

**Determination of the Place Concept in Reproduction
Process of Built Environment:
Kordon, İzmir as a Case Study**

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to argue the transformative effect of modernist processes on the reproduction of built environment with reference to the concepts 'place' and 'space'. Place as lived space will be questioned under the impact of the process of the reproduction of built environment. At the same time, it is related with the general rules of the process of production. Urban space, which is basically determined with power relations, is perceived through spatial codes that conduct the effect of this relation. Space as a representation of a particular discourse and idea is more than a neutral box. Clearly, it exhibits a multi-layered structure representing all types of political, economic, social and cultural discourses behind its creation.

The concept of place involves firstly the spatial relations taking place in a particular geography and secondly the sense of attachment evoked as a result of these relations. Place concept cannot be thought independent of the power whose existence dictates all these relation types. In addition to that, space that continues to be produced through the practices of daily life remains to be a part of mental production, both individually and collectively. If the production of space is taken into consideration, each manipulation is also a redefinition of all elements constructing the identity of places and sense of belonging. For that reason, in order to analyze the meaning of a place, detailed reading of all layers involving the deciphering of their historical stratification is required.

Reproduction of space is an entire reproduction with all its relations taking place in it. At the same time, it is the reproduction of place with all features that identifies it. Thus, today, a new viewpoint is required; because physical restructurings form a constant threat for our cities by destroying their identical spaces and physical focuses of social life, and finally by creating a crisis of memory.

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, modernist sürecin, yapılaşmış çevreyi yeniden üretme pratikleri üzerindeki dönüştürücü etkisini ‘mekan’ ve ‘yer’ kavramları aracılığıyla tartışmayı amaçlar. Mekan üretme pratiklerinin genel üretim pratikleri ile olan ilişkisi temel alınarak, bu sürecin mekanın yaşamsal boyutu olarak özetlenebilecek olan yer üzerindeki etkisi sorgulanmaktadır. Temelde iktidar ilişkilerinin biçimlendirdiği kentsel mekan, bu ilişkinin izlerini taşıyan mekansal kodlar üzerinden algılanır. Belirli bir söylemin ve düşüncenin temsili olarak mekan, nötr bir boşluk olmanın ötesinde, ardında yer alan her tür politik, ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel söylemin bir temsili olarak çok katmanlı bir yapı sergiler. Belirli bir coğrafi lokasyonun üzerinde yer alan tüm mekansal ilişkiler ve bu ilişkilere bağlı olarak oluşan aitlik duygusu ile beraber bir bütün olarak adlandırılan yer kavramı ise özü gereği bu ilişkileri kuran iktidarın varlığından bağımsız düşünülemez. Tüm bunların yanında, gündelik yaşamın olağan pratikleri ile üretilmeye devam eden mekan, bireysel ve kollektif olarak da zihinsel üretimin bir parçası olarak varolmayı sürdürür. Mekanın üretilmesi yoluyla gerçekleşen her türlü manipülasyon ise, o yerin karakterini kuran tüm öğelerin ve o yere dair oluşturulan her türlü aitlik duygusunun yeniden tanımlanması demektir. Bu nedenle, belirli bir yerin anlamını çözümlenmeye çalışmak, tüm bu katmanların kendi tarihsellikleri içinde deşifre edilmesini içeren zor bir okumayı gerektirmektedir.

Mekanın yeniden üretimi, yani üzerinde yer alan tüm ilişkiler ağı ile beraber aynı zamanda fiziksel olarak da üretimi, bir yerin, o yeri yer yapan tüm özellikleri ile beraber yeniden üretilmesi demektir. Dolayısıyla, sürekli fiziksel olarak yeniden inşa edilme tehdidi altında bulunan kentlerimiz için, sosyal yaşantının fiziksel odaklarının ve kente dair kimlik oluşturan mekanların altüst oluşu, toplumsal olarak da bir bellek krizinin yaşanmasına neden olmaktadır.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of the Study and Definition of the Problem

The aim of this study is to argue the transformative effect of modernist practices of the reproduction process of built environment on “place”, which is basically called as lived dimension of space. Modernist practices in the reproduction process of built environment cannot be evaluated without general rules of the process and practices of production. Therefore, in this study, the relation of space and place and their coexistence in social life will be questioned in connection with these general rules.

With the purpose of reaching the actual meaning of space, spatial transformations should be regarded as stratifications of spatial orders. These spatial layers are formed within the process of “the production of space” and consist of both individual dynamics of specific places and general rules of production processes. Specificity of places exists in resistance to these general laws of production. The basic reason of tension created throughout this process, comes out of this specificity, which can be termed as potentials of space concerning place. Because, the meaning of space illustrates a multi-layered structure due to perceptual, imaginary and lived dimensions as well as the physical dimension of spatiality. The meaning is captured by visible or represented features of space. Thus, the meaning of a place can be comprehended by decoding this multi-layered meaning, structured out of the process of production and new meanings gained through the flow of life.

In his article “Development of the Republic Through The Process of Modernization and Social Mobilization”, İ.Bilgin has stated that the physical outlook of modern cities and areas of settlement between cities, has occurred with respect to their history and stratification of development, and it has been determined by three components of social mobilization: mobilization of people, goods and money (the term mobilization is used as both changing location and transformation). The built environment also takes part in this mobilization and it is inclined to destabilization, an

instable position. The built environment gets older not physically, but socially, with new definitions of functions and needs, new desires of investment, new planning visions, shortly with new social intensities and reflexes (1998, p.255-256). Today, the relation between the material and immaterial dimension of space seems to be an important subject that should be handled as the meaning of space is mostly given through exchange value and the production of space has become a significant part of rapid circulation of accumulation. The so-called process has the ability to disturb the lived dimensions of space – such as, belonging and identicalness, and proposes a particular individual and social structuring appropriate to its own. As a result, if we agree upon the integrity of mental and material life, then the basic relation on these categories should be studied in respect to the problems mentioned above.

There are two authorities that have the power to transform the urban space. Urban space, on one hand, is transformed according to the spatial practices of daily life, on the other; it is intentionally produced throughout the projections of groups with economic and political power. Consequently, space is turned out to be a representation of various discourses in various historical times. The projections advocated by the groups in power may be in harmony with social beliefs, but at the same time, the urban space can be a setting for the contradiction of these two voluntary parts as a result of place-based and daily practices that are not calculated or programmed. In other words, the hegemonic space can form a base for the realization of counter-hegemonic space. The basic reason is that the understading and producing space through practices or through projects submits two different kinds of conceptualizations. First one refers to place, the lived, inhabited space, the space we exist in or spaces that we feel attachment, in Lefebvre's terms 'representational space'; and the second one refers to the space produced throughout the projects determined by power relations, a concrete representation as a result of abstract relations, again in Lefebvre's terms 'representations of space'.

The place of urban space in the lives of people is comprehended through these representations, the illusions, phantasmagorias that Benjamin mentioned for Paris, the capital of nineteenth century. Space is deciphering, because distant from simple uses, it shelters many meanings. Especially, strategic spaces of the city cannot be thought without the traces of power relations. The production and the representation determine a production process of built environment. The point that people, the citizens come face

to face is generally the second part of this process, not where the production takes place. Therefore, the production of built environment involves a discontinuity in terms of the relation of subject and object. The urban space, as a product transmits the codes of its producer, and each time we face it and each time we construct a relation with it, it is determined throughout these codes. The image we have in mind also includes the traces of them. Shortly, the meaning of urban space is at the same, fragmented and multi-layered.

Different ways of conceptualizing space, as mentioned above, originates our definition of place depending on space. When we argue about place in terms of lived space and lively values, it is evaluated as belonging, being a part of space of an individual or collective life. On the other hand, place in terms of representations or fictitious dimensions of space, is evaluated with its imaginary dimension. Thus, different categories of space lead us to different categories of place.

Consequently, if we bear in mind the production process of space, the process of daily production of everyday life and the history of these processes, space and place - as our existential relation with space – occur as concepts that should be evaluated over again. From this point of departure, the questions asked in this dissertation are: How and through which instruments (both concrete [representations of space] and abstract instruments [power, daily life, mental life]) are the spatial meanings constructed? What are the exact reasons of change in the meaning of places? Who has the power to construct the meaning of places? What are the economic, political and social controls that influence the production of spaces?

In order to answer these questions, the scope of the study has been determined of firstly, the process of the production of space that is the hegemony of exchange value of space on its use value and its involvement to the circulation of accumulation by reproduction; and secondly, the relation between space and place. Space that is shaped by various rationalities of power has a continuous impact on memory and collective memory where the lived and imagery dimensions are mentally constructed. New spatial structures constitute new practices, new belongings, new mental codes or modifications of the old ones. This does not happen simply as the replacement of the old ones, but through particular methods of mental processes. The manipulation of space is also appropriated for the determination of values concerning place. As a result, the

production process will be evaluated with respect to its relation with perception, experience and imagery; and Kordon in the city İzmir will be taken as an example of this argument.

1.2. Framework of the Study

With respect to the concepts used, the framework of the study is determined through certain fields of knowledge, such as, architecture, urban planning, philosophy, geography, urban sociology and urban history, because the concepts ‘place’, ‘space’, ‘production’ and ‘reproduction’ are not only the issues of architecture, but also of other fields of knowledges that are mentioned. For that reason, the study chooses the base of interaction among these fields as the framework of its argument. Again, in order to clarify the content of this study, architecture should not be regarded as an isolated, monumental object, but part of an extensive whole, a narrative that establishes a particular atmosphere in urban space. Architecture is a collective process in the formation of the city, thus it cannot be analyzed only through its autonomous knowledge, but within the stratification of urban space. As Schneekloth and Shibley (2000) had stated, placemaking is a large cultural practice, which can be understood by moving architecture beyond the expert culture.

The extensive literature dealing with ‘place’ is constituted of conceptualizations as part of something ongoing, differing from Heidegger who had defined the most evident properties of it as gathering, intimacy or regionalization. Casey has classified it as in the following way: in the course of history (Braudel, Foucault), in the natural world (Berry and Snyder), in the political realm (Nancy and Lefebvre), in gender relations (Irigaray), in the productions of poetic imagination (Bachelard and Otto), in geographic experience and reality (Foucault, Tuan, Soja, Relph and Entekin), in the sociology of the polis and the city (Benjamin, Arendt and Walter), in nomadism (Deleuze and Guattari), in architecture (Derrida, Eisenman and Tschumi), in religion (Irigaray and Nancy) (Casey 1997). In addition to it, in daily life, it has the meaning of locale, neighborhood, and territory, or home, community and landscape; and it also has many metaphorical meanings (Harvey 1993, p.4). It is obvious that, the concept of ‘place’ has been argued in a wide range of knowledge and field. This diversity shows that there can be no constant, single definition, but multi-layered meanings hidden

behind those fields of knowledges. To accept a multi-layered meaning can lead us to a multi-layered reading or to an interaction between all those singular definitions. A reading on complex concepts, like 'place', needs a transition between various definitions or the support of different meanings of the same concept.

The approaches of the Marxist geographers D.Harvey and D.Massey, thoughts of philosopher and sociologist H.Lefebvre, social theories of A.Giddens and J.Urry and the works of Sennett, as a geographer and urban sociologist, have mainly structured the framework of this study. The works of these theorists can be appraised as the representatives of social relations embedded in space-time contexts. Most of the ideas included in this study are regarding original references of the topics such as; Marx's, Lefebvre's, Harvey's, etc. for the analysis of capitalism and its interrelation with space as it is called "the production of space"; and Simmel and Benjamin for the contradictions of the social life in modern city.

The relation among architecture, geography and sociology as the sources of knowledges used in this study can be explained in several ways. First of all, geography accepts specific features of a certain place as the subject of investigation. Discussions on postmodernism, by definition, have also dealt with geography for its conceptualization of otherness (Işık). At the same time, social sciences have originated studies on architecture and urban culture, because space cannot be appraised only of its physical dimension. Space is a lived sphere created out of social, political and economic dimensions, as well as the lived one. Space, in physically, and the symbolic meaning transmitted through this physical dimension is all parts of a social construct. For that reason, after 1970s, the focus of discussions on postmodernism, had mostly concentrated on city, space and identity. "Ethnic memory as an active part of personal identity and recovering of the past" (Berman 1994, p.427) has been one of the most significant subjects that have been dwelled. In line with this idea, significance of particular spaces (places), and spatializations are considered as subjects of discussion for many fields as well as architecture.

Giddens had distinguished the age we live in as the age of globalization, that had extended the horizons, blurred the boundaries and where space and time had collapsed and local and regional identities had been scattered (Giddens 1998). Under these conditions, a new way of space perception had been introduced, that is "the space of

flows". The space of regions seems to be replaced by space of flows. But, is it so? At this point, we should consider the concept of place, again. Because, as Agnew has stated, "it is still in places, that lives are lived, economic and symbolic interests are defined, information from local to extra-local sources is interpreted and takes on meaning, and political discussions are carried on. Even in a world in which many sources of information and social cues are extra-local, especially as transmitted by the electronic media, information and social cues are meaningful only when activated in everyday routine social interaction. For most people, this is still defined by the locality. Home, work, church, school, and the like still form nodes around which everyday life circulates" (from Pred, in Agnew 1987, p.2-3). Consequently, under the influence of globalization, space has been addressed as 'the space of flows', but local places are geographically important for the reason that people should still have to serve their needs in certain places.

Harvey has also announced the contradiction mentioned above. According to him, 'place' has been a significant subject of discussion after 1970s. "The collapse of many spatial boundaries does not mean that the significance of space decreases. As spatial barriers diminish so we become more sensitized to what different places in the world actually or appear to contain" (Urry 1995, p.23).

If we continue on the global effects on places, we see that, the built environment is transformed by new communication and transportation technologies as basic technological constituents that raise the global flow under the needs of capitalist processes. This process makes old places to lose their value, while the new ones are getting worth (Bird 1993). The reasons are summarized by Harvey, as in the following headings:

1. Space relations have been radically restructured since around 1970 and this altered the relative locations of places within the global patterning of capitalist accumulation. Urban places that once had a secure status find themselves vulnerable; residents find themselves forced to ask what kind of place can be remade that will survive within the new matrix of space relations and capital accumulation.

2. Diminished transport costs have made production, merchanting, marketing and particularly finance capital much more geographically mobile than heretofore. This allows a freer choice of location.
3. Those who reside in place become acutely aware that they are in competition with other places for highly mobile capital. Places therefore differentiate themselves from other places and become more competitive in order to capture or retain capital investment.
4. Profitable projects to absorb excess capital have been hard to find in these last two decades. The selling of places and the highlighting of their particular qualities become even more frenetic (Harvey 1993, p.7-8).

Despite this condition, Harvey makes a suggestion based on reconciliation. Harvey, in his article “From Space to Place and Back Again: Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity”, constructs a bridge between Marxian and Heideggerian approaches regarding the qualities of places. According to him, although there are great oppositions between these approaches, we can find a common base and some clues of generating a new conception of place.

As it is known, Marx had emphasized social relations constructed through the world of money and commodity production. Starting out from these social relations, Harvey had grasped the potentialities of sociality not for rejecting or destroying places, but as a ground of unalienated experiences for transforming them. As he had emphasized, although Marxian and Heideggerian approaches seem to be in opposition, Harvey had made a connection in the roots of the problem for the reconstruction of a new understanding of place. For Marx, the repressions are an outcome of a place-based politics in a spatially dynamic capitalist world. On the other hand, Heidegger “rejects any dealings with the world of commodity, money, technology and production via any international division of labour”. He had refused all kinds of mediated social relationships (via the market or any other medium) with others (things or people) (Harvey 1993, p.13-14). So, dwelling is the only place-based concept that can secure people from the world of commodity that Marx had indicated (Harvey 1996, p.315). Harvey had made a determination that “it is difficult to reconcile such transformative practices with the desire to retain familiarity, security and the deep sense of belonging

that attachment to place can generate” (Harvey 1993, p.16). But, in spite of that, “the network of places constructed through the logic of capitalist development, for example, has to be transformed and used for progressive purposes rather than rejection or destroy (Harvey 1996, p.314).

Today, the production of space is realized through economic and social dynamics mentioned above and point out certain breaks between space and place. On the other hand, if we handle the concepts ‘space’ and ‘place’ in terms of philosophy, we can observe historical breakouts caused by the process of modernization. Through the history of thought, ‘space’ and ‘place’ are taken as unlike parts of dialectic oppositions framed out in accordance with various periods. A historical exploration of the subject of place and space begins by portraying a naturalistic worldview that implies a place-rich and space-like term ‘chōra’ taken up by Plato. Historically follows the theological stance that aims at the notion of the infinity of space through both absolutist and relativist models. This theological background mutates into scientific thought, where ‘place’ gives way over time to ‘space’. Western thinkers of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries assume that places are momentary subdivisions of a universal space determined in its neutral homogeneity. ‘Site’, that is, ‘locational place’, is a conceptual invention of the seventeenth century. This positionalised and pointillised understanding of place in Leibniz also shows itself in various ways in eighteenth century life and culture. Beginning with Kant, the role of human body in the implacement of things and their perception, is entirely considered as the basis of twentieth century phenomenological thinking. In contrast to ‘site’, place is phenomenal not just because of the existence of our physical body but also because of our existence in a system of possible actions. The concept of place was born again through the deconstructivist approach of Heidegger, through the Cartesian thinking entailing the ideas of consciousness and body (Casey 1997).

Beginning with the 1980s, discussions of ‘place’ in the field of architecture has been especially based on phenomenological approaches including thinkers such as Kant, Husserl, Merleau-Ponty, Heidegger and Bachelard. This is a point of view describing ‘place’ and ‘sense of place’ through the intuitive and perceptive meanings of architecture, that is more than abstract location, a totality of social, cultural and historical input in a geographical boundary. It is stated that, the character of a location is achieved by the transformation of abstract space into concrete place through the works

of architecture providing a visualization of genius loci (Hale 2000, p.115). In accord with this, 'place' has included non-material qualities of a given place, which are identity, character and the spirit of that place. Examples taking place in the theory of architecture are mostly evaluated according to form, space, ground, and materiality as part of a creation of an architectural product –such as, through the works of F.L.Wright, L.Kahn, C.Scarpa (Hale 2000, p.111-122). These examples are considered within the knowledge of both architecture and philosophy. Thus, the arguments that had based on 'place' in architecture had defined it as a sole unchanging and static concept, parallel with the general idea on architecture that had positioned it among other disciplines. Under the influence of this approach, examples are restricted and generally traditional and historical aspects are considered. As a result, it is certain that, the point of departure has to be underlined beyond form, space, ground, and materiality and should be regarded through social, economic and political contexts of a certain territory.

There is a point that should be emphasized that phenomenology was taken as an important source in the theory of architecture. Its switching role from the positivistic view to other critical thoughts should be particularly considered. Till the end of twentieth century, there were two dominating approaches in architecture, one is phenomenology and the other, positivism (Capon 1999, p.282). "Positivism tend towards the analytical, scientific and objective, and concentrates on relations that exist between things", on the other hand, phenomenology, concentrates on the things themselves or things we experience, and tends to be more subjective", as Capon states. In the early 1960s and also in 1970s, Norberg-Schulz had introduced the term phenomenology into the theory of architecture under the light of the ideas of Heidegger. But, at the same time, another shift had occurred in architectural theory, by the essays published by Eisenman and Vidler (1976), questioning the positivist standpoint and criticizing the modern movement in architecture. It is also Kate Nesbitt who had given emphasis on the polarization of positivism and phenomenology in 1996, with her work entitled as "Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture" and she had extended the definition of phenomenology in terms of including the interaction of the body with its environment (Capon 1987). Therefore, a shift can be observed in the meaning and position of phenomenology in architectural thinking, beginning with the emphasis of phenomenon solely, to the meaning, which lies in relationships.

As a result, how can we evaluate the concept of place in the built environment today, which is ever changing and re-produced again and again? ‘Place’, partly apart from concrete and regional accounts should be reevaluated and reconceptualized under the impact of economic, technical and scientific internationalization that surmounts spatial constraints. Because, the criteria that transform places are not embedded only in places, but also in their relation with other places, in global relations and in their specificity at all.

1.3. Method of the Study

The method used can be briefly explained as a consideration of a critical view together with the realities of a specific geography and a reevaluation of the existing data with others that are revealed throughout this study. According to this, the dissertation is structured in three main parts. After the introduction summarizing the framework of the study, second part is composed of the process of the production of space, specifically the built environment. Third part is mainly related with the relation between ‘space’ and ‘place’. And finally the last part is about a certain place – Kordon, İzmir – as a case study, exemplifying the processes notified in second and third chapters. To tell in short, chapter II and III put out theoretical knowledge while chapter IV is concentrating on the practical information of the selected area. Main idea of dividing the work in this way is firstly, to identify the basic constituents of the production of space, and after to show the channels on which a place is transformed by. A deeper analysis on the concepts is required to demonstrate various handlings of them. The aim of case study is to illustrate the reproduction process of the specificity of a place under the influence of global effects of modernization.

In order to explain the reproduction process of built environment in chapter II, basic rules of the process of production has been firstly examined. The subject is elaborated through the leading ideas of Marxist theorists and geographers who determine a general view on the production of goods, as well as space. Through the economic processes determined by capitalist production and modernist structuring, the evolution of built environment just partly differs from the production of goods. Departing from value description of things, a general description of the production of space is explained in this chapter, because, essential ideas mentioned nearly 150 years

ago still continue to determine the production of our environments. Although the process alters according to different countries or cities on the world, basic ideas do not differ and the process still explains the transformations taking place in our cities. In addition to that, the study examines the subject together with the issue of memory and belonging and points out to specific informations concerning the selected site.

Chapter III is represented as to include the definitions of place and space concerning both philosophical and sociological views concerning the city. With the first one, a conceptual excavation and a positioning of the process of modernization in the long dialogue between place and space, is aimed. Conceptualizations on space and place have rooted on the ideas generated in early cultures. And with the second, examination on the condition of modern man under the impact of modern period is accomplished. This part is developed for to emphasize psychological and sociological effects of physical transformation on modern man and the relation between the social and the spatial constructions of a society. Material and immaterial production are two mutually related categories explaining the process of spatialization.

The approach of case study in Chapter IV can be evaluated like this: when a certain spatial context of a city is examined, first of all, it should be considered within its own historical background. The production and reproduction of each place, its history of production, should be regarded in terms of its spatial practices and the savings of hegemonic ideology on that place. Like in Kordon, İzmir; commenting in detail the historical periods added on each other, traces of hegemonic ideology on space, the roles of changing cultural profiles in this process of production, the social practices through which the space is experienced and to what account this new reproduced space is appropriated in social life, form the content of case study.

Depending on the general concepts of this study and the framework of discussion, a certain urban space has been selected. The transformation, taking place in the beginnings of nineteenth century was the result of the modernization process and attempts of joining with capitalist world economy. In addition to that, in the city İzmir, some other regions had shown the marks of this transformation: Mithatpaşa Street, Karşıyaka, Bornova, etc. Among these, selection of Kordon depends on the fact that it has been the façade of the city and the only face of it opening to the outer world for centuries. Compared with others, this is one of the most challenging places in the city,

encompassing the superimposition of many historical periods. The geographical boundaries of this place begin with Konak Square, continue as the shoreline and end with the exchange area and harbour. Kordon is known by everyone in the city as an urban context delimited in those spatial boundaries.

Data collection of the case study is compiled of the documents derived from firstly, the archive of İzmir-Konak Municipality, Department of Deed in Konak, secondly, existing literature and thirdly, in situ. But, concerning the limited time of the study, data collection in the archive has been restricted with the areas between Cumhuriyet and Gündoğdu Square that contain all transformations taking place till nineteenth century. The documents of the selected site contain all precedent formal informations of the parcels, in other words, micro histories of each apartment block. However, these files include personal notes or petitions although they are named as legal documents. Those personal notes are essential for to capture the significant role of individual acts taking part in this collective process. Consequently, both subjective and objective views have been obtained by these sources of historical knowledge about Kordon and İzmir.

The theoretical base is presented to determine conceptual stages for to achieve the analysis of a place. This base is obtained in the light of the process of production, analysed in chapter II and definitions on space and place analysed in chapter III. Each place is related with other places in certain scales and dimensions. Thus, the characteristics of a place are determined both by its own specific features and the conditions occurred through the relations with other places. Therefore, in a certain place, both the conditions required for the process of modernization, and unique characteristics of each place, can be observed. In other words, this should be considered as the process of spatial production determined out of the dynamics of modernization, a geographical interaction parallel with specific conditions of a certain place. In order to present this idea following headings are considered to draw an analysis of a place:

- **Facts.** They are the basic constituents of the social and the spatial, because the entire system continues to remain through the reproduction of facts occurred in each place.
- **Resistances.** Certain facts happen to be as resistances that effect or change expected values and beliefs considered in terms of the system. So, they may give

way to unexpected conditions that figure uncontrolled faces of daily life. Resistances, as unpredicted facts have the ability to structure identity.

- **Time and phases.** Reproduction of facts and resistances occur in time. The repetition of facts or their conscious reproduction point out certain phases through the continuity of time. These phases sometimes occur as an account of pointillised leaps, that are the revolutionary facts or as parts of social, daily activities, in multi-layers, extended in space and time.

The concepts pointed out above, have initialized the structure and the titles of the analysis of case study. The reproduction process of Kordon, as a history of modernization in İzmir, is examined under four titles, not for the idea of writing the history of a place chronologically, but in terms of space-time relations. As it is seen in the case of Kordon, the physical milieu and social acts determined in this context, has been reproduced although the geographical location of that place has not been changed. Phases of reproduction are experienced both in space and time. The case study is structured by the existence of instantaneous facts affecting each other, which have their roots in political, economic, socio-cultural and spatial dimensions. The phases (production of the land, destruction of place of memories, the re-production of space, and the present reproduction) have been arranged according to these dimensions, as comparable objectives of the space production in different periods. In other words, this study does not entail the history of Kordon, but the history of the production of space and the issue of ‘place’ in Kordon. From this point of departure, the structure of the fourth chapter is based on the factors of ‘*time and phases*’, ‘*four-dimensional categories of facts*’ and factors of ‘*resistances*’. By ascertaining the method of the study, the aim is not to propose a general guide to reread or to analyze a certain place, because each place exists under its own specific conditions. The economic, political, social and spatial accounts of each place form particular phases for that place. As a result, the aim of the study is to underline basic and unconceivable aspects, but not to propose a general method appropriate for every place.

CHAPTER 2

THE RE-PRODUCTION PROCESS OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT

2.1. The Ideology of Production, Consumption and Re-Production

In order to comprehend the re-production process of built environment, the ideology of general laws concerning the process of production should be considered. A transformation based on the interaction of subject and object is extended widely into a reality delineating all aspects of social life.

To broaden the idea above, we can continue on Lefebvre's critical statement. Lefebvre had stated that the term of 'production' for Marx and Engels had two senses, one is broad and the other is restrictive. Production is not only restricted with the 'products'. The production in its broad sense embraces the multiplicity of the works, including social space and time, a mental production; and on the other hand, material production of things. At the same time, it means to be the production of humans to produce their own life. Social relations are also added into the same process. And finally, in the broad sense this term also includes the process of reproduction, not only a biological reproduction, but also the reproduction of the tools, instruments and techniques of material production and together with the reproduction of social relations (Lefebvre 1968, s.37), (Soja 1989, p.91). For Lefebvre, these relations are constitutives of capitalism. Every mode of production produces its own space and space in general, contains specific representations of production and reproduction.

For Marx and Engels, the concept of production is evaluated in its broad sense. Humans as social beings are said to produce their own life, their own consciousness, and their own world. Who produces? What? How? Why? And, for whom? For Lefebvre, without these questions the meaning of production remains abstract (Lefebvre 1968, s.68).

As a Marxist theorist, Lefebvre makes definitions on the meaning and structuring of space depending on Marx's concepts of production, consumption and

values. The first issue will be argued in the next part, so that, first of all, we shall begin by mentioning shortly the basic approach of Marx to these concepts.

Marx had emphasized the existence of human beings under the impact and hegemony of the exchange of commodities. Both in 'Das Kapital' and in 'Grundrisse', the terms commodity and production are introduced at first. He sees commodity as the basic form of modern wealth and positioned them at the center of the economic and social analysis of capitalism (Pappenheim 2000, p.75-76).

Marx had considered the commodity as a material embodiment of *use value*, *exchange value* and *value* (Harvey 1999, p.1). He had constructed the inner logic of capitalism first by presenting these concepts. They cannot be considered separately, since they are relational categories. The assemblage of these concepts had been generated under the conditions of commodity production and exchange. To begin with, Marx's conception had displayed the notion of an appropriation of nature by human beings in order to satisfy their wants and needs. This appropriation had held a material process defined by practices of production and consumption. The *value* of a commodity is determined by the amount of labour used for its production. Common attribute of all commodities is their production by human labor, which is the material transformation of nature. The material side of commodities captured in relation to human wants and needs is the concept of *use value* (Harvey 1999, p.5). Use value gains an economic category as soon as it becomes modified, by the modern relations of production, or intervenes to modify them (Harvey 1999, p.5). And thirdly, the *exchange value* is expressed for two basic reasons: first of all, each commodity functions as money, and second, in a world of commodity production all goods are produced for exchange in the market. Commodities exchange according to relative prices and the prices shift in response to supply and demand conditions (Harvey 1999, p.9). As Marx had shown us, capital is a process rather than a thing. For that reason, the process exists in circulation, from money to commodities, from commodities back into money that illustrates an expansion of value, which is called the *surplus value*. And finally, there is another important concept that Marx brings out and analyses, "*the fetishism of commodities*". By this principle, he figures out the social relations directed by the exchange of commodities. "Social relationships are expressed as relationships between things" (Harvey 1999, p.17). The fetishism of commodities describes a state of relations between individuals

not as direct social relations, but material relations between persons and social relations between things (Harvey 1999, p.17).

The essence of commodity lies in its exchange value that has been distinguished from its use value. Although use value is a precondition for an object to be a commodity, object has only the exchange value when it is assigned as commodity and involves no use value. The best-known critic for Marx's identification of commodity production as the base of economic life is the reality of the circulation of goods in preceding societies (Pappenheim 2000, p.76). But, compared with the previous ages, the production in capitalist societies has been distinguished with the relation between proletarians, who have labored, and the capitalists who have equipped the instruments of production such as machine and capital. These instruments had always continued to exist in every decade of history in such a way, but the fundamental difference of capitalism is its organization of these instruments in a way that never happened before. Exchange value had penetrated into all aspects of human life in addition to the field of economy (Pappenheim 2000, p.77). In this way, on one hand, human beings had controlled the reproduction of material life, and on the other, had been affected by it.

The effect of capitalism in daily life was an unexpected increase in material world. Under the impact of this increase, relation between people and the objects of daily life has been transformed. In traditional sense, people had got used to utilize the goods they have produced by their own or by compensation, but after the development of capitalist economy, they had no control over the goods they produced. The subject had got the possession of goods only by paying money for them. This condition points out a deep gap between object and subject and illustrates a new process that had changed the relation between the product and the producer. The objects of material production had lost their intrinsic qualities and use values, but gained pre-eminence by their exchange values (Yırtıcı 2002, p.13).

Marx had stated in 'Das Kapital' that, commodities that are the things we use everyday (for eating, sheltering, clothing, etc.) are all phantasmagoric, because they entail both use value (referring to a certain use), and exchange value (as an issue of bargaining). As the exchange value of a commodity enhances, in other words the price in the market enhances, a commodity is crystallized with its quality as money.

Commodity gains a vital role with money, because money makes the circulation easier (Harvey 1990, p.100).

The logic of liberal capitalism distinguishes exchange value from use value and as a result shows that “pure exchange value” is possible through the medium of money. Money as the intensive level of exchange value, for Agnew, is the basis for the devaluation of place (Agnew 1987, p.77). Major practical basis for him, is explained as in the following; detachment and double-existence in ‘value’ is also observed in the “detachment of people from places in the form of the commodification of land and labor”. Labor-power is the only commodity which produces value and at the same time a living human which needs the use value of material goods. “Consequently, people and places become commodities; people as labor, places as locations” (Agnew 1987, p.77-78).

In parallel with this idea, production has no importance independent from consumption. Relations of production are directly connected with the relations of consumption. Continuity and increase in production is achieved only through continuity and increase in consumption. The amount of product in the market is determined by the request in the amount of consumed goods. In economic processes that are continually developing, like capitalism, stabilized increase of production depends on stabilized increase of consumption. Thus, in capitalist economy, consumption cannot be set down only to natural processes of needs and uses. New uses should be generated and consumption should be stimulated (Yırtıcı 2002, p.13). Harvey had pointed out how social wants and needs are modified by capitalism and had explained that various ways are accomplished for the production of consumption: firstly, quantitative expansion of existing consumption; secondly, creating new needs by propagating existing ones; and thirdly, production of new needs and discovery and creation of new use values. Thus, use value is not simply what human beings are in need, but it is a more complicated conception, because wants and needs, can be manipulated under the capitalist mode of production (Harvey 1999, p.8). Despite the facts above, capitalism is not formed merely out of production and exchange of commodity. The aim of yielding profit (circulation of money in order to gain more) acts as the most vital part of the production of social life (Harvey 1990, p.103).

Harvey has identified the process of capitalist production at present as “the flexible accumulation and has pointed out that fixed elements of capitalist production in Marxian sense are still present. Three main aspects of a capitalist production are mentioned as (Harvey 1990, p.180):

1. Capitalism is growth-oriented. A steady rate of growth is essential for the health of a capitalist economic system, since it is only through growth that profits can be assured and the accumulation of capital be sustained. This implies that capitalism has to prepare the ground for, and actually achieve an expansion of, output and a growth in real values, no matter what the social, political, geopolitical, or ecological consequences. To the degree that virtue is made of necessity, it is a corner-stone of capitalism’s ideology that growth is both inevitable and good. Crisis is then defined as lack of growth.
2. Growth in real values rests on the exploitation of living labour in production. This is not to say that labour gets little, but that growth is always predicated on a gap between what labour gets and what it creates. This implies that labor control, both in production and in the market place, is vital for the perpetuation of capitalism. Capitalism is founded, in short, on a class relation between capital and labour. Since labour control is essential to capitalist profit, so, too, is the dynamic of class struggle over labour control and market wage fundamental to the trajectory of capitalist development.
3. Capitalism is necessarily technologically and organizationally dynamic. This is so in part because the coercive laws of competition push individual capitalists into leap-frogging innovations in their search for profit. But organizational and technological change also play a key role in modifying the dynamics of class struggle, waged from both sides, in the realm of labour markets and labour control. Furthermore, if labour control is fundamental to the production of profits and becomes a broader issue for the mode of regulation, so technological and organizational innovation in the regulatory system (such as the state apparatus, political systems of incorporation and representation, etc.) becomes crucial to the perpetuation of capitalism. The ideology that ‘progress’ is both inevitable and good derives in part from this necessity.

The idea on general rules of production and consumption mentioned above that are leading to the process of modernization, had also maintained the process of the production of space. As Harvey had stated, although the utilization of knowledge, technology and capital changes according to the subsequent ages, the main ideology remains to be the same. Parallel with this idea, the production of space will be argued in the following part, in scope of the ideological framework of modernist tradition and capitalist economy mentioned here.

2.2. The Capitalist Mode of Production and The Production of Space

The city serves as a center for economic, political, social and cultural life of the consciousness of a certain society. It fundamentally functions for production, distribution and consumption of goods. Therefore, it is a center where the reproduction takes place for the living of people through various basic social relationships that maintain the social order. In line with this, built environment is created out of human labor as a result of his consciousness and connected with social environment that constitutes the city at all.

Under the title ‘urban studies’ or ‘urban sociology’, concepts, facts and transformations on the city are supported by various social theories. In the scope of this study, Marx’s and Marxist theories have supported the argument on ‘the production of space’, but there are also other theories that maintain the urbanization theory. In general, these theories are interrelated with each other and continue to conserve each other in several ways. Peter Saunders, in his book, “Social Theory and the Urban Question” (1995), had stated that Marx, Weber and Durkheim are accepted as fundamental references for urban sociology. Today, many theorists have argued on this subject matter departing from these basic approaches of nineteenth century theorists. In principal, these should be addressed as three different approaches and none of them mention on a sole theory of urbanization, because urbanization has been related with complex facts that cannot be considered autonomously. For that reason, city has been considered as part of a broad social theory according to these three major theorists. Marx’s method of analysis had been designated as dialectical materialism. Marx and Engels had argued about the city, not because their concern had been the city per se, but capitalist processes that had been revealed in urban context. On the other hand, Weber’s method is the reversal of Marx’s. He had emphasized on individual consciousness rather than using individual as a part of objective relations. He had focused on medieveal cities and his ideal type method had been evident in his study of the city. And finally, as a positivist, Durkheim had defended the idea of the assertion of observations as the basis of knowledge. He had seen the city as a historically significant condition for the development of particular social forces. Agreement in their works is the significant role of medieveal city in the development of western capitalism and the modern city that is

theoretically significant entity as the most visible expression of developments in the society (Saunders 1995, p.13-51).

Marxist approach for spatial analysis at the urban scale occurred after 1970s, and based on the awareness of various fields of knowledges, such as economy, sociology and geography. They have concentrated on the economy politics of urbanization. Throughout these arguments, the rising importance of monopoly capital, its expansion on a global scale, its increasing dependence on state management and planning had been interpreted (Soja 1989, p.94). The city came to be seen not only with its distinctive role as a center for industrial production and accumulation, but also as the control point for the reproduction of capitalist society in terms of labour power, exchange, and consumption patterns. After that, not only the contradictions concerning the place of production (the contradiction arised between the capitalist and the proletarian), but also the contradictions concerning all layers of built environment (housing, providing public services, the activities of financial organizations, etc.). The core of discussions had focused on the patterns of organization in order to support social reproduction and consumption of urban space (Soja 1989, p.95).

Harvey had described the conception of built environment as vast, humanly created resource system, comprising use values embedded in the physical landscape, which can be utilized for production, exchange and consumption. The built environment, as a heterogeneous whole, is composed of diverse elements: all kinds of building types, roads, railways, docks, power stations, water supply and sewage systems, ...etc. Harvey had distinguished such building types like houses, churches and drainage systems as legacies carried on non-capitalist relations of production. So, the built environment appears as a *palimpsest of landscapes* fashioned according to the dictates of different modes of production at different stages of historical development. Nevertheless, under the social relations of capitalism, all elements are identified in commodity form. Differing from other commodities, the elements of built environment are immobile and they are situated on land due to a conscious act. Therefore, spaces are assembled in situ on the land, so at the same time, land becomes a significant part of this assemblage. As a result, what his description tells us is that *built environment is a geographically ordered, complex, composite commodity* (Harvey 1999, p.233).

If we return back to our quotation in the beginning of the previous section, referring to Lefebvre, and his explanation on the relation between space and production, his argue can be extended a little further. For Lefebvre, space is never produced in the sense that a kilogram of sugar is produced. **It is at once a precondition and a result of social superstructures, institutions and the state itself. It is a social relationship but one which is inherent to property relationships and closely bound up with the forces of production.** This production cannot be separated either from the **productive forces**, including technology and knowledge, or from the social division of labour, which shapes it, or from the state and the superstructures of society (Lefebvre 1974, p.85)

Firstly, Lefebvre had stated that he had not structured his approach only in traditional categories of Marxism. Urban, everyday life and space are major concepts of Lefebvre derived from a Marxist thought. Lefebvre had combined the relational contradictions of thought and being, consciousness and material life, superstructure and economic base, objectivity and subjectivity by improving and strengthening Marxism (Soja 1989, p.48). He had concentrated his attention on the characteristic features of the modernized capitalism that had consolidated around the turn of the century in what he called a “bureaucratic society of controlled consumption” choreographed by the capitalist state – an instrumentalized ‘spatial planning’, which increasingly penetrated into the recursive practices of daily life (Soja 1989, p.49). “The very survival of capitalism”, Lefebvre argued, “was built upon the creation of an increasingly embracing, instrumental, and socially mystified spatiality, hidden from critical view under thick veils of illusion and ideology. What distinguished capitalism’s gratuitous spatial veil from the spatialities of other modes of production was its peculiar production and reproduction of geographically uneven development via simultaneous tendencies toward homogenization, fragmentation, and hierarchization. This dialectised, conflictive space is where the reproduction of the relations of production is achieved” (Soja 1989, p.50). In short, spatiality produced under the impact of capitalist production has been characterized with the struggle, taking place in it and its unstable condition throughout this process.

Any given space is not empty. It is not a simple abstraction or a pure form. “Space implies, contains and dissimulates social relationships – and this despite the fact that a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and

products)” (Lefebvre 1974, p.82). As Lefebvre had stated, since space is not a neutral box, each event, taking place in space is related with capital and capitalism, because the basic constituent of capitalism is land as well as labour, knowledge, and capital itself in the hegemony of one class. They all together constitute capitalism. Actually capitalism has many facets: landed capital, commercial capital, finance capital (Lefebvre 1974, p.9).

Lefebvre had declared that after the early periods of industrialization that produced space, urban space has been socially widespreadly produced throughout the whole world by industrialization and economic development intended for the aims of political authority (Soja 1989, p.96). There are two circuits that direct the capitalist accumulation today: the primary circuits (industrial) and the secondary circuits (financial). According to Harvey, the second one takes place of the first. “Secondary circuit is involved in the manipulation of the built environment, the extraction of urban rent, the setting of land values, and the organization of urban space for collective consumption, in all cases facilitated by the local and national state” (Soja 1989, p.97).

‘The mobilization of space’ produces an impetus towards the self-destruction of spaces old and new. Investment and speculation cannot be stopped, however, nor even slowed, and a vicious circle is thus set up. It seems to be a scaring process, because it wastes our future for immediate interest. **“Mobilization of space – the process begins with the land¹, then it is extended to space, including space beneath the ground and volumes above it; rooms, floors, flats, apartments, balconies, parking spaces. The entirety of space must be endowed with exchange value. And exchange implies interchangeability: the exchangeability of a good makes that good into a commodity, just like a quantity of sugar”**. Each exchangeable place enters the chain of commercial transactions. Before, it was only the exchange of goods and things that created ‘commodity world’, but after that, space had also been contained (Lefebvre 1974, p.336). It is firstly, the production of things in space, then the space of production and the produced space that completes the cycle. The production of space has occurred “on account of the continuous frameworks of the dominant relations and mode of production” (Lefebvre 1974, p.90).

¹. “Land serves not only as a means of production but also as a ‘foundation, as a place and space providing a basis of operations” (Harvey 1999, p.337)

As an example to demonstrate the mobilization of space, Sennett's statement on American cities implementing the grid system is crucial. The existence of 'the system' in social and political dimensions is spatially supported by an ideal system, the grid structuring. Sennett had claimed that there is strong relation between economic system and neutralization of space. The physical order projected by the grid system was perceived to be a solution for a continuous development with indefinite boundaries. This grid system should be distinguished from the grid system used by Romans emphasizing a focal point at the center and circumscribed by city walls. The American examples of modern cities in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, standard land units were imagined to be sold easily and to be an available ground for houses of simple construction. Sennett had continued his thought, citing from Lewis Mumford (*The City in History*), that reviving capitalism of seventeenth century had recognized each site and parcel or a street and a boulevard as an abstract unit that can be bought or sold without considering their historical form, topographical condition or social needs (Sennett 1999, p72).

The accomplishments of Lefebvre on the relation between the circuit of capital and space are summarized as the following:

1. He had shown that it was possible to use economic categories such as capital investment, profit, rent, wages, class exploitation, and uneven development in the analysis of cities. He had argued that, city development process was as much a product of the capitalist system as anything else.
2. He had introduced the idea of the circuits of capital and particularly, the notion that real estate is a separate circuit of capital. For him, the real estate investment, as second circuit of capital, is always attractive as investment because there usually is money to be made in real estate.
3. For Lefebvre, all social activities are not only about interaction between individuals, but about space as well. Social activities take place in space, and they also produce a space by creating objects.
4. Lefebvre had discussed the role of government in space, who makes decisions and relays them to individuals across the network (Gottdiner 1994, p.127).

For Saunders, the basic contradiction in the production of space is that between the necessity for capital to exploit it for profit and the social requirements of those who

consume it; in other words, the contradiction between profit and need, exchange value and use value. “The political expression of this contradiction is found in the constant political struggle between individualistic and collectivistic strategies”. And this contradiction is the main concern of Lefebvre’s critique of urban life (Saunders 1995, p.157). There are three related concepts used by Lefebvre that the urban is consisted of, namely *space*, *everyday life* and *reproduction of capitalist social relations*. As Saunders claims “The urban, that is, is the global spatial context through which the relations of production are reproduced in people’s everyday experience. Capitalist social relations are reproduced through the everyday use of space because space has itself been captured by capital and subordinated to its logic” (Saunders 1995, p.158-9).

The city itself as a solidified product of human activities has been produced for a certain purpose and is conceptually assembled to reproduce the existing political system. “The conditions that realize the permanence and reproduction of the system economically, socially and politically are materialized and become object by produced space. System has been organized for keeping this production to be continuous. Services in the city are prepared to increase the efficiency of spatial substructures”. Consequently, “the use value of urban space is replaced by its exchange value” (Göksu (b) 1996, s.124, 125). Capital is in need of reproducing the land in order to gain profit; therefore urban sites are turned to be a commodity of production. Transformation of space into an instrument for speculation makes it to take place in an active market (Cemal 2002, p.190). The physical transformation of urban space, its continuous restructuring, is a reflection of the continuous reproduction and restructuring of economic, political and social system. The urban space, as a product, should immediately get older, be consumed and reproduced again for entering into the circulation of the capital. Rapid transformation in the city and distraction of landscape in favor of production is identified as ‘uneven geographical development’ of capitalism (Harvey 1999). Some places receive much more investment than others, and this causes a variation in the affluence of particular places, an uneven development. As Gottdiener had addressed that this is a characteristic of societies with the economic system of capitalism, but it is also characteristic for other societies that have communist economies. “People with money seek to invest in places and enterprises that will bring

them the highest rate of return. Today, capital is more mobile than ever and has the ability to move operations from one country to another”². (Gottdiener 1994, p.124).

Harvey had stated that place, like space and time, is a social construct. Departing from this basic agreement, he had declared that the fundamental question that should be asked is “what social process (es) is place constructed? ”. He had added that this process could be understood through the historical trajectory of capitalism of places (Harvey 1993, p.5). ‘Creative destruction’ that Harvey had termed is embedded within the circulation of capital and means a continuous innovation devaluating past investments and labour skills. “The struggle to maintain profitability sends capitalists racing off to explore all kinds of other possibilities”. “New spaces are necessarily opened up as capitalists seek new markets, new sources of raw materials, fresh labour power, and new and more profitable sites for production operations” (Harvey 1990, p.106). Capitalism has to use the means of urbanization in order to reproduce itself, because the surpluses are mobilized, produced, absorbed and appropriated through urbanization. Nevertheless, urbanization of capital creates contradictions and this is also what the distinctive logic of capitalist urbanization lies (Harvey 1985, p.221-226).

