THE ROLE OF SOCIOCULTURAL PRACTICES IN THE TRANSFORMATION
AND RE-STRUCTURING OF STREETS: A CASE STUDY OF BAĞDAT STREET
IN ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

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Urban space, as a sociocultural phenomenon, is (re)constructed as a result of changes in the contextual attributes, from global to local scales. Contemporary urban spaces are involved in inter- disciplinary development and transformation aimed at creating a living, resistant and inclusive place. The large Turkish cities should take advantage of the inter-disciplinary development with the increasing complexity of socio-economic and spatial relations. This study hypothesizes that the sociocultural reality of urban space is constructed over time, and that the interaction of numerous attributes at various scales, including local, national and global, contribute to the reconstruction of space as a social place. It further suggests that this can only be understood through an extraction of varying attributes and their relationship to each other that identify different historical periods in which the transformation and reconstruction of urban space took place.

To this end, three major research questions are posed: (1) What are the shared conceived attributes of Bağdat Street within a historical perspective? (2) Which

shared conceived attributes of Bağdat Street have been handed down from 1923 to the present day and contributed to the construction, re-construction and/or transformation of the street? (3) What socio-political and spatial relations may have prepared the context for those attributes to settle as the part of the street culture?

This exploratory-descriptive research follows a case study approach, given its suitability as a methodology in holistic-historical and in-depth investigations. The case study was made around Bağdat Street in Kadiköy, Istanbul, where in-depth interviews with people who are familiar with past events and the history of the street permitted the gathering of a large quantity of relevant data. A Fuzzy Cognitive Map technique was then applied to analyze the mass of data, from which the answers to the questions posed in the study could be drawn. The findings of the thesis reveal that sociocultural structure is a relationally constructed reality; and that multiple scales, dynamics and attributes collaborate in the construction of the social context. Accordingly, the study has uncovered that the relationally constructed place is a resistant and inclusive space.

Key words: relational construction, resistance, inclusion, Bağdat Street, Istanbul

ÖZ

SOKAKLARIN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ VE YENİDEN YAPILANMASINDA SOSYOKÜLTÜREL PRATİKLERİN ROLÜ: İSTANBUL, BAĞDAT CADDESİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Sosyokültürel bir olgu olarak kentsel mekân, küresel ve yerel ölçeklerdeki bağlamsal niteliklerin değişmesi sonucunda (yeniden) yapılanır. Çağdaş kentsel mekanlar, yaşayan, dayanıklı ve kapsayıcı yerler yaratmayı amaçlayan disiplinler arası bir gelişim ve dönüşüm sürecine dahildir. Türkiye'deki büyük şehirlerin, sosyoekonomik ve mekânsal ilişkilerin artan karmaşıklığı içerisinde disiplinler arası gelişmelerden faydalanmaları gerekmektedir. Bu çalışma, kentsel mekânın sosyokültürel gerçekliğinin zaman içerisinde yapılandığını ve yerel, ulusal ve küresel olmak üzere çeşitli ölçeklerdeki çok sayıda niteliğin etkileşiminin, sosyal bir yer olarak mekânın yeniden yapılandırılmasına katkıda bulunduğunu varsaymaktadır. Ayrıca, bunun yalnızca, kentsel mekânın dönüşüm ve yeniden yapılanmasının gerçekleştiği farklı tarihsel dönemleri tanımlayan farklı niteliklerin ve bunlar arasındaki ilişkinin ortaya çıkarılması ile anlaşılabileceğini öne sürmektedir.

Bu amaçla üç ana araştırma sorusu ele alınmaktadır: (1) Tarihsel bir perspektif içerisinde, Bağdat Caddesi'nin kavranan ortak özellikleri nelerdir? (2) Bağdat Caddesi'nin hangi kavranan nitelikleri 1923'ten günümüze kadar gelmiş ve sokağın yapılanması, yeniden yapılanması ve/veya dönüşümüne katkıda bulunmuştur? (3) Bu niteliklerin sokak kültürünün bir parçası haline gelmesini sağlayan bağlamı hazırlayan sosyopolitik ve mekânsal ilişkiler nelerdir?

Bu keşfedici-betimleyici çalışmada, bütünsel-tarihsel ve derinlemesine araştırmalarda uygun bir metodoloji olan örnek olay çalışması yaklaşımı kullanılmaktadır. Örnek olay çalışması, İstanbul, Kadıköy'de bulunan Bağdat Caddesi çevresinde, geçmiş olaylara ve sokağın tarihine dair bilgisi olan insanlar ile araştırmaya ilişkin büyük miktarda veri toplanmasına olanak tanıyan derinlemesine mülakatlar yoluyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Verilerin analizinde, Bulanık Bilişsel Harita tekniği uygulanarak çalışmanın araştırma soruları cevaplanmıştır. Tezin bulguları, sosyokültürel yapının ilişkisel bir şekilde inşa edilen bir gerçeklik olduğunu ve sosyal bağlamın yapılanmasında, farklı ölçekler, dinamikler ve niteliklerin bir arada çalıştığını ortaya koymaktadır. Dolayısıyla çalışma, ilişkisel bir şekilde yapılanan yerin, bir direnme ve içerme mekânı olduğunu göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: ilişkisel yapılanma, direniş, içerme, Bağdat Caddesi, Istanbul

To my altruistic Mother and Father…

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP: Justice and Development Party

CHP: Republican People's Party

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

FBC: Fenerbahçe Club

FCM: Fuzzy Cognitive Map

CM: Cognitive Map

CSM: Cognitive Spatial Map

EU: European Union

SC: Scale

LIST OF TURKISH TERMS

Adnan Menderes: Prime minister of Turkey in 1950s.

Alti-Yol (Six-ways): A square located at the intersection of the six ways in Istanbul's Kadiköy district. Republic demonstrations and Idman festivals were held in Alti-Yol. Today, it is famous for an iconic bull (Boğa) monument in its center.

Anatolian: Emigrants from Anatolia (Anadolu).

Bağdat: A name of street in the eastern side of Bosphorus Bridge. It traditionally was used as a caravan road, connecting Istanbul to Asia**.**

Bahariye: A name of street in Istanbul's Kadiköy district. It traditionally was used by the Ottoman's civil servants in a summer season.

Beyoğlu (Pera): Istanbul's district in the western side of Bosphorus Bridge.

Bosphorus: The first bridge of Istanbul, connecting Europe and Asia.

Bostancı: A neighborhood in Kadiköy district. It traditionally was used for gardening.

Budak and Atlantik: Names of cinemas used in the 1970s.

Cadde-Bostan: The old name of neighborhood was 'Cadı Bostanı'. It was used for gardening.

Çarşı: A place with a large number of shops.

Dalan: Bedrettin Dalan, the first mayor of Istanbul in 1980s.

Dimitri: A name of a casino and a sea-bath in the east Marmara beach.

Divan Café: The famous cafe-restaurant in Turkey.

Fenerbahçe: A name of a neighborhood and a leading soccer team in Turkey. One of the historical neighborhood in east Marmara, it is famous for its lighthouse 'fener kulesi'.

Fenerium: Fenerbahçe club stores.

Galatasaray: A neighborhood in Beyoğlu and a name of a leading soccer team in Turkey.

Gezi: An urban park next to Taksim square in Istanbul's Beyoğlu district.

Göztepe: A neighborhood in Istanbul's Kadiköy district.

Haci-Bekir: The old patisserie in Istanbul. It was founded in 1777.

Hristo: Famous pub (Meyhane) in Istanbul.

Idris: Famous and historical restaurant in Istanbul.

Inönü Stadium: It was a football stadium in Istanbul and the home ground of the football club Beşiktaş J.K. It was closed in 2013.

Kadiköy: Founded in 680 BC.. It was called 'khalkedon', it means a port location. In time, it changed to Kadiköy.

Kalamış: A Greek name 'Kalamisia'. In time, it changed to Kalamış, a district between Kiziltoprak neighborhood and Fenerbahçe neighborhood in the east Marmara beach.

Kiziltoprak: A name of a neighborhood in Kadiköy. Fenerbahçe stadium is located in Kadiköy's Kiziltoprak district.

Kuşdili: A famous lane in the Kadiköy district. It was traditionally identified with Romans' pubs and outdoor cinemas.

Maksim: A name of a casino in 1970s.

Moda: Romans and Christians were settled in the early nineteenth century. In the late nineteenth century, Levantine and England families (La Fonten, Monico and Frederik) were resided.

Papazın Çayırı: A green field was used for football matches in the late Ottoman era, in Istanbul's Kadiköy district. Its name changed to Union Club. Today, Şükrü Saracoğlu stadium (Fenerbahçe Football Stadium) is located.

Reşit: Sea-bath in east Marmara beach.

Ruşdiye: A famous lane among football fans, located in Kadiköy's Kiziltoprak, next to the Fenerbahçe Stadium.

Şaşkın-Bakkal: A symbolic place for Istanbul residents located in Bağdat Street between Erenkoy and Suadiye neighborhoods. It is a meeting point for cultural celebrations, rallies and protests.

Şike: 2011 Turkish sports corruption scandal.

Suadiye: A neighborhood in Istanbul's Kadiköy. Its' name was derived from Suadiye mosque.

Taksim: The most significant square in the heart of Istanbul (western side of Bosphorus). It witnessed the social movements and protests. The Republic monument settled in the center of a square.

Todori: A Roman pub was located in Kiziltoprak and then Kalamış, now is settled in the Cadde-Bostan side of Bağdat Street.

Yoğurtçu: A known symbolic place for football fans. In 1980s, it witnessed political fights.

Ziraat: Agriculture bank of the Republic of Turkey. It is a state-owned bank founded in 1863.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

*'Since we never reckon that we understand a thing until we
can give an account of its "how and why", it is clear that
we must look into the "how and why" of things coming
into existence and passing out of it.' – (Aristotle, 1929)*

Cities are socioculturally constructed phenomena that emerge out of sociocultural practices that are often the reflections of political, economic, social and spatial changes in the society. This study sees a sociocultural phenomenon as a social reality that is constructed due to these practices within the social and cultural context of human activity (Health, 1983 and Ochs, 1987), often manifesting from the consciousness of people which is constructed from previous practices in the first place. Thus, the dominant attributes and the contextual dynamics at all scales of the society, from local to global, provide the opportunities and possibilities for this kind of manifestation, and thereby, the modification and reconstruction of the sociocultural phenomenon. The dominant attributes and the contextual dynamics, interacting reflexively, influencing each other, and thus, leading to the emergence of the other, contribute to the development of the sociocultural phenomenon.

Within this context, the sociocultural phenomenon represents the intensive relationship that exists between the individuals and the world, and it is this individual-world relationship that exists already in human life that needs to emerge or to become by the efforts of the individuals (Merleau-Ponty, 1995). The

term 'sociocultural', being central to the theories of Vygotsky (1997b), Blumer (1986), asks the question of 'how does the context create the sociocultural phenomenon?' In line with the point of departure of these theories, this thesis also sees that the human understanding of the world relies on the practices in which people are engaged, and it is these practices which give shape and content to the human consciousness, and, in turn, stimulate the manifestation of actions that eventually construct the sociocultural phenomenon.

The sociocultural phenomenon is also context-specific. Every phenomenon presents its own existence through its contextual attributes (Husserl, 1964). That is said, considering that the wholeness of the sociocultural phenomenon is in movement, the attributes of the phenomenon must have the potential to communicate with other domains of life and higher scales of influence, and make its own presence known at the level of super-national. On the other hand, the sociocultural phenomenon makes itself completely transparent to the human eye (Husserl, 1964). It gives meaning to human life, leading people's thoughts and actions, and thereby, becomes an outcome of the interaction between different attributes, from emotional to material.

The sociocultural phenomenon is reconstructed within a historical process (Giddens, 1984). It is constructed and reconstructed as a result of the incessant development of contextual attributes. Attributes emerge as an outcome of the individual-world relationship while sociocultural relations develop in process as a result of the interaction across these attributes at multiple scales.

Within this context, globalization can be seen as the most influential factor in the construction of the sociocultural phenomenon (Tekeli, 2013). Globalization can cause an impact at national and local scales, eventually leading to a certain way of sociocultural development. Although the globalization process may push the sociocultural phenomenon to adopt the changes, occurring economically, socially

and spatially, the phenomenon can continue reconstructing itself from within to satisfy the emerging attributes.

From this point of departure, this study argues that the change, modification, construction and reconstruction of the sociocultural phenomenon can only be activated by the embodied attributes of the phenomena. Thus, the sociocultural phenomenon can experience changes from within due the attributes operating at all levels and scales, from local to global, while adopting contextual changes, without undergoing radical change. The study further argues that in this process, the place, where exchange, interaction and change takes place, plays an essential role in the formation of all that takes to construct, reconstruct, transform, and construct again. The place provides the physical setting for the construction of the phenomenon by accommodating people, activities, and emergences, yet it also transforms in line with the construction process. Therefore, like all other attributes, the place contributes to the continuum of sociocultural reconstruction while allowing itself to take other forms in response to the influence of what socioculturally takes place. More specifically, when the reconstructed process of a shared place continues, the constructed contextual attributes establish a relationship with the sociocultural phenomenon. This can be seen in a place where independent local activities such as festivities/festivals, rallies and brand café-restaurants are associated with multiple global-local such as summer resorts.

An approach that sees the reconstruction of the place as a result of the interaction of various independent attributes at both local and global scales calls for an understanding of the sociocultural reality as something that is constructed as part of a process. In line with this approach, this thesis takes the view that the sociocultural reality is constructed over time by way of a complex interaction of various domains at various scales, resulting in the reconstruction of space as a social place. This kind of process-based construction underlines the gradual preparation of the social context while communicating with different attributes of the society, in line with newly emergent contextual attributes. The gradual

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preparation of the sociocultural context contributes to the construction of the connected (integrated) sociocultural phenomenon, which reaches its potentials through the continuity of the individuals-social context relations. That said, it should not be assumed that the sociocultural phenomenon takes a passive role in the application of global and national strategies. Change is inevitable in any sociocultural phenomenon, being inherent in it and inalienable from it (Sorokin, 1970). Every socially constructed phenomenon is subject to change over the course of its sociocultural existence. To be in a state of incessant flux is the destiny of the sociocultural phenomenon (Heraclitus, [Kahn, 1979]). The socially constructed dominant attributes constantly reconstruct the structure of the sociocultural context, which eventually construct the culture, and this cyclical reconstruction process actualizes the sociocultural phenomenon. This calls for a need to decipher the global and national attributes, and thereby, the contextual and local ones, all of which contribute to the construction of the sociocultural phenomenon by way of the interaction at all levels in a historical perspective. It becomes essential to understand what kinds of attributes remain and which transform into something else over time, and how they merge to construct something new.

Looking at the history of Turkish cities, which may present an interesting socio-spatial and historical milieu for observing this kind of process, and thereby, which may help concretize this theoretical reasoning in practice, show that the primordial changes, being occurred under the new administrative (Tanzimat) regulations aimed to leave behind traditional Ottoman society, while becoming fragmented along religious lines and leading to an organic urban form, and seeking to create a society that was governed on the basis of equal rights and a cadastral structure. This required changes to the state and administrative regulations that had socio-physical consequences on the physical and administrative structures of the cities. This brought about a visible change to the sociocultural context as a result of the transformation in the economic and administrative rules from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards.

In the aftermath of the First World War, Turkey emerged as a new republic, and a secular and modern identity aimed at breaking with its Ottoman past. With the modernization of the new Republic, Turkish cities underwent significant socio-spatial transformations, especially in the 1950s, when the political administration aimed at reconstructing the physical environment of the social contexts. At that time, the industrialization-focused modernization in the physical and economic fields had a marked influence on the sociocultural relation. Construction in this period was different to that of the early Republican modernization, in that the social context was shaped by the intensive top-down hierarchical structure of space. Housing projects and physical restorations were launched under the 'Contemporary Beautiful City' slogan coined by Menderes, who took a mechanical view of the city but lacked sociocultural policies. In this period, squares and streets were widened, while the embodied cultural structure was pushed into a passive role in the face of top-down policies.

Turkey underwent substantial socioeconomic changes from 1950 onwards, when internal migration and urbanization gained speed and became one of the most important factors in changing the socioeconomic structure of Turkey. After the 1950s, the Turkish economy became consolidated into the new world system as a result of relatively liberal economic policies aimed at bringing about growth and modernization (İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1998). This had a significant effect on the development and transformation of both rural and urban areas.

Istanbul was one of the first Turkish cities to undergo significant transformation in administrative (Tanzimat) reforms through giving permission to permanent settlements of non-Muslims, the removal of cul-de-sacs, the replacement of wooden buildings with masonry ones and the pedestrians' axes. These regulations indicated the birth of a new lifestyle. The pedestrian axes, the transportation flow and the wide streets were all aimed at underlining public life. In the aftermath of the First World War, which had brought about a decrease in the socioeconomic life of the city, it became necessary to launch physical restoration projects that would

encourage a return to prosperity, especially the 1950s under the national strategies of the Menderes government towards more industrialization. This resulted in a weakening of agricultural production, and brought an influx of the rural population into urban areas. The knock-on effect was the implementation of major construction projects to meet the urban population growth, which, in turn, spurred a reconfiguration of the economic and sociocultural fields of urban area.

Istanbul witnessed a physical transformation on the fringes of the city to accommodate the agglomerated population that had settled in the center of the city. Consequently, projects were launched in the second half of the 1950s onwards to transform the hinterlands into minor urban centers. Hence, in the late 1950s up until 1973, Istanbul grew like an 'oil stain' (Tekeli, 2013) in the absence of any comprehensive plan and as a result of the deficiencies in housing and transport. Menderes' development projects were the first steps along the road to the decentralization of Istanbul, however the physical and economic structures of the city's hinterland did not function as small urban centers, causing an oil stain-like sprawl. The construction projects emphasized only the physical transformation of the city, and failed to address the sociocultural aspects.

The late 1970s were identified with the emergence of the globalization process and the liberal market, contributing to the acceleration of the decentralization policies, and vice-à-versa. The socioeconomic and political relations of the nation state were reconfigured in line with the globalization policies, and in pursuit of that, the socioeconomic and spatial relations of regional, city and local scales were also reconfigured based on individualization and privatization policies.

In the aftermath of the 1980 coup-d'état and the introduction of neo-liberal policies, Istanbul entered into a second phase of construction that thrived particularly in the late 1990s and the early twenty-first century. The city's economic and cultural domains began looking for a new way to integrate into the global platform, and one solution was to create a prestigious image for the city.

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Turkey's historical and cultural cities, especially Istanbul, experienced the intense influence of globalization in concert with the changes in the sociocultural development of the urban context.

The sociocultural context in Turkish cities witnessed a transformation in the traditional habits of the pre-Republican era to accommodate the new sociocultural activities that emerged under the spectacular culture of globalization. Consequently, globalization generated changes on the social space, and this, in turn, contributed to the reconstruction of sociocultural realities, such cultural celebrations and activating a spectacular life in brand café-restaurants. The liberal modernization opened up markets for global and national brands in the structure of the socially constructed reality. This set the stage for the formation of the complex socially constructed image of the sociocultural phenomenon in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

One of the most important city centers of Istanbul, Bağdat Street, as a major connection between life and work, land and water, and people and activities, has come to represent one of the many faces of Istanbul's urban life, and has fallen under the influence of what has gone on both internally and externally.

The industrialization of the 1950s had aimed at developing the economic and sociocultural life of the street based on the essential and social-recreational activities of everyday life, contributing to reconstruct the existing sociocultural context. Indeed, the Republican-educated residents of the street spurred changes and innovations. After the siting of the Boğa (Bull) sculpture (1995) in Alti-Yol (six ways) Square, the Republic celebrations moved to Bağdat Street, as a place that was identified with multiple social practices, and that was no longer a shared place of nightclubs (casino), pubs (meyhaneler) and beaches. Moreover, Fenerbahçe Football Club (one of Turkey's most prominent teams' presence in the structure of street) was able to reinvent its own power following its championship win in 1989, which resulted in the emergence of a different mode of entertainment

through celebration football championship within the socio-spatial structure of the street. Bağdat Street left behind its traditional entertainment habits, becoming a street of festivities. This new context was supported by the spectacular street life that was centered around the cafés, shopping malls and private service sectors, and the consumption and festival culture that had been born in the late 1980s, which reached a peak in the late 1990s and the twenty-first century.

The sociocultural phenomenon of twenty-first century became known as a place of political opposition and street protests, and the local population was known for its strong sense of community. This was supported by the intensive national fan base of the Fenerbahçe Football Club and the strong local government of the Republican Peoples' Party (CHP). The celebrations related to Republic rally and Fenerbahçe celebrations nurtured a sense of collaboration, according to which, the local people were explicitly aware of their interdependence with others, and their ability to influence change.

Social events were not limited by the boundary of the local scale. For example, the presence of the Fenerbahçe stadium in the area, as a center of sociocultural and political events, influenced the socio-political and economic life of the street, and its constant presence in the news headlines served to increase the popularity of the street at both national and global levels while the street economy reconstructs constantly under the influence of global and national markets, meaning that the social relations of the street are integrated with the national and global scales.

This preliminary observation of Turkish cities, more specifically in Istanbul, and more concretely on Bağdat Street shows that changes in the contextual attributes reconfigure the structure of the sociocultural phenomenon. The different attributes point to different ways of living and socializations in the sociocultural phenomenon and the newly emergent contextual attributes contribute to the modification of the street's sociocultural life. The globalization process serves the

reconstruction of sociocultural practices within the sociocultural phenomenon by bringing innovative modifications to the ways of socialization. People are constantly seeking ways to recreate cultural ideas, meanings and objects (Bennett, 1976).

Then, this observation calls a different way of understanding the place and the sociocultural phenomenon that constructs and reconstructs itself in, upon and with that place. This also shows how inadequate might be to look at a place just from an aesthetic point of view as how the urban design profession often does (e.g., Appelyard, 1982). Despite the consideration of the human aspect in addition to the formal value of a place, as seen in some practices of urban design (e.g., Kaplan & Kaplan, 1982), an understanding of the place requires rather a more complex examination considering the intertwined aspects of life, social and spatial, the present and the past.

Urban space should be examined in relation to the sociocultural phenomenon containing embedded attributes that allow the place to develop socially to suit the human system that uses it, and thereby, that constructs itself in relation to it. This contributes to the construction of the sociocultural phenomenon as well as of the place. Urban space is not a static entity of the physical environment. It is tightly connected to the sociocultural phenomenon that is constructed in it and with it. Urban space is neither static in time. The sociocultural phenomenon in urban space witnesses an ongoing process of construction in all of its contextual elements, including external, internal and the constructed, and thus, reconstructs itself continuously as a phenomenon. From this perspective, the forces that appear to be external do not push, pull or shape the sociocultural phenomenon, but rather prepare the context for its socio-spatial development.

To do that, the study, first, reveals the dominant attributes and dynamics that played a role in the construction of space. The study uses in-depth interview technique to derive peoples' ongoing cognitions, Fuzzy Cognitive Map to analyze

relations of the extracted dynamics and finally Frequency of mentioned dynamics to explore the dominant culture of context in time. Thus, to this end, the inquiry extracts the conceived and experienced knowledge constructed in the cognitions of selected actors, including politicians, administrators, educators, academicians and inhabitants of Bağdat Street, drawing further information from historical documents and maps. The intention herein is to derive these attributes from peoples' cognitions of space, while arguing on the need to investigate peoples' cognitions, given that this process contributes to the understanding of the attributes (dynamics) that play a major role in the (re)construction of space as a social place.

Second, the study attempts at defining the relationships among these dominant forces and those that emerges within the reconstruction process of the sociocultural phenomenon. The study sees the sociocultural phenomenon in a complex way, taking a holistic approach to reveal the attributes as well as the relationships that help construct the new ones to engage in new relationships. It is the relationship which reveals new emergences, thus, the study attempts to understand the kinds of relationships that exist among the conceived attributes of the sociocultural phenomenon.

Third, the inquiry investigates the reconstruction of the street within the change of the sociocultural phenomenon that takes place on the street in a time frame between the second half of the nineteenth century and the present day. To do that, the study adopts a historical and ethnographic approach. It explores the process of socialization in the lifespan of the sociocultural phenomenon of Bağdat Street in different periods, with particular emphasis on the period between the 1950s and the 2000s in an analysis of the social construction of space. The historical perspective adopted in the study particularly constitutes an essential component of the inquiry's approach for three main reasons. First, this study acknowledges that socialization is not a stable act, but is rather a process that transforms, changes and evolves over time. In this regard, an attempt is made to understand the

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implicit and explicit inter-subjective notions and attributes that explain this process, varying from the abstract, such as liberal economy, to the concrete, such as cultural celebrations. To this end, the study begins by presenting these notions within a dialectical relationship to construct the sociocultural structure of the sociocultural phenomenon, while also pinpointing which notions have remained and which have changed over time. Second, it is essential to maintain a historical perspective to reveal how the conception of the sociocultural phenomenon has been formed and changed. Thus, the study aims detailing the reconstruction of the sociocultural phenomenon through the derived attributes. The study argues that these attributes determine the parts of the whole in the construction of space, and that understanding the attributes of a space throughout its lifetime may provide clues to the future practices of the space. It may help explain the reconstruction process of the sociocultural phenomenon, being subject to an ongoing change, with respect to the strictly applied rules of professional practices and enabling legal allowances to do that.

Finally, the study discusses the social development of the street's sociocultural phenomenon at various scales, including local, national and global. This historical perspective helps to differentiate between the contributions of different scales in the social construction and reconstruction of the sociocultural phenomenon.

Given this, the study hypothesizes that the sociocultural reality of Bağdat Street is constructed over time, and that the interaction of numerous attributes at various scales, including local, national and global, contribute to the reconstruction of space as a social place. It further suggests that this can only be understood through an extraction of varying attributes and their relationship to each other that identify different historical periods in which the transformation and reconstruction of Bağdat Street took place. To this end, the study poses three research questions:

(1) What are the shared conceived attributes of Bağdat Street within a historical perspective?

(2) Which shared conceived attributes of Bağdat Street have been handed down from 1923 to the present day and contributed to the construction, reconstruction and/or transformation of the street?

(3) What are the socio-political and spatial relations that may have prepared the context for those attributes to settle as the part of the street culture?

The first research question intends to reveal the shared conceived attributes in the (re)construction of space and the derived shared attributes interact in the construction of the sociocultural phenomenon. An analysis of nine historical periods aims at showing the development of contextual attributes in time. This involves intensive field work, ethnographic techniques and participant observation. The derived attributes are gathered from the own words of respondents that explain their cognition of the phenomenon, with an intention to define the dynamics in the structuring of the sociocultural context. The second research question explains the reconstructed embodied attributes (dominant culture) under the contextual changes that occur within a historical perspective. Finally, the study explains the hierarchically configured shared attributes (dynamics) in the construction of the sociocultural phenomenon. The interaction of the socioeconomic and spatial policies of the global, national, city and local levels and scales all serve in the (re)construction of the sociocultural phenomenon.

By answering these three research questions, the study intends to contribute at different levels, theoretically, methodologically and practically. The following presents this contribution in accordance to each research question that I intend to answer in this inquiry.

Theoretically, the first research question aims to contribute to research on inter-subjective attributes (Schütz, 1972, 1979; Lukermann, 1973; Mead, 1934; Merleau-Ponty, 1945; Blumer, 1969; and Ricoeur, 1981, 1974) in two ways. First, it proposes that it is the interactions of the inter-subjective attributes that construct

the structure of the sociocultural context. Moreover, the study aims to reveal the context-specific structure and the process behind the construction of an integrated and complete structure as a historical process. Secondly, the study investigates the meaning making process that occurs alongside the changes in the contextual attributes within a historical process. The study investigates how the interaction of contextual attributes change over time and how certain meanings resist and adapt in the face of the transformation of unique cultural structures.

A review of earlier studies shows that these studies make no connection between people's cognitions and the (re)constructing of the sociocultural context. The present study theoretically contributes to the existing literature by conceptualizing the structure of social context with the contribution of inter-subjective conceived attributes, and further by investigating the cultural structure and inter-subjective attributes within a historical process. Each historical period develops different knowledge about the relationship between conceived attributes and the structure. The present study proposes that the sociocultural structure becomes integrated and complete as a result of gradual sociocultural development.

Existing studies refers to the notion of 'socially constructed practices', as the inter-subjective attributes that explain people's cognitions of space, and that exist within a broader domain of practices, either in an abstract form or a concrete one (e.g. street economy or architecture). According to Schütz (1979), the human world bends through the individuals' practical attempts to master and adjust the human world and it is through an inter-subjective investigation that social agents gain experiential access to other social actors, and hence, the sociocultural context is constructed through the interactions of agents. People conceive and practice the context as structured in layers (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

The existing literature underlines primarily that the inter-subjective attributes are constructed through the perpetual interactions of individuals. In other word, different actors of the society implement strategies in line with the contextual

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dynamics. In this study, the term 'attribute' refers to the essence of the sociocultural phenomenon, being modified within a historical eventually to a better state. The attribute is not a mysterious reality, but is created as part of people's everyday lives through the events in which they participate and observe, and thereby, are involved in the shaping of their cognition (Husserl, 1998). Furthermore, the existing literature broaches the subject of the meaningful interactions between the inter-subjective attributes, focusing on the cyclical relationships of the inter-subjective attributes in the (re)interpretation of existing meanings. According to Ricoeur (1981), reality should give an opportunity to show that reality, and that which shows it, and the way it shows itself, is as a 'phenomenon'. Therefore, the reinterpretation of the existing meanings contributes to unveil hidden potentials of the lived context. Moreover, Blumer (1969) puts forward people's act toward the socially constructed context on the basis of the meanings that context for them. In that sense, the modification of the existing meaning relies on the newly constructed acts of groups. Blumer and Mead (1969) present a (re)construction of the human world on the basis of the interactionism, communication and juxtaposition of socially constructed practices. Through this process, people come to fit their activities to one another to reach their own goals in the sociocultural context.

The second research problem theoretically contributes to the existing literature on 'the place (re)structuring and transformation in relation to the dominant inter-subjective attribute' in three ways. First, the dominant inter-subjective attribute is a dominant culture; this study demonstrates that the dominant culture is an outcome of interactions of multiple disciplines through the case of Bağdat Street. Second, the study proposes that the structure of the sociocultural context transforms and develops in the continuity of the predominating culture of the context. Third, the modifying and continuity of predominant culture of context comes up with the construction of the resistant, adaptive and inclusive space.

The study attempts to detail the continuity of socially constructed practices in the construction, reconstruction and transformation structure of the street, while Mead (1934), Blumer (1969), Dewey (1934), Vygotsky (1997b) and Giddens (1984) all present general arguments that touch upon the issue. The existing literature underlines the continuity of socially constructed practices, but it does not uncover relationships between the place structure and the continuity of dynamics. The structuring of the place in continuity and a reconstruction of the dominant culture/consciousness happens as a resistant, adaptive and inclusive space constructs. In this regard, previous studies do not focus on the construction of the inclusive, resistant and adaptive space in relation to the reconstruction embodied knowledge of the context. The continuity of dominant culture presents the inner culture of resistance and adaptation in a way that the dominant culture develops, transform and reconfigure while resisting or adapting to the newly constructed dynamics. The present study conceptualizes the transformation and restructuring of the sociocultural context through the continuity of the dominant culture. By doing this, it also reveals the resisting and adapting points in time and the preparing dynamics of these breaks. Dominant culture is a dynamic and continually changing process; it is not static, as it continues to be modified and finally becomes generally accepted by the many, it experiences the phases of holding on to some attributes and then, releasing them to construct new ones due to the changes either or both culturally and globally. Finally, the structuring of a place through the continuity of the sociocultural practices happens as the constructing the intergenerational place where all members of the society contribute to the structuring of the place.

This study also contributes to the existing literature by examining a case with a historical perspective. The study demonstrates that the structure of the place is not special to a particular period; indeed it extends and develops in time through the case of Bağdat Street. To study the sociocultural phenomenon, it is essential to explain the history of the phenomenon because it is a reconstructed process, from a primordial socially constructed attribute to a dominant culture with uncovered

hidden potentials. As such, the sociocultural phenomenon is not something that is incidental, but something that is undergoing as a process of presence, being and appearing. Attributes leave themselves open for potentially further exploration (Husserl, 1970) and are never complete, while individual-world relationships undergo a development to construct the very phenomenon. The constructed sociocultural phenomenon awakens people's imaginations to further attachments to the world. And this continues in a cyclical way. The existing literature does not explain the construction of a place based on the continuity of the predominant culture. Indeed, it does not have a comprehensive perspective on the essence and function of the dominant culture; the dominant culture is a multi-disciplinary reality developing in time to construct the sociocultural phenomenon.

The third research question theoretically contributes to the existing literature (Brenner, 1997a; Lefebvre, 1991; Smith, 1992, 1993; Taylor, 1982, 1993; Agnew, 1993; and Herod, 1991) on 'the inter-subjective attributes in the hierarchical construction of space' in a unique way. The study proposes the hierarchical structure of the place based on the intensity of integrated attributes than the organizing attributes based on size of scales studied in the existing literature. The inter-subjective attributes reflecting strategies and policies have been implemented in different scales and layers of the society are in interaction to construct the structure of the place. It underlines the construction of space based on the relational and hierarchical relations of the socio-political and spatial dynamics from global to local. The relational arrangement proposes the process-based development and transformation of space or development based on the continuity of socially constructed strategies and policies; the embodied actions are in communication with the global and national policies (re)constructing the structure of the place.

A review of earlier research shows that these studies make no connection between dominant and integrated inter-subjective cognitions and the scalar construction of space. The theories of Brenner (1997a), Lefebvre (1991), Smith (1992, 1993),

Taylor (1982, 1993), Agnew (1993) and Herod (1991) are deemed to be relevant to the third research question. The findings of Brenner and Lefebvre related to the socially constructed scales are particularly relevant to the present study. Smith (1993) suggests that the relational hierarchical system contributes to the follow-up behaviors of actors in the construction of space, and this finding is applicable to the study area in terms of its references to the multiple actors and attributes. Taylor (1993), Agnew (1993) and Herod (1991) agree that there is no such thing as the central scale, as the scales are in a horizontal/relational relationship. In the present study, the centers are the intensive integrated attributes constructing the relational hierarchical structure of the place.

