

An Evaluation of Urban Dichotomies in the Third World Metropolis Istanbul

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Abstract: Today's third world metropolis can be described as a segmented, fragmented collage city, where its texture consists of many successions of social and spatial dualisms. These dualisms (dichotomies) realize in the form of city in city (Ungers, 1997), in other words city in-between deployments, totally an anarchical (not-hierarchical), postmodern morphology, which is contemporarily composed by divided, disrupted, crystallized public spaces – in-betweens. Istanbul as a “third world” metropolis is a dynamic open system, where complex, multiple economical, social and physical conditions are overlapped. Still the city is a focus point of social and spatial dichotomies and their genuine contradictions particularly in the last thirty years. This “city” has immediate varieties of expectations from the urban transformation design projects with regard to the authenticities and identities its typical dichotomies. In this sense, the basic principles of urban transformation strategies should be conceived on an equal, productive and common urban public space, which enables the redefinition / reconstruction / reorganization of the in-between regions between the conflicted “ruined and peak” zones and in the crystallized third world metropolis Istanbul. First of all, this paper aims to discuss comparative the concept “the third world metropolis” and analyze its social and spatial aspects, which also endures fragmentation in Istanbul. Accordingly the contemporary transformation process of Istanbul from the Ottoman Empire capital to the industrial modern republic city and eventually to the post-modern (collage) third world metropolis of multi-layered social and physical conditions and their dichotomies, their contradicted situations and their in-between spaces in Istanbul will be evaluated. The underlying reasons of these contradictions and eventual outcome of the peak and the ruined zones in Istanbul and their border district's / in-between spatial typologies will be classified. In the conclusion, this paper argues about the future of the city Istanbul accordingly and makes suggestions about the basic principles of urban transformation strategies regarding the equal, productive and common urban public space, which enables the redefinition / reconstruction / reorganization of the in-between regions by integrating the conflicted “ruined and peak” zones and unification of the crystallized collage third world metropolis Istanbul.

1. Introduction: Third World Metropolis

“I saw two cities in one. One was for the dovetails, the other was belonging to the mice.”

Marco Polo

“For the ones they are in darkness, and the others are in light, and you see the ones in brightness, those in darkness drop from sight.”

Berthold Brecht

The increasing global economic rivalry between its core countries, which proceeded clearly during the second half of the twentieth century (Chandra, 2000), created a hard social differentiation between the rich (powerful, global, modern, flexible, moveable, originally bourgeois, ethnically accepted or acknowledged, permanent insider) and the poor (weak, local, traditional, static, originally peasant, ethnically un-accepted or ignored, permanent outsider) in the world society and a physical disintegration between their settlements especially around the

contemporary world but certainly on the regions in the third world metropolises (Pfeiffer, 1994).

The continual tension and the conspicuous polarization between the rich and the poor – the insider and the outsider – triggers the systematical dissociation of the estranged poor, foster adjoining “peak” zones (transformable convertible capitalist spaces within their optimum physical and social high profiled conditions / situations such as gated communities, shopping malls, office buildings, culture centers, first class restaurants and entertainments clubs, private education campuses) of the global richness and residual “ruined” districts, where the permanent native poverty located communally (Kofman, 1998).

In the twentieth century capitalist city, in other words in the metropolis as a permanent and independent renovated system of archaic and anarchic indicators and symbols (Lefebvre, 1973), each un-transformable system, unchangeable public and its unconvertible capitalist space or aggregation of spaces or regions should stay as ruined urban zones. In this context, with the concept of “ruined urban zones”, it has been mentioned as either physical or social low profiled situations of being bereft of sources or inequitable, uncontrolled distributions of sources and

getting slummier, which means being also defective for the worldwide challenge in the global capitalist competition.

Mainly the districts of poverty but also the ecologically dead regions, ancient urban structures, contaminated industrial zones such as harbors and docks and their environments can be defined as today's "ruined" pieces of the metropolises. These urban pieces are produced without considering the social and physical innovations and are described as an un-affirmative spatial emptiness including the economical dilemma.