Over-accumulation in the built environment is cyclical in nature. The created surplus value leads to an over-accumulation. By means of the over-production of commodities, prices and surpluses of labor fall down. As a result, extra resources are introduced into the secondary circuit of capital, by making investments in the built environment. A tertiary circuit of capital has also an important role by which the investment is channeled to research and development (Madanipour 1996, p.17).

According to Harvey,

“Capital represents itself in the form of a physical landscape created in its own image, created as use values to enhance the progressive accumulation of capital. The

² Sassen argues that telematics and globalization are fundamental forces reshaping the organization of economic space – a reshaping which ranges from spatial virtualization of economic activity to reconfiguration of the built environment. She continues that economic globalization and the new information technologies reconfigure the centrality of an economic system, and thus new forms of centrality are experienced. She identifies four forms of centrality today. First, central business districts are reconfigured according to technological and economic change; second, the centers extend into a metropolitan area in the form of a grid of nodes of intense business activity; third the formation of transterritorial centers, such as the major international financial and business centers. The cities that are strategic sites in the global economy tend to disconnect from their region. And finally the fourth, new forms of centrality are being constituted in electronically generated spaces. In electronic spaces, it is also possible to see that the profits are produced and power is constituted. Sassen points out that changes will be more evident in industrialized countries than in the less developed world (Sassen 1998, p.134-141).

geographical landscape which results is the crowning glory of past capitalist development. But at the same time it expresses the power of dead labour over living labour and as such it imprisons and inhibits the accumulation process within a set of specific physical constraints...Capitalist development has therefore to negotiate a knife-edge path between preserving the exchange values of past capital investments in the built environment and destroying the value of these investments in order to open up fresh room for accumulation. Under capitalism, there is then a perpetual struggle in which capital builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to be disrupted and destroyed, usually in the course of crisis, at a subsequent point in time” (Harvey 1985, p.45).

The cyclical nature of capital that Harvey had introduced differs in relation to different geographies and times. The effect of capital is distributed in space through various channels and each result within a range of different outcomes in built environment. For instance, while a wider network of financial or cultural capital connects major cities (world cities), some regions become less oriented with this circulation and become less attractive. These major cities, as strategic sites, are not only important “for the global capital, but also for the transnationalization of labor and the formation of translocal communities and identities” (Sassen 2001, p.112). Thus, further than the national or regional capital circulation, some geographies are more attractive for purposes of investment, and some fall behind this centrality (Sassen 1998). For Sassen, “this space is both place-centered in that it is embedded in particular and strategic locations, and yet transterritorial because it connects sites that are not geographically proximate but are intensely connected to each other” (Sassen 2001, p.113). The effects of global capital have been determined, but there always remain a mechanism of decision taking that dictates where it will reside. This mechanism is beyond the boundaries of nations and makes some cities to come forward with their ability of producing surplus value³.

Both finance and industrial capital have a significant role in the change of urban space. “Unproductive finance capital” has become an important element in the structure

³ Discrimination has been determined between ‘world cities’ and ‘international cities’. Internationalized cities are determined out of the densed relations of goods, money and image and transfer these relations to subcenters. On the hand, world cities are distinguished as centers of power and control and high amounts of capital accumulation. As the number of internationalized cities are increasing, world cities remain to be limited in number (Özgün and Yeşildal 1998, p.217).

of contemporary capitalism not because of avoiding industrial capital in the production of sur-plus value, but obtaining it by collective consumption. In “competitive industrial” capitalism, the organization of urban space has been left to market forces, private property regulations, to ordinary competition of the labour, material ve infrastructure producers. “Industrial” capitalist city was primarily a production machine and had a uniform spatial structure. Expanded reproduction on a global scale and the existing growth of monopoly capitalism strengthened the concentration of capital in the centers of advanced industrial countries. More than ever before, there was a need to intervene to reorganize urban space and to make urban systems function more effectively for the accumulation of capital. This has brought the finance capital more directly into the planning of urban space (Soja 1989, p.101). These circumstances point out a process beginning with the circulation of capital, that is in need of a reorganization of urban space and finally affect the architecture of the city.

Harvey’s statement in “The Urbanization of Capital”, figure out a distinction on class relations in built environment and can help us to explain more fully the actors taking place in the production of built environment. With the simplest conception, he had evaluated it in four sections. First is the class of labourers, which is made up of all of those individuals who sell a commodity -labor power- on the market. Labor looks to the environmet as a means of consumption and a means for its own reproduction. Secondly, he defines the capitalists, who engage in entrepreneurial functions. Capital looks to the built environment for two reasons. One is the fixed capital formed by the physical infrastructures that can be a means of production, exchange or circulation; the other is the advantages of the production of built environment as a substantial market of both construction materials and legal and administrative services. Thirdly, a group taking part in the construction interest seeks a rate of return by constructing new elements in the built environmet. And finally, he defines the last group as the landlords, whose ownership in land and property is a very important form of investment. As he indicates, built environment should be conceived as a complex composite commodity that many factions compete with each other in order to gain benefits (Harvey 1985, p.167-173). Under the capitalist mode of production, these various factions, all compose a context of definite social relations (Harvey 1999, p.22-25).

The arguments above, with references of Lefebvre, Harvey and Soja have focused on the political economy of space. Spatial reproduction existing as part of

social reproduction has been in relation with other productions occurring in other fields of social life and in addition to that, it has been the source of new symbolic definitions. In other words, the production of material environment has been maintained and has been the source of immaterial environment. Spatial reproduction as an extension of capital accumulation and circulation has been totally related with social and cultural setting, which will be examined detailly in the following chapter. Concepts classified under two predominant approaches, stated by Zukin, are also significant for demonstrating the process of reproduction structured upon material and immaterial factors in urban space.

For Sharon Zukin (1995) there are two predominant approaches in the study of built environment. One is identified with political economy, which is concerned with the material conditions and investment shifts among different circuits. Basic terms for this approach are land, labor, and capital. And the other is identified with the symbolic economy, focusing on the relationship between representations of social groups and visual means in public and private spaces. This is a relationship between culture and power and connected with the reshaping of cities (Zukin 1996, p.81). “Symbolic economy features two parallel production systems that are crucial to a city’s material life: the production of space, with its synergy of capital investment and cultural meanings, and the production of symbols, which constructs both a currency of commercial exchange and a language of social identity. Every effort to rearrange space in the city is also an attempt at visual re-presentation (Zukin 1995, p.24). Building a city depends on how people combine the traditional economic factors of land, labor, and capital. But it also depends on how they manipulate symbolic languages of exclusion and entitlement. The look and feel of cities reflect decisions about what – and who – should be visible and what should not, on concepts of order and disorder, and on uses of aesthetic power. In this primal sense, the city has always had a symbolic economy. Modern cities also owe their existence to a second, more abstract symbolic economy” (Zukin 1995, p.7). The symbolic economy of cultural meanings and representation play an important role in the creation of place. The visual representation of cities are increasingly having great economic power. In addition, she argues that there are no more vast distinctions in the city landscape as traditional and modern, as it was once, because the process of revaluation of formerly built areas, that are gentrified, had

decreased this distinction (Savage 1993, p.143). Many devaluated parts of the city are to be gained as new areas of the circulation of values.

After emphasizing the instruments or in other words the ideologies, which construct spatial structures, we can start by answering one of the questions asked in the beginning of this study, that who has the power to construct the meaning of places? In this section, the role of the actors directing the reproduction process of space by taking part in the accumulation process of capital has been already explained. In the following section, the same problem will be examined through the point of power relations by interpreting the mechanisms acting on it.

2.3. Space as a Representation of Power

Space is not a neutral, inactive geometry. Space is being produced and reproduced, and for that reason represents a place of resistance. Place, as distinct space, is a contested terrain and it is filled with ideologies.

In cultural studies, space and place have been accounted in terms of power relations. Space and place discussions as a subject matter in cultural geography has grounded on three reasons (Hetherington 1997, p.20). First, space and place are not treated as sets of relations apart from society; they have been both connected with the production of social relations and are socially produced. Second, space and place are seen to be situated within power relations and encoded in the representations of place. Third, spatial relations and places are seen to be multiple and contested. A place has diverse meanings for diverse groups of social agents. Mostly, the space of the hegemonic discourse is the one, which is perceived more than the places of resistance. Therefore, space and place under power relations and spaces of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses will be argued in this part.

Göksu had stated that the political and ethical discourse that is hegemonic in the determination of human activities also decides on the form that characterizes the city. Three aspects defined as the symbol of authority and power has dominated the formation of social and spatial structure: state, religion and type of production (Göksu (a) 1996, s.59). Each aspect points out a group of power relations and certain groups of activities.

Power is an entire structure of a group of activities hegemonically acting on the other; such as the norms decided by government to organize daily life. For Foucault, social networks have rooted power relations. State has been figured out as a particular form of power among others that has been crystallized under power relations developing since sixteenth century. All other forms of power have referred to the state. This is not because power relations have derived from the state, but because it has been rationalized gradually and had begun to take place administratively in the institutions of state. Foucault had stated that a society without power relations can only exist in imagery, but also he had added that, structured power relations could not be treated as necessities (Foucault 2000, p.20, 61, 77). As they are structured, they can also be changed.

Foucault had outlined the crucial inter-relationship among power, discourse, reality and knowledge. As he had stated, power is a transformative and productive social force. It changes according to different geographies, and establishes itself in different processes. Both power and knowledge are mutually supporting concepts that reproduce themselves by amplifying each other. Foucault had considered knowledge as nothing more than an artificial invention. The constructed knowledge activates itself through discourse, formulating the strategies of power, materially and symbolically (Foucault 1997), (Foucault 2000). Space, as the material and symbolic representation of this power, shows dialectical relations among the material, mental and the imaginative realms. Consequently, they are discursive processes that construct the historical process of space and society. Space for Foucault is “a metaphor for a site or container of power which usually constrains but sometimes liberates processes of Becoming”. Therefore, by giving shape to space continually, the structure of power is also reshaped (Harvey 1990, p.213). In “The Eye of Power” Foucault had stated that: “The whole history remains to be written of spaces – which would at the same time be the history of powers – from the great strategies of geopolitics to the little tactics of the habitat” (Soja 1989, p.17). Apart from an understanding that locates power ultimately within the state, he had expressed that power is positioned within all mechanisms, from small to generalized ones, all encompassing their own techniques and tactics (Harvey 1990, p.45).

Foucault had asserted that at the end of eighteenth century, architecture had got politicized. In eighteenth century, it had been observed that techniques and objectives of

political power had great effect on architecture. It does not mean that the issue had occurred only in eighteenth century, but especially after that period, a wide and effective result has been observed. As Foucault had mentioned, “from the eighteenth century on, every discussion of politics as the art of government of men necessarily includes a chapter or a series of chapters on urbanism, on collective facilities, on hygiene, and on private architecture. Such chapters are not found in the discussions of the art of government of the sixteenth century” (from Foucault’s “Space, Knowledge, Power”, in Leach 1997). It is certain that, with the process of modernization, urban space had been treated as an instrument of power discourses, because the existence of the system had been in need of being reminded as representations throughout space and transformed into a certain part of daily life, in order to stabilize itself. Extension of the system itself through various channels by using all institutions surrounding social life has also been analysed by Althusser, because hegemonic ideology cannot be achieved only through holding state power, but also through the insertion of ideology in state apparatus (Althusser 1994).

In this sense, we can return back to Foucault for his use of the concept, ‘dispositif’ (Gilbert). Social structure and the body had been captured by new and refined techniques of concrete arrangements. The French word *dispositif* is a mechanism, apparatus or deployment, but its Foucauldian meaning is of “an historically instituted, spatially instantiated process that lends built form to social relations” (Boeri 2001, p.360). A *dispositif* is composed of “discourses, institutions, architectural arrangements, regulations, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophic propositions, morality, and philanthropy” (Gilbert). Consequently, *dispositifs* remain to be in the context of certain power relations and are adjusted to the knowledge that constructs it. *Dispositifs* are arranged through the constitution of power and knowledge, and at the same time without using violence, power constructs certain experiences and identifies people to be the subject of them (Foucault 2000, p.18). In other words, power can be apprehended by direct representations or continues to construct itself by simple mechanisms that control daily life. And correspondingly, space transmits the meaning embedded to people by daily repetitions and permanent uses.

Urban space as a representation of power has illustrated specific discourses of certain eras. While explaining the loss of aggrement on physical beings of cities,

İ.Bilgin had illustrated 'ideal city' projects of Renaissance that had proposed interference in entire city at once. As most of them had not been realized, baroque cities had acted as settlements and prestigious places of princes and built in an order to emphasize their hegemony (Bilgin 1987, p.55). The process of city planning in the age Enlightenment had been aestheticized with absolute power by using scientific and technical instruments of rationality. Behind this idea of rational planning lied the belief that the transformation of the cities architecturally would lead a transformation in social behaviour and life (Boyer 1994, p.11-12). Till the end of eighteenth century public places of cities were the places of celebration for aristocracy, the king and the queen and they had been organized in order to keep on their existence. Urban space had emerged to be a contested terrain that should be managed (Bilgin 1987, p.55). In eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, great political revolutions had transformed these places of celebration into democratic public spheres. The meaning of public space had been extended so as to include public debate and gatherings announcing rational thoughts of people. In nineteenth century, with the advent of proletarian and increase in the number of uneducated people, had required a reconceptualization in public spaces in terms of rich and poor (Boyer 1994, p.7). In the beginning of nineteenth century, the impulse on the ideal of modernization had required the reorganization and reproduction of economic, political and social structure, as well as the city itself. Benjamin had spoken of long perspectives of streets as the urban ideal realized by Haussmann. For him, it was an attempt to ennoble technical necessities by artistic aims. "The institutions of secular and clerical dominance of the bourgeoisie were to find their apotheosis in a framework of streets" and he had added that, "Streets, before their completion, were draped in canvas unveiled like monuments. Haussmann's efficiency is integrated with Napoleonic idealism. The latter favors finance capital" (Benjamin 1979, p.159). "The true purpose of Haussmann's work was to secure the city against civil war and for that reason, developments were named as "strategic embellishment" by contemporaries" (Benjamin 1979, p.160).

As Rossi had stated, politics constitutes the problem of choices. "Political institutions ultimately choose the image of a city. The choices, which are political in nature, can only be understood in light of the total structure of urban artifacts...Athens, Rome and Paris are the form of their politics, the signs of their collective will. Certain

functions, time, place, and culture modify our cities as they modify the forms of their architecture” (Rossi 1982, p.162).

Traces of modernist ideas and practices on urban space, in other words, other examples of urban public spaces in the process of modernization are represented as the followings; reconstruction of Paris⁴ in 1860s, garden city project of Ebenezer Howard, “White City” proposal of Daniel Burnham, industrial city of T.Garnier in 1903, plans for Vienna by Camillo Sitte and O. Wagner, “City of Tomorrow” by Le Corbusier and Broadacre City project by F.L.Wright (Harvey 1996, s.39). The projections on urbanization above had developed in nineteenth century Europe and spread out to the rest of the world, and caused an increasingly widening gap between the cities and people. The gap shows that afterwards, the cities had physically lost their ability to be an instrument of cultural attachment, but a place of alienation (Bilgin 1987, p.57).

The city is both cause and effect of relations of power. As Giddens writes the city is ‘far more than a mere physical milieu’. It is a ‘storage container’ of administrative resources around which states are built (Soja 1989, p.153). As Foucault had stated, they are designed to protect and dominate through what he called ‘the little tactics of the habitat’ (Soja 1989, p.152). Thus, city that has been defined in terms of size, density, heterogeneity, anomie, geographical concentricities, and axialities by Chicago School and modern urban sociology is not sufficient to put forward an extensive definition, and for that reason, it should be also considered with the concepts “nodality”, “power”, “space” (Soja 1989).

Foucault had focused our attention on the spatiality of social life, the actually lived space of sites and the relations between them. As he had described in “Of Other Spaces” (1986) that the space in which we live is not a kind of void inside of which we place individuals and things. “We live inside a set of relations that delineate sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another” (Soja 1989, p.17). These heterogeneous spaces of sites and relations that Foucault had remarked are what Lefebvre had described as “lived space”. It is a space, which is socially constructed throughout the social practices (Soja 1989, p.18).

⁴ Baudelaire, in his reflection on Paris, had written how the souls of inhabitants were modernized in lieu with the modernization of the city, under the control of Haussmann and the power of III.Napoleon, by scattering the city into pieces systematically and reconstructing it again (Berman, p.186).

Representations of the relations of production, which subsume power relations, both occur in space: “**Space contains them in the form of buildings, monuments and works of art**” (Lefebvre 1974, p.32).

Conceptual triad of space for Lefebvre is:

- 1.spatial practice. It is perceived space that is physically constructed.
- 2.representations of space. It is conceived space that is mentally constructed.
- 3.representational spaces. It is lived space that is socially constructed.

Lefebvre had not considered these spatial categories in separate or in superior of one on the other. Each one is related with material, representative and imaginative dimensions of space and they are identified as analytical categories⁵ (Soja 1996).

The first spatial category of Lefebvre refers to the networks between objects and products in daily reality and shows the material or physical expression of social relations in space. These social relations are associated with capitalist production and reproduction. Spatial practice concerns the production and reproduction of material life, encompassing both everyday life and urban activities (Borden, Rendell, Kerr, Pivaro 2001). It is treated as space of objects and space of activities. As it is perceived, in terms of Lefebvre, it is a space that is empirically observed.

The second category as ‘representations of space’ refers to the space that is conceived mentally by architects, planners, real estate developers, etc., and it is the mental space where the conceptual framework has been established. It is the abstract, planned and rationalized space showing itself as a view of Euclidean world. The representation of the hegemonic discourse is also associated with the representations of space. According to Lefebvre, through the representations of space, power relations are

⁵. Soja structures his trialectic inreference with Lefebvre’s. Rather than a dialectical thinking, he emphasizes the richness of a trialectical thinking that encompasses a third alternative. This open-ended base for the discussion is used as a means of thinking about the “other”. According to Soja, the firstspace epistemologies understand the spatial practices as measurable acts. Secondspace epistemologies consider the mental conceptions of space. And finally, the thirdspace epistemologies regard space as both imagined and real, which is open to all material and social conditions of space. In his description of thirdspace, he has been inspired from the story ‘Aleph’ written by Louis Borges. Aleph is a point in space and time that is visible from every point and time. It is an allegory of infinite space and time. For Soja, Aleph proposes a view of his understanding of the city (Soja 1996). For him, as Simeoforidis had quoted, “architecture and urbanism still remain confined to the first two types of spaces, but that a series of events or a new spatiocultural politics introduces questions “of rights to the city”, “civil rights”, and “spatial justice”, which will ultimately transform architecture and urbanism. This spatial turn is not unrelated to the urban transformations which have come to pass around the world, in the European, American, and above all Asian context” (Simeoforidis 2001, p.415).

concealed and spatial practices are rendered invisible as abstract space. So, space is said to be fetishized in the same way commodities are fetishized as Marx had stated (Hetherington 1997, p.22).

And the last category is the lived space that is socially constructed through the spatial practices and the representations of space. As Lefebvre had determined, spatial practices overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. This last category as 'the representational spaces' in a way is the space of resistance for Lefebvre. They are liberatory, and in resistance to dominant social orders that take place (Borden, Rendell, Kerr, Pivaro 2001).

If we continue our argument by using the terms of Lefebvre, representations of space must therefore have a substantial role and a specific influence in the production of space. "The intervention occurs by way of construction (architecture) conceived of not as the building of a particular structure, palace or monument, but rather as a **project**". "Embedded in a spatial context and a texture, which call for 'representations' that will not vanish into the symbolic realm" (Lefebvre 1974, p.42). "Any representation is ideological if it contributes either immediately or "mediately" to the reproduction of the relations of production. Ideology therefore is inseparable from practice" (from Lefebvre in "The Survival of Capitalism") (Saunders 1995, p.155). These spaces have complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the invisible sides of social life. They are generated from the realities of everyday life excluding the alienating features of everyday existence (Hetherington 1997, p.22-23). Despite the interrelated conceptualizations of Lefebvre, Hetherington, in his work, "The Badlands of Modernity", criticizes Lefebvre's approach for making a fixed division between the spaces of order (hegemonic) and spaces of freedom (counter-hegemonic) and leaving no chance of relationship between them. However, Lefebvre had mentioned that this categorical arrangement should be considered as an interrelation of these concepts and cannot be counted separately.

Everyday life constitutes the best ground to understand deeply the relation between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic spaces. Thus, discussions that deal with power relations are focused on the analysis of everyday life. Agnew mentions that there is a common base between the arguments of Foucault, Giddens and Pred, that "in order to explain human behaviour one must deal with the material continuity of everyday life,

or the process of *structuration* whereby the structural properties of social life are expressed through everyday practices which in turn produce and reproduce the micro and macrolevel structural properties of social groups in question. Attention is thus directed to the settings and scenes of everyday life: to place” (Agnew 1987, p.5). And daily life has a great power to collect hegemonic and counter hegemonic spaces within each other.

As each thought exists with its counter, hegemonic space of power, control and order inevitably creates counter-hegemonic space. As Foucault had underlined, power should be analysed not through its internal rationalities, but through the places of incongruity. The content of power relations should be defined by focuses and types of resistances (Foucault 2000, p.61). At this point, here, the alternatives of counter-hegemonic spaces will be exercised and they remain to be alternatives by definition. They cannot be categorized, as they are representations of freedom, marginality and counter-hegemony. Examples below are regarded for their common attitudes towards proposing alternatives of hegemonic space and how they construct their own existence by considering the existence of hegemonic power. For that reason, firstly De Certeau's spaces of daily practices, Bakhtin's the concept of carnivalesque as a counter-hegemonic space, and finally, Deleuze and Guattari's striated and smooth spaces will be highlighted.

Walking in the city is a simple daily practice, but at the same time a representation of countless singularities. Through this act that seems very simple, a net has been occurred between various city spaces. Many urban spaces take place in this net and are socially reproduced. In this way, just by walking, an entire spatial story can be written. Despite the hegemonic and rational spaces of power, these spaces (for example street culture) are dispersed, self-determined and occur with attachment to daily practices. Even if these spaces do not occur outside the control of hegemonic power, De Certeau had demonstrated that dispersed and tactical spaces could exist even under that control (Harvey, 1997, p.241). Although De Certeau has been aware of the grid of 'discipline' that has remained in everywhere, then it is urgent to discover the ways of operating the counterpart, the network of an antidiscipline (De Certeau 1988, p.xiv).

De Certeau had resorted to a distinction between **tactics** and **strategies**. Strategy is “the calculus of force-relationships” and it assumes a proper place to “serve as the

basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it”. “Political, economic, and scientific rationality has been constructed on this strategic model”. On the other hand, the tactics are articulated in the details of everyday life. It is “a calculus which cannot count on a proper, nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality”. “A tactic insinuates itself into the other’s place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety”. It has no proper locus. Everyday practices such as talking, reading, moving around, shopping are tactical in character (De Certeau 1988, p.xix, 35-36).

According to De Certeau, walking in the city is a spatial practice as an individual mode of reappropriation. Under the title of “The chorus of idle footsteps”, he introduces the subject as follows:

“Their story begins on ground level, with footsteps. They are myriad, but do not compose a series. They cannot be counted because each unit has a qualitative character: a style of tactile apprehension and kinesthetic appropriation. Their swarming mass is an innumerable collection of singularities. Their intertwined paths give their shape to spaces. *They weave places together*. In that respect, pedestrian movements form one of these “real systems whose existence in fact makes up the city”. They are not localized; it is rather they spatialize” (De Certeau 1988, p.97).

For him, “walking in the city, lacks a proper place, but makes the city “an immense social experience”, “broken up into countless tiny deportations (displacements and walks)”. It is the dreamed-of places temporarily appropriated by the pullulation of *parre-by* (De Certeau 1988, p.103). As walking in the city had been introduced as a means of producing space spontaneously and away from any calculations, Bakhtin had also presented a space of freedom that announces its counter position.

The Russian philosopher and literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin had introduced the importance of contrasting representations, such as official and non-offical cultures. In terms of language, Bakhtin had concentrated on the free speech, the spoken words in everyday life which escape from the control of officialdom (Shield 1996, p.240). The unofficial part of everyday life had constituted of fragmented and partial representations, and language had been one of those, which had composed symbolic codes of socio-cultural system. In the work of Bakhtin, there had been a discussion about the carnival atmosphere. In medieval popular culture, carnivalesque had associated with the inversion of cultural norms, emphasis on grotesque, the mocking of

civil and ecclesiastical authority. People had used masks and costumes; thus the body had been freed from his boundaries and acts in mockery, in counter with all authority. As a result, the spatiality of **carnavalesque** becomes a site of resistance (Hetherington 1997, p.29-30). The context of carnivalesque had destroyed all hierarchical system represented by mediaeval ideology. The sense of humor of the public had created two opposing contexts that also differ ideologically. It had been treated as a decommemoration of official ideology. The public had got the chance of being on the counter part in carnival space even for several days of the year. Bakhtin had used the notion of dialogism, referring to the non-resolving arrangement of contradictory elements. In parallel, these marginal sites and situations remain in dialogical arrangement of unresolved tensions, instead of dialectical arrangement in which the contradictions arrive at a synthesis (Shield 1996, p.240). As a result of this dialogism, these places do not have strict boundaries, and have not been isolated although they are identified with distinct events, so that they coexist with other spaces.

The third point focuses on the concepts, which were expressed by Deleuze ve Guattari. In “Thousand Plateaus”, they had made a distinction between “state” space and “nomad” space. The concepts smooth and striated spaces are rooted from the composer Pierre Boulez: “striated” musical forms that are ordered by fixed schemata (e.g. octave) and “smooth” forms that allow for considerable irregularity (non-octave). The striated space refers to the space that is counted, and in the second one, space is occupied without being counted. More than numbering, counting means assigning determinate values. In the striated space, that has sufficient homogeneity of surface, distinct points can be specified and thus be counted. There is a motion, from point to point. There is a sheer extension, which lends itself to centration. “Such space is in monofocal perspective”. Smooth space, by contrast, is heterogeneous, and filled with qualitative multiplicities that resist exact centration or reproduction and universalization. In such space we are always immersed in a nonplaniform field. “In contrast to the Euclidian striated space, smooth space is a space of small tactile or manual actions of contact” (Casey 1997, p.303). Sedentary space is striated, by walls, enclosures, and roads between enclosures; while nomad space is smooth, marked only by traits that are effaced and displaced by the trajectory. It is the nomad space that distributes people in an open space (Casey 1997, p.463).

As Vidler had reminded us “a sedentary space that is parceled out, closed, and divided by the institutions of power would then be contrasted to the smooth, flowing, unbounded space of nomadism; in western contexts the former has always attempted to bring the latter under control”. In this way, Deleuze and Guattari had traced the struggle between a state mathematics and geometry and a nomad science based on dynamic notions of becoming, heterogeneity, the infinitesimal, the passage to the limit, and continuous variations. This has been paralleled by the historical difference of nomad work and state work, where nomad associations, such as those of journeymen, *compagnonnage*, itinerant labor, guilds, “bands”, and “bodies”. It has always been difficult to conquer and to bring into line with the regular order of state-controlled work. A kind of “band vagabondage”, linked to “body nomadism” has ever resisted incorporation into the divided space of capitalist development (Vidler 1994, p.214).

As a result, it is certain that everyday life has a complexity of its own that cannot be controlled in all dimensions. There always remain fields of uncontrolled actions that create possible acts and that define places. There are no homogenous, uncontradictory discourses of powers that determine a direct relation of representation with the society. Sometimes, the space of counter hegemony stands in connection with hegemonic space and is derived from simple practices of daily life and formed of simple, unintended views of life. As they are the productions of humanly and freely created actions, they also create the most appropriated places for people. This does not mean that they appear away from ideologies, in contrast, they shelter one of the strongest ideologies growing out of the realities of our daily life.

2.4. Socio-spatial Dialectics: The Potentials of “Social Space” Concerning Place

*“Social space is both a field of action and a basis of action (a set of places whence energies derive)”
(Lefebvre 1974, p.191)*

The entire meaning of space lies beyond its abstract and geometric definitions. This meaning cannot be considered without the network of relations forming the city. Therefore, we should extend the definition of (urban) space in terms of these net of relations and actions. Social life has been concretizing itself through physical

environment. When a certain way of thinking or use is physically reflected then, the physical dimension gets the power to transform the cognitive, or in general the existential. This dialectical relation allows the reproduction of society to keep on going. As a result, definition of space derived from relations, reveals the potentials of space as place because, in this way social relations provide us to construct personal and collective identities and to distinguish a certain spatial net on account of its various properties.

The economic and political processes, like the investment and reinvestment of places, are culturally coded. And at the same time, the social and cultural processes have a determining role in changing built environments, because each social structuring is in need of spatializing itself. They are produced and reproduced within a certain context. Massey had pointed out that in the 1970s, there was a great deal about the relation of space and society. With the challenge of Marxist geographers, there was an aphorism saying that space is a social construct. This formulation had asserted that space was an outcome of social processes. Around 1980s, it was noted that geography has mattered, and the social has been spatially constructed, too. "Society is constructed spatially" (Massey 1994, p.254-5). Shortly, in the broad sense, both the spatial and the social are inseparable and the spatial form has a regulating power on society.

Urry had mentioned that space should not be viewed as an absolute entity and it is impossible and incorrect to develop a general science of the spatial. Therefore, there is no simple space, but different kinds of spaces, spatial relations or spatialisations (Urry 1995, p.66). And social space, as a dialectical conception is constituted of social and spatial dimensions, having both ideological and physical components.

As the **nature creates** spontaneously, **humanity produces** through a social practice. This is a **social space**, termed by first Lefebvre and then by Soja, "**which is fashioned, shaped and invested by social act, during a finite historical period**" (Lefebvre 1974, p.73). Lefebvre, in "The production of space", had pointed out that, the social relations of production have a social existence only insofar as they exist spatially; they project themselves into a space, they inscribe themselves in a space while producing it. Otherwise they remain in "pure" abstraction (p.152-153) (Soja 1989, p.127). Every society in history has developed a distinctive social space according to its

economic and social capability of reproduction. With this suggestion, he had constructed a link between social and spatial structures.

The relationship between the social and the spatial, termed as the “**socio-spatial dialectic**”, is an interactive relation, where people make places and places make people (Borden 2001). The interaction between social processes and spatial forms, the possibility of a formative urban socio-spatial dialectic, has been treated as key issues of the debate from the beginning and continue to be important in contemporary Marxist urban studies (Soja 1989, p.54). Gottdiener had defined this dialectical relation as this: “Space not only contains actions but also acts as a meaningful object to which we orient our actions. The factor of space constitutes a part of social relations and is intimately involved in our daily lives. It affects the way we feel about what we do. In turn, people alter space and construct new environments to fit their needs better. Hence, there is a dual relationship between people and space” (Gottdiener 1994, p.16). And similarly, Harvey, in reference to Bourdieu, had stated that if spatial and temporal relations are major instruments in the codification and reproduction of social relations, then changes in the representation of these experiences also cause change in social relations (Harvey 1996, p.279).

With his theoretical debt to Althusser who had rejected traditional Marxist concepts, Castells had analysed that the urban system has to be constituted by three levels – the economic, the political and the ideological. Urban system is not treated as external to social structure, but a part of it (Saunders 1995, p.185-7). “Urban is the social meaning assigned to a particular spatial form by a historically defined society. As there is no generic concept of urbanism, it differs according to different times and places” (Saunders 1995, p.212). In his earlier work, Castells had specified “‘the urban question’ in terms of the organization of, and struggles over, collective consumption. And in his later works, “the urban is still conceptualized in this way, although two further dimensions are added – namely, state power (i.e. urban struggles are struggles against centralized, bureaucratic domination), and cultural meaning (i.e. urban struggles are struggles to impose new cultural forms in the face of domination by the mass media and the various centers of information control)” (Saunders 1995, p.219).

Castells, in “The City and the Grass Roots (1983)”, had suggested that; “Space is not a ‘reflection of society’, it is society...Therefore, **spatial forms**, at least on our

planet, will be produced, as all other objects are, by human action. **They will express and perform the interests of the dominant class according to a given mode of production and to a specific mode of development.** They will express and implement the power relationships of the state in a historically defined society. They will be realized and shaped by the process of gender domination and by state-enforced family life. At the same time, spatial forms will be earmarked by the resistance from exploited classes, from oppressed subjects, and from dominated women. And the work of such a contradictory historical process on the space will be accomplished on already inherited spatial forms, the product of former history and the support of new interests, projects, protests, and dreams. Finally, from time to time, social movements will arise to challenge the meaning of spatial structure and therefore attempt new functions and new forms” (Soja 1989, p.71).

In order to construct his idea on ‘spatiality’, first of all, Soja had made a distinction between ‘**space as a contextual given**’ and ‘**the created space of social organization and production**’. Space as a physical context had been the subject of interest of philosophy throughout the discussions concerning the absolute and relative properties of space (container based, geometrical). On the other hand, Soja had drawn attention on the concrete and subjective meaning of space, which meant more than any physical attribute (Soja 1989, p.79). This second concept is defined as “mental space of cognition and representation, including personal meaning and symbolic contents of mental maps and landscape imagery” (Madanipour 1996, p.15). And following Lefebvre, he had introduced the concept of “third space” as social space and had concentrated on an interconnection of these three spaces.

As Soja had pronounced, “Space in itself may be primordially given, but the organization and meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation and experience” (Soja 1989, p.79). The production of spatiality in conjunction with the making of history can thus be described as, both the medium and the outcome, the presupposition and embodiment, of social action and relationship, of society itself. Social and spatial structures are dialectically intertwined in social life, not just mapped one on to the other as categorical projections. And from this vital connection comes the theoretical keystone for the materialist interpretation of spatiality, the realization that *social life is materially constituted in its historical geography, that spatial structures and relations are the concrete manifestations of social structures and relations evolving*

over time, whatever the mode of production. Soja had stated that to claim that history is the materialization of social life would cause an argument amongst Marxist scholars, but spatiality must be incorporated as a second materialization/contextualization of social being. The constitution of society is spatial and temporal, and social existence is made concrete in geography and history (Soja 1989, p.127).

The planners of the age of Enlightenment had constructed the relation between the spatial and the social as the domination and control of the spatial over the social. The most obvious examples of this idea were city squares in eighteenth century. This urban element was held for creating a social whole and recovering complex and disordered structure of the city, as well as for creating a visual totality. Sennett had illustrated Place de la Concorde as an example for the totalization of urban space (Sennett 1999, p.111). Place de la Concorde had located at the city center of Paris and had a rectangle form where all the streets intersected. Unfortunately, the ideal of constructing an ordered and rationalized center had been disrupted by unexpected uses and diversity of social life. Design had been defeated by crowds of people that had been intended to be totalized. When the social or the spatial had been instrumentalized, the result has been achieved as overwhelming of one by the other. First of all, the relation between the social and the spatial should be regarded as ascertaining the content of the social, properly. The social is determined not by perceiving unexpected uses and diversity of social life as a matter of risk, but introducing and revealing exactly these issues.

As Borden had introduced, since the 1970s, a socially and politically minded approach had emerged in architecture, where space had began to take on more of the character of the social. He had appraised these discussions in terms of their tendencies on function, social activities and the notion of social theory and had criticized the reduction in the establishment of relation between buildings, spaces, culture and people. Bernard Tschumi had been presented as the most persistent architectural theorist for his “reconceptualising architecture as a space of flows – not as an object in space, but as the product of, and interrelation between things, spaces, individuals and ideas... Architecture is both produced and reproduced, designed and experienced, and is at once social, spatial and temporal. Architecture is a medium and not a message, a system of power relations and not a force, a flow and not a line” (Borden 2000, p.224).

Some examples can be selected from the field of architecture such as the works of Tschumi and Koolhaas. For Tschumi, as well as Rem Koolhaas, form and program in architecture do not conform each other. There is not any continuous relation between space and use, form and program. In *Architecture and Disjunction* (1994), Tschumi had suggested that everyday actions of people could lead to a new approach of designing. Introducing daily acts to design process is neither a reduction of activities into functions, nor simply a direct relation with the buildings and the actions. What Tschumi had suggested is the disjunction of uses and forms of buildings, and a juxtaposition of several uses in buildings, which do not predetermine a certain form. In the light of Lefebvre's conceptualization of 'social space', he had found answers to this complex relationship. This approach that had considered 'form' together with 'use', had suggested that the singularities of buildings would be determined by social practices and signs and symbols embedded in space.

Organizing space in terms of physical and social categories and producing its knowledge in separate fields causes conceptual problems in certain disciplines. Separation of architecture and social sciences causes a deep gap in the formulation of space, which can hardly be united. On the other hand, when we state a relation between the social and physical, this should not be treated in a deterministic view. This is a relation not preceding the other, but a dialectical one. An extensive and broad conceptualization of space is required. As Madanipour (1996, p.20) had briefly mentioned, it is "to contextualize the physical into human practices".

2.5. Spatial Particularization of Social Life: Places, Locales, Nodes...

There is a need to identify place-like concepts derived from the physical and social realizations of urban space. Therefore, in this section, spatial correspondences of collectivism in social life, spatial focuses derived out of social relations and 'places' of urban space will be examined in terms of related concepts.

Sennett had made a comparison between spatial boundaries taking place in natural life and in the city. Both had been illustrated as two different contexts in terms of setting boundaries, establishing excess between these boundaries and creating spaces of transition. In Sennett's words, in natural life places of contact and interaction reside where it is more denser and more resistive. Places that possess less contradiction are

less active as well. Social center resides where the physical center is settled. In city life, boundaries are constructed in diverse ways further than ecological ones in natural life. In cities, places near to boundaries are identified as spaces of transition and these spaces point out certain regions. For the idea of an entire planning, each part of the city whole is scattered into small, defined regions. And, under the neutralization of the grid system, differences in the city space are tended to be defused (Sennett 1999, p.223). Social boundaries are tried to be taken under control by physical boundaries.

Distinct from the boundaries of natural life, there are several reasons for spatial boundaries that have arised in city life. As Rossi had indicated, ‘each part of the city seems to be a singular place, a locus solus’ (Rossi 1982, p.21), because the city, the complicated whole, is a collective artifact. This collective artifact, “achieves a balance between natural and artificial elements; it is an object of nature and a subject of culture” (Rossi 1982, p.33). In other words, entire city has been divided into spatial focal points determined by the boundaries of social interaction and the geography it had settled on. Thus, the issue of discussion in this part is to clarify definitions of place through relations that construct boundaries in diverse scales.

As Agnew had expressed, three elements seem to dominate the definitions of place exercised by the geographers and the others; **locale**, **location** and **the sense of place**. But, when wider definitions are put forward, it is obvious that place is a concept that underlines all of them. According to social geographers, locale is the core element for place, and it is structured by the pressures of location and gives rise to its own sense of place that may extend beyond the limits of locality (Agnew 1993, p.263).

‘**Locale**’, is a bounded region, which concentrates action and brings together in social life the unique and particular as well as the general and nomothetic. It is a notion akin to “place”. For Giddens locales refer to “the use of space to provide the settings of interaction, the settings of interaction in turn is being essential to specifying its contextuality” (from Giddens 1984, p.118) (in Soja 1989). These settings may be a room in a house, a street corner, the shop floor of a factory, a prison, the territorially demarcated areas occupied by nation-states. Locales are nested at many different scales (Soja 1989, p.148-49). “Locales are not just points in space in which action occurs, any more than times is a series of intervals into which action is somehow inserted (referring Giddens, Agnew 1993, p.262).

It is not enough to identify locales as places, because by definition a locale needs a **location** in order to be treated as place. Therefore, places are both locales and locations, as “the reproduction and the transformation of social relations must take place somewhere (Agnew 1993, p.262). Agnew makes an emphasis on the location, because the point where social relations takes place is important for the arrangement and distribution of these facts in a macro order, a global system of material production. Different places have different relations with their environments, because the groups within a place have different interests and are parts of different interrelations.

Giddens had linked the concentration of interaction of locales to the nodality of social life, the agglomeration of activities around identifiable geographical centers or **nodes**. Nodality and centering in turn presuppose a social condition of peripheralness: for every center there is boundable hinterland. Nodality and peripheralness exist to some degree in every locale (Soja 1989, p.149).

Related terms **territoriality** and **regionalism**, refer to the production and reproduction of spatial enclosures that not only concentrate interaction but also intensify and enforce its boundedness (Soja 1989, p.150). “Regions are mini-locales – places like the home, the street, or the city where social relations are routinely constituted and reproduced. The region is the place where social structure and human agency meet” (Saunders 1995, p.284).

Localities are spatio-temporal structurations arising from the combination of human agency and the conditioning impact of pre-existing spatio-temporal conditions (Soja 1989, p.151). Every human society that has existed has been contextualized and regionalized around a multi-layered nesting of supra-individual nodal locales (Soja 1989, p.152). Giddens had made discussion on these concepts, because regions are the ultimate part for the structuration⁶ of social relations and places in general have immense effect on the constitution of social life.

John Agnew, as a political geographer, had suggested a place-based approach (1987) (1993). He had argued that places cannot be understood within the limited dimensions of architecture or physical geography. In his terms, it is a particular location and territorial intersection of settings for social action (1987). For him, there are three

⁶ Structurationism is termed for a place-centered social theory, and mostly defined by the theories of Giddens, Bourdieu and Pahl (Agnew 1987) (Agnew 1993).

elements of place that are called, **location, locale and sense of place**. Location refers to a geographical area and makes a purchase on global scale. Sense of place is the self-identity, character of a place that constructs its particularity. Between objective location and subjective sense of place, locale remains to be as a middle ground. It has a geographical context governed by social and institutional relations: the city, the public square, the block and the neighborhood (Moore 2001, p.131). **As Agnew had stated places, therefore, refer to discrete if ‘elastic’ areas in which setting for the constitution of social relations are located and with which people can identify.** Thus, the paths and projects of everyday life become the most important constituents of place in these three stages. Similar places that are interconnected refer to a ‘region’ of places. So, regionalism or nationalism is regarded as the projection of the sense of place on to the region or nation that cannot be restricted to the scale of locality (Agnew 1993, p.263).

The point is that, aside from geographical scale, location, sense of place and locale are basic constituents that construct ‘place’. Each geographical context that is identified locationally, establishing a sense of belonging and that is defined in connection with the relations of a certain society and institution can be named as ‘place’. As Soja had stated, despite the acceleration of space-time distantiation, we still live in a hierarchy of nodal regionalizations emanating from our bodies (Soja 1989, p.152). The urban is redefined by Soja, in terms of the concepts mentioned above and stated that, **it is an integral part and particularization of the most fundamental contextual generalization about the spatiality of social life that we create and occupy a multi-layered spatial matrix of nodal locales** (Soja 1989, p.153).

It is obvious that, architects are generally inclined to term ‘place’, in terms of ‘location’ and ‘sense of place’, and generally disregard ‘locale’, which is an essential part of place determined by social relations. And on the other hand, social scientists seem to relate place with locale as a result of social dimension of it. Nevertheless, it is the whole that shapes place.

2.6. The Re-production of Space Through Body

The perception of space, at first sight, depends on the position of body in space. We replace objects in our minds through this perception as well as the positioning of

our body. Thus, micro spatial dimension should be taken into account in the reproduction process of space. There is a micro scale and a micro production under all readings concerning this process, which is called the human body and its peculiar space.

Neil Smith, in his article “Homeless/global: scaling places”, had made an analysis of spatial scales; from the scale of the body to the global. He had described the primary physical site of personal identity as the scale of the body. And for him, “The place of the body marks the boundary between self and other in a social as much as physical sense” (Smith 1993, p.102).

For Leibniz, in order to discern something, therein, axes and an origin must be introduced, and a right and a left, i.e. the direction or orientation of those axes. According to him, it is necessary for space to be occupied, occupied by a body. In line with this idea, Lefebvre had questioned that whether the existence of body is sufficient for the existence of space or not.

“Can the body create space? Assuredly, but not in the sense that occupation might be said to ‘manufacture’ spatiality; rather there is an immediate relationship between the body and its space...Before producing effects in the material realm (tools and objects), before producing itself by drawing nourishment from that realm, and before reproducing itself by generating other bodies, each living body is space and has its space; it produces itself in space and it also produces that space (Lefebvre 1974, p.167).

The qualification of space depending on the body implies that space is determined by something. That at times threatens and at times benefits it. This determination appears to have three aspects: gestures, traces, and marks. Marks are made by human beings. Places were already being marked (and re-marked), because, in the beginning, was the **topos** (Lefebvre 1974, p.174) (Casey 1997). Lefebvre maintains the relation between my body and my space as follows:

“**My space** is first of all my body, and then it is my body’s counterpart or other, its mirror-image or shadow: it is the shifting intersection between that which touches, penetrates, threatens or benefits my body on the one hand, and all other bodies on the other...Space is actually experienced in the depths, as duplications, echoes and reverberations, redundancies and doublings-up which engender the strangest contrasts” (Lefebvre 1974, p.184).

In the discussions of Lefebvre, body is appeared as a 'spatial body'. A body so conceived, as produced and as the production of a space: symmetries, interactions and reciprocal actions, axes and planes, centers and peripheries and concrete oppositions. Its material character derives from space, from the energy that is deployed there (Lefebvre 1974, p.195). For the spatial body, becoming social does not mean being inserted into some pre-existing world: this body produces and reproduces – and it perceives what it produces and reproduces...smells, ears (Lefebvre 1974, p.199). The body that contemplates space is aware of it through all senses. Body is the center of subject for Lefebvre, because it is the body that perceives, conceives and lives referring to his trialectic.

Phenomenological approaches had influenced the theory of architecture that had dealt with bodily conceptions of space, as "body in architectural space" (more than "body in urban space"). The significance of body had aroused by the discrimination between body and mind, or object and subject. But, Heidegger's major book on the philosophies of bodily experience as a source of phenomenological approaches, had pointed out the description of the meaning of being – in German terms *Dasein*, or being-there. With the help of this approach, the split between the body and the self that is overstated in Descartes' theory is joined again in terms of phenomenology. And the self is no longer regarded as a "disembodied mind" (Hale 2000, p.98-99).

In his work "The Phenomenology of Perception", Merleau-Ponty had analysed the effect of body on perception. He had asserted that body has been an interface between the perceiving mind and the physical world. Space, for Merleau-Ponty, has not been a force depending on the arrangement of only the physical world, but at the same time a collective force that has been revealed out in accord with human body and nature. Related with the principles of phenomenological thought, he had emphasized the significance of daily practices of lived world. Lived world is related to a situation that displays pre-scientific experiences and a deep connection with 'being' (Ersoy 2002, p.110). The space of living is an entire whole depending on the position and relation of body in space, and on the excitement and experiences of the acts of body in space. The relation of the body with space can create various living spaces in different scales. For example, when it is considered with objects and actions taking place, home seems to be the most intimate living space that creates a sense of belonging; and urban space is

another living space that creates that sense through its buildings and streets; or the living spaces of different geographies experienced by traversing long distances.

