movement which was realized in the Ottoman period became influential mostly on the non-Muslim people and was not much accepted among the Muslim Turks living in İstanbul. Performing the locomotive duty by the non-Muslim people on the subject of Westernization was not in line with the Turkish nation profile which is attempted to be created and consequently, they were disregarded because they played a role on the subject of colonization of the Ottoman economy. Secondly, the nation-state profile which is desired to be created by the Kemalist regime supported the secular opinion as far from the traditional profile and attached to the Islamic customs and traditions. In other words, it aimed at creating a community profile which is refined from the faults of the tradition but claimed for its virtues, meanwhile, wants to develop and become modern on continual basis. In the light of such information, it can be said that İstanbul is ignored because of the reasons not only İstanbul had an effective and westernized population in which the non-Muslim community

was the majority but also it had an urban tissue which is shaped with the influence of the Islamic culture [110]. In addition to this, as it is quoted by Kaynar, although most of the reforms were declared in İstanbul following the declaration of the Republic, the Republic People's Party which is the party which is established by Atatürk was not much supported throughout İstanbul [111]. In other words, İstanbul is one of the provinces where there was most intensive opposing attitude exhibited against the Republican regime.

As it is quoted by Sarı, as a result of the modernization attempts in the coverage of the construction of national identity and the Kemalist project, İstanbul could not recover its importance in the Late Ottoman Period and the commercial life in the town considerably regressed between the years 1923-1939. However, in spite of all such ignoring and the efforts of making the economy national throughout the nation in İstanbul, it was stated in the Commerce Almanac which was published in 1940 that the non-Muslim population was intensive on the subject of industry and commerce [107]. The developments were made only for Ankara beginning from the declaration of the Republic in 1923 until the death of Atatürk in 1938 and with the influences of the Great Depression and the Second World War started to decrease in 1939 and with the time of İsmet İnönü, the faces began to be turned towards İstanbul again. While Henry Prost started his duty before the death of Atatürk on the date 11th June 1936, it seems that he had the full competency in the period between the years 1938-1949 in which Lütfi Kırdar was the Governor and Mayor of İstanbul. The duty of Prost who served the city İstanbul during the period of time until the administration of Democrat Party (DP) in 1950 was ended with the change of the political power. Prost prepared a uniform and integrated plan for İstanbul during his duty period and prepared separate plans mostly for Beyoğlu, Historical Peninsula and various other regions [53].

As it is mentioned above, Lütfi Kırdar ensured the area of implementation for the plans of Prost. These plans were not approved by the government until the time of Kırdar and the first job after taking the administration of İstanbul by Kırdar was to get these plans approved by the council and to accelerate the works for these plans by the development directorate [112]. Kırdar can be the one and only example at this point. Kırdar seems to be the first name who acquired the titles of not only governor but also mayor at the same time. It can be said that the centralization of İstanbul in this period strengthened since he had both of the positions of not only management but also execution.

Prost designed various regional development plans throughout his duty period and it is seen that all of these plans he designed are based on similar foundations with each other. It can be said that the common approach of Prost regarding all of these plans was opening and improving the surrounding areas of the structures in nature of cultural heritage, leaving wide roads and recreational areas, separating the city into the industry and commerce areas in particular according to their functions, improving the unhealthy urban regions and residential areas, creating an urban topology which complies with the modern urban lifestyle and protecting the silhouette of İstanbul.

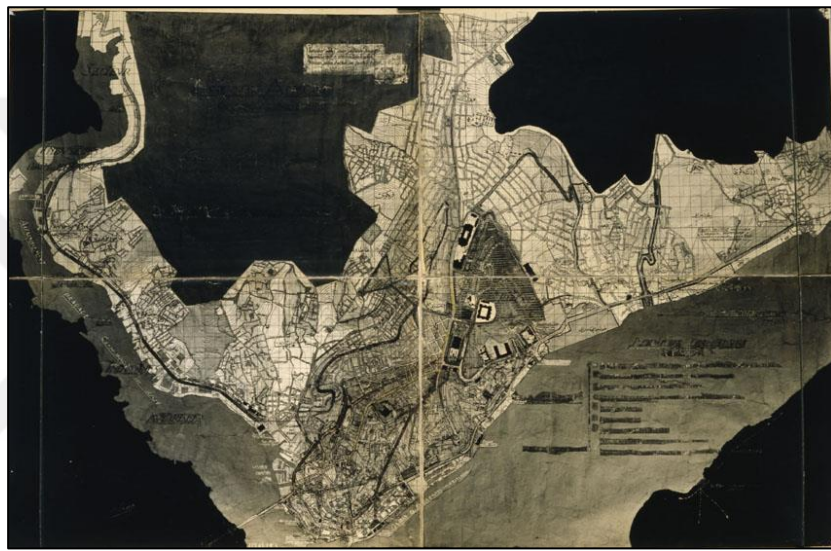


Figure 3.7. 1/5000 scale Historic Peninsula plan drawn by Henri Prost in 1937 [113].



Figure 3.8. 1/5000 scale Galata plan drawn by Henri Prost in 1937 [113].

Prost delivered his first master plan concerning İstanbul in 1937 and it is particularly targeted in the plan to make İstanbul of the new Republic a modern and secular city. A Haussmann-like style and approach are being also read through these plans. It was designed in order to create a powerful visual image to constitute the fundamental topology of the city with the broad boulevards and squares reminding the typical West European cities in order to form the modern, national and secular identity of the New Republic. According to İpek Yada Akpınar, these public spaces, defined as “*espaces libres*” in Prost's plan, can be associated with the efforts to build national identity in the Single Party Period. Again, according to Akpınar, the public spaces designed within the İstanbul master plan are aimed at reconstructing İstanbul as a modern and secular European city [106]. Although Prost plan approached to end the influences of the Great Depression, it can be said that it could not be implemented properly and sufficiently on account of the economic inconveniences which were brought with the Second World War. According to Akpınar, the expression “*beautification*” means the integration and spatialization of aesthetic and political understanding. In the continuing process, particularly during the period of the Democrat Party, Prost Plans were not implemented although the influences of the Second World War completely disappeared. In that period, Prost Plans were criticized because it adopted a design principle based on the beautification of the city and his name was defamed in comparison with Hermann Jansen who was performing the plans for Ankara in the same period with him. It seems also remarkable in this regard that the name of the journal which was published for the promotion of the development activities which were carried out in İstanbul in that period and published four years after İsmet İnönü became the President was “*Beautifying İstanbul*”. When the period of Democrat Party (DP) came, the critiques based on the principle of beautification of İstanbul were concluded with revising the plans by the Turkish planners by means of dismissing the job of Prost. However, the basic fictions concerning the road and urban connections seem quite similar.

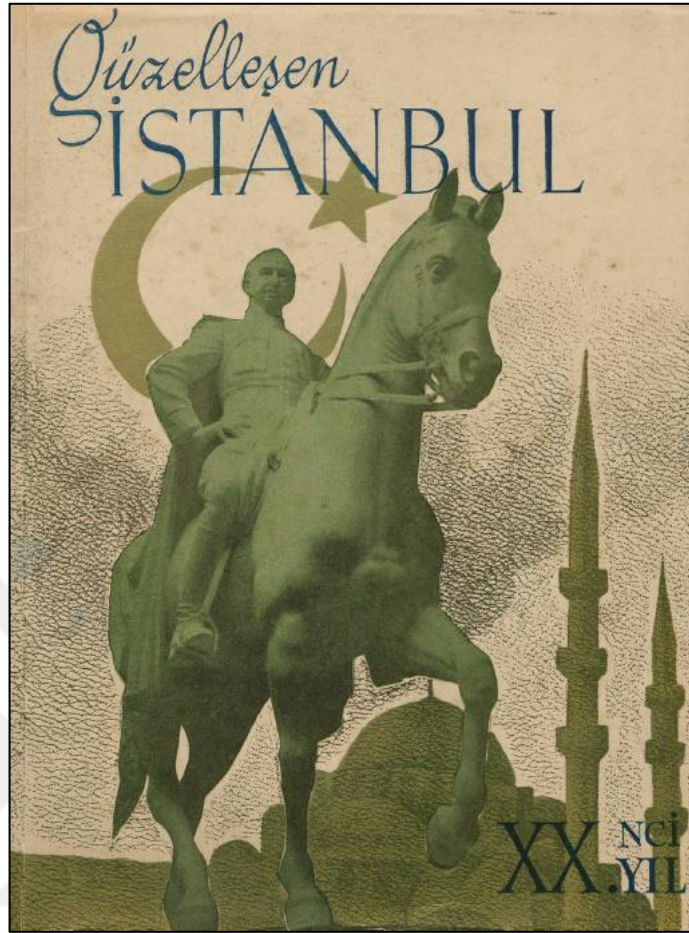


Figure 3.9. Cover image of Beautifying İstanbul Magazine, which was published in 1944 and conveys the zoning work done in İstanbul during the İnönü period [112].

It can be said that there were some fundamental problems which were brought with the plans themselves, apart from the economic conditions in the partial implementation of the Prost plans. Prost had lots of critiques also in technical concept in addition to his efforts of “beautification” concerning İstanbul. As it is quoted by Gül, these technical problems can be shown as the plans were not completed but remained in the form of drafts only, the urban topography was not taken into consideration properly, the insufficient certification in the development studies and being deprived of the sound statistical data and population-related data [53]. All of them make the plan unapplicable whenever combined with the quality of the cartographic material and the economic conditions of the period.

Taksim Square which is one of the applied sections of the plan seems particularly important for Prost plan. The artillery barracks (Topçu Kışlası) which remained from the Ottoman Period were destroyed in this region which was seen as the park area numbered two in the

Master Development Plan of İstanbul which was designed in 1937 and a public area was left [53,114]. As it is also quoted by Aydemir, Taksim Square

Formed the recreation and entertainment center of residential region which was in a great development. The Park project numbered two also included an outdoor theater, sports hall and exhibition halls, a square which is near to Dolmabahçe Palace at the seaside where important guests are welcome and a wide green area where various sportive competitions could be organized. This project was realized properly and successfully although it was under the conditions of the Second World War together with the two-kilometers long pedestrian walking way which continues up to Harbiye [115].

This area which was previously called “İnönü Gezisi” and which is currently called “Gezi Park”, as a modern park which is founded on 26.000 square meters area, was completed fully with the construction of the outdoor theater and stadium in 1947 [53].

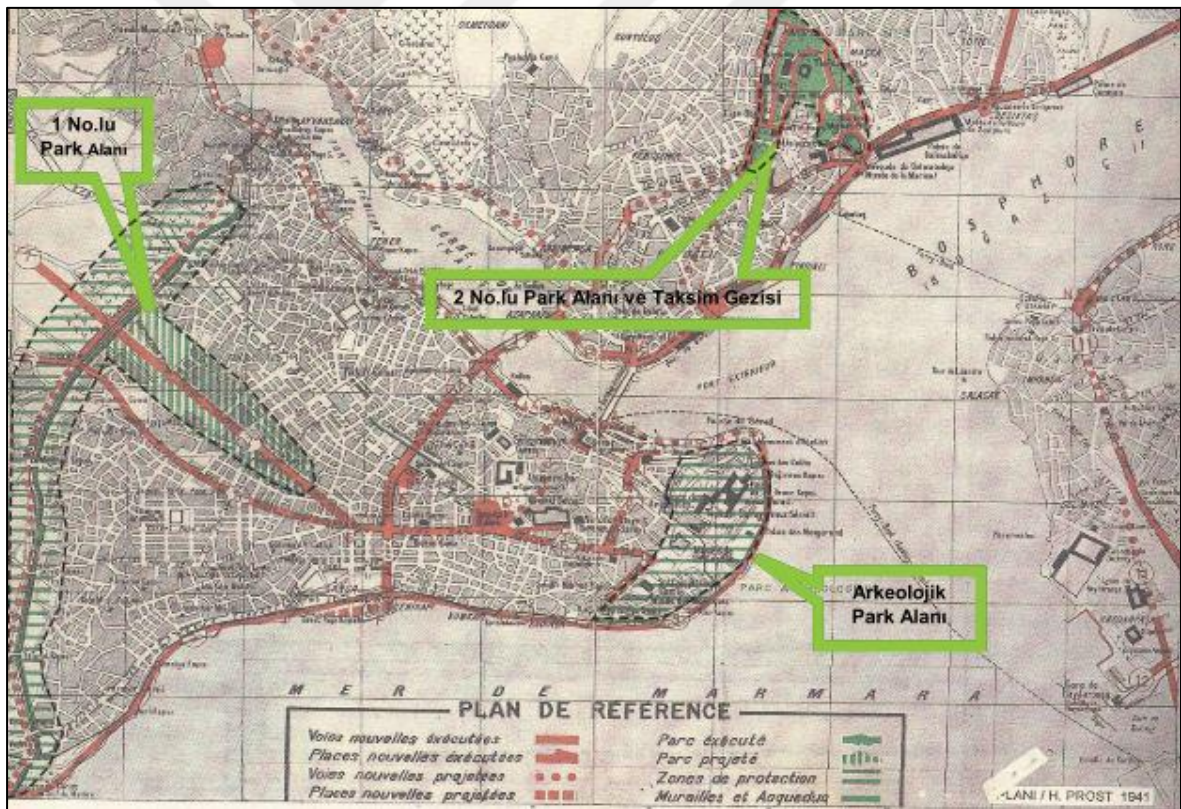


Figure 3.10. Large-scale parks included in the Prost Plan [114].

A road which will connect the Historical Peninsula at the European Side to Şişhane through Atatürk Bridge is also partially constructed. The upper parts of the road are unfinished; however, a square was opened in Şişhane by means of performing some wide-scaled

destructions. Another way which connects Kasımpaşa to Şişli is again built in a similar period [53].

As it is quoted by Gül, these plans which were realized for the Historical Peninsula were more or less implemented. Eminönü Square is opened by means of removing the unqualified structures which shadowed the New Mosque together with the arrangement of the traffic flow. Although a lot of structures were destroyed, new buildings were not constructed instead. Consequently, Eminönü square became an unqualified emptiness in urban sense. Still the municipality presented this square as a major urban step in the name of modernization for propaganda purposes. Again, in this period, the construction of the road which connects Cağaloğlu to Hagia Sophia, expansion of the London Asphalt and destruction of various structures surrounding Beyazıt and Sirkeci can be considered among the developments of the period in the Historical Peninsula [53].

Concerning the Anatolian Side, a very wide square in Üsküdar was constructed in compliance with Prost Plans. Lots of destructions were performed in a similar manner to Eminönü square for the construction of the square, however because no new structures were built instead, this square remained not only unqualified in urban sense but also idle within the course of time. In this period, a new road was constructed between Üsküdar and Kısıklı and the improvement of various roads was performed in the Anatolian Side as well.

Whenever we look at the urban practices concerning Prost plan, it is obvious that these practices were performed in very single and independently smaller pieces. No complete application was made in this period and, although İstanbul underwent some changes in various regions, the general face of İstanbul was not changed like Ankara. The fact that the large-scaled private and/or public buildings were not constructed within this entire face is concluded that the evident and visible effect of the Modernism to the new Republic and to its Capital Ankara was not seen in İstanbul.

3.2.3. Examination of the Beyoğlu-Galata Region and the Galata Port Period in the Single Party Period

Before the proclamation of the Republic on 29 October 1923, Ankara was officially declared the capital city by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 13 October 1923. Thus, İstanbul,

which had been the capital of the Eastern Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Empires for centuries, lost its title of capital with the establishment of the new Republic. Beyoğlu, which hosts foreign embassies along with the administrative units of the Ottoman Empire, lost its political importance with the relocation of the administrative units to Ankara. Especially after the adoption of the Statism principle in the economic sense, it is seen that the foreign capital in Galata gradually left with the intensifying nationalization movements. Especially since the second half of the 19th century, hotels, restaurants and entertainment venues, which made Beyoğlu a center of trade and consumption, lost their attractiveness. Until the World War II, as in İstanbul, there was no development that would change the urban texture in the Galata Region [116] .

It is known that the commercial life of İstanbul was damaged when non-Muslims left the region due to the population exchange brought by the Lausanne Peace Treaty signed on 24 July 1923 [117]. However, there was a period in which İstanbul lost its place in international maritime trade in the Republican Period compared to the Ottoman period.

With the decision to abolish the Caliphate on 3 March 1924, the members of the palace left the city. It can also be thought that the departure of the palace members from İstanbul caused an economic loss. As mentioned in the previous section, Galata is the richest region of Ottoman İstanbul. The economic difficulties experienced by İstanbul also adversely affected Galata, the region where trade and consumption are the most [117]. As Genim successfully conveyed, the number of population living in İstanbul Şehremaneti in 1927 was 742,763. 39.5% of this population lives in the Beyoğlu region. Although Beyoğlu was the only district to the north of the Golden Horn during this period, its population density is remarkable [117]. While “Pera” was the region above the Galata Region in the Late Ottoman Period, after the War of Independence, in 1925, during the Turkishization of the names of the city and neighborhood, the name “Pera” was abolished and named “Beyoğlu”. In 1927, Grande Rue de Pera (Cadde-i Kebir) was renamed İstiklal Caddesi during this period [118]. After the Cyprus Events, the name "Galata" will be changed and the name "Karaköy", which was limited to the square name at that time, will be given to the region [119].



Figure 3.11. In 1927, the name of Cadde-i Kebir was changed to İstiklal Caddesi [118].

In line with the modernization policy of the Republic, it can be said that the first steps of the transformation from the İstanbul of the Ottoman Empire to the İstanbul of the Republic were taken during the period of Şehremini Emin Erkul (1924-1928). Taksim Republic Monument, built on 8 August 1928, is the first example of this transformation [117,120,121]. The monument was built by the sculptor Pietro Canonica. The pedestal and landscaping of the monument belong to architect Giulio Mongeri. After the opening of the Taksim Republic Monument, an important part of the national and international ceremonies in İstanbul took place here [121].

When it comes to the 1930s, it is seen that the nationalist movements strengthened in the Republican administration. This affects the Galata Region, which has a multicultural structure. As Arkan quotes from Tunçay, following policies aimed at marginalizing the foreign population caused Galata to lose its former vitality [67].

Henri Prost, who was given the task of urban planning in 1936 when Atatürk was President, completed the 1/5000 scale İstanbul development plans (for the Historical Peninsula and Beyoğlu) in 1937 [112,123]. President İnönü, to implement the urban plans prepared by Prost in 1939, He appointed Dr. Lütfi Kırdar as both governor and mayor. The applications made in the axis of the Prost Plan were also effective on the Beyoğlu and Galata Regions. The construction of Atatürk Boulevard and Gazi Bridge is one of the most remarkable projects of Prost and Kırdar for İstanbul and the Historic Peninsula. Kırdar saw these two projects as projects that would establish a connection between the İstanbul side, which has precious works of art, and Beyoğlu, where a civilized life leads, and change the face of İstanbul. The existing tramway is not sufficient for the Beyoğlu Region. It was deemed necessary to connect the tram via a shorter, wider and correct line. This point, which is stated as the backbone of the city, was named Atatürk Boulevard. According to Kırdar, the Historical Peninsula and Beyoğlu, which have been separated for centuries, draw the image of two separate cities even though they are facing each other [112]. Kırdar expressed his desire to unite these two districts buried in their own fields and form one body. Thanks to the merger, it was aimed to meet the two most important points of İstanbul and accordingly to increase the prosperity and vitality in these regions. Various interpretations can be made about the importance given to combining the Historical Peninsula and Beyoğlu. One of them can be said that the modernization movements in the Republic, which set out to create a nation-state, should be felt as equally as possible by the people of the Historical Peninsula and Beyoğlu. It can be read as attempts to gather the people under a single identity, homogenize and standardize them.

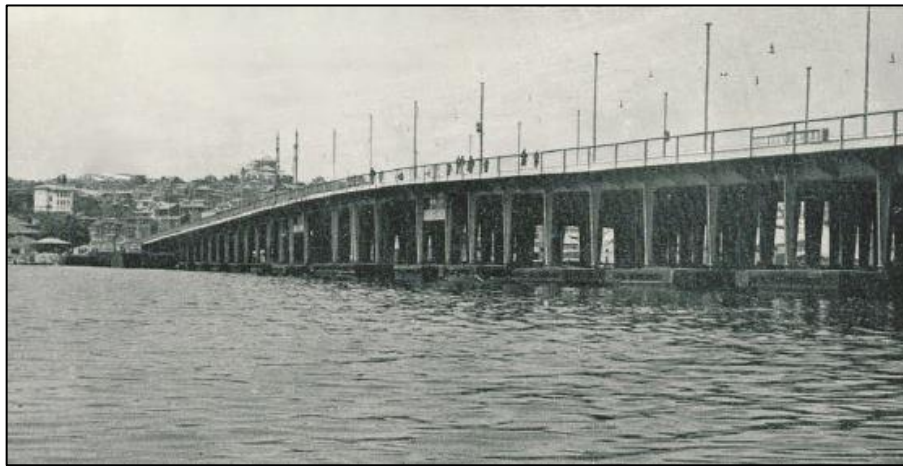


Figure 3.16. A photograph of the Gazi Bridge taken in 1944 [112].

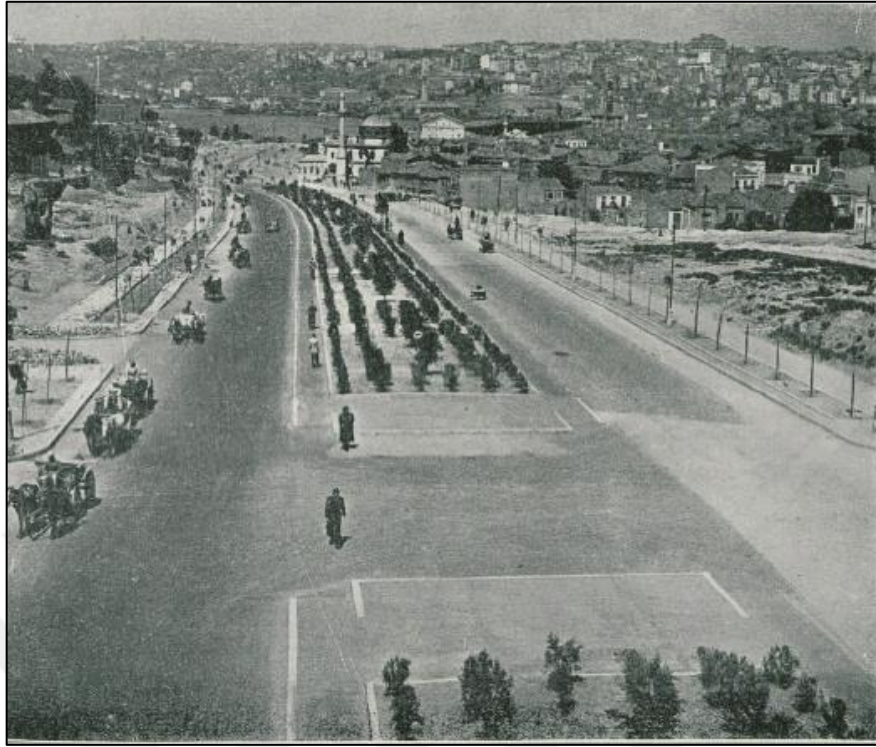


Figure 3.17. Atatürk Boulevard, Golden Horn and Gazi Bridge [112].

As mentioned above, Beyoğlu is a region where a life in accordance with the requirements of modern life is maintained. Taksim Square is the most crowded and main arterial area of the Beyoğlu region since the Ottoman period. Taksim Square is one of the important points where modernization efforts can be seen in the most concrete form since the Ottoman period. The Republic gave great importance to the reconstruction of Taksim within the scope of modernization and beautification works. The architectural practices implemented by the Republic in line with the ideas put forward on the development of Taksim summarize the approach to the public space of the period [112].

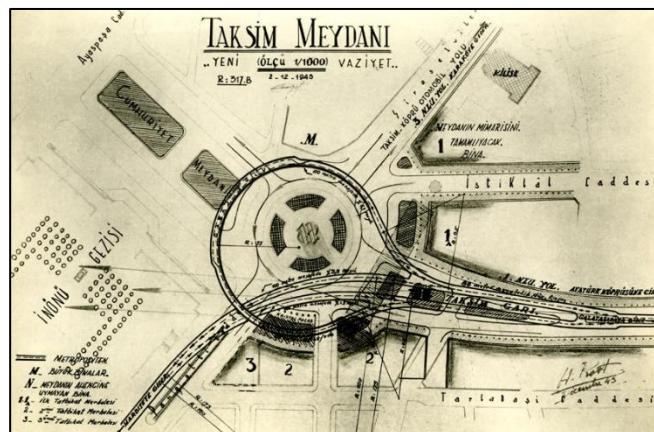


Figure 3.18. Taksim Square plan by Henri Prost, drawn in 1945 [113].

As stated in the beautifying İstanbul, Taksim Square, İnönü Trip, Taksim Municipality Garden and Club are projects completed in the same period and complementing each other. It can be considered that these projects are important within the scope of the modernity project of the new Republic, in terms of supporting their intellectual and artistic lives and contributing to urban aesthetics. In addition, Hyde park and Central Park examples are given for parks and groves, and it is stated that large parks play a decisive role in whether a city is modern or not [112].

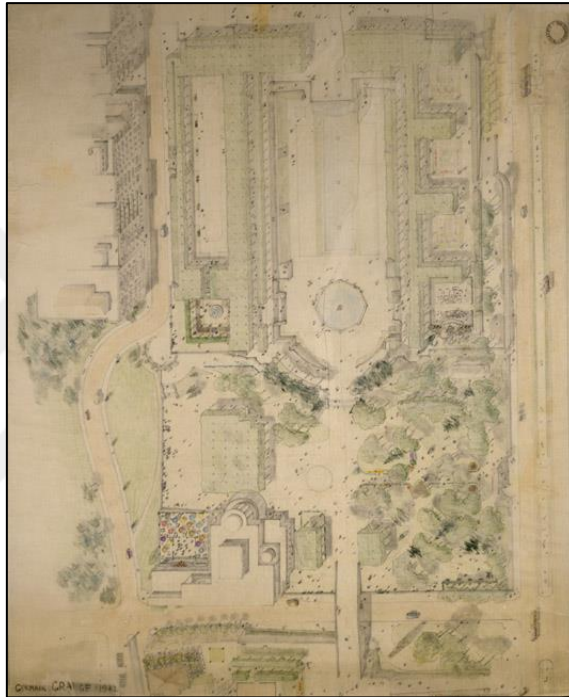


Figure 3.19. İnönü Gezi Park Plan drawn in 1942 [113].

While the Taksim Municipality Garden and its surroundings were surrounded by unfunctional buildings, and also a garden that can be entered with money and away from publicity, it has become a garden where everyone can freely enter and roam with the zoning works [112]. It can be said that İstanbul, with a population of close to a million, located at the transition point between Europe and Asia, important in the field of trade and economy, is both a traveler's hometown and a city of ideas where modern life is lived, and its importance in the new Republic is obvious. The Club has been designed as a venue suitable for the modern lifestyle, suitable for banquets and balls, with a structure suitable for these characteristics of İstanbul. When a reading is made on the importance attributed to the Club, it can be seen that the new Republic created a space for the construction of the modern

society it wanted to create. The importance of each building's contribution to the cultural and artistic environment in the Western concept has been recognized.



Figure 3.20. Taksim Municipality Club and garden [124].

Taksim Republic Square is important for visiting not only Turks but also foreign administrators and merchants. All national ceremonies were held in this area of national and international importance, and then the Republic Monument was visited. In the light of all this information, it is seen that Taksim Republic Square is a visiting point that represents the spiritual existence of the nation [112].

The concepts of hygiene and beautification, around which the construction activities of the Single Party Period were shaped, also showed themselves in Taksim. With the idea of cleaning and beautifying the Taksim Republic Square, its reconstruction was done, the ugly buildings in the vicinity were removed and turned into a park. The square, which expanded with the removal of the ugly buildings in the vicinity, fulfilled the function of bringing the people together in national ceremonies. If a reading is made about Taksim Republic Square, the aim of creating a nation-state, which is one of the founding principles, can also be seen as an effort to create a public space where men and women can be together in the square by overcoming the old closed neighborhood culture. In addition, it can be said that it was expected that the modern society to be created would be noticed by foreigners here and contribute to the international announcement of Turkey's modernization. For this reason, it can be said that the space created is considered as a showcase of modernization. Topçu

Barracks (as it was known at that time, Taksim Stadium) located in Taksim in the construction of İnönü Gezisi (Gezi Parkı) was demolished, and İnönü Gezisi was carried out in the section of the barracks consisting of small workshops, Clubs, repair workshops and garages [112]. İsmet İnönü also wanted the first İsmet İnönü statue to take place in this park bearing his name, and ordered it to sculptor Rudolf Belling in 1940. İnönü Trip was built as an area where the people living in Beyoğlu can relax, breathe and meet with art activities in the music kiosk.



Figure 3.21. Artillery Barracks demolished as part of Gezi Park construction [112].

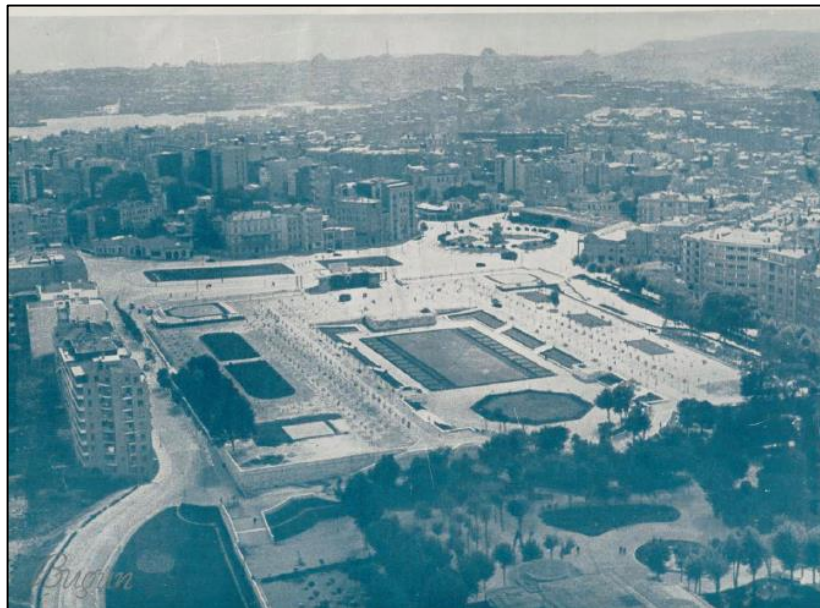


Figure 3.22. Gezi Park after the destruction of the Artillery Barracks [112].

In order to complete the modern and Western nation image of the New Republic, an Opera House was built in Taksim. The project, designed by Architect Feridun Kip and Architect Rüknettin Güney, was named "İstanbul Palace of Culture". This project is also known as the first AKM (Atatürk Cultural Center) designed. The building, the foundation of which was laid on May 29, 1946, was built during the Second World War. It could not be completed due to the financial difficulties created by World War II and was transferred to the Ministry of Public Works in 1953 [125] .

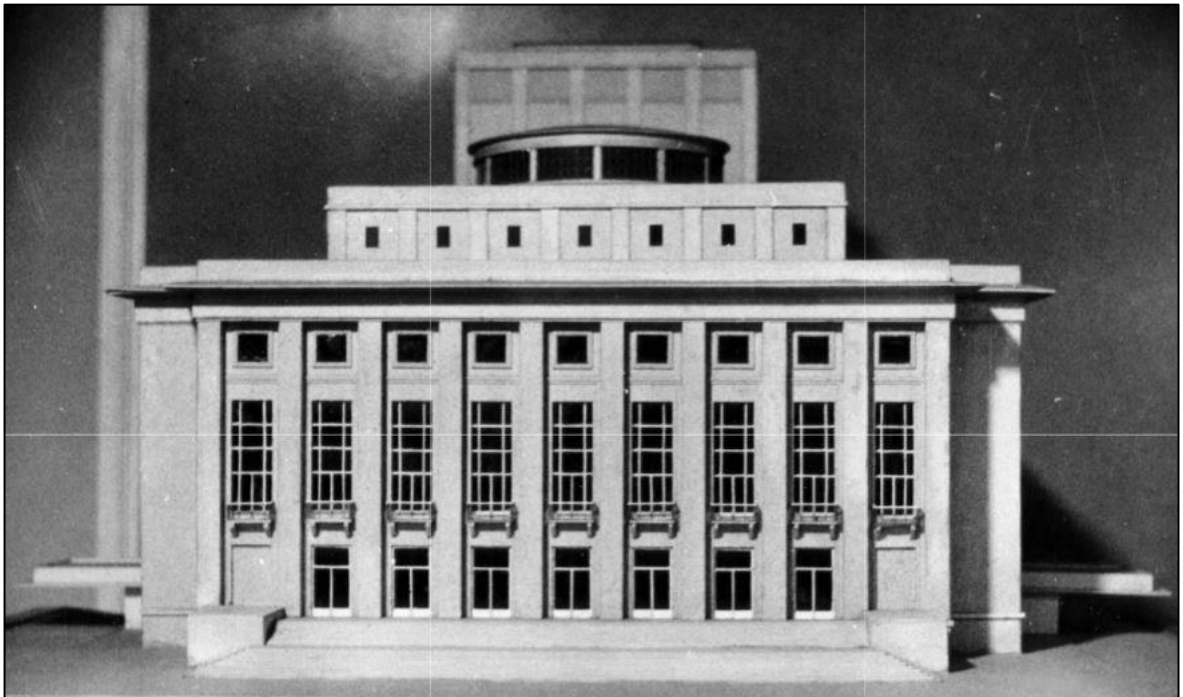


Figure 3.23. Model of the first AKM designed by Feridun Kip and Rüknettin Güney [126].

With the removal of Taksim Barracks, where İstanbul football teams play their matches, it was necessary to build a large and modern stadium in İstanbul. The stadium, the foundation of which was laid in 1939 in Dolmabahçe by architects Vietti Violi, Architects Şinasi Şahingiray and Architect Fazıl Aysu, was built during the Second World War. With the World War II, like many projects that could not be completed in this period, its construction was postponed. The stadium, which was started to be reconstructed in 1943, was opened on 19 May 1947 under the name "İnönü Stadium" [127,128].

In order to improve the transportation facilities, which are a necessity of a civilized life, for the development of roads, as stated in the Beautified İstanbul, "There cannot be a body without vein, there cannot be a city without road" [112]. The carefully and durable roads

were built with the aim of giving a new life to İstanbul. As Akın stated, a road, partly asphalt and partly mosaic, was built from the bridge head to the Tophane pier in Galata. It is aimed to modernize and facilitate transportation by making tram and tunnel investments. It has been observed that the use of electricity, another necessity of civilized life, has become widespread throughout İstanbul. Refik Saydam Street (Tozkoparan), one of the busiest streets of Beyoğlu, has been arranged and turned into a wide and asphalt-paved street. Şişhane Square was also expanded, cleaned and arranged [62].

As stated in the Beautified İstanbul, various plans and targets were put forward for the reconstruction of İstanbul until 1953, the 500th anniversary of the conquest of İstanbul. [112]. The objectives are in line with the objectives of the Prost plan, as stated in the title of İstanbul Urban Policies Review in the Single Party Period. Especially the tourism and cultural investments targeted by the plans for 1953 are remarkable. Atatürk Boulevard is a development work that is considered very important in terms of establishing the connection between the Historical Peninsula and Beyoğlu and creating cultural interaction. Focusing on this project, which is described as the backbone of İstanbul, the 1953 goals, which gained importance with the 500th anniversary of the Conquest of İstanbul, were designed through investments to be made in the east and west. A tourism hotel is planned to be built on the Beyoğlu side. In addition to the 500th year development plan of the Conquest of İstanbul, the International İstanbul Exhibition and the Olympic Games were requested to be held in İstanbul in 1953. When a reading is made on the 500th year development plan of İstanbul, it can be said that one of the goals of beautifying İstanbul and gaining a modern city appearance is the goals for the development of İstanbul on the basis of a tourism city, as well as outstanding industrial investments. After the hotel project planned to be built in Beyoğlu, one of the important and main intersection axes of the city, where modern life is dominant in İstanbul, and the airport built in Yeşilköy, a residence and hotel project for tourists was considered here. It indicates the awareness that the value of the region will increase with the development of tourism, taking into account the improvement of transportation facilities. In addition, in this plan, it can be said that a hotel was not considered for the Historic Peninsula, and it was deemed appropriate to create a silhouette where historical artifacts are displayed. Beyoğlu, on the other hand, seems to be built on shopping and accommodation [112].

As it is explained in more detail in the section of the thesis "Examination of Single Party Period Political and Economic Policies", the Wealth Tax Law came into force on 19

November 1942. It is known that this tax is collected from non-Muslims four times more than Muslims. This situation forced the non-Muslims who made up the merchant class of Galata and negatively affected the commercial life in Galata. In addition, the efforts to create a Turkish Bourgeoisie, which was stated as another purpose of this tax, also showed its effects on the socio-cultural structure of Galata. As Arkan reports, the types of entertainment have changed and the effectiveness of Turkish has increased in the region [67].

As a result, the abolition of the capitulations with the Treaty of Lausanne, the transfer of embassies to İstanbul between 1927-1929, the Wealth Tax that came into effect in 1942, and the due to events such as the World War II, the foreign population in the region decreased every year [66].

First of all, it can be seen that there were partial developments in the Karaköy - Galata region during this period. Karaköy, which can be considered a center for Beyoğlu, seems to have preserved its trade and transportation mission since the 19th century, despite the Single Party's interest in the capital Ankara. As a result of some rumors that emerged with the proclamation of the Republic, it is striking that non-Muslim citizens in the region began to migrate. There has been a rumor that the government of Ankara, which emerged victorious from the War of Independence, will be held accountable for its behavior towards Greek, Armenian, Jewish and Levantine citizens, which was thought to be inappropriate in the past. This situation caused a wave of immigration and Islamized the region in question compared to previous periods [129]. In the first years of the Republic, the negative effects of the War of Independence, as well as the decreasing population and trade volume, affected the activities in Galata Port.

In this period, with the establishment of the İstanbul Port Affairs Monopoly Company as a result of the decree dated 26 July 1925, changes towards the İstanbul Port began. Ahmet Hamdi Başar has been appointed as the general manager of the company. Başar is also one of the founders of the National Turkish Trade Union. The company has been given the task of unloading and loading incoming cargo, supplying water and supplies to ships and providing ship salvage services. Although the company manages the İstanbul Port, namely the Galata Port and the Eminönü port area on the Historical Peninsula, only the applications for the Galata Port will be examined within the scope of the thesis.

For the analysis of Galata Port, the book named İstanbul Port, written by Ahmet Hamdi Başar in 1929, is important. Başar emphasizes that there was no modern port structure in İstanbul during these periods [77].

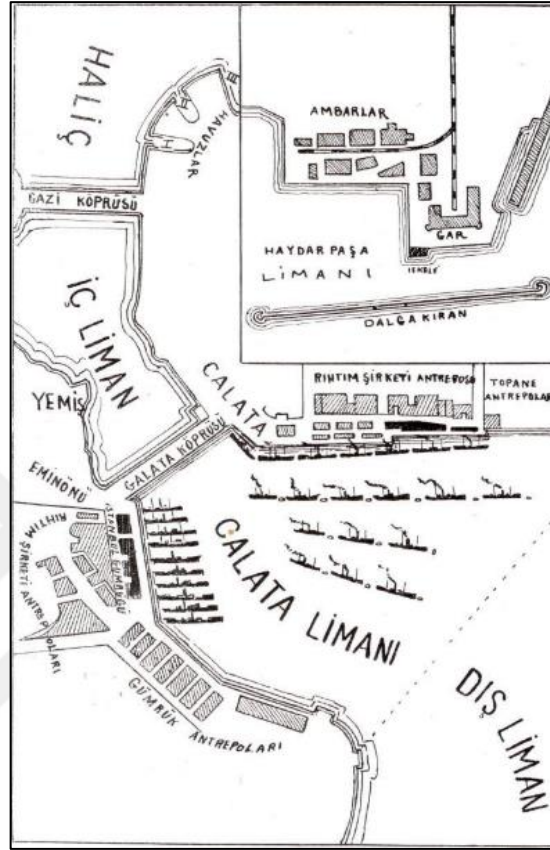


Figure 3.24. Plan diagram of İstanbul Harbor in 1929 by Ahmet Hamdi Başar [77].

Based on the image, it is seen that the area called İstanbul Harbor is located along the coast from Sarayburnu to Tophane. The port area is handled in two separate parts, the Historic Peninsula and Galata. Galata Port is the part from the Galata Bridge to the Tophane warehouses. There is a 732 meter long dock in the Galata region. Unlike Galata Port, modern port areas are longer and have opportunities to expand when necessary. Right after the Tophane dock in Galata Harbor, Tophane Square, the street, inns and shops are located. The port area has narrowed considerably, as a street passes right above the quay and private ownership begins. In addition, an expansion towards the Golden Horn is not possible. Because the port structure does not continue between the two bridges towards the inner side of the Golden Horn and after the Unkapanı Bridge. The fact that the Galata and Unkapanı bridges do not allow the passage of ferries constantly also makes the Golden Horn far from being a port area. Başar states that this pier length is not sufficient for a port area where trade takes place [77].

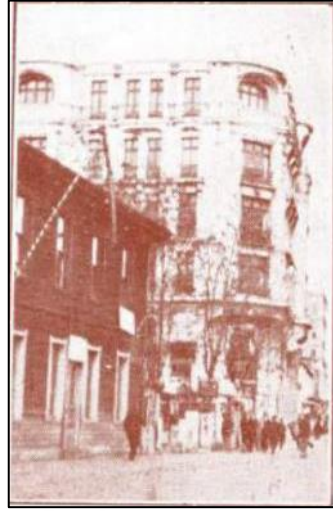


Figure 3.25. Photograph of Rıhtım Han in 1929 [77].

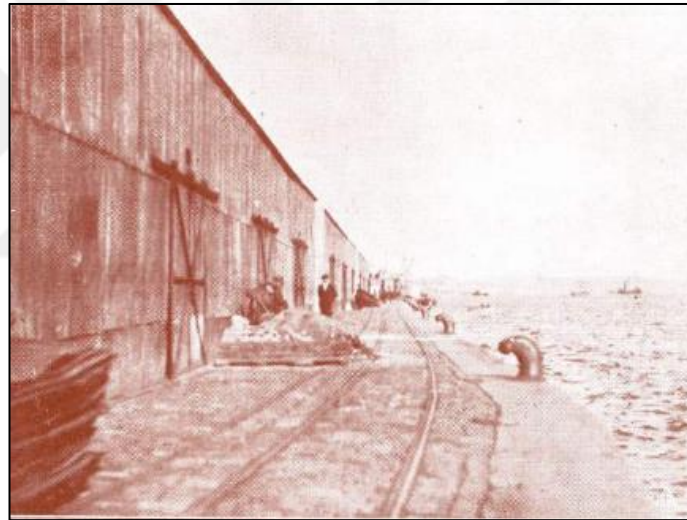


Figure 3.26. Galata dock and warehouses [77].

When Galata Port is examined, there is no necessary installation for the Port. According to Başar, due to the Rıhtım Han, Çinili Han and shops built by the Dersaadet Rıhtım Company, there is no room left for the depot and warehouse structures that need to be allocated to the port. [77]. For this reason, 3 warehouses were built in addition to the quay in 1928 [130]. The Tophane warehouses right next to the Tophane Dock were also given to Ford Motor Company as of February 1929, and a car assembly plant was opened here³ [131,132].

³ As Odman successfully conveyed, it has a special importance as it is Turkey's first automobile factory [132].

According to Başar, there are also problems experienced by the port during loading and unloading [77]. The slowness of cargo transportation with barges and porters has created cost and safety problems. In modern western ports, the ship berths directly to the port and transfers its cargo directly to the warehouses. The number of cranes in İstanbul Port is both low and old technology product. In western ports, on the other hand, state-of-the-art cranes are used compared to the İstanbul port, and their number is quite high. The dock and warehouse areas in İstanbul Port are very inadequate compared to Western ports. It causes many problems such as the disruption of the distribution processes of the incoming cargo, the possibility of theft of the cargo, and the damage of the cargo. Başar stated that the one day loading and unloading rate of the Port of Rotterdam is 500 times higher than the Port of İstanbul [77].

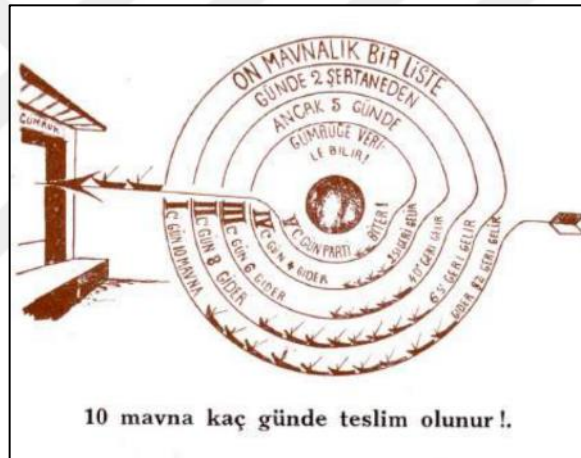


Figure 3.27. Drawing by Ahmet Hamdi Başar, explaining that 10 barges were delivered to the customs in five days [77].

In the light of all this information, in this period where modern ports carry more cargo faster and cheaper, İstanbul Port has fallen behind in the field of international trade. As Başar reports, no new crane has been brought to the port in the last thirty years and the dock has not been widened even one meter [77]. In addition to the natural harbor function that the Golden Horn has morphologically, a modern port structure should be created with the port area, cranes, modern machinery and tools, port installation and coal installation.

With the takeover of the business by the İstanbul Port Authority in 1925, no visible steps were taken for modernization. However, with this step, customs fees, regulation of barges, thefts were prevented and a disciplined environment was created. According to Başar, in line

with the modernization movements of the Republican era, the port has now become a structure that contributes to the common benefit of the society [77]. However, as discussed in the "Late Ottoman Period Galata Port Analysis" section of the thesis, It is known that II.Abdülhamit had the port built with the build-operate-transfer model in order to provide common benefits to the society [76].