In this sense, there are mostly two kinds of remarkable regions particularly in the third world metropolises described by the current capitalism, "ruined and peak" zones, as a common worldwide complication, which are either ignored by the capitalism or it has completely been deployed. These from-each-other isolated, polarized regions, namely islands of contradicted situations and their in-betweens designate today's social and physical shape of the big city as a collage system of fragmental morphology framed by many typical cleavages (Andrusz, 1996). In other words today's third world metropolis can be described as a segmented, fragmented city, where its texture consists of many successions of social and spatial dualisms. These dualisms (dichotomies) realize in the form of city in city (Ungers, 1997), in other words city in-between deployments, totally an anarchical (not-hierarchical), postmodern morphology, which is contemporarily composed by divided, disrupted, crystallized public spaces.

Today's Istanbul as a "third world" metropolis is a dynamic open system, where complex and multiple economical, social and physical conditions are overlapped. Still the city is a focus point of social and spatial dichotomies and their genuine contradictions particularly in the last thirty years. Istanbul's geographical condition (slope topography and the physical relationship with the sea), also endures this fragmented structure. All these aspects create ruptured crystallized public spaces consisted of many cleavages, islands of rich (mostly (post) modern or traditional, powerful, moveable, global, insider) and poor (mostly traditional, weak, static, introverted, local, outsider) settlements and their natural or artificial borders (Koolhaas, 1994), where serious problematic, antagonist, unequal, unproductive encounters are experimented by the peak and the ruined zones in Istanbul.

2. The Contemporary Development Process of the Conflicted City Istanbul

The last hundred years of Istanbul can be defined as the century of collective amnesia (Bilgin, 2010), beginning with the forgetting of the most recent past including the dramatic succession of renewals and transformations, which constituted the evolution process of the Ottoman Empire capital from a multi-cultural / layered fragmented city first to a powerful but static and mostly introverted industrial big city of the republic then to a dynamic multi-faced almost schizophrenic third world metropolis while each period erasing what came before.

The development process which occupied the last hundred years includes the First World War, the waning of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Turkish Republic, three different global economical and cultural waves and their impacts in the decays 1950s, 1980s (urban implosion, (Bilgin, 2010) and 2000s (the pressure of global between 1980's and 2000's, (Korkmaz, 2010). This was also the modernization period of the city which preserved Istanbul's privileged place on the global stage and gave way to a transformation from the city of consumption (from consumption to production city) into a business, finance, health,

education and entertainment metropolitan center (from overgrown industrial city to urban region). Istanbul has grown approximately fifty times during the last century, merged, re-divided and many social and physical conflicted situations / dualisms or in other word urban dichotomies in form of oil stains conceptualized by the rich and poor settlements have been constituted particularly since 1960s. The polarization and the segregation started to sharpen all around the metropolitan region and spread in the directions west, east and north between the Black and the Marmara Sea along the legendary crack Bosphorus. The slope topography also designated the typically dualistic morphology of the city particularly from the beginning of the 17th century.

The transformation process of Istanbul from a traditional fragmented empire capital into a multi-faced metropolitan region and the history of main social and physical polarization during the last hundred years can be describe in four different sections according to the political, social and cultural changes in the region and around the world.

2.1. ISTANBUL 1910-1930: FROM OTTOMAN CAPITAL TO REPUBLIC CITY

Istanbul grew beyond its fifth century walls which surrounded the historical peninsula, in a fragmented un-continuous patchwork – disconnected urban patterns and the city spread along the Istanbul Bosphorus in north – east direction and around the Golden Horn on the west (European) side and in Uskudar and Kadıkoy regions on the east (Asian) side during the Ottoman period. The conflicted situation between rich / poor constituted already from the beginning of 18th century during the Ottoman period.

Istanbul's natural cosmopolitan character as the capital of an empire increased during the second half of the nineteenth century in tandem with its integration into European-centered world capitalism. Colonialism, reaching its height, had created a globalizing situation and the flow of information had gathered speed. The palace had become bourgeois, intellectuals had acquired public visibility, preferences had begun to follow global tendencies and images had begun to hybridize (Akin, 2010). People's minds shuttled back and forth between the localism of nationalism and the pluralism of the world. Most rich people who were generally in relation with the empire palace occupied the regions on the west – east shore line along the Bosphorus and the poor population settled beyond the coast line on the east (Asian side, Uskudar) and west regions (along the west old city walls on the historic peninsula Eminonu and around the Golden Horn, Halic Sea).

