

A TRANSFORMATION PROCESS IN ISTANBUL AFTER 2000s: Tesvikiye

Zeynep Ceylan GEZER ÇATALBAŞ¹, İpek AKPINAR²

Research Article

Author Information

¹ Istanbul Technical University,
Faculty of Architecture,
Department of Architecture,
gezercatalbas@itu.edu.tr
ID 0000-0002-1518-4485
Corresponding Author

²Izmir Institute of
Technology,,Faculty of
Architecture, Department of
Architecture,
ipekakpinar@iyte.edu.tr
ID 0000-0001-8481-1393

Arrived: 10.08.2024
Accepted: 29.11.2024

This article is based on Zeynep Ceylan GEZER ÇATALBAŞ's ongoing doctorate thesis titled at Istanbul Technical University Institute of Architecture Programme of Architectural Design under the supervision of Prof. Dr. İpek AKPINAR.

Cite as:

Gezer Çatalbaş, Z. C. & Akpınar, İ. (2024). A transformation process in Istanbul after 2000s: Tesvikiye, *Mekansal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 2(2):103-122.

Abstract

Today, urban transformation is a significant issue that closely concerns every segment of society in contemporary Turkish cities. Topics such as the renovation of old building stock, protection against earthquake risks, the creation of new and sterile conditions, as well as aesthetics, economic features, and income generation from cities are all discussed. Although numerous laws and regulations exist to manage urban transformation and renewal processes, some examples create uncertainty, which brings about additional challenges for social actors (residents, contractors and local governments) in the field of urbanization. In historical city centers where the social and built environment is valuable, urban transformation takes on a speculative meaning, whether it is included in the protected area or not. How are the built and social environments transformed when conservation and transformation criteria are determined? In the light of this framework, this article focuses on the reflections of renewal policies by taking Teşvikiye neighborhood as a case study. Utilizing a theoretical framework based on urban morphology, the article maps the morphological periods of the district. The morphological periods of the Teşvikiye neighborhood are briefly outlined according to İlhan Tekeli's canonical classification. This study aims to focus on the today's transformation in the Tesvikiye neighborhood from the 2000s to the present while describing the historical situation. This article, viewing the built environment as a system that develops, transforms, and mutates over time, unveils the crucial transformations of the 2000s and critically evaluates current conditions.

Keywords: Tesvikiye, urban regeneration, urban transformation, urban texture, morphology

İSTANBUL'DA BİR DÖNÜŞÜM SÜRECİ: Teşvikiye

Özet

Günümüzde kentsel dönüşüm, çağdaş Türk kentlerinde toplumun her kesimini yakından ilgilendiren önemli bir konudur. Eski yapı stoğunun yenilenmesi, deprem riskinden korunması, yeni ve steril koşulların yaratılması, estetik, ekonomik özellikler, kentlerden gelir elde edilmesi gibi eksenlerde tartışılmaktadır. Kentsel dönüşüm ve yenileme süreçlerini yönetmeye yönelik çok sayıda yasa ve düzenleme bulunmasına rağmen, bazı örnekler belirsizlik yaratmakta ve bu durum kentleşme alanında sosyal aktörler (sakinler, müteahhitler ve yerel yönetimler) açısından ek zorluklar yaratmaktadır. Sosyal ve yapı çevrenin değerli olduğu tarihi kent merkezlerinde kentsel dönüşüm, spekülatif bir anlam kazanmaktadır. Koruma ve dönüşüm kriterleri belirlenirken yapı ve sosyal çevreler nasıl dönüştürülüyor? Bu çerçevede ışığında bu makale Teşvikiye mahallesini örnek olay olarak ele alarak yenileme politikalarının yansımalarına odaklanmaktadır. Kent morfolojisine dayalı teorik bir çerçeveden yararlanan makale, ilçenin morfolojik dönemlerini haritalandırıyor. Teşvikiye mahallesinin morfolojik dönemleri İlhan Tekeli'nin kanonik sınıflandırmasına göre kısaca ele alınmıştır. Bu çalışma, Teşvikiye Mahallesi'nin 2000'li yıllardan günümüze tarihsel durumunu anlatırken bugünkü dönüşüme odaklanmayı amaçlamaktadır. Yapı çevreyi zaman içinde gelişen, dönüşen ve mutasyona uğrayan bir sistem olarak ele alan bu makale, 2000'li yılların önemli dönüşümlerini gözler önüne seriyor ve günümüz koşullarını eleştirel bir şekilde değerlendiriyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Teşvikiye, kentsel yenileme, kentsel dönüşüm, kentsel doku, morfoloji

1. INTRODUCTION

Following the 1999 Marmara Earthquake, Istanbul has faced a drastic reality: That the existing urban building stock –mostly concrete apartment blocks– was inadequate in the face of the imminent earthquake. This confrontation ignited the wave of the so-called urban regeneration (*kentsel dönüşüm*), which was necessary in the face of the ever-growing population numbers in the city, the lack of expansion grounds at the macro level, and the demand for new amenities and housing that is safe and convenient.

In Istanbul, transformation is mostly handled through the settlement areas of the lower income groups of the society or those who are considered disadvantaged for various reasons, that is, through the processes of dispossession. These studies have yielded results emphasizing the need for interdisciplinary, participatory, and community-centered approaches to urban regeneration (Güzey, 2012; Kuyucu, 2018; Yolcu, 2021, Ay&Penpecioglu, 2023). The transformation in Teşvikiye, the focus of this research, extend beyond current urban transformation discussions. In Istanbul, transformation typically targets residential areas of lower-income groups or disadvantaged populations, often through dispossession processes. However, ‘urban renewal’, another dimension of transformation, refers to singular changes that, when frequently repeated in the same area, lead to radical alterations in the district’s texture and life. The impact of urban renewal, like other forms of transformation, on all societal layers, altering living spaces and re-establishing lifestyles, should not be overlooked.

In the light of this framework, this paper argues that recent dispossession processes are primarily consequences of the new urban regulations in Türkiye. Today, the radical urban transformation accompanied by earthquake-focused discourses continues along with a series of demolitions, dispossessions and newcomers. This paper argues that another aspect of this rapid transformation is its focus on immediate needs and profit, rather than being guided by comprehensive planning mechanisms. It overlooks the potential future challenges that cities may face. It is essential to understand and maintain the characteristics of cities in the practices of urban regeneration, especially in such neighborhoods with strong historical references.

As a result, the building stock in Tesvikiye has drastically changed from the 2000’s until today. Mainly following the exact footprints of the existing stock, the apartment buildings replaced the old ones. New amenities such as the controversial City’s Shopping Mall –in a region where street-level shopping was culturally the norm– have been introduced. Although on a black-white plan level, nothing seems to change, it has changed the urban fabric, and this change has brought about social and societal change.

In this regard, this study discusses current situations where the definition of the transformation process is unclear or the operation of the process is undefined when different benefits come together. The paper analyzes the Tesvikiye neighborhood, where the transformation is taking place rapidly, to understand the ambiguous process of urban transformation.

The study aims to reveal the changes from past to present in Teşvikiye, providing an urban critique of future transformations in light of regulations and earthquake impacts. It examines the overlooked aspects of the city’s transformation, investigates the reflections of different local periods on urban form, and assesses the effects of changing spaces on the morphological structure. It uses comparative methods to understand the process of change in Tesvikiye, a neighborhood where urban regeneration has become more visible due to its location, value, building code changes, and socio-economic factors.

