

THE GOLDEN HORN:  
THE TRANSFORMATION OF SPACE AND  
THE SILHOUETTES OF MODERNITY

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Thesis Abstract  
Sonay Aykan, “The Golden Horn: Transformation of Space and the Silhouettes of  
Modernity”

This thesis examines the post-1980 transformation of space in the Golden Horn, through focusing on the relationship between the discourse of modernity and the urban interventions in Turkey. The demolitions on the northern shores of the region after 1980 and the museums that were built after these demolitions –Koç Museum, Miniaturk and Santral Istanbul- will form the main axis of my investigation. Besides, space politics in Turkey after 1980, the emergence of museumization as a form of a culture industry and the reconceptualization of modernization in this process will be examined.

In this sense, while the deindustrialization experiences of the Golden Horn and the rest of the world are compared, how the industrialization based developmentalist discourse of the early republic was changed during the post-1980 urbanization projects, will be examined. As the architectural interventions, which have turned the industrial district into the “valley of culture”, have been grounded on the discourses of cleanliness and the preservation of the historical texture, the past 100 years of the region are memorized with the sins of industrialization and the annihilation of the historical texture and the cultural heritage. However, the new architectural structures not only replaced the production of hard materials with a cultural industry, but they also constitute new forms of modernity through their ways of representation and the audience they interpellate. Therefore, this thesis will also try to get insights into why and how the contemporary discourse of modernity reproduces itself over the critiques of the modernization experience of the past 50 years of the Turkish Republic.

## Tezin Özeti

Sonay Aykan, “Haliç: Mekansal Dönüşüm ve Modernitenin Silüetleri”

Bu tez, 1980 sonrası Haliç’teki mekansal dönüşümü, Türkiye’deki modernleşme söyleminin mimari müdahaleler ile olan ilişkisine odaklanarak inceliyor. 1980 sonrası dönemde bölgenin kuzey kıyısında gerçekleştirilen yıkımlar ve bu yıkımlar sonrası inşa edilen üç müze –Koç Müzesi, Miniaturk ve Santral Istanbul- araştırmanın ana eksenini oluştururken; Türkiye’de 1980 sonrası uygulanan mekan politikaları, bir kültür endüstrisi biçimi olarak müzecilik olgusunun gelişmesi ve modernleşme tahayyüllerinin yeniden şekillenmesi konuları ele alınmaktadır.

Bu amaçla, bir yandan Haliç’te yaşanan süreç dünyadaki benzerleri ile karşılaştırılırken, öte yandan da Türkiye’de 1980 sonrası şehircilik uygulamalarının erken cumhuriyet döneminin endüstrileşme eksenli ilerlemeci söylemini nasıl yeniden biçimlendirdiği incelenecektir. Haliç’i bir endüstri bölgesi olmaktan “kültür vadisi” olmaya taşıyan mimari müdahaleler “temizlik” ve “tarihsel dokunun korunması” söylemleri üzerine temellendirilirken, bölgenin 100 yıllık endüstriyel geçmişi, tarihsel dokuyu bozan ve kültürel mirası yok eden bir günah olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Ne var ki, endüstriyel dokunun yerini alan yapılar da yalnızca reel endüstrinin yerine kültür endüstrisini koymakla kalmıyor, aynı zamanda da temsil biçimleri ve davet ettikleri ziyaretçi profili ile yeni modernite kavramları oluşturuyorlar. Dolayısıyla bu tez, Türkiye’de günümüz modernitesinin neden geçmiş 50 yıllık modernleşme deneyimi ile hesaplaştığı ve bunu nasıl gerçekleştirdiği sorularına da yanıtlar arayacaktır.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### From Empire to Metropolis

Where is the Golden Horn? Obvious though they seem; possible answers to this question disclose the recent conflicts associated with the conceptualization of space in contemporary Turkey. The long estuary, located on the south-west of the Bosphorus, has been the gravity center for various settlements of various cultures for an almost non-disrupted 3000 years of history. *Haliç*, the *quid pro quo* of the Golden Horn in Turkey, comes from Arabic and means close port. The prominence of its topographical situation as a natural port, -one of the biggest in the world- in the middle of the trade route between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, dates back to 657 BC, to the *Byzantium City* period (Yücetürk, 2001). Not only as a vital station within the trade routes, but also as the capital of two Empires (Byzantine and Ottoman Empire), the Golden Horn has been a centre where space is shaped through the encounter of different cultures, which overlap. (Korkmaz, 2005) In the Golden Horn Special Edition of National Geographic Turkey, it is underlined that İbn Battuta, one of the fourteenth century itinerants, had called the Golden Horn a “boat forest”, since the number of masts of the boats and ships anchored likened the estuary to a forest (Sungur, 2007). Since the estuary offers extraordinary protection from the winds, rendering it one of the safest harbors on the trade route between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, both shores had been significant centers of trade and culture, for centuries. Its length of seven km and its depth, reaching to forty two m (Güçlüer, 1977), has also added to the priority of the geography as one of the most preferred harbor. Alluding to the profusion of trade ships

from different geographies, in his interview, Süleyman Göncüoğlu<sup>1</sup> emphasizes that the trade not only brought affluence, but the Golden Horn also become a nexus integrating various tastes, habits and languages from various lands all over the world. The district was also a trade gate, conserving its vitality in maintaining the basic products to Istanbul and its hinterland. According to İlber Ortaylı (2003), for centuries, the Golden Horn was a safe harbor to unload the seed, oil, milk products and meat that were brought to feed one of the biggest cities of these times. The concentration of various trade activities on the shoreline also culminated in the emergence of a multi-colored cultural structure in the Golden Horn. Ortaylı claims that during the Byzantine period, some foreigners and even some Muslim groups had settled in districts like *Cibali*, *Balaban* or *Unkapani*.

Traces of this cultural texture of hodgepodge can also be followed through the famous notes of Edmondo de Amics during his journey to Istanbul in 1874. While describing the Istanbul of 1870's through the pathways of his literature, he also transmits to us three different worlds of three different religions coexisting on the northern side of the shoreline, in *Hasköy*, *Halıcoğlu* and *Sütlüce*, where Muslims, Christians and Jews are separated only by the invisible borders of the districts. (Amics, 1981 p.94)

(Appendix A) So, his work also discloses how pre-twentieth century's Golden Horn is shaped by the encounter of miscellaneous cultural experiences, which are significantly owed to the ongoing trade activity spanned near by the waterside. However, today it is hard to see even the traces of this cultural diversity in the Golden Horn. The results of the 2000 population census indicate that the above mentioned districts have lost their intensity of non-Muslims, while concentration of the people from eastern and the central

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<sup>1</sup> Art historian and researcher on urban history in Istanbul. He has worked as an academician in the departments of Art and History in Kadir Has University for 5 years. Now he works as the head of the *Istanbul Kültür Araştırmaları Vakfı* (Foundation of The Researches on History and Art in Istanbul City).



Turkey makes up 56% of the whole population of these districts. Although the examination of the change in the national and religious configuration of the population of the Golden Horn is not the subject matter of this study, this transformation is significant as it reveals how the social fabric as well as its architectural appearance has changed, in these 100 years of modernization in the Golden Horn.

Çavuşoğlu and Yalçınan (2003) claim that the district has welcomed various urban projects, of which the most reputable ones aimed to join the two sides of the water. Nevertheless, the recent projects concerning the Golden Horn are mostly titled with terms such as *rehabilitation*, *saving* or *cleaning*;<sup>2</sup> rather than referring to the huge monuments of modernity, such as high bridges or big industrial complexes. This transformation in the discourse leading to the transformation of urban space in the Golden Horn will also be the main axis of this thesis.

This recent deviance in the discourse of urban renovation projects is mostly related to the culmination of the concentration of the industrial development on the shores of the Golden Horn in the post-1950 era. For different times, the Golden Horn had been the pioneer for various industrial attempts, in a time span dating back to the last period of the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the region acted as the host town for the realization of the modernization dreams of the Ottoman Empire and then Turkey. The first industrial structures of the Empire were the paper manufactures which had been settled in the eighteenth century on the north-western end of the estuary, which would later be named as *Kağıthane* (Paper Production District). Until the 1950s, the industrial activities near

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<sup>2</sup> The project of conserving the Historical Peninsula (1990), Rehabilitation of *Fener* and *Balat* Districts Program (2003), the Golden Horn Environmental Protection Project (1995) can be given as examples.

the Golden Horn were limited to certain sectors of textiles, naval docks, brick ateliers and the slaughterhouse in *Sütlüce*. In addition, the first power plant of the Ottoman Empire had been located on the end of the estuary, in *Silahtarağa*, which was built in 1913 on an area of 118.000 m<sup>2</sup> by the Hungarian Ganz Electric Company (Köksal and Kargın, 2003). However, the settlement of various industrial structures on the shores of the Golden Horn, which was later defined as “the invasion of the historical beauty and heritage by industrialization”<sup>3</sup> in various texts concerning the Golden Horn, had begun by the implementation of the Prost Plan<sup>4</sup> in the mid 1950s. Similar to its counterparts in Thames (London) and the Seine (Paris), the Prost Plan had appropriated shores of the district for the industrial settlement in Istanbul and had chosen the Golden Horn to be the best place to establish these settlements. (Çavuşoğlu & Yalçınhan 2003) Therefore, when rapid industrialization accompanied the decentralization of the economic plans during Menderes’ government in 1950, the Golden Horn became the first -and most affected- place to host the various industrial plants and their side-effects of course, such as immense immigration and the contamination of the environment. Shanty-towns began to be built by the immigrant workers and the environment of the district was covered with unplanned residential settlements, strictly changing the silhouette of the Golden Horn.

Besides, as the rapid modernization dream of the early Turkish Republic was realized intensively around Ankara, the new capital, the direction of the decisions for the new urbanization projects turned towards Ankara from Istanbul. Various debates over

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<sup>3</sup> It is possible to find examples of such moaning even in the texts published by the Istanbul Municipality in 1959. (Appendix B) For further examples see Yüceltürk 2001, Ortaylı 1985, Ortaylı 2003 and Cubukcu 2005.

<sup>4</sup> Henri Prost, member of the Urban Planning Institute of France, was invited to Turkey in 1936 to establish a settlement plan for Istanbul. The constituent elements of the silhouette of the Golden Horn depend on the principles of this plan, even today. Even though the plan began to be implemented in 1939, the predominance of the plan in urban planning would occur in the mid 1950s. (see Yüceltürk, 2001)

the modernization attempts of the early Turkish Republic underline that Istanbul has been (for some even consciously) neglected and left out of conservation for the six decades after 1923. Keyder (2000) elaborates this occasion through the shift of the state policies on a nationalist perspective. According to him, during the 1923-1950 period, when the most intensive implementations of the Kemalist project were experienced, Istanbul was imposed to execute the nationalist policies of the elites in Ankara. In this period, reformation of the demographical formation of the city according to ethnic drives forced many non-Muslims to leave the city, ending up with the cease of most of the economic activities. Additionally, “the movement of the capital from Istanbul to an ordinary village in the middle of the Anatolian steps” (Keyder, 2000 p.9-38) showed that the cultural investment of the new republic would be towards Ankara, in a way that was significantly to the disadvantage of Istanbul.

The discontent deriving due to the neglect of Istanbul during the early period of the republic still continues to be the distinctive characteristic of the conflict between the Islamic view and the secular view in today’s Turkey. In his interview, Göncüoğlu, who seems to be closer to the conservative discourse, defines this neglect with the words: “Istanbul was consciously raped; the history and the heritage were raped.”<sup>5</sup> Exceeding the borders of urban planning, these words include references towards the claim of a spoiled historical heritage by the modernization dream of the Turkish Republic. These words also provide clues as to the discursive ground on which today’s urban renovation projects are settled.

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<sup>5</sup> Interview with Süleyman Göncüoğlu, 2006.

Ortaylı (1983) explains the situation through the discomfort resulting from the urban politics of the early republic, which dates back to the declaration of Ankara as the new capital of the republic. He transmits the objection of the *Gümüşhane* deputy to changing the capital quoting his words: “it is impossible to understand that hostility against Istanbul” (Ortaylı, 1983). Before the industrialization process showed its side-effects on the Golden Horn district, it is possible to find the examples of the grievances against the neglect of Istanbul and the Golden Horn, particularly in the texts published by the Istanbul Municipality in 1959. (Appendix B) As I investigated the texts concerning the industrial breakthrough in the Golden Horn, I noticed that such grievances and moans are mostly visible on the publications of municipalities. Nevertheless, an examination of the news between 1950 and 1980 reveals that the governmental<sup>6</sup> discourse about the Golden Horn mostly positions the district as the showcase for the spectacles of the industrialization and modernization dream of the Turkish Republic.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, it is possible to assert that during this time interval, the change in the urban space of the Golden Horn gains a two sided character, making two discourses collide and conflict with each other; one is the so-called will of modernization emulating the western type of industrialization, while the other is the conservative critic of these interventions based on the tools of nostalgia and the loss of cultural heritage. So, in its most simplistic form, this conflict has reverberated on the public space and even in most of the academic debates as the conflict between the

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<sup>6</sup> Here, with the word *governmental*, I refer to the nation wide political decision mechanism centered in Ankara.

<sup>7</sup>See Kürt müziği modernleşiyor [Kurdish music is being modernized], (11 November 1998) *Milliyet*. From, [http://www.milliyet.com.tr/ekler/gazete\\_pazar/981011/muzik/muzik.html](http://www.milliyet.com.tr/ekler/gazete_pazar/981011/muzik/muzik.html)

Ankara oriented futuristic modernist approach versus the conservative successors of the Ottoman heritage.

Dalan's interventions in 1983 were grounded on a political surface where the debates concerning the urban renovation in the Golden Horn were concentrated around the split created by that conflict of modern vs. anti-modern, including the antagonism of local vs. global. The interventions came with the dismantling of a considerable amount of the industrial structures and nearly all of the settlements on the shores. The demolitions were implemented beneath the motto of a "Clean Golden Horn", referring to the annihilation of the contaminating industries, the disturbing scent emitted by the water and the rising crime rate nearby the shanty-towns. What remained after the demolitions were lands bare as if shaved with a spatula, leaving few industrial buildings and hardly a trace of the industrial life that existed before. However, each demolition and intervention in the daily routine of urban life was claimed to be on behalf of a modern Golden Horn, creating a livable space within the musts of the progressing *modern* urban life in Istanbul. Not only the supporters of secular-westernization, but the conservatives also attached the concepts of modernization and progress to their projects as the basic motives. On the other hand, Dalan, who was at the non-conservative side in the so-called split in Turkish political formation, often employed the conservative language of the lost Ottoman heritage in reference to the poems of *Nedim* and the environmental beauty of the district as the basic incentive of his urban interventions. (Amaç Haliç'i Kurtarmak, 1986, p.33) This shows that, the so-called antagonism of "conservative vs. progressive modernist", remains as a straightforward concept, which needs to be revised. Categorization of certain cultural signs, such as the poems of

*Nedim* or attributes, under clear-cut antagonisms not only falls short of explaining the complexity of social relationships, but it also veils various antagonisms, which determine the social formation in the city. For this reason, criticism of the “secular-conservative antagonism” is vital for creating the possibility of a new space of problematic and unleashes the antagonisms that shape the urban space, which have been veiled.

With regards to the time-line which I have tried to mention above, the transformation in the urban space of the Golden Horn can be examined in three basic historical periods; the pre-industrial period (before 1950), the industrialization period (btw. 1950-1983) and the renovation period (after 1983). It is vital to notice that the last period comes only after the 1980 *coup d'état*<sup>8</sup>, which was a traumatic interruption of every sphere of social and political life, not only ceasing the routine of the daily life, but also causing a paradigm shift in the conceptual structure of Turkey. The *étatist* formation of the economic activities has been replaced with the neo-liberal decentralizing regulations oriented through the discourse of free-market. Besides, urban planning issues were inevitably affected by this paradigm shift, witnessing the rise of the market influence on the reformation of the city space, where land is commercialized more rapidly, turning space into a meta serving the so-called free will of the market mechanisms. Therefore, the transformation of urban space in the Golden Horn, in the last period of renovation, which will establish the main axis of this thesis, cannot be

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<sup>8</sup> On 12 September 1980, the military forces seized the political power in Turkey at midnight with a *coup d'état*. The assembly was immediately disbanded and many politicians were arrested. The *coup d'état* was justified by the rising risk of civil war in Turkey. No serious resistance was recorded against the coup; nevertheless, 650.000 were taken into custody, 1,683,000 people were filed as potential criminals, 50 people were executed, 937 films were banned.

examined without the effects of the 1980 *coup d'état* on the space of economics and the economics of space.

However, in addition to that effort of examining the transformation through its projections on political economy, this thesis will also aim to link the architectural interventions in the Golden Horn, with the politics of memory that was plied parallel with the new paradigm shift of the 1980s, penetrating the daily routine of Turkey. This attempt, will certainly take as its starting point the claim that architecture and urban planning are not politically innocent as Lefebvre (1997) states clearly:

A space is given to the architect and he uses his creativity on it according to his tastes, technical skills, ideas and preferences to transform it. This is a piece of space. But this is not the case. This space has nothing innocent about it. This is the space of dominant mode of production: capitalism, controlled by bourgeoisie. (p.143)

Furthering his argument, Lefebvre claims that the architecture working on an empty space is not as innocent as the plan drawn on an empty paper. Referring to Hillis J. Miller, Donald argues that in order to imagine the unrepresentable space, life and languages of the city, to make them livable, we translate them into narratives (Donald, 1997, p186). So architecture is perhaps the most important device to transform space into a narrative and make it livable. Parallel to this assertion, during a conference about the Golden Horn and the Santral Istanbul *Project*, which was held in 2004, Emre Arolat<sup>9</sup> underlines that architecture has a language which organizes space as a coherent entity. Not only the stones, buttresses, vaults or beams, but the light, sound and even silence may be the crucial elements of this language. This coherence, furthers Donald,

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<sup>9</sup> Emre Arolat is one of the famous architects in Turkey and one of the architects of Santral Istanbul Project, who also won the 2005 EU Prize Mies Van Der Rohe and the 2006 Architectural Review Awards for Emerging Architecture.

is vital for imagination and remembering; since our imagination is inherently a narrative. So, space is less an already existing setting for such stories, than the production of space through that taking place, through the act of narration.

The relation between architectural practices and the formation of language is also the basic axis of Derrida's article *Architecture: Where The Desire May Live*. Like Donald, Derrida (2006) argues that a language proposes a specialization, an arrangement in space, which does not dominate it, but approaches it by approximation. So, he furthers, language leans on paths, which are not to be discovered but created. He likens this act of creation to what architecture achieves in space, since no architectural space is thinkable without points of departure and arrival. Therefore, creation of a language is the culmination of an architectural setting up, which is nothing but a technical thing, the act of creation of spatialities. What connects the writing to architecture is its spatiality, in the sense it is thinking in terms of a path, which inscribes its traces. So as well as the language, architecture is the spatialization of time, and narration needs this architectural thinking to set up its arguments. (Derrida, 2006 p.319-323)

In the light of the arguments of Donald and Derrida, understanding the architectural interventions in the Golden Horn seems to unfold the contemporary discourses on the Ottoman heritage and the results of modernization, while the study on architecture also needs to be examined within those narratives of social memory. This perspective opens up the proper base for the debate about the interventions to the space in the Golden Horn during Dalan's operations and the formation of the memory-space in the last period of the district. If you take a birds-eye vision from the famous Pierre



Loti Hill towards Golden Horn today, the scraped land pieces of green and brown will greet you, which split the shanty-towns on both sides of the water. The emptiness spanning along the shore is divided by sporadic buildings which have survived since Dalan's demolitions. After 1995, some of these buildings have begun to be renovated and to serve as cultural centers. The old power station in *Silahtarağa* now hosts for the Santral Istanbul Project of Bilgi University, a comprehensive project including an art museum, an energy museum and an open-public library, while the anchor factory was turned into an industry museum founded by the *Koç* Group, the first and one of the most famous industrial business groups in Turkey. *Feshane*, which had worked as a textile factory producing the uniforms of the military during the late Ottoman and the early Republican periods, is now reorganized as a congress and exhibition center under the administration of the municipality. In addition to these renovations, new structures were also built in the middle of these empty lands. Miniaturk, the open air exhibition of the miniaturized architectural heritage, which have existed before within the old and the new borders of the Turkish-Islamic culture throughout history, was built in *Sütlüce* by the Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul in 2003. Similarly, a huge congress center is still being built, mimicking the old slaughterhouse which was demolished in 1990. The rest of the space was turned into green land or left as bare areas of soil and dust, which have not been utilized.

From the hip of the Pierre Loti Hill, the Golden Horn looks like a playground where different discourses embodied -but never amalgamated- through the architectural interventions, meeting beneath the same title of the renovation and cleaning of the Golden Horn. The demolitions of Dalan seemed to have opened up a suitable ground

for the implementation of different architectural policies, interpellating the habits, tastes and ideological standings of different social groups in Istanbul and in Turkey at large. Not only the Municipality, but the central state authority, universities and private firms became the contributor to the cleaning and the renovation projects. The district was declared as a “valley of culture” and a law was decreed that define engagement in a cultural service as a must for new construction or renovation projects in the Golden Horn. However, no other specialization or limitation was defined as to the outer appearance, inner architecture, the choice of construction materials or the terms of usage of the new buildings. Therefore, every architectural intervention during the recreation of space in Golden Horn inevitably represented the owners’ aesthetic concerns and their approaches to the meaning of urbanization; also giving clues about their ideological standings. So what the 1983 interventions did was also to supply an empty space in the middle of the intricate web-like metropolitan area, where the articulated political conflicts in Turkey could be materialized. From 1983 till the recent debates, the Golden Horn has displayed a micro-scaled simulation of the economics of power, implemented through the architectural policies in Turkey. The mentioned spectacular rise of the Golden Horn over certain antagonisms will constitute the axis of the third and the fourth chapters. I will also touch upon how space was created in the Golden Horn and what the governmental devices created by this new space were.

Furthermore, I will claim that the borders of the Golden Horn did not change after the 1983 interventions, but the Golden Horn emerged as a new space through the specification of its borders, both cartographically and at the level of social imagining. The physical borders of the Golden Horn were officially set by the integration of 5

municipalities –*Eyüp, Beyoğlu, Kağıthane, Fatih and Eminönü*- under the *Assembly of Golden Horn Municipalities* on 30 September 2000. Then, the recreation and renovation projects were gathered under the administration of this assembly.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, the merge of these 5 municipalities to render the Golden Horn a united territorial administrative unit has been conditioned by the emergence of the Golden Horn as a space, a social entity at the level of social apprehension, beginning with the debates on the contamination of water before the 1980s. The National Symposium on Golden Horn' Problems and The Solutions, which was held on February 1976 at Bogazici University, was the first comprehensive academic work to investigate the problems of the Golden Horn and one of the most significant. This event, on the other hand, still stands to be a pioneer for defining the borders of the Golden Horn. I should underline here that even though topographical clues about the borders of the district were present in many of the papers presented during the symposium, the common criteria were the borders of contamination, the origin of contamination and the areas influenced by the disturbing scent, mud and contaminated water. Depending on these debates, the Golden Horn was redefined in the beginning of the 1980s, as a place to be saved, cleaned and reopened to public use, shifting the public image of the region from being the center of industrialization to a neglected geography of national history and natural beauty.

Additionally, the paradigm shift after the 1980 coupe has also reshaped the economic space, by paving the way for the economic deregulations and the establishment of neo-liberal policies, which inevitably effected the reformation of the

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<sup>10</sup> For details see Haliç, (2002) *The Assembly of Golden Horn Municipalities*, vol.1, Dec. 2002

urban space in Turkey. Parallel to the global trends, production in huge plants was disintegrated into small sweatshops or the subcontractor firms, leaving behind deprived brown areas, which would then be named as the so-called “distress areas” or the “transition zones”. The Golden Horn has emerged as one of the examples or sufferers, of this global economic trend. What is more is that the post-industrialization era has been established over the grief for the loss of cultural heritage, for which the industrialization and modernization projects were accused. In relation to this, the new era was represented as a cleansing not only from the industrial dirt, but also from industrial sins, and the renovation projects were welcomed as a return to the “innocence” of the pre-industrial era. However, as I will examine in the third chapter on museums, the renovation projects have laid down the foundation for the establishment of a new industry, while removing the older one: “the culture industry”.

In this sense, as well as its impositions on daily politics and the politics of memory, the 1980 *coup d’etat* has also effected the formation of space through its economic drives, those of globalization, neo-liberalization, deregulation and so-forth. On the one hand, being different from its predecessors, governors of the new era –and especially Bedrettin Dalan- reintroduced those interventions and the memory as a public spectacle, while on the other hand they revaluated a land as a new source of profit. (Gürbilek, 2001) Therefore, if we are to claim that the Golden Horn emerged as a new space, understanding the new economic drives and the new signs that were shaped around these drives will help us to illuminate the borders of this new space. This will also help us to construe the economies of memory, which are established within the policies of renovation.