Donatella Mazzoleni, in “The City And The Imaginary”, had distinguished ‘proxemic space of zero radius’; which is the sphere residing as a limit between inside and outside and is the topology of the body. Skin, forms the limit of space of the body. Following on this, she has distinguished the second closer proxemic sphere as artificial skins, called clothing. For her, clothes are not simple coverings, but reinforce the support in the body’s absence, or amplify the message of the body. Thirdly, gestures are included in the following proxemix sphere, multiplying the non-verbal communication (Mazzoleni 1993, p.291). And finally, she had architecture, essentially the house and various buildings with various functions. The architectural space becomes the double of the body and functions as its complement. The limit of this architectural space is utilized as the skin of the body. Following on Mazzoleni, in order to see the relation of the body with urban space, we come to a point that architecture reaches its maximum extent in the city. The city is the outside of the body relative to other limits mentioned above. Urban space involves relationships activated concretely by the bodies in locomotion; “the city is used and touched entirely by those who live in it in their various phases of being” (Mazzoleni 1993, p.293). She had defined city as a lived space, that has been anthropomorphic, and it has been therefore a site of identification. Mazzoleni had constructed a series of relations beginning from the body space to the city space, putting the body in the center of the subject matter. Despite the importance of the body in urban space, she had criticized the metropolises for not being ‘places’ any longer, because in the metropolis the sight has been shattered, and the scale of the body has been shrunken. There is no longer a directing panorama, as the body overflows beyond it (Mazzoleni 1993, p.297).

As a result, if we remember Lefebvre’s broad definition on production and reproduction, how he had evaluated material and spritual production as a whole, we can summerize the course of this chapter. The production of space has reiterated the dynamics of modernization and general principles of capitalist production and should be assessed as a multi-layered socio-spatial production including power relations and individual reproductions. Here, it is argued that the existence of space should be regarded as an element on one hand to substanciate social life and on the other, as an element that is instrumentalized through material production of modernization. These

mechanisms that produce space, illuminates the meaning of a place in a certain geographical context and a network of relations. The production of place and its existence by way of power relations has been accounted in this chapter. The next one will be organized in order to explain the conceptual relation between space and place. With this relationship, it is possible to comprehend the refractions in modernization process. And later, the condition of subjective and collective sense of place will be evaluated in account with their place in modernization and urbanization processes.

CHAPTER 3

THE RELATION BETWEEN SPACE AND PLACE

Place construction is the most significant issue in the reproduction of built environment, because political and economic processes of spatial transformations can easily undermine the meaning of place. Thus, in order to comprehend the meaning of place, we should extremely consider the concepts both place and space.

3.1. Definitions of the Concepts: Space and Place

It is not easy to designate a single definition on 'place' because of its meanings in diverse disciplines (Relph 1976; Tuan 1977; Agnew 1987, Augé 1995). Varied meanings of place are the cause of varied fields of knowledges and scales, as well as new conceptions derived from new cultural, economic and technological structurings.

For Johnson, place is extensive, a possession of space, a definite part of space (Johnson 1994, p.391). For Edward Relph (1976: 43) the basic meaning of place, its essence, does not therefore come from locations, nor from the trivial functions that places serve, nor from the community that occupies it, nor from superficial and mundane experiences, but from all these aspects. 'Place' is not a concept that points out only a location, but also everything that happens on that location, every meaningful part of it. Relph suggests that there are three components of place – the physical setting, the activities, and the meanings (partly reminding Agnew's three conceptions; location, locale, sense of place). When compared with the first two of these elements, the third one seems hard to grasp, because, as Relph continues, the meanings of places can change or be transferred from one set of objects to another, and they possess their own qualities of complexity, obscurity, clarity, or whatever. Like the physical, vital and mental components of behaviour, these three components are needed to identify a place (Relph 1976, p.47-48).

In a similar way, when Norberg-Schulz had written on sensual and perceptual dimensions of architecture in 1980s, he had defined 'place' as the characteristics of a certain space. Apart from being a location, it means the totality of every social, cultural and historical data inscribed by certain boundaries. Therefore, definition of place

according to Norberg-Schulz corresponds to terms like identity, character and spirit (Norberg-Schulz 1980).

According to Johnson, referring to Dovey, Downton and Missingham, a sense of place originates in at least the following: “fields of care, in which we invest much effort and harbour memories; place ballets, the observed routine daily activities; public ritual, the special occasions or major celebrations; pivotal events, unique and memorable occasions; geographic events, characteristics of landform that are interesting or noteworthy; functional sites, buildings with distinctive uses, contents, or arrangements; and landmarks and monuments, noticeable or significant built artifacts or natural events that aid orientation or position. In summary, ‘place’ is particular, is shared, and is memorable” (Johnson 1994, p.393).

Yi-Fu Tuan has questioned what it means to be in command of space, or to feel at home in it, and he has expressed that, space is more abstract than place. For him, space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value (Tuan 1977, p.6). Tuan defines place in relation to human body and experiences and thinks that western technological societies have treated space as an instrument for freedom. Space, that is enclosed and humanized is called place. “Abstract space, as we get used to it, becomes concrete place” (Tuan 1977). In daily life, people can not easily distinguish space from place, because they are comprehended in relation. Shortly, place is a space that is socially, historically, traditionally and culturally constructed. Again for Tuan, our understanding of a certain place is simply the consequence of spatial organization and relations derived from this organization, because this is not a simple act outside the framework of our cultural diversions. Keeping in mind Tuan’s emphasis on cultural diversions, a similar explanation has also been held by Lefebvre, that certain spaces cannot be defined as places because of the gap between physical and mental dimensions of space and incongruent relation of these two (Soja 1996).

The notion of house in all inhabited spaces has been the idea that Bachelard had strongly maintained, because “the house is one of the greatest powers of integration for the thoughts, memories and dreams of mankind... Without it man would be a dispersed being” (Harvey 1996, p.305). According to Bachelard, house, as the only place we feel deeply and intimately, is a special place that will be always remembered. He had developed the idea that house has been the intimate space where the poetic qualities

emerge. Bachelard, in 'Poetics of Space', had examined the images of the space of happiness that he had called 'topophilie'. He had pointed out the humanly values of spaces that we possess, love and appropriate. It is the lived space that is comprehended with fanciful values of imagination. **New images produced by the imagination enhance the depth and layers of space.** For that reason, Bachelard had directed his attention on house as an instrument to analyse the spirit of human beings. For him, by remembering houses, the rooms in those houses, we shape our spirit and let things to settle in it (Bachelard 1996, p.26-28).

For Heidegger, 'dwelling' is the belonging of mortals to earth, under the heavens, before the divine. It is not simply a settlement, but is 'being' in a place. Dwelling is not a human process, but ontologically occurs as the difficult securing and keeping of four dimensions of reality given to us; the earth, heavens, the divine, and our nature. Dwelling occurs and it gives a proper placement in our relationship with these dimensions. As embodied and finite beings, we are related to earth and place. Thus, "our bodies are the finite place which we are", this is what Heidegger uses the word *Dasein* (Mugerauer 1994, p.72-73). Dwelling as an essence of existence, used in Heidegger's philosophy, involves no deliberate attempt of producing space. Places have "organic qualities" and "are evidence of care and concern for the earth and for other men" (Relph 1976, p.18).

On the other side, for Massey, a British Marxist geographer, there exists a problematic in Heidegger's discourse for its idealization of the past. Place is generally characterized and exemplified by traditional landscapes situated in rural areas. Massey had criticized this static, completely defined and introverted version of place and had stated that, places have not been static like the social intersections that tie them together. Like all men, places possess multiple identities. Relations, experiences and perceptions holding the particularity of each place are parts of an entirety in larger scales. They exist as a result of relations that are not introverted, but extraverted. Thus, they live due to a process of relations, not the relations imprisoned in certain times. This idea adjusts with the coexistence of social interrelations in all spatial scales, from local to global. She also adds that none of these suggestions deny the importance of the specificity of place, because the specificity of place is continually reproduced (Massey 1993, p.59-69). As Massey had maintained,

“If *space* is conceptualized in terms of a four-dimensional ‘space-time’ and as taking the form not of some abstract but of the simultaneous coexistence of social interrelations at all geographical scales, from the intimacy of the household to the wide space of transglobal connections, then *place* can be reconceptualized too. This was the point of the stress laid earlier on seeing phenomena such as globalization and time-space compression as changing forms of the spatial organization of social relations. Social relations always have a spatial form and spatial content. They exist necessarily both in space and across space... Given that conception of space, a “place” is formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location. And the singularity of any individual place is formed in part out of the specificity of the interactions which occur at that location and in part out of the fact that the meeting of those social relations at that location will in turn produce new social effects” (Massey 1994, p.168).

In Massey’s argument, place has an open structure. “It is a moment in the network of ever-changing social relations at all scales. It is unfixed, contested and multiple”. The particularity of a place is constructed through its counterposition and interconnections to the other places. Massey’s definition of place is more suitable for urban space, which possesses ever-changing relations in all scales of social structure. She makes up such a statement, because according to her, ‘instead of thinking places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated movements in the networks of social relations and understandings’ (Robbins 1993, p.325). Thus, if space is interrelational, then there is no absolute dimension of space. Its existence depends on the interrelation of the objects, in general (Massey 1994, p.261).

In Arefi’s article, three types of transformations have been noted in the meaning of place: from an unconscious to a conscious stage, and from a conscious to a manufactured stage (Arefi 1999, p.183-4). If place has its meaning in rootedness and belongingness constructed through un-mediated relations in unconscious stage, then sense of place of conscious stage lacks rootedness and belongingness and manifested through preservation projects glorifying intended identity. Second stage refers to the self-conscious act of creating meaning in urban landscape. The so-called meaning of place initiates the commodification of place, which has its roots in globalization and inauthenticity. In Massey’s argument ‘place’ pursues a process that reconstructs its own particularity that reflects roughly a positive point of view, but in contrary, in the

explanation above, and the process determined by global transformations of earth results with a departure from its ontological existence. In other words, within the 'evolving' process of globalization, place is always exercised as something that is lost. It is possible to find the definition of this state of loss in Augé.

Anthropologist Marc Augé, in his book "Non-places: An Introduction to the Anthropology of Supermodernity" had marked out a distinction between space and place. For him, the anthropological definition of place is the region that acquires meaning due to human activities. And today, many places lack this classical anthropologic meaning. As he had maintained, if places are constructed through certain relations, in historical continuities and has attained an identity, then spaces that have not possess these properties can be called as non-place⁷. As he had argued, supermodernity has been defined with the abundance in the acceleration of time, space and identity and non-places have been produced under the condition of contemporary life that he had called, supermodernity. As Augé had claimed, supermodernity has altered traditional places. Thus, spaces that we don't feel special attachment or that are commonly shared but not in traditional sense of gathering are delineated as non-places (Augé 1995). In order to illustrate this condition Augé had claimed on airports, shopping malls that have been spaces of transition, but not place. Augé had asserted that landscapes of today, could be defined with the coexistence of both 'place' and 'non-place' that have not integrated. This non-integration causes a problematic, which can be overwhelmed by both physical and chronological connectivity; a historical connectedness emphasizing harmony between these two concepts (Arefi 1999, p.182-83). Despite all pessimistic manifestations, Augé had perceived a liberating part, because in those spaces, individual is alone, but free. Static features of anthropological place do not exist here. At this point, a correlation can be obtained between the man of supermodernity and the individualized man of nineteenth century modern man mentioned in Simmel. Each phase of modernity is also a new step in favor of looking out for emancipation. When compared with the previous state, social and spatial bonds are getting unrestrained, and at the same time, the individual is facing up the problem of alienation again and again.

⁷ As an example of illustrating being in nowhere and being in everywhere synchronously, article of Güven Arif Sargın should be considered: "Kentin Sonhali: Şizofreni", *Arredamento Mimarlık*, 2001/12, p.99-103.

Harvey, in 'The Condition of Postmodernity', had stated that the material practices from which our concepts of space and time flow have been as varied as the range of individual and collective experiences (Harvey 1990, p.211). This idea is in parallel with De Certeau's that spaces are "open to human creativity and action" and "particular spaces of the city are created by myriad actions, all of which bear the stamp of human intent" (Harvey 1990, p.213-14). Individual and collective rhythms support us to construct the frame of our being in a society. Therefore, different social groups point out different uses and meanings of space and time, as it is examined in Bourdieu's example of the world of Kabyle carrying the common-sense notion that 'there is a time and a place for everything'. Departing from this idea, Harvey asks, whether it is possible or not to signal meanings through spatial and temporal organizations in contemporary capitalist culture. Harvey asserts that this common-sense notion still carries weight, but modernization, by definition, entails a perpetual disruption of temporal and spatial rhythms and admits a world of ephemerality and fragmentation by producing new meanings for itself (Harvey 1990, p.216).

Starting out from definitions and evaluations above, the meaning of 'place' in this study can be framed as in the following way: if it is possible to mark or sign a certain space on account of its specificity derived from its physical structure, its history or spatial practices taking place on it, then this space is called as place by people who live in it and arrange it as a part of their life. In this definition of place, existence of space is inevitable, but place points out a state of space related with social or individual immanencies. One of the basic attempts suggested in this discussion is to put forward the contradictory relation between the immanency of space and its potential as being a commodity.

Finally, it is certain that space and place cannot be considered separately, however mental, economic and political structures of societies in certain periods define different processes of unification or dispersal of the concepts space and place; such as in the early periods when the ontological existence of men was related to the rhythms of natural life, these terms were used in similar contents, and as in the following periods, a dispersal was revealed out. Thus, the following part will consider this procedure of dispersal, the marginalization of place.

3.2. Process of the Marginalization of Place

Lefebvre had pointed out a period when ‘things are in space’. This had been a period in which production was still respectful of nature and agriculture had predominated. Time had been inseparable from space; and the forms of thought and of action had been inseparable from content, as well. He had named this period as the first moment (Lefebvre 1974, p.218). After this prehistorical period, certain societies had emerged; the plane of accumulation (of richness, knowledge & techniques) had acceded, first for exchange, then for money and capital. Form had been separated from content. This period was named as the second moment. According to him, finally the third moment had reached to state in which space and things were reunited through thought. Although the space is in itself, ungraspable, and time in itself, unknowable; time is known and actualized in space, and space is known only in and through time. “The same in the other are made concrete”. But, with the development of capitalism the relation between time and space had become problematic. “The capitalist mode of production begins by producing things, and by investing in places. Then, the reproduction of social relations becomes problematic. It becomes necessary to reproduce nature also, and to master space by producing it – that is the political space of capitalism – while at the same time reducing time in order to prevent the production of new social relations” (Lefebvre 1974, p.219). He had summarized the dispersal of space and time in capitalist mode of production as in above, but he has also mentioned that urban space of today is comprised of both of them:

“Even today, urban space appears in two lights: on the one hand it is replete with places which are holy or damned, devoted to the male principle or the female, rich in fantasies or phantasmagorias; on the other hand it is rational, state-dominated and bureaucratic, its monumentality degraded and obscured by traffic of every kind, including the traffic of information. It must be therefore grasped in two different ways: as absolute (apparent) within the relative (real)” (Lefebvre 1974, p.231).

While, arguing on the relation between space and place, a pre-modern experience has been emphasized as a state formed of their unification; that is a state in which reflexivity on the lived space has not occurred, or spontaneity has not been lost or space and time have not been dispersed. The early period of modernity dated as sixteenth century as Berman had stated, had been also the beginnings of the domination

of scientific knowledge over western worldview. In this way, the phases of space-time distantiation had remained to be in correspondence with the phases of modernization. But here, as it is especially mentioned in the work of Casey, marginalization of place in account with space should not be considered only as an issue of modernization. Modern period is not the only threshold in this process. In many periods of the history of thought, as also in the periods that had evaluated space as absolute and infinite, examples of marginalization can be caught, but modern period has almost entirely characterized itself with the separation of space, place and time. Although the relation between space and place is perceived firstly as in unification and then in separation, it is certain that the internal dynamics of modernity has developed new processes of reunification (Giddens 1998). Thus, the pre-modern period showing the traces of unification at the same time brings out the traces of dispersal, and on the other hand, modern period that is characterized by their dispersal also equipped with new projects of unification. As Giddens has mentioned contemporary dynamics of modernity has originated from dispersal and unification of space and time. In lieu with this idea, conceptual relation and the marginalization of place will be examined in parts 3.2.1. and 3.2.2.. First of all, concepts of pre-modern world will be demonstrated and the thoughts that originate this process of marginalization will be explained. While doing this, the aim is to understand this relation more deeply and to catch profound meanings of the concepts used.

3.2.1. Beginnings of the Marginalization of Place

Conceptual discussions on space and place were firstly the issue of philosophers, physicians and mathematicians. Architects' concern had occurred recently and they had developed a ground for this discussion, which is based on the thoughts of these thinkers. Specifically, in the work of Edward Casey, "The Fate of Place", a long and contentious narration had been introduced on the subject. In that narration, *chóra* and *topos* appear to be pre-concepts that should be handled at first. These terms were used instead of 'place' in antiquity.

A historical exploration of the subject of place and space begins by portraying a naturalistic worldview that implies 'chóra' taken up by Plato. First of all, *chóra* was an initial place that everything had happened to be. It is a separation, opening or a hollow.

At the same time, it was the ancient notion of ‘chaos’, that is a primal abyss or gap. Chóra takes place as a receptacle (a container) in *Timeaus*, the work of Plato, which had used the creation of the world as a subject matter. Receptacle is simply the place ‘in which the qualities appear’ and a choric region is substantive without being a substance. It is not infinite or immaterial, but a medium, a receptive (omnirecipient) that can be defined.

In Plato’s cosmology, there is a need of preexisting, pregiven spaces that compose the cosmos. Receptacle, does not consist of components, it consists of regions. Regionalization and protoregions are seen in this very beginning of the cosmos. Plato’s Receptacle is at once place-rich (i.e., full of regions and particular places, *chorai* and *topoi*) and yet spacelike (*chóra* has no effective limit), absolute (i.e., all-encompassing, omnirecipient) and yet relative (i.e., insofar as similar sensible qualities are drawn together in relation to each other in primal regions, pursuant to the principle that “like attracts like”) (Casey 1997, p.136). In *Timeaus*, the creation of the world is illustrated as the creation of places (*topoi*) and regions (*chorai*). World is a place-world. “From creation, place proceeds; but it, creation itself, takes place only in place” (Casey 1997, p.43). As it is understood, *topos* was a term used for relative location and on the other hand, *chóra* was evaluated as a larger extension than *topos* in antiquity. Comprehension of place was an issue of becoming and formed the basic part of describing the cosmos, the world and the being of human beings.

Aristo had also concerned with place for the reason that place was the fundamental concept for physics that was also related with movement (*kinesis*). Movement from place to place was called ‘locomotion’. For Aristo, physical world could not be examined without a consideration of place, but differering from Plato, the subject of *chóra*, as the basic point of cosmology, had never been mentioned by him. Receptacle used by Plato had transformed into an intelligible matter in the discourse of Aristo. As Aristo had stated form and place are both limits, but not, of the same thing: the form is a limit of the object, and the place of the surrounding body. Place is thought to be something as a vessel, because of the containing and surrounding capacity of vessels: their power to hold things in (Casey 1997, p.54). Aristo had made a claim, “to be is to be in place”, but “there can also be a (void) place without (any) body” (Casey 1997, p.17).

Counter thoughts initiates a transition from place to space – where “space connotes something undelimited and open-ended. While place solicits questions of limit and boundary, and of location and surrounding, space sets these questions aside in favor of a concern with the absolute and the infinite, the immense and the indefinitely extended. If place bears on what lies *in* – in a container, dwelling, or vessel – space characteristically moves *out*, so far out as to explode the closely confining perimeters within which Aristotle attempted to ensconce material things. In this unequal battle, “spacing-out triumphs over placing-in” (Casey 1997, p.75-78).

Casey had remarked a similarity of Epicurean void, as place, to Aristotle’s place of moving objects. Epicurus had identified void with space. According to him, ‘intangible substance’, one kind is named ‘**void**’ (**kenon**), another ‘**place**’ (**topos**) and another ‘**room**’ (**chóra**), the names varying according to the different ways of looking at it, since the same substance (phusis) when empty of all body is called ‘void’, when occupied by a body is named ‘place’, and when bodies roam through it becomes ‘room’. But, generically it is called ‘intangible substance’ in Epicurus’ school. **Aristotle’s confining two dimensional model of place - two dimensional insofar as it limits itself to the surface of things – is surpassed in a three dimensional roominess.** This is the first clear recognition of geometrical space as a three dimensional extension which persists whether or not it is occupied by body (Casey 1997, p.82-3).

In the time of Neo-platonists, two basic lines of thoughts had arised presenting that there are more kinds of place than Aristotle dreamed of: intelligible world, life, formal place, and intrinsic place. The variety comes from the plurality of the power of place. And the second line of thought had supported that the less material place is, the more powerful it becomes (Casey 1997, p.88). Proclus (411-485), a typical Neoplatonist, had considered place to be a body and not just something around body. What Proclus had shown is that in Neoplatonic thinking there had been no contradiction between bodily and noetic character of place. A place like the supracelestial sphere is composed of light – it is corporeal – and yet it ranks high in the ascending noetic scale of being. This vision is in many ways the exact converse of the Atomist view of place. Where place for Atomists is mechanical and physical, that is bodily and material, place for the Neoplatonists is dynamic and intellectual. “A Neoplatonic approach to place vindicates the common conviction that place always implies some sort of quantity (i.e. some amount of room) while also always involving a

set of distinctive qualities (as is indicated in such expressions as a “pleasant place”, a “dangerous place” (Casey 1997, p.91).

The questions that arised the infinity of space (the cosmos), came about after that time, and space was allowed to triumph gradually over place. If there are several worlds, then there must be a larger space that consists all of them. “If, there are an infinite number of such worlds, then the space shared must be infinite in extent” (Casey 1997, p.108). Casey had put out the distinction between absolute and infinite space, briefly, as in the following quotation:

“Absolute space and infinite space, though closely allied in thinkers such as Oresme (1325-1382) and Newton, are not to be confused. ‘Absolute’ implies something self-sufficient, “freed from” any dependency on its own parts, much less any relation to other things elsewhere; whatever is absolute stands apart – thus the ab-, ‘away’, ‘off’ – from any immersion (i.e. any “solution”) in these extraneous factors, being genuinely independent of them. “Infinite” entails unending extent; here sheer quantity is at stake: what John Locke calls “expansion”. Unlikely as it may seem to the modern mind – indebted as it is to Newton, who brought absolute and infinite space together in one consistent theory – it is perfectly possible to posit an absolute, finite space. This is precisely the space of Plato’s *chóra*, of Aristotle’s heavens with the earth at the center, of almost every other ancient model of a closed world, and of Philoponean “spatial extension”. It is also perfectly possible to think of an absolute and finite world set in an open sea of infinite space: such is the standard Stoic model” (Casey 1997, p.109). Similarly, absolute space, as Borden (2001) had formulated it, is the fragments of natural space rendered sacred, the space of rites and ceremonies, death, and the underworld.

It is the medieval thought that had arrived at the infinity of space, first, by a relational model that gives way to a spatial infinity; and second, an absolutist model ending equally in infinity. “The result is two paths to infinite space: one keeps a role for place; the other dispenses with place altogether” (Casey 1997, p.110). The move to infinite space, no matter what route is taken, was a move to “a posited or supposed space – not to an actual space, as occurred later on in the Renaissance and in the seventeenth century” (Casey 1997, p.111).

The year 1600 was marked as the most critical century in the history of place and space. With the attempt of making a complete break with scholasticism with the thoughts of Bruno, Telesio, Campanella, Patrizi, space had its own unique kind of being, its own status as a universal term in the analysis of natural entities (Casey 1997, p.124-25). Place barely survived in discussion till the end of the seventeenth century. By the end of eighteenth century, it vanished altogether from serious theoretical discourses in physics and philosophy. Casey had maintained that the marginalization of place as a significant concept could not arise exclusively during these first two centuries of the modernity, rather than that, the change took place in an ever-lengthening shadow of preoccupation with space, regarded as absolute and more particularly as infinite (Casey 1997, p.133). The change had begun by the late Hellenism and Neoplatonism, followed in medieval thought of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and later in Renaissance thought. In spite of decreasing interest on place, it has not been forgotten completely, because it has an unavoidable power, the power that comes from its ability to be the limit for everything it consists. The subject had continued to be mentioned by thinkers such as Descartes and Locke as an issue that has to be reminded. For Leibniz, place is mentioned in 1715, as a mere aspect of space. In Leibniz's terminology, site had been assumed as place (Casey 1997, p.135). At the end of eighteenth century, space had been no longer situated in the physical world but in the subjectivity of the human mind that shaped the world.

Kant had seen space as a part of the subjective constitution of the mind. For him, it was not an empirical concept derived from outward experiences (Madanipour 1996, p.4). Then, place is rediscovered by means of *body* through the philosophy of Kant, Whitehead, Husserl and Merleau-Ponty. These thinkers had recovered the importance of place by putting the body in the core of place discussions.

3.2.2. Control Over Space: Abstract Space and The Loss of Place

In this part, firstly, scientific and philosophical thoughts of seventeenth century as a source of control and organization in space and place will be extended through the conceptions of Newton, Descartes and Leibniz, and then the conquest of space will be explained.

Early modern mechanism had two ultimate terms: extension and motion. These terms had entailed specific theses about space and place through the works of Galileo and Descartes. Simple location had been treated as the very foundation of seventeenth century scheme of nature. To be here in space-time was a general idea to support both absolutist and relativist paradigms of place and space. The simple location in this sense had entailed a reduction of place to position – “to a pinpointed spot in a massive matrix possible”. Like this, place had come to be absorbed entirely into space. The concreteness of place had been wholly displaced into the abstractness of space. “It is one thing to posit space as infinite, but it is something else again to hold that such space is empty not only of things *but of place itself*” (Casey 1997, p.137).

Essentially, place had been present in **Newton’s** “*Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*” (1687). His work *Principia* had presented several settings like movable place and immovable place, relative place and even absolute place. The absolute motion that Newton had concerned in the *Principia* was the translation of a body from one absolute place to another (Casey 1997, p.142). He did not propose any new model or view of place, but instead, his adoption was presented as in the following. On the one hand, he had subsumed place under space by making it “a part of space”, which has been treated as an absolute given. Per se, place has no being or identity apart from space. On the other hand, he had collapsed place into body: ‘the place of a body is none other than the totality of the places of the parts of that body and is thus “internal” to this body’ (Casey 1997, p.143-44).

In **Cartesian** physics and metaphysics, space had been identified with physical bodies that possessed magnitude and shape. Descartes had tried to distinguish himself from Newtonian view, but reached a similar conclusion. For Descartes, “place has no independent status apart from that of the universal space to which it belongs”. Extension was his core concept in his analysis of space. By extension he had referred to “whatever has length, breadth, and depth, not inquiring whether it be a real body or merely space”. Obviously, Descartes had claimed that when we are forced to distinguish between “place” and “space”, place would ordinarily refer to the situation of something in comparison with something else and space to its magnitude and shape (Casey 1997, p.152-3).

On the other hand, **Leibniz** had criticized Descartes's idea of extension. 'Not only is it the case that "body and space are distinct", but more pointedly, extension in the Cartesian sense is inadequate to define material substance' (Casey 1997, p.169). In order to explain place, he had defined 'the same place'. Sameness had implied homogeneity. 'The same place' had signified the indifference of position. Place for Leibniz, is "a bare positional pocket, a mere edge or corner of the spatial universe" (Casey 1997, p.175). For Leibniz, replacing by position and even by point, place is at once positionalized and pointillized (Casey 1997, p.179). Here, Casey had taken site as the destruction of place, and as its dismantling into punctiform positions. These positions are predelineated and precise, but precarious, because they are relative to other positions. In short the description of place is termed as Leibniz's new discipline of *analysis situs*, the analysis of position (Casey 1997, p.179).

From that time onward, place has been discussed nothing more than pure position or bare point, simply located on one of the XYZ axes that has delineated the dimensionality of space as construed in Cartesian analytical geometry (Casey 1997, p.199). This conceptualization of place is nothing more than the calculability of place in Descartes and Leibniz. In this view, to make place calculable is to transform it into site. Casey had reminded us that cartographic representation came about in the seventeenth century and witnessed the creation of metrically defined maps of the earth construed as a global scene for sites of discovery and exploitation (Casey 1997, p.201). Consequently, transformation of place into position or point and of space into a three dimensional extension had resulted in a way that maintained space as an abstract space and place as a site of an entire homogenization away from specific qualities of places.

Merleau-Ponty had distinguished geometrical space from anthropological space, where the first one had corresponded to a homogeneous and isotropic spatiality. For Relph, abstract space is the space of logical relations, thus it has no foundation in physical and psychological reality. In abstract space, concrete differences are eliminated and space is conceived as isotropic, homogenous and infinite or finite. For that reason, in such space, places are mere points (Relph 1976, p.26).

The conquest and control of space, as Harvey had emphasized, firstly required it to be conceived of as something usable, malleable and therefore capable of domination through human action (Harvey 1990, p.254). What architects, engineers and managers

had done is to manage spatially ordered physical landscapes, restating the language of Euclidean geometry in a manner, reducing place into point and space into xyz axes. As in Renaissance, space had become an integral part of modernizing project and celebrated as a new form of domination of nature. Harvey had mentioned about this condition in comparison with recent ages: “the difference this time was that space and time had to be organized not to reflect the glory of God, but to celebrate and facilitate the liberation of ‘Man’ as a free and active individual, endowed with consciousness and will. It was in this image that a new landscape was to emerge” (Harvey 1990, p.249). In addition to conquest and control of space with the instruments (of planning) of Enlightenment, Harvey had emphasized another element to enhance the homogenization of space that is ‘private property in land’. Pulverization and fragmentation of urban land had been achieved by alienated parcels of private property (Harvey 1990, p.254). And as Lefebvre had also mentioned, there existed a deep tension between freely appropriated space and domination of it through private property. In order to summarize this fact, Harvey had distinguished five dilemmas. It is briefly transmitted as in the following:

1. Space can be controlled and organized through pulverization and fragmentation and the principles of this process are determined in order to make social power to survive.

2. ‘The production of space’ was taken as a political and economic phenomenon for the thinkers of Enlightenment, because each strategy concerning space had affected both the existence of political power and economic investments in the city.

3. There can be no politics of space independent of social relations.

4. The homogenization of space poses serious difficulties for the conception of place. If the latter is the site of Being, then Becoming entails a spatial politics that renders place subservient to transformations of space.

5. Space can be conquered only through the production of space (Harvey 1990, p.255-58).

As it is mentioned by Borden (2001), abstract space is the space of commodity, at once concrete and abstract, homogenized and fragmented - the space of capitalism. Abstract space, comprised of abstract qualities, such as size, width, area and location, is opposed with social space, which is interactively used in daily life. This opposition can

be regarded as the source of a conflict in society, which is the main concern of this study in general.

Lefebvre had described abstract space as the dominant space that has been produced by modern, capitalist society; while at the same time, it has reproduced the society. He had mentioned on three aspects of abstract space: visual, geometric, and phallic. Abstract space wishes to appear homogeneous, but is not indeed. It is transparent and illusory. When Lefebvre had stated that abstract space had been shattered around 1910s, he meant that, Euclidean and perspectivist space have disappeared, and many artists and architects had shared thoughts matured with the beginning of Bauhaus. “The new space of modernity, that was entangled with imperialism, social revolution, a world market, and the explosion of the historical city, heralded abstract space”. Instrumentalization of space under the form of abstract space easily takes charge in the process of commodity production, and this process of commodification is introduced by Hays as in the coming quotation: “The production of space is the way in which the capitalist mode of production maintains itself, creates more space for itself. The abstract space of capitalism depends on global networks of banks and businesses, on highways and airports, on flows of energy, raw materials, and information. Space is utilized to produce surplus value, and consumed in tourism and leisure. Like equipments in factories, the spatial arrangements of cities, regions, nations, and continents increase production and reproduce the relations of production” (Hays 1998, p.175). Since compartmentalizing is the idea of capitalism, private property relations easily chopped off abstract space to prepare it ready to use.

Unfortunately, the growing abstraction of space had achieved with reaffirmations of place. As in the previous ages, place and space had come into view dialectically and under the effect of space-time compression, new conceptions of place had occurred, such as Kenneth Frampton’s idea of regional resistances or Foucault’s heterotopias. For Giddens, space-time distancing is in parallel with space-place distancing, because the latter is concurrent with time. Discharging time is a precondition for discharging of space and empty space results with distancing of space and place. Giddens has conceptualized place as the physical milieu of a social act that has been geographically positioned. For him, in premodern societies, geographical constraints of social acts had caused space and place to be considered mutually, but they got separated overwhelming these constraints. As social life has not been restricted by

local activities, space has not been defined by actual facts, but also by facts that are distantly taking place. In respect, we can mention about imagined places as a result of distanced relations (Giddens 1998, p.26). For Giddens, abstract space that is needed for the dynamism of modernization provides both the production of the representation of space without establishing an association with other spaces, and the exchange of different spatial units.

Therefore, under the impact of rational organizations of social and spatial life, people have got freed from local traditions and experiences and history has been established around a single past (Giddens 1998, p.27). On one hand, basic characteristic of premodern societies has been distinguished as (what Giddens had called reflexivity) reinterpretation of tradition, and on the other hand, it is not the traditional practices and experiences that determine the daily life, because the ever-changing character of daily life in modern world necessitates the transformation and reappropriation of knowledges.

In “The Conscience of the Eye”, Sennett had announced that urban spaces of Ancient Greek had reflected their cultural values, but contemporary architecture and cities of today do not admit the same characteristic. In that time, mental and material life was not considered separately and possessed an ontological entirety in every way. There were no distinct separations between inside and outside, the individual and the city or subjective life and temporal life. As it is mentioned in previous part of this study, the concept of ‘infinite’ in Christian world had clarified the separation between these conceptual pairs. Sennett had exemplified this separation with the cities of middle ages, on one hand, resting various organically structured streets for worldly businesses, on the other, designed and neatly protected churches. The center has been protected apart from worldliness and defined as sacred. The sanctification in contrast with worldly disorderliness of urban space, as a characteristic of western urbanization, differs from the condition of Islamic cities. Islamic cities do not make a distinction between the worldly and sacred, which is, the mosque and bazaar (Sennett 1999, p.21-28).

As Foucault had stated, “contemporary space has not yet lost those sacred characteristics, in spite of all techniques that assail it and the web of knowledge that allows it to be defined and formalized”. Although he had accepted that “a theoretical desanctification of space” is occurred, especially by the work of Galileo, which is the assertion of infinite space, by defending spatial territories as a result of keeping

sacredness, he points out to spatial oppositions that are still going on: private and public space, family and social space, cultural and utilitarian space, the space of pleasure and the space of work (Foucault 1997, p.350). In other words, contemporary space is getting controlled by human beings and domesticated for rendering it obvious, unfortunately control and order cannot homogenize place at all. Space has been perceived in spatial pluralities, because life is plural and fragmented as a result of multi-layered structure of relations. In counter to modern space, space of premodern world had not established spatial distinctions or homogenized space, but instead had concerned spatial articulation and interpenetration.

In contrast to the characteristics of space in premodern world, modern city points out discrimination between inner, subjective life and outer, physical life. An outer life with impersonal and alienated structure reveals itself. For Sennett, disintegration of outer reality with human life is the main issue concerning the city today. To the question of how the place of belonging and confidence can be structured in a world that is almost totally secular, Sennett proposes the narrative space and explains that if daily life is presented with the features derived from narrations, then they become filled with time (Sennett 1999, p.215). If novels, or films, in general all narrative works are appropriate milieus for individualization and characterization, then is it also possible for the spaces of daily life to capture the same richness in other ways? It is certain that, character in urban space do not completely reside in the act of design, but occurs in time. Mostly, human factor in design is considered as the user of space, and being of man is instrumentalized. But, it should be counted that placemaking could not be a completely calculated act. Design can handle many possible actions about life, but cannot count all the possibilities. A certain use that designer had overlooked can give an identical character to a space, because as Sennett states, unexpected uses can start a new story. Architecture that is mostly structured for being permanent resists to dynamic effect of daily life. When the boundaries of space are arranged strictly, then uses look for other possibilities of establishing themselves beyond these boundaries. Thus, as architects, we should design spaces open-ended that can grasp many possible acts and transform for various uses. Sennett looks for a design, creating vagueness and surprise in urban space, both in use and program of buildings and open spaces and he shows the light of an idea that 'place' cannot be organized through calculated processes and cannot be the result of pure design.

3.3. Place and Memory

The way we construct relations with the city, has both social and spatial aspects. In other words, it is the place memory that is constructed through both physical and social constituents and reached out by a process. Places shape memories, as memories reshape them again. And this is why memories are place-oriented or place supported. Under this title, the relation between the processes of recollection, our perception, memory, imagination and the material world will be discussed.

Place and memory are two independent but inextricable concepts, like space and place. The role of place in constructing memory and the role of memory in constructing place serve as interrelated processes that can be evaluated within the scale of every level of urban landscape. Order and familiarity in space helps us to overcome disorientation and inappropriateness in space. This is achieved by the signs of place and recall. So, we can say that places are constructed in our memories, as well as the material processes.

Memory is important for place, because “prime function of memory is not to preserve the past but to adapt it so as to enrich and manipulate the present. Memories are not the ready-made reflections of the past, but eclectic, selective reconstructions based on subsequent actions and perceptions and ever-changing codes by which we delineate, symbolize, and classify the world around us” (Lowenthal 1985, p.210).

Reminded by Curtis, among the evaluative mechanisms that discriminate place from space is memory. Correspondingly, he also reminds amnesia that is an operation, which reverses the process of recall and desolves place back into the indifference of space. He explains that although it is subject to political and psychic operations, memory is one of key elements in the creation of place. “Power can be exercised over memory to construct various regimes of access and control” (Curtis 2001, p.54-67).

We remember the past in congeries of distinctive occasions. Geographer Lowenthal describes types of recall and how they are related. “Least evocative is *instrumental everyday memory* based on the resurrection of the facts. Instrumental memory abstracts from the former events without evoking the sensations that accompanied them. But, it lacks a complete involvement. Unlike instrumental memory, *reverie* includes and even highlights remembered feelings. Reverie recalls particular feelings and encourages us to compare past with present states of being. And *total recall*

immerses us willy-nilly in the past, because the present is hag-ridden by perivious events. And normally, memory juxtaposes these types of recollection with an emphasis shifting from one another. Different modes of memory afford different perspectives into the past, but the process of recall merges all of them together” (Lowenthal 1985, p.203-204).

It is seen that, while the outer world is being constructed, at the same time, it continues to be constructed mentally. This is a process that updates itself by perceived datas of outer world, and is needed to keep our bodily and sensual being in ordinance. This means that, the process of recall is not simply an act of perceiving, recording and remembering, but a creative and multi-layered process producing new meanings when perceived and remembered.

3.3.1. Collective Memory and The City

The remembered past is both individual and collective. Memories are often thought of as personal, but when they construct relations between past and present, the individual and the other members of a cultural context, they accomplish a collective dimension. Personal images or thoughts are carried to this collective dimension by the instruments of communication that are communally used, such as languages, symbols and experiences (Relph 1976, p.57).

As a social theorist, Maurice Halbwachs had drawn attention to the importance of collective memory and types of contruction of memories through social activities, and he had suggested that individuals could collect memories by belonging to a social group. Mostly, we remember things just because other people incite us to remember, and because our memories get support from other memories around us. Our memory is in relation with other memories, people, places, names⁸, histories, words, languages or visual materials⁹ (such as paintings, films, photographs, maps, etc.); in short it improves

⁸ For example, in this sense, place names have a great account on the mental construction of places. A name of a place is generally selected for certain events or people that had taken place in that space. Name, as an element, illustrating the symbolic value of a space, has a significant role in preserving certain social values. In contrary, numbers indicating places or streets are hard to be remembered and abstract so that they scarcely signify the object or place and do not have the ability of representing people or events.

⁹ We remember places by visual materials as well. One of these elements is the postcard that achieve visual representation of urban space, but on the other hand, these elements also hold an issue of subjectivity. They give clues through which point of view the representations of urban space have been

by material and mental life that we are surrounded (Connerton 1999, p.60). People organize their actions according to how they view places. Thus, place, with its symbolic value has an important role in determining our behaviours. We need other people's memories both to confirm our own and to give them endurance. Lowenthal also states that, memories are continually supplemented by those of others (Lowenthal 1985, p.193-197). On the other side, Halbwachs insists that mental milieu is always supported by material milieu. Our memories are kept by retaining attachment to material milieu and when we want to bring them back to life, we have to divert our attention to this milieu again (Connerton 1999, p.61). Images of the past and knowledges that are remembered are conveyed by performances and remembering takes place through these performances overtly or covertly; such as ceremonies or bodily skills (Connerton 1999, p.16). Thus, Connerton puts forward that memories are reproduced by collective repetitions, and existed in a process enabling to remember and transmit. When bodily skills and ceremonies are practical, then they become recalling (Connerton 1999, p.111). In similar way, we remember spaces when they become practical, and keep a particular place in our daily use.

Dolores Hayden brings up the way to construct place memories. Place memory includes the personal memory, emotional attachments and so on; the cognitive memory, that are the street names and street layout; and the body memory, the routes taken. These three memory types constitute place memory. By referring Connerton, she reminds us cognitive memory that is encoded according to semantic, verbal and visual codes. So, by double encoding concrete items are much better retained (hayden 1995, p.47).

For Halbwachs, there are many collective memories as there are many groups and institutions in a society. Members of each group have their distinct memories. Although remembering is an individual act, being located in a specific group context, such as families, social classes, religious beliefs, makes individuals to remember or recreate the past (Halbwachs 1992, p.22). He believed that memory is not only

constructed. First of all, urban space that is objectified visually, acquires the opportunity of being reproduced for thousands of times. Place is always remembered as the place of a particular look. It is also mentioned by Zukin, that "For several hundred years, visual representations of cities have "sold" urban growth. Images from early maps to picture postcards, have not simply reflected real city spaces; instead they have been imaginative reconstructions – 'from specific points of view' - of a city's monumentality. Development of visual media in the 20th century made photography and movies the most important cultural means of framing urban space" (Zukin 1995, p.15).

individualistic, but also collective. Memory is in need of taking supply from collective sources. “Individuals need social frameworks to remember”, besides, “the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories” (Halbwachs 1992, p.40). As a follower of the early guidelines of Durkheimian conceptualization, Halbwachs had developed his ideas on collective memory. Since Durkheim had mentioned that physical tropes assure continuity between active and passive phases of collective life, Halbwachs had added that between these ceremonial acts collective memory takes command as an intermediate variable transmitted by members of the society (Halbwachs 1992, p.25). Memory and history are opposing terms in Halbwachs account, because when memory and experience are kept apart from the group’s active life, they become fixed in “uniform manner” (Boyer 1994, p.67). It lives, in the sense of actual experiences; otherwise they become ‘history’. So, there is a wide range of possibilities that support the memories of people through individual and social channels both materially and mentally, and in addition to that, we remember, or recall memories when they are a part of a living ‘context’.

The distinctive character of places is obtained from “the collective activities of people who dwell there, who shape the land through their activities, who build distinctive institutions, forms of organization, and social relations within, around or focused on a bounded domain”. Collective memory that attaches to places connects to the imaginary of belonging (Harvey 1996, p.310).

For Rossi, collective memory and imagination are typical characteristics of urban artifacts (Rossi 1982, p.33). “The city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the locus of collective memory. This relationship between the locus and the citizenry then becomes the city’s predominant image, both of architecture and landscape, and as certain artifacts become part of its memory, new ones emerge. The collective memory participates in the actual transformation of space in the works of the collective. In what way does the history speak through art? It does so primarily through architectural monuments, which are the willed expression of power, whether in the name of the State or religion. The collective and individual nature of urban artifacts in the end constitutes the same urban structure. Memory, within this structure, is the consciousness of the city (Rossi 1982, p.130-131).

For Gottdiener, cities and suburbs are the sites of subcultures: ethnic, religious, racial, gender-specific, and age-related. Neighborhoods within the metropolis, which are composed of concentrations of these subcultures, can be identified by objects that are the signs of subcultural status (Gottdiener, 1994, p.14). City is composed of spatial articulation of different subcultures, which advertise themselves by the signs that resemble them. These signs are used by people to orient themselves in their act of engaging in the city life. Thus, through the images and the objects, a particular symbolic identity is created for a place. “The urban exists as an image in people’s mind, identified with particular landscapes, facilities and opportunities, ways of doing things. Thus, the significance of the urban lies in its imagenary representation” (Healy 1995).

As Vidler explains, in the traditional city, antique, medieval, or Renaissance, urban memory was easy enough to define. The city was recognized as “home”, something not foreign, moral and protected environment for actual daily life. Throughout that time, as narrative elements, monuments are treated as the agents of the memory and the markers in the city fabric. More than the ordinary buildings, monumental architecture had the power to evoke visual and social memory (Hayden 1995, p.47). Monuments are the products of human creation and “erected for specific purpose of keeping human deeds or events” (Vidler 1994, p.177). The erection of monuments is “the basis for the cultural and political constitution of a city from antiquity to Renaissance. They act, in this sense, as tropes of the memory discourse they engender. Referring to Frances Yates, Vidler mentions about vital relation of monument with place: “...a sequence of places, imagined or remembered, is established in the mind, and the signs of what is to be remembered are “installed” so to speak within these places in sequence. All that is necessary to be able to recall the thing itself is to remember this place and its contents. The art of memory therefore requires ‘places, either real or imaginary, and images or simulacra which must be invented’” (Vidler 1994, p.178). Memory places turn the cities into memory theaters, which are accessible to the inhabitants and visitors. Vidler defines urbanism, in this sense, as the instrumental theory and practice of constructing the city as memorial of itself, and the history of urbanism from late Renaissance to the Second World War illustrate this definition; such as the replanning of London by Wren and Royal Society, the reconstruction of Paris by Haussmann, model cities by Garnier and Le Corbusier. It is nearly the same for the modern city of twentieth century. In modern city, forgetting takes command in favor of

tabula rasa. Instead of old monuments of old city, modern city makes its “own monuments out of the functions of modern life - the bureaucratic skyscrapers (Vidler 1994, p.179-80). Parallel with these conditions “modernism did introduce a profoundly destabilising concept into the general idea of memory, forgetting”. This is a transformation of the perspectivist city to the figure-ground city, the Renaissance city to modern city. As Vidler states, the city with a delicate balance with its monuments gives way to the figure-ground city of modernism that is founded on “the presence of absence”, termed by Eisenman (Vidler 1994, p.182).

Dolores Hayden, in “The Power Of Place”, points out that the power of ordinary urban landscapes are to nurture citizens’ public memory, to encompass shared time in the form of shared territory. Unfortunately, it remains mostly untapped for working people’s neighborhoods in most (American) cities, and for most ethnic groups and most women’s history (Hayden 1995, p.9). Identity is tied to both personal memory and the collective or social memories. Thus, urban landscapes as she emphasizes, are storehouses for these types of memories, because the natural and the built environment frame the lives of people as a whole (p.9). Restoring significant shared meanings for the neglected urban places firstly involves cultural landscape as well as the architectural monuments (Hayden 1995, p.11). This resembles spatial, cultural and political representation of places. In parallel with this idea, the historian who confronts urban landscapes in the 1990s is in need of discovering the social and political meanings as well as physical environment (Hayden 1995, p.13), because the traces of time is embedded in the landscape of the cities in fragments differing in various dimensions and scales.