While the transformation observed in Teşvikiye parallels broader trends in Turkey, this paper argues that the district’s unique historical urban context and its social actors introduce distinctive changes driven by the new regulations.

2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT & METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Since the 1950s, urban morphology research has allowed the field of architecture to progress in Europe and develop towards the concept of architecture that creates cities (urban architecture). Aldo Rossi (1984) advocates the dialectical relationship between the city and architecture, which mutually shape each other. Later, with the critical interpretations of Manfredo Tafuri and Henri Lefebvre (2003), urban architecture became a comprehensive field of research, focusing on the formation of urban space and the relations between social practices (Harvey, 2017). In urban design projects, approaches that relate to the context, create the texture of the city, and integrate with the urban fabric are sought. For this reason, it is envisaged that typo-morphological research will support these approaches.

The Conzen School (1960) presents an urban planning approach involving the quantitative analysis of spatial arrangement and morphological zoning. The approach utilizes typo-morphological analyses, conceptual maps, and different perspectives over time to understand and detect changes in urban patterns. In other words, this approach brings together urban plan analysis and morphological zoning. In this regard, Anne Vernez Moudon (1997) emphasizes typo-morphological methods for comprehending the spatial characteristics of urban textures and criticizes experts for focusing on future outcomes rather than understanding the existing essence of cities. Urban morphology, according to Moudon, holds the potential to contribute valuable insights for managing urban development during periods of change. Conzen's 'morphological periods' concept is crucial, allowing tracking of urban form changes, social and economic development, and the evolution of cultural periods, reflecting the cultural history of different epochs (Koç&Kubat, 2018). Vis-a-vis radical transformations, current typo-morphological methods to understand the spatial characteristics of urban textures aim to understand all the values at the core of cities and thus maintain them (Gürer, 2016). In this context, it is essential to determine what content the development plans should contain and how the city can be produced coherently (Ünlü, 2018).

This research considers the Teşvikiye district as a case study to reveal the transformation processes. Urban transformation, which gained importance in the 20th century as a result of changes in the social and physical structures of cities, plays a crucial role in these processes. According to Akkar (2006), urban transformation refers to the strategies and actions aimed at holistically improving degraded areas economically, socially, physically, and environmentally. These strategies include different forms of intervention such as revival, regeneration, and gentrification (Özden, 2001). It is necessary to conduct a holistic analysis to focus on the current processes in the neighborhood, which has experienced continuous social and structural transformation since its establishment. The paper acknowledges that the morphological structure of cities provides important data that can shed light on transformation processes. For this reason, the cartographic data of the neighborhood and legal processes form the basis of the quantitative data collected from different periods.

The research reveals a historical narrative along with the social and spatial processes. In this framework, İlhan Tekeli (1998) discusses the modernization of Turkish cities in four periods. According to Tekeli, the periods of Turkish cities are related to the reflection of the West's modernization project on Türkiye. To understand the impact of the modernization project developed by the West on urban planning in Turkish cities, it is necessary to talk about these periods roughly:

- 1) The period from the second half of the 19th century to the proclamation of the Republic (1923);
- 2) The period from the first years of the Republic (1920s) to the first half of the 1950s;
- 3) Between the first half of the 1950s and the 1980s;
- 4) 1980s-2000;

Within the scope of the research, the morphological periods of Teşvikiye, are classified and examined according to the canonical periods of national modernization processes in Türkiye (Figure 1). The 5th period after 2000 is added to represent the radical change of the district, as a new transition layer. These different morphological periods are unveiled through the current social and political conditions. In the contextual framework of the above-mentioned periods, the study discusses the layers of the Teşvikiye area through cartographic data. Existing aerial photographs and old maps, photographs of Istanbul are the most important cartographic data.

Although the aim of urban transformation is to physically and socially reorganize deteriorated areas of cities, this process can result in negative outcomes, such as social exclusion and the displacement of marginalized groups, as seen in the case of gentrification. In Türkiye, urban transformation has largely focused on the renewal of informal settlement areas. However, this process has developed based on market dynamics and the interactions between central-local governments, rather than through planned interventions (Türel et al., 2005). In recent years, urban renewal and regeneration have emerged as the most common forms of intervention (Akkar, 2006). Renewal involves the complete removal of the old and the construction of the new in its place. This transformation, driven by the relationship between local governments and market conditions, has rapidly taken place in Turkish cities. Therefore, it is possible to consider the transformation of Teşvikiye in the 2000s within the context of these transformation dynamics.

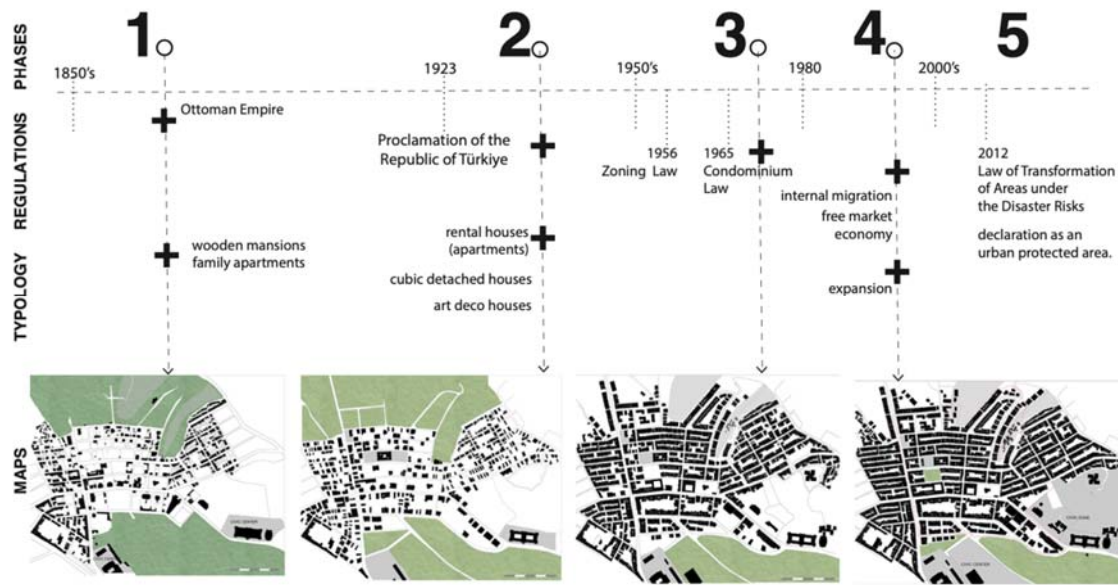


Figure 1. Diagrammatic framework of the research (Prepared by the authors.).

The empirical foundation for this final period in the case study includes qualitative data collected through multiple site visits involving participant observation, interviews with residents, association leaders, and contractors. Six semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted between 2021 and 2023. Most interviews were documented with handwritten notes taken during the sessions. Direct quotes were used only when they accurately represented the experiences of other interviewees. New critical legal regulations prepared by the central government through top-down processes are the other primary data for the critical reading of poorly defined urban renewal. By cross-referencing the interviews and the new laws and regulations, a critical reading is conducted.

2.1. Scanning Teşvikiye through phases

This section includes the analysis of the morphological periods of Teşvikiye until the 2000s. This historical narrative will form the background for today's change.

2.1.1. First phase

The first period of Istanbul covers a more extended period than other periods, and the city became a global city with the effect of being the capital of three different empires. This period became the scene of modernization efforts and passion for Westernization (Ortaylı, 2000). The city hosts the establishment of foreign companies, and foreigners, immigrants, and refugees who come to work with these companies form the basis of Istanbul's cosmopolitan lifestyle. Although foreign and ethnic groups have a significant role in the spatial transformation of the city, the development of municipal services, the progress of land and sea transportation, and, the presence of the port have a significant impact on the modernization of the capital (Çelik, 1993).