This thesis also contributes methodologically. Previous studies of the sociocultural phenomenon generally are explanatory in nature whereas the present study derives its conclusions from in-depth descriptive that are quantified, and thereby, interpreted systematically in a case study. The present does this by exploring peoples' cognitions of the sociocultural phenomenon to conceptualize the unique cultural structure of the place. A review of existing studies shows that this has not been articulated before in literature.

The study presents the structure of the place in terms of its inter-subjective attributes, for which the inter-subjective cognitions (attributes) within different historical periods are revealed from people's conceived descriptions of the street. The raw data gathered during these interviews was transformed into meaningful concepts. These concepts, then, are analyzed by adopting a Fuzzy Cognitive Mapping (FCM) methodology to reveal the dominant attributes of Bağdat Street. Moreover, the study presents people's cognitions within a historical process to explain the restructuring and transformation of sociocultural context and demonstrates the dominant shared attributes in the (re)construction of the sociocultural phenomenon for different historical periods.

This research also makes contribution to the practical professional. It does that in two ways: by providing enriched data for planning and design professionals; and by presenting a holistic way of looking at a place as a phenomenon that constructs and reconstructs itself through its relationship both contextually and from within. The first of these offers practical advice related to the sociocultural development, beginning with an investigation of the derived inter-subjective attributes as applied and influential strategies in the (re)construction of the social context in relation to a place. The study goes on to examine the shared conceived attributes within historical perspective, contributing to the identification of the strategies that lead either to the development or failure of the sociocultural structure of the context. The study attempts to highlight the more integrated attributes in a practical way as the dominant culture in the construction process of a place. The attributes that were mentioned most frequently by the respondents are considered as the main drivers in the structuring of the wholeness of urban space. It is these attributes that organize the socioeconomic and spatial relations of the space, and in this sense, new strategies concerning the society, urban economy and space should aim to contribute to the dominant attribute for the restructuring of the contextual dynamic.

Moreover, the study emphasizes the importance of consistency in the contextual dynamics for the development of the dominant culture, meaning and practice of space. The imposed attributes by external authorities never lead to efficient results, just as other attributes resist unfamiliar sociocultural realities, thus preventing the development of the attribute. Furthermore, by investigating the shared conceived attributes in the scalar construction, it can be understood which scales are in a weak relationship with the local scale in the production of innovative strategies that aim at regenerating their relationship and ensuring an integrated sociocultural context. More importantly, while the scalar configuration permits an understanding of the actors who play a role of influencing people's lives and the changing roles of different actors across different historical phases,

more importantly, the hierarchical model helps survey the upper-scale (global and/or national) strategies and the reaction of general public to those strategies.

Finally, the present study is an empirical criticism of the existing practice of urban design. An urban design approach must relate to the needs and interest of all the actors in the urban development process. Urban design must be conceptualized as an inter-disciplinary and inter-scalar activity, as a variety of dynamics that are involved in the (re)construction of space. The present study underlines the interplay of the historical, political, economic, social, cultural and spatial dynamics in the construction of the whole, rather than separating the disciplines in the (re)construction of space. Urban design should plan on the basis of the socially embodied practices to human-center development of the sociocultural context. The study underlines that the Street can be considered as a small world (with multiple dynamics) (Norberg-Schulz, 1980), shaping the thoughts of the individuals, while also reflecting the individual's understanding of the world; the amalgam of these dynamics is the street. The multiple dynamics presented in a street in the particular urban setting. Indeed, street identifies life as a path/or passage where people have tried to rationalize their existence in the material world. The existence, in this sense, is the feeling of belonging to society (Benjamin, 1978); street presents identity of society. The streets are places that have meanings for people, invite access for all, and encourage use and participation.

This thesis is composed of nine chapters. Chapter 2 explains the theoretical framework; Chapter 3 presents the case study; Chapters 4 and 5 discuss the methodological framework; Chapters 6, 7 and 8 present the findings; and Chapter 9 discusses the major findings, future works and recommendations.

More specifically, Chapter 2 elaborates the theoretical rational of the study in three sections, including the conception of socially constructed practices; the

socially reconstructed practices; and the hierarchically constructed street's sociocultural phenomenon.

The first section in Chapter 2 explains the conception of socially constructed practices, the relational relations and the structuring, with a discussion of the theories of Schütz (1970), Mead (1934), Raymound Williams (1968), Blumer (1969), Geertz (1973) and Ricoeur (1979). The second section discusses the socially reconstructed process, in which the theories of Giddens (1984), Dewey (1934) and Vygotsky (1998) are the primary resources, but with additional contribution from Alexander (2002), Raymond William (1968) and Said (1983). The third section discusses the hierarchical construction of space, drawing from the works of Neil Brenner (1997a) and Lefebvre (1991). Furthermore, the theoretical insights of scholars such as Smith (1992, 1993), Taylor (1982, 1993), Agnew (1993) and Herod (1991) are used to address the questions and social constructions of scale. This section further explains the process in the construction of the phenomenon on a global, national, city and local scales.

Chapter 3 is broken down into two sections: the research approach, the case study and the research topic. The first section summarizes the research approach, explaining the plan and the applied logic. The second section begins by examining the case study methodology, justifying its appropriateness for the present research. Then, an explanation is made of the contextual setting of Istanbul, the selection process and the contextual setting of the study areas. This section provides an account of pilot project, which was performed in two neighborhoods: Bostancı and Fenerbahçe, before explaining the rationale behind the selection of the contextual setting of Kadiköy as a study area, and more specifically, Bağdat Street.

Chapter 4 presents the three research methods applied in previous studies of urban cognition, being quasi-experimental, exploratory and descriptive. Each approach

is described in detail, highlighting its strengths and weaknesses, and examines the respective data collection processes and analysis methods.

Chapter 5 summarizes the analytical procedures to identify the relationships between conceived attributes, and presents the results in three sections. The first section discusses descriptive knowledge, the interview method and the profile of the twenty respondents in the study. This section goes on to present the in-depth interview questions applied to the participants, aimed at revealing the cognitive attributes. The second section explains the analytical procedure in the exploration of cognitive attributes, which is based on the frequency of mention of each attribute. The data analysis process is further conducted on a Fuzzy Cognitive Map to derive causal relations of the conceived attributes; while a Cognitive Spatial Map is used to present the spatial dimension of the revealed attributes. The final section of Chapter 5 explains the results of the analytical exploration and the classification procedure.

Chapter 6 is presented in three sections: the first section explains the derived inter-subjective attributes of the street's sociocultural phenomenon in the twenty-first century, while the second section discusses the revealed shared attributes of the street's sociocultural phenomenon in the twentieth century. Indeed, this chapter elaborates upon the emergence sociocultural phenomenon of the street within a historical perspective. The last section broadly discusses Bağdat Street during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Chapter 7 is presented in four sections, in which the construction of the street's sociocultural phenomenon over three generations through the reconstruction of dominant attribute (culture) within a historical perspective is explained. The study refers to the continuity of the predominant culture of the context to construct a resistant, adaptive and inclusive place. The last section briefly discusses street in intergenerational changes. Indeed, it synthesizes the predominant concepts with

the newly constructed dominant meanings of a context in the (re) construction process.

Chapter 8 includes three sections, in which the hierarchical construction of the street's sociocultural phenomenon is explained in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, respectively. In the first section, although the study has a focus on the twentieth century, it begins from the nineteenth century that contributes to better understand the genesis of the contextual dynamics. The last section broadly discusses street in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and has attempts to synthesis the contextual changes within a historical perspective.

Chapter 9 presents the findings of the study in relation to existing literature and suggests the new research potentials for further studies, while also providing recommendations on the sociocultural development of the urban context.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIALLY (RE) CONSTRUCTED PHENOMENON

This chapter conceptualizes the empirical part of the study, and so discusses the three main questions posed by the thesis. The first question aims to clarify the socially constructed practices in the (re)construction of the street's sociocultural phenomenon; the second question is related to the reconstruction of the socially constructed practices within a historical perspective; and the last question aims to provide details of the hierarchically constructed sociocultural phenomenon of the street.

Broken down into three sections, this chapter begins by theorizing the conceived practices and dominant meanings of a context, referencing the works of Schütz (1979) and Blumer (1969) for conceptualizing socially constructed practices in the (re)construction structure of the sociocultural context.

 The second section explains 'the reconstructed socially constructed practices within the historical process, referencing the theories of Dewey (1934), Vygotsky (1997b), Giddens (1979), Mead (1934), Raymond William (1969) and Blumer (1969). The study refers to the relational development of the socially constructed context, in which the sociocultural structure is reconfigured in a dialectical relationship with the multiple attributes of the context.

The third section explains the hierarchically construction of the street's sociocultural phenomenon, referring to Neil Brenner's (1997a) theory on the 'social construction of scale' in the construction of space. The following table explains briefly the applied theories in the three sections of the study (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Theoretical Overview-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Research Questions	Research Categories	Authors	Theories	Case Study	Recommendations
(1) Shared conceived attributes (practices)	Shared Conceived Practices; Meaning; Inter-Subjective	Blumer (1969); Mead (1934); Schütz (1979); Luckmann (1973); Merleau-Ponty (1996).	-Mead (1934): social act -Blumer (1969): joint act -Inter-Subjective (Schütz); social interactions -Reconstructed consciousness (Merleau Ponty) -Symbolic Interactionism (Blumer) ↓ -Individual act based on meanings of an object -Meanings arise out of interaction with object. -Meanings modify by individuals' interaction with object -Human beings act towards a sociocultural phenomenon on the basis of meanings that the phenomenon has for them (Blumer, 1969). -Meaning producing through the interaction of individuals or agents (Blumer, 1969) -State of dynamism through the perpetual interaction of attributes (Simmel, 1908).	-Shared conceived attributes are the activities of different groups in society, -Chain of inter-subjective meanings constructs space, -Groups make projects/meanings based on contextual attributes, -Socially constructed meaning is the emergent contextual attribute for the other attributes of the context in the process of meaning making, -Modification of meanings through inter-subjective interaction, -Socio-spatial and economic relations within each historical period structure the shared space, -Quality of relations of the inter-subjective conceived attributes within a historical period construct space, - Made meaning is resistant or adaptive to change, -Meaning is the outcome of inter-subjective attributes interaction -The context-specific conceived attributes construct structure of the place.	-Integration of strategies contributing to construction of a community and sense of the place, -Contextual-based development of strategies is required, - Disconnected strategies decline the quality of the shared place, -Places with diverse and integrated activities offer potentials for emergent innovative attributes. Study gives point to urban design and strategies in the construction of the integrated cognitive-based space. Cognitive-based space is based on incessant individual-world relationships, -Inclusion of different groups of society through integration of different attributes of the context.
(2)Reconstructed Shared Conceived Attribute (practices)	Construction; Reconstruction; Transformation.	Blumer (1969); Mead (1934); Giddens (1984); Dewey (1934); Vygotsky (1997b, 1978).	-Meanings are handled and modified through an interpretive process (Blumer, 1969). -Human acts based on the embodied meanings of the place. The acts reconstruct the embodied attributes. -Continuity of reconstruction (Vygotsky, 1997b) -Continuity of experience (Dewey, 1934) - Rules need many practices to exist as the dominant rules of context (Giddens, 1984): the continuous process of development.	-Dominant attributes resist change, contextual dynamics should change to modify dominant attribute, -The continuous inter-subjective knowledge brings together generations, -Dominant existing attribute constrains free behavior of agents, -Pursuing the actuality of the embodied attribute, not imitating, -Increasing social consciousness brings social resistance to change, -Extension of shared place, -The political administration tries to destroy the embodied meaning of the place to replace meanings with pre-defined meanings, -Resistance cultural structure, -Adaptive cultural structure, -Reconstruction helps to cope with change.	-Continuity in decision-making (strategies), -Strategies based on the local knowledge of the context to bring together many, -Contextual-based development.
(3) Hierarchically Constructed Space	Hierarchical construction; Relational hierarchical organization	Neil Brenner (1997a); Lefebvre (1991); Smith (1992, 1993); Taylor (1982, 2004); Agnew (1994); Herod (1991),Jones (1998)	-Politics of scale (Smith, 1992) -Socially constructed scale (Brenner 1997a; Lefebvre, 1991) -Scalar configuration and horizontal network (Taylor, 2004) -Scale not as an ontological structure which 'exists', but as an epistemological one (Jones,1998) -There is no such thing as a scale (Thrift, 1995) -The power of local in context of globalization (Herod,1991; Agnew,1994)	-Contingent connection of scales, -No such thing as the center; every attribute can be influential in the center of the structure, -Scalar modeling based on integrated attributes of the context, -Deconstruction of scalar relations through the emergence of global scale in the structure of the social phenomenon.	-Strategies should develop based on the contextual attributes to contribute in the construction of the integrated and complete sociocultural phenomenon, -Rescaled social relations should construct the socio-spatial structure of the sociocultural phenomenon.

2.1. The Conception of Socially Constructed Practices

Man is a product of society. Society is a human product', Berger and Luckmann, 1966

People socially construct practices; they conceive them by assigning meanings to them, then they socially conduct new practices upon their conceived ones. Indeed, the social mind is manipulated by the different strategies and projects of different agents, who focus on the situated activities, affirming, modifying and destroying situated identities and encouraging, or even forcing, the social mind to live within the constructed social order. The first research question aimed to understand the strategies of these agents within the social context through an examination of people's cognitions, while the derived conceived attributes serve to explain the attributes that are attached to the lives of the individual. Shared cognitive attributes are representative of the socially practiced attributes in the construction of space within a historical process, and this continues with an examination of the quality of this construction down through the years to follow up strategies/or attributes that lead to the completeness and integration of the sociocultural phenomenon. To do this, the study is based on the theory that 'meaning is holistic, more like a web', and that humans are born into a world of meanings that are in interaction (Schütz, 1974 and Luckmann, 1979)'. Indeed, 'the inter-subjective structure of meaning enables individuals to act in the social world (Schütz, 1970)'. Addressing this issue, *Schütz (1973)* says that the sociocultural context is constructed through the 'joint flow of actors, practices, social acts (Mead, 1934)' and a 'joint act (Blumer, 1969)', all of which steer practices within the sociocultural context. In this sense, *Merleau-Ponty's (1996)* concept of 'body schema' explains how human beings interact with the world in meaningful ways to gain consciousness of their existence in the world. Thereby, the constructed meanings refer to the attributes that are used and practiced, either mentally or concretely, by people to gain a sense of existence. For *Raymound Williams (1959),* the sociocultural context is the product of the co-existence of the local, national and global meanings, and their circulation and collision. *Blumer (1969)* suggests that living is a process of ongoing activity in which actors develop lines

of actions in multitudinous situations, while the ongoing actions fit into one another. He adds, 'the essence of society lies in the ongoing process of action – not in a posited structure of relations'. According to Geertz (1973), 'inter-subjective practices are culture', although he does not make a separation between culture and inter-subjective practices, believing that through the existing culture, inter-subjective practices find order and direction. He adds that the inter-subjective attribute cannot exist without culture, and in turn, culture cannot exist without inter-subjective practices, in which the term 'practice' refers on the shared and inter-subjective characteristics of then culture, as unique entities of the place. In this regard, *Lukermann (1964)* uses the term 'special ensemble', in which place has both history and meaning, and where the meaning is incarnate of the practices and aspirations of people. In this respect, place is a socially constructed reality of the people who have given it meaning, while the socially constructed reality is incessantly interpreted in the mind of the individual to stimulate further actions so as to reach a higher level of consciousness. In this sense, for *Riceour (1974),* 'interpretation … is the work of thought which requires deciphering the hidden meaning in the apparent meaning, in unfolding the levels of meaning implied in the literal meaning'.

In this study, the term 'shared attribute' refers to the inter-subjective consensus of the public around common points, which bring together many with a sense of social existence around a broad domain of practices, from beliefs, thoughts and metaphors to events. This results in the development of a sense of collaboration around different practices. Accordingly, the inter-subjective attributes exist socially through the communication and juxtaposition of other inter-subjective attributes of the context. For example, people take pleasure from a sociocultural context through the physical aesthetics of the space, and indeed an interrelated shared place is a unified place of being (Heylighen, 1997). In this case, highly connected inter-subjective practices presents the socially constructed beliefs, thoughts and events, all of which become unified in the construction of the whole vision of the place. Moreover, society reached a high level of order through the

intensive connections of people's thoughts, beliefs and practices, although reaching a higher level of order takes time. In other word, many wars throughout history have been the result of inconsistencies in thoughts and beliefs. In this sense, the historical events provide evidence of the gradual construction of the integrated beliefs, thoughts and structure and so the integrated cognition of the lived space narrates the story of construction within a historical perspective.

The formation of an integrated sociocultural place therefore goes through three phases of development. Different people associate space with different activities and ideologies, and such separated ideologies force people into different modes of social existence when the place is fragmented among diverse groups, ideologies and thoughts. This causes a deterioration in the shared place of being, resulting in a place of struggle, although the disintegration of ideologies is a part of the process of development, in that it is not possible to image a sociocultural phenomenon at a higher level of order in the early phase of the process. The second phase of development refers to strategies, attempting to juxtaposition socially constructed attributes. Intermediary sociocultural practices/ or strategies that bring together two different ideologies are a part of development process of a shared place. The third phase of development involves the intensive communication of the conceived practices under influences of new strategies while there is no end to the completion and integration of conceived realities of space, in that development is an open-ended process, due particularly to the constant advances in technology. Indeed, it is the many diverse actors in today's society, each with their own priorities, that drive the shared place toward complexity (Figure 2.1), and this leads to a complex image of the place, identifiable as a sociocultural phenomenon that is in intense communication with the city, national and global scales. As a necessity, an integrated shared place is a flexible, active, living and resistant being.
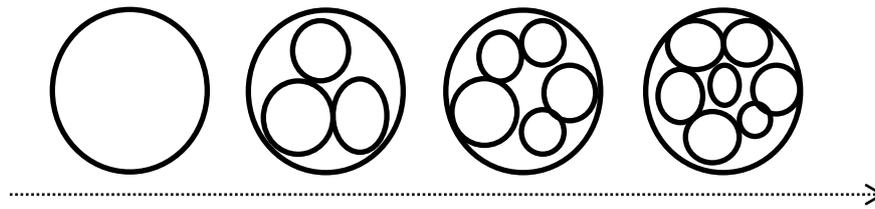
Figure 2.1: Proliferation of Shared Space among Different Groups of Society-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

The process of construction explains how the sociocultural phenomenon gradually entered into the consciousness of society through intensive interactions of the contextual practices. The sociocultural phenomenon, and its intensively connected practices, allows for the exchange of knowledge among the different groups in society, leading this kind of socially constructed place to produce, control and transfer knowledge. Indeed, the embodied practices of the sociocultural phenomenon support each other in the construction of an integrated and complete sociocultural context that ensures its ongoing existence, while the inner conflict of the attributes/practices may result in a decline in the quality of being in the sociocultural context. Accordingly, the interaction of the socially constructed practices comes up with the innovative development of the sociocultural phenomenon (Heidegger, 1978) through unfolding hidden meanings. As an example, the everyday life of a place should arrange itself according to the residents' understanding of living and dwelling. This is because the socio-physical structure of a place that is not supported by its residents is destined for destruction, in that it is able to develop and progress only through the involvement of people. Accordingly, should a socio-physical structure be inconsistent with people's needs, they will engage in their sociocultural practices outside the everyday structure of the place. The three phases of development mentioned above underline inter-relationships of the components, from very abstract (e.g. the street economy) to the concrete (e.g. the architectural style), which should be consistent if the construction of a shared place of living is to be achieved.

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The second part of this section provides a definition of the socially constructed dominant practices of the place. As mentioned above, the place is composed of socially constructed attributes/practices that define the quality of its integration within a historical process. Each phase of development can be identified from its dominant practices, which means that among the inter-subjective conceived attributes, some are confirmed with the frequency of inter-subjective cognitions. That is to say, inter-subjective contextual attributes contribute to the (re)emergence of the dominant culture of the place. In this case, the dominant culture is a relational entity that draws its power from the different shared attributes of the context. In this regard, the structure can be considered as a relationally and socially constructed entity that organizes the way of thinking, living and acting in the shared place, and in this case, the structure is not a pre-given reality. According to Giddens (1984), structure does not have concrete existence, being the general knowledge of the place that defines the regulations of living within the particular context. In this regard, it can be said that the attributes and structure are melted into one another to define people expectancies, behaviors and thoughts in the sociocultural context. Indeed, the social structure and socially constructed attributes develop together, changing socially constructed cognitions as well as the structure of the sociocultural context. The difference between the two is that the attribute is one within the whole, while the structure is the whole itself, which is reconfigured and modified with the contribution of the socially constructed attributes without undergoing radical transformation. Therefore, a single attribute is unable to transform the inner regulations of the relationally constructed cultural structure, but justly instills the embodied meanings of the structure with new meanings.

Moreover, this section aims to make a detailed definition of cognition, and to explain from where/by whom/how people obtain cognitions about the lived place. The human being is also a sociocultural phenomenon that constructs its own life based on the knowledge obtained from the nature and from other people's lives. Dewey (1934) claims that people always arrange their own lives from other

people's view, in that humans like to gain approval as a social being. In this regard, humans always construct social knowledge and cognitions under the influence of different groups in society, meaning that the human mind is under constant manipulation from different social practices. The human mind is always engaged in environmental stimulation to find modes of connection to the other people.

The above-mentioned issues related to the development of dominant attributes in the process of integrating better with different contextual attributes refers to the change, reconstruction and or development of human cognitions. Human lives and minds are not in a state of inertia; particularly the information era incessantly (re)constructs human cognitions in a broad domain of practices, just as humans seek opportunities to socialize in a broad domain of practices. That is why human cognition said to be is a contingent rather than territorialized reality, in that human senses, feelings and understandings are not confined within the boundaries of a particular geography. So that, people's thoughts and behaviors are (re)constructed constantly by the events around them while the realities are in transition (Marx, 1936), and the world is not a ready-made thing or a never-ending process (Engels, 1941). The relative world, therefore, provides different forms of cognitions, and in this case, people modify their cognitions constantly to adjust their own existence within the structure of the context.

The last point in this section of the study addresses the meaning-making process. As mentioned, people's cognitions are constructed in a large domain of practices, but not all have the same value. Those that give people meaning in a context can be defined as dominant attributes, in that cognition is not a context-specific reality but meaning-making is context-dependent. Constructed meanings, it can be said, represent the common cognitions of people about a particular lived place. To define the difference between cognition and meaning, for the cognition mechanism, 'war is war', however the geographical aspect of war brings into play the context-specific details of the war. Meaning is accompanied by the details of

an event, and is the way in which people act towards the social object (Hewitt, 1989). Up to now, the study said, the meaning making is context-dependent phenomenon, in which people create meanings to communicate at the super-national level from within the sociocultural domain to gain a sense of social existence within society (Schütz, 1932 and Mead, 1934). Indeed, through the communication of individuals/or actors, new meanings emerge, which are interactively and recursively reconstructed (Husserl, 1929). That is to say, individuals gain constant new cognitions about life through the reinterpretation of existing meanings. Accordingly, the relationally constructed dominant meaning of the context (re)emerges through interactions of the more meaningful contextual attributes and through the newly constructed contextual attribute. Indeed, a new attribute within the relational meaning system functions as one in the whole, reconfigures and modifies the composition (relational structure) of meaning, and so the sociocultural context is in an ongoing process of meaning-making, leading to a higher level of social consciousness and to the construction of a place with a diversity of the interacted shared meanings.

Up to now, an explanation has been made of how correlated shared conceived attributes construct a meaningful sociocultural structure and the study refers to the dominant meanings of the space are constructed relationally through the interaction of the socially constructed attributes. The study has also shown how the relational transformation of the dominant meaningful attributes of the context maintains equilibrium in the development process of the sociocultural phenomenon. The following section aims to throw light on the second question of research study, followed by an elaboration of the socially reconstructed sociocultural phenomenon.

2.2. Reconstruction of Socially Constructed Practices

The knowledge of some other part of the
stream, past or future, near or remote, is always mixed in with our knowledge
of the present' - James, 1983

People socially construct practices; they reconstruct the sociocultural practices through changes in the contextual dynamics. The term 'reconstruction' refers to the continuity of practices (Dewey, 1934). The sociocultural entity is in the process of being-becoming, aiming to attain a higher level of order, which is 'a developmental journey' of '*continuous reconstruction*' (*reweaving the web of meaning in Vygotsky [1978, 1997b] phrase*). The study underlines the dynamic hermeneutic, the constant reinterpretation, the constant re-weaving of the 'web of belief (*Rorty (1996*)' or 'web of meaning' (*Vygotsky (1997b*), the constant 'reconstruction of experience' (*Dewey (1934*), as the human being consciously re-reforms habits that evolve into new social practices to resolve problems, to meet human needs, to adapt, and to transform the shared place with people demands. In this sense, the sociocultural phenomenon is a result of a holistic-historical developmental process in which the initial dominant attributes/practices enter the lifespan, and exist in the process of development as innate knowledge. In 'the *traveling* concepts' used by Said (1983) to define reconstruction, the initial attribute of the context survives through the continuity of practice. Therefore, 'reconstruction' here refers to the *translation* of the existing/embodied attributes based on the newly constructed attributes of the context (Bourdieu, 1977). The newly constructed dominant attributes are neither a repetition nor a dramatic change from the existing entity, but something that falls in between the traditional habits and present attributes of the context. Indeed, the initial dominant attribute is reconstructed into a new phase of creativity and innovation (Fairclough, 1992).

While dominant attributes are those that are contained within the cognitions of the majority as the relationally constructed practices, its interconnected structure

arranges the socio-spatial and economic relations of the sociocultural phenomenon. Accordingly, the dominant attribute is the relational, interconnected, simultaneous and juxtaposed-based practices that define the mode of transformation, structuring and reconstructing of the sociocultural context. In this regard, a newly constructed attribute that will bring about a change in the relational structure of the dominant attributes is unable to radically transform the socially constructed structure, in that the relational-based phenomenon 'adapts to changes/reconstructs' without undergoing radical change. Accordingly, the effects of change are disseminated among the attributes of the structure, and so do not lead to a socio-physical destruction, but rather appear as an opportunity for reconfiguration. In this case, the socially constructed structure reconstructs the existing meanings of the structure with the modified ones. Indeed, the structure is able to adapt to the newly constructed attributes from within. This feature of relational structure of dominant culture to decline the magnitude or intensity of change in the case of development is referred to as 'resistant cultural structure'. In this sense, resistance takes on a new meaning, being a structure-specific phenomenon. Accordingly, the relational structure of dominant culture undergoes changes from within, referring to the innate interacted structure of the existing culture. This mode of change occurs in relation to the existing attributes of the context, in that any change in the cultural structure strives to enhance the quality of the existing culture, and necessitates the preservation of existent attributes through every course of development. Indeed, a living culture needs to change if it is to exist socially in people's lives, in this regard change occurs while the newly constructed contextual practices/attributes reconstruct the existing structure and meanings of the sociocultural context, as failure in this regard will result in dominant culture annihilation, and passing out of memory. So that, a culture needs to be in a permanent state of development if it is going to exist as an integrated sociocultural phenomenon (Colebrook, 2002), and this ongoing process of development unfolds the hidden sociocultural relations and potential of the context (Derrida, 1967), indeed giving form to the shapeless world. In this regard, in the structural change, the socioeconomic and spatial relations of the newly

constructed attributes should be in consistency with the existing cultural structure to modify and turn dominant cultures.

The ongoing process of (re)construction leads to contextual complexity, resulting from the amalgam of interacting sociocultural relations. Accordingly, within a historical process, the sociocultural structure undergoes constant reconfiguration in a diversity of practices, allowing the users to create a more robust structure that is more resistant to change. In this respect, any newly constructed attribute has to deal with the integrated attributes of the complex sociocultural phenomenon before having any influence on the structure. Indeed, a reconfigured cultural structure builds its branches towards different layers of society so as to ensure structural equilibrium in the event of change, and so a change in one attribute may have only a minor effect on the existing function and meaning.

Therefore, in the process of structural development, the traditional habits of the place are reconfigured according to the new modes of sociocultural relations, so that in the process of change, the connected social relations do not totally cut their ties with the existing habits associated with the place. Accordingly, changes in knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs and any socially constructed practice have not led to a destruction of the structure (Geertz, 1973). Indeed, the structure is inseparable from the process of preservation and reconfiguration, given that the structure refers to order and control while encourages people into further actions (Giddens, 1984 and Simmel, 1971). In this regard, a structure is open and receptive to the modification of existing identities, beliefs and knowledge (Lincoln, Guba, 1994 and Ricoeur, 1990), in this process, the structure is not a pre-given reality. In short, a cultural structure attempts to retain the diversity of people with a diversity of activities, reaching an upper level of order in which people maintain an intensive sense of collaboration with each other.

Thereby, to construct the living sociocultural context, it can be said that the continuity of cultural practice is required; otherwise memories of the place in

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which people were emotionally attached will be left behind in the layers of history (Assmann, 2006 and Schütz, 1967). This would result in a decline of social existence, meaning that the place will no longer satisfy the spiritual-emotional needs of its users. The continuity of practice contributes to the (re)construction of the context of differences and diversities, ensuring that the constructed thoughts and beliefs do not disappear from the structure of the sociocultural phenomenon (Sennett, 1977). So that, newly constructed contextual attributes should not drive the existing cultural practices to resist development and reconfiguration, as prolonged resistance leads eventually to the destruction of the existing dominant culture, in that change is an inevitable aspect of the sociocultural phenomenon. While long time resistance leading to the annihilation of the dominant attributes, resisting to the unfamiliar and inconsistent newly constructed attributes contributes to the attainment of structural completeness and integration. From this it is apparent that resistance to change is required in the construction of the intensive interconnected relations among sociocultural attributes. In this sense, culture, as a complicated reality, carries opposed concepts within itself, both static and dynamic (Coser, 1977). In short, the (re)construction process refers to the smooth transformation of the cultural structure, in which the structure is both transformed and preserved. The structure-preserving transformation leads to a complex sociocultural phenomenon that contains all attributes from historical memories to political and social attributes in the construction of space.

The ongoing process-based development of the existing structure brings generations together. A place of sameness and novelty is the common context of subsequent generations, and indeed is the context of communication entwining the past with the present (Halki, 1993). In this regard, the generations of the past and present can find a common ground for communication.

In summary, the major intention behind restructuring is to design a line of development based on the modification of contextual attributes. The past and present collapse into each other, and emerge from each other, and as such,

constantly determines each other's form. In fact, every sociocultural phenomenon attempts to protect its structural stability within the incessant development while for Heidegger (1980), 'Life means the being which produces itself from out of itself and maintains its inherent nature in movement'. The socially constructed phenomenon is reconstructed while keeping the meanings at the time of its genesis.

This section has attempted to conceptualize the second research question based on 'the reconstruction shared conceived practices', in which transformation and (re)structuring have been elaborated as context-dependent and socially constructed realities that underline the process-based development of socioeconomic and spatial relations and the study explains that the relational cultural structure copes with the changes without losing equilibrium. The following section answers the third research question of the study with a discussion of the shared conceived practices in the hierarchical construction of space.

2.3. Hierarchically (Re) constructed Space

In this section, focus will be on the third research question, addressing 'the contribution of socio-spatial and political relations to the development of the dominant culture/practice of the sociocultural context'. A discussion will be opened on the hierarchical configuration of the shared place, with contributions from the theories of Brenner (1997a) related to 'the socially construction of scale', and Lefebvre (1991), who inspired Brenner in 'the social production of space'. Furthermore, the theoretical insights of scholars such as Smith (1992, 1993), Taylor (1982, 1993), Agnew (1993) and Herod (1991) will all be drawn upon for their insight into scale and socially constructed scale.

This study places emphasis on socially constructed scales as they are not fixed entities, but connect relationally with the upper and lower scales to (re)construct

the socioeconomic and spatial relations of space. Indeed, social relations transcend to the super-national scale through the intertwining of the global and local scales, in which the local scale is no longer subservient to the upper scales. Local embodied sociocultural attributes communicate at national and global scales just as sociocultural dynamics are not restrained at the local scale (local residents), as events are also rescaled into existence at the national and global scales.