Başar states that the company was established as a result of the Turkishization policy of the port for the establishment of the Port Monopoly Company, which was established in 1925, although it took place in the first liberal period of the Republic [77]. As it is stated in the section of the thesis "Examination of Single Party Period Political and Economic Policies", the state aims to acquire the enterprises of structures such as railways, ports and factories from foreigners and give them to Turkish enterprises, within the scope of nationalization policy.

In this period when liberal policies were adopted, Başar also stated that ports operated under state control are only seen in underdeveloped countries. However, port operations are local as well as public. For this reason, he stated that port administrations where municipalities or chambers of commerce are also involved in port management will be more successful [77].

In addition, Başar states that the laws were taken from the West, that the best structures built in this period were inspired by the West, and that the port, which is an important need, can be built by being inspired by modern examples in the West [77]. The effect of the political and economic policies implemented for modernization on the port management and structure can be understood through this statement of Başar.

However, according to Sarı, by the end of the 1930s, it is seen that the necessary arrangements for the port structure still could not be made, so the port structure lost its importance in the Ottoman period [107].

Table 3.1. Activities of ships passing through İstanbul Port [107].

Sene	Tonnage of Ships Engaged in Commercial Transactions	Ratio %	Tonnage of ships in transit	Ratio %	Total tonnage
1926	4.891.845	41.5	6.614.643	58.5	11.506.488
1927	4.692.435	41.5	6.680.160	58.5	11.372.595
1928	5.022.801	44.5	6.262.607	55.5	11.285.408
1929	5.277.374	39.5	8.079.425	60.5	13.356.799
1930	4.978.074	29.0	12.202.711	71.0	17.180.785

As can be seen from this table, it has been determined that the rate of transit ships has increased as a result of Port Monopoly Company's undertaking the port operation. It is seen that the activities of İstanbul Port decreased in the Republican period compared to previous periods.

When the conditions of the 1929 period are examined, the Great Depression, which is the biggest crisis of capitalism and whose effect was felt all over the world, took place. With the effect of the crisis, it can be said that İstanbul Port has been effective in the decrease in activities. In addition, the loss of the Balkans after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the trade of the new Balkan states using other ports, as well as the loss of Syria, Iraq and Palestine, can be counted among the main reasons that reduce the commercial importance of İstanbul. However, according to Sarı, the main reason behind the loss of importance of the İstanbul Port is technological opportunities and administrative problems [107]. In addition, as indicated by Sarı, the reduction of the warehouses in the port from 56 in the Ottoman period to 7 in the first years of the Republic negatively affected the port trade [107].

On 14 August 1934, the Turkish Port Inhisar Company was liquidated by the state, and its manager, Ahmet Hamdi Başar, was dismissed. The port management was transferred to the Ministry of Finance in 1935, and it was stated that the port works would be carried out by the İstanbul Port General Directorate. Ali Rıza Çevik, who was appointed as the port manager, accelerated and facilitated the operation of the port [107]. Warehouse 20 was built

in 1938 by Architect Naci Meltem. This warehouse is important in that it is the first warehouse in Turkey in the modern sense [130].



Figure 3.28. Pera/Galata map with Galata Port, drawn by Henri Prost in 1940 [60].

Prost also has plans for this region and the port in the mentioned period. According to Akpınar, the Republican administration divides the port areas into two as import and export ports [106]. While the İzmir port region was given as an example for the export port, the İstanbul port region was deemed suitable for import. It is seen that İstanbul maintains its identity as a consumer city like all imperial cities, where all kinds of materials come from, as in the Ottoman period. The port area of İstanbul is the main entrance gate of the country, as it is the point where imported goods enter the country. In this period, Galata and Eminönü Ports were preferred among the İstanbul port regions, compared to Yenikapı Port, because they were in a safer area. This situation can be seen as the idea of revitalizing the Golden Horn harbor area, which was actively used in the Ottoman period. According to Akpınar, Galata Port has functioned both as the future of imported goods and a port where large transatlantic ships can anchor [106].

In the Prost plans, there are arrangements for the establishment of a connection from the Galata Port to the Fine Arts Academy, known today as Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. It also proposes the removal of existing blocks for a green space extending from Karaköy to

Galata Tower [106]. In addition, it is seen that there is a rail system project to draw the Galata Bridge towards the Golden Horn in order to create the Eminönü and Karaköy squares easily and to provide the connection between Karaköy and Galata. Many of these suggestions of Prost could not be realized and it can be said that these projects generally remained on the cartographic plan [52].

The fate of the warehouses built by Michel Pasha during the late Ottoman period seems to have changed in this period. As Can also conveyed, the Ford brand, which had 36 assembly plants at that time, had intended to open an assembly plant in İstanbul since 1925. However, the legal infrastructure necessary for this investment to come to the country was completed in 1929 with the support of the state, and the existing warehouse structures were allocated to Ford and this area was included in the "free zone" category. The company started to work by combining this area in accordance with the Fordist belt system it is currently using, but when the date showed the year 1934, production was completely stopped [131]. It can be seen that there is an attempt on this process, which can also be read as the first liberalization process between 1923 and 1929, and which was closed with the Great Depression in 1929, as explained in the section on political and economic policies of the Single Party Period. The process of closing the factory can be seen as parallel to the process of nationalization and introversion, in which statist policies began to be implemented in the economic sense.

It can be said that one of the biggest developments for the region in this period was the competition opened in 1935 for the Karaköy Passenger Hall, also known as the "Gar Maritim", opened by the İstanbul Port Authority. Although first prizes were given in the international competition that was opened, the project was not awarded to any of these architects, but was given to Georges Debes, who was a teacher at the High Engineering School of the time. Together with Debes and one of the winners of the competition, Rebiî Gorbon, they have prepared a new project that combines award-winning projects [129].

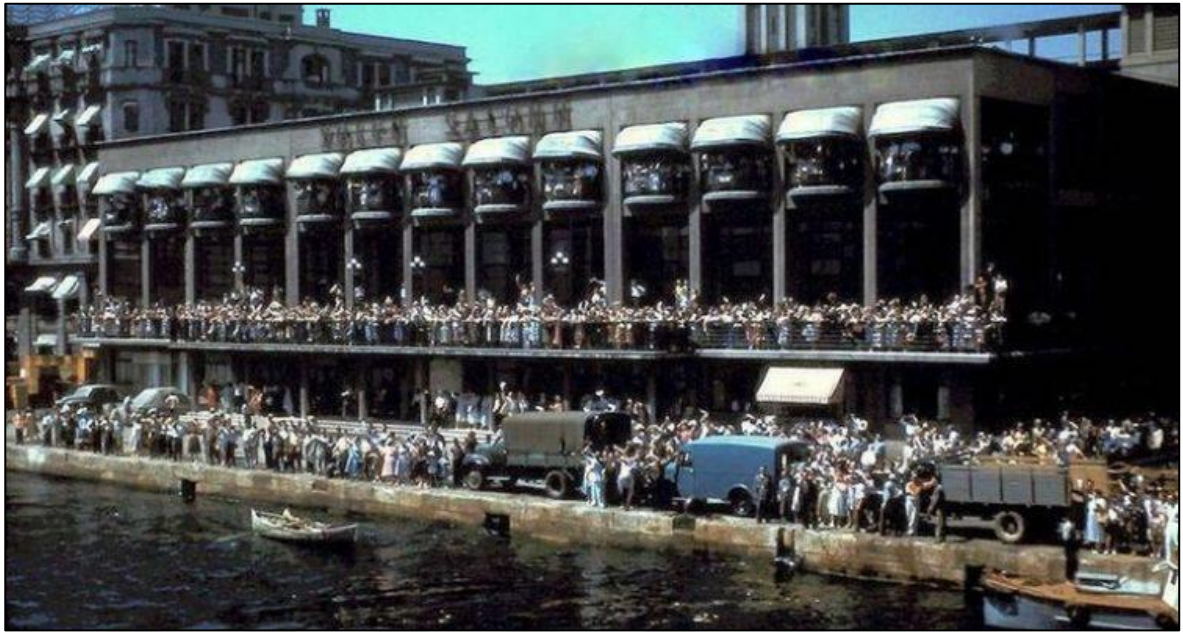


Figure 3.29. Karaköy Passenger Hall [133].

As Ergut, Akpınar and Akay convey, this design consists of service areas organized around the main hall that connects the pier and the street, and the port restaurant on the upper floor. Karaköy Passenger Hall, the construction of which was completed in 1937, was Turkey's first modern sea passenger farewell and welcome feature [134]. Together with the monumental clock tower, the building has become one of the symbols of İstanbul of the period [123].

3.3. INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES IN THE PERIOD OF DEMOCRAT PARTY ON İSTANBUL AND GALATA PORT (1950-1960)

3.3.1. Examination of the Political and Economic Policies in the Period of Democrat Party

As it is also mentioned in the chapter of “Examination of the Single Party Political and Economic Policies” of the thesis, the world conjecture which formed following the Second World War showed a development on behalf of the democratic management system. In addition to this, as a result of the taxation policies which were applied during the period of the Second World War and the political and economic atmosphere which could be

considered as anti-democratic, an obvious dissatisfaction was dominant within the people against the Single-Party government. Afterwards, putting on the agenda the Law of Provision of Land for the Farmers towards taking the support of the producers in the rural areas was widely criticized by the medium and big-scaled landlords in particular.

Following all of these developments, upon the encouragement of İsmet Pasha, CHP wanted four names who published the “Quatro Statement” within the party to leave the party because of their opposing voices and he encouraged them to establish an opposition party. In addition to this, İsmet Pasha supported the foundation of an opposition party according to his opinion that a political party to be established by Celal Bayar could not be in opposition to the Atatürk’s Reforms [135]. As a result of these developments, with the establishment of the Democrat Party (DP) on the date 7th January 1946, the 23-year single-party period ended and Turkey passed to the multi-part period. DP which was established against CHP has two fundamental targets. Firstly, liberalization in economy against the statist opinion of CHP and, secondly, ensuring democracy in the politic environment. As it is quoted in the episode “Demirkırat” of the 32nd Day Program which was considered an important and unilateral political documentary beginning from 1950’s till 2000’s, DP promised a freer order, an agriculture-based development strategy, inviting attitude towards the foreign capital and welfare to the people with the decreased supervision of the government on the economic area in comparison with the period of CHP [136]. It can be said that such attitude of DP took the support of the investors who wanted to grow their investments in Turkey such as farmers, industrialists and businessmen. Against this opposing attitude, as it is also mentioned in the previous chapter, CHP exhibited rather liberal policies on the political and economic areas in comparison with its statism period beginning from 1946. One of the most important examples to be given to these policies is the removal of the title “National Chief” which was granted to İnönü in 1938. Following all of these developments, as a result of the election which was performed in 1946 and considered a rigged poll in the political history (Open vote and secret classification), CHP won this election. In addition to this anti-democratic attitude which was assumed by CHP, the strong opposition of DP brought DP to the power in the elections dated 14th May 1950. Following the elections, Celal Bayar became the third President of Turkey and Adnan Menderes was appointed as the Prime Minister.

After DP came to power, the policies which it exhibited towards the economic development were remarkable. As it is already expressed above, in the light of the statist policies, a period was experienced in which the transition into the liberal economic policies in Turkey which continued an economic approach which was closed to outer world since 1930 was implemented. In this period, it is expressed that the private attempts will be supported more in the coverage of the liberal policies. According to Takım, as it is expressed in the manifesto of DP, the private sector was requested to make investment on these areas because of the fact that the public corporations became unproductive in terms of the decisions and practices [137]. As it is already known, the private sector could comply with the market conditions more easily. Because the waste of time which was caused by the realization of the public investments under a certain governmental procedure could be prevented. In this period, the rapid moves for the purpose of reaching the welfare of the public were made by means of preferring to the private sector as promised by DP. DP declared that it will not intervene with the market in compliance with the liberal principles for the purpose of the development of the private sector in this period [37]. In this scope, it can be thought that the government will support ensuring the environment of competition within the market.

As it is successfully quoted from Tören by Pamuk, one of the reasons behind the fact that the development was focused on the agricultural sector is that the Marshall aids were taken in the coverage of the Truman Doctrine as a result of the good relationships which were established with the USA [37]. It is known that these aids make contribution to the mechanization movement in agriculture namely the purchase of the agricultural vehicles, machinery and tractors in particular. As it is quoted by Akşin, he stated that the USA made these aids in order to ensure that Turkey will prominently appear in the world market as an agricultural country [36]. One of the factors which strengthened DP in the developed economic understanding based on agriculture is Korean War which occurred in 1950 and which became a war between capitalism and communism. This war, which ended in 1953, went down in history as the first bloody conflict of the Cold War period. With the occurrence of the Korean War, the increasing value of the raw materials and agricultural products formed an advantageous market for Turkey which took decision of developing its investments based on agriculture. Turkey's accession to NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in 1952 is considered important with regard to the development of the foreign political relations after sending soldiers to the Korean War by Turkey among the political

developments of DP period. The inclusion of Turkey in the NATO organization which developed under the leadership of the USA is considered a measure which is taken against the Soviet threats[138]. The development of the foreign political relations increased the importation and exportation revenues of Turkey and consequently it could be interpreted as a progress which enhanced the social welfare. In addition to this, as it is quoted by Baytal, following the accession to NATO, the investments which were made to the defense industry were reduced and directed towards the agricultural sector instead [139].

At this point, the government imported tractors and agricultural tools by means of supporting the mechanization in agriculture, improved the credit conditions and provided the necessary economic support for the purpose of increasing the productivity of the farmers [139]. As it is successfully quoted from Öztürk by Baytal, Menderes said in his speech in 1956 that, “Agriculture is the basis of our national economy. Not only it provides the nourishment and dressing requirements of our nation and raw materials of our industry but also it is the main pillar of our exportation” [139]. This argument of Menderes provides important information regarding the agricultural and industrial investments of the period as well. Following these developments which were experienced in agriculture, the welfare level of the rural community increased too. A development which can be given as an example of this welfare increase is that the railroads which provided the most part of transportation beginning from the foundation of the Republic started to be replaced by the highways. Because the construction of the highways also accelerated the means of transportation and provided the suitable conditions for the transition of the new machines, it can be said that it gave rise to a certain increase in welfare particularly in the domestic market. Following these investments made, it is also possible to say that a visible increase is reached in the agricultural production. As it is mentioned in the 32nd Day Documentary, Turkey reached an important success on the agricultural area to be at the fourth line of the wheat production in 1953 [140]. In the light of all of the information pertaining to the period, it is seen that the liberal policies were concluded successfully until 1954, an economic stability was reached and the social welfare enhanced as well.

As it is already mentioned above, the upturn of the country economy influenced the transportation policies of the period as well. It can be said that performing the transportation through railroads in the single-party period was a factor which reinforced the sovereignty of the government over the economy. Together with the aids which were taken thanks to the

Marshall Plan and stronger economic conditions, as it is quoted by Pamuk, the support of the automotive sector was also taken and the development of the transportation was ensured through highways. It can be said that this network of transportation was implemented as a network of highways which accelerated the transportation between the villages and cities. In addition to this, leaving the transportation business to the private sector by means of the highway transportation network formed showed parallelism with the liberal policies implemented. Following the high policy of DP, as it is quoted by Baytal, the electricity production of Turkey also increased through the construction of dams in this period. There is no doubt that increasing the electricity production ensured the development of the Turkish Industry and the realization of the infrastructural projects [139]. In the light of such information, it is quite obvious that not only establishing the connection between the villages and cities but also developing infrastructural facilities and improved educational and healthcare services made the urban life much more attractive. Consequently, the mobility of the population became faster and consequently the migration from countryside to urban life became faster as well. One another factor which made the migration from countryside to cities is the increased productivity in the agricultural production thanks to the mechanization in agriculture. The increased production also caused surplus labor in the rural areas.

As it is already expressed on the subject of surplus labor on rural area as it is also mentioned in the chapter titled “Capitalist City Reading Theories/Relationship of Neoliberalism with City” of this thesis, the fact of migration of the unemployed people from their villages to the cities in order to be employed in the industry sector happened in this period.

In case those people who came from the rural areas to the cities did not get any support of the government, they built hut-style structures on the public lands. This situation is called “squatting” both in literature and in colloquial language. As it is quoted by Pamuk, after the transition to the multi-party politics in particular, the shanties became able to obtain title deeds for their structures and further to get connected roads, water and electricity in their names through the local administrations within the course of time [37]. Together with the increased population, urbanization caused primarily the scarcity of vacant employment positions in the urban population and thus some shanty problems. This issue will be mentioned in further details in the chapter “Democrat Party Period Urban Policies” in the coverage of this thesis.

The general course of the Turkish economy until 1954 can be defined as a period in which the welfare level increased with the development of the foreign commerce based on agriculture. DP (Democrat Party) won the elections and continued its power in 1954. However, the year 1954 constitutes an important breaking point for DP as well. The laws which ensured the development of the country market were enacted in this period such as the Law of Encouragement of Foreign Capital Investments dated 1954 and the Petroleum Law. However, as it is quoted by Baytal and Akşin, the expected success could not be reached in economy as a consequence of these laws, the credits which were granted in the first four years period increased the inflation and consequently it became a period in which the foreign exchange and product scarcity began [36,139]. In addition to this, cheaper agricultural products in the world market following the end of the Korean War became an important problem which caused losses for the Turkish economy which developed based on agriculture. According to Eğılmez, as a result of the investments which are expressed as unplanned and made by DP, the period of turning to the liberal policies in Turkey started to fail in economic sense [13]. Moreover, the refusal of Menderes who made a request of credit with the amount of 300 million dollars from the USA in 1954 can be also considered a starting point of the bad course of events with regard to the national economy [141].

In this period in which the economic bad course of events started, DP tried to prevent the mentioned bad course of events by means of starting the implementation of the National Security Law again [92]. The fact that the National Security Law was also implemented in the single-party period is considerably remarkable. It can be said that the economic problems experienced urged DP to implement the strict policies of the single-party period again as a solution.

The re-implementation of the economic policy which was implemented firstly in the single-party period points out that DP will move away from its democratic attitude in political sense as well. In the 6-7th September events which happened upon the news that the Atatürk's house was bombed in Thessaloniki in 1955, some cruel attacks were applied towards the Greek minorities living in İstanbul [118]. As it will be taken up in further details in the chapter "Examination of Galata Region in Democrat Party Period" of the thesis, it is obvious that these events damaged the multicultural structure of Galata and consequently that of İstanbul. In addition to this, it is outstanding that this event happened during the time of discussing the problem of independence of Cyprus in London [142]. In addition to this, DP

government was found guilty because they could not manage the crisis properly in Yassıada Courts which were established as a result of the Coup dated 27th May 1960 which will be taken in the end of this chapter.



Figure 3.30. 6-7th September events [143].

Following these social events experienced, it can be said that DP policies moved away from the politic liberal atmosphere created in the first five years of its period and consequently from the economic liberal atmosphere. The antidemocratic events like 6-7th September events were followed by the tough attitudes assumed against CHP and putting pressure on the media organs such as newspapers and magazines which were exhibiting opposing manner against DP. Although DP won the elections which were made in 1957, it is seen that the voting rate of the party decreased [36]. It is also seen that the social polarization increased together with the tough political attitudes. It can be said that the civil society organization titled “Homeland Front” which was formed by DP in this period was a campaign which increased the political tension.

As the expected revenue could not be obtained from the agricultural exportation in the economy of this period, a foreign exchange scarcity was experienced in Turkey and this scarcity was followed by the difficulty in reaching the fundamental consumption goods as well. This firm position which was exhibited in political sense was then followed by the policies in which the government was much more involved in the economy policies. The prices and profits were audited in the domestic market and the limits were extended in the foreign exchange usage and exportation. It is seen that the privatizations decreased and the investments intensified on the public companies in the post-1955 period [37]. It can be said

for this period that DP which came to power by means of defending the liberal economic opinion exhibited more interfering attitudes.

Together with the foreign exchange scarcity which started in 1955's, it can be said that the strategy of development with agriculture was hindered to some certain extent. A part of the goods which were imported beginning from this period was tried to be produced through domestic industry. This production method is the import substitution production approach which was implemented together with the transition to statism in the Single-Party period, as it is already mentioned in the chapter titled "Examination of the Political and Economic Policies in the Single Party Period" of this thesis. As it is clearly seen, it seems that DP implemented the economy policies of the Single-Party period whenever the economy entered into the bad course of events.

Following all of these events which were experienced after 1954, a military unit called National Unity Committee which is composed of young officers made a coup on the date 27th May 1960 [144]. Following the performance of the coup, President Celal Bayar, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and lots of deputies of DP were arrested. After these arrestments, Yassıada Court was established and, as a result of the hearings carried out, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, Hasan Polatkan and Fatih Rüşti Zorlu were executed.

In the light of such information, to examine the political and economic developments of the DP period in short, it can be seen that the policies which are more open to the global economy (liberal economies) in comparison with the Single-Party period and a development model with an emphasis on the agricultural policies started to be implemented. There is no doubt that one of the most striking developments of this period is that an evident productivity increase was experienced in the agricultural production as a result of the mechanization movement in agriculture. This increase in productivity experienced caused the formation of the surplus labor in the agricultural sector and consequently the increased unemployment in the rural areas. Afterwards, it is followed by a period in which the migration from rural areas to cities accelerated because of the reasons such as the construction of the highways and increasing the infrastructural services. However, as a consequence of the economic and political developments which were experienced after 1955, it can be said that the liberal approach lost its power in comparison with the first half of 1950's. It is seen that it was moved away also from the liberal policies on political area together with the bad course of

events in economy. As it is quoted by Akşin, as a result of adopting a pluralist democratic approach, damaging this kind of education by means of closing the community centers and village institutes, not taking the sufficient measures on the subject of the 6-7th September events and authorizing the religious management understanding which could not be within the politics so far by DP, the process of military coup which happened on the date 27th May 1960 was accelerated.

It seems that the political and economic policies of the DP period caused radical changes in the liberalization process in particular. It can be said that all of these radical changes gave rise to the observable results between the years 1950-1960 as well. All of these observable results can be read throughout the city, urban policies and the changing face of the city and its reflections on architecture can be also seen. These results will be shown and evaluated in the next chapter titled “Democrat Party Period İstanbul Urban Policies”

3.3.2. İstanbul Urban Policies in Democrat Party Period

With the transition of Republic of Turkey to the multi-party system in 1946, there appeared a new party other than CHP on the political stage. This party was Democrat Party (DP) which represents the right-liberal wing of the community. Adnan Menderes, who came to power with DP in the elections in 1950, was the first politician who realized the total importance of İstanbul in the mentioned election in question. Because İstanbul was mostly ignored beginning from the declaration of the Republic until the period of DP and the works which were carried out in İstanbul remained quite limited and regional and the winners of the elections were interested in the capital of the new Republic in general. An anecdote which was quoted from the night of the 1950 election can be regarded as the herald of the importance which was attached to İstanbul in the period of DP. As Menderes told in the mentioned anecdote which was quoted by one of his political fellows;

...It seems that we came to power. But if we did not win the election in İstanbul, then a power without İstanbul could not be considered even as a half-power [53].

Following the declaration of the Republic, the capital which attracted the attentions as an area of construction of the Republican principles and the new lifestyle which came with these principles represented the modern and secular face of the country by means of the

urban plans, modern architecture and public works which were carried out and performed following the Republic established. As it is also mentioned in the chapter regarding the Single Party Period, it was planned for Ankara to serve as an example to the other provinces. Although Prost was charged in 1936 for İstanbul and he worked on the urban plan of İstanbul until the period of DP, when DP came to power, he was dismissed upon it was concluded that all of his previous plans were not only insufficient but also incapable of meeting the needs of the İstanbul population. In addition to this, Prost plans were not implemented till DP period and they remained on the paper only too. The details which are quoted by Gül relating to this process seem quite significant in this regard. The Municipal Council reviewed the Prost plan in 1950 and then drew attention to the matter that Prost Plan could not be completed in 14-year period in its report prepared concerning the plan. Besides, the council was dominated by the opinion that Prost should be replaced by the Turkish architects and urban planners and it was further considered that the mentioned plan intervened with the architectural and natural beauty of the city excessively [53].

The council allowed Prost to defend himself against such opinions and then Prost point out to the fact that there is a lack of the legal framework, technical staff and laws which are considered necessary as the fundamental reason of the failure in realizing the mentioned plan in question. In addition to this, the financial resources also remained insufficient until DP period in implementing Prost Plan and Prost implicitly blamed the previous governments with laziness [53].

As it is already mentioned in the chapter of the Single Party Period, it can be said that an introverted economic plan was being implemented with the support of the statist policies in the newly-established Republic. Consequently, it can be seen that İstanbul which can be considered a gateway of the country to the Western world was not needed economically. However, as a consequence of the policies of DP period and the global atmosphere of the period, it can be said that an urban showcase which is open to the outer world both economically and culturally and which is compatible with the open global market was needed by the country.

It appears that Marshall Aids which came as a consequence of the global and liberal policies which developed with the additional influence of DP as well as the Second World War triggered many situations in the mentioned period. Although the agricultural machines which

will come with Marshall Aids tried to impose to the country an agriculture-based economy, a new wave of migration started with the migration of the villagers who became unemployed because of those machines to İstanbul. A lot of problems appeared in İstanbul which experienced the migration from rural areas to cities suddenly in the period of first and second industrial revolutions encountered in Europe and it caused DP to obtain a more powerful social approval from the investments to be made by DP which wished to show an additional importance to İstanbul at that time.

An agreement was made with Hans Högg for the rearrangement of the urban plan of İstanbul in 1956. Högg continued his works in his office in İstanbul until 1960. His observations relating to the migrations made and the city itself are considered important in the book titled “İstanbul” which he wrote as a consequence of the works which Högg carried out. As it is successfully quoted from Högg by Doğusan;

In the past, İstanbul was the city of pedestrians. Because of this reason, now, the road construction and connection problems are particularly complicated. The migrations which were made from rural areas to cities because of the poverty and the rapid increase of the population gave rise to serious settlement problems. Not only the city and regional planning but also the nationwide planning and social policies encountered some extraordinary duties because of this reason. The number of these duties even increased more with the infrastructure, general equipment services, historical structures and monuments to be preserved and maintained and the protection of the extraordinary natural beauties [145].

As it is mentioned by Högg, planning of İstanbul was converted from a minor regional problem into the nationwide level issue. A lot of important inputs such as the liberal policies of DP, the outward economy, population increase and current historical tissue entered into the planning, public works and development works to be performed for İstanbul and, above all, the tourism region mission of İstanbul was also added by Menderes and the legitimacy of the decisions concerning the region became difficult.

Afterwards, İstanbul Development Planning Directorate was established for the purpose of making contribution to the ongoing development works and the preparation of the plans concerning İstanbul in 1958. The directorate worked under the supervision of the Italian Counselor Luigi Piccinato until 1961 the master plan with the scale 1/10.000 was prepared as well [145].

The approaches of Högg and Piccinato towards İstanbul are considered different. Högg makes his plan suggestions by means of taking transportation as basis and it seems that he drew a similar direction with the urban policies of the government of that period. In addition to this, Högg used the expression “the dominant factors which should be compulsory to be protected” for hundreds of monuments in İstanbul during the period of DP regime which is remembered with the mass destructions made in İstanbul even today and he made a great practical influence on İstanbul too. Besides, Piccinato was interested in not only the history of İstanbul but also the cultural and architectural heritages of İstanbul and although he showed sensitivity for them, he had different urban understandings concerning İstanbul with the DP government of that period and consequently, could not be much effective in the applications and could not make any concrete contribution [146].

The individual automobile usage which became widespread throughout the world following the Second World War was reflected also on Turkey in this period and traffic became a fundamental problem with the migrations which were made to İstanbul. The general incentive which was being given to automobiles by the post-war politicians all over the world was also given by the prime minister of the day and its requirement and the increasing traffic problem in İstanbul made the motorways as the primary subject of the development in İstanbul. Consequently, in the coverage of the development program of the period, broad streets, broad boulevards which connect the city centers and the uninterrupted coastlines which combine the coasts together were planned and built [147]. The road and square constructions of İstanbul were developed as focused on the Historical Peninsula region (which is called also İstanbul Quarter) which is considered as the center of the city in DP period. The development applications which were carried out at the European and Anatolian sides which constitute the other regions of İstanbul (which are called the Beyoğlu and Üsküdar quarters in that period) were performed usually for the purpose of ensuring the road transportation between these regions with the Historical Peninsula. Lots of historical works were destroyed during the road construction works and the Development Law numbered 6785 which constitutes the legal framework of the development of İstanbul and enacted in 1956 and also the Expropriation Law numbered 6830 which regulates the expropriation affairs were enacted in order to open a legal way for all of such devastating destructions.

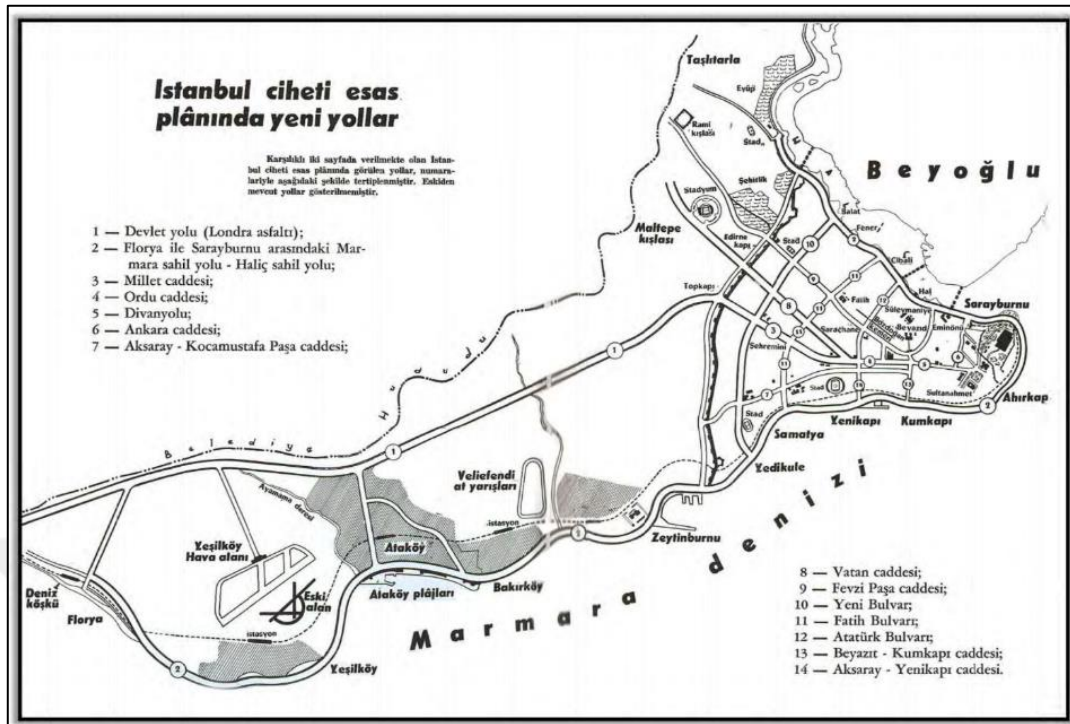


Figure 3.31. Roads built on the Historic Peninsula during the DP period [148].

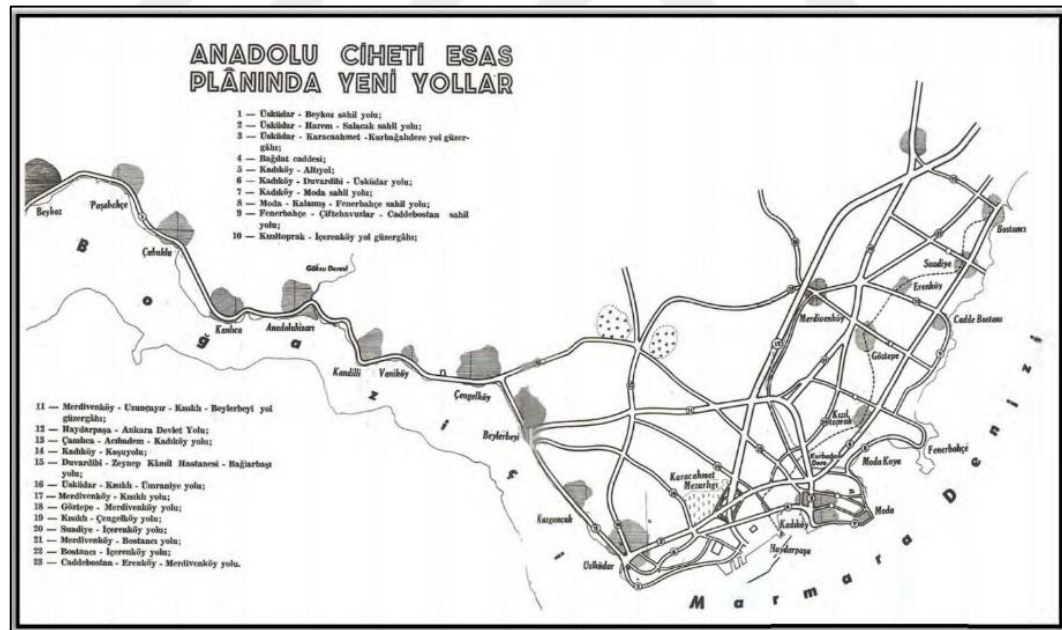


Figure 3.32. Roads built on the Anatolian side during the DP period [148].

It appears that the Nation Street (Millet Caddesi) (the street numbered in the İstanbul Quarter plan) is additionally important for the Menderes and for the political ideology of the government of that period. Remind the fact that the Fatih's (II.Mehmet the Conqueror) soldiers entered from this gate 500 years before that period, it can be said that Menderes and his government thought that the walls which surround both sides of the Nation Street (Millet Caddesi) which they constructed continued the tradition of Fatih and brought the civilization this time [148]. As it can be seen on the map, the importance of the Nation Street (Millet Caddesi) is obvious. As different from the map, the Nation Street (Millet Caddesi) the construction of which was fulfilled by Menderes covers not only the reconstruction of London Asphalt (Londra Asfaltı) which is numbered on the map but also the construction of the Nation Street (Millet Caddesi) which is numbered three as shown on the map. This road which was named as London Asphalt (Londra Asfaltı) as its named was deemed as wannabe in that time was turned into the road which is used as D-100 in continuance of E-5 with its former name as it is known today [149]. The contribution of this road can be also easily observed in reaching the today's structured environmental borders of İstanbul.

Homeland Street (Vatan Caddesi), which is shown as the road numbered eight on the İstanbul Quarter Master Plan, can be also considered one of the most important roads which are opened to the region. This road which connected Bayrampaşa stadium which was planned to be constructed with the capacity of 100.000 persons to London Asphalt (Londra Asfaltı), Nation Street (Millet Caddesi) with its new name, is considered the broadest road which was constructed in that period. This road which has coming route with 14 meters and going route with 14 meters was constructed as reinforced concrete asphalt together with its 12-meter greenery refuge and the most modern road technique of that time was used in the construction of this road [148].

İstinye Junction Road (which is more frequently called as Bosphorus Coast Road) which is seen as numbered four on Beyoğlu Quarter Map is also particularly important for the people of İstanbul in that period. While it was impossible for the İstanbul People to establish relationship visually with the Bosphorus line through this road, following the Bosphorus Coast Road with the width of 30 meters, the Bosphorus area reached its already known landscape as settled in our memories. By means of this road, the understanding that "Bosphorus will be owned by the people living in İstanbul, the people and the nation" was taken as basis [148].

The Book of İstanbul dated 1958 which was published for the purpose of promoting the practices of Menderes to the people concerning the city İstanbul puts forward the mentality behind the approach towards İstanbul in that period. The book, which states that İstanbul is conquered for the second time by Menderes, used the expressions that “İstanbul is being shaved and polished” for the practices of development and public works concerning İstanbul and further expresses that İstanbul exists in its condition as remained from the Middle Age [148]. It seems quite important to understand the meanings of these sentences of Menderes, who was then remembered with that he destroyed rather than what he constructed in the subsequent years, exposing his ideological approach towards İstanbul.

The destructions which were made during the constructions of the Nation Street (Millet Caddesi) (3) and the Homeland Street (Vatan Caddesi) (8) which are seen on İstanbul Quarter Master Plan which were realized by means of observing Prost plan are in remarkable extent. Oruç Ghazi Ismail Agha Mosque, Camcılar Mosque and Fountains, Aksaray Police Station, Oğlanlar Lodge, Tevekkul Turkish Bath (Hammam) and Muratpasha Complex were demolished during the road construction works of the Nation Street (Millet Caddesi) and the Homeland Street (Vatan Caddesi) [150].

It is possible to say here that Menderes is a kind of Hausmann case. It is known that Hausmann also caused the destruction of lots of cultural and historical heritages as a consequence of the expansiyon of the boulevards and streets while implementing his plan for Paris [147]. In this regard, the approach of Menderes to İstanbul can be also considered an indicator of an attitude which refuses the previous one by means of not seeing the history as a requirement of the social memory.

The road construction works which were intensified to the İstanbul Quarter in particular served Menderes’s purpose of making İstanbul a tourism city as well. Yeşilköy Airport the construction of which started in 1949 and then completed in 1953 had a purpose to be connected to Fatih again [151]. Thus, the foreign tourists landing to Yeşilköy Airport not only could reach the city center easily but also could be influenced by the urban tissue during the trip, as it is quoted by Gül [147]. It seems that Menderes brought also some other investments for supporting tourism to İstanbul which he further aims at making it a tourism city.

Although there are activities of incentive and for increasing of the agricultural production which developed because of the position of the landlord position of Menderes who is the general president of DP (Democrat Party), as it is also mentioned in the chapter in which the political and economic policies of the period are examined, these incentives seemed to accelerate the migration from rural areas to urban regions by means of causing an increase in the agricultural production, mechanization and modernization. Such that, the dime levy which is collected from the farmers and which is an important item of revenue of the government is also remitted in order to increase the agricultural activities, however this attempts also remained insufficient to stop the migrations [152]. This rapid and consequently uncontrolled migration was turned into a problem of squatting which occurred suddenly. This problem started to be seen firstly in Ankara and then in İstanbul and appeared in İstanbul in which the development activities newly came as a brand-new problem apart from the existing ones. First of all, the flat ownership was permitted by the DP government in nature of a solution to the squatting problem which was subjected to the unplanned urbanization on account of the rapid and intensive migrations and then industry was established in the region and it seems that the historical heritage of İstanbul was ignored in this process as it is already seen in the above-stated examples [152]. In the end of İnönü's period, the limited act of indemnity which was enacted in Ankara for the purpose of legalizing the shanties which appeared in 1948 covered the entire country in 1949. In Menderes's period, this act of indemnity was tried to be eliminated in the coverage of two different laws which were enacted in 1953 and in 1959 [152,153].

In accordance with the Law about the Encouragement for the Construction of Buildings and the Buildings which are constructed without Permissions dated 1953 and numbered 6188(5), it was aimed to repurchase the treasury lands from the major shanty regions such as Zeytinburnu, Kağıthane, Taşlıtarla in particular and to make use these lands for the constructions of cheap and simple housings [153].

Although it was also aimed to clean the shanties from the lands which belong to the treasury by means of the laws dated 1959 and numbered 7367(6), it could not be successful enough in practice [153].

It seems that the political and social atmosphere which was formed by all of these laws remained unanswered towards the reactions of the governments which did not know that to

do with the sudden onset of the aforementioned problem in question in the major cities. The fact that the squatting problem is a significant structural problem which could not be solved by means of destruction could not be understood till 1960's and it was realized with delay that it causes a larger extent of social conflict within the city. The people who migrate from rural areas to cities brought their own domestic habits to the cities and became conservative in the first years in particular by means of remaining within the social organizations such as kinship and township whenever they arrived at the cities, they collapsed the political authority and middle-class hegemony as the protectors of the private property and they also formed a quite informal economic order against the problem of unemployment [154].

It appears that the periods before DP made contributions to the formation of that information economic order as well. As a result of not taking into consideration the population which was stipulated to increase in Prost plan which was made before DP and upon it was thought that the contingent healthcare, transportation, port and industry regions were also ignored, İstanbul Regional Development Congress was organized in 1952. The development of İstanbul which was made a "national case" by DP was discussed in this congress under the chairmanship of Ahmet Hamdi Başar who is İstanbul Deputy of that period and with the attendance of İstanbul Association of Traders and İstanbul Chamber of Industry and Commerce as well as the participation of the members from various municipalities and universities. As a consequence of this congress, the present case of İstanbul was imputed on the governmental officials who were in power beginning from the declaration of the Republic until the period of DP and it was alleged that the public revenues were not used for İstanbul till that date. As it is quoted by Yavuz, it seems that the government hindered İstanbul which meets more than two out of three of the country exportation and about half of the importation of the country, instead of developing and supporting the commercial activities. As it is quoted by Yavuz, one of the most important examples to be given to this situation seems as the improper administration of the state-owned port enterprises and the vessels were going to the foreign ports since they could not unload their cargoes. Moreover, the commercial fields were demolished as a consequence of the squares and streets which were opened in Eminönü, Taksim and Karaköy and the new commercial fields were not opened instead of them [149].

Democrat Party not only supported such private attempts by means of the power of the government but also increased the own investments of the government. At this point, the

figures which are taken from AA (Anatolian Agency) seem quite remarkable. In this period, the private sector investments increased from 484 million TL to 3.6 milliard TL and the government investments increased from 476 million TL to 2 milliard TL [155].

It can be said that considering İstanbul as a national case by Menderes and the reflection of the economic program which he implemented on the industry of İstanbul in this sense are clearly obvious. As it is quoted by Tekeli, according to the industry calculation which was made in 1964, İstanbul acquired 250 industrial structures between the years 1950-1954 and 379 industrial structures between the years 1955-1959. However, the rapid industrialization caused the sudden increase of the demand for places within the city and because the municipalities could not show places for these factories within their own service areas or the increased land prices in the places where it could show, it caused the industries to settle in the areas which remained out of the supervision of development [52].

It can be said that there was a confusion regarding the new identity to be given to İstanbul in DP period as well. DP followed a developmental strategy with the purposes of not only making İstanbul an international destination point and the cultural and urban showcase of Turkey but also overcoming the excessive migration to İstanbul and the increasing informal economy. The activities of expanding the roads and making Yeşilköy Airport an international airport put forward such an intention as well. It can be said that Prost is the first person who stated this intention of İstanbul at the urban scale. Prost realized the tourism potential of the city and emphasized that some new hotels should be built for this purpose before separating his ways with İstanbul whenever DP came to the power [149]. Hilton Hotel, which can be still described as a component of İstanbul silhouette today, can be shown as the most outstanding and attractive example among the hotels which were built in this process. As it is quoted by Yavuz, this hotel was built on the park field numbered 2 which took part in the ten-year development plan in 1943 which Proust drew [149]. This hotel was designed by Skidmore, Owings & Merrill (SOM) and Sedat Hakkı Eldem in 1952. While it could be interpreted as an example of the fact that DP separate an outstanding amount of budget for the development of İstanbul in comparison with the economic scale of that period, it can be also taken up that İstanbul started to acquire its today's "modern" appearance in this period as well.

As a tourism city, one of the most remarkable examples of İstanbul in this sense is Kilyos Facilities. DP mentioned this facility in particular in the Book of İstanbul in which it explained its own practices. The language which is used while making the promotion of the facility is of particular importance. In the publicity of the mentioned facility, we want to quote this sentence as follows; “Its primary purpose is to make our unprecedented country about which the entire world agreed with a great admiration due to its beauty a country of tourism and to compensate the unfortunate losses of the centuries and those of the quarter century which was spent in negligence beginning from the foundation of the Republic as fastest as possible.” [148]. As it is also mentioned above, it is obvious that the fundamental purpose behind the developmental activities of the period regarding İstanbul was to compensate what was neglected since the foundation of the Republic and to make İstanbul a gateway and showcase of Turkey to the western world. Turkey Tourism Bank which was established in 1955 which could be also interpreted as a junction of the economic and urban policies of the period considered it a principal purpose to establish tourist facilities in İstanbul in particular. In this regard, it can be said that not only economic but also developmental activities reflect a similar vision as well.

The mentioned hotels seem quite modernist architecturally. This post-war period opened the introvert and national ecosystem which was experienced since the Republic to outside in economic and cultural sense for Turkey which adopts the western ideas at present and not only economic but also cultural exchange was facilitated and accelerated by means of the policies of that period as well. All such economic-cultural exchange also influenced the “representation” of the architecture, brought the international style to the country and gave important examples in this city by means of moving the showcase city from Ankara to İstanbul.

Prost plan which was prepared with the attempts of İnönü between the years 1939-1950 could not be implemented properly because of the influences of the Second World War and the monetary insufficiencies of the newly-established Republic. Another reason of this situation is that the limited budget was mostly spent for Ankara for the purpose of making Ankara which is the first capital of the new Republic an exemplary city for the other cities and İstanbul was of secondary importance until 1950's. However, following the Second World War, it can be said that the entire world experienced a shift of paradigm. As it is already mentioned in the chapter of the economic policies, as a consequence of the

relationships which were established with Ankara following the war, as it is also quoted by Ertem and Altunel, “The broad streets, boulevards, squares and automobiles in them are among the primary contemporary world images which conquered the heart of the “eastern” people by means of combining with the appearance of the American cities in 1950’s.”[156]. Also a tourism mission was added to İstanbul city as a face of Turkey towards the west. In addition to this, the migrations increased by means of mechanizing the agriculture as a consequence of the economic relationships which were established with the USA and, as it was explained above, İstanbul acquired the character of industry and tourism city in addition to Ankara. Menderes who says that İstanbul will be conquered for the second time considers himself as realized this target by means of the development activities and positions its victory as a victory of civilization against the nonchalance of the history of the Republic until that day. It is possible to show DP period with Menders between the years 1950-1960 as a period in which the today’s silhouette of İstanbul started to be drawn with its primary lines.

3.3.3. Examination of Beyoğlu-Galata Region and Galata Port Review in the Period of the Democrat Party

During the Democratic Party period, between 1956 and 1960, İstanbul experienced the biggest urban transformation in its history. In this period, developments such as the creation of a square and road in the Galata-Beyoğlu region, the demolition of some historical buildings, the cleaning of the dock area and the construction of the Warehouse structures belonging to Sedat Hakkı Eldem come to the fore.