As the Ottoman capital, Istanbul experienced significant changes in terms of urbanization following the modernization and Westernization projects of the 19th century (Akpınar, 2003; Gül, 2009). The city witnessed the beginning of urban interventions, bringing about significant changes in architecture and cosmopolitanism. Factors such as the spread of apartment buildings at the beginning of the 20th century, the formation of new districts, the increase of embassies and foreign schools, and the increase in trade around the port effectively transformed the city. During this period, the living spaces of the Turkish bourgeoisie were concentrated in the newly developing districts such as Pera and Teşvikiye.

Teşvikiye District was founded at the end of the 19th century at the request of Sultan Abdülmecid. In its early stages of development, the road networks have been designed in an organized manner. Most of the parcels were still

not developed during this period. Among the buildings that were constructed, large wooden mansions with huge gardens were in the majority. Besides the large wooden mansions, there were also the concrete buildings, which were characterized by their relatively large size if compared with other surrounding buildings. The region was typically characterized by wide gardens and valleys. Here, by contrast in the closer neighborhoods the development of relatively more compact, adjacent housing begun to emerge (Figure 2). After the palace was moved from Topkapi to Dolmabahce in 1856, the region was opened to construction, and the first wooden mansions (*konak*) began to be built. In the 1910s, the first apartment buildings of the period were built on the lands divided into parcels. As the Ottoman Palace and its high-level authorities lost their importance, it was seen that non-Muslim and Muslim merchant families settled in the mansions and apartments in the district (Figure 3).



Figure 2. Representation of the Teşvikiye (Nisantasi) map prepared by Jacques Pervititch on behalf of the Turkish Insurance Office in 1924 (Prepared by the authors.).

The Fatih-Harbiye Tram line, which opened at the end of the 1920s, made it possible to reach the new city center with Western images from the old Istanbul center. As Peyami Safa (1995) describes in his novel *Fatih-Harbiye*, these were the years when social dilemmas emerged between orthodox Muslims and non-Muslims, and when the modernizing citizens became visible in the city, which changed culturally and physically. With the enrichment of transportation lines and the emergence of private property rights, the first apartment buildings began to be built on large parcels on Teşvikiye Street, the central axis of the neighborhood. The wooden mansions that formed the first texture of the district have not survived to the present day. The earliest family apartments in the neighborhood – registered under preservation status– are currently used by their families.



Figure 3. Left, Halil Rifat Paşa Konağı (URL-1).
Right, Maçka Palas 1922 (URL-2).

2.1.2. Second Phase

The second morphological period begins with the establishment of a brand new ideology Republic of Türkiye established after the long-established Ottoman Empire. At the beginning of the 20th century, there was a physical,

urban, and architectural differentiation and the degree and difference of association with modernization. The 1500 year old capital of empires is a combination between infrastructure, ‘aesthetic’ renewal and the search for a new identity (Akın, 2010). Beyoğlu-Taksim and its surroundings are the center of embassies, foreign schools, the port and the activities surrounding it, and trade. The Taksim Promenade, proposed within the scope of the 1937 Master Plan projected by Henri Prost, is the reflection of the idea of the culture and recreation valley between Beyoğlu and Sisli. Taksim valley, including Teşvikiye is the most comprehensive urban planning experience carried out in Istanbul in the entire history of the Republic. These districts are also the living spaces of the supported Turkish bourgeoisie.

The Second Morphological Period, from the first years of the republic to the 1950s, is the period when the housing type of the early republican period began to appear. In connection with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the subsequent establishment of the Republic of Türkiye, it began to create its own architectural language. This is the time when idle wooden mansions started to disappear. Reinforced concrete forms the dominant texture. Two or three-story cubic detached houses and relatively higher-story rental houses constitute the dominant architecture of this period. After the 1930s, family apartments or rental apartments dominated Nisantasi (Figure 4). It is the center of attraction for the increasing urban population. The fact that apartments constitute the dominant housing type is not due to the preference for an established residential lifestyle in society but because of objective conditions such as lack of capital and lack of land with infrastructure. Many apartment buildings reflect the spirit of the period, the ideal of modern life, and the developing Turkish bourgeoisie (Author 2, 2015). Since it is seen as an investment tool, multi-story residential buildings are defined with the concept of ‘rental house’, not with the word ‘apartment’. Since there are no condominiums in apartment buildings yet, the rate of rented flats is high.

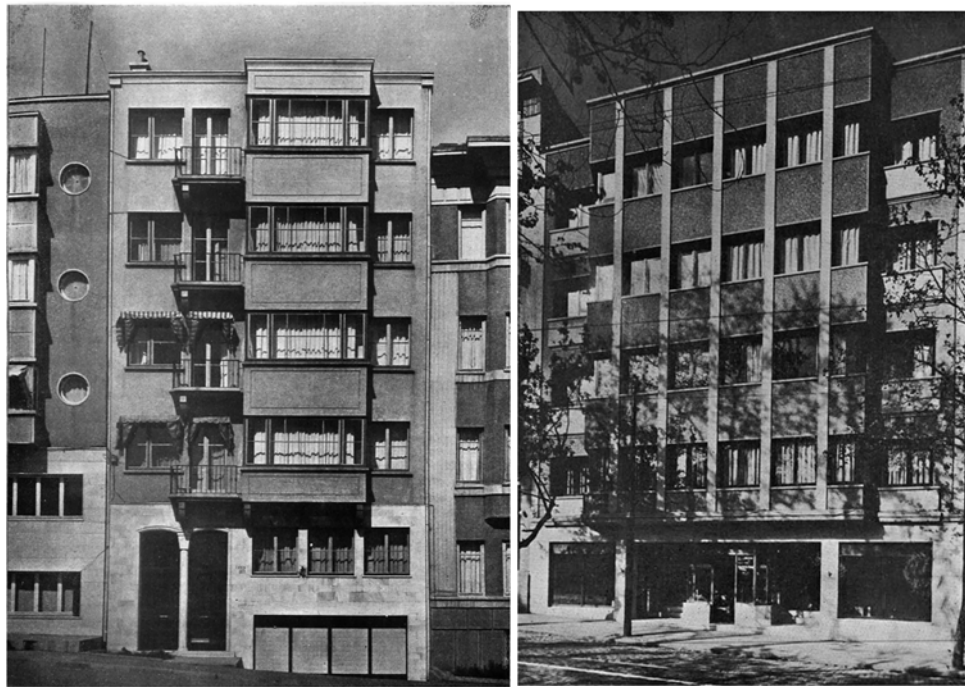


Figure 4. First examples of rental apartments, 1951 & 1940 (URL-3).

Between 1930 and 1945, the term ‘apartment’ was commonly used as ‘rental house’ in Türkiye. During this period, the term tenement house referred to a rented building with sections where each floor was called an apartment. This perspective was also reflected in professional publications in the same period, and the term ‘rental house’ was used while emphasizing the income-generating function of apartments (Şenyurt, 2022). However, before the Condominium Law that came into force in 1965, the ownership of rental houses built in the city belonged to a single person. Therefore, the ownership could not be divided. Thus, the term ‘rental house’ refers to a multi-unit building in which a single owner rented out its various units (Bozdoğan, 2001).