Figure 2.2 elaborates the role of attributes in the hierarchical and relational hierarchical construction of space. The relational hierarchy restructures the sociocultural context based on intensively integrated scales as presented in the right scheme. The right figure shows that the more dominant attributes (scales) are at a higher level of integration and communication with the other dynamics of the context that are involved in the (re)structuring of the sociocultural phenomenon. Indeed, the figure shows that the measure of integration defines the level of attribute.
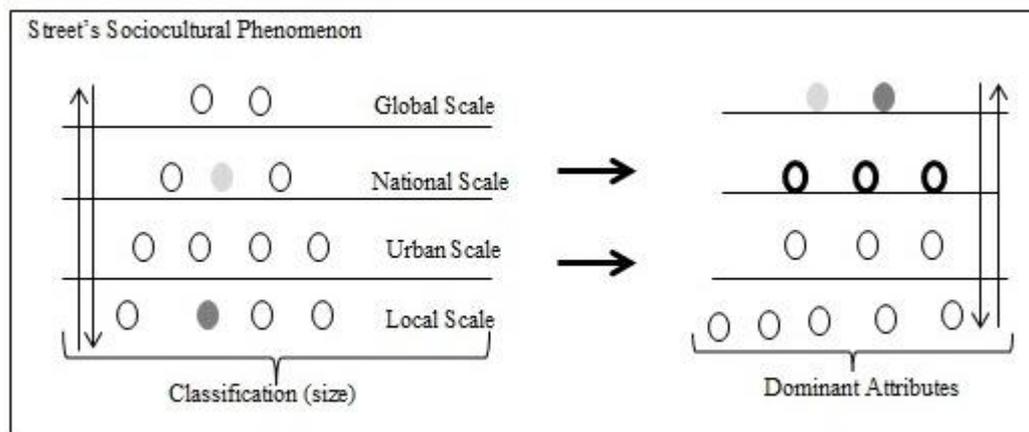
Figure 2.2: Restructuring of the Street's Sociocultural Phenomenon under Rescaled Dominant Attributes-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

In this sense, adopting a 'flat and relational ontology (Latour, 2005)' does not mean stating that hierarchies and scales do not exist, in the regard Latour (2005) says 'it's not that there is no hierarchy, no ups and downs, no rifts, no canyons and no high spots.' For him, flat ontology of layers does not deny the hierarchical

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configuration of the sociocultural phenomenon, indeed being a relational network that includes nodes with different intensities of interrelations. Thereby, the flat network identifies with ups and downs and high spots, all of which are classified based on the frequency of interactions in the (re)construction of the sociocultural phenomenon (Figure 2.3).
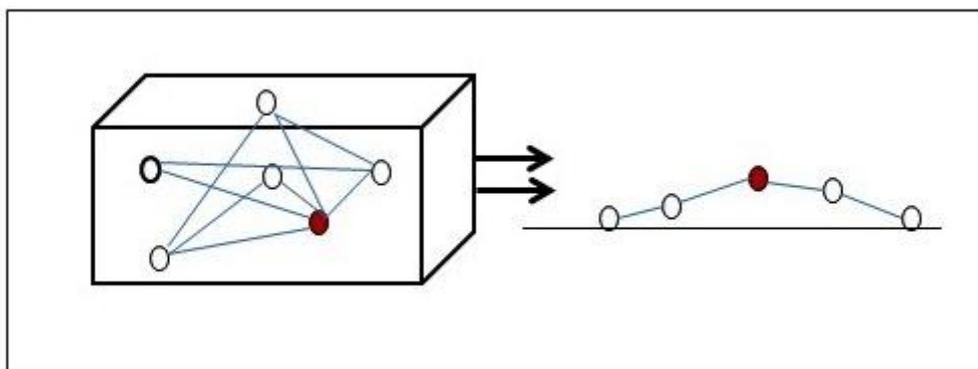
Figure 2.3: Hierarchical Construction of Space under Dominant Attribute-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Therefore, scales are flexible, and so distinguishing between attributes based on scale can be difficult. Indeed the inner consistencies and interactions between the strategies of actors of different scales have led to the construction of a space without scale (Thrift, 1995). From this perspective, boundaries and limits melt into the air, and the global, national, urban and local scales intermingle in the construction of the sociocultural context (Smith, 2003b). This interplay of the various scales allows various agents and rules to come together to construct the milieu of tendencies, practices and orders. Thereby, the scales that are in intensive integration are constantly reconfigured to develop boundaries of the scales (Harvey, 1996) and so each phase of reconstruction results in the communication (and interaction) of the larger elements/or attributes of society. Indeed, the relational and sequential development of the global, national, city and local scales underline the gradual preparation of the sociocultural context to make the connection with upward and downward scales.

This study uses the both the hierarchical and horizontal/relational relations of scales to explain the socially constructed space. The different actors in society, from the super-national to the residents of neighborhoods, construct the cultural structure within the relational composition of scales while a hierarchical construction of space results in a scale that is fixed, and that is unable to reconstruct/develop connections with the upward scales. Indeed, in real life, people do not (re)interpret the world according to the boundary of the fixed hierarchy, in that the local scale is in a state of inertia, and is used by and communicate the upper scales to develop own capacities (Smith, 1993). Therefore, in reality, scales are socially constructed realities built in cooperation that define a structure of the place. Different actors have equal rights in the construction and reconstruction of the socially constructed form of the place, based on their own cultures. In this regard, scales act together in the construction social space, and so the globalization process not only influences directly the political and socio-spatial relations within the nation state but is also able to communicate directly at the local scale, and constructing the inter-related and context-specific structure of the place while the hierarchical structure has attempted to structure the rational human world, which has been under the control of the upper-scale powers, to construct a reified living context. In short, in real life, there is no such thing as the 'center', because all socially constructed practices have the same opportunity to appear as the influential center. The contingent nature of the human world underlines the relational construction of space and scale, and so scale is not a pre-ordered reality.

This study uses hierarchical structure justly as the applied methodology to classify the actors within the structure of the sociocultural phenomenon to steer their behaviors in the structure of space, in that the predefined mode of production in the hierarchical structure prevented the innovative and creative development of the sociocultural context. The interplay of the scale brought with it new opportunities and possibilities for development (Sutinen, 2007). Indeed, the different scales need to change under influences of other scales if they are to exist

as influential actors in the construction of space. However, hierarchical construction limits scales to pre-defined attributes, and in this sense, scale is manipulated for political or economic gain (Herod, 1991 and Staeheli, 1994), instead within relational perspective in the construction of space, the social, political, and economic relations of scale (global, national and local) cooperate in the manipulation of space (Lefebvre, 1974; Smith, 1984). Accordingly, while the state uses different social strategies at the urban and local scales for the accumulation of capital (Brenner, 1997a), at the local scale, strategies are applied to organize the influence of the state according to local attributes, resources and citizens' rights. In this regard, each scale produces its own strategies to construct the structure of the sociocultural phenomenon (Brenner, 1997a).

Figure 2.4 illustrates the shift from a hierarchical configuration of the space to a relational configuration of space. In a hierarchical construction, the dominant practices/culture resist to upper-policies, in that the socially constructed culture reacts to inconsistent top-down strategies. In this regard, within a hierarchically constructed space the sociocultural context is developed on two separate fronts: the dominant culture/ or practice and top-down strategies or projects. On one side, inconsistent projects fail to take into account the socio-recreational needs of the people, and on the other, the existing dominant culture, indeed both result in a reduction of the engagement of the people with the context through undeveloped profile of space according to developing peoples' demands. The local scale, when not integrated with the national and city scales, is unable to develop an urban culture and so is unable to answer people demands (1). In this sense, the second phase of development follows strategies to reconstruct the existing contextual attributes, although the applied strategies will have little result (2) until the hierarchical configuration of space is replaced by a relational construction of the space through such emerging global scales and policies as individualization and privatization. The hierarchical configuration of space is replaced by relational hierarchical structure, in which local entrepreneurs are free to develop strategies to communicate with the upward and downward scales. The sociocultural

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phenomenon is then (re)constructed with contributions from socio-spatial and economic relations of different scales; in this regard the interactions of different scales (re)construct the urban culture (3). Thereby, the sociocultural phenomenon is constructed with the extension of global, national and local products into space (Brenner, 2005) while these scales are in competition to organize the socio-spatial order of the sociocultural phenomenon. Indeed, in the relational hierarchy, scales are in a state of incessant (re)construction into a new phase of development, contributing to the restructuring of the inner capacities of the scales. In short, the scales evolve relationally as a result of the interplay between the different scales, which leads to the development of an inter-scale system of control. For example, the socioeconomic relations of the state are not independent of those at the local and global scales in the construction of space.
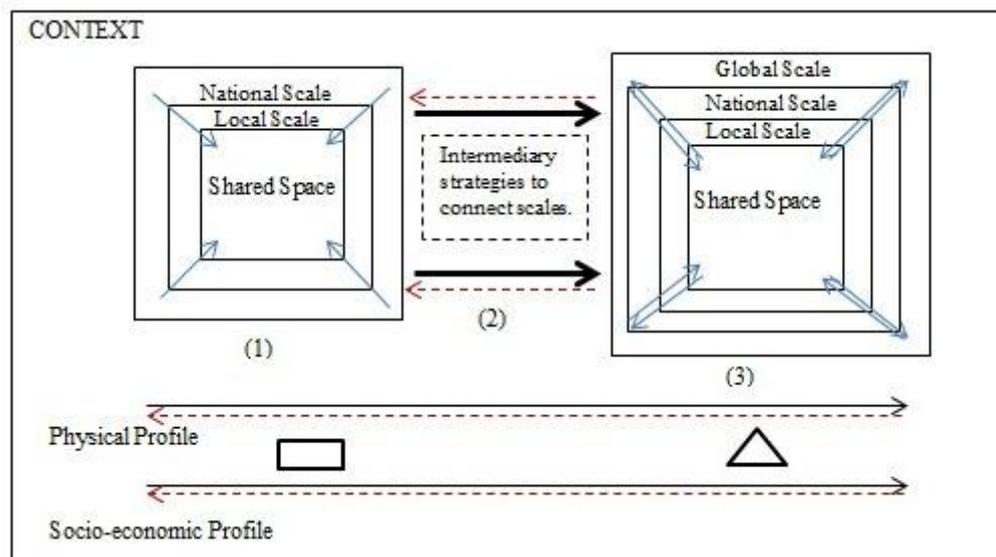
Figure 2.4: Conceptual Design of Construction of Space under Interplay of Scales-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

To sum up, the construction process undergoes three phases of development. It begins with unplanned construction without the scalar configuration, in which the local scale develops based on the natural potentials of the settled place, and on the disconnected and disintegrated structures of the local scale, in that the constructed

shared place has no vision or goal, and is rather an aimless social context that develops from within. In this situation, the context needs integrated socio-spatial and economic relations to connect with the upward and downward scales.

In the second phase of development, a hierarchical construction of space is required to drive the social context to a new mode of existence. The hierarchical structure attempts to provide the basic requirements for development, which grows out of the incessant physical and economic strategies to construct the daily life of the shared space. In this condition, the local scale forces to the socio-physical strategies of the city scale, as the hierarchical construction of space has no concern for local attributes. All parts of the city are planned according to the same regulations, and in this case, the city and local attributes develop in a disconnected fashion with two independent knowledge of context: one being the imposed strategy, and the other being the traditional dominant habits (attributes) that exist at a local scale.

The third phase of development accompanies the emergence of the sociocultural phenomenon with the integrated and connected relations of scales. Indeed, the emergence of global policies contributed to the integrated development of space, shifting emphasis from hierarchical construction to the relational aspects of scale. The transition from hierarchical to relational construction can be resulted in temporary socio-spatial chaos through change in the spatial management. The context experiences new modes of management and structuring, while the process of globalization constructs a new nation state with new social relations, political institutes and economic resources. Within a relational perspective, the transformation and development is experienced by all scales, and from this perspective, the new nation state encourages all scales to modify their current positions according to the demands of the new nation state in the social, economic and spatial fields. In this situation, each individual scale having to deal with the newly constructed contextual attribute/ or emergencies. Accordingly, the relationally constructed space is inherently resistance to change as a result of the

relational structure of the sociocultural context while each phase of development makes the relational structure stronger than before, based on the increased interactions among the scales. Indeed, the intensive relationships that exist among the majority of scales reduce the ability of a newly constructed attribute to change the structure, in that it will be in connection with the majority of scales to implement its own culture/strategy. One attribute in the relational whole can justly reconfigure and or modify the innate knowledge of the structure, indeed making the relational structure more resistant to change. Accordingly, the interplay between the contextual attributes and the newly constructed attribute may spawn innovative events and emergencies that modify the inner knowledge of the sociocultural context (Simindon, 1964, 1989).

Therefore, the hierarchical configuration justly presents how the global, national, urban, local scales are co-implicated in the construction of space across time and space (Smith, 1987 and Swyngedouw, 1997) while the relational connections present the real practices in the construction of space. To exemplify, the local economy should not be conceived in terms of the local, as it is rather the outcome of the intensive connections between the global, national and local scales (Marston, 2005). In fact, scales influence the social context to ensure their involvement in the construction of space; otherwise their existence will be forgotten, such as the global scale, with all its abstract outputs, relies on the downward concrete scales to present its power in the construction process. In this regard the political-economic and social powers established at one scale expanded in to other one (Miller 2006).

In summary, structuring is a process, in that each scale is incomplete and in communication to reach a higher level of order. When layers are in a constant state of improvement, the socioeconomic and spatial process has no fixed identity to tie itself to. Therefore, the functionality of the phenomenon does not become stable as a result of the continuity of the de-territorialization and re-territorialization. However, a hierarchical structure with static layers may demand

an oneness of identity while real life is founded on change and reconstruction as when capitalism sees economic gain in a particular mode of production, it classifies society into predefined layers, condemning it to the homogenous mass culture that presents the sociocultural relations outside of the changeable human cognition (MacDonald, 1957). Identity should not be conceived as a boundary to be maintained. Indeed the newly constructed attributes reconfigure the existing identities and meanings to a new course of activity and meaning. In short, 'In the everyday enactment of the world, there is always immanent potential for new possibilities' (Harrison, 2000), and so a socially constructed structure is in an incomplete development process, for Gleick (1987), structure is in becoming rather than being.

This chapter has presented a detailed analysis of the sociocultural phenomenon in three sections: first, the concepts of the shared conceived practices in the construction of the cultural structure; second, the continuity of cultural structure, based on the preservation of predominant attributes; and third, interplay of different scales in the (re)construction of the urban culture. The following chapter presents the case study, the research questions, the contextual setting and rationale behind the selection of the case study area.

CHAPTER 3

THE CASE STUDY AS A METHOD

It is the main objective of this research study to explore the street's sociocultural phenomenon based on the subjective descriptions. By investigating the mind's eye of the individuals, it is the intention to identify individuals–world relationships in the (re)structuring of a place. The existing literature contributes to answering the research questions, but in order to ensure the completeness of research, the study includes an exploratory research in the form of a selected case study to examine 'the de-codified street's sociocultural phenomenon based on the conceived attributes that dominated people's conception about the street'. Accordingly, this research has been developed around a case study in which interviews were conducted with users of Bağdat Street, one of the most famous streets in Istanbul. While the street is categorized by the high rents and high-end shops, making it one of the most expensive areas of the city, it is also a center for cultural and political demonstrations.

Qualitative data collection techniques were used to reveal peoples' spatial cognition, unveiling their feeling, behaviors and beliefs. The semi-structured and open-ended interviews with the respondents were recorded and transcribed, as the major method of data collection, resulting in the collection of a number of statements related to peoples' spatial feelings and cognitions. Thereby, the interviews provided the initial data of the study, and the insights gained during interview helped in the reconfiguration of the research questions.

This chapter discusses the research approach, the case study setting and rationale. For the research approach, the study summarizes the research questions and the

pilot survey, after which the study explains the contextual setting of Istanbul, the selection process, rationale and contextual setting of the study area.

3.1. Research Approach

This section provides a brief outline of the research questions, data collection and analytical procedures related to the study.

This research has been formulated to answer three main questions: (1) what are the shared conceived attributes of Bağdat Street within a historical perspective? (2) Which shared conceived attributes of the Bağdat Street have been carried over from 1923 to today, and have contributed to the construction, re-construction and/or transformation of the street's sociocultural phenomenon? (3) Which socio-political and spatial relations may have prepared the context for those attributes to settle as the part of the street culture?

The first research question seeks to throw light on the street's sociocultural phenomenon in terms of the interplay of the multiple socially conceived attributes. The socioeconomic and spatial attributes contribute one another in the construction of the wholeness of the street. The attribute *A* needs the attribute *B* to completeness as the mode of being in the plaza needs the mode of being in the market and vice versa. In this regard, the study conducts in-depth interviews to derive attributes, and the derived attributes analyze in the Fuzzy Cognitive Map[1]. In the second research question, the study explains the (re)construction of the dominant attributes under the inter-dependent relations of the derived attributes, which presented in the Fuzzy Cognitive Map. The integrated attributes of the FCM explain the emergent attributes within the historical changes of the street. Indeed, the street transformed and developed, though with the perseverance of the more dominant and integrated dynamics. Accordingly, the highly integrated dynamics have been reconstructed and modified based on changes in the

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[1] Fuzzy Cognitive Map presents relations between concepts of a mental landscape.

contextual attributes. Furthermore, the 'frequency of the mentioned attributes' also contributes to derive the dominant inter-subjective attributes of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. The third research question attempts to shed light on the socio-political and spatial regulations and strategies, which prepared context to emergence dominant attributes. In this regard, the third research question uses historical documents besides derived attributes presented in the FCM to answer a question. Broadly speaking, the existing literature lacks discussions of the importance of the conceived attributes in the completeness and integration of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. Taking this fact into account, this study aims to fill the gaps in literature related to transformation and restructuring of the street's sociocultural phenomenon based on the continuity of the predominant conceived attributes.

To answer the research questions, the research study therefore follows two main approaches: in-depth interviews, and an examination of the exploratory research through a case study. The research was carried out in Bağdat Street in the Istanbul, district of Kadıköy. The street is characterized by its upper-class profile of residents, its high-rent economic structure and its cultural-political demonstrations. Data was gathered through in-depth interviews with twenty individuals and three focus groups[2], who resided in the area or who, for either official or commercial reasons, maintain close relations with the street (see Chapter Five).

The study continued with the qualitative analysis. First, to allow an exploration of the meaningful dynamics of street, a written transcript was made of the interviews, during which the respondents expressed their feelings and motives related to the street. The huge raw data is clustering and then labeled based on the content of clusters to allow a fluent reading of the gathered raw data, which otherwise would be very confused. The labeled data was used to design a Fuzzy Cognitive Map and a spatial cognition map. The causal arrows in the FCM present

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[2] Snowball sampling; the interviewees know each other.

the respondents' statements as a visual graph that is more readable than the heavy raw data, and contribute to identify the attributes that are the driving force in the street structure. Besides the FCM, the study has designed a spatial cognition map that presents the respondents' cognition of space in spatial graph. The cognitive spatial map explains the spatial orientation, activities, density and diversity of the land uses.

The attributes (labeled data) are finally presented in the result table, including both the 'major content' groups and the 'sub-content' groups. The sub-content in the table, representing the derived attributes, has been re-classified under the major content groups to better distinguishing the influential attributes in the construction of the sociocultural phenomenon.

The study continued with the quantitative analysis. The frequency of the mention is calculated to show the frequency of mentioned attributes by the respondents. Furthermore, 'the causal matrix' is used to classify the attributes based on their position in the structure of space. The attributes, as both the results and causes of events, serve in the (re)construction of the wholeness of space. The study examines the FCM, frequency of mention, causal relation and cognitive spatial map within historical perspective from 1923 to now.

Table 3.1 presents the outline of the research questions, the data collection, the type of data and the analytical procedures followed in the study that are described above. The following section introduces the case study part of the research, including an explanation of the selection of the study area and its contextual setting.

Table 3.1: Outline of Research Question, Data Collection, Type of Data and Analytical Procedures of the Study-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

RESEARCH QUESTION	DATA	DATA GATHERING	DATA ANALYSIS
What are the shared conceived attributes of Bağdat Street within a historical perspective?	Verbal, Non-verbal attributes, Frequency of Mentioned attributes (Integer)	-In-Depth interviews -Focus groups -Recording -Observation	-Transcription of Interviews and Labeling descriptive knowledge -Fuzzy Cognitive Map -Causal Matrix - Frequency Matrix -Fuzzy Spatial Map -Time Sequence Analysis
Which shared conceived attributes of Bağdat Street have been handed down from 1923 to the present day and contributed to the construction, re-construction and/or transformation of the sociocultural phenomenon (street)?	Verbal, Non-verbal attributes, Frequency of Mentioned attributes(Integer)	-In-depth interviews -Focus groups -Observation -Recording	-Fuzzy Cognitive Map -Frequency Matrix - Causal Matrix - Transformation meaning - Fuzzy Spatial Map - Time Sequence Analysis
What socio-political and spatial relations that may have prepared the context for those attributes to settle as the part of the street culture?	Verbal, Non-verbal attributes, Frequency of Mentioned attributes (Integer), Document (Verbs)	-In-depth interviews -Focus groups -Observation -Portfolio -Documents	-Fuzzy Cognitive Map -Causal matrix -Frequency matrix -Time Sequence Analysis -Scalar Configuration

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3.2. The Case Study as a Method

The case study is the ideal to in-depth and holistic-historical surveys, and in reality, it should be considered as a puzzle to be explored. Researchers conduct case studies to provide sufficient information to be read and interpreted by researchers, who should then be able to come up with the proposed problems/questions. The present case study gathered a great deal of information through in-depth interviews and indeed it was an ideal case study in terms of accessibility of information, in that the social profile of the case study made it appropriate for the research.

In the primary stage, the present study observed events in the case study area, as an appropriate method for gaining a general perspective of the study area. The exploration of the case study takes a long time, as the basis of the relationship between the researcher and the studied case. Indeed, it is through this kind of relationship that the domain of action is developed over time. Then, in-depth interviews were planned with people who were familiar with the case study area.

The type of case study research depends on the type of the research questions; the extent of control the researcher maintains over actual behavioral events and the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events (Yin, 2009). The case study of the present study investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context and inquiry the contemporary phenomenon within historical process. In this regard, there are two main approaches to the case study survey of the present study; exploratory and descriptive. In exploratory case studies, researchers aim to discover underlying principles, in this regard fieldwork data collection plays a critical role in defining the hypotheses and the research questions. For Yin (2009), a descriptive case study should be used to describe a phenomenon, and the real-life context in which it occurred.

In summary, in literature, there is a lack of empirical evidence on the role of the inter-subjective cognitions in the (re)structuring and transformation of sociocultural phenomenon. Accordingly, the study examined individuals–world relationships in a single case study to acquire knowledge about the case, as this is usually impossible with a large number of cases. In a single case study, researchers are able to take into account the different dimensions of the study. The present research in the Bağdat Street aimed at attaining a deep understanding of the social, historical, political and physical attributes of the street, and so permitted a comprehensive investigation of the empirical data.

In the following sections, an explanation is made of the selection process and the contextual setting of the study area. As a priority, there is a need discuss the contextual setting of Istanbul, as this is vital for the understanding of the research framework.

3.2.1. Contextual Setting of Istanbul

This section begins with an explanation of the socioeconomic and spatial processes of Istanbul in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and then elaborates the socioeconomic and political life of Istanbul in the twenty-first century. Indeed, the contextual setting approach contributes to the understanding of the socially constructed dynamics in the construction of the study area, in that the study area, as a part of the structure of the city, (re)constructs under the influences of changes within Istanbul. In this regard, the contextual setting of Istanbul contributes to the extraction of the socially constructed strategies in the integration of both the study area and Istanbul (city level). In this regard, the study elaborates briefly the changes within Istanbul in the historical process as an influential actor in the (re)construction of the study area. Although Istanbul developed independently of its hinterlands for a period of time, it is necessary to understand the reasons behind the disconnections. Certainly, the insufficient transport network has significantly prevented the development of Istanbul and its

hinterlands as a whole since the nineteenth century, while the organic nature of the city suffered from residential deficiency and the continuous fires. To address these issues, the administrative (Tanzimat) regulations of 1837 proposed the cadastral planning of Istanbul center and its hinterlands. The study shows how in the years that followed, the most serious problem for Istanbul was the lack of a comprehensive plan to connect the hinterlands to the city.

To explore the contextual dynamics, the study aims to explain Istanbul in as much detail as possible. Broadly speaking, founded in the seventh century BC, Istanbul developed as the capital of three empires: Eastern Roman (AD 324–395), Byzantine (395–1453) and Ottoman (1453–1923). The Byzantines founded Constantinople at the western of Bosphorus due to its geo-political importance at the meeting point of two continents, after which the Ottoman Empire founded Istanbul. The city is the economic-social and cultural centers of Turkey, and has been referred to as both a 'world city' and a 'cultural capital', and as the most populous city in the country, with population of 14.1 million (Ayataç, 2007). Additionally, Istanbul has been subject to city planning and design since the early nineteenth century as a result of devastating fires and residential deficiencies. These problems in Istanbul influenced the socio-spatial and economic life of its hinterlands within a historical process. In this regard, since the late-nineteenth century, Istanbul urban plans have sought to integrate the hinterlands with Istanbul center. To this end, regulations were implemented in the broad sphere, from the city center to the hinterlands as the cadastral planning and parceling of the organic structure of city center and its hinterlands.

Istanbul was the capital of Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, and was the center of direct imports from the West. In the early nineteenth century, the city was defined by the historical peninsula and the diffused settlements on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus while the organic nature of city encouraged large fires, during which much of the urban space was lost. The first census in the city in 1828 put the number of residents of the city at 395,000 (Ayataç, 2007). While Istanbul was suffering from continuous fires, European cities were suffering under the pollution and density that came with haphazard industrialization. The first planning proposal for Istanbul was submitted by Moltke[3] in 1836–1839, which was followed by subsequent plans drawn up by Pagalti (1848) and Storari (1854) to address the problem of fire (Tekeli, 2013). According to Tekeli (2013) the proposed plans concentrated on drawing up a map and preparing recommendations for use in the administrative (Tanzimat) regulations, and featured a grid of roads and wide streets to accommodate trams and automobiles. Indeed, foreign planners who had never seen Istanbul evaluated Istanbul's problems superficially, as Bouvard's 'Beautiful Istanbul Plan' of 1902 proposed a fragmented layout, and lacking a holistic structure, came under criticism. In this regard, the European style of land-use entered the city fabric, in which priority was given to public space, such as in Taksim Square, where most of the Western populations were settled. Accordingly, Istanbul came to take on Western architectural elements, as well as wide streets and plots, and the first apartment blocks that have defined the city layout since 1880 (Mimarlik, No.7. 1972). These newly constituted regulations were implemented on the Marmara shores, from west to east, to connect the traditional fabric of the towns and city to the shorelines, by which the coastline gained urban importance in the late Ottoman period. The following sections aim to elaborate upon the changes that occurred in

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[3] The first plan, suggested by Moltke, contained seven wide and straight arteries and three different classes of roads in terms of width. The proposal replaced the traditional structure of the imperial city, and drew inspiration from Western cities while different people came up with development plans to revitalize lands that had been devastated by fire. Indeed, the new town plan proposed the construction of wide roads to connect traditional areas to the commercial harbor, and regulations were put in place for the control of construction, materials, roads and building (Mimarlik, No.7, 1972).

socio-spatial and economic strategies in the construction of Istanbul's urban space and its development magnitude in the surroundings and hinterlands within a historical process.

- **1839-1923: New Meaning of City**

In this section, the study elaborates upon the Ottoman administrative regulations to overcome the problem of fires and the residential deficiency in the Istanbul center. The administrative regulations (e.g. geometrical roads and masonry buildings) implemented both in the center of Istanbul and its hinterlands failed to connect the hinterlands to the center due to the inefficient transport network and the lack of a comprehensive plan. Indeed the Administrative Reforms were a turning point in the urbanization of Istanbul while westernization could be seen in all aspects of daily life, from the state to society at large, changing peoples' lifestyles dramatically. Most notably, places of entertainment and leisure began springing up in different quarters of the city, such as Adalar, Boğaziçi, Çamlıca, Yeniköy, Tarabya, Kadiköy and Büyükdere.

Under the industrialization, the socioeconomic and spatial profiles of European cities started to change, and so the Administrative Reforms[4] applied by the Ottoman Empire were an attempt to keep up with European modernization. The arrangement of the administrative reforms came as part of the Moltke plan[5], as the city's first development plan to address the threat of fire and calling for a hierarchical transport system, with geometrical roads at least seven meters in width, the removal of cul-de-sacs, the replacement of wooden buildings with masonry ones and newly constructed pedestrian areas. Indeed, these regulations indicated the birth of a new lifestyle as the pedestrian axes, the transportation flow and the wide streets were all aimed at underlining public life, indeed all these

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[4] 3 November, 1838 (Tekeli, 2013).
[5] In the 1837–1839 period, in 1/25 000 scale; the plan was not executed; however it did serve to uncover Istanbul's problems, which were addressed in the Admınıstrative Reform. Helmuth von Moltke was commissioned for the rehabilitation of the street layout of Istanbul (Özcan, 2006).

transforming the traditional religious, agricultural and military uses of urban space.

In summary, the technological and western-model urban development accelerated the urban transformation from military/agricultural to public use[6], residential areas and factories. The waterway [7], following it, the railway [8] and tramways [9] contributed to extending the boundary of Istanbul such as the Hayderpaşa Railway from Istanbul to Izmit. In this regard, in the late-nineteenth century, the Marmara region became accessible as a place of settlement while the boundaries of Istanbul on the peninsula, and in Galata, Kadiköy and Uskudar and its surroundings came into use as entertainment and summer resorts. That said, the eastern and western sides of the Bosphorus at the time had no physical connection, meaning that the eastern Bosphorus did not suffer from the same social-spatial and economic problems as the west of Istanbul.

Indeed, the economic system, based on a free-trade policy[10] and foreign debt[11], started a new phase of the economic-political process, creating a milieu of *laissez faire*[12]. Consequently, modern capitalism began to influence the socioeconomic and spatial fields of Istanbul. In this regard, the cadastral urban development was consistent with the new mode of production and so it was the land parceling and private property authority[13] reforms in particular that reconstruct urban space.

Thereby, the relative liberalized economic system declined the power of a top-down controlled system on the socio-spatial development and so that the city lands was no longer in hands of the government as different actors took over the

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[6] Public Benefit Law, 1878 (Özcan, 2006).
[7] The first steam ship arrived in 1837; boat in 1844; Boğaz steamboat in 1851 (Kuban, 1970).
[8] Railway launched in 1875 (Hayderpaşa-İzmit) (Tekeli, 2013).
[9] Horse tramway in 1873.
[10] Free-trade 1838 (Özcan, 2006).
[11] From 1854 onward, leading to foreign dependency and/or foreign domination.
[12] Destruction of the local economy, particularly the traditional trade system (Özcan, 2006).
[13] In 1860.

construction of urban space, attracted by the opportunity for land speculation.[14] Therefore, in the early-nineteenth century the city was under the governance of Ottoman Empire, but by the late nineteenth century it had transferred into the hands of multiple actors, including non-Muslims and private owners. The granting of settlement permission to non-Muslim [15] was a further result of the Administrative Reforms and the liberal modernization. The non-Muslim settlement clashed with the embodied Islamic identity and the fading religious divisions of the city fabric. The new urban development model was a result of both Islamic and Western ideologies in which religious biases were replaced by a culture of tolerance and companionship. Indeed, the administrative reforms aimed to leave behind traditional Ottoman society, which had become fragmented along religion lines, and sought to create a society that would be governed on the basis of equal rights. This required changes to the state and administrative regulations that would have socio-physical consequences. Accordingly, the reconstructed city center and the more prestige areas [16] of the city, as well as appearance of such new land uses as post office, hotel and banks[17] were to satisfy the beautification policies in the late nineteenth century.

Therefore, the turn of the twentieth century witnessed a rapid development of urban spaces, and according to the 1919 census, the number of inhabitants in Istanbul had reached 1,203,000. Western products were continuously being imported, and Western architectural styles and new public transportations had begun to decorate the city as the first electric tramway had arrived in 1911, and national buses began running in 1912 while the city's hinterlands began to be used heavily for entertainment purposes. Indeed, the city was divided into commercial, administrative, entertainment (suburban) and residential regions according to the plans of foreigners who had little knowledge of Istanbul's values and problems and as such their proposals never considered Istanbul as a whole (Ayataç, 2007).

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[14] It was the Ebniye Regulation that first uncovered this speculative activity in 1882 (Tekeli, 2013).

[15] Legalization of Non-Muslim Settlement in 1868 (Özcan, 2006).

[16] In 1860.

[17] Post Office in1840, Banks in 1850 and Hotels in 1860.

- **1923-1950; Silent Development of Istanbul**

Following on from the late-Ottoman era, this section explains the influence of the reforms and regulations of the young Republic on the (re)construction of Istanbul and its hinterlands, and explaining the strategies to connect the hinterlands with Istanbul, in particular, the Prost Plan.

With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the aftermath of the First World War and the declaration of the Republic in 1923, the capital of the country moved to Ankara, and the city that had been capital for hundreds of years fell off the radar for the next decade. The physical boundary of Istanbul did not change for a long time, and its traditional fragmented structure remained. According to 1927 census, the population of the city had dropped to 690,853 (Ayataç, 2007). The advent of the Republic justly brought about the development of Istanbul's transport network as first 'Dolmuş Taxi[18]' entered into service in 1930.

From 1930 onwards, Istanbul regained its importance as a historical and attractive city. The municipality held a competition for foreign planners, who were asked to come up with a solution to the fragmented city structure. Herman Elgötz was invited from Germany, while Alfred Agache, J. H. Lambert and Henri Prost were invited from France. All except Prost come to Istanbul and made recommendations about Istanbul's transportation, although none were executed (Mimarlik, No.7, 1972). Indeed, the republic modernizing model of planning began only after 1936 with the application of the Prost plan. Prost worked in Istanbul in between 1936–1951, and with the help of Lutfi Kirdar, the mayor of Istanbul, he produced an urban plan of 6,000 hectares, a construction plan of 3,000 hectares and detailed plans of 650 hectares. He worked on functional dissemination, circulation systems and motorized traffic and so recommended construction of bridges and tunnels that were consistent neither with the budget nor existing technologies. Thereby, his plan for the 'beautiful and contemporary

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[18] The shared taxi uses in Turkey and Northern Cyprus.

city', referring to the preservation of the coastline and historical elements of the city, was never completely executed, while protecting the city's historical heritage was inconsistent with the early-Republic ideologies, which sought to destroy the legacy of the Ottoman Empire. Explains their vision, Kirdar at the time said "first, we aim to restore the historic and old side of Istanbul to attract visitors, and second, we will modernize the city according to modern planning principles". Taksim Republican Square, the first in Istanbul, was recreated in this period, however, despite the efforts of Prost and Kirdar, the fragmented structure of the city could not be resolved (Ayataç, 2007 and Gül, 2009). In short, the proposed plans for the Istanbul center and its hinterlands failed to connect the two.

- **1950-1980; Marshall Aid and American Influences on Planning**

In the young Republic, Istanbul was reconstructed under the influence of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes in the second half of the 1950s with the economic aid of the Marshall Plan. The second development plan was drawn up to integrate Istanbul with its hinterlands, but the lack of socioeconomic policies related to urbanization prevented the unified development of the Istanbul center and its hinterlands until opening of the Bosphorus Bridge in 1973. This allowed Istanbul to develop in an eastward direction, beginning with a small city center in Kadiköy. Indeed, the applied development plan contributed to the abandonment of the traditional image of Istanbul's urban space.