The main roads built in the Beyoğlu Region during the zoning works are: Kemeraltı street (Karaköy-Tophane connection), Tophane-Dolmabahçe connection, Bosphorus Coastal Road, Beşiktaş-Yıldız-Maslak connection, Karaköy-Taksim connection and Karaköy-Azapkapı connection [145].

One of the important transformation areas of this region is the opening of Karaköy Square. According to the news of Cumhuriyet Newspaper dated 23 September 1956, Menderes said;

Our aim is to revive the historical character and great monuments of İstanbul, its values that have been hidden among the ruins until now, to reveal them as if putting them on display. [...] Since a city without beautiful and large squares cannot be imagined, all squares of İstanbul will be made worthy of its glory and surrounded by large buildings. For example, Karaköy and Eminönü

Squares will be like this. [...] Beşiktaş Square, on the way from Karaköy to the Bosphorus along the coast, will be transformed into a real square and will be named either Preveze or Barbaros. The great road from Yıldız will also descend to the axis of this square [153].

uttered his words.



Figure 3.35. The demolition works in Karaköy Square dated 1958 [157].

The rhetoric in the book about the opening of Karaköy Square in this period in the work titled "İstanbul's Book" in 1957 is remarkable. In the book, he states that the main reason for the opening of Karaköy Square is that the existing square is small compared to the number of pedestrians passing by. In this period when the population of İstanbul is constantly increasing, the existing roads and squares cannot meet the pedestrian and vehicle traffic. For this reason, the necessity of changes for the Galata-Karaköy region, which is one of the most populated areas of İstanbul and which also hosts the port, was emphasized [148]. In addition to the historical and transportation center importance of Karaköy Square, it was also desired that this square have the function of a business and trade square. Within the scope of the zoning works that started in 17 August 1956 shops at the entrance of the Galata Bridge were expropriated and demolition works began [147]. Later, Karaköy Post Office, Mehmet Ali Pasha Han and Maritime Bank, buildings were demolished starting from Denizcilik Bank to Tophane Fountain. Parking lots and minibus stops were built in some of the emptied areas, and it was decided to widen the roads in this area [119]. In the newspaper Cumhuriyet dated September 30, 1956, it was stated that the width of the road would be increased from 11 meters to 30 meters. The area between Karaköy Palas and Domuz Street was demolished and used in road widening works [148,153]. As can be seen from the Suat Nirven map

drawn in 1948, it is seen that Karaköy Square was Karaköy street before the reconstruction works carried out during the Menders period.

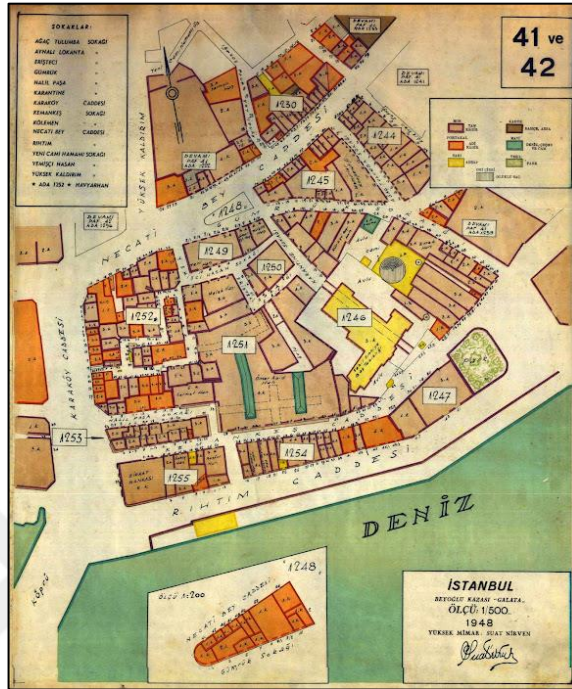


Figure 3.36. Suat Nirven map of Karaköy Ziraat Bank and its surroundings drawn in 1948 [122].



Figure 3.37. Between Karaköy and Tophane before the demolition works of Menderes [157].

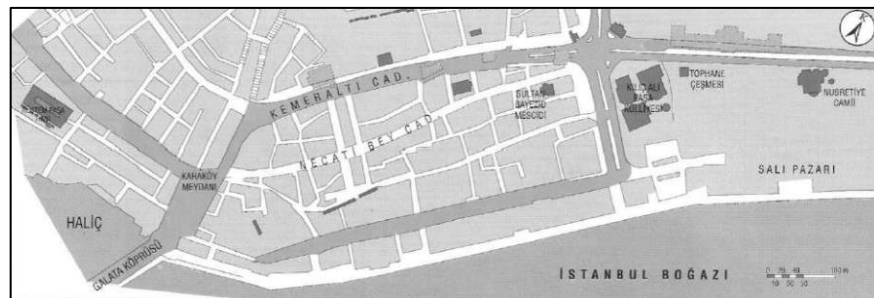


Figure 3.38. Between Karaköy and Tophane after the demolition works of Menderes [157].

During the demolition of the road between Tophane and Karaköy, a Greek and an Armenian church were destroyed. As part of the roadwork, 3 meters from the garden of the St. Benoit School was expropriated. Thus, a straight line exit was provided to Necatibey Street. As Türker reported from the Hürriyet Newspaper dated 16 May 1958, the chief priest of the Christos Greek Church in Galata could not prevent the demolitions. The Antiquities Protection Committee stated that the church has no historical and architectural value [119].

According to Sayar, Karaköy Street, which was a avenue, was turned into a square in an unplanned manner "within a month's time". The studies of the Square started after the demolitions [158]. In Suat Nirven's 1948 "Karaköy Ziraat Bank and Its Surroundings" plan, it is seen that the area where the square was built, parallel to Sayar, is Karaköy Street. It has been stated that the Küçük Merzifonlu Masjid, built in the early 1900s in Karaköy Square, was demolished as part of the square arrangement works, although it was not actually needed. Tophane Barracks was also demolished during the road arrangement of Kemeraltı Street. The Tophane Fountain, located next to the Nusretiye Mosque, was moved from the region and transferred to the front of the ITU Faculty of Business Administration [147].



Figure 3.39. The opening of Kemeraltı Street as a result of the Menderes demolitions [157].



Figure 3.40. The current state of Karaköy Square and Gazi Bridge, photo taken by author.

In this period, around Tophane Square, there is Nusretiye Mosque on one side, Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque on the other, Tophane-i Amire and a fountain built by I.Mahmut in the middle. As reported in the Book of İstanbul, during the work on Tophane Square, the I.Mahmut Fountain and Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque were preserved. In order to make the Tophane-i Amire structure visible, the Art Institute located on the side of the building facing Kemeraltı Street was demolished. Tophane Square is located on the Bosphorus Coastal Road as an aesthetic square where works of art are made visible [148].

With the aim of presenting the beauties of the Bosphorus to the public, the "Bosphorus Coastal Road", which starts from Tophane Square on the Rumeli side and goes all the way to Sarıyer, was built. In fact, although this road starts from Karaköy Square, Tophane is accepted as the starting point of the Bosphorus Coastal Road, as it reaches a width of 30 meters for the first time in Tophane. The coastal parts of this road were afforested and defined as a walking path and opened to the use of domestic and foreign investors.

Tophane warehouses, Tekel Store and warehouses, where the Former Ford Assembly Factory is located in the Salıpazarı region, and the SATIE Office and Service Warehouse built by Sedat Hakkı Eldem in 1934 have been completely demolished. In Fındıklı, a part of Atatürk Girls' High School and Fine Arts Academy Garden, parts of warehouses and shops extending to the street, the bath of Molla Çelebi Mosque were demolished as part of road widening works, and the coastal road to Dolmabahçe was widened. In the Book of İstanbul, the demolished baths are described as places where they "turned into a den, where there were bums' quarters, and people with criminal records." It can be said that these zoning works are attempts to gentrify the region [148,153].

As it is explained in more detail in the "Democratic Party Political and Economic Policies Analysis" section of the thesis, in the events that took place on 6-7 September 1955, attacks on Greek, Jewish, Armenian citizens and their properties took place. These events undoubtedly damaged the multicultural structure of the Galata Region. As Akıncı relates, a significant part of the non-Muslim population left the Galata Region, quitting their jobs and returning to their countries. It has been seen that the Turks did the jobs that non-Muslims left behind [118].

According to Akın, in the 1950s, all the entertainment venues in the city were located in the Beyoğlu-Galata region. Crystal and Taksim Municipality Club, Tepebaşı Club, Cumhuriyet

When the Salıpazarı Port facility of this period is examined, it is seen that the port problems experienced in the Single Party Period continued. Cargoes are still being transported by barges from ships and the resupply of cargo takes weeks. The difficulties of İstanbul Port in transporting goods are expressed in the international press [148]. While the situation of İstanbul Port was like this until 1950, practices to revitalize the Salıpazarı Port Facilities started in 1950.

During this period, the shallow parts of the coast were deepened so that barges and fork-tanks could dock comfortably. The sea was filled by hammering reinforced concrete piles of 20 and 30 meters into the sea. This area was filled with 2300 reinforced concrete piles, and a new 310-meter quay area was built. With these works, the dock was expanded and the length of the dock reached 610 meters. Four Victory type ships can dock at the same time at this renovated dock. The old cranes before 1950 were replaced, resulting in a significant increase in the loading and unloading speed of the port. As reported in the Book of İstanbul, it is stated that the port has a facility where it can meet all the needs of the Rumeli side of İstanbul. Within the scope of the Salıpazarı Port Facility arrangement, four two-storey, 23-meter-high warehouses covering an area of 32 thousand square meters were built behind the quays. Three five-storey modern warehouses were built behind four warehouses [148].



Figure 3.42. Model work showing the warehouse and docks of the Salıpazarı Port [148].



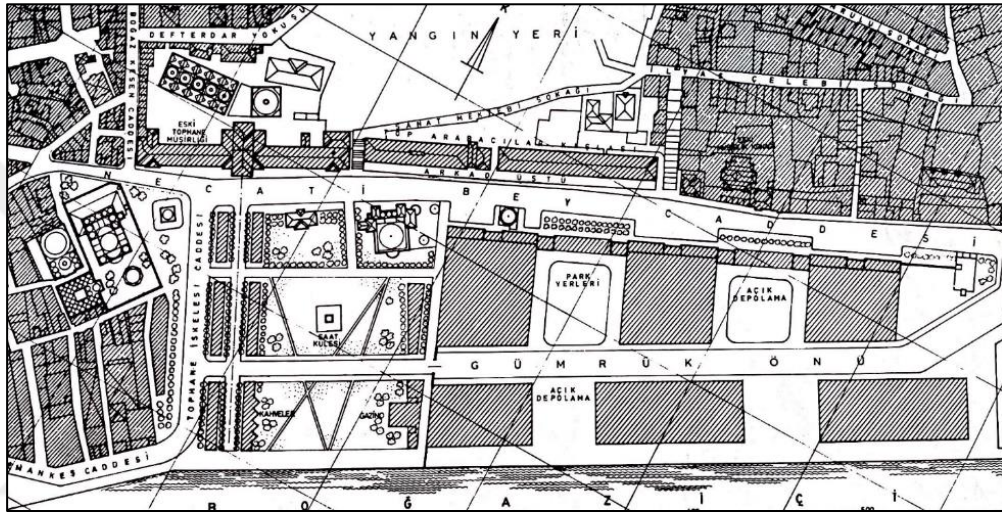
Figure 3.43. Construction of the Warehouse and Docks in the Salıpazarı Port [148].



Figure 3.44. Salıpazarı Port section, prepared by author [148].

Sedad Hakkı Eldem's Tophane Square Arrangement Project of 1958, which belonged to the Salıpazarı Port Facilities during the Democratic Party period, is important. In this context, the new customs and warehouse facilities stretching from Salıpazarı to Tophane and the Karaköy Dolmabahçe road have been expanded and discussed. However, how the Tophane side of the complex will be handled has been the subject of discussion. With the arrangement work carried out, it is planned to open the distance between Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque and Nusretiye Mosque to the sea and to turn this place into an important square by ensuring the former vitality and order of Tophane Square. In Eldem's project, there are bazaars on both sides of Tophane Square, and facilities such as coffee shops and Clubs on the sea side, as seen in the plan given in Figure 3.47. Tophane Clock Tower is also located in the center of the square. According to the plan, the old Müşirlik Building, Tophane Barracks and the rows of shops in front of them, which were destroyed for no reason during the DP period, will be preserved or given new functions. However, a very different arrangement from Eldem's plan was implemented in the applications of the Salıpazarı Port Facilities that took place during

the DP period. Firstly, while Eldem suggested that three warehouses be built for this area, four warehouses were built by the government. With this extra warehouse made by the state, Eldem's plan for Tophane Square was invalid. While the square was opened up to the sea in Eldem's design, the connection between the square and the sea was broken with the construction of the fourth warehouse. Coffees and Clubs designed by Eldem were not used in the square work that lost its validity. In addition, while the Tophane Barracks and the Old Tophane Consultancy were preserved in Eldem's plan, these two structures were demolished



during the implementations [160].

Figure 3.45. Tophane Square Arrangement Project by Sedad Hakkı Eldem [160].

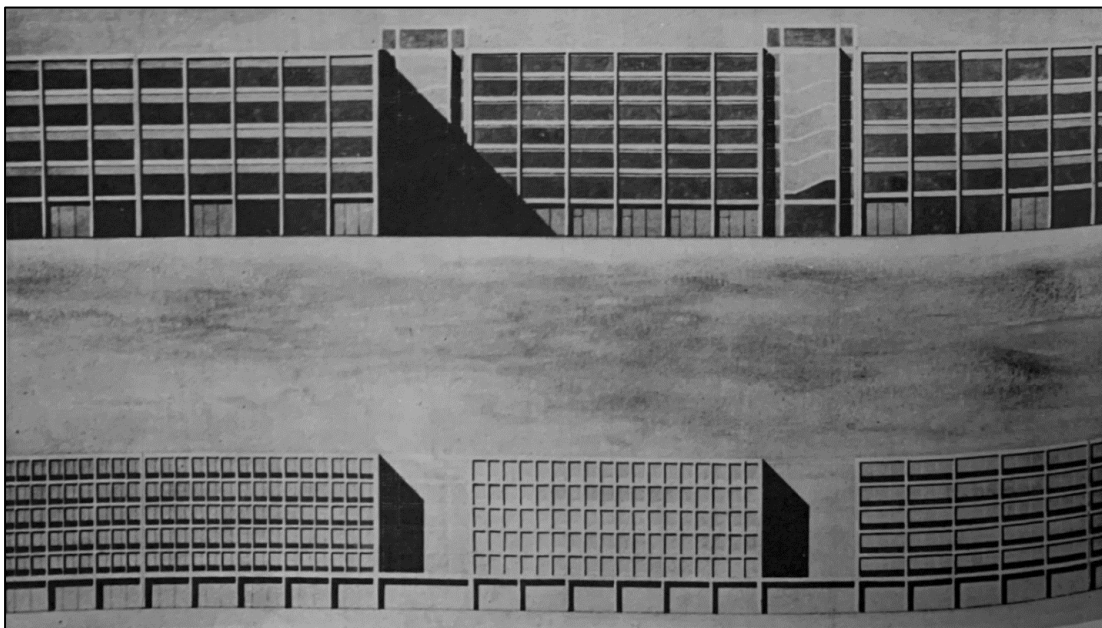


Figure 3.46. Front and rear facades of warehouse structures [160].

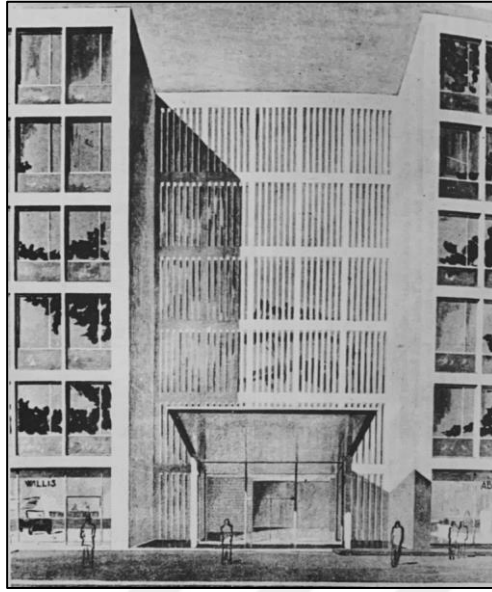


Figure 3.47. The entrance of the office building in the project [160].

In this period, apart from the arrangement of the Salıpazarı Port Facilities, there has been no work on the Karaköy Port.

The rhetoric in the book *İstanbul's Port*, which was published by the DP government, regarding the arrangement of the Salıpazarı Port Facilities is remarkable. It is stated that the Salıpazarı Port is seen as an important element of the development of İstanbul and Turkey. In addition, after the Haydarpaşa Port Facilities were completed on the Anatolian side, these two port facilities were compared to the fortresses that Fatih Sultan Mehmet had built on the Anatolian and Rumelian sides to conquer the city.

Certain inferences can be made regarding the examination of all these political and economic policies, the reconstruction of İstanbul and the arrangement of the Salıpazarı Port Facilities. The Democratic Party, which came to power in 1950, displayed liberal policies in its power until 1960. Based on the principle of "laissez passe, laissez faire", liberal policies aimed at development by supporting the private sector and prioritizing capital accumulation. It can be said that in the first four years of their rule, economic welfare increased and in parallel with this, the rate of votes was high. However, after 1954, the economic policies exhibited did not bring the expected prosperity. For this reason, the DP between 1954 and 1960 has lost its reputation in the public. It can be said that the reconstruction of İstanbul was seen as a stopping effect on the aforementioned bad course of the DP in this period of political and economic difficulties. Because, with the reconstruction of İstanbul, first of all, the city will

make its name more known in the international arena and thus it will be able to attract more tourists. In addition, it can be said that the aim of making İstanbul more attractive for domestic and foreign investors has created a motivation for the state for the development of İstanbul. Within the scope of the reconstruction of İstanbul, the construction of roads and various squares such as Vatan, Millet, Kemeraltı Streets came to the fore. These activities can be thought of as investments by a government that adopts liberal policies. In general, these applications are seen as applications that increase the urban economy and thus contribute to the country's economy.

At this point, the opening of Karaköy Square in Galata and the opening of Kemeraltı Street and then its transformation into the Bosphorus Coastal Road turned the city into a city of cars and were seen as actions aimed at expanding the city and growing the economy.

Similarly, the transformation in the Salıpazarı Port Area constitutes an important element of İstanbul, which has developed with consumption, like imperial cities, from the late Ottoman period to the present. With İstanbul having a modern port, there are expectations that the economy of the city and the country will develop. Failure to comply with the plan of Sedat Hakkı Eldem during the construction of the port can also be read as the DP's search to increase the capital, which was in a political and economic depression during this period.

The identification of the construction of İstanbul with the conquest of İstanbul, which is repeated many times in the Book of İstanbul, is another matter of discussion. It can be said that it is more prominent as a political discourse. While Fatih had conquered İstanbul with his significant military success, the power of the period may have thought that he had made an economic conquest through construction in a way that kept pace with the period. In addition, this rhetoric can be expressed as discourses developed to gain prestige in their eyes by targeting the nationalist-conservative segment, which generally appeals to the majority of the society.

3.4. INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES ON GALATA PORT FROM 1960 TO 1980

3.4.1. Examination of the Political and Economic Policies Between the Years 1960 and 1980

In this period, which started with the 1960 coup, followed by the 1971 memorandum and the 1980 coup, Turkey experienced a different (particular) period from the world conjuncture. In this period, when the world began to take shape with post-modernism, Turkey's political and economic policies underwent significant changes, especially with the effect of coups. In the process of these ruptures, military power has made its impact on politics and economy intensely felt. In this period, Turkey remained in political and economic instability and became able to be evaluated independently of world developments. For this reason, developments such as the space race that took place within the scope of the cold war, the Cuban Revolution, and the defeat of the USA in the Vietnam War in 1975 were not included in the scope of the thesis, although they undoubtedly had an impact on Turkish politics.

As a result of the coup which occurred on the date 27th May 1960, President Celal Bayar was dismissed from his duty, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, Minister of Finance Hasan Polatkan and Minister of Foreign Affairs Fatin Rüştü Zorlu were executed and then the period of DP government came to an end. The coup dated 27th May 1960 was observed in the Turkish community with two separate ideas. While one part of the community defended that it is a democracy supporter movement against the regime of pressure which was created by DP, on the contrary, the other part stated that it was a coup against democracy. (The day 27th May was celebrated as the Fest of Freedom and Constitution beginning from 1960 until the 1982 Constitution.)

As a result of this coup experienced, the country administration was taken over by NUC (National Unity Committee) which committed the coup [161]. One of the most important developments of this period was the constitution which was enacted on the date 9th July 1961. This constitution takes part in literature as the “1961” Constitution. By means of the 1961 Constitution, the political and social rights were expanded, right to congregate and demonstrate was recognized and the concepts of freedom of religion and conscious,

collective bargaining and strike right, autonomous university and planned economy took part as well. With regard to the legal framework presented, this constitution is known as the most libertarian and laborer-supporter constitution of the history of Republic [162]. In addition to this, the fact that TİP (Workers' Party of Turkey) which had socialist opinions was also represented in the parliament in that period can be considered as one of the most important developments on the subject of democratization [103]. As it is quoted by Akşin, following the coup committed, it became a period in which lots of moves were implemented in democratic sense [36,162].

The concept of planned which takes part in the 1961 Constitution is considerably important. As it is quoted by Eğılmez, the most important problem of the economy policies which were implemented with regard to the liberal approach between the years 1950-1960 that these were not implemented in the frame of a plan and program and the results concluded with failure [13]. According to Pamuk, it is expressed that the applications which were performed in the coverage of the liberal economic approach saved the day only and they failed because they were developed in the frame of the populist policies only [37]. On account of all of these above-stated reasons, the planned economic development became a rule of the 1961 Constitution. DPT (State Planning Organization) was established on the date 30th September 1960 in order to follow a planned development model in economic meaning [103]. The five-year development plans were implemented beginning from 1963 under the supervision of this committee. Using the expression of the Planned Mixed Economic Model which is used by Eğılmez for the economic policy which was valid in the country between the years 1960 to 1980 is important [13]. At this point, it is important to understand the Mixed Economic model exactly. The mixed economic system is an economic system in which the private sector and the public sector took part within the market and at the same time the government intervened with the market by means of putting limitation over the prices, rents and economic indicators within the country [13]. In the coverage of the mixed economic system, while the government could take a primary pushing role in the economic development and industrialization moves, sometimes it could also undertake a leading mission for the private sector as a pioneer as well. Although the mixed economic system is an international expression, the sector in which the government will make investments may vary according to the government implemented. For instance, the government appears as a primary pushing power on the subject of the industrial sector in Turkey. In addition to this, as it is quoted by Hamitoğulları, it can be said that the mixed economic system occurred for the purpose of

creating a system which is in line with more functional and social state approach, by means of mixing the principal characteristics of the economic understandings of both capitalism and socialism [163]. As it is quoted by Karpaz, according to socialists, they alleged that the businessmen and entrepreneurs were favored in this system and stated that it is a system which serves the capitalism only [103]. In this period, this system was also criticized by the liberals with the ground that it was for the government incentives which do not provide any benefit about economic development and which function quite heavily due to the governmental inspections [103]. As it is seen, although the mixed economic system accommodates the principal characteristics of socialism and capitalism, it can be said that this system is a system which do not address to any of these parties. What is tried to be expressed here is not only the meaning of the mixed economy but also the reason of implementing the mixed economy as an important matter. It is also important to understand why Süleyman Demirel who was not only the party leader of AP which claimed to be continuance of DP but also the Prime Minister of Turkey moved away from the liberal economic understanding. One of the reasons to be put forward regarding this situation is the insufficiency of the capital in the country. The fact that the stability could not be caught in DP period in which the liberal policies were adopted and no capital accumulation was formed in this process can be considered a reason for adopting the mixed economy by AP. In addition to this, as it is already stated above, the budget deficit which realized as a result of the unplanned economic approach of the DP period and the increasing foreign debts caused economic difficulties in the next process. It can be said that it was targeted at a liberalism under the governmental supervision, without moving away from capitalism not to repeat the mistakes in that period. To mention it in short, while the Mixed Economic system was implemented between the years 1965-1980, then the market economy was implemented beginning from the year 1980 until today.

The first democratic election which was performed, following the 1960 coup, was made on the date 15th October 1961. As a result of this election, none of the political parties took the enough vote to be to come to power alone, therefore the coalition government of CHP and AP (Justice Party) was established [164].

As a result of the coalition government established, İsmet İnönü became the Prime Minister and Full General Cemal Gürsel became the President. According to such information, the controlled democratization efforts are seen under the military supervision following the 1960

Coup. Not only because of the fundamental differences of opinion in these parties but also due to the disagreements on the subject of taking the previous DP deputies from the jail, the above-mentioned CHP-AP coalition was dismissed in 7 months after its formation [164]

In the minority government which was formed by CHP, Prime Minister İnönü resigned from prime ministry duty because the budgetary proposal which was prepared by Prime Minister İsmet İnönü lost a vote of confidence at the parliament in 1964. As a consequence of the immediate election which was performed on the date 11th October 1965, the AP government came to power (with 53% vote percentage) under the leadership of Süleyman Demirel [103]. It can be said that AP is a continuance party of DP with regard to some primary subjects and it was settled on the right position in politics [164]. In this period, AP adopted more conservative policies on the political area just like DP and thus achieved to gather the votes of the villagers, workers and urban low-income groups as well [103].

As it is already stated above, after the foundation of the DPT (State Planning Organization), the planned economic understanding which was penetrated into the 1961 Constitution was implemented for the first time between the years 1963-1967 by means of the First Five-Year Development Plan. The import substitution industrial strategy started to be implemented as of the year 1960. The strategy of this plan is expressed as “Easy Substitution” by Kepenek [92]. It was targeted to produce the consumables which were previously imported and which could be produced with lower budgets within the country. In line with this purpose, the entry of the imported commodities was restricted as well. The private industrial investments which were supported by the government during the implementation of this plan even exceeded the target and thus considered quite successful. 7% planned growth rate was also reached.

Meanwhile, the worldwide anti-capitalism protests which started firstly in Paris, France in 1968 and then spread over the Europe and among the college students in the USA started to show its influence intensively in Turkey [162]. As a consequence of the 68 events as it is known in the public and occurred in 1968 (the leftist young generation of this period is also called 68-generation), this newly-appearing wave of revolts became effective throughout the Turkish territory in particular and the right-left separation which caused tensions in the parliament in the beginning was then turned into the right-left conflict in the community afterwards. With the arrival of the 6th Fleet of the USA on the date 17th July 1968, it is observed that the conflicts became much more serious. Towards the end of the 1960's, it became a period in which the social tension was so high with the protests of various rightist

and leftist groups. The Second Five-Year Development Plan was implemented between the years 1968-1972. This plan strategy can be called “Advanced Substitution” [92]. It was targeted to produce the previously imported commodities in the country. Differently from the previous plan, it expresses the industrial investments towards the technological products with higher added values. In addition to this, it can be said that more liberal moves were experienced in the coverage of the Second Development Plan as well. In this period in which the private sector was encouraged, the government laid the foundation of Keban Dam in 1965 and then it is completed in 1975. Bosphorus Bridge was also built in 1973. It can be said that the projects which were realized by Demirel in these periods ensured an increase of welfare throughout the country. 7% planned growth target rate was also reached. Choosing the industry sector as the leading sector caused in increase in energy requirements. However, the need for energy which could be met by means of importation gave rise to the growing current deficit as well. Thus, the period of high inflation and devaluation started. Because of this reason, an unfair distribution of income occurred. Although the above-stated achievements were reached in economic sense, in the period in which AP came to power alone with its success in the elections in 1965 and in 1969 beginning from the collation which was formed with CHP in 1961, it is also seen that the political tension increased proportionally.



Figure 3.48. A photograph taken from the Anatolian side of the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge [165].

The social tensions which were experienced in the beginning of the 1970's were then turned into conflicts. The armed forces that claim that they are responsible for ensuring the internal

security felt the need to intervene with the situation and eventually they declared the Memorandum dated 12th March. It was decided to establish a technocrat government superseding the political parties in the military administration following the 12th March Memorandum. Nihat Erim was appointed to lead this technocrat government and he became the Prime Minister on the date 26th March 1971. One of the most striking events of this period is the hemp problem which posed a serious problem in the relationships between Turkey and the USA. It is clearly obvious that the agricultural revenues of Turkey were negatively affected by the prohibition of the hemp production in the period in which Nihat Erim acted as Prime Minister. In addition to this, as one of the most important developments encountered in this period, the expression that “This constitution was luxury for us” implies the modification of 40 articles of the 1961 Constitution [36]. According to this information, it can be said that having a constitution which supports the workers and labor in Turkey in the 1960's is considered as a principal responsible for the domestic disorder. The technocrat Nihat Erim government established came to an end on the date 22nd May 1972.

CHP led by Ecevit became the first party and AP became the second party as a result of the elections dated 17th October 1973. The period of coalitions got started. The year 1974 started with the pains of forming the coalition. The government of CHP and MSP (National Salvation Party) was formed. MSP which represents the Anatolian industry and traders and CHP which defends the National Industry and Mixed Economy opinion get along with each other. The secular and religious opinions which fought throughout the history of Republic now got together for the first time [36].

It was entered into the third plan period with high inflation and high current deficit. The Third Five-Year Development Plan was implemented between the years 1973-1977. It was targeted to increase the production of the investment commodities and intermediate goods instead of the consumables in this plan. While growth target was 7,9% in the economic plan which was made for the industry, the real economic growth realized remained at 6,5% [92]. In addition to this, various growth targets were set on different areas but the intended purpose could not be attained. Whenever the situation is examined according to the conjecture of the period, the primary reason of this situation was experiencing the tide by the global economy. There were not only political but also social instabilities in the country. Because the petroleum-producer Arab countries reduced their petroleum productions and restricted its supply gradually, the petroleum crises dated 1973 and 1979 happened and thus the petroleum

prices increased [1]. The petroleum prices which increased to 4-4,5 times with the economic crisis caused great economic problems particularly for the petroleum-importer countries the energy productions of which depend on the foreign countries like Turkey. It can be said that a significant external deficit formed in economic sense in this period as well. Consequently, it is also possible to state that this crisis affected the failure in realizing the targeted growth rates too.

Cyprus Peace Operation is important as being the first cross-border operation of the Republic of Turkey. This operation is an event which affected the foreign relations of Turkey for long years. Cyprus Peace Operation started on the date 20th July 1974 and then it was completed successfully in the same year.

While the support increased for Ecevit in the country following Cyprus Peace Operation, the western world started to have an attitude against Ecevit. Not only he freed the cultivation of hemp by means of raising an objection against the USA but also, he realized Cyprus Peace Operation. This tension caused the desire of the USA to punish Turkey by means of the embargos and economic presses which were implemented against Turkey. As a consequence of the embargo implemented, no debt could be taken from the foreign countries and no gold reserve was formed [166]. The Cyprus embargo implemented and the sudden rise of the petroleum prices in 1973 triggered the economic crisis which will last for long years. This economic crisis period, in which the economic sanctions were reflected on the people as huge price increases, became a period in which long queues were formed for bottled gas, sugar and oil. The economic crisis and sharing the Cyprus victory shook the coalition government as well. Following the government collapsed, no new government could be formed for 6 months period of time. The tension between the government and the people increased every day because of the economic crisis and political uncertainty. It is a period in which the society was separated into right and left. A rapid disintegration was being experienced not only in the parliament but also on the streets.

This uncertainty experienced came to an end with the MC (Nationalist Front) government which was formed by AP, MSP, MHP and Güven Party [162]. The purpose in forming the MC was to show a reaction against the leftist parties and to stop the reinforcement of the leftist groups. Consequently, the years 1974-1975 were spent with such tensions. CHP and DİSK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions) united their powers at the left front and then they formed a strong opposition against MC. The revolutionist-idealist fights increased

and intensified on the streets.

The year 1977 became the year of the immediate elections, collapsed governments and a restless army. Consequently, it was entered into this year with a full depression and great difficulties were experienced economically and further the scarcity of foreign exchange reached the unbearable levels. No electricity was provided to Bulgaria because it was not paid and similarly Iraq reduced the petroleum valves because no money could be paid for it and the consequently the queues for petroleum gradually prolonged. As a result of such developments, a period of price increases came with up to 200% price increases.

Due to the political and economic problems experienced the government which was formed by Ecevit in 1977 came to an end again with the resignation of Ecevit in 1979. The Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (1979-1983) which was started to be prepared at the time of Ecevit could not be realized as well. When the year 1980 comes, the economic situation could not advance in stability because of various different reasons. As a solution to all of them, the opinion was adopted that the problems could be eliminated by means of bringing much more radical solutions for the economic problems.

The grounds of the decisions dated 24th January 1980 were prepared which were arranged in compliance with the requirements of IMF, together with Turgut Özal who was appointed as the undersecretary of prime minister with Süleyman Demirel.

As it shall be also mentioned in the chapter “Examination of the Political and Economic Policies between the years 1980-2001”, it was started to implement the Liberal policies for the purpose of ensuring the compliance of Turkey with the global markets and attaining the economic stability by means of the decisions dated 24th January 1980. However, because of the fact that the transition into the neoliberal policies is a decision which is in nature of a revolution for the Turkish economy, it was not possible in this period in which the social unrest was already quite widespread due to the rightist-leftist conflicts. Because of this reason, it can be said that the performance of the coup dated 12th September 1980 constituted the required political conditions for implementing the neoliberal policies properly.

3.4.2. The İstanbul Urban Policies Between the Years 1960-1980

The DP period with the Prime Ministry of Menderes came to an end with the military coup in 1960 and then Turkey started to enter into a new period. However, the influences of the coup did not finish immediately but continued until the years 1962-1963. Such that, after three mayors who were brought by the military administrations in 1960, the mayors who were attached to the political parties could not undertake the duties until 1963, as Tunan Ertuğ in 1962 and Kadri İlkay and Niyazi Akın in 1963 [167].

Whenever the political and social events which were experienced as a result of the coup were combined with the heavy economic conditions of that period, it carried the architecture and urban planning in Turkey to a very different conjecture. DPT (State Planning Organization) was established in 1960 in order to accelerate the economic and social development of the country following the coup and it started the planned economy period with the five-year developments plans as prepared. As it is also quoted by Hasol, the DPT had two agencies in that period. These were established as the Economic and Social planning agencies and no agency was established concerning the physical planning. Although this situation was considered a missing point by the Chamber of Architects and by various people of that time, such an agency was not established and the work of planning was left to the Ministry of Development and Public Works which was established in 1958 [59].

The Directorate of Development and Planning was formed as bound to the Ministry of Development and Public Works in 1958 for İstanbul which experienced the influence of the development attempts which were carried out in person by Adnan Menderes who was the prime minister of the period in 1956 in which the economy started to have difficulties after DP lost the power and then Professor Piccinato was charged as the chief counselor of this bureau. Although this unit made some preparations for the master plans, it was not supported following the coup in 1960 and then closed in 1961 [168].

Afterwards, the “Transition Period Measures Council” which was held under the framework of the municipality relating to İstanbul plan and then the land usage plans with the scale 1/15.000 and the Bosphorus protection plans with the scale 1/5000 which were prepared by the planning group which was formed by means of its own limited resources of the municipality could not brought up to the approval stage [168].

After the development plans which were prepared by the DPT were put into implementation, the plans concerning İstanbul were requested by the National Security Council in order to solve the problems which were created in the city by the unplanned developing industrial corporations in particular. As a consequence of the plans which were prepared with the additional attempts of the Municipality of İstanbul (and in the other provinces), NSC (National Security Council) charged the Ministry of Development and Public Works in order to establish the master plan bureaus in all of the major cities and then established the required legal ground to ensure the foundation of the plan bureaus accordingly. Following this legal framework provided, İstanbul Master Plan Bureau was established in 1965.

It appears that all of these developments carried the work of development planning from the local to the center. The master plan offices of all of the mentioned metropolitan municipalities are reporting to the Metropolitan Planning Office Presidency and consequently to the Ministry of Development and Public Works. Many constitutional and legal regulations which were enacted afterwards accelerated the processes concerning the development in Turkey and enabled the urban planning to be performed only by the urban regional planners who acquired the required authorizations.

In this period, the population of İstanbul which was 1.533.882 in 1950's increased to 2.293.823 in 1965 and this population increase realized particularly because of the domestic migrations and also due to the accession of Kartal into the metropolitan borders [169]. In addition, some problems occurred such as the accelerated industrialization and consequently the increased demand for lands in 1964. As it is quoted by Zaim, 265 of 1.293 industrial corporations of this period were established only in the period 1960-1963 according to the industrial census which was performed in 1964 and this period became the period in which the fastest increase was experienced [170]. The traffic jam problems also appeared because of the increased number of industrial corporations and the accelerated domestic migration into İstanbul. As it is quoted by Tekeli, the number of the journeys which were fulfilled with vehicles in 1950 was 765.000 only, this number increased to 2.050.000 in 1965 and thus it increased approximately for three times [52]. According to the figures indicated, this period could be interpreted as a historical range in which the quantity of İstanbul increased so much in comparison with the previous periods. Consequently, the problems which were brought with the quantity started to appear in the city and it gave rise to the housing, urban infrastructure, vehicle roads and squatting problems in particular.

Firstly, the municipality (in 1963) and then the İstanbul Directorate of Development which is reporting to the Metropolitan Planning Office Presidency (in 1965) encountered the above-shown quantitative increase concerning the planning of İstanbul in the 1960's. The National Security Council requested an Industrial Master Plan from the Ministry of Development and Public Works in 1963 and then the municipality worked jointly with the Marmara Regional Planning working group in accordance with this request and put forward an industrial plan which was approved in October 1965 and in which 9 separate industrial regions of İstanbul were specified. As it is quoted by Bilsel, this plan which was composed of the industrial regions with the size of 200 hectares for each in Halkalı, Topkapı, Rami, Kurtköy and also comparatively smaller industrial regions in Bomonti, Levent, Oto Sanayi, Küçükköy and Ümraniye gave rise to opening 620 hectares of industrial area in the European Side and 348 hectares of industrial area in the Anatolian Side. In addition to this, it was also decided to form the forested area with 500 meters width surrounding these areas for the purpose of preventing the public health from the potential danger of the heavy industrial types in the city center [50].

While the Industrial Master Plan prepared was being discussed in the National Security Council, a recommendation was decided for the purpose of preparing the metropolitan area master plans for three metropolitan municipalities. A Great İstanbul Master Plan Bureau (BINPB) was established with the decision of the Council of Ministers and a power was obtained from the local municipality in order to prepare the master plan within one year period of time. In this period, Piccinato was again invited as a consultant and as a result of his examinations, the reports were presented concerning the matter that planning of İstanbul should be mostly taken up together with the regional planning of Marmara and the metropolis should develop according to a linear open urbanization system. In addition, Piccinato suggested the motorways system and mentioned that the Bosphorus Bridge is of critical importance for the main artery towards Ankara. Piccinato, who also added that İstanbul Port should be moved and İzmit Port will perform the function of the current İstanbul Port [50]. Piccinato, who attracted attention to the infrastructural systems, stipulated the potential traffic problems and put forward that the highway network should be supported by the subway system and dwelled upon the matter that the road routes should be away from the coastline in order to protect the coastal areas and cultural heritage.

As a result of the collection of physical data about the İstanbul metropolitan area and the preparation of maps, together with the established BINPB, as a result of negotiations with different names of the sector, 2 options for the 1/25.000 scale master plan were prepared in 1968. The Ministry of Construction and Settlement and the State Planning Organization made attempts to investigate the master plan assumptions selected, and a 1/25,000 master plan proposal was prepared in 1971 together with the Great İstanbul Master Plan Report. As Bilsel reports, they presented this plan before all the research was finished, and after the World Bank chose İstanbul as a pilot city to finance urban projects. The World Bank is expected to finance these prepared projects, and the rapid removal of the project brings with it the idea that the source will be provided easily [50].

Tekeli lists the basic principles of this plan, which is called the East Marmara Plan, after the plans of BINPB, the last major revision of which was completed in 1967;

1. The first of these is to preserve the summer resort character that continues along the coast of İstanbul, which is trying to cope with the problems of intense migration and population, and to solve the density problem that will be added to this area with a secondary inner linear axis. In this way, it is envisaged to preserve the linear and uninterrupted character of the coasts as well as the resort area.
2. For İstanbul, which is topographically autonomous from the Marmara Sea, both the creation of a polycentric local metropolis, and the use of the potential of the Sea of Marmara, as well as its divisive nature, are required to make it binding. Accordingly, it was thought that as rapid sea transportation techniques developed, the İstanbul-Bursa connection would compete with the İstanbul-Izmit connection, and Bursa would be able to take the burden of the metropolis with strong connections.
3. Another striking principle of the created planning is that the functions that create the metropolis are spread over the region with a higher administrative body, namely the metropolitan administration, and the planning is not to be concentrated in a single center. Decentralizing the institutions that aggravate the traffic load, such as universities, various administrative functions, industrial zones and markets, can be seen as among the main principles of this plan.
4. Finally, in order to homogenize the uneven distribution of the population increase throughout İstanbul, increasing the share of the Anatolian (East) Side section in the development seems important as a result of the plans prepared. Preserving the size

of the city on the European (West) side is important for the passage through the Bosphorus to be controlled [52].

In the same year, a congress was convened for the Planning of İstanbul, and this congress was held between 10-20 April 1967 under the name of İstanbul Regional Development Congress [171]. It was established under the leadership of Vefa Poyraz, the Governor of the period, and the solutions produced by the four main committees on various topics were discussed and announced as congress resolutions. The foundations of İstanbul's urban management and planning were laid in this congress, and decisions were taken not only regarding the existing and accepted plan, but also long-term and necessary legal infrastructures.

According to the reports of the İstanbul Regional Development Congress, more than 85% of the metropolitan area on the border of İstanbul in the late 1960s and early 1970s was urbanized and its population approached 2.5 million [171]. Although its capacity in terms of population, social, cultural and tourism is in a position to compete with world cities, it is seen that it is not at the level it deserves. First and foremost, steps have been taken to change the current administrative regime, which is administered with the same municipality status in all provinces, and infrastructure works for a law amendment to include metropolitan cities, primarily in İstanbul, have begun. Thus, in addition to the municipality, higher administrations, universities, national and international organizations and professional chambers will participate in the studies and activities related to İstanbul. In this context, first of all, local municipalities will be established in order to ensure the participation of the people in regional services, and the metropolitan municipality will be separated from the governorship as a title. Public services related to İstanbul such as water, electricity, gas and transportation will be carried out by the union; It was stated that the transfer of the City Lines, the Inner City Telephone Business to the Union Administration and the zoning movements associated with them should be gathered around a Regional Development Bank. Financial resources and regulations concerning İstanbul's development were also considered, and it was proposed that the Port Managements be owned by the Municipality and their revenues be used as a source. Considering the inadequacy of the available resources, the need for government aid has also been stated, and it has been suggested to follow up on the aid that is thought to be likely to come from international organizations. In particular, it was stated that UNESCO, which was remembered for the proposals it had made in the past years,

should be considered as a cultural center of economic solidarity. As a planning method, a change was made in the cooperation scheme of the existing administrative bodies, and it was stated that the country-region-metropolitan hierarchy should be protected both from the top down and from the bottom up, and it was envisaged that different bodies should be fed from each other, starting at separate levels but at the same time, in the planning process of İstanbul. It has been revealed that university representatives, professional chambers and trade unions, private sector unions, municipalities, councils, and zoning councils should participate in all this cooperation [171].

In the continuation of the Congress, it can be said that the zoning, urban arrangement and infrastructure work in İstanbul were regulated.

It can be stated that İstanbul's development, urban arrangement, and infrastructure works have progressed in tandem with development plans and the congress and legal agreements made with them. In the said period between 1960 and 1980, although the effects of the coup continued until 1963, it can be said that it took 1964 to make the necessary arrangements and take full-fledged action. Yemen divided the urban development of İstanbul into 5 main periods by quoting from Arikboğa. He calls the period between 1960 and 1982, which he puts forward as the first period, the "Search Period". Again, Yemen says that these five different urban periods go in parallel with the 5-year development plans that have been made [172].

In the period between 1960 and 1980, four development plans can be mentioned. When these are briefly reviewed, the following inferences can be made for the city of İstanbul in the said period.

- **First five-year development plan (1963-1967):**

In the first five-year planning process, there is no special title for metropolitan cities, but metropolitan areas are mentioned as metropolitan regions under the title of regional planning and development. In this period, in order to understand the main problems of metropolitan cities and to plan accordingly, data on demographics, population, and the physical condition of the city were collected, and it can be said that economic studies were carried out to a large extent. The economic studies carried out were carried out in accordance with the issues such as creating new attraction centers and industrial areas, solving migration problems, and

carrying out infrastructure work, and solving these problems was especially taken into consideration [172].

- **Second five-year development plan (1968-1972):**

No special distinction was made in the second five-year development plan regarding metropolitan cities. Similar to the first five-year development plan, metropolitan cities are mentioned under the title "Regional Development, Urbanization, and Settlement Problems". Under this heading, it is stated that there is no difference in the duties and organization in big and small cities. However, the potential of metropolitan cities is explained, and it is stated that their economic and social potential, growth and development will be supported. Again, under a separate heading called "Municipal Services", the increasing urbanization and the need for the population's development plans were emphasized, and the urgency of the development plan was stated. It seems to differ from the first five-year plan, especially with the emphasis on the zoning plan [173].