Referring to Bacon, Boyer (1996) underlines that:

Memory has two concerns: Prenotion and emblem; prenotation of what is sought, some method by which to set boundaries on the infinite expanse of ideas through which the mind could wander... But emblem is also necessary as a picture to make words visible. (p.296)

At his point, my assertion will be that the prenotations in the Golden Horn's transformation were installed through the valid criteria of the newly emerging discourse of the pre-1980 period. In contrast, the emblems to link the created space with the past, or to create a past to the newborn space were supplied by the spectacular architectural design of the post-1980 Golden Horn. In this sense, both the shift in the prevailing discourse such as contamination vs. cleaning, danger vs. security, history vs. narrative; and the devices of the post-1980 ideology implemented on the politics of memory and forgetting have affected the new silhouette of the district and the ingredients of the new space. I will also try to examine the new economies of power that emerged in the new era, through trying to provide an architectural reading of the new projects in the region.

This will be furnished by two other chapters. In the second chapter, I will examine some data from the 1990 and 2000 population censuses, under the guidance of an unpublished study of Murat Güvenç and his research group in Middle East Technical University. My basic aim here will be to reveal whether the projects could achieve the results they aimed for, by looking at their effects on the education and job profile of the region. This chapter will be followed by a discussion on the creation of space in the Golden Horn, with reference to different debates on the literature of the formation of urban space, where the transformation process will be compared with its counterparts in the world. I will try to unfold different perspectives of the transformation, by looking at the relationships among the landscape, architecture and the human body.

As a last word, I should clarify that in my thesis I do not intend to look at whether the transformation in the Golden Horn has created a better space to live in, a space that is clean and open to the public use; nor do I investigate if it damaged the heritage of one of the oldest settlements of the world. Even though some clues for these questions will be available during my investigation, my focus will be on the way the space was created during the reformation of the discourse on modernity in the post-1980 era. Here, I will examine how the district has emerged as a unique geography, where different discourses encounter and unfold various antagonisms of today's Turkey, through the implementation of spatial politics. Here I argue that what has happened is not a shift in the social imagination of the Golden Horn from an industrial function to a cultural center, but the creation of a new space around the cleaning and renovation projects. Not only were new buildings built over the shaved lands near the shores, but the different identities of Turkey were materialized and mobilized by these buildings. *Feshane*, *Miniaturk*, *Koç Museum*, *Santral Istanbul* and *Sütlüce Cultural Center* all interpellate different social groups and different memories. But there is also the possibility for some level of ignorance where some social groups or existences remain unspoken and unrepresented.

My purpose in focusing on this issue is to get insights into the creation of space in Turkey and to find links between this process and the reconstruction of modernity itself in the pre-1980 era. While certain conflicts throughout these renovation attempts occurred, such as the secular vs. Islamic, local vs. global and so-forth, my basic research will concentrate around why all of these antagonisms settled around the compunction for the loss of the historical heritage of the Golden Horn, regarding the

past 100 years as the biggest sin of modernity, despite their basing the *new* projects on modernity again, with the slogan of “modernizing the Golden Horn”. If this is a conflict of modernity with its own past, how does it work in the Golden Horn example? In the third chapter, I will try to throw light on different approaches to modernity and the period of Turkish modernization, through the architectural and representational techniques of three museums. By looking at what they bring forth as the object of spectacle, and what they conceal, ignore or misinterpret, I will try to elaborate how and why the past period of modernization of Turkey is criticized. But of course, I will also consider the forthcoming changes in the region that were triggered by these renovation projects.

All in all, my study will follow a path beginning from the Golden Horn as an industrial district to its intended transformation into the center of a culture industry. Within this period, between 1913 and the 2000s, I will mostly focus on the contemporary projects of Koç Museum, Miniaturk and Santral Istanbul, which stand to be the biggest projects of today’s Golden Horn. Besides, I will try to examine the change through two basic lines, one is directed towards the economic transformation of the region, as an experience of industrialization; the other is the spatialization of memories, experiences, identities and old buildings under the devices of culture industry. With these two lines of argument, I intend to get insights into the spatial strategies of the so-called post-modern era in Turkey, where the critique of the modern endowed us with a new playground for the unfolding of different policies of identities.

## Methodology and the Scope of the Research

The traces of the transformation of the Golden Horn can easily be followed by taking a look at the open areas and the ruins that remained after their demolitions. In fact, my decision to study the urban renovation of the Golden Horn as my thesis was triggered during my visit to Miniaturk in early 2004. This was my first visit to *Sütlüce*. On the road to *Sütlüce*, where Miniaturk is located, my first impression was that this place, with the bulk of detritus lying on the shores over the terrains of dust and mud, the forsaken buildings nearby the road and the shanty-towns rising on the hills nearby the water, was not an appropriate place to locate such an open-air miniature exhibition, which mostly aims to serve students, families and tourists. The basic reason for this idea was the uncanny atmosphere of this scene causing an agoraphobic anxiety as well.

Subsequently, I decided to make several other visits to the district, in order to follow the traces of transformation in urban space. I had wandered around many times on the shores of the Golden Horn and along the convolute snake-like streets within the shanty-towns, each time having different occasions for observing the district. Sliding through the graffiti and slogans on the walls, I observed the old Armenian and *Rum* Houses in which mostly the Turkish people live now, and tried to scrutinize the daily life on the streets after the demolitions. Therefore, non-participant observations constitute a significant part of my research, through which I could catch the chance to get the vision of an alien, “a tourist gaze” towards immature touristic space in the middle of Istanbul.



Vital though it is, to smell the aura of the district as a tourist, the hints beneath the fragmented scene of the Golden Horn could only be revealed through speaking with the witnesses of the change, the inhabitants of the district and the architects of the projects of course. So, I have grounded my arguments also on the in-depth interviews that are held with the people on the street, the visitors of the Museums and some shop-owners in *Hasköy* and *Halıcıoğlu*. Through these interviews, I mostly tried to grasp the image of the Golden Horn in those people's memories, hence avoiding directive questions, but mostly preferring to ask open ended questions instead. Additionally, I also held interviews with the administrative cadres in the municipalities and the designers of the project. Nevertheless, those were more information oriented, despite their in-depth character. This was because of the interviewees' ability to give insider information as to the old and the forthcoming projects in the Golden Horn. These interviews have also been significant tools in determining the direction of this research. Within this framework, I met with the Mayor of Eyüp, the head of Miniaturk, with the P.R. head officer of Miniaturk Sultan Polat, with the vice chairman of the Istanbul Culture Co. and with Emre Arolat, one of the architects of the Santral Istanbul Project. The significance of these interviews is due to their ability to display the borders of the Golden Horn's image at the governmental level, which is projected through the architectural interventions. My focus will be to dedicate the signs of governmental techniques between the lines of these dialogues, rather than betraying the "hindered real intentions" of these projects. Which of the possible historical settings are utilized to legitimize the architectural actions, which clichés are employed to describe the formation of the silhouette of the Golden Horn, and how is the process of change linked with the dream of modernization?

On the other hand, the written materials are the last but not the least devices for investigating the post-1980 transformation of the Golden Horn, while trying to get projections on the change from a wider perspective. I had scanned the national newspapers of *Milliyet*, *Zaman*, *Türkiye*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Radikal* in a time span between 1970 and 2007. I mostly concentrated on the news about the Golden Horn, but I also picked up some which were related to the common space policies of government, about the new construction decisions and so-forth. If the new urban space in the post-1980's Turkey has been established in the void that has been created by the spatial policies of the post-1980 period, as I will assert further in my thesis, then this void could be described via the scene displayed in the newspapers, and various publications of the government, municipalities and other institutions of the post-1980 society. It is vital to catch the discursive shift in economics, politics, daily magazines and urban planning as well. Therefore, my thesis will also be grounded on the shift in the language of the texts in the period between 1970 and 2000, aiming to clarify the pillars of the new urban space.

In this perspective, in addition to the newspapers, I have scanned the publications of *Haliç Belediyeler Birliği* (Assemble of Municipalities of the Golden Horn), of *Miniaturk*, the guide books of Koç Museum, articles presented in the Golden Horn Symposium and various texts concerning the Golden Horn. These texts not only provided me with invaluable knowledge about the process of change in Golden Horn, but they also served as significant tools of my in-depth study. In this sense, I also focused on the repetitive words and phrases in these texts, in order to illuminate the articulated meanings over the so-called past of the Golden Horn. So my investigation

has the goal of unfolding the bilateral course of urban transformation, by linking the conceptualization of space by different discourses –not always conflicting, but rather overlapping each other- with its articulation via architectural interventions.

## CHAPTER II

### CREATING A SYMBOLIC ECONOMY

#### (TOWARDS PRODUCTION OF SPACE)

##### Economic Background

The 1980 *coup d'état* not only became a keystone in the political agenda of Turkey, but while it established the legal and political substructure for neo-liberal deregulations in the economy, it also changed the direction and the texture of the myth of modernization, which was built on the roots of the Kemalist ideology of the early republic. This change, of course, also occurred through the alteration of the politics of space and culture. On the one hand the giant complexes of mass production disintegrated, moving their production to the smaller production units on the peripheries of the city; on the other large abandoned regions were left behind in the middle of the cities. In this sense, throughout the deregulations of the post-1980 period, the concepts of the Kemalist myth of modernization, “heavy industry”, “fordist production”, “unionism” and “mass production” slowly faded away and ceased to be the very symbols of modernity. Nevertheless, it would be inapt to define this era as the end of the myth of modernization or industrialization, but it would be better to say that the dominance of the discourses based on the industrialization of tangible goods shifted to with a new form: the culture industry.

Various newspapers of the 1970s (appendix C, D, E, F) show that the economic agenda of those times was significantly tied to the daily incidents in the industry of material good production and construction sector, which also worked as an indicator for

the development level of the country. Nevertheless, in the post-1980 period, it seems that news on tourism, rising land values, the inflation level and “cultural values” constitute the major part of the daily agenda of the newspapers. In this sense, as the material production shifted to the subcontractors in the peripheries, to culture industry emerged as a new dynamic in the formation of space and social life.

Accordingly, the significance of the Golden Horn in the history of the space of Istanbul derives from its role as the host and the witness of the above mentioned transition period and the new politics of the culture industry. In their article *Worlds Apart and Together: Trial by Space in Istanbul*, Robins and Aksoy (2003) underline that the new era of urbanization in Istanbul occurred as a fundamental challenge to the modernization ethos, which may be related to the growing polarization and politicization of space. Defining the first two stages as the “Ottoman-Islamic city” and the “modernist city” (shaped by the European urbanist paradigm) they state that the third period emerges as the fragmented city shaped by the rising satellite towns on the one hand and the squatter settlements on the other. In this sense, the Golden Horn carries the traces of each period, lying as the palimpsest for the urbanization experiences of the Turkish Republic, beginning with industrialization and ending up with the commodification of the city space through the emerging culture industry. In this process, the industrial past of the district was a significant determinant, shaping the direction of the further transformation of the district. For this reason, examining the rise and the fall of industrialization in the Golden Horn is vital in getting insights towards the pathways bringing us the contemporary fragmented urban space, which is reshaped through the circulation of cultural signs.

Even though the term “culture industry” accompanies various kinds of contemporary intellectual debates, it was probably a weird instance when it was first pronounced by Adorno and Horkheimer in 1947, to bring such an amorphous thing like culture together with the metal made mechanical structure of industry. However, as long as the existence of an invisible hand, which passes through every kind of social relationship and transforming everything it touches into commodity, is acceptable, Adorno and Horkheimer’s concept becomes a forecast rather than a simple fabricated term. While heralding the transformation of the small boats in the Golden Horn, which carry coal during the winters and watermelons in summers into a symbol that can be grasped and consumed; *culture industry* also offers an industrial discipline in the production, allocation and consumption of such cultural symbols. In other words, culture is now ready to be displayed on the shelves and showcases as a purchasable, stored and consumable product, served with variety in price and quality.

Adorno<sup>11</sup> (1975) underlines that:

The entire practice of the culture industry transfers the profit motive naked onto cultural forms. Ever since these cultural forms first began to earn a living for their creators as commodities in the market-place they had already possessed something of this quality.” (p.13)

After the 1980 period, coinciding with the implementation of the neo-liberal deregulation policies all over the world and the dismantling of the industrial complexes in various locations such as Baltimore and London, the deregulated service sector began to rise. As the capital was seeking for suitable locations to settle and to produce more

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<sup>11</sup> Despite his alleged elitism, underlined and criticized in many texts, even compared with Hitler and Stalin’s ideology, his stress on the concentration of capital in commercial culture business still remains to be a significant argument in the elaboration of the contemporary economies of culture.

profit with less input and low risk, its main aim was to find paradise islands of deregulation, where its flexibility will increase. Especially after experiencing the depression right after the end of Bretton Woods agreement and the forthcoming oil crisis, the capital began to move these deregulated zones, where rules on taxation and social rights were extremely loose. On the other hand, as a common tendency to recover the economic dynamism of those districts where the industrial activity has retreated, tourism and the installation of culture industry have framed the new urban space in those districts.

Boston's Faneuil Hall, South Street Seaport in New York, Harborplace in Baltimore and London's Tobacco Wharf make the waterfront of the older cities into a consumers' playground, far safer for tourists and cultural consumers, than the closed worlds of wholesale fish and vegetable dealers and longshoreman. (Zukin, 1996, p 19)

In the last 100 years, the Golden Horn has followed a similar time line, witnessing the birth, rise and fall of the industry, ending up with a harsh intervention in the urban space and the installation of cultural centers in the middle of the bare lands that remained after the dismantled industry.

The snapshot of the district in the late 1970s<sup>12</sup> resembles a huge machine in the center of Istanbul, which not only produces but also allocates various goods for the different needs of the city. Before the demolitions, the slums (in other words the *shanty towns*) constituted the hinterland for various factories and small workplaces that were spread on the shoreline and those two regions operated like a big machine where the roads functioned as conveyor belts, the houses became fuel tanks and the factories

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<sup>12</sup> The social formation of the region in 1970 is available in novels describing the workers' conditions and their resistance such as *Direnen Haliç* (Elibol, 1988) and *15-16 Haziran Direnişin Anıları* (Öztürk, 1990)

worked as the main pistons of this huge machine. Besides, plenty of *kahvehanes* (coffee houses) were present within these structures, as crucial public spaces where the workers gathered in their spare time, helping the formation of various communities among workers. Besides, for 70 years, the Golden Horn had worked as the major generator for Istanbul. Located on the delta where the *Alibeyköy* and *Kağıthane* Rivers join and meet with the waters of the Golden Horn, the thermal power plant in *Silahtarağa* supplied electricity for Istanbul between 1913 and 1983.

The beginning of the industrial settlements on the shores of the Golden Horn dates back to the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Golden Horn harbored naval docks, brick factories, a big textile factory producing military cloths (*Feshane*) and a tobacco factory (*Cibali Tütün Fabrikası*). As a natural port, the Golden Horn both facilitated the transportation of goods between the world markets and the factories, and it supplied the crucial water supply for the factories and the thermal power plant. In the Ottoman period, industrial settlement was bordered by the *Unkapanı* Bridge, so that the industrial structures were mostly between the *Silahtarağa* and *Unkapanı* districts on both sides of the water. (Aksoy 2007, Köksal & Kargın 2003)

Even though the industrial settlements date back to the nineteenth century, the immense concentration of industrial structures in the area began in the second half of the twentieth century. Various factors led to this concentration. First of all, in the days of limited supply of electricity, the existence of the power plant at the end the estuary made the Golden Horn a gravity center for industrial production. Later, the Prost Plan<sup>13</sup> had

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<sup>13</sup> Beginning with the establishment of the Turkish Republic, various master plans introduced to shape the urban space in Istanbul. However, the basic points of the contemporary silhouette of the city was shaped by Henri Prost's plan, -a famous French urban planner who lived between 1874 – 1959 – which was firstly



also promoted the industrial settlement consigning the shores for the industries similar to its counterparts in Thames and Seine. (Çavuşoğlu & Yalçınan 2003, Aksoy, 2007)

Lastly, the transportation of the raw materials –especially coal- by sea was the most efficient way. The paper presented by Semih Tezcan (1977) in The Golden Horn Symposium, in 1976, disposes that the infrastructure for overland transportation was incapable of meeting even the daily needs of transportation of labor to the industrial structures. In the 1970s, the Golden Horn had to bear a significant amount of economic stuff, not only the industrial production of the big companies such as *Koç Conglomerate*, but also the products of smaller industries of iron sheet production, warehouses, vegetable and fruit markets, a big slaughterhouse in the north shore, the *Sümerbank* textile factory in the old building of *Feshane*. Naval docks and various other docks were for small boats were used for transportation.

However, even the traces of these industrial plants are mostly invisible today. Most of them disappeared during Dalan’s demolitions, leaving their place to empty lands or new born industrial fields. The Golden Horn has thus become one of the prior issues on the agenda of recent urbanization debates, gaining a popularity as the gravity center of cultural activities. However, before investigating the aspects of the growth of the culture industry in the Golden Horn, it would be better to focus on the way that the old capital of two empires became an industrial district, witnessing the most severe cases of pollution, degradation and forgetting.

Allan J. Scott introduces the term “brown fields” for the abandoned lands from where the industrial activity has retreated. The term comes from the French word *friche*,

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implicated in 1939 by Lutfi Kırdar, who served as the governor and the mayor of Istanbul between 1938 and 1949.

which means the follow lands, referring to the corrosion of the lands which had hosted the industrial activities before. Scott does not take the case as a discrete experience that occurred in certain places of the world, but he underlines that the occurrence of brown fields is the general outcome of a paradigm shift in the real production chains of capitalism, which has replaced the *vertically integrated plants* with *vertically disintegrated production complexes*. (Scott 1983) The industrial revolution of Fordism not only shortened the production time by deepening the division of labor, but it also created huge industrial centers where the resources were aggregated from different sides of the world, establishing worldwide networks and reorganizing the labor for the modern mechanisms that were converting the raw materials into the finished goods ready to be marketed. Referring to Scott, my claim is that the transformation of the Golden Horn and Istanbul, as a metropolis, cannot be grasped without analyzing to the transformation of these networks.

As Scott defines the firm “as a system of economic transactions”, he posits the organization of these transactions as the basic factor shaping the geographical organization of industry, thus as a crucial determinant in the formation of a metropolis. He introduces *external transactions* –inter firm transactions- and *internal transactions* – intra firm transactions- as two different types of transactions, working coherently to manage the industrial production. The basic tendency of the modern production systems, he furthers, is to leave the regulation of the external transactions to the market, as much as it is not risky. This is to minimize the transaction costs of the organization.

On the other hand, there stand the technology and the scale of production as the major determinants for the decision on the inclusion of transactions and the size of plant

relatively. If the product is standardizable, it is more feasible to build big plants where various phases of production are included, also inheriting different intra-firm transactions. However, where the output changes from time to time and place to place as in the textile industry, disintegrating the production into small plants, which are specialized in different phases of production is more feasible. (Scott, 1983)

Nevertheless, Scott (1983) points to a global trend in the timeline that the growing industries follow all over the world: “agglomeration economies”. They occur in certain places as the aggregate production grows. As the foci of production grow, they steadily acquire a surrounding pool of labor. But with rising levels of economic development, internal social pressures and land use predicaments are set in motion. However, capital seeks to escape from these predicaments of increasing land prices, wages and other costs.

So the organizational and technological transformation of the production processes work as a way to undercut these constraints, by deepening the capital accumulation, restructuring, resynthesis and job deskilling. What follows this is the vertical disintegration of those industries, dissolving in a way to cause the plant closures and job losses in big metropolises. (Scott 1983)

The central position of the Golden Horn indeed offered both easy access to the resources and convenience for the redistribution of the goods to the markets.

Nevertheless, the early types of modern industrial plants, as Scott underlines, were inflexible and less efficient in terms of per land productivity rate, when compared with the vertically disintegrated plants. Additionally, as the industrial growth pooled the labor and many other small jobs around the estuary, it also welcomed various problems such

as infrastructural insufficiency, traffic jams, environmental degradation and the high speculation rate over the land prices; thus preparing its own crisis. Surrounded by the residential areas, the industry was stuck on the shoreline, unable to enlarge the plants or reorganize them according to the changing economic conditions. For this reason, the 1970s global crisis, which was accompanied by the squeeze in profits, mostly affected these plants in the Golden Horn, which were mostly old fashioned, humble and inflexible in production.

However, besides the common trend of the disintegration of the industries leaving degraded areas in the middle of metropolises, the Golden Horn also had specific predicaments for furthering industrial production, deriving from its geographical conditions. The only connection with the highway was through an uphill road at the *Kağıthane* district, which was not suitable enough for the lorries and trucks to transport the goods from the Golden Horn to the markets. Additionally, the existence of various historical buildings and ruins prevented the construction of new roads in the district. The web-like shanty towns surrounding the industrial plants were another impediment to easy transportation, prevented the construction of new roads. Additionally, the informal character of the working and housing activities in the district was preventing the collection of valid data to be utilized in urban planning, hence leading to an insufficient supply of mass transportation and other municipality services to the district. (Iverson & Sancaktar, 1976)

On the other hand, debates on the establishment of new industrial zones under the name of “planned locations of industries” had already begun in the 1970s. The establishment of planned industrial zones in outer cities and the transportation of the

already existing industrial complexes to those areas were on the agenda even in the 1960s. The project was pioneered with the planned industrial zone in Bursa, in 1962. As a solution to the urban crisis created by the industries in the Golden Horn, an industrial zone was planned in *İkitelli*, to where those plants would be transported. However, the construction of the zone could only begin in 1986, 3 years after the dismantling of the industrial structures. (İTO, 2004-67)

With the many texts, newspapers and journals published in the last thirty years, the pollution and the environmental degradation of the district has become the major and the most promoted cause for the dismantling of the industry in the Golden Horn. I will not claim that this was not the case. Throughout my interviews, nearly all of the interviewees pointed out that the pollution was so unbearable that the scent could be smelt even in a 5 km range of the Golden Horn, hence the demolitions were inevitable for the district to become livable again. Nevertheless, what I want to underline is that the pollution and the scent cannot be claimed to be the unique causes of the interventions to the district.

Three ongoing processes, - the common tendency of vertical disintegration of the industries, the squeezing of the profits in the 1970s crisis and the specific predicaments of the geography-, which I mentioned above, also stand as the essential causes of the disintegration of the industries in the Golden Horn, which are, however, not presented in the written texts or in the media promoting the urban interventions undertaken by Bedreddin Dalan in 1983 and furthered by his successors. It should also be noted that, most of the industrial structures were idle or even derelict when the demolitions occurred, due to their incapability of coping with the changing conditions of the post-

1973 period.<sup>14</sup> Hence, in 1983, Bedreddin Dalan mostly removed the shells of the industrial structures which were already prone to death, leaving deindustrialized brownfields behind, in the middle of the metropolis.

Today, most of these brownfields still remain as drastic empty lands, especially along the northern shores of the Golden Horn, on the road between *Hasköy* and *Kağıthane*. The district was designed to become a “cultural valley” in the 1990 Master Plan for The Preservation of The Historical Peninsula (Yüçetürk, 1997). Albeit the contemporary appearance of the district is still far from being a metropolitan cultural center, evidence of the transformation is visible in the construction of Miniaturk, *Koc* Museum and Santral Istanbul on the northern shore. Located at the heart of the city, so close to the *Taksim Square*<sup>15</sup> and nearby the Historical Peninsula, the Golden Horn has since become a cynosure for the real estate investors. Again during one of my interviews, which was held with one of the real estate agents in Hasköy,<sup>16</sup> the agent underlined that the land prices in the district quadrupled during the last two years. By now, the secondhand real estate market seems to have slowed down in the district, due to the positive expectations of people about the land prices. My observations and spontaneous interviews on the streets in *Sütlüce* and *Hasköy* revealed that the only purchases occurred between the big companies, and the owners of the shanties not in single houses, but in multiple quantities.

In accordance with the multidimensional structure of the transformation of the Golden Horn, which I tried to elaborate above, the change in the architectural face of the

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<sup>14</sup> From the interview with Murat Güvenç, Professor of Architecture in Bilgi University, held on 30 Sept 2007, in his office.

<sup>15</sup> The main square in Istanbul.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with the owner of *Atakan Emlak*, a real estate agent in Hasköy, in summer 2006.

Golden Horn cannot be investigated without taking into account the transformation in the context of urban life in Istanbul in the last quarter of the twentieth century, and capitalism as well. The global drives of capital in the new era, dolled up with the new abilities of quick action, immediate response and flexibility, inevitably reorder the spaces parallel to the needs of “the new<sup>17</sup> capitalism”. For this reason, understanding the severe transformation of the space in the Golden Horn necessitates undertaking the dilemma between the highly flexible capital and the solid character of architecture. The structural change in the capitalist relationships not only changed the capital-labor relationships, but it also changed the spaces that these relationships originated from, nourished and reproduced, therefore directly changing the geographies that we live in: Capital also carries its own culture.

### Standardization in Urban Space

The traumatic change that the world has witnessed in the last quarter of the twentieth century, which I tried to partly elaborate above, not only changed the relations of production, but according to Sennett, it also transformed the relations between the city and its users. (Sennett, 2005) The transition from the Weberian bureaucratic organization (the triangular hierarchy) of the big production plants to the flexible production of small production teams of the global “new” era has also changed the organizational structure of cities. As the industrial task was split into many pieces through the subcontract relationships, production was decentralized and deregulated.