The transformation process of Istanbul from imperial capital to republican city began with the agonizing end of the Ottoman Empire – the waning of Empire after the First World War. This war, occupation, destruction by fire, migration, massacre, and starvation years triggered the abandonment of Istanbul and lost of the half of the population.

With the establishment of the Turkish Republic after the militarist revolution the modernizing and secularizing regulations followed one upon the other in education, in the legal system, and in the bureaucracy (Akin, 2010). Istanbul had modernized according to the government's urban interventions in this space and time compression period which gave time for the preparation of the city for the 20th century. This was a political enterprise beyond the hybridization of ordinary life and the alterations in

the city's physical infrastructure and morphology which occurred at the beginning of the period.

Longing for the western (European) compact urbanity, the national government's ideology composed an integrated holistic city in other words constructing "the national house of dreams" (Akin, 2010) from the discontinuous pattern of the empire capital by providing the fundamental infrastructure and public transportation which connected the island formed regions and held the city together.

The abandonment of the old regime's prestige zones (the abandonment of the past) such as the Historic Peninsula Eminonu caused a rupture with the new distinguished neighborhoods which shared out Istanbul in a disjointed concept. The city kept enlarging episodic in the east - west direction mainly.

The poly-ethnic fabric of the old imperial seat gave way to a singular totality in the nation state's second city (Akin, 2010). The social and physical divisions started to sharpen during that period. Istanbul is divided into four regions shared out by the different social populations. The conflicted situation composed particularly between the historic peninsula and the Galata region by the religious - secular, modern - traditional and different ethnical polarization and their mostly isolated settlement strategies dominated the city in general. The Golden Horn Sea is the natural border in between which created the dichotomies such as homogenous / heterogeneous, national / not national and their urban and architectural diversification on the both sides.

The high profiled (rich and high educated) population preferred to settle in the villages along the Bosphorus coast line on the European and Asian Side and the low profiled population who are mostly immigrant workers accommodated temporary in the historic peninsula Eminonu.

2.2. ISTANBUL 1930-1950: CREATION OF THE MODERN CITIZEN

Istanbul, awaiting reconstruction and renewal, inherited by the government of the young Turkish Republic was a city largely clustered around the historical center (historical peninsula), but mostly dispersed along the shores of the Istanbul Bosphorus and the Marmara Sea, its macro form extended from the center to the periphery in a fragmented dispersed urban morphology (Bozdogan, 2010). The anticipated republican intervention would come in mid 1930's and accelerated the renovation of the city in the 1940s, it would transform Istanbul from an ancient imperial consumption capital into a modern city of production by erecting factories along the Golden Horn and in the periphery of the city.

The Republic's radical project of modernity (creation the modern citizen) was spatialized in Istanbul, as much in the recreational spaces of everyday life, as in the monumental public buildings such as cultural centers, education or national sports buildings marked state-sponsored "top-to-bottom modernization", residential buildings, summer resorts as castles of everyday secular life, places like beaches, neighborhood parks, casinos which also made the definition of the desired new face of Istanbul required clean, gentrified public spaces necessary for the visualization of the ideal of a homogenous society composed of modern, secular, well educated and healthy individuals who would have fully internalized republican ideology.

The primary planning agenda was to connect the dispersed fragments of the city by establishing the basic infrastructure of the modern metropolis which was necessary for the revitalization of the city's stagnating economy regarding the first master-plan completed by Martin Wagner and Henry Proust who also wanted to turn Istanbul from static to dynamic city by constituting the transportation networks.

The high income groups showed interest to the new axes such as Taksim - Sisli planned by Wagner and Proust and to the regions along the Bosphorus and the Marmara Sea coast line on the Asian Side which transformed into the peak zones of the city.