- **Third five-year development plan (1973-1977):**

In the third development plan, which started in 1973, first addressed the issues that the first and second development plans were successful and unsuccessful. The awareness of increasing internal migration has increased. The population will be 70 million at the end of the century, and 55 million of that will live in metropolitan cities. Therefore, the population has come to the fore in the plans to be made. Although it is not a direct title that refers to metropolises, the sub-title of "Settlement" under the title of "Developments in the Level of Living" mostly deals with metropolitan cities. Due to the fact that İstanbul was also included, attention was drawn to the immigration of the East Marmara Region, and it was revealed that the planning did not go in parallel with the population movements. Especially in the sub-title of "General Administration" under the title of "Long-Term Development Goals", it is planned that the drinking water and sewerage services of the metropolitan areas, also called metropolitan areas, will be carried out by the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works. In order to ensure consistency in general administration construction investments, it was stated that necessary coordination and communication should be ensured at all levels between researchers, investors and implementing organizations and the Metropolitan Plan, Master Plan and Zoning Plan offices. The title of "Urbanization", which includes important regulations specific to metropolitan cities, also draws attention. Here, the lack of previous

planning has been emphasized, and these deficiencies are especially urbanization and population growth rates, inefficient working opportunities, the existence of informal and/or undefined services, insufficient employment opportunities, rent and land speculation, insufficient housing stock, slums, infrastructure problems, inadequate planning, and green space problems were noted. In addition to all these, the social, economic, and political importance of all other metropolitan cities, especially İstanbul, not only for their own local but also for the whole country, has been well understood, and it has been expressed as a problem that only a small part of the city can benefit from its social opportunities [174].

- **Fourth five-year development plan (1979-1983):**

The fourth five-year plan also enters the period of 1960-1980, which we discussed in the title of the thesis, but it can be said that it shows most of its impact at the beginning of the next section, which will be discussed between 1980-2000. As reported by Yemen, this plan is the previous development plan from the "Metropolitan Municipality Law" (1984) enacted in 1984 [172]. Therefore, it can be said that the "search period" between 1960 and 1982 almost ended with the fourth development plan and the law in question. Although this development plan includes the preparation stage for the Metropolitan Municipality Law, the first legal attempt was unsuccessful. Again, in this plan, under the "Urbanization" title under the main title of "Settlement", similar to the third development plan, analyses related to population and migration were included, and again, by drawing attention to the negative aspects of the previous plan, it was stated that the arrangements to meet the needs of the cities were insufficient in the previous plan. It was stated that nearly fifty percent of the population lived in slums, and the shanty zone in the peripheries of the city was considered the main problem. The inadequacy of funds for urban infrastructure services was also specifically mentioned, and environmental pollution and sewage problems were also included. The inadequacy of legal regulations is also in question in this period. Again, the shortcomings of the previous period were criticized, and many of the existing problems were attributed to the absence of the metropolitan government, which could not be enacted with legal initiatives at that time. The expected municipal structure here is characterized as an effective and influential structure that provides resources for zoning activities and infrastructure services, protects the consumer, and has a say in the development of the city. However, it was stated that the planning speed could not keep up with the pace of squatting

and industrialization, and the applicability of the plans was very short-term due to these rapid transformations [175].

The approach to urban planning in Turkey is particularly different from that of the 1960s. In this period, which started in 1960, urban planning seems to have moved from the local to the centre. Although it has cooperated with different institutions, it is seen that the country-region-metropolitan area hierarchy is preserved. In addition, it can be said that, especially in the DP period, urban planners with professional competencies and the state and state institutions rather than individuals came to the forefront of zoning activities, not individuals.

According to Kubin, the master zoning bureaus, which were established, seem to have not been able to produce plans that are consistent with the reality and comply with the urbanization rate of Turkey's big cities, especially İstanbul. The reason for this can be seen in the fact that the necessary data collection, evaluation and planning stages of the master offices take a long time, and a rigid and static physical planning approach lacks a flexible planning approach [176].

With the political and social events experienced in the 1960s, the economy turned inward compared to the Menderes and DP periods, and statist policies began to be seen in the economy relatively within the scope of the mixed economic structure. Therefore, in this period, the state seems to be the biggest employer as an urban actor, and public buildings and architectural competitions gain weight. On the other hand, in the private sector, the phenomenon of build-sell, flat-for-floor construction, and cooperatives has started to develop [59].

Leaving aside the planning initiatives of the said period, it can be said that the construction activity that had the greatest impact on the period was the Bosphorus Bridge. Although there has been an intention and an attempt to build a bridge that will connect the two sides of İstanbul since the 1940s, this project was not realized by the governments of the period. However, the bridge has become an urgent need for İstanbul, which grew after the early periods of the Republic. Although Adnan Menderes made attempts and agreements to realize the bridge project to the Bosphorus in 1960 when he was in power, this project was shelved until the Justice Party came to power alone in 1965 with the 1960 coup. The construction of the bridge, which started in 1970 after the conclusion of the agreements and the project design phases, was completed in 1973 [177].

However, the Bosphorus Bridge and the ring roads connected to it seemed to have changed some inner-city dynamics compared to the previous period. Connection roads opened new income gates and speculative areas, making the city suitable for decentralization. As Tekeli reported, the Bosphorus Bridge changed the prestigious areas of the city, and with the increase in private car ownership and public transportation use, large monolithic complexes, sites and mass housing started to be built instead of individual structures. As a result, there has been an intense demand for construction in the northern part of the Bosphorus on both sides, and it has become difficult to protect the natural values of the Bosphorus [178]. However, in his 1978 article in *Arkitekt Magazine*, Tezcan stated that before the Bosphorus Bridge was built, the problems that Tekeli also mentioned were opposed, but he emphasized that the bridge was mandatory. Before the bridge was built, very serious criticisms were made in the press and various channels, and these criticisms were generally realized within the framework of the cost of the bridge, the land speculation it would create, the negative impact on land use plans, and the increase in traffic it would create. Tezcan stated once more that the bridge cannot be directly linked to these issues. Tezcan stated that the land use plan decisions belong to the city municipality and the Ministry of Construction and Settlement, not the Köprü, and he held the municipality and the Ministry of Transport responsible for traffic problems [179].

Along with his comments on the subject, Tezcan gave various statistics on the Bridge for 1974 and 1978, after the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge. Considering these statistics, the population of İstanbul, which was 3,100,000 in 1974, increased to 3,900,000 in 1978, showing an increase of 26%. When the passengers crossing the Bosphorus are compared, the use of the sea route has decreased since the first opening of the bridge, and the increase in the number of people crossing the bridge increased by 175% in four years [179]. Looking at these figures, the criticism that the Bosphorus Bridge increased the total number of trips between the two sides seems justified. However, Tezcan also made a statement about this, and stated that although the population of İstanbul increased by 26% in four years, the total number of Bosphorus crossings was 403,000 in 1974, but this number decreased to 345,000 at the beginning of 1978 [179]. Therefore, the criticisms against the Bridge's unreasonable increase in commuting between the two sides are rotten, and it can be accepted that the bridge in question is a necessity, not an arbitrariness.

The "slum problem" can be considered another subject whose effect on the period was felt in the urban area. As Tekeli stated, with the growth of the city, there was a rapid parcellation process in the regions outside the zoning areas, and although the municipalities took measures on the subject in this and previous periods, the prohibition of registration of slums in the title deed led to the diversification of slums by replacing them with "shared ownership". Again, as Tekeli reported, it seems possible to say that the slum had an impact on the city not only in terms of property relations, but also in terms of making the shanty houses regular by becoming apartments. However, the slum amnesties were expanded and turned into zoning amnesties, so the fact that the slums were transformed into zoning and a certain order in the city was again contrary to the general zoning structure of the city and was relatively irregular [178].

Keleş wrote to the Architecture Magazine in 1972 that after the third five-year development plan was passed by the government and the Parliamentary Budget Planning Commission, neither the second nor the third plan gave enough attention to the slum problem, and stated that the last 20 years of urbanism in Turkey (1950- 1970) called it "slum urbanism" [180].

Despite all this, Keleş seems to distinguish the third development plan from the other two. Despite many inconsistencies and inadequacies, it is seen that the first and second five-year development plans focus on slum problems, and he describes the impression given by the third five-year development plan as leaving the masses living in the slums to their own solitude [180].

The 1960s approached the problem of squatting from a different perspective compared to previous periods, and various preventive, reforming and liquidating measures seem to have been taken. In particular, the implementation of the Slum Law No. 775, which was enacted in 1966, focuses on improvement, liquidation and prevention practices [181].

Despite all these legal measures, it can be said that the data given by Keleş about the period shows that the legal measures did not provide the necessary effect. Keleş draws attention to the fact that law number 775 has prohibited the construction of all kinds of shanty houses since 1967, but the rate of squatting has increased since the law. He stated that while there were 403,400 slums in 56 provinces at the time the said law was enacted, there were 600,000 in 1970, and that around 700,000 slums would be built by the end of 1972 [180].

Although slum areas have started to form near the central business areas (CBD) in İstanbul, it is seen that they are not limited to this at the point reached. As Aslan has conveyed, slum areas have started to be settlement areas for people other than industry and the labor force. By differentiating the periods before and after 1970 by citing the results of the surveys and research, Aslan stated that those who settled in the slum areas before 1970 preferred these regions due to their job opportunities, but those who settled in these regions after 1970, except for the purpose of finding a job, such as proximity, affordable rent wages, and the circle of acquaintances and relatives. stated that they made their choices depending on the factors. [181].

Table 3.2. Table showing the development of the slum population in İstanbul [153].

Years	Slum	Slum Population	% Share of Urban Population
1955	50.000	250.000	14,7
1960	240.000	1.200.000	16,4
1965	430.000	2.150.000	22,9
1970	600.000	3.000.000	23,6
1980	1.150.000	5.750.000	26,1
1990	1.750.000	8.750.000	33,9
1995	2.000.000	10.000.000	35,0
2002	2.200.000	11.000.000	27,0

As can be seen in the table, the measures taken regarding squatting seem to have failed to produce a solution in any period between 1955 and 1995, and the denominator of the slum population over the urban population is increasing every year. For the period between 1970 and 1980, it seems possible to say that almost a quarter of the urban population lived in shantytowns.

In these contexts, it can be said that the problem of slums has ceased to be an urban element that was only related to industrial zones in İstanbul in the 1970s and the following years, and has turned into a socio-economic and cultural element.

As an interesting resource regarding this period, the Report to My Citizens from İstanbul can be seen as an important additional resource. Although urban infrastructure problems could not be completely eliminated during four consecutive five-year development plans, it can be said that considerable progress has been made in this regard. During the Second Five-Year Development Plan period, the 8th Mayor of İstanbul of the Republic of Turkey, Dr. Fahri Atabey especially introduced the projects made between 1968-1973 to the public. Even when looking only within this historical range, the most important ones in İstanbul are Beşiktaş-Arnavutköy Rıhtım Road, Sahnesi Mebusan Caddesi, Kadıköy Rıhtım and Op. It is seen that 3615 new roads and 24 squares were built, including Cemil Topuzlu Street, Şişli Kurtuluş and Maçka Streets. Again, only between these years, 870,091 square meters of green space and public parks including İstanbul Fair, Zoo, Botanical Garden, Yenikapı Atatürk Cultural Park were built. Apart from this, the construction of sewerage, the establishment of many new garbage trucks in the city by the municipality, the establishment of garbage incinerators, the construction of subways, new buses were purchased, traffic devices were renewed, urban lighting was taken into account, and the capacities of public spaces such as theaters and hospitals were increased. With the investments made in the slum areas, title deeds were given to 10438 people, and 149 different social dwellings were established [182].

3.4.3. Examination of the Beyoğlu-Galata Region and Galata Port Between 1960 and 1980

Demographic changes in the Galata region between 1960 and 1980 seem to have affected the economic order of the region. As Arkan reports, the Cyprus Incidents of 1964 (Bloody Christmas) and the Cyprus Peace Operation in 1974 caused a significant part of the Greek population living in Galata to migrate from the Galata Region [67]. According to Akın, interest in Beyoğlu began to decline gradually in the 1960s. Well-known restaurants and patisseries, luxury stores have been replaced by shops and workshops selling cheap goods [66].

According to Çeliksoy, the Beyoğlu-Galata region went through two different changes between 1960 and 1980. The first of these is that some of the Jews immigrated to Israel and more Greeks migrated to Greece, leaving the buildings vacant and neglected. The second important development is that the people who immigrated to Beyoğlu brought their own

cultural understanding to this region, and the old non-Muslim and European Beyoğlu culture is decreasing with each passing year [116].



Figure 3.49. The periods when İstiklal Avenue was open to traffic in the 1960's [183].



Figure 3.50. Taksim Square on 1 May 1977 [184].

In addition, as Yazman reports, the Sheraton Hotel was built on the place where Taksim Club is located in 1975. A new Taksim Municipality Club was built on the Cumhuriyet Caddesi side of Taksim Gezi. It is also important that the Intercontinental Hotel is built instead of the Ottoman Bank in Taksim Square [185]. Between 1960 and 1980, Taksim Square and İstiklal Street were a politically significant region that hosted social demonstrations, strikes, and marches. The events that took place during the 1 May Labor Day events held in Taksim in 1977 thoroughly politicized the place, and 34 people lost their lives in the clash that broke out.

The Marmara Hotel, overlooking Taksim Square, was opened in the 1970s. Compared to the old hotels of Taksim, this hotel promised more modern, comfortable and higher standards to its national and international customers [65].

Fahri Atabey, who served as the 8th Mayor of İstanbul between 1968-1973, conveyed his actions in the Beyoğlu and Galata regions in his book "Report to My Citizens from İstanbul 1968-1973". The Azapkapı Gate was built in Beyoğlu, the restoration of the Galata Tower was completed, the Galata Bridge was paved, and the foundation of the Atatürk Library, designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem, was laid. Opera Park was opened in Taksim and playgrounds were added. Tophane, Fındıklı, Kabataş and Şişhane Squares were arranged. During this period, the Tunnel was renewed and put into service [182].

In 1968-1973 Road Construction and asphaltting works, Şişhane Square roads, Azapkapı-Perşembe Pazarı road, Meclis-i Mebusan Street, Meşrutiyet Street, Tophane İskele Street, Karaköy Tunnel front and Cumhuriyet Street were renewed in the Beyoğlu and Galata regions [182].

The transition to the planned development model after the 1960 coup led to significant changes in economic policies. Products imported until 1960 began to be produced domestically in the 1960s and 1970s. This understanding of production is expressed as import-substitution policies. During the planned development period, developing the power of private enterprise and industrialization were prioritized. Within the scope of the import-substitution industrialization policy adopted in this period, it was aimed to produce for the domestic market by the private sector. The main purpose of import-substitute industrialization is to reduce dependency on imports. With the development of the assembly industry, imports continued with the need for raw materials or semi-finished products. In the

light of all this information, the emphasis on the domestic market as a result of the import-substitution approach led to a decrease in port trade by reducing the purchase of imported goods.

As Demircioğlu relates, the structure of the Salıpazarı Port, which was completed in 1958, began to lose its importance due to its inability to develop as a freight port during the 1960s and its lack of adequate opportunities for development [186]. At the same time, Haydarpaşa Port, located on the Anatolian side, was expanded in the 1960s and was arranged to be suitable for the container system. The fact that Haydarpaşa Port has become more suitable for international maritime trade has also caused Karaköy and Salıpazarı Ports to lose their importance.

In the 1970s, as an arrangement could not be made according to the container system in the Salıpazarı Port Area, it seems to have preserved its status in the 1960s.

3.5. INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES BETWEEN THE YEARS 1980-2001 ON THE GALATA PORT

3.5.1. Examination of the Political and Economic Policies Between the Years 1980-2001

As it is tried to be conveyed in the last part of the title of the thesis "Examination of political and economic policies between 1960 and 1980", it can be said that when Turkey entered the 1980s, political and economic instability prevailed. The Mixed Economy policies, which were the economic policies implemented before the January 24, 1980 decisions, started to be interrupted in the early 1970s, the foreign trade deficit grew day by day, and the country became unable to maintain its economic sustainability. However, there was a pause in exports as raw materials and the necessary technological infrastructure for production could not be purchased. As stated in the title of the thesis "Examination of political and economic policies between 1960 and 1980", the Oil Crisis in 1974, the Cyprus Peace Operation and the economic crisis of the states with which economic relations were established made it very difficult to realize the five-year development plans. In order to realize the plans, support fund assistance was requested from international fund institutions in 1977. Under these

conditions, economic support funds were requested from international funders (IMF, OECD), but these institutions did not consider it appropriate to give a new loan to a state that had difficulty paying the interest on its debt, let alone lending [187]. In 1978, with OPEC's declaration that it would decrease oil supply, the increase in oil prices became an economic problem for countries such as Turkey, which are oil importers [188]. In Turkey, which had difficulties in financing imports due to the increase in foreign trade deficit, there was a devaluation with the increase in inflation and the value of the Turkish currency decreased against the dollar. As a result of the devaluation, imports became very difficult, economic growth stopped, employment and production could not be provided, and export values remained at a much lower level than the targeted rates. Since entering 1980, political and social problems have increased in the geography of Turkey along with the economic negativities. Within the scope of the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan it prepared, the Ecevit government aimed to support people's entrepreneurship, improve the economy by making revisions in foreign economic relations, exhibit a foreign purchase policy in line with investment targets, and postpone debt payments [92]. However, this plan had to be resigned in November 1979 before the first year of the plan could be completed due to the worker and student movements and the right-left conflict in the country [187].

After Bülent Ecevit's resignation, EP Chairperson Süleyman Demirel, who became prime minister on 12 November 1979, appointed Turgut Özal, whose economic knowledge he trusted, as the prime minister's undersecretary. Upon Özal's request, the management of the Planning and Central Bank of the Ministry of Finance and Trade was also attached to him [189].

Süleyman Demirel and Turgut Özal announced reformist economic decisions at a meeting of the Council of Ministers on January 24, 1980. The basic principles of the 24 January Decisions are briefly as follows: [190]

- Adoption of the export-oriented industrialization model rather than the import substitution industry model used in the context of the mixed economy model.
- Adoption of a realistic exchange rate policy to implement the real value of the exchange rate
- Setting market prices based on supply and demand, removing price controls as much as possible

- It aims to take new steps to encourage foreign investment and to open certain production areas under state monopoly to domestic and foreign private capital in this direction.

All articles from January 24 Decisions are undoubtedly important, but other articles are outside the scope of the thesis. In general terms, the decisions taken include the government's non-intervention in the existing market, and the initiation and support of the transition to a free market economy with private initiatives. The purpose of these decisions is to develop the country's economy and increase its share in the global economy [37].

It was necessary to create a framework where the decisions of January 24, which were compatible with the neoliberal theory, could be implemented. In order for the January 24 decisions to be implemented comfortably, a constitution supporting the private sector was needed by changing the decisions in favor of labor in the 1961 Constitution.

Thesis: "What is neoliberalism?" As mentioned in the title, Neoliberalism's definition and practices require that individual entrepreneurship be paved, private property rights be protected, trade is aimed to be carried out on a global scale, and the state's ownership of the economy is left to the free market [191].

It should be noted that these radically reformist decisions were implemented in three stages. The first stage is the period after January 24, 1980, until the military coup of September 12. At this point, Turgut Özal, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel's chief assistant, is the architect of the January 24 decisions.

After the January 24 decisions were taken, they contradicted the stance of the 1961 Constitution, which was in force, in favor of labor, labor and freedom, and could not easily find an area of application. However, it can be said that the 1982 Constitution, which was brought about by the September 12 Coup, created a basis for the decisions of January 24 to be implemented more easily. Turgut Özal, widely regarded as the architect of the January 24 decisions, remained the deputy prime minister in charge of the economy in the technocratic government formed in the aftermath of the September 12 military coup. According to Ahmad, the NSC has shaped its economic policies in accordance with Özal's ideas, which has good relations with the World Bank and the IMF [192].

The technocratic government decided to hold an election in 1983, and as a result of this decision, Özal resigned from the government and founded the Motherland Party (ANAP) on 20 May 1983. Following his election as Prime Minister, Özal continued to implement the January 24 decisions in accordance with neoliberal policies in his government program. According to Ahmad, the withdrawal of the state from the sphere of production is one of the most important innovations in the transition from a mixed economic understanding to a free market economy [192].

Özal, who came to power in the 1983 elections, showed great success in the 1984 local government elections and won the majority of the local governments. The promise of granting title deeds with shanty amnesty was very effective in this. The rhetoric of "deed to slums" / "build apartments, become middle class" and the zoning amnesty were factors that increased the shantytown and the growth rate of the city in this period. The subject of squatting between 1980-2000 will be explained in more detail in the section of the thesis entitled "İstanbul Urban Policies Analysis of the Period 1980-2000".

As mentioned above, populist policies such as giving title to slums worked in favor of ANAP in the 1984 local elections, and they managed to get 41.5% of the votes. As a result of this election, 54 provincial and 328 district mayors were elected, including İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara [193]. With the statements that the level of economic welfare would increase after the election was won, ANAP increased its voting rates. In this period, while the Özal government achieved successful results in promoting exports, the deficiencies in the control of these investments caused a decrease in the positive view of the public towards ANAP. However, this positive picture in exports did not reflect much on inflation rates. The inflation rate was 50.3% in 1984, 43.2% in 1985, and 29.6% in 1986 [194]. The failure of ANAP to achieve the expected economic success was also reflected in the results of the 1986 midterm elections, where the vote rate dropped to 32%. In the process following this election defeat, the results of the constitutional amendment referendum, which included the lifting of political bans on September 6, 1987, are very important. As the constitutional amendment was approved with less than 1% of the vote, former party leaders returned to politics [192]. On the other hand, Özal aimed to stay in power with a possible early election without the former leaders' getting into a full organization, and the general election was held on 29 November 1987. As a result of this election, ANAP continued to rule alone with 36% of the vote, and the second ANAP government period began.

In the second ANAP period, the expected improvements in the economy were not experienced, and the inflation rate could not be lowered. Inflation rates were 32% in 1987, 68.3% in 1988 and 69.6% in 1989 [194]. With the worsening of the economic situation as a result of the military technocrat government's failure to change the anti-democratic laws, the pressure on the opposition grew day by day, and the ANAP's reputation in the eyes of society began to deteriorate [192]. According to Eştürk, the ANAP government started to display oppressive and harsh attitudes in the political sense with the economic downturn [193]. In the local government elections held on 26 March 1989, which took place in the following period, the ANAP government continued its regression with a vote of 21.8%. After President Kenan Evren's term expired at the end of 1989, Özal ran for President. With the ANAP's parliamentary majority, Özal became the eighth President of the Republic of Turkey.

According to Kurmuş, despite the fact that Özal used the term "privatization" prior to the 1983 elections, he was not included in the government program [195]. The expression of privatization was widely included in the program of the new ANAP government, which was established after the 1987 elections were won. Although the concept of privatization existed at the time, it was not widely implemented until Özal became President. However, although it has not found many application areas, it is a very important development in terms of making privatization practiced for the first time in Turkey.

After Özal became president, an important decision was taken in 1989 for the welfare of the society. As Eğilmez reported, financial freedom was achieved with the decision no. 32 [13]. Obstacles preventing foreign investors from investing in domestic TL-denominated financial assets have been removed. Foreigners will now be able to freely invest in financial assets at home, and locals will now be able to freely invest in financial assets abroad. This decision was enacted both as a solution to the foreign exchange shortage in the late 1970s and as a necessity for incorporation into the global world. After this decision, there was an abundance of foreign currency in Turkey [92]. Following these developments, an increase in luxury consumption and welfare was observed in the early 1990s.

In addition to all the information about Özal's period above, Turgut Özal, who made radical changes in the economic policies of the Republic of Turkey with the decisions of January 24, brought a neoconservatism phenomenon that had not been mentioned in the political history of Turkey until this time, with ANAP, of which he is the founder [187]. One of the features of this neoconservatism is that it adopts Neoliberal tools and aims in the context of

economic policies and puts forward a synthesis [196]. As a requirement of this synthesis, in order to obtain the individual factor, which is also one of the cornerstones of Neoliberalism, it is necessary to offer different opportunities than Classical Liberalism's views on society. In the classical liberalism understanding, although the state plays a greater role in the country's economy compared to Neoliberalism, it is not very interested in the cultural and traditional social capital of the society. Conservatives, on the other hand, integrated their views into the free-competitive market economy in the economic field, upon ignoring the values they defend and the institutions they built, internalizing themselves with Liberalism, in a way, and rebuilt and legitimized themselves [196].

This synthesis, by definition of neoliberalism, is in parallel with the state's signing of decisions that will pave the way for the free market, and there is an effort to keep more pluralist populist discourses and oppositional attitudes towards the free market in the minority. Neoliberalism, with its conservative disguise, will be internalized more easily than Classical Liberalism, and the individual factor, which is the cornerstone of the global economy, will be provided [191]. On other words, according to Classical Liberalism, which is an old model of Neoliberalism, social errors have been eliminated and the principle of rebuilding has been redefined through the importance given to social life, identity, tradition, spirituality-religious belief, institutions, places, and cultural values.

After these developments during Özal's term, in the general elections held on 20 October 1991, the True Path Party (DYP) became the first, ANAP the second, the SHP the third, the RP the fourth, and the DSP the fifth. As a result of these elections, no party could get 30% of the votes, which would allow them to be in power alone. During this time, the DYP-SHP coalition was formed, Süleyman Demirel was appointed Prime Minister, and Erdal İnönü was appointed Deputy Prime Minister. Following President Turgut Özal's death in 1993, Süleyman Demirel was elected President that same year. In the local elections held on March 27, 1994, DYP, headed by Tansu Çiller, came second, and ANAP came second. In addition to these election results, one of the most important developments is that the Refah Party (RP) is in third place in terms of votes. He also won the İstanbul and Ankara Metropolitan Municipalities. During this period, the İstanbul candidate of the Welfare Party, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, became the mayor of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality.

One of the most important events of the world conjuncture in 1991 was the disintegration of the USSR. Turkey, which was included in NATO against the USSR threat in 1952, has disappeared. In addition, Turkic Republics such as Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan that were dissolved from the Union gained independence, and Turkey signed cooperation with these states in the fields of education, economy, and culture [197].

When it comes to the 1990s, it can be said that the Turkish economy was in an economic depression with high inflation rates in general. The effort to finance public deficits with central bank resources is the primary cause of the events that will eventually lead to the 2001 crisis. In the economic process that went bad, Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's efforts to fix the deteriorated economy could not go beyond the effort to reduce interest rates artificially. In addition, with the 50% depreciation of the Turkish Lira in this period, the third largest devaluation in history took place. It caused a financial crisis at the beginning of 1994.

The stability decisions of 1994, which are known as the "5 April Decisions" in Turkish economic history, were implemented. Within the scope of the April 5 decisions, IMF assistance was applied and economic recovery was targeted through price hikes in consumer goods. According to Kongar, the April 5 decisions are a repetition of the January 24 decisions implemented during the Özal period. Although there have been some changes in economic policies, as a result, there has been a practice that has returned as foreign borrowing, inflation, and tax burden to the citizens [98]. As a result of the early elections held on December 24, 1995, the Welfare Party continued its rise by receiving 21.3% of the votes. At the end of this period, the "Refah-Yol" government was established in partnership with Erbakan-Çiller. As Kongar reports, an analysis of the political and social situation in 1997 reveals that there was a period of social unrest, murders for bribery and rent money, the violence of the work with the terrorist organizations in the Southeast region increased, and the Welfare Party adopted the understanding of political Islam [98]. Following these developments, the MGK announced its decisions on February 28, 1997 under the heading of "measures to be taken against anti-regime reactionary activities". After this development, Necmettin Erbakan resigned from the Prime Ministry. In the following process, the Refah Party was closed, and Erbakan was banned from politics for five years. After Erbakan's resignation, President Demirel gave the task of forming the government to Mesut Yılmaz. With the ANAP-DSP-DTP tripartite coalition, the new government took office on 30 June 1997.

The economic crisis that took place throughout Asia in 1998 affected the Turkish economy. Far Eastern capitals have started to withdraw from the Turkish market. At the end of 1998, with the economic crisis in Russia, Turkey lost a source of tourism and export income. The Marmara Earthquake, which took place in 1999, had a bad effect on the economy in this period when economic stability could not be achieved. If a general examination of the economy during this period is conducted, the economy shrank by 7%, inflation reached 70%, and an increase in budget deficits was observed.

As a result of the 18 April 1999 elections, in which local and general elections were held together, the DSP-MHP-ANAP coalition was established. The winner of the local elections was the Virtue Party. After this process, the 2001 crisis, which is the biggest economic crisis that Turkey has experienced, followed. The debate between Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit and President Ahmet Necdet Sezer on 19 February 2001 led to the biggest economic crisis in the history of the Republic. As a result of this crisis, foreign capital worth 7.6 billion dollars left the country's economy. The inflation rate rose to 150%, and the Turkish lira depreciated by 40%. About 24 banks, factories, and workplaces went bankrupt. Nearly one million people were unemployed. Due to this crisis, the Turkish economy shrank by 10%. The level of welfare in the country has decreased, and poverty has begun to dominate. In order to overcome the crisis period, Kemal Derviş, who was the Vice President of the World Bank, was appointed as the Minister of State in charge of the Economy. Relations with the IMF improved with Derviş's appointment. However, after the resignation of Derviş, who fell into disagreements with the government in the following process, economic stability could not be achieved again.

3.5.2. The İstanbul Urban Policies Between the Years 1980-2001

It can be said that after İstanbul's meeting with liberalism and westernization in the Late Ottoman Period, the transformation projects made for the city started the global urbanization process of İstanbul, together with the multicultural structure of the city. However, İstanbul, which lost its title of capital after the proclamation of the Republic, began to lose its title as a global city in the first periods of the Republic, as the regime prioritized Ankara politically and economically. It can be said that İstanbul has descended to the status of a major city of the newly born nation-state. In 1956, during the DP period, major demolitions were carried

out for the projects to make İstanbul a vehicle city, and new vehicle transportation axes were added to the urban fabric. However, with the military intervention in 1960, the planned transformation of İstanbul could not be completed. In the following process, İstanbul was handled in urban projects called metropolitan areas, transportation axes were increased with the Bosphorus bridges built, the city borders grew and its population increased every year. By 1980, with the adoption of neoliberal policies, the Turkish economy opened up to the global market more than in previous years. This economic perspective has caused politicians to realize the potential of İstanbul, and it has been seen as an opportunity for İstanbul to be a global city and Turkey's gateway/showcase to the West. The global urban discourse has become the main motivation of the urban policies and urban transformation practices developed for İstanbul.

From 1980 until the present, the ANAP, Refah Party, Fazilet Party, and AKP, who came to power in İstanbul's municipal administration, have built a variety of global city initiatives by interpreting the city's historical, geopolitical, and cultural characteristics in various ways. Although the social and cultural goals of the three urban projects planned for İstanbul differ, they were all designed in response to the Neoliberal policies that were in place at the time.

The master plan, which was produced by the Great İstanbul Master Plan Bureau, which was established in 1965 to safeguard İstanbul's future during this time, was completed in 1980. The neoliberalization process was passed after the military intervention on September 12, 1980, and the effect of this change on the city was seen. First and foremost, the Bureau's master plan was ineffectual and dysfunctional. The elimination of this plan, according to Ekinci, is a loss of the city's planning discipline [198]. The 1/50.000 scale İstanbul Metropolitan Area Master Plan was the name of this plan, which was abolished. Within the scope of this plan, agricultural regions, forest areas, and water basins in the city's northern forests are to be protected. İstanbul's urban development (metropolitan growth area) is planned to expand east and west in a linear fashion. In addition, the plan argued for the preservation of the historic peninsula's cultural texture, as well as attempts to limit building density in the Galata and Bosphorus districts.

The 2nd Bridge and TEM Highway project tenders were issued during this time period, again in breach of the 1/50.000 scale master development plan. The construction of the second bridge began in 1985 and was finished in 1988. The population density in the districts at the bridge's foot, such as Sultanbeyli, has expanded dramatically as a result of the bridge. Furthermore, the 2nd Bridge aided the city's expansion towards the Northern Forests, which the 1/50.000 metropolitan master plan attempted to conserve.

Following its victory in the general election in 1983, ANAP won the administration of İstanbul in local elections on March 25, 1984. The zoning amnesty ordinance of February 24, 1984, according to Ekinçi, was effective in winning the İstanbul local elections [198]. The most notable element of this law is the practice of giving a shanty house title deed rather than a one-time license as in earlier statutes. Following the amnesty, the Improvement Development Plan will be executed over the next few years. The major goal of the Improvement Development Plan is to ensure that the shanty buildings for which title deeds are issued are organized according to a set of rules. Forest and water basins, as well as agricultural regions, were opened for development as a result of this zoning plan. Revenues from infrastructure facilities owned by public institutions and organizations, ownership and operation rights of other state facilities, and domestic and foreign legal entities were sold to individuals under the "Draft Law on Encouragement of Savings and Acceleration of Public Investments" (also known as the "sales law"), which was passed on 28 February 1984. Following the passage of this law, the ANAP government decided to sell the earnings from the Bosphorus Bridge. The goal of this law, according to Ekinçi, was to allow for capital accumulation and to allow public firms to go public [198]. The judgment is significant since it establishes the government's grasp of İstanbul management and investment. Following the local elections in 1984, Bedrettin Dalan, the ANAP's nominee for İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor, was elected and served until 1989 [200]. As Miş explained, the motto "delivering the work" came to the fore in the municipality's perspective during this time [201].

After gaining power, ANAP established good relations with national big-capital owners and competed with Beirut, which had previously been thought of as the most important metropolitan city in the Middle East, with the goal of transforming İstanbul into an international city that appealed to both the Middle East and Europe. As Öktem points out, the activities in this direction were carried out by neglecting the city's natural and cultural

framework, so existing plans for the advantage of the capital owners were applied arbitrarily and stretched [202].

Dalan first started the urban planning works of İstanbul from the Golden Horn. Within the scope of this study, industrial facilities located in the coastal region of the Golden Horn were evacuated. It is aimed to construct facilities for the service sector between Eminönü-Unkapanı on the Historic Peninsula and Karaköy-Azapkapı on the Galata side, and to establish facilities for the service and tourism sector together with the green space arrangement in the coastal area between Unkapanı and Eyüp. As Ceyhan conveys, these studies were not carried out within the scope of a pre-prepared urban planning [200].

One of the important actions that took place in the Dalan period was the efforts to clean the Golden Horn region, which came to the fore with its pollution at that time. "If I am elected, I will make the Golden Horn the color of my eyes." Dalan, who came to the fore with his words, "Conquer the Golden Horn!" described as. Based on this statement, it is seen that the rhetorical allusion to "reconquering İstanbul" with Fatih Sultan Mehmet in the zoning studies carried out during the Menderes period turned into a discourse about conquering the Golden Horn during the Dalan period.

Many lands in Boaziçi were allowed for development in compliance with the zoning ordinance numbered 3194, which was approved on 9 May 1985. According to Ekinci, 121 thousand 158 square meters of land in the Bosphorus' green area of 12 million 199 thousand 463 square meters has been made available for construction. In addition, Ekinci added that former Prime Minister Turgut Özal, Chief Advisor to the Prime Minister Adnan Kahveci, and İstanbul Metropolitan Mayor Bedrettin Dalan also signed the decision [198]. According to Ceyhan, Minister of Culture and Tourism of the time, Mükerrerem Taşcıoğlu, the Bosphorus law is aimed specifically at touristic construction. Again, as Ceylan quoted from the newspapers of the period, Dalan's words "I wish there were lots of land in the Bosphorus, even if there were many Arabs, local and foreigners could sit together", reveals the basic motivation of the construction work in İstanbul [200].

As a result of the Tourism Encouragement law that entered into force in 1984, the famous skyscraper of the period, Park Hotel, and Gökkafe (now known as Süzer Plaza) were built in the area specified as the green area within the park area No. 2 in the Prost plan. This situation can be expressed as the construction of a skyscraper in the park. These projects have changed the dynamics of the region and İstanbul and have led to the realization of many luxury offices, shopping malls, residences, and hotels. As a result of the Tourism Encouragement law that entered into force in 1984, the famous skyscraper of the period, Park Hotel, and Gökkafe (now known as Süzer Plaza) were built in the area specified as the green area within the park area No. 2 in the Prost plan. This situation can be expressed as the construction of a skyscraper in the park. These projects have changed the dynamics of the region and İstanbul and have led to the realization of many luxury offices, shopping malls, residences, and hotels. Examples of these hotels and shopping malls are Swiss Hotel, Conrad Hotel in Yıldız Park, Holiday Inn located in Ataköy coastal area, Penta Hotel in Yeşilyurt coastal area, Yapı Kredi Plaza, Sabancı Center, Ataköy Galeria and Akmerkez. Again in this period, contributing to the idea of İstanbul to be a global city; Investments were made in the trade, business center and service sector.



Figure 3.52. Gökkafe built in Prost's Park No. 2 and the Hilton Hotel at behind [203].

It was desired to create a highway network that connects Beşiktaş and the coastal road in Samatya and reaches Piyalepaşa from both directions. With these roads, it is aimed to cross the İhlamur Valley with viaducts and to reach the new bridges in the Golden Horn with the

Tarlabaşı and Dolapdere Boulevards over Taksim [200]. Tarlabaşı Boulevard, one of the most important points of the Beşiktaş-Samatya project, was created. In addition to the road widening works for the traffic problem of the period, coastal roads were built by filling the front of the mansions in Haliç, Sarıyer, Büyükdere and Arnavutköy with piles on 20 March 1988, and vehicle and pedestrian transportation was provided.

As part of the road widening work, the demolitions started from Eminönü and continued to Balat, from there to Eyüp and Silahatarağa, Sütlüce and Hasköy. On the Anatolian side, the coastal road project, which was created by filling the coastline starting from Kadıköy to Kartal, was completed between 1984-1987. The establishment of İDO in 1987 relieved the inner city sea transportation. Also in this period, a light rail transportation system was established in Aksaray.

After the implementations, land speculations increased in this period. Increasing land speculation has brought about the pushing of the lower classes living in the center of the city to the periphery. As Öktem reports, it was aimed not to lose votes by providing housing production through zoning amnesty and TOKİ for these people, who were excluded from the city center and had to head to the slums [202]. When Bedrettin Dalan's intensive expropriation works, road construction, and practices to develop tourism and trade in the city during the İstanbul Metropolitan Presidency are examined, it reminds of the transformations in the Adnan Menderes period.

However, ANAP lost the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality election in 1989 as a result of many political and economic problems mentioned in the section "Examination of Political and Economic Policies in the 1980-2000 Period" of the thesis. After Dalan, Nurettin Sözen from the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) was appointed as the Metropolitan Municipality Mayor. Sözen continued his duty as İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor until 1994.

In this period, SHP adopted the neoliberal economic policy, although it took an opposing stance to ANAP, but combined its practices with social policies. SHP has decided to stop and review large-scale urban projects that started in the ANAP period and supported by large capital. As Ceyhan reports, the Beşiktaş-Samatya Road project, which was initiated during the Dalan period, stopped nearly 100 projects, including coastal and square regulations, and tourism areas. Within the scope of this discourse, it is important that the construction of the

Park Hotel, which started in the Dalan period, took place in 1993. According to Sözen's statement, his political priorities are not to build Galleria AVM, plazas, and five-star hotels, but to deliver infrastructure and superstructure services throughout İstanbul and to give title deeds to more slum owners [200]. As stated by Kurtuluş and Aslan, Sözen focused on access to healthy and cheap food, metro and tram, and the construction of district mansions within the scope of social-democratic municipalism. He also carried out road construction works between Taksim-Mecidiyeköy and Tophane-Sirkeci. Infrastructure and superstructure work carried out for the slum areas in this period were criticized on the grounds that they legitimize this type of settlement. However, Sözen stated that these practices were carried out within the scope of the services of the municipality with a social-democratic understanding and that not providing services to the slum areas would be an unfair punishment [204]. In addition, the Nazım Plan Office, which was closed during the military intervention, was reopened in 1989. The 1/50.000 scale Master Plan prepared by the bureau was approved by the Metropolitan Municipality in 1994. However, the plan could not be implemented after Sözen left office in the 1994 elections. As Ceyhan successfully conveyed from Ekinci, it was an important development in terms of İstanbul's attaining the Master Plan for the second time [200]. As Öktem quotes from Keyder, the SHP period has been described as a lost period for İstanbul [202]. At the end of this stagnant period for İstanbul, the SHP period in İstanbul came to an end with the 1994 economic crisis, as mentioned in the "An Analysis of the Political and Economic Policies of the 1980-2000 Period" section of the thesis.

In the 1994 elections, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the candidate of the Refah Party (RP), won the election and became the Mayor of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. When the policies of the RP until this period are examined, it is seen that an anti-globalization discourse is dominant. However, after the election, their approach to the economy changed, and an economic understanding based on privatization became dominant by adopting a free market economy. Just like ANAP, RP saw the global urbanization of İstanbul as a factor that would contribute to the Turkish economy. As Öktem quotes from the 1995 Master Plan Report,

“To preserve the historical urban fabric, to organize sports, culture, trade and service areas on an international scale, to improve cultural and social activities, to create international conferences, congresses, art and cultural centers, to open museums and archive centers, to develop tourism potential, to encourage specialization, to promote recreation To improve the quality of tourism and tourism areas, decentralize industry, support the development of the

service sector, improve the transportation and communication system, and develop the central business area [202].

Although there was a large-scale urban project to create an international business center in Taksim Dolapdere in 1998 during the RP period, this project was not implemented due to the lack of necessary capital accumulation.

As Çakır and Çalmuk reported, on the 540th anniversary of the conquest of İstanbul in 1993, Erdoğan said, “Now we are in front of the walls. I hope İstanbul will be conquered again. We will make this change happen.” expression is remarkable. It is quite remarkable that the discourse of "conquest" against the zoning movements in the Menderes and Dalan period was also voiced by Erdoğan. During the Erdoğan period, a mosque project in Taksim Square came to the fore in 1994. As Ceyhan conveys, this project has been the subject of many criticisms, considering that it was designed for political purposes [200]. As will be explained in more detail in the section "İstanbul Urban Policies in the AKP Period", the construction of the Taksim Mosque project, which was not realized in this period, will begin in 2017 and will be put into service on May 28, 2021. Oktay Ekinçi stated that the 1982 Constitution protects the looters for the Tourism Encouragement Law that was in effect in this period in 1994 and that it creates a legal basis for the occupation of the historical texture and natural riches of the country in the name of promoting tourism [198]. As Atasoy reports, the construction of the 3rd Bridge over the Bosphorus in the Dalan and Erdoğan eras has often come to the fore [205]. According to Ekinçi, the city will be occupied by construction due to the ring roads to be connected to the 3rd Bridge and there will be no solution to the urban transportation problem [198]. As will be explained in more detail in the section "İstanbul Urban Policies in the AKP Period", the 3rd Bridge, the foundation of which will be laid in 2013, will be put into service in 2016. On the website of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, there is a statement that Erdoğan produced the right solutions for the chronic problems of İstanbul for the term of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Presidency. In this period, the air pollution, garbage problem, and water problems were tried to be solved. More than fifty bridges, crossings, and ring roads have been built to address the chronic traffic problem in the city [206]. Former IMM Environmental Protection Department Head Prof. Dr. As Mustafa Öztürk reports, various studies were carried out to clean the Golden Horn, as was done during the Dalan period [207].

In the following process, the Welfare Party was closed with the post-modern coup of February 28, 1997. Ali Müfit Gürtuna, the candidate of the Fazilet Party, which was established as the political heir of the Welfare Party after the closure, won the local election in 1999. As Öktem quoted, Gürtuna stated in his report titled "Great Transformation Projects for İstanbul" published in 1999 after he took over the management, that he would work to implement the projects included in the 1995 İstanbul Metropolitan Sub-region Master Plan, which was suspended during Erdogan's presidency. However, due to factors such as the February 28 process, the 1999 Marmara Earthquake, and the 2001 crisis, which is considered the greatest economic crisis in the history of the Republic of Turkey, sufficient capital could not be found to implement these projects.

In the light of all this information, after the 1980 military intervention, the Privatization Law, Tourism Incentive Law, Coastal Laws, and zoning amnesties are the decisions that came into force as of the 1982 Constitution. These decisions resulted in the addition of slums, new districts, skyscrapers, the 2nd Bridge, and tourism areas to the urban fabric of İstanbul. The roads were built to increase the transportation opportunities from the Anatolian Side to the newly built skyscraper areas. As Yapıcı reports, these transformations have been replaced by larger-scale mega projects that can attract world capital since 1999. In this way, the process of İstanbul's becoming a global city has accelerated [207].

3.5.3. Examination of the Beyoğlu-Galata Region and Galata Port Between 1960 and 1980

It can be said that an important part of the actions that took place in İstanbul between 1980-2000 were in the Beyoğlu and Galata regions. This period started with Bedrettin Dalan's mayorship and continued with Nurettin Sözen, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Ali Müfit Gürtuna. Tarlabası demolition was carried out for the construction of Tarlabası Boulevard, which constitutes one of the important points of the Beşiktaş-Samatya project, one of the greatest transformations of the Dalan period. As Ceyhan reports, after İstiklal Avenue is closed to traffic, Tarlabası Avenue will be transformed into a 6-lane, 36-meter-wide boulevard [200]. These demolitions intensified in 1987. During these demolitions, 167 buildings and 386 buildings in total were destroyed in Tarlabası, most of which were defined as protected areas. Ekinci states that the intention behind the creation of Tarlabası Boulevard

is not just to ease the traffic between Taksim and Şişhane. Within the scope of the Beşiktaş-Samatya project, it is aimed to directly connect the skyscraper areas considered in the Piyalepaşa region to Kadıköy and Yeşilköy [116,198].

According to some views, Tarlabası Demolitions dealt a heavy blow to the culture of that period, while according to others, a spacious boulevard was opened with the demolition of derelict buildings that hindered the roads and created security weaknesses [208].

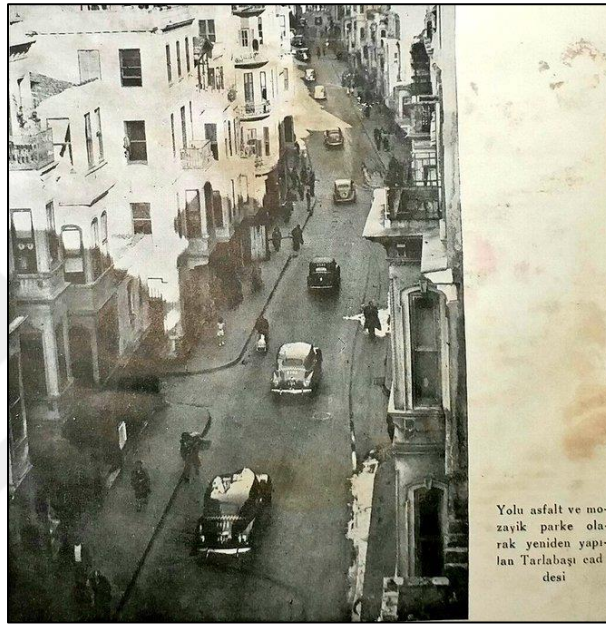


Figure 3.53. Tarlabası Street before it was transformed into a boulevard (1949) [209].