The post-Second World War period saw a number of milestones, including increases in foreign aid and debts within the Marshall Plan of the United States, increased in investment, modernization and mechanization in the agricultural sector and a move to multi-party. The demographic features and the socio-spatial structure of cities saw change. In 1950, the population of Istanbul was recorded as 975,000 and had reached 2,141,000 by 1965 (Ayataç, 2007). The constant growth of Istanbul, coupled with internal migration brought serious problems to the city. The residential deficiency and the fragmented structure of city could not

accommodate the immigrants, although Istanbul had become a modern city with the motorized vehicular transport and apartment blocks as new settlements spring up on both sides of the Marmara region. The settlement preferences according to geography were 79.5 percent on the European side and 20.5% on the Asian side, but by 1965, these figures had changed to 77.5 percent and 22.5 percent, respectively. In this regard, the city center was in chaos under the rapid growth of industrial areas, coupled with the increase in traffic, with the increase in numbers of private automobiles and Dolmuş[19] while the execution of major construction projects, such as the Beyazit Square project (1960), had attempted to overcome the transport circulation problem (Ayataç, 2007).

One particular problem for Istanbul was the return of planning back to the personal desires of politicians. Those who found the Prost plan to be lacking in scientific, technical and planning principles believed that the Plan had very aesthetical dimensions, and so they consulted new planners. Hence, in the second development plan of Istanbul, two notable planners were invited to provide input: Prof. Hogg between 1957 and 1960, and prof. L. Piccinato between 1960 and 1967. Hogg focused on the transportation network, looking to connect the coastal settlement with city center, and proposed a radial road between the banks, cultural centers, commercial district and hotels to connect the old city center to the new. Following that, Piccinato suggested decentralization and channeling the infrastructure to new areas, while underlining the touristic image of city and the preservation of historical places. He attempted to resolve the fragmented structure with a radial road to connect the commercial, cultural, administrative and residential areas. Piccinato prepared 1:10 000 plan in 1960; however its execution was halted by a military coup.

The Piccinato and Hogg plans were developed under the government of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, who explained his vision for the city in a speech in February 1957: 'the rebuilding of Istanbul is the story of a victory parade. We will

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[19] In Turkey and Northern Cyprus, dolmuş are 'share taxi'.

conquer Istanbul once more (Gül, 2009)'. He insisted on the reconstruction of Istanbul with wider street and squares, and pledged to beautify the city and resolve its transportation problems, but his dream emphasized only the physical transformation of the city, and failed to address the social aspects, such as the rising problem of squatter housing. In this regard, Istanbul's population was growing and industry was being decentralized, and so from 1950 onwards, the city entered a period of growth like an 'oil stain' though the lack of comprehensive planning (Tekeli, 2013). Finally, in 1965, smaller city centers started to appear on the different sides of Istanbul, including examples in Kadiköy, Bağdat and Uskudar-Baglarbasi, Furthermore, some city center activities, such the bus station, were decentralized, in that the decentralization of the city center required different sectors of society to adapt to the new time-distance equilibrium.

Besides decentralization of some city center activities, Istanbul had stated to considerably grow in an eastward direction after the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge in 1973, and the Asian side became a more attractive place for settlement. This brought about a population shift: in 1970, 22 percent of Istanbul's population resided on the Asian side, and this ratio rose to 28 percent in 1975 and 32 percent in 1980, reaching 36 percent in 1990 (Ayataç, 2007). The socioeconomic and spatial strategies at a city level influenced the development process of the socio-spatial profile of the hinterlands, although strategies could not completely integrate the hinterlands with the city.

- **Post-1980: Globalization and Integration into the Global Market**

This section uncovers some new dynamics in the (re)construction of Istanbul and its hinterlands. The nation state had adopted the globalization process and neo-liberalization to change Turkey's cities under influence of individualization and privatization policies. The privatization policies accelerated the decentralization by empowering the local municipalities in the construction of Istanbul's hinterlands. Indeed, under the globalization process, the urban spaces of the city

left behind their traditional habits for a new type of land use – shopping malls – and similarly, the traditional land uses in Istanbul's hinterlands underwent an image change, with coffee houses being replaced by brand cafés.

The Özal[20] Period (1984-1989) saw the appearance of the global modernization and liberal market. The country entered into the global economic system, and the outputs of this process began to define the economic and socio-spatial structure of space. Local government became an independent institute, enabling direct connections with the globalization process under the 'entrepreneurial model of municipality'. Bedrettin Dalan[21]encouraged the launch of mega urban projects, such as the revitalization of the Golden Horn with the support of the World Bank. Similar to Menderes, Dalan opened up new avenues, green spaces and highways, while a second bridge over the Bosphorus contributed to the growth of the city into the forest areas to the north of the city. Indeed, the Tourism Incentive Act of 1982, aimed at attracting international investment, resulted in the construction of nearly forty projects in the city between 1984 and 1993, including hotels and business centers. Therefore, Istanbul came to represent a culture of consumption and globalization. The first Galleria shopping center (1987) was an example of the move towards mass consumption, and other immense hyper-markets began developing across the structure of the city. Meanwhile, Istanbul's population continued to rise, from 4,463,000 in 1980 to 7,300,000 in 1990, as a result of continued internal migration (Ayataç, 2007). Indeed, the boundaries of Istanbul expanded under the increasing pressure of the squatter houses, and a regulation related to the squatter settlements allowed the owners to construct multi-story buildings on the plots of the former single-story dwellings. A large subculture developed independent of Istanbul, made up of illegal settlers, and the administration was forced to declare an amnesty on illegal properties. This resulted in the dispersal of the squatter residents across the whole city as an independent subculture.

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[20] Turgut Özal, Prime Minister of Turkey (1983-1989) and president of Turkey (1989-1993).
[21] The mayor of Istanbul between 1984 and 1989.

In short, the liberal modernized-based development accelerated the socioeconomic and spatial development of Istanbul's hinterlands, with the privatization and decentralization policies of the Istanbul administration empowering local government, thus contributing to the integration of Istanbul and its hinterlands.

Up to now, the study has explained the contextual attributes of Istanbul as the influential actor in the construction of the study area. The following section explains the process behind the selection of the study area and its contextual setting.

3.2.2. Selection Process, Contextual Setting and Rationale behind the Selection of Study Area

The single-case study of the present exploratory research was carried out in the Kadiköy district of Istanbul, before which a pilot project was conducted in the Bostancı and Fenerbahçe neighborhoods of Bağdat Street to ensure that proposed methods and procedures would work in practice before being applied in a larger setting. It was during this process that I had the opportunity to examine the feasibility of an in-depth interview approach.

3.2.2.1. Pilot Project in Bostancı and Fenerbahçe Neighborhoods

The research study involved an examination of the pilot survey to understand the appropriateness of the research methods. In the primary stage of the research, the study selected the Bostancı and Fenerbahçe neighborhoods of Bağdat Street in the Kadiköy District (Map 3.1). Given the dense residential nature of these sides of street, it was easy to arrange interviews with the middle-old inhabitants of the district. In this regard, to identify potential respondents for the study, to become familiar with the profile of the residents and to test the suitability of the research questions, three focus group sessions were organized in the Günülluler Evi (a local NGO) of two neighborhoods through which the street passes, involving a

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total of fifty people. The two neighborhoods are connected to each other by the coastal road and Bağdat Street. The Fenerbahçe neighborhood is located at the central section of the street, while Bostancı is located at the southeastern end.

Map 3.1: Fenerbahçe and Bostancı Neighborhoods of Bağdat Street-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

The Fenerbahçe neighborhood is the oldest neighborhood at the heart of Bağdat Street. A large proportion of the inhabitants support the Republican Party, while in the Ottoman period it was settled mainly by minorities. The Bostancı neighborhood is located at the end of Bağdat Street, and has historically been identified as the gateway to Istanbul.

Up to this point, the study has examined the durability and validity of the research. The following section explains the contextual setting and rationale behind the selection of the case study area.

3.2.2.2. Contextual Setting and Rationale behind the Selection of Bağdat Street as a Study Area

The study explains the contextual setting and rationale behind the selection of Bağdat Street within the Kadiköy district as a study area. This section explains the development of Bağdat Street as part of Kadiköy district. In this regard, the study uses the contextual setting approach to explain strategies at the local scale to (re)construct the structure of street. Bağdat Street, as a single case unit, investigates in the historical process to derive the dynamics behind the construction of space.

To explore the dynamics in the construction of Bağdat Street, the study provides an overview of Kadiköy and Bağdat Street in as much detail as possible, from its geographical location to its social activities. Kadiköy (Chalkedon) district of Istanbul extends along the Marmara coastline from Haydarpaşa to Bostancı. Kadiköy is bordered to the north-northeast by the railway; to the east by Kurbağlidere (Kuşdili valley) and the Cape of Kalamış; and to the west by the Marmara Sea and the Cape of Hayderpaşa. The archeological sites that can be found in Kadiköy include Hayderpaşa, Yeldeğirmeni, Moda Cape and Firkirtepe[22]. Besides, Kadiköy contains centers of social activities in the eastern Bosphorus. One of the most significant centers is Bağdat Street, stretching approximately 14 km from east to west through both the Kadiköy and Maltepe districts. Open to only one-way traffic, the street connects the Bostancı to Kiziltoprak neighborhood. The first map of the street returns back to the 1918 when map drawn up by 'Necip Bey' it was referred to as 'Ihlamur Road', but

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[22] Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi. Istanbul: Türkiye ve Ekonomik Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, Cilt 4, 1994. p. 329.

changed to 'Bağdat Street' in 1934 (Gokçen, 1988), and by 1958, the street had left behind its village-like characteristics. In this regard, the sociocultural activities of the street were reconstructed within the historical process from the Marmara coastal road that traditionally connected Uskudar to Asia, to being identified with considerable sociocultural and political meanings. Indeed, in both the Ottoman and Byzantine Empires, road was part of the international caravan and post road that connected Istanbul with Asia, and was used as a military road in the Ottoman Era while in the Republican Era, the commercial Anatolian road witnessed many socio-political events and uses as a shared place. It has in time been bestowed with such titles as 'Republic Refuge', 'Republic Heritage' and 'Fenerbahçe Club Castle', and has been known as the 'celebration center of Kadiköy'.

Kadiköy and Bağdat Street cannot be considered as separate phenomena, as changes in socio-spatial life of Kadiköy influence the socio-spatial dynamics of Bağdat Street. The strategic position of Kadiköy in Istanbul has traditionally attracted the settlement of many different races while Istanbul and Kadiköy propose different lifestyles. When Istanbul presents itself as a world city, Kadiköy lives through its own hedonism style of development. Indeed, many projects and policies have been launched to keep these two strategic places together although the socio-physical connection of the Asian and Western sides of the Bosphorus take a long time due to the centralized development of city and the lack of a physical connection between the two sides. While the western Bosphorus was historically the capital of three empires, the eastern Bosphorus was home traditionally to summer resorts. The two areas developed in different ways, experiencing two different modes of being, with one following the economic-political route, and the other pursuing recreational activities as while Istanbul suffers from residential deficiencies, high density and incessant fires, Kadiköy lives a silent life, enjoying the diffused summer settlements in the majestic meadows along the Marmara coastline. Therefore, the story of Kadiköy and Istanbul is a story of two different characters that try to unify and to carry each

other's problems. Indeed, the relationship between Kadiköy and Istanbul witnesses many ups and downs, not only in their socio-physical aspects, but also in their cultural-political dimensions, in that the socio-physical connections of the urban phenomena are not enough to bring unity. According to the census of 2012, the population of Kadiköy was 521,005. The following section explains Bağdat Street in terms of the socio-spatial and economic development of Kadiköy, emphasizing the role of the local level in the configuration of the structure of the street.

- **Kadiköy Gives Birth to Bağdat Street**

The study maps the gradual development of Bağdat Street as a small city center in the eastern Bosphorus, emphasizing the contextual dynamics of Kadiköy, which stimulated the socio-spatial development of the Bağdat Street in the early twentieth century. In summary, Kadiköy gave birth to Bağdat Street in two stages, one was in the late nineteenth century under influence of the administrative reforms, and the other was in the early Republican era. In the late nineteenth century, 'developing water transportation', 'independent Kadiköy municipality in 1868', 'fire of 1860', 'railway in 1887', ' parceling public land and being sold ', 'permission to non-Muslim settlement', 'summer palaces of civil servant', 'coastal competitions (e.g. boating)' and 'football matches in meadows' contributed to develop Kadiköy and its surrounding. In the early republican era, 'developing transportation as tram', 'Kadiköy registered as Istanbul district in 1930', 'coastal banks open to public-use', 'asphalting Bağdat road', 'active attendance of women in the coastal resorts', 'restoration Fenerbahçe club' and 'first development plan (Prost plan) to reconstruct Kadiköy center and its surrounding to permanent-use', all those contributed to prosper Bağdat road as the summer settlements and resorts.

Kadiköy was founded in 675 B.C., seventeen years before Istanbul (Ekdal, 1996). Megara's and Finike[23] settled on the Kadiköy shore, particularly on the Moda Cape, which, along with the village of Hayderpaşa, was the first settlement in Kadiköy. In the early years of the Ottoman Empire, Kadiköy was village-like, and was home to diffused settlements of Greeks who were engaged in agricultural activities. For a long time the Turkish population did not develop in the region[24]. In the subsequent years, the meadows of Kadiköy became state property, and the development of agricultural areas and summer resorts began. Particularly after the administrative (Tanzimat) Reforms, the military spaces in the area also gave way to agriculture and entertainment[25]. First and foremost, in the late-eighteenth century, with the development of the waterways, the Kadiköy and Erenkoy neighborhoods (Bağdat road neighborhood) saw the development of resort settlements. The summer resorts triggered the line of development in Kadiköy and its boundaries, which had by then extended to Osmanağa Mosque, although the area saw little development until the late-nineteenth century. Uskudar was the last stop for the caravans coming from Asia, with Kadiköy and its surroundings justly serving as a resort (Ekdal, 2004).

Up to the present, water transportation had a critical role in the initial socio-spatial development of Kadiköy and its surroundings (Ekdal, 2004), with transportation provided by barges and rowboats until the advent of steamboats in 1851. The rowboats worked on three lines, from Eminönü to Galata, and from the villages of

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[23] The shore of Marmara from west to east accommodate Armenian, Greek and Jews, they do commerce. In the eastern bank of Bosphorus close to Marmara beach and in the south of Uskudar, Kalkedon district presents inter-religious and inter-cultural landscape, this view reminds the far past when Megara are Greek colonist from Megara, Phoenicians (Finik) [involved with the commercial activities settle in Moda Cape and changing Moda to the commercial center] settle and create Kalkedon city in the bank of Marmara sea to commercial activities. Kalkedon continuously occupy by Roma, Persian and Megara nations through its geo-political significant location connects Constantine to the Middle East, in that sense Kalkedon identifies as the puzzles of culture. Later in 1353 helical Kalkedon governs under the Ottoman Empire but this political change does not shift the inter-cultural identity of Kalkedon. In seventeenth century, it defines with one Muslim community, seven Roma communities (Akerman, 2009 and Müfid Ekdal, 2004).
[24] Ibid. p. 332
[25] Jacques Pervititch Sigorta Haritalarında Istanbul. Istanbul: Axa Oyak Yayınları, 2000. p. 205.

the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus to the European-Asian shores[26] (Çelik, 1986). In 1846, ferry services were launched from Kadiköy by the Seyr-i Sefain, Fevaid-i Osmaniye, İdare-i Aziziye, İdare-i Mahsusa and Şirketi Hayriye companies (Tanrıverdi, 2006), and the arrival also of steam boats triggered the development of ports. The main means of transportation in Kadiköy were horses and phaetons during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, when Bağdat Street was most probably a dusty caravan road from Asia.

The turning point in the socio-spatial development of Kadiköy came in 1868, when the government decided that the municipal administration should oversee the entire city. A total of fourteen districts were planned by the 'Dersaadet İdâre-i Belediye Nizamnâmesi' (Regulation for the Municipal Administration of Istanbul), but due to a lack of finances, the plan was not executed except in the Kadiköy, Beykoz and Yenikoy municipal districts in response to the demands of the inhabitants (Çelik, 1986). Accordingly, the socioeconomic and spatial development of cities was not fully under the control of empire. The second turning point can be identified as the fire of 1860, when much of the district was lost. This opened the doors for the reconstruction of Kadiköy, and the administrative reforms executed in Kadiköy and Bahariye saw the first modern street constructed in the district. Land parceling and private ownership contributed to development of Kadiköy, and masonry apartment blocks were constructed, particularly along Bahariye Street. The area on which Bağdat Street now stands were in use by civil servants, but the administrative (Tanzimat) Reforms saw public lands being sold at public auction, and so the agricultural profile of the street changed. Moreover, the administrative reforms brought regulations that allowed non-Muslims to own lands and to construct their own buildings, changing the social-physical structure of Kadiköy. The Levantines[27] engaged in commercial activities, changing the agricultural image of the district. Their ways of living and

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[26] Transport was provided by rowing boats until the mid-nineteenth century, due to the increasing water traffic, steamboats were launched.

[27] Levantines who were engaged in science and art, and who built their own houses that generally carried their own names (Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi, 1994, pp.331-335).

the architectural style of their residential buildings were thoroughly distinguishable from local architecture[28], settled mainly in Rasimpağa, Moda, Bahariye, Alti-Yol, Yoğurtçu, Erenköy and Bostancı. They maintained an important role in the development of Kadiköy and Bağdat Street. Therefore, the late-nineteenth century empty lands on the site of Bağdat Street were filled with the summer resorts of civil servants and Levantine residential buildings while Hayderpaşa railway (İzmit–Hayderpaşa) accelerated Kadiköy and Bağdat Street developments. Indeed, public transport constituted an important factor in encouraging people to reside in the street. The railway was extended along Bağdat Street with stations named after their respective neighborhoods, bringing security to the region. This caused new settlements to appear around the railway stations, filling Kadiköy with residential buildings, and preparing it for connection to the city as a residential center[29].

Moreover, the Marmara coastline hosted rowboat and swimming competitions after the coast was opened to the public, and the increase in bathing areas contributed significantly to changing the image of the district from one of military use to one of entertainment and summer resorts in the late nineteenth century. Besides, the empty meadows of the district encouraged people to engage in sporting activities, and it was the British settlers in Moda Cape that initiated the football matches in the meadows of Kadiköy in 1890. In the evenings of Kadiköy, people could witness football matches between the British[30] and Roman[31] settlers in the Kuşdili deresi (Kuşdili valley), Moda and Papzinn Çayiri (Papaz meadow; previous Fenerbahçe club location), although the young Turkish people still showed no interest in the game, as in the Ottoman Empire football was considered to be against their religious beliefs. That said, the matches attracted many spectators from Kalamış, Moda, Kuyubaşi and Hayderpaşa, while the Kadiköy

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[28] Engin Eyüboğlu. Kentsel Sit Alanlarının Planlanmasına Yönelik Bir Yöntem Araştırması ve Kadiköy- Yeldeğirmeni Örneği. Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Istanbul: ITÜ, 1991, pp.: 43-44.
[29] Ibid. p. 44.
[30] Biritish families La Fontaine, Giraud, Whittall, Charnaud, Pears, Armitage plays football in meadows of Kadıkoy (Kayserioğlu, Fenerbahçe journal, p.63).
[31] Ancient Rome (Ekdal, 2004).

residents also showed an interest in theater. Besides, the football matches would further attract families to picnic in the area, bringing men, women, old and young to spectate.

In the early-twentieth century, the Turkish youth started to show an interest in playing football, and a group of young Turks founded Black Stocking FC, using a British name to try to keep the club secret. Later, the youth of Kadiköy gathered in Huşret Ağa Café in Kurbağli Köprü (Kurbağli Bridge) and changed the name of club to Kadiköy Football club in 1902, and subsequently to Fenerbahçe FC in 1907[32]. The club took its name from 'Fener' and 'Bahçe' (garden), in reference to the 'garden of light'[33], the name of a neighborhood in the Kadiköy district. The historical study uncovers that Bağdat Street was traditionally a place of recreational and entertainment activities, and so the contemporary context can be considered as a modified and reconstructed setting of the traditional habits of the street. To date, water transportation, the railway, administrative regulation, water-based competitions and football matches on the fields of Kadiköy and Bağdat Street have contributed to the development of Kadiköy and its surroundings.

During and before the First World War, Kadiköy grew as a fashionable suburb of Istanbul. The district had an upper-class profile in which the wealthy Turk and Levantine quarters were distinguishable due to the modern Levantine style of architecture (Kuban, 1996). After the First World War, the Kadiköy boundary came to include Kuşdili Deresi (Kuşdili valley), Moda Cape and borders of Hayderpaşa. Moda was almost full of buildings in the early years of the Republic

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[32] The Fenerbahçe FC club founds in 1907, the stadium, the first stadium of Turkey, built in 1932. The first name of stadium returns back to late nineteenth century, it is 'Silahtar Aga Sahasi' and in the 1897 its name changes to 'papazin cayiri' (papaz meadow) then shifts to 'ittihat sport (Unified sport)' finally in 1932 changes to Fenerbahçe , in 1949 its capacity increases to 25.000 individuals. In 1982 capacity goes up 30.000 individuals and in 2002 increases to 52.0000 individuals (Ebcim, 2010).

[33] The original name of Fenerbahçe Neighborhood is 'Fenerin-Bahçesi' but it changes to Fenerbahçe during times. The term 'Fenerbahçe' refers to 'Goddess Hiera temple' in Greek mythology, and is the symbol of 'marriage'. In the Ottoman Empire, the Fenerbahçe neighborhood was a resort settlement for the Ottoman soldiers, and today it is a meeting point for young people (Kayserilioğlu, 2010).

due to the modern utilities in the area, such as the tramway between Hayderpaşa and Moda Cape. In the young republic, Kadiköy was registered as an Istanbul district in 1930[34] and Ottoman members left Republican terrains according to young republic regulations[35]. The departure of civil servants from Kadiköy did not bring about a decline in social life. The study underlines that after the First World War and the proclamation of the Republic, Kadiköy witnessed development to its physical infrastructure as trams and asphalted road, while the summer resorts became diffused and developed in the neighborhoods along the Bağdat road (Mimarlik, No.7. 1972). Accordingly, the study emphasizes the continuity of the socio-cultural dynamics through the diffusion of Kadiköy's activities to the surrounding region. Indeed, with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, a decrease in the number of civil servants and the replacement of the old wooden palaces with the concrete two-story villas changed the face of Bağdat Street in the early Republican era. Although, after republic proclamation, for a decade, the social-commercial life of Istanbul went into decline, Bağdat Street as a place for the summer resorts continued its activity as the coastal road, which opened to women, swimming, yachting and Miss Turkey competitions. The coastlines were usually used by non-Muslim women, in that it was against the religious beliefs of Ottoman Empire. Besides the cultural development of the street, the street witnessed development of public transportation in 1934 [36] while the first development plan (Prost Plan, 1936–1951) for Kadiköy in the early Republican era looked forward 50 years into the future, proposing Kadiköy and Bağdat Street as a permanent settlement in the structure of Istanbul. The plans recommended the temporary settlements become permanent, and further emphasis was placed on transportation and a grid network to connect neighborhoods with the Marmara coastline while Bağdat Street, as an important thoroughfare, planned as a connection between Ankara and Uskudar. Moreover, the first development plan proposed the coastline as a recreational area with tourism uses, and suggested a

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[34] Jacques Pervititch Sigorta Haritalarında Istanbul. Istanbul: Axa Oyak Yayınları, 2000, p. 205.
[35] Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi. Istanbul: Türkiye ve Ekonomik Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, Cilt 4, 1994, p. 339.
[36] Tramway (1934) from Kadiköy harbor to Bostanci neighborhood; Kadiköy-Bostanci line number 4 and Kadiköy-Fenerbahçe line number 6.

yacht club on Fenerbahçe Cape and residential zones in the Fenerbahçe and Suadiye neighborhoods (Mimarlik, No.7, 1972). In this regard, Bağdat Street was gradually in transformation to leave behind the seasonal resorts to permanent settlement in late 1940s; however the socio-physical and economic profiles of street was still unsuitable for use as a permanent settlement.

Furthermore, after the founding of the Republic, an annual republic celebration was held in Alti-Yol square and along Bahariye Street, and the training festivals in the Fenerbahçe stadium presented a different image of Kadiköy[37]. In this sense, Kadiköy role changed, from being only a residential area, into a center for social demonstrations. In short, the study underlines that the socio-spatial development of Kadiköy gave birth to Bağdat Street.

- **Bağdat Street: Part of Kadiköy District and City**

Looking at the period of the late-Ottoman Empire and the early Republic, the study describes a process of construction of the Bağdat road as a suburb of the Kadiköy district. Bağdat Street indeed began to develop as a part in the structure of the Kadiköy and city under 'economic-political change in 1950' and 'coup d'état in1980'. In summary, in 1950s, 'construction of two-lane road', 'parceling', 'removing tram to automobile use', 'asphalting', 'enlarged and pedestrianized road', 'permission to four-story building', 'property ownership law', 'inauguration of Ankara road in north of Bağdat street', 'inauguration of Bosphorus Bridge' and 'permanent settlement of wealthy Anatolian and Istanbul center residents' contributed to the development of Bağdat road as a part in the structure of Kadiköy district. Following on from the economic-political change in 1950s, street appeared in the structure of the city under 'developing public and private sector', 'restoration physical aesthetics of the street (enlarged sidewalk,

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[37] After proclamation of Republic in 29th October 1923, people celebrate republic in the city squares and streets. In Kadiköy, people witness celebrations in Alti-yol and inside Fenerbahçe Stadium (Celebrations: 19 May (youth and sport festival), 29 October (Republic ceremony), and Idman (gymnastic festivals inside Fenerbahçe Stadium) [Kayserillioglu, 2011].

street furniture)', 're-appearance Fenerbahçe club in the structure of the street', 'increasing land values', 'empowered local municipality', 'demands of the upper-class residents' and ' construction boom' after military coup of 1980. In this regard, street began to identify with urban cultures as street festivals, rallies, protest and passing time in brand café-restaurants.

The first physical change of the street was in the second half of the 1950s, when Prime Minster Adnan Menderes sought to beautify the city and modify its transportation[38] system. In this regard, the street was enlarged and pedestrianized, and permission was given for three-story constructions, particularly after the Floor Ownership Law (1965), which opened empty plots in the street to construction. In the Hogg Plan (1957), Bağdat Street was important express route to Ankara, and it was thought that this important street on the Anatolian side of the city should develop with residential, commercial and industrial activities. Hogg proposed a city with radial roads to connect the small parcels of the city, while the center of Istanbul should lose all non-utilized activities. In this sense, central business districts disseminated across different sides of the city and the residential structure of Kadiköy transformed into commercial/industrial use and so these changes would gradually influenced the former entertainment/residential structure of Bağdat Street. However, Istanbul still witnessed unplanned construction projects, which developed like an "oil stain" due to the lack of a comprehensive plan (Tekeli, 2013). Indeed, the housing deficiencies and the lack of an efficient transportation network brought about the speculative-based and unplanned development of the socio-physical structure. Besides Hogg plan, the Piccinato Plan (1960), drawn up in cooperation with Iler Bank, could be considered a 'transition master plan'. Contrary to Prost's plan, Piccinato's plans were prepared taking into account statistical censuses, and looked to the lands currently outside the municipality boundary. Indeed Piccinato had an economic vision, suggesting that the city's problems were not just a lack of housing and a poor transportation network. He saw that the future of city depended on the quality of the distribution

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[38] Removal of the Tramway (1958) for the construction of a two-lane street for automobiles.

of industry. As such, a regional planning of Istanbul was required if the problem was to be resolved, in that Istanbul was in natural state of growth, and so it was as necessary to manage the industrial distribution. Accordingly, for Piccinato, Istanbul could be considered as the official and administrative center while a decentralization of the industrial sectors would resolve the housing and transportation problems of city as inaugurating the Ankara road (1958) to the north of Bağdat Street on the one side defined Bağdat Street as a residential area rather than a transit road, and on the other side, newly constructed Ankara road connected İzmit-Adapazarı-Gebze as the central axis of industrial development. In short, the urbanization of Istanbul was required to resolve the problems of the Marmara coastline, which had transformed sea-baths by residential-commercial buildings[39]. Indeed, a decentralization policy would change the image of Bağdat Street and Kadiköy, both of which were planned as the small city centers on the Asian side of the city. In this regard the entertainment district of the early Republic was intensively identified with residential-commercial activities, particularly through the construction of Bosphorus Bridge (1973), the granting of permission for four-story apartment buildings (1972) and developing private sector. Thereby, the urban culture of Kadiköy penetrated Bağdat Street, and turned it into what it is today, and indeed Kadiköy was the intermediary in the social-physical connection of Bağdat Street to the city. Kadiköy was initially a major influence in the construction of Bağdat Street. It was in the late 1950s that Bağdat Street appeared as an independent thoroughfare through implemented strategies to configure it as a small city center of Istanbul.

The second phase of development of the street occurred in the 1980s. After the military coup, the socioeconomic and political life of the city was in chaos, while a liberal modernization calling for the decentralization and privatization of the public sector. The entrepreneurial municipality model allowed for communication between different scales (global, national, regional and local). Accordingly, the

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[39] Doğu Marmara Bolge plani (East Regional Marmara Plan, 1963).

global-local examined different ways of accelerating the process of change in the socio-spatial and economic structures of the street.

The social-educated residents of the street embraced the spoils of global cultures, such as shopping centers and cafés. The traditional street life, which included cinemas, night clubs and sea-baths, was replaced with a more modern setting. In this sense, in the 1980s, the street went through a transition from the traditional to a more liberal modern setting of street activities as chatting and passing time in known cafés and restaurants in the street, such as Burger King and MacDonald's, characterized the new daily life of street while the empty plots in the neighborhoods were opened to construction. Moreover, the former two-lane coastal road was inaugurated as a single-lane road in 1987, and the attempts at beautification resulted in enlarged pedestrian areas in 1988, defining the new modes of living in the street. Moreover, during the 1965–1982[40] periods, while Fenerbahçe had no involvement in the construction of Bağdat Street, it reinvented its own power with the celebrations of Fenerbahçe's championship win in 1989, and rewrote its forgotten mythologies and meanings. Therefore, Bağdat Street left behind the traditional modes of entertainment, and became a street of festivities and the spectacular street life was centered on the cafés, shopping malls and private service sectors, and the consumption and festival culture that was born in the late 1980s reached a peak in the late 1990s while Fenerbahçe club increased its popularity had resulted in the rise in popularity of Bağdat Street at both national and global levels, and with the restoration of the stadium in 2002, the club launched several cultural-economic projects, including the opening of Fenerium[41] stores and cultural festivals like the one to celebrate the centennial (2007) of the club, which was organized in Bağdat Street. In this sense while in the early 1990s, Fenerbahçe's fan base was predominantly in the local neighborhoods, by the twenty-first century, the Fenerbahçe team had become a national phenomenon, with wide support from a large proportion of society

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[40] The Fenerbahçe stadium was under construction between 1969 and 1982.
[41] Fenerbahçe club stores have been opening in many cities in Turkey, selling Fenerbahçe football kits and accessories to fans since 2005.

(upper-middle-low classes). Indeed, the location of the Fenerbahçe stadium in the Kiziltoprak neighborhood of Bağdat Street steers associated events naturally to Bağdat Street, and so the physical-social connectivity between Bağdat Street and the Fenerbahçe club contributes to the development of both. In short, the Fenerbahçe club uses the street for cultural-political activities to increase its public popularity, and in turn, raises the sense of community in Bağdat Street. Moreover, after the siting of the Boğa (Bull) sculpture (1995) in Alti-Yol Square, the Republican demonstrations were moved to Bağdat Street, as a place that was identified with multiple-social actions. The study underlines the multiple dynamics that played a significant role in the construction of the street culture, although the construction process went through ups and downs, resembling a tree seeking balance to stay alive. From a historical perspective, the street bore the cultural practices of the Levantines, which were reconstructed and modified under the influence of the state, city and globalization process.

In summary, the street of the twenty-first century can be identified with multiple social practices. The street has become known as a prominent place of celebrations, political opposition and street protests and the local population is known for its strong sense of community. This is supported by the intensive fan base of Fenerbahçe (a leading Turkish soccer club), and the Republican Peoples' Party (CHP)[42]-led municipality. In this sense, sociocultural events of the street are not experienced only within the boundary of the local scale. To exemplify, the Fenerbahçe stadium as part of the street is at the center of sociocultural and political events influences the socio-political and economic life of the street in the national and global levels while the street economy is constantly reconstructed under the global and national markets.

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[42] Republican People's Party (Turkey) The Republican People's Party (Turkish: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP) is a Kemalist, social democratic political party in Turkey. It is the oldest political party of Turkey and is currently Main Opposition in the Grand National Assembly.

Up to now, the study has explained the contextual setting and rationale behind the selection of Bağdat Street as a study area. The following chapter elaborates upon the methodologies applied in the study area, where the three main research methods are quasi-experimental, exploratory and descriptive.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY REVIEW

The present study involves the implementation of different research methods, as well as different data collection and analysis processes to reach the research aims. The study follows quasi-experimental, exploratory and descriptive research approaches, with the former providing the opportunity to explore the respondent's cognitions of the case study and their understanding of change and restructuring, and the latter revealing the relationship between attributes without manipulation of the data gathered during the interviews.

This study adopted descriptive data collection techniques and methods in the analysis of the collected data, which was gathered through in-depth interviews. The intention in this regard was to reveal the sociocultural attributes in people's descriptions. For the analysis of the descriptive knowledge, a content analysis was conducted to reveal the more meaningful attributes of the case area, and a fuzzy cognitive map was drawn up to examine the meaningful causal relationships between the inter-subjective descriptions. The cognitive spatial map was then used to investigate the spatial experiences of the respondents, and finally the frequency of mentioned attributes was calculated to present the driven forces in the construction of space.