Istanbul would begin attracting population from Anatolia after 1940 and concomitantly, the first slum settlements (urban ruined zones occupied by the low profiled migrants) would emerge on the newly developed peripheral areas near the new factories. Due to its topography, Istanbul tended towards decentralization and dispersion and residential neighborhoods were increasingly farther from business centers. Istanbul's population was still below the one million mark before the onset of the massive migration from rural Anatolia, the Istanbul of 1930-1950 was a relatively tranquil city where housing had not yet become a problem (Bozdogan, 2010).

Istanbul continued to expand in the east-west direction in an episodic composition completed by polarized patterns occupied by the economical and cultural conflicted populations. At the end of the beautification process of Istanbul according the government's modernity principles, the main characteristics of the dichotomies based on the secular / religious, rich / poor, being a Istanbul citizen (modern insider) / coming from Anatolian rural (traditional outsider).

The high profiled modern citizen of Istanbul lived in the villages on the Bosphorus coast line and in the new core region constituted between Galata and Sisli districts after the abandonment of the historic peninsula Eminonu. The low profiled population accommodated mostly in the historic peninsula Eminonu and in the peripheries of the Asian Side.

2.3. ISTANBUL 1950 - 1980: FIRST GLOBAL WAVE - OIL ENGAGED POLITICS

Turkey became the member of NATO and the Turkish government's capitalist politics were oriented to the USA and related to the general oil politics around the world. Accordingly, the social and physical conditions in Turkey constituted regarding the capitalist global impacts. The government in 1950s wanted first of all to spectacle its power all around the country and Istanbul was the right place to start and show its prestige. The government wanted to control the city by providing the accessibility all around the city and give way to the efficient commercial activities around the city. The main aim was to maintain the city and to create a fluent morphology for the optimum production - consumption relation. Especially the discontinuous of east - west part of the city was a great handicap for commercial treatments. The oil engaged politics of the new government propose a city shaped by motorways connecting the regions to each other. Generally, the enterprises of the government caused to the transformation of Istanbul from pedestrian oriented production city to the vehicle oriented consumption city where the social and physical dichotomies pluralized.

In summary the capitalist enterprises of the democrat party (the government in 1950s) caused to the "urban implosion" which

points to how import – substitution macroeconomic policies and domestic – market oriented industrialization affected the shaping of urban space and the production forms and mechanisms of the built environment (Bilgin, 2010). These policies distinguished characteristics on the social plane in terms of the forming of an organized – disorganized working class, the emergence of the differentiation between white-collar and blue-collar workers, the rise of the middle class, the forming and establishment of new models of consumption, the reconstructing of civil society and politics, and mass culture and modes of consumption. Istanbul, which had been a subdued port city while the capital city Ankara was rising between 1930-1950, became the center of attention for post-1950 social, political, and cultural change when protectionist and import-substitution policies were put into place (Bilgin, 2010). The rapid change in norms and patterns of consumption was a distinguishing characteristic of this period when the industrial society was built. While the differences between modes of consumption peculiar to social strata became less marked during this process in Istanbul, new classes started defining themselves through new signs, brands, and lifestyles. Many post-1980 developments may be interpreted as continuations of this process (Bilgin, 2010).

The government's development operations in Istanbul annihilated the traditional morphology on the historic peninsula and demolished the relation between the sea and the city and triggered the polarization between the populations living in Istanbul and the physical and social dichotomies all around the city. The urban macro-form and transportation infrastructure which easily met the needs of the first half of the twentieth century underwent radical changes at the beginning of the 1950s and became "topsy-turvy" in terms of space due to the increase in urban population and in both intra- and inter-urban infrastructures (Bilgin, 2010). Particularly between the years 1950 – 1980 Istanbul's urban macro-form was shaped by contiguous growth, it is merged and re-divided completely in east-west and north-south directions. The Bosphorus Bridge erected in the year 1973 which connected the east and west but transformed the east part (Asian Side) into the dormitory of the city, and the west part (European Side) into a huge working and entertainment place and created the most peculiar, dominated, unique dichotomy of Istanbul.

The physical conditions of the dichotomies during the period 1950-1980 in Istanbul based on the social (bourgeois – provincial, modern – traditional, secular - religious, high profile educated – low profile educated, high income – low income populations) dualisms and their natural (sea – slope topography) and artificial (highways) in-betweens which designated the morphology of the city.