Figure 3.54. Demolition of Tarlabası Boulevard in 1988 [210].

After the creation of Tarlabası Boulevard, underpasses and overpasses were created in order to connect the roads passing here to the Unkapanı Bridge. According to Baslo, after these practices, Şişhane Square, surrounded by roads, lost its former importance [65].

A new Galata Bridge tender was made in 1985 with the construction company STFA. After the construction started in 1987, demolitions were carried out in Eminönü and Karaköy Squares within the scope of the arrangement works [198]. The bridge, which had started to be built again in 1992, was completed in December 1994.

According to the plan of the Beşiktaş-Samatya project prepared in the Dalan period, it was aimed to build the 3rd Bosphorus Bridge just south of the Bosphorus Bridge. In 1988, British Prime Minister Thatcher came to Turkey to announce that British companies were interested in big projects and to negotiate some investments. In line with this goal, Dalan negotiated with Thatcher personally and suggested that an STFA company undertake the tender and that the steel be purchased from British companies. After Thatcher wanted to think for a while, the project was put on hold, and then the project could not be realized after Dalan lost the next election [198].

Park Hotel, which was built as a mansion by the Italian Ambassador Baron Blanc, in the 19th century, became one of the most famous hotels in the region and hosted many important political figures. However, it has lost its old value in the face of the hotels built with new technological opportunities around Galata. For this reason, the hotel was closed in 1979. In 1983, the hotel was restored and reopened. With a decision signed by Dalan in 1988, it was allowed to reconstruct the 33-storey Park Hotel. However, as a result of lawsuits filed by the residents in 1989, the hotel structure was demolished up to the level of the German Consulate right next to the hotel [211].

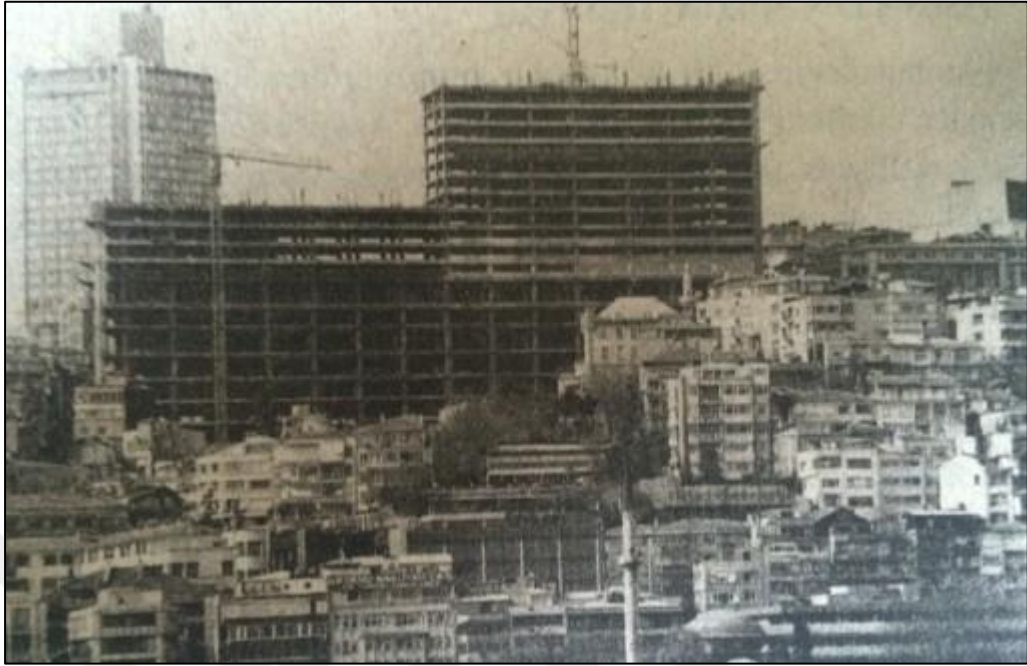


Figure 3.55. Park Hotel, which was under construction during the Dalan period [212].

The construction, which remained idle for years, started again in 2011. The hotel, which was put into service in 2013, is now known as the CVK Bosphorus Hotel.

The construction of Gökkafes in the area designated as a green area in the park area No. 2 in the Prost plan started in 1987 without a license, although the title deed record states that "no construction can be done." A year later, the construction permit was obtained by the municipality.

According to the results of the local elections held in 1989, Dalan lost the election and Nurettin Sözen from the SHP became the Mayor. Sözen continued this duty until 1994. The first developments in the Galata Region during this period were the cancellation of the Park Hotel project license and the suspension of the Gökkafes construction [198]. The construction of Süzer Plaza was sealed by Mayor Nurettin Sözen in 1989. However, construction resumed in 1992 after Süzer Group was found to be right at the end of the court process. As Baslo quotes, Sözen's attitude towards Park Hotel and Süzer Plaza shows that Galata and Pera regions have been protected against capital for the first time since the 1950s, and that the common sense of the people has not been ignored. It can be said that this attitude is parallel to the understanding of social democratic municipalities [65].

During the Sözen period, important actions were taken in Beyoğlu and İstiklal Street. İstiklal Street was closed to vehicle traffic and pedestrianized. Cafes, restaurants, culture houses, galleries and entertainment venues were built in Beyoğlu and Galata Region, and it was aimed to bring the street to a liveliness like in the second half of the 19th century. According to Akin, various nostalgic arrangements have been observed since 1990. As a result of all these, Beyoğlu and İstiklal Streets came to life [66].

As a result of the decision of the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board dated 29.09.1993 and numbered 4954, it was aimed not to spoil the historical texture of Galata and Beyoğlu. For this purpose, 1/5000 scale Beyoğlu Urban Site Conservation Master Development Plan for Conservation has started. As Erbaş quoted, “With the decision of Beyoğlu Municipality Council dated 07.07.1993 and numbered 37, it was deemed appropriate to transfer the 1/1000 scaled Conservation Implementation Development Plan construction authority to the Metropolitan Municipality, and on 15.02.1994, the Metropolitan Municipality numbered 105. It was adopted by the decision of the Assembly.” [213]. Within the framework of these decisions, a 1/1000 scale Beyolu Urban Site Conservation Implementation Plan and a 1/5000 scale Beyoğlu Urban Site Conservation Master Development Plan were prepared and sent to the Regional Conservation Board. Another factor that makes the Sözen period different is the re-functioning of old buildings and the initiation of restoration works. It is obligatory to obtain a permit for every new construction, modification, or repair to be made in the region. However, these plans are not sufficient as they do not cover the Galata Port areas in Beyoğlu.

Between 1994 and 1998, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan from the Refah Party served as the Mayor of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. A different policy has been developed for the protection of Beyoğlu and Galata regions. While the understanding in the Dalan period was to carry out actions for the trade and service sector and to earn rent, the preservation of the historical texture was especially targeted in the Sözen period. However, during the Erdogan period, a conservative lifestyle was brought to the region, and within the framework of this conservative perspective, the understanding of protection came to the fore.

During this period, liquor licenses were not given to cafes, restaurants, and entertainment establishments in Galata and Beyoğlu. Businesses that already hold licenses are also prevented from putting a table in front of their shop. Concrete was poured from one end to

the other on İstiklal Avenue, and after it was opened to traffic, the street was excluded from the scope of the pedestrian path. During the Erdogan period, the mosque project in Taksim Square came to the fore in 1994. As Ceyhan conveys, this project has been the subject of criticism with statements such as "it was done for political purposes." [200]. This project will be realized in the following period (2017-2021).

As Baslo reported from Hello Beyoğlu Magazine, the old German School and six parcels in the surrounding area were demolished in order to build a hotel in an area close to the Galata Tower. [65]. In addition, the construction of Gökkafes was tried to be stopped by Mayor Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in 1994. However, due to disagreements with Şişli municipality, the building was completed in 2000 and opened for use. In 1998, Ali Müfit Gürtuna from the Virtue Party won the local elections and was appointed as the Mayor of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. He followed the line of Tayyip Erdoğan until 2004, when he left office. At the end of the 1980s, decisions were taken to remove the Salıpazarı and Karaköy Ports from their commercial functions. In 1987, the port was closed to cargo ship entrance. In 1988, it was closed to the entrance of trucks due to the traffic density it created.

In 1990, Turkish Maritime Operations Directorate (TDI) opened a tender to re-function the port area. This tender is important as it is the first tender for the Salıpazarı and Karaköy Ports. TDI Directorate announced the tender in May 1990 under the name of "İstanbul Cruise Port Complex". Tender conditions include the transformation of the port area within the framework of the build-operate-transfer model, which is a world-class mega project consisting of terminal, hotel, business, restaurant, shopping and entertainment centers. [186].

This first tender, dated 1990, for the transformation of the Salıpazarı and Karaköy Ports, was inconclusive. However, after this fruitless tender, certain decisions were taken that would lead to the transformation of the Port Area. The first of these was the declaration of an urban protected area by the İstanbul No. 1 Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board on July 7, 1993, including the Halic Shores, Taksim Square, and the coasts opening to the Marmara Sea, which also includes the Salıpazarı and Karaköy Port Area. [134]. Again, in this period, the privatization of the enterprises affiliated with TDI paved the way for the privatization of the Salıpazarı and Karaköy Port Areas [186]. İstanbul-Beyoğlu-Tophane-Salıpazarı region was declared a "Tourism Center" within the scope of the decision of the Council of Ministers dated 15 December 1994. Thus, the buildings in the area are allowed

to be repaired for touristic and commercial purposes or to be demolished and re-functioned (cruise terminal, waiting area, hotel, restaurant, technical areas, and duty free). The legal foundations of the Galataport Project began to be laid today, with the port area being included in the scope of the urban site, opening it to privatization and declaring the region a tourism center.

In 2001, TDI opened a tender for the Salıpazarı Port to serve as a world-class tourism, culture, art, shopping, and trade center. Tabanlıoğlu Architects won the tender. After the tender was won, the Galataport project was announced to the public in March 2002. [214].

3.6. INFLUENCE OF THE AKP PERIOD POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES ON GALATAPORT (2002 TO THE PRESENT)

3.6.1. Examination of Political and Economic Policies in the AKP Period

After the postmodern coup on 28 February 1997, the Refah Party was dissolved and Necmettin Erbakan was banned from politics for five years. After the Refah Party was closed down, the Fazilet Party was founded by the defenders of Milli Görüş. However, after the establishment of the Fazilet Party, there was a bloc within the party in the form of "Innovators" and "Traditionalists". Representing the innovators in the party, such as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Abdullah Gül, Bülent Arınç, Binali Yıldırım, Abdüllatif Şener left the party and founded the Justice and Development Party (AKP) on 14 August 2001. As Özdemir successfully conveyed from the AKP 2001 program, it was stated that privatization practices were supported and it was aimed to establish good relations with the European Union, World Bank, and IMF in line with economic needs and national interests [215]. Based on this information, it is obvious that the AKP administration also adopted Neoliberal principles. In the general elections held on 3 November 2002, it became the first party with 34.28% of the votes and the 58th Government of Turkey was established under the chairmanship of Abdullah Gül. Following the resignation of Prime Minister Abdullah Gül on 11 March 2003, the 59th Government of Turkey was established on 15 March 2003, under the Prime Ministership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. As Özdemir reports, the period between 2002 and 2007 is the AKP's most economically successful period [215]. After the 2001 crisis, the AKP, which took over the country, continued Derviş's economic policies and continued the

IMF-supported stabilization programs. As an example of the privatizations made in this period, the privatization process of TEKEL, sugar factories and investments in the energy sector accelerated. As a result of these developments, as Özdemir reported, foreign capital flow accelerated after 2004. As a result of these policies, the Turkish economy achieved a record growth rate of 9.9% in 2004 [215]. Likewise, while inflation increased to 68.5% in the 2001 crisis, a serious decrease was observed in inflation at the rate of 9.4% in 2004 [216]. AKP, which had its most economically and politically successful period until 2008, started to decline economically as a result of the closure case and the global economic crisis. As Sönmez reports, Turkey, which obtained an average of 40 billion dollars in foreign resources between 2010 and 2013, could not increase its foreign resources after this period and foreign resources began to exit the country's market [217]. It can be said that the country is in a regression economically compared to the previous periods, with the start of the process of becoming more expensive between the years 2013-2021.

After the 2002 elections it won, the AKP emerged as the first party in the 2007, 2011, 2015, and 2018 general elections and continued its power. With the referendum held in 2017, Turkey officially passed the "Presidential System". In the 2018 elections, which took place after the transition to the new system, the AKP and the MHP formed an "alliance of the people" and preserved their majority in the parliament [218].

When AKP is evaluated within the scope of the party program, the emphasis on freedom emphasizes that democratization is aimed by putting the individual in the center, fundamental rights and freedoms will be defended, the army will be prevented from interfering in politics, and freedom of belief. Based on these statements in the party program, AKP appears to be a politically liberal-democratic party.

Based on the Eleventh Development Plan (2019-2023) and the party program prepared during the AKP period, it can be said that the AKP has adopted Neoliberal principles. It is seen that the free market economy is supported in the "Our Economic Understanding" section in the Economy section of the party program. In addition, it is clearly stated that the state should have a market supervisory and regulatory role by neoliberal principles. It can be said that AKP has a conservative view in the context of its cultural policies. In the "Introduction" section of the party program, there is expressions of national and religious character, historical and cultural heritage. In addition, in terms of culture and art, it can be

interpreted as a conservative view with the discourses of protecting national values, developing them, and transferring them to the next generations [219].

In the light of all this information, it can be said that AKP is a politically conservative liberal-democratic party based on its party program.

In order to make a detailed analysis of the AKP period, it seems important to examine the "center right tradition" and "national view" (Milli Görüş) understandings, which can be claimed to constitute the intellectual basis of the AKP. It is thought that the policies exhibited by Menderes, Özal and Refah Party were effective especially for the construction of "National Identity", which was the subject of debate in academic circles in this period. Considering that Menderes and Özal are the representatives of the center-right, the expression "conservative nationalism" is valid for the nationalism understanding of the center-right view. In the view of Conservative Nationalism, national culture should be remembered and glorified. It seems that the AKP has taken over the cultural nationalism attitude that it displayed during its 18-year rule from the center-right. In addition, he described the policies implemented by the Kemalist regime in the construction of national culture as "Westernization" movements and turned it into a kind of the antithesis of the national identity construction he accepted.

One of the similar policies between the AKP and the DP is the "Service" policies, which are also associated with the nationalist view. Zoning and construction activities constitute an important part of the common service understanding of the DP and AKP. The statement "A civilizational victory has been won against the suffering, idleness, disorganization, and disorder in İstanbul" for the zoning works in İstanbul during the DP period is remarkable in this regard. From this point of view, it can be said that DP is seen as the provider of construction works and civilization. In AKP, he presents serving the nation as one of his main duties and expresses in certain discourses that true nationalism consists of "serving the nation." [148] Zoning and construction operations were viewed as the key service providers throughout the AKP period, and the construction sector received the most economic investment.

The call to prayer was read in Arabic during the DP time, and it included conservatives who were unable to participate in politics during the Single Party Period, secularism interpretation, and religious broadcasts on the radio were viewed by society as the party that

saved religion [220]. The liberalization of the headscarf during the AKP period, according to the news of Cumhuriyet on 4 February 2012, "We want to raise a conservative, democratic, religious generation to prevent moral corruption... We will raise a religious generation." discourses explain the AKP's view of religion [221]. In the light of this information, it can be deduced that the DP and AKP's policies on religion are similar.

There are also important similarities between AKP and Özal's economic understanding. According to the news of the newspaper Cumhuriyet on 17 April 2021, Erdoğan said, "Özal, who has made many innovations for our country in line with the goal of a Great Turkey, has won the love of our nation with his exceptional personality as well as the democratization and development moves he pioneered." used the phrase [222]. Özal defines himself as a man of service, based on the prominence of the discourse of "financing" as one of the popular slogans of the Özal era. For Özal's services, "Service to the people is service to God." expressed his statement [223]. Parallel to this statement, according to the news of Anadolu Agency, Erdogan said, "We see our only duty as serving God and the people." he said [224]. Based on these two expressions, it can be said that the discourse of service to the nation and the fact that they add a religious causality to this occupation are quite similar points of view. ANAP's political and economic view appears to be a nationalist-conservative economic understanding that adheres to Neoliberal principles. It is necessary to analyze the expressions of nationalism used in AKP and Özal discourses. According to the TDK, a nation is "a community of people, mostly living on the same land, with a unity of language, history, emotion, ideal, tradition, and custom, a nation." [225]. It can be said that the expression of a nation in ANAP's political view has been shaped by religion, tradition, and tradition and to some extent history as a reflection of its nationalist-conservative view. According to this view, a culture that integrates the understanding of Turkishness and Islam is the main feature of ANAP's expression of the nation [187].

Similarly, a similarity can be seen over the expression "Civilization" over Menderes, Özal, and Erdoğan. According to Özal's understanding of civilization;

Governments and political movements that set westernization as their sole goal and claim that civilization exists only in Europe were inflicting the greatest blow to our national and spiritual sanctity while erasing the place and importance of our nation in the historical process with a single pen [226].

Similarly, during the AKP period, it is seen that the understanding of civilization is a "Turkish-Ottoman synthesis of Islamic origin", far from the West [227].

When Özal introduced Neoliberal policies to Turkey in 1980, he brought the Islamist segments to the fore, and thus, Islamist investors increased their share in the country's market. With the Islamists starting to accumulate capital, it is seen that the Islamic bourgeoisie has also emerged [228]. It can be said that in this period, when the ties between Islam and the capitalist capital of Turkey were established, Islamic thought moved away from radicalism and shifted towards economic empowerment. During the AKP period, neoliberal principles were maintained. In parallel to this, privatizations increased and Islamist capital became stronger.

The fact that the founding leaders of the AKP came from the Refah Party (RP), which advocated the "National Vision" understanding, undoubtedly had an impact on the AKP's understanding of Islamic politics. Therefore, it can be deduced that National Vision is influential on the "new nation building", which is the subject of discussion today. Milli Gorus can be defined as an anti-capitalist, national and local based Islamic movement that was founded by Necmettin Erbakan in 1969 and shapes its political and economic understanding according to the rules of Islam [229]. The founding cadre of the AKP took part in the Milli Gorus movement from the establishment of the RP until its closure (1983-1998). However, in 2001, the team that came to the forefront as "innovators" left the Welfare Party with the rhetoric that "they took off the National Vision shirt" and founded the Justice and Development Party. The National Vision movement took a stand against Kemalist policies based on secularism in cultural and economic terms. According to Milli Gorus, Anatolian people should be culturally and morally conservative, but also open to modernization, based on their Islamic side and Ottoman past. It is seen that the DP, ANAP, and RP jointly support the creation of a Turkish-Islamic identity based on the "nationalist-conservative" view [230]. According to Çağlar and Uluçakar, the AKP adopted a Turkish-Islamic definition of nationalism based on the Islamic and Ottoman past, which formed the cornerstone of the AKP's understanding of nationalism [231]. However, in the Turkish-Islamic synthesis of the AKP, Islamic references were secularized, thus differing from the Islamist understanding of Milli Gorus. In AKP's view of Turkishness, it is seen that Islam is an indispensable complement to it [232]. From this point of view, it can be said that the AKP did not ignore a Turkish-based understanding of nationalism, but transformed it into an Islamic-based one.

The AKP's "Religious Generation" discourse can also be seen as the homogenizing discourse of the AKP's understanding of national identity. According to the news of *Yeni Şafak* newspaper dated February 28, 2016, Erdoğan said, "When I was Prime Minister, I said in a speech, 'We will raise a religious generation,' and some people went crazy. This is how I set my goal as a prime minister, but we gave our service to the religious, and we gave our service to the irreligious. However, our target is the religious generation." statement is remarkable [233]. In addition, it is seen that in the historical references (such as the Battle of Manzikert, the Battle of Çanakkale, the Conquest of İstanbul) that were frequently referred to during the AKP period, the Islamic references from these historical events were brought to the fore. This situation is proof of AKP's understanding of Turkish-Islamic synthesis [234].

According to Taşçier, any theory with an economic background should not be considered separately from politics [235]. However, in order to better analyze how the transformations of the public sphere are taking place today, it will be tried to convey how the relationship between Islam and Neoliberalism is handled by the AKP. At this point, it seems appropriate to recall the main goals of the liberal economic understanding. These are the maximization of capital and the freedom of movement of capital. According to Taşçier, neoliberalism maintains the principles of liberalism. However, Neoliberalism has also instrumentalized localization in a way that adapts to the stage reached in globalization in order to realize its principles [235].

Analyzing the relationship between Islam and capitalism in the light of neoliberal policies in which localization is instrumentalized seems important in terms of making sense of the relationship between today's Neoliberalism and conservatism.

According to Haenni, the presence of Islamic capital in the global market, in other words, the coexistence of Islam and Neoliberalism can be defined as "Islamic bourgeoisization" [236]. According to this idea, the traditional spiritual values of Islam were taken out of context and new and popular meanings were given to them. He also states that the appreciation or depreciation of all Islamic values included in the market varies according to the popular market. In light of this idea, a new political approach called "Moderate Islam" has been developed by moving away from the traditional Islam-centered understanding of politics. According to Haenni, Muslims who needed to adapt to the modern-capitalist world questioned the traditional Islamic structure. As a result of this questioning, they have not completely moved away from Islam, but they have succeeded in producing a new lifestyle

by adapting to the global market. Among the views and institutions that adapt to the market, phenomena such as fashion perception, understanding of music, understanding of art and decoration, Islamic banks, and celebrations can be seen as Islamic interpretations in the capitalist world.

Islam stands out as an attractive feature in the realm of production and consumption in today's market, where Islam and capitalism feed off each other. At this stage, a market has arisen for the manufactured goods, which comprise both Islamic religious symbols and popular items. According to Haenni, Islam has moved away from addressing Muslims and has become appealing to consumers with the help of neoliberalism [237]. As a result of all this, societies have been built that try to adapt to the global market and use a more secular interpretation of Islam to achieve this. Market Islam represents the new religious entrepreneurial class [237].

At this point, there are fundamental differences between the traditional understanding of Islam and the Islamic understanding shaped on the axis of neoliberal principles. While the traditional understanding of Islam focuses a Muslim's life on worship, the new interpretation of Islam has become working, earning money, and presenting the real reward to society in the form of services [236]. In addition, while the main preoccupation of traditional Islamists is the state and politics, the new interpretation of Islam is developing through trade and growing their economies.

At this point, governments with a moderate Islamic view may also use this capital to make certain investments in order to support the new Islamic capital. Haenni states that this harmony of Islam with capitalism is an inevitable adaptation for the sustainability of the Islamic view [237]. With Neoliberalism, the Islamic viewpoint was reinterpreted, fitted to the times, and both welfare and sustainability were introduced to Islamic civilizations.

3.6.2. İstanbul Urban Policies in the AKP Period

When the process from the late Ottoman period to the present period is considered throughout the thesis, it can be said that the government and, therefore the prime ministers of the period, as well as the mayors, came to the fore in the initiative and development activities in İstanbul. It can be said that the reason why this situation is unique to İstanbul

stems from the fact that İstanbul is Turkey's international showcase. Apart from this, both its history, geography, population and the high economic activity associated with it made this city special and caused special attention from the government and prime ministers of the period. It can be seen that this situation comes to the fore in the center-right and Islamist management understandings, with various exceptions, especially in the Single Party Period. Politicians, who see İstanbul as a "gate to the world" and in this respect both as a place of representation, discourse and profit, tried to shape İstanbul, which they chose as a field of action, with various reconstruction and construction services in line with the political and economic views and attitudes adopted in the period. As an example of this determination, Prime Minister Menderes was at the forefront rather than the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality mayor in the zoning movements that took place during the DP period, which can be said to be "center-right minded". Menderes, who came to the fore in the reconstruction of İstanbul, made references to Ottoman and Islam as a political discourse in his period, and used the expression "re-conquest of İstanbul" regarding the reconstruction practices he carried out in İstanbul.

İstanbul was shaped in line with the Neoliberal ideals that arrived with the ANAP era, which came to power in 1980 and may be regarded as politically "center-right-minded," and it was attempted to be brought to the fore in the global city race. The vow made by İstanbul's first Metropolitan Mayor, Bedrettin Dalan, in 1983 that "İstanbul will replace Beirut," illustrates that İstanbul is aiming to compete in the global city race [198]. Although Prime Minister Turgut Özal's name appeared less frequently in zoning projects in İstanbul during this time, the economic execution of neoliberal views and the expansion of foreign policy contacts with the Arab geography had an impact on İstanbul's urban policies. Despite the fact that Özal is a minor character in the historical narrative, it cannot be stated that he ignores İstanbul as a setting. As an example, as Ekinci cites, Dalan, the Mayor of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality at the time, received various forms of support from the Arab capital for his works on both the transportation networks in İstanbul and the service and tourism sectors, and stated that he wanted the coastal areas facing the Bosphorus to be purchased by the Arab capital [198]. It is well known that Özal and Dalan had strong communication in 1984. Again, as Ekinci reported, at the opening of the Büyükçekmece Dam, Dalan and Özal stated that they aimed to create a transformation in İstanbul by joining hands for the reconstruction of İstanbul. In their opening speech in 1984, Dalan and Özal

said, "Service to İstanbul is worship." have used their expressions. In addition, Dalan used the phrase "to conquer the Golden Horn" for the reconstruction work he carried out in the Golden Horn region between 1984-1989. It is seen that the Islamic-Ottoman referenced discourse and zoning practices in the ANAP period are quite similar to the İstanbul practices in the DP period [198].

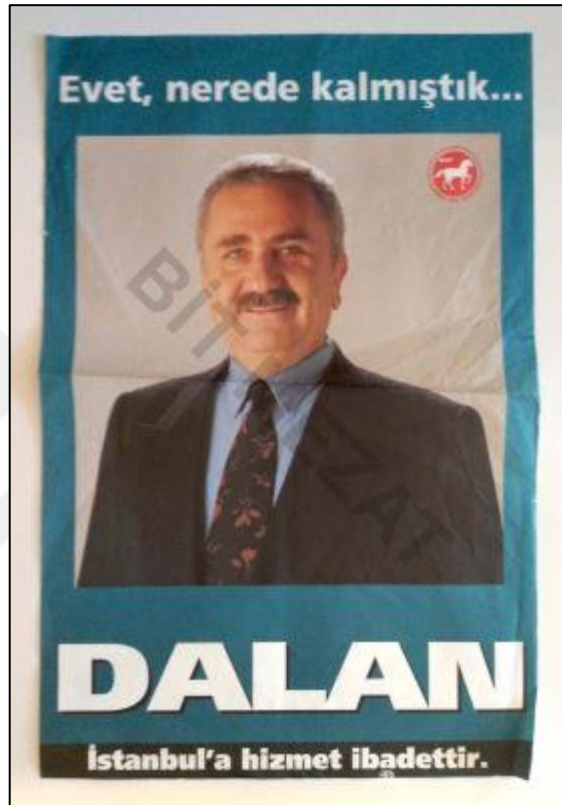


Figure 3.56. The poster used by Bedrettin Dalan in the mayoral elections [238].

From 1998 to 2004, Ali Müfit Görtuna from the Refah Party was the mayor of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Görtuna tried to continue the actions of Erdoğan during his mayoral term, but due to events such as the 1999 Marmara Earthquake and the 2001 economic crisis, there was no significant change in the urban fabric of İstanbul.

As Yapıcı cites, the World Bank was asked to metropolise one or two cities in its 1999 report on Turkey [239].

Although it can be said that in the ANAP period, İstanbul was in a global city race with the aim of replacing Beirut, the formation of an international demand for İstanbul's metropolitanization was also a development that would accelerate the transformation process of the city. As Öktem conveys, one of the most basic promises of being a global city is that

the city's wealth will increase with the capital accumulation brought by the global economy and it will spread among all classes that make up the urban population [202].

As a result of the local elections held in 2004, Kadir Topbaş of the AKP became the Mayor of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Topbaş continued his duty as the Metropolitan Municipality Mayor until he resigned from his duty in 2017. As Öktem conveys, strong interactions continued between the central government and the local government of İstanbul during the Topbaş period as well [240].

Within the scope of the urban policies adopted by the AKP, investments were made in the preservation of cultural and historical values in İstanbul and in the tourism, finance, culture and economy sectors, so it was aimed that İstanbul would be a city of international importance [202,241]. In addition, in the first years that the AKP government took office, it was in the negotiation process with the European Union (EU) and took steps to realize its intention to integrate İstanbul into the world economy [240]. Following this, the words of the Prime Minister Erdoğan seem important in the documentary called Ekümenopolis, which aims to convey the Neoliberal urbanization process of İstanbul until 2012. Erdoğan said, "We are preparing this beautiful city for the future with the congress centers, sports halls and art centers we have built, and we are building a modern future on top of its historical background. At the same time, we continue our investments to make İstanbul the "Financial Center" of the world." uttered his words [242]. In this direction, Topbaş has made serious efforts to make İstanbul the European Capital of Culture in 2010. Erdoğan stated that the government also supports the project of İstanbul to become the European Capital of Culture, and in parallel, "İstanbul will be the European Capital of Culture for a year. However, as long as it exists, it will never lose its title of being the cultural city of Europe." uttered his words [242].

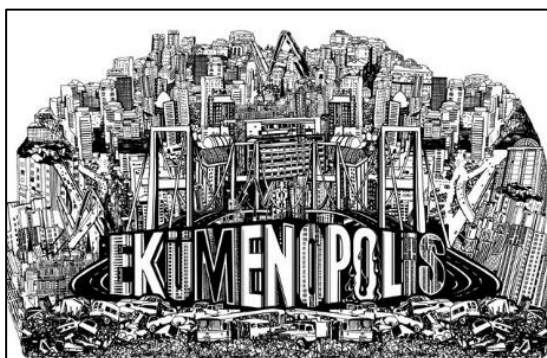


Figure 3.57. Logo of the Ecumenopolis document [243].

Along with all these developments, an urban design competition for Kartal and Küçükçekmece was also opened. According to the news from Arkitektüel dated October 2, 2017, an offer was made to Zaha Hadid, a starchitect, in 2006, and Hadid was asked to design a project between Kartal-Pendik to make İstanbul a new center. Hadid's project continues to be implemented, although it has been greatly modified [244].

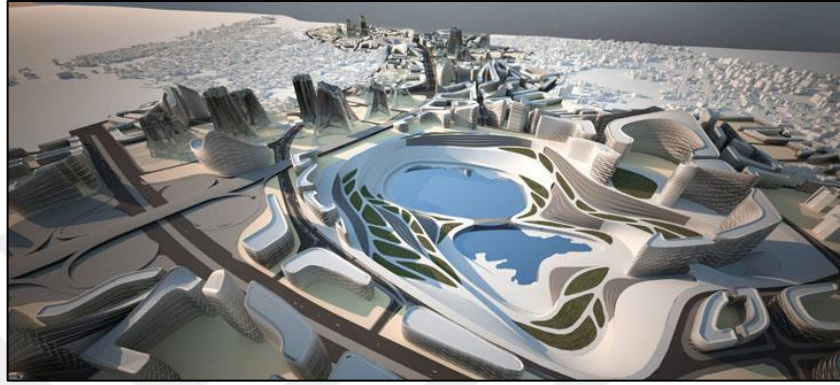


Figure 3.58. Zaha Hadid's Kartal Project [245].

During the Topbaş period, it is seen that internationally popular congresses and organizations aimed at making İstanbul the European Capital of Culture took place. Some of these are applications for the Olympics to take place in 2004, 2008, 2012 and 2020 [246]. In addition, as Öktem conveyed, Formula 1, Eurovision, NATO Summit, UEFA Champions League Final Match, Moto GP, World Architecture Congress, 2009 World Water Forum, United Cities and Local Governments World Council Meeting are examples of international organizations held in İstanbul. can be given. According to Öktem, by hosting these organizations, AKP hopes to obtain urban rent from İstanbul, market this rent to national and international capital, and accelerate the urban transformation practices that it wishes to implement [240].



Figure 3.59. İstanbul European Capital of Culture logo [247].

Baba stated that during the AKP period, priority was given to entrepreneurship, the marketing sector, image creation and strategic planning, and that large-scale urban projects were given importance in this context [248]. Furthermore, large-scale urban initiatives were viewed as critical in terms of offering assurances to foreign investors and selling the city's image to the world economy. Mega projects are defined as initiatives that are city-scaled, with a budget of billions of dollars, are implemented in collaboration with the public and private sectors, and have major social and environmental impacts [248].

When the quantity and locations of mega projects in İstanbul are investigated, it is striking that they are constructed in areas with the highest levels of tourism, trade, rent, and service income. The major projects are intended to create jobs, contribute to the country's economy, and generate revenue [241].

Apart from their economic contributions, mega projects have unique characteristics as compared to smaller-scale initiatives. The first of them, according to Baba, is the inclusion of an innovation that will produce a national or international sensation, as well as the technical opportunities employed. When looking at the mega projects in İstanbul, technological elements such as the largest airport in Europe, the development of a second strait to İstanbul, a collapsible port, and a high cost come to mind [248]. Through the use of advanced technological products, as Alp conveys, it has led to the acquisition of the adjectives "craziest", "biggest", "widest", and "highest" [249].

The second factor is the government's reputation for completing these initiatives. The city's and its own national and worldwide popularity grows as a result of the reputation it has achieved in power [248]. With their projects and intentions for the future, they also hope to broaden their electorate. By implementing these projects, the government hopes to "scribe its signature on the city" and "immortalize its political presence," according to Alp's on-the-spot assessment [249].

Third, mega projects become one of the landmarks of the city with their size, iconicity, and the power they symbolize. These structures, which are the attraction points of the city, can be turned into a center that attracts international trade and tourism. Considering the global city race that takes place within the framework of the international competition of cities in the economic and cultural fields today, it is obvious that the city's mega-projects make an important contribution to this race [248].

As Baysal quotes from Tekeli, mega projects have the characteristics of size and attractiveness. [250]. She also cites the Çamlıca Mosque and its project as an example, and states that it is put like a signature on the silhouette of İstanbul, but functionality is not always taken into account.

Eurasia Tunnel, Great İstanbul Airport, Fener-Balat Urban Renewal Project, Taksim Pedestrianization Project, İstanbul Zorlu Center Project, Salıpazarı Cruise Port (Galataport) Project, Suleymaniye Mosque and Its Surrounding Urban Renewal Project, Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge Project , Yenikapı Coastal Land Reclamation Project, Fikirtepe Urban Transformation Project, Çamlıca Tower, Çamlıca Mosque Ayazma-Tepeüstü Urban Project can be given as examples.

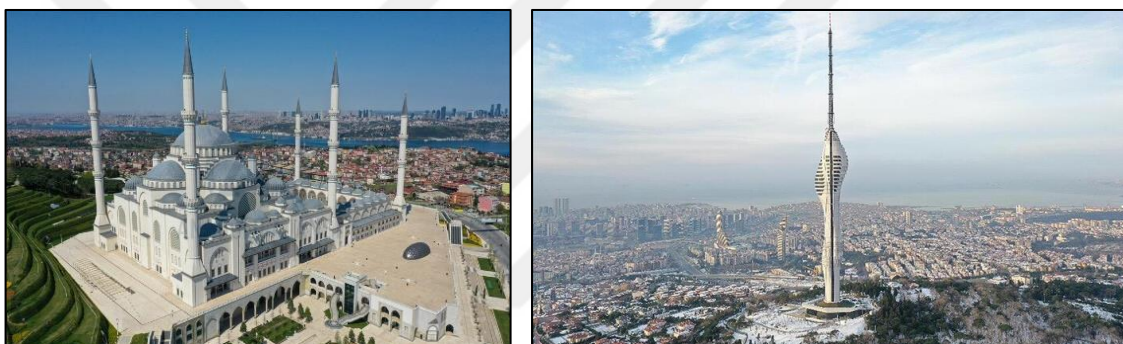


Figure 3.60. Çamlıca Mosque and Çamlıca Tower [251,252].

Alp states that the mega-projects period that started since the AKP rule has led to the privatization of public resources in many cities, especially in İstanbul. There is a period in which "rent is reproduced" and shared by power-economic powers in urban space with the public, public-private sector or build-operate-transfer model [249].

First of all, it is necessary to understand how the legal infrastructure of the mega projects mentioned above is created. The first official work of the AKP government to implement the goals it has set for İstanbul is the Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216, which was enacted in 2004. According to this law, the jurisdiction of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality was increased from 1,864 square kilometers to 5,343 square kilometers, and the rural areas around İstanbul were also subject to zoning planning within the scope of the municipality. Again, within the scope of this law, the ties between the İstanbul local government and more than 20 private companies were strengthened, and many services such as transportation, health and culture that the municipality should allocate began to be implemented with the contribution of the private sector [240]. As a result of this agreement

with the private sector, the municipality became a partner of BİMTAŞ A.Ş. together with the İstanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center. As a result of the studies carried out by this organization, the 1/100.000 scaled İstanbul Environmental Plan was prepared and accepted in 2006. The target year specified in the plan is 2023, and the projected population of İstanbul until 2023 is 16 million. As a result of the lawsuits filed by TMMOB, this plan was canceled in 2008 [199].

Following the cancellation of the environmental plan, upper-scale plan studies were restarted by the IMM City Planning Directorate. As a result of the plan studies, the 1/100.000 scaled İstanbul Environmental Plan was approved in 2009 and entered into force. In this plan, in which the year 2025 was determined as the target, the population expectation was kept the same as in the previous plan, and it was foreseen to be 16 million [199]. After the approval of the plan, new projects were included in the plan with partial planning changes, and partial changes were made in the main planning. This situation damaged the overall structure of the plan. An example of partial interventions in holistic planning is the expansion of the city into the northern forests. In the plan, these areas are protected as agricultural areas, but with partial changes that do not comply with the main planning, these areas have been built with the decision to build an industrial zone and a logistics center. As a result, settlement decisions were made in the northern forests region, which should not be opened for development [253].

Another issue where the 1/100.000 scaled İstanbul Environmental Plan was disrupted is the determination of reserve building areas within the scope of the "Law on the Transformation of Areas Under Disaster Risk", numbered 6306, which was enacted in 2012. The definition of the reserve building area is clearly stated on the website of the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change of the Republic of Turkey. Based on the definition, the reserve structure area is the areas determined by the Ministry, depending on the request of TOKİ or the administration or ex officio. In the reserve building areas, in line with the purpose of the law, all kinds of practices that will bring income and revenue can be carried out, provided that they create healthy and safe living areas, and these areas can be expressed as new settlement areas [254].

Starting from the definition of the reserve structure, the opening of earthquake assembly areas for development paved the way for construction in these regions. It is seen that some mega projects are carried out in these areas as well. According to the news from the

Polytechnic website dated 25 September 2017, only 77 of the 493 areas designated as post-disaster assembly areas throughout İstanbul continued to function after the 1999 Earthquake [255]. The project, which includes 16/9 skyscrapers in the Zeytinburnu district, is one of the examples of the earthquake assembly areas being opened to construction. It is claimed that the land equivalent for this project was increased from 1 to 2.5 and changes were made in the zoning plan to allow a commercial function [255]. Another problem with the 16/9 towers project is that the skyscrapers distort the silhouette of the Historic Peninsula due to their height. The height debate, which has been going on since the project was launched in 2012, went through a long litigation process until 2018 [256]. According to Hürriyet's news on 19 January 2018, the project was legalized due to some political reasons [257]. The land of Marmara Forum, which is located in Bakırköy and the foundation of which was laid in 2008, is one of the earthquake gathering areas. Although the project was sealed right after the foundation stone was laid, it was opened in 2011.

Another situation where the 1/100.000 scaled İstanbul Environmental Plan was corrupted is the addition of the phrase "waterway" to the law with the amendment made to the Zoning Law on 14 April 2016. According to the law, a waterway is a water passage created artificially by the decision of the zoning plan and through which transportation is provided by sea vehicles [258]. After the legislative change, the Kanal İstanbul Project has a definition according to the Zoning Law [199].

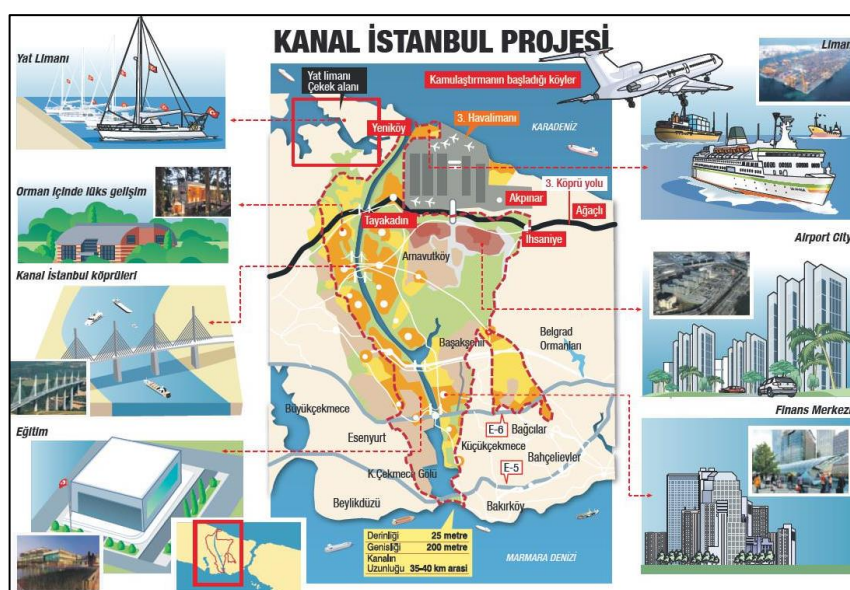


Figure 3.61. Canal İstanbul Project and the development of the project environment [259].

As a result of the 2014 change, the airport was able to be relocated to its current location on the Black Sea Coast. On the other hand, the Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge, on the other hand, was not included in the 2009 plan, but it was added to the 1/100,000 scale İstanbul Environmental Plan within the scope of the "1/25,000 scale İstanbul Northern Marmara Motorway Master Development Plan" accepted in 2014. Sönmez emphasizes that mega projects are public-private partnership (PPP) projects and that this practice is a derivative of privatization. According to the 1982 Constitution, which is still in effect, natural resources, rivers, mines, and forest areas are areas under public ownership. These areas cannot be sold to the private sector through PPPs, but operating authorizations can be granted for certain periods [217]. According to Sönmez, the total value of the 34 PPP projects currently under construction is \$36.5 billion. Among the four projects with the highest cost among mega projects, there are 3rd Airport, 3rd Bridge and Kanal İstanbul. Since these three projects are located in close proximity to each other, parallel to the Black Sea Coast, they will have an impact on each other and their environment. Their closeness to each other will not allow these projects to be considered individually and separately in time. So much so that these three projects have already been made as part of the satellite city planned for a later period. In the light of these projects, it can be said that the natural values of İstanbul are open to capital accumulation through zoning and rental activities [217].



Figure 3.62. İstanbul Airport [260].



Figure 3.63. Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge [261].

The most recent change made within the scope of the 1/100,000 Scale Environmental Plan is the 1/100,000 Scale Environmental Plan for the İstanbul Province European Side Reserve Building Area, prepared in 2020 by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. In Article 102 of the Presidential Decree, it is stated that the main purpose of the plan is to include the controversial Kanal İstanbul Project and the Reserve Building Area planned around it in the plan decisions [199].



Figure 3.64. Located on the Black Sea Coast, Canal İstanbul, İstanbul Airport and Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge, created by author.

Again, in this period, mega projects such as Zorlu Center and Torun Center, which were the subject of various public lawsuits, were signed after public lands were privatized and opened for construction. The stay of execution decisions for the two projects were overturned by the courts over time, and skyscraper structures where trade, residence, and culture-art organizations could be held on public lands were allowed [262,263].

3.6.3. Examination of Beyoğlu and Galata Region in the AKP Period

When the urban scale spread of the mega projects implemented during the AKP period is examined, great transformations have also taken place in the Beyoğlu-Taksim region, although not as large as the investments in the Northern Forests. In addition to the cost and

project scale difference between the transformations in the Beyoğlu region and the transformations in the Northern Forests, while new zoning areas are being created in the North, a transformation is taking place in Beyoğlu, based on the replacement of the historical structures by either renovating, demolishing, or transforming, but especially changing the existing texture and its place in the social memory. In this sense, an important difference has been that Taksim and Beyoğlu districts have been widely discussed in the political context due to their special place in public memory. As a result, zoning activities in the aforementioned region are especially important as a political discourse aside from rent.

It is seen that the most important changes in the urban texture experienced in the Beyoğlu region during the AKP period developed in and around Taksim Square. It has been tried to convey that most of the changes that have taken place in the urban fabric of İstanbul since 2001 have been realized by privatizing public spaces. In order to understand the transformation in today's Beyoğlu, it has been deemed necessary to make a brief analysis of Park No. 2, designed by Henri Prost, who was the city planner of İstanbul between 1939-1950, as a large urban park and a public space for the Beyoğlu region. It was realized with the construction of the Hilton Hotel in 1955 during the DP period, at a point that can be considered the center of the park, where the park came to life [264]. Following the opening of the Hilton Hotel, the Divan Hotel was established in 1956, the Sheraton Hotel in 1975 and The Marmara Hotel in 1978 [265–267].



Figure 3.65. Park No. 2 designed by Prost [113].

The global urbanization process of İstanbul, which started in 1980, has also shown its effects in this region. While the public character of the park is lost every year, it is seen that the zoning activities for the tourism and service sector continue in this region. Swiss Hotel was built to the east of nönü Stadium in 1991 [268], Hyatt Regency Hotel next to Divan Hotel in 1994 [269], and Tekfen Taksim Residence to the north of Hyatt Regency in 2005 [270].