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<sup>17</sup> Sennett underlines that the word “new” arouses suspicion, because it belongs to the realm of advertising. Labor migration and multinational finance are long-established in the capitalist economy, but in the last generation they have been reformulated. (Sennett, 2005)

The bipolar structure of the conflict between capital and the labor, which was established on the tension between the unions and capitalist organizations, eroded over an amorphous set of relations, freed from any central control and the prediction of any central planning. The constraints of production such as time, labor intensity and/or location became highly flexible, hence replacing the centrally organized hierarchical labor force, with small teams of production specialized in certain phases of production. Production has turned in a form of competition between those teams of subcontractors. It can be carried on in different locations of the world, related to the suitability of the profitability conditions. As a matter of fact, under these conditions, the so-called flexibility is dedicated only to capital, which can move freely throughout the national borders. This has resulted with the substitution of the long-term intentions of the central organizations that were based on the permanence of the institution as a whole entity, consisting of the dual mechanism between capital and labor, with the short-term goals of taking up the task and maximizing the profits. Without having any institutional consciousness and/or the priority of intangible assets<sup>18</sup>, the average entry and exit timeline ratios for those small teams are so short (8 months in the Silicon Valley) (Sennett, 2005), that no long term planning action can take place.

Sennett argues that with the replacement of the long term intentions with the short termed ones, the relationships between individuals become more and more superficial, due to the lack of any institutional –firm and/or union- or geographical consciousness. However, not only the relations between individual, furthers Sennett, but

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<sup>18</sup> Intangible assets are defined as those non-monetary assets that cannot be seen, touched or physically measured and which are created through time and/or effort. There are two primary forms of intangibles - legal intangibles (such as trade secrets (e.g., customer lists), copyrights, patents, trademarks, and goodwill) and competitive intangibles (such as knowledge activities (know-how, knowledge), collaboration activities, leverage activities, and structural activities).



also the relations between the city and its users becomes superficial. This transformation appears in three different forms:

1. Physical attachment to the city,
2. Standardization of the urban environment,
3. Relations between family and work (Sennet 2005, p116)

I will try to elaborate the first two forms of these relations, finding linkages with the Golden Horn experience, while leaving the last one out of my investigation, since it remains outside the borders of my study.

Firstly, as the flexibility of the economic activities increased, like in the service sector, physical attachment to the place diminished, due to a lack of any guarantee of continuity of job and workplace. Loss of geographical attachment inevitably results in the loss of citizenship. In fact, this was an ongoing process dating back to the industrial migrations of the mid twentieth century, however the vertically integrated type of production was providing workers with more job security and future guarantee and those gave way to stronger attachment to their living-space. So even though the immigrants, such as in the Golden Horn, built up districts inhabited by people hailing from certain districts of Turkey, the organizational structure of the industrial plants and the unions could set alternatives for the identities of micro-cities of Istanbul. Nevertheless, as the flexibility of production damaged the job security and rendered the ground more slippery for the workers, increasing the stress of employment and diminishing the

opportunities the city provided for them, the city they lived in began to be far from the city that people belong to.

Besides, the emergence of a new type of citizenship rising over the shoulders of the new elites, the upper middle classes of the cities, should be paid attention to. At this point, Sennett opposes Zukin's claim that these new elites became attached to the cities through the new style of life welling around the corner-cafes, shopping malls, secure green areas, small specific bookstores and so-forth. Zukin asserts that the new middle class is more attached to those places than to their work as certain zones are gentrified. However, Sennett argues that no such attachment is available since the new conditions has also triggered an indifference to these places. This indifference he will elaborate in the second topic: standardization of the urban environment.

Standardization of the goods is not a newly discovered issue, but it is the culmination of the modern type of production and a must of industrial organization. Nevertheless, standardization of the cities which resemble each other by losing their distinctive characteristics has come to the agenda in the last two decades of the twentieth century. Sennett explains the standardization of cities by investigating the modern office architecture. Referring to Ada Louise Huxtable (1997), he claims that the new offices are designed to be flexible "skin architecture", where the surface of the building is dolled-up with design and its inside is ever more neutral, standardized and capable of instant reconfiguration.(Sennet 2005) Sennett alleges that three basic drives of the new architectural needs paves the way of this style:

1. Due to the flexibility of the capital and the continuously changing structure of work, buildings need the capability of rapid modifications to the

changing conditions, which is possible with the standardization of interior architecture via the implementation of modular units of construction in the design.

2. Since in the new age of rapid capital float and commercialization the buildings were turned into significant global currencies, they should catch the sufficient level of standardization to be valid for every customer from different geographies.

3. The standardization of public consumption also triggered the standardization of buildings.

In Istanbul, it is possible to observe that kind of standardization on two axis, one is via the “Manhattanization” of the empty spaces on the outer districts of the city, and the second is through the gentrification of the distress areas. As far as the city has become a financial capital, welcoming the foreign investors with an enormous rate of capital flow, the Gayrettepe-Maslak axis of the city has emerged as the new Manhattan of the city, hosting for the offices of many conglomerates in the new-born skyscrapers. While those districts of Gayrettepe, Levent, Maslak have emerged as the new financial centers by soaking up a significant amount of financial service workers and the administrative offices of the big companies, Eminönü and Karaköy have given up hosting for those sectors, losing their significance in the new economic reconfiguration. In fact, those were the places that were once the heart of the trade and financial movements in Istanbul. However, –as Murat Güvenç also underlines<sup>19</sup>- the topographical boundaries and the necessity for the preservation of the historical texture

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<sup>19</sup> Interview with Murat Güvenç, Prof of Architecture in Bilgi University, held on 30 Sept 2007, in his office.

of the district were prevented the transformation of the district into the new financial center of Istanbul.

On the other hand, the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge in 1973 shaped the direction of the expansion of the city. (Çınarcı & Kundak 2000) The Bridge is linked with the E5 highway through the third bridge (Atatürk Bridge) that was constructed over the Golden Horn, which has shifted the traffic from the shores of the estuary to the highway above. The Golden Horn remained beneath the traffic, losing its significance as a nexus for transportation, leaving its role to the districts that are located on the axis of the bridge-way, which were also cheaper than those in the center of the city. As a culmination of these processes, the “monocentric” character of the settlement of Istanbul has fragmented into a “polycentric” structure, where Maslak, Gayrettepe, Levent and Kadıköy emerged as the new centers of the city, (Çınarcı & Kundak 2000) while leaving behind the brownfields of the Golden Horn.

Parallel to this shift in the settlement decisions, gentrification came out as another ongoing process, which has been implemented as a cure for those distress areas left behind by the retreating industry and commerce. Sennet underlines that “Gentrification has acquired a certain kind of standardization, which shows that cities often stop alterity stimula” and he furthers this by claiming that “standardization begets indifference.” (Sennett 2005, p118) This point is crucial to comprehend the renovation of the Golden Horn in the new economic era, since the transformation from an economic system dependent on real production to a “symbolic economy”, where symbols, images and meanings are circulated instead of tangible commodities, precedes the standardization of the relationship between those new commodities and their consumers.

But before jumping to Zukin's concept of "symbolic economies", it would be useful to remember the chain of causes that brought us to the contemporary situation of the Golden Horn. What I try to investigate here is the last 20 years of a geography that served as the capital for two Empires for more than 2000 years and now hosted for the industrialization projects of a "modernizing nation". Parallel with the common trend in the industrial development all over the world and thanks to the 1970s global crisis, it witnessed the vertical disintegration of plants and the decrease in industrial activities. This process accompanied the shift of the central axis of the city, from the Eminönü-Alibeyköy axis, to a polycentric structure, leaving immense empty spaces in the core of the city where no extensive urban plan for renovation existed. Just after the demolitions, most of the lands were transformed into green grasslands, without losing their character of bareness. So in 2001, the Golden Horn (especially the north shore) was a big empty land where a tiny economy could survive around the few car repair ateliers and the street peddlers selling *uykuluk*<sup>20</sup>. However, the district had been designated as "the valley of culture of Istanbul" by the metropolitan municipality, therefore sketching the future economy of the district on the production and circulation of cultural commodities, or trying to establish a symbolic economy in the new space of the Golden Horn, or constructing the space over a symbolic economy.

Sennett does not introduce indifference as a social deficiency in the age of flexibility, but he rather underlines its vitality in the construction of the new city space. As opposed to Simmel's Berlin, where the city is built with the existence of strangers, of the other, the modern city precedes the standardization of consumption, and mass

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<sup>20</sup> *Uykuluk* is some kind of a wrap made by a special fatty meat from the jowl of the lambs.

consumption unifies people as social subjects. He then links this shift with the emergence of cultural mass consumption:

Attachment and engagement with specific places is dispelled under, the aegis of this new regime. Benjamin's image of the *flaneur* gets a new meaning in a world of Starbucks, and Niketowns. No longer is the urban *flaneur* someone who can discover – at least in the new public realm- the strange, the unexpected, or the arousing. Alterity is missing. Equally, the accumulation of the shared history (and so of collective memory) diminishes in the neutral public spaces. The space of public consumption attacks local meanings in the same way the new workplace attacks 'ingrown' shared histories among workers. (Sennett 2005, p117)

Without totally opposing his argument, I claim that the disappearance of alterity and collective memories is not a *cul-de-sac* in the transformation of the city space, ending up with stereotype urban images like Starbucks, Niketowns or the monotype consumers surviving as the only kind of consuming citizens. The standardization of urban space through that global culture of mass consumption has rather opened up new niches for premeditated collective memories and designed alterities, hence rendering “difference” and “curiosity” a new brand. Nostalgia, also emerges as the new commodity. Today, Bergmann Strasse in Kreuzberg, the small channel-side cafes of Den Hag, the French Street, *Café Şimdi* and *Café Urban* in Istanbul are nothing but examples for this new regime of designed alterities and common memories. Accordingly, the designation of the Golden Horn as the cultural valley of Istanbul, based on a historical heritage and the prospects of new grown culture industries, also follows the same path of creation, circulation and consumption of those commodities such as alterity, cultural identity and authenticity. Therefore, the construction of the three museums on the northern shores of the Golden Horn not only induces the regeneration of economy in the district through

wise touristic entrepreneurships, but also reformulates the city space through the new currencies of neo-liberal economic restructuring process.

On the one hand, these cultural centers seem to be mobilized as the new engines to accumulate and allocate the capital which has evaporated during the deindustrialization period. On the other hand, a symbolic economy is being created around those new temples of the culture industry, not only opening alternative channels for the accumulation of capital, but also framing the space of the new city.

As Zukin underlines, in this new era of the establishment of *symbolic economies*, “a significant number of new public spaces owe their particular shape and form to the intertwining of cultural symbols and entrepreneurial activity.” (Zukin 1996) As well as the economic factors of land, labor and capital, the manipulation of the symbolic languages of exclusion and entitlement shapes the cities. Terms of visibility, order and disorder are also conditioned around these languages of symbols, with material impacts on the real estate development and business. (Zukin 1996 p.7) On the other hand, Zukin also introduces *symbolic economy* as the final attempt to prevent the economic decline of a district, which frames the space with cultural institutions. Welling around the museums, art events, monuments or other types of spectacular events (including the authentic bazaars), symbolic economies produce, allocate and distribute images of cities; not only contributing to the economies of districts, but also reshaping these districts by the use of these images. Therefore a *symbolic economy*, as Zukin underlines, features both “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.” (Zukin 1996, p23)

In this perspective, museums, monuments and art events gain a crucial role in the production of city space in the Golden Horn, both in the way they established a system of exclusion and order, and in the way they built a symbolic economy after the economic fall of the district with the dismantling of the industry in the 1980s. In the next chapter, I will try to explain how this symbolic economy was created and managed through the construction of the three structures, Koç Museum, Miniaturk and Santral Istanbul, by investigating each structure as a distinct case and analyzing their synergy to rehabilitate and reconfigure the urban space in the Golden Horn.

Before focusing on the museums and their methods of reorganizing space in the Golden Horn, a glimpse at the change in the economic and educational data of the region will open up the ground for a comparison of the targeted and realized level of change through these new projects. For this aim, the statistical data of the last two censuses in 1990 and 2000 will be helpful to grasp the general scope of change in the last two decades.



## Reading The Transformation Through Data

The data below is based on an unpublished demographic research, which was conducted by Prof. Murat Güvenç on the districts of Istanbul. The research basically aims to sketch the demographic profiles of Istanbul, according to the conditions of education, employment, economic activities, housing-tenure status, household size and province of birth. Despite the comprehensiveness of the study, to remain within the limits of my work, I chose to use the data on educational and occupational profiles only, which I suppose reflect the possible effects of transformation quicker and more clearly. For this aim, I decided to look at the data collected from the hinterland of the three museums, namely *Hasköy*, *Sütlüce*, *Örnekköy* and *Silahtarağa*. Besides, the choice of the years 1990 and 2000 was not intentional, but because these years constitute the scope of the demographical study.

The tables below are formed with the implementation of Bourdieu's "correspondence analysis"<sup>21</sup> (CA) technique. Each data on the table indicates a chi-square distance from the mean of the population. The investigation of these data in fact necessitates a comprehensive implementation of the CA, which will exceed the borders of

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<sup>21</sup> Correspondence Analysis is a statistical mapping technique which was developed by Pierre Bourdieu. The basic function of the technique is to calculate the distance of the coordinates among the categories of an "n" dimensional graph. The key point of this method is that the distances are not Euclidian, but are chi-square distances. By this method, the samples can be grouped in "neighborhood"s, according to the variances of the data, hence leading to the construction of maps of the data universe. A demographical data, for example, which includes plenty of different occupational categories of employment, may be reordered under certain groups, which are formed according to different distributions of these occupations. The basic advantage of this method is that the mapping will not reduce the data into certain categories, but each mapping will indicate changing bundles of each category. In this sense, the existence of janitors in the affluent districts of Ankara is not ignored, but they may indeed become a differentiating factor between two different kinds of affluent districts. The low-level education does not indicate that no member of this group has a college degree, but the categories rather indicate the likelihood of these districts to include certain ratios of each educational category. For further information see Güvenç, 2006.

this study. However, it is possible to read the changes in the profiles of the districts between 1990 and 2000 by looking at the bare data.

Table 1: 1990 Year Occupation Based Profiles of Districts

District	Technical	Entrepreneurs	Executive Personnel	Trade & Sale	Services	Undefined	Agriculture	Non-Agricultural	Profile It Belongs to
Silahtaraga	-18.2	-3.5	-2.3	-4.8	0	-0.4	-2	27.8	Blue Collar Professional
Örnektepe	-4.5	-2	0.6	-5.6	7.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	Transition 2
Sütlüce	-7.4	-0.7	-1.5	-1.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	2.8	Blue Collar and Service
Halıcıoğlu	-4	-0.4	0.6	-1.2	0	0	0.9	1.4	Blue Collar and Service

Table 2: 2000 Year Occupation Based Profiles of Districts

District	Technical	Entrepreneurs	Executive Personnel	Trade & Sale	Services	Undefined	Agriculture	Non-Agricultural	Profile It Belongs to
Silahtaraga	-131.5	-27.2	-11.5	-44.9	-2.8	8	-6.3	206.5	Blue Collar and Service
Örnektepe	-151	-45	-5.5	-42.5	43.3	-1.8	0.5	102.5	Blue Collar and Service
Sütlüce	-29.4	-3.1	0.2	-0.2	-0.4	-0.1	0.1	14	Blue Collar Professional
Halıcıoğlu	-89.2	-21.4	1.7	5.3	0	-1.2	-1.5	18.9	Transition 2

Table 3: The Change of Education and Occupation Levels Between 1990 and 2000

The Change of Education Level Between 1990 and 2000			
District	1990 High / Low Education Ratio	2000 High / Low Education Ratio	Profile
Silahtaraga	0.2	0.4	non-rising
Örnektepe	0.3	0.4	non-rising
Sütlüce	0.4	0.7	non-rising
Halıcıoğlu	0.6	0.7	non-rising
The Change of Occupation Type Between 1990 and 2000			
District	1990 Blue Collar / White Collar	2000 Blue Collar / White Collar	Profile
Silahtaraga	0.2	0.4	-
Örnektepe	0.6	0.5	-
Sütlüce	0.4	0.8	-
Halıcıoğlu	0.8	0.8	-

One of the most significant changes in the occupational profiles seems to be the significant decrease in the share of the “technical” category in the occupational distributions in each of the four districts. The decrease in the entrepreneurial activities also stands as an important change for each of the districts. On the other hand, we see that these decreases were mostly counterbalanced by a rise in “non-agricultural activities”. If we consider that the “technical” category mostly consists of the technicians in the real production sector and the “non-agricultural” category consists of every kind of –and generally informal petty service sector- occupations that cannot be categorized in the other categories indicated above, we may conclude that the informal sectors displayed a significant rise during the decade between 1990 and 2000. However, it should be noted that the “non-agricultural” also includes the transportation workers, such as the *Dolmuş*<sup>22</sup> and Taxi drivers, which may not always be informal, but cannot be represented under the other categories. Additionally, in *Silahtarağa* and *Örnektepe*, the “trade and sale activities” show a significant decrease, while only in *Örnektepe* this is counterbalanced by an increase in the “services” category. The change in the general blue/white collar distribution levels, on the other hand, does not indicate significant changes in those ten years. The dominance of white-collar occupations remains the same without a significant rise. Nevertheless, we should underline that the white collar does not indicate the relatively well paid office work, but it mostly includes the low-paid services such as waitresses, cleaning jobs and so-forth.

Since most of the renovation projects, except Koç Museum, took start after 2000, it is hard to make direct deductions on the effects of these three museums on the

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<sup>22</sup> *Dolmuş* is a Turkish transportation system, where the minibuses are utilized. The vehicle moves when it is full of passengers, and the name *dolmuş* (full, filled) derives from this rule.

occupational distributions of the district. However, some clues may be gathered about the effects of the demolitions and then its designation as “the valley of culture”. In this sense, it is hard to see the so-called “positive” effects of the renovation projects, at least for those ten years, namely a shift from the uncontrolled informal sector to the better earning service sector. In other words, if the abundance of informal activities is used as one of the indicators of its being a distress area, then the installation of these projects does not seem to have removed this characteristic of the district for the given period. Moreover, the intensification of the informal sectors – specifically non-agricultural activities- seems to display a significant rise.

This may have two causes. One is that the demolitions between 1983 and 1986 removed every kind of building located on the seaside that could have been used for economic activities, such as small-trade, shops, restaurants and other formal service activities; causing a further retreat of the economic activities to the hinterland as well. However, the residential areas in those hinterland remained untouched, like *Sütlüce* and *Örnekköy*, which should have been provided with new employment opportunities. The second is that the newly established museums or the cultural centers could not supply these opportunities to these residential areas. During my interviews, I noticed that a very small portion of the workers -mostly the security workers- of those institutions are from the districts of the Golden Horn. The low-level educational profile of the districts that do not satisfy the educational requisites of the jobs seems to be a major cause for this situation. On the other hand, the location of the museums, squeezed between the highway and the green lands, and their isolation from the district, with their own parking-lots,

cafes and restaurants, prevent the emergence of small service suppliers near these museums.

The educational level of the district display, a smooth rise in these ten years. Table 3 indicates that in every district, the ratio of a high level of education to low level of education has increased between 0.1 and 0.3 points. Even though the eastern shores of the Golden Horn are still dominated by the lower educational level, its profile has shifted from the lowest level of education to middle education or the transition profile (Appendix J). The profiles of education level indicate that in 1990 only three districts in the neighborhood were represented within the neighborhood of lower-middle education level, while the rest lies within the lowest-level profile. However, in 2000, most of the districts on the shores had shifted to the transition, middle-low level profiles. Nevertheless, the total transformation map (Appendix K) indicates that most of the region still remained in the lowest changing profile of education between the years 1990 and 2000. Besides, the most significant change is observed in *Piri Paşa*, which lies between *Hasköy* and *Halıcoğlu*. The education profile here shifted from the lowest level of education to the high level of education. The establishment of Koç Museum in the 1990's in this region should be paid attention to as one of the possible reasons for this change. The informal real estate agents, such as the auto-repair services and the markets, emphasize that the land values and the real estate prices as well, rose significantly after the establishment of the museum, which has gradually shifted the profiles of the tenants. Nevertheless, no additional supporting data is available to link the rise in educational level with the rise in the land prices. On the other hand, it should be underlined that the increase in the total level of education is heavily based on the increase in the women's

profile, while the men's neighborhood profile does not display a significant change between the years 1990 and 2000. (appendix L) This, in fact, displays similarity with the general change in the educational profiles of Istanbul in the given period, as the women's profile shifts significantly to the upper levels, while the men's profile shows a smoother shift. In this period, it may also be seen that the profile of high level of education exceeds the bordered region between shorelines of the Marmara Sea and the main highways, spreading to the hinterland areas behind those highways. For this reason, it would not be appropriate to state the renovation projects as the main cause of the rise in the level of education in the Golden Horn district.

All in all, the above mentioned unpublished demographical studies and the mapping techniques indicate that the statistical evidence hardly supports the claim that the establishment of the museums and the resettlement of the district as the "valley of culture" has culminated in significant changes in the education and job profiles of the district, in the way it was intended to be by the project owners. However, those museums and the cultural centers remained as certain stations on the transit traffic that flows over the Golden Horn, without developing mutual relationships with the hinterland, which would trigger the revival of the economic and cultural life of the district.

## CHAPTER III

### MUSEUMS

“The basic purpose of the transformation of the power plant into *santralistanbul* is to utilize the art and information, which are the creative powers of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, similar to the role that the electricity played in the twentieth century. The creative energies have already shifted to the areas of education, information and culture industry; and by reinterpreting Silahtarağa as a public museum, a center of education and information or production and representation of art, *santralistanbul* aims to release and spread these energies in the broadest sense”

(Silahtarağa Elektrik Santrali, 1910-2004)

#### Revisiting The Golden Horn Through The Culture Industry

If there is one thing except the car-radio that may bring a Cadillac nearby a doo-wop song, it is Adorno's analysis of music on the basis of the culture industry. By deconstructing musical works of the modern age into their rhythms and chord progressions, Adorno inverts the images of music as an art, reintroducing them as the outputs of the music industry, which are constructed by various combinations of certain rhythms, background voices, vocal embellishments and speeds. (Gendron, 1986) One may create different songs by changing the combination of these elements as long as those units are standardized, so that each sample can be matched with another like the pieces of a Cadillac, without disturbing the functional unity of the overall mechanism.

Adorno directly links the contemporary state of musical affairs with the deterioration of consumer tastes within the advanced capitalist society. Capitalism, he asserts, standardized not only the production line, but also the tastes of the workers on this production line. The cultural output of advanced capitalism, in this sense, is exposed to some kind of standardization, which is completely pre-designed. So this standardization is accompanied by interchangeability and pseudo-individuality which

complete each other. Interchangeability renders the consumption of similar cultural outputs by different consumers from different social groups, by giving permission for smooth regulations, while pertaining the characteristic of the product. Adorno takes music as the object of his investigation. He asserts that one can easily decompose the popular music of the twentieth century into its components and switch some of them with other pieces taken from other songs without corrupting the basic characteristic of the song. (Gendron, 1986) Hence, one may modify a song as if modifying a Cadillac by disentangling a part and inserting a different one, as if playing with Lego. Therefore, it would not be wrong to claim that the standardization in fact is related to the components of the cultural product, rather than the whole body of it.

Despite the homogeneity in its structure, the product also needs a diversification for it to be marketable. So the product is modified through the attachment of small utilities or the implementation of small changes like color, sound and so-forth; which help to veil the homogeneity of the whole structure behind the product. This is what Adorno defines as pseudo-individuality, as another component of the culture industry.

Nevertheless, it should be underlined that the standardization of cultural products is strongly related to the standardization of the means of production of those products. Again exemplifying from the music industry, Adorno points out that the instruments and other devices used in the music sector are also exposed to the uniformity of production, hence giving way to the production of similar sounds.

To sum up, according to Adorno, the culture industry is based on the three processes of standardization, interchangeability and pseudo-individuality of cultural products. For this reason, as I suppose that the declining industrial production of the



tangible goods in the Golden Horn is being tried to be compensated by the cultural industry, I will try to take into account these three processes during my investigation of how this culture industry is established through the construction of three museums.

The first glimpses of these attempts to compensate appear in the designation of the district as the “valley of culture”. Right after this move, Koç Museum which was opened in 1994, became the pioneer of this project,. Miniaturk followed the Koç Museum in 2003 and lastly, in the beginning of 2007, Santral Istanbul began welcoming its guests. During her interview, Sultan Polat, the ex-PR Manager of *Kültür A.Ş.*<sup>23</sup>, emphasized that the decision to construct Miniaturk was not only due to the suitability of the land for the construction, but it was also for the improvement of that transition zone located in the middle of the city. She also stated that an urban geography cannot be changed without inserting new functions there and added that Miniaturk is a significant device of gaining new functions of this geography. At this point, defining these new functions and their success of being applied in the Golden Horn case should be taken into account in the discussion on transformation, for it clarifies the dimensions of how the Golden Horn is defined and identified as a new entity. The mentioned new functions also define the imaginary of the Golden Horn, that is planned to be created as the new city space. Focusing on the role of the new museums in the creation of a culture industry will provide clues while thinking about these questions.