Table 4.1: Brief Descriptions of Quasi-Experimental, Descriptive and Explorative Research Designs-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Type of Research	Data Collection Techniques	Data Analysis Technique
Quasi-Experimental	Verbal and Non-Verbal Data	- Correlational Analysis - Frequencies
Descriptive	Verbal and Non-Verbal Data -Participant Observation -In-depth Interview -Focus group	- Correlational Analysis - Frequencies - Causal Matrices -Fuzzy Cognitive map -Cognitive Spatial Map
Explorative	Subjective Description and Observation - Participant Observation - In-depth Interview - Focus group	- Content Analysis - Correlational Analysis - Causal Matrices - Frequencies

Table 4.1 presents a brief description of the three research methods used in this study to investigate urban transformation and restructuring, being quasi-experimental, descriptive and explorative researches. As complementary approaches, the quasi-experimental research is used to derive relations between dependent attributes to independent attributes. The explorative research is used to derive the cognitions (attributes) of the respondents through interviews and observations, while the descriptive research is used to categorize the derived attributes. This chapter explains the three research approach methods, as well as the data collection process and analysis procedure of each research method.

4.1. Quasi-Experimental Research

The present study applies a range of research methods in the collection and analysis of data to reach its major aims. Quasi-experimental research refers to 'sort-of' experiments, including manipulated independent variables, however a lack of strong controls. The lack of strong control defines quasi-experiment researches as qualitative, according to Brantlinger, Jimenez, Klingner, Pugah and Richardson (2005). Indeed, it cannot forcibly express statistical information, and in this sense, quasi-experimental research is a soft science. For Mason and Bramble (1997), quasi-experimental design begins with a hypothesis about the

relationship between two or more variables. In this sense, the present study embarks upon the research with a tentative declarative statement aimed at examining the situational knowledge.

Quasi-experimental research, when applied to large quantities of data, requires a statistical analysis with suboptimal control, which may cause a co-variation of variables. Accordingly, quasi-experimental research studies the relationship between dependent variables and independent variables, though without decreasing the internal validity of the study.

A descriptive research involves the statistical measurement of verbal and non-verbal data derived from an exploratory research, and so can also be included in the categorization of a quasi-experimental research. This does not mean, however, that a descriptive research is the same as a quasi-experimental research, as a descriptive research never manipulates data, while a quasi-experimental research does involve some manipulation. That said, the characterizations made in a descriptive research using non-manipulated data are not as complete as in a quasi-experimental research.

4.1.1. Data Collection Process in Quasi-Experimental Research

This section elaborates upon the data collection process in the quasi-experimental research study. In quasi-experimental studies, the meaningful experiences of interviewees are presented as numerical values, which explain the interest rate of the variables. The participants express their experiences in verbal and non-verbal scales. While the verbal scale may be abstract, and may not permit the researcher to know exactly the word's function, the non-verbal scale allows researcher to categorize words based on the connotative meaning. The present study used both verbal and non-verbal scales in the categorization of the attributes. In non-verbal communication, the facial, vocal and physical expressions of participants are investigated to better understand each attribute within its context. Broadly, the

verbal analysis serves in the cognitive function and the non-verbal analysis serve in the emotional and relational functions. The present study adopts this method for the labeling and categorization of the derived attribute. The following section explains the analysis technique in quasi-experimental research study.

4.1.2. Analysis Technique in Quasi-Experimental Research

This section explains the analysis techniques employed in quasi-experimental research. In its generic form, a quasi-experimental analysis method divides the data into two categories, for a simple analysis technique and a multivariate analysis technique. The present study uses the simple analysis technique, using averages, tables of frequency and a correlation analysis. These methods are used to illustrate the natural relationship between variables with less control and manipulation. The following section explains the two major research approaches adopted in the present study, being exploratory and descriptive.

4.2. Exploratory and Descriptive Research Designs

The present study applies a range of research methods in the collection and analysis of data to reach its major aims. The combination of exploratory and descriptive researches contributes to the exploration of research problems, with the descriptive research simplifying and re-organizing data obtained during the exploratory research. These research methods both take the form of non-manipulated surveys, and Figure 4.1 clarifies the sequential order of the research. The data derived during the exploratory research was used in the descriptive research to finalize the research study. The following section explains the exploratory research method followed in the study, in which data was gathered through interviews.
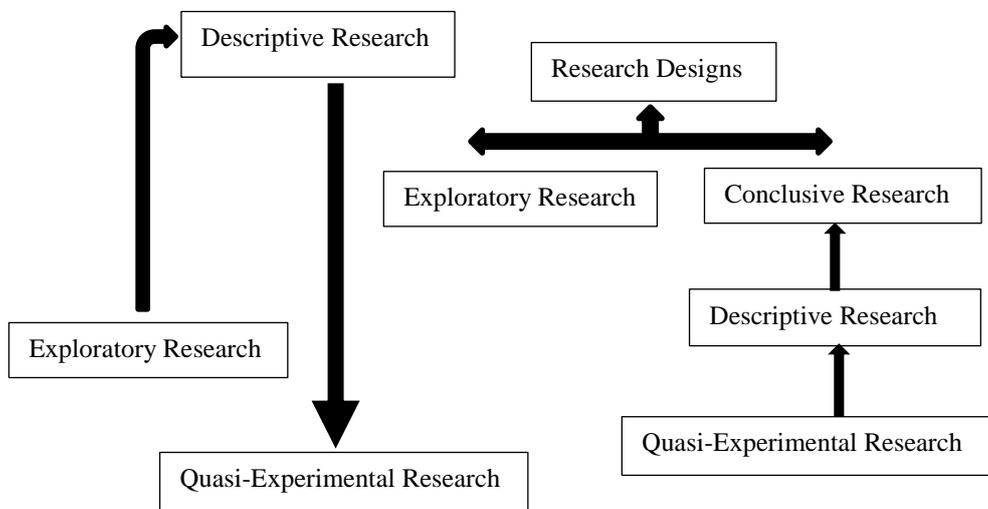
Figure 4.1: Left (Research Order), Right (Type of Research)-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

4.2.1. Exploratory Research Design

This section provides an explanation of the exploratory research design method, as the primary stage in the qualitative research design. In the exploratory research, the urban context can be considered as the open-ended storage of ideas and insights; indeed, it reveals the human desires and the ever-changing realities of the human world. Accordingly, the urban context is a complex phenomenon involving the dynamic interaction of social-physical attributes, therefore it is no easy task to remotely valorize and distinguish its attributes. In this regard, the researcher must enter the urban context to discover the major supposed hypothesis. For the exploratory researcher, there is little doubt that the primary hypothesis is open to change; making exploratory research designs a highly adventurous research process. Indeed, the exploratory researcher for a time lives in a complex urban laboratory that is filled with multi-dependent attributes.

Exploratory research is a qualitative research method that allows a deep exploration of the case study subject. It is unstructured and non-statistical, and provides a huge amount of relevant data. The methods of data gathering in an

exploratory research include expert surveys, pilot surveys, case studies and secondary qualitative data, as well as literature searches, semi-structured and structured interviews, focus groups, observations, and photographic and video records. The following section explains the data collection process in the exploratory research method. The study uses interview and observation techniques to derive data, making the exploratory research a process of discovery.

4.2.1.1. Data Collection Process in Exploratory Research

The gathering of data is a very adventurous process in an exploratory research. The most popular exploratory research methods include literature searches, in-depth interviews, focus groups and case analyses. One of the fastest methodologies is the literature search, however in this case, this step failed to come up with an initiative hypotheses.

- In-depth Interviews: These provide the opportunity for the gathering of data from those with knowledge at hand, or for whatever reason, have a close relationship with the studied phenomenon. In-depth interviews attempt to unveil people's feelings and motives related to the selected subject. In this regard, researchers use tape and video recordings to document fully peoples' feelings and descriptions. The in-depth interview is the primary stage of the data collection part of the descriptive research design. The text-based data, prepared as a written transcript and formatted as sentences from the tape recordings, contributes to the understanding of attributes in the construction of space.

- Focus Group: These have similarities with in-depth interviews, both in the profiling of qualitative data, and in their attempt to uncover peoples' feelings. Focus group and in-depth interviews both help provide an understanding of the research problem, and just as with the in-depth interviews, focus groups produce raw data for analysis in the descriptive stage of the research. There are obvious differences between the two methods, the foremost of which is that focus groups involve groups of

- people, and do not have the depth of one-to-one interviews, although both methods are used in the study. Additionally, although both explain peoples' feelings, the in-depth interviews uncover a more detailed understanding of human senses than focus groups. Indeed, since the available time for each respondent is limited in a focus group, it is not easy to take into account human senses, body language, voice tone, etc. In an in-depth interview, time is not shared among a group of people, and in that sense, the researcher can delve deeper into an individual's psychological relationship with the selected case study subject. Focus groups involve a number of individuals who are brought together to debate a particular phenomenon, and can come to a successful result when steered by a moderator whose aim is to explore problems. Given the interactive nature of focus groups, ideas sometimes emerge 'out of the blue', or sometimes through a chain of responses among the participants. The researcher should prepare structured (restricted) and/or semi-structured (semi-restricted) questions to easily manage the debate in both focus groups and in-depth interviews. Additionally, in a focus group, the participants should have a common interest in learning about the debated subject if the researcher is to derive constructive ideas. The other critical issue for both the focus group and in-depth interview approaches is the location, as both require a comfortable place to talk. Researchers should select a location that is easily accessible by the respondents. The obtained data will be largely qualitative and in a textual format. Researchers make their analyses based on personal interpretation; however managing a large amount of data is difficult, which makes it advantageous to carry out also a quantitative analysis too.

- Case Analysis and Observation: In the case analysis, researcher learns about a situation through a study of selected cases, looking at existing records, observing the phenomenon as it occurs, conducting unstructured interviews and/or using variables derived from the focus group and in-depth interview approaches. Therefore, a case analysis can be performed

in many different ways - sometimes internal records are reviewed, sometimes individuals are interviewed, and sometimes situations or people are observed. Indeed, observation, if used properly, can overcome the limitations associated with self-reporting, such as the potential for the researcher to manipulate the obtained data (Borg and Gall, 1989). In fact, observations can be a valuable source of information, although its coding may be time consuming.

Up to now, the described exploratory research method has attempted to gain a deep understanding of the context, without any pre-defined planning, so as to see the study area in its true form. Indeed, the researcher becomes involved in the phenomenon to gain a clear understanding of the research problem. The exploratory research culminates with the list of TEXTS that assist the researcher in developing the research questions. The following section explains the descriptive research method for the analysis and classification the raw data gathered from the exploratory research process.

4.2.2. Descriptive Research Design

Descriptive researches fit into neither qualitative nor quantitative research methods, but rather utilize elements of both. Descriptive researches work on the type of research problem extracted in the exploratory stage of the research. In this sense, a descriptive research involves the gathering of data that describes events, which is then organized, tabulated and depicted (Glass and Hopkins, 1984). That is to say, the statements derived in the exploratory research are simplified, clustered and labeled to allow easily description, and then the derived variables are classified based on the frequency of mention. Descriptive data is useful for the solving of problems only when the process is guided by one or more specific research problems that have been derived from an exploratory research. A descriptive research is more structured and statistical than an exploratory research,

and is more flexible in nature. A descriptive research aims to describe the situation in a non-manipulated way.

A descriptive research requires a clear specification of the 'what' of the research problem. A research problem derived from an exploratory research is elaborated in a quantitative/qualitative based descriptive research to obtain conclusive data. The following section explains the process of the gathering data in a descriptive research process, in which derived raw data in-depth interviewing grouping to more readable attributes.

4.2.2.1. Data Collection Process of a Descriptive Research

This section explains the data collection process in the descriptive research. The raw data derived in the exploratory research needs to be re-organized to allow the easy understanding of its readers, since the human mind is unable to process large amounts of raw data. Indeed, to illustrate, data derived from an in-depth interview needs to be re-organized to clarify the attributes that will be used during the data analysis. In the descriptive research, similar raw data is clustered and then labeled. Indeed, the textual transcript in the exploratory research is labeled, and is broken down into manageable categories on a variety of levels (word, word sense, phrase, sentence or theme). The clustered and labeled textual transcript prepares the gathered data for statistical analysis. This process is identified as the content analysis, and is a method of making a quantitative description of the content. The basic methods used in the content analysis are conceptual or relational analyses. This method, as in the case of the descriptive research, can be applied in both qualitative and quantitative researches.

Labeling requires both a written transcripts and tape recordings of the focus group and in-depth interviews, and is not an easy task. By way of an example, in the research study, a one-hour interview produced ten pages of transcript, and therefore the interactive nature of coding requires great effort. Labeling can be

considered as categorizing statements under the appropriate code/concept. In this regard, it is the intuition of the researcher that determines the quality of the qualitative data, including peoples 'attitudes and feelings'. Furthermore, the standardized semi-structured questions of the in-depth interviews allow the possibility of comparison in the textual transcripts of the respondents to permit an appropriate codification of the data.

Up to now, the raw data of exploratory research has been labeled according to the readable attributes. The Fuzzy Cognitive Maps and Cognitive Spatial Maps are two prevalent methods for the analyzing of derived attributes. The following section explains the analysis technique of the descriptive research.

4.2.2.2. Analysis Technique of a Descriptive Research

This section aims to analysis the labeled data (attributes). The gathered data, such as the labels defined in the data collection process of the descriptive research, are in need of analysis. The labeled data (attribute) includes textual statements applied in a Fuzzy Cognitive Map. It indeed presents the textual transcript in a readable form.

- Fuzzy Cognitive Mapping (FCM) is applied to represent peoples' mentalities. The mental landscape summarizes the relationships between attributes. These are not manipulated, and actually reveal the real perspectives of humans in the world. People's life-world relationships are revealed in the fuzzy cognitive map, in which the connected attributes are highlighted in the statements of the respondents. FCM is a type of a visual language that clarifies people's mind views.

- Conduct spatial cognition visualizes the actual human world as profiled in peoples' minds. It increases familiarity of the human world, the everyday lives of people, and what are important/unimportant, as well as what are in charge, in the world.

The labeled data (attributes) are tabulated and their numerical values are calculated, which can contribute to the understanding of the most prevalent labeled data (attribute). The attributes are classified into sub-content groups, in which the major content groups are categorized. The classified attributes contribute to the identification of the influential variables in the construction of the sociocultural phenomenon, while the table serves to present the numerical values of each sub-content and main content group. The numerical values explain the frequency of mentioned attributes, and are presented as a percentage of the mentioned data among the respondents and causal matrix of FCM. The frequency refers to the number of respondents who mentioned particular attributes.

To conclude, this chapter has provided a brief explanation of the quasi-experimental, the exploratory and descriptive research methods used in the study, with the application method changing based on the type of research question. The exploratory research is the basic platform for addressing the research problems, and adopts several methods to explore the phenomenon. The researcher selects the exploration method according to the limitation and potential of the selected case. The research study adopts multi-methods in the exploratory research, being: in-depth interviews, focus groups, observation studies, case analyses, literature searches and portfolios. The exploratory research serves to clarify the research path and can be considered a qualitative research, resulting in the textual transcripts of recorded interviews. On the other hand, the descriptive research method labels the textual formatted data, simplifying it into a readable form. The labeled data (attributes) are analyzed in the Fuzzy Cognitive Map and Spatial Cognition Map, and both present the content knowledge in visual and spatial graphs. A descriptive statistical analysis is used to count the frequency of mentions of the attributes; and moreover, the study presents the driven force attributes through the causal matrix of the Fuzzy Cognitive Map. The table below presents in brief the two major research methods (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Research Designs; the Exploratory and Descriptive Research Designs-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

	Exploratory	Descriptive
Objective	Discovery of ideas and insights	Descriptions of characteristics and functions
Characteristics	Flexible, non-manipulated, natural context, as it is.	Flexible, not as the exploratory research, structured design
Method	Expert survey, Pilot survey, Secondary data (Verbal & non-verbal data)	Secondary data, Survey, Observation (Verbal & non-verbal data)
Type	Qualitative	Quantitative & Qualitative

This section has provided an overview of the three research methods used in the study, being quasi-experimental, explorative and descriptive. The following chapter explains the analytical procedures and presents the result of the explorative cognitive attributes and methods in three sections: 1) the major data gathering method of the study; 2) the analytical procedure of the study; and 3) the results of the analytical procedure.

CHAPTER 5

DATA GATHERING METHOD, ANALYTICAL PROCEDURES AND RESULT OF THE EXPLORATION OF COGNITIVE ATTRIBUTES

This chapter is compiled in three main sections. The first section explains the main data-gathering method of the study; the second section explains the followed analytical procedure; and the final section elaborates upon the results of the analytical procedure. The study is based on descriptive knowledge, which is a process that allows the discovery of the finer points of the sociocultural phenomenon.

5.1. Descriptive Knowledge

The descriptive knowledge of the study comes from interviews, during which the interviewees were asked to describe what they had seen and felt, and about their activities. Accordingly, the study explains the inter-subjective knowledge is shaped by the relationship between the world and the individual. Although some people dismiss descriptive knowledge, good descriptive knowledge is fundamental to the research enterprise. Descriptions can be concrete, abstract or both; this study contains both.

Descriptive knowledge focuses on the 'what' rather than the 'how', and allows us to think about the world. The study asks the participants to explain what they know about the case study, and they describe either their direct participation in events, or what they have observed and heard. The following section explains the major method of gathering data in the present study, being through interviews, and this represents the most challenging and adventurous process in knowledge exploration.

5.1.1. Interviewing

This section elaborates upon the interview method applied in the descriptive and exploratory research for the gathering of data related to attributes. Interviews can be conducted either 'face-to-face' or as 'written-based interviews' (Giorgi, 2009), and there is no clear perspective about what can be considered a 'good interview'. For Giorgi (2009), a good interview depends on 'what the researcher seeks from the research interview', but in general, face-to-face interviews produce richer results than written accounts.

The interview has become the main means of data collection in qualitative, human scientific research. In this regard, to gather deep information, interviews are used to study a phenomenon from the perspective of the individual, understanding a subjective experience and obtaining insights into peoples' lives. So that, interviews should be based around open-ended questions that meet the criteria of the description (Giorgi, 2009). Questions related to initiative should ask the participants to describe a situation rather than to analyze the reasons behind an event. The first question of the study was 'can you please describe in as much detail as possible a situation that you experienced'. The remaining questions should follow the response of interviewees, with particular focus on the phenomenon being researched. This is means of data gathering is free of preconception.

Indeed, before conducting an interview, the researcher should have a preliminary meeting with the research participants, which gives the researcher the opportunity to establish trust with the participants and explains the nature of the research to the participants. In this regard, a pilot survey can contribute to the identification of potential respondents and can serve as an opportunity to review the research questions, being a preliminary analysis prior to conducting a full study and research. In the present study, the researcher conducted the pilot survey in two neighborhoods (Fenerbahçe and Bostancı) to prove the eligibility of the research

topic and to test the research questions. The Fenerbahçe and Bostancı Gönüllü Evi[43] arranged focus groups. Three focus groups (each focus group contains 18 individuals) held two of them in Bostancı Gönüllü Evi and one in Fenerbahçe Gönüllü Evi to examine research questions.

Finally, in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty participants using standard open-ended questions. This approach facilitates faster interviews that can be more easily be analyzed and compared, and provides a very rich description about the case study (Bağdat Street). The following section explains the interviewee profiles.

5.1.1.1. Respondents' Profiles

The participants of the study were selected according to age, place of residence and gender. This particular study required the respondents to be educated, and with a high level of intellect to ensure validity of the derived knowledge.

The Muhtars[44] of the neighborhoods, the Fenerbahçe club and the Kadiköy municipality research center assisted in identifying respondents for the study. Unstructured interviews were conducted with the principal of the Fenerbahçe club museum (Alp Bacıoğlu), the heads of local NGOs, the head of Kadiköy Municipality and a number of Kadiköy traders (Baylan patisserie and booksellers) to get some background information about the Kadiköy neighborhood, Bağdat Street, and its residents. Moreover, it was necessary to get involved in the social programs being organized by some of the local NGOs to form a connection with the residents, being Osmanaga Gonulluleri, Bostancı Gönüllüleri, Fenerbahçe Gönüllüleri and Göztepe Gönüllüleri. I organized three

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[43] Gönüllü Evi is an Ngo that arranges social-cultural activities for the residents of the neighborhood. The local municipality retains control over the program of center.
[44] A Muhar is an elected head of a neighborhood in towns and cities, the responsibilities of the Muhtar include registering the residents of the neighborhood, arranging social and cultural events, etc.

unstructured focus groups in NGOs to discuss the history of Kadiköy, during which the residents engaged in unorganized discussions and debates related to the case-study area. This process proved to be constructive for the case study, and potential interviewees were identified in the provided milieu.

Moreover, participation at cultural events of the Fenerbahçe club contributed to a better understanding of the sociocultural climate of the street. These included attending 'Galatasaray vs. Fenerbahçe' and 'Beşiktaş vs Fenerbahçe' football matches at the Fenerbahçe stadium. The study aims to understand the senses of people around Bağdat Street and the Fenerbahçe club, and these events provided a good opportunity to connect with young local people, and to observe their behavior before and after the matches. I was able to conduct occasional interviews with individuals from this milieu at Yoğurtçu Park, as a notable meeting point for young people before and after matches.

During the study, it was essential to follow events either by direct participation or by observation, in that the case study is at the center of social-political events. The observational method permits the gathering of valuable information about events without going into detail, and involved observation of and participation in public events by the researcher. Participation in the Republic ceremony of 29th October 2013 contributed to the unstructured talks arranged with the participants. The study further conducted the media analysis to record places of events, including social network (Twitter) and Newspaper (Milliyet Newspaper).

Finally, in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty interviewees, the most notable being DR. MÜFID EKDAL, author of Kadiköy history; HALIT DERINGOR, sport writer and former football player; DR. PAKIZE TURKOĞLU, academic and author; OGÜN ALTİPARMAK, former national football player; SELAMI ÖZTURK, the head of Kadiköy municipality; BAĞIŞ ERTEN, European sport journalist; and ILYAS BUCLAY, Fenerbahçe club lecturer. The study called upon middle-aged and older groups in society to explain the socio-

spatial and economic history of the street, however that was not limited to the middle/older groups, as young people were also involved. Moreover, gender was also considered in the selection of interviewees to ensure a holistic-historical knowledge of the street (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Distribution of Respondents for Sample Area-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Background		No. of Respondents	Total
Gender	Female	7	20
	Male	13	
Age	30–35	3	20
	45–55	3	
	65–95	14	

Up to now, an explanation has been made of the profile of the interviewees involved in the study. The following section explains the data collection procedure for the descriptive research.

5.1.2. Data Collection

The study involves in-depth interviews and observation techniques for the gathering of data. Interviews were conducted with residents of the street and with people with some form of connection to it. The in-depth interview and observation techniques contribute to increasing the validity of the case study.

The collection of data began in the Istanbul district of Kadiköy in March 2013, Kadiköy and was completed in December 2013. The study required a predominant connection with the middle and older age groups of society, and in this regard, the NGOs were an appropriate place to find potential interviewees. The twenty in-depth interviews were conducted in different official places. To provide a safe and friendly environment, it was essential to explain a research topic to all

interviewees prior to beginning. The questions were not prepared based on a right or wrong answer; rather, the interviewees were asked to give their perspective of the study area. In this regard, the study required moderation to achieve the research aims. Interviews lasted for at least two hours. The questions posed were semi-structured and open-ended, they are presented in the below table (Table 5.2 & Appendix A).

Table 5.2: In-depth Interview Questions and Sub-questions- Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

General questions		
Could you summarize your everyday life?	Could you please explain the social, cultural and political activities that occur in the street?	Could you please describe the social-political profiles of the street?
Sub-questions		
Everyday Life	**Shared Activities**	**Social-political Profile**
-Could you please explain the places you go shopping? -Could you please explain where you like to pass the time? -Could you please explain places you pass in your leisure time?	-Could you please explain the social, political, cultural activities in which you participate? -Could you please explain which places are used for shared social, political and cultural activities?	-Could you explain the education level of your neighbors? -Could you give a generally overview of the political interests of the inhabitants?
Sub-Questions in Time Sequences		
-Could you explain where you did your shopping between 1923 and the 2000s? -Could you please explain the places you preferred to pass the time between 1923 and the 2000s? -Could you please explain places where you passed your leisure time between 1923 and the 2000s?	-Could you please explain social, political, cultural activities you participated between 1923 and the 2000s? -Could you please explain which places were used for shared social, political and cultural activities between 1923 and the 2000s?	-Could you explain the education levels of your neighbors between 1923 and the 2000s? -Could you provide an overview of the political interests of the inhabitants between 1923and the 2000s?

The study asked the interviewee to describe the socio-spatial and economic attributes in the single-case study area, using a questionnaire that was to rapidly achieve the research aims. The interviews aimed to derive the contextual dynamics in the construction of space, in this regard the questionnaires had been prepared on the basis of everyday life, sociocultural and political activities of the street and socio-political profile of residents to derive the contextual attributes in the (re) construction of the socio-physical and economic structure of the street. The questionnaires investigated interviewees' conceived knowledge manipulated through social practices of different groups of the society from global to local levels and scales. The general questions were ordered: (1) to define everyday life, (2) to define the sociocultural and political activities that occurred in the street and (3) to define the socio-political profile of the street (Table 5.2). As these questions were not sufficient to reach the aims of the case study, further sub-research questions were posed to contribute to a clearer understanding. Active moderation was required to direct the interviewees toward the research aims, and methods were used to attach the disconnected interviewee to the discussion, for example, by presenting examples, photos and etc.

The study categorizes the content of the sub-question into three groups: (1) everyday life; (2) shared activities; and (3) socio-political profile. Table 5.2 presents the content of the sub-questions.

The study posed the three sub-questions: (1) could you please explain the places you go shopping; (2) could you please explain the places you like to pass the time; (3) could you please explain the places where you pass your leisure time. This part of the study aimed to gather data on the respondents' spatial cognition in everyday life, as well as the economic status of inhabitants.

Two further questions were posed to gain an insight into the shared events of street and the cultural, social and political preferences of the inhabitants: (1) could you please explain in which social, cultural and political activities you participate;

(2) could you please explain which places are used for shared social, cultural and political activities.

Finally, two further questions: (1) could you explain the education levels of your neighbors; (2) could you provide a general overview of the political interests of the inhabitants, aimed to derive data about the level of education, and the cultural and political profiles of the inhabitants.

The sub-questions were then reorganized into time-sequences and the interviewees were asked to explain the questions in time-series between 1923 and the 2000s. I have prepared the standard questions for pre-supposed nine historical periods between 1923s-2000s, they were 2000s, 1990s, 1980s, 1970s, 1960s, 1950s, 1940s, 1930, and 1920s of the case study. The pre-supposed periods rearranged based on the descriptive inter-subjective knowledge, they are 2002–2013; 1995–2002; 1980–1995; 1973–1980; 1965–1973; 1950–1965; 1940–1950; 1923–1940; and pr-1923 (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: The Turning Points based on the Interviewees' Descriptive Knowledge- Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Periods	Reasons
1923-1940	1923; proclamation of republic
1940-1950	1940; primary socio-physical changes of the street
1950-1965	1950; economic-political changes (from single to multiple-party)
1965-1973	1965; decentralization policies
1973-1980	1973; Bosphorus Bridge and appearance of global enterprises in the social life of street
1980-1995	1980; Military coup
1995-2002	1995; structured everyday life of street, intensive global enterprises, and sociocultural street activities
2002-2013	2002; integration in global market, intensive sociocultural and political activities, AKP-government[45]

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[45] Justice and Development Party (Founded in 2001 by members of a number of existing conservative parties, the party won a landslide victory in the 2002 election, winning over two-thirds of parliamentary seats).

In summary, the study purposed to examine people cognitions within historical perspective, in this regard questions for different eras were posed, for which the interview technique was ideal for the gathering of intense raw data. So that interviewees' conceived knowledge presented the contextual dynamics in the (re)construction of the sociocultural context in time.

Up to now, the study has explained the data collection methods for the single-case study, while the following section explains the procedure for changing the raw data into a usable form.

5.2. Analytical Procedure for the Exploration and Categorization of Cognitive Attributes

An analytical procedure is required to translate the mass of raw data from the exploratory research design into applicable attributes. The raw data collected at the interviews was examined by using a combination of content analysis and an adapted Fuzzy Cognitive Mapping (FCM) methodology (Özesmi and Özesmi, 2004). Since the study did not pursue a FCM data collection technique due to the researcher's role as "one of them" (Ataöv 2007), and thereby, due to her presence and connection to the interviewed within a continuous dialogue not only one time but several times, in the analysis phase, the study could not use the sophisticated statistical analysis technique that FCM requires. Yet the formation of content groups, the frequencies of the mentioned content groups, their mentioned relationships, and the translation of that analysis into a cognitive map form were completed manually in pursuit of the FCM principles. The Following section explains method of analyzing the raw data, grouping and categorization using un-manipulated applicable data (attributes) from the interviews.

5.2.1. Grouping and Categorizing Descriptive Knowledge

This section groups and categorizes the raw data into more usable attributes to answer research problems. The raw data recorded during the interviews was

transcribed into sixty pages of text-based data, which was then required to be translated into a more readable form. As the case study is to be analyzed from a historical perspective, grouping the raw data required the data to be categorized according to the discussed periods. The raw data was thus categorized according to nine periods, dating from 1923 to the present day, and similar data was grouped further into one cluster (Table 5.4). The clusters were labeled according to the data they held. The labeled cluster calls as 'attribute'.

Table 5.4: Sample of Research Study – Coding the Respondents' Statement- Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)
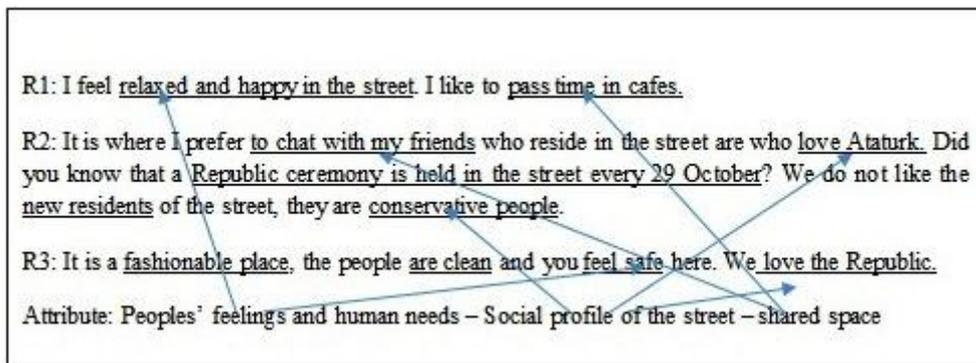
Later, the attributes were categorized in the larger groups to allow the more influential variables to be identified in the construction of the study area (Bağdat Street). The reduction of the many similar attributes into a more manageable number was necessary for the understanding of the role of each of the components in the construction of space. The following section explains the Fuzzy Cognitive Map (FCM), which is a common method in the analyzing attributes' relations.

5.2.2. Fuzzy Cognitive Map Methodology

A Fuzzy Cognitive Map combines fuzzy logic and cognitive mapping. Fuzzy logic (Zadeh, 1965 and Cox, 1999) contributes to the expression of text-based data in a mathematical formalism, while fuzzy graph structures are used to display causal relations. Causal relations contribute to the discovery of relationships

between derived attributes. FCM presents the integration of diverse sources of knowledge, multi-objectives and multi-stakeholders.

The present study adopts the FCM methodology to show the strength of impacts among a number of descriptive variables, contributing to the understanding of the dominant and emergent attributes. The attributes can be described as the rules, sub-structures and resources in the construction of space, the intensity of communications and the interplays of rules is an indication of the quality of the attributes. Hence, the Fuzzy Cognitive Map is means to reveal the relational network of the rules for the nine periods covered in the study, and explains the quality of integration and disintegration of the rules during the process.

5.2.2.1. Cognitive Map

This study uses a cognitive map (CM) to present descriptive knowledge in different historical periods and it is tool for the modeling of complex relations among variables, and many studies have used this method in decision-making (Bauer, 1975).

Cognitive maps (Eden, 1992) are a collection of nodes linked by arcs or edges. The nodes represent the concepts or variables that are relevant to a given domain, while the causal links between these concepts are represented by the edges. The edges indicate the knowledge of the context, and a direction is used to show the direction of the influence. The intensity of the directed lines between words/phrases (attributes) presents the strength of the causal conditions between attributes. Indeed, the nodal intensities of relations present the central attributes, supporting by the marginal nodes (attributes). The study makes use of two different softwares for the design of the cognitive map: "Internet Explorer" and "Vensim PLE". The following section presents details of the cognitive spatial map, which is an ideal method for present people's spatial orientation and

preferences. This method can also be used to examine the embodied knowledge of the context.

5.2.3. Cognitive Spatial Map

This study attempts to understand peoples' cognition on a spatial map. A spatial map serves to peoples' mind eye, and permits an understanding of their living preferences. It shows clearly the qualities of the individuals-world connection. A person's cognition is spatialized in the spatial map, and as such it can be considered an applicable method for understanding environmental preferences, and so improve disconnected individuals-world relationships. Broadly speaking, it provides evidence of a person's needs and perceptions of the socially constructed urban space.

To sum up, this qualitative research is an empirical approach to understand the meaning people have constructed, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences, they have in the world (Merriam, 2009). In this regard, the interviewees describe socially constructed attributes of the street (sociocultural phenomenon) according to questions prepared for the in-depth interviews (see Table 5.2), which are: (1) could you summarize your everyday life? (2) Could you please explain any social, cultural and political activities that occurred in the street? (3) Could you please describe the social-political profiles of the street? A derived textual data transforms into findings through a qualitative analysis (clustering and FCM). A qualitative data analysis attempts to describe textual data in a way that captures the setting or people who produced text, rather than in terms of a pre-defined interpretation or hypothesis. This identifies the inductive nature of qualitative researches.

This study makes a content analysis to prepare the raw data for further analysis. The transcribed interviews are translated into content categories that are in a valid communication with one another. The content analysis takes inferences from

contextual resources (Krippendorff, 1980). The content analysis is such a listening to the words of texts and understanding better the perspectives of the producers of the texts. In the present study, the recorded data of interviews transcribed as the text to the content analysis. A content analysis can be considered as an empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following analytical rules and step by step models, without making rash quantifications (Mayring, 2000). A content analysis contributes to the systematic analysis of large quantities of data, which in this case comes from the own words of the interviewees.