After the destructions that took place in the Dalan period in 1988, Tarlabası and its surroundings, located at a point close to Park No. 2, started to become uncanny. An effort to tame the Talimhane region of Tarlabası, where social and physical deterioration have been experienced over time, has begun. The Talimhane Region was declared as a "tourism region" by the decision of the Ministry of Tourism and the Council of Ministers in 1994 [271]. After it was declared a tourism zone, the residences in the region were replaced by hotels, commercial and office functions. For the Talimhane Region, it has been observed that the Tarlabası Demolitions and Tourism Region decisions have caused various changes in the social structure here in the long run [271].



Figure 3.66. The current state of Park No. 2 [272,273]

Again in this period, the İstanbul Sports and Exhibition Center, the foundation of which was laid by Lütü Kırda in 1948, was opened in 2009 under the name of İstanbul Congress Palace by expanding its capacity in 2009 to host more events after the Habitat II summit in 1996 [274].

As it is explained in the section of the thesis that examines İstanbul Urban Policies in the AKP Period, the area covering Prost's Park No. 2 was declared a "Tourism-oriented cultural zone" in the 1/100,000 scale İstanbul Environmental Plan in 2009 [272].

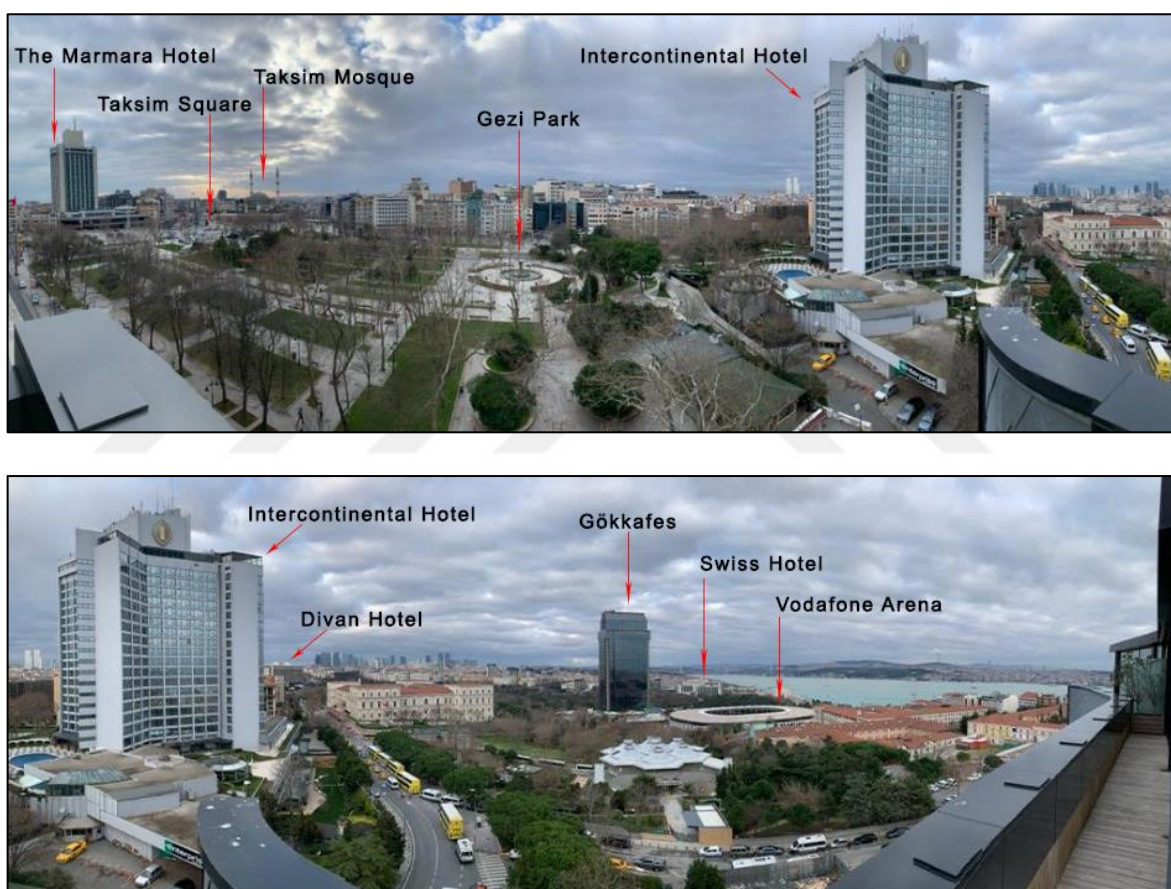


Figure 3.67. Panoramic photograph of Park No. 2 today, photo taken by author.

One of the most important projects planned to be built in Taksim during the AKP period is the Taksim Square Pedestrianization Project. Understanding the development process and results of the "Gezi Park Resistance" experienced during the implementation phase of this project seems important for understanding the AKP government's view of public space. Taksim Square Pedestrianization Project was announced for the first time by Prime Minister Erdoğan himself before the general elections of 12 June 2011 [275]. After the 2011 General Elections were won by the AKP, changes were made to the 1/5000

Conservation Master Plan and the 1/1000 Conservation Implementation Plan in September, and the regulations were approved by the IMM Assembly for the realization of the projects. After the Assembly accepted the plan, this change was also approved by the İstanbul Regional Council for the Protection of Cultural Heritage No.2 [272].

After the approval of the plan change, Taksim Solidarity was established in February 2012 by many unions, political parties, environmental organizations and associations in order to oppose the Taksim Pedestrianization Project [276].



Figure 3.68. Taksim Pedestrianization and Topçu Kışlası Reconstruction Project [277].

Despite all objections, the project was approved by Beyoğlu Municipality on 14 February 2012 [272]. It was decided to implement the project in stages, and the first phase of the Tarlabası-Cumhuriyet Caddesi underground road was built by Kalyon İnşaat, which won the tender [278]. In the later stages of the Taksim Square Pedestrianization Project, the demolition of Gezi Park and the rebuilding of the Topçu Kışlası were in question. However, during the design phase of the project, this application was canceled on the grounds that there was not enough information and documents to rebuild the Topçu Kışlası [272]. However, after the approval of the Topçu Kışlası by the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board in February 2013, the project became official [279]. In May 2013, construction equipment entered Gezi Park and started to uproot the trees. The people reacted to this situation by starting protests in Gezi Park. However, the strong intervention of the

security forces to remove the protesters in the park turned the protest for the protection of Gezi Park into an anti-government protest. The situation, which was the subject of long litigation processes after the end of the protests, can be said to have stagnated when the Council of State approved the cancellation decision of the İstanbul 1st Administrative Court on May 7, 2014 for the Taksim Pedestrianization Project [280].



Figure 3.69. Construction machinery started to demolish in Gezi Park [281].



Figure 3.70. Actions to prevent Gezi Park from being demolished [282].

One of the recent developments in this region is the transfer of ownership of the Gezi Park to the Sultan Beyazıt Han Veli Foundation. [283]. Although no zoning work has been carried out to transform Gezi Park into Topçu Kışlası in 2021, it is seen that there are still certain initiatives for transformation. In this sense, Erdogan's statement in 2019 is also important. According to the news from the Independent website on January 25, 2019, after the military coup attempt of 15 July, Erdoğan said,

Whether they want Taksim barracks or not, it will be built in accordance with its history. Do you know what we will do there? We will build a history museum there. We will build a city museum [282].

According to the news of Radikal Newspaper dated 08.11.2012, the words of Halil Onur, the architect of the Topçu Kışlası Project, about the project are also noteworthy. Onur stated that if the project is completed, the building will be one of the best examples of orientalist style. He also stated that there is no mosque among the functions of the project, and that there will be eating and drinking areas, patisserie and bookstores. In addition, they did not recommend closing Gezi Park, but said, “But of course, an order has to be brought. It is not correct to say that everyone who shakes their hands should enter the cafe or restaurant. Can anyone enter anywhere?” uttered his words. [284]. This thought of the architect shows how the definition of public space was handled in the understanding of conservation and transformation realized during the AKP period.

Taksim Square has been a special point that has attracted the attention of the government in almost every period since the Late Ottoman Empire. Taksim Square and its surroundings were among the regions where the steps taken towards westernization during the late Ottoman period could be clearly seen in the urban fabric, and they became one of the most cosmopolitan and multicultural regions of the period. A specific plan could not be implemented in the urban area due to the political and economic conditions of the time. In the Single Party Period, it was surrounded by modernist architectural examples, which were determined as the architectural character of the nation-state society to be created within the scope of the Kemalist project. An example of this situation is the demolition of the Taksim Republic Monument, the Opera Palace, the Taksim Municipality Club, the İnönü Gezi Park and the Artillery Barracks and their conversion into public spaces. After the DP government, it has been observed that investments in the tourism and service sectors, especially hotels, have intensified in the region until today. The factor that distinguishes the AKP period from other periods at this point is that Erdoğan realized the projects especially for Taksim, which he expressed but could not implement while he was the Mayor of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, during his time as Prime Minister during the AKP government. It can be thought that here we are confronted with the ideology of Erdoğan, rather than the dominant ideology of the government. Because, it is seen that he carried the ideal of Taksim, which he could not realize during his time as the president of İBB. According to Yırtıcı, an effort is made to make Taksim Square a peaceful and dignified place [285]. But, according to Yırtıcı, the squares are the places of encounter with the other. The other is used in the urban context to mean the other people in the city that the urban individual is not aware of or even worried about, but is curious about. Encountering the other is both an urban and an urban necessity.

İstiklal Street, as a place with these characteristics, sits in its urban context. However, Yırtıcı states that with a parallel timing, İstiklal Street was also left idle and the capital was aimed at changing hands here [285]. The almost indefinite police blockade around the statue in front of Galatasaray High School, where the Saturday Mothers gather, can also be read as an indication of the government's intolerance towards public rights.



Figure 3.71. Taksim Square, photo taken by author.



Figure 3.72. Taksim Square panoramic, photo taken by author.

Apart from the conversion of Gezi Parkı into the Topçu Kışlası, the demolition and reconstruction of the AKM, partial implementation of the Taksim Square Pedestrianization Project by taking the roads passing through Taksim underground, the Mosque project to Taksim Square, and the Tarlabaşı Urban Transformation Project can be counted. The opening of Demirören AVM, the renovation of Emek Cinema, the Narmanlı Han and the Galataport Project are seen on İstiklal Street in this period.

Beyoğlu Cultural Road Project, announced on 20 January 2020, along a route stretching from Taksim Square to Galata Port Area, respectively, AKM, Taksim Mosque Islamic Arts Cultural Center, Emek Cinema, Atlas Cinema Museum, Mısır Apartment Mehmet Akif House, Narmanlı Han, Tarık. It includes Zafer Tunaya Cultural Center, Galata Mevlevihane, Galata Tower and Galataport Project as its last stop [286].



Figure 3.73. Beyoğlu Cultural Road Project [287].

Beyoğlu Cultural Road Project can be defined as a touristic route branding designed to draw attention and interest to the touristic values in Beyoğlu and Galata regions. Within the scope of this project, the historical buildings mentioned along İstiklal Street and Galata Tower Square and its surroundings are expropriated and restoration work is carried out in return for long-term rentals. Minister of Culture and Tourism, Mehmet Nuri Ersoy, stated that after the Galataport becomes operational, a revival in tourism is expected in this region, and in this context, they have implemented a project that is both tourism-oriented and focused on culture and art [288]. Again, Ersoy stated that, according to the news of Anadolu Agency on 30 July 2020, a new center will be created in terms of history, culture, art and gastronomy and that it is aimed to "transfer the civilizational identity of İstanbul to minds" [287]. In addition, Ersoy said about the project on 31 October 2021, "By making our country's cultural

and artistic richness an international brand, we add an added value to the general brand of Turkey... Beyoğlu Culture Road is a unique brand creation and communication effort. I believe that we have created an extremely unique center of attraction as a whole with the historical and cultural elements, modern structures and of course the festival, which we have made restorations on this path. Each and every part of this whole is a value added to the social, cultural and artistic life of İstanbul and Turkey, as well as to tourism.” expressed his words [289]. Beyoğlu Cultural Road Project, which is the continuation of the Taksim Pedestrianization Project towards Galata Tower and the Galata coast, became active on 29 October 2021 with Galataport and AKM put into service. Within the scope of Beyoğlu Culture Road Project, it is the Galataport Project that is both a starting and ending point and one of the main points that makes the Cultural Road Project an international center of attraction.



Figure 3.74. İstiklal Street, photo taken by author.



Figure 3.75. View of renewed Emek Cinema from İstiklal Street, photo taken by author.



Figure 3.76. View of renewed Atlas Cinema (İstanbul Cinema Museum) from İstiklal Street, photo taken by author.



Figure 3.77. Renewed Narmanlı Han, photo taken by author.

The Galataport Project, also known as the Salıpazarı Cruise Port Project, was designed to make İstanbul stand out as a stopover point in cruise tourism, which is gaining importance around the world. The first modern cruise port in İstanbul, the project aims to contribute directly to the economy of both the city and the country. In addition to its terminal function, the project also includes places for hotel, retail stores, catering areas and office functions.

3.6.3.1. AKP'S Revenhist Architecture and the Building of a "New Nation"

It was stated that the mega projects handled during the AKP period were concentrated around Taksim-Beyoğlu as well as the Northern Forests, and in this context, projects such as the Taksim Pedestrianization Project and Beyoğlu Cultural Road were implemented. Within the scope of these projects, many historical buildings on the route between Taksim Square and Beyoğlu Cultural Road were demolished and/or restored and re-functionalized. In this context, various results can be achieved when the architectural applications are analyzed. When we look at the buildings that have undergone transformation/restoration, as well as those that have been demolished and reconstructed within the scope of the Taksim pedestrianization project and Beyoğlu Cultural Road, many common features seem to be encountered. These partnerships enable various evaluations of AKP's approach to public space and architecture. As discussed in the section of the thesis Examination of Political and Economic Policies in the AKP Period, the AKP is a party that follows the neoliberal-conservative line ideologically and is parallel to the parties coming from the centre-right tradition. Inheriting culture as an ideological concept, inherited from the centre-right tradition, the AKP has positioned this culture, which it has acquired and promoted in this context, as the antithesis of the Kemalist/secular modernist understanding of culture, and has implemented a new national culture blended with Ottoman/Islamic culture as the cultural policy of the government. With this new national cultural policy, it adopted "Moderate Islam", that is, a relatively secularized understanding of Islam, different from the traditional Islamic understanding. In this context, by combining the understanding of Turkish nationalism with an Islamic tradition, he created a "conservative" cultural understanding in which he redefined nationalism. The AKP's "New Islamist nation/religious generation" discourse reflects the AKP's goal of spreading this understanding of culture to society as a whole.

With this new national cultural policy, it adopted "Moderate Islam", that is, a relatively secularized understanding of Islam, different from the traditional Islamic understanding. In this context, by combining the understanding of Turkish nationalism with an Islamic tradition, he created a "conservative" cultural understanding in which he redefined nationalism. The AKP's "New Islamist nation/religious generation" discourse reflects the AKP's goal of spreading this understanding of culture to society as a whole.

Acting on the fact that the AKP is a conservative party that pursues Neoliberal principles in the economic sense, it pursued policies aimed at strengthening Islamic capital in its privatization initiatives. In this way, Islamic capital increased its share in the country's economy during the AKP period [290].

According to Peker and Batuman, the reflection of the conservative and neoliberal policies adopted by the AKP on architecture was embodied in an architectural style in the "Ottoman and Seljuk" style, which emerged on the facades of various public buildings [291,292]. Another point Peker draws attention to is that this style adopted by the AKP is the antithesis of Kemalism and/or secular modernist understanding, in a revanchist way with aggressive zoning practices [291].



Figure 3.78. The AK Party Headquarters, where the effects of the Ottoman-Seljuk architectural style can be observed [293].

The phenomenon of the revanchist city, which has started to spread in many countries since the global spread of neoliberal policies, has started to show itself in Turkey as well. Peker states that among the general characteristics of revanchist cities, gentrification and industrial zones within the center of the workers' city were pushed out of the city, and the remaining areas were transformed into valuable real estate investments [291].

The first traces of the revanchist city that developed under the AKP government began to materialize on the urban plane with the "urban transformation" policies. As Batuman stated, within the scope of urban transformation practices, people belonging to the lower income group in the city center were removed from the area they lived in and directed to the houses built by the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ), and it was aimed to be removed from the city center. [292]. The situation of being removed from the city center has been a problem not only for the lower class, but also for the middle and upper classes. They tried to make the luxury housing estates built far from the city center attractive for this purpose. In general, this situation can be expressed as the "gentrification" of the city centers, displacing the residents of a certain region and placing the class and/or function that is desired to be drawn to that region. Gentrification was carried out not only by building sites far from the city center, but also through demolitions and restorations (some examples were realized within the scope of mega projects) from time to time.

Examining the examples of gentrification through demolition and restoration, Taksim 360, an urban transformation project in the Tarlabaşı district, was announced in 2007, according to Deutsche Welle's news dated 15 March 2018 [294]. Demolition within the scope of the project started in 2011 and the residents of the region were forced to migrate. According to the news of Anadolu Agency on June 11, 2020, Beyoğlu Mayor Ali Haydar Yıldız said, "When the project is finished, it will add value to İstanbul, Beyoğlu and Turkey. The project which will also fulfill an important function related to rehabilitating the collapsed areas and bringing them back into the economy through tourism and life." [295]. According to Yapıcı, these demolitions and transformations in Tarlabaşı can be read as the creation of a new urban memory by destroying the urban memory [294]. The project is expected to be completed in 2022. One of the large-scale urban transformation projects carried out in İstanbul is the Fikirtepe Urban Transformation Project. Within the scope of the project announced in October 2010, a groundbreaking ceremony was held in 2014. Within the scope of urban transformation, construction started in partial areas of the project, while some areas remained

abandoned. The area consists of completed residences, unsustainable constructions and structures waiting to be demolished [296]. As Peker cites, examples of regions that were gentrified by similar demolitions are Çukurambar in Ankara and Cihangir in İstanbul in the 1990s, and Fener-Balat-Ayvansaray, Süleymaniye, Sulukule and Galata Regions in İstanbul in the 2000s [291].

As in the examples mentioned above, the areas emptied by the gentrification of the city centers were expropriated and restored, leaving their place to new structures with service, tourism, culture and art functions. According to Batuman, as well as this gentrification process, the "Ottoman-Seljuk style" architectural style in the built buildings means that the AKP used the New Islamist Nation understanding as a means of spreading [292].

In the Beyoğlu region, which is discussed within the scope of the thesis, the process of making investments for tourism, which started with the Hilton Hotel in the Park No. 2, which started during the DP period, continued in the AKP period, and at the same time, the gentrification movements of the region followed. With the buildings demolished and restored within the scope of both the Taksim Pedestrianization Project and the Beyoğlu Cultural Road, it was desired to create a new urban border in the Beyoğlu and Galata Regions. Within this border, it is aimed to tame the hybrid, multicultural and polyphonic urban space of Beyoğlu, as well as Taksim Square, a political area where the common sense of society has been expressed from past to present [285].

In other words, destroying the multicultural structure in the region, providing new areas of earning for Islamic capital based on the AKP's being a neoliberal party, and preventing actions such as "Gezi Parkı" despite the rise of Islamic capital can be interpreted as taking a definite measure against social reaction.

When the situation is read from the axis of the AKP's revanchist understanding, the transformation made in Beyoğlu region can be read in a different way. Even though Erdoğan could not implement the project of building a mosque in Taksim in 1994, when he was the Mayor of İBB, he envisioned the mosque project later, and aimed to give Taksim a conservative identity with various non-zoning practices such as not giving liquor licenses to the places on İstiklal Street. [297]. He could not achieve this goal while he was the Mayor, and the said purpose remained during the period he was the Prime Minister and beyond. In

this sense, it can be said that Erdogan has a revanchist attitude towards the period when he was mayor as much as the AKP.



Figure 3.79. View of the Republic Monument and Taksim Mosque from Taksim Square, photo taken by author.



Figure 3.80. View of AKM from Taksim Square, photo taken by author.

According to Yırtıcı, Beyoğlu is important in that different ideas come together to form the main function of the public space [285]. Beyoğlu was considered an important center at this point in terms of meeting the "other" and fulfilling its function as a point where social segregation in the region was broken. The zoning works carried out within the scope of the

Cultural Road Project created an axis at the same time and by the same hand, by erasing the cultural stops of the region made at different times and by different people, thus reducing the region's features as a meeting place and being multicultural and polyphonic [285].

Taksim Square has been a region where a Western, modernist image was established, especially until the transformation created by the AKP, and where the secular and Kemalist understanding of the Single Party Period was reflected through spaces. Therefore, for Erdoğan, Beyoğlu has been interpreted as a region that must be conquered in a conservative sense. After the AKP took over power, it found the power and capital to carry out the transformation projects for the Beyoğlu region.

In this sense, the rebuilding of the Topçu Kışlası, which was destroyed during the Prost period, came to the fore as the recovery of the Ottoman and Islamic culture that was destroyed in its time. In the Beyoğlu region, which is covered within the scope of the thesis, the Gezi Parkı Resistance was the first social reaction against both gentrification and the understanding of the New Islamist Nation, as discussed in the "İstanbul Urban Policies in the AKP Period" section. [292]. This resistance created intolerance regarding the public space on the AKP government, and the statue, which was located around the Taksim Republic Monument and Galatasaray Square for a long time, was besieged by the police and protests in these areas were prohibited.

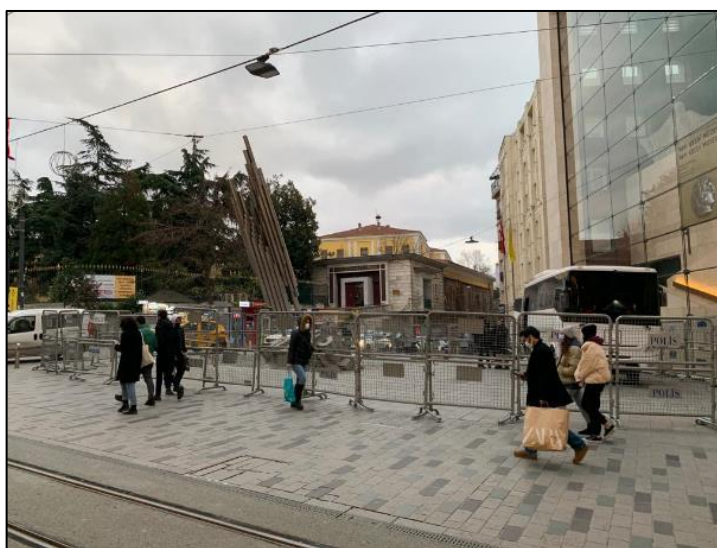


Figure 3.81. The 50th Anniversary Monument of the Republic in Galatasaray Square, photo taken by author.

Similarly, a mosque was built in Taksim Square, AKM was demolished and rebuilt, the Emek Cinema building was demolished and the cinema function was taken to the upper floors and transformed into six commercial centers, Narmanlı Han was restored and its interior was rented to the service sector and various cafes. By transferring the historical regions that the AKP had converted from neoliberal to Islamic capital, it gained a commercial function and realized the Neoliberal consumption culture on all of these structures. As Baysal cites from Gellart and Lynch, she states that although mega projects are divided into categories, these projects can generally coexist and many projects can take place in a single project [250]. Based on this information, projects such as the transformation of Prost's Park No. 2, Taksim Square Pedestrianization Project and Beyoğlu Cultural Road can all be considered as a single mega project. Mega projects such as AKM, Taksim Mosque and Galataport, which are within the scope of these three big projects, are also relatively smaller mega projects, and it can be said that they constitute parts of the large projects mentioned above.

3.6.4. Galataport Review

The Galataport İstanbul Project, also known as the Salıpazarı Cruise Port Project, is the start of Galata's Beyoğlu Cultural Road Project. The main goal of the Galataport project, which was developed in collaboration with Doğu Group and Bilgili Holding, is to reopen the Salıpazarı Cruise Port, which has been closed since 2016, as well as to revitalize the area with ports and structures that are historically appropriate, as well as retail sales areas, offices, food and beverage centers, and a hotel. It is defined as contributing to the city's and country's economies through its functions, as well as delivering a demanding port to İstanbul that meets worldwide standards. As it is emphasized in the periodization study of the thesis to examine the Galata Port Region, although the region has had an international position in terms of freight and passenger transportation throughout history, it has never been able to fulfill this function without any problems.

Evaluation of the project seems important in terms of the cruise port function undertaken by the project. Cruise ship is a large cruise ship. Due to the touristic services, transportation, accommodation services, tours and shopping opportunities provided at the cruise port, it makes a significant economic contribution to the ports they visit. If the historical

development of cruise port tourism is briefly mentioned, since the 1950s, maritime transportation has lost its former importance with the rise of air transportation. For this reason, maritime companies organized holiday and sightseeing tours and created a new market area. Cruise tourism has become one of the fastest growing branches of the tourism industry, which is one of the main sectors of the global economy. Today, the Caribbean Region has the highest share in cruise tourism, while the Mediterranean Region, which includes Turkey, ranks second [298]. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, in 2017, defined the cruise ship as a "maritime tourism vehicle that sails on a predetermined program and route for travel, entertainment, and sports purposes, and has accommodation, eating, drinking, entertainment, recreation and sports activities units suitable for use in the sea tourism trade" [299]. As Görgün stated, the geographical location, sufficient depth and sufficient pier length, as well as compliance with international standards and the socio-cultural environment that the passenger encounters, are also effective in order for cruise tourism to be successful [298]. İstanbul, Turkey's city opening to the world, addresses a wide geography from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. Therefore, İstanbul has important potential in terms of cruise tourism. Until the Galataport Project, no comprehensive study was carried out to utilize the cruise tourism potential of İstanbul. For this reason, Galataport can be considered an important investment in the cruise tourism sector in order to integrate İstanbul into the global capital.



Figure 3.82. The first cruise ship to dock at Galataport İstanbul on 1 October 2022 [300].

Table 3.3. Cruise ship activities in İstanbul from 2013 until 2016 when Karaköy Port was closed [301].

Years	Number of Cruise Ships	Number of Passengers
2013	381	689.417
2014	317	518.935
2015	345	595.880
2016	56	43.543

In İstanbul, the Galataport project has special significance for the city as it is the only cruise port in the city. With an investment of 1.7 billion dollars and a world-class cruise port, it is hoped that İstanbul will set an example for many port cities in the world. As Galataport İstanbul Deputy General Manager of Port Operations, Figen Ayan explained, Galataport İstanbul serves as an international home port. Due to its capacity, it can serve 3 ships and 15 thousand passengers per day. Galataport is a special example of its kind with its modular cover system applied for the first time in the world, and its 29 thousand square meter terminal built underground. The new terminal area is four times the size of the old terminal area. As stated by Ayan, Galataport is a first in the world with its fully open port setup. When the ship does not dock at the port, the coastline turns into a navigation and walking area as the customs and security area is closed with a modular cover system. Thanks to this innovation, the Karaköy coastline, which has been closed to pedestrian access for years, has been opened to pedestrian access [302].



Figure 3.83. The coastline that opens to the public with a modular (opening and closing) cover system, photo taken by author.

The underground port section of the project includes ticket counters, duty-free shops, technical areas, sections of the Police Department and Customs Department, and the necessary spaces for the terminal to function. It is aimed at cruise passengers to reach the mentioned terminal area through a tunnel that continues along the quay, and to solve passport control and customs procedures in this section. In the Galataport project, all the units related to the port have been dissolved under the ground, and the space above it has been made available for public use. There are approximately 250 retail eating and drinking points within the Galataport Project. A total of approximately 52 thousand square meters of leasable area has been allocated for shopping and food and beverage units, and 43 thousand square meters of leasable office space has been allocated. The project also includes an underground car park with a capacity of 2400 vehicles.

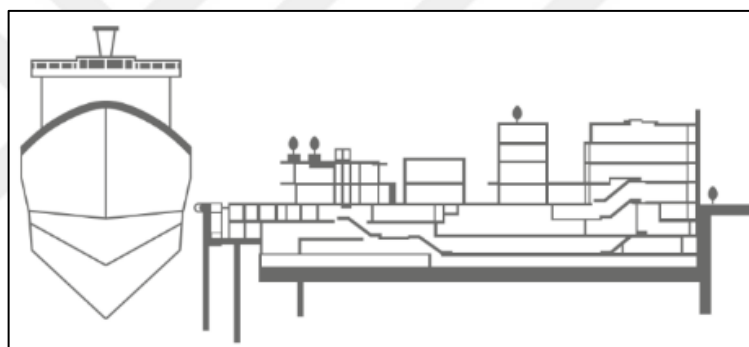


Figure 3.84. 2D section of Galataport Project [303].



Figure 3.85. 3D section view of Galataport Project [303].

Due to its location, the Galataport İstanbul Project is located at the intersection of Kemankeş Karamustafa Paşa Neighborhood and Kılıçali Paşa neighborhood in Karaköy Galata [304]. The project is surrounded by the Meclis-i Mebusan, Tophane İskele and Kemankeş Streets. There is Karaköy Square and Pier in the west of the project, and Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in the east. Although the port area is in a central location, it is in a valuable location with its panoramic Bosphorus view. Galataport is located 1.3 km from Taksim

Square, 2.7 km from Beşiktaş Ferry Port, 1.5 km from Eminönü Square, and is also close to touristic and historical centers such as the Historical Peninsula, Galata Tower and Taksim Square.

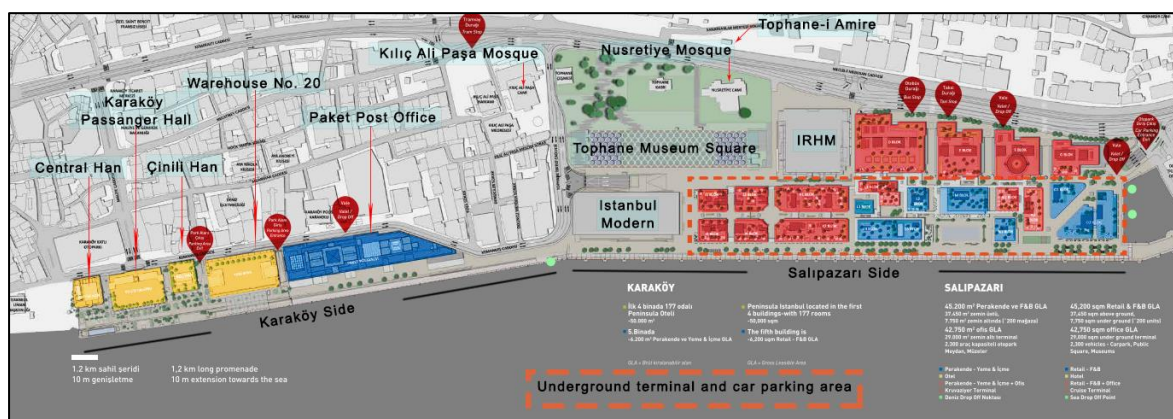


Figure 3.86. The site plan of the Galataport İstanbul Project [303].

The project area includes two large berths, namely the Salıpazarı Dock and the Karaköy Dock. With these two docks, the project area covers a total of 1.2 km of coastline and an area of 100,000 square meters. It is planned to host a total of 25 million visitors annually, 7 million of whom are foreigners. It is anticipated that approximately 1.5 million cruise passengers, including the crew, will also come to visit [302].

When the historical buildings around the project are examined, Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University Tophane-i Amire Culture and Art Center, Nusretiye Mosque and Tophane Fountain are the main structures that make up the historical texture of the region. Salıpazarı Port Area is located at one of the most important points of İstanbul in terms of the historical and cultural assets it contains. The Tophane Fountain, located around the port, was built in the 18th century. Nusretiye Mosque was built by Sultan II. Mahmut in the 19th century. Tophane Clock Tower was built by Sultan Abdülmecit in the second half of the 19th century. The Kılıç Ali Pasha Complex, which consists of a tomb, public fountain, bath and madrasah, was built by Mimar Sinan in 1580. Tophane Pavilion was built by Abdülmecid in 1852. Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, on the other hand, was founded by Osman Hamdi Bey in 1882 under the name Sanayi-i Nefise, and in 1928 it was renamed Fine Arts Academy. However, it can be said that the project did not realize the historical regional intentions for the region, as it completely blocked the view from the Bosphorus to Karaköy, rendering many historical buildings in the shadow or invisible.

It is important to remember that there are two large piers within the scope of the project, namely the Salıpazarı Dock and the Karakoy Dock. In order to explain the project, the functions and restoration works of the buildings in these two separate port areas will be explained.

3.6.4.1. Investigation of Demolition/Restoration/Construction Works in Karaköy Port Region

There are five buildings in the Karaköy Rıhtım region, namely Rıhtım Han (Central Han), Karaköy Passenger Hall, Çinili Han, Warehouse No. 20 and Paket Post Office. Within the scope of the Galataport project, renovation, restoration work and demolition of these structures were carried out.

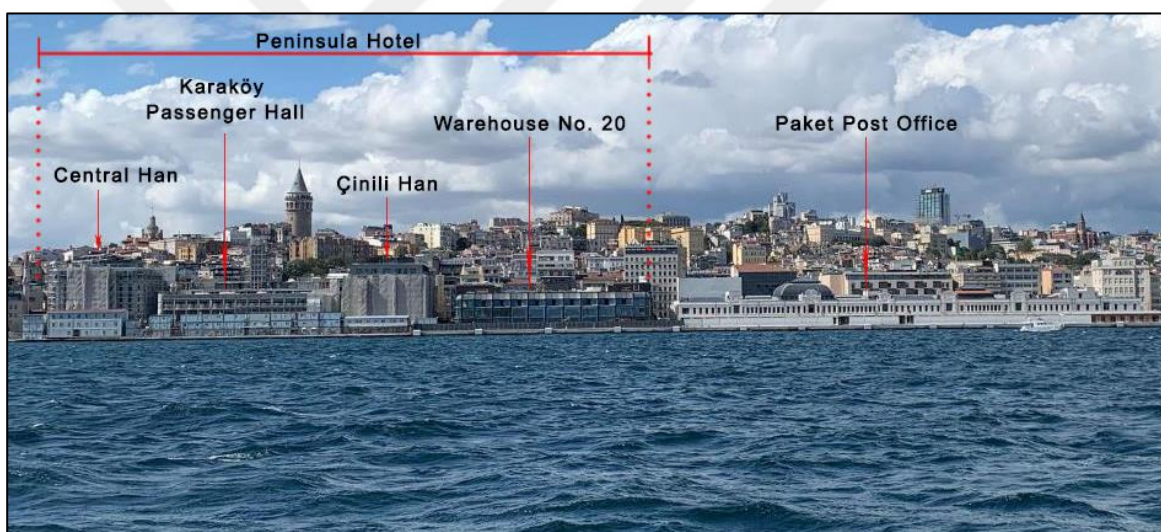


Figure 3.87. View of the Karaköy Port side of Galataport from the Bosphorus, photo taken by author.

As it is explained in more detail in the "Late Ottoman Period Galata and Galata Port Analysis" section of the thesis, Çinili Han was built between 1910-1911 and Rıhtım Han (Central Han) was built between 1912-1914, during the period when Dersaadet Rıhtım and Dok Company conducted the port operation. Between 1918 and 1923, when İstanbul was under occupation, these structures were used by the Entente armies as medicine depots, police stations and food warehouses.



Figure 3.88. The view of Çinili Han, which is under renovation, from Kemankeş Street, photo taken by author.



Figure 3.89. The view of Karaköy Passenger Hall, which is under renovation, photo taken by author.



Figure 3.90. The view of Merkez Han, which is under renovation, from Kemankeş Street, photo taken by author.

Erdem Tavas, the general manager of Galataport, stated that the Peninsula Hotels brand, which is located in only 10 locations in the world, will also take part in the project. The three historically registered buildings of Karaköy Port, namely Çinili Han, Rıhtım Han and Karaköy Passenger Hall, will be restored and form the hotel structure. Merkez Han and Çinili Han will be transformed into Peninsula Hotels by preserving their outer silhouettes and completely demolishing the interiors. Karaköy Passenger Hall, dated 1935, which represents one of the first examples of Single Party Period architecture, was demolished in February 2017. In addition, it was stated that Warehouse No. 20, whose date is not registered, will also be demolished and serve as a ballroom and event space in the hotel structure [305]. He stated that the hotel with 177 rooms was built with an investment of 300 million Euros and provided a foreign investment of 150 million Euros to the country's economy. It is aimed to open the hotel in 2022 together with the Karaköy port area [306].



Figure 3.91. Renovation works of Warehouse No. 20, photo taken by author.

As explained in more detail in the "Late Ottoman Period Galata and Galata Port Analysis" section of the thesis, the Paket Post Office was used for customs procedures and package distribution. In the following period, it was used as the administrative services building of TDI. The historical Paket Post Office, which was restored within the scope of the Galataport İstanbul Project, has also been transformed into a shopping mall, serving approximately 70

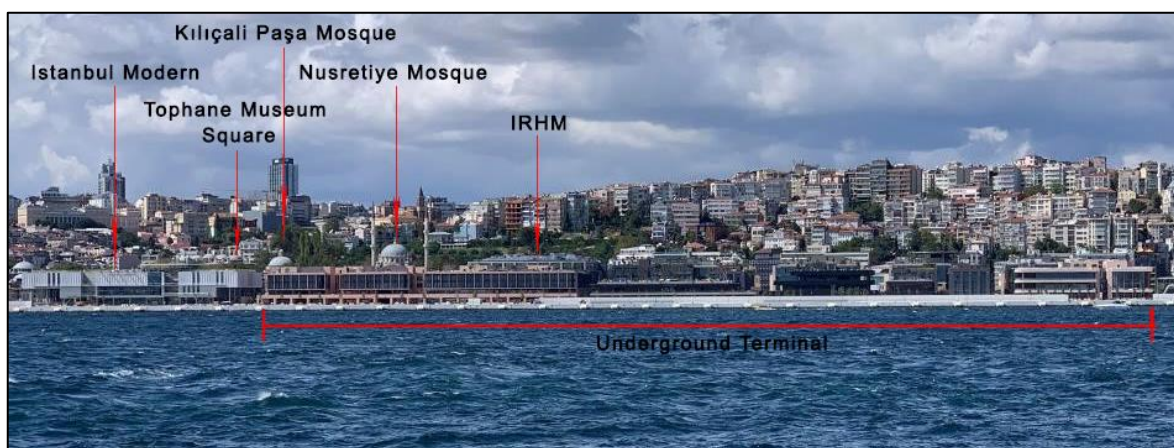


Figure 3.93. View of the Salıpazarı Port side of Galataport from the Bosphorus, photo taken by author.

It aims to be the cultural and art center of İstanbul by hosting the İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum (İRHM) and İstanbul Modern, which are located in the project area. Tophane Square, which meets the two museum structures, was also the first museum square in İstanbul. Established in 2004 as Turkey's first museum of modern and contemporary art, İstanbul Modern was reopened at the warehouse No. 4, where it was first opened, as part of the Galataport İstanbul Project. İstanbul Modern is a foundation museum and was built with the support of Eczacıbaşı Group, which is the founding sponsor, and Doğuş Group Bilgili Holding, which is the main sponsor of the Galataport İstanbul Project. One of the most striking facts about the structure of İstanbul Modern is that it bears the signature of Renzo Piano, a Prizker Award-winning Starchitect who has signed many museum projects such as the Center Pompidou in Paris, the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York, and Centro Botin in Santander [307].



Figure 3.94. İstanbul Modern opened in Warehouse No. 4 of the Salıpazarı Port [308].



Figure 3.95. İstanbul Modern designed by Renzo Piano, built on the site of the Warehouse no. 4 and under construction, photo taken by author.

İRHM, a state/academy museum belonging to MSGSU, started to be built in 2011 with the signature of Emre Arolat, who has the title of starchtitect [309]. The building hosted the 16th İstanbul Biennial in 2019 and was later renovated. The building is expected to enter service in 2022. In the light of all this information, the Galataport İstanbul Project is of particular importance as it is the first mega-project that combines a state museum and a foundation museum for the first time. The detailed explanation of İRHM will be given in the "Case Study" section of the thesis.



Figure 3.96. Entrance façade of İRHM facing Meclis-i Mebusan Street, photo taken by author.

Tophane Museum Square, on the other hand, is 14,000 square meters. This square is surrounded by landmarks such as Nusretiye Mosque, Tophane Mansion, Tophane Fountain and Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque. Tophane Clock Tower, on the other hand, was restored by the Dutch Bresser architectural firm within the scope of the project.

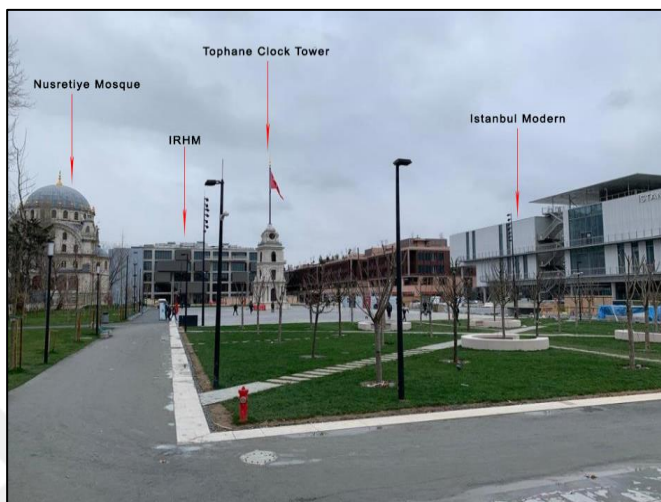


Figure 3.97. Tophane Museum Square and its relationship with the buildings surrounding the square, photo taken by author.

3.6.4.3. *Tender and Construction Process of Galataport* Ø V W ~~Project~~ O

After the adoption of neoliberal policies in the 1980s, it is seen that the global urbanization process of İstanbul is accelerating every year. While investments in the tourism and service sectors gained weight in İstanbul, heavy industries moved out of the city center. With the relocation of industry, the operability of these ports in the city decreased. For this reason, the transformation of the ports in the city towards cruise tourism, which is a sector for sightseeing and holiday purposes, has become widespread throughout the world. In this part of the thesis, the entrance of trucks to the port, which was closed to the entrance of cargo ships in 1987, was also prohibited in 1988. The transformation of İstanbul Modern, which has added a new identity to the Salıpazarı Harbor Area, which has been dysfunctional since 1988, will be discussed, starting with the realization of the warehouse No. 4 and extending to Galataport.

The Prime Minister of the time, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, decided in 2003 that warehouse number 4, one of the venues of the 8th İstanbul Biennial, should be converted into a museum and allocated to İstanbul Modern. In 2004, Turkey's first modern art museum, "İstanbul Modern" was opened in customs warehouse number 4, next to Mimar Sinan Fine Arts

Academy. The 8000 square meter building has been transformed into a modern museum by Tabanlıoğlu Architects. İstanbul Modern was founded with the support of Nejat F. Eczacıbaşı, the founder of the İstanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (İKSİV). According to Oya Eczacıbaşı, the chairman of the board of directors of the İstanbul Museum of Modern Art, the museum received the support of the public, local and private sectors after its opening. In addition, Eczacıbaşı states that the museum came to life thanks to President Erdoğan's realization of Turkey's need for a modern and contemporary museum and allocating the warehouse [310]. As Turkey's first modern and contemporary art museum, İstanbul Modern moved to its temporary location in Beyoğlu as of May 2018, after operating in this building for 14 years.

The opening of İstanbul Modern here revealed clues about the future of the port area. According to Tabanlıoğlu, İstanbul Modern was put into service as the first part of the Galataport project [311].

On 27 July 2004, the Privatization Administration and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism Investment and Enterprises Directorate prepared a 1/5000 and 1/1000 scale plan for the Karaköy-Tophane-Salıpazarı region and applied to the Conservation Board. However, on 20 August 2004 the Conservation Board rejected the proposed plans. On 14 February 2005, the Conservation Board decision was ignored and the plan was decided to be implemented by the Beyoğlu Municipality. According to Pişkin, the first legal problem in the Galataport process was experienced at this point [134].

In April 2005, approval for the implementation of the Galataport Project was obtained by the İstanbul Regional Board for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets No. 1, which is affiliated with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism [312]. On 2 June 2005, the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB) Chamber of City Planners stated that the protection order was not implemented and filed a lawsuit for a stay of execution. On 24 August 2005, while the case was in the review process, it was decided to re-bid the project. Thereupon, TMMOB filed a lawsuit both for the cancellation of the old tender dated 2001 and for the suspension of the tender process that was restarted in 2005. In September 2005, Royal Caribbean Cruises, a partner of Sami Ofer and Mehmet Kutman, won the tender for 49 years to operate within the framework of the build-operate-transfer model by Turkish Maritime Organizations (TDİ) [313].

İstanbul Chamber of City Planners filed a lawsuit to cancel the zoning change that allowed the Galataport Project to be built. The 6th Chamber of the Council of State unanimously stopped the decision of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, which approved this zoning change. Also, with the decision of the Council of State, he stated that the authority to make changes to the zoning plan in the privatization region is not the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, but the Privatization Administration (ÖİB). Following this decision by the Council of State, TDI announced that the tender was cancelled. The ÖİB, on the other hand, has started to prepare a zoning plan for the region. In the lawsuit filed by the İstanbul Branch of the Chamber of Environmental Engineers in March 2008 for the cancellation of the 1/100.000 scaled İstanbul Provincial Environmental Plan, the İstanbul 2nd Administrative Court gave a stay of execution. As a result of this decision, the Galataport project will not be implemented [314]. In May 2008, İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Kadir Topbaş announced that the cancellation decision of the Provincial Environmental Plan would be appealed. In February 2009, the new Provincial Environmental Plan was approved by the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Assembly [315]. In November 2009, Minister of Transport Binali Yıldırım stated that the zoning and legal problems experienced due to the Galataport Project have been resolved [316]. In December 2010, it was decided not to apply the provisions that protect cultural and natural assets in the filling areas with the Coastal Law, which concerns Galataport and many port projects. In other words, the construction of commercial and touristic buildings is allowed in the filling areas. In January 2013, the details of the new zoning plan prepared for the Galataport project were announced. A 10-meter-wide sea fill will be made along the 1200-meter coast. In addition, two-storey car parks are allowed under the recreation areas. In February 2013, the Chamber of Architects, the Chamber of City Planners, and the İstanbul Branches of the Chamber of Civil Engineers filed a lawsuit against the Prime Ministry Privatization Administration with a request to suspend the execution and cancel the zoning plan for the Salıpazarı Cruise Port area.