In “A Museum in Berkshires” Zukin mentions the attempt to attribute of new facilities to an urban space as a common strategy of redevelopment:

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<sup>23</sup> *Kültür A.Ş.* (Culture Co.) is the municipally owned corporation, which executes the public events and cultural issues in Istanbul.

Cultural strategies of redevelopment are complicated representations of change and desire. Their common element is to create a 'cultural' space connecting tourism, consumption, and style of life. They appreciate archaic living and working sites, but push into them deeper into the past. They incorporate these sites into an image of local identity by defusing their contentiousness. Regardless of their bloody past or current social tensions, these sites become 'a happy face'. Cultural strategies, moreover, are often consensual strategies of change. They preserve rather than tear down; they rely on alliances between unlikely groups. (Zukin 1996, p85)

Firstly, the case of the Golden Horn does not show one-to-one correspondence with Zukin's analysis. It is hard to claim that preservation has become a common strategy of redevelopment. Unlike the preserved textile mills of North Adams, which were later redesigned as the Museum of Contemporary Art (MoCA), factories in the Golden Horn have disappeared, leaving only a few red brick chimneys behind, which now stand in the middle of the municipality parks built in place of these factories. It is also hard to claim that the district has been transformed into a theme-town as in Leavenworth, in Washington. The district seems to be far from reaching any significant level of homogeneity in urban design or a uniformity of style of buildings, to be organized as a theme-town. The shanty towns still surround the estuary and the land is still unfriendly for the visitors of the district. But on the other hand, the creation of a culture industry in the Golden Horn has been on the agenda for the last 20 years, even though it became visible only a few years before.

In the *Referans*,<sup>24</sup> Nevzat Bayhan, the head officer of the *Kültür A.Ş.*, points out that the urban projects in the Golden Horn are vital for the preparations for 2010, the year that Istanbul will be the capital of culture of the World. He also states that they plan to

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<sup>24</sup> A nation wide published newspaper mostly concerned with the economic topics.

locate many of the cultural structures nearby the estuary. He also states that they plan to designate Golden Horn as a valley of culture and says that “if we define Istanbul as an open-air library, then the Golden Horn would be the archive and the work of Kultur A.Ş. has publicized this archive.” He adds that now they (Kültür A.Ş.) want to introduce their work to Turkey and to the world. (Sayar, 2006)

In *Radikal*<sup>25</sup>, İsmet Yıldırım, head officer of *KİPTAŞ*<sup>26</sup> stated that in the renovation projects in Istanbul, they will revive the old Ottoman districts in manner appropriate to the mystic air of the historical peninsula. He then added that a rapid renovation process would start for the old houses, lying along the Golden Horn till the ridges of *Süleymaniye* and they would be marketed after their restoration. On December 7, 2007 a conference was held by Arkitera Architecture Center and Istanbul Municipality, headed “The Golden Horn and The Dockyards During The Process of The Culture Industry”. Throughout the introductory texts of the conference and the debates, it is also possible to find quotes appreciating the renovation projects and references to the significance of the generation of a culture industry and tourism, as the crucial devices of giving new functions to the urban space in the Golden Horn.<sup>27</sup>

Various other examples are available, which define the Golden Horn as the new approaching space of cultural production, focusing on the potential sites of historical heritage and nostalgia, trying to raise the call for a touristic appreciation and new economic impulses for the district. In 2003 we began to see Miniaturk on the billboards of the city and it was then that the Golden Horn began to appear more in the discussions

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<sup>25</sup> A nation wide published middle-left wing oriented newspaper.

<sup>26</sup> The construction company that works as the participant of the Municipality.

<sup>27</sup> For further details: <http://www.arkitera.com/news.php?action=displayNewsItem&ID=13059>

and on the advertising campaigns of the Metropolitan Municipality as an icon for Istanbul. Now the three museums stand as the materialized representations of the common discourse of renovating the Golden Horn , the reviving history and reconstructing economic growth through the culture industry. For this reason, further analysis about the representation styles of each museum, their claim on history and the relationship they establish between the visitors and spectacular space stand in essential to generate new questions and to gain insights into the distance between these discourses and their object of representation.

#### Visiting The Museums In The Golden Horn: Whose Museum?

In *Possessors and Possessed*, Wendy Shaw (2004) elucidates that the disposition of the collection also shapes the history that is transmitted through the spectacle of those items represented. Attributing the dismissal of the progressive arrangement of the items in the early Ottoman museum, *Müze-i Hümayun*, she underlines that the Ottoman style of historicizing, the evolutionist theories were consciously excluded. The items were not arranged following a progressive sequence of historical events, but they were rather arranged according to their date of possession and their size. She also states that this style of arrangement was the representation of a political decision, which establishes Ottoman museums as a resistance against the colonial appropriation of history by the West. Rather than building an “Eastern Europe” in Istanbul, their aim was to put their claim on history according to the official discourse of the Ottoman state. This was why the museums dismissed the progressive path from their spectacular designs and why they highlighted

mostly the possession of items by the Ottoman state, rather than displaying them as evidence of a historical reality. (Shaw 2004)

The case of *Müze-i Humayun* and the way that Shaw construes this certain experience evoke certain questions, which may be useful in order to understand the role of the museums in the creation of history and the construction of a symbolic economy in the Golden Horn. Those are, “how was the museum established and who were its actors?” “Who owns and manages the museum?” “What kind of representational techniques were implemented through the museum?” “How were the items arranged and which of them were highlighted the most?”

While telling the story of the transformation of North Adams, Zukin underlines two points. The first is that “art museums, historic districts and ethnic heritage zones are favored when the land they sit on is not more valuable to investors for other purposes” and the second is that “they (those museums, historic districts etc.) have to target a middle class literacy, mobility, and disposable income.” (Zukin, 1996, p.79-109)

As far as I have deduced during my visits, no land market developed in the district, thus the Golden Horn well seems to satisfy the first condition. Land and real estate trade is still being held through the small groceries or through the informal information you can collect on the street, by directly asking people. Only one real estate office was working on the north side of the estuary, during my interviews. According to one of the car repair atelier owners at *Hasköy*, land prices in the district have quadrupled in the last decade and for this reason, people are now less likely to sell their lands; because even though no land market has grown yet, the common belief in the interest of the big firms in the Golden Horn make people hold onto their lands.

On the other hand, to find out the validity of the second condition of Zukin for the case of the Golden Horn, we should find who are interpellated by these three museums. Where do these museums stand according to the commonsense definition of museums?

In her study, Shaw calls attention to the contradiction that museums are special places to visit but they are one of the least visited, since visiting museums is mostly considered as a duty, rather than fun. (Shaw, 2004) Then what determines the formation of the public imaginary as to the museums in Turkey? Shaw underlines that museums are established for certain needs that have gradually been formed and shaped in accordance with the heritage that the Turkish museums rest on, going back to the Ottoman experience. For this reason, those needs should be taken into consideration, according to which the contemporary museums of the twenty first century are established, while investigating the decreasing number of visitors, the commonsense imaginary of museums and the new opportunities of development they open up during the transformation of the space in Golden Horn.

Among the eighteen people, whom I asked about the connotations of the word “museum”, the most frequent answer was “history” and the second was “art”. six of eight interviewees, who work as internal auditors in a private bank, used the term “preservation of the past” while trying to define museum and gave similar examples like ethnography and archeology museums. The study has also revealed that Madam Tussaud and the private museums of sports clubs where the cups and medals are displayed, are all considered within the imaginary of museum. On the other hand, the interviewees, who work in the small service sector, mostly own their own shops located near the Golden Horn, referred to the preservation of historical heritage, by defining museum as a place

where “the ruins of the past” and “the antiques” are preserved and represented. They mostly referred to *Topkapı Palace* or *Hagia Sophia* as examples for the museum. I have also held interviews with the visitors of the eleventh Istanbul Biennale. Their common emphasis, as to the museums, was that museums are those places where we learn about history<sup>28</sup> and they mentioned foreign museums to give examples, like London National History Museum and *El Parado*. Only one interviewee underlined that the word “museum” connoted public spaces which are free of charge.

No matter how limited it is, the survey above is capable of giving a general idea about what a museum means to different groups of people in Turkey. According to the answers given by the interviewees, the word “museum” seems to connote three different types of imaginations, as follows:

1. The ethnography and archeology museums, which are mostly built according to the forms of “The First National Architectural Movement” or “The Second National Architectural Movement”.<sup>29</sup>
2. The museums, where the buildings are presented as a spectacle, as well as the objects inside, like Topkapı Palace and Hagia Sophia. In Istanbul, those museums are mostly the ones that represent Ottoman culture and strictly define the space they are located in. that is the historical peninsula.
3. The museums of art and sculpture.

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<sup>28</sup> This common answer may be because the interviews in the Biennale were held in front of the exhibition of Michael Rakowitz, “The Invisible Enemy Should Not Exist”, whose theme was the National Museum of Iraq, which was burned during the American invasion of the Second Gulf War.

<sup>29</sup> Those are two different movements in architecture in Turkey, which had grown parallel with the rapid modernization experience between 1923 and 1950. While the first movement occurred as an opposition to the Western architectural forms by the use of late Ottoman and Seljuk Empire styles, the second intensified on the creation of a pure nationalist form. (Bozdoğan, 2002)

My claim at this point is that these three different imaginations of the museum in Turkey emerge and are shaped in accordance with the formation and transformation of modernity. In the introduction of “Cumhuriyet’in Ankarası”, Tekeli describes Turkish Modernism in three periods: “radical modernization” between 1923 and 1950, “populist modernization” between 1950 and 1980; and lastly “eroding modernism” after 1980 until today. (Tekeli 2005) Tekeli underlines that an analysis of the transformation of modernity throughout these periods should neither depend on deductive methods which draw a pre-determined path for the dynamics of urban development, nor overestimate the role of the city planner, reducing the formation of urban space to a planning activity. But as a third paradigm, he asserts that the conflict between the institutions of society and the actors of city planning stand to be the main determinant that shapes the contemporary urban space in Turkey. Tekeli underlines that the modern architecture in Turkey leaned on the “modernist legitimization” of the period of “radical modernization” and he adds that the modern middle class urban citizens widely appreciated this way of thinking. However, as the culmination of rapid industrialization and the need for cheap labor in the cities, Turkey encountered the problem of intense migration from the rural areas. As he states, the conflict mainly depends on the incapability of the city of absorbing the high rate of rural immigrants after 1950. Unable to supply sufficient residential areas and employment opportunities for the new comers, the decision makers of the city condoned the temporary solutions of the new comers, ending up with the rise of shanty-towns and the emergence of the petit service sector. But in the long run, these temporary solutions became permanent structural problems, causing the establishment of a type of economic and social structure that differed from that of the radical modernization period, reshaping the urban space as well skipping out the scope of central planners.



In fact, my argument will smoothly deviate from that of Tekeli, since I will not agree that the last and contemporary situation may be defined as the “eroding of modernity”, due to various evidences, which disclose that today’s discursive practices are still prone to reconstruct a discourse of modernity. A significant evidence for this claim is the existence of a topic in the official website of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM), headed “Modern Architecture”. In the website, different examples of architectural structures in Istanbul are described and appreciated as the examples of modern architecture, like the Bosphorus Bridges, *Lütfi Kırdar* Congress Center, İnönü Stadium and so-forth<sup>30</sup>. In the 10 September 2005 dated internet article, the Turkish Board of Architects criticizes the replication of “other cultures” architectural practices under the name of “modern architecture, by underlining Mustafa Kemal’s description of modern architecture as the ‘the creation of a nation’s own architectural style.’”<sup>31</sup> In Arkitera, (one of the famous internet journals on architecture in Turkey) it is heralded that *Isparta* is being modernized and every house will be painted.(Altıntaş, 2005) Again in the official website of the IMM, the ongoing mass housing project of *KIPTAS* is appreciated for building modern spaces in the city<sup>32</sup>. Another example is the project of the renovation of sea transportation units, which was represented with the slogan of “Istanbul is Choosing Her Ships”. IMM presents the project by its ability to combine modern technologies with the historical texture of the city. These and many other examples, which are visible in various introductory texts and advertisements on Istanbul, weaken the validity of the statement that the contemporary era is the erosion of modernity. On the contrary, it can be

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<sup>30</sup>See Gezi Rehberi [Travel Guide] (2008), Retrieved April 01, 2008, from <http://www.ibb.gov.tr/tr-TR/KenteBakis/GunlukYasam/GeziRehberi/ModernMimari/>

<sup>31</sup>See Basın Açıklamaları [Press Statements] (2008), Retrieved February 20, 2008, [<http://www.mimarlarodasi.org.tr/index.cfm?sayfa=Belge&Sub=basin&RecID=50>]

<sup>32</sup>See Kiptaş A.Ş. [Kiptaş Co.] Retrieved April 08, 2008, from <http://www.ibb.gov.tr/en-US/Organization/Companies/Pages/KIPTASAS.aspx>

seen that “modern” has become the amorphous device of legitimization, acquiring the power of defining various kinds of activities, so that it can even been utilized to herald the act of painting *Isparta*’s houses. For this reason, as opposed to Tekeli, I prefer to define the last era as a period of transformation in the conceptualization of modernity, which also affects the way modernity changes space. Rather than taking his classification of modernity as the main axis of my investigation of the transformation of space in Turkey, I will underline his focus on the incongruity of the rural immigrants with the “modernist legitimacy” of the middle class owners of the city as the basic determinant constructing and reshaping the city. In this sense, the intentions either of the planners or the users of the city can be given as the keystones of understanding the city, but the conflict between these two can be stated to be the main axis of change in the urban space.

Thus, thinking about these three different museums within the scope of these different paths of Turkish modernization may also help us to reveal the conflicts that the museums are constructed on in Turkey. This question, I believe, is also vital for rethinking Shaw’s emphasis on museums: “what are those necessities that determine the establishment of museums in Turkey?”

Therefore, studying the establishment of a symbolic economy in an old industrial district, which was captured, transformed and abandoned by modernity, also necessitates the investigation of how these new components of a symbolic economy relate themselves to the modernist past of the district. Now the Golden Horn is redefined as the new center of Istanbul, where the creative energies of the twenty first century will be produced and pumped to the city in order to create a cultural economy; but –quoting Zukin- whose culture and whose city?

## Koç Museum

Among the three museums, Koç Museum was the first to be built in the Golden Horn. It is also closer to the classical style of museums, which is inherited from the early European museums of Enlightenment and the late Ottoman period. The emergence of those museums dates back to the cabinet of curiosities of the elites in seventeenth century Europe, which were mostly arranged in order to represent the personal world vision of the owner of the spectacle (Shaw 2004). But in so far as these cabinets of curiosities were publicly disclosed, these world visions were furnished with certain common discourses about the past which would later pave the way for the creation of a national narrative over the history of these items represented.

The M Rahmi Koç Museum (Koç Museum) has also evolved from the personal collection of Rahmi Koç, who is one of the most famous and wealthy people in Turkey. He is also the son of Vehbi Koç, who was one of the best known icons of Turkish industrialization, especially representing the “import substitution” period between 1950 and 1980. The museum was founded in 1991 with the purchase of the old *Lengerhane*<sup>33</sup> in the Golden Horn. The history of the building dates back to the thirteenth century. During the Ottoman Empire, the building was used as an anchor factory but then was turned into a warehouse for alcohol in the republican era. In 1984, it was destroyed during a big fire and later it was purchased by Rahmi Koç. It was restored between 1991 and 1993 and the museum was opened in 1994 after the collection of Rahmi Koç was transferred to the building. Then Koç Museum purchased the old dockyard, which was located in front of that building, expanding the museum towards the seaside. Now the

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<sup>33</sup> Lengerhane means anchor factory in Ottoman language.

museum welcomes its guests with those two historical buildings in three floored display areas and a huge courtyard, also including a submarine anchored nearby the old dockyard, a restaurant, one French cafe, an English pub and a small tea room.

In the “Chairman’s Message”, in the official website of the museum, Rahmi Koç states that the museum is grounded on his passion for collecting mechanical and industrial objects, which began with his first gift of an electrical toy-train, given to him by his father. Combined with his appreciation of the scientific and industrial museums in Europe, especially the “Science Museum” in London, this led to his decision to found the Koç Museum.

The museum is basically designed to exhibit examples of industrial machines of nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The display area is fragmented according to the types of machines, such as steam engines, cars, trains, pressure measuring devices, ships / boats, diving cloths, airplanes and military vehicles. These groups of machines are mostly arranged in a chronological sequence, representing their development throughout history. There are also special experiment sections in order to show the working mechanism of some devices and simulators for planes and trains. Besides, a room is designed to mimic the study room of Rahmi Koç, exhibiting the medals and plaques that he received, with his mummy in the middle of the room. The courtyard is appropriated for the huge items such as aero planes, trains, one military tank and a huge marine steam engine. There are also four simulated old-time shops in the courtyard, consisting of a pharmacy, a blacksmith, a toyshop and a chandlery.

Most of the items, especially the smaller ones, are displayed behind a protective glass, bar or rope, which prevent the visitors from touching the objects. However, there

are also a significant number of items that the visitors can examine by touching and even by making them work by pressing a button. In addition, visitors are allowed to get on many of the bigger items like planes and trains –but not cars- and press the buttons or turn the leverages on them. Therefore, it may be stated that the museum provides its visitors with the chance of not only looking at and appreciating the items, but it also invites them to play with the machines and learn about them, even though for a limited part of the exhibition.

The museum seems to present two different types of representation in the same display area. One is the spectacular technique of the early European museums, where the items are separated from the spectators by a rope or glass. The brick walls of the building; the dim light and the silence call the visitors to show respect for the spectacular objects. Furnished by the instructions describing the personal history of the items and linking them by their ex-users' stories, these parts offer a sanctity no less than an ethnography museum does. The small steam engine and train models, old movie machines, cars and boats constitute the main ingredients of this part of the exhibition. The simulation of Rahmi Koç's room can also be classified as one of those sacred places in the museum. On the other hand, there are sections where visitors can participate in experiments, can touch the items and are allowed to speak loudly. These are mostly the places where the divers' costumes, old computer pieces and bigger clumsy steam engines are represented. The courtyard is mostly turned into a playground as well, where visitors can also visit the interior of the vehicles such as trains and planes.

The first type of representation connotes the museums which are “mainly for the preservation of the vestiges of a dying past, and the only subsidiary as a preparation for

the future,” and which are “the last haven of refuge for interesting architectural fragments, sculptures and inscriptions which save them from the hands of an ignorant and indifferent public, or from unscrupulous contractors who would have burned them to lime, sunk them into foundations or melted them down.” (Goetz, 1954 p.15) The second type, on the other hand, exemplifies the “live museums” of the so-called post modern or post industrial era. Exceeding the narrow borders of the “given national history”, these new museums rise hand in hand with the multidivisional historical discourses such as feminist, populist, economic, ethnic, industrial and so on. (Urry, 1999 p.227) Contrary to the first type of museums, which Urry calls “dead museums”, the “living museums” dispose of the distance between the visitors and the object of spectacle by removing the exhibit glass and allowing them to touch the object. This change, he underlines, points to a shift in the direction of emphasis from the spectacle to the spectator himself, where the distance of gazing is replaced with participation. (Urry, 1999)

However, this mentioned shift in the main object of spectacle not only heralds the liberation in the relationship between the museums and its visitors, but it also proclaims a shift in the conceptualization of museum in the post-1980 era. Sharon Macdonald and Roger Silverstone state that the taxonomy of the display items aiming to form a coherent composition of certain historical periods or cultures has now been replaced by new curatorial practices focusing on the visitors’ experience. (Macdonald & Silverstone, 1999) They point out that the slogans of “customer care”, “efficient service” and “marketing” became the basic motives of this change, as well as the pillars of the London Science Museum to begin to charge the visitors in 1988. But not only have the museums begun to charge, these slogans, which grew on the last days of the corporal state

capitalism in the early 1980s, have also turned the “visitor” into a “customer”; as Macdonald and Silverstone emphasize.

The museum visitor is perceived increasingly as a consumer rather than the isolated scholar or the education-hungry layperson... The museum visitor seems to be being perceived more and more as a seeker, consuming images, ideas, experiences and relentlessly requiring to be entertained in a world of competing distractions. (Macdonald & Silverstone, 1999 p.430)

Before rethinking on the spectacular practice of Koç Museum within the scope of these assertions, I should underline that in Koç Museum education is not underemphasized, but rather it is attributed great significance as the basic function of the museum, by the founders and the managers of the museum. (This will be investigated later.) However, both the realization of the mentioned basic goal of education and the way that the museum expresses itself offer some supporting evidence for Macdonald and Silverstone’s argument. Not only because it offers more user-friendly exhibition units, allowing the visitors to touch and see how they work, but also due to the existence of a restaurant, a French cafe, two conference halls, an English pub and a tea house for the visitors; the Museum stands to be more than a mere spectacular space of industrial heritage. In the website of the museum, a special link is given for the presentation of the services of organization and congresses, including weddings; and it is given special attention that the museum has a special agreement with Divan Catering Company.<sup>34</sup> Additionally, the scene of the museum and the Golden Horn silhouette are also marketed as suitable backgrounds for cocktails, fashion advertisements, concerts and films. Some of the prices for these services are also available on the website of the

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<sup>34</sup> One of the biggest catering companies in Turkey, whose target group is mostly the affluent customers.

museum and it is advised to be in contact with the P&R department for further information. Considering with these services, it is possible to claim that Koç Museum deviates from the classical mood of national-history museums, combining the “industrial heritage”, with the depository of attractive images, playful representation of the history of technology, resting areas and joy. Therefore, more than offering an educative space where visitors can come, see and go, it presents a package of recreation services where leisure turns into pleasure.

However, as I mentioned above, education stands to be the keyword on which the composition of the exhibition, styles of display and the very objective of the establishment of this museum is grounded. One of the headlines in the official website of the museum is appropriated for education. The museum carries out specific processes in order to integrate the educatory programs of the schools with those of the museum. For this aim, it has prepared “educational packs” over 80 pages long, which introduce the museum, the rules and the exhibitions. But they also include some applications to be held in the classroom before visiting the museum, some preparatory questions and quizzes, illustrations about certain exhibitions in the museum and lastly some quizzes for the students.

The package begins with the definition of a museum. It is defined as an institution which is continuously managed in order to preserve, examine, utilize and exhibit the collection of items which have cultural value; for the aim of educating and raising the public’s taste.<sup>35</sup> According to the text, museums are significant, since they

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<sup>35</sup> “Museum; is the continuously managed institution in the sake of preservation, investigation and utilization of the culturally valuable objects or the totality of the work of arts (collections), in order to



give the chance to see the originals of the objects which have historical meaning. The prominent duty of a modern<sup>36</sup> museum is stated to be education, and the museums are asserted to form an alternative to formal education. It is also worth noting that the text also includes instructions for the teachers to control and notify the students in case they shout, run in the museum and touch the objects.

The educational function of the museums is paid significant attention by Appandurai and Breckenridge, in “Heritage on View in India”. They (Appandurai & Breckenridge, 1999) point out that especially in the non-western countries, where challenges exist for training skilled teachers and the resources are rudimentary for education, museums play a significant role in the formation of the modern citizen. According to them, the museum experience is part and parcel of learning to be cosmopolitan and modern. This process also has a dimension of consumption, where visiting is implicitly connected to the consumption of leisure and pleasure. Museums, they define, are also transnational representations and repertoires of the subnational flow of objects and images. In this sense, the way that the museums collect and represent these, open up a three dimensional classification of museums as national-ethnic museums, art museums and commercial exhibitions, where the first one objectifies the narratives of nationality, the second one acts in the constitution of a cosmopolitan aesthetics and the last one teaches about the habits and the values of the modern, high-tech household. (Appandurai & Breckenridge, 1999) Each of these

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upgrade the public’s appreciation and education. In other words, museums have two basic functions: Preservation of the collections and education.” (Translated from the education package of *Koç Museum*)

<sup>36</sup> Here the Turkish phrase is “*çağdaş müze*”, whose direct translation is “contemporary museum”. However, *çağdaş* is also used to define “modern” in Turkish. Especially after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal defined the goal of the Turkish nation as catching up with the development level of the *çağdaş* nations, which actually addressed the modern nations of the West. Today, by the nationalist Kemalist discourse, *çağdaş* is still used more to define the modernity and modernist development than the present time or contemporariness.

processes, they claim, are educative experiences which play a crucial role in the construction of the modern Indian and modern citizen. What a museum does, in this sense, is to make its visitors gain a cultural literacy.

The representation techniques, introductory documents and the contents of the exhibitions indicate that there are parallel points between Koç Museum and Appandurai and Breckenridge's arguments mentioned above. It is already disclosed in the introductory texts of Koç Museum that the museum is profoundly dedicated to the public education, in the specialized area of industrial history and the development of technology. However, my findings throughout the study also provide some clues about the position in which Koç Museum locates itself in the formation and education of the modern (*çağdaş*) Turkish citizen.