In his novel Istanbul, Orhan Pamuk (2008) says that the family apartments in Nişantaşı were built in the garden of an old Pasha Mansion. With the establishment of the Republic, the princes, pashas, and high officials who owned these mansions were liquidated, so these mansions, which were left to decay, stood together with the first apartment buildings like a ghost of the Ottoman Empire. None of these mansions have survived to the present day, and over

time, each mansion and its gardens were replaced by Early Republican Period apartments (Figure 5). These first examples of apartment buildings, which look like today's ghosts compared to the new ones built in recent years, have been demolished one by one in the recent years. The map in Figure 5 shows us the first sign that the urban density of the neighborhood is starting to change. The second period, as the map proves, shows that building density increased in the neighborhood; new parcels were being developed. The first examples of attached housing, previously witnessed in the adjacent districts, began to appear. Several typical wooden mansions from the first period disappeared and for others, construction began within their expansive gardens. Some new road arrangements have emerged. In addition to this change in urbanization, the buildings of this period also have their own unique language, just like the previous ones. However, it is still not a period when a high level of density could be mentioned.



Figure 5. Reproduced IMM ortophoto from 1946 (Prepared by the authors.).

Detached houses in neighborhoods designed by leading architects of the period such as Architect Sedad Hakkı Eldem (Figure 6) and Abidin Mortaş (Figure 7) appear in the archives. Sedad Hakkı Eldem (1908–1988) and Abidin Mortaş (1904–1963) are among the leading actors of early Turkish architecture with their modern productions. These houses built in the Art Deco style, are significant architectural and cultural values of their periods that have not survived to the present day (Figure 7). Traditional influences were present in Eldem's Ağaoğlu House. At the same time, the cubic and Art Deco order was dominant in other residences, and similar buildings in line with the modern building concept of the period, existed together with the wooden mansions and new apartments of the district for a while (Gezer & Akpınar, 2021).

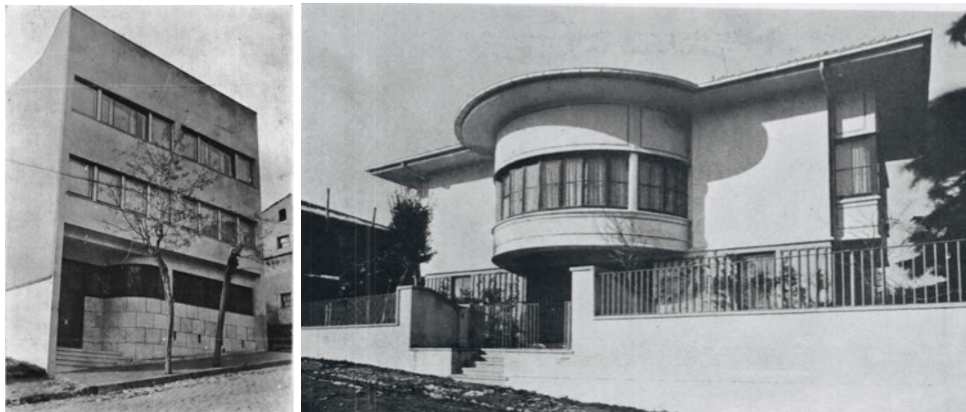


Figure 6. Left, Bayan Firdevs House. Right, Prof.A.A. House (URL-3).

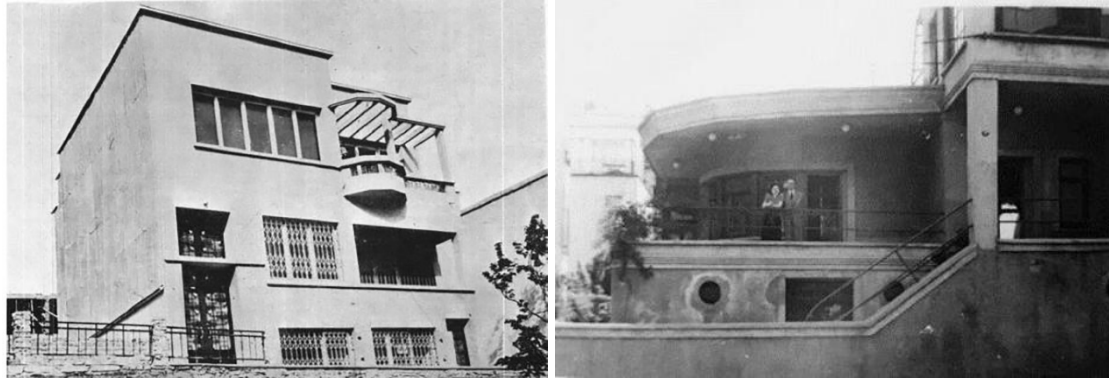


Figure 7. İ.E.Ha House of Abidin Mortaş (URL-3), Right, Güneşli House.

2.1.3. Third Phase

The emergence of the third morphological period, which covers the first half of the 1950s and the 1980s, is closely related to the new legal regulations. The most critical impact of this period on creating the face of cities was the Zoning Law dated 1956 and the Condominium Law dated 1965. As briefly mentioned in the previous section, The Condominium Law No. 664 of 1965 pioneers the change of the identity of the existing apartments/rental houses. In addition, green areas on the region's periphery are planned by opening them up for development. Initially, it was prepared for a single building covering multiple independent sections on a particular parcel. Due to the increase in population and land prices, it has become difficult to obtain single houses, which has made it necessary to legally regulate apartment buildings (Alkışer, 2003; Akpınar, 2016). From the 1960s onwards, as a result of the introduced laws, reinforced concrete apartment buildings produced by contractors started to spread across Turkey, alongside the Condominium Law. In the following decades, informal settlements (gecekondu) became the most common housing supply method for the lower class, while apartments became the norm for the middle class. While there are examples that stand out for their architectural design, the dominant typology in the market was the standard apartment buildings produced through the build-and-sell process, typically defined by simple facades and repetitive floor plans. With the implementation of the Condominium Law, there is a break in the physical transformation. Detached, reinforced concrete houses, mostly bearing the modern traces of the period, began to turn into durable high-rise apartments. The owners of these new apartment buildings are multiple partners formed by dividing the land, rather than being a single family, as at the beginning of the century.

Another critical development in this period was the Zoning Law No. 6785, dated 1956. In the previous Nisantasi maps of Jacques Pervititch, dated 1924-25, it is seen that development plans for the Topagaci region, which has orchards on sloping land, were prepared. By this date, Teşvikiye, which had grown with construction on the central axis of Teşvikiye Street and its surroundings, began to be built down the valley (Figure 8). With this law, land production is also supported for the rapid apartment development of Teşvikiye. The transition from the second to the third period is particularly evident through the increased density of the urban fabric, which can be observed even through maps. As a result of the newly introduced laws, there was no longer any trace of the large wooden mansions with expansive gardens. This period witnessed a significant increase in density compared to the previous phase, with the neighborhood transitioning into an area dominated by adjacent, reinforced concrete apartment buildings.



Figure 8. Reproduced IMM orthophoto from 1966 (Prepared by the authors).

The maps indicate that urban concentration between the second and third morphological periods has led to what can be interpreted as an urban explosion (Figures 7 and 8). There is a notable lack of similarity in urban texture and density between the two maps. As a result of this rapid urban growth, open spaces have become increasingly scarce. The neighborhood has almost reached its spatial limits in this third morphological period.