The high profiled modern population (high income and educated) continued to share out the core of the European Side of the city, the Bosphorus villages. They created and occupied the Marmara Coast line on the Asian Side (Kadikoy – Bostanci axis) and the Yesilyurt – Yesilkoy districts on the European Side as the new peripheries of Istanbul. The low income population kept living in the peripheries of both sides of the city, away from the sea near the working places. The middle class settled in Uskudar. The high income ethnical and religious minority preferred generally the Bakirkoy district, Taksim - Sisli axis. The low income minorities stayed in the historical peninsula on the European Side. The first slum cities settled close to the factories usually on the European Side, especially in 1960s. Some of the religious minorities lived in the core of Kadikoy province and almost all of the high income religious minorities (Jews and Christians) and

Muslim citizens erected summerhouses in the prince's islands in the Marmara Sea.



Fig 1. The peak zones (high profiled population) in grey – the ruined zones – slum settlements in red in 1960

2.4. ISTANBUL 1980 - 2010: SECOND GLOBAL WAVE

In the 1980s after the collapse of the Soviet Union Turkey had exhausted its potential for industrialization through import substitution. The social equilibrium based therein began to unravel in the 70s. The crisis coincided with the worldwide energy crisis, and caused horrific socio-economic unrest; it came to an end traumatic in every sense with the 1980 coup. This meant setting sail for a social restructuring fraught with tension, dominated by polarization and ostracism-without having established the kind of inclusive social structuring ruled by a populist politics which relies upon broad-based compromise. This transformation in Turkey occurred in tandem with globalizing movements, and would rapidly transform Istanbul, locomotive of industrialization, as well. Starting in the late 80s, the existing industry in the city, especially the "fordist" industry, was removed Istanbul to "edge cities", forming an urban region. The city swiftly de-industrialized, specialized in service industry, and the white collar work force grew (Korkmaz, 2010).

Istanbul entered the twentieth century as an "imperial city" and after a long period of floundering appeared again on the world stage in the twenty-first century as a "global city". Istanbul was ranked on the GeWC 2008 list as an "alpha" city; "very important world cities binding their principal economic regions to the world economy" (Korkmaz, 2010). With the momentum gathered from the restructuring process following the earthquake of 1999 and the financial crisis of 2001, Istanbul grew beyond its role as the unrivaled center of attraction in Turkey to become an alluring "star" on the world stage. Istanbul became a more attractive place for real estate investment than ever before. Construction of public space was surrendered to the profitable investments and packages of the entertainment industry, making it attractive to real estate capital. Urban management became the keyword of urbanization dynamics (Korkmaz, 2010).

Two concepts characterizing the processes of urbanization in post -1980 Istanbul – differentiation and diversification – may also be said to characterize changes and transformations in the actors, who have imagined, constructed and claimed to the city. As a result of a sort of compromise between all actors (especially between rich and poor), Istanbul was equipped with two types of anonymous fabric, one woven of apartment buildings and the

other of “gecekodu” (shanties – slum city). A ferocious urbanization dominated by vacancy, dissolution and ostracism.

In brief, quantitative implosion between the years 1950 – 1980 followed by global explosion in the middle of 80s. During the period 1980 – 2010 Istanbul expanded in the east – west, and north direction episodic. The patchwork morphology constituted of many social and physical dichotomies of the city. The socio-cultural polarization between the populations, segregations, evaporation of the urban poor and forced evictions, gentrification politics and urban transformation scenarios accordingly dominated the contemporary city culture. Istanbul transformed from an industrial city into a borderless urban region as the most expanded, dense, economical powerful, social multi-layered metropolis in Turkey including many contradicted situations and their in-betweens.

Until the beginning of 2000s the high profiled population moved to the nearest peripheries of both sides of Istanbul to live in the villas in the gated communities and to be together with the nature. The low profiled population accommodated either in the core of the city or settled in the remote peripheries. From the beginning of 2000s there are social and physical gated communities, in other words fragmented, polarized city in city conceptualized adjoining but not integrating islands (peak and ruined zones / designed heaven and hell) constituted by both sides, the high and low profiled populations shared out the core and peripheries of the city.