Benjamin had made analyses on the city space through fantasies, wishes and dreams that do not reflect an intellectual or positivist point of view. He had deep insights on urban space, its perception and living. The method of reading the urban text, proposed by Benjamin, is an involuntary perception normally appreciated in passing, in a state of distraction, as people are moving on else where. This perception is not directed with prejudices, in contrast with the method used for artistic perception with people’s ‘concentrated’ absorption of paintings in a gallery. In this way, he examines the role of flâneur who wanders in the city and collects samples of life in a distracted and unpremeditated form. What he deeply concerned is the mutual existence of the memories of the past and daily events represented in urban space (Urry 1995, p.25). As

he argues, art can be absorbed either through concentration or distraction, but buildings are usually perceived in distraction. That means; buildings do not take place in our memories intentionally. They are positioned through events taking place in those spaces unintentionally, and most of the time we do not recognize how it had happened. Benjamin mentions about the way Proust uses memory in his novels, which was also an extension of Bergson's theory. "Proust confronts involuntary memory with a voluntary memory, one that is in the service of intellect" (Benjamin 1969, p.158). Benjamin states that, "the first pages of his great work "À La Recherche du temps perdu" are charged with making this relationship clear. In the reflection which introduces the term Proust tells us how poorly, for many years he remembered the town of Combray in which, after all, he spent part of his childhood. One afternoon, the taste of a kind of pastry called madeleine transported him back to the past, whereas before than he had been limited to the promptings of a memory which obeyed the call of attentiveness. This he calls the *mémoire volontaire*". He continues that, "the past is somewhere beyond the reach of intellect, and unmistakably present in some material object (or in the sensation which such an object arouses in us), though we have no idea which one it is" (Benjamin 1969, p.158). In parallel with Proust's indication, the distracted nature of urban perception, identified by Benjamin, allows an involuntary memory, involuntary as it combines the memories of the past and the experiences of the present. Unlike the time when the storytelling was alive and experience was embedded in tradition, modern life had transformed the collective experience into fragments. Benjamin expressed that it was the "shock experience" in metropolis which modern man practiced life through these fragments (Boyer 1994, p.23).

Again for Benjamin, ceremonies play a certain role in order to prevent the exclusiveness of voluntary and involuntary recollections. "Certain contents of the individual past combine with the material of the collective past" (Benjamin 1969, p.159). So, the rituals have the role of combining these two elements of memory over and over again, and in this way we keep them alive. We remember things because they are reminded to us. Then, how the others remember? We come to Connerton's statement on ceremonies again, by ceremonies that survive in order to make us remember.

In the introduction part of "Illuminations", written by Hannah Arendt, Benjamin's insight of city is explained with referring his major work "The Arcades". As

a planned open-air intérieur, arcades remain to acquire the feeling of physically sheltered. They offer protection and at the same time connect the great boulevards. The Arcades, as both the inside and outside in Paris, make the stranger to feel at home. This feeling is introduced as the following: “And just one inhabits an apartment, makes it comfortable, by living in it instead of just using it for sleeping, eating and working, so one inhabits a city by strolling through it without aim or purpose, with one’s stay secured by the countless cafés which line the streets and past which the life of the city, the flow of pedestrians, moves along” (Benjamin 1969, p.21).

For Benjamin, the sense of places is integral to personal experiences and feelings, and urban feeling can be interpreted through one’s life happenings. As an example, in ‘A Berlin Chronicle’, the city images and his memories of the city spaces are constructed through the autobiographical pieces of his own. The street images of his early childhood, his walks in the city with his mother, all come into view as places that are part of events he had experienced. For him, “memory is not an instrument for exploring the past but its theater. It is the medium of past experience”, and digging the past is like digging the earth, showing the way to the real treasures hidden (Benjamin 1979, p.25-26). The mind gains a vital role between the architectural environment and its recollection as images¹⁰. (Leach 2000, p.28). He tries to establish a relationship between personal experience and cultural symbolism. For Benjamin, the city is a repository of people’s memories and past. The unconscious and dream processes are associated with the urban environment. Savage interprets Benjamin’s claim that people’s memories lay bound up in their experience of built forms, so that specific buildings can take on very different meanings from those intended by their builders (Savage 1993, p.133-4).

Imagery is shaped by material life. The most significant determinants of imagery occur through the experience of this life. Behind the statements of Benjamin, lies this relation between imagery and the city. Human mind has the ability of augmenting, deconstructing and reconstructing the things he had experienced. What Benjamin tells us so poetically are these countless variations of memory structurings. “For an experienced event is finite; a remembered event is infinite, because it is only a key to

¹⁰. Leach makes an analysis on Benjamin’s thinking of image, memory and representation through the medium of photograph in his essay “Walter Benjamin, mimesis and the dreamworld of photography”, 2000.

everything that happened before it and after it” (Benjamin 1969, p.202). As the material construction of a certain place entails many powers and discourses, the meaning it gains through living has also multi-layered character because of the complex structure of mind. Consequently, when we talk about the meaning of a certain place in urban space, we have to know that we face a multi-faced and multi-layered meaning.

From another point of view, dynamism of social structure presents the coexistence of both forgetting and remembering. Despite the process of memory construction mentioned above, De Man reminds of ‘the state of forgetting’ and underlines a paradoxical condition: if a certain thing belonging to past is radically rejected, then attachment to it evolves to a greater degree (Connerton 1999, p.98). This issue can be exemplified like this; in avandgarde tendencies at the beginning of the century, rejection of the past was comprehended as the rhetoric of forgetting. The most severe form of this rhetoric was examined in Futurists’ manifestations and their attack on museums, libraries and academies that are considered as the stores of collective memory. In counter, in the second half of the century, postmodernism has introduced all forms of the past arising from various sources (Connerton 1999).

The essence of modernity denies the form of life celebrating repetitions of ceremonies and certain events, because by definition, modernity is rooted in economic development and extended transformations of capitalist world market in all parts of life. Capitalist accumulation requires the spread of commodities to the world through this market, ceaseless transformation in production and outdated things that are newly produced. The built environment we live in, and nearly all elements supporting our life and work are structured for to be dismantled and replaced with the other. Thus, the production and continuous reproduction of built environment causes some difficulties in the mental world of people, their mental processes and their sense of belonging. This issue will be considered in the next section.

3.4. Place: Belonging Versus Alienation

Belonging or attachment to places involves social aspects as well as spatial ones. The interaction between the material and the mental world is mentioned mostly in the previous sections. Thus, this section will generally focus on the impact of social aspects constructing the state of belonging or alienation in a specific urban context.

Urban life is discerned as a milieu in which people try to attach their own and at the same time that they become alienated. As Mugerauer states, there are two intertwined sorts of displacement and belonging in the city life. One occurs through the relations of people with each other, which refer to cultural dimension. The other is the relation of people with their surroundings, which is the environmental dimension. When a certain place is considered, personal and collective consequences derived from space, time and lives in that place can be described as belonging, appropriation or not belonging, alienation. Personal and collective consequences of being should be regarded as basic determinants of perceptual, imagery and lived practices of spatiality. Thus, this section will generally focus on the place of belonging and alienation in modern culture.

F.Pappenheim, in his work “The Alienation of Modern Man: An Interpretation Based On Marx and Tönnies”, had mentioned about the concepts “Gemeinschaft” and “Gesellschaft” through a Marxist point of view of the sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. Tönnies’s work had also lightened the developing theories of urbanism of nineteenth-century social thought (Saunders 1995, p.88). In contrast to Gemeinschaft, which is not the result of a programmed act, Gesellschaft engages structured relations leaving the sense of belonging behind (Pappenheim 2002, p.55). Gemeinschaft represents ‘face to face’ relations in a socially restricted, small space, and on the other hand Gesellschaft is characterized under open and quite form of communication. Sennett had exemplified the situation like this: buying an object, with bargaining, from the shop at the corner or buying the same object quietly from the supermarket (Sennett 1999, p.41). Social framework of modern industrialized societies, as defined by Marx, can be treated as the archetype of ‘Gesellschaft’ termed by Tönnies (Pappenheim 2002, p.72). Communal organizations of previous social structures (tribes or towns in middle age) do not exist in social structures of today’s modern, capitalist societies. With the advent of money economy, and money as the standard measurement for all commodities, had caused disintegration of communal relations (Cemal 2002, p.60). As Agnew (1987) had stated, this disengagement in social relations are defined by the transition from community to society and is one of the sources of the devaluation of place¹¹.

¹¹ The other sources are classified as follows: secondly, the scientific discourse encouraging production and subsistence; thirdly, nineteenth century was the key historical period for the devaluation of place as a result in growth of nationalism as a place-transcending ideology; fourthly, the extension of placeless social science in the form of modernization theory occurred in the historical context of the Cold War and the struggle between the West and the developing nations (Agnew 1987, p.71-76).

In modern societies, individuals are kept isolated and separated from each other that has caused social atomization. Although Marx's works were treated as reflections of history and theory of economy, the condition of alienated man has also been taken as major theme. The history of capitalism has been interpreted at the same time as the history of alienated man¹². (Pappenheim 2002, p.74). In fact, Marx was not the first theorist who had proposed the idea of alienation. Hegel's idea that 'all facts of reality shelter isolation and departure in essence' had also influenced Marx's point of view. How Marx had distinguished himself was to make emphasis on the role of alienation in contemporary age.

For Giddens, the experience of modern age had caused to establish a complex relation resting between familiarity and alienation. Local living creates the sense of familiarity for the individual, but the elements of space do not exist within the limits of local boundaries as a result of modernization process. As space conceals the effect of distanced relations, people get familiar to elements that are not close in fact. Familiarity that is significant for the ontological sense of confidence does not reside in local environment naturally, but are placed in it (Giddens 1998, p.135). For example, the sense of familiarity occurs with the existence of a shopping mall. It is obvious that the sense of belonging has been replaced by the sense of being familiar. This paradoxical condition of modernity first decontextualizes and then structures new contexts and sense of belongings. Giddens opposes the idea that people are getting more alienated, because walking in a crowded city increases the coincidences, the potential of meeting with people and assembling new relations. Paradoxically, while the experience of modernization process destroys traditional sense of keeping relations, it also points out to totalizing characteristics.

Georg Simmel is one of the influential urban sociologists who had viewed the city in cultural terms. He was concerned with fragmented subjectivity growing in city life. Especially in his article, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1903), he had emphasized the effects of modernity on nineteenth century social life. First of all,

¹² The subject has been issued in Karl Löwith's book, "Max Weber and Karl Marx". The concept of alienation had been concerned as major subject connecting Marx's early writings on the anthropological conditions of human beings and recent works on economic processes. Individual of bourgeois society has been described as a result of keeping private property, good conduct, pride, mind and public sphere apart from private sphere. On the other hand, Marx and Weber who were in contradiction for their political outlooks had shared same interests for the subject of human factor in bourgeois capitalism. The subject of 'alienation' in Marx and 'rationalization' in Weber, both had summarized negative sides of bourgeois culture (Löwith 1999, p.19-26).

Simmel's article is important for its concern on social significance of spatial contexts for human interaction (Borden 1997, p.313). It is mainly about the transformation of individual consciousness in urban life, the social psychology of modernity as Gottdiner addresses (Gottdiner 1994, p.103). Simmel, had not particularly mentioned about buildings or specific places of city, but instead, he was mostly interested in the tension between social and individual lives and experiences, the objective and the subjective culture. Shortly, it is the mental experience of modern life that concerns him, as Baudelaire and partly Benjamin did. For him, the totality of life has been established of 'fragmentary objects of study' (Borden 1997, p.314). In this connection, to experience a city can be related to the processes of modernization and individualization and as divergence of types and extend of perception (Cemal 2002, p.59). For each modern individual, there is a struggle for maintaining his or her own social individuality in this totality of life.

For Simmel, an individual in the modern metropolis is distinguished by his *blasé attitude* – a blurring of the senses, towards the external environment. By the way, the blasé individual of Simmel is compared with the flâneur of Benjamin, although the blasé individual remains to be a creature of the crowd (indefinite collectivities) (Leach 1997, p.65). "The *blasé attitude* creates a kind of agoraphobia, a fear of becoming close to things, an illness among others produced by the spatiality of the metropolis" (Borden 1997, p.316). In a way, this attitude is necessary, because in this manner people cope with the divergence of metropolis life. It was a situation with "the multitude of casual, superficial contacts and experiences characteristic of normal urban life, the 'passing moment' as Baudelaire had termed it" (Urry 1995, p.119). The structure of the city enables development of individuals freely, in contrast to community relations. For Simmel, "modernity meant the possibility of immense individual freedom in addition to constraint" (Gottdiner 1994, p.105). Against individual and social destruction, one of the most significant elements that construct an urban totality is money economy. As Urry had pointed out in the general sense, money economy makes people to calculate their activities and relationships; and in the specific sense it makes people to schedule activities in precise ways that needs to be punctual (Urry 1995, p.8-9). In Simmel's work, in a large social group, like in modern cities, custom is replaced by formal social control mechanisms. The character of the social relations has become highly impersonal and individual freedom has got enhanced. Money is entirely depersonalized. "Exchange

of money leaves no trace of personality of its previous owner. It is leveler, for it reduces all qualitative values to a common quantitative base. It is a source of individual power. It is, in short, the finest expression of the rationality of modern world” (Saunders 1995, p.91-93). In short, Simmel had emphasized that, physical features of the city like number, size and density, had caused intensification of qualitative effects acting on personal lives of people living in metropolis (Simmel 1996, p.87).¹³

Heidegger (1971) had also ascertained the problem of contemporary culture as homelessness. He had stated that we are no longer rooted in the previous life patterns, the earth, heavens, the divine, and our nature. For him, this state of being homeless characterizes our age and we experience this phenomenon in the density of cities as placelessness. The crisis of homelessness in modern world is the result of lost roots and the disconnection with the homeland. If we lose the capacity of dwelling, as Heidegger had recognized, we become cut off from our roots. In this connection, Harvey emphasizes that “place construction should be about the recovery of roots, the recovery of the art of dwelling” (Harvey 1993, p.11). According to Heidegger, the alienation in contemporary culture is based on the separation of thought and ‘Being’, because of the technological thinking of modern life. Thus, he tried to find the way of catching an authentic existence in contrast.

Bachelard’s comparison between home and houses of modern cities describes partly the separation mentioned above. For him, there are no homes in Paris, but instead boxes replaced one on another. These geometric places are defined by their four surrounding walls and are distinguished by their numbers in entire city. House has no root, because it has been totally separated from the ground. He describes these houses as

¹³ Dominique Bouchet (1998), in the article, “Information Technology, The Social Bond and The City: Georg Simmel Updated”, tries to show us what has changed since Simmel. The article was handled by concerning the metropolis and the mental life. As it is assumed, money is not the only and most frightful leveler of differences; it is the media that has become one of the most powerful leveling forces in information and events. Money has also achieved incorporeality in the form of electronic money, which enables its transfer within milliseconds. Although in Simmel’s time, squares and market places were still bringing people together, they are replaced by passages, walking streets and malls with a stream of people in procession. There is no center any more for the city, only networks. City development does not occur concentrically any more but in ribbons. Thus, to settle is to get plugged in. in consequence, the city is no longer considered as a public space. As it is emphasized, the metropolis can be replaced by cyberspace where the structure of built environment is formed not by the production and circulation physical goods, but the production and circulation of abstract knowledge. Bouchet makes a description of the new metaphors of today’s city as disembodied, less material. On contrary, the cities and the societies we live in, still govern traditional and modern ways of life. Even the cities resemble the characteristics of these opposing views. Thus, both the effects of the traditional and information society are observed in our hybrid structures of cities.

horizontally structured spaces in contrast to vertical spatialization of home composed of ground floor, the living space and the attic. They lack the value of intimacy that is created by various partitions of home. As separated from the ground and apart from nature, these houses are not aware of the tragedy, taking place on earth, and in these houses people feel less horror (Bachelard 1996, p.55-56). The relation of human beings with their dwelling illustrates also the relation with their environment.

For not looking back into past in nostalgia, but in order to decode and understand daily life for today, Sennett draws our attention on certain examples of urban life. In his book, "The Uses of Disorder", he searches the roots of 'urban crisis'. He admits the problem of 'urban crisis', and explains that it is because of something that is dying out in the city life. It was Jane Jacobs who insisted on restoring those intimate relations of the past and the need of human-scale in public spaces; instead Sennett is in need of finding an appropriate solution for the affluent and technological era. According to him, "the chronicle of this era is the gradual simplification of social interactions and forums for social exchange, underlying an ever-increasing elaboration of technological and bureaucratic systems" (Sennett 1996,p.51). His examples concentrate on slums and city life. He makes a striking remark that in the group life of the past, like in ethnic slums or in terrible industrial towns, there were hidden threads of social structure and a consciousness of group life. The city life contained '**a multiplicity of contact points**', constructing the social relations. In 1910, the Halstead Street in Chicago, various ethnic groups penetrated into each other, letting everyone to have contact with various kinds of group life (Sennet 1996,p.55-56). "Each piece of city mosaic had a distinct character, but the pieces were "open", and this was what made life urban". As Sennett argues, "it was this multiplicity of contact points that has died out in the city; in its stead, social activities have come to be formed in a more coherent mold" (Sennet 1996, p.57). As a result, for him, it is not only the loss of intimate small scale that cause the 'urban crisis', but also the loss of multiple foci of small scale (Sennet 1996,p.82).

At this point, if narrative space of Sennett is remembered, it can be seen that these are the spaces that contain many contact points increasing coincidences and interrelations. Through these spaces, it is possible to get rid of alienating practices of modern life. It is not the space of produced places that gather people, which is also the

subject of the next section, but spaces that enable acts coming out of the spontaneity of daily life and have the high potential of real attachment.

3.5. Homogenization of Places: The Places of Mass Culture

The professionals that are “guided through mass media” develop places of mass culture, but not people themselves. Places produced in the sense of uniform products, are created according to the needs and tastes of people and apart from the significance of any geography they are established through the mechanism of production and consumption. The production and consumption of places entail an entirety in construction, demanding both the physical landscape and the constructed sense of place. Aside from the unselfconscious act of authentic place making, this process has a homogenizing effect on places and creates pseudo-places in everywhere (Relph 1976, p.92-109).

J.Urry, in his book, “Consuming Places” briefly mentioned his claims on places:

1. Places are increasingly being restructured as centers for consumption, as providing the context within which goods and services are compared, evaluated, purchased and used.
2. Places themselves are in a sense consumed, particularly visually.
3. Places can be literally consumed. Industry, history, buildings, literature and environment of a place are over time depleted, devoured or exhausted by use.
4. It is possible for localities to consume one’s identity so that such places become almost literally all-consuming places (Urry 1995, p.1-2).

Many examples can be given from contemporary cities to illustrate Urry’s statements: edge city developments, thematic settlements, thematic landscapes, old city centers redeveloped for tourist attraction are all invented landscapes that are produced with invented identities. Zukin criticizes historic preservations that provide the consumption of city centers in a similar manner. “Historic preservation has been very important in the re-presentation of the city. Preserving old buildings and small sections of the city re-presents the scarce “monopoly” of the city’s visible past. Such a monopoly has economic value in terms of tourist revenues and property values. Just an image of

historic preservation, when taken out of context, has economic value” (Zukin 1995, p.15).

A place is defined as a unique set of attributes at a unique location, in general. After it is ‘commercialised’, it loses its unique attributes. Therefore, when a place ‘enters the market’, so to speak, it must advertise itself as having generic qualities such as being accessible and having this type of service or that. As places become ‘consumed’, they lose much of their former uniqueness. Commercialisation makes them appear more like other places. At this point they, like other generic mass-produced products, must differentiate themselves from competing places” (Robert Sack, citing from Robbins 1993, p.304). As an answer to the commercialisation of places, Robbins states that postmodern city had presented itself as an attempt to re-imagine urbanity, that recovers the lost sense of territorial identity, urban community and public space (Robbins 1993, p.304). Though, postmodern urbanity was considered as “the renaissance of tradition and re-enchantment of place”.

The production of place through the processes of re-enchantment, or in other words, the course of urban regeneration, has created certain places with new usages in the urban context. These can be called spaces of non-place, in Augé’s terms. In such places, “traditional senses of culture are decontextualized, stimulated, reduplicated and continually renewed and restyled’. This is the city of malls, museums, theme parks, shopping centers and tourist sites, the city in which cultural disorder and stylistic eclecticism become common features of spaces in which consumption and leisure are meant to be constructed as “experiences” (Robbins 1994, p.311). These new urban spaces, developed after 1980s and 1990s take major account of urban developments. They are distinctive both in terms of architecture and cultural values they embody. A loss of spatial orientation, geographical place, and the content of action and events are resulted in the introverted, self-contained, enclosed environments.

As Robbins emphasizes, aspects of urban culture are absent from the urban regeneration agenda over the past decade or so, because an ordered and stabilized structure of a city can never ensure the safety and security of its inhabitants. As Sennett had also suggested, there is always disorder that threatens to assert itself (Sennett 1996). There will always be encounters, crisis of struggle and domination derived from the cultural intermix of the city. It is the provocation and stimulation on one hand, and

security and stability on the other that are involved in urban culture; and this causes an unstabilized nature for the city (Robins 1995, p.47-61). For that reason, the story of places should be explored in a way that intertwines many aspects, such as urban history, cultural identities, and the designers' view as well.

Under these circumstances, a new kind of relation with place has been considered throughout mediated relations. As it is not possible to revert the process of globalization, for example, Koolhaas uses the effects of it advantageously, and also for Featherstone, 'the mobilization of the spectacle is regarded as a positive force in urban life', opening up the way of an encouraging future. Rem Koolhaas's approach celebrates Augé's non-place, as it is revealed in the characteristics of the process of supermodernity arguing on human-place relation, and contemporary conditions of cities should be regarded as advantageous constituents determining their future. The term 'Generic City' (1997), proposed by Koolhaas forms a ground for making discussions on urbanism, architecture, identity, history, geography and culture. The word 'generic' comes from 'genus' or 'genre', As Gilbert states, while most architects and urban designers mourn the loss of local traditions and call for resistances, such as the concept of critical regionalism evoked by Kenneth Frampton, Koolhaas affirms the homogenizing effects of global economy (Gilbert, p.1). He conceptualizes the urbanism of the consumerist society as 'generic city' that uses the advantages of 'blankness' distinguishing the disadvantages of 'identity' where identity is treated as an imprisoning or stabilizing factor (Koolhaas 1997, p.3). Referring to Koolhaas's concept, J.Attali asserts, "Every city is 100% generic and 100% specific. It neither assumes nor overcomes the contradictions of global and local, it incorporates its own continuous variations" (Attali 2001, p.22). Manifesting that "planning is the city's coffin", Koolhaas is interested with "issues of reception, preferring to address the constructed identities and appropriated signifiers that abound in the city of today" (Gilbert, p.3). In "S, M, L, XL", he wrote that "If there is to be a new urbanism, it will not be based on the twin fantasies of order and omnipotence, it will be the staging of uncertainty; it will no longer be concerned with the arrangement of more or less permanent objects but with the irritation of territories with potential" (p.958-971). He believes that we must let cities free of their whole history and not project old images upon them. Identities are freed from the past. Koolhaas makes a description of a chaotic and dynamic city that

leads not to a dead end but to an ever-changing whole that is comprised of complexities and diverse states where we can interact with it.

Briefly, place will never be a subject on which people will reconcile, because it should be faced through the objectives of man and the process of restructuring of the society itself. In the process of modernization, appropriateness of individual in space has always been scattered and thus under these changing circumstances, different kinds of appropriatenesses have been looked for. The questioning of place will always remain either in the places of consumption or in places kept out of modernization process or in places supporting highest sense of intimacy, because it is an issue of man's being in space under the conditions that are produced and reproduced.

CHAPTER4

AN ANALYSIS OF A PLACE IN AN URBAN SPACE: KORDON, İZMİR AS A CASE STUDY

Kordon, in the city of İzmir, has been selected as the subject of case study for the illustration of discussions concerning the conceptions mentioned in this dissertation. The basic reason for the selection of this place is that Kordon has been considered as the face of entire city for years through which the city had opened itself to outer world. At the same time, it can be viewed as one of the most significant parts and the initial façade of the city, captured at first sight. Compared with other samples, Kordon can be regarded as one of the most challenging space that includes a deep historical structuration. Locationally, it begins from Konak Square to customs area and is comprised of the border and building groups taking place on this line.



Figure 4.1. Location of Kordon; (source: Municipality of İzmir)

4.1. A Theoretical Base for the Evaluation of Case Study

The theoretical base presented here will determine conceptual stages for to achieve the analysis of a place. This base is obtained in the light of the process of production, analysed in chapter II and definitions on space and place analysed in chapter III. Each place is related with other places in certain scales and dimensions. Thus, the characteristics of a place are determined both by its own specific features and the conditions occurred through the relations with other places. As it is mentioned by Rossi;

“In every city there are individual personalities; every city possesses a personal soul formed of old traditions and living feelings as well as unresolved aspirations. Yet the city cannot be independent of the general laws of urban dynamics. Behind the particular cases there are general conditions, and the result is that no urban growth is spontaneous” (Rossi 1982, p.162).

Therefore, in a certain place, both the conditions that transform all places, that are the conditions required for the process of modernization, and unique characteristics, embedded in physical and social structures, can be observed. In other words, this should be considered as the process of spatial production determined out of the dynamics of modernization, a geographical interaction parallel with specific conditions of a certain place. In order to present this idea briefly, following headings can be considered:

- **Facts** are constituents of the social and the spatial. And the system as a whole continues to remain through the reproduction of facts occurring in each place.
- Certain facts happen to be as **resistances** that effect or change expected values and beliefs considered in terms of the system. Resistances cannot be ignored because they have the ability to structure identity.
- Reproduction of facts and resistances occur in **time**. The repetition of facts or their reproduction in different ways point out certain phases through the continuity of time. These phases sometimes occur as an account of pointillised leaps, that are the revolutionary facts or as parts of social activities, in multi-layers extended in space and time.

As it is seen in the case of Kordon, the physical milieu and social acts determined in this context, has been reproduced although the geographical location of that place has not been changed. Phases of reproduction are experienced both in space and time. Partitioning of three headings, as mentioned above, has also provided theoretical steps of the process of reproduction in Kordon, İzmir and will be examined under the headings called “Time and Phases”, “Facts” and “Resistances” respectively.

4.1.1. Time and Phases

As Lefebvre has postulated, space, is a historical production. **Each periodization of the production of space creates distinct differences in the city space.** Mostly, if the facts are extended in space and time, we do not experience this process of reproduction when happens, but through the results of it. The process that occurs at different places is comprised of different conditions, producing various kinds of meanings and power relations, which is hard to grasp. At the same time, the process of reproduction includes the production of time, as well, because in order to achieve a future projection, the phases of this projection, in general the time should be programmed and used as a significant part of this process. The abstract space of capitalism reduces time into a matter of clocks and labor. But, in spite of that, time resists such reductions through the potentials of different constructions in daily life, cyclical, as well as linear. Thus, there is a complex relationship between time and space that should be comprehended through multiple ideas and intellects (Borden, Rendell, Kerr, Pivaro 2001). In short, time is an element that is disposed or regulated.

“Time in the city and by the city will be independent of natural cycles but not submitted to the linear divisions of rationalized duration; it will be the time of unexpectedness, not a time without place but a time that dominates the place in which it occurs and through which it emerges. This will be the place and time of desire, above and beyond need” (from Borden 2001, citing Lefebvre).

In respect with time, phases derived from the reproduction process of space point out paradoxical existence of modernity. It is the continuity of both destructing and

restructuring. Modernity, as Berman defines it, points out a paradoxical unity. It indicates contexts beyond geographical/ethnic, class/nation, religious/ideological boundaries, because modern life is maintained by many sources such as great inventions, industrialization, demographical disorder, urbanization and capitalist world market. Basic factors of modern life are determined by Berman as development and refutation (Berman 1994, p.11-13). As it is observed in phases through the world, this process had both produced abundance of opportunities and loss of values at the same time. Nineteenth century modernists such as Marx and Nietzsche had celebrated the annihilation of traditional structures and had thought that the road to modernity is the road to freedom. They believed that the only way that human beings could change themselves could happen through changing fundamentally all physical, social and ethical worlds they live in (Berman 1994, p.49) although it happens in favor of certain humanistic values. One of the greatest achievements of this transformation is to set free continuous change, individual and collective confusions, emancipating the capacity and of renewing itself. When destruction opens up the opportunities of development, permanency and stability causes discomfort (Berman 1994, p.118-119). Everything we possess or work with or live in are structured for to be restructured again. And the continuity of this process till eternity is aspired in a profitable way (Berman 1994, p.125).

The condition called “creative destruction” by Harvey should be accepted as an overview of the idea mentioned above. This feature of modernity embraces both positive and negative sides and it is evaluated as opportunistic side of modernity for Giddens. When Marx had stated that “all solid melts into air”, he had mentioned about the loss of aura and had believed that it was not possible to comprehend the age we live without being aware of the losses. People are forced to face this situation, because all of them were both the subject and the object of this process (Berman 1994, p.112). For Urry, “modern society is the first known society in which the dominant class has a vested interest in change, transformation, and in dissolving economic and social relations as fast as they come to be established” (Urry 1995, p.118).

In each stage, according to paradoxical features of modernity, a new context has been created and these stages find their most concrete definition in spatial reproduction. All ideologies that have directed the process of restructuring create its own spatial representations. For Berman, nineteenth century is distinguished from the twentieth by

the creation of new auras. This is mostly observed in urban space. The most distinguishing urban element was boulevard in nineteenth century, and autobahns for twentieth century. Modernization develops by destructing its own elements and restructuring the new ones (Berman 1994, p.207). Most of the time, the cost of the process is not paid by the destruction of spatial and social structures of premodern or tradition, but directly by the elements that the modern world had constituted. Modernity, on one side, is comprised of critical thinking and on the other, makes everything to submit its own structure. For example, in İzmir, in 1930s and 1940s, houses had been built as “modern” in style, and had been demolished after a very short time, due to the development plan of 1950s. Two-storied, white, cubist houses of 1930s had been destructed through the process of rapid urbanization and replaced by seven or eight-storied apartment blocks. Representations of 1930s had been replaced by the representations of another stage in the process of modernization.

Discontinuities of modern life and built environment are as two sides of a coin. The process of reproduction marks temporal stages in terms of economy and politics. These temporal stages require an analysis concerning universal, national and local parameters. As it is mentioned by Massey, if space is constructed out of interrelations, then these interactions should be considered at all scales, from the local to the global. All social and physical phenomena and relations have relative spatial locations. On the other hand, the spatial extent changes over time. Therefore, because of the simultaneity of relations, there is no static nature of space and time. As a result, since space is produced out of interrelations, then it occupies power relations, that are termed as ‘power-geometry’ (Massey 1994, p.265).

For that reason, the framework of case study has been determined by historical stages related to the history of the city İzmir, beginning with modernization movements that open up itself to western world in nineteenth century, up to today. Each period has produced a process creating its relevant in spatial context of Kordon and they are analysed concerning all scales; universal, national and local. The reason for scaling is to show the effects of social, political, economic and spatial components of larger scales on local scales. Facts are derived from the interplay of forces of different sociospatial levels. Properties of these sociospatial levels for İzmir-Kordon are defined as in the following way:

- *The period between the late nineteenth century and the beginnings of twentieth century,*

Universal scale: Expansion of industrial capitalism throughout the world,

National scale: Beginnings of a period modeling western modernization,

Local scale: The construction of the Harbour.

- *The period after the great fire in 1922 up to 1950s,*

Universal scale: The period of crisis and uncertainty between two world wars, second generation of capitalist industrialization,

National scale: The foundation of the Republic and industrialization through a single party state,

Local scale: The advent of municipalities as mechanisms of decision-making and trials of the Republic in urban space.

- *The period between 1950-1980,*

Universal scale: The period, in which industrial capital and technology are exported,

National scale: Industrialization based on import substitution together with a populist, multi-party political life,

Local scale: Transformation of city context as a result of rapid urbanization.

- *1990 to the present,*

Universal scale: A multi-polar period characterized by globalization, disorganization and communication,

National scale: The period, which proposes import-substitution and liberal monetary policies,

Local scale: The reoccurrence of local power with large-scaled projects in urban space.

(The determinations of universal and national scales are partly taken from Bilgin 1996, p.472-473).

It is easy to put forward these chronological periods in İzmir and Kordon because their social and spatial stages are interrelatedly established. Each period mentioned above points out a spatial reconstruction in Kordon displaying a discontinuity compared with previous stages. Each stage proposes its own social and spatial dynamics.

4.1.2. Facts

An analysis of a place should firstly include the knowledge explaining the following objectives, because each city, related to its physical conformation, owns a special arrangement of sites of daily life including both official and unofficial functions and activities. The facts of each city are, by definition, different from the other cities'. Even the cities that are near to each other may differ in their historical, cultural and geographical developments. Reminding Harvey's statement back again, the city, which can not be treated as an abstract container, is rather a geographically ordered, complex, composite totality of facts. These facts may vary from daily practices, traditions, laws and regulations of formal and informal social structure to physical effects of geography, topography and climate.

Facts are the results of political, economic, social and cultural relations, which are all embedded in the particularity of certain places. All these relations are concretized in a particular place. Thus, places are identified according to the complexity or the density of these relations taking place in a specific 'place' and create its own history. These groups of facts require the political discourse to be hierarchically prior to the other facts. Mostly, concretization of decisions are enabled by economic capabilities, thus it is the economic model and instruments that follow political discourse in practice. In the reproduction process of built environment through power relations, determined by political discourse, socio-cultural and spatial parameters are accepted to be the following processes. In other words, it is first the ideology that initiates a production process, and then there remain instruments to activate this idea and finally it is the social dimension that keeps the process continuing. But despite the fact of hegemonic discourses, production of space in daily life may reverse these mechanisms, because this time, daily practices and social relations are considered priorly. Thus, the order of the

group of facts may vary according to the initializing force. As a result, it is possible to organize all groups of facts that reproduce places as in the following way;

- 1. Places, in general, are derived from the relation between spaces and people.** At the same time, places can also register new relations. Relations as the constituents of the social and spatial should be handled as a part of a larger context. Unfortunately, each place contains its unique characteristics, like people and societies.
- 2. In the reproduction process of built environment, there is always a political discourse as a mechanism of decision-making.** Cities are places gathered from complex unities of political, economic and social structures. Thus, as space is not a neutral box, it is a result of a certain ideology. Places cannot be regarded apart from hegemonic discourses that have the role of shaping social and spatial structures.
- 3. Places are produced through the instruments and models of production.** Instruments and models of production of a certain place determine the production of space as well and have an essential part in the practical works of political discourse. In connection with the previous dimension, the powerful forces of both economy and politics affect places. These decisions may also derive from three spatial levels: the global, the national, and the local.
- 4. A meaning of a place is carried out in individual and collective memories through social and cultural accounts.** Cultural and symbolic dimensions are considerable as well as political and economic concerns, because space continues to be reproduced in the daily acts of society. There are places that importance has been attached through cultural or historical life, or practices of daily life. Place is therefore, characterized by those cultural connotations. For example, Kordon in nineteenth century has been mostly characterized by the cultures of minority groups.
- 5. Space is the basic constituent of a place,** because everything takes place in certain space and time. Each place reveals out its characteristic through its spatiality.

Place is conceptualized by Giddens as a social act in a definite physical context and geography. Therefore, social facts derived from these acts should be determined in order to ascertain the character of a space. But, it is not easy to comprehend these facts, because as Lowenthal states, “First, no historical account can recover the totality of past events, because their content is virtually infinite. Most information about the past was never recorded at all, and most of the rest was evanescent”. As a matter of fact, life is

consisted of complex dimensions that are hardly grasped, such as through memories, individualities, collectivities, fictions, anachronism, etc. And secondly, “no account can recover the past as it was, because the past was not an account; it was a set of events and situations. Historical narrative is not a portrait of what happened, but a story about what had happened” (Lowenthal 1985, p.214-15). Thus, cumulation of knowledge that has been taken account in case study, embody spatial representations that are explained through political, economic and social dynamics of the period, but the reality in part. In short, interpretation of daily life, that includes reproduction process of built environment, delineates a complex whole that is hardly comprehended.

Each phase of modernization is distinguished by new facts derived from political, economic, social and cultural paradigms, and constructs a new contextual framework. Compared with previous phases, new spatial representations appropriate for new forms of activities are settled. As it is observed in the case of Kordon, spatial demands and innate values in the utilization of space have changed through time. For that reason, in the case study, these new forms of activities and representations taking place in spatial pattern that is newly constructed will be explained. The significance of new uses in connection with social interaction should be explained and private and public places should be defined.

4.1.3. Resistances

Resistances should also be considered as facts that have the ability to act in an unexpected or uncalculated manner, because life is surrounded with many political, economic, social and cultural determinants and the complexity of social life. As uncalculated facts, they happen in reflection to other facts and remain to be reflexive in status. As singular facts, resistances cannot be ignored because they also have the ability to structure the identity of places. The character in urban space has been developed through the elements that set up resistances and produce a different identity. Under situations, that totality arise, the process evolving from individual demands to collective demands is not continuous and uninterrupted. Urban space is a whole that is composed of and is representing diverse power geometries and forms of strength. For that reason, there always remain singular conditions despite the fact of generalizations. These

singularities are important for individual attendances in determination of the process of production.

As it is mentioned by Giddens, we cannot entirely control social life and for some point of view, world is structured as a whole, and for others, it is occupied with inequalities of power (Giddens 1998, p.149). Resistances should be considered as a reflection of the relation between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses, and under this title, weighty reasons in the formation of space are emphasized. As understood from the narration concerning the analysis of Kordon, although the process after 1950s had concluded with single-typed apartment blocks, it had not happened at once, but extended into a time interval within nearly 30 or 40 years that includes the changing parameters of the process. People, who wanted to stand aside and to live in their old two-storied houses, could not resist for long. Or from another point of view, as it is clear in documents registered in the archives, political power had also displayed inconsistency on the determination of built environment; for example, local power had decreased the heights of blocks in Kordon as a result of its vision concerning the future of the city, different from the previous local authority, which had oppositionally increased in 1960s. With discussions concerning the highway construction in the period after 1990s, several variations of local power has been viewed. But, at the end, Kordon has gained a new face through the resistances of many non-governmental organizations. A counter resistance has also continued to take place against these organizations by local political authority as well.

In short, what has simply mentioned here is that hegemonic discourses do not exist as single focal points, but with their counters as well. And finally, it should be regarded that several points of resistances may be established in the reproduction process of built environment.

4.2.The Re-production Process of Kordon, İzmir

Under the title 4.2., four main periods have been set out in order to explain the phases of reproduction. Each phase has been also divided into three parts concerning “definition of scales”, “four dimensional types of facts” and “resistances” that correspond with the general headings explained under the title 4.1.

4.2.1.The Production of the Land: The period between the late 19th century and the beginning of 20th century, the Construction of the Harbour

It is the phase considering Kordon, İzmir in early periods of modernization. Construction of the harbour had totally altered social and spatial structure of the city and pointed out the beginning of a crucial change.

4.2.1.1. Definition of Universal-National-Local Scales

Second half of nineteenth century had indicated the expansion of industrial capitalism at universal scale. For national scale, it is the beginning of a period modeling western modernization. A development had been observed that was characterized by commercial and financial sectors, but not the industrial sector of early industrializing countries (Bilgin 1998, p.475). For local scale, specifically illustrated in the case of Kordon, a new harbour was constructed and the establishment of local municipality was observed as an attempt to catch up western formations of economy and administration.

4.2.1.2. Types of Facts in Four Dimensions

4.2.1.2.1. Political Dimension

Ottoman cities were controlled under the administration of central authority. The establishment of local municipalities has been distinguished in nineteenth century within the development process of cities. Outside İstanbul, they had been established firstly at harbour cities. After this time on, many foreign companies, such as the Quay Company, had presented themselves in the cities to provide essential services for the public. After the second half of nineteenth century, establishment of local municipalities in big cities was put on the agenda as a result of deep influence for the development of European cities like London, Paris, Vienna, etc. (Serçe 1998, p.49-53). Consequently, in November 1867, establishment of the municipal organization in İzmir was approved by the Sublime Porte (Babiâli) and as it is explained in Serçe's book on "Municipality in İzmir", its establishment had caused many struggles between the groups of interest (Serçe 1998, p.55). One of the most distinctive situations, making trouble was retaining

of the municipal administration by Quay Company. Despite the arguments, the municipality established in 1868, was failed because of discussions on the construction of harbour and it was abrogated after several months. Thus, administration had worked as an office connected with the province till 1874 (Serçe 1998, p.57-58). Ethnic divergence had also affected the structure of municipal administration and caused many problems through its formation.

4.2.1.2.2. Economic Dimension

At the end of sixteenth century and in seventeenth century, İzmir had a significant position in the economy of Ottoman Empire. This city had remained far from long distance trade roads, but with the settlement of international capital in this geography and a rise in population, İzmir had become an important center for commerce (Goffman 1994). Beginning from 1830s, İzmir had entered the process of economic and social transformations. The period after the second half of nineteenth century till the foundation of the Republic, has pointed out a time that Ottoman Empire had integrated with universal capitalism. Thus, the harbour in İzmir has been settled as an important economic center connected directly with metropolises in Europe. This transformation, was called as “environmentalization” by İlhan Tekeli (Tekeli 1995, p.53), and had lasted till the beginnings of twentieth century. Integration process of Ottoman with western societies had transformed the urban structure as well as the economic and social structures. Urban planning as a fact of western industrialization had not occurred in the same way in Ottoman Empire, but it had effected the establishment of laws and instructions on this subject.

4.2.1.2.3. Socio-cultural Dimension

The city İzmir in nineteenth century had a cosmopolitan society and diverse ethnic and cultural elements had taken place in the social structure of the city. These cosmopolitan structures establishing a city whole formed of diverse social contexts and had continued to remain till the achievement of the Republic. After the prevention of epidemics, the rise of commerce and the increase in the circulation of all goods, the population had increased in the beginnings of nineteenth century. Datas on population

vary according to different sources; it was noted that in 1857, 180.000 people, in 1868, 187.000 people and in 1891, 207.547 people had lived in İzmir (Alim Baran 2003, p.23). With the beginnings of the half of nineteenth century, the ratio of Turkish people to the total was observed as more than 50%. 65.000 Turkish, 40.000 Rum had lived in 130.000 total, and the rest was foreigner, Jewish and Armenian. According to Köprülü, Greek population had increased in nineteenth century, thus 90.000 Rum, 30.000 Greek, 40.000 Turkish, 15.000 Jewish, 9000 Armenian and 8000 Levantine and foreigner had lived in İzmir (Alim Baran 2003, p.23). According to the annual of province, of 1969, the population of İzmir in 1894 had been mentioned as 200.000 and divided into ethnic and religious parts as in the following way: 89.000 Muslim, 52.000 Greek Orthodox, 5628 Armenian, 16.000 Jewish and 36.300 foreigners (Greek, Italian, Austrian, English, French...) (Kıray 1972, p.32).

It was known that various ethnic and religious groups had created their own living context and among them, Turkish people had lived isolatedly. Spaces of socialization had differed according to different social groups, but Beyru had stated that club life had related with ethnic variations, but some clubs had differed from the others appraising social statutes and class (Beyru 2000, p.121). Despite the fact of variations, Beyru had emphasized that social and cultural interaction had been developed, and in addition to that social life had improved in proportion to other cities on the east. İzmir was a city that had reflected less İslamic effects and had displayed itself as a cosmopolitan city where people of various religions, nations and life styles had lived together (Barbaros 1995, p37-41).

The region restricted for harbour facilities on the seashore had attracted attention with places of entertainment, consulates, shops and large stores. The Frenk Street as the heart of the city and the settlements for foreigners and Levantines had situated behind this region (Serçe 1998, p.64). The gradation of social groups had displayed similarities with the gradation of commerce in İzmir: Levantine capital had controlled international relations where Armenian and Greek people had dealt with trading among inner regions. Muslims and Jewish groups had dealt with local trade. Managers at the companies of quay and railways had the highest ranks among others and were known as 'the owners' of the city (Kıray 1972, p.53). In other words, spatial variations in nineteenth century had derived from ethnic pluralities and in this sense; Kordon had been treated as the place of 'the owners of the city'. Although they had been founded as

one of the minority groups, people were used to care and pay attention to the existence of western population.

4.2.1.2.4. Spatial Dimension

The harbour and its near environment had occurred to be the spatial focus of Levantine capital in İzmir. The functions required for harbour facilities had included both spaces of transportation and institutional structures: banks, buildings for companies and insurance, etc. Besides, clubs, cafes, bars, theaters, cinemas and shops had remained to serve for social and public life of Levantine group, integrated with other structures. Thus, all parts of spatial representations had been situated at this specific social and spatial context.

Harbours and quays had great importance in the development of cities of commerce. On the contrary, Ottoman Empire had lacked regular quays till 1860s. But, the relations between the regions on the coast and subregions behind, had required a new and regular structuring for the quays. In İzmir, till the midst of nineteenth century, there had been no regular roads and quay for the load and discharge and transportation of goods. At those times, as it was also mentioned by travelers, the most urgent thing for the city had been observed as the construction of a quay and the prevention of unhealthy, irregular and uncontrolled transportation. Charles Texier, who had visited Anatolia in 1850, had expressed the need of a new quay in his book called “Little Asia” (Gürsoy 1993, p.50).

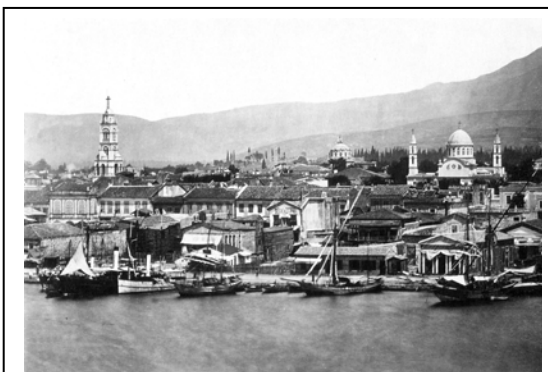


Figure 4.2. The seashore before 1867; (source: IKEMA).



Figure 4.3. The harbour district before 1867; (source: IKEMA).

Before the quay was built, marina was the only part of the city with direct access to the sea, and was the first place the visitors had arrived in İzmir. “The Marina was a coastline marked with hotels, restaurants and cafes where people ate, drank, danced, took walks and generally strolled for pleasure...The first thing that struck one’s eye when one went ashore was a building with a big sign in front saying Royal Navy Hotel...indeed, with its houses and natural environs, the Marina was the city’s most westernized district. In spite of everything, however, its atmosphere here was quite different from that of any western city” (Beyru 1993, p.346-48).