As mentioned above, after the first tender, which was won by Royal Caribbean in 2005 but was stopped by the decision of the Council of State, a second tender process started in May 2013. The tender was won by Doğu Holding and Bilgili Holding for 702 million dollars. Under the build-operate-transfer model, the term for the contract is 30 years. This time, the 6th Chamber of the Council of State did not grant a stay of execution for the project, which was submitted to the court by the İstanbul Chamber of City Planners on 23 September

2013. However, on 14 October 2014, as a result of the objection made to the Council of State Administrative Litigation Chambers, the board decided to stop the execution of the proceedings. Despite all these decisions, the project continued [134].

Construction of the project started in February 2015. The expert report prepared on the lawsuit filed by three professional chambers at the Council of State in May 2015 is important. In the report, it was stated that the Karaköy coastline does not remain within the urban protected area and that the coast will be closed to the public as a result of privatization [134].

In February 2016, the demolition of the Salıpazarı warehouses, designed by Sedat Hakkı Eldem, started. With the beginning of the demolition, the port area was closed to ship visits.

Within the scope of the project, the Karaköy Passenger Hall on 16 February 2017, and the Paket Post Office on 1 March 2017 were closed and demolition began. In April 2017, the İstanbul Cultural Heritage Preservation Board No. 2 decided that the Paket Post Office and Karaköy Passenger Hall were not suitable for demolition and the renovation project, and filed a criminal complaint. Thereupon, the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality sealed the construction due to practices contrary to the project. However, despite this decision, the construction continued [134].

In November 2017, it was stated that the İstanbul Modern building, which was renovated within the scope of the Galataport project, would be built by Renzo Piano, who is described as a starchitect. In May 2018, İstanbul Modern was removed from warehouse No. 4 and moved to its temporary location, the former Union Française building [317]. Although it was stated in August 2019 that the project would be opened in May 2020, it could not be opened in 2020 due to the COVID-19 Pandemic [318]. The final of the Survivor TV show was held in Galataport on 13-14 July 2020 and 26 June 2021. On October 1, 2021, a cruise ship docked at Galataport for the first time. Salıpazarı Port, which has been closed since 2016, has been reopened to cruise tourism [319].

In 29 October 2021, Republic Day 98th Anniversary, AKM and Galataport's Salıpazarı section were opened at the same time. The construction works in the Karaköy Section are continuing and it is aimed to be put into service in 2022.

4. CASE STUDY: İSTANBUL ART AND SCULPTURE MUSEUM

The "İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum" is one of the projects that is being evaluated within the Galataport İstanbul Project and also constitutes the first and last stop of the Beyoğlu Cultural Road Project. With the inclusion of İRHM in Galataport, a state museum and a foundation museum (İstanbul Modern) were included in the same project for the first time. It was mentioned in the school regulations published by Osman Hamdi Bey, the founder and director of the School of Fine Arts, in 1887, that a museum should be built from the current collection of paintings and sculptures. Osman Hamdi's brother, Halil Ethem Bey, tried hard after his death to construct the museum, but he was unsuccessful. He did, however, succeed in establishing the "Elvah-ı Nakşiye" (painting collection), which includes works by Ottoman painters as well as reproductions of works by well-known Western painters. This show, which began on November 9, 1915, at the school, is now considered the commencement of the İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum [320].



Figure 4.1. Atatürk's visit to İRHM [321].

While İRHM draws attention with this feature, it also carries an important meaning with its historical importance. İRHM, the first painting gallery of the Republic of Turkey, was opened on 10 September 1937, in the crown office of Dolmabahçe Palace, by the order of Atatürk. With the proclamation of the Republic, the principles of the New Turkish Republic began to be drawn, and these principles include modernity, but also nationalism as a unifying element. As a result, in the art environment of New Turkey, the relationship between the Ottoman Empire's religious ideology and art was attempted to be severed with the arrival of secularism; and with a nationalist understanding, art was seen as a unifying element. So much so that, by the order of Atatürk, the artists of the Republic of Turkey were sent to

Anatolia and ordered paintings of local subjects, motifs and landscapes [320]. The museum, which houses the main examples of 19th century Ottoman modernization and is predicted to expand further with the works of young artists of the Republic in the following years, is connected to the fine arts academy (today's Mimar Sinan Fine Arts Academy (MSGSU)), which was the only institution providing education in the field of plastic arts of the period. The initial collection of the museum, including the Elvah-ı Nakşiye, was enriched with new works from artists and state exhibitions in the 1940s and 1950s, and the purchase of works continued until 1970-1975 despite the insufficient budget. With the donations made in the following years, the collection expanded and remained in the modern art movement [320].

On 23 May 2021, MSGSU Rector Prof. Dr. Handan İnci stated that 12378 works of art are registered in the inventory regarding İRHM's collection. [322]. With its collection, İRHM is the richest among its contemporaries. Furthermore, works from this museum were used to form the collections of the painting and sculpture museums affiliated with the Ministry of Culture in Ankara and İzmir. The value of the museum collection is not only due to its numerical superiority, but also to the fact that it contains the most prominent works of Turkish painting and sculpture art. Original works by Osman Hamdi Bey, İbrahim Çallı, Hikmet Onat, Hüseyin Avni, Lifij Nuri İyem, and many other artists are on display, according to Özsezgin [323]. Again, many of the works in this collection have the privilege of being selected among the awarded works in the State Painting and Sculpture Exhibitions, which have been held regularly since 1939. Furthermore, the "Elvah- Nakşiye Collection," which forms the core of this collection, was established between 1914 and 1918 by photographing masters of "western" art [323].

The initiative to open a national gallery of paintings was triggered by the fact that Professor, who joined the academy in 41-42 years, and therefore witnessed the first years of the İRHM. According to the memoirs of Kerim Silivri, in 1937, before the museum was opened on the orders of Atatürk, it was accompanied by the opening of a large exhibition organized by the Academy of Fine Arts [324]. With this exhibition, which brings together important Turkish painters and their works, the first idea about the subject has been put forward, and the idea of transforming this archive into a Painting and Sculpture Museum has emerged with such a qualified archive. While many works came together with the exhibition, they felt the need for a building, and they discussed the issue with Afet İnan, believing that if they conveyed their demands to Atatürk, the issue would be resolved. A few days later, with the help of

Afet Inan, the crown office of Dolmabahçe Palace was allocated for the Painting and Sculpture Museum, and then a Decree of the Council of Ministers was issued for this allocation [324].

In such an artistic environment, the opening of the first painting gallery of the Republic in the crown house of Dolmabahçe Palace seems quite brave but reasonable. Although the transformation of the Ottoman heritage remaining from the palace and its surroundings into a public gallery in a newly established republic seems to be a highly ideological move, it is understood from the records that the search for a new building was too hasty. After the law on the museum was passed in 1940, the founders and staff of the museum said, "Can't a law be enacted in a hurry?" His concern seems to have been eliminated by Atatürk. Cevad Memduh Altar, who served in the foundation years of the museum, conveys this subject in his memoirs; "We were worried whether a law could be passed by the parliament for the museum quickly. But Atatürk, that great person, was acting so categorically on this issue that he did not have to wait for such a law or something. In other words, the preparation of a law, its submission to the parliament, long discussions, etc. Existing pictures would definitely be collected. Saffet Arıkan convinced him. They said, "Let's have a museum without the loss." [324].

Two other factors seem to stand out in the selection of the crown house of Dolmabahçe Palace for the Painting and Sculpture Museum. The first of these is the inability to build a new museum building due to the difficult conditions of the new Republic after the War of Independence, and the second is the popularity of using old palaces as museums in the western world [323].

However, the fact that the museum in question was generally closed until today and that it was physically very limited in realizing the contemporary ideology of opening art to the public stands out as a problem. First of all, the physical environment of the museum in question, the crown office, is legally connected to the national palaces, but in physical terms, the museum is affiliated with the academy of fine arts, which changed as of 1983 and is known today as Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. As Demir conveyed during the meeting with Duygu Demir, one of the curators of İRMH, on 28 January 2021, it was opened in 1937, but during the Second World War. The museum, which had to close shortly after the start of World War II, sent its works to museums in different parts of Anatolia during the closure period, and the attempt to take these works back was unsuccessful [325]. In addition, the

crown office was closed many times due to its technical inadequacy, the necessity of maintenance, repair, and restoration, and the fire hazard that it seemed likely to cause. The museum, which was closed for the first time in 1939 after opening in 1937, experienced its second long-term closure in 1976 until 1981 due to the heavy problems that constantly arose after its first long closure between 1939-1951 [323,326]. Although there were attempts to open the museum especially in 1979, it could not be opened as a result of the political environment of the period. During this period, the museum's management, artists and intellectuals reacted to this situation by making suggestions about moving the museum to a new place. Although the date is not certain, as can be seen in the letterhead of the Association of Painting and Sculpture Museums, these suggestions will have come, and suggestions have been listed in the relevant document for a possible new location of the Painting and Sculpture Museum.

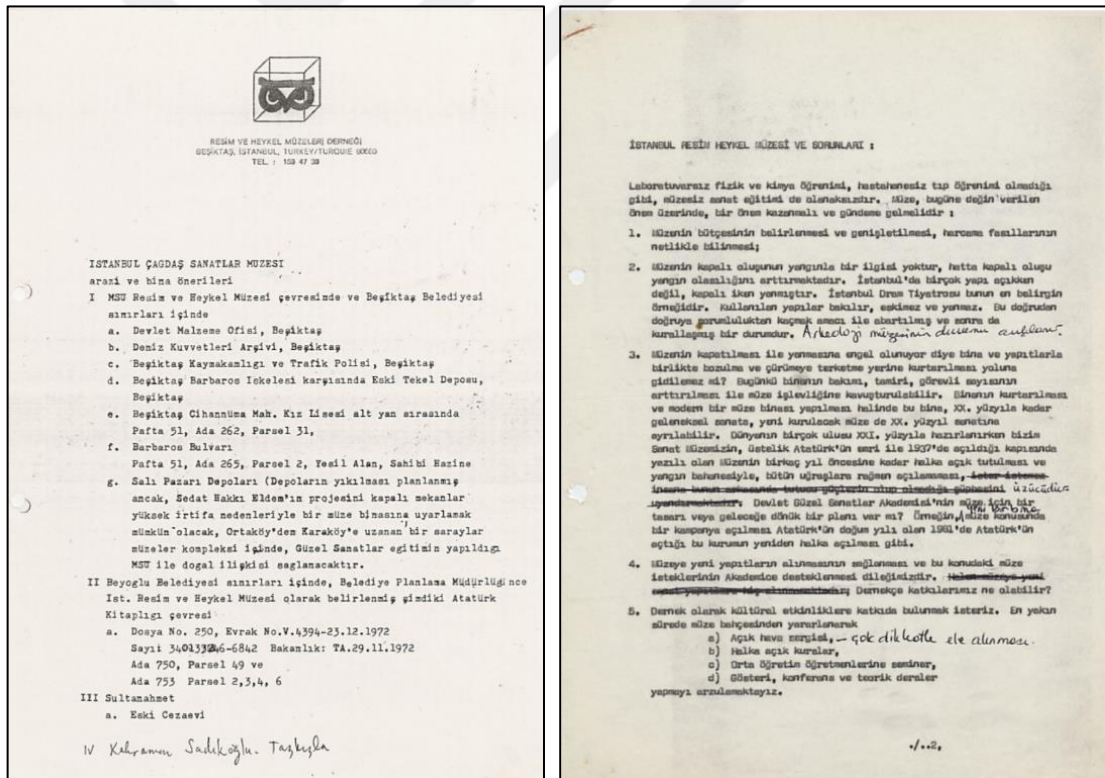


Figure 4.2. Documentation with İRHM land and building recommendations [327].

When the first of these two documents is examined, it seems noteworthy that the proposal for the location of the Painting and Sculpture Museum is the Salıpazarı Warehouses. In particular, in that article, it was stated that the demolition of the warehouses was planned, and it seems that the high altitude of these warehouses, built by Sedat Hakkı Eldem, might be suitable for a museum structure. At the same time, with this proposal, an axis of palaces

and museums was established, extending from Ortaköy to Karaköy, and it was designed that it would have a natural connection with MSÜ.

Another important issue stands out in the second document. The problem of the museum being closed due to the fear of fire has also been mentioned in this document, and it has been claimed that its being closed has nothing to do with the fire. It has been stated that many fires in İstanbul do not burn when the buildings are open but when they are closed, and it has been submitted that this risk is reduced if the buildings are operated and maintained properly. In this document, which describes the museum's closure as an escape from responsibility, it can be seen that the true thoughts of the author of the document are "softened" in the crossed-out parts. It is written in the document in question: "While many nations of the world were preparing for the 21st century, our Art Museum, which was opened in 1937 by the order of Atatürk, was kept open to the public until a few years ago, and all the fact that it could not be opened despite efforts (it inevitably arouses the suspicion of whether there are conservative forces behind it) is regrettable." In this sentence taken from the document, the part written in parentheses is scribbled over, and the sentence ends with "it is sad". In this document, which was most likely a draft of the original document, he stated that the writer perceived the fear of fire as an excuse and that the time the museum was closed would cause deterioration and decay of the buildings and works.

In 1979, the Painting and Sculpture Museums Association was established in order to solve the problems indicated in the second of the relevant documents of the İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum. The document, written by Belkıs Mutlu, with a letterhead of the İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum, pointing to the year 1984, and the document, which is the draft of the protocol to be signed between the museum and the association, which is thought to be dated 1978-1979, reveals the nature of the cooperation between the museum and the association.

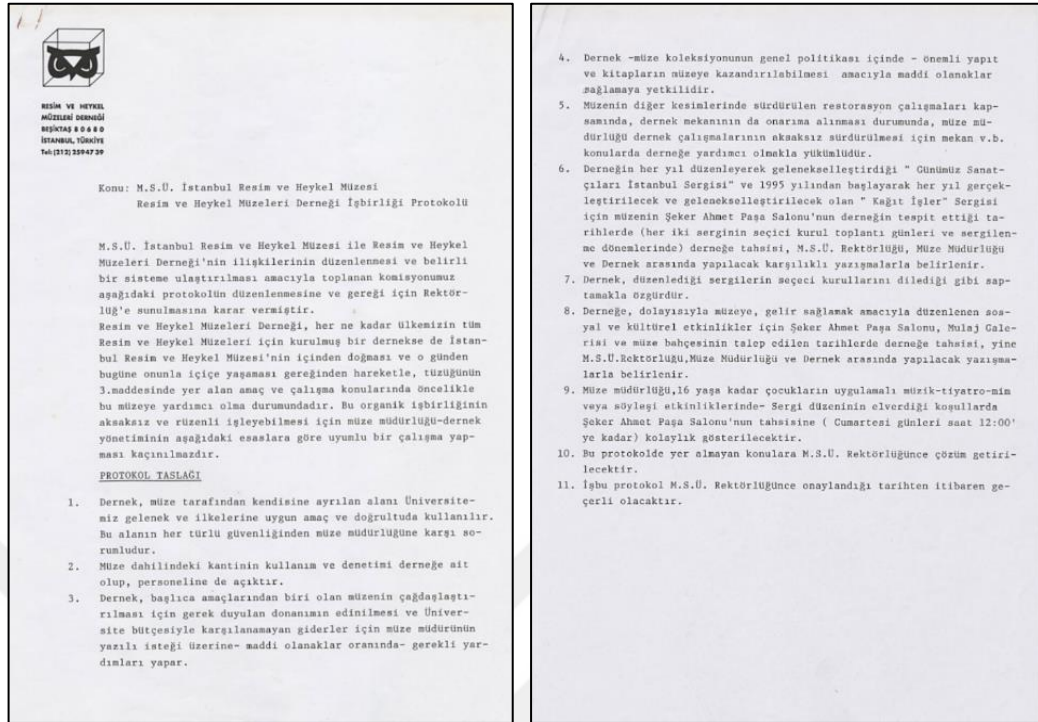


Figure 4.3. Draft of the cooperation protocol of M.S.U. İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museums and Painting and Sculpture Museums Association [328].

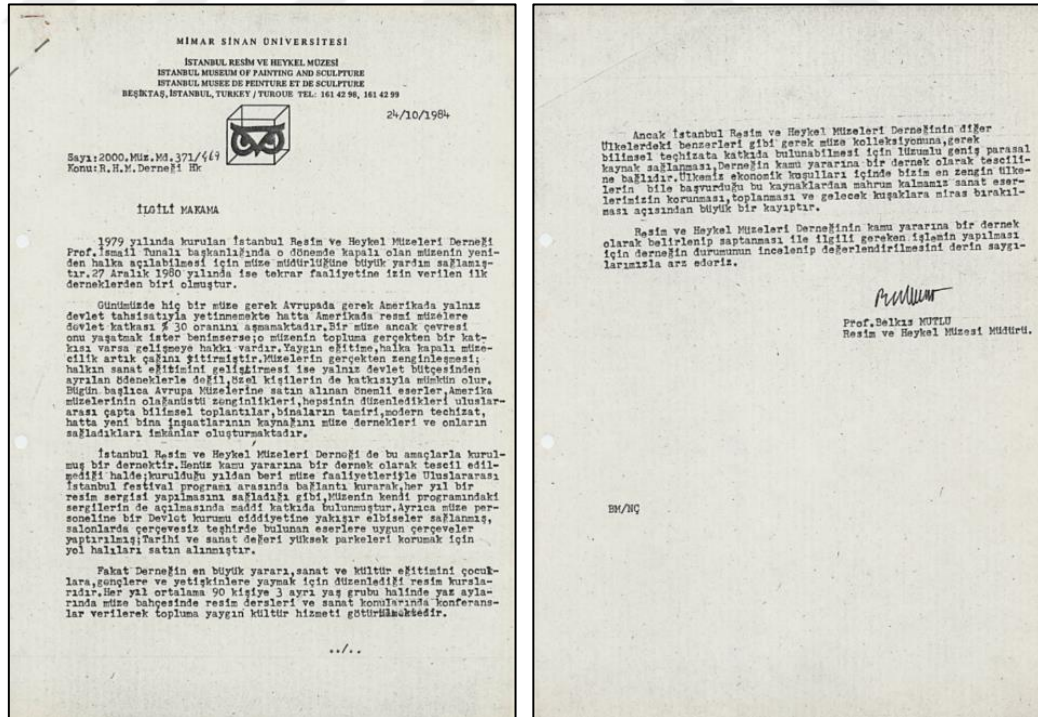


Figure 4.4. Petition written by Belkıs Mutlu (Director of İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum) for Painting and Sculpture Museums Association's recognition as a public benefit association from 1984 [329].

In the first document, which is a draft of the cooperation protocol between M.S.Ü İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum and the Painting and Sculpture Museums Association, the obligations of both parties, especially the association, seem to have been determined. It is stated that the Painting and Sculpture Museums Association is an association established for all painting and sculpture museums in the country, but since it was born from within the Painting and Sculpture Museum, its primary obligations are related to İRHM. It was stated that the association, which will take on the task of providing the necessary physical conditions and facilities that the museum needs, and meeting the needs that cannot be met with the limited university budget, will cooperate fully with İRHM.

In the other document, written by the museum director of the time, Belkıs Mutlu, pointing to the year 1984, the contributions of the association to the museum in the five years between the establishment of the association in 1979 and 1984 seem clear. It can be understood that the main motivation for the opening of the association is the support to be provided for the reopening of İRHM, which has been closed for many years. At the same time, by referring to the income models of the peer museums in Europe and America, it is understood that the museum association also takes the museum associations in Europe and America as a model. According to the document written by Mutlu, the association contributed to art education for children and youth, especially within the museum, in the five years after its establishment, but it seems that it has not been able to catch up with the donations to the museum collection and scientific equipment since it has not yet been registered as a public benefit association. In this context, Mutlu wants the association to be registered as an association for the public good so that the museum can reach a contemporary level in terms of both technique and content.

Even in the 2000s, İRHM, which could not find the opportunity to introduce its collection to the public, created a new shock effect on the public in 2002 with the initiative to photograph the collection under the leadership of Semra Germaner. During this study, deficiencies and lost artifacts were identified in the inventory, and it was announced that their number was between 350 and 400. Although it was stated that a part of the museum collection was given to the Ministry of Culture and the Prime Ministry, the investigation initiated by the Prime Ministry Inspection Board did not yield any results in practice, and the museum could not recover the lost artifacts in its collection [326].

On 23 May 2021, MSGSU Rector Prof. Dr. Handan İnci, in her statement about İRHM, stated that the museum was closed in 2007. On 29 June 2009 she stated that the last exhibition of the collection was held with the “Exhibition’s Exhibition” curated by names such as Prof. Tomur Atagok, Prof. Aydın Ayan, Prof. Dr. Semra Germaner and Dr. Burcu Pelvanoğlu [322]. By 2012, the headlines "raid on the crown office" began to appear in the news. MSGU and the museum management, which have been trying to restore the Dolmabahçe Palace Crown Prince's Office, which was allocated to İRHM by Atatürk's order since the day it opened, faced the decision to take the Crown Office from them and move the works to the warehouse building number 5. Therefore, the İRHM collection was removed from the crown office and a collection belonging to the National Palaces began to be exhibited here [330]. Aksungur and Artun's comments on the subject were also noted in the panel report of Cumhuriyet Newspaper dated 28 April 2014 titled "I want my museum back". Drawing attention to the fact that it was a result of the domestic policy that could not accept that there was no one, they interpreted the event as the reversal of history by giving the crown office, taken from Abdülaziz and given to Atatürk back to Abdülaziz [331]. Emre Arolat, who became the architect of the new warehouse after the demolition of Eldem's warehouse, also criticized the attempt to change the name of the museum within the scope of the panel. He stated that he did not base it on "modernity" [331].

The architectural project of İRHM, which hosts the most distinguished works of Turkish contemporary painting and sculpture art in its collection, was completed in 2011 and opened with a temporary exhibition in 2019. According to the statement of its (st)architect Emre Arolat, it is seen that the grid layout and office facade are preserved on the facade of the old warehouse building number 5 designed by Sedat Hakkı Eldem. Arolat on the importance of the said grid system: "I am one of those who believe that the repetitive and orderly image of the reinforced concrete grid, which emerged as the most important characteristic of the buildings in this region, all of which were demolished in the past months, occupies a very strong place in urban memory and carries a kind of landmark value for this part of the city." says [332]. Regarding the structure of Sedat Hakkı Eldem, which he replaced, he evaluated

that the main motivation of Eldem in choosing such a grid was that he wanted to refer to the carcass system and the office façade [333].



Figure 4.5. The façade of the İRHM facing the Meclis-i Mebusan Street and also its main entrance, photo taken by author.



Figure 4.6. Relationship between İRHM, Nusretiye Mosque and Tophane Museum Square, photo taken by author.



Figure 4.7 İRHM's reinforced concrete carcass facade and cantilevered container units, photo taken by author.



Figure 4.8 Perception of the carcass facade of the İRHM from inside Galataport, photo taken by author.

5. CONCLUSION

This study deals with the changes in the urban texture that took place in İstanbul and Galata, from the Late Ottoman Period to the present, through the influence of political and economic policies. He also discussed the transformation experienced through a specific sample and brought criticism to the transformation of Galata Port to “Galataport” and the state museum İRHM within “Galataport” in the light of neoliberal policies.

In the literature, there are various thesis studies on the analysis of the relationship between politics-economy-architecture, the effects of Neoliberalism on the urban fabric, and the Galataport Project. However, this thesis examines the political and economic policies starting from the Late Ottoman Period to the present day and deals with the historical-evolutionary process of these policies towards the urban fabric of İstanbul and the Galata region and Galata Port. Later, based on the historical exposition study and the urban and architectural effects of Neoliberalism, he discussed the Galataport Project and İRHM, which is part of the project, as a case study. The thesis differs from the literature, with a critique of the mega-project by considering a state museum within the scope of the Case Study. Based on all this information, it can be said that the contribution of the thesis to the literature is multifaceted.

One of the important determinations obtained as a result of the study, İstanbul has been the city where the government has shown its political and economic power the most from the Late Ottoman Period to the present, except between 1960 and 1980. In the process from the Late Ottoman Period, which met with liberalism, to today's Turkey, political powers have had a say in general policies regarding İstanbul as much as local governments, and in some periods much more than local governments. Although Ankara is the capital of the country, İstanbul has been seen as a door and a showcase to the world, therefore, it has been both a representation of the ideological programs of the politicians who came to power in different periods and an indicator of their actions and activities, as well as the main point of their attempts to adapt the nation to the current ideology. State-managed capitalism and free-market economy are expressed as two different applications of capitalism in the image below, which is based on the historical periodization study. The concepts of Statism, mixed economy, Liberalism, and Neoliberalism applied in Turkey are also placed according to the period in which they were applied. The visual conveys the understanding of municipality

that changes according to the periods, and the perspective of the government of that period on İstanbul.

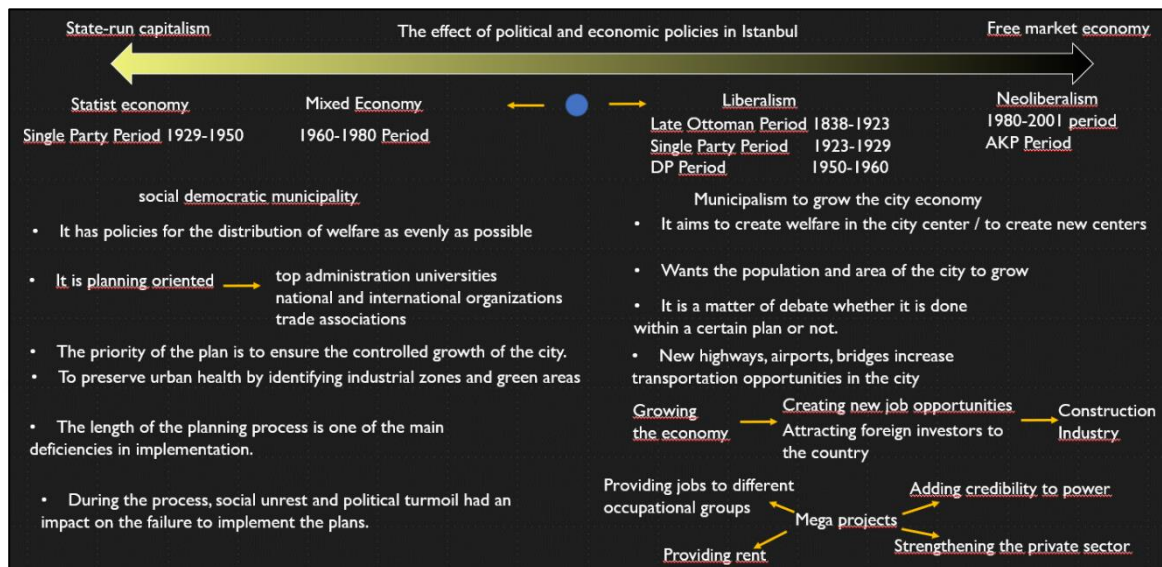


Figure 5.1. The effects of economic policies on İstanbul, created by the author.

The most important determination that can be made from the table is that, due to the nature of the liberal understanding, the aim of expanding the economy is also effectively seen at the urban level. In particular, studies aimed at increasing the surface area and population of the city, improving urban road transport, making large investments in the construction sector and increasing employment can be given as examples. When the primary goal is to expand the city's economy, the zoning practices will transform green areas, historical artifacts, and public spaces into construction areas. At this point, it seems that liberal administrations are willing to make the city look like a huge construction site to develop and strengthen the capital.

Two political periods especially stand out in this process of ups and downs in terms of both economic and political stability. The first of these is the "Single Party Period" and the other is the "AKP Period". In both periods, there is much more than just the representation of the ideology and the implementation activities in the zoning activities related to İstanbul. The aim in these two periods is to place a monolithic society in line with the urban and daily lifeline of the adopted ideology. In this respect, both in the Single Party Period and the AKP period, the symbolic and representative powers of architecture, intervention in the use of

public space both as design and laws, and designing urban-spatial solutions by the everydayness of the new ideology is at the forefront.

During the Single Party Period, a Kemalist project was developed to shape society, and as a reflection of the project on the urban-spatial plane, squares (*espaces libres*) were designed as a representation of modern and secular Turkish people, where men and women would be together. It can also be said that this attitude was put forward to overcome the closed neighborhood culture in the Ottoman period. In the AKP Period, it was aimed to create a religious generation as the antithesis of the Kemalist Project. As the urban and architectural reflection of this idea, facades made from the eclectic combination of Ottoman-Seljuk ornaments in public buildings and many mosques in Classical Ottoman typology began to take place in the urban texture. In addition, he made moves to change the image of the square and the Kemalist Project in social memory, as in the case of Taksim Square, to destroy the unifying power of the squares and to tame the society in a way. Many references are made to the periods when the Ottoman Empire was at its strongest in terms of architectural style, and especially to the periods of Menderes and Özal in terms of service nationalism. These references were generally based on populism, and in this way, it was aimed to create a ground of legitimacy for zoning practices.

One of the important determinations to be made regarding the urban and architectural practices made in the Single Party Period and the AKP Period is that both forms of practice have the effects of taming, transforming, and homogenizing the society.

In all periods, the reflection of both the economic program adopted and the economic adequacy or inadequacy on the city could be read directly. For example, many plans made in the years when the economy was relatively unstable between 1960 and 1980 remained on paper, but the temporary relief that came with the privatizations after 1980 played a role in the increase of urban activity again. Galata and Port regions also got their share from all these, for example, while it was in the background in the years when statist policies were pursued and therefore the import substitution approach came, it gained importance in the years when statism was abandoned and liberalism was adopted. Especially in the neoliberal period, it has completely changed its function and become the place of the service and tourism sector.

Therefore, it can be said that the culture of use has changed in some already built urban areas according to the adopted ideology of the period. Especially since the 1980s, when neoliberalism was adopted, the city of İstanbul has ceased to be a special point of Turkey and has become a node of the global free-market economy. Of course, this Neoliberal understanding brought new usage practices and meanings to the city and declared that it has become a global city with international organizations such as the Olympics, competitions, sports competitions, and the cultural capital initiative. This new approach, which was adopted, was also combined with the moderate Islam views of the AKP. Therefore, in the rest of the moves regarding international visibility and reputation, it served with policies that could be based on Islamic foundations for those living in the city. With conservative-neoliberal practices, it was hoped to have a say in the world through the urban image; prestige was prioritized, and the image of the adopted Islamic ideology was hoped to be unshakeable. The combination of these two goals has resulted in megaprojects with abnormal economic and urban scales, and the service nationalism concept has been ensured to include features that support the city's rent and prestige points rather than the requirements of the locals. İstanbul became a cultural strategy in the framework of the city as a result of the approved economic and social-religious ideological architecture, and revanchism was utilized to format public memory.

Constructions on İstanbul's silhouette, such as Kanal İstanbul, İstanbul Airport, Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge, Camlica Tower, and Mosque, which cannot be ignored, have been built, and these structures have been the signature of the AKP government on the city and an indicator of its power. In the example of Galataport, the public space, which was closed as a port since the Ottoman period, has been transformed into a semi-public space that will serve the current ideology under the influence of Neoliberalism. By contrast, the İRHM collection, on the other hand, has displaced the reversal that it was established in the crown office for the first time to reflect Kemalist values by bringing it into its context in Galataport. In other words, it has made İRHM indistinguishable from the art-street position of a shopping mall.

This situation can be read as an indicator of the AKP's revanchist architecture. The objections made to the entire project process were not heard, as in the objections to Kanal İstanbul and other mega projects, and it continued its process based on insistence and aggression, just like the aggressiveness of Neoliberalism, with extremist decisions that completely reject

participation. Cultural heritage, which has been the property of the public with a common past, has completely lost its publicity in this context. During the planning phase of Galataport, especially traffic problems that needed to be solved were never faced, and the insistence on construction and strengthening the capital preceded everything else.

While many criticisms can be made about the displacement of İRHM to Galataport and its reintroduction to the market in this way, there are also positive aspects for İRHM. First of all, this collection, which was left to its fate in the Crown Prince's Office and could not meet the public, could be opened to the public in the context of Galataport. This has also ensured that care is taken to preserve (maintain) the condition of the collection. Based on the interview with Duygu Demir, the architect of İRHM, Emre Arolat, kept in close contact with the curators, and took into consideration the preservation of the collection, its not being worn out, and the proper display of it in his design. On the other hand, just like the opening of İRHM to the public, Galataport can be considered an important step towards opening the Galata Port area to the public. The fact that this area, which was neglected and closed to the public and where very few cruise ships docked before Galataport, was turned into a semi-public area in the context of a shopping mall is a situation that can be seen as partially successful.

As a result, when Galataport is evaluated with the concepts of "WOW Factor!", "The Bilbao Effect," and "Starchitect" created by Neoliberalism, the project gains prestige by having it built by star architects. As a whole project, Galataport is "WOW!" with the cultural heritage it uses, its location and the project itself and finally, just like in Bilbao Effect, it is very different from the economic ecosystem of the region, and it plays transformative roles and makes itself an international point of attraction.

6. REFERENCES

1. Harvey D. *Neoliberalizmin kısa tarihi*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık; 2015.
2. Aktan CC. Klasik liberalizm, neo liberalizm ve libertarianizm. *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*. 1995;28(1):1–32.
3. Eğilmez M. Kapitalizm, 2016, [cited 2021 20 November]. Available from: <https://www.mahfiegilmez.com/2016/04/kapitalizm.html>.
4. Keleş R. *Kentleşme politikası*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları; 1993.
5. Kent ve kent planlama tarihi, 2021, [cited 2021 23 November]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ivwGQ-jJeOs&t=1561s>.
6. Lefebvre H. *Mekanın üretimi*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık; 2014.
7. Demiryollarında gelişmeler, [cited 2021 Sep 9]. p. 219–51. Available from: <https://www.imo.org.tr/resimler/ekutuphane/pdf/2092.pdf>.
8. Benjamin W. Paris: capital of the nineteenth century. *Perspecta*. 1969;12(1):77-88.
9. Smith A. *Milletlerin zenginliği*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları; 2006.
10. Online etymology dictionary: liberal, [cited 2021 Sep 7]. Available from: <https://www.etymonline.com/word/liberal>.
11. Harvey D. *Postmodernliğin durumu*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; 2010.
12. Marx K, Engels F. *Komünist manifesto*. İstanbul: Can Sanat Yayınları; 2021.
13. Eğilmez M. *Değişim sürecinde türkiye*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi; 2018.
14. Altıok M. Keynes ve keynesçi kuramda kriz ve iktisat politikası tartışmaları. *Toplum ve Demokrasi*. 2009;3(6–7):75–102.
15. Selçuk G. Fordist birikim rejimi ve kitle kültürü. *Journal of Yaşar University*. 2011;24(6):4133–55.
16. Saklı AR. Kapitalist gelişim sürecinde fordizm ve post-fordizm. *Elektronik Sosyal*

Bilimler Dergisi. 2019;12(44):107–31.

17. Şahin Ç. Kapitalizm - mekân ilişkisi: fordist ‘sanayi/işçi’ kenti ile post-fordist ‘küresel/hizmet’ kenti karşılaştırması üzerinden bir değerlendirme. *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi/Journal of Social Policy Conferences*. 2020:237–75.
18. Katznelson I. *Marksizm ve kent*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları; 2019.
19. Şahin SZ. T. Türkiye’de neo-liberal mekânsal kurgunun siyasal yapıtaşları: yeniden ölçekleme, parçalanmış yasama ve kentlerin patronu. *KBAM Kentsel ve Bölgesel Araştırmalar Ağı 4. Kentsel ve Bölgesel Araştırmalar Sempozyumu*. 2013;1(1):39-50
20. Saklı AR. Fordizm’den esnek üretim rejimine dönüşümün kamu yönetimi üzerindeki etkileri. *Elektronik Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. 2013;12(44):107–31.
21. Friedman M. *Kapitalizm ve özgürlük*. Ankara: Eksi Kitaplar; 2018.
22. Çelik Z. Neoliberalizmin kısa tarihi. *İdealkent Dergisi*. 2012;1(7):187–94.
23. Harvey D. *Asi şehirler*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; 2013.
24. Molina G. Starchitects : walking the line between individuality and conformity. *Metropolitics*. 2015:1–6.
25. Gürel N. Çağdaş ikon yapıların kentsel yenilenme süreçlerindeki yeri: ıspanya bilabao ve valencia kentleri. Master Thesis, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2008.
26. Gayret T. Müzeciliği’nde bir şehri kalkındıran müzecilik örneği, Guggenheim Bilbao müzesi. *Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi Sanat Dergisi*. 2016;9(17):354–75.
27. Scricciu Ş. The wow factor. *Art Much ?* 2014;1(6):12-13.
28. Aydüz S. Lâle devri’nde yapılan ilmî faaliyetler. *Divan*. 1997;1(1):143–70.
29. Rado Ş. *Paris’te bir Osmanlı sefiri Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi’nin Fransa seyahatnamesi*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları; 2021.
30. Eravcı M, Kiremit İ. Lale dönemi ve Patrona Halil isyani üzerine yeni değerlendirmeler. *Tarih Okulu*. 2010;1(8):79–93.
31. Örenç AF. Osmanlı tarihi (1789-1908). İstanbul Üniversitesi Açık ve Uzaktan Eğitim

Fakültesi Tarih Lisans Programı Ders Notu. İstanbul; 2010.

32. Turan H. III. Selim'den Tanzimat'a Osmanlı Devleti'nde yeniden yapılanma hareketleri. *Aksaray Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*. 2019;11(2):37–46.
33. Kodaman B. Osmanlı Devleti'nin yükseliş ve çöküş sebeplerine genel bakış. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. 2007;1(16):1–24.
34. Beşirli M. Osmanlı'da modernleşme ve aydınlar 1789-1908. *Dini Araştırmalar Dergisi*. 1999;2(5):131–57.
35. Karaman MA. Fransız İhtilali'nin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na etkileri. *SDÜ Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. 2018;(44):62–79.
36. Akşin S. *Kısa türkiye tarihi*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları; 2021.
37. Pamuk Ş. *Türkiye'nin 200 yıllık iktisadi tarihi*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları; 2020.
38. Eşiyok A. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 'nun dünya ekonomisine eklemlenmesinde bir dönüm noktası : 1838 serbest ticaret anlaşması. *Mülkiye Dergisi*. 2010;34(266):67–108.
39. Uzun MC, Afşar B. Osmanlı ekonomisinin temel unsurlarının ekonomik yaklaşımlar çerçevesinde değerlendirilmesi. *Karatay Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*. 2019;1(3):54–93.
40. Cenikli E. Türkiye'de mali yerelleşme anlayışına tarihsel bir bakış. *Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2011;6(2):1–14.
41. Aktel M. Tanzimat Fermanı'nın toplumsal yansıması. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*. 1998;3(3):1–8.
42. Taşkın F. Kırım Savaşı'nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na ekonomik etkileri ve iaşe sorunu. Doctoral Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2007.
43. Mardin Ş. *Yeni Osmanlı düşüncesi'nin doğuşu*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları; 2017.

44. Ahmad F. *İttihat ve Terakki 1908-1914*. İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları; 1995.
45. Can A. *Paul Bonatz'ın Türkiye yılları*. Ankara: Nobel Bilimsel Eserler; 2021.
46. Varlı A, Koraltürk M. II. Meşrutiyet'ten erken cumhuriyet'e milli iktisadın sürekliliği ve İzmir iktisat kongresi. *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2010;9(20):127–42.
47. Ergin K. İttihat ve terakki döneminde milli iktisat anlayışı (1913-1918). *Akdeniz Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*. 2017;1(1):114–27.
48. Çelik Z. *19.yüzyılda Osmanlı başkenti değişen İstanbul*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları; 2019.
49. Kauffer F. Plan de la ville de Constantinople et des ses faubourgs tant en Europe qu'en Asie principalement de celui qui a été levé Géométriquement en 1776 vérifié et augmenté en 1786, [cited 2021 20 November]. Available from: <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/101252>
50. Bilisel FC. Geç Osmanlı döneminden Cumhuriyet'e çağdaş şehir düşüncesi ve İstanbul planlaması. *Antik Çağdan XXI Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*. 2015:496–534.
51. Bilisel FC. “İstanbul'un dönüşümleri” Prost planlaması ve modern kenti yaratmak. *Osmanlı Başkentinden Küreselleşen İstanbul'a: Mimarlık ve Kent, 1910-2010*. 2010:49–66.
52. Tekeli İ. *İstanbul'un planlamasının ve gelişmesinin öyküsü*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları; 2013.
53. Gül M. *Modern İstanbul'un doğuşu: bir kentin dönüşümü ve modernizasyonu*. Sel Yayıncılık; 2018.
54. Akpınar İY. The rebuilding of Istanbul : the role of foreign experts in the urban modernisation in the early republican years. *New Perspectives on Turkey*. 2014;1(50):59–92.
55. Aydın Hİ. *Sosyo-ekonomik dönüşüm sürecinde belediyeler*. Ankara: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım; 2004.

56. Göğüş C. 19.yy Avusturya gazeteleri ışığında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun 1873 Viyana dünya sergisi'ne katılımı. Master Thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2006.
57. Tamçelik S. Osmanlı Dönemi demiryollarının tarihi gelişimi içerisinde siyasi ve iktisadi sosyal etkileri. *Erdem Dergisi*. 2000;12(35):483–535.
58. Dağdelen İ. Osmanlı haritalarında İstanbul. *Antik Çağdan XXI Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*. 2015:544–60.
59. Hasol D. *20. yüzyıl Türkiye mimarlığı*. İstanbul: YEM Yayın; 2017.
60. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Beyoğlu arşivi haritalar, [cited 2021 4 November]. Available from: <https://sehirplanlama.ibb.istanbul/beyoglu-arsivi-haritalar/>.
61. Dökmeci V, Çıracı H. *Tarihsel gelişim sürecinde Beyoğlu*. İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Yayınları; 1990.
62. Akın N. *19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Galata ve Pera*. İstanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık; 2011.
63. Aydın A. Türkiye'de ilk modern yerel yönetim denemesi olan altıncı daire-i belediye ile sixième arrondissement karşılaştırması. *OPUS Uluslararası Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2019;11(18):2710-27.
64. Engin V. Tünel. *Geçmişten Günümüze Beyoğlu-I*. 2004:633–9.
65. Baslo M. Tarih boyunca Galata-Beyoğlu kurgusunun gelişimi ve XIX.yüzyıl otellerinin bu gelişime etkileri. Master Thesis, T.C. Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 1998.
66. Akın N. Beyoğlu. *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi Cilt 2*. 1994:212–8.
67. Arkan Ö. *Beyoğlu'nun kısa geçmişi argosu*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları; 1998.
68. Aktemur AM, Arslan M. İslusal mimarlık akımı ve İstanbul -Karaköy'deki örnekleri. *Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü Dergisi*. 2010;1(16):1–32.
69. Eldem E. *Bankalar Caddesi - Osmanlı'dan günümüze Voyvoda Caddesi*. İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi; 2000.
70. Galata genarali han, [cited 2021 29 November]. Available from:

<https://www.turanakinci.com/portfolio-view/galata-general-han/>.

71. Kıvılcım G. *Yaşayan tanıklarla Karaköy*. İstanbul: Heyamola Yayınları; 2009.
72. Şensoy F. Şirket-i Hayriye: Osmanlı Boğaziçi taşımacılık şirketi. *Muhasebe ve Finans Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2018;1(9):239–79
73. Bilge Z. *İstanbul rıhtımları tarihçesi*. İstanbul: Devlet Denizyolları ve Limanları Matbaası; 1949.
74. İstanbul Kafası-Galataport, 2020, [cited 2021 Jul 17]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OACFh2Dca64>
75. Durmuş S. Liman kentlerinin dönüşümünde turizm ve kültür aktivitelerinin incelenmesi; Haydarpaşa ve Galata limanı örneği. Master Thesis, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2009.
76. Örenç AF. Modern İstanbul limanı'nın inşası sürecinde Galata ve Eminönü semtlerinde kentsel değişim. *Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu-IV*. 2016:205–58.
77. Başar AH. *İstanbul limanı*. İstanbul: Akşam Matbaası; 1929.
78. Kodal T. Birinci dünya savaşına giden yol. *100 Yılında Birinci Dünya Savaşı ve Mustafa Kemal Atatürk*. 2015:1290–4.
79. Biçici M. Memories of the Ottoman Empires entry into the first world war. *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences*. 2014;13(3):693–722.
80. Budak M. Mütareke döneminde itilaf devletlerinin müdahaleleri (30 Ekim 1918-15 Mayıs 1919). *İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi*. 1997;1(5):81–105.
81. Kaya E. Misak-ı Milli'nin sınırları. *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*. 1997;1(8):175-86.
82. Kayıran M, Saygın S. İzmir iktisat kongresi. *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Türk Dünyası Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Yakın Tarih Dergisi*. 2019;2(5):27–70.
83. Şahinkaya S. Günümüz Türkiye'si yorumuyla İzmir iktisat kongresi. *EGİAD Yarın Dergisi*. 2009;1(23):4–16.