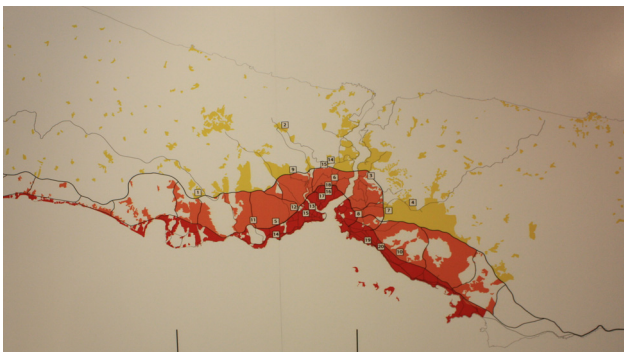


Fig 2. Map of the new morphology of the first main dichotomy based on economy: most rich population in red, middle class in orange, poor population in yellow presented, 2000s

3. Typology of Dichotomies in the Third World Metropolis Istanbul

Istanbul as today’s third world metropolis / as a dynamic open system, because of its cosmopolitan overgrown population, social and physical dualisms, its collage morphology where complex and multiple economical conditions are overlapped, shares typical characteristics with the other third world metropolises such as Mexico City in Mexico, Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, Cairo in Egypt, Johannesburg in the Republic of South Africa, Mumbai in India or Shanghai in China (Smith, 2000). These are as follows;

Transformation from the industrial city into the multi-economical urban region / Locomotive for the country’s development, developer city – strategic position for the country (the one and only urban region because its economical – social – physical differences to the rest) / Prestige region / political case study for the government / Multi-ethnic, multi-cultural,

international but polarized dense population / Continuous immigration from the rest of the country / Social and physical traumas in the urban history / Unusual geography – extraordinary physical conditions / Continued, uncontrolled physical development of the borderless city – urban region / Urban dichotomies (social and physical dualisms, peak and ruined zones and their natural – artificial in-between) / Fragmented urban structure – morphology in oil stains form, discontinued segmented pattern / Delayed or inadequate infrastructure / Unfinished urban transformation scenarios, projects and applications / forced evictions, decentralization and evaporation of the poor population / Gated communities – political correct, economical stolen, isolated, unshared, passive public space / Housing projects (absence of residential reserve or housing speculations) / Crime / religion / film industry

Istanbul, as a temporary and/or permanent collage of ambiences of socially dense accumulations and deserted spaces describe the composition of physically disintegrated regions and the cleavages – in other words borders in-between. The borders can be either natural (Istanbul Bosphorus as the legendary crack between the Asian (east) and the European (west) Side, Golden Horn – Halic Sea between the historic peninsula Eminonu and the Galata Region; slope topography between the periphery and the core – Marmara – Bosphorus shore) or artificial (highways parallel to the Marmara and the Black Sea shores in direction west - east, physical barricades such as walls around gated communities).

In brief, this city is splited off in terms of topography, spatial and spatial usages, morphology, demography and semantics. Contextually, the typological qualification of some of the main social (cultural, economical) and physical dichotomies and the analysis of their characteristics in Istanbul for the core, periphery and close environments are as follows;

3.1. DICHOTOMIES IN GENERAL

3.1.1. Dichotomies: South - North

Peak / ruined zones: Residential districts along the coast line – near the Istanbul Bosphorus and the Marmara Sea in Asian and European side (**peak zones**, high income people) / Residential districts along the highways parallel to the sea (**ruined zones**, districts of poverty/low income):

Differentiation context: social (cultural and economic)

In-Between: highways (artificial border)

Locality: regions between D-100 highway and the Marmara Sea coast line (south), between highways D-100 and E-6 (center), between E-6 highway and the Black Sea coast line (north)

Table 1. Comparison of South / North

Between the Marmara Sea Coast Line / D-100 highway (south)	Between D-100 / E6 Highways (center)	Between the E-6 Highway / the Black Sea Coast Line (north)
Social		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • modern • republic citizens • secularist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • post - modern • first generation immigrants • secularist – religious 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • postmodern / traditional • last generation immigrants • religious