Bilgin (2012) points to Teşvikiye as an example of how involving the knowledge of architects in the process contributes to quality. In the journey of housing production in Türkiye, where building stock increased rapidly, architects were the first to be left out. However, even during the rapid construction period of the 1960s, the presence of significant architectural figures like Affan Kırımlı, Ayhan Tayman (Akay, 2018), Dogan Tekeli and Sami Sisa, M3 Architecture (Asim Mutlu, Utarit İzgi, Esad Suher) in Teşvikiye-Nisantasi was notable (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Left, Site Apartment of Tekeli&Sisa, 1961-1963 (URL-4), Right, Apartment in Topagaci, 1963, M3 Architecture (URL-3).

2.1.4. Fourth Phase

During this period, the built environment reached its parcel limits (Figure 10). However, Teşvikiye was impacted by the nationwide immigration waves in the 1980s. As the housing stock increased and the district expanded, creating suitable space for the new population was not problematic. With the advantages of the free-market economy, the region began evolving into a center of consumption culture. As the map shows, while this rise in density compared with the previous period was not abrupt, it was still rapid. The district fully infilled the areas available for development, which brought an end to its physical growth.



Figure 10: Reproduced IMM ortophoto from 1982 (Prepared by the authors).

In the 1980s, housing production in cities was left to contractors following the build-sell model (*yap-sat*) (Işık, 1995). Previously constructed cooperative housing or low-rise buildings were sold to individual contractors, who then built apartment blocks in their place. The legal framework that would regulate construction and space standards was also established during this period (Altürk, 2021). This era corresponds to what Tekin and Akpınar (2014) describe as the "anonymization of reinforced concrete." In the construction sector, where contractors were the dominant actors, the widespread use of reinforced concrete as a building material led to the emergence of uniform housing types. This period resulted in the construction of high-rise apartment buildings on all parcels in Teşvikiye. With no more space left for new construction in the neighborhood, the area would henceforth undergo transformation through urban renewal activities, popularly referred to as "build-sell" (*yap-sat*). The 2000s marked another shift in the direction of urbanization. This process of transformation of Teşvikiye during this period was also reflected in the new building typologies. The newer constructions are taller and some of them are reflected the dominant apartment typology that was gaining widespread acceptance across Turkey (Figure 11). Additionally, examples of informal housing (*gecekondu*), began to emerge, reflecting one of the major challenges of the period. These unauthorized settlements highlighted the growing disparity between rapid urbanization and insufficient planning to accommodate lower-income populations.



Figure 11: Examples of apartment buildings dating to the 4th period (Prepared by the authors).

3. NEW EPOCH FOR TESVIKIYE - AFTER THE 2000S

After the 1999 Istanbul earthquake, a new building transformation was observed in the neighborhood. While the district was revitalized with various events and the transformation of the streets, the early modern apartment buildings, mostly built between 1940 and 1960, were demolished, and higher ones were built (Figure 12). This process was accelerated with the addition of the Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks (Law No. 6306) dated 2012. This law is severely criticized by the Chamber of Architects and the Chamber of City Planners, public universities as well as related NGOs because it perceives cities as mere land to generate urban profit, without considering issues such as aesthetics, sustainability, social development, and the continuity of historical and cultural heritage.



Figure12: Map prepared in 2020 shows the registered buildings and those that have been transformed through the build-sell model (Prepared by the authors).

Tesvikiye constitutes a small part of Ilhan Tekeli's (1998) modernization process of Turkish cities. After the 1980s, these cities continued to grow like oil stains. By the 1980s, land production was no longer possible in Tesvikiye, which had reached its limits. These structures also have the capacity to produce capital only through expansion by height. Here, it exemplifies the forms of resource production of capitalism described by David Harvey (2005) in his theory of spatio-temporal fixes. According to Harvey, when capitalism cannot access cheap resources, it must produce them to maintain the system.

For this reason, cities provide a fertile environment for creating the source of capitalism. In other words, assets not accessible to private capital are reorganized to make them compatible with the economic order. However, in this urban texture, which should be emphasized and where each period is expected to leave traces of its unique formation, the traces of a period disappear with the multitude of singular applications.

In this section, the focus is going to be on the tense relationship between Law No. 6306, which guided the change of Teşvikiye in the 2000s, and the declaration of the district as an urban protected area.

3.1. Trigger of Change – Law No. 6306

After 2000, several vital regulations both accelerated and sometimes retracted the transformation process. Following the 1999 Marmara earthquake, a new building transformation occurred in the district. While the district was revitalized through various activities and street transformations, early modern apartment buildings, mostly constructed between 1920s and 1950s (belonging to the second morphological period), were demolished. In other words, these buildings were replaced with higher ones allowed by the district's zoning status (Figure 13).



Figure 13: Apartment building dating back to the 1940s (second morphological period) through build-sell in 2010s (Drawings: ca. 2015, Sisli Municipality Planning Directorate Archive; Photos: Prepared by the authors).

In Istanbul, which faces an urgent need for urban regeneration due to an earthquake, the process of change accelerated with the addition of the Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks in 2012. This regulation aims to identify and renew buildings that pose a risk in disaster-prone areas. The new regulation applies nation-wide, beginning with the provinces located in the first-degree earthquake zones with high population density. Three types of risky building definitions emerge from the dangerous building definition in Article 2 of this law: Buildings that have reached the end of their economic life, buildings at risk of severe damage based on scientific and technical data, and buildings at risk of collapse as determined by scientific and technical data. Article 6 gives the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization, and Climate Change the authority to carry out and approve all applications in these areas. This law regulates the identification of risky buildings under the Ministry's control, the building owners' initiative, and their entry into the transformation process. The Ministry may also request the owners to make this determination. Following a damage assessment study by institutions authorized by the Ministry, evacuation and demolition of risky buildings begin. Owners have the right to object to a risky building determination within 15 days (Article 3). The determination is communicated to the Ministry to make the risks associated with renting and selling the building known (Aydın, 2013, 52). The demolition of a building with a risky report is mandatory. Building owners must agree with the administration and demolish the building within 60 days. If it is not demolished, the administrative authorities will carry out the demolition (Article 5).

One of the most criticized aspects of the application is that public intervention by law enforcement can ensure the continuity of urban regeneration, addressing security and health issues in the physical space (Akın, 2021). The process of implementation of approved risky structures is seen as a violation of property rights. After a building is declared risky and demolished, the shares of those not participating in the 2/3 majority are sold to the majority. If a sale cannot occur, expropriation may be resorted to. This law limits the authority of homeowners who do not want their homes to undergo urban regeneration for financial or other reasons, despite protections by national and international regulations (Daşkıran&Ak, 2015).

The effort of this Law No. 6306 to realize the transformation quickly and urgently does not rely on the consent of the homeowner and the city dweller and reveals an irresistible transformation model (Türkün, 2017). It reduces

urban regeneration to only physical and economic conditions, ignoring social and cultural dimensions (Akkar, 2006). On the other hand, the process of owning a house as an investment tool cannot be considered independent of dispossession processes. The demolition and rebuilding process for the affluent, drives the urban poor from the center to the periphery, a pattern also emerging for middle-income earners in large cities today.

As mentioned, the law perceives cities only as land to provide urban rent without considering issues such as aesthetics, sustainability, social development, and the continuity of historical and cultural heritage. The concentration of authority, the vague definition of a 'risky area', the exclusion of homeowners and citizens from decision-making, and the rapid transformation leading to radical socio-spatial changes are key points of criticism (Özden, 2007; Türkün, 2017).