Çınar Atay has explained the condition before the accomplishment of quay in 1876: “As the only place for wandering, the road on the shore had continued within a narrow strip for a while and stopped where the settlements had resided. Between these two lines, very narrow parcels had taken place. Narrow streets between these parcels acted as passages for taking breath. The narrowness was a cause of demand for dwelling near the shore, and limited land shared by Levantines. They had moved forward on occasion by filling up the sea and had caused these parcels to extend in length. And people had not been halted for doing this” (Atay 1993, p.112).

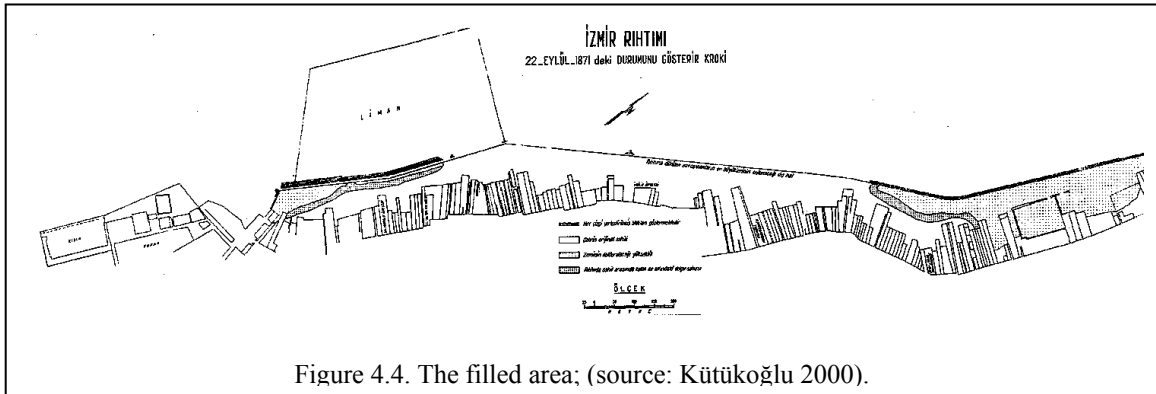


Figure 4.4. The filled area; (source: Kütükoğlu 2000).

By the realization of İzmir-Aydın railroad, whose construction had begun in 1857 and utilization in 1866, the idea was to achieve a commercial link between the city and its hinterland. The ideas on the construction of quay had emerged on these years and its construction had been made certain through privileges in the year 1867. Construction of the quay would provide a regular commercial flow and would take control over smuggling. At first, an ordered line of cordon had been aimed, but

afterwards, construction of a strong and safe quay had been determined. According to the plans, the area between the seashore and the line of quay has required to be filled. This process of filling had caused many problems on the use of urban land. First one of these was that new filled areas would emerge in front of the existing lands and their ownership would cause discussions. After ascertaining Quay Company¹⁴ to be in charge of this construction, it was accepted that the company itself would own lands gained from the fill up. Afterwards, the Company would also be in charge of selling those lands and the permission of building would be given to new owners. French Dessaud Brothers¹⁵, who had built up the harbours in Cherbourg and Marseilles, have been also ordered to fill up Kordon. In spite of economic difficulties, the Company had partly finished the quay in 1876 and put it into service (Kütükoğlu 2000, p.207-14). According to new contracts in 1878, the Company had been required to construct roads and a tramline¹⁶ on the quay, on its southern part, shops and enclosures for tradesmen, on the northern part, a quarantine, lanterns, buildings for postal service, administrative offices for passport and harbour and finally an establishment for marketing fish (Kütükoğlu 2000, p.217). Quay had been used for commercial activities within 1250 meters and had belonged to the harbour, the rest, as a place for strolling. The Quay Street, 18 meters in width, had been covered by stone pavement (Gürsoy 1993, p.50).

In 1882, quay had been concluded partly with the buildings that were required to be settled on. After İstanbul, İzmir had been one of the largest export harbours of Ottoman Empire and surroundings of the harbour that had been commercially used, was not only a place for people dealing with insurance, customs and commission, but also all other branches of work trading with distribution and packaging (Kasaba 1993, p.34, aktaran Serçe 1998, p.53). In 1889, it was agreed on that Smyrna Quays would be purchased by the government according to the contracts, but economically the government had not got the power of doing this. Finally, the loan had been paid by rent, but through this time, the quay had been used under privileges and after the establishment of the Republic, it was totally taken under the charge of new government

¹⁴. Smyrna Quays Company Limited had been established under the association of J.Charnaud, A.Baker and G.Guarracino (Kütükoğlu 2000, p.211).

¹⁵. Before the construction had begun, the Company had gone on bankrupt and Dussaud Brothers had bought the Company with all its rights and initiated the construction (Kütükoğlu 2000, p.212).

¹⁶. At nights, transportation would be carried out and in the daytime, a tram would operate, thus first public transportation would be settled (Umar 1999, p.88-89).

(Kütükoğlu 2000, p.226-40). Up to that time, Ottoman Empire never totally had the power to control the harbour and even in the most successful agreements 50% of it had been taken (Atay 1993, p.155).



Figure 4.5. Kramer Palace and the quay in 1890; (source: IKEMA).



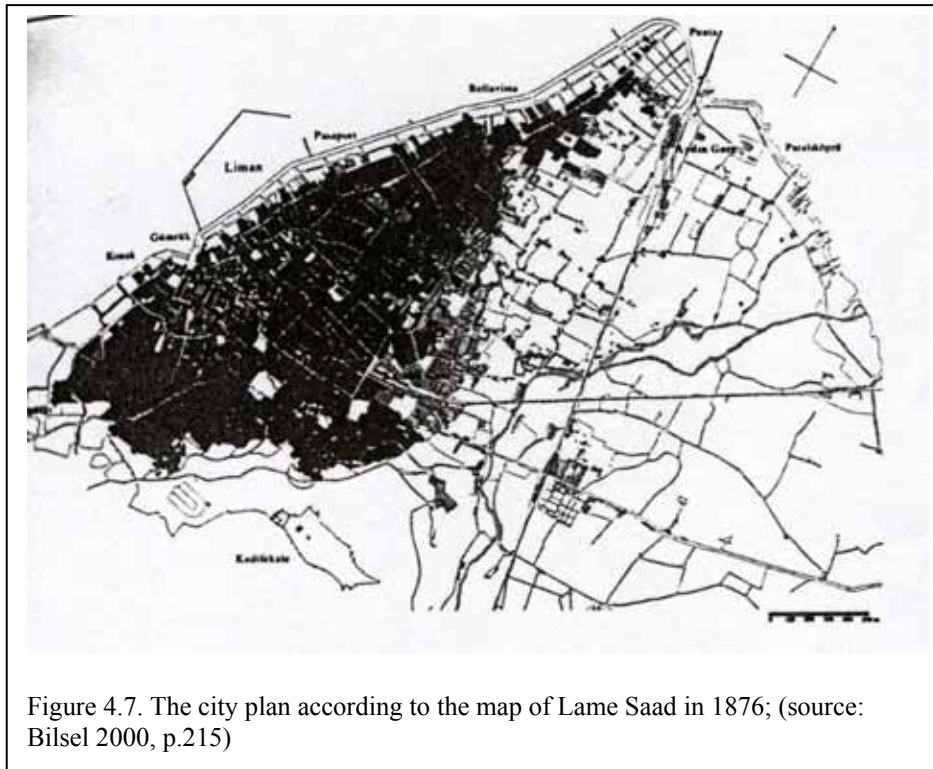
Figure 4.6. The quay in 1880; (source: IKEMA).

Cana Bilsel has evaluated the types in the production of space in the Ottoman city Smyrna in nineteenth century, and stated that urban space had been developed by patterns with diverse morphological features as an extension of social and commercial leveling¹⁷. One of the distinctive patterns in this context had been identified as the long part situated between the Frenk Street and the sea, which was composed of narrow parcels, and the streets between them. The life style depending on ethnic and cultural pluralism and commercial activities chiefly taking place had determined the development of this urban context. This specific place should be identified within the course of the intermingling of dwelling and commercial functions on this area, like in the pre-industrial European cities, and its geographical structure derived from being settled between the Frenk Street and the sea (Bilsel 2000, p.34-37).

First urban development that was organized by private sector had taken place in Alsancak (Punta district). A regular development in 1830s had occurred in contrast to spontaneous development. The planning in 1854 had shown that little amount of buildings had been constructed till that time, but some decisions had been taken on the subject. The plan of 1876 had displayed the relation between the harbour, railways

¹⁷ These patterns had been categorized under the following sections: 1. The organic pattern taking place in Kadifekale and its skirts, 2. The pattern ordered in rectangular parcels on northern and westnorth parts of the city, 3. Kemeraltı Street and its environment known as old harbour, 4. the urban pattern resting between the sea and Frenk Street.

(1858) and Alsancak Train Station. Empty lands at the end of Punta region and around the station had been bought by Levantines and developed by their investments. It is the “Sakız tipi” dwellings that had settled on these areas. The harbour and the context behind it had been developed under the management of private investors that were European in origin and in connection with this, a practice of urban space production had been charged. The construction of harbour had resulted with the production of urban land on the area that had been filled and it had provided the French Company to gain speculative income (Bilsel 1999, p.213-220).



The foreigners and Levantines had settled in the harbour district from 1.Kordon to Punta. Traveler Moritz Busch, who had been in Smyrna in 1864, had written that it was nearly impossible to meet a Turkish man in Frenk Street, people could imagine that they were in the streets of Venice or Ancona (Pinar 1997b, p.80). The traveler Rudolf von Lindau, who had visited Smyrna in 1898, had mentioned about social differences that had been also observed spatially. He had stated that the quay had the impression of a big city consisted of beautiful houses, clubs, the building for administration, cafes and colorful cloths of pedestrians; on the contrary, in the inner parts of the city this charming panorama had suddenly changed. Even in Frenk district, roads were very narrow that it was impossible to use a car (Pinar 1997a, p.141-4).

In Lindau's narration, it had been mentioned that Kordon had turned out to be a seashore boulevard on walks at night. Young men had looked a bit dandy and women had dressed showing the latest fashion of Paris. It was certain that social life had been developed in accord with other cities on the east. Sporting Club was one of the most favorite places for dinners, balls and meetings, but in these places Turkish and Jewish people were rarely seen (Gürsoy 1993, p.151-52). Moralı had expressed that Sporting Club was the favorite, and attracted young officers from İstanbul because of its location in Kordon, its garden, its gentle environment, women, girls and its view compared with Napoli by the artists and painters of Europe... there were also masked balls in Sporting Club (Moralı 2002, p.44). The restaurant of Mr.Kraemer from Vienna was also one of the favorites as Sproting Club in Kordon (Pınar 1997b, p.133). For that reason, Kordon had been an important public space in the urban context till the beginning of twentieth century because social classes of various kinds had taken place where they had entertained, along with the walks near the sea.

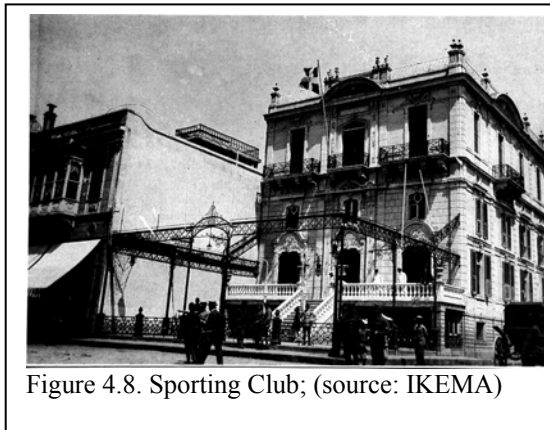


Figure 4.8. Sporting Club; (source: IKEMA)

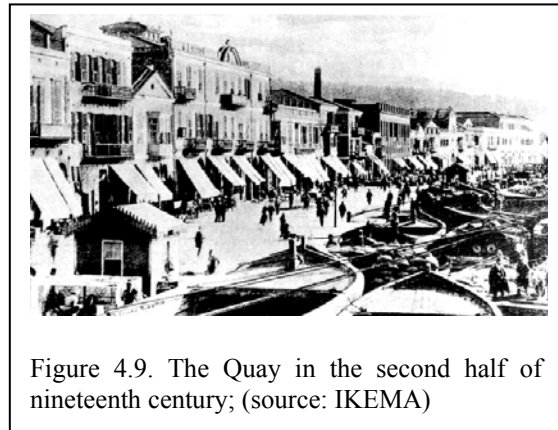


Figure 4.9. The Quay in the second half of nineteenth century; (source: IKEMA)

Mithat Paşa, in his memorandum written on September 23, 1880, had stated that after the construction of İzmir Quay, Frenk district had improved and become beautiful together with its environment, but in counter, districts resting between barracks and offices of government had started to fall apart (Serçe 1998, p.66). At that time, people were used to complain about the narrowness of streets and roads, thus with a width of 18 meters, 1.Kordon (The Quay Street) was seen as the widest street in the city (Serçe 1998, p.67). Thus, compared with the rest of the city, quay district had differentiated with its physical opportunities.

At this period, different from traditional ways of producing space, the distinguishing feature of the production of space in Kordon was **the suggestion of urban land as a subject of economic investment** and its significant role in the determination of this process. Urban land, as an economic investment, had also provided buildings settled on it to be sold or rented and thus taking participation in the circulation of capital¹⁸. Spatial production in Kordon district had rooted on foreign capital, but it could not be treated as foreign completely, because this city had existed to be a center for cultural pluralism throughout centuries. In general, urban space had occurred as a unity of diverse spatial features produced by different cultural formations and Kordon was one of those that settled a social and spatial territory in it.

4.2.1.3. Focus of Resistance

As a result of economic inabilities of the Empire, foreign companies had the charge of arranging the use in the district of harbour, and constructing a new harbour and quay. The construction of quay had been realized through the central authority of Ottoman, but the development had been initialized by the power and financial aids of foreign companies. So, the construction seems to be the result of a resistance, which has foreign roots in national and local scale. As a matter of fact, providing privileges for foreigners had been a strategic act for the position of Ottoman in the future. New urban lands that had been gained by the construction had caused great speculations. Through the semicolonial period of İzmir, Kordon and the construction of quay had appeared to be one of the most dubious investments, because after that time, producing, selling and taking profit had destructed all methods used about land (Kıray 1972, p.57). Simultaneously, the settlement on this piece of land had been also realized under the hegemony of foreign capital and arguments had continued to take place even in the establishment of local municipality among all ethnic groups in order not to share this authority with Symrna Quays Company. The existence of the company was an advantage for investments in the city, but at the same time a threatening factor for the regulation of power relations.

¹⁸ Other reasons that enabled this process were the settlement of foreigners on Ottoman lands with the idea of “freedom for properties” after Tanzimat, Regulating Laws for Land in 1858, laws that guarantee the rights for property and the laws that had turned governmental lands into private property (Barbaros 1995, 14-15).

4.2.2. Destruction of The Place of Memories: The Period After The Great Fire In 1922

Reproduction of space occurs in time. Sometimes it occurs as an account of pointillised leaps (revolutionary facts) or as parts of social activities, in multi-layers extended in space and time. As Rossi had also mentioned;

“The city, like all urban artifacts, can only be defined by precise reference to space and time. Besides such permanent phenomena, the city changes through time. Certain catastrophic phenomena such as wars or expropriations cause rapid changes, while other changes occur over longer periods. Many forces come into play: economic, political, or some other nature. An analysis of the city also allows us to see how these forces are applied. Changes depend on local situations and the type of the city in which they arise. We must therefore establish a relationship between the city and the forces acting on it in order to recognize the modes of transformation (Rossi 1982, p.139).

The change in 1922 in İzmir was a catastrophic phenomenon. The fire had grown within a very short time and reached out to a large area. Photographs displaying that day were generally taken from the sea and had captured scenes of places on the shore. Approach to the city or departure from it had mostly happened on this place, thus, these visual representations had exhibited Kordon as a gate to the city. After those disastrous days, many progressive efforts had been taken for the reconstruction of the city.

4.2.2.1. Definition of Universal-National-Local Scales

The process of reconstruction had continued till 1950s after the great fire in 1922. In universal scale, it was the period of crisis and uncertainty between the two world wars. It was characterized as the second generation of capitalist industrialization. In this period, a process of restructuring was distinguished with increasing capacities of consumption and extension of industrial sector. In national scale, the Republic was established and industrialization had taken command through the aid of government. A newly emerging model of nation-state had come in front that had tried to establish its inner unity (Bilgin 1998). In local scale, the new understanding of municipality, which

had been developed under the effect of Republic, had been also perceived in urban context. It was determined as a mechanism to take decisions on physical environment, and reconstruction of Kordon had appeared to be one of its examples.

4.2.2.2. Types of Facts in Four Dimensions

4.2.2.2.1. Political Dimension

After the establishment of the Republic, The Empire had been discharged with all its institutional structures and new institutions of Republic had begun to be organized. Throughout many political rules, the character of the regime had been defined. In those days, everything had been done in İzmir as a representation of a certain idea¹⁹. İzmir had been restructured as a symbol of national struggle and freedom appropriate with Turkish identity and name. Behçet Uz, as a minister of municipality, had concluded his speech in the Fair 1937 as this: “This work, is an example and proof of the success, on the area of public works of the Republic” (Alim Baran 2003, p.101).

After the great wars that had happened throughout the land of whole nation, it was not easy to succeed the goals. In that period, Republican municipality had assigned to take duty for the construction of a city and a civilized society. A new understanding of municipal works of the Republic had begun to take shape in İzmir after 1930s (Serçe 1998, p.168), but the period between 1923-1930 had pointed out the beginnings of this approach. The development and construction of cities had become more vital after the wars, destructions and freedom.

4.2.2.2.2. Economic Dimension

This period had initialized industrial enterprises through a single party state. In nineteenth century, when the city had composed of diverse ethnic origins, the owners of the city had appeared to be as foreigners – like Levantine group – who had been powerful economically. War, in a sense, had changed the owners of the city and new formations of belongings had emerged. Economy conducted by a Levantine culture

¹⁹. This is also one of the reasons to organize the first Economy Congress in İzmir, because the idea of establishing a national and economic center had coped with the idea on the construction of the city.

originated in foreign capital had become devalued, and the economy of Republic with a national center had managed to take control.

4.2.2.2.3. Socio-cultural Dimension

The modernity of the Republic had been more fundamental than the modernity of Ottoman. The newly established state had been a nation-state that would take a long process to be reconstructed. As it had been established politically, it would be reconstructed within the level of social consciousness (Tekeli 1995, p.53). It was observed that ethnic diversity had declined that was one of the distinguishing factors of cultural life and had constructed belongings in urban space. A new type of man suggested by national identity had been presented instead of cultural pluralism. While, Ottoman Empire had a multi-cultural social structure, the new Republic had collected all people of nation under a single structure as a result of unification proposed by nation-state. For that reason, the awareness of being collective had been felt deeply. Thus, the Republic that faced many improvements had been celebrated enthusiastically on its tenth anniversary. Despite poverty, it was the only phenomenon that kept a whole nation alive. That anniversary had been celebrated so devotedly in İzmir, because the war of independence had been identified with the city itself.

The new Republic had consisted of the classes determined from the people both in cities and in rural areas as an extension of agricultural capital under a tradition originating in Ottoman. Consequently, İzmir was a city that had the look of a rural past, but at the same time, had improved on the way to be urbanized. So, the new social structure had not revealed class differentiations yet.

4.2.2.2.4. Spatial Dimension

Rauf Beyru had emphasized in his article “Wars, Life and Planning” that immigrations arised from the results and developments of wars in nineteenth century had effected the structure of the city more than the damages caused directly of the wars. Despite the fact mentioned above the great fire had caused a disastrous end.



Figure 4.10. The Quay and Kordon under fire in 1922; (source: IKEMA)

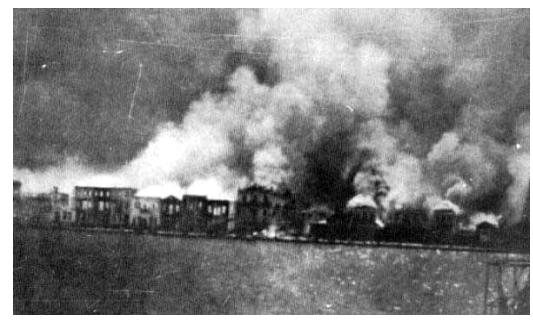


Figure 4.11. The fire at the moment; (source: IKEMA)

The great fire that had begun on September 13, 1922, had destroyed nearly one third of the entire city, and the most organized parts of it. Its commercial district had become a starting point for the restructuring of the city. In the area under fire, some buildings had not been damaged and some, less damaged. The role of fire in the history of city planning was the proposition of an entire plan for all parts of the city (Beyru 1995, p.34-37). “After the fire, it was possible to see a little tram on the most beautiful place of the city, the line of quay as Kordon, but not the crowd. The buildings that marked out Kordon were in ruins. The otels on the shore, clubs, theatres, most favorite places of entertainment (Kraemer Palace, Sporting Club, Avcılar Club, İzmir Theater) and houses were almost totally demolished”²⁰ (Beyru 1995, p.37).



Figure 4.12. After the fire, 1922; (source: IKEMA)

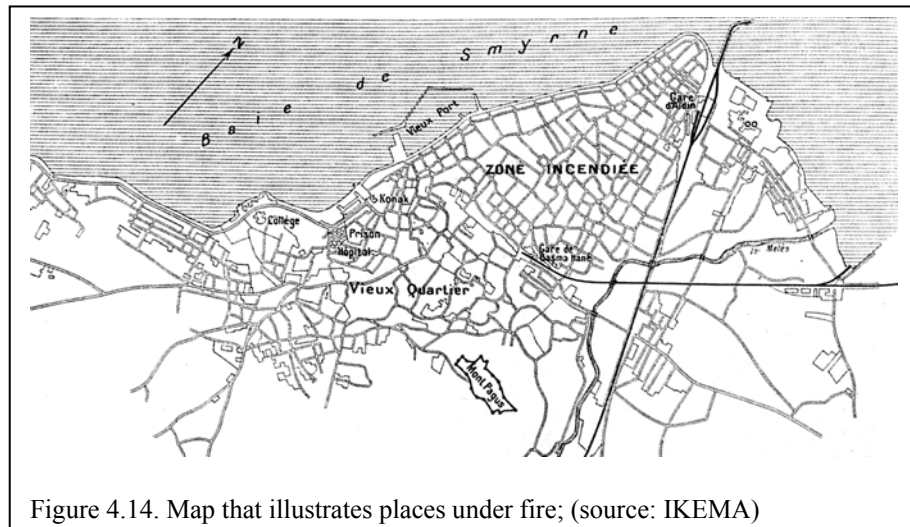


Figure 4.13. The quay and the otels after the fire; (source: IKEMA)

²⁰ Bilge Umar, in his book “İzmir 1950” had written that Kordon in 1922 and 1950 had slightly differed. “Because, the disaster of fire had destructed all Rum and Armenian districts, but not destroyed all of the buildings resting on Kordon, except Kraemer Palace, Sprotting Club, Avcılar Club, İzmir Theater. Those gently built two-storied houses had existed except some of their small parts. The greed of profit had destroyed them” (Umar 1999, p.89). As it is understood, on Kordon, especially the part between Cumhuriyet and Gündoğdu Square had been damaged. The loss of all buildings in entire place was on the hand, a result of profitability.

Friedrich Just had mentioned about his impressions on İzmir after fire in his book published in 1927 that, “When we have landed and walked on the shore, we have been shocked; the roofs and backs of those European houses were not existing. Roofs, walls and the facades on the back were all destroyed. When you look through the openings of the windows, you see a huge pile of rough stone” (Pınar 1997c, p.73).

Development after the war had appeared to be one of the most important subjects. Cosmopolitan social structure of the past and the spatial context produced by them had to be reorganized again. People had behaved within the certainty of establishing a modern state of the Republic, and had legislated in succession in order to change the look of cities in Anatolia (Alim Baran 2003, p.45).²¹ What had actually done was to reproduce a space appropriate for the purposes of power that was once produced for other purposes. Owners of the city had to face up with a space that had not been produced by them and not belong to them, that is, a space of Levantine culture determined by the uses of foreign culture. The fact that it had been chosen as a space to settle down immigrants from Anatolia and islands, had also rooted on this issue (Göksu 2000, p.92).



²¹ It was seen that not only the place under fire, but also the entire city had needed a regular development, but also it was an issue to provide capital that was required. The Ministry of Finance had decided to sell ruins in order to acquire profit. But, the fact that the ownership had belonged to non-Moslims, had caused troubles (Baran 2003, p.56). Objections for the auction of the ruins on that area by the Ministry of Finance, were: 1.Participation would be limited in number, because agreement on peace had not been appropriated, thus would cause the ruins to be sold cheaply; 2. Locations of the sites could be mixed up; 3.The companies of insurance could concede their contract; 4.There was an uncertainty on lands who had been included in substitution; 5.In practice, cleaning up of the lands was a duty of their owners (Serçe 1998, p.247).

Years between 1923 and 1938, had pointed out at first hand, the beginnings of a disarranged period when preparation had taken place, and secondly, the arrangements of plans for development and implementation. The plan proposed by Danger Brothers in 1925 had constituted the first and most important experience on this subject. It had been carried out till 1937. Basic approach in this plan is evaluated and criticized under the following headings:

1. The new plan was not tied to the order of ownership and old physical pattern of the city, because most of the owners had been foreigners and had left both the city and the country. Thus, the plan should have to propose a new order for ownership.
2. The plan of Danger was a typical nineteenth century city plan through its geometric features as a system used by Hausmann in the city of Paris.
3. Dwellings, even in the area that was ruined, should be constructed as houses with gardens between one to four stories.
4. The physical pattern and division of lands according to ownerships that exist today, has based on the plan of Danger in 1925 (Serim 1979, p.79).

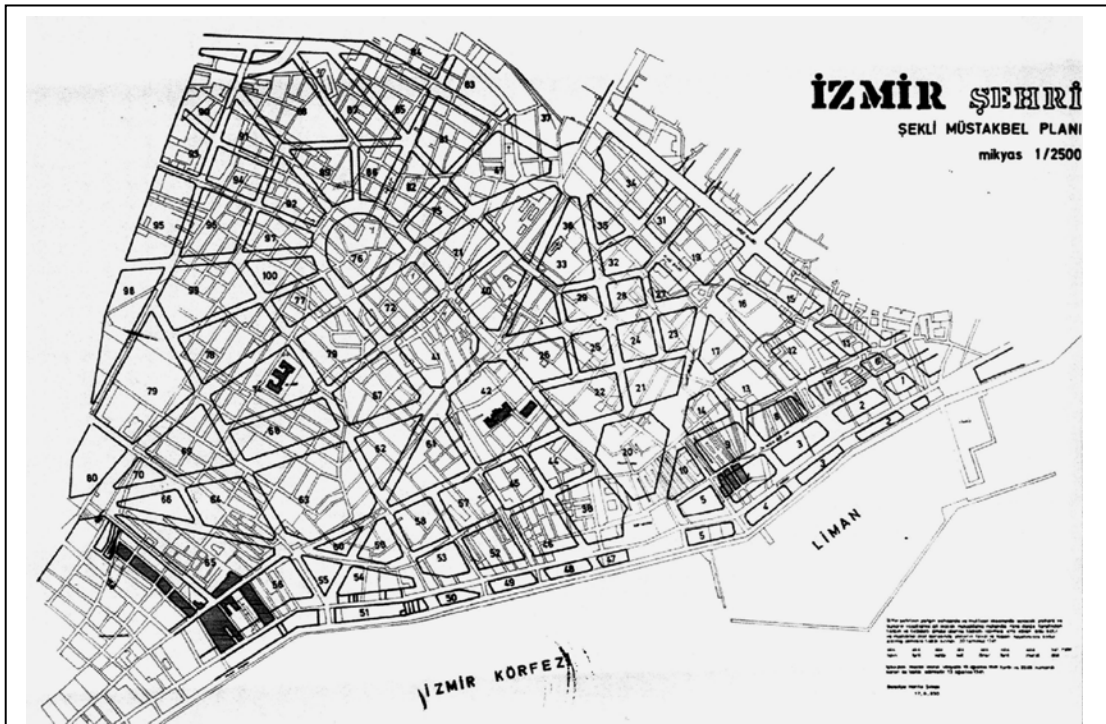


Figure 4.15. The plan proposed by Danger Brothers in 1925; (source: IKEMA)

For this project, “İzmir had been divided into parts for settlement, commerce and industry, and it was possible to make construction in İsmet Paşa Boulevard. A monument for Gazi would be constructed near the building of passport. It was decided that constructions would take place firstly in the area around the monument, Gazi Boulevard, 1st and 2nd Kordon in Alsancak district, because places in ruins had caused bad impressions on people approaching the city by ship” (Alim Baran 2003, p.62).

İzmir was portrayed in an article of a newspaper called “How did I perceive İzmir after thirteen years” that has been published in Athens, that: “ The place where clubs Fresfield and Avcılar had rested and the cinema Iris, The Otel Franciyakomo, Kafekosti and Kreamer Palace had turned out to be a public garden²². They called it “The garden of Gazi”. It was organized neatly...in order to take advantage of summer sea breeze; people were coming from all around the city. In the center of the garden, the bronze monument of Mustafa Kemal on horse with excited looks, was located, showing with his hand the Mediterranean Sea... İzmir was not *giaour* any more, but Turkish” (Alim Baran 2003, p.68).

In his work “İzmir in Armistice”, Nail Moralı had stated that the fire had cleaned up “*Giaour* İzmir”, but it had destroyed Kordon, the most favorite places of entertainment and commerce. On the other hand, their cheerfulness derived from freedom was enough for them. “*Giaour* İzmir had become Beautiful İzmir, rightfully” (Moralı 2002, p.131).

The basic aim of the plan, proposed by Danger had concentrated especially on Frenk district, and was a base for the production of spatial representations, such as monuments, public spaces, squares, wide boulevards and buildings on them, appropriate for modernist and nationalist discourse of the state. Spatial representations of this new type of publicity were parks, sportive and cultural activities taking place on these places. Institutional buildings on boulevards had appeared to be representations of the revival of national economy and political conscious under the influence of First National Architectural Movement. The Republic and the architecture of the Republic had established and institutionalized at the same time. As a part of this

²² Moralı had stated on certain buildings in Kordon; “There was Huck’s luxurious hotel across the port of Alsancak. Otel Kreamer was owned by an Austrian family. The first Turkish otel in Kordon was ‘Otel Asya’ which was owned by Naim. Above Casino Klonaridi, there was Otel Fraggiakomo, where secret meetings had happened” (Moralı 2002, p.52-53). After the days of armistice, the owner of the Quays Company had built a sea-bath. People had entered this place through a long bridge (Moralı 2002, p.140).

institutionalization, architecture and city planning in that period had developed its own field of activity (Batur 1998, p.213).

In 1930s, execution of a city map was the most important issue that was argued. Municipalities were obligated to prepare a map illustrating their boundaries in accordance with Municipalities Law in 1930. Till the accomplishment of new map in 1937, two other maps had been realized by Municipality of İzmir. First one was accomplished by Engineer and Head of Navy, İsmet Kaptan, in scales 1/500 and 1/2500. The second one was by Engineer Ömer Lütfi and Mösyö İskarpa, in 1924, in scales 1/500 and 1/2000 (Serçe 1998, p.221-23).

Till 1937, orderedly designed boulevards and roads had been built and the existing ones have been qualified in accordance with Dangers' city plan. The Street of 1st Kordon that was built with 160.000 Turkish liras had appeared to be an important act of development and construction in the city (Alim Baran 2003, p.74). Building works and the construction of boulevards in 1930s, were all attempts of establishing a Western look in İzmir. Those roads were seen to be the most distinguishing elements in the period of Republic compared with Ottoman. The most significant event that had occurred in 1932 was the organization Cumhuriyet Square and the rise of Gazi's monument (Serçe 1998, p.276). Another significant decision that had been taken was the change of place names. Changing the name of a place is also a part of memory construction. New names of districts and streets were appropriate with representations of new Republic, such as Atatürk, İnönü, Şehitler, Gazi, Cumhuriyet, etc. For example, 1st Kordon was named as Atatürk Street and 2nd was named as Cumhuriyet Street.

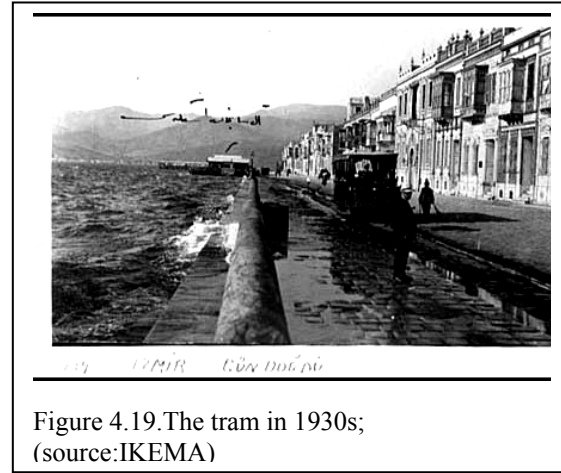
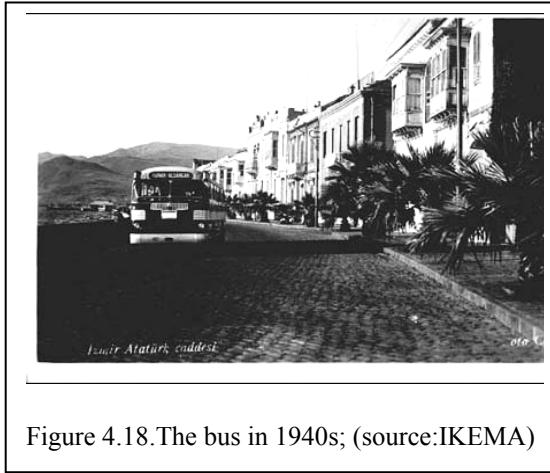


Figure 4.16. Horse-drawn tram for summer on the quay in 1935; (source: IKEMA)



Figure 4.17. Cumhuriyet Square and Gazi's monument; (source: IKEMA)

The point is that, 1st Kordon was the first place that had faced up many new experiences in the city. In nineteenth century, as being the first street, called as Quay Street had located on Kordon and none of the streets in the city had revealed itself in such a way. As it had opened itself to the bay, it had been completely exhibited. In the following years, people had met tram as the first vehicle of public transportation, and then the first bus in this urban space.



Behçet Uz was appreciated for his consideration on parks and green areas in 1937, and after him the subject had been taken into account by the following ministers of municipality (Batur 1998, p.216). Behçet Uz had prepared a development program for five years and in the second program with an extended version in 1938, it was ascertained that works received income would take place as well as the necessarily needed ones, like Central station, City Hotel, casinos and beaches, and gas-stores (Serçe 1998, p.209).

Under the supervision of M.Proust, Danger-Proust plan had considered the city in six quarters. In 1st Kordon that was situated in the third quarter, buildings would not take place over the ruined areas, but would be kept as green, thus the sea breeze would reach inner parts of the city. In the center of these green areas, a building for municipality would reside. After the revisions of plans, the width of streets and roads had been decreased for the reason that it would cause losses. And also green areas that would be in 1st Kordon had been limited (Serçe 1998, p.259-60). Architect Herman Jansen had criticized this plan and emphasized that it was not feasible, and the blocks

should be at most three storied, because apartment was not an appropriate building type for İzmir (Serçe 1998, p.264).

Most powerful examples of First and Second National Architectural Movements had been built in İstanbul and Ankara, but not in İzmir (Batur 1998, p.210-11). One of the reasons for this, was that İzmir had not required monumental official state buildings. Although there were few, it is possible to mention about some of them that were located in Kordon. Cinema Tayyare was one of the examples of First National Architectural Movement. Like all other architects who had come abroad, it was a Swiss architect, called Ernst Agli and had designed the building in modernist approach of 1930s. After 1950s, under the process of rapid urbanization, an apartment had been built instead of this building, called Tayyare Apartment. After 1940s, the City Hotel had been constructed as an example of Second National Architectural Movement in place of a tee garden located on Kordon. The projects of the hotel had been realized by Architect H.K.Söylemezoğlu in 1939, but built after revisions of the architects of the municipality in 1947 (Tanyeli 1993, p.333-336).



Figure 4.20. Cinema Tayyare in 1930s; (source: IKEMA)



Figure 4.21. Cinema Tayyare before Agli's construction; (source: IKEMA)



Figure 4.22. City Hotel in the beginnings of 1950s; (source: IKEMA)



Figure 4.23. The tee garden before the construction of City Hotel; (source: IKEMA)

The Quays Company had continued nine years more after the establishment of the Republic. After that time, the company had been taken under the charge of government. Public Administration of Harbour Works had bought all rights of harbour in 1935. In 1951, all rights had been transferred to the Bank of Navigation after its establishment. All functions of the harbour had been moved to the place that is already used, to the Alsancak Harbour in 1959, whose construction had begun in 1954 (Kayın 2000, p.200-207).

4.2.2.3. Focus of Resistance

Urban space had enormous losses and many places in the city were in need of restructuring. This was a period that collectivism was deeply felt, thus individual demands had been collected for to achieve social associations. After the great fire, it was nearly impossible to structure any equipment for spatial needs because of the lack of economic inadequacies. Thus, in this period, there was not any individual demand for profit in urban space; there were not also social polarizations that were observed. In terms of local bonds, everything was realized with collective consciousness structured through the new principles of the Republic. So, the existing situation in Kordon after the war was part of a resistance taken as a national act against universal associations.

4.2.3. The Re-production of Space: The Period After 1950s, Rapid Urbanization

The issue of rapid urbanization had embraced all big cities at that period and was a social phenomenon accurate for many places. This development had been also observed through the specific history of the production of space in Kordon.

4.2.3.1. Definition of Universal-National-Local Scales

In the period between 1950 and 1980, in universal scale, a bipolar economic and political structure had been established. Modernization and industrialization had spread out effectively, compared with the preceding periods. In national scale, it had been the period of industrialization based on import substitution through a multi-party political

life (Bilgin 1998). In local scale, the issue of rapid urbanization had been observed as new apartments in Kordon.

4.2.3.2. Types of Facts in Four Dimensions

4.2.3.2.1. Political Dimension

After the Second World War, the new model of affluence state, respectful for human rights had also been taken as a model and tried to be appropriated institutionally by Turkey. A transition had taken place to a multi-part political life. This transition also had pointed that the project of modernization had changed characteristics. It had been directed towards populist tendencies. Political discourse that had projected the economy of the nation to international markets was restricted within the boundaries of inner market. The influences of rapid urbanization that had been supported by mechanization in agriculture and immigration to the cities, had been observed throughout the country (Eyüce 1999, p.36-37) (Tekeli 1998, p.12-14).

4.2.3.2.2. Economic Dimension

A bipolar economic and political structure in universal scale had provided national economy to develop under the direction of American initiative. Circulation of commodities and people had accomplished with railways in the preceding period, but after 1950s, the net of motorway had been improved. Economic change in the project of modernization had been identified as significant for the integration of agricultural areas with the market, but insufficient for the fields of industry. Economy had continued to industrialize its mixed structure based on import substitution despite the priority increased in private sector. The period had been distinguished with populism directed with short-time demands of people (Tekeli 1995, p.54).

When it is compared with previous periods, Bilgin had shortly mentioned about the sudden break in the field of development and construction that: “Being thrown from a process under the initiative of state and elites to a process under the power of the reactions of little production, constitutes polarization” (Bilgin 1998, p.263-264). By 1950s, it had been observed that capitalism had released from state defense, and totally

revealed out, and as a result, urban space had appeared to be as a place of material contest for individuals (Cemal 2002, p.68). In contrast to state-based structure of 1930s and 1940s, 1950s had restricted state sector and supported private sector. After 1950s, immigration to big cities had increased population and consequently, need for housing and the issue of apartments had started.

4.2.3.2.3. Socio-cultural Dimension

After 1950, it was observed that the collective conscious that had constructed the country had begun to fade away, and individual wealth had occurred that had created a social disintegration. Social structure had been constituted from mostly atomized individuals. It was the period that initiated a sense of blase towards environment and the sense of alienation of urban man, because on one point, old places that were used and witnessed were getting lost and on the other, it was a period indicating the dissolution of both spatial and social structures. Social dissolution and apartment type of dwelling were two elements acting on each other socially and spatially and corroborating the economic structure of the time. Separate houses had been identified with a neighborhood relation and familiarity towards environment that was easily controlled, but on the other hand, apartments had created obligatory closeness. In this period, Kordon had appeared to be surrounded by apartments that were usual for everywhere. Although it was accepted as a prestigious space for the city and a settlement for upper classes, it had become similar with other places, under this effect of spatial homogenization. This situation points out a contradiction between the social and spatial. Social and spatial diversity had disappeared behind this homogenization. In other words, apartment as a new form of dwelling had appeared to be an ideal type that forced all social classes to dwell in it and reduced the diversity of spatial representations.

Social life in Kordon in 1950s had showed lack of plurality and density that had nourished cultural life. Kordon, as a place of socialization in nineteenth century had seemed to be less effective according to events taking place in this period. Umar's statement on this condition is that, "Elements that determined spatial boundaries of Kordon starts from Atatürk Street and Konak Square, continues along the sea, makes a quick turn in Punta (where new harbour rests) and reaches in front of the Alsancak Station. Kordon, in daily use, means especially the part between Pasaport Port and

Punta that is used for pleasure and watching, but not the other part resting between Pasaport and Konak. Right before 1950s, even the part for pleasure, watching and strolling was deprived of cafes and beerhouses (Umar 1999, p.90).

4.2.3.2.4. Spatial Dimension

The scope of transformation had occurred beyond expectations and squatter belts had emerged in the cities. Tekeli had stated that this situation had provided cities to develop in two separate ways, one appropriate for modernization, and the other that had developed spontaneously. Spatial forms of cities had been determined on one hand by squatters that escape from the payment of urban rents, on the other entrepreneurs that try to increase urban rents (Tekeli 1995, p.54). The situation that had happened in 1950s in Kordon can be defined in terms of the second one. Consequently, in order to create new capacities for transformations occurring in İzmir, as in other cities, a new plan had been required and an international competition had been organized for the development of the city.

When the specifications of competition are examined, it is seen that organization of inner and outer transportation lines; detailed plans of Konak and Alsancak Squares; establishment of the connection between Hatay and Güzelyalı districts; reorganization of existing parks according to new understandings of urbanization; sporting areas, hospital, a jail, and a campus for university for increasing demands; appropriation of Konak Square with public buildings and places of entertainment as a result of the removal of Military Barracks, Commandership and Officer's Club; reestablishment of Alsancak Train Station and the Harbour district; providing dwellings for poor and workers were expected. Nearly all proposals had been designed under the influence of International Style and consisted of block designs with cubic volumes, reinforced concrete facades, high rises that are positioned in big voids. This approach had been exemplified especially on the drawings that had illustrated Konak Square. These codes had been creating spatial representations suitable for the development of commercial and financial capitalism. This city image had provided emphasis on new type of economic organization, revealed out in places that were well seen.

The winner of the competition was Architect Kemal Ahmet Aru and his team (Architect Gündüz Özdeş and Architect Emin Canpolat). The project with three-storied

building blocks had been revised when the applications had started. Because of the rise in residential needs and land values, they had all transformed into four or five-storied blocks (Eyüce 1999, p.37). After the works of Aru and his team, four-storied blocks would change into eight and nine-storied ones although the boundaries of properties had not been changed in the last two hundred years (Kaftancı 2000, p.100). After the plan of development and implementation, first apartment built in Kordon was named as “Selvili Apartmanı” and designed by Emin Canpolat who had worked for the preparation of the plans. In the time this apartment had been built, many arguments had taken place in the field of architecture in İzmir, not for the reason that an old and characteristic building pattern had been demolished and replaced with a new one, but because of the density that was proposed (Kaftancı 2003).



Figure 4.24. The period of transition that both old and new buildings exist together; (source: IKEMA)



Figure 4.25. Spatial pattern that could reach till 1940s, the characteristic pavement on Kordon had not been constructed yet; (source: IKEMA)

The plan provided by Prof. Kemal Ahmet Aru and his team had required revisions after a very short time when it was prepared. The reason for that, was firstly, increase in population that had not been expected, and secondly, disconnections with existing situation and revisions that had been partially considered. Thus, nearly 1200 revisions had been realized (Serim 1979, p.82-83).

The point is, in that period, consideration on the conservation of built environment had not been evolved. Building processes had continued by destroying the traces of the old. After the great fire, in 1930 and 1940s, parallel with the modernist style that had risen in Europe, this approach had effected architects such as Melih Pekel,

Necmettin Emre, and Rıza Aşkan²³ and allowed them to design and construct two-storied white, cubist houses. But, they had been demolished through the process of revisions of implementation plans²⁴ and had been replaced by seven or eight-storied apartment blocks²⁵. In early periods of the Republic, large scaled, multi-unit housings or industrialized housing production had not commonly taken place. As Bozdoğan had stated, this situation was a reflection of “both the inadequacy of the material resources of the country and the primitiveness of the building industry as well as the priorities, politics and policies governing architectural production” (Bozdoğan 1996, p.324).

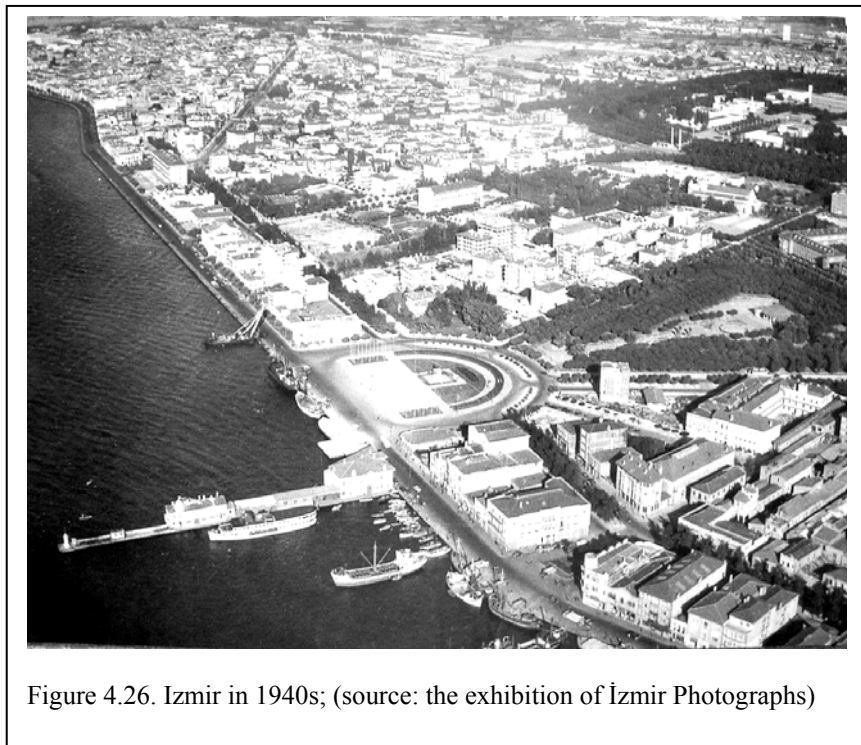


Figure 4.26. Izmir in 1940s; (source: the exhibition of İzmir Photographs)

Kordon, within the scope of a general approach, has appeared to be partly lost after the great fire and till the application of an entire plan for development it had revealed itself within a fragmented view of structuring. The plan for development and construction in 1952 had a weak relation with historicity and conservation and kept

²³ U.Tanyeli had stated that Melih Pekel, Ziya Nebioğlu, Akif Kınay, Harbi Hotan and Alp Türksöy had been known and presented examples of modern architecture in 1950s’ İzmir (Tanyeli 1993, p.338).