Firstly it should be underlined that most of the items of exhibition are the pieces of Rahmi Koç's personal collection and have been brought from abroad. As opposed to the state ownership of the items in the ethnography museums, which symbolize the nation's possession and governance of the cultural heritage as a constitutive element of the national discourse, Koç Museum makes the items of a private collection publicly visible. For this reason, these items of representation are neither the common property of the Turkish nation, nor do they represent the historical path of Turkish industrial development.

Shaw points out two basic motives that have triggered the establishment of museums at the beginning of the twentieth century, by the time the first museum of the Ottoman Empire emerged. The first one is the imperial incentive of modern Western culture to claim the world heritage by appropriating the objects and images from

different parts and different ages all around the world, and displaying them in their own geography. The second, Shaw underlines, was the Ottoman Empire's attempt to show its hegemony over the history of its own geography, which had occurred as a response to these colonial intentions of the West. In other words, the conflict was between the modern West's claim on the world's historical heritage, the evidence on which lies in Eastern geographies, and the Eastern cultures which were trying to resist this claim through the protection of the evidence in their own geographies. Nevertheless, the representational practices in Koç Museum inherit the contradiction that, neither do the items of the industrial culture that is represented belong to Turkish history, nor are they re-appropriated by a modern western nation. They rather represent the success of modern societies' path of development, in a country whose profound aim is to catch up with and surpass the development level of these nations.

In this sense Koç Museum exists in a paradoxical duality. On the one hand it reproduces the modernist phantasmagoria of industrial development of the pre-1980s and deifies the traces of an era which was energized by "present futures" as Huyssen puts it; on the other hand it turns a nostalgic gaze towards this era which is furnished by the sites of memories such as the old steam engines and the race cars, thus reshaping the sensibility of time in the way Huyssen defines as "present pasts". (Huyssen 2003, p11) Nonetheless, the commemorated past does not belong to the national discourse of Turkish history. Even though it is situated in the middle of the old industrial center of Istanbul, which had also witnessed the biggest insurrections of workers of Turkish history in June 15 and June 16, 1970, the industrial heritage of the district is excluded from the collections of the museum. Even the existence of the old factories of *Koç*

*Group* on the shores of the Golden Horn is not mentioned in the official website of Koç Museum. But maybe prior to these, it should be noted that the logo of the museum is a “penny farthing”, the connotations of which are more likely to address the English industrialization era than the one in Turkey.

For my study, I conducted an interview with two workers in *Sütlüce* in the summer of 2006, who had worked in the old dock-yard for years before the 1970s. They both said that they had visited Koç Museum, but neither of them commented on it with either sorrow or appreciation. Mostly they tried to explain how they were combining the parts of the ships and they appreciated the old stocks, which they claim to be the best of their time in Turkey. They also added that they were happy to see this stuff in the museum. But on the other hand, besides defining the museum as a good attempt for the new generations to see many innovations and to have fun, they added that many of the items did not interest them, but only the old stocks. This short interview, I claim, is a suitable example to show how the museum constitutes itself through the distance between itself and the industrial heritage to which its founder and its location belong.

The analysis of this remoteness leads to a discussion on to whom the museum speaks, or what kind of visitors are interpellated by it. With regards to the remoteness of the museum to the Turkish industrial heritage and the way it appreciates the developmentalist path of modernism, Koç Museum becomes a projected history for the desired future, rather than being a nostalgic gaze at the forgotten values of the past. During the realization of the objective of education, Koç Museum highlights the cultural heritage of the emulated nations, which are coded as the prospective future of the Turkish nation. In “*Radyonun Sihirli Kapısı*”, Meltem Ahıska (Ahıska, 2005)

emphasizes that as well as orientalism, the imagination of the West should also be taken as a fantasy, which is constructed through the practices of the so-called East. In this perspective, the imagination of the West by the East not only conceptualizes Europe and USA as the so-called outside, but it also interprets and legitimates the antagonisms between men and women, the public and the elites, Turks and the others; reconstituting the Turkish nationality towards and despite the existence of the imagined West.

With regards to this conceptualization, Koç Museum becomes a space where the fantasies about the industrialized modern West are objectified through the evidence from different geographies and are presented for the sake of the Turkish nation, in order to educate and raise the cultural taste of the nation, while succeeding to combine this aim with various services that will increase the attraction of the museum and turn the act of visiting into an experience of fun and pleasure.

### Miniaturk

Miniaturk is an open air miniature city situated on a 60.000 square meter area on the north-western shores of the Golden Horn. The project was completed and opened to the public in twenty third April 2003, at the official celebration date of the establishment of the Turkish Assembly, which was also dedicated to children by Mustafa Kemal. The project was headed by the ex-chief executive of *Kültür A.Ş.*, Cengiz Özdemir. In *Hürriyet*,<sup>37</sup> it is reported that the decision for the foundation of Miniaturk dates back to Cengiz Özdemir's inspiration of Moduradam in the years of his studentship. Indeed, in

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<sup>37</sup> Daily published national newspaper. For details, see Kayan, S. (25 August 2003). Minyatür bir kent: Miniaturk [A miniature city: Miniaturk]. *Hürriyet*, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/agora/article.asp?sid=6&aid=625>

“The Showcase of Turkey: Miniaturk”, (SoTM) the story of the construction of Miniaturk is told by making references to and comparisons with its counterpart in Holland. In the same document, the aim is stated as bringing Istanbul a new “cultural and touristic complex.” (Showcase of Turkey: Miniaturk, p.17)

The exhibition welcomes the visitors with a platform providing the visitors with a bird’s eye vision at the entrance. In SoTM, the main objective of this platform is explained as giving the feeling that the visitor is entering a different world, a world of fairy tales. Additionally, in SoTM and many other texts, articles in newspapers and advertorials, Miniaturk is described as the “showcase of Turkey” and a fairy tale city. Again in SoTM, it is underlined that the exhibition is intentionally separated from the outside world by the specially designed fences, so that the visitors can “immerse themselves in history and culture.”

The entrance of the museum is covered by a fragmented triangular ceiling. The visitors are given electronic tickets at the entrance, which they may use at the automats located in front of the models. When you insert the ticket in the automat, a male voice explains the history of the building in a serious tone. The museum is filled with the music composed by Fahir Atakoğlu, connoting the sound of Ottoman classical music. A train for the kids passes through the miniatures on which they can take a quick tour and the museum also includes a playground, where bigger models -like that of Troy- serve as toys for children. There is also an amphitheater, a restaurant, a cafeteria and a gift-shop for the visitors.

A short while after the opening, “The Victory Museum” was also added to the exhibition on 29 October 2003, which is the national ceremonial day of the

establishment of the Turkish Republic. The museum includes representations of the Turkish War of Independence through the installation of miniature human figures skirmishing at the front-lines. The installations are pillared with some war effects to create the dreadful atmosphere of the war times.

Miniaturk is promoted with the slogan “the small model of a big country.” The models of the buildings are classified under three categories, works from Anatolia, Istanbul and Ottoman geography. The basic principle of modeling is the one to twenty five constant rate of miniaturizing, which is the same in Moduradam. However, although it is stated in SoTM that the classification of the models was made through the walking paths that divide the exhibition into different sections, no certain rule for the classification is observable by the visitors. The structures of the twentieth century such as Atatürk Airport can be seen located near the old mosques or the Olympic Atatürk Stadium rises next to the ancient *Sümela Monastery*. To elaborate the ambiguity in installation better, I may compare the classification with that of Moduradam. In Moduradam, the models are mostly gathered in small islands according to their place of location. Mostly the districts are modeled as a whole, rather than mere as buildings; hence allowing the display of connections among the buildings, also including the roads, gardens or canals. Dam Square, for example, is modeled with the *Neiuwe Kerk* (New Church), the *Koninklijk Paleis* (The Royal Palace), the *Nationaal Monument* (The National Monument) and the other buildings around the monument as a totality. Nevertheless, in Miniaturk, Taksim Square<sup>38</sup> is not represented by its surroundings like *Atatürk Kültür Merkezi* [Atatürk Cultural Center], The Marmara Hotel, *Taksim Gezi*

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<sup>38</sup> Taksim Square is the main square of Istanbul and one of the biggest one in Turkey.

*Parkı* (Taksim Park), Eseyan Armenian High School or Zapyon *Rum* High School. On the contrary, in Miniaturk, Taksim Monument is situated in the middle of a green area, without any information as to the urban context it belongs to. Galata Tower rises as a lonely tower as well, whereas it is in fact the center of one of the oldest squares of Istanbul.

In any case, the miniaturization of architectural structures within a spectacular activity detaches them from the urban context they belong to, due to the absence of the users in these miniatures. However, Miniaturk doubles this effect by totally detaching the structures from their environmental setting even at the level of representation, and rearranges them forming a unique sequence specific to the exhibition. In this sense, rather than being a miniaturized urban model, Miniaturk is an open air spectacle where facades of the selected famous architectural structures are exhibited.

From this perspective, the main axis around which the models' installation is arranged, seems to be either an urban model, or the historical path that Turkish architectural development has followed. In "Visualization of Culture, History and Memory in Turkey: Museum Politics in the Post-1980", Seçil Yılmaz underlines that Miniaturk breaks down the developmentalist linear path that the classical museums of the pre-1980 era used to follow; ending up with a de-contextualization of the models by detaching them from their urban structure or the historical context. (Yılmaz, 2005)

Parallel to her argument, I will assert that rearrangement through de-contextualization has two significant results. One is, as Yılmaz also underlines, that it opens up the way for the commodification of the images of these structures, by turning them into amorphous cultural symbols detached from their social context. This process also goes



hand in hand with the institution of a symbolic economy, where emblems and symbols circulate, referring to an imagined past that is created around these symbols. Therefore, if we translate the unrepresentable urban space into a narrative in order to understand it, as Donald argues (Donald, 1997), in the case of Miniaturk, icons of nostalgia become the main fabric of this narrative. The reorganization of these signs –the Ottoman architectural motives, architectural articulations of the developmentalist era of Turkey or the archeological heritage of Anatolia- within the miniaturized architectural structures that are dedicated to rendering the past palpable, also rearranges the exhibition as a timeless spectacle of some imagined past, where one can only visit, but cannot live in, go to or come from. Lowenthal smoothly points out that:

Nostalgia is now even planned for. Like Kierkegaard, we look back in the midst of enjoyment to recapture it for memory, and envisage nostalgia for future events: one young woman imagines herself as a grandmother recalling the infancy of her unborn daughters. (Lowenthal 1988, p.12)

Therefore, de-contextualized images of the architectural heritage also paves the way for a narrative of nostalgia, a forgotten past which is recreated by the facades of the miniatures and the sound of Fahir Atakoğlu.

The other significant culmination of de-contextualization is that it also breaks the cold, serious atmosphere of the connotations of the word “museum”, which is mostly owed to the display style of the early twentieth century’s modern ethnography museums. It is arguable, whether the aim of creating a fairy tale atmosphere, as the basic motive directing the formation of the spectacular space of Miniaturk, was totally fulfilled; however, does Miniaturk stand apart from the classical museums of the twentieth century.

This is not only because the items are de-contextualized<sup>39</sup> from their social environment, but also because the way of de-contextualization shifts the relationship between the visitors and history. The combination of items that I mentioned above, such as the kids' train, the playground of models, the mystic music, the eclecticism of the "post-modern" architecture of the museum with the "authenticity" of the models of display, and the tulips surrounding all these items, inverts the linear historical narrative of the pre-1980s' modern museums. In this sense, as opposed to Koç Museum, the aim of Miniaturk does not seem to be to educate and raise the public's taste, or to provide them with cultural literacy, it rather seems to aim at the popularity of the items on display, proving the existence of a high culture within the borders of Turkish geography.

Signifying visibility as the basic distinction between the radio and TV, Meltem Ahiska (Ahiska, 2005) underlines that as opposed to the sound of radio, the visibility of TV leads to a sense of reality, leaving no space for suspicion. From this perspective, it is possible to claim that the museums work in a similar way to create some sense of historical reality, through the implementation of visual evidence. In this sense, beyond packaging and preserving history, the objects of spectacle serve to convince us about the existence of such a history. Nevertheless, according to this way of thinking, Miniaturk is situated in a different position; since the objects of spectacle are not witnesses of the past experiences but only the imitations of some originals. There are even models of structures which do not exist anymore, such as the *Mostar Bridge* and the *Halikarnas Mausoleum*. This difference necessitates rethinking on the way Miniaturk frames history and the relationship it establishes between history and reality.

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<sup>39</sup> In fact modern museums of the twentieth century may also be criticized in the same way, since they detach the items of the daily life of a time period by displaying them behind glass, hence attributing them a sanctity they did not have before.

As opposed to the classical conception of a museum, which evolved from personal collections and cabinets of curiosities, Miniaturk does not claim to be a part of history or reality itself. This is also officially explained in SoTM, that the aim of Miniaturk is to educate the visitors in order to remove the confusion they experience about identifying their architectural heritage. Miniaturk is a reference, an indicator for this heritage. In this sense, it is possible to assert that Miniaturk is much more like a simulation than reality itself. Baudrillard (Baudrillard, 2003) defines simulation as the construction of an unreal reality without an origin, and adds that after the simulation, the reality is replaced with the simulacra. With reference to this definition, he names Disneyland as a joyful simulation of capitalism and similarly I will define Miniaturk as a joyful simulation of Ottoman-Turkish history. At this point, what renders the simulation *joyful* is exactly the absence of the serious atmosphere of the mentioned classical museums, or at least the attempt to avoid this atmosphere. In Disneyland, this sense is constituted by drawing the experiences of consumption and the joy of all other capitalist relationships and through their reconfiguration in a sterilized environment, creating a dreamland. My claim is that, with the help of the eclectic presentation styles which I tried to elaborate above, Miniaturk reinterprets history as a joyful spectacle of a dreamland or a fairy tale.

In his article, Hızır Tüzel (Tüzel, 2003) likens Miniaturk to the story of Hansel and Gretel. He explains his experience by stating that Hagiasophia had seemed to him like a big cake whose minaret he wanted to pick up and eat. He also claims that the Galata Tower was like a wafer. Furnishing many other examples, he completes his article by describing the exhibition in a childish manner. Similar to this case, it is possible to claim that Miniaturk miniaturizes and reinterprets history in a childish manner, which can easily

be perceived and consumed. While the solemnity of “historical reality” is being replaced with a childish enjoyment, experiencing history through Miniaturk replaces the esteem towards the untouchable objects of spectacle with the delight of a child gazing at his dream toy behind the showcase. Historical heritage is still being claimed by the visitor, but this time in a different manner. Visitors look from above the architectural structures and even take photos with their hands on their ceilings. These were in fact the buildings, which most of the visitors visited before and amazed by noticing the height and the size of the ceiling above them.

Thus, the relationship between the museum and modernist elitism seems to be inverted and this time history is simulated according to the needs of popularity and the consumption of the historical narratives. Even though the models are mostly chosen from the elitist works of architecture of their time, as Doğan Tellilel underlines, (Doğan, T. 2004), the representational practices do not recreate and support this elitism.

On the other hand, it is also possible to assert that the content of the exhibition, hence the history that is simulated over the miniatures, includes the signs of a neo-imperialist discourse. The classification of the exhibition under the concepts of Anatolia, The Ottoman Empire and Istanbul reiterates the glory of a dead empire over its architectural traces, and interpellates the historical narratives appreciating this glory. The gaze towards the bygone successes of Ottoman culture is combined with the resistance against the colonial powers of the modern West and brings us to the conceptualization of the museum as a counterargument, a disproof against the cultural claims of the modern West. As I mentioned before, Shaw asserts that museums in the Ottoman Empire grew as a resistance to such claims by reclaiming the architectural heritage over their own

geography. Miniaturk seems to owe so much to this way of thinking when we investigate how it is presented and promoted through the media. The two most emphasized features of the museum appear to be its being the biggest miniature city in the world and the success of its completion time of less than 2 years. Again in SoTM, Miniaturk is presented to be a “world trademark”: “Just as Moduradam has become a world famous trademark for Holland, so too will Miniaturk become an important centre for our country.” (SoTM, p52)

Attempting to recall the grandeur of an old empire through a nonlinear narrative on the one side, claiming the futuristic modern fantasies over quantitative successes and modern architectural designs on the other, Miniaturk posits itself outside the developmentalist and modernist discourse of the post-Rerpublican era of Turkey; but not the phantasmagoria of modernization. Responding to the debates on Turkish modernization, which argue that Turkey is a bridge between the modern West and the traditional East, Ahiska (Ahiska, 2005) states that Turkey has remained in the middle of this bridge for years. My claim is that the dual position that Miniaturk posits itself in between the neo-imperialist nostalgic gaze and the pretensions about the future, which are grounded over a fugacious narrative of a fairytale, embodies the argument of Ahiska, positioning itself in a different form of modernization. For this reason, understanding this amorphous soil on which the narratives of Miniaturk are grounded is vital for getting insights about the way this structure reshapes the Golden Horn.

## Santral Istanbul

The book cover of *Silahtarağa Elektrik Santrali* (Silahtarağa Powerplant ) (SES) consists of a technical blueprint of an old power turbine drawn on a black surface. Compared with the introductory publications of the other two museums, *-Zamanda Bir Yolculuk* (A Time Travel) (Miniaturk), *SoTM* (Miniaturk) and *Haliç Kıyısında Endüstriyel Arkeoloji* (An Archeology of Industry on the Shores of the Golden Horn ) (Koç Museum) - this design provides clues about the stance of Santral Istanbul among the other urban development trends in the Golden Horn. The above mentioned books about Miniaturk highlight the Blue Mosque with a silhouette on their covers, while in *Haliç Kıyısında Endüstriyel Arkeoloji*, a faded photo of two Ottoman workers, looking at an industrial panel with their fezes on welcomes the readers. Each cover presents a gaze towards the Golden Horn's past. However, replacing the blurred and discolored images of the past with the rigidity of a technical drawing, SES seems to recall the past though the language of architectural calculations, rather than referring to the amorphous space of a fairy tale or the recollection of the encounter of the East with the industrial technology of the West. Coherent with this deduction, Santral Istanbul seems to posit itself as nothing but a technical intervention in the space and memory of the Golden Horn.

The project started with the assignment of Silahtarağa Power Plant to Bilgi University in 2004 and was completed in 2007. The energy museum and the modern art museum constitute the focal structures of the project. However, the project also includes ateliers for artists, a public library, education centers for the use of Bilgi University and a big club/restaurant named *Otto Santral*. The project was initiated by the consortium of

Bilgi University, Ciner and Doguş Groups<sup>40</sup> and Laureate International University. It is the sponsored by Kale Group and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality.

Located on a 188.000 square meters area at the end of the Golden Horn, Santral Istanbul seems to be one of the largest complexes dedicated to cultural activities. The center is presented with the claim of transforming the oldest power plant of Turkey into a generator for culture and art, where cultural events and products will be pumped to East Europe and the Middle East from Istanbul. (SES, p.16)<sup>41</sup> This claim is based on the analogy of the significance of the old power station for the industrialization of Istanbul and Turkish modernization. In SES, great emphasis is put on how electricity has changed the daily life of Istanbul and directed the consumption habits towards a new life style, beginning with the power plant's establishment in 1913. Not only is the life of the power plant between 1913 and 1983 described, but there are also sections devoted to the new marketing strategies of electrical devices, innovation in the transformation system with electricity, changes in the entertainment habits (spread of theaters and cinemas) and the introduction of new architectural styles. These sections are mostly supported by old illustrations of power plants, plans and data tables, as well as old advertisements for electrical devices, which are collected from the archives.

Indeed, Silahtarağa Power Plant is one of the rare examples of the industrial heritage of the Golden Horn which has survived and an important witness of the industrialization period of the Golden Horn. During my first visit to Santral Istanbul, in 2006, the traces of the destructive effects of the past years on the abandoned buildings

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<sup>40</sup> Ciner Group was among the biggest media groups in Turkey, while Doğuş is a significant conglomeration, holding the fifth biggest Bank of Turkey in its organization.

<sup>41</sup> See also Doğan, E. (24.12.2005) Kültüre Tarihi İmza [A historical signature on culture] *Sabah*, from <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2005/12/24/gnd106.html>

and the old turbines were easily visible in the old power plant. Most parts of the second power station were wrecked, the administration building and the resident buildings were mostly damaged and the courtyard looked like a forgotten secret garden, covered by weeds and mud. But throughout the project, the courtyard was recreated with grass and walking paths, leaving most of the trees untouched. A big modern cubic structure rises now in place of the wrecked power station, which is the museum of modern Turkish art. The oldest section of the power plant was rehabilitated and transformed into an energy museum, preserving the original atmosphere of the old electricity factory. The walls of the energy museum and the ceiling were pillared by unimposing, huge steel U profiles, which were browned to suit the other components of the factory. Old style blurred glass was preferred for the windows and the floor covering was remained untouched in many places. Probably the most distinctive features of the renovation are the escalator and the galvanized pipes of the air conditioning system, which stand as disturbing elements within the bleak atmosphere of the museum. However, the escalator was covered with a glass system, allowing the visitors to see its inner mechanism, in order to preserve the functionalist style of architecture. At the northern side of the museum, visitors are allowed to visit the control room of the power plant, where they can touch and push the buttons, see the panels and the big levers, which are of no use today. At the ground level, a small science center is available for the visitors, where they may conduct experiments related to electricity and energy.

Nearby the energy museum, there rises the cubical Modern Art Museum, which is a five floored concrete building, covered by a transparent steel construction material, standing as a massive entity without any windows in the heart of the complex. The



interior of the museum mostly consists of bare grout, without any paint or covering, except the separation units which are made of white plasterboards. The exhibitions are arranged according to a chronological order, where the oldest examples are located on the first floor. The museum offers various examples of Turkish modern art, ranging from paintings to sculpture and installations to videos, in a timescale of the last 50 years. There is also a small museum-shop at the ground floor of the art museum.

These two museums are connected with a bridge like structure and both share the same entrance. It is impossible to find any instructions in the courtyard or inside the museums, to direct the visitors towards the exhibitions. No signboard denoting the museums exists either at the entrance or on the buildings. Unlike the other two museums of the Golden Horn, Santral Istanbul's architecture is cannot be described as inviting, nor does it offer an alluring atmosphere for the visitors. The silence of the courtyard infiltrates into the museums, dismissing any possibility of a pompous joyful activity, even in the section of the science museum. Rather than offering alternative fun and entertainment activities for leisure, Santral Istanbul seems to posit itself as a complex of study, architectural calculation and education. Compared to the other two museums, the project's somber atmosphere connotes the old binoculars of a grandfather, rather than the galvanized model cars or the legoland houses of a cheerful childhood. As opposed to the amorphous definition "valley of culture", Santral Istanbul tries to reformulate culture by the concrete manner of the art of architecture. In order to understand this distinctive stance of Santral Istanbul within the transformation trends of Golden Horn we have to examine the basic gridlines of the project.

Similar to its counterparts, Santral Istanbul has the claim of preserving and redistributing cultural heritage too. However, the interpretation of this heritage seems to differ in the sense that it is grounded on an architectural theme, rather than emphasizing concepts of nostalgia, development, nationality or religion. Evidence supporting my claim is available in the interview conducted with Emre Arolat, who is one of the architects of the project<sup>42</sup>. He underlines that the plans of the project were prepared in deference to the architectural languages of the old power plant, which he defines to be the language of industrial structures and that of the residential ones. The industrial language, he elaborates, consists of the orthogonal intersections of the large horizontal surfaces of the massive turbines, with the verticality of the huge crane, forming huge gloomy spaces covered with thin tent-like walls, which make the inhabitants feel uncomfortable. On the other hand, the residential buildings display the characteristics of the block building style of masonry, where the buildings are supported by thick walls and include smaller windows. Arolat points out that significant attention was paid to prevent the emergence of a third architectural language during the planning of the renovation. Beyond its technical references, this emphasis opens up a path towards the discussions on the possibility of a semiology of architecture. If we can speak about an architectural language, then what kind of signs does it utilize? How do the functional characteristics of a structural design work as certain signs for its users and what kind of users do they interpellate? But prior to all these questions, maybe we should ask if these signs form the main gridlines for the transformation of Silahtarağa Power Plant, bringing forth the language of architecture as the main discourse of renovation.

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<sup>42</sup> The other two architects are Han Tümertekin and Nevzat Sayın.

According to Umberto Eco, what we should recognize in “the architectural sign is the presence of a sign vehicle whose denoted meaning is the function it makes possible.” (Eco, 2006 p.184) And this meaning, Eco goes on, is strictly bound to the perception of the function by the society, rather than the sign vehicle or the function itself. A ladder, in this sense, mostly signifies the act of going up, even if no one uses it or will not use it anymore for going up since the ladder goes nowhere. This automatic matching of the device (ladder) with the sign (act of going), derives from the particular function that the society attributes to the ladder. In accordance with this, a designer or an architect cannot give form to a new function or make a form functional without the support of existing processes of codification. Therefore, architecture necessitates a certain level of consent. In this sense, the architectural blueprint on the cover of SES should be rethought through its references to the social consent on the perception of architecture as a science. Exceeding the functional utilizations, it is possible to assert that the drawing also works as a sign vehicle towards the orthodoxy of the modernization images of the early Turkish Republic, which was grounded on the technicality and architectural restructuring of the nation. In SES and the application brochure of the project,<sup>43</sup> it is also possible to find various examples of technical accounts for the decision making process of the project, which are grounded on architectural needs. Some sections are dedicated to the investigation of conservation policy, setting rules, tracking and violation of the architectural texture and problems of ground. On the other hand, the remaining parts of the written works are mostly allocated for the working principles of the power plant (how the coal was turned into energy, supply and allocation of coal and other technical details) and its historical role in the Turkish modernization.