3.2. Decelerator of Change in Teşvikiye – Urban Protected Area

The legal regulation to protect cultural assets is the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property No. 2863 in 1983. According to the definitions of 'Immovable cultural and natural property' to be protected here, buildings built until the end of the 19th Century were registered and protected, and the rest were excluded from the cultural heritage (Figure 14). The structures built after the specified date will only be protected, if necessary, by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. To date, although conservation decisions have been made at the scale of a single building by a particular decision, a holistic conservation program has yet to be created.



Figure 14: Examples of the registered apartments (Prepared by the authors).

However, in 2009, the Istanbul No. 2 Committee on Conservation of Cultural Assets in Türkiye decided to define an area in the Sisli district, including Teşvikiye and its surrounding Nişantaşı and Elmadağ, as an urban protected area. The decision was to determine the conservation principles of the single registered buildings due to their density and architectural and historical integrity. Immediately after, as a result of Şişli Municipality's objection to the decision, it was canceled due to not fulfilling the necessary provisions of the 'Regulation on the Identification and Registration of Immovable Cultural and Natural Property to be Protected'.

As a result of the studies carried out in 2018, Istanbul No. 2 Committee on Conservation of Cultural Assets declared an area including İnönü, Ergenekon, Halaskargazi, Mesrutiyet, Teşvikiye and Harbiye neighborhoods as a historical and urban protected area. This decision emphasized that it is a unique heritage containing all the elements of the modern architectural culture that emerged by building different architectural styles following one another and in place since the 19th Century. In 2021, the authority decided to remove the term 'historical protected area', and continue the 'urban protected area' status.

Until a zoning plan for conservation purposes is prepared, Istanbul No. 2 Committee on Conservation of Cultural Assets must determine the transition period conservation principles and conditions of use within three months (No 720, İlke Karari Kentsel Sitler, Koruma ve Kullanma Koşulları, 2006). No clear framework is redefined in the regulations regarding the status of being declared "an urban protected area", which emerged in different periods.

Unfortunately, Teşvikiye's lack of a development plan for conservation still supports the continuation of unregulated construction.

3.3. Effects of the Laws after the 2000s

The impact of determining Teşvikiye as an urban protected area on the demolition and construction process is defined by ambiguous rules. At this point, the Council of Monuments must approve the renovation project as does the district municipality. Article 9 of the Law No. 6306 states that if the area is under historical and urban protected area status, the application should be made by taking the opinion of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The transformation in Teşvikiye takes place precisely as in this article.

Since no project regarding the conservation principles has been prepared for the district, the lack of a standard approach makes the process unclear. The control is mainly made based on not exceeding the altitude of a registered building under preservation status in the vicinity (Interview 3, 2023). In addition to height, checking the facades and ensuring they have a harmonious appearance with the existing registered buildings under preservation status in the surrounding area, is also an important criterion. Ambiguous expressions such as the altitude of the surrounding buildings and their compatibility with the texture make us think that it depends on the taste, architectural and urban perspective of those who have the authority to control (i.e. the board).

Today, when walking the streets of Teşvikiye, you see buildings with locks on their doors. An official document attached to the apartment windows states that the building was found to be risky upon inspection. Electricity, natural gas, and water connections have been cut off and that the demolition will be carried out by the specified date. There is no one living in the building anymore. In some examples, destruction occurs before this process is understood. The difference between these two processes relates to whether the risky building will be suitable for urban regeneration. Roughly speaking, it is understood that the owners have reached an agreement among themselves and that the building will be renovated by a contractor, in exchange for floors. If the owners agree with a contractor, the approval periods are extended in Teşvikiye, which has been declared an urban protected area, but the buildings are renewed. As a result, the old building first receives a risky building report, then it is demolished, and a new building that does not exceed the surrounding heights is built on the same land.

Despite receiving a risky building report, buildings that can only undergo urban renewal, continue to sit abandoned in the city until mandatory demolition occurs. Meanwhile, its windows are broken, graffiti is painted on its façade, and squatters are seen from time to time (Figure 15). The building, planned to be demolished to prevent damage to its surroundings, begins to create a temporary intermediate living space. Although it is unclear what will happen after they are destroyed, there are examples of empty land being left behind for months (Figure 16).



Figure 15. Building with a risky report (Prepared by the authors).



Figure 16. The uncertain vacancy of the building that received a risky building report before an agreement was reached (Prepared by the authors).

One factor here is that homeowners believe that their buildings will definitely be renovated within the scope of the urban regeneration law. It is understood that the desire to replace living spaces that they think are outdated with new ones encourages them to get a risky report for their buildings (Interview 3, 2023; Interview 5, 2022; Interview 6, 2023). Solving the difficult infrastructure problems of old buildings is not very easy, so the desire to live in a new building is remarkable.

An important statement by one of the interviewees, whose building was renovated under the build-sell model, provides further insight: “Our building didn’t have any architectural value; it wasn’t like Macka Palas. My father bought it in the 1960s because we had the right to build additional floors. When we reached an agreement with the contractor, we immediately handed it over and renovated it” (Interview 2). This sentiment was echoed by other interviewees who wished to renew their buildings. The mentioned buildings date back to the 1940s, belonging to the second morphological period.

In Türkiye, most urban renewals on single plots of land are carried out through an agreement with a contractor in flat for land. These constructions, which are carried out in flat for land method, involve the transfer of certain shares of the land owner’s land to the contractor and a third party, the contractor making independent sections on the land in return for this share, and the obligation to transfer the part of these separate sections belonging to the land owner’s share (Ayazli, 1987; Kartal, 1983). In return for existing building owners giving a share of their land to the contractor company, the new building is often built free of charge. Of course, being able to make a building free of charge from this land share is related to the building being able to expand as much as possible from its current state. In the case of Teşvikiye, this is only about being able to build high-rise buildings. Suppose the existing buildings do not have elevation rights according to the zoning plans. In that case, there is no possibility of an agreement with the contractor company in exchange for a flat, which means the flat owners must cover the construction costs themselves. Economically, it is not very realistic for all homeowners to act in the same way. Without having detailed information about Law No. 6306, homeowners who receive a risky report for their buildings with the desire to have a new building lose their living spaces to an uncertain period.

It’s okay for us. My children grew up, got married, and have their own lives. I have another house in Büyükkada. I will go and settle there. But my neighbor downstairs does not have such a financial situation. Will he leave his own house and live on rent after this age? How will he pay the rent? (Interview 5, 2022)

However, some buildings appear affected by the urban conservation area process. Some of the buildings that received the risky report have entered an uncertain period due to the registration of their buildings. The building, which was evacuated and unused due to environmental health reasons, which received a risky report but cannot be demolished because it is registered under preservation status, points to another deadlock. This situation, besides displacing the residents of the apartment, causes problems that affect the surrounding environment. Residents of neighboring buildings highlight security issues such as illegal occupation of evacuated buildings and entrances being frequented by ‘uncanny individuals’ (Interview 1, 2021; Interview 2, 2022). However, some temporary measures,

like changing doors, are being taken to address these issues in buildings evacuated despite their protection status. These buildings, with broken windows, graffiti on walls, and turned into garbage dumps, create an unfavorable image for the environment.



Figure 17: Reproduced IMM ortophoto from 2022 (Prepared by the authors).