²⁴ Most of the single or two storied houses had been demolished after 1950s. The ones that are known had been documented in the 1930s issues of *Arkitekt* in limited numbers.

²⁵ Information is provided from Güngör Kaftancı, who has experiences and familiarity with the architectural scene of the period.

building limits the same as the previous ones, because it had only concentrated on regular development. Thus, the process of building apartment blocks with 4-5 and 6 stories had started to take place after those two storied houses. For example, the regulations of development plan of 1958 had proposed that buildings would have 15.80 m height on the roads with 14.50-17.00 m width, and 18.80 m height on the roads with 17.00-22.00 m width. In 1966, 18.80 and 21.80 heights had been proposed for the same roads (Serim 1979, p.100).

Datas on Kordon had been collected from the archive of İzmir-Konak Municipality and Department of Deed in Konak that include information of the time after the development plans in 1952 had been provided. As a result of investigations on these documents, it is observed that building construction had increased after 1950s and 1960s in this part of the city. Changes of the law of development and the law of “flat ownership” in 1965 had been the most significant factors of that increase. When the parcels and building blocks settled on Kordon, and between Gündoğdu and Cumhuriyet Square have been examined, it is discerned that the undertakings of construction reveal dates that are close to each other. Samples are listed as in the following way (a detailed explanation on building blocks 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201 and 1206 are given in the Appendix):

Building Block 1196;

Parcel 1 had been used as a two-story house before an apartment of five stories (designed by Alp Türksöy) had been constructed in 1958. We learn that there was a house with two stories on Parcel 6 before 1950. This building had rested in this position more than the others because national treasury had owned it, but rebuilt in 1976 as an apartment with seven stories. Parcel 5 had been built as five stories in 1953 (designed by Faruk Aktaş), Parcel 2 (designed by Ziya Nebioğlu) and 4 had been built as seven stories in 1962. An apartment with seven stories had been built on Parcel 7 (Türksöy Apartment designed by Alp Türksöy) in 1956; another with ten and a half stories on Parcel 10 (designed by Ses Hazar) in 1971, and Parcel 5 had been increased from five to nine stories in 1989. The last undertaking on this building block had been realized on Parcel 1 with a complete destruction of the old one and the building of a new nine-storied apartment block in 2000, which was designed by GNA.

Building Block 1197;

On the maps, 1934, of the Department of Deed, the condition of this building block is illustrated with only buildings on Parcels 7,8 and 9 resting on the corner towards Cumhuriyet Square (Parcel 9 was a two-storied casino); at the other corner there was İzmir Palas Otel and in the middle, on Parcel 4, a building was taking place. The rest was as empty lands. Parcel 7 was a three storied building in 1956, but had required additions for four and later for 5 stories. Parcel 8 had taken license for a seven storied building in 1956 and Parcel 9 had been used as a casino till 1965, but had become an eight storied apartment (designed by Faruk San) after that time. İzmir Palas Otel²⁶ on Parcel 12, 13, 14 was first built in 1927 and showed additional stages of construction. In 1962 it was burned and reached the existing condition in 1963. Parcel 10 had been built as a five-storied building in 1951 (designed by Kemal Tetik). Parcel 5 had been built as four-storied (designed by Ziya Nebioğlu) in 1952, but leveled up to five stories in 1954. Parcel 11 had been used as a small house till 1964, after that time had become an eight-storied apartment block. Rest of the parcels, 20 (in 1955 designed by Kemal Türksönmez), 21 (in 1955 designed by Ziya Nebioğlu), 22 and 25 had been built as 7,8 and 9 storied apartments in 1966 and 1967. The last undertaking on this building block had been realized on Parcel 16; one of its blocks had been destructed and rebuilt in 2002.

Building Block 1198;

Maps of 1934 illustrate that there was a building only on Parcel 1 in that time. It was registered as a house. After 1963, the Chamber of Commerce²⁷ had constructed a building. In 1971 and 1981, additional buildings had been constructed.

Building Block 1199;

After NATO had been established in 1949, it had taken place in İzmir in 1952. Thus, as the only building located on building block 1199, the City Hotel and Casino had started to be used as the headquarter for NATO that was owned by the Treasury of Finance.

²⁶ For detailed knowledge: Emel Kayın, “İzmir Oteller Tarihi”, İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kitaplığı, İzmir, 2000.

²⁷ In 1963, a competition for the building of İzmir Chamber of Commerce, and Harbi Hotan had won the prize (Arkitekt dergisi, Seri:VII, Cilt:32, No:310, 1963).

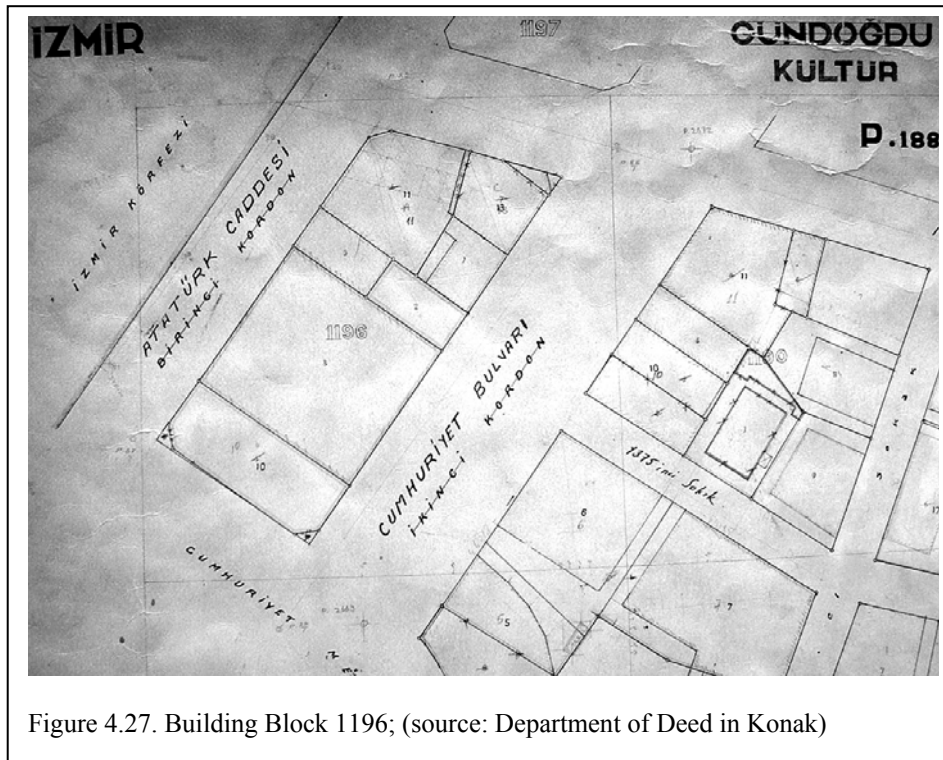


Figure 4.27. Building Block 1196; (source: Department of Deed in Konak)

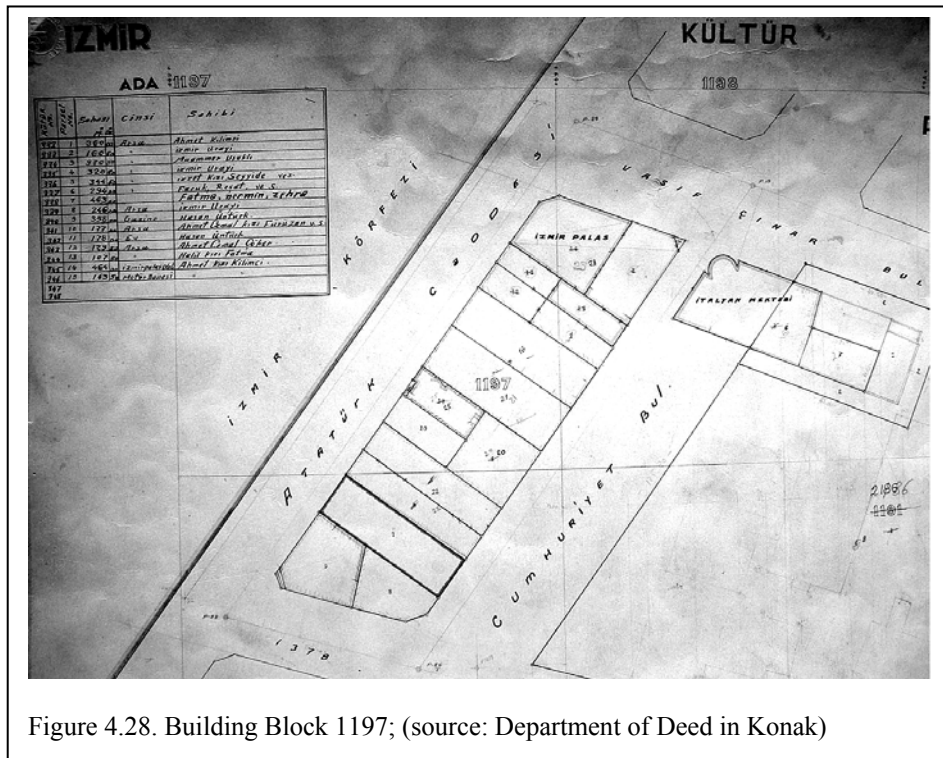


Figure 4.28. Building Block 1197; (source: Department of Deed in Konak)

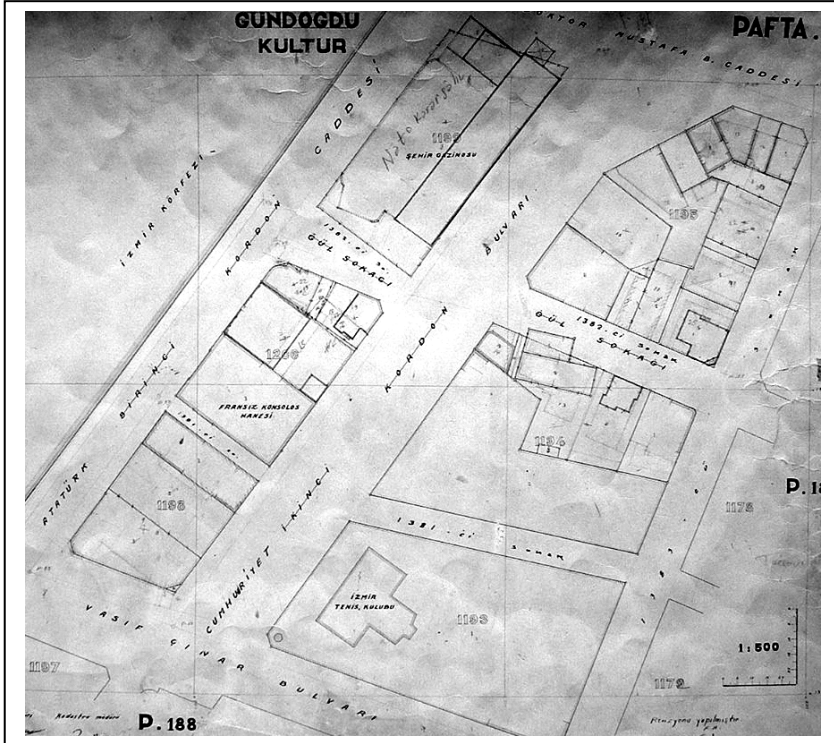


Figure 4.29. Building Block 1198, 1199, 1206 on the shore; (source: Department of Deed in Konak)

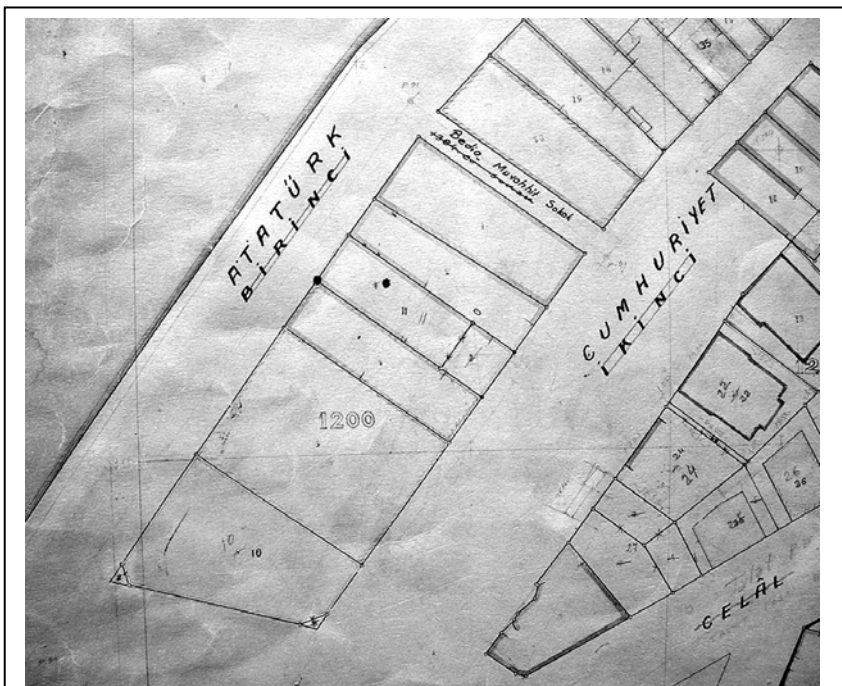


Figure 4.30. Building Block 1200; (source: Department of Deed in Konak)

Building Block 1206;

Maps of 1934 illustrate that there is the old French Consulate in this building block, which was already located till nineteenth century. According to the numbers of parcels mentioned on the map, except Parcel 2 and 5, there was French Consulate and two houses. Except Parcel 13-8 (the corner which Atatürk Street and 1382 Street had intersected) on which a building with three stories had been built in 1955, Parcels 9,15,18 and 22 (designed by Rıza Aşkan) had been constructed in years 1963,1964 and 1969 as eight and nine storied apartment.

Building Block 1200;

The process of construction in building block 1200 had especially started after 1960 as eight storied blocks. The only information describing the previous condition is that a person of foreign origin had bought Parcel 5 in 1942 by the auction under the authorization of municipality. A three-storied building had been constructed within the same year.

Building Block 1201;

It is illustrated on the map of 1934 that only Parcel 7 and 4 were empty lands, the rest was shown as building blocks. Consequently, the apartments on this building block had been determined through the destruction of old buildings. Some important buildings had located on this place and had taken place in collective conscious. Increase in construction had started especially after 1960 and buildings with eight or nine stories had been observed. As a unique example apart from these generalizations was Tayyare Apartment built on Parcel 20, on the corner, in 1970. Before that time, there was a cinema owned by the municipality on the same place. According to B.Umar, “Cinema Tayyare was the only cinema located on Kordon in 1950s of İzmir. The existing cinema and İzmir Palas Otel were constructed after that and had undertaken its function. It was a modern cinema for the time. During the week, in daily sessions, it was not crowded” (Umar 99, p.96). On Parcel 6, Selvili Apartmanı is located. On Parcel 7, Vakko (designed by Cengiz Onaran), as one of the most significant large stores of İzmir and an architecturally distinguishing example had remained. Rıza Aşkan has also designed the apartment in Parcel 22, in 1962.

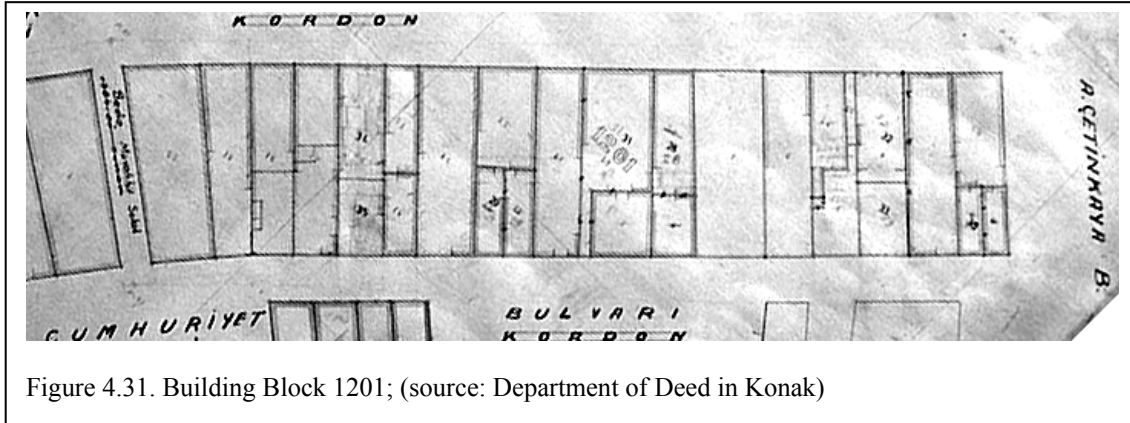


Figure 4.31. Building Block 1201; (source: Department of Deed in Konak)

New needs in housing sector had caused speculations on land. The basic idea for the utilization of urban land through dwelling, working and resting, had gained a new function under the impact of the mechanisms of the market and profit taking in accord with its conditions (Serim 1979, p.8). Specific places compete with each other in order to take the most available position through the use of activities and functions. After 1950s, the types of dwellings had changed with respect to living conditions, increasing options of communication and increasing relations with developed countries. Thus, apartments had emerged as ideal types of buildings for dwelling.

At that time, middle class had lost the opportunity of constructing a building on a single parcel and thus the association of two or more people for constructing an apartment and gaining a single store had seemed to be a solution (Tekeli 1998, p.14). This situation had continued till the application of “Flat Ownership” system in 1965 and enabled little capitals to come together for to have an individual house. After that time, house had become a product that could be bought and sold, and the scale (8 stories) had completely changed (Ö. Eyüce 1999, p.37). By means of this law, independent partitions could be established in a building and the ownership of these partitions had been accepted. Under the impact of market conditions, creating partitions and the rent of lands was directly related with each other. If the proposed or gained rent is high, then the tendency to create pieces is strong (Serim 1979, p.29)²⁸. Ownership of land had become a mechanism for both taking part from the increase of values and keeping the

²⁸ The planning act number 6785 in 1956, had placed everyone under obligation to take license for construction and had taken the right of controlling all construction processes, but although the act of constructing had been controlled, the act demolishing old buildings had not been controlled. If the owner had wanted to demolish his building that he had constructed a day before in accord with market conditions, he had not been restricted with getting a license for doing this (Serim 1979, p.31). Thus, many buildings existing in that period had disappeared without being documented.

values of accumulation for middle classes whose accumulations are devalued through a process of rising inflation. For that reason, the land had become an instrument for speculation apart from its basic characteristic as 'place'. For Tekeli, in Turkey 1977, investors had given 60% of land, to land owners on prestigious streets of big cities. The rationality of buying land in return for gaining stories for little investors was obvious under the conditions that had increased the values of lands (Tekeli 1978, p.35).

Turkey was one of the first countries in the world, which had applied the system of "flat ownership". This system had enabled both little amount of accumulation and little capitalists to come together in market safely and had engaged with the social structure of the country. İ.Bilgin had explained that "In the case of apartment blocks where building permits were indexed to the height of the building, no homogeneous and holistic structure emerged, because unlike in Central European cities, no restrictions were imposed on the lining and rhythm in the third dimension" (Bilgin 1998, p.486). Apartments had been built over a large area in Turkey between the years 1950 and 1980, as well as in Kordon. Common features of these buildings were that if it were located on a main street, then a commercial function on ground floor and dwellings on upper floors would remain (for more commercial demands, upper floors could also be used for this function). Little capital had invested in the apartments and commercial uses, and the public had invested in streets and infrastructure in minimum (Bilgin 1998, p.266).

For M.Balamir, "Physical outputs and environmental impacts have been the most immediately perceived consequences of rising property relations. The building stock in the country doubled every ten years since the beginnings of the innovation of appurtenance" (Balamir 1996, p.340). The process had facilitated the construction of apartments. The only way to overcome the deficiencies of capital was the collaboration of the capacities of investment. Thus, "land-owners, developers and investor-households acquired specific relational positions in this development process" (Balamir 1996, p.339). Developers had initiated this cooperation; the landowners had accepted the use of capital for production in return of profit and individual investors and households had participated in production process of capital (Balamir 1996, p.339). In this way, instead of big capitals, profit had been gained through the cooperation of little scaled capitals. According to the agreement determined by these actors, ownerships had been defined for independent parts and singularity of rights for independent units had

been realized. The process of appurtenance had caused an increase in building construction and investment capacity for housing in the beginnings of 1940s, and in 1950s. And finally, the institutionalization of the process had been realized in 1965 (Balamir 1996, p.339).

A.Eyüce had stated that basic reason for the transformation of built environment could be regarded as economic exhaustion as well as physical exhaustion, changing conditions of life, increasing population, the use of new construction methods and materials. This condition had been actualized through the changes of development and plans and the creation of profit capacities (A. Eyüce 1985, p.53). The built environment that has a very dynamic structure causes changes in the existing spatial structure because of the exhaustions effecting on it. Destructions cause new solid-void relations in city pattern that has not been aimed (A. Eyüce 1985, p.57).

4.2.3.3. Focus of Resistance

Increase in building construction after 1950s had initiated a process that could not be reversed. It is obvious that it was a process and had not occurred in an instance. The investigations in the archive on the construction history of parcels had shown that apartments as new types of dwellings that had changed life styles, habits of use and the relation between building-human-environment, had not been appreciated entirely, at first. This new type that had distanced from the concept of 'home', had not entailed the sense of freedom derived from individual property. But, the decisions behind these structurings were so powerful and they had provided a source of profit for many people that had seemed attractive. As a result, it turned out to be an entire process of production including everyone around it. Although the representatives of several local powers had slowed the process down²⁹, the process had changed direction again through the undertakings of the next political authority. Despite the resistances of local and national power against the universal in 1920s, the conditions after 1950s show the release of local power that had joined the national. In addition to that, the private sphere had increasingly expanded itself in local scale.

²⁹. It was stated in the document, dated 1961, that buildings that had been constructed with an altitude of 21.80m, would be dropped down, of the services of Department of Building under the authority of Safa Poyraz, the mayor.

4.2.4. Strategies of the Present: The period after 1990s, discussions on highway construction, its annulment and the construction of the new recreational area.

4.2.4.1. Definition of Universal-National-Local Scales

Kordon after 1990s should be considered as a reflection of economic, political and social processes following 1980s. In universal scale, it is a multi-polar period characterized by globalization, disorganization and communication. In national scale, it is a period in which standards in communications have started to be implemented and economy of import-substitution is abandoned (Bilgin 1998). In local scale, reappearance of local power with large-scaled projects and discussions on Kordon with a new filled area has come into scene.

4.2.4.2. Types of Facts in Four Dimensions

4.2.4.2.1. Political Dimension

When political approach after 1990s in Turkey is taken into account, it is seen that political perspective is based on the coalition of parties of right and left wings and has been drawn with democracy aiming to promote freedom. It is a period that local policies had been considered. Many political changes had taken place, but one, as E.Kongar had mentioned, explains both the political situation inherited from the period after 1980 and the condition of local scale at the same time: This period is defined as in which especially the characteristics of secularism, democracy, sociality and law had been weakened, and state instruments are utilized through the demands and profits of individuals in counter with the rules of law (Kongar 1998). When the production process of Kordon after 1990s has been analyzed, it is seen that the statement mentioned above confirms the condition as well.

4.2.4.2.2. Economic Dimension

As Keyder has mentioned, after 1980s, we live in a new world. In this world, the management of economy has increasingly holded by capital and national development

and the role of state has grown weaker. Economy has not been ruled completely from the center, on contrary, the center forces local centers to ensure themselves. The situation points out the autonomy of cities in general (Keyder 1993, p.91). National economies are not going to carry out the cities, but the cities in reverse (Keyder 1993, p.101). Thus, investments in cities are becoming more significant than before.

1990s has continued an economic heritage received from liberal economic period of 1980s that had been directed outwards and international rivalry. Throughout the country, a transition had taken place from economic relations determined by industry based on mechanics, to a system determined by the industry based on electronics and information (Bilgin 1996, p.489). A national economic policy had been applied that required integration with the west while at the same competing with it. This policy had appeared to be increasing the inequalities (Tekeli 1995, p.55). The period between 1980 and 1990 has been identified with enhance of consumption, but not production and industrialization for Turkey. Thus, the country had tried to join international capitalism with speculative actions depending on rent. As middle speculators predominated the production of urban land, after 1990s large capitals had interested on this issue (Özgün and Yeşildal 1998, p.229).

As Kıray had stated, in developing countries like we live in, elements of both balance and contradiction exist almost together. They have mixed structures that have partly feudal partly capitalist institutions, for some respect industrialized and for some other still at the stage of agriculture. As a reflection of this economic development, new institutions of transition and irregular urban space occur. These should be defined as institutions in transition phase that try to catch a state of equilibrium, but cause great deformations throughout this process. She had exemplified it like these: squatters instead of urbanization, the use of parties for individual wills instead of democracy that works for public use, snatch-and-run production instead of real industrialization (Kongar 1998, p.232).

4.2.4.2.3. Socio-cultural Dimension

The social structure that had been partly pointed through the political and economic dimensions, presents itself in a way that presents individualism and arbitrary applications of individual wills. Although a public structure has emerged within two

decades that has closed itself up to non-governmental organizations, (Kongar 1998, 332), the discussions concerning the highway construction in Kordon has been almost entirely changed direction throughout the resistances developed by these organizations.

4.2.4.2.4. Spatial Dimension

In Kordon after 1950s, a process of construction that had been managed by little capitals had used itself up within 30 years as a result of utilizing urban land for getting more rent. Discussions on highway construction after 1990s had opened up a new agenda for this place that has been related with the recirculation of capital in other ways.

In the beginnings of 1990, Kordon has been the subject of a discussion for being thought as a continuing part of a transit way between İzmir and Çeşme. It has been decided at the time when President has visited İzmir, and mentioned that problems of transportation would be solved with a high way construction passing through Kordon, like the one in Bosphorus, erecting on viaducts. Thus, several projects have been prepared. The local authority has rejected the idea at first, but afterwards, has initiated works on the realization of these projects³⁰. The idea has been presented with an operational understanding, as an infrastructure project³¹ that would prevent a traffic jam in the city by establishing the continuing part of Mustafa Kemal Sahil Boulevard. It has been illustrated as a project of contemporaneousness through posters and announcements³². On one hand, collaboration had been observed between the local and central authority, on the other, a base of criticism had emerged especially among foundations of professions (ÇEKİM 1992), (Ege Mimarlık Dergisi 1998/3),

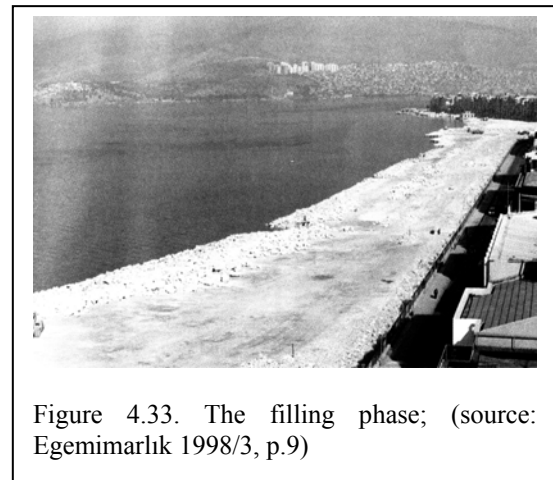
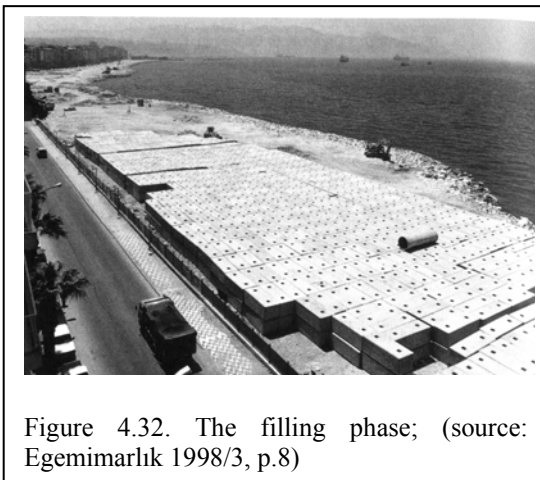
³⁰. The mayor of the period, has claimed that there was nothing left to loose in Kordon, the old two-storied houses has already been destroyed, but on the hand, this highway construction would take traffic under control and the city would possess a great investment (Hürriyet, 26 April 1992).

³¹. The period after 1990s had showed that cities are increasingly taking command by themselves. This can be considered as a competition between cities, and the ones which remain behind the movement of capital and which cannot prepare suitable conditions for the capital, looses its chance, because the capital is always ready to change place in a very short time. But, interventions concerning the urban space should be regarded with all layers of social structure, not simply as investments.

³². The mayor has supported the need of this construction and has stated, “Our struggle can be summarized as a struggle between people who want to make something for İzmir and conservatives who do not want to” (Gazete Ege, 2 March 1998).

(MİMARLIK 2001). The props of the critical views rejecting the construction of the highway, are grouped under the following topics:

- The construction has threatened historical marks of spatial pattern in Kordon, historical port in Pasaport, historical building of fish market, and buildings of customs.
- The relation of people with the sea would be interrupted; transportation by sea would grow difficult.
- Although the aim is to ease transportation, it would create a traffic jam in one of the most central places of İzmir, that is Kordon.
- Due to the fact that this enormous transformation of urban space is closely related with people living in this city, and as the place is required to have immense public value, the subject should be argued through democratic methods, people should be completely informed and then the project should be finalized, if it is needed.



Although the physical structure had almost completely changed, social life has been traditionalized in Kordon. Habits of use are still continuing. Cafes, locals, otels, cinemas and housings are places that possess spatial practices of the time, since a hundred years ago. The road that would be structured on the filled area would destroy existing spatial practices and few historical buildings that are left, although it would not be a solution for the problems stated by the authorities.

Throughout the period, discussions have taken place among various positions of political power, and because of this, opportunities have been created for local authority

and the contractor to realize their project. Although this physical context has been announced as a historical site by the council of conservation, through the efforts of non-governmental organizations and their legal registrations, The Ministry of Culture has annulled the decision and approved the plan of highway³³. As a result, the process of filling the sea has started. In order to prevent this, everyone has been invited to stop the process and directed to take participation³⁴. But, the sea has been filled beginning from harbour district to Cumhuriyet Square that had pointed out the beginning of the historical site. In 1998, the Council of State has taken the decision that Kordon road could not be constructed without preparing a plan for conservation. And at the same year, the decision of law that annulled this construction had been ascertained. In 1999, Kordon has been organized for recreative uses as a work of a different point of view of a local authority³⁵. The process of Kordon road has appeared to be an urban struggle, and it has been named as a place that has been saved by the people who loved it (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 16.09.2000).



Figure 4.34. Kordon as a place of recreation;
(source: <http://www.izmir-bld.gov.tr>)



Figure 4.35. Kordon as a place of recreation;
(source: <http://www.izmir-bld.gov.tr>)

³³ “The mayor has continued to fill the sea with rough stone although the court has annulled the revision of the plan of development that has enabled the Kordon road” (Cumhuriyet, 27 April 1997).

³⁴ “The Initiative To Provide Kordon Highway is calling a wide range including unions, cooperatives, members of National Assembly of İzmir, unions of Trade and Commerce, and foundations of professions to be in partnership. The Initiative To Provide Kordon Highway that started a campaign had stated last night that the construction should be annulled immediately” (Cumhuriyet 22 May 1997).

³⁵ In 2003, a similar discussion has taken place in agenda of the city İstanbul that was the transformation of İstanbul-Moda Street into a highway. Gaining filled areas on places near the shores and their use as highways is treated as fashionable for local authorities. Although recreational uses softens the idea of filling projects, constructions of highways on these places put a deep gap between the people and the sea.

Spatial transformations in Kordon, taking place after the beginnings of 1990s, are examples of transformations of an urban space through individual wishes. It is a result of the collaboration of political and capital power. Consequently, Kordon has been established as a place of recreative uses as a result of the change in the direction of objections. Although it does not appear as a great work of architecture, it is an area with 134 hectares on the shore that had been the subject of many discussions. It is a newly produced place that people like and on which they can stroll around (Panel: Değişen Kentler, Değişen İzmir 2002). In this region, it is the only open space, ‘an emptiness’ that building blocks permit. Throughout the discussions, it has refreshed its place in our memories.

Briefly, the spatial production of Kordon till nineteenth century had developed under the impact of different models of power: in the first, as a land of foreign capital under the structure of Ottoman Empire; in the second, as a restructured spatial pattern that had appropriated modernist understandings of the early Republic; in the third, it has enlarged itself physically under the influence of market economy that had developed after a period restricted with state policies; and finally in the fourth, under the influence of globalization and with a new understanding of beautification and renewal of urban spaces. The process of spatial production had started with the production of land in nineteenth century and had spread out extending within space. The space of Kordon had been produced by increasing its value through the spatial production of Levantine settlements and had taken its place in the circulation, stage by stage. Kordon had pointed out a place composed of public spaces, spatial practices and architectural characteristics, but after the period 1950, it had entered a process that had increased itself through properties and association of the power of landowners. When the growth had reached an end in vertical dimension, it began to increase in horizontal dimension, which is the fill after 1990s. Space is produced and reproduced throughout the demands, and in different stages, it is first idealized, then experienced by people living in the city and then tried to be appropriated by spatial practices and recoded mentally as a “place”. Today, Kordon has an image of an urban park that had never been before.

4.2.4.3. Focus of Resistance

At first, local authority had insisted on the subject and figured a position of resistance relying on central authority. On the other hand, coping with certain authorities, non-governmental organizations had once more succeeded to change the direction of the process of spatial production against local official authority and capital groups. But, at the same time, changes in local authorities and the issue of elections, keep the subject alive and powers resting in opposition put a counter resistance in order to realize the construction. Basically, spatial transformations in Kordon after 1997 had proved a resistance in local scale against national that had emphasized the use value of Kordon and had defended against for the right of using a public space of the city. Kordon always seems to be an attractive place for local powers to show their authority, because of its historical significance and location in urban context.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In accord with the structure of the dissertation, the conclusive remarks on this dissertation are grouped under two general topics that claim on both the theoretical and practical (concerning the site) backgrounds of the subject. Firstly, general comments on the concepts place, urban space and the process of re-production are explained as in the following part:

- Spaces that we live in, basically, possess identities throughout the continuity of life. But, these identities are not static in nature and they change in time. Change is inevitable in every space that production takes place in order to keep life continuing, even in regions where the rhythms of life are very slow. If the issue is considered throughout the evolution process of urban space, the forces that create this change should be determined carefully. It is certain that in urban space, it is not a process that evolves spontaneously. The process of capitalist production should always extend itself for to strengthen its existence and to keep continuing. Thus, because the fact of urbanization constitutes the basic part of this extension, change in urban space should be regarded in accord with the production of space. In addition to that, the meaning of place in urban space is structured through the process of spatial production and gain new meanings as a result of needs that this process requires. Whatever they indicate, power relations cannot be separated from the routines and practices of daily life, because the political system produces and reproduces itself through its institutions as well as microsociological routines of everyday life. Thus, in order to apprehend the meaning of a place, all forces acting on the process of spatial production, that are revealed or concealed, should be evaluated.

Readings on Lefebvre (1974) (1996) had shown that cultural costs, such as identity, memory, history and the meaning of space must be deeply considered through the reproduction of built environment. Space is produced and reproduced again together with social demands and transformations. Parallel with this idea, the meaning of urban space is reassessed through the dynamics of this production. It is not possible to consider any meaning as static, as well as the space itself. So, the causes of

transformations in the meaning of places that are the results of the mobilization of space should be defined correctly. Manipulation of space is also the manipulation of place with all its values constructed out of all relations in all scales. When we change the material context of a certain space, we also change its immaterial dimension and propose a new set of relations with new belongings. Changes in our environments are weakly combined with historical or memorial dimensions and mostly evaluated through its exchange value.

Second group for the remarks shows the basic approach rooted in the structure of case study and summarizes the process of reproduction in Kordon till nineteenth century as in the following way:

- The idea emphasized with the case study is that, places are manipulated throughout their integration to the process of modernization. Old city centers, old commercial places, old industrial buildings, they are all transformed for increasing needs of industrialization and modernization. Here, the reproduction of physical space is not the only matter of fact, but social, cultural, political and economic dimensions are also reproduced in this process as well. In other words, this is the social history of a place that is embedded in urban landscape. And the idea proposed in this study is to see a place as a result of the relation between the sense of place and the politics of place. In accord with this look, the definition of place, as specific characteristics of certain geography, should be extended for to contain all political, social and economic relations taking place in it that also concretize itself within space.

It should be added that with the method used in case study, it is not possible to propose a general model appropriate for the analysis of all places. Besides, we have the ability of reading a place in thousands of ways by making microanalyses on different dimensions of social and spatial contexts. The basic idea that is proposed in this study is that places are not simple objects and they are produced and reproduced by many factors sometimes systematically, sometimes randomly. For that reason, economic, political, socio-cultural and spatial dimensions have been specifically mentioned. And secondly, spatial and temporal phases of each place differ from the others', because dominant factors that structure places differ. Here, there is no any proposal for an ideal system or method of reading a place, but the reality of facts that remain in various scales and layers. This means that processes at multiple scales

and layers constitute the complex politics of place. In order to make this analysis, the knowledges of various disciplines can be used. Analyses, including human factor and space can use various types of documents to understand the relation between those. Official documents, scientific works as well as dairies, books of travelers, individual recordings, and narrations can constitute the source of this analysis. For that reason, in case study, nearly all sources has been used.

Since places are considered as ‘processes’, as Massey (1993) (1994) states, the case study in this dissertation presents this process with stages including the dimensions mentioned above. Kordon in nineteenth century had remained to be a place with high capacity of spatial variations, structured with one to three storied buildings, integrated with open spaces in addition to the activities of harbour, and had stood as a representation of a certain cultural and spatial structure in the city. Although it had already differed from other places in the city before the construction of quay and harbour, in nineteenth century after the construction, it had been produced as a distinguishing urban space. It had created a cultural and social territory and had been produced through the dynamics of these factors. When the process till today is considered, it is seen that the characteristics that established Kordon as a place were stronger in this period than the following periods’. Spatial practices had coexisted with cultural and social practices and Kordon had carried certain characteristics that had differed from other places.

Kordon, in the early periods of Ppublic, had started to loose cultural and spatial diversity of the previous period. Compared with it, Kordon had fewer activities concerning the Harbour, and for that reason, the sources of spatial diversity had decreased although it had constituted its distinguishing characteristics and multi-dimensional practices in this place. Ethnic diversity and various belongings structured in space had also decreased that had been one of the determining elements of cultural life. After the great fire, a transition period had occurred both because of the loss in the number of Levantine group that established social and cultural structure of Kordon, and because of uncertainties about the restructuring of this place as a part of the whole fire area. Modernist practices of spatial production in early periods of Republic had been limited with the provision of minimum

functions; the replacement of spatial losses and the completion of spatial equipments had been realized as representations of the Republic. Thus, this period had concerned with the production of spatial elements of modern city and had presented the structuring of new sense of belonging. It had been a period that people are gathered together with strong bonds and created a collective consciousness as a result of national resistance that had emerged against the universal effects.

Increase in housing demands that had been observed throughout the country and the city had also affected this place, in 1950s. Kordon with a distinguishing geographical location that had developed a spatial structure appropriate for public uses in every point of quay horizontally had produced this structure in vertical dimension after that period. The size of increase had been incomparably greater than the previous period. More than that, as a result of increase in housing sector Kordon had become a homogenized place that had been filled with apartment blocks, had monotonously ordered its spatial representation and had been simply articulated with uses that were the commercial on ground level and housing in the upper floors. It was the effect of expansion in private sphere in local scale and the release of collective consciousness. In the beginnings of this period, the architecture of apartment blocks had been determined under the influence of modernist style, but especially in 1970s, sensitivity towards architectural language had lost its strength. Again, in this period, the use of open space had been supported by admiration in car usage in city life. The ground floors of apartment blocks that determined an edge for this physical territory had been equipped with commercial functions and provided Kordon to be a center of commerce and entertainment for entire city.

Within the scenarios of İzmir's future, existence of Kordon has been considered again. It continues to remain as a valuable point of attraction in every period upon which expectations had been always computed. Although demands of construction have always been supported and economic profit has been increased, according to the recent condition, it has been slowed down. As Kordon has been an issue for groups of capital in nineteenth century, today, its spatial capacities are still continuing to be forced. But, in this case, another subject has appeared that should be judged; the transformation of Kordon from a harbour and quay into a city park

after a hundred years. Considering the final situation, as it has not been restructured to be a city park, it has obliged to become a harmless green area that covered up all scenarios of power relations. Disappearance or neglect of a power in urban space provides place for another power to strengthen its discourse. In spite of all that, the final situation seems to be the defeat of the local against national and local political power. People had resisted against political authorities and considered an urban space according to its use values for to regain the right of using a public space. Discussions on Kordon still continue and seem that it will cause further discussions. If we briefly define 'place' as a particular location that acquire meaning with all facts taking place in it, the meaning of Kordon today, in the memories of people living in this city, mostly established of discussions of power, the process of filling the sea and its spatial articulation that is used today, because a place image occurs throughout new actions and new facts. Kordon in nineteenth century or even Kordon in the early periods of the Republic is nothing more than a place image remained in postcards, because its all political, economic, social and cultural determinants had remained in the past. The elements that had structured its meaning, even spatial elements, have not been transmitted to today. So, each period that faces a process of spatial reproduction, also reproduces its own place image, and our memories are refreshed with new uses and new representations, otherwise those images remain to be a history.

Appendix B, C, D and E show the public use in four stages. Compared with the use in early nineteenth century, Kordon has transformed itself with extension in private use after 1950s and in public use after 1997 parallel with the general social demands of the time. The drawings show that some public spaces that were specifically located had faded away (for instance, theatres, cinemas, clubs of nineteenth century; the shore line and the silhouette of 1950s) while the new ones (a new public square with a huge monument in Gündoğdu, a characteristically different place for wandering near the shore) were emerging. Although the change after 1997 has not completely affected one half of Kordon, all parts have been revised, concerning all architectural elements in ground level for public use.

As a result, reconciliations can be achieved on the reconstruction of urban space, which is a 'contested terrain'. When space is considered through its historical construction, the process should be evaluated with all aspects, including professional

and non-professional actors who have the ability to transform it. An urban space that is not frozen in space and time, but that transforms through the continuity of time and restructures itself, should be the subject of a pluralist approach. Daily life, little tactics, public consciousness, memories and micro-histories must be also regarded by professionals such as architects and city planners and by local powers for to understand the identity and the structure of places.

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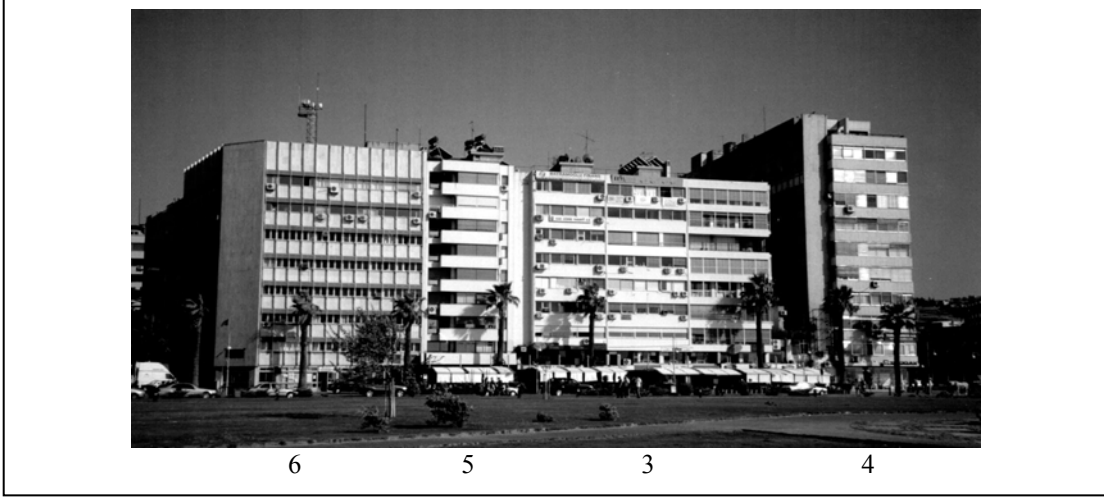
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APPENDIX A. THE HISTORY OF THE PARCELS

1196 Ada

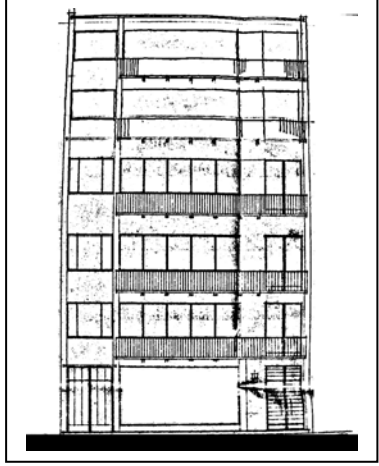


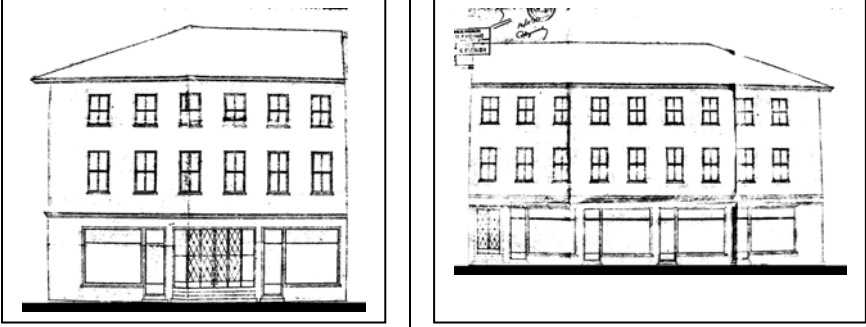
1196 Ada – 185 Dosya – 1 Parsel		
Adres: Atatürk Caddesi. No:392.		
1950 öncesinde	2 katlı, 2 dairesi, yapı yüksekliği 6.10 m olan bir yapı varmış. Sonrası için, tapu kaydında “bodrum katını havi, 5 katlı 5 dairesi kagir yapı” olarak geçiyor. Yapı imar meriyet tarihi 17.01.1957.	
01.02.1950	Mal sahibi Ekrem Çiftçi tarafından yapı ruhsatı alınmış. Garaj ve Apartman inşaatı yapılmak üzere projelendirilmiş. 204 m2. 15.10.1949 tarihli proje çizimleri Y.mimar Alp A. Türksöy. 5 katlı yapının mimarisi bugünkü yapıyla benzerlik gösteriyor.	
18.02.1958	Kat ilavesi için İzmir Belediyesi'ne başvurulmuş.	
17.03.1958	Mal sahibi, Belediyeden mevcut 5 katlı apartmanın plan gereğince 2 kat ilavesi istemiş. Ruhsat istenmiş, ancak bir takım eksiklikler nedeniyle reddedilmiş. İlave kat projesi şeklinde 18.04.1958'de başvurulmuş.	