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<sup>43</sup> Santral Istanbul, Museum of Art and Science,

With reference to the dominance of these technical details and the architectural framework in those written texts and the interview on the project, I want to emphasize the appreciation of architecture in the early Turkish Republic as a constitutive discourse of Turkish modernization. Not only were new spaces created through architectural interventions, but architecture was also utilized as the creation of a national discourse.

The modern Movement, should have been too weird for a Muslim society, which had no industrial background for justifying its judgments on aesthetics and construction, and is ruined by wars. However, the introduction of this movement to Turkey was brought to the legendary level by the architectural culture of the 1930s. The Modern Movement was welcomed as the evidence showing that Turkey was a modern European country, which had no ties with the exotic or orientalist images that were used in the representation of the Ottoman Empire. (Bozdoğan, 2002 p.24)

Different trends in architecture were formed under the guidance of the state, such as the first and the second National Architectural Trends. Parallel to this, function was prioritized above the drives of development, where the architectural structures were standardized, such as the Sümerbank factories or the train stations. Technicality and function thus became the dominant figures of the constitution of the “new” and “modern” nation, which also pointed to the distant location that the nation should be carried to. From this perspective, it is possible to assert that the technical context of the language of architecture includes references to this distance in its general codification in Turkish society. Architecture was also a guide for “the universal path towards the development level of the *contemporary civilizations*”. In other words, appreciation of the architectural

language in Santral Istanbul interpellates the specters of the developmentalism of the early Turkish Republic, also connoting the split between the public and modernist imagination.

On the other hand, as opposed to many structures of the modern West, the absence of any instruction in Santral Istanbul stands as evidence for the stress on architecture as a constitutive element of culture. Berlin may be a good example for highlighting the difference, where not only in the museums, but in every kind of public space people are directed through arrows, maps, notifications and all kinds of instructions, which are carefully installed at the eye level. However, in Santral Istanbul, visitors are not expected to learn and visit through instructions, but they are rather positioned like curious wanderers who will explore through the unwritten signs of architecture. They are, thus, expected to follow the roads, pass through the entrances, make guesses about the possible use of the buildings and much more than this ask other people. In this sense, Santral Istanbul seems to encourage the visitors to communicate with the buildings and other people, rather than offering them an isolated experience.

It is useful here to remember Eco's statement that architectural language also creates its own system of communication between the users and the structures. Unlike the movies, TV programs, comics or advertisements, architectural language is experienced inattentively. He points to the power of architecture to direct the inhabitants to follow the instructions, leading them to walk, to stop, to speak or stay silent. (Eco, 2006) Despite the stress on the preservation of the existing architectural languages of the old power plant, it is a fact that the new structure is neither a factory, nor is it a residence for the workers. Nevertheless, it serves as a museum, an art and education center now, where visitors will

come, see and leave, without establishing any relationship of possession like the former inhabitants did. In this regard, the absence of instructions in Santral Istanbul can also be taken as an attempt to limit the touristic activities of the visitors, or to avoid reintroducing the complex as the spectacle of easily consumable vivid images of the past. It is possible to find clues as to this point of view in the interview conducted with Emre Arolat. He describes the distance between Santral Istanbul and the ongoing renovation trends in Turkey regarding to the widely accepted definition of authenticity in Turkey.

...I think that the worst is the transformation of any renovation project into a furnishing action. In Turkey, detachment of the structures from their own patina became common way of architectural renovation. The old structures are furnished and transformed into shiny object. However, authenticity is strictly related with its users. For this reason, even if you put a signboard on the power plant, write museum on it and let the visitors in, without making any other change, it would turn into a different place in half an hour. For this reason, it is not possible to mention authenticity, when you transform the power plant into a museum<sup>44</sup>.

Arolat's critique on the general perception of the preservation of authenticity as a furnishing activity may also be used to illuminate where Santral Istanbul is positioned within the architectural discourse of Turkish modernization. As Bozdoğan underlines in the introduction of her book, the post-1980s became the era of transformation or demolition of the architectural symbols of the Kemalist ethos of the early republic of Turkey. (Bozdoğan, 2002, p24) One of the most significant of these was revealed through the debates on the construction of a mosque and a center for Islamic culture in Taksim,

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<sup>44</sup> Interview with Emre Arolat, (2005)

during the government of *Refah Partisi*<sup>45</sup> in 1994. The possible location for these buildings was not accidental, but was planned to rival AKM, which is one of the most significant symbols of the Kemalist modernization project. (Bartu, 2000) Similarly, the restaurant near the Çubuk Dam has also been abandoned and neglected by the municipalities after 1980. (Bozdoğan, 2002). Neo-liberal interventions in the modernist texture of the cities, have in fact been the main theme of various debates in the last decade. A critique of the deformation of the planned structure of the modern style in city planning by the profit oriented transformation policies of neo-liberal projects constitutes the main axis of these debates. In one of his articles on Ankara, Tanıl Bora (Bora, 2005) underlines that under the rising common discourse on the insecurity of the public sphere and with the financial drives of neo-liberalism, the squares of Ankara have been removed through their allocation to city traffic and Ankara has become a city without squares. The changes of the new era are not only revealed through architecture, but entertainment habits have also changed. The crowded ballrooms of the 1950s have been turned into Anatolian night clubs, as the ballroom tradition of the early republican atmosphere has ceased. (Türkeş, 2005) The debate on the deterioration of the modernist high-culture of the Kemalist ethos can be enriched by several arguments from contemporary writers. However, it is important to underline that the degradation of the architectural culture in Turkish urbanization after 1980 era constitute, the common point where all these arguments meet. This consideration is figured in Bartu's (Bartu, 2000) article through the words of an old Istanbul citizen, mourning that the city has been invaded by Anatolian

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<sup>45</sup> *Refah Partisi* is one of the right wing parties in Turkey, whose roots dates back to the Islamic political culture of the *Milli Selamet Partisi* of the 1960s.

culture.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, Bozdoğan (Bozdoğan, 2002) interprets her discomfort about the alleged degradation of architectural culture through describing the poor quality of the architectural work in the new mosques and the standardization of cheap grout building culture as the common way of urbanization in Turkey, as opposed to the Western style cubical apartment culture.

The collapse of modernist high-culture is not limited to the borders of Turkey, but in fact, it grows in line with the similar debates on the global context. In *The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Jameson (Jameson, 2006) states that “high modernism is credited with the destruction of the fabric of the traditional city and its older neighborhood culture, while the prophetic elitism and authoritarianism of the Modern Movement are remorselessly identified in the imperious gesture of the charismatic Master.” However, he outlines the change in the new era by stating that “postmodernism in architecture will then logically enough stage itself as a kind of aesthetic populism...” So he claims, postmodernism emerges on the degraded landscape of schlock and kitsch, where the TV series, *Reader’s Digest* culture, motels, advertisements and the airport paperback categories have been cultivated. On this ground, theories of postmodernism herald the emergence of a new type of society, “most famously baptized ‘postindustrial society’ but often, also designated consumer society, media society, information society” and so-forth. (Jameson, 2006, p.239)

Taking these above mentioned arguments into consideration, I will state that Santral Istanbul posits itself parallel with the criticisms towards the neo-liberal spatial

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<sup>46</sup> We should note that Bartu does not take any position according to this argument but she only transmits the words of this man in order to reveal the different faces of the debate on the transformation of the city in the era of globalization and neo-liberalism.



interventions of the post-1980 period. Not only its effort to preserve the architectural gridlines of the developmentalist atmosphere of the early Turkish republic, but also its appreciation of architecture as a language seems to include references to the early republican ethos, where architecture was designated as one of the primary devices of modernization utopias.

The documentary film *Social Life in Power The Plant*, which was produced and distributed by Bilgi University, includes many references to the social conservation policies of the etatist developmentalism of pre-1980 Turkey. Most of the interviewees, who are the ex-workers of the power plant, compare the advantages of the free quarters of the power plant with their contemporary conditions and appreciate the conservative policies of those days. Besides the difficulty of working in a power plant, the dialogues show that the power plant had supplied a community life for most of the workers, where workers' families knew each other. The ex-manager of the power plant likens it to today's residential complexes, which have their own security, courtyard and even a doctor. The documentary describes the social perspective of the national etatism of the pre-1980 period of Turkey, by interpellating the past experiences and the feeling of security. The interviewees mostly refer to the safe and sound atmosphere of the old power plant, which shelters them from the disturbing crowd of the city.

Combined with the content of the high-culture modern art museum, the bohemian bourgeois atmosphere of the *Otto Santral*<sup>47</sup> and the avant-garde cultural activities such as the Istanbul Biennale, make it possible to assert that the project draws its path in

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<sup>47</sup> *Otto Santral* is a restaurant in Santral Istanbul. One of the buildings of the old power was renovated and transformed into a club-restaurant, whose management was taken by one of the expensive restaurants of Taksim.

deference to the modernist high-culture of the early republican era. However, it should be noted that it is explicitly stated in the brochure of the project that the aim of the museum is to break up the elitist access to works of art in Turkey. In the document, the aim of the Museum is drawn to incorporate the historic specificity of the site as central to the history of modernization in Turkey. The Modern Art Museum is attributed the duty of incorporating the exhibits into a program of public education and cultural development, while the library is intended to be a hub for the circulation of books among the other universities and public libraries. It is disclosed that the museum is well aware of its role within a city that has the potential to serve as a regional center in relation to Eastern Europe, the former Soviet republics and the Islamic world.<sup>48</sup>

I have so far tried to elaborate the discursive ground on which Santral Istanbul states itself. The above examples, related with the stance of the project within the transformation trend of Golden Horn, necessitates a two-sided approach to the role of Santral Istanbul in the spatial transformation. On the one hand, it seems that the project explicitly stands among the modernist projects of social transformation, as it brings forth knowledge, education and modernization as the basic nexus of the activities of the project. On the other hand, however, the significance of the location of the museum in the middle of emerging markets of global capitalism and its designation as the pumping center of the global culture brings the project closer to the globalization discourses of the so-called postmodern era. Nevertheless, either way, the project replaces the totality of the heritage of the past with the concept of linkage, a passage through different cultures and different markets. Rather than claiming to be the core of cultural heritage, the project aims to

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<sup>48</sup> Santral Istanbul, Museum of Art and Science, Brochure for the project, p.36-37

become a distributor of different cultural experiences for the sake of an educated society. Besides, it handles this aim in an attempt to point out the non-existing social experiences of the district, such as documenting the social life in the power plant. In this sense, I believe, it is possible to assert that the project tries to detach itself from the antagonism of the debates on Istanbul, of populism and nostalgia, which Keyder claims to be the basic *cul-de-sac* for Istanbul in the era of globalization. (Keyder, 1996, p.105)

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCOVERY OF GOLDEN HORN: CREATING THE SPACE

#### Spaces of Heterotopias

“The earth, for us, is flat and bare.  
There are no shadows. Poetry.”  
(Stevens, W. *The Man with the Blue Guitar*)

My first impressions about space were attached to the images of strangely clad astronauts making a moonwalk and jumping to somewhere where I knew to be the outer space. Nevertheless, as I grew up a little bit older, space became a more amorphous thing, which I cannot even define as an entity. As the Earth has tuned into the *World*, space was not only denoting the outer space and my point of reference for space shifted from the planet to my naked body. So, what does *space* means, if not the infinite void created by the nonexistence of my body? What kind of space covers my body, when I stand in the middle of the shaved lands on the shores of the Golden Horn? Where do the borders of this space, if there is any? Where does the Golden Horn begin and end?

As the city has been rediscovered as the new powerhouse of the globalized economy, space has become a nexus binding different social studies, rising again at the top of the social sciences and the policy agendas. (Amin and Graham, 1997) In the last two decades, interventions in urban architecture have exceeded the borders of functionalism and emerged as *dispositifs*<sup>49</sup> directing the economies of power. If the

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<sup>49</sup> Foucault describes *dispositifs* as the constitutive regulations to galvanize the productive body-politics in the new epoch of *bio-power*, where bare force and other restrictive techniques of surveillance have left their places to productive techniques of controlling of body. According to Foucault, the term, is “firstly a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic

*dispositifs* are the heterogeneous units consisting of institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative actions, scientific, philosophical and ethical hypothesis and the relations between these discursive and non-discursive elements, (Keskin, 1997); space constitutes the material ground for the coincidence of all these elements to form a system. The constitution of such a system is related to nothing but the formation of power. Keskin underlines that the *dispositifs* are strategic in directing, in developing in one direction or confining the relations of power. They are the apparatus of the regulations of body and population in the epoch of *bio-power*, establishing the relationship between power and knowledge, where the new power relations are set around the practices of production, accumulation and circulation of knowledge. In this sense, space is attributed a new category of significance, as it provides suitable sites for the cultivation of the relationship between the body and knowledge. Sites have, thus become the units of information established around certain relationships defining daily practices, such as the relations that define streets, transportation, relaxation and sites of memory. Therefore, in Foucault's world, daily life is governed by the demographical knowledge stored in sites, and space is constructed via the relationships among these sites.

Of these sites, two are privileged by Foucault; the *utopias* and *heterotopias*.

Utopias, according to him, are sites with no real place, presenting society in a perfect form, which can only occur at a non-existing, unreal place. On the other hand, he

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propositions. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements. Secondly, what I am trying to identify in this apparatus is precisely the nature of the connection that can exist between these heterogeneous elements. [...] between these elements, whether discursive or non-discursive, there is a sort of interplay of shifts of position and modifications of function which can also vary very widely. Thirdly, I understand by the term 'apparatus' a sort of – shall we say – formation which has as its major function at a given historical moment that of responding to an urgent need. The apparatus thus has a dominant strategic function.” (Foucault 1980, p. 194-195).

underlines that every society has real places, which constitute counter-sites, standing out of the reality like a utopia; which can thus be defined as utopias that have real spaces. He calls these sites *heterotopias*, as a word contrasting utopias. Heterotopias are then real places, which might be sort of mixed, joint experiences representing every relationship in a society, but which are also segregated from daily routine, the other real sites. This segregation does not occur accidentally, but rather it emerges as the result of the preserved sanctity of space, as a holy emptiness, where entrance and exit are bound to certain rituals and gestures. Presupposing an opening and closing system, as Foucault puts it, heterotopias are regulated through some rules of accessibility, like a mosque, a sauna or a museum. Their divinity derives from their standing out of time, where time does not flow, but is rather gathered, stored and rendered palpable, squeezed in space. Libraries and museums are basic forms, according to Foucault, of these time-storing heterotopias.

In regards to the descriptions above, I will claim that the contemporary formation of space in the Golden Horn should to be investigated with reference to those properties of heterotopias. When we think about the restructuring of space in the Golden Horn, designed as a cultural route, drawn through stations such as various museums, conference and exhibition halls, festival places and the so-called cultural centers (whose function is in fact similarly amorphous; as its name, defining no certain area of utilization, but rather welcoming every kind of activity that can be included in the very meaning of culture, ranging from Turkish folk music concerts to minimalist spectacles of traditional products), we can take it as a bundle of heterotopias, a region detached from the city-space, taken apart from the passing time, a timeless instance trying to

collect every image, sound, witness of the past, or the so-called history of life in Istanbul.

If you have visited *Cafe Şimdi*, one of the popular meeting points of the bohemian bourgeois of Istanbul, you would have noticed that the café is built at the bottom of the air shaft of an apartment, at the end of *Beyoğlu*, in Istanbul. Welcomed by the so-called espresso legend, Faema e61, the customers are invited to a space detached from the street, covered by a blue wall, where the funny pouffes stand near the cold marble tables and the wooden armchairs, contributing to the eclecticism of the decoration. On the other hand, opening a café at the bottom of an air shaft of an apartment surely points to a touchstone, where the dreadful silence and loneliness of the air shaft has been turned into a space of joy, becoming an extraordinary meeting point for the extraordinary people of the city. The garbage thrown from the windows has been cleaned and the uncontrolled sounds of the dwellers, leaking from the windows at the site of air shaft have then turned into the guffaws rising from below. The mist, fear and uncanniness of disregarded dreams has then become a site of relaxation.

My belief is that the transformation in of the Golden Horn can be explained on a similar way, if we take the Golden Horn as a huge air shaft of the city, in the late-1970 and early-1980 period. In her interview, Sultan Polat<sup>50</sup> underlines that the Golden Horn had been a distress area before its renovation as a valley of culture, where the crime rate had reached its peak, rendering the district an uncanny, horrible place at the heart of the city.<sup>51</sup> It should be underlined that characterizing the district as a distress area grounds itself on the antagonism of dirtiness and cleanliness, which has been mobilized as the

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<sup>50</sup> Ex- P.R. manager of Miniaturk.

<sup>51</sup> Interview with Sultan Polat, 2005

recent justification for the ongoing renovation projects. In the terminology of urbanization, a *distress area* indicates the urban areas where economic activities –mostly industrial ones- have decreased, thus leaving an enormous rate of unemployment behind, paving the way for the petty service sector and illegal activities, such as the drug trade, prostitution and gambling. However, it should be noted that the concept also carries the risk of veiling the decision making processes behind the formation of these areas. On the one hand it ignores the fact that the contemporary situation is the culmination of the decisions of certain actors of the city –such as financial barons, the owners of firms, municipalities and the planning firms- which disregard the users of these areas; on the other hand it makes it possible for any kind of spatial intervention to exist beneath the technical discourse of crime, dirtiness and cleanliness, disregarding social justice.

As the industrial complexes stopped functioning and then were dismantled, Golden Horn faced a similar situation. Nevertheless, similar to its counterpart *Tarlabaşı*, the Golden Horn's situation has also been treated like a contagious disease, a mire excreting bad habits, which is not the culmination of social processes, but rather like chastisement for a sin, a given disability as if it was its destiny. But in fact, the Golden Horn represents the air shaft of the city's memory, rising in the middle of the city for years, trespassed above by the transit roads, especially with the opening of the third Galata Bridge. In *Türkiye*<sup>52</sup>, it is reported that Dalan stated that the Golden Horn *was turned* into a grimy, infected district, detached from the sea. In the same newspaper (Appendix G), it is heralded that with the demolition of the desolated buildings, the

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<sup>52</sup> A right wing daily newspaper in Turkey. (Appendix C)



Golden Horn has regained its beauty, and the words of the executives are quoted (without giving any reference to who they are): “Finally, Golden Horn is rescued.” Another article (Appendix I), states that the Golden Horn project has finally been completed with the removal of the flophouses and the desolated houses. Not only the dirt of the industries feeding the city, but the ugliness of the working class, the ugliness of their disordered settlements and their habits brought from the countries they moved from, conflicting with urban life were all thrown down the valley of the Golden Horn until 1983. Like the dark room of the house, the Golden Horn seems to host every element of the city dismissed from the visibility of urban life, which would then merge as the dirt, scent and the distress of the city.

Therefore, it would be suitable to claim that Dalan’s intervention has been implemented as if the dark room of the city, the air shaft of the urban memory had been cleaned up; not tidied up but absolutely cleaned from all its furniture till a bare land in the heart of the city was opened. The operation was represented as the treatment for an illness and the news about the operations heralded that “After a quarter century of pain the Golden Horn has again began to breathe”. (Çubukcu, 2005) Now a bird’s eye view of the Golden Horn will disclose that this open land in the middle of the city has begun to host various architectural projects, which are mostly designed to serve as museums or cultural centers. Beginning with the declaration of Golden Horn as the “Valley of Culture” in the early 2000s, the district began to be mentioned with the projects of renovation, restoration and protection of cultural heritage. In one of his interviews<sup>53</sup>,

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<sup>53</sup> Sayar, S. (23 March 2007 ) Miniaturk, dünyaya Kardeş Kentler Haliç’e Taşınıyor [Miniaturk is carried to world and the sibling cities into Miniaturk] *Referans*, from [http://www.referansgazetesi.com/haber.aspx?HBR\\_KOD=62689&ForArsiv=1](http://www.referansgazetesi.com/haber.aspx?HBR_KOD=62689&ForArsiv=1)

Nevzat Bayhan, the chief executive of Istanbul Culture Co, discloses their aim as follows:

“We want to reshape the district as the valley of culture of Turkey. If we define Istanbul as an open air library, the Golden Horn stands to be its archive.”

Another article on the renovation of the Golden Horn, posted in *Zaman*<sup>54</sup>, quotes Bayhan’s declaration that the cultural vivacity of the district will be brought back and the district will totally become a cultural center, with the sultan’s boats which will soon float on the waters of the Golden Horn. In *Radikal*<sup>55</sup>, the renovation projects are heralded under the headline of “The Past is Awakening” (Erdem, 2006). Various other examples can be given through the contemporary news concerning the Golden Horn, for how the renovation and recreation projects are grounded on the retrieval of the past. Retuning back to our lowly analogy of the air shaft or the dark room, the architectural rebirth of the district after the destructive cleaning seems to aim at stopping time, or creating a timeless space where pieces from different time zones are gathered and amassed in this new playground in the middle of the city. Constructed upon the image of a missing past, the new Golden Horn emerges as a placeless space, a *nowhere*, like the simulation of various pasts; Ottoman, industrial, or Anatolian. Similar to Bayhan’s depiction, the new space in the Golden Horn is built over the pillars of an archive, which include anything but the traces of the air shaft. The Golden Horn’s new design also aims to welcome the customers of *Café Şimdi*.

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<sup>54</sup> Daily newspaper in Turkey, standing on the Islamic conservative wing. See Albayrak, M. (09 August 2005). Yerli turistler Miniaturk’ü, yabancılar Yere Batan Sarnıcı’nı tercih ediyor [Local tourists prefer Miniaturk, the foreigners prefer the water cistern]. *Zaman*.

<sup>55</sup> Daily newspaper in Turkey, standing on the central-left wing.

The variety of the architectural styles represented through the spectacular buildings and the miscellaneous objects that are spectacted in those buildings, fit to the analogy of space of the Golden Horn with an archive. Lying to the north east of the sea, Miniaturk stands as a sample of post-modern architectural design, in the middle of the slums of *Sütlüce*. Encircled with steel and granite walls, triangular shapes and inclined walls dominate the outer appearance of the theme park. The triangular ceilings, made of stretched balecloth, rising at the entrance of the park, are above an iron cage, establishing a chilly air at the beginning of the journey to the miniaturized Turkey. At the end of the estuary, where the two rivers –*Alibeyköy* and *Kağıthane* – join the sea, Santral Istanbul stands as another sample of urban renovation projects, managed by Bilgi University. Preserving the appearance of the outer sides of the buildings of the old power plant is a significant aim of the project. Therefore, the project seems to call for the architectural images of the past century, in the middle of the modern images of the profit-based urbanization of the twenty first century. A similar example is the Koç Museum, which is located at the entrance of the north side of the estuary. The museum was established in an old dockyard, whose roots dates back to the twentieth century. The building was renovated during the reign of Selim III, at the end of the eighteenth century. Now the facade of the building has traces both from the late Byzantium and the mid-Ottoman architectural styles, conflicting with the modern examples of late twentieth century architecture. On the other hand, rising above the Roman style columns joined by Ottoman style arches with its red ceilings and oval windows, *Sütlüce Congress and Cultural Center* seems to bear traces of the Second Nationalist Movement of Architecture<sup>56</sup>. The center is located on the north shore of the estuary,

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<sup>56</sup> The Second Nationalist Movement of Architecture is a trend in Turkish architecture, which was

between Miniaturk and Koç Museum. Regarding these four significant stations on the shoreline of the north side of the Golden Horn, it is possible to claim that the new architectural products of the urban renovation of the Golden Horn represent different architectural characteristics, hence being incapable of forming a harmonious architectural language along the district. In his interview,<sup>57</sup> Emre Arolat underlines that there exists no harmonious architectural language in the Golden Horn, but the language of a municipality park. After Dalan's interventions, he asserts, the land has been turned into a municipality park, and nobody knows what to do with these empty lands. He claims that the only language to allude to –if there is one- is the language of these parks. However, what has mostly happened after the demolitions, is that cultural centers like Miniaturk settled in these bare area. So, he continues, this is not different from any other unplanned urban areas in Erzurum, Antalya and so-forth.

Concerning the diversity and the irrelevance of the architectural structures with each other, contemporary urban design in the Golden Horn can be claimed to satisfy the third rule of being a heterotopia in the way Foucault describes it:

The heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible... (Foucault, 1986 p.25)

Although there seems to be no harmony or an architectural language, the space in the Golden Horn presents more than the cacophony of an unplanned urban area. As a heterotopia, detached from the daily life of the city, where time is frozen and economic life is dependent on tourism, (of culture, congresses, nostalgia and so-forth) today's

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constituted with the national support of the Turkish state between the years of 1920 and 1945.