A good qualitative research takes into account the wholeness of a setting or the relationship that exists between categorized settings and words, rather than breaking the text down into independent words. The study indeed reduces the long sentences of an interview into the short phrases and words, which can then be used to further the analysis. The derived phrases and word groups are then categorized into larger groups to allow a better understanding of the influential attribute in the construction of space.

In summary, there are four steps to be taken when preparing the data for the result table. Firstly, the recorded interviews are transcribed, creating the raw data table; secondly the raw information is reduced down into particular themes, phrases and words; thirdly, similar words or phrases are grouped together; and finally, similar groups are labeled accordingly. The reliability and validity of the labels is checked through a review of existing literature. The labeled attributes are classified into larger groups, making the influential attributes in the construction of space easier to distinguish. The content analysis is carried out to explore, and then to categorize the attributes. The following part calculates the frequency of mentioned attributes and causal relations to answer the second research question of the study. These two common methods are used to derive dominant attribute (culture) of the sociocultural phenomenon (street).

5.2.4. Frequency of Mention and the Causal Relation

This part explains the frequency of mention and the causal relations, which are used to identify the dominant attributes in the construction of the phenomenon. The frequency of mentioned and causal matrix are applied to answer second research problem of the study ' Which shared conceived socio-spatial attributes of Bağdat Street have been handed down from 1923 to the present day and contributed to the construction, re-construction and/or transformation of the sociocultural phenomenon (street)?'The study calculates the frequency of mentioned attributes to show the frequency of occurrence of each attribute, with the possible number of mentions of each pattern varying between '0' and 'infinite'.

The causal relations of the Fuzzy Cognitive Map are also identified to derive the emergent and dominant attributes in the construction of space. The possible number of causal relations can vary between '0' to 'infinite'. The causal relation of the Fuzzy Cognitive Map contributes to distinguishing the central and marginal attributes of the construction. The frequency of the mentioned attributes and the causal relations are calculated for nine periods. Identifying the dominant attributes allows any changes in the structure of the sociocultural phenomenon to be identified within a historical perspective.

So far, the study has explored the more meaningful cognitions of people's practices through interviews. Furthermore, a Fuzzy Cognitive Map is used to examine the relationships that exist between attributes, while the spatial dimensions of the revealed data are measured by way of the attributes present in the Cognitive Spatial Map. Finally, in the analysis procedure, frequency of mention and causal matrix are calculated.

In the following section, the final table bearing the result of the exploration and categorization of the present study is explained. The table includes data on the

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general content group, sub-content groups, and frequency of mentions and causal matrix of the Fuzzy Cognitive Map.

5.3. Result of Analytical Exploration and Classification Procedure

This section explains the result of the analytical exploration and classification procedure, in which the revealed inter-subjective practices are grouped and then labeled to manage the vast amount of data. The labeled data (attributes) contribute to distinguishing disciplines in the construction of the phenomenon. Attributes are categorized into larger groups with the similar labels to allow changes to be followed (Figure 5.1). The figure explains the process of labeling and the classification of the explored raw data. Up to now, an explanation has been provided regarding the content and sub-content groups in the results table.
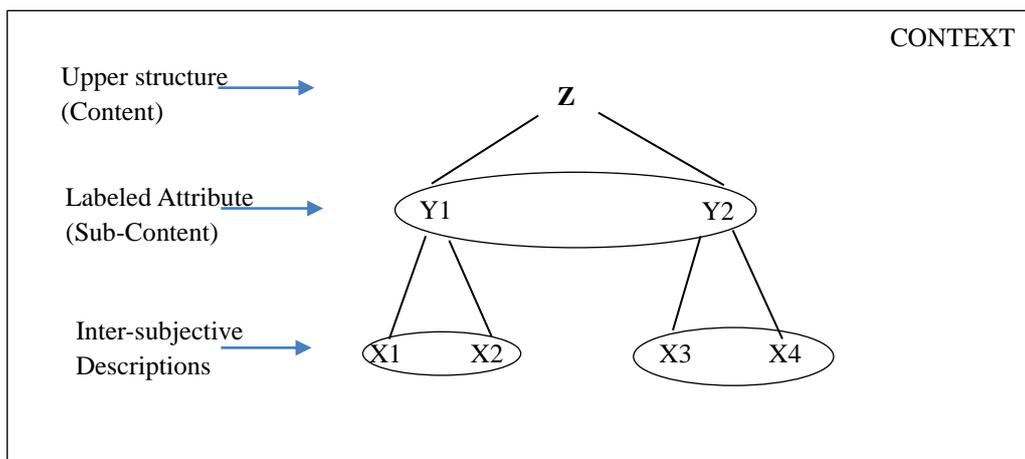
Figure 5.1: Process of Labeling and Classification of Data-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

The main content and sub-content groups are arranged in the results table according to the values of the mentioned frequency. The frequency of the mentioned attributes distinguishes the most influential attribute, being the most dominant in the construction of the phenomenon, which was underlined by the majority of interviewees. Strong structures communicate intensely with marginal attributes. Hence the sub-content groups (attributes) are arranged in ascending order based on the frequency of mention to contribute to the synthesis of the

attributes. The final three columns in the results table explain the causal relations of the attributes. The main content and sub-content groups might also arrange ascendingly based on the causal values. The causal values define the dominant attributes, supported by the marginal, and the causal relations also explain the morphological and functional completeness of the sociocultural phenomenon within nine historical periods. The study identifies the frequency of mentions and the causal relations for nine periods (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Sample of the Results Table of the Analytical Exploration and Classification Procedure (1980–1995) - Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Content Groups(Major)	Content Subgroups	Frequency of Mention (%)	No. of Causes	No. of Effects	Total of Causes & Effects
SHARED SPACE	**Indoor space** (A few cafes, a few restaurants, a few shops, one shopping center, one grocery store in Suadiye)	10 (3%)	1	4	5
	Collective Meeting Nodes (Şaşkin-Bakkal,Yoğurtcu Park, where Fenerbahçe fans gather after matches, Alti-yol [social activities], Kalamış park, where Fenerbahçe fans gather after matches, Divan Patisserie)	10 (3%)	1	2	3

The following chapter explains the result table of the analytical exploration and classification in the case study, which addresses the first research question with the help of the Fuzzy Cognitive Map and Spatial Cognitive map. The study is conducted in two sections: interpretation and exploration of Bağdat Street in the twenty-first century, and interpretation and exploration of Bağdat Street in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 6

SHARED CONCEIVED ATTRIBUTES

This chapter explains the findings related to the shared conceived attributes in the construction of the Bağdat Street's sociocultural phenomenon within a historical perspective. To this end, the study explains the story of (re)construction of the modern Republican street in time. The commercial Asian beach road follows the line of development in the Republican era to the settlement of the upper-class bourgeoisie, and to the center of cultural-political activities in Istanbul. The study necessitated intensive field works that included participant observation and ethnographic techniques, and combined these with a historical analysis of existing maps of the Bağdat Street.

In-depth interviews are conducted to understand the inter-subjective attributes of the Bağdat Street, as the common knowledge of people about the shared space. These inter-subjective data contribute to the exploration of the socio-spatial and economic relations of space, and permit an understanding of the actors (global-local) with their roles in the construction of the space are analyzed in the Fuzzy Cognitive Map. The FCM serves to clarify the dominant inter-subjective attributes in the construction of the street's sociocultural phenomenon, while the marginal attributes are those that lack consistency with other inter-subjective actions. The study examines the FCMs for nine historical periods, from which the socio-spatial and economic relations of the space within each period can be understood, allowing a comparison and analysis of the structural changes of space for the entire period. In this regard, it serves to reveal the inter- and multi-disciplinary reality of the construction, the art of which is related to the intense interplays of the inter-subjective attributes. To exemplify, hereby, I present the following statements. 'The wealthy-residents', 'a strategic location of the street in the

Marmara region', 'street festivals', 'Republican profile of residents', 'dynamic everyday life with mixed land-use', 'accessible public-private transportation', 'economic well-being of the street' contributes to appear street as a place for protests and rallies. Similarly, 'festivals', 'football celebrations', 'rallies', 'protest', 'dynamic socio-physical structure (24 hours active street life)', 'brand café-restaurant' transcend street as the national and global phenomenon. The interplay of the conceived attributes constructs the street's sociocultural phenomenon. Additionally, the relationally constructed phenomenon does not adopt a radical change; indeed it has a resistant structure to the newly constructed happenings. In this regard, the disintegrated relations did not construct the resistant structure of the street in the early republican era. The incomplete relations of attributes prevented the development of the street for seven decades. Indeed, 'joint acts (Blumer, 1969)' fitted to one another contribute to the development of the social context with new meanings.

Additionally, the Fuzzy Cognitive Maps presents that the process-based development is required for the gradual transformation of the economic and social-spatial attributes. In this regard, the street in the 1960s revealed an inner conflict between two different procedures in the construction of space. The physical projects were in inconsistency with the dominant attributes of the context. That is to say, the proposed housing projects did not support the recreational-social, cultural and essential lives of the residents. Therefore, the intermediary projects and strategies were required to connect local attributes to top-down projects as 'parceling', 'land ownership law' and 'developing private sector (e.g. hotel and bank)'. Contextual preparedness is necessary for the emergence of new attributes. Jumping blindly into the process of development may result in the self-destruction of the street's sociocultural phenomenon.

Moreover, the derived inter-subjective attributes are categorized into content and major content groups, explaining the dimensions and disciplines in the construction of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. To exemplify this, the

street of the twenty-first century was identified with 'the myths around Fenerbahçe club', 'historical use of space as Atlantic cinema and nightclubs', 'brand department stores', 'street culture as festival', 'people feelings', 'shared places as collective meeting nodes', ' place identity as national identity', 'political approach of local municipality', 'globalization' and 'socioeconomic and spatial activities of Football club'. In this regard, the table of contents contributes to the recognition of the applied knowledge in the construction of space, and the causal relations revealed in the FCM and frequency of mentioned concepts contribute to revealing the emergent and driving force attributes of the space. Indeed, together, the frequency of mention and the causal relation explain the uneven roles of the inter-subjective attributes in the construction of the space. The frequency and the causal relations are calculated for nine periods, so as to explore the dominant inter-subjective attributes of each historical period. To exemplify, the dominant attribute of the street in the twenty-first century is 'the place identity' which contains 'national identity', 'festival', 'protest', 'demonstration', 'consumption' and 'sense of pleasure'. While people identify the street with those dominant meanings in the twenty-first century, people remember a dusty-village road of the early republic with the diffused summer resorts. The dominant meaning is in the line of development to reach a higher level of order. In a further step, the study draws up a cognitive spatial map to spatialize the subjective descriptions, presenting land-uses, density of use and spatial orientation within the historical process.

In summary, the derived attributes of the interviewees are representations of peoples' cognitions, belief and knowledge. The cognition analysis contributes to the explanation of the events in a particular period, as manipulated by the different actors in a society; and moreover, helps to extract people's reflections on the changes (senses and feelings). Furthermore, with underlining the process-based development, the analysis reveals that the cyclical individuals-world relationship takes a long time. In this regard, according to the derived conceived attributes, the sociocultural of the young Republic saw little development for three decades,

aside from some trivial changes, based on the lack of the appropriate contextual attributes for the reconfiguration of peoples' cognitions.

This chapter is set out in three parts. The first part explains the construction of Bağdat Street as a sociocultural phenomenon within the twenty-first century, with the shared attributes of the construction derived from the in-depth interviews. The second section elaborates the construction of Bağdat Street within the twentieth century, broken down into eight historical periods, being: 1995–2002; integration in global economy, 1980–1995; Aftermath of military coup, 1973–1980; appearance liberal and global market, 1965–1973; decentralization policies, 1950–1965; political change from single party to multiple and industrialization, 1940–1950; socio-physical development, 1923–1940; proclamation of republic and 1900–1923; late Ottoman Empire, divided according to the interviewees' descriptions of the years. Indeed, the street of the twentieth century witnessed the two major turning points: 'the administrative revolution of 1950' and 'the military coup of 1980'. Initially, the study aims to explain inter-subjective attributes of the street in the twenty-first century and it then uncovers reasons of the street complexity during the twentieth century. The third section briefly elaborates upon the construction of the Bağdat Street during the twenty-first and twentieth centuries.

6.1. Interpretation and Exploration of Bağdat Street in the Twenty-First Century

This section explains the shared conceived attributes in the construction of Bağdat Street. The twenty-first century is identified with the integrated shared attributes of the street, when the strong relational culture within the shared attributes constructed the integrated shared space.

In-depth interviews were used to identify the inter-subjective attributes. To begin with, the technical part of study is explained, followed by a discussion of the revealed attributes of the street's sociocultural phenomenon in the twenty-first

century. Based upon the responses of the respondents, the analysis found 16 content categories to be meaningful within the street experiences of Bağdat Street between 2002 and 2013. As can be seen in Table 6.1, almost one-fifth of the mentioned attributes refer to the 'place identity' of the street (18%), while other significant mentioned attributes included 'street culture' (16%), 'peoples' feelings and use of space' (11%), 'everyday life and structure' (10%) and 'people and characteristics' (9%). The other mentioned attributes included 'shared space' (8%), 'land use and transportation' (8%), 'change in the aesthetics and use of the place' (5%), 'street economy' (4%), 'transferred identity' (4%), 'football, as a social, economic, and political entity' (4%), 'stadium' (4%), 'repeated and temporary organization of space' (3%), 'globalization' (3%), 'political vision of Kadiköy municipality' (2%) and 'change in peoples' beliefs and memories' (2%), and were mentioned in almost equal frequencies.

Referring to 'street culture', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'culture of consumption' (4%) and 'café culture' (4%); while for the attributes related to 'culture of stadium' (3%), they mentioned 'culture of resistance' (3%) and 'culture of arts' (2%). Many spoke of an attractive place, a large shopping mall, advertising, less creativity than before, the disappearance of Turkish culture, people passing the time in cafés, cultural activities (museum), human voices, political messages, struggles against the police, the transference of a culture of resistance to the Gezi event[46], the stadium entrance as an area of struggle between fans and police, graffiti 'No AKP (Justice and Development Party), No Islamic Community, independent Fenerbahçe (ne cemaat ne AKP yasasin bağmsiz Fenerbahçe)[47]', social and cultural liveliness and cultural center (see Figure 6.1 and Table 6.1). Referring to 'peoples' feelings and use of space', the interviewees mentioned equally attributes related to 'feelings and humans' need' (4%) and 'spectacular space' (4%), while also mentioning an attribute

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[46] Protests have been held in Turkey since 28 may 2013. The initial protest was held in opposing to housing shopping mall in Taksim-Gezi Park. The subject of protest broadened to anti-government demonstration through riot against people. The protests have also spread to other cities of Turkey.
[47] Fenerbahçe fans in Galatasaray-Fenerbahçe soccer match in Ruşdiye alley of Bağdat Street.

related to 'human density' (2%). In this regard, they expressed a sense of security, safety, sightseeing, passing times in on the terrace of a café, self-presentation, body-show, shopping life in the street, chatting, the crowded side and silent sides of the street (see Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1). Referring to 'everyday life and structure', the interviewees' mentioned equally the attributes related to 'everyday life' (4%) and the 'social structure of space' (4%), while also mentioning the attribute related to the 'physical structure of space' (2%). In this regard, they expressed that dynamism and 24-hour living, as well as the action-based, non-disciplinary appropriation of space by people depend on one another. The attribute 'everyday life' causes (8) and is the result of (10) (see Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1).

When referring to 'people and characteristics', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'educated profile of residents' (4%), the 'diversity of people' (3%) and 'empowered women' (2%). Related to this, they further expressed the educated and cultural, Kemalist, nationalist, secular, high-class behavior, gentle and quiet people, young people, old people, children, families, middle-upper classes, lower classes, women activists and empowered women. The attribute 'diversity of people' causes (5) and is the result of (2) (see Figure 6.1 and Table 6.1). Referring to 'shared space', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes 'open and indoor public space' (4%) and 'collective meeting nodes' (4%). They further described the street as a playground for children, as well as its cafés, restaurants, patisserie, bars, informal spaces, outdoor spaces, parks, sculptures, harbor, stadium and formal spaces (see Table 6.1). On the matter of 'land use and transportation', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'mixed used' (4%) and 'transportation' (4%), further expressing mixed land uses, mixed library-café spaces and mixed exhibition-café spaces; as well as social, political and commercial activities, public private transportation, convenient, and accessible (see Figure 6.1 and see Table 6.1). On the matter 'change in the aesthetics and use of the place', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'change in the use of the place' (4%), as well as the attribute related to 'change in the aesthetics of the place' (2%). Elaborating on this, they

expressed the commercialization of the apartments on either sides of the street, the street becomes longer through commercial extensions, shopping places mixed in with cafés and restaurants, a cheaper side of street, an expensive side of the street, football events changing land uses, an arabesque style of architecture, mosques, conservative people, aesthetic designs of the street and physical improvements to the street (see Figure 6.1 and Table 6.1). Referring to the 'street economy', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'liberal economy' (3%), as well as those related to 'economic wellbeing' (1%) and emergency (0.04%). In this respect, they highlighted rents, street transformation projects in the street neighborhoods, the service sector, high-rise buildings, high-rent stores and privatization, street traders and vendors and the economic crisis of 2008. The attribute 'liberal economy' causes (5) and is the result of (7); while the attribute 'economic well-being' causes (1) and is the result of (6) (see Figure 6.1). Referring to the attribute 'identity transferred', the interviewees mentioned those attributes related to 'remembering the previous identity of the place' (4%), referring to the expressed meaning, memories, myths, memory transference, old names of the street, Addressing through referring street changed land uses, description of the street using terms related to previous spatial habits, such nightclub (casino), beach and plane trees, reminiscent of the destroyed palaces (see Figure 6.1). Speaking about 'football as a social, economic and political entity', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to the 'industrialization of football, referring to football as a serious sector in the street, with economic, social and political benefits' (4%). It expressed, intellectual football fans; popular culture, football; from micro to macro sociology, public happiness (see Table 6.1). This attribute causes (11) and is the result of (3) (see Figure 6.1). Referring to the attribute 'stadium', the interviewees mentioned 'monumental stadium' (4%). It expressed good location of stadium contributing to dynamic life of street and Kadiköy, its memorial location since 1907, and stadiums inside the city being always livelier places than those located outside a city (See Figure 6.1 and Table 6.1). Referring to the 'repeated and temporary organization of space', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'repeated and temporary

organization of space' (2%) and 'spatial contextual awareness' (2%). They further expressed repeated activities, special dates in the street; special hours in the street, the temporary square profile of street, the occupation of the street by fans of Fenerbahçe, knowing where to gather on match and Republic days through repetition (see Figure 6.1 and Table 6.1). For 'globalization', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'globalization' (2%), as well as the attribute related to 'post-modern' (1%). In connection, they spoke about the Internet, speed of life, lifestyle, brands, foreign names, flows of information, re-structuring of time, social networks (Twitter and Facebook), changes in human interaction, branded clothes, the center of brands located on the west side of Istanbul, the American lifestyle and shabby uniforms (see Table 6.1). Elaborating on the attribute 'Kadıköy political vision', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'the common vision of the municipality with the stadium and the street' (2%), as well as resistance to the Islamic community and the AKP[48], democracy, the Republic and no force or imposition (see Table 6.1). Finally, related to the attribute 'change in humans' beliefs and memory', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'change in memory and behavior' (2%), speaking about the destruction of memories, the changing social profiles of the neighborhoods through the settlement of conservative people and the changes in human interactions (see Table 6.1).

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[48] Justice and Development Party; a social conservative political party in Turkey winning election by a large majority in the 2002 election.

Table 6.1: General Content Groups, Groups, Attributes, Frequency and Causal Integers-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

CONTENT GROUPS	CONTENT SUBGROUPS	Frequency of mention (%)	No. of Causes	No. of Effects	Total of Causes & Effects
PLACE IDENTITY	**Street as a Festival Place** (Kadiköy is the center of festivals and demonstrations)	19 (4%)	2	2	4
	Street as a Political Place (Social demonstration, Political demonstration, Symbolic place of protest in Kadiköy, Protest against injustice, "kara piyasa[49]" in match days)	12 (3%)	3	4	7
	Street as a Pleasant and Popular Place (Sense of pleasure and relaxation, Popularity of street)	20 (4%)	0	6	6
	Street as a Place for Football Fans (Yellow-blue uniforms on match days, Fenerbahçe matches, Street and stadium's appropriation of one another)	19 (4%)	7	1	8
	Street as a National Place (Belonging to Turkey)	2 (3%)	0	5	5
TOTAL		**72 (18%)**	**12**	**18**	**30**
STREET CULTURE	**Arts** (Cultural center)	7 (2%)	0	2	2
	Cultural Activities of Stadium (Cultural activities of stadium)	12 (3%)	0	1	1
	Culture of Resistance (Human voices, Political messages, Struggle against police, Transference of culture of resistance to Gezi event, Stadium entrance as an arena of struggle between fans and police, Graffiti, 'Ne cemaat ne AKP yaşasin, Tam Bağmsiz Fenerbahçe (no Islamic community, no AKP, just independent and democrat Fenerbahçe)'	12 (3%)	1	3	4
	Culture of Consumption (Attractive place, Massive shopping mall, Advertising, Less creativity than before, Disappearance of Turkish culture)	20 (4%)	1	3	4
	Café culture (People pass most of their time in cafés)	20 (4%)	4	1	5
TOTAL		71 (16%)	6	10	16

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[49] A black market or underground economy is the market in which goods or services are traded illegally. In Fenerbahçe match days, a group sells match ticket more expensive than legal market prices.

Table 6.1 (continued)

PEOPLE'S FEELINGS AND USE OF SPACE	Feelings and Human Needs (Safety, Security)	18 (4%)	2	2	4
	Spectacular Space (Use of Space) (Sightseeing, Pass time in café terraces, Self-presentation, Body-show, Shopping, Living in street, Conversation)	19 (4%)	0	4	4
	Human Density (use of space) (Crowded side, Silent side)	11 (2%)	2	1	3
TOTAL		48 (11%)	4	7	11
EVERYDAY LIFE AND STRUCTURE	Everyday Life (Dynamism, 24-hour living)	19 (4%)	8	10	18
	Social Structure of Space (Action-based, Non-disciplinary, Appropriation by people)	18 (4%)	1	4	5
	Physical Structure of Space (Components depend on one another)	9 (2%)	0	1	1
TOTAL		46 (10%)	9	15	24
PEOPLE AND CHARACTERISTICS	Diversity of People (young, old, children, families, Middle-upper classes, Lower classes)	12 (3%)	5	2	7
	Educated Profile of Residents (Educated and cultural, Kemalist & Nationalist, Secular, High-class behavior, Gentle and silent people)	1 9(4%)	3	0	3
	Empowered Women (Women activists, Empowered women)	11 (2%)	0	1	1
TOTAL		42 (9%)	8	3	11

Table 6.1 (continued)

SHARED SPACE	**Open and Indoor Public Space** (Street, Playground for children, Cafés, Restaurant, patisserie, Bars, Informal spaces)	17 (4%)	1	3	4
	Collective Meeting Nodes (Outdoor spaces, Park, Status, Harbor, Stadium, Formal spaces)	20 (4%)	4	3	7
TOTAL		37 (8%)	5	6	11
LAND USE AND TRANSPORTATION	**Mixed-uses** (Mixed land uses, Mixed library-café spaces, Mixed exhibition-cafés spaces, Social, political and commercial activities)	19 (4%)	4	1	5
	Transportation (Public private T., Convenient, Accessible, widening pedestrian and restoration street furniture in 2005)	16 (4%)	3	2	5
TOTAL		35 (8%)	7	3	10
CHANGE IN THE AESTHETICS AND USE OF THE PLACE	**Change in the Aesthetics of the Place** (Arabesque style of architecture, Mosques, Conservative people Aesthetic design of street, Physical improvement of street)	7 (2%)	2	2	4
	Change in Use of the Place (Commercialization of apartments on either sides of the street, Street extends through commercial extension, Shopping places mixed in with cafés and restaurants, Cheaper side of the street, Expensive side of street, Football events change land uses)	17 (4%)	0	2	2
TOTAL		24 (5%)	2	4	6
STREET ECONOMY	**Liberal Economy** (rent, street transformation project in street neighborhoods, service sector, high-rise building, high-rent stores, privatization)	15 (3%)	5	7	12
	Economic Well-being (street traders and vendors of street)	5 (1%)	1	6	7
	Emergency (economic crisis)	2 (0.04%)	1	1	2
TOTAL		22 (4%)	7	14	21
IDENTITY TRANSFERRED TO TODAY	**Remembering the Previous Identity of Place** (Meaning, Memories, Myths, Memory transference, Old names of street, Addressing street referring to changed land uses, Describing street using terms related to previous habits in the space, such Casino and beaches)	20 (4%)	1	3	4
TOTAL		20 (4%)	1	3	4

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Table 6.1 (continued)

FOOTBALL AS A SOCIOECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ENTITY	**Industrialization of Football; Football as a Serious Sector in the Street with Economic, Social and Political Benefits** (Empowered intellectuals, Football; popular culture, Football; from micro sociology to macro sociology, Football ;public happiness)	17 (4%)	11	3	14
TOTAL		17 (4%)	11	3	14
STADIUM	**Monumental Stadium** (Stadium location activates dynamic of Kadiköy and street, Memorial location of stadium since 1907, Stadiums within the city are livelier places than stadiums located outside the city)	16 (4%)	1	1	2
TOTAL		16 (4%)	1	1	2
REPEATED AND TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION OF SPACE	**Repeated and Temporary Organization of Space** (Repeated activities, Special dates of street, Special hours of street, Squares of street, Occupation of space by Fenerbahçe fans)	7 (2%)	1	1	2
	Spatial Contextual Awareness (People know where to gather on match and Republic days through repetition events)	7 (2%)	0	1	1
TOTAL		14 (3%)	1	2	3
GLOBALIZATION	**Globalization** (Internet, speed of life, lifestyle, brands, foreign names, flow of information, social networks (Twitter & Facebook), changed human interactions, branded clothes, the center of brands located on the west side of Istanbul)	10 (2%)	3	0	3
	Post-Modern (American lifestyle, shabby uniforms)	3 (1%)	1	2	3
TOTAL		13 (3%)	4	2	6
POLITICAL APPROACH OF KADIKÖY MUNIC.	**Municipality Common Vision with Stadium and Street** (Resistance against Islamic community and AKP, Democracy, Republic, No force or imposition)	11 (2%)	2	1	3
TOTAL		11 (2%)	2	1	3
CHANGE IN PEOPLE'S MEMORY AND BELIEFS	**Change in Memory and Behavior** (Destruction of memory, Change the profiled identity of neighborhoods through new residents of transformation projects; settlement of conservative people, Changed human interactions)	7 (2%)	1	2	3
TOTAL		7 (2%)	1	2	3

The street of the twenty-first century contains the majority of integrated inter-subjective attributes ('dynamic everyday life', 'cultural celebrations', 'sociopolitical demonstrations' and 'economic wellbeing') that enable the street structure to be restructured at the national level and the enhancement of the socioeconomic relations within the social context. In this regard, the football club in the structure of the street is a center of events modifying the contextual relations in the national and global scales. Indeed, the street of the twenty-first century witnesses the continuous meaning making through the integrated relations of the inter-subjective attributes. This study explains the interplay of the dynamics or attributes in the construction of space, in that the components need one another to ensure their existence and completeness. The *A* variable needs the *B* variable to ensure completeness, just as the *B* variable needs the *A* variable. The completeness of the inter-subjective attributes depends on the level of interaction with the other attributes, referring to both the core and marginal attributes. While the marginal attributes contribute to the reconstruction, modification and integration of the central (core) attribute, the core attribute is the major source of meaning of the context for the different groups and sectors of society; take an example, 'football sector' is the major source for 'dynamic everyday life', 'economic well-being', 'public-private transportation development' and 'sense of pleasure' in street. Indeed, the shared contextual attributes should contribute to completeness of the wholeness of the structure and the core attributes of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. The 'pleasant and popular sense' reaches the highest point of integrity, being and appearance through the contextual strategies of different groups of the society as 'change in the aesthetic of the place', 'street as a football fans' place', 'mixed land-uses' and 'indoors and outdoors shared places'. The integrated attributes contributes the street's sociocultural phenomenon to showing its existence as the self-integrated phenomenon.

The inter-subjective conceived attributes of the twenty-first century indeed are under influence of the integrated everyday life (with mixed land use and 24 hours active life) of the street. The disappearance of daily life results in the destruction

of the social space, in that the existence of the majority of attributes is dependent on the everyday life of the street' sociocultural phenomenon; the development of a consumption culture needs everyday life, just as the everyday life needs the consumption culture. Accordingly, 'the consumption culture', 'physical aesthetics of the street', 'mixed-use', 'indoor and outdoor activities' and 'economic well-being' attributes disappear in the absence of the daily life of the street (Figure 6.1). In this sense, the street of the twenty-first century is characterized by highly integrated attributes, the most significant of which are 'the football sector', 'demonstration' and 'celebration culture' and 'daily life', providing the completeness of the street's sociocultural phenomenon as a whole, without the functional and morphological gaps in the structure (Figure 6.1).
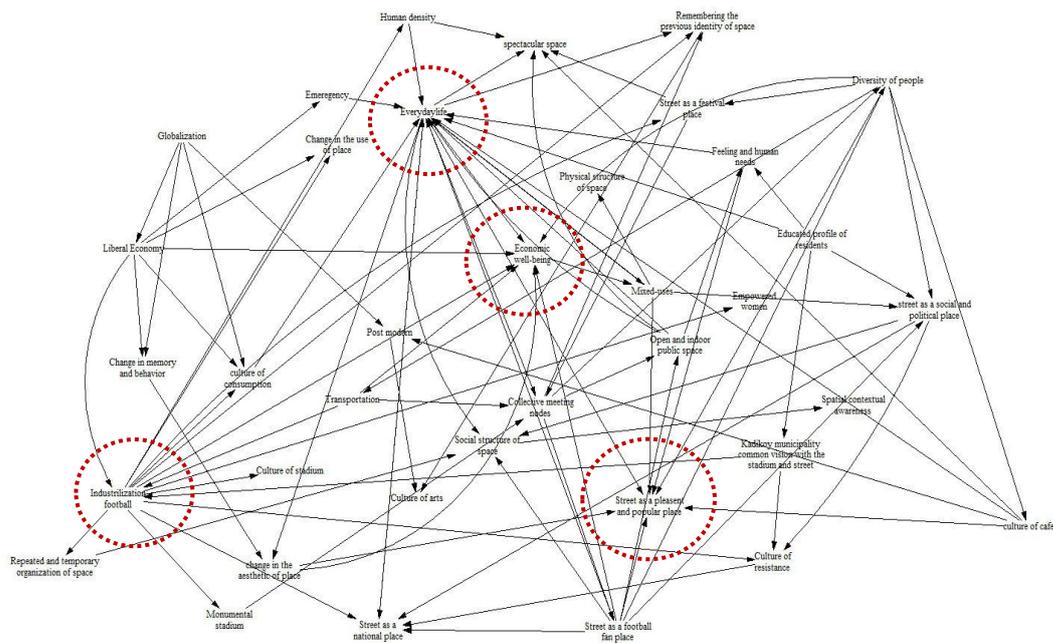
Figure 6.1: Cognitive Map from 2002 to 2013-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Therefore, while the interplays of the multifarious socially constructed attributes construct the street's sociocultural phenomenon, in each course of the individual-sociocultural phenomenon relationship, the produced attributes are planned with the higher awareness to the integrated development of the street. Football club

launches and plans own cultural projects (e.g. Fenerium sport stores, outdoor activities and celebrations) according to the contextual attributes as socioeconomic profile of residents, consumption profile of street (with brand café and stores) and economic well-being of the street (with high rent). *The Fenerium brand (Fenerbahçe club sport stores) is in competition with the famous global brands as Nike and Adidas settled in the structure of the street* (Interview: age 60, October 2013), in that it is affordable for the upper-class residents and is in consistency with the economic structure of street with famous café-restaurants and shopping stores. This means that the strategies are planning in consistency to the contextual attributes to be applicable by the majority, otherwise strategies and or actions do not reach own goals. The relational understanding in the construction of space modifies the capacities of the street's sociocultural phenomenon, such that the street of the twenty-first century contains the chains of the reconstructed dominant meanings, as is identified with the 'celebrations', 'social-political demonstrations', 'popular and pleasant place' and 'the national place'. Former players of Fenerbahçe (Interview: age 70, October 2013) said *'the dynamic everyday life and mixed use invite events to the street; and particularly the location of the Fenerbahçe stadium within the street encourages people to celebrate Fenerbahçe's championship within the street'*. Moreover, as claimed by one Bostancı resident (Interview: age 55, October 2013), *'the street is traditionally a place of celebration, but in different modes'*. In this regard, the Miss Turkey celebrations, swimming and yacht competitions of the 1960s reconstructed under influences of dynamic everyday life, mixed land use and economic well-being of the place to modify the identity of the street as a place of celebration and the home of Fenerbahçe soccer fans. Moreover, an employee of Fenerbahçe club (Interview: age 70, October 2013) said *'football belongs to the people, and football celebrations provide the conditions to bring many (from any identity) to the street ... the celebrations are some of the spectacular moments of the street'*. Accordingly, the football industry reconstructs the socio-spatial and economic structures of the street with cultural celebration that brings together a diversity of users and constructs the spectacular context of being. The street's

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sociocultural phenomenon contains a chain of inter-subjective attributes that support one another in the construction of a new attribute, as 'socio-political demonstrations', 'Fenerbahçe events' and 'integrated everyday life' have constructed the national identity of the street, in this regard interconnected shared practices allow the street to accomplish its invisible potentials and so to develop own boundaries from local to upper-scale. As one resident (Interview: age 45, October 2013) said, '*the street events experienced at the national scale change the socioeconomic life of the street through encouraging global and national markets to invest in the structure of the street'.* In short, social relations are not limited to the boundaries of the local scale through incessant interactions of the attributes.