20.02.1989	İmar kaydı Ahmet Çiftçi tarafından istenmiş. Buna cevaben verilen çapta 9 kat, 24.80 bina yüksekliği, arka bahçe mesafesi 3m olarak verilmiş.
12.12.1997	4. kat 401 no'lu daireye meskene oturma raporu verilmiş.
23.02.2000	Tarihinde imar durumu belgesi istenmiş (mevcut bina yıkılıp yeniden yapılmak istenmiş).
07.07.2000	Tarihinde yapı ruhsatı verilmiş. Proje GNA'ya ait.
08.04.2003.	Yapı kullanma izni. Mal sahipleri: Ahmet Cemal Çiftçi. Emine Ümit Tapan. Lale Sarıalan. Tan Gölcüklü. Can Gölcüklü.

1196 Ada – 185 Dosya – 2 Parsel	
Postacıoğlu Apartmanı	
17.12.1960	Tarihinde imar durumu istenmiş. H:18.80
10.05.1961	Tarihli proje mevcut. Proje müellifi Muzaffer Seven+Faruk Akaş.
13.05.1961	Tarihinde temel ruhsatı verilmiş, ancak 2 parselde 'müseccel deponun' yıkılması gerektiğinden ve içindeki kiracı Nazif Balın çıkmadığından 30.04.1962'ye kadar inşaat uzamış. Bu durumu belediyeye bildirmişler. Sahibi: Şükrü-İlhan-Bekir Postacıoğlu. Babaları İbrahim Ethem.
20.07.1962	Ziya Nebioğlu için fenni mesul belgesi alınmış. bina 7 kat olarak bitmiş, h:21.80. (başta 6,5 diye ruhsat almış)._Altta Sisi Pastanesi bulunmaktadır.

1196 Ada – 185 Dosya – 4 Parsel	
28.08.1963	"185 ada, 1196 parsel 4'de kayıtlı 549,75 m2'lik kagir apartman ve mağazanın" imar durumu istenmiş.
11.09.1963	Tarihinde cevaplı imar durumunda yapı yüksekliği 21.80 m.
12.04.1966	Emlak ve İstimlak Müdürlüğü tarafından İmar Müdürlüğü'ne 12.04.1966'da yazılmış olan yazı: "...1196 Ada 4 parsel sayılı gayri menkulün, Cumhuriyet meydanına bakan köşelerinin imar planında aynen muhafaza edilmekte olduğu ve değiştirilmesinde mahal olmadığı bildirilmesi üzerine keyfiyet alakalıya duyurulmuştur".
03.10.1966	Tarihinde imar müdürlüğünün başkanlık makamına yazdığı yazı: "...4 parsel sahipleri Nedip Rodoplu ve Yüksel Kenanoğlu'nun müdürlüğe hitaben vermiş oldukları dilekçelerde mezkur arsaları için verilen 21.80m yükseklikteki imar durumuna itiraz ederek meydanın bugünkü durumuna hakim olan 30.80 m yükseklikte bir imar durumunun verilmesini talep etmiş. Durumun mecliste tetkik edilmesi istenmiş".
31.05.1967	Tarihinde zemin kat imar hattına tecavüzden hakkında işlem başlatılmış.
03.08.1967	Tarihli belediye başkanlığı makamının dilekçesi ile kabul edilmiş.
14.04.1983	Tarihli imar müd. yazısında Eski Milli Piyango Binası olarak geçen yapının ruhsatsız olarak inşa edilmekte olması nedeniyle mülkiyet ve hisse durumları yapı kontrol şefi tarafından istenmiş.
03.11.1993	Tarihsel sit olarak belirlenmiş.
20.01.1994	Tarihli koruma kurulu kararı ile 4 parselin sınırına kadar sit ilan edilmiş.

1196 Ada – 185 Dosya – 5 Parsel	
Adres: Atatürk cad. no:176 Kültür Mah. İzmir 1.Kordon'da Dr.Adil Bir Apartmanı.	
18.06.1953	Adil Bir takdim ettiği proje ile bir apartman inşa ettireceğinden gerekli ruhsatın verilmesini istemiş.
10.06.1953	1953 projesi 4 katlı. Y.Mimar Faruk Aktaş tarafından hazırlanmış.
	
11.06.1965	Yapı yapma ruhsatı verilmiş.
24.12.1985	Tarihli tapusunda altı mağaza 5 katlı kağıt apartman olarak görülüyor.
12.04.1989	Atilla Bir imar durumunu istemiş. İmar durumu 9 kat 24.80 gösteriyor.
21.06.1989	Proje müellifi Utku Bozoğlu. 9 katlı konut + dükkan projesi. Mal sahibi Atilla Bir, Emel Uluğ.
30.10.1989	İnşaat ruhsatı verilmiş.
30.10.1989	Yeni inşaat ruhsatı verilmiş. Yapı sorumlusu inş. Müh. Sezai Tokel.
1989	Katlara ait yapı kullanma izni alınmış.
27.11.1990	Tarihli tapu senedinde taşınmaz üzerindeki arsaların yıkılıp binaya dönüştüğü ve arsa üzerinde 30.10.1989 tarihli tasdikli proje ile kat irtifakı tahsis ve tescil edildi.
26.12.1991	Tarihli mimari proje Utku Bozoğlu + Can Ersan. Bir apartmanı.
1991	Yılında 3. kat tadilatı.
31.12.1992	Yapı kullanma izni belgesi verilmiş.
01.06.1993	Zemin kat tadilatı yapılmış.
25.08.1993	Zemin kattaki tadilatlar imara aykırı bulunup mühürlenmiş.
31.08.1993	Yılında zemin kat tadilatı yapılmış.
07.10.1993	Zemin katın kafeterya olarak çalıştırılması talep edilmiş.
10.06.1994	Zemin kattaki kafe işletmesi Atilla Bir'le mahkemelik.
28.07.1997	Zemin katında bar açmak için başvurulmuş.

1196 Ada – 185 Dosya – 6 Parsel	
Adres: Ege Bölgesi Liman İşletmeleri Müdürlüğü	
3.10.1950	Tarihli yan cephe çizimleri var. 3 katlı bir yapı.
12.11.1951	İzmir Liman Reisliği binası (2 katlı halı) Y.Mimar Niyazi Mesta tarafından yapılmış.
	
14.05.1973	Ege Bölgesi Liman İşletmeleri Müdürlüğü, Belediye'ye tarihinde Atatürk Cad. 178 no'daki müdürlüğün 2 katlı binası yıktırılarak yerine günümüz şartlarına uygun nitelikte çok katlı idare ve lojman binası inşa edilmesi isteği ile imar durumunu istemiş. Bina hazine adına kayıtlı.
22.05.1973	İmar durumu istenmiş
05.05.1975	İmar durumu belgesi alınmış
23.03.1976	Verilen durum 21.80 bitişik (zemin kat tamamı, üst katlar krokiye göre).
1976	Yapımına başlanmış, 6 yılda bitmiş.
22.02.1977	Yapı ruhsatı istenmiş.
02.02.1977	Belediyeye yazılan yazıda binanın 8 katlı olması gerektiği, bu nedenle gabariye 1,5m daha ilave edilmesi istenmiş. 6 ve 7 bir kısmı tevhide ve 2 kısma ifraz tapu'dan alınan beyannameleri ile talep edilmektedir. 6 ve 7 parsel, 11 ve 13 olmuştur.
06.05.1977	Ege Bölgesi Liman ve Deniz İşletmeleri Müdürlüğü ve Eğitim Merkezi adında mim Bülent Gencol'a proje hazırlanmıştır. Kardeşler İnşaat Kollektif Şirket projesi. Otopark ücreti yatırılmadığından inşaat ruhsatsız olarak tamamlanmıştır.
1982	İnşaat bitmiş.
21.10.1982	Proje tetkik belgesi alınmış.
	7 nolu parselden 10 m2 tecavüz var 6'ya. 6 no.lu parsel 554,62m2.
	Resmi binalar için otopark muafiyeti olmadığından otopark yönetmeliği yüzünden uzun yazışmalar...Liman müd ve belediye arasında. Mülkiyet Hazinesinin, intifa hakkı ulaştırma bakanlığının.

1196 Ada – 185 Dosya – 7 Parsel (Eski 13 parsel)	
Adres:1378 Sok. No:4. Türksöy Apt. 297 m2.	
05.02.1954	Alp Türksöy Belediyeye parsel 7 üzerinde ekli proje gereğince bina yaptıracağından gerekli izni istemiş.
22.02.1954	Onay tarihli mimari proje üzerinde Y.Mimar Alp Türksöy ve Şirketi adı var. Fenni mesul Y.Mimar J.Halikopulos.

1956	Yılına ait dükkan kaydı var.
22.02.1964	Yapı Ruhsatı alınmış. Zemin katta 2 dükkan 1 büro var.
25.06.1979	Tarihli tapuda arsa olarak görülüyor. Sahibi T.C.T.Hasip Alparslan Türksoy.
06.07.1982	Zemin katta Enrico Aliberti SSI.Kol.Şir. tarafından taşıt teşhir yeri açılması uygun görülmüş.
04.12.1992	Kat:6 oturma sureti istemiş.
19.08.1993	İmar müdürlüğü reddetmiş, binadaki eksiklikler nedeniyle.
18.07.1995	Zana Turizm büro olarak kullanmak amacıyla imar müdürlüğüne başvurmuş. 24.09.1995'de kabul edilmiş.
12.06.1996	İmar müdürlüğünün H.Alparslan'a yazısı : 13.06.1996.7 parsel sayılı arsa üzerine inşa edilen zemin dahil 8 katlı yapının imar meriyet tarihinden (yani 1957) önce 1956 yılında yapıldığı ilçe özel id.müd.nün 12.06.1996 tarih 255 sayı 386 hesap nolu yazılarından anlaşıldığından, bu tür yapılar oturma raporu almış binalardan sayılmaktadır.
30.01.1997	H. Alparslan Türksoy Apt. no:4/3'de işyeri açma ve çalışma ruhsatı işlemleri için yapı kullanma izni için başvuruyor.
17.02.1997	'Elektrik ürünleri satış yeri olarak çalıştırılmak istenmiş.
17.03.1997	Alp Türksoy arşivden tasdikli projesini istemiş. Belgenin üstünde proje olmadığı ibaresi var.
17.12.1998	Zemin 4/A fotokopi makinaları tamir ve servis'i olarak kullanılmaktadır.

1196 –185 - 10 Parsel	
Rodop İşhanı	
08.08.1969	İmar durumu 30.80
30.03.1970	Nedim Rodop ve Yüksel Kahyaoğlu bir yapı inşa etmek istediklerini bildirmiş.
16.04.1970.	10,5 katlı binanın temel ruhsatı istenmiş. Proje Ses Hazar' ait.
25.03.1971	Temelleri yapılmış, temel üstü ruhsatı alınmış.
16.12.1971	Fenni mesullükten istifa etmiş R.Aksay.
12.01.1972	Reha Aksay ve Ses Hazar fenni mesul.

1196 – 185 – 11 (6 parsel diye geçen yer)	
Hizmet binası 1982'den beri kullanılmaya başlanmış, inceleme sonunda yapı kullanım izni bulunmadığı 1982'den beri izin belgesi verilmediği görülmüş. 554,62 m2.	

1197 Ada



1197 – 188 – 1 Parsel (23 parsel içinde)

Adres: Atatürk Caddesi 188. İzmir Palas.

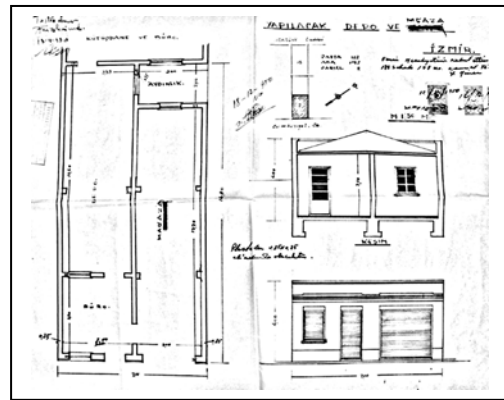
Sahibi Ahmet Kilimci.

25.03.1963	Sahibi, 1parsel numaradaki binayı yıkarak yeniden yapacağından imar durumunu istemiş. Şirketin 1 parselde 5.25m2'lik yeri var ve bu yola gitmiş.
18.04.1963	İmar durumu 21.80 m.
14.05.1964	1-2-12-13-14-15-19 parselin tevhidini hakkında talepte bulunulmuş.
08.06.1964	Kabul edilmiş.

1197 – 188 – 2 Parsel

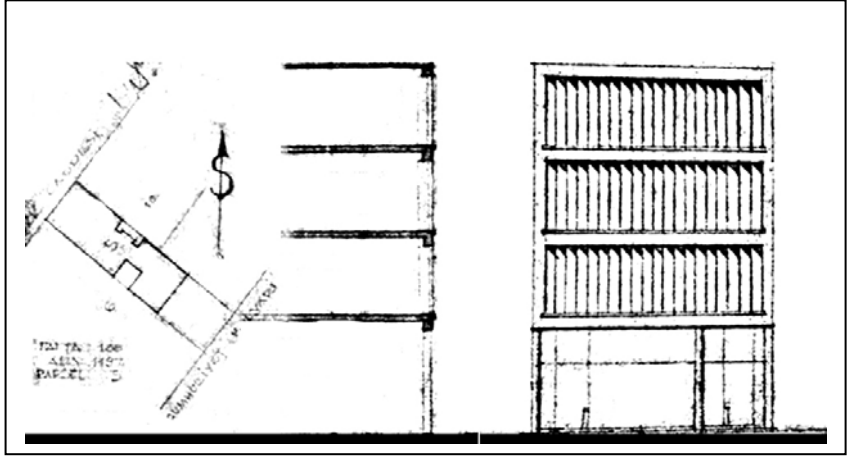
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında arsa

20.12.1950 Bu alan için bu tarihte Y.Mimar Kemal Tetik tarafından yapılan tek katlı 'Depo ve Mağaza' adında proje tasdiklenmiş.

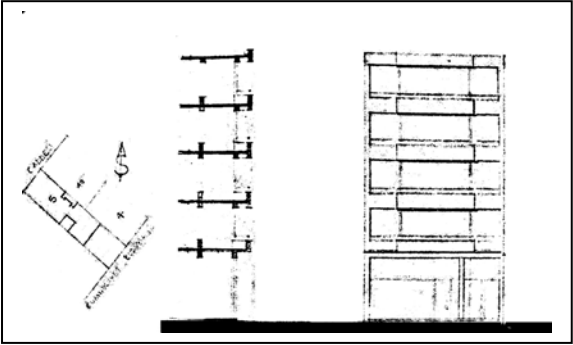
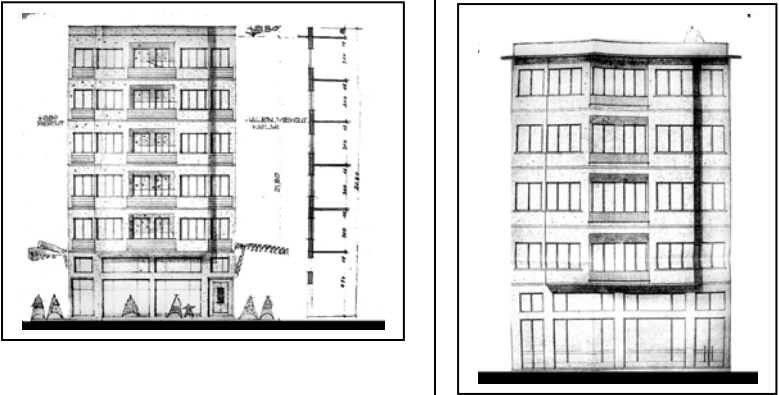


25.03.1963 sahibi A.Kilimci2 parseldeki binayı yıkarak yeniden yapacağına dair imar durumunu istemiş.




1197 – 188 – 3 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında arsa	
12.12.1979	Yıldırım Yiğiter'in kiraladığı 186/1-A adresindeki dükkana güneşlik yapmak istemiş. Fazla yapmış ruhsat vermemişler. 186/1-A, 188 – 3 parsel olarak görülüyor.

1197 – 188 – 5 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında arsa	
23.09.1952	Proje tasdiklenmiş, 'Hilmi Fırat Apartmanı' projesi olarak 4 katlı zemin kat mağaza üstü konut. Mimar Ziya Nebioğlu.
	
21.01.1954'de	'Yapı, Tamir ve İlaveler için izin kağıdı (ruhsat)' alınmış. 5 katlı olarak alınmış. (kat ilavesi var, yapı yüks 16,25)
21.01.1954'de	Kat ilaveli proje ruhsat almış.


1197 – 188 – 7 Parsel	
Adres: Cumhuriyet Bulvarı No:133.	
Bay Talip Okan Binası.	
19.04.1956	daki imar durumu; h:22.80.
06.03.1959	Talip Okan mevcut yapının üzerine 1 kat ilave isteği ile başvurmuş.

27.03.1959	Kabul edilmiş. İlaveyi yapan Y.Müh.Mimar Suat Erdeniz.
	
	
10.10.1959	İlave kat inşaatı yapılmış. (4. ve 5. kat ilavesi)
09.03.1973	Tarihli tapu senedinde zemin kat dahil 5 katlı depoyu havi kargir apartman olarak geçiyor.
28.03.2002	Öztañ Dekorasyon ve mobilya kiralyor.

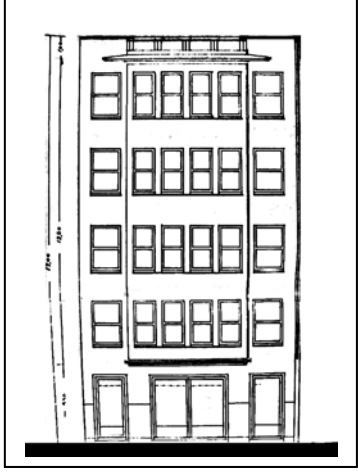
1197 – 188 – 8 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında arsa	
03.05.1954	Bina inşa etmek isteđiyle belediyeye başvurulmuş.
15.03.1954	Tarihli proje var. Nafız Balın Apt. Fenni mesul Emin Balın. Ruhsat 11.05.1956. Mehmet ve Nafize Oluđtugal ve Nafız Balın'a ait apartman projesi var.
12.05.1954	İmar meriyet tarihinden önce mevcut.
12.05.1954	Tarihinde devam eden inşaat için demir istenmiş. Mal sahipleri: Mehmet Oluđtugal,Nafize Oluđtugal,Nafız Balın.
06.01.0967	Tarihli tapu senedinde, sahibi Mehmet Oluđtugal.
13.10.1983	Cevher Apt. Çelik çatı hesabı. 1983 çatı katını tam kat yapan mimar Edip Baran.
06.01.1988	Tarihli imar durumu 9 kat (çatısız). 24.80.
14.09.1990'da	Halkbank Cumhuriyet Şube binası tadilat projesi. Yapan Kalbiye Kurtbaş.
19.03.1991'de	Yapı kontrol müdürlüğü tespit yapmış. (Zemin+ batır+ 6 katlı bina). Zemin + 1.kat banka olarak kullanılıyor.
31.05.2000'de	Kat:5, meskenden büroya dönüştürülmüş.

1197 – 188 – 9 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında gazino	
Adres:Atatürk cad. No:180. Hilmi Fırat Apt.	
24.05.1951	Tarihli Y.Müh. Mimar İbrahim Çetindağ imzalı tasdikli zemin + 3 katlı apartman projesi.
	 
11.06.1951	Tarihli mimari proje.
24.01.1952	tarihli aynı mimar zemin + 4 katlı proje çizmiş.tasdikli projesi mevcut.
	
11.06.1952	(Faruk San öncesinde birine daha proje çizdirilmiş. var olan 2 katlı yapı)
16.12.1952	Tarihli oturma raporu
11.06.1952	Yeni yaptırılmış olan 2 katlı apartmana oturma raporu alınmış.
24.03.1959	Amerikalılara ait lokanta binası varmış. Proje tasdikli. Mal sahibi Mustafa Dağüstü, Müellif Jimmie D.Mattison. Fenni mesul Y.Mimar Muzaffer Seven.
28.03.1959	imar durumu istenmiş.
16.04.1959	Mimari proje.
24.03.1959	Terasın yemek amaçlı kullanımını için izin istenirken: “Atatürk cad. de eski KAPRI PAVYONU adı ile maruf, halen Amerikan Hava Kuvvetleri tarafından restoran olarak kullanılan binanın teras katında akşam yemek verilmesi için bir ofis binası inşaat için müsaade”
07.04.1959	Onay alınmış.
19.09.1960	Tarihli tapu senedinde vasfı kagir gazino.
30.07.1962	İmar durumu
22.03.1963	Temel demirlerinin sökülmesi için dinamitleme izni istenmiş.
19.04.1963	Tarihli Proje.
29.04.1963	Yapı kullanma izninde yapının başladığı tarih temel ruhsatı
12.1965	Yapı kullanma izni alınmış.
10.12.1965	Çatı katı projesi hazırlanmış.

14.12.1965	Kemer Apt. 14.12.1965'de oturma alınmış. Oturuluyor. 17.06.1985'de Faruk San'ın 3 daireyi 1 daire haline getirmesi için başvurulmuş.
06.02.1967	Zemin kat bitirilmiş ve oturma raporu istenmiş.
14.02.1967	Fenni mesul Faruk San. Belge. Zemin + batar + 7 katlı proje.
14.02.1967	Yapının bittiği tarih.
14.10.1983	Kelebek Mobilya işletme ruhsatı almış.
12.03.1985	Mal sahibi kat mülkiyetine evirmek için başvurmuş.
1985	Çatı katı tadilatı. (sonraki projelere ait)
10.10.1985	İmar işleri daire başkanlığının belediye başkanlığına yazdığı 10.10.1985 tarihli yazısında parselin ruhsat tarihinde onaylı imar planında gabarisinin 21.80, çatı katlı olduğu halde 02.04.1963 tarihli fen heyeti kararına istinaden 22.80 çatı katlı olarak imar durumu tanzim edildiği bu projede 7 normal 1 çatı katı olmak üzere proje onayının yapıldığı bu projede bina yüksekliği 25.65'e ulaştığı anlaşılmıştır.
09.12.1985	Mal sahibi Selaattin Coşkun binada yapılması istenilen normal katta 3 dairenin tek daireye dönüşümü, çatı katının tam iblağı, ahşap oturma çatı yapılması için başvurmuş. Tadilatlara ruhsat alınmadan başlanmış, bu nedenle ceza almış.
14.07.1986	Çatı tadilat ruhsatı alınmış.

1197 – 188 – 10 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında arsa	
Sülün Apartmanı.	
04.05.1951	İlk proje Y.Mimar Kemal Tetik tarafından 04.05.1951'de ruhsat almış. Yine yüksek zemin+4 kat, h=17 m.
	
13.10.1952	Ahşap oturma çatı için ruhsat alınmış.
24.03.1953	Bayan Şefika Kilimci Apartmanı. inşaat yaptırmak için Ş.Kilimci başvurmuş. (İzmir Palas adresi kadının).
30.04.1953	Tasdikli Proje.
1953	Tarihli projesi zemin kat+batar+4 kat.
16.11.1985	İmar durumu alınmış.
21.05.1987	Belediyeye projelerin kopyasını istemek için başvurulmuş.

1197 – 188 – 11 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında ev	
03.07.1964	Sahibi Hasan Kahyaoğlu, "sahibi bulunduğum ...11 parselde bulunan evimi yıkıp yeniden yapacağımdan imar durumunun verilmesini istiyor".
17.08.1964	Belediyenin çapı h:21.80.
06.11.1964	Tıpkı 9 parseldeki gibi 1 mt su zammı istemiş, 13.11.1964'de reddedilmiş.

25.09.1975	Tarihli projesi	
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1197 – 188 – 12 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında arsa	
25.03.1963	Ahmet Kilimci (Şükrü Kilimci'nin vekili)....12parsel no'daki binayı yıkarak yeniden yapacağından imar durumunu istemiş. H:21.80.

1197 – 188 – 13 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında arsa	
25.03.1963	Ahmet Kilimci (Şükrü Kilimci'nin vekili)....13parsel no'daki binayı yıkarak yeniden yapacağından imar durumunu istemiş. H:21.80.

1197 – 188 – 14 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında İzmir Palas	
İzmir Palas.	
03.11.1951	Y.Mimar Kemal Tetik projesi. Yeni kat inşaatı için (mevcut 4 iken) proje veriyor. 14m'den 17.50m'ye çıkan h yüksekliği öneriliyor.
15.07.1952.	'İlave ek inşaatın proje hilafına uygun yapılmadığından dolayı mezkur yerin inşaatı' durdurma kararı alınmış, zabıt tutturulmuş
18.07.1952	Bu ek proje için (çatı+tadilat) 2,12,13,14,15 parselleri kapsayan A.Kilimci de başvurmuş.
05.08.1952	Kat planları ve çatı için tadilat planları (parça) çizilmiş Y.Mimar Abdullah Pekön.
07.07.1955	Tarihli projesine uygun olarak mevcut salon kısmında esaslı tamir ve tadilat yapılacağından dolayı 'Yapı.T.İ Ruhsatı' alınmış. Y.Mimar Kemal Türksönmez. Köşesi boş pastahane halinin tadilat projesi 07.07.1955 var. İmar durumu h:21.80.
06.05.1959	14 parsel tadilatı için tekrar başvurulmuş.
14.05.1959	Tadilat için İzmir Palas'a ruhsat alınmış.
14.05.1959	'İzmir Palas Oteli' rölevesi 1,2,3,4. kat planlarını içeriyor.

25.03.1963	A.Kilimci14 parseldeki binayı yıkarak yeniden yapacağından imar durumunu istemiş.
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1197 – 188 – 15 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında Motör Dairesi	
25.03.1963	Ahmet Kilimci (Şükrü Kilimci'nin vekili)....15parsel no'daki binayı yıkarak yeniden yapacağından imar durumunu istemiş. H:21.80.

1197 – 188 – 16 Parsel	
Adres:Atatürk Cad. No:186/2	
25.03.1949	Eski hali (Zemin,1,2,3,4,çatı) olarak geçmekte.
21.04.1954	Tarihli tapu kaydında evvelce 4 katlı iken ilave edilerek 6 katlı apartman haline getirilmiş olduğu yazılı. (Alagil Apt.)
10.11.1967	Dr.Ziya Çakar tarafından yazılan yazıda, İzmir Cumhuriyet Bulv. No:139'da bulunan dükkanlar her iki yanda yapılmakta olan inşaatlar sebebiyle hasar gördüğü belirtilmiş, bunların tamiri için gerekli izin istenmiştir. Ruhsat verilmiş 11.11.1967.
31.01.1969	Dr.A.Çakar 14 1/C'yi snack bar olarak kullanmak için izin istemiş. Verilmiş.
27.02.1970	Tekrar inşaat yapma isteği ile başvurmuş Dr.A.Çakar. H:21.80
07.03.1970	16 nolu parselde kayıtlı arsaya inşaat yaptıracığından gerekli imar istenmiş, İbrahim ve Zekiye Alagil vekili Dr.A.Çakar tarafından.
26.06.1971	Ahmet Çakar 14 1/C'de lokantacılık yapmak istemiş. Cevaben: A.Çakar'a ait Çam Restoran binasının arkadaki mutfağa katılan kısmın yeni yapılmış olmadığı eskiden beri mevcut ve depo olarak kullanılan bir yer olduğu yerinde ve dosyasında yapılan incelemeden anlaşılmıştır. Sakınca görülmemiş.
12.05.1973	İbrahim ve Zekiye Alagil kafe olarak çalıştırmak istemiş.
16.04.1975	İmar durumunda A ve B parsellerin durumu ÇİZİM.
21.04.1975	Bodrumda tadilat, proje Suat Erdeniz.
25.04.1975	Bodrumda büro inşa etmek için tadilat yapılması izni istenmiş.
25.09.1975	H.Alagil ile Suat Erdeniz'in çizdiği proje bod+zemin+4 kat.
20.12.1978	Gelir memurluğuna yazılan yazıda, ilk apartmanın 1948'de yapılırken garajları da yapılmış bunlardan biri 01.08.1960'da mağaza olarak kiraya verilmiş. Daha sonra tek katlı olan bu garajlar iki yandaki büyük inşaatlar nedeniyle tahrip olmuş, sonra onarılmış. Garaj olarak kullanılmış, 1971'de apartman sahiplerinden İbrahim Alagil ölünce kat mülkiyetine göre taksim edilmiş. 1948 – 1952 arası inşaat projeleri bulunamamış, bu nedenle röleve projesi hazırlanmış.
24.01.1979	Apartmentın vereseler arasında taksimi istenmiş. 07.02.1979'da sakınca görülmemiş.
14.07.1981	Zemin restoran olarak çalıştırılmış, ruhsatsız old için mühürlenmiş.
12.05.1982	16 nolu parselde kayıtlı arsaya inşaat yaptıracığından gerekli imar istenmiş, Zübeyde Çakar tarafından. A ve B olarak 24.80 (8 kat) çatı katsız.
04.10.1982	Yine istenmiş aynen Yasel Alagil tarafından.
15.03.1983	Yasel Hilmi Alagi tarafından proje hazırlanmış.
14.04.1983	Proje müellifliği Namık Küçük Demiral için belge alınmış. Mal sahibi Hilmi Alagil. Kat sayısı 8.
10.10.1983	Tarihli Nasa Mim. Müh. Bürosunun projesi var. 8 kat + çatı.

04.09.1984	Yeni inşaatın temel üstü vizesi istenmiş
08.06.1989	141/B'ye birahane izni.
13.11.1989	141/B'ye içkili lokanta izni istenmiş, tadilat istenip verilmemiş.
26.11.1992	"...16 parseldeki apartmanda kat mülkiyetine geçiş..."
31.12.2002	Hüseyin Hüsnü Alagil mevcut A Blok binayı yıkıp yerine yenisini yapmak için başvurmuş. Cevap: eski eser karşısı olduğu için koruma kurulundan K.T.V.K.K.'dan izin alınması gereklidir deniyor.

1197 – 188 – 19 Parsel
yola gitmiş.

1197 – 188 – 20 Parsel	
Süheyla Arpacıoğlu Apartmanı.	
29.08.1953	S.Arpacıoğlu arsasında inşaat yapmak için başvurmuş.
20.06.1955	Tarihli projede zemin + 6 kat var.
21.06.1955	İmar 22.80 (21.80+1).
23.06.1955	Y.Mim M.Kemal Türksönmez. Proje tarihli.
02.11.1956	Demir ihtiyacı listesi
11.05.1957	Yapımın başladığı tarih. Y.Mim Vedat Ünaltay. 2,5 katlı ev.
21.02.1967	Süheyla Arpacıoğlu apartmanı kat mülkiyetine çevirmek için başvurmuş. Cevap: bağımsız ve müşterek kısımların projelendirilmesi istenmiş.
05.04.1967	Zemin kat tadilatı olmuş.
05.04.1967	Yeni proje ruhsatı alınmış. Kat adedi 7,5. Y.Mim Vedat Ünaltay.
01.10.1974	Aziz Usluer çatıyı tama iblağ için imar istemiş.
09.11.1976	Kafe izni alınmış.
03.03.1977	Tarihli projesi zemin+batar+7 kat (55 tarihlinin yerine yapılan).
30.06.1977	Sonra Aziz Usluer, belediye başkanlığına yazı yazıp bu karardan zarar gördüğünü, binanın sağlam olduğunu, bunun mevcuda ilave değil, çatının genişletilmesi olduğunu yazmış. Binanın yeterince sağlam olduğunu bu durumun onu mağdur durumda bıraktığını söylemiş.
29.07.1977	1 kat ilavesi reddedilmiş. Mevcutta 1 zemin + 6 normal kat.
01.10.1980	Salih İşgören sahibi olduğu mağazaların tadilat projeleri için mim Ömer Demirçiftçi'yi tayin etmiş.
24.04.1981	Fiat Traktör mamülleri çalıştırma izni.
15.11.2000	Zemin kat 16 ve 17 nolu dükkanlar birleşmesi için ilave tadilat. 137/B'de pide fırını.

1197 – 188 – 21 Parsel	
Adres:Atatürk Cad. No:186/2	
17.05.1955	Tarihli imar durumu h:21.80

08.04.1963	Nermin ve Samim Arpacioğlu kargir evlerinin imar durumunu istemiş.
14.06.1966	Arpacioğlu Apt. projesi Affan Karaca'ya ait.
26.08.1966	İnşaat ruhsatı alınmış. 1 çatı ve normal 8 kat olarak inşa edilmiş.
27.09.1968	Oturma izni isteniyor.
26.08.1966	Cumhuriyet Bulv.'a bakan blok inşaatı başlamış. 02.04.1968'de bitmiş.
21.09.1966	1.Blok temel inşaatı parsel hudutlarına uygundur
16.02.1967	Kordon bloğu bitmiş. 1.Blok zeminde mağazalı 8 kat. 2.Blok zeminde mağazalı 9 kat.
27.11.1981	Zemin kat mağaza tadilatı.

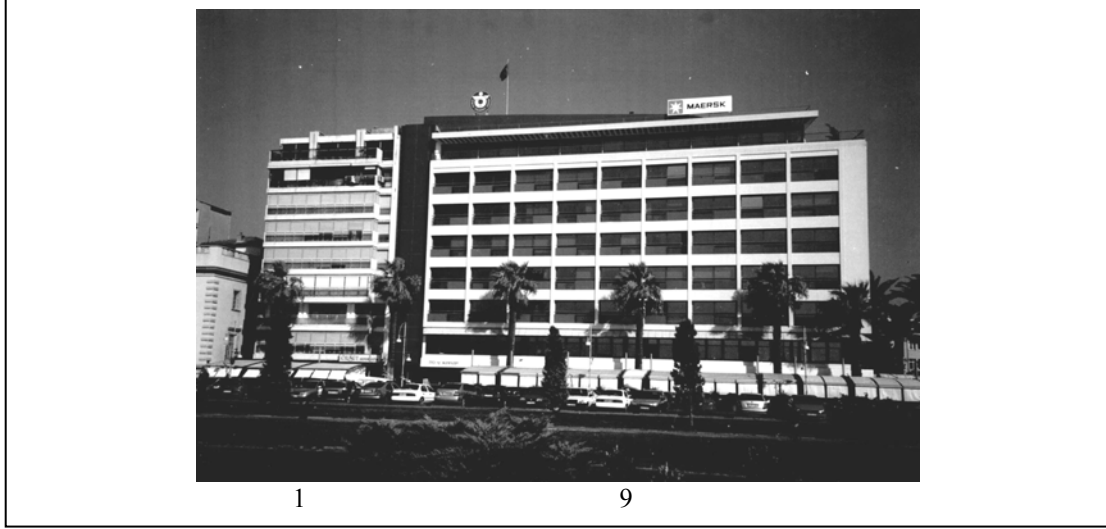
1197 – 188 – 22 Parsel	
Adres: Atatürk Caddesi No:186, Cumhuriyet Bulv No:135	
27.08.1955	Hilmi Fırat'a yazı "Sn.Hilmi Fırat, ...6 parsel sayılı gayrimenkulunda yapmak istediğiniz apartmanın 5 parseldeki antreden kullanılabilmesi için bu parsellerin tevhibi icap etmektedir. 2.Kordon üzerindeki apartman derinliği 7,50 m'ye çıkarmak ve aradaki aydınlığı 4,50m yapmak suretiyle hazırlanacak proje ile müracaat edin". Belediye başkanı.
31.10.1955	Tarihli tapu senedinde; "1197 ada 5 ve 6 parsel sayılı gayrimenkulleri tevhit ederek üzerine altında mağaza ve garajı olan kargir apartman inşa ettiği fen amirliğinin tanzim ettiği beyannameden anlaşılmalı talep üzerine tercihan ve tevhibiden tescili yapıldı".
23.11.1955	İmar Şubesi yazısı
07.11.1955	B.A. hesabı.
06.12.1955	Tasdikli proje. 'Bay Hilmi Fırat Apartmanı' adında Y.Mimar Ziya Nebioğlu proje çizmiş 07.11.1955, 06.12.1955 tasdikli. Parsel A, B ve C'ye bölünmüş. 5 katlı proje.
06.12.1955	Kat ruhsatı alınmış.
01.11.1957	Hilmi Fırat yapmış olduğu apartmana ilave cam istemiş.
09.06.1965	H.Fırat imar durumunu istemiş.
14.06.1965	İmar durumu. h:21.80 verilmiş. İmar hattı.
01.10.1966	Tapu tespit krokisi
03.10.1966	Harita tespit krokisi
19.11.1966	Fenni mesul belgesi (Kayan Özgiller için)
19.11.1966	1 kat ilavesi için başvuran H.Fırat proje eksiklikleri nedeniyle reddedilmiş.
01.12.1966	Tasdikli proje ve A için yapının başladığı tarih.
01.12.1966	22 parselde temel ruhsatı verilmiş.
24.05.1967	Cumhuriyet Bulv No:135'de inşaatın temel üstü ruhsatı için başv. H.Fırat
06.06.1967	İnşaat ruhsatı alınmış 8 katlı yapı için, sorumlu Y.Müh Mim Kayan Özgiller.
30.05.1967	1 kat eklemek için ilave temel inşaatı Faruk San.
18.12.1968	Yapının bittiği tarih (A blok için)

02.10.1981	Bel. Başkanının H.Fırat'a tarihli yazısı; ' ... Atatürk Cad. 184 no.dan girişli blok zemin+5 katlı olup zeminde mağaza kapıcı dairesi ile kalorifer dairesi, normal katlarda ikişerden 10 adet daire bulunduğu, aynı parselin Cumhuriyet Bulv 135 nodan girişli blokun ise zemin+6 normal kat+çatı katından ibaret olduğu görülmüştür. Cumhuriyet Bulv 135 nodan girişli bloktaki 2 dükkan ve 7 ad daire ile, Atatürk cad 184 nodan girişli bloğun sonradan ilave edilen son (5. kat) katına verilen oturma raporu tarihleri aşağıdadır. Atatürk cad. 184 nodan girişli binanın imar meriyetinden önce, yapılardan oturma raporu alınmadığı tarihte inşa edilmiş olduğu araştırma dosyasından anlaşılmıştır. Yapının kullanılmasında sakınca yoktur.
14.10.1981	Mühür zaptı
23.10.1981	Fenni mesul tayin dilekçesi. Şükrü Kocagöz tadilat projesi fenni mesulü (zemin katta batar ilavesi+tadilat ruhsatı 22.02.1981.
22.12.1981	Ruhsat
29.09.1981	Kat mülkiyetine geçebilmek için
18.05.1989	F.Emel Fırat arsanın imar durumunu istemiş. Cevap: h:24.80. ÇİZİM.
20.09.1989	Tadilat ruhsatı. Ş.Kocagöz 2. katı işyerine dönüştürme tadilat projesi.
21.03.1990	Büfe işletme izni verilmiş 135/A.
07.05.1998	135/A Kafe.
14.03.2002	Ruhsatsız tadilat.

1197 – 188 – 25 Parsel	
22.08.1967	Tapu tespit krokisi
07.12.1967	Fenni mesul belgesi
13.12.1967	İmar durumu
19.12.1967	Tasdikli proje
19.12.1967	Temel ruhsatı
14.05.1968	Temel üstü ruhsatı.
19.07.1969	Tadilat ruhsatı.
21.07.1969	Oturma raporu
22.06.1970	Tadilat ruhsatı (Mim. Necdet Ersin) Zemin ilk mağaza. (Paşabahçe 1970 projesinde var).
17.12.1967	Proje müellifi Hamit Kahyaoğlu
18.12.1967	Yapı kullanma izni kağıdında Yapının başladığı tarih
14.05.1968	Tarihli inşaat ruhsatında zemin kat+batar+6 normal kat ve çatı katı inşaatı Müh.Mim Necdet Ersin.
01.08.1970	Yapının bittiği tarih
24.02.1993	A.Kilimci sinema olarak kullanmak için başvurmuş, reddedilmiş

1197 – 188 – 29 Parsel	
bilgi yok.	

1198 Ada



1198 – 182 – E:7, Y:9	
Adres: Vasıf Çınar Bulvarı No:3 ve Atatürk Cad No:190 (Ek).	
03.10.1959	Tic.O. Bel.ye 1192 ve 1198 ada, 2 ve 3 parsel üzerine turistik bir otel inşa etmeyi düş ve kullanılan mesaha ve irtifa istiyor. Cevap: h:21.80.
12.12.1961	İmar durumu
15.02.1962	Ticaret Odası yazısı
28.02.1962	Fen Heyeti kararı
16.12.1962	Mevcuda 1 kat ilave etmek istemişler – önce reddedilmiş, 20.03.1962 imar gabarisinden 6m noksanına kabul edilmiş.
11.01.1963	Tapu tespit krokisi
12.01.1963	Mimarlar Odası fişi
22.01.1963	İmar durumu
22.01.1963	Haritanın yazısı
26.01.1963	Ticaret Odası yazısı
05.02.1964	H.Hotan fenni mesuliyetlikten istifa etmiş, ‘mukavele gereğince inşaatın fenni mesuliyeti müteahhit tarafından deruhte edilecektir’. Yerine Y.Müh Erdoğan Ocak.
20.02.1963	Fen heyeti kararı
23.02.1963	Proje. ‘İzmir Ticaret Odası Otel Projesi’ belediyece tasdiklenmiş.
23.02.1963	Temel ruhsatı
23.02.1963	Tadilat ruhsatı
24.06.1964	Tasdikli proje
11.12.1965	İzmir Ticaret Odası Oteli Turistik Bergama Restoran. Gazino Kulüp – Y.Mimar Harbi Hotan.
11.03.1966	Tadilat projesi için
11.03.1966	Kat ruhsatı
12.09.1967	Cumhuriyet Bulvarı cephesindeki 3 katlı kısım için imar durumu h:18.80.

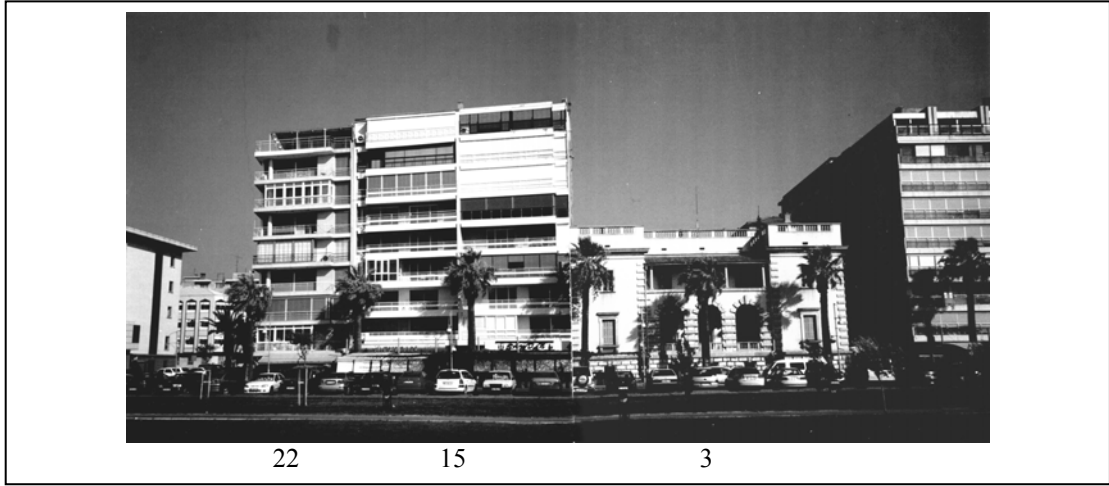
06.12.1978	İmar Müdürlüğüne yazılan yazıdan, “bu adreste yer almakta olan ve7 parselde kayıtlı otel binamızın halen müştemilatı olarak kullanılan arka bölüme (Cumh bulv) bakan kısmına yeniden inşa edeceğimiz T.O. binası için imar istiyoruz”. (yıkılmak suretiyle yeniden inşa). Necdet Yorgancıoğlu proje müellifi. 8 kat 17.07.1979.
16.07.1979	Mim Odası tarafından ‘Tic Odası ek binası mimari projesi
07.11.1979	GNA, Tic. O. Ek Binası projesini hazırlamış.
20.11.1979	Tadilat projesi S.Z Pekin (zemin+1.kat) . Yapının başladığı tarih:20.11.1979
09.04.1981	“Müteahhit firma Koroğlu İnşaat ve Tic odası arasındaki mevcut sözleşme feshedilmiş olup inşaata emanet usulü ile oda devam edecektir” ve fenni mesul Y.Mimar Mehmet Erten üstlenmiş.
24.09.1982	Yapının bittiği tarih
23.11.1982	Tic.O 9 parseldeki 3 katlı binamızın tuğla duvarlarında çatlamalar ... tamirat ruhsatı istenmiş
28.02.1986	S.Z Pekin zeminde tadilat. İ.T.O.Lokal tadilatı
12.03.1986	Belediye yapı ruhsatın onayı tarihinde onaylanan’ mevcut lokantaya ilave tadilat’ projeleri.
15.08.1997	Dershane yapı kullanımı izni almış.
17.04.2002	Dershane inşaatı sırasında ruhsatsız ilaveler yıktırılıyor

1198 – 182 – 1 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında ev (Adil Bir)	
Adres: Atatürk Cad. No:190/1, B Blok için Adres: 1380 sok. A ve B Blok	
20.12.1946	Tapu tarihi
20.02.1963	Ş.Uysal 1m su zammı istemiş ve bunun katlarda değil zeminde kullanacağını söylemiş, izin verilmemiş.
16.03.1963	H.Bahri Aktı ‘eski binamızı yıktırıp yerine, ilişkide sunulan imar d ve projesine göre inşaat yaptığından ruhsat istemiş. Emin Balın projesi.
27.03.1963	1 Parselde inşaat, mal sahibi Ş.Uysal ve Hüseyin Bahri Aktı, müellif:Emin Balın. 8 kat+çatı katı. 1 Parsel Tüccar Kulübünün bitişiği olarak görülüyor.
26.02.1965	İ.Ş.Uysal ilave kat inşaatı için proje çizdirmiş. 1 katlı restoran h:4. Erdoğan Tözge projesi.
18.05.1965	Ş.Uysal temel üstü ruhsatının verilmesi için başv. 01.06.1965’de ok. Süleyman Cevat oğlu İsmail Şekip Uysal.
04.02.1970	A Blok Mimari Y.Müh.Mim Nurettin Balaban, Mal sahibi Şekip Uysal. Yapının başladığı tarih:16.04.1971 Yapının bittiği tarih:24.09.1973
26.03.1970	B Blok Mimari Y.Müh.Mim Nurettin Balaban
15.03.1971	İmar durumu A için h:24.80 çatı katsız, B için h:21.80. ÇİZİM.
31.03.1971	Orhan Erdil. Öncesinde Dr.Adil Bir tapuda sahibi görünüyor.
24.05.1971	Şekip Uysal’ın başladığı inşaatın gabarisi h:21.80 verilmiş. Ancak Cumhuriyet meydanından Gündoğdu Meydanına kadar olan kısımda ve Atatürk Caddesi ile Cumhuriyet Cad. arasında bulunan binalara 1 metre su zammı verildiğini görmüş ve kendisi de istemiş.
06.12.1972	Ruhsatsız inşaat yapıldığı tespit edilmiş. Bina daha inşa edilirken 20 cm tasman yapmış, bu bölgenin zemin durumundan kaynaklanıyor.