<sup>57</sup> Interview with Emre Arolat, (2005)

Golden Horn turns into a big stage of spectacle, a showcase for the display of various pieces of souvenirs collected from different time zones and different cultures, where none of them are arrayed according to a city plan.

Quoting Robins, Wilson reminds us that the modern utopia in urbanization is based on the dismissal of chaos and disorder from the cities, via the plans for totally ordered cities based on complete rationalism, taking rationalism as a kind of perfectionism, the idea that the good city is one in which all problems have been eliminated (Westwood and Williams 1997, p 135). According to Wilson, what remains behind the problem is safety. Equated with homogeneity, safety is interpreted as the eradication of diversities, which may cause disorder and crime in especially the impoverished areas of the cities. For Zukin, reinterpretation of the livable urban space through safety and homogeneity is directly related with the construction of the *other* and *otherness* during the formation of city-space. (Zukin 1996, p 38-44) In *Whose City, Whose Culture?* Zukin underlines that so-called daily crime and the counter-politics aiming to form secure areas have become the prominent drives in the establishment of contemporary urban space. In this regard, crime has been matched with the “other”, as a device, an idiom for thinking about the other, where this conceptualization works under the common politics of fear, the “urban danger”. As she emphasizes, within the borders of urban space, one way to get tough on crime: “is to privatize and militarize public space –making streets, parks, and even shops more secure but less free, or creating spaces such as shopping malls and Disney World, that only *appear* to be public spaces because so many people use them for common purposes.” (Zukin, 1996, p39) Zukin exemplifies the normalization of the creation of secure public spaces through

privatization by quoting the complaints of a driver considering the hijacking in the USA: “if you can’t feel safe at McDonald’s, is there any place you can feel safe?” This grievance describes the basic motive for the precedence of the creation of an inclusive public culture, despite the impoverishment in urban areas. Zukin sums up the issue by asserting that the forces of order have retreated into “small urban spaces”, like privately managed public parks that can be refashioned to project an image of civility. (Zukin, 1996)

When we turn back to the Golden Horn, the interview which was held with Sultan Polat corroborates Zukin in her statements on the problematization of modern urban space as an issue of security. In her interview, Sultan Polat says that the Golden Horn had been a distress area till the last few years, before it was declared the “valley of culture”. She defines the term “distress area” as the unsafe regions that are invaded by the losers of the city, where the crime rate is very high. Polat underlines that unlike slums the distress areas are the regions of disconnected people, who already inhabit the cities. However, she delineates slums as the buffer zones for the high migration activity which occurred after the rapid industrialization of the district after the 1950s. Despite the low income level and the illegal house settlements, she claims that slums are significant zones smoothing the adaptation process of the immigrants to urban life. Thus, defining the Golden Horn as a distress area, Polat contributes to the analogy between the district and the air shaft of the city. Right after this definition, she claims that the renovation projects, especially on Miniaturk, are the basic cure for the district, rescuing the district from being a distress area. With the creation of cultural services, with the bonus of secure auto-parking and food services, Polat claims that Miniaturk

has changed the face of the Golden Horn, attracting the middle-class profile to the district.<sup>58</sup> The other three projects located on the north side of the water have a similar ability to change the uncanny face of the Golden Horn by the interpellation of the middle class to the district. In this perspective, beyond the aim of eliminating of dirt and chaos, controlling the space emerges as the basic drive of the intervention to the space in the Golden Horn. Not only by linking the rest of the city with the district through cultural tourism, but also by producing and circulating the knowledge of modern citizen, the new buildings of the renovation projects become the primary devices of controlling the scraped space of the Golden Horn. In other words, *urban transformation* transforms the uncontrolled void into a manageable city space in the Golden Horn.

These mentioned buildings stand as detached spaces from the agoraphobic bare lands of the contemporary Golden Horn, rising as secure islands in the middle of the creepy void. In this sense, restating Zukin's question is also vital for unfolding the contemporary formation of space in the Golden Horn: "whose city is it?" In the contemporary formation of space, the owners of the green lands lying along the estuary do not seem to coincide with the owners of these buildings. Polat underlines that one cannot remove the function of a place before installing it a new function, while heralding that the Golden Horn will not be a distress area anymore. This function is tourism and it is presented as the vital weapon to recapture the district from the invaders, the vagabonds of the city.

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<sup>58</sup> "Geç saatte mesela sokak boyu kadın ticareti travestiler çok fazla yoğunlaşırdı. Uyuşturucu yoğunlaşırdı. Miniaturk buraya açıldıktan sonra buradaki hareket yükseldikten sonra mesela o işlevler burayı terk etti. Şimdi sabaha kadar çok güvenli bir alan var." (interview with Sultan Polat, 2005)

The dominance of the ideal of safety in the reformation of space in the Golden Horn, and the dismissal of the so-called repulsive elements from visibility may be taken as projections of the contemporary urban utopia where chaos and disorder are replaced by rationalism. Nevertheless, a glance towards the projects that pave the way for this utopia reveals that no space is reserved for habitation in this utopian city, even at the level of planning. Moreover, as a cultural valley, two sides of the estuary are dedicated to cultural complexes, buildings such as exhibition halls or museums where *visiting* is the only kind of common use. Therefore, the renovated Golden Horn does not offer a place from where people can come or hail or where they belong to; but it turns out to be a place to go and only visit. Referring to a similar transformation of space in Parc de la Villette, Wilson underlines that we become tourists in our own cities:

...the new and resolutely postmodern Parc de la Villette, just inside the ‘périphérique’ motorway, that encircles Paris, has displaced the abattoirs and a host of dependent small food processing businesses, bars and other enterprises that were dependent on the slaughter-houses. Both François Maspero (Maspero 1993) and Deyan Sudjic (Sudjic 1993) have acknowledged how this changes city populations; we become tourists in our own cities, suggest Sudjic. The Beaubourg and the Parc de la Villette, like hundreds of other environments in the western world, have been redesigned as leisure environments. We are *meant* to become flâneurs in these settings – municipal or heritage flâneurs. (Wilson, 1997 p.135-136)

And she adds that tourists are not even strangers as Simmel refers to them, but they are just “crowds or groups of people who seem to be inhabiting an alternative universe which just happens to exist in the same space as our own ‘real’ city.”



Before investigating the discovery of cultural tourism<sup>59</sup> and the increasing transformation of the so-called distress area, the lost space in the heart of the city, into a magnet for most of the urban renovation projects, it is necessary to revise the debate on the construction of the modern space –or the space in modernity. For this reason, concerning phobia, as a glimpse at the psychological motives of hygiene and liberty, which are the constituents of the modern space, we should investigate the rebirth of the city on the billboards.

### Experiencing The Void

In *Warped Spaces*, Anthony Vidler reminds us that the modern notion of architecture is comprised of “space”, rather than of built elements like walls and columns. (Vidler, 2000) By referring to Simmel, Kracauer and Benjamin, Vidler underlines that the basic motive forming the design of modern cities is the amalgamation of claustrophobia and agoraphobia. As space is divided by walls and columns in the modern notion of architecture, these two phobic motives emerge as the managing devices of the placement and the form of these materials. The modern carrier of the Enlightenment of *hygiene* and *liberty* comes into existence through the fluid space that is filled with air and light (Vidler, 2000); flooding between the public and the private and constructing transparency between those two rather than replacing the borders between them.

Agoraphobic motives of the construction of modern urban design that Simmel describes through the notion of *estrangement* have occurred as the symptoms of the sterilization of the city through its transformation into a huge open area where visibility

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<sup>59</sup>During his interview that was held by “Haliç”, the periodical of the Association of Municipalities of the Golden Horn, Güven Kılıç, who is the entrepreneur of the construction and management of the Sultan’s Boat project in the Golden Horn, underlines that cultural tourism is the new trend in global tourism, yet in Turkey this fact has just been comprehended. (Haliç’te bir sultan kayığı, 2002)

is the basic constituent of the new spaces; creating clean areas for public use and getting rid of the unreachable hidden areas of dirt and crime. As Engels underlined, the Haussmannization of the city with the new boulevards, which subdivided the city and meet the roads in big squares, terminating the perplexing labyrinth-like housing and replacing it with ordered apartment projects, have all paved the way for alienation. Simmel signifies in one of his most famous quotes; that “before the appearance of omnibuses, railroads and streetcars, men were not in a situation where for periods of minutes or hours they could or must look at each other without talking to one another” (Simmel, 1921) and he sets the agoraphobic motives as the basis of this unbelievable action. He supports his claim that the symptoms of agoraphobia derive from a self-protective reaction to the excess amount of stimuli with the Hausmannization of the cities which are reshaped according to cleanliness, visuality and speed. On the other hand, during the estrangement of the city dweller, visuality dominates all the other senses, and knowing through seeing rather than touching becomes the major defensive mechanism of the modern individual. So we may further the argument that, in Simmel’s world, the *flaneur* of Baudlaire turns into a voyeur, who picks up the selective images and scenes within the bulk of stimuli.

In Kracauer’s world, the voyeur is like a visitor who is trapped in a hotel hall, sunk in the armchairs, hiding behind the newspaper. Kraucher claims that the modern city’s atmosphere resembles the holy silence of the hotel lobby, where everyone is aware of each other but this awareness is soaked up by the daily rituals of indifference of the modern individual.

Shut out of the religiously bonded community, the modern urban dweller could rely on spaces, like that of the hotel lobby, ‘that bear witness to his

nonexistence.’ Detached from every-day life, individual atoms with no connection save their absolute anonymity, the hotel guests were scattered like atoms in the void, confronted ‘nothing’ (*vis-à-vis de rien*); stranded in their armchairs, the guests could do little more than find a ‘disinterested pleasure in contemplating the world’. In this way, ‘the civilization that tends towards rationalization itself in the elegant club chair,’ is the ultimate space of indifference. (Vidler, A. 2000, p.72)

Stuck between claustrophobia and agoraphobia, the dweller of the modern city utilizes space as a transportation port between certain arrival points, where space is wrapped by transparent shields, firmly isolating the life inside from the speed and the knife edge position of the outside. As the metagnostic atmosphere of the labyrinth like old cities are removed by Haussmannization projects, the fear grows over the contrast between the day and night or the surface and the underground. The dirt that was removed by these projects is not thrown to space but rather pushed under the city or the world of vagabondage. Benjamin claims that the infrastructure of the city is the unconsciousness of the modern urban life and my claim is that the specters of this unconsciousness trigger the motives of phobia during the construction of the modern city.

When we turn back to our case, we will notice that the uncanny atmosphere of the old factories, snake like streets and the warped houses are replaced now with the metagnostic atmosphere of divided spaces, embodied in the estrangement of the modern individual wandering in the open spaces of the new Golden Horn. The space is scattered during the dismantling of the factories and the wholeness of it, which consisted of small streets, factories, ateliers and the workers’ houses, leaves its place to a void, which is then tried to be refilled with massive buildings, such as those three museums. The void space outside the buildings is transformed into a tube of speed, where the buildings

become the stations on the road. While those stations are designed and represented as the cultural meeting points for the dwellers of Istanbul, they are absolutely detached from the environment, namely the empty green areas, the insecure areas beneath the bridges, the dangerous speedy road and the shanty towns at the other side of the road. These three museums rise like fortresses in the uncanny air of the new Golden Horn, linking the city to the deserted areas, and two different realities invade the space left behind the old factories, one is represented inside the buildings through events of art and simulations; and the other is the dreadful void still like an air shaft just outside the walls of those buildings. Both occur as the reverberations of the modern transformation of the old space of the Golden Horn. How this transformation will occur is bound to how the municipality, the universities and other project owners will fill this huge void and this will determine the new borders of the space in the Golden Horn, opening new paths for the production and circulation of new knowledge of usage about the space, identities, belongings, restrictions, fashions; shortly the citizenship.

To sum up the descriptions above, it is possible to claim that the Golden Horn has been rediscovered as an utopian space, whose borders are redrawn by the concepts of liberty of movement, sterilization, cleanness. It is also true that the Golden Horn has been opened to public usage, whereas it was once covered by web like streets, mud and the dirt of factories. However, it is vital to underline that the public here does not refer to the dwellers who own the space via residential practices, forming a space of habitation. Rather, what the “public use” seems to refer to is the consumers of the images of the Golden Horn, who come only to grasp the images of the district, from different parts of the city. In this sense, all the concepts that I mentioned above, which

constitute the touchstones of the new space of the Golden Horn, serve the passerby, but not the people who dwell in and own the district. As an urban project, the Golden Horn has been redesigned as a playground where different images representing different identities, different historical belongings and/or various political orientations are produced, circulated and marketed through the sites that are mostly named as cultural projects. In this sense, liberty of movement only refers to the liberty of those visitors to move within the giant cultural spectacle of the Golden Horn; and for the vehicles of course which pass over the transit roads lying on the shores of the Golden Horn. Sterilization, cleanliness and security are also biased concepts as well, which refer to the *rehabilitation* of the space to in order to be redesigned as a suitable place for the usage of the tourists and transit passengers. With these regulations, the Golden Horn resembles an urban utopia, but one which mostly emulates the joyful fairy tale appearance of an orientalist spectacle, where the visitors on the *sultan's boat*, floating with an 100 horsepower engine, may encounter an old submarine anchored in front of the giant steam engines from the nineteenth century, after visiting the miniatures of churches, mosques, shopping malls and many other architectural examples representing the Anatolian architectural heritage.

## Spaces of Memory

According to James Donald, for most of the contemporary sociologists or urban planners, a city is defined as a problem to be solved or a nostalgic route to salvation. (Donald, 1997) In both cases, he asserts, the attempt is the creation of the good city of the future. In this sense, the *awful* present, where the grace is lost, is considered to be already completed and grasped, while the utopian city only consists of the past and the future. Donald's claim is that the imagination of the past includes projections of the desired future city. How we narrate the past city, what sources of memory we use to constitute the images of the past, in fact, already includes the components of the future. Narration, for this reason, is a significant way of constituting the city space. Referring to the descriptions of the city spaces in various novels, Donald furthers his argument as follows:

The relation between novel and the city, then, is not merely one of representation. The text is actively constitutive of the city. Writing does not only record or reflect the fact of the city. it has its role in producing the city for a reading public. The period of rise of the novel saw the emergence of other genres for recording, for instituting, the truth and of the city. Population surveys, police records, sanitary reports, statistics, muck-raking journalism, and photography all rendered the city an object of knowledge, and so an object of government. (Donald, 1997, p.187)

According to this argument, periodicals, conference notes, research about the pollution of the water, the photographs and all other kinds of publications become constituents of the Golden Horn. As well as their content, the change in the amount of these texts is a significant criterion in investigating the formation of space in the Golden Horn. Although deducing the exact number of records concerning the Golden Horn is not possible, due to the lack of any system to obtain the statistical data of publications on a

certain topic, I manually tried to estimate the ratio of publications before and after 1980.<sup>60</sup> Through my research I saw that, among the twenty-four records that I found in web markets, only four were written before 1980 and three of these four records belong to the itinerants' notes of the nineteenth or the early twentieth century writers. (Julia Padee, Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesian and Sermet Muhtar Alus). In the library of Bogazici University, only six records out of twenty-six belong to the pre-1980 era, and in Bilgi University this ratio is ten to two, in METU six to two. Other data I gathered during this research is that all the records published in the 1970-1980 period are technical works investigating the pollution of the water and the possible solutions.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, with the establishment of cultural centers and museums on the shores and the integration of municipalities under the name of Assembly of Municipalities of the Golden Horn, the publications of these institutions have also been printed as periodicals, presentation brochures or touristic guides after the 1990 era, which does not figure in the results I introduced above. Therefore, taking the texts as significant constituents of space, and considering this increase in the number of publications concerning the Golden Horn after 1980, it is possible to claim that the Golden Horn has emerged as a major ground for the creation and/or reformation of the city space, where considerable effort is devoted to describing and introducing the district.

On the other hand, the way that the district is introduced in these texts certainly includes clues about the borders and the components of this space. The common characteristic of these texts is that every description of a geographical site or an

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<sup>60</sup> Here the reason that I take 1980 as a keystone is due to my claim that the 1980 *coupe d'état* is a turning point in the formation of space in the Golden Horn, which I tried to elaborate throughout my study.

<sup>61</sup> Since no system exists to get exact results, these data should not be taken as certain, but just as a reference to predict the ratio of publications.

architectural element in the Golden Horn is follows the introduction of a historical past going back to Byzantium, and even to the Pagan periods.<sup>62</sup> Since the district has a long historical past, dating back more than 2000 years before and since it hosted for the capitals of two Empires, the introductory text of the geographical object of the Golden Horn inevitable include references to the historical past. On the other hand, as opposed to their counterparts, the narrative character of these texts mostly includes laments for the loss of these historical icons, which could not be preserved until our time. For example, in “*Kağıthane Geçmiş ile Bugün*”, the Municipality of Kağıthane offers a comparison of the past and today, by comparing the old pictures or photos of certain places with their contemporary images. Each picture or photo is represented with a short note of how that place was used in the times it has existed. Those places –mostly buildings like palaces, fountains, big houses or governmental offices- which could not survive to our day, emerge in these texts as the witnesses of a past that is identified around certain types of experiences. These are mostly sailing on the water, small festivals on the shores of *Kağıthane* or the midnight entertainments of the small quarters of Golden Horn. At this point, what should be underlined is that in these texts the geographical figures in the Golden Horn are all attached to a past which cannot be regained anymore. On the one hand the meanings which are attached to the district mostly refer to the illustration of an Ottoman style of living in the nineteenth century;

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<sup>62</sup> For several examples, see  
Kağıthane Geçmiş ile Bugün (2003),  
İzberk, M. (1997),  
World city, presentation for Habitat II (1996),  
Tutal E.(2000),  
*Gezinti*, (2003 Summer)  
Yüceltürk, E. (2001)



and nearly all of the projects are grounded somehow on the images of these vanished experiences of the district. While the harsh intervention to the urban space of the Golden Horn during and after the industrialization period does not stand as a negligible topic, claiming and reestablishing the icons by interpellating this fact as a retroaction stands as the basic motive of reshaping the space in the Golden Horn today. Therefore, deciding which past these texts refer to and which one they ignore is crucial for understanding to the borders of the space that is tried to be constructed in the Golden Horn.

The desecration of the old texture of the district is another common discourse which is mostly pronounced in the texts mentioned above. In the interview of the Turkish poet Hasan Öztoprak by Jale Sencak, like his counterparts, he says that the old texture of the Golden Horn does not exist anymore. The basic reason which he gives for this is one that is often voiced, the replacement of the Romans and Armenians with those immigrants coming from inner Anatolia, who are ignorant about using and protecting the historical texture of the district. (Sencak, 2004, p.154)

In his book on *Haliç*, Tutel gives several examples for the mentioned bygone texture. The entertainments of the notables of the palace in the eighteenth century, the ceremonies of the sultan, gypsies, Jewish boys, street peddlers and musicians wandering around in the crowd are all depicted in the language of fairy- tales, interpreting the daily life of these times without giving any reference to a data or a historical evidence.<sup>63</sup>

Through his words, the Golden Horn becomes a world of decency and natural beauty,

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<sup>63</sup> “Kağıthane’ye arabalarla, faytonlarla karadan gidildiği gibi denizden ikişer ya da üçer çifte kayıklarla da gidilirdi ki, asıl eğlenceli olanı da buydu. Arabası olmayanlar önceden araba, kayığı olmayanlar da kayak kiralarlardı. Kira arabasını ya da kira kayığını kendi kayığı gibi göstermek hevesinde olan mirasyediler de çıkmaz değildi. Ama foyaları anlaşılnca öyle bir alay konusu olurlardı ki, insan içine çıkacak yüzleri kalmazdı...” (Tutel, 2000, p.60)

where the elites meet with the gypsies, Jews or the spendthrift pert boys during these festivals or the entertainments. On the other hand, there are the sacred tombs and mosques of *Eyüp*, where the devout men have lived for centuries. Following the south-east direction of *Eyüp* there stands the Fener Orthodox Patriarch, the Orthodox Church and the old Roman School, standing as the three significant icons of the *Fener* district, which has been home to for several languages for centuries. Fener is surrounded by the *Balat* and *Cibali* districts on its two sides, where the most famous taverns of Istanbul have served the populace for years, such as Agora Tavern. In Tutel's Golden Horn, all these differences of religion, ethnicity and class are depicted without any antagonism, but as the different ingredients of the same story of those days of happiness and joy, as though it was a Disney story. Nevertheless, this fairy-tale of sensibility and brotherhood ends in a tragic *cul-de-sac* where the gardens of paradise are turned into factories, the old Roman Houses into transit roads and the road of the sailors and wonderers into mud. Similar to the narration of "*Kağıthane Geçmiş ile Bugün*", every chapter of Tutel's work ends with a comparison of the contemporary situation of the districts with their past.<sup>64</sup>

In all of these texts, photography is used as a major supplement to the text, like a device for enhancing the power of the words of nostalgia. Most of these photographs belong to the early twentieth century, or the old drawings of foreign painters are used instead of photographs. Various scenes are represented describing the old quarters, sailors, mosques, squares and the daily life of the Golden Horn, which are mostly black

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<sup>64</sup> "... Meeling, Bartlet gibi dünün gravür ustalarının resmettikleri eşsiz görüntü, bir süreden beri mantar gibi biten beton binalarla çoktandır bozulmuş gitmiş..." (ibid, p71)  
"...1956-1957 yılının kış tarifesinden de Kağıthane'ye sabah akşam ancak iki kere vapur uğradığı anlaşıyor. Peki ya bugün? Bugün bir zamanlar vapur çalıştığından bile kimsenin haberi yok...."(ibid, 63)

and white (B&W)<sup>65</sup>; so that one could even believe that Golden Horn is B&W country in the middle of Istanbul. Parallel to this kind of representation of the district with the old images of vanished cultural icons, traces of an archeological work are also accessible in those texts. An investigation of these will clarify that considerable effort is dedicated to finding out and classifying the old dock-yards, lost fountains and other architectural structures in the Golden Horn now. Aggregating these materials of image, the dominance of archeological sentiments motivating the narration and the fairy-tale like language of the narratives, it is possible to assert that in the contemporary texts not only is the Golden Horn's history transmitted, but the Golden Horn is also constituted as the space of history; a different place from the other sites of the city, where "history" is sited.<sup>66</sup> Rather than the shaved empty lands, the void of the dismantled factories or the mist and smoke of the factories of the 1970s, the tranquility of the life around the wooden mansions and the natural beauty transmitted with these B&W photographs become the main fancies that are interpellated with the word Golden Horn today; not the disturbing scent of the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Turning back to Donald's argument, investigation of the texts written on the Golden Horn helps us to reach two different implications on the creation of space in the

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<sup>65</sup> B&W is the type of a photographical technique, in which there is only the black and white colors. Before the invention of the color grains, it was the only available technique. For this reason, B&W photos usually used as the common sign of memorising the past of nostalgia.

<sup>66</sup> It is significant to note that the word "history" here is preserved with its amorphous character, without touching upon the questions of whose history it is. In fact, a basic question should be what a historical place is, as it is obvious that no place is thinkable without a history. For this reason it should be underlined that why the Golden Horn is a *historical* place is not because more experience has been articulated within its borders, or because it was the capital of two empires for centuries, but rather because history-making is a political process of inclusion and exclusion, where the decision of inclusion depends on the centralization of power, nexuses of economic and cultural activities, and the conflicts among these central powers. Nevertheless, the fact is that the Golden Horn had also been the centre of the 1970's workers' movement and became the scene for the conflicts between capital and labor in Turkey; which remains out of the connotations of it being a historical place.

Golden Horn. Firstly, the increase in the number of publications in the 1990s and 2000s discloses the emergence of the district as a significant figure within the debates of urban planning and urban renovation in Istanbul. From being an old industrial region and the nexus of the transit roads linking the two continents, the Golden Horn, in this sense, has been rediscovered as a space and a playground, around which several debates are held in the name of reconstructing and rethinking the city-space.

On the other hand, following Donald's argument, the content and the style of narration are noteworthy constituents of the new city space in the Golden Horn. First of all, imagining the Golden Horn without the articulation of nostalgic images is impossible in most of these texts, as I tried to elaborate above. Supported by illustrations, pictures and photographs, the stories of the daily routines of the Golden Horn in or before the nineteenth century reestablish the space as a ground for immense nostalgia, which is dedicated to living the past rather than today. This tendency to rearticulate the city space as the store of nostalgic images, of course, does not remain within the texts, but as Donald underlines, how the past is narrated contains clues about the future, and this claim is materialized in our example by the help of architecture. When we look at the projects that are under the title of *Golden Horn- The Valley of Culture*, it is easy to notice that a considerable number is dedicated to recovering the past experiences and allowing the visitor to meet them. The word visitor, on the other hand, does not occur here accidentally but it is the culmination of the consciousness that the Golden Horn is not a place where people come and go, anymore. The new design of the space is not for the inhabitants of the district, which are mostly mentioned in relation to their daily routines in the texts of nostalgia, but it is to welcome the visitors

who will come and visit the past of the Golden Horn, but not its present. Not only the attempts of mimicking the toy makers of *Eyüp*, organizing the *Feshane Entertainments* or the tours with the Sultan's boat on the waters of the Golden Horn, but the bigger projects of Koç Museum, Santral Istanbul and Miniaturk are also prominent examples for the reestablishment of the city space as a nostalgic spectacle.