'The pleasant and popular place' is one of the other highly integrated realities of the street, being (re)constructed within different cyclical individual-world relations. From this perspective, it may be the physical aesthetics of the street that invoke the sense of pleasure, just as it may be the dynamic daily life, the cafés or the diversity of its users. In this sense, the sense of pleasure was common among the respondents, although individuals do not derive pleasure in the same ways. The street's sociocultural phenomenon relies on different channels to reach the sense of pleasure, which is the emergent identity according to the contextual attributes of the street in the twenty-first century. That said, the street in the 1950s also invoked a sense of pleasure that, quite justly, is reconstructed based on the contextual attributes of the twenty-first century. If people felt pleasure with the beaches of the coastal road, today they feel pleasure at the physical aesthetics of it. The subjective knowledge (inter-subjective culture) is modified according to the contextual dynamics within the historical process, and in this regard the mode of pleasure is arranged based on the possible individuals-world relations of the context. In this sense, there were some characteristics of the space that contribute to the (re)constructed sense of pleasure; the physical aesthetics of the space, the refuge of the Fenerbahçe fans, cafés, dynamic everyday life, open and indoor shared places and the diversity of people all play a part in (re)constructing the sense of pleasure as the mode of being for the large groups of society. Thereby, the street's sociocultural phenomenon presents different opportunities to reach the

sense of pleasure. The Bostancı residents (Interview: age 55, October 2013) spoke about *the gentle residents and clean pedestrians of the street,* and accordingly it is the cultural-educated profile of the residents and the physical aesthetics[50] of the street that bring together large groups of society with a sense of pleasure in street. Moreover, the respondents continued the '*sightseeing and shopping makes street the place of pleasure'*, in this regard; the sense of pleasure is a common among those who use the street for these purposes (shopping and sightseeing). Furthermore, the street is identified as the place of young people, with the twenty-four hour life of the street attracting young people to pass time until the early hours. As one young Starbucks employee (Interview: age 23, October 2013) said '*working here is like a form of entertainment'*. Young people come up with different ways to achieve the sense of pleasure than the middle/old classes of society, while the young football fans consider the street to be a center of pleasure. As one Fenerbahçe fan (Interview: age 31, October 2013) puts it, '*Bağdat Street provides a sense of home (Fenerbahçe fan)'* and he adds '*Bağdat Street is the refuge of Fenerbahçe fans, being in Bağdat Street provides us with a sense of security and power.*'

Other groups can also find a sense of pleasure in the dynamics of the everyday life of the street; Bostancı residents say: *happiness in the street in moments of depression, every time street is available for use … you can find everything in the street',* and they continue '*24-hour street'.* Indeed, the sense of pleasure encourages people to pass the time in the indoor spaces of the street, ensuring the economic well-being of its traders. One of Fenerbahçe residents (Interview: age 65, October 2013) said, '*people enjoy passing time in the street, this leads to the economic well-being of the traders'.* This powerful place attracts people from different channels; indeed the street's sociocultural phenomenon supports the different needs of different groups of society. Bağdat Street brings together the young and old of both genders, as well as the upper and lower classes of society. Hereby, different respondents expressed different reasons for their attachment to

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[50] Physical beautification of the Street in 2005 (enlarged pedestrian and renewed furniture).

the context while the trajectory of attachment is just as important as the aim. That is to say, people come up with different ways to achieve success, while 'success' is the common term driving millions of people in life. Accordingly, the sense of pleasure is the inter-subjective experience bringing thousands of people together, and indeed this is based on a reservoir of thoughts and values. The common sense of pleasure brings together thousands of thoughts around Bağdat Street, as the dialectical platform of many (Figure 6.1). Indeed, the inter-subjective worlds create the moments people feel the 'wide-awaken' sense of living with other people. In this regard Bağdat Street has the potential to host many future public activities, in that it is distinguished and approved by the intensive social consciousness.

The communal consciousness inspires collective practices while inter-subjective consciousness is modified and reconstructed according to newly constructed contextual attributes. The political demonstration of 2011 was most probably the result of an intersection of the socially constructed consciousness of the Fenerbahçe events and Republic celebrations. As Bağiş Erten (Interview: age 35, October 2013) claimed '*Fenerbahçe matches inspire political demonstrations, football constructs naturally a milieu of aggression and conflict, and the police at the gates of the club teach unconsciously a culture of resistance and conflict.*' The interviewee goes on the claim that '*the political vision of the Fenerbahçe club (re)constructs the political vision of Bağdat Street against social-political injustice*', claiming that the '*Fenerbahçe club always refers to the street as its own cultural-spatial property*'. Thereby, the Fenerbahçe club has an influential role in the political and social life of the street's sociocultural phenomenon, but not exclusively. The street has become a center of the political expression through the socio-political profile of its residents, the physical quality and dynamic everyday life, mixed land-uses and so there are multiple facets involved in the construction of the socio-spatial, economic and political attributes of the street. In this regard, social-political profile of residents, mixed land uses and dynamic everyday life make the place of events while the socio-political profile of the

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residents is much more critical to the political landscape of the street. Fenerbahçe residents (Interview: age 70s, October 2013) said *the Kemalist residents of the street appropriate the republic heritage*. Bağdat residents identify largely with the Republican People's Party (CHP), and the Republican local municipality and Fenerbahçe club combine to encourage political activities. Accordingly, it cannot be said that the political identity of the street is an outcome solely of the Fenerbahçe club. Moreover, one respondent claimed that '*the political identity of the street goes back to the 2011 Şike[51] fight, and the demonstrations of people against injustice. The protestors came from different clubs in Istanbul and Turkey ... the Şike fight was the turning point in the political life of the street*' and, according to the interviewee '*the Şike fight inspired the Gezi-Taksim events (in 2013)*' (Interview: age 30s, October 2013). This comment brings the street's sociocultural phenomenon into a new process of being, as the socially constructed street no longer determines the destiny of its own life, but is empowered to transference of knowledge. In this regard, the newly constructed attribute (re) construct the social structure and the national role of the street. One Fenerbahçe employee (Interview: age 50s, October 2013) said '*the political demonstrations enhance the popularity of the street, attracting further investments and invigorating the political identity of the street at a national level*'. The social events experienced at a national level bring new waves of change and reconstructions to the socioeconomic and spatial structure of the street. Broadly speaking, in Şike fight, Bağdat Street has witnessed the unity of clubs, fans and political groups against injustice, as the common source of its boundary-free existence, although it is more identified with its upper-middle class residents. Political event flows into the social space, reawakening meaningful places of Bağdat Street as the symbols of the twenty-first century. Places with such potential are traditionally situated in the social consciousness of a society as Şaşkın-Bakkal.

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[51] The 2011 Turkish sport corruption scandal was an investigation into match fixing, incentive premiums, bribery, the establishment of a criminal organization, and threats and intimidation, both in Turkey's top two association football divisions, the Süper Lig and First League, and in the Turkish Basketball League.

The meaningful places of the twenty-first century are the Şaşkın-Bakkal (Confused Grocery) and Suadiye lighting traditionally serve to highlight the communal places of Bağdat Street (Map 6.1). The origin of the Şaşkın-Bakkal dates back to its opening as a grocery on an empty plot in the street, when people referred to the owner as 'the confused grocer'. Müfid Ekdal (Interview: age 95, October 2013) said *'the story is not true; the name actually dates back to the person who has a home in that place'*. The twenty-first century role of the Şaşkın-Bakkal is a reconstructed version of the 1970s, when it was used as a meeting point for young people. Indeed, the artificial culture may be ruined, but the inter-subjective knowledge finds its line of reconstruction. In any time, people associate Bağdat Street with the Şaşkın-Bakkal; as Bostancı female residents (Interview: age 60, October 2013) put it, '*a person may be confused and not know about Bağdat Street, but they surely know the Şaşkın-Bakkal*'. The Şaşkın-Bakkal contributes to the spatial orientation of people in Istanbul, and even Turkey, being one of the most notable socio-political place names in Istanbul. In this regard, *'Bağdat Street has the potential to appear as the very center of political demonstration. In the current condition, it works as the political branch of west Istanbul'*, says Bağiş Erten (Interview: age 35, October 2013). Moreover, another interviewee (Selami Öztürk, age 65, October 2013) says *'many groups gathered in Şaşkın-Bakkal to take part in the Gezi events'* and graffiti[52] to underline the political role of the street in the twenty-first century.

Therefore, the Şaşkın-Bakkal is the communal center of Bağdat Street, which restructures its surrounding areas. The Suadiye and Divan cafés are imbued with new identities as sub-centers to the political-social meeting points. According to one of the respondents (age 35, October 2013), '*people know the place of the*

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[52] Political position of street during Gezi event in June 2013 in street graffiti: 'pepper gas beautifies skin as well as it is free to use', 'pepper gas is free, so domestic natural gas also should be free. 450 lira bill is right to pay?' 'No fear, our national anthem is already starting to shine', 'Isyanbul(Istanbul) is proud to be marginal marauders and drunk' [Original text: 'Biber gazi cildi güzelleştirir hem de bedava', 'Biber gazını bedava attın doğalgazı da bedava yap. 450TL fatura mı olur? Çarşı', 'Korkma, zaten Ulusal marşımız da böyle başlıyor', 'İsyanbul' 'Marjinal çapulcu ve ayyaş olmaktan gurur duyuyoruz'].

meeting' due to the contextual awareness, people know where, how and when to gather to participate in a particular event. Moreover, social network (Twitter) and other media play important roles in the promotion of Şaşkın-Bakkal and surrounding regions as the political-social and cultural centers of Bağdat Street. Thereby, the social networks and media empower Bağdat Street both socio-politically and economically as a national phenomenon of the twenty-first century. A European sport journalist (Interview: age 30s, October 2013) said '*the street is constantly in the headlines of social networks due to the ceaseless Fenerbahçe events'*.
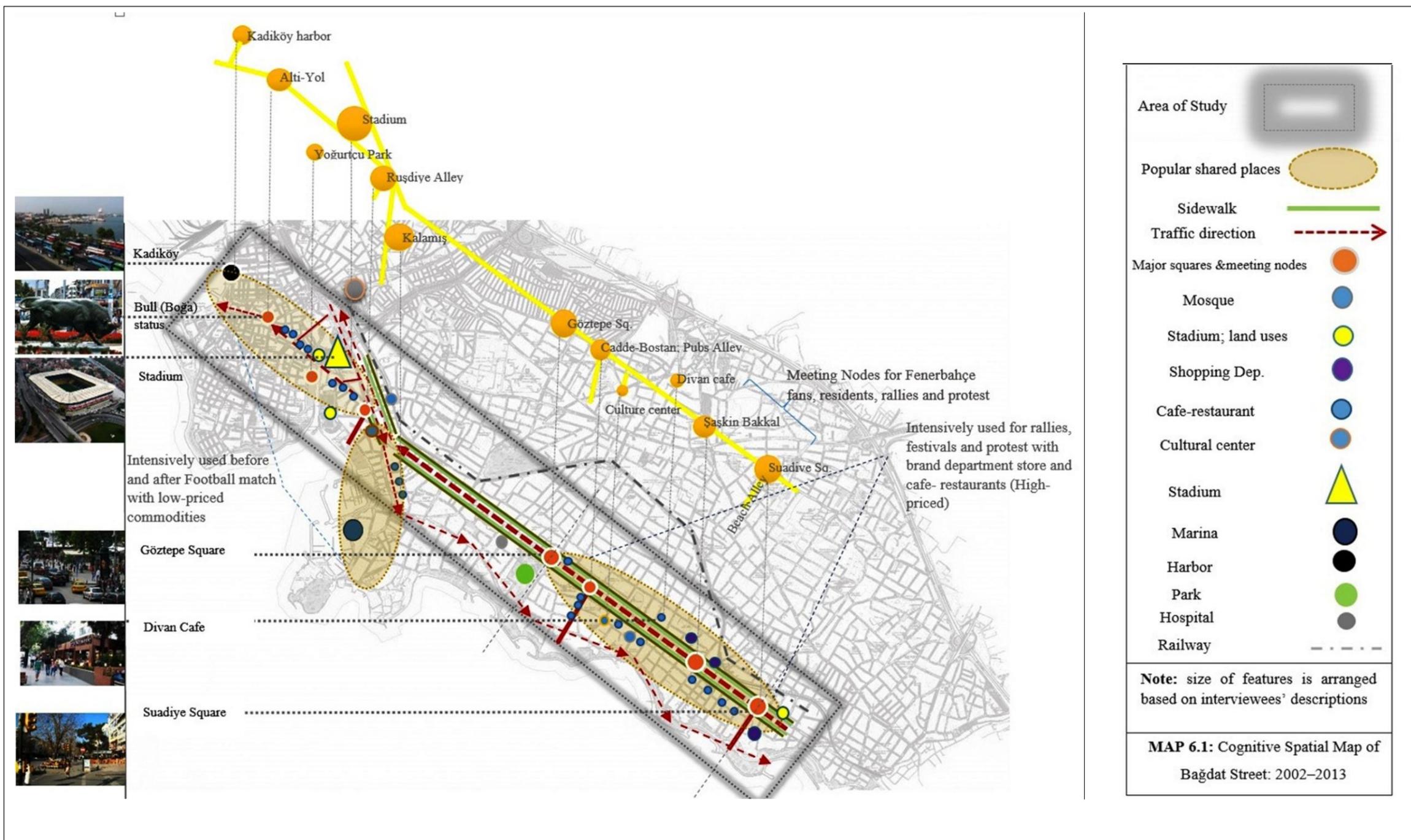
Map 6.1: Cognitive Spatial Map of Bağdat Street: 2002-2013-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Up to this point of the study, Bağdat Street has been identified in terms of the sense of pleasure, demonstration and national identity it evokes. The three central attributes reconstruct the predominant meaning of the street's sociocultural phenomenon, from being a place of entertainment to a place of entertainment-demonstration. Accordingly, these newly constructed meanings contribute to develop and modify the marginal attributes of the street as public-private transportation which has a prominent role to bring the diversity of users to the street. The central bus station and Kadiköy harbor are both located at an accessible distance to Bağdat Street, contributing to increase street usability. In this regard the accessible transportation brings a diversity of users to the street, and the incessant eagerness to support the Fenerbahçe football club develops further the transport network. As one interviewee claims, '*the street's closeness to the Kadiköy harbor contributes to the popularity of the street and Fenerbahçe club*' (Interview: age 60, October 2013). Moreover, the unending economic growth of the street resulting from the sociocultural events stimulates the development of the transport network in the neighborhoods. As a Bostancı resident (Interview: age 50-60, October 2013) said *'the street, with its diversity of activities, should have an efficient transport system; the Kadiköy municipality does its best'*.

In general, the shared places of the street's sociocultural phenomenon can be considered as Suadiye, Şaşkın-Bakkal, Ruşdiye, Yoğurtçu Park, Divan Café, the Mall sculpture (Alti-Yol), Fenerbahçe stadium and Kadiköy harbor (Map 6.1), while accessible and efficient transportation, Fenerbahçe celebrations and the daily life of the street contribute to reconstructing the traditional meaning of these places. Take an example, Şaşkın-Bakkal with a diversity of users and activities encourage the development of both open and indoor places, such as the mixed café-gallery and library-café modifying and turning predominant meaning of the context from youths meeting point to a place with diversity of activities. Everything is related to everything else in the twenty-first century Bağdat Street.

Indeed, the cognition mechanism introduces new modes of being incessantly into the world, with the cycle of being-becoming. Human cognition tries constantly to feed the mind and body with new means of existence, and in this way, human life never attains completion. Thereby, in addition to political demonstration, Bağdat Street is conceived as a center of festivity and celebration in the eastern Bosphorus. As stated by Fenerbahçe fan (Interview: age 30s, October 2013), '*we do not reside here, but at the weekend, street is so enjoyable due to the Fenerbahçe matches*' and as another interviewee (Selami Öztürk, age 65, October 2013) says '*every fifteen days, people witness street celebrations due to the Fenerbahçe matches at the weekends ... every fifteen days the festivities improve the economic-well-being of the traders'*. That said, the Bağdat Street is never bounded by the luxurious wealthy lifestyle. The educated residents, the mixed land-uses, and the Fenerbahçe club with cultural celebrations make the street accessible to multiple groups of the society. In that regard, Selami Öztürk (Interview: age 65, October 2013) said '*we are very lucky to have the Fenerbahçe club in the region; because it has a seriously influential role in the socioeconomic development of the stree*t' and he continues '*football is a significant sector for street.*' Accordingly, in addition to the culture of celebration, the Fenerbahçe club engages in the socio-spatial project with the shopping mall and Fenerium[53] stores and supermarket. In fact, Bağdat Street, with its integrated daily life, plays a notable role in the development of the Fenerbahçe club as the leading soccer of Turkey, in that the existing socio-spatial order allows the club to launch sociocultural and spatial projects. The structured everyday life of the street therefore encourages the socio-spatial and economic activities of the Fenerbahçe club and in turn its socio-spatial and economic projects activate everyday life. The former players of Fenerbahçe team (Interview: age 66, October 2013) put '*the street and Fenerbahçe stadium develop under effects of each other*'. Thereby, street witnesses the cultural-spatial, economic and political policies of the Fenerbahçe stadium while Fenerbahçe club enhances own popularity and power

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[53] The first Fenerium store opened in the Goztepe neighborhood in 2005 (Interview: age 30s, October 2013).

through dynamic everyday life, mixed land uses, economic welfare of street, the physical aesthetics and under supports of local municipality and street residents.

In this regard, the celebrations also reconstruct the embodied meanings of the shared places (collective nodes), including Şaşkın-Bakkal, Suadiye, Divan Café, Ruşdiye (Nazli), Kalamış, Kuşdili, Yoğurtçu Park, Alti-Yol Square, Kadiköy harbor and Fenerbahçe stadium (Map 6.1). Divan Café (1969) was the first modern-style café in the street, while Yoğurtçu Park (1913) which was the first park in Kadiköy, traditionally used by the football fans in match days. Ruşdiye Alley is located in the proximity of the stadium, and has been used during Fenerbahçe celebrations since the late 1990s. The Kalamış is traditionally used by the Todori pub (1920) using for the Fenerbahçe sport foundations, and the historical Kuşdili Street in Kadiköy became known for its Roman pubs in the early-twentieth century is the important pass way and café-restaurant of the Fenerbahçe fans in match days. Besides Kuşdili, Alti-Yol is traditionally the major axe of fans from Kadiköy harbor to Fenerbahçe club. Müfid Ekdal (Interview: age 95, October 2013) said *the history of Alti-Yol (Six ways) goes back to the second half of the nineteenth century, and the mall sculpture has marked the center of Alti-Yol square since 1995*. Finally, the monumental architecture of the Fenerbahçe stadium, as a sociocultural landmark connecting the Kadiköy center to Bağdat Street, decorates the landscape of the city. Indeed, the cultural impact of the Fenerbahçe club became most prominent after the restoration of the stadium in 2002, when changes were made to make the club safe for women and children. The Bacıoğlu (Interview: age 65, October 2013) says '*Fenerbahçe aimed to encourage women and children to join the football scene*'. In this regard, the former single function of the stadium is replaced by multiple functions, and the brutal and messy architecture of the stadium representing masculine strength was replaced by women and family based-design while the vast size of the stadium fills eyes in the image of city. According to the Fenerbahçe poet (Interview: age 60s, October 2013) puts '*Fenerbahçe is the longest stadium in the world, stretching from Suadiye to Kiziltoprak*', in that according to him the Fenerbahçe events held between the stadium and the Suadiye neighborhood. In

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this sense, the stadium is not bound to the Kiziltoprak neighborhood, as the Fenerbahçe club belongs to Kadiköy, and vice versa. Highlighting the connection further, reporters at the football matches refer to the Fenerbahçe team as '*Kadiköy'liler* (from Kadiköy).

Therefore, every fifteen days, two different parts of the city come together for Fenerbahçe celebrations. The Kadiköy center and Bağdat Street represent two different socio-physical and economic structures, but festivities and celebrations remove all boundaries (MAP 6.1). The power of place is doubled due to the integration of the Kadiköy center with Bağdat Street. The festivities transform a physical place into a festive moment, creating living experiences that would not be possible under socioeconomic logic (Gaillot, 1999). Festivals indeed celebrate the temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order, and mark the suspension of all hierarchical ranks, privileges, norms and prohibitions (Bakhtin, 1968). In this regard, the place has become suited to political demonstrations due to very practices of particular social actions. Bağiş Erten (Interview: age 35, October 2013) claims that '*festivals strengthen the communal power of society*' and that '*during the festivities, different identities are in communication*'. It becomes apparent that the Bağdat Street festivals are not simply for pleasure, as the people also learn about their rights to the city. Accordingly, under government of Justice and Development Party (AKP), the socio-spatial relations in Bağdat Street present different meanings particularly after Şike fight in 2011 as the festivities have been used for political protest in the street, with chants of 'Everywhere Taksim' (*her yer Taksım*)[54]'. While the social consciousness of the 2011 demonstration (Şike) against the dictatorial government encouraged Taksim-Gezi event, in this regard the republic rallies and celebrations are used by the street residents and Fenerbahçe fans as the opportunities to claim the continuity of the antagonism against the central government.

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[54] After Taksim Event of 2013, people follow their social-political opposition in the sociocultural celebrations by chanting 'Everywhere is Taksim' in the memory of Taksim-Gezi Park event.

Furthermore, events surrounding Fenerbahçe have been headline news in the media and in social networks, with such headlines as 'Fenerbahçeli Taraftarlar Bağdat Caddesi'ne akın ett (Fenerbahçe fans occupy Bağdat Street)' and 'Şampiyon Fenerbahçe, Bağdat Caddesi'nde (Champion Fenerbahçe in Bağdat Street)'[55]. 'Twitter' in particular is an important medium for the broadcasting of events at local, city, national and global levels. A tweet notes 'Important day for Azizi Yildrim and Fenerbahçe, please everyone, after Sabiha Gokçen come to Bağdat Street (Bugün günlerden AZİZ YILDIRIM, Bugün günlerden FENERBAHÇE. İmkanı olan herkes önce Sabiha Gökçen'e sonra Bağdat Caddesi'ne)'[56] [see Appendix B]. These contribute to transcend the street to a higher level of existence, in that it does not only live in the local residents' consciousness, indeed it is the national symbol for republic ceremonies, Fenerbahçe club and recently political protests. As stated by Fenerbahçe employee (Interview: age 65, October 2013): *Fenerbahçe has Republican and democratic visions, and this is parallel to the social-political profile of residents, hence Bağdat Street is our castle and our home.* Bağdat Street and the Fenerbahçe club have a common life thesis; indeed both are in conflict with the central government. Tweet states, 'hırsız Tayyip Erdoğan diye inliyor cadde öyle Şaşkınbakkal öyle Bağdat öyle (people shout the 'thief TAYYIP ERDOĞAN' in Şaşkın-Bakkal and Bağdat)'[57]. Indeed, the tweets explicitly present the position of Bağdat Street to the central government, in this regard although Republic celebrations are held all over Turkey, Bağdat Street can be considered as the center, in that the Republican identity of street is based on the public belief in the relationship between Atatürk and the Fenerbahçe club[58]. As Bacıoğlu (Interview:

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[55] 11 May 2014, Hürriyet daily newspaper.
[56] 21 January 2014.
[57] 21 January 2014.
[58] Financial assistance granted by Ataturk in the aftermath of the stadium fire of 6 July, 1932. During the First World War, Fenerbahçe played 50 matches against the occupation forces, winning 41 of them. Moreover, on 3 May 1934 Atatürk said: 'Fenerbahçe kulubunun her tarafta mazhari takdir olmus bulunan mesaisini isitmis ve bu kulubu ziyaret ve esbabi himmetini tebrik etmeyi vazife edinmistim. Bu vazifenin ifasi ancak bugun muyesser olabilmistir. Takdirat ve tebrikatimi buraya kaydile mubahiyim (Ataturk said: it is my duty to appreciate and congratulate the Fenerbahçe club efforts. Today I got a chance to execute this task.)'.

age 65, October 2013) claims, '*Atatürk was the Fenerbahçe Fanatic.*' In fact, public myth plays a significant role in the construction of space while it is myths that underline the Fenerbahçe club as a sacred place. Fenerbahçe fans (Interview: age 30s, October 2013) put '*Fenerbahçe is my religion and is the place of heroes*' *and* they continue '*the club gets its power from Atatürk and its protection of the Republican heritage*'. The myths explain how the Fenerbahçe club was created and how it gained its current form while the belief in the myth constructs peoples' thoughts and behaviors with a sense of possibility. The Republican residents and the Fenerbahçe club believe in the potential of the Republic, and so the myth is always being reconstructed to take into account changes in the contextual attributes, in that the 'Herion goddess' Fenerbahçe hero is reconstructed with the 'Fenerbahçe players'. In this regard, the spatial construction contains broad levels of meaning, from people dreams and myths to the physical projects. In short, there are many dynamics invigorating Bağdat Street as the center, refuge and castle of the Republic, mainly including the Republican residents, Fenerbahçe Football Club, and the local municipality, all of which contribute to the street's perseverance as the center of the Republic.

In summary, in the twenty-first century, Bağdat Street is identified as an integrated sociocultural phenomenon; its attributes are in the incessant restructuring. The integrated phenomenon can be likened to an experienced person who has many experiences and has engaged in many practices in life. Under the integrated attributes, the morphology and functionality of Bağdat Street reaches a high level of being, at which components or actors attempt to protect the inner equilibrium. Therefore, the Bağdat Street of the twenty-first century functions as a whole, and it is hard to separate its components. Accordingly, newly emergent contextual attributes increase the innovation of sociocultural phenomenon, in contrast to the early Republican period; the imposed dynamics could make inner conflicts. Indeed, the strong dominant attributes of the twenty-first century are enabled to use the imposed policies as the opportunity of socio-spatial

development as Şike protest was a social space reaction to the central government decision.

Furthermore, the integrated daily life, the cultural profile of the residents and the sociocultural events enhance land values in the area, where the number of fashion stores have increased in recent years. Global capitalism defines the sociocultural phenomenon as the second branch of the capital on the Asian side of Istanbul[59], although the luxurious activities are not distributed equally along the structure of the street. While Şaşkın-Bakkal, Cadde-Bostan and Suadiye have a highly luxurious identity, the Bostancı side tends to serve the residential settlement of the upper-middle class, and the Kiziltoprak neighborhood is used generally by the Fenerbahçe club and service sector as hospital, mosque and schools. That said, the users of the sociocultural phenomenon are change as one travels from the Bostancı neighborhood towards Kiziltoprak and Kadiköy. In this sense, global and national capitals flow through the socio-physical structure of street, and transform the places according to global and national revenues. The Şaşkın-Bakkal-Cadde-Bostan axis is traditionally one of the more active areas of the street, and has changed to accommodate mixed-use activities such as shops, department stores and café-restaurants with foreign names. The spectacular culture of global liberalism and the consumption culture are experienced heavily by people, particularly young people, who would appear to be in a competition for self-presentation. The spectacular culture of the street is expressed by those out shopping, passing time in cafés, chatting and strolling along the wide pedestrian areas.

In this regard, although the football phenomenon and globalization process change and determine the socioeconomic life of the street, the role of the liberal market role cannot be ignored. The liberal modernization encourages property-owners to change land uses from residential to the commercial activities on the

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[59] The central branch is in the Beyoğlu district of Istanbul.

two sides of the street's sociocultural phenomenon[60]. The private areas are rented by high-class brands, restaurants, cafés and the private sector to answer the daily needs of the residents, although the upper-class street economy does not limit the shared life of the street to the upper-class use. Indeed, Bağdat Street is a shared space, being home to sociocultural festivals, football celebrations and Republic celebrations[61], and is an outcome of the interplay of multiple attributes and groups; hence the interplay of the various attributes constructs the wholeness of the sociocultural phenomenon. Thereby, the social-economic life of the street is arranged according to the diversity of its users. While from Cadde-Bostan to Suadiye, the luxurious restaurants and cafés, carrying the intensity, serve to represent life on the street as the highest rents can be found between these two sides of the sociocultural phenomenon (Map 6.1), from Göztepe towards Kiziltoprak and around the Fenerbahçe stadium, the crowds become less intense as there are fewer restaurant and cafés, except on match days and during Fenerbahçe celebrations, when people gather around the stadium in Kurbağli Park and in the Kuşdili and Ruşdiye allies (Map 6.1). The Kiziltoprak economy and the places around stadium are heavily influenced by the Fenerbahçe ground, where street vendors are more active at the weekends and on match days and the Kalamış and Fenerbahçe neighborhoods can be identified as the stations of Fenerbahçe fans (Map 6.1), while Suadiye Square and Şaşkın-Bakkal are identified as the central points of the celebrations and demonstrations. In fact, in the construction of sociocultural phenomenon as a center of cultural-political activity, the residents of the street have traditionally played a considerable role. The well-cultured and educated residents of the area have always supported and embraced the cultural activities and changes, and the preservation of the heritage of the Republic.

Additionally, the terrace architecture of the cafés-restaurants and the luxurious high-end stores form a spectacular space where people can pass the time, chat and

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[60] 5-6 stores buildings are in change to the commercial-use.
[61] 29th October.

engage in self-presentation. These cafés have been adopted by the residents who are interested in passing much of the day in the street, allowing them to engage in self-presentation, shopping and sightseeing. A spectacular culture has developed under the liberal modernization and global products, driving people towards individualism and consumption, although this process may destroy Turkish culture and shift the sociocultural phenomenon towards the large and luxurious outdoor shopping mall. According to Turkoğlu (Interview: age 87, October 2013), *the artistic and creative structure of Bağdat Street is disappearing as a result of heavy westernization[62] and fake architectural styles,[63] and goes on to emphasize the role of transformation projects in the destruction of the neighborhood structure of street by bringing new residents to the area*. The sociocultural development of Bağdat Street owes much to the support of the residents; but the destruction the social profile may result in the death of street life. Annihilating and weakening the political power of the district would require the launch of huge housing projects to disrupt the unified social-political structure of the neighborhoods, bringing new residents to the area with different ideologies to the current residents. The Bostancı residents (Interview: age 60s October 2013) put *'the security and neighborhood culture of the street is on the decrease as a result of new residents'*, and similarly, the Fenerbahçe club is coming under pressure from the central government. It is the republican and democratic social-political profile of the residents and the Fenerbahçe club that form the political-social life of the street, and so the central government uses different policies and strategies to decrease the power of the residents and the club, in that the strategic location, physical quality and social fabric of the street carry the potential for social-political activity (Selami Öztürk, age 65, October 2013). Indeed, the Eastern Bosphorus requires a social-political center to make people voice heard. In short, while the street of the twenty-first century is identified with an integrated morphology and functionality, it has the power to exploit any emergencies to modify own social-spatial structure and dominant meanings. Accordingly, the

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[62] Foreign named cafés and restaurants.
[63] Arabesque style.

street of the twenty-first century is a much more self-organized phenomenon with strong social consciousness than in the early Republic.

Up to this point, the study has explained the socially constructed phenomenon in the twenty-first century, as the outcome of years of gradual development. In the next section, an examination will be made of Bağdat Street in the twentieth century to discover traces of its construction in time. The street attributes are derived from the interviews with the respondents' descriptions. In this regard, the twentieth century is divided into eight historical periods based on the interviewees' comments: 2002–1995, 1980–1995, 1973–1980, 1965–1973, 1950–1965, 1940–1950, 1923–1940 and 1900–1923.

6.2. Interpretation and Exploration of Bağdat Street in the Twentieth Century

This section makes an analysis of Bağdat Street in the twentieth century, which saw three major turning points in the socio-spatial and economic life of the street: The '1980 military coup and the subsequent liberal modernization'; 'the change in government style from single to multi-party, and the advent of industrialization'; and 'the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, and the subsequent Republican modernizations'. A historical study of the street's sociocultural phenomenon is required to understand the construction as the initiative and creative art.

Bağdat Street is characterized by the inter-subjective attributes that reflect the rules and attributes used by different groups of society in the construction of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. In this regard, the inter-subjective attributes elaborate the socio-spatial and physical relations of the street as consequence of the incessant cognition and recognition and/or the cyclical process of being-becoming.