20.03.1973	Orhan Erdil: 'inşa etmekte olduğumuz apartman inşaatımızın ilişikteki mim projelerinin tasdiklenmesini' istemiş. 28.03.1973'de edilmiş.
16.04.1981	B Blok Yapının başladığı tarih: Alyans apt.
28.07.1983	B Blok Yapının bittiği tarih: Yapı sahibi Nevzat Akpınar .1 Parselin mal sahipleri Şekip Uysal, Bisah Zuhhal, Nuran Karabece
09.04.1990	çatı katının tama iblağı ile dahili tadilat için ruhsat (çatı Orhan Erdil'in).

1198 – 182 – 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 Parseller
2 ve 3 parseller 1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında arsa
Ticaret Odasının görülüyor. 15.12.1972.

1206 Ada



1206 – 182 – 3 Parsel
Fransız Konsolosluğu

1206 – 182 – Parsel 13-8	
08.06.1953	Proje üstündeki tapu tarihi
29.11.1955	3 katlı ev. Yapı sahibi: Fatma Hikmet Örs
Müellif: Y.Mim Muzaffer Seven. Tuğla yığma binasında çatı tamirati yapmak istemiş.	

1206 – 182 – 9 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında ev (Mehmet Fethi Saz Öğreten)	
09.11.1960	Dilekçe
15.11.1960	İmar durumu
01.02.1960??	Yapının başladığı tarih: Yapı Sahibi: Sevim Zeytin
15.01.1963	İmar tekrar istenmiş.
16.08.1963	Tarihli dilekçede 21.80 gabarinin 22.80'e çıkarılması (18 parselde olduğu gibi) istemişler. Kabul edilmiş.
26.08.1963	Tarihli imar durumu h:22.80
24.01.1964	Tarihli imar durumu.
11.02.1964	Temel üstü ruhsatı verilmesi için Nişli müracaat atmış.
09.12.1964	Müellif: Fahrettin Nişli, tarihli projesi 'Fethi Bey Apartmanı'.
25.06.1965	Yapının bittiği tarih
9 Parselde Suavi Turaner'e ait ruhsatsız bir yapı varmış.	

1206 – 182 – 17 Parsel	
24.10.1962	"Arsama inşaat yaptırmak istediğimden imar durumu istiyorum". Sahibi: Dr.Kamuran Örs
25.10.1962	Cevap: h:21.80.

1206 – 182 – 15 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında arsa (İzmir Rıhtım Şirketine ait) (eski 2 Parsel)	
Kadoğlu Apt. inşaatı. Sahibi: Mübeccel Gökönül (Dürük) – Mustafa kızı	
28.08.1969	A ve B Blok. Yapının başladığı tarih.
20.10.1967	21.80'den 22.80'e çıkmak için başvuru.
10.07.1970	Müellif: Vedat İnaltay
14.04.1972	A Blok Yapının bittiği tarih
08.12.1972	B Blok Yapının bittiği tarih

1206 – 182 – 18 Parsel	
Martı Apt. Sahibi:Dr.Kamuran Örs	
22.01.1963	K.Örs,18 parselde bulunan binamı (başka bir belgede baraka olarak görülüyor) yıktırarak yerine apartman inşa edeceğinden, imar durumunu istemiş. Cevap:h 21.80.
26.04.1963	Su zammı başvurusu, 1m.

01.07.1964	Fenni mesul: Altan Somer.
01.07.1964	Yapının başladığı tarih.
09.07.1965	Yapının bittiği tarih.

1206 – 182 – 22 Parsel	
İmbat Apt. Sahibi:F.Hikmet Örs	
17.09.1963	Yapının başladığı tarih.
17.09.1963	Fenni mesul: Y.Mim Rıza Aşkan, 9 kat.
19.04.1965	Yapının bittiği tarih
21.10.1970	Tarihli imar h:21.80

1199 Ada



1199 – 182 – 17 Parsel
“...17 parseline 28.8.1970 tarih, 7 katlı ruhsat verilmiştir. Sadullah Kemal Erol’a ait gayrimenkulde ... zemin katında ruhsata aykırı tadilat yapıldığı için ruhsat harcı 5 kat fazla alınacaktır...” İmar müdürlüğü.

1199 – 182 – 80 Parsel
“...demircilik yapacak Sakıp Artkuy’a ait parselde imar durumu bakımından mazhur yoktur”.

1199 – 182 – 3 Parsel	
1937 yılına ait tapu haritalarında şehir gazinosu	
NATO. Yapı sahibi maliye hazinesi .Tapusunda vasfı şehir oteli.	
11.09.1979	Yemekhane tesisi projesi. Müellif: İnş.Müh.Orhan Kandemir. Subay yemekhane Salonu (1 kat ilave).
05.09.95	Röleve+tadilat için Mercan İnş. Katlı otopark için önündeki ek kısmın altı kullanılmakta. (Dolguya otopark)
28.10.98	ilave inşaat+tadilat Fenni mesul: Veysel İnş.

1200 Ada



1200 – 181 – 1 Parsel	
Mal sahibi apartmandan önce Şefik Orhan Fetvacı.	
30.01.1970	Yapının başladığı tarih: mim proje Ses Hazar+Reha Aksoy.
11.03.1974	Yapının bittiği tarih.

1200 – 181 – 2 Parsel	
Karaoğlan Apt.	
20.08.1967	Tapu tespit krokisi Yapı sahipleri: K.Karaoğlan, Müyesser Neşen, Ali Uludağ, Hasan Uludağ, Ayten Zeytinoğlu.
19.12.1967	Fenni mesul belg.
02.02.1968	Tasdikli proje Proje müellifi: Y.Müh.Mim.Sadi Tuğay
02.02.1968	Temel ruhsatı. Yapının başladığı tarih: A ve B Blokları:
04.11.1969	Oturma raporu
10.09.1970	Tasdikli proje
16.09.1970	Tadilat projesi

26.11.1970	Yapının bittiği tarih
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1200 – 181 – 4 Parsel	
İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü (mal sahibi) İzmir 2.Kordon apartmanı.	
03.05.1961	Tarihli imar durumu h:18.80
15.01.1964	Yapının başladığı tarih:Fenni mesul: Y.Mim Kemal Türksönmez
02.06.1964	21.80+1m(istenmiş)=22.80
08.03.1965	Yapının bittiği tarih

1200 – 181 – 5 Parsel	
Kordonboyu Apt.	
09.05.1960	Temel ruhsatı almış (8 katlı).
24.02.1964	İnşaat bittiğinde oturma istemiş. Müellif: Y.Mim. Faruk San
23.03.1965	Marcelle Bel'in Belediye'ye yazısı: "1942 yılında belediyeden müzayede ile satın almış olduğum kadastro 181 pafta 1201 ada (yanlış yazılmış) 5 parsel sayılı arsa üzerine yine o tarihte belediyeden almış olduğum inşaat tezkeresi ile 3 katlı bir bina inşa etmişim. Binamın arka cephesinde bulunan bina ile benim inşaatım tamamen bitişik olarak yapılmıştır. Arka cephemde bitişik olan mezkur bina bu defa sahipleri tarafından yıkılarak Y.Mim.Saruhan Uluefe tarafından yeniden inşa edilmek üzere. ...benim temel kirişlerimin altına koymak istemektedirler". Müdahale edilmesini istemiş, Cumhuriyet Bulv no:211, 209 evlerin sahibi. Kordonboyu mahdut mesuliyetli yapı kooperatifi başkanı Behçet Uz 18.04.1960'da ...5 parseldeki arsamıza ekli projeye göre inşaat yapılacağından gerekli ruhsatın verilmesini istiyorum".
07.08.1968	imar durumu h:21.80

1200 – 181 – (7-3) Parsel	
27.04.1962	imar durumu h:18.80
21.05.1962	Erol Sağıroğlu: " 7 ve 3 nolu arsamızın imar durumunda h:18.80 verilmiştir, halbuki 5 parselde 22.80 inşaat yapılmaktadır. Tüm Kordonboyu'ndaki arsalar tam dolu inşaat müsaadesi verildiği halde bizim imar durumunda ortada 6m'lik aralık bırakılması istenmektedir. Bu nedenle, tam dolu inşaat ve h:22.80 istiyorum".
03.07.1962	İnşaat izni verilmiş.
25.06.1962	İmar durumunda h:22.80. Parsel no 7-3 diye geçiyor.
31.08.1962	7 ve 3'ün tevhide tasdiklenmiş.

1200 – 181 – 11 Parsel	
25.06.1962	İmar durumu
24.09.1962	Proje mal sahibi Faruk San.
24.09.1962	Temel ruhsatı.
04.12.1962	Yapı ruhsatı alınmış yeni inşaat için
04.02.1966	Faruk San zemin katta tadilat yapmış.
03.11.1972	İmar durumu, A:21.80, B:24.80 (çatı katsız)

1200 – 181 – 27 Parsel	
1443 Sok.no:11 adresinde M.Ali Oral'a sonradan Talat Ermişli'ye ait 1200 ada 197 pafta 27 parselde inşa edilen binanın tüm bilgilerinin bildirilmesi istenmiş. Arşivde dosyası yok.	

1200 – 181 – 10 Parsel	
Harika Apt.	
06.03.1973	Tarihli tapu senesinde vasfi ev ve bahçe (verasette iştirak sureti ile Ester De Porto ve Alberto De Porto ve Mağada De Porto'nun mülkiyetlerinde iken).
19.03.1973	Ester De Porto, sahibi bulunduğu ...10 parselde ait imar durumunu istemiş. A:22.80 çatılı, B:24.80 çatısız.
06.06.1973	Zeki Bozoklar'ın proje tasdiklenmiş.
24.05.1974	1. ve 2. katler için ruhsat istenmiş, inşaat durdurulmuş. Bu arada B bloğun hafriyatı devam ediyor.
24.02.1977	Sahibi Felice Cappadona (Policarpo oğlu). Cappadona hisseleri ahara satıyor (tapu senedi).
29.04.1977	Mesul Y.Mim.Zeki Bozoklar.

1201 Ada



1201 – 181 – 1 Parsel	
Dosya yok	

1201 – 181 – 2 Parsel	
14.08.1961’de Servet Akka...2 parselde inşaat yapmak için imar istemiş.	

1201 – 181 – 3 Parsel	
19.09.1966	Tapu tespiti
23.09.1966	Fenni mesul
24.10.1966	Tasdikli proje Mal sahibi:Marie Gedik Müellif: Zeki Bozoklar
24.10.1966	Temel ruhsatı.
06.09.1966	M.Gedik komşu parseller de dikkate alınarak imar verilmesini istemiş- h:22.80
24.10.1966	Yapının başladığı tarihi. Müteahhid: Felice Cappadona
21.06.1968	İnşaat bitmiş oturma raporu isteniyor.

1201 – 181 – 6 Parsel	
Adres:Cumhuriyet Bulvarı No:207 – Atatürk Caddesi No:228. Selvili Apt.	
04.05.1954	İmar durumu h:22.80.
08.05.1954	İmar durumu
07.09.1955	İlk inşaat ruhsatı istemiş H.Selvili.
12.09.1955	Tarihli Y.Mim.F.Aktaş’a ait proje.
31.03.1956	Tadilatı yapılmış projelerle tekrar tasdik için başvurulmuş. (cevap:teras ikamete tahsis edilemez, garaj tesisi. 7 katlı bina denmiş).
16.04.1956	Kat ruhsatı. 7 katlı Bay Hilmi Selvili Apartmanı
31.06.1956	B.A. Fenni mesul ve kontrol: Y.Müh.Melih Selvili (oğlu).
10.12.1956	İnşaat yapılıyor, parke ihtiyacı çıkarılmış.
29.04.1966	Mahkemeye verilmiş, 2 ayrı parsel değil tek parsel için,tamamına yerleşmiş.
03.03.1975	1955’de imar kanunu meriyetinden önce yapıldığı için oturma verilmiştir
09.07.1992	1.kattaki meskenin işyerine dönüşümü ve tüm binada esaslı tadilatlar amacıyla proje Mim.Turhan Boro tarafından gerçekleştirilmiş.

1201 – 181 – 7 Parsel	
VAKKO Tekstil ve Hazır Giyim San.	
10.05.1940	Tarihli tapu senesinde vasfi arsa.
06.10.1950	Zehra Kılınç-Fehime Alsur apt.ilave kat projesi. Fenni mesul Faruk San.

12.04.1974	“...7 parselde İbrahim Sırrı Yayger tarafından yapılacak 8 katlı bina için inşaat ruhsatı tanzim edilmiştir”.
03.07.1975	İmar durumunu istemişler. A:24.80, B:21.80.
25.01.1977	Temel ruhsatı istenmiş. (ebat tadilatı istenmiş).
18.02.1977	Yapının başladığı tarih: Mim.Cengiz Onaran. Bn Zehra Cevahirci – Fehime Alam – Mağaza –
28.09.1978	İmar iskan bakanlığı yönetmeliğine göre çatı tam kat haline gelmiştir.
24.12.1978	İmar durumunda A,B=24.80.
15.01.1980	Tadilat projeleri.
28.07.1981	Mal sahipleri oturma raporu için başv çok katlı mağaza binası için (8kat) L.Zehra Kilimci (Cevahirci) E.Fehime Alam Ayşe Alam(Ayhan) Gülgün Şemsiyelioğlu Pınar Korkut
01.08.1981	Yapının bittiği tarih

1201 – 181 – 14 Parsel	
Işın apt.	
03.02.1961	imar durumu istenmiş bina yapmak için.
17.09.1962	Proje müellifi:Cahit Akan. Sahibi: Yolanda Guys ve Cahit Akan. (Öncesinde tapuda Fransız uyruklu Ferdinand Oğlu Henri Guys adına kayıtlı olduğu belirtilmiş)
28.01.1964	“...14 parsel nolu imşaatımın mütebaki bitmiş katların oturma raporunun verilmesi” C.Akan.
01.08.1964	Cumhuriyet Bulv.a bakan blok tamamlanmıştır.A.Cad’e bakan bloğun inşasına başlamak için izin istenmiş.
17.08.1964	Yapının başladığı tarih
07.01.1965	Yolanda Guys ve C.Akan 14 parseldeki inşaat için temel üstü raporu istemiş.
24.05.1967	Yapının bittiği tarih: yapı kullanma izin kağıdından.
17.06.1970	“...14 parselde mevcut arsa üzerinde inşa edilmiş 2 apartman kat mülkiyetine çevireceğimden...”
24.12.1970	Tadilat
18.08.1972	Bina sahipleri, güney cephesinde yer alan yeni inşaatın 2 kitle arası boşluğu bırakmadan inşa ettiğini şikayet ediyor.
24.01.1977	imar durumu h:24.80.
Altında ‘Denizkızı’ içkili bar davalık.	

1201 – 181 – 15 Parsel	
Zeynep Akif Apt.	
04.01.1960	Tarihli imar durumu: “16.07.1958 günü 3633 sayılı Encümen kararı ile tasdik olunan plana göre 21 parselle tevhid edildikten sonra aşağıda yazılı nizamda inşaat yapılabilir, h:21.80+1”

23.02.1960	Tarihli Mukaddes Sayman'ın Belediye Başkanlığına yazısı: “...parsel 15’de yeniden yapacağım inşaat için 16/7/1958 günü ve 3633 sayılı encümen kararı ile tasdik olunan plana göre 21 sayılı parselle tevhid edildikten sonra bitişik, 7 kat ve 22.80 bina yüksekliği ve ileride imar planlarında bir değişiklik olursa herhangi bir hak iddia edilemez, yalnız proje yapılır, inşaat yapılamaz diye bir imar durumu verilmiştir. 1.Halen bir küçük memurum ailemden kalma bu arsamda kardeşlerimle beraber bir yuva yapmak istiyorum.21 nolu parselle ne manen ve ne de maddeden tevhide imkan olmayan (zira 21 nolu parsel sahibi ecnebi ve gayri müslimdir) bir arsada hiçbir surette anlaşılamam. 2.Ana yasa kanunlarına göre arsamda mer’i içidat ve teamüllere göre bir mülk yapmak hakkımdır. 3.Yapı tasarrufları ile kardeşlerimle beraber bir yuvaya sahip olmak amacıyla olduğumuzdan verilen imar durumunun Fen İşleri Müdürlüğünce varılan mutabakata göre yeniden düzenlenerek bir imar durumu verilmesi için yüksek meclise havalesine ve gereken müsaadelerinizi en üstün saygılarımla arz ederim”. Mukaddes Sayman. Cumhuriyet Bulv No:189.
09.03.1960	Tarihli cevap: “Sahibi bulunduğunuz 181 pafta 1201 ada 15 parsel sayılı menkul için şuyusuz İmar durumu verilmesinin mümkün olmadığına, mezkur gayrimenkulün bulunduğu adanın Encümence tasdikli tafsilat planının mevcut olması, 15 sayılı parselin cephe genişliğinin dar ve 7 katlı bina inşasına elverişli yüzölçümünde bulunmaması sebebiyle 1/3/1960 gün ve 3310 sayı ile Fen Heyetince karar verilmiştir. Belediye Başkanlığı”.
05.06.1962	Tarihinde 21 parselle birleşmek istemişler. İmar durumunda tevhid edilmesine karşılık.
09.10.1962	15 ve 21’in şuyulanmadan müstakilen inşaat nizamı verilmesi uygun görülmüş
26.10.1962	İmar durumu h:22.80.
11.05.1964	Müellif:C.Akan, fenni mesul. mal sahibi:Mehmet Sayman
13.06.1964	Tasdikli projede 9 katlı apartman – C.Akan mesul.
17.01.1969	Tapusunda kagir ev görünüyor.
22.03.1971	Mukaddes Sayman imar durumunu istemiş bina yapmak için.
29.09.1972	Kasman sorumlu olmuş.
15.11.1972	Yapının başladığı tarih
1974	Yapının bittiği tarih
21.12.1972	Temel üstü vizesi.
15.11.1972	Projesinde müellif Rahmi Kasman. Hasan Cemil oğlu, Ahmet Bülent Özay vekil tayin etmiş, mal sahibi Frankfurt’ta oturuyor.

1201 – 181 – 17 Parsel	
13.03.1961	Tarihli tasdikli projesi var.
21.07.1961	Tarihli aynı projeden var.
21.07.1961	Mal sahibi: “mevcut binanın yıktırılarak ‘bitişigindeki 17 parselde inşa edilmekte olan binayı beğendiğim için aynı tip ve projede yapmak istiyorum. İmar durumu 18 parselde 21.80 olarak verildiğine göre, 17 parseldeki inşaatımıza da aynı gabarinin verilmesini rica ediyoruz”, G.Descuffi.
04.08.1961	Bel. Başkanlığı.Fen İşlerinden 18.80 olan bina irtifakının civarın 22.80 olması nedeniyle buna da aynı irtifakın verilmesi istenmiş.

13.03.1962	Tarihli temel ruhsatı 7 katlı bina için alınmış. Descuffi İtalyan tabiyetine haiz İzmir başpiskoposu. Gayri menkul: Alsancak 1.Kordon'a kain 210 no.lu başpiskopos.
20.12.1962	"...17 parsel üzerinde yapacağım apartman inşaatı için aynı ada içinde emsali binalara verildiği gibi 22.80.istemiş. Edvard Tonna (baş psikopos) vekili Giuseppe Descuffi.
22.12.1962	Tarihli imar durumu 22.80.
07.01.1963	Temel ruhsatı 21.80 iken yeni imar durumuna göre gabari 22.80 olacaktır. Temel üstü ruhsatının ona göre verilemesi istenmiş, cevap:ok, 05.02.1963.
22.02.1963	Tarihinde parselin tamamına ait 8,5 kat 16 daireli temel üstü ruhsatı verilmiş.
22.02.1963	Apartman projesinde 9 kat, kat ilavesi olmuş. Tunçhal inşaat Kol. Müellif:Jean Halikiopulos Mesul: aynısı Zemin katta mağaza.
26.04.1963	Tarihli noter kağıdında: "Hüseyin kızı 1921 doğumlu TC tebaasından Saadet Başaran ile Mişel kızı 1916 doğumlu Yunan tebaasından Cemmas Sasso namlarına Cezmi Tunçer vekaletname tanzimi istediler. Aşağıdaki şekilde beyanda bulundular: Müvekkillerden Cemmas Sasso'nun tasarrufunda bulunan İzmir Kültür mahallesi 2.Kordon üzerinde kain tapunun 1201 ada, 13 parsel sayılı 96 m2 gayri menkulü ile yine müvekkillerden Saadet Başaran'ın mutasarrıf bulunduğu aynı mahalde ve aynı adanın 12 parsel nosunda müseccel 96 m2 gayri menkulü her ikisi de yıktırarak arsa haline kalp ve bu arsaları tevhid ettirmeğe, cins tashihlerini yaptırmaya ve tek parsel haline ifrağ ile bu arsa üzerinde apartman binası inşaa atmeğe ve bu inşaat için gereken projelerin tanzimine ve zemin kat ve bir de 8.çekme kat olmak üzere hazırlanacak projeye göre inşaaı....". İki sahibin birer daire alıp diğerlerinin satışına izin veren bir belge.
17.12.1963	Tarihli oturma raporunda inşaat oturmaya uygun bulunmuş (Tunçhalın İnş.) (Tunçhal: Halikiopulos + Cezmi Tunçer)
17.12.1963	Tarihinde 2 bloğun tamamına oturma raporu verilmiş. Atatürk Cad'deki blok 1226m2 Cumhuriyet B.'daki blok 1189m2.
06.01.1969	Bel başkanlığı istek üzerine bildirmiş: 1.Bu parsel (17) 2 cepheidir. Parselin tamamına 13.3.1962 tarihinde temel ruhsatı verilmiştir.
24.02.1969	Tarihli imar h:22.10.
15.07.1974	"...17 parselde bulunan Burç apartmanı ile ilgili talep incelendi. Tasdikli mim projede ön kısmında bulunan mağaza ile mağazanın arkasında mesken olarak görünen kısmı zemin katta yapılacak tadilatla tamamının dükkan olarak kullanılmasında mazhur bulunmamaktadır".
27.10.1987	Tarihinde zeminde tadilat.
25.12.1987	B Blok 2 nolu bağımsız bölüm konuttan işyerine dönüşümü

1201 – 181 – 18 Parsel	
Sahil Apartmanı (A.C), Sel Apartmanı (C.B.)	
06.05.1959	Tarihli imar durumu 21.80+1
28.04.1960	Tarihli imar durumu 18.80
12.10.1960	Temel ruhsatı
14.09.1960	Dilekçe
29.09.1960	İmar durumu
11.10.1960	Tasdikli proje
12.10.1960	Temel

09.06.1961	R.Musal vali ve bel başkanlığına tarihli yazısı: “...18 parsel sayılı gayrimenkulün sahibiyim. Bu yer için 1959 yılında aldığım imar durumunda, bina yüksekliği 21.80.olarak verildi. Mevcut binamı yıkarak bina inşa edeceğim için, yaptıracağım projeye esas olmak üzere 1960 yılında tekrar imar durumu istedim. 12.04.1960 tarihli imar durumunda bina yüksekliği yine 21.80 olarak verildi. Bu sebeple, bina projelerimi 21.80 olacak şekilde hazırladım. 13.09.1960 tarihli dilekçe ile de ruhsat almak üzere müracaat ettim. Yapı şubesi servislerince verilen 29.09.1960 tarihli yeni imar durumunda bina yüksekliğinin 18.80’e indirildiği bildirildi. Sebebini araştırdım, inkılapta sonra bir ara bel başkanlığı görevinde bulunan Safa Poyraz’ın, şahsi kanaat ve emirleriyle İzmir’de 21.80 irtifanda inşa edilen bütün binaların irtifalarını düşürdüğünü öğrendim. Halbuki benden birkaç gün önce ruhsat alanların projeleri 21.80 olarak tasdik edilmiştir. İmardan gaye bütün bina irtifalarını bir hizaya getirmekse aynı ada içinde 21.80 irtifada bir sürü bina vardır, yine aynı ada içinde natamam 21.80lik binalar mevcuttur. ...İnşaatım devam etmektedir, mağduriyetimin kaldırılmasını emsalleri gibi 21.80 olarak irtifan tashihini rica ederim”.
16.06.1961	Tarihli imar durumu 21.80
09.02.1962	Mimari proje.
26.04.1962	Tasdikli projesi. Rakibe Musal Apartman Projesi. Tunçal İnşaat. Müellif+mesul:J.Halikiopulos,
26.04.1962	Temel üstü tadilat ruhsatı
30.04.1962	Oturma raporu. Cumhuriyet Bulvarına bakan blok için oturma raporu R.Musal’ın bel.den aldığı 12.10.1960 günlü inşaat tezkeresiyle tasdikli projesine göre yeni yaptığı zemin kat+6 normal kat+1 çatı katının sağlığa uygun inşa edilmişyit.
16.04.1971	Tarihli imar durumu, A:21.80, B:24.80 çatısız

1201 – 181 – 19 Parsel	
17.10.1960	İmar durumu istenmiş, h.18.80
12.01.1962	İmar durumu istenmiş.
22.08.1962	Tarihli proje. Mal sahibi Nurettin Ulueren. Fenni mesul Y.Mim Özcan Özşişman+ Abdullah Pekan (Blok İnşaat)
22.08.1962	Temel ruhsatı. Yapının başladığı tarih:
16.03.1962	İmar durumu
31.03.1962	22.80 gabari istenmiş (21.80 iken).
16.04.1962	İmar durumu h.21.80
19.11.1962	Temel üstü ruhsatı
09.11.1963	Oturma raporu
09.07.1964	Yapının bittiği tarih
27.11.1965	Nurettin Ulueren’in bel fen işlerine yazısı: “... Blok İnşaat şirketi sahipleriyle 15.06.1962 tarihlerinde akdettiğimiz mukavele gereğince İzmir’de 1.Kordonda Tayyare Sineması yanındaki tapu sicilinin ...19 parsel 1201 ada no’sunda kayıtlı 310 m2lik ev ve arsamı vermiş ve bir tarafı 1.Kordon diğer tarafı Cumhuriyet Bulvarı olmak üzere 2 taraflı 2 blok inşaat yapılmıştır. Kapıcı dairesinin gayri sihhiliği sebebiyle fen heyeti kakarı istenmiş”.

1201 – 181 – 20 Parsel	
Tayyare apt.	
11.07.1966	Tarihli imar durumu h:21.80. Tayyare Apt. (yerinde Tayyere sineması varmış)
02.10.1968	Tapu senedi. Sinema iken belediyeninmiş ve 1850000 bedelle Akgermanlara satılmış (02.10.1968 tarihli tapu kaydı).
24.12.1968	İnşaat ruhsatı istenmiş.
11.01.1969	Tarihli projede fenni mesul Y.Müh.Mim.Aybars Kendir. (9 katlı)
24.03.1970	Yapının başladığı tarih
17.09.1970	Temel üstü ruhsatı istenmiş.
24.09.1970	Temel üstü ruhsatı alınmış.
15.10.1971	Yapılacak apartman inşaatına, takdim edilen projeye tasdik istenmiş.
05.11.1971	Tarihli 9 katlı projesinde Akgerman Apartmanı, kontrolü Orhan Erdil. Mal sahipleri: Bedri ve Şeküre Akgerman+M.Smer, Tülin Dündar.
20.12.1971	Proje ruhsatı
16.05.1972	Tarihli noter kağıdında: “...20 parsel sayısında kayıtlı olan gayrimenkul üzerinde 634 sayılı kat mülkiyeti kanunu uyarınca kat irtifakı tesis istemeğe bağımsız bölüm listeleri tanzim ve imzaya....”.
04.01.1973	Yapının bittiği tarih
23.01.1973’de	Yapı kullanma izni
26.11.1973	Tarihli imar durumu A: h.24.80 çatı katsız, B: h.21.80 çatı katlı.
11.05.1981	İmar durumu h:24.80 çatı katsız.

1201 – 181 – 21 Parsel	
Ülkü Apt.	
14.04.1972	34 parsel yerine 16 h:22.80
22.11.1972	Mesul: Mim.Yusuf Özseçen, Yapı sahibi:Ülkü Özseçen-Mim.Yusuf Özseçen
1972	Tarihli tapu senedinde “...Avusturya tebaalı Sperco oğlu Raymond Sperco ve Fransız tebaalı Fanny kızı Emile Routler ve İngiliz tebaalı Fernand kızı Moira Cout ve Fernand oğlu İngiliz tebaalı Ralph Cout’un mülkiyetlerinde iken Raymond Sperco bilasale ve diğerleri Emile R ve M.Cout ve R.Cout namlarına vekilleri Hulusi Selek bilve kale iş bu gayrimenkulün tamamını 650000 lira bedel mukabilinde satışlarındanÖzseçenlere”.
08.02.1973	Temel üstü vizesi yapılmış.
06.09.1974	Tarihten itibaren yapı kullanma izni.
31.10.1984	İmar durumu h:24.80 çatı katsız.
14.03.1986	Çatı katın tama iblağı.

1201 – 181 – 22 Parsel	
1.Kordon cepheli.	
23.01.1961	Tarihli İ.Tanyalçın buraya 18.80 irtifaında 6 katlı bir apartman yapmak istemekteyiz, ancak imar durumunda 12 ve 13 parsellerle tevhit edilmesi bildirilmiş.kendi arsasına bina yapmak istiyor.
09.02.1962	İmar durumu h:21.80.
26.07.1962	Tasdikli projesinde sahibi İbrahim Tanyalçın. Müellif Rıza Aşkan, Halil Ünalp.
27.07.1962	Temel üstü ruhsatı
19.08.1963	Oturma raporu
29.09.1978	Kat mülkiyeti almak için başvurulmuş.
19.04.1979	İmar durumunda h:24.80 çatı katsız.
12.07.1979	Çatı katının tama iblağı.
22.11.1979	Tasdikli proje

1201 – 181 – 28 Parsel	
Keresteci apt.	
25.04.1966	İmar durumu istenmiş.
29.04.1966	İmarı. H:21.80.
28.12.1966	22.80 yüksekliğindeki 2 yapı arasında kalan gayrimenkulümüze 22.80 yüks imar yönetmeliğine uygun olarak verilmesini istemişler (21.80 iken).
05.03.1967	Yapının başladığı tarih
28.07.1967	İmar durumu istemiş.
18.07.1969	Fişer Ofis (Ali Erdal Fişek) oturma raporu için başvurmuş. Yapı sahibi Hilmi Keresteci (Hasan oğlu)
22.07.1969	Yapının bittiği tarih
05.09.1967	Tasdikli proje
10.05.1969	Mesul Nurettin Balaban. mal sahibi:Emine Doğruer+Hilmi Keresteci, kat adedi 9.
12.12.1970	Hilmi Keresteci iki blok inşa edildikten sonra kat mülkiyeti kanunu gereğince tasdikini istemiş.
22.12.1970	Oturma raporu istenmiş.
28.11.1978	B Bloğun çatısının tama iblağı istenmiş. İmar durumu (tarihi ?) A:h.24.80 çatı katsız, B:h.24.80 çatı katsız.

1201 – 181 – 29 Parsel	
Tan apartmanı.	

06.07.1960	Belediye Başkanı Safa Poyraz'ın yazısı: "İlişik dilekçede bahis konusu olan Alsancak'ta 1481 Sokakta 8 Nolu Dominiken Kilisesinin dahilinde rahiplerin ikametine tahsis edilen yerdeki ahşap merdiven yeniden mozayik olarak yapılmak istenmektedir. Kanunu mahsusuna istinaden yapılmasında bir mahzuru olup olmadığının iş'arına emirleri saygı ile arz olunur. Bel Başk Safa Poyraz".
05.12.1961	Tarihli İçişleri Bakanlığı Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğünün yazısı: "Arşöveğ Mgr. Joseph Deccuffi'nin, arşöveğin ikametine tahsis edilmek üzere yeni bir bina inşasına müsaade edilmesine dair olan talebi tetkik edildi: 2644 sayılı Tapu kanununun 3.maddesinde "mevcudiyetleri Türkiye Cumhuriyetince tanınmış olan yabancılara ait dini, ilmi, hayrı müesseselerin fermanlara ve hükümet kararlarına müsteniden sahiplendikleri gayri menkuller, bu belgelerin sınırlarına çıkmamak ve hükümet izni alınmak suretile müesseselerin hükmi sahsiyetleri namına tescil olunabilir" denilmektedir. Gerek Lozan muahedesi metni ve gerekse teati edilen mektuplar münderecatı, bu gibi müesseselerin mevcudiyetlerinin, teşkilat bina ve arazi bakımından oldukları gibi kalmalarını derpiş etmiş bulunmaktadır. İzmir Katolik Arşöveğ ikametgahı olarak kullanılan ve halen yıkılarak arsa haline getirilen gayrimenkulün hukuki durumu ise başka mahiyet arz etmektedir. Mezkur bina 181 pafta 1201 ada 17 parsel ve tapu kütüğünün 376 sahifesinde kayıtlı, İngiliz tebaasından halen yurt dışında bulunan Edvard Tonn namına müseccel olup, Napoli Konsolosluğundan verilen 6.3.1939 gün ve 17650 sayılı vekaletname ile Arşöveğ Descuffi bu binanın vekili tayin olunmuştur. Binaenaleyh Arşöveğ Descuffi bu gayrimenkülü satması ve üzerinde yapılacak binada iki katın kendisine verilmesi ancak müvekkili bulunduğu Edvard Tonn adına hareket etmekte ve tapuya onun adına kat mülkiyeti olarak tescil ettirmekle mümkün olabilir. Bunun haricinde Katolik Arşöveği adına tescilinin, Lozan andlaşması ve buna ait teati edilen mektuplar muvacehesinde mümkün gölülmemektedir. Bilgi edinilmesini rica ederim. Muhlis Babaoğlu Müsteşar. İçişleri Bakanı adına".
14.02.1962	G.Sassos 13 nolu parsel üzerinde halen mevcut olan binamı yıkıp, binama bitişik 12 nolu parsel sahibi ile müşterek yeni bir bina yapmak istiyoruz demiş
16.02.1962	İmar durumu. imar h:21.80+1
19.07.1962	21.80+1 için başv.
24.08.1962	İnşaat yapmak için Tunçhal başvurmuş (Gemma Sassos ve Saadet Başaran adına)
25.09.1962	Projesi Mim.Ülkü Vural , müellif de. 13 parsel için proje.
12.01.1963	Tasdikli proje. proje müellifi Ülkü Vural, mesul:aynı.
12.01.1963	Temel ruhsatı.
13.08.1963	Çatı için başvurulmuş.
08.10.1963	45 derece çatı olarak onaylanmış.
12.12.1963	Oturma raporu istenmiş. Saadet Başaran ve Gemma Sassos vekili Tunçhal İnşaat.
16.01.1970	Kat mülkiyetine çevirmek istemişler.
19.09.1970	İmar durumu h:24.80 çatı katsız.
16.01.1984	Tarihli tapuda "tamamı Nadia Price adına kayıtlı iken...".

1201 – 181 – 30 Parsel	
29.04.1965	İmar durumu istenmiş

03.05.1965	İmar durumu 21.80
10.05.1965	22.80 gabari istenmiş.
14.05.1965	İmar durumu 22.80.
21.07.1965	Temel ruhsatı. Yapının başlangıç tarihi.
21.07.1965	Tasdikli proje(mal sahipleri Selahattin Düren, Gönül Düren, Armağan Günalp), müellif: Yük.Müh.Mim. Aytekin Yazıcı
06.08.1965	Temel üstü ruhsatı
30.09.1966	Yapının tamamına yapı kullanma izni Yapının bitiş tarihi
22.03.1968	Kat mülkiyeti kanununa göre tapu almak için başvurulmuş S.Düren tarafından.
17.04.1986	İmar durumu 24.80, çatı katsız.


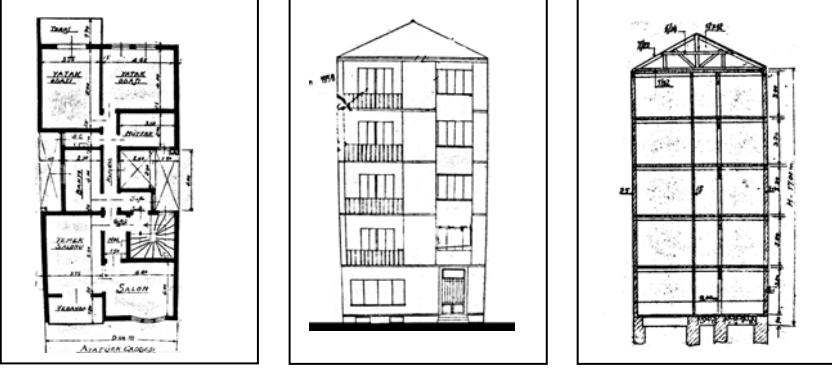
1201 – 181 – e:9.27, y:31	
Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü (altında Polo)	
19.04.1957	Tarihli yapı ruhsatı var yeni yapının yapılacağına dair. Mesul Y.Mim.Fuat Bozinal.
01.12.1960	Yılına ait bir oturma raporunda 7 katlı apartman + dükkan projesi.
1960'lı yıllara	ait bir imar durumu h:18.80
30.12.1971	Tarihli tapu senesinde vasfı altında dükkanı olan 6 katlı 27 dairesi kargir apartman.
14.01.1974	İmar durumunda A 24.80 B 21.80.
18.11.1974	İmar durumu
07.11.1975	Tasdikli proje
07.11.1975	Yapının başladığı tarihi
17.08.1978	Tarihli zemin kat tadilatı Hüseyin Açıkgöz.
17.11.1993	Tarihli tadilat projesi Yrd.Doç.Dr.Rafet Kıstır.

1201 – 181 – 32 Parsel	
23.03.1976	Bel. Başkanlığına: “Atatürk Caddesine kain 232 kapı nolu ve tapunun eski 1201 ada 4 parsel ve ifrazen yeni 1201 ada 32 parsel sayılı 1957 yılı imar kanunundan evvel inşa edilmiş bulunan apartmanını kat mülkiyetine çevireceğim. Apartmanın 1955 yılında inşa edilmiş olduğuna dair İzmir Özel idare Mahmudiye Şubesi şefliğinden almış olduğum tasdikli belge ektedir. Apartmanın inşa tarihinde oturma ruhsatı olmadığından kat mülkiyetine çevirebilmek için Tapu Muhafızlığına sunmak üzere iskan belgesi mahiyetinde bir belge istemiyorum. Beşir Tatari”.
01.04.1976	Tarihli Beşir Tatari, altında mağaza bulunan 7 katlı apartmana ait ...kat mülkiyeti kanununca tasdikli.

1201 – 181 – 34 Parsel	
13.03.1990	Tarihli bir tapu senesinde vasfi 5 katlı ve 5 daireli apartman.
21.10.1994	Binamı yıkıp yeni inşaat yapacağımdan imar istemiş. H.Enis Bakioğlu.
25.10.1996	Temel tamamlanmış.
1998	Yılına ait bir imar durumunda h:24.80 çatı katsız, 8 veya 9 kat.
29.12.1998	A.Metin – E.Edis Bakioğlu yeni inşaat yapmış. İnşaat bitim tarihi

1201 – 181 – 33 Parsel	
Cumhuriyet Bulvarı No:211	
04.11.1953	Dilekçe
04.11.1953	İnşaat projesi Fahri Nişli (Er Mısırlı Apartmanı)
13.11.1953	Tasdikli proje
10.11.1954	İlave proje
07.07.1957	4 Parsel 2'ye ifraz edildikten sonra zemin katta tamamı doldurularak 22.80 saçak irtifana inşaat yapılabilir. Bay Necmettin Mısırlıoğlu Apartmanı.
22.09.1957	Yıkım kararı
06.06.1958	Apartmanın arkasına inşa edilmiş ruhsatsız mutfak+wc tamamen yıkılmış Necmettin Mısırlıoğlu'na ait.
24.07.1958	İmar durumu h:21.80+1
04.09.1959	Tasdikli proje F.San projesi. Projenin üstünde 16.09.1966 tarihli Rıza Aşkan fenni meshul yazısı da var.
04.09.1959	Temel ruhsatı
22.05.1961	B.Tatari 478 noda inşaata başladığını bildiriyor, ancak imar durumunda yapılan değişikliklerle gabarininin 18.80m'ye indirilmiş olduğu bildiriliyor.
13.09.1966	Mevcut 7 katlı binaya çatı katı ilavesi için R.Aşkan tayin edilmiş.
16.09.1966	Çatı ruhsatı
14.02.1967	Yapı kullanma izni
07.03.1967	4 parselde Cumhuriyet Bulvarı cephesinde yeniden inşaat yaptıracağından imar durumunu istemiş B.Tatari. cevap h:21.80
21.06.1967	Asma kat ilavesi. Mal sahibi Bay Beşir Tatari. 4 parsel. Proje Y.Müh.Mim. Fehmi Tanger
13.02.1967	2,Kordon cephesi inşaatı 04.09.1959'da tanzim ettirdiği halde başlamamış, yeniden ruhsat istemiş B.Tatari.
13.10.1967	B.Tatari 4 parsel üzerinde mevcut olan apartmanın ilave çatı katına inşaat ruhsatının bir suretini Y.Mim. Rıza Aşkan'a verilmesini istemiş. Cevap ÇİZİM
07.08.1968	Temel ruhsatı
27.09.1969	Temel üstü ruhsatı
16.09.1970	Tasdikli proje
12.09.1970	Yıkım kararı
19.07.1968	Fenni mesul F.Cebeci. 8/5 kat.
29.06.1970	İmar durumu. A h:21.80, B h:24.80
10.08.1970	B.Tatari 4 parsel 2.Kordon kısmına inşa etmekte olduğu apartman inşaatının çatı katını imar durumuna göre tam kata iblağ ederek tadilat yapmak istemiş.

25.09.1970	Tarihli yazıda 10.07.1970 günü belediyeden aldığı kararla mezkur yerin (4 parsel) 21.80'den 24.80'e çıkarıldığını belirtiyor.
15.10.1970	Fenni mesul Fuat Cebeci'ye inşaat yapma ruhsatı verilmiş. Yalnız Cebeci ruhsata aykırı davranmış. Çatı katı yapması gerekirken tam kat yaptırmış. Bu nedenle, F.Cebeci para cezası almış. Bu inşaat için bilahare tam kat izni verilmiş. İzin verildiğine göre para cezasının kaldırılması istenmiş. Cevap olarak cezanın uygulanması uygun görülmüş.
17.03.1971	Tarihli proje F.Cebeci'nin kat adedi 8,5.
12.02.1971	4 Parseldeki binamı ikmal etmiş bulunduğundan oturma ruhsatı istemiş B.Tatari. İnşaat başlangıç tarihi 07.08.1968. Rıza ve Zeki Aşkan tarafından (mevcut 7 katlı binaya 1 kat ilavesi) (yeni 33 parsel)
1970'de	Osman Kibar belediye başkanı.

1201 – 181 – 35 Parsel	
29.12.1952	Tarihli proje. 3 katlı.
	
22.07.1953	Tarihli imar durumu h:21.80+1
12.10.1956	Tarihli proje.
	
18.02.1960	16 parsel olarak projesi var. 7 katlı projesi. Sahibi Hüsni Enis Bakioğlu ve Metin Bakioğlu.
08.11.1960	Tarihinde oturma raporu istenmiş.
11.08.1972	5 katlı apartmana ait kat mülkiyeti
08.06.1973	İnşaat başlangıcı
13.03.1990	Öncesi tamamen Niyazi Bakioğlu'na ait iken 5 katlı 4 daireli apartman imiş. Tapu senedinde Mal sahibi: Niyazi Bakioğlu. Müellif: Hayri Aydın
30.12.1994	Yapı ruhsatı. Proje Mim Tamer Bozoklar. 8+1 (dükkan) apartman olarak son hali. 25.10.1996'da temeli tamamlanmış.

EBRU YILMAZ

EDUCATION

- 09.1996-06.1998** **M.Sci** Izmir Institute of Technology, Faculty of Architecture, Dept. of Architecture. Thesis: "A Study on Technological Expression in Architecture." Advisor: Prof.Dr.Ahmet Eyüce.
- 09.1991-06.1995** **B.Arch.** Dokuz Eylül University. Faculty of Architecture. Dept. of Architecture. Graduation Project: A Governor's House in İzmir

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

- 1995-Present** **Research and Teaching Assistant.** Izmir Institute of Technology, Faculty of Architecture, Dept. of Architecture.

ESSAYS

- 2002** "Landscapes of Consumption / Shopping Centers". *Egemimarlık* (2001): 4 – (2002)/1, Sayı:40-41.
- 2001** "Architecture-Technology". *Egemimarlık* (2001): 4
- 2000** "An Alternative Historiography on İzmir". İzmir City Culture, (2000):1
- 1996** "Union of Mediterranean Architects (UMAR). Summer School and Workshop". *Egemimarlık* (1996): 4
- 1996** "Graduate Projects-1996". *Egemimarlık* (1996): 4

DESIGN PROJECTS

Working Experience

- 2000** Boat Landing (designed for the Municipality of Izmir)
- 1999** Research Laboratory (designed for the Izmir Institute of Technology)
- 1999** A Sports Hall (designed for the Izmir Institute of Technology) (the construction is continuing)
- 1997** An Aquarium Project (designed for the Municipality of Izmir)
- 1996** A Science Center Project (designed for the Municipality of Izmir)
- 1996** Market Place (designed for the Municipality of Cesme-Izmir)

AWARDS

- 2001** Award (Third Place) (with E.Ergül, S. Kutucu) Kadıköy Square-Haydarpaşa (in İstanbul) Urban Design Project Competition.
- 1998** Award (First Place) (with A. Eyüce, Ö. Eyüce, S. Kutucu, K. Korkmaz). Aquarium Project for the Municipality of Izmir. 6th National Architectural Awards Exhibition.