84. Demirci H. 24 Temmuz 1923 Tarihli Lozan (Lausanne) Barış Andlaşması'nın Türk ve dünya tarihi açısından yeri ve önemi. *ANASAY Dergisi*. 2017;1(2):247–63.
85. Mercan S. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk yıllarında gümrük faaliyetleri 1923- 1938. *Journal of Institute of Economic Development and Social Researches*. 2019;5(16):1–20.
86. Sarı M. Misak-ı Millî'den ilk taviz: Batum. *Yeni Türkiye Dergisi*. 2017;1(93):1230–44.
87. Aslan S. Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e geçişte Türkiye'nin modernleşme süreci: laikleşme ve ulusal kimlik inşası. *Akademik Yaklaşımlar Dergisi*. 2015;6(1):18–33.
88. Erşan M. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün batılılaşma hakkındaki düşünceleri. *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. 2006;8(3):39-49.
89. Alakel M. İlk dönem Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si ulus inşası sürecinde milliyetçilik ve sivil-etnik ikilemine dair teorik tartışmalar. *Journal of Gazi Academic View*. 2011;5(9):1–30.
90. Saklı AR. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ulus devleti ve milliyetçilik anlayışının uygunluğu sorunu. *Gazi Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*. 2011;13(1):1–22.
91. Kaya EE. Erken cumhuriyet dönemi ulus inşa sürecinde ırk ve ırkçılık (1923-1938). *Akademik Hassasiyetler Dergisi*. 2015;2(3):21–64.
92. Kepenek Y. *Türkiye ekonomisi*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi; 2020.
93. Avcı M. Atatürk dönemi demiryolu politikası. *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*. 2014;1(54):39–58.
94. Ezer F. 1929 dünya ekonomik krizi'nin Türkiye'ye etkileri. *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. 2010;20(1):427–42.
95. Özyurt H. Atatürk dönemi, birinci ve ikinci beş yıllık sanayileşme planları ve Türk ekonomisindeki yapı değişikliğine etkileri (1933-1938). *Istanbul Journal of Sociological Studies*. 1981;1(19):119–48.

96. Bozoklu D. Atatürk döneminde bankacılık sistemi ve gelişimine bir bakış. *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*. 2003;19(55):269–302.
97. Bigat B. Kuruluşu ve ilk yıllarında Nazilli Sümerbank Basma Fabrikası. Doctoral Thesis, T.C. Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi, 2017.
98. Kongar E. *21.yüzyılda Türkiye 2000’li yıllarda Türkiye’nin toplumsal yapısı*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi; 2006.
99. Koçak C. *Türkiye’de milli şef dönemi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları; 2003.
100. Arslan M. 2. dünya savaşı ve Türkiye’de savaş ekonomisi. *Aydın Toplum ve İnsan Dergisi*. 2016;2(2):1-14.
101. Uzunkaya SŞ. İkinci dünya savaşı sonrasında Türkiye ekonomisi ve Marshall planının ekonomiye etkileri. *Ekonomi, İşletme ve Maliye Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2019;1(3):176–85.
102. Aydın MK. Chp’de parti içi muhalefetin ilk örneği çiftçiyi topraklandırma kanunu ve TBMM’de yaşanan tartışmalar. *Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*. 2018;(41):359–84.
103. Karpat K. *Türk siyasi tarihi*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları; 2020.
104. Güvenlik yazıları serisi: soğuk savaş; [cited 2021 8 March]. Available from: https://trguvenlikportali.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/SogukSavas_KKAtac_v.1.pdf.
105. Kalyon L. Truman doktrini üzerine bir analiz. *Güvenlik Stratejileri Dergisi*. 2010;6(11):7–26.
106. İpek Yada Akpınar. Cumhuriyet dönemi kentleşmesi Prost’un İstanbul’u. [Personal interview, 15 November] İstanbul; 2021.
107. Sarı KA. *İktidarla mücadele ve kent ekonomisi*. İstanbul: İktisat Yayınları; 2021.
108. Topuz H. XIX. yüzyılda Osmanlı limanlarından gerçekleşen ticaret hacmi ve dış ticaretine yönelik bir analiz (1878-1913). *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Vizyoner Dergisi*. 2009;1(1):114–28.
109. Zafer Toprak. *Türkiye’de ekonomi ve toplum milli iktisat milli burjuvazi*. İstanbul:

Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları; 1995.

110. Keyder Ç. *İstanbul küresel ile yerel arasında*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; 2013.
111. Kaynar H. Cumhuriyet İstanbul'unda modernlik fragmanları. Doctoral Thesis, Hacettepe Üniversitesi; 2007.
112. Daver A, Günay S, Resmor M. *Güzelleşen İstanbul XX.yıl*. İstanbul: İstanbul Maarif Matbaası; 1944.
113. Henri Prost'un İstanbul'u 1937-1951, 2012, [cited 2021 17 July]. Available from: <http://kiricioglue.blogspot.com/2012/02/henri-prostun-istanbulu-1937-1951.html>
114. Taksim meydan düzenlemesi. TMMOB Peyzaj Mimarları Odası İstanbul Şubesi. 2012 [cited 2021 12 November] Available from: http://www.peyzajmimoda.org.tr/resimler/ekler/2ed1e6976d7f22d_ek.pdf.
115. Aydemir I. İki Fransız mimar Henri Prost ve August Perret'nin İstanbul ile ilgili çalışmaları. *Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi E-Dergisi*. 2008;3(1):104–11.
116. Gülersoy Ç. Beyoğlu'nda toplumsal değişme. *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi Cilt 2*. 1994:218–20.
117. Beyoğlu'nun yerleşim tarihi, 2004, [cited 2021 15 September]. Available from: <https://www.sinangenim.com/tr/articles.asp?ID=7&Y=2004&AID=46&do=detail>
118. Akıncı T. *Cumhuriyet'te Beyoğlu*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi; 2019.
119. Türker O. *Galata'dan Karaköy'e*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık; 2000.
120. Taksim cumhuriyet anıtı [cited 2021 15 September]. Available from: <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/taksim-cumhuriyet-aniti/>
121. Ergin N. Taksim cumhuriyet anıtı. *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. 2.Cilt. 1994:444–5.
122. Pervititch haritaları: Kadıköy, Üsküdar, Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Beyoğlu, Şişli Bölgeleri, 2014, [cited 2021 11 June]. Available from: <https://www.istanbulium.net/2014/07/pervititch-haritalar-kadikoy-uskudar.html>.

123. Akpınar İY, Ergut EA, Akay Z. Cumhuriyet döneminde İstanbul'da mimarlık. *Antik Çağdan XXI yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*. 2015:558–97.
124. Bir erken cumhuriyet hikayesi: Taksim belediye gazinosu. 2018, [cited 2021 27 October]. Available from: <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/200178-bir-erken-cumhuriyet-hikayesi-taksim-belediye-gazinosu>.
125. AKM'nin 75 yıllık tarihi 2021 [cited 2021 10 December]. Available from: <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/akmnin-75-yillik-tarihi-621490.html>
126. Rükneddin Güney ve Feridun Kip tarafından İstanbul Operası için tasarlanan ve ilk uygulamaya esas teşkil eden projenin maketi. [cited 2022 13 January]. Available from: https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/model-of-the-istanbul-opera-house-project-that-formed-the-basis-of-the-initial-construction-designed-by-rukneddin-guney-and-feridun-kip/HAFVUt_N12WyCA?hl=tr
127. Köseoğlu E., Arslan N. Spor etkinliklerinin mekânın kullanımını değiştirme gücü: Beşiktaş İnönü Stadyumu ve çevresi. *Mimarist: Emlak Odaklı Dönüşüm*. 2015;15(52):74-80.
128. Tesisler-İnönü Stadı 2021 [cited 2021 Dec 8]. Available from: <https://bjk.com.tr/tr/cms/tesisler/6/25/>
129. Bilal E. Galataport yenilenme sürecinde Cumhuriyet dönemi kültür mirası üzerine bir değerlendirme: Galata-Karaköy yolcu salonu. Master Thesis, T.C. Maltepe Üniversitesi, 2019.
130. Salıpazarı kruvaziyer limanı projesi nihai ÇED raporu. Ankara; 2015.
131. Varon AC. Limanın izlerini adım adım sürmek. *Liman Harbour*. 2017:192–219.
132. Odman A. Ford motor company exports inc., İstanbul otomotiv montaj fabrikası 1925-1944. *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar Dergisi*. 2011;1(12):71–93.
133. Tarihi Karaköy yolcu salonu yıkıldı 2017 [cited 2021 18 August]. Available from: <https://www.yeniemlak.com/tarih-karakoy-yolcu-salonu-yikildi-12693-diger-haberler>.
134. Galataport Projesi'nin 15 yıllık hikayesi 2017 [cited 2021 10 December]. Available

- from: <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/kent/191930-galataport-projesinin-15-yillik-hikayesi>.
135. 32.Gün arşivi: demirkırat belgeseli 1. bölüm 1991 [cited 2021 10 Septembember]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sBPfjeWbp9Q&t=24s>.
 136. 32.Gün arşivi: demirkırat belgeseli 2. bölüm 1991 [cited 2021 10 Septembember]. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uFGz_hN-A94.
 137. Takım A. Demokrat Parti döneminde uygulanan ekonomi politikaları ve sonuçları. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*. 2012;67(2):157–87.
 138. Seydi S. Demokrat Parti'nin dış politikada alternatif arayışı. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*. 2011;2(14):1–17.
 139. Baytal Y. Demokrat Parti dönemi ekonomi politikaları (1950-1957). *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*. 2007;1(40):546–67.
 140. 32.Gün arşivi: demirkırat belgeseli 4. bölüm 1991 [cited 2021 10 Septembember]. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_kVCHHBRuSE
 141. Eşel G. Demokrat Parti döneminde Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerinde basın sansürü ve Pulliam davası. *Türklük Bilimi Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2011;1(29):145–62.
 142. Demir Ş. Adnan Menderes ve 6-7 Eylül olayları. *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*. 1955;1(12):37–63.
 143. 6-7 Eylül'ün bugüne kalan mirası: cezasızlık 2020 [cited 2022 11 January]. Available from: <https://www.birgun.net/haber/6-7-eylul-un-bugune-kalan-mirasi-cezasizlik-314610>
 144. 32.Gün arşivi: demirkırat belgeseli 8. bölüm 1991 [cited 2021 12 September]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DzNr4rwXsq4>.
 145. Doğusan GN. İstanbul imarı 1956-1960. Master Thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2004.
 146. 1956-1960 imarı: Karaköy-Beşiktaş sahil aksında kaybolan / yıkılan / taşınan yapılar 2013 [cited 2021 2 December]. Available from:

<http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=388&RecID=3324>.

147. Gül M. Menderes dönemi İstanbul’unda imar hareketleri ve arka planı. *Antik Çağdan XXI Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*. 2015;1(8):536–55.
148. *İstanbul’un kitabı*. İstanbul: İstanbul Vilayeti Nesriyat ve Turizm Müdürlüğü; 1957.
149. Yavuz Ü. Demokrat Parti iktidarı döneminde İstanbul’a ilişkin imar politikaları ve faaliyetleri. Master Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2008.
150. İğüs E, İsmailoğlu H. Osmanlı kenti İstanbul’u yıkmak ve yeniden yapmak paradoksu: Menderes yıkımları. *International Ottoman Istanbul Symposium-IV* 2016:115–58.
151. T.C. Ulaştırma ve Altyapı Bakanlığı, Devlet Hava Meydanları İşletmesi Genel Müdürlüğü İstanbul Atatürk Havalimanı, [cited 2021 12 September]. Available from: <https://www.dhmi.gov.tr/Sayfalar/Havalimani/Ataturk/GenelBilgiler.aspx>.
152. Balcı M. Çok partili dönemde Türkiye’de kentleşme olgusu. *Econder Uluslararası Akademik Dergisi*. 2018;2(1):8–15.
153. Mimarlık dergisi: imar affı, 1948’den bugüne imar afları, 2018 [cited 2021 21 September]. Available from: <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=417&RecID=4520>.
154. Şengül T. *Kentsel çelişki ve siyaset- kapitalist kentleşme süreçlerinin eleştirisi*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları; 2009.
155. Demokrat Parti özel sektörle yatırımlarda “altın yıllara” imza attı, 2020 [cited 2021 3 August]. Available from: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/ekonomi/demokrat-parti-ozel-sektorle-yatirimlarda-altin-yillara-imza-atti-/1854680>.
156. Ertem B, Altunel MC. İstanbul imarındaki tarih eser kaybının tarih ve turizm açısından incelenmesi: Karaköy-Kabataş bölgesi. *ODÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2011;2(4):61-79.
157. Kuban D. Menderes ve İstanbul. *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 5.Cilt. 1995:389–93.

158. Sayar Z. Meslek politikası: İstanbul'un imarı münasebetiyle. *Arkitekt.* 1956;25(284):49–51.
159. Ünsal B. İstanbul'un imarı ve eski eser kaybı. *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri.* 1968:6–61.
160. Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi armağanı: Sedad Hakkı Eldem 50 yıllık meslek jübilesi. İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Matbaası; 1983.
161. 32.Gün arşivi: 12 Mart belgeseli 1. bölüm 1994 [cited 2021 15 September]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-Hwh7mrZU0>.
162. Demirtürk S. 1960–1980 döneminde Türkiye’de sosyo-ekonomik değişimin ve dışa yönelişin toplumsal dinamikleri. *21 Yüzyılda Eğitim Ve Toplum Eğitim Bilimleri Ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi.* 2015;4(12):155-182.
163. Beşir D, Giriş H. Karma ekonomi, planlama ve büyümeye ilişkin bazı yanlışlar üzerine. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi.* 1980;35(1):167-186.
164. Fedayi C. Adalet Partisi'nin birinci dönemi: 1961-1971. *Muhafazakâr Düşünce Dergisi.* 2019;16(57):123–50.
165. 15 Temmuz Şehitler (Boğaziçi) Köprüsü inşaat fotoğrafları (1970-1973) 2019 [cited 2022 11 January]. Available from: <https://www.sanalsantiye.com/bogazici-koprusu-insaat-fotograflari-1970-1973/>.
166. 32.Gün arşivi: Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı'nda neler yaşandı ? [cited 2021 13 October]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9owC4fHLRIc>.
167. İstanbul Belediye Başkanları listesi [cited 2021 19 September]. Available from: https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/İstanbul_belediye_başkanları_listesi.
168. Altaban Ö. Ankara metropoliten alan planlama deneyimi:1970-1984. *TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası Yayını Planlama Dergisi.* 2002;1(4):32–45.
169. Gökburun İ. İstanbul'da nüfusun gelişimi ve ilçelere dağılımı. *Journal of Anatolian Cultural Research.* 2017;1(3):110–30.
170. Zaim S. *Bölge ve şehir planlaması yönünden İstanbul sanayi bölgeleri.* İstanbul:

Hüsnütabiat Matbaası; 1971.

171. Birol AE, Başar AH. İstanbul bölge kalkınma kongresi. *Mimarlık Dergisi*. 1967;1(44):7–8.
172. Yemen A. Kalkınma planlarında büyükşehirlerin mevcut durum analizi. *Journal of International Social Research*. 2015;8(37):999–1022.
173. T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı Kalkınma Planları: İkinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı 1968-1972 [cited 2021 14 September]. Available from: https://fka.gov.tr/sharepoint/userfiles/Icerik_Dosya_Ekleri/Kalkinma_Planlari/II.Bes_Yillik_Kalkinma_Plani_1968-1972.pdf.
174. T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı Kalkınma Planları: Üçüncü Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı 1973-1977 [cited 2021 17 September]. Available from: https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Ucuncu_Bes_Yillik_Kalkinma_Plani-1973-1977.pdf.
175. T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı Kalkınma Planları: Dördüncü Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı 1979-1983 [cited 2021 17 September]. Available from: https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Dorduncu_Bes_Yillik_Kalkinma_Plani-1979-1983.pdf.
176. Kubin G. Kent plancısı, kent planlama sürecinde misafir sanatçı değildir. *Planlama Dergisi*. 1994;1(11):30–4.
177. Boğaz Köprüsü'nde 40 yaş heyecanı 2012 [cited 2021 19 September]. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20160106150207/http://www.milliyet.com.tr/bogaz-koprusu-nde-40-yas-heyecani/gundem/gundemdetay/23.01.2012/1492369/default.htm>.
178. İstanbul'un yapılanmasını yönlendirme gayretleri içerisinde kent yönetimi ve planlamasındaki gelişmeler: İstanbul'un planlamasının ve gelişmesinin öyküsü [cited 2021 14 August]. Available from: https://www.academia.edu/30440029/İstanbulun_Planlamasının_ve_Gelişmesinin_Öyküsü.

179. Tezcan S. İkinci boğaz köprüsü hakkında görüşler. *Arkitekt*. 1978;1(370):71–5.
180. Keleş R. Gecekondu sorunu ve III. plan. *Mimarlık Dergisi*. 1972;1(10):27.
181. Aslan R. Gecekondulaşmanın evrimi. *Mimarlık Dergisi*. 1989;1(6):34–7.
182. Atabey F. *İstanbulu hemşehrilerime rapor*. İstanbul: Yörük Matbaası; 1973.
183. İstiklal Caddesi'nin geçmişten günümüze nasıl değiştiğini gösteren 15 fotoğraf 2017 [cited 2022 11 January]. Available from: <https://listelist.com/istiklal-caddesi/>.
184. 1 Mayıs 1977 tartışmaları üzerine 2012 [cited 2021 21 September]. Available from: https://marksist.net/selim_fuat/1_mayis_1977_tartismalari_uzerine.htm.
185. *Taksim yolcusu kalmasın!* 2012 [cited 2021 13 December]. Available from: <https://www.arkitera.com/haber/taksim-yolcusu-kalmasin/>.
186. Demircioğlu CY. Küresel kent bağlamında limanlar: Galataport örneği. Master Thesis, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2017.
187. İntaş Ö. 24 Ocak 1980 ekonomik kararların Türkiye ekonomisine etkileri, yansıması ve sonuçları. Master Thesis, Dicle Üniversitesi, 2019.
188. Kutlu E. Devletçilikten liberal oluşuma yönelen Türk ekonomisi. *Anadolu Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*. 1990;8(1):305–16.
189. Yıldırım N. 24 Ocak 1980 kararları ve sosyal yaşama etkisi. Master Thesis, Kilis 7 Aralık Üniversitesi, 2012.
190. Ulagay O. *24 Ocak deneyimi üzerine*. İstanbul: Hil Yayın; 1983.
191. Filizer R. Türkiye’de neo-liberal dönüşüm: 24 Ocak 1980 istikrar programı kararları ve etkileri. Master Thesis, Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, 2013.
192. Ahmad F. *Modern Türkiye'nin oluşumu*. İstanbul: Sarmal Yayınevi; 1995.
193. Eştürk Ö. Türkiye’de liberalizm: 1983 - 1989 Turgut Özal dönemi örneği. Master Thesis, Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi, 2006.
194. Türkiye ekonomisinde Özallı yıllar 2016 [cited 2021 24 August]. Available from: <https://uzmanpara.milliyet.com.tr/haber-detay/gundem2/turkiye-ekonomisinde->

ozalli-yillar/45000/45536/.

195. Kurmuş O. Türkiye’ de neoliberalizm. *Mülkiye Dergisi*. 2010;34(268):9–41.
196. Uluç V. Liberal - muhafazakar siyaset ve Turgut Özal’ın siyasi düşüncesi. *Yönetim Bilimleri Dergisi*. 2014;12(23):107–40.
197. Kocaman ME. SSCB’nin dağılması ve 11 Eylül olaylarıyla değişen Türkiye’nin Kafkasya politikası. *Uşak Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. 2015;8(4):10–7.
198. Ekinci O. *İstanbul’u sarsan on yıl*. İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar; 1994.
199. Vizyon 2050: İstanbul metropoliten alan plan süreçleri 2020 [cited 2021 27 November]. Available from: <https://vizyon2050.istanbul/yayindetay-1-7-istanbul-metropoliten-alan-plan-surecleri>.
200. Ceyhan M. İstanbul’da tarihi çevre koruma ve basın: Cumhuriyet gazetesi üzerinden bir deneme. Master Thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2006.
201. 1994 seçimleri öncesi İstanbul 2019 [cited 2021 1 December]. Available from: <https://www.setav.org/1994-secimleri-oncesi-istanbul/>.
202. Öktem B. Neoliberal küreselleşmenin kentlerde inşası: AKP’nin küresel kent söylemi ve İstanbul’un kentsel dönüşüm projeleri. *Kentsel Dönüşüm Sempozyumu*. 2006:53–64.
203. Davutoğlu: bir tarafta Süleymaniye, diğer tarafta Gökkafe denilen ucube 2016 [cited 2022 11 January]. Available from: <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/173784-davutoglu-bir-tarafta-suleymaniye-diger-tarafta-gokkafes-denilen-ucube>.
204. Kurtuluş H, Aslan Ş. Üç şehir üç başkan: yeni liberal dönemde İstanbul, Ankara ve İzmir’de sosyal demokrat belediyecilik deneyimi. *İÜ Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*. 2016;(54):17–42.
205. Yıl 1995, RTE: “İstanbul’a 3. köprü yapılması intihardır” 2013 [cited 2021 29 November]. Available from: <https://www.arkitera.com/haber/yil-1995-rte-istanbula-3-kopru-yapilmasi-intihardir/>.
206. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan biyografi 2021 [cited 2021 4 December]. Available from:

<https://www.tccb.gov.tr/receptayyiperdogan/biyografi/>.

207. İstanbul'un Erdoğan'lı 25 yılı: mağduriyet, icraat, semboller ve rant 2019 [cited 2021 17 November]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P1jMkh-6TTY&t=83s>.
208. İstanbul Belediye Başkanları ve görev dönemlerinde ulaşımın yeri 6 : Bedrettin Dalan 2010 [cited 2021 Nov 16]. Available from: <http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=99412>.
209. Tarlabası yıkımları öncesinde Tarlabası Caddesi 2019 [cited 2022 11 January]. Available from: https://twitter.com/tarih_foto/status/1109376695570698240.
210. İFEA fotoğraf arşivi : yapım çalışmaları sırasında Tarlabası Bulvarı 1988 [cited 2022 11 January]. Available from: <http://www.eskiistanbul.net/715/yapim-calismalari-sirasinda-tarlabasi-bulvari-istanbul-1988-ifea-fotograf-arsivi>.
211. Batur A. Park Otel. *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 6.Cilt. 1994:222–3.
212. Kentin direnişi: Park Otel'in 17 katı yıkıldı 2014. [cited 2021 18 December]. Available from: <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/kent/161151-kentin-direnisi-park-otel-in-17-kati-yikildi>.
213. Erbaş AE. Mekânsal planların yargı denetimi ve karşılaşılan zorluklar, Beyoğlu (İstanbul) Örneği. *Journal of Awareness*. 2020;5(2):103–18.
214. 'Ey mimar bunu kaldır' dediler İstanbul Modern'i yok saydık 2005 [cited 2021 25 November]. Available from: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ey-mimar-bunu-kaldir-dediler-istanbul-modern-i-yok-saydik-3392386>.
215. Özdemir H. Demokrat Parti (DP) ile Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP)'nin ekonomi politikaları açısından karşılaştırılması. *Uludağ Journal of Economy and Society*. 2020;32(1):11-51.
216. AKP'nin ekonomide 12 yılı 2015 [cited 2021 17 November]. Available from: <https://www.mahfiegilmez.com/2015/04/akpnin-ekonomide-13-yl.html>.
217. Sönmez M. Mega projelerin ekonomi politiği. *Mimarist: Mega Projeler ve İstanbul*. 2017;17(58):32–5.

218. AK Parti'nin 19 yılı 2020 [cited 2021 6 December]. Available from: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/politika/ak-partinin-19-yili/1940072>.
219. AK Parti 'parti programı' 2021 [cited 2021 9 December]. Available from: <https://www.akparti.org.tr/parti/parti-programi/>.
220. Kırkpınar L. Demokrat Parti ve din-siyaset ilişkisi. *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2018;18(36):349–59.
221. AKP'nin dindar toplum ajandası 2012 [cited 2021 2 December]. Available from: <https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/akpnin-dindar-toplum-ajandasi-318132>.
222. Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan, Özal'ı andı 2021 [cited 2021 13 December]. Available from: <https://www.dunya.com/gundem/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-ozali-andi-haberi-618208>.
223. "Halka hizmet hakk'a hizmettir." sloganının kaynağı 2008 [cited 2021 27 November]. Available from: <https://anavatan061.wordpress.com/2008/10/31/halka-hizmet-hakka-hizmettir-sloganinin-kaynagi/>.
224. Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan: biz tek vazifemizi hakk'a ve halka hizmet olarak görüyoruz 2019 [cited 2021 7 December]. Available from: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-biz-tek-vazifemizi-hakka-ve-halka-hizmet-olarak-goruyoruz/1563572>.
225. Türk Dil Kurumu: “ulus” güncel türkçe sözlük anlamı 2021 [cited 2021 1 December]. Available from: <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>.
226. Turgut Özal dönemi Türk dış politikası 2018 [cited 2021 8 December]. Available from: <https://www.tesadernegi.org/turgut-ozal-donemi-turk-dis-politikasi.html>.
227. AKP'nin medeniyet söylemi 2020 [cited 2021 11 December]. Available from: <https://birikimdergisi.com/haftalik/9930/akp-nin-medeniyet-soylemi>.
228. Tatlısu S. Türkiye'de maliye politikasının dönemsel etkinliği: 24 Ocak kararları çerçevesinde Turgut Özal dönemi'nin değerlendirilmesi. Master Thesis, Bilecik Şeyh Edebali Üniversitesi, 2017.
229. Tuğrul T. Milli görüş hareketi'nin temel karakterleri. *e-Makalat Mezhep*

Araştırmaları Dergisi. 2017;10(2):617–57.

230. Erken B. Türkiye’de merkez sağ ideolojisini siyasi hareket üzerinden temellendirme denemesi. *Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. 2016;14(2):191-222.
231. Çağlar A, Uluçakar M. Günümüz Türkçülüğünün İslamla imtihanı: Türk- İslam sentezi ve aydınlar ocağı. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2017;1(26):119–39.
232. Kadioğlu AS. Türk-İslam sentezi’nin oluşum ve gelişim süreci. *OPUS Uluslararası Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2020;16(27):813–34.
233. Dindar nesil yetiştireceğiz 2016 [cited 2021 14 December]. Available from: <https://www.yenisafak.com/gundem/dindar-nesil-yetistirecegiz-2424175>.
234. Erdoğan: Malazgirt’te, Çanakkale’de, İstiklal Savaşı’nda ne olmuşsa 15 Temmuz’da o olmuştur 2020 [cited 2021 10 December]. Available from: <https://www.indyuturk.com/node/211951/haber/erdogan-malazgirtte-çanakkalede-istiklal-savaşında-ne-olmuşsa-15-temmuz’da-o>.
235. Ali Mert Taşçier ile neoliberalizm ve Türkiye üzerine söyleşi 2019 [cited 2021 12 December]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oYxIZ2o0fI&t=1635s>.
236. Piyasa İslamı: İslâm suretinde neoliberalizm [cited 2021 11 December]. Available from: <http://heretik.com.tr/piyasa-islami-islam-suretinde-neoliberalizm/>.
237. Karakuş M, Göndeş H. Piyasa İslamı: İslam suretinde neoliberalizm. *Sakarya Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*. 2015;17(32):231–6.
238. Bedrettin Dalan İstanbul Belediye Başkanı afişi [cited 2022 16 January]. Available from: <https://www.bitmezat.com/urun/1575492/afis-bedrettin-dalan-istanbul-belediye-baskani>.
239. *Das kapital* 2021 [cited 2021 20 December]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JvOXnDD7epY>.
240. Öktem B. İstanbul’da neoliberal kentleşme modelinin sosyo-mekansal izdüşümleri. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*. 2011;1(44):23–40.

241. Eren F. Uluslararası megaprojeler ve İstanbul'a olası etkileri. *İstanbul'da Büyük Ölçekli Kentsel Projeler ve Planlama Süreçleri*. 2019:35–62.
242. Ekümenopolis: ucu olmayan şehir 2012. [cited 2021 4 December] Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=maEcPKBXV0M>.
243. Ekümenopolis: ucu olmayan şehir DVD'de 2012 [cited 2022 16 January]. Available from: <http://www.milliyetsanat.com/haberler/sinema/ekumenopolis--ucu-olmayan-sehir-dvd-de/782>.
244. Kartal kentsel dönüşüm projesi 2017 [cited 2021 6 December]. Available from: <https://www.arkitektuel.com/kartal-kentsel-donusum-projesi/>.
245. Zaha Hadid'in Kartal planlarında süreç nasıl ilerledi? 2015 [cited 2022 16 January]. Available from: <https://www.arkitera.com/haber/zaha-hadidin-kartal-planlarinda-surec-nasil-ilerledi/>.
246. Beşinci hezimet: 20 senedir İstanbul'u yönetmek ve olimpiyatları alamamak 2013 [cited 2021 21 October]. Available from: <https://bianet.org/biamag/toplum/149917-besinci-hezimet-20-senedir-istanbul-u-yonetmek-ve-olimpiyatlari-alamamak>.
247. İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı 2020 [cited 2022 16 January]. Available from: https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/İstanbul_2010_Avrupa_Kültür_Başkenti_Ajansı.
248. Baba EC. Kanal İstanbul: ütopya mı, distopya mı ?. *Cogito 90-Bugünün Distopyası*. 2018;1(90):137–182.
249. Alp J. Büyük, daha büyük , en büyük ... iktidarların kente imzası : mega projeler. *Mimarist: İstanbul'un Semtleri:Bakırköy*. 2018;1(61):15-19.
250. Baysal CU. Mega projelere genel çerçeveden bakmak. *Mimarist: Mega Projeler ve İstanbul*. 2017;1(58):36–43.
251. Asrın mührü “Büyük Çamlıca Camisi” bir yılda 7 milyon kişiyi ağırladı 2020 [cited 2022 16 January]. Available from: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/asrin-muhru-buyuk-camlica-camisi-bir-yilda-7-milyon-kisiyi-agirladi/1827158>.
252. Çamlıca Kulesi'nin resmi açılışı yarın gerçekleştirilecek 2021 [cited 2022 16 January]. Available from: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/camlica-kulesinin->

resmi-acilisi-yarin-gerceklestirilecek-41820248.

253. Erbas AE. İstanbul metropoliten alanı'nda 1980 sonrası kentsel gelişme dinamikleri ve idari coğrafyada sınır değişiklikleri. *Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*. 2018;5(1):17–38.
254. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı: rezerv yapı alanı 2021 [cited 2021 6 December]. Available from: <https://istanbulakdm.csb.gov.tr/rezerv-yapi-alani-i-95235>.
255. Madde madde Kadir Topbaş'ın 13 yılı: İstanbul bu hale nasıl geldi ? 2017 [cited 2021 7 December]. Available from: <http://politeknik.org.tr/madde-madde-kadir-topbas-13-yili-istanbul-hale-nasil-geldi/>.
256. 16/9 Kuleleri 2021 [cited 2021 29 November]. Available from: <http://megaprojeleristanbul.com/#onaltidokuz-kuleleri>.
257. 16/9 tıraştan kurtuldu... silueti bozan kuleler yasallaştı 2018 [cited 2021 29 November]. Available from: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/16-9-tirastan-kurtuldu-silueti-bozan-kuleler-yasallasti-40714741>.
258. T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı mevzuat bilgi sistemi: imar kanunu 6677-6679 1985 [cited 2021 7 December]. Available from: <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=3194&MevzuatTur=1&MevzuatTertip=5>.
259. Çılgın Proje'nin startı da hızlı oldu 2013 [cited 2022 16 January]. Available from: <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2013/12/02/cilgin-projenin-starti-da-hizli-oldu>.
260. İstanbul Havalimanı [cited 2022 16 January]. Available from: <https://yolcu360.com/tr/rent-a-car/istanbul-istanbul-havalimani-arac-kiralama/>.
261. Yavuz Sultan Selim Köprüsü için 1.9 milyar TL ödeme 2021 [cited 2022 17 January]. Available from: <https://www.haberturk.com/yavuz-sultan-selim-koprusu-icin-19-milyar-tl-haberler-2958030-ekonomi>.
262. Zorlu Center 2014 [cited 2021 9 December]. Available from: <http://megaprojeleristanbul.com/#zorlu-center>.

263. Torun Center (Ali Sami Yen Stadi) 2016 [cited 2021 5 December]. Available from: <http://megaprojeleristanbul.com/#torun-center-ali-sami-yen-stadi>.
264. Sedad Hakkı Eldem'i anla(t)mak II: 1950-1980 [cited 2021 16 October]. Available from: <https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/fgJCO4KztQ6YLA?hl=tr>.
265. Divan Otel, 6 milyon liraya hayata geçirildi 2014; [cited 2021 16 October] Available from: <https://emlakkulisi.com/divan-otel-6-milyon-liraya-hayata-gecirildi/303186>.
266. Taksim International Group Hotels hakkında 2021 [cited 2021 8 October]. Available from: <http://m.taksimotelcilik.com.tr/tr/hakkinda>.
267. The Marmara Hotels kurumsal 2021 [cited 2021 9 October]. Available from: <https://www.themarmarahotels.com/kurumsal.aspx>.
268. Swissotel, Hüsnü Özyeğin'in 2005 [cited 2021 10 October]. Available from: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/swissotel-husnu-ozyegin-in-311772>.
269. Hyatt Regency Otel inşaatı [cited 2021 10 October]. Available from: <https://www.yuksel.net/tr/projeler/tum-projeler/bina-projeleri/387-hyatt-regency-otel-naat-istanbul&Itemid=320>.
270. Tekfen Taksim Residences 2005 [cited 2021 11 October]. Available from: <http://www.lal.com.tr/projeler/tekfen-taksim-residences-2/>.
271. Kamusal alanın özelleştirilmesinde yeni bir araç olarak iş geliştirme bölgeleri: Talimhane nasıl dönüşüyor? (1) 2012 [cited 2021 15 October]. Available from: <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=380&RecID=2974>.
272. Göğüş B. Küreselleşen kentlerde kamusal mekanın dönüşümünün sosyo-mekansal ayrışma bağlamında incelenmesi: Taksim Gezi Parkı örneği. Master Thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2014.
273. 2 No.lu Park'tan geriye ne kaldı? 2018 [cited 2021 8 December]. Available from: <https://beyond.istanbul/2-no-lu-parktan-geriye-ne-kaldi-329f4bc10d78>.
274. İstanbul Kongre Merkezi yarın açılacak 2009 [cited 2021 14 October]. Available from: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/istanbul-kongre-merkezi-yarin-acilacak>.

12493214.

275. Taksim Meydanı Yayalaştırma Projesi son durum 2015 [cited 2021 17 October]. Available from: <http://www.kanalistanbul.com.tr/taksim-meydani-yayalastirma-projesi-son-durum/>.
276. AKP'nin Taksim Projesi'ne karşı Taksim Dayanışması kuruldu 2012 [cited 2021 18 October]. Available from: <https://haber.sol.org.tr/kent-gundemleri/akpnin-taksim-projesine-karsi-taksim-dayanismasi-kuruldu-haberi-52230>.
277. Danıştay Taksim yayalaştırma projesini iptal etti 2014 [cited 2022 16 January]. Available from: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/danistay-taksim-yayalastirma-projesini-iptal-etti-26365311>.
278. Taksim Meydanı 'Kalyon'a emanet 2012 [cited 2021 20 October]. Available from: <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/taksim-meydani-kalyona-emanet-2251529>.
279. Taksim Topçu Kışlası için son karar verildi 2013 [cited 2021 20 October]. Available from: <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/taksim-topcu-kislasi-icin-son-karar-verildi-1123242/>.
280. Topçu Kışlası projesi tarih oldu 2014 [cited 2021 17 October]. Available from: <https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/topcu-kislasi-projesi-tarih-oldu-69455>.
281. Gezi Parkı'ndaki sabah yıkımı, vekilin gelmesiyle durdu 2013 [cited 2022 16 January]. Available from: <https://bianet.org/bianet/kent/147022-gezi-parki-ndaki-sabah-yikimi-vekilin-gelmesiyle-durdu>.
282. Gezi eylemlerinden sonra dördüncü kez... Erdoğan: Taksim'e Topçu Kışlası'nı yapacağız 2019 [cited 2021 21 October]. Available from: <https://www.indyturk.com/node/11146/haber/gezi-eylemlerinden-sonra-dördüncü-kez-erdogan-taksime-topcu-kislasini-yapacagiz>.
283. Gezi Parkı'nın mülkiyeti vakfa devredildi 2021 [cited 2021 14 October]. Available from: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/gezi-parkinin-mulkiyeti-vakfa-devredildi-41767413>.
284. Gezi Parkı buz kesti! 2012 [cited 2021 22 October]. Available from:

<http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/gezi-parki-buz-kesti-1107013/>.

285. Beyoğlu sokaklarında dönüşümün izleri: “Kültür Yolu Projesi, Beyoğlu’nun ehlileştirilme projesi” 2021 [cited 2021 20 August]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kviuj3NS4Q8>.
286. İstanbul’un yeni kültür sanat rotası: Beyoğlu Kültür Yolu Planı 2020 [cited 2021 8 October]. Available from: <https://www.ntv.com.tr/sanat/istanbulun-yeni-kultur-sanat-rotasi-beyoglu-kultur-yolu-plani,VxCXWYbUEkK7JsceiNrlmw>.
287. Beyoğlu Kültür Yolu Projesi şehrin ve bölgenin cazibesini arttıracak 2020 [cited 2021 12 September]. Available from: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/kultur-sanat/beyoglu-kultur-yolu-projesi-sehrin-ve-bolgenin-cazibesini-arttiracak/1927297>.
288. İstanbul’un yeni kültür sanat rotası: Beyoğlu Kültür Yolu Planı 2020 [cited 2021 4 October]. Available from: <https://www.ntv.com.tr/sanat/istanbulun-yeni-kultur-sanat-rotasi-beyoglu-kultur-yolu-plani,VxCXWYbUEkK7JsceiNrlmw>.
289. Bakan Ersoy: Beyoğlu Kültür Yolu, benzersiz bir marka yaratma çabasıdır 2021 [cited 2021 25 November]. Available from: <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/bakan-ersoy-beyoglu-kultur-yolu-benzersiz-bir-marka-yaratma-cabasidir-621866.html>.
290. Bakan S, Çimen H. Türk siyasi değişiminde Anadolu burjuvazisi. *Akademik Yaklaşımlar Dergisi*. 2018;9(2):32–58.
291. Peker AU. AKP döneminde rövanşist mimari. *Mimarlık Dergisi*. 2015;1(386):13–9.
292. Batuman B. *Milletin mimarisi yeni İslamcı ulus inşasının kent ve mekan siyaseti*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; 2019.
293. AKP’de sıcak saatler Erdoğan ve Yıldırım genel merkezde 2018 [cited 2022 17 January]. Available from: <https://www.turkiyeaktuel.com/akpde-sicak-saatler-erdogan-ve-yildirim-genel-merkezde/>.
294. Kentsel dönüşüm ile değişen Tarlabası’nın hikayesi - DW Türkçe 2018 [cited 2021 7 December]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d8u74gJn3Bk>.
295. Taksim 360 Projesi’nin büyük kısmı 2021’de tamamlanacak 2020 [cited 2021 9

- December]. Available from: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/taksim-360-projesinin-buyuk-kismi-2021de-tamamlanacak/1873142>.
296. Katı olan her şey harabeleşiyor 2020 [cited 2021 15 May]. Available from: <https://www.e-skop.com/skopbulten/kati-olan-her-sey-harabelesiyor/5729>.
297. Erdoğan'ın içkiye bakışının seyir defteri 2011 [cited 2021 1 December]. Available from: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erdogan-in-ickiye-bakisinin-seyir-defteri-19022552>.
298. Görgün E. Geleceğin turizm anlayışında kruvaziyer turizm uygulamaları. Yüksek Lisans Dönem Projesi, Trakya Üniversitesi, 2011.
299. T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı: kruvaziyer turizmi [cited 2021 2 December]. Available from: <https://istanbul.ktb.gov.tr/TR-276241/kruvaziyer-turizmi.html>.
300. Kruvaziyerde 2022 rezervasyonları başladı : limanlara 900 gemiyle 1,5 milyon turist gelecek 2021 [cited 2022 7 March]. Available from: <https://www.yenisafak.com/foto-galeri/gundem/galataport-istanbulda-karsilama-ilk-yolcu-gemisini-dunyanin-tek-yer-alti-kruvaziyer-terminalinde-agirliyor-2053614?page=8>.
301. TRT Haber/Melek Gözübüyük 2019 [cited 2021 27 November]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vPLlj81kme0>.
302. Gün Ortası: Figen Ayan, Ali Aral, Ahu Orakçıoğlu 2021 [cited 2021 4 December]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YqkKCpk2mXs>.
303. Galataport broşür [cited 2021 4 June]. Available from: <https://www.galataport.com/>
304. Beyoğlu Belediyesi: mahalleler [cited 2021 23 November]. Available from: <https://beyoglu.bel.tr/beyoglu/beyoglu/mahalleler/>.
305. Dünyaya açılan kapı: Galataport - Celal Toprak ile iş dünyası 2020 [cited 2021 22 August]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ciTJ2tPWxSM&t=492s>.
306. Galataport İstanbul hakkımızda: proje hakkında 2019 [cited 2021 5 December]. Available from: <https://www.galataport.com/tr/hakkimizda/proje-hakkinda>.

307. RPBW: all projects [cited 2021 6 December]. Available from: <http://www.rpbw.com/all-projects>.
308. Istanbul Modern [cited 2022 18 January]. Available from: <https://ocula.com/institutions/istanbul-modern/>.
309. Istanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture 2011 [cited 2021 26 July]. Available from: <https://emrearolat.com/project/istanbul-museum-of-painting-and-sculpture/>.
310. İstanbul Modern'in kurucusu Oya Eczacıbaşı: Cumhurbaşkanımızın desteği olmasa açamazdık 2018 [cited 2021 27 November]. Available from: <https://tr.sputniknews.com/20181224/oja-eczacibasi-erdogan-destek-istanbul-modern-1036776860.html>.
311. Özden PP, Ağar D. Eğrisiyle doğrusuyla Galataport. *İstanbul: TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası*. 2008:23-25.
312. Galataport Salıpazarı kruvaziyer liman alanı [cited 2021 30 November]. Available from: <http://megaprojeleristanbul.com/#galataport-salipazari-kruvaziyer-liman-alani>.
313. Galataport'a 3.5 milyar avro 2005 [cited 2021 4 December]. Available from: <http://www.radikal.com.tr/ekonomi/galataporta-3-5-milyar-avro-757591/>.
314. İstanbul'a dur emri 2008 [cited 2021 18 November]. Available from: <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/istanbula-dur-emri-841803/>.
315. "İstanbul'un anayasası" yeniden kabul edildi 2009 [cited 2021 22 November]. Available from: <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/istanbulun-anayasasi-yeniden-kabul-edildi-921605/>.
316. Galataport ihalesi yeniden yapılacak 2009 [cited 2021 4 December]. Available from: <https://www.haberturk.com/ekonomi/makro-ekonomi/haber/187379-galataport-ihalesi-yeniden-yapilacak>.
317. İstanbul Modern: tarihçe [cited 2021 15 November]. Available from: https://www.istanbulmodern.org/tr/muze/tarihce/tarihce_6.html.
318. Galataport İstanbul Mayıs ayında açılacak 2019 [cited 2021 29 October]. Available from: http://www.yapi.com.tr/haberler/galataport-istanbul-mayis-ayinda-acilacak_174559.html?fbclid=IwAR0AtoI6iBlaTTB80v-Y3SUv4vzYZxgY

FxQTVe3m-XdxhTrdxRBvocNGeKI.

319. Galataport İstanbul'a ilk gemi yanaştı [cited 2021 29 October]. Available from: <https://www.ntv.com.tr/galeri/turkiye/galataport-istanbula-ilk-gemi-yanasti>, Fmp BEW7mxU276s1yC5WJVA.
320. Artun A. *Mümkün olmayan müze*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları; 2017.
321. Sezgin E. İstanbul Resim Heykel Müzesi ve kamusalılığı tasarlamak 2019 [cited 2022 19 January]. Available from: <https://www.e-skop.com/skopbulten/istanbul-resim-heykel-muzesi-ve-kamusalligi-tasarlamak/4673>.
322. Rektörümüz Prof. Dr. Handan İnci'nin İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi İRHM hakkında açıklamaları 2021 [cited 2021 3 June]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mo9p4TLD18I&t=668s>.
323. Özsezgin K. *Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi koleksiyonu*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları; 1996.
324. Üşenmez S. *Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Resim ve Heykel Müzesi*. İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Matbaası; 1989.
325. Duygu Demir. İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi. [Personal interview, 28 January] İstanbul; 2021.
326. Atalay D. Müze ve iletişim; MSGSÜ Resim ve Heykel Müzesi'nin Toplumla İletişimindeki Sorunları ve Çözüm Önerileri. Master Thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2012.
327. İstanbul Çağdaş Sanat Müzesi için belirlenen arazi ve bina önerileri - Area and building suggestions for Istanbul Contemporary Art Museum [cited 2022 17 January]. Available from: <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/191510>.
328. M.S.Ü. İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi ve Resim ve Heykel Müzeleri Derneği işbirliği protokolü taslağı - Draft of the cooperation protocol of M.S.U. Istanbul Painting and Sculpture Museums and Painting and Sculpture Museums Association . [cited 2022 17 January]. Available from: <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/4701>.

329. İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi Müdürü Belkıs Mutlu tarafından Resim ve Heykel Müzeleri Derneği'nin kamu yararına dernek statüsü kazanması için yazılan dilekçe - Petition written by Belkıs Mutlu (Director of Istanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum) for 1984 [cited 2022 17 January]. Available from: <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/4688>.
330. Resim ve Heykel Müzesi'ni tarihinden koparma darbesi, ya da Veliht Dairesi'ni işgal et! 2012 [cited 2021 10 June]. Available from: <https://www.e-skop.com/skop-bulten/resim-ve-heykel-muzesini-tarihinden-koparma-darbesi-ya-da-veliaht-dairesini-isgal-et/493>.
331. 'Tarih tersyüz edildi' 2014 [cited 2021 12 June]. Available from: <https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/tarih-tersyuz-edildi-65757>.
332. Resim Heykel Müzesi ilk izlenim ve ardından gelen tuhaf bir hafiflik 2019 [cited 2021 13 June]. Available from: <https://www.arkitera.com/gorus/resim-heykel-muzesi-ilk-izlenim-ve-ardindan-gelen-tuhaf-bir-hafiflik/>.
333. İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi Üzerine Emre Arolat ile söyleşi 2018 [cited 2021 20 June]. Available from: <https://www.hevalzelihayuksel.com/istanbul-resim-ve-heykel-muzesi-uzerine-emre-arolat-ile-soylesi/>.