Considering the fairy-tale style narration of the texts and the claims that the old Golden Horn was so magical<sup>67</sup>, combined with the creation of architectural islands of images of a frozen time, where differences and conflicts are dissolved in the harmony and joy of daily life, it would not be an exaggeration to assert that the imagined past, over which the contemporary space is being built, is an utopia. Appropriate to the definition of utopia, it is a place of nowhere. Beside the desire of harmony and coherence, the absence of chaos and dirtiness also makes the imagined space of the past Golden Horn a perfect place, which can only exist in fairy tales or utopias. However utopic the imagination that is established in the contemporary Golden Horn, the space in Golden Horn is tangible through architecture and it is real enough to be used by people. For this reason, as opposed to the daily routine and the chaos of the city, the new space in the Golden Horn is designed like a *heterotopia*, or a bundle of *heterotopias* as Foucault defines it. As it has reemerged as a significant region in the heart of the city, renovating Golden Horn takes the form of a counter-action against the destruction of the sites of memory in the city. The space, thus, gains its sanctity around this action of articulating and preserving the past experiences through the architectural interventions to the district. The major ritual of this sanctity is, on the other hand, to be

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<sup>67</sup> "Haliç sanki sihirli bir değnek" [Golden Horn is like a magic stick], "Haliç bir yeryüzü cenneti" [Golden Horn is a haven on earth], (Tutel, 2000); "... thus a colorful, melodic, cultural fairy tale city has created : Miniaturk" (The Showcase of Turkey, p13)

conscious of this past and the cultural capability to preserve it. This fact is interpreted in various texts and interviews, with references to the cultural degradation of the district due to the immigrants from Anatolia after the 1950s, who did not know how to use this cultural and historical heritage.<sup>68</sup> In this sense, the heterotopic space of the Golden Horn interpellates a certain kind of citizen, who is aware of modernization and its effects on the Golden Horn, in other words, one who has the capability of criticizing it. If not, the space is also reorganized to satisfy the mission of educating the citizens to make them conscious of this lost place of the Golden Horn, the utopia of the lost paradise.

The Golden Horn thus emerges as the materialization –but never realization- of an impossible place, the place belonging to the nineteenth century through the technologies of the twentieth century. As the first interventions in the district are motivated by the desire to eliminate the disorder and chaos of the claustrophobic snake like streets and the dirty factories, the contemporary regulation of space turns into an anxious attempt of building stations on the agoraphobic void that was the result of such displacement. Not resembling Disneyland, but simulating as much as Disneyland does, the Golden Horn tries to constitute a fairy tale as a new center, producing and managing the images of the past city and the contemporary modern citizen claiming this past. Each station within the void turns to be a site of memory, a site of information, a market oriented production center of consumable images and a site of education, standing as the key components of the attempt of creating a manageable space in the Golden Horn today.

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<sup>68</sup> For further examples see (Tutel, 2000, p.92), (Sancak 2004, p.154), (interview with Sultan Polat, 2005)

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

The story of the transformation of space in the Golden Horn unfolds the history of intervention in space, reflecting the different time zones that Turkey has experienced during the very process of its modernization. Referring to Huyssen's simile for Berlin, defining the Golden Horn as the palimpsest of Turkish modernization would not be an exaggeration, considering its route from being an imperial capital, to a so-called deindustrialized "distress area". So what this study tried to do was to throw light on the politics of spaces, that were articulated during these attempts of modernization, through architectural traces. But more than this, the basic aim of my thesis was to pinpoint the different aspects of "being modern" and the way that modernity is recreated through the contemporary transformation projects in the Golden Horn.

Three museums were chosen as the basic objects of the study for their prominence in the reformation of space in the Golden Horn. However, investigation of these museums, -or cultural complexes- has also disclosed that architecture still preserves its role as a significant tool of constructing, shaping or criticizing modernity in Turkey. During its path from early industrialization to the institution of a culture industry, passing through the experiences of class conflicts, uncontrolled migration, degradation of the environment and the times of abandonment, the Golden Horn has also become a field where various discourses on modernization are cultivated and spread through the discussions on urban planning, architectural restructuring, workers' rights, economic development, pollution and cleanliness. The timeline of the transformation of the Golden Horn, in this sense, can also be regarded as the projection of the very

progress of modernization in Turkey. Accompanying the dreams of industrialization of the early republican era, the flawlessness of technicality, industrial progress, accountability, digitalization and cubism became the commonsense notions of modernization in Turkey. However, in the 1980s, these concepts slightly retreated from the daily agenda of the newspapers, leaving their place to the rising discourses of purity, cleanliness and hygiene on the one hand; and the loss of historical heritage, cultural degradation and the return to the innocence on the other. While TV programs which aimed to transmit the successes of mass production, state owned construction projects, military power or demographical well-off statistics began to disappear, more stress was put on the disregard about historical heritage as local cultures emerged as the new trend of the entertainment business. This was also the time when tourism was discovered as the new drive of economic action, by not only commodifying the cultural elements, but also by becoming a significant actor in the land market of Turkey.

The Golden Horn's transformation has been based on these regenerating economic impulses of tourism and the culture industry, where the "*massy ugliness*" of industrial complexes and the "*sins of modernization*" were driven out by Dalan's demolitions. In fact, the Golden Horn emerges as a major example for the re-conceptualization of Turkish modernization in the post-1980 era. In various texts and interviews, as I tried to reveal throughout my study, the revival of the district is presented in the discourse of the remembrance of Istanbul and historical heritage, which are said to have been ignored during the industrialization period. When the Golden Horn appeared on the billboards of Istanbul, as a newly discovered beauty, a land of cultural heritage and the home for the biggest miniature city of the world, the region was



represented as if it had not experienced the last century. During its journey towards the creation of a culture industry, the region was defined as the “valley of culture”, nevertheless this culture lacked the last centuries’ culture of industrialization, migration, dismissal of foreign citizens in the 1950s, workers’ strikes and pollution. The new attempts of renovation and the cultural projects were presented with the slogan of “Modernizing the Golden Horn”, though it was grounded on the grief of the lost beauties of the region and the criticism of the ignorance of the modernization projects. In other words, in the Golden Horn, a new kind of modernity was being instituted through the criticism of the last decade of modernity.

In this sense, the investigation of the three museums, how they were established, what they represent and who they interpellate also help us to understand the new notions of modernization in the post-1980 era in Turkey. For this reason, this thesis not only claims that the industry of the tangible materials was replaced by a new kind of industrialization in the Golden Horn, a culture industry; but it also tries to analyze the different interpretations of contemporary modernization, though the different architectural interventions to the district.

Returning back to our discussion on Foucault, it is possible to assert that today’s Golden Horn resembles a heterotopia. On the bare lands that remained after the demolitions, each of those three museums represent a different approach in architecture and cultural belonging.

The content of the exhibition in Koç Museum represents the contextualization of modernity by the Turkish intellectual. Collected from different times and different geographies, the items in the museum do not follow a harmonious narrative, nor do they

refer to the experience of Turkish modernization. However, the museum stands be as the representative of the imported modernity in Turkey, presenting an eclectic diversity of exhibitions from the European experiences of industrialization. The museum grows as new financial sources are available and it grows in the direction of Rahmi Koç's personal interests. Hence a submarine can stand near the models of old shops, and the plane stands in the middle of the courtyard nearby the tank and so forth. It is hard to say that the growth of the museum aims to complete the plan of a narration about industrialization, rather it seems to represent the adoration of Western modernity and stands to be the collection of items of Western modern culture by an affluent Turkish intellectual. The display of the items in an old anchor atelier constitutes another side of the irrelevancy of harmony in the museum.

Similar to Koç Museum, Miniaturk represents a different kind of eclecticism both with its content and its architectural design. Like Koç Museum, Miniaturk is also the collection of the models of different architectural works spread on a 60.000 sqm land without a timeline, a historical narrative or a geographical classification. Even though the museum characterizes itself as the glorification of Turkish-Ottoman culture, as evidence of the richness of the architectural works of the Ottoman and the Anatolian civilizations, it posits itself also as the success of modern Turkish culture. The exhibition is covered with a cubical and triangular shaped architectural structure made of granite and steel and is claimed to be the biggest miniature city all over the world. In this sense, besides promoting those so-called forgotten or ignored cultural / architectural works, Miniaturk also posits an indirect response to the 1900's modernization project of Turkey. A few of the architectural examples of this period (Ataturk's Mausoleum and

the Metropolitan Municipality) are included in the exhibition, while the pre-1900 period is celebrated as the true reserve of the Turkish-Islamic cultural heritage. Nevertheless, the exhibition itself is represented as evidence of modern the Golden Horn, modern Istanbul and modern Turkey. The above described architectural style, its large surface and the speedy process of its construction are all represented as the achievements of the modern Turkey.

With its capacity to transform cultural items into touristic commodities, its role in the revaluation of the land around the Golden Horn and its role as a service sector employer, it is hard to say that Miniaturk is not a part of the capitalist relations of the culture industry. Even more, with its entrance fee, the large park-lot and the extra services such as a restaurant and gift-shop, it is possible to assert that Miniaturk mostly serves for the middle class domestic tourist, as well as the foreign ones.

Nevertheless, its presentation as a modern cultural achievement also includes a challenge to Western modernism's developmentalist line of historicism. Miniaturk does not offer the visitors a chronological or a developmentalist timeline to follow during their visit. Nor does it appreciate the industrial achievements that were triggered by "western civilization". The order of the miniatures creates a spatiality with no linear interpretation of the Ottoman and Turkish past, pointing to a disjuncture in the progressive flow of western historicizing. However, despite its disordered fairy tale character and the childish character of the miniatures, it is presented as the showcase of Ottoman and Turkish history. Besides, it is associated with the achievements of the modernizing global city, as the representative of culture, the growth of cultural industry and the resistance against the claims of the Western world on the heritage of the

Ottoman and Anatolian cultures. On the other hand, by partially excluding the last century of Turkish architecture, it constitutes a symbolic space, which is presented as uncontaminated by the late side effects of Western modernization. Its resistance collaborates with the very instance of the establishment of the first Ottoman museum as the means of a counterargument against the Western claims on the archeological heritage of Anatolia.

At the end point of the Golden Horn, differing from Miniaturk and Koç Museum, Santral Istanbul stands as an homage to the modernization project of Turkey in the last century. This is not only because it allocates a space for the display of one of the first industrial complexes of this modernization project and the history of modern art in Turkey, but also because it somehow tries to reestablish the modernist practices of the pre-1980 period in Turkey. The appreciation of architecture as the constituent of cultural literacy, the installation of examples of art in a chronological order, and the interpellation of people from every status with its free of charge policy and the free shuttles to the museum from the city-center do not suit the contemporary practices of cultural consumption in the post-1980 period. However, these practices mostly connote the dream of the early republic of catching on with and surpassing the civilization level of contemporary Western countries, for which the cultural progress of the nation was stated as a must. In the dominance of post-modern populism in the culture industry, where the symbolic economy is mostly grabbed by the ready-to-consume packages of culture, Santral Istanbul remains as a slightly elitist option for the reconstitution of modernity in Turkey. Nevertheless, it definitely stands as an alternative for the ongoing

discourse on modernization, which is mostly defined with the integration of global capital markets and the appropriation of global consumption habits as well.

One thing that I tried implicitly to point out throughout my study was that the Golden Horn does not represent the characteristics of the linear and progressive pathway of modernist historicizing. However, the region was reshaped with ruptures throughout its history, of which Dalan's interventions were the most prominent; or the most visible. While these ruptures –industrialization, deindustrialization and reconstruction of the region- have remained as the main fabric of the ongoing narratives, many experiences like the displacement of the *Rums* and Jews in the 1950s, the workers' movements of the 1970s, the displacement of the old workers of factories with the demolitions and the impoverishment of the districts have all remained on the dark side of the coin. These experiences, which also shaped the region, were not included even in the projects of renovation that aimed to reform and reinterpret the Golden Horn.

In *Displacement Colombia and Alternative Modernities*, Escobar underlines that “today's massive displacement and impoverishment were both created by capitalist modernity and also sets limits to such modernity that its own tools no longer seem sufficient for the task.” (Escobar 2003, p.158) This statement not only refers to the fact that the inner mechanisms of capitalist modernity mobilizes the dynamics of its transformation, but also emphasizes that “reorienting our understanding on displacements may be conceptualized in terms of alternative modernities of alternatives to modernity.” (Escobar 2003, p.158) What we experience today is the reestablishment of modern consumption habits through relocalization. As the early phenomenologists' description of places, early capitalism has delocalized space and forced the institution of

an homogenous space under certain standardizations. However, the rise of globalization all over the world has also brought the discussions on localities, both as a tool for commodity diversification and also for the possible alternatives for the dominance of global markets. According to Gaonkar, modernity always unfolds within specific cultures or civilizations and thus the different starting points of the transition to modernity may lead to different outcomes. (Gaonkar, 2001) This possibility of different outcomes constitutes the base on which the debate on alternative modernities is grounded.

While the opposition to the developmentalist notion of history writing based on the Hegelian subject of freedom stands to be the common point of subaltern studies, as the starting point for alternatives to capitalist modernity, Escobar stresses the significance of the production of places for the creation of these possibilities. He underlines that capitalism operates in the production of places and their incorporation with each other. Inviting us to reconsider capitalism as a scattered combination of different practices, rather than a homogenous entity, he reintroduces places as the units of production in the capitalist formation. Hence, in his definition, the reformation of space through the intervention to places opens up the possibility for the reformation of capitalist modernity, as well as creating resistance points to it.

From this perspective, I believe that the intervention to the Golden Horn not only paved the way for the institution of a cultural industry in an old industrial district in the middle of Istanbul, but it also opened up a playground on which different practices could oppose, reinterpret or change the ongoing practices of modernity. Taking into account that each museum interpellates different discourses, hosting different spectacular

practices and inviting different bundles of visitor profiles, the new experience of the Golden Horn may be read as a response to different interpretations of the overarching global city discourse that is shaping the contemporary city. However, how these projects may include and render the veiled conflicts of the last century visible still remains as a debatable issue, which I believe to be a crucial topic in city planning. Thus, the transformation of the Golden Horn preserves its significance as a projection for other possible projects of creating democratic urban spaces.

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## Appendix A

### Quote From Edmondo de Amics

Yine Altınboynuz sahilini takip ederek, büyük, kalabalık, acayip görünüşlü başka bir mahalleye iniyor ve adımımızı atar atmaz artık bir Müslüman memleketinde olmadığımızın farkına varıyoruz. Her Tarafta, yerlerde yuvarlanan pis pasaklı çocuklar; iskelet gibi kuru elleriyle paçavra ve hurda dolu evlerin kapılarında iş gören yırtık pırtık elbiseli iğrenç kocakarılar; duvar diplerinden kaçıyormuş gibi yürüyen, kafalarında paramparça mendiller bağlanmış, uzun kirli elbiseli adamlar... burası... bir Yahudi mahallesi Hasköy'dür. Altınboynuz'un hemen hemen nihayetine kadar uzanan başka bir tersane, askeri mektep, kışla ve talimane zinciri buradan başlar. (Amics, 1874)

## Appendix B

### Quote From Şakir Ziya Soko

“...çok elim bir ihmale maruz kalmış olan (Haliç) bugün çok elim bir vaziyettir. ....milyonlar ve milyonlar sarf edilerek yapılmış olan o muhteşem sanat ve zarafet abidelerinin yerlerini bugün en başta (Mezbaha) gibi kan kokan kanlı bir müessesese ile bit takım iptidai fabrikalar, çeşit çeşit atelyeler işkal etmektedir. Bunların manzaraları pek geriktir. Neşrettikleri iğrenç kokular havanın safiyetini ihlal etmektedir. Burada denizin rengi bile değişmiştir.... Haliç bugün bir çamur deryası halindedir....Her şeyden evvel, oradaki sanayi müesseseleri, Belediye tarafından kabul edilmiş olan (sanayi bölgesi)ne nakledilmelidir.” (Soko 1959, p83)

“Memleketimizin tabîî servet ve zihniyetini gömüyor muyuz.. yoksa göremiyor muyuz?... Malûm bir hakikat varsa, gördüklerimize kıymet vermiyoruz. Ve, onlara karşı

gösterdiğimiz kayıtsızlıklarla, bilhassa yabancıları hayretlere düşürüyoruz.” (Soko 1959, p:3)

## Appendix C

### News in Cumhuriyet

Figure C. (Cumhuriyet 06 July 1973)





## Appendix D

### News in Türkiye

Figure D. (Türkiye, April 1972)



## Appendix E

### News in Milliyet

Figure E. (Milliyet, 06 March 1970)

Sayfa 4

# Ön çalışmaları Ruslar yapacak İstanbul metrosu 20 klm. olacak

■ 100 milyon liraya çıkacak metro için elektrige zam yapılacaktır.

**İETT** Genel Müdürü Şaferk Gürsoy, 100 milyon liralık ön çalışmaları Ruslar yapacak İstanbul metrosu için hazırlanan raporun 9 bin dolara hazırlanacağını belirten bir rapor, komisyonuna götüreceklerini söyledi.

Rusların İstanbul metrosunun hazırlama raporunu 9 bin dolara hazırlanacağını belirten bir rapor, komisyonuna götüreceklerini söyledi.

Şuana kadar yapılan işler bu kadar. Metro için hazırlanan raporun 9 bin dolara hazırlanacağını belirten bir rapor, komisyonuna götüreceklerini söyledi.

**4 YILDA BİTECEK**

Şaferk Gürsoy, normal gelişmeler devam ettiği takdirde 4 yıl içinde İstanbul metrosunun tamamlanacağını ve 100 milyon liraya çıkacağını söyledi. İETT Genel Müdürü, metro bedelinin 1/3'ünü teşkil eden diğer kısımların temin edildiğini, ancak geri kalan kısımların finansmanını yılın sonuna kadar tamamlayacağını söyledi.

Şaferk Gürsoy, bir Fransız firmasının 100 yılında İstanbul'da bir metro yapacağını söyledi. Şaferk Gürsoy, bir Fransız firmasının 100 yılında İstanbul'da bir metro yapacağını söyledi.

**VEFAT**

Merhum H. Mustafa Arıksoy'un 8 Mart 1970 tarihinde vefatı. Merhum H. Mustafa Arıksoy'un 8 Mart 1970 tarihinde vefatı.

**MELAHAT ARIKSOY**

8 Mart 1970 tarihinde vefatı. Melahat Arıksoy'un 8 Mart 1970 tarihinde vefatı.

**VEFAT**

Merhum Necip Özcanbaşoğlu'nun 8 Mart 1970 tarihinde vefatı. Merhum Necip Özcanbaşoğlu'nun 8 Mart 1970 tarihinde vefatı.

**TÜCCARDAN**

**ALLI NECİPOĞLU**



## Appendix F

### News in Milliyet

Figure F. (Cumhuriyet, 06 March 1970)



Figure G. (Türkiye, 03 March 1986)





## Appendix H

### News in Türkiye

Figure H. (Türkiye, 28 March 1986)



## Appendix I

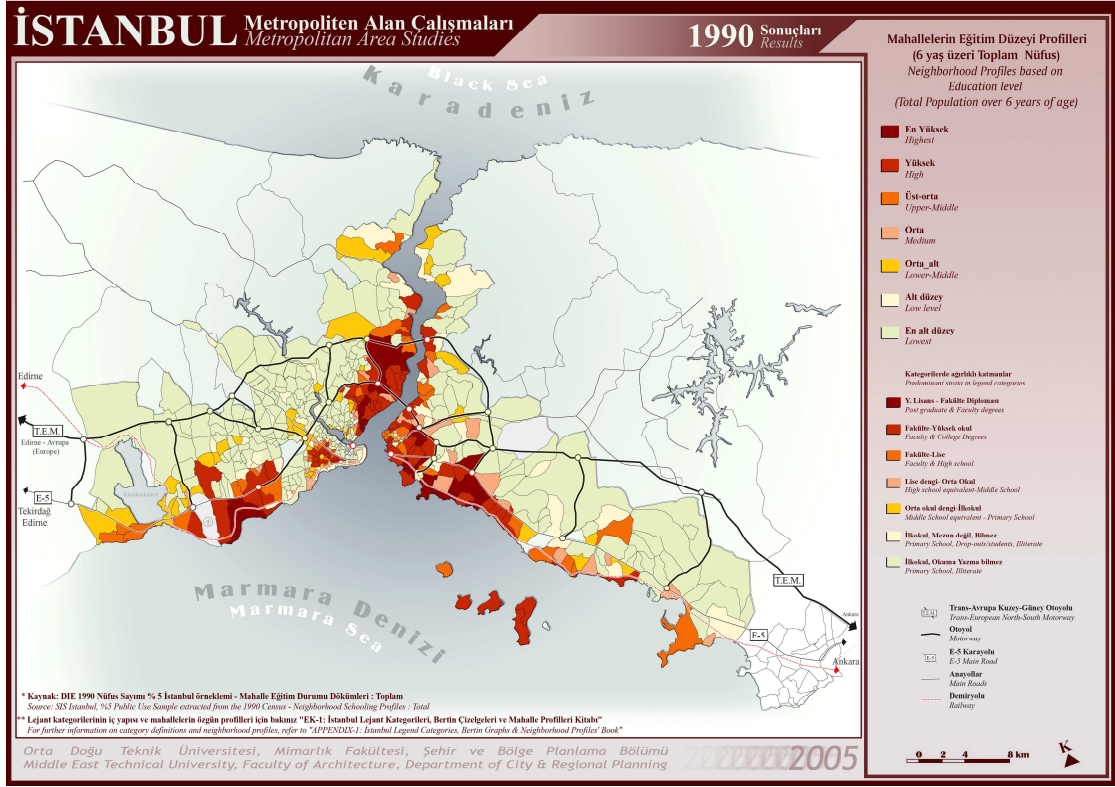
### News in Türkiye

Figure I. (Türkiye, 29 March 1986)



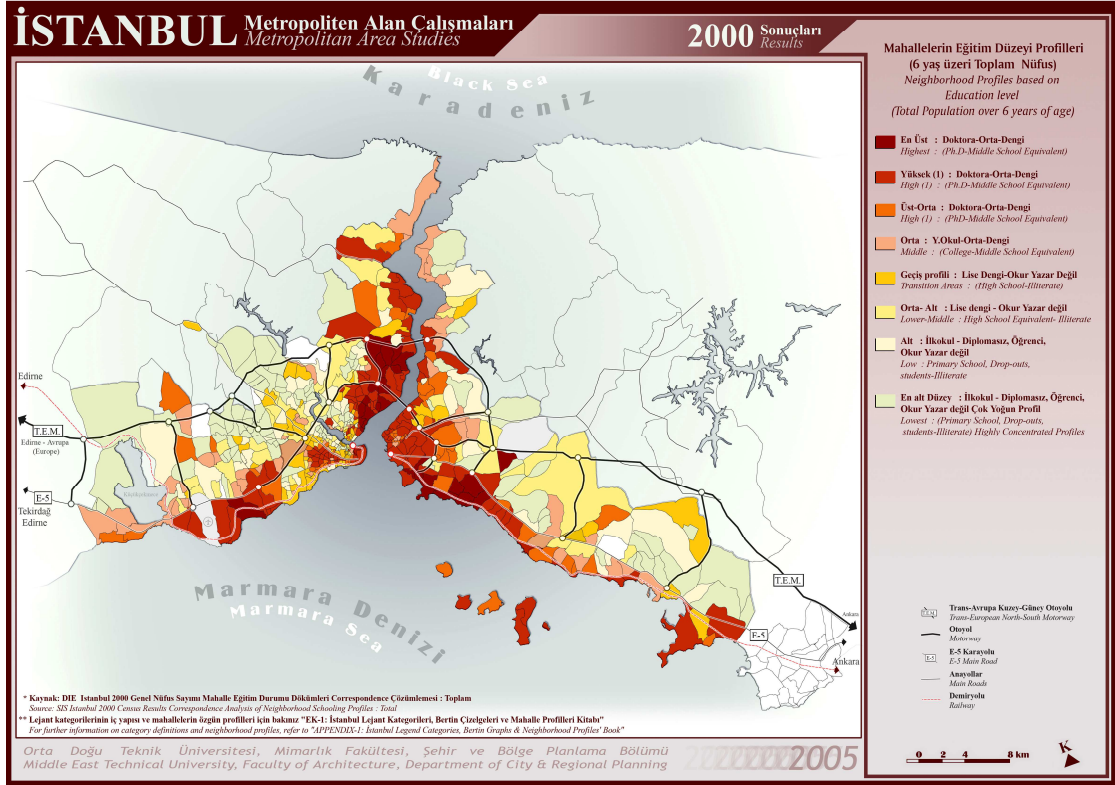
## Appendix J

The map of education level profiles for 1990



## Appendix K

The map of education level profiles for 2000





## Appendix L

The map of the change in education level profiles between 1990 & 2000