Many studies reveal how decisive the influence of ‘local dynamics against policies’ can be, in the transformation of cities (Kuyucu&Ünsal, 2010). In Teşvikiye, local dynamics play a similarly critical role in shaping the transformation process, particularly where political interventions are insufficient, unresolved, or sometimes irrelevant. The desire for transformation in Teşvikiye has become increasingly evident. By the early 2000s, the district had already reached its urban limits. Today, as illustrated in Figure 17, the last remaining large public lands have been privatized and repurposed for construction. This transformation goes beyond mere urban development; it is structural. To understand the scope of change, it is not enough to analyze maps or urban morphology alone. Rapid structural modifications are taking place, which even some legal regulations struggle to prevent. For instance, the most striking conflict today is between Law No. 6306, enacted in 2012, and the uncertainty surrounding the transformation in Teşvikiye, which is classified as an urban protected area. The unresolved ghosts of buildings that received risky reports for various reasons appear in many places. Local residents, especially property owners, play a crucial role in driving this transformation for various reasons. Consequently, this transformation spans urban, structural, and social dimensions. The role of local residents in this transformation is not merely reactive but often proactive, as they primarily negotiate their interests with developers and among themselves. While conservation efforts is valuable, the lack of clearly defined mechanisms and responsibilities hampers their effectiveness. This uncertainty highlights the tension between preservationist ideals and economic incentives promoting urban renewal, leaving the future of Teşvikiye's identity uncertain.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Following the earthquakes in Kahramanmaraş on February 6, 2023, when our cities started to be discussed again, especially in terms of rules and regulations, the process contained a large number of legal gaps; in other words, the gaps in the system could not be identified. On one hand, homeowners want to make sure that the place they live in is safe, and on the other hand, there is a process of taking advantage of economic desperation. Besides, talking about our cities’ social and cultural livability, aesthetics, history, and lost memory becomes difficult.

The building group most affected by the transformation in Teşvikiye is the buildings belonging to the second morphological period described in the research. Buildings with fewer floors than those specified in current development plans, mostly dating back to the 1950s and earlier, are intended to be demolished as today’s outdated and difficult-to-rehabilitate structures. The owners of these buildings sometimes describe them as having no architectural value, and find building abandoned for demolishing as a security problem (Interview 2, 2022; Interview 4, 2022; Interview 5, 2022).

Our research aims to reveal the current uncertainty and out-of-control transformation in the rapid process by showing the controversial situations experienced in the Teşvikiye area. The buildings, marked as risky buildings, reflect the architectural heritage and lifestyle of the Early Republic. They sometimes remain sealed due to urban site decisions or are demolished for economic reasons as they need an altitude right but leave an undefined void behind. It brings with it, an image of ruins or dilapidation within the city that does not benefit anything, and is stuck between existence and non-existence. Buildings that are vacated and then neglected become disreputable over time. This method of social discrediting erases the traces of a period, leading to a lack of inquiry after a while. Consequently, as one Tesvikiye resident noted, no one wants an ‘ugly and spooky’ building in their neighborhood, making every new construction more readily accepted (Interview 2, 2022). This is a natural result of the process.

The change of leveling over the century does not align with a single period. The continuity of this change, driven by various political, economic, and social factors, is evident even on cartographic maps. Early periods show sudden typological changes, with wooden mansions and 2 or 3 story reinforced concrete buildings rarely surviving to the present day. Research indicates that multi-story apartment buildings, the rental houses of the republican period, first became widespread and then dominant. Notably, during the transition from the second to the third period, construction density significantly increased. After this period, change occurs in situ, making it difficult to discern from maps. Early Republican low-rise apartment buildings are now being abandoned and demolished. Although these abandoned structures may not be widely accepted by society, recognizing them as architectural and cultural heritage can halt the process. Conflicts between transformation laws and urban protection regulations create crises, causing significant hardship for residents. Economic challenges and reluctance to leave homes contrast with desires for income generation. Tesvikiye, representing the Western lifestyle since its inception, faces reputational decline under current conditions with old, dilapidated, and abandoned buildings.

Although capital accumulation processes, explained by Harvey (2005) in the theory of spatio-temporal fixes, mainly operate through the dispossession of low-income groups for the production of new resources, it is inevitable to see similar situations in the settlements of the middle-upper income group. Tesvikiye district exemplifies this. According to Harvey, new resources not accessible to private capital until then are included in the system through the commodification of common property. Here, capital accumulation processes begin to operate, primarily through the dispossession of low-income groups, and continue with the removal of the city’s poor from the peripheries (Harvey, 2010). Thus, the gap between different income and social groups in cities increases. In the situation that emerged in Tesvikiye, there is a group of people who have problems due to economic or emotional ties with the environment during the demolition of buildings designated as risky buildings. These situations, which are left unclear in the laws without creating conservation planning with Law No. 6306, which accelerates urban regeneration by pushing the residents out of the process, affect and change not only the spatial and structural features of the district, but also its social situation.

Declaration of Research and Publication Ethics: This study, which was approved by the ethics committee with the number 362 at the meeting of T.C. Istanbul Technical University Social Sciences and Humanities Human Research Ethics Committee dated 02.05.2023, complies with the research and publication ethics.

Researcher’s Contributions Rate Statement: The authors declare that the Gezer Çatalbaş, Z. C. contributed 60% and, Akpınar, İ. contributed 40% to the article.

Declaration of Researcher’s Conflict of Interest: The authors declare that there is no conflicts of interest in this study.

Personal Interviews

All interviews were conducted in confidentiality, and the names of interviewees are withheld by mutual agreement.

Unpublished personal interview 1 with Tesvikiye Resident/ neighborhood leader, October, 2021.

Unpublished personal interview 2 with Tesvikiye Resident, October, 2022

Unpublished personal interview 3 with Contractor based on Tesvikiye, May, 2023.

Unpublished personal interview 4 with Tesvikiye Resident, June, 2022.

Unpublished personal interview 5 with Tesvikiye Resident, November 2022.

Unpublished personal interview 6 with Tesvikiye Resident, January 2023.