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • since 1940 • innovative bourgeois • high educated • high income • vote against the government since 2002 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • since 1960 • semi-provincial • educated • middle income • mixed since 2002 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • since 1990 • conservative provincial • low educated • low income • vote for the government since 2002 |
| Physical | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • flat topography • semi dense urbanity • architectural and urban design as majority grid | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • flat topography • dense urbanity • architectural and urban design as minority grid | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • steep topography • rare urbanity • architectural and urban design as minority organic |



Fig 3. Map of the new morphology of the second main dichotomy based on social power: high profiled - educated population in orange presented (voted against the last government), low profiled - educated population in dark blue presented (voted for the last government)

3.1.2. Dichotomies: East - West

Peak / ruined zones: Periphery and the core of the European side (peak zones) / Periphery of the Asian side (ruined zones)
Differentiation context: multifunctional, accommodation, working, entertainment, expensive accommodation, cosmopolite (European Side) / mono-function, mono-demographic, cheap accommodation – dormitory of the city (Asian Side)
In-Between: Bosphorus strait (natural border)
Locality: core – periphery (Asian Side), core – periphery (European Side)

3.2. DICHOTOMIES IN LOCAL

3.2.1. Dichotomies: Galata District / Historical Peninsula Eminonu

Peak / ruined zones: Galata District (peak zone) / Historical Peninsula (ruined zone)
Differentiation Context: condemned historical city / actual usage, population differences in day and night / density
In-Between: Golden Horn (natural border)
Locality: core (European side)

Table 2. Comparison of Galata / Historical Peninsula Eminonu

Galata District	Historic Peninsula Eminonu
Socio-cultural	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • early modern • early modern settlements of Turkish Republic • secularist • early settlements of religious minorities • innovative bourgeois • multi - cultural 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • traditional • symbol of Ottoman Empire settlement • Islamic • mono – Islamic demography • conservative provincial • mono - cultural
Physical	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • steep topography • monumental silhouette • grid morphology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • steep topography • monumental silhouette • organic morphology

3.2.2. Dichotomies: Tepebasi District / Kasimpasa District

Peak / ruined zones: Tepebasi District (peak zone) / Kasimpasa District (ruined zone)
Differentiation Context: economy, demographic changes (cosmopolite– mono-demographic)
In-Between: slope topography (natural border) / Halic Docklands (artificial border)
Locality: core (European side)

Table 3. Comparison of Tepebasi / Kasimpasa

Tepebasi District	Kasimpasa District
Socio-cultural	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • modern • early modern settlements of Turkish Republic • secularist • early settlements of religious minorities • innovative bourgeois • multi - cultural 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • traditional • symbol of Ottoman Empire settlement • Islamic • mono – Islamic demography • conservative provincial • mono - cultural
Physical	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • steep topography • monumental historical buildings • grid morphology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • steep topography • no monumentality • organic morphology

3.2.3. Dichotomies: Taksim District / Tarlabasi District

Peak / ruined zones: Taksim (peak zone) / Tarlabasi District (ruined zone)
Differentiation Context: economy, elite profiled – low income population, density / emptiness
In-Between: boulevard (artificial border)
Locality: core (European side)

Table 4. Comparison of Taksim / Tarlabasi

Taksim District	Tarlabasi District
Socio-cultural	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> modern early modern settlements of Turkish Republic secularist early settlements of religious minorities innovative, high profiled bourgeois multi – cultural elitist production, entertainment flexible population density 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> modern / postmodern symbol of Ottoman Empire settlement multi - religious immigrants low profiled immigrants poverty, crime dense population
Physical	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> semi steep topography monumental historical buildings grid morphology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> steep topography no monumentality, needs renovation organic morphology

3.2.4. Dichotomies: Laleli District / Fatih District

Peak / ruined zones: Laleli District (peak zone) / Fatih (ruined zone)
Differentiation Context: economy, multi / mono cultural, cosmopolitan / mono-demographic
In-Between: boulevard (artificial border)
Locality: core (European side)