REFERENCES

- Akay, M. Z. (2018). *A scrupulous and silent rationalist: the architect Ayhan Tayman*. (Unpublished Master thesis), Middle East Technical University, Ankara.
- Akın, G. (2010). 1930, Payitahtın günbatımı. In *Istanbul 1910-2010, city, built environment and architectural culture exhibition*, (ed.) Ihsan Bilgin et al. Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi University.
- Akın, Y. N. (2021). 6306 sayılı afet riski altındaki alanların dönüştürülmesi hakkında kanun kapsamında kentsel dönüşüm koluğu. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 11(2), 489-576.
- Akkar, Z. M. (2006). Kentsel dönüşüm üzerine Batı'daki kavramlar, tanımlar, süreçler ve Türkiye. *Planlama*, 2, 29-38.
- Akpınar, I. (2003). *The rebuilding of Istanbul after the plan of Henri Prost, 1937-1960: from secularisation to Turkish modernisation*. University of London, University College London (United Kingdom).
- Akpınar, I. (2016). İstanbul'un katmanlarını yeniden okumak: konut eksenini ve bağlamı, *Kültür ve Mekân Toplantıları Kitabı*, İstanbul ve Konut Kültürü: Değişim Dönüşüm Devamlılık, Özyeğin Üniversitesi, IAPS, İstanbul-Bomontiada.
- Alkışer, Y. (2003). *Türkiye'deki konut sorununun siyasi bağlamda araştırılması ve değerlendirilmesi* (Doctoral dissertation), İstanbul Technical University, İstanbul.
- Altürk, E. (2021). A big plan for small homes: the effort to set housing standards in Turkey. *Journal of Urban History*, 1-23.
- Ay, D., & Penpecioglu, M. (2023). Politics of "waiting for transformation" in protracted urban renewal projects in Turkey. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 42(6), 1024-1044. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23996544231222138>.
- Ayazlı, P. (1987). Arsa payı karşılığı kat yapım sözleşmesi. *Marmara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi, Hukuk Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2(1), 43-51.
- Aydın, F. (2013). *Afet riski altındaki alanların dönüştürülmesi "6306 sayılı yasa" İstanbul-Esenler örneği*. (Master thesis), Bahçeşehir University, İstanbul.
- Bilgin, İ. (2012). İstanbul projeleri: Teşvikiye (5) devam. Retrieved 3 May 2021 from <https://www.arkitera.com/haber/istanbul-projeleri-5-tesvikiye-devam>
- Bozdoğan, S. (2001). *Modernism and nation building: Turkish architectural culture in the early republic*. Seattle and London: University of Washington.
- Conzen, M. R. G. (1960). Alnwick, Northumberland: A study in town-plan analysis. *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, (27), iii-122.
- Çelik, Z. (1993). *The remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman city in the nineteenth century* (No. 2). California: University of California Press.
- Daşkiran, F., & Ak, D. (2015). 6306 sayılı kanun kapsamında kentsel dönüşüm. *Journal of Management and Economics Research*, 13(3), 264-288.
- Gezer, Z. C. & Akpınar, I. (2021). Türkiye kentleşme sürecinde konut: İstanbul-Nişantaşı üzerinden tarihsel bir okuma. In *21. yüzyılda kalkınmaya yeniden bakış*, (ed.) Fahri Çakı et al. Ankara: Nobel.
- Gül, M. (2009). *The emergence of modern Istanbul: Transformation and modernization of a city*. London: Tauris, 58-63.
- Gürer, T. K. (2016). Tipomorfoloji: Kentsel mekânın yapısını anlamak. *İdealkent*, 7(18), 8-21.
- Güzey, Ö. (2012). Türkiye'de kentsel dönüşüm uygulamaları: Neo-liberal kent politikaları, yeni kentsel aktörler ve gecekondu alanları. *İdealkent*, 3(7), 64-83.

- Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The urban revolution*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *New imperialism*. USA: Oxford.
- Harvey, D. (2010). *Social justice and the city*. USA: University of Georgia.
- Harvey, D. (2017). *The right to the city: Social justice and the fight for public space*. UK: Routledge.
- IMM ortophoto from 1946, <https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/> (accessed Oktober, 2023).
- IMM ortophoto from 1966, <https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/> (accessed Oktober, 2023).
- IMM ortophoto from 1982, <https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/> (accessed Oktober, 2023).
- Işık, O. (1995). Yapsatçılığın yazılmamış tarihi: Türkiye’de konut kesiminde küçük üreticiliğin varlık koşulları ve gelişimi üzerine gözlemler, *Mimarlık*, 261, 43-45.
- Kartal, B. (1983). Arsa payı karşılığı bağımsız bölüm yapma sözleşmesi ve özellikle biçimi. *Yargıtay Dergisi*, 9, 1-2.
- Koç, A., & Kubat, A. S. (2018). Kent biçimi araştırmalarında karşılaştırmalı analiz yöntemleri: İstanbul tarihi yarımadası örneği. *Türkiye Kentsel Morfoloji Ağı*, 243-254.
- Kuyucu, T., & Ünsal, Ö. (2010). ‘Urban transformation’ as state-led property transfer: An analysis of two cases of urban renewal in Istanbul. *Urban Studies*, 47(7), 1479-1499.
- Kuyucu, T. (2018). Politics of urban regeneration in Turkey: Possibilities and limits of municipal regeneration initiatives in a highly centralized country. *Urban Geography*, 39(8), 1152-1176.
- Moudon, A. V. (1997). Urban morphology as an emerging interdisciplinary field. *Urban Morphology*, 1(1), 3-10.
- Ortaylı, İ. (2000). *İmparatorluğun en uzun yüzyılı*. İstanbul: İletişim.
- Özden, P. P. (2001). Kentsel yenileme uygulamalarında yerel yönetimlerin rolü üzerine düşünceler ve İstanbul örneği, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi, Prof. Dr. Nazif Kuyucaklıya Armağan*, (23-24), 255-270.
- Özden, P. P. (2007). Belediyelerin sosyal programları ve kentsel yenileme. *Yerel Yönetimler Üzerine Güncel Yazılar*, Ed. by Muhammet Kösecik and Hüseyin Özgür, Nobel: İstanbul, 197-225.
- Pamuk, O. (2008). *İstanbul hatıralar ve şehir*. İstanbul: İletişim.
- Rossi, A. (1984). *The architecture of the city*. Cambridge: Mit press.
- Safa, P. (1995). *Fatih-Harbiye*, first pub. 1931, İstanbul: Ötügen.
- Şenyurt, O. Y. A. (2022). 1930-1945 yılları arasında istanbul’da inşa edilen bazı kira evleri. *Yapı Dergisi*, (477), 50-56. Retrieved 16.01.2024 from <https://yapidergisi.com/1930-1945-yillari-arasinda-istanbulda-insa-edilen-bazi-kira-evleri>
- Tekeli, İ. (1998). Bir modernleşme projesi olarak Türkiye’de kent planlaması. *Türkiye’de modernleşme ve ulusal kimlik*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan ve Reşat Kasaba, Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, 136-152.
- Tekin, İ. & Akpınar, İ. (2014). Betonarmenin anonimleşmesi: Türkiye’de ikinci dünya savaşı sonrası yapı çevrenin inşası. *Mimarlık Dergisi*, (377). Retrieved 20.10.2021 from <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=391&RecID=3404>.
- Türel, A., S. Osmay, M. Güvenç, A. Ataöv, Akkar, M. (2005). *İstanbul eylem planlamasına yönelik mekânsal gelişme stratejileri araştırma ve model geliştirme çalışmaları*. Ankara: ODTÜ, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü.
- Türkün, A. (2017). Kentsel dönüşüm yasasındaki değişikliklerin kazanan ve kaybedenleri kimler olacak?. *Mimarlık*, (393). Retrieved 15.11.2023 from <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=407&RecID=409>
- URL-1: <https://www.terakki.org.tr/terakki-vakfi-okullari/hakkimizda/tarihce/> (accessed Oktober, 2023).
- URL-2: <https://www.istanbulmuzayede.com/urun/8270656/macka-palas-kartpostal> (accessed Oktober, 2023).
- URL-3: <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2> (accessed Oktober, 2023).

URL-4: <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/204435?locale=tr> (accessed Oktober, 2023).

Ünlü, T. (2018). Mekânın biçimlendirilmesi ve kentsel morfoloji. *Türkiye Kentsel Morfoloji Ağı*, II. Kentsel Morfoloji Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı, İstanbul, 59-70.

Yolcu, F. (2021). Türkiye'de kentsel dönüşümün yasalar ve aktörler üzerinden dönemsel olarak değerlendirilmesi. *Planlama*, 31(3).

6306 Sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun (Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks), *Resmi Gazete*: 31/05/2012-28309. Retieved 10.05.2023 from <https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2012/05/20120531-1.html>

720 Nolu İlke Kararı Kentsel Sitler, Koruma Ve Kullanma Koşulları. (Kültür Ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Yüksek Kurulu (Conservation of Cultural Assets)). (2006, 4 October). *Resmi Gazete*: 27/10/2006- 26329. Retrieved 24.04.2023 from <https://teftis.ktb.gov.tr/yazdir?C9737859FA04CAE4A4F8AE84BF3C96CB>

(ca. 2015). Sisli Municipality Planning Directorate Archive, İstanbul.