Table 5. Comparison of Laleli / Fatih

Laleli District	Fatih District
Socio-cultural	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> modern early modern settlements of Turkish Republic secularist early settlements of religious minorities innovative bourgeois multi – cultural criminal, entertainment, trade, changeable population rich and poor together working 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> traditional symbol of Ottoman Empire settlement Islamic mono – Islamic demography conservative bourgeois mono – cultural religion, pray, static population rich and poor together accommodation
Physical	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> flat topography no monumentality grid 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> steep topography monumental historical buildings organic morphology

3.2.5. Dichotomies: Levent District / Gultepe District

Peak / ruined zones: Levent District (peak zone) / Gultepe District (ruined zone)
Differentiation Context: economy
In-Between: boulevard (artificial border)
Locality: old periphery – new core (European side)

Table 6. Comparison of Levent / Gultepe

Levent District	Gultepe District
Socio-cultural	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> modern late modern settlements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> postmodern illegal settlements

of Turkish Republic	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> secularist high profiled population (rich and high educated) innovative bourgeois flat topography no monumentality grid morphology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Islamic low profiled population (poor and low educated) conservative provincial
Physical	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> steep topography no monumentality organic morphology

3.2.6. Dichotomies: Kadikoy District / Uskudar District

Peak / ruined zones: Kadikoy District (peak zone) / Uskudar District (ruined zone)
Differentiation Context: economy, social – culture:
In-Between: The Haydarpaşa Harbor, cemetery, military quarter and Marmara University buildings
Locality: core of the Asian side, periphery of the city

Table 7. Comparison of Kadikoy / Uskudar

Kadikoy	Uskudar
Socio-cultural	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> modern early modern settlements of Turkish Republic secularist early settlements of religious minorities innovative bourgeois 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> traditional symbol of Ottoman Empire settlement Islamic mono – Islamic demography conservative provincial
Physical	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> flat topography no monumentality grid 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> steep topography monumental historical buildings organic morphology

4. Conclusion: Future of the City

As an actual result, the collage (de-) construction of conflicted fragmental zones generally in Istanbul is more visible, the peak but especially the ruined zones are increasing obviously, borders in-between are getting deeper and the social tension based on economical and cultural, ethnical and religious polarizations between the two nations of peak and ruined lands are growing continuously. Istanbul is growing and expanding episodic in oil stains form to the east, west and north. The last master – plan, completed in 2009 and acknowledged by the government, proposes the third bridge, which crosses the Istanbul Bosphorus. It connects the northern east and west sides of the city and will probably demolish the urban landscape and forests of the city and trigger the environment pollution. The inadequate infrastructure and the transportation network cannot hold the urban region together (everyday 300 automobiles join the traffic in Istanbul). The housing speculations demolish the identity of the unique morphology, nature and consume the land and infrastructure. The 25 or 30 percent of the buildings in Istanbul will be hardly demolished after a possible earthquake in 30 years and the city needs an immediate preparation program. Still the 80 percent of the civil building production is completed without any architectural or urban professional knowledge and only the 3 percent of the urban and architectural design competitions have been applied since 1980.

After an examination of the urban transformation applications particularly in Istanbul, it is not hard to assert that such urban operations have increased the fragmented collage of cultural and physical dichotomies. The urban transformation projects have triggered the constitutions of the gated communities and their polarized islands. In this condition, they have deepened the cleavages between the “peak and ruined” regions in the city. Istanbul as a contemporary third world metropolis has immediate varieties of expectations from the urban transformation projects in regard to the authenticities and identities its typical dualistic morphology.

The principles of an urban transformation scenario should consider of a compact city shape without the social and physical polarizations and provide equality on social and physical levels. Within the context of the fundamental objective of the scenario it should produce Istanbul within its genuine social and physical setting and sew ruptures and cleavages related to prosperity and poverty, and to decrease the difference between the dichotomies. In this regard, after the completion of the transformation project the region should be able to integrate itself to the city. The integration mentioned within this context necessitates a fair, productive and sharing public conception and a strong redefinition of space for the city being perceived as a total entity.

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