-Bağdat Street 1995 and 2002: In-depth interviews were used to identify the inter-subjective attributes. To begin with, the technical part of study is explained,

followed by a discussion of the revealed attributes of the street's sociocultural phenomenon in the late twentieth century. The analyses revealed 14 content categories that were meaningful to the interviewees in their experiences in Bağdat Street between 1995 and 2002. As can be seen in Table 6.2, almost one-fifth of the mentioned attributes refer to the 'street culture' (19%), followed by 'everyday life and structure of the street' (13%), 'shared space' (11%) and 'transportation and use of space' (9%). The remaining attributes include 'football socialization' (8%), 'people and characteristics' (8%), 'peoples' use of space' (7%),'transferred identities' (7%), 'street economy' (5%), 'globalization' (5%), 'aesthetic profile of the street' (3%), 'temporary and repeated organization of space' (3%), 'ethics' (1%) and 'political life of the street' (1%). With respect to the 'street culture', the interviewees' mentioned the 'café culture' (7%), but also mentioned attributes related to the 'demonstration culture' (5%), the 'culture of consumption' (5%) and 'cultural activities' (1%). They spoke about cafés in relation to sightseeing, living in the public space, the first Republican ceremony held in the street, shopping malls, shopping, fast food and the library. The attribute 'demonstration culture' causes (5) and is the result of (2) (see Figure 6.2). Referring to the 'everyday life and structure of the street', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'everyday life' (7%), and the 'social structure of space' (6%). On this issue, they expressed that commercial activities served the street in everyday life, and that the street was an actor in everyday life as a component in the structure of city. They expressed further that the everyday life of the street appropriates social and cultural demonstrations (see Table 6.2). The attribute 'everyday life' causes (10) and is the result of (9), while the attribute 'social structure of space' causes (0) and is the result of (6) (see Figure 6.2). Referring to 'shared space', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'indoor public space' (6%), while also mentioning the attribute 'collective meeting nodes' (5%), highlighting the roles of the restaurants, hotels, cafés, the Boğa sculpture that has stood in Alti-Yol Square since 1995, Yoğurtçu Park, Kalamış Park, the Divan patisserie, Suadiye lighting and Şaşkın-Bakkal (see Table 6.2 and Map 6.2). The attribute 'indoor public space' causes (2) and is the result of (8) (see Figure 6.2). On the subject of

'transportation and the land use of space', the interviewees mentioned the attributes related to 'changes in land use' (7%) and 'transportation' (2%). Elaborating on this issue, they spoke about Maksim nightclub (Casino) being replaced by a shopping mall in Cadde-Bostan, a cinema being replaced by a shopping mall, the destruction of distinctive palaces, ruins beaches in street beaches, Marks & Spencer replacing the Atlantik cinema in Şaşkın Bakkal in 1995, the Suadiye cinema being replaced by 'Çarşi (Bazar)' in 1998, residential use of two last floors, public and private transportation, and the renovation of the bus station (see Table 6.2). Regarding 'football socialization', the interviewees mentioned on equal occasions the attributes related to 'football culture' (4%) and 'stadium' (4%), referring to popular culture, bringing people together, the restoration of the stadium in 2002 to attract women and families and its location to attract people to the stadium (see Table 6.2). The attribute 'football culture' causes (6) and is the result of (2) (see Figure 6.2). On the subject of 'people and characteristics', the interviewees' mentioned the attribute related to the 'educated profile of the residents' (6%), and also mentioned the attribute related to 'the diversity of people' (2%), using the terms nationalist, Kemalist, non-conservative, secular, educated, cultural, heavily higher-upper class, middle class and lower class (see Table 6.2). The attribute 'educated profile of the residents' causes (8) and is the result of (2) (see Figure 6.2). On the subject of the 'people's use of space', the interviewees' mentioned the attribute related to 'spectacular space' (7%), using such terms as self-presentation, fashionable boys and girls, space of presentation for boys and girls; in-fashion places and car races (see Table 6.2). The attribute 'people's use of space' causes (2) and is the result of (6) (see Figure 6.2). On the issue of 'transferred identities', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'remembering the previous identity of space' (7%), expressing that the names of neighborhoods bring to mind the past, meaning, place and myth (see Table 6.2). Referring to the 'street economy', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to the 'liberal economy' (5%), using such terms as capital, privatization, rent explosion, individualization and urban transformation project (see Table 6.2). The attribute 'liberal economy' causes (6) and is the result of (1)

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(see Figure 6.2). On the subject of 'globalization', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'globalization' (5%), and spoke of advertising, the Internet, electric world, electronic tickets, foreign names of cafés, global clothing brands, human behaviors, brand explosions and life-styles (see Table 6.2). The attribute 'globalization' causes (9) and is the result of (0) (see Figure 6.2).

On the subject of the 'aesthetic profile of street', the interviewees mentioned the attribute 'physical profile of the street' (3%), referring to the plane trees and terrace cafés (see Table 6.2). On the attribute 'repeated and temporary organization of space', the interviewees referred to the 'repeated and temporary organization of space' (3%), expressing the Fenerbahçe ceremonies and the matches held on particular dates and at certain hours, as well as the Republic ceremony held at a certain hour every 29 October (see Table 6.2). On the subject of 'ethics', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'ethics' (1%), referring to how women present their bodies (see Table 6.2). Opinions related to the 'political profile of the street' focused around the attribute related to 'ideological challenges' (1%), and expressions that Turkey is a country in transition (Modern to postmodern), clashes between Islamist thought and Westernization, and fights related to the separation of religion and state (see Table 6.2).

The respondents' preferences are transcribed onto Fuzzy Cognitive Map to derive the major attributes of the 1995-2002 periods. The major attributes can be divided under two headings, being: driving force and emergent attributes. Driving force (causes) attributes are 'everyday life' causes (10), and are the result of (9); 'globalization' causes (9), and is the result of (0); 'educated profile of residents causes (8), and is the result of (2) values; 'Liberal economy' causes (6) and is the result of (1); and 'football culture' causes (6), and is the result of (2). The emergent concepts (effects) are 'everyday life' causes (10) and are the result of (9); 'indoor public space' causes (2) and is the result of (8); the 'social structure of

space' causes (0), and is the result of (6); and 'spectacular space' causes (2) and is the result of (6) (see Table 6.2. and Figure 6.2).

Table 6.2: General Content Groups, Groups, Attributes, Frequency and Causal Integers-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

CONTENT GROUPS	CONTENT SUBGROUPS	Frequency of mention (%)	No. of Causes	No. of Effects	Total of Cause & Effect
STREET CULTURE	**Demonstration Culture** (Republic ceremony for first time held in street [1995])	13 (5%)	5	2	7
	Culture of Consumption (Shopping, Fast food, Shopping malls)	13 (5%)	2	4	6
	Cultural Activities (Library)	2 (1%)	0	1	1
	Café Culture (Cafés for sightseeing and for enjoyment of public space)	20 (7%)	2	2	4
TOTAL		**51(19%)**	**9**	**9**	**18**
EVERYDAY LIFE AND STRUCTURE OF SPACE	**Everyday Life** (everyday life of the street, commercial activities serving everyday lives of people)	18 (7%)	10	9	19
	Social Structure of Space (Street active in everyday life makes it as a component in the structure of city, Street everyday life appropriates social and cultural demonstrations)	16 (6%)	0	6	6
TOTAL		34 (13%)	10	15	25
SHARED SPACE	**Indoor Public Space** (Restaurant, Hotel, Café)	17 (6%)	2	8	10
	Collective Meeting Nodes (Boğa (Bull) statue; Boğa sculpture in Alti-yol Square since 1995, Yoğurtçu Park, Kalamış Park, Divan patisserie, Suadiye lighting, Şaşkın-Bakkal)	15 (5%)	0	4	4
TOTAL		32 (11%)	2	12	14
TRANSPORTATION AND LAND USE OF SPACE	**Transportation** (Public and Private, Renovation bus station, One lane Street)	6 (2%)	2	0	2
	Change in Land-use (Maksim Casino replaced by shopping mall in Cadde-Bostan, Cinema replaced by shopping mall, Destruction of palaces, beaches ruined , Atlantik cinema replaced by Marks & Spencer in Şaşkın-Bakkal in 1995, Suadiye cinema replaced by "Carşi" in 1998, The residential use of the last two-stores, Mado, Derimod, Marks & Spencer, Old English pubs, Mango, Macdonald's and Burger King	18 (7%)	0	2	2
TOTAL		24 (9%)	2	2	4

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Table 6.2 (continued)

FOOTBALL SOCIALIZATION	**Football Culture** (Popular culture, Bringing people together)	12 (4%)	6	2	8
	Stadium (Restoration of stadium in 2002; architecture aimed at women and families, location to attract many to the street)	12 (4%)	2	1	3
TOTAL		24 (8%)	8	3	11
PEOPLE AND CHARACTERISTICS	**Educated Profile of Residents** (Nationalist, Kemalist, Non-conservative, Secular, Educated, Cultural)	16 (6%)	8	2	10
	Diversity of People (heavily high-upper, middle class, lower class)	6 (2%)	0	4	4
TOTAL		22 (8%)	8	6	14
PEOPLES' USE OF PLACE	**Spectacular Space** (Self-presentation, Fashionable boys and girls, space for self-presentation of youth; in-fashion places, car races)	19 (7%)	2	6	8
TOTAL		19 (7%)	2	6	8
TRANSFERRED IDENTITIES	**Remembering the Previous Identity of space** (Street neighborhood names reminding of former street life, Myths, Meanings, Place)	18 (7%)	0	2	2
TOTAL		18 (7%)	0	2	2
STREET ECONOMY	**Liberal Economy** (Capital, Privatization, Rent explosion, Individualization, Transformation projects)	14 (5%)	6	1	7
TOTAL		14 (5%)	6	1	7
GLOBALIZATION	**Globalization** (Advertising, Internet, Electric world, Electronic tickets, Foreign names of cafés, Global clothing brands, human behaviors, Brand explosions, lifestyle)	14 (5%)	9	0	9
TOTAL		14 (5%)	9	0	9
AESTETHIC PROFILE OF STREET	**Physical Structure of Street** (plane trees, Terrace cafés)	9 (3%)	1	2	3
TOTAL		9 (3%)	1	2	3
TEMPORARY AND REPEATED ORGANIZATION OF SPACE	**Repeated and Temporarily Organization of Space** (Fenerbahçe ceremonies and matches on particular dates and at particular hours. Republic ceremony every 29 October at certain times)	8 (3%)	0	3	3
TOTAL		8 (3%)	0	3	3
ETHICS	**Ethics** (Presentation of women's bodies)	4 (1%)	1	3	4
TOTAL		4 (1%)	1	3	4
POLITICAL LIFE OF STREET	**Ideological Challenge** (Turkey in transition (Modern to postmodern),Clashes between Islamist thoughts and westernization, Fight on separation religion and state)	3 (1%)	2	1	3
TOTAL		3 (1%)	2	1	3

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In summary, the late twentieth century can be identified as a time of multiple high-integrated attributes (e.g. demonstration culture, consumption culture and upper class residents), when the upper-class residents of the street, the accessible transportation and the construction projects contributed to (re) configuration everyday life. In this regard, the non-utilized spaces of the 1980s were replaced by global and national fashion stores and café-restaurants[64], and in turn, everyday life with brand stores encouraged the development of shared indoor places and a culture of consumption. The street in the 1950s was rife with such shared indoor spaces as nightclubs and Turkish coffee houses, and these reappeared in the 1990s as café-restaurant and bar. Inter-subjective conceived knowledge adapts in line with contextual changes (Figure 6.2). Additionally, everyday life dictated the socio-spatial order, and hence appropriated the Fenerbahçe and Republic celebrations. Indeed, 'the physical aesthetics', 'cultural and republican profile of residents' and 'mixed land-use' contributed to emergence the culture of demonstration and celebration. The Republican residents embrace the Republic and Fenerbahçe celebrations as the heritages of early republic. Up to now, consumption culture and Fenerbahçe and Republic celebration are the more integrated attributes of the late 1990s.

The other high-integrated attribute of the street's sociocultural phenomenon was the upper-class and educated profile of the residents, with their own essential-recreational and social requirements. The residents encouraged the configuration of everyday life in terms of indoor shared places for the passing of time, particularly the terrace-style architecture that encouraged sightseeing, and the preference to shop in the fashion and department stores. For a female resident of Bostancı (Interview: age 60s, October 2013), '*the Terrace café of the street is a very intimate place*'. In this regard, the residents, the liberal market and the everyday life of the street were all influential factors in the (re)construction of space in the late 1990s (Figure 6.2).

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[64] Mado, Derimod, Marks & Spencer, Old English pubs, Mango, MacDonald's and Burger King.
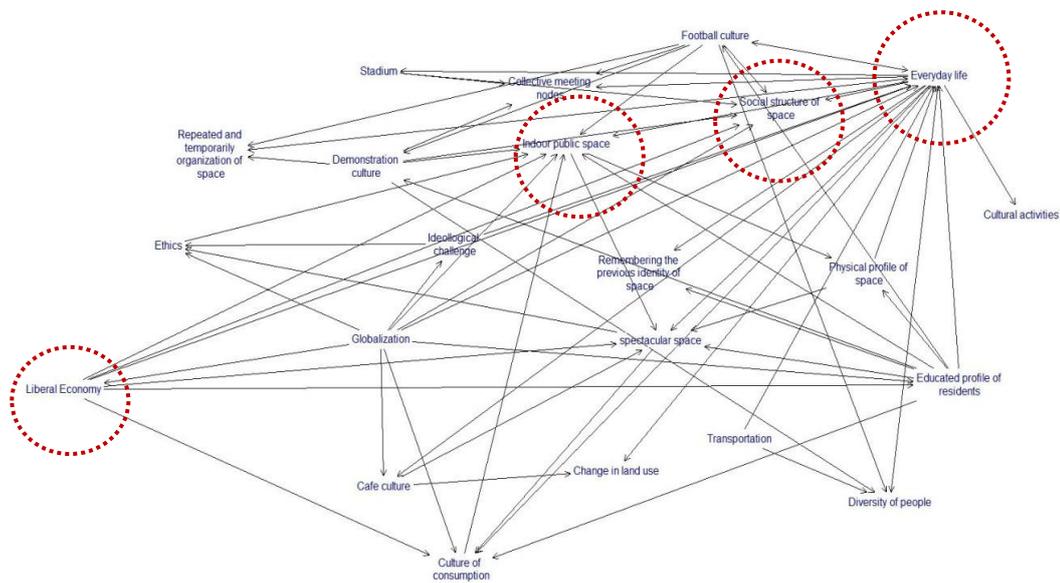
Figure 6.2: Cognitive Map from 1995 to 2002-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

In the late twentieth century, Bağdat Street went through a period of socio-spatial and economic changes. The siting of the Bull sculpture (1995) in the center of Alti-Yol Square caused the Republic celebration to be held in Bağdat Street. The physical qualities of the street are appropriate for social performances and the Republican residents of the street supported the Republican heritage. The Republic celebration contributes to improve the social life of the street; just as the active social life accelerates its physical development.

In the late 1990s, the street's social spaces presented an upper-class image, while the events surrounding Fenerbahçe and the Republic celebrations bring balance to the shared sense of the street. People of different ages, gender, groups and classes joined the football celebrations, as football no longer belonged only to the middle and lower classes of society. Intellectuals, academicians and women were supporters of the Fenerbahçe Football Club (Interview: age 70s, October 2013). The residents of the street support the shared use of space, and this is part of the embodied culture of Bağdat Street as a place for different classes and groups. The

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traditional inter-cultural and inter-religious structure of the street was restructured under the contextual attribute (Fenerbahçe club fans) of the 1990s.

Therefore, the street in the late 1990s witnessed the rise of celebration, demonstration and consumption cultures. The street youth (Interview: age 30s, 29th October 2013) said '*the Republic celebrations of the 1990s were more spiritual and energetic than today*'. While the Republican ceremonies of the 1990s were not planned for the spreading of a political message, those of the twenty-first century are rife with political slogans. Moreover, Bağiş Erten (Interview: age 35, October 2013) said '*the Republic celebration is a restructured attribute of the Fenerbahçe events*', as the Fenerbahçe cultural events and the residents were two major factors in the happening of the demonstration culture. The Republic celebrations, as a common practice similar to the Fenerbahçe cultural celebration, strengthen the sense of community. In this regard, the street's sociocultural phenomenon evidently defines its own social-political vision through the Republican residents, the Republic rallies and the Fenerbahçe events.

Moreover, the festival culture is the restructured attribute of the recreational-social activities of the 1940s in that, the street's activities has to develop based on the demands of the residents. Likewise, the consumption culture of the 1990s is a restructured attribute of the consuming behavior of the 1940s. The upper-class residents, the everyday life (with brand stores) and liberal modernization all served to reconfigure the consumption culture. The consumption culture of the 1990s answers the everyday recreational needs of the street. Passing time in café is both the everyday and recreational activities of the residents. Hence, the consumption and recreational activities of late 1990s are not new realities of the street and this is also true for self-presenting; street is traditionally used for Miss Turkey, swimming, and yacht competitions with modern people presenting selves, Altıparmak said (Interview: age 75, October 2013).

Furthermore, the consumption culture was not the emergent phenomenon of the late 1990s, as contextual dynamics reconfigure consumption within a historical process. While the people of the 1950s consumed national products, those of the 1990s consumed global brands, foreign music and movies. Everything is in a state of process. The shared space of the late 1950s is modified (reconstructed) with new modes of being, such as shopping malls (Maksim nightclub-Cadde-Bostan), Marks & Spencer (Atlantik Cinema-Şaşkın Bakkal) and Çarşi (Suadiye Cinema) (Map 6.2). Broadly speaking, the recreational and social activities are restructured under the effects of globalization and the liberal market.

Indeed, the liberal modernization transformed the residential structure of the street's sociocultural phenomenon towards the commercial use. The development of the private sector as hotel, the terrace-style architecture of the cafés, brand stores and the two–three floors of commercial use in residential buildings launched a new phase of development. People started to pass the time in the street rather than in the beaches and nightclubs, and these changes coincided with the post-modern arguments in the world. Bostancı residents (Interview: age 60s, October 2013) said '*the street is a place of self-presentation and publicity*'. They continued '*young people are involved with Converse, Nike and a life of fashion*'. According to street planner (Interview: age 40s, October 2013), *Bağdat Street passed consecutively through the Republican modernization, industrialization, and the liberal reforms and these incessant social-spatial and economic transformations might result in a confused individuals-world relationship*. Indeed, the person is in alienation and experiences an inner battle, and individuals discover that the social world is nothing more than an artifact (Simmel, 1971) for a time. Moreover, the late 1990s witnessed the explosion of American-style fast-food café-restaurants; with both Burger King and MacDonald's appearing in the Suadiye neighborhood of the street (Map 6.2). The residents of the street displayed a preference for the Coca Cola, Pepsi, Nike, Adidas, Converse, and Levis brands, challenging local attributes, as the twin of western culture and consumerism. The Bostancı residents (Interview: age 60s, October 2013) said '*the*

boys in car races and the baby-faced girls in fashions' and they continued '*The girls and boys roam the pedestrian areas of the street while have made boyfriend and girlfriend'* and so the ethical life of the street was under threat. The late 1990s of the street were the outcome of the late 1970s, when such global products as foreign music and movies could be heard on every side of the street.

Therefore, the street in the late 1990s was a hive of sociocultural activities, public places, sightseeing and chatting, all of which were the emergent realities of the decade. While the modes of social activities have been changed, the essence of the reality is stable; the subjective knowledge is restructured under the globalization process. The beaches disappeared, while the recreational climate of the street was restructured down through the years. The Bostancı residents (Interview: age 60s, October 2013) said '*being in the street is always so enjoyable'* in that the subjective knowledge of the street restructures and modifies based on the new mode of the spectacular culture. They continued '*Atlantik cinema in Suadiye was replaced by a shopping mall'*, although this annihilation of artifacts is not the end of local attribute, as it is the local residents that determine the end of local attributes, not the physical transformation projects of the global market. If Şaşkın-Bakkal, Suadiye Square, Boğa (Bull) statue, Yoğurtçu Park, Divan Patisserie and Alti-Yol Square[65] were the shared places (nightclubs, cinema, Turkish coffee houses and beaches) of the 1960s, they were restructured into new attributes for the shared activities of the late 1990s. The cinemas in Şaşkın-Bakkal were replaced by a shopping mall and café-restaurants (Map 6.2). While the dynamics and attributes may be changing, the essence remains the same. Bağdat Street never disconnects fully from its historical traces, and has its own extended history.

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[65] Alti-Yol Square is the common meeting point for celebrations and demonstrations. The setting of Alti-Yol Square in the heart of Kadiköy dates back to the Ottoman Era. The Boğa statue in center of Alti-Yol square is 150 years old, but setting in Alti-Yol square since 1995. According to the public, the Boğa (Bull) is a symbol of power and production. Historically, Alti-Yol Square and Bahariye Street were used for demonstrations, but in the late 1990s, after the siting of the Boğa Sculpture in the center of the square, demonstrations were moved to Bağdat Street.

The transformation of traditional modes of existence never disqualified the public life of the street. The materials may have changed out of necessity, but the learnt culture and meanings evolved to the completeness of the morphology and functionality of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. The tree of life does not give up because of malfunctions and broken branches, nor does the cultural practice get lost on the path of progress.

Moreover, in the late 1990s, the phenomenon was subjected to political arguments around the Western and Islamic ideologies. The heavy Westernization of the socio-spatial life of the street, which is now home to cafés with foreign names, people with shabby clothes and young people behaving unethically, is a result of the globalization process, and is threatening local attribute. Hence, the late 1990s can be identified with the struggle among different parties and groups in the face of Westernization and a return to Islamic ideals in the sociocultural and spatial development of the street.

Map 6.2: Cognitive Spatial Map of Bağdat Street: 1995-2002-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

In summary, Bağdat Street carries sociocultural attributes from abstract to concrete with dialectical relations in the construction of the street structure. The demonstration, consumption, everyday life and café cultures are the dominant inter-subjective attributes that (re)structure the wholeness of the phenomenon. Indeed, the late 1990s were an important time in the history of the street, when it witnessed initiatives towards a structured daily life, Republic celebrations and the developing liberal market. The following part explains Bağdat Street within aftermath of coup d'état of 1980. The study aims to trace historical trends in the construction of street's sociocultural phenomenon.

-**Bağdat Street between 1980 and 1995:** In-depth interviews were used to identify the inter-subjective attributes. To begin with, the technical part of study is explained, followed by a discussion of the revealed attributes of the street's sociocultural phenomenon between 1980 and 1995. The analyses revealed 15 content categories that were meaningful to the respondents in their experiences of Bağdat Street between 1980 and 1995. Table 6.3 refers to the 'changes in the aesthetic value and land-use' of the street (14%), while more than one quarter of all mentions refer to 'social conflicts' (11%), 'people's feelings and use of space' (9%), 'the stadium and its cultural role' (8%) and 'everyday life and structure' (8%). The rest of the attributes, including 'shared space' (6%), 'street economy' (6%), 'people and characteristics'(6%),'transference identity' (6%), 'urban transformation' (6%), 'globalization' (6%), 'Dalan government' (5%), 'football as a street culture' (4%) and 'transportation' (2%) are mentioned in almost equal frequencies. With respect to the 'change in the aesthetic values and land use', the interviewees equally mentioned the attributes 'closing up the non-utilized places' (6%) and 'change in land use' (6%). Also mentioned was the attribute related to 'change in the aesthetic of the place' (2%). Referring to the late 1980s, they often spoke about the closing of the Atlantik (Foreign movies), Budak and Suadiye (Turkish movies) cinemas; the closing of "Idris Kebab" in Şaşkın-Bakkal, which stood empty for a long time afterwards, and the closing of the Dimitri nightclub (casino) and Reşit beaches in the bar street (Barlar [Bar] Street in Cadde-Bostan).

Furthermore, the non-used places and the ground floors of some of the residential buildings were adapted for commercial use, alongside the addition of green areas, the widening of the pedestrian walkways in 1988, the 1985–1986 visual beautification of street, the granting of permission for the construction of five- and six-story buildings on either side of the street, and the change of commercial activities from small to large stores (see Table 6.3). The attribute "closing the non-utilized space" causes (1) and is the result of (5), while the attribute 'change in land use' causes (4) and is the result of (1) (see Figure 6.3).

Regarding 'social conflicts', the interviewees' mentioned the attribute related to 'immigration' (6%), and the one related to the 'social life of street' (5%). In this regard, they commented about the culture of the migrants from Anatolia being imposed on the Kadiköy inhabitants, the lack of Internet and mobile phone communications, the banning of artistic displays for political reasons, gangs, self-presentation, the problems between the original residents with the new inhabitants of the street, particularly young people, and the fights between football fans in Yoğurtçu Park (see Table 6.3). The attribute 'immigration' causes (4) and is the result of (1), while the attribute 'social profile of street causes (2) and is the result of (4) (see Figure 6.3).

Regarding 'peoples' feelings and the use of space', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'feelings and human needs' (6%), and the one related to the 'spectacular space (use of space) (3%). Elaborating, they expressed the lack of security and safety, the fear of death, the lack of traffic, the place being somewhere for young people to walk, sit on walls and race cars, and the stylish cars of the sons of rich families (see Table 6.3). The attribute 'spectacular space' causes (0) and is the result of (4) (see Figure 6.3). Regarding the 'stadium and its cultural role', the interviewees mentioned equally the attribute related to the 'cultural activity of stadium' (4%) and the 'stadium location and its physical profile' (4%). Furthermore, they spoke in particular about the Republic ceremony in the stadium, about the stadium's location in the street since 1907 and how it re-

configured the street (see Table 6.3). Regarding 'everyday life and structure', the interviewees' mentioned the attribute related to 'configuration street everyday life' (4%), and also mentioned equally the attributes related 'physical structure' (2%) and 'economic structure' (2%). Elaborating, they suggested that indoor public spaces helped in the configuration of everyday life on the street; that the street structure cannot be considered as an active component of Istanbul as a whole, but is rather a suburban place in a good location that is gradually becoming an active component of the greater city; and that the street functioned at a local level because it addressed the needs of its own neighborhood rather than those of Istanbul and the rest of the world (see Table 6.3). The attribute 'configuration everyday life' causes (2) and is the result of (4) (see Figure 6.3). On the subject of 'shared space', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'indoor space' (3%) and 'collective meeting nodes' (3%), highlighting the several cafés, restaurants, a few department stores, one shopping mall, one grocery in Suadiye and Şaşkın-Bakkal, and the use of the area for taking exercise. The Yoğurtçu and Kalamış parks were used as gathering points for Fenerbahçe fans after matches, while Alti-Yol was used for social rallies; Divan patisserie (see Table 6.3 and Figure 6.3). The attribute 'indoor space' causes (1) and is the result of (4) (see Figure 6.3). Referring to the 'street economy', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to the 'liberal economy' (6%), and went further to mention capitalism, privatization, and Michael Jackson's songs being representative of the liberal modernizing environment (see Table 6.3). The attribute 'liberal economy' causes (7) and is the result of (2) (see Figure 6.3). On the subject of 'people and characteristics', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to the 'educated profile of the residents' (4%), and also 'people diversity' (2%). Expanding on the issues, they spoke about the nationalist/Kemlaist cultural people who had settled in street but were not very rich, and the lower-middle classes (see Table 6.3). The attribute educated profile of residents causes (4) and is the result of (1) (see Figure 6.3). Regarding the subject of 'identity transferred', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'remembering the previous identity of the place' (6%), and how it expressed meaning, myth, sense of place and memories (see Table 6.3).

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For the 'political profile of street', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to the 'political profile of street' (6%), and spoke about the long-term effects of the 12 September Revolution of 1980, the political struggle between left (Socialist) and right (Nationalist), and political silence in Turkey. A further issue of debate was the football in the neighborhoods and the high crime of the late 1980s (see Table 6.3). On the matter of 'street transformation', the interviewees' mentioned the attribute related to 'construction projects' (6%), mentioning the contractors, the opening up of the palace gardens to construction, the high street projects, the granting of permission for construction on 50/100 of lands and the build marina between Kalamış-Fenerbahçe (see Table 6.3). Speaking on the subject of 'globalization', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'globalization' (6%), referring to foreign music, the several foreign-named cafés, the global technological advances, Turkey in change not development and social life in transition to a new lifestyle (see Table 6.3). The attribute 'globalization' causes (4) and is the result of (0) (see Figure 6.3). On the 'Dalan[66] government', the interviewees' mentioned the attribute related to 'Dalan government' (5%), referring to the major street projects (see Table 6.3). On the subject of 'football as a street culture', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'football, festival culture' (4%), and talked about the apartments along the street being decorated with Fenerbahçe flags, the Fenerbahçe ceremony held for first time in 1989 in the street, the support of Fenerbahçe based on the close proximity to the club or neighborhood, with claims that those who lived in Kadiköy support Fenerbahçe, and the streets appropriated for celebrations (see Figure 6.3 and Table 6.3). On the subject of 'transportation', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'transportation' (2%), highlighting the mix of public and private transportation, private buses in 1985, the lack of traffic, the reduction of the street from two-lane to one-lane traffic in 1987 and the opening of the beach road to use in 1987 (see Figure 6.3 and Table 6.3).

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[66] Bedrettin Dalan is former politician and the first mayor of greater Istanbul.

The revealed attributes included the descriptive contents that are examined in the cognitive map. The causal matrices of the cognitive map (see Table 6.3) unveil the driving forces and the emergent attributes of peoples' experiences, which were: 'liberal economy', which causes (7) and is the result of (2); 'globalization', which causes (4) and is the result of (0); 'immigration', which causes (4) and is the result of (1); and 'change land use', which causes (4) and is the result of (1). The emergent concepts were 'closing non-utilized places', which causes (1) and is the result of (5); 'street social life', which causes (2) and is the result of (4); 'indoor space', which causes (1) and is the result of (4); 'spectacular space', which causes (0) and is the result of (4); 'configuration of everyday life of the street', which causes (2) and is the result of (4); and 'remembering the previous identity', which causes (1) and is the result of (4) (see Figure 6.3).

Table 6.3: General Content Groups, Groups, Attributes, Frequency and Causal Integers-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

CONTENT GROUPS	CONTENT SUBGROUPS	Frequency of mention (%)	No. of Causes	No. of Effects	Total Causes & Effects
CHANGE IN AESTHETICS OF THE PLACE AND ITS LAND USE	**Change in the Aesthetics of the Place** (Green space, 1988 widening of pedestrian area, 1985–1986 visual beautification of street, 5–6-story buildings on either side of street, From small stores to big stores)	5 (2%)	0	3	3
	Closure of Out of Use Places (In the late 1980s, several facilities closed due to a lack of customers, including: Atlantik cinema (showing foreign movies), Budak and Suadiye cinemas (showing Turkish movies), "Idris Kebab" in Şaşkın-Bakkal, and Dimitri Casino and Reşit beaches in Beaches Street (Barlar Street Cadde-Bostan)	19 (6%)	1	5	6
	Change in Land Use (In the late 1980s, not only the ground floor was changed to commercial use. In some buildings the upper floors were also changed to commercial use)	19 (6%)	4	1	5
TOTAL		**43 (14%)**	**5**	**9**	**14**
SOCIAL CONFLICTS	**Street Social Life** (No Internet, no mobile phone communications, forbidden art displays for political reasons, gangs, self-presentation, enmity between original residents and new inhabitants, particularly young people. Fights between football fans in Yoğurtçu Park)	16 (5%)	2	4	6
	Immigration (Anatolian culture imposed on Kadiköy inhabitants)	18 (6%)	4	1	5

Table 6.3 (continued)

TOTAL		34 (11%)	6	5	11
PEOPLE'S FEELINGS AND USE OF SPACE	**Feelings and Human Needs** (No Safety, No Security, Fear of death)	18 (6%)	1	3	4
	Spectacular Space (Use of Space) (Low traffic, place for young people to stroll, sit on walls, race cars; high-end cars of sons of rich families)	10 (3%)	0	4	4
TOTAL		28 (9%)	1	7	8
STADIUM AND ITS CULTURAL ROLE	**Cultural Activity of Stadium** (Republic Day ceremony held within stadium)	12 (4%)	0	1	1
	Stadium Location and its Physical Profile (Located on street since 1907, re-constructed structure)	12 (4%)	1	1	2
TOTAL		24 (8%)	1	2	3
EVERYDAY LIFE AND STRUCTURE	**Configuration of Everyday Street Life** (Gradual configuration of street life through indoor public spaces)	12 (4%)	2	4	6
	Physical Structure (Street structure does not play a full role as an active component of Istanbul city; still a suburban street, but with a good location that will make it an active component of the wider city)	6 (2%)	0	3	3
	Economic Structure (Street at local level, as can only cover the needs of own neighborhood, rather than Istanbul and global needs.)	6 (2%)	1	2	3
TOTAL		24 (8%)	3	9	12
SHARED SPACE	**Indoor Space** (A few cafés, a few restaurants, a few department stores, one shopping mall, one grocery store in Suadiye)	10 (3%)	1	4	5
	Collective Meeting Nodes (Şaşkın-Bakkal (for sport),Yoğurtçu Park; Fenerbahçe fans gathering after match, Alti-Yol (social activities), Kalamış park; Fenerbahçe fans gathering after match, Divan patisserie)	10 (3%)	1	2	3
TOTAL		20 (6%)	2	6	8
STREET ECONOMY	**Liberal Economy** (Capital, Privatization, Michael Jackson's 'Bad' listened to by young people, explaining the political sphere of neo-liberal economy)	20 (6%)	7	2	9
TOTAL		20 (6%)	7	2	9
PEOPLE AND CHARACTERISTICS	**Diversity of People** (Middle class; People who settled in street not so rich, and lower classes)	8 (2%)	1	1	2
	Educated Profile of Residents (Nationalist, Kemalist, Cultural)	12 (4%)	4	1	5
TOTAL		20 (6%)	5	2	7
IDENTITY TRANSFERRED	**Remembering the Previous Identity of a Place** (Meaning, Myth, Place, Memories)	19 (6%)	1	4	5
TOTAL		19 (6%)	1	4	5
POLITICAL PROFILE OF STREET	**Political Profile of Street** (Long-lasting effects of 12 September Revolution of 1980, Political struggle between left (Socialist) and right (Nationalist), Political silence in Turkey, only possible issue to debate is football in neighborhoods, High crimes of late 1980s)	19 (6%)	2	2	4

Table 6.3 (continued)

TOTAL		19 (6%)	2	2	4
URBAN TRANSFORMATION	**Construction Projects** (Contractors, Palaces garden open to construction, High street projects, Permission to construction 50/100 of lands, Build marine between Kalamış-Fenerbahçe)	18 (6%)	3	1	4
TOTAL		18 (6%)	3	1	4
GLOBALIZATION	**Globalization** (Foreign music, Foreign names of cafés (a few), Technological advances in world, Turkey in change not development, Social life in transition to new life-style)	18 (6%)	4	0	4
TOTAL		18 (6%)	4	0	4
BEDRETTIN DALAN GOVERNMENT	**Dalan Government** (highly urban projects)	15 (5%)	3	0	3
TOTAL		15 (5%)	3	0	3
FOOTBALL AS A STREET CULTURE	**Football; Festival Culture** (Fenerbahçe flags decorate street apartments, Fenerbahçe ceremony held for first time in 1989 in the street, Football fans evaluated based on closeness to club or neighborhood, those who live in Kadiköy support Fenerbahçe team, street appropriates street ceremonies)	12 (4%)	3	1	4
TOTAL		12 (4%)	3	1	4
TRANSPORTATION	**Transportation** (Public and private T., Özal Halk Otobus [private people bus] in 1985, low traffic, From two-lane to one-lane street in 1987, Beach road opened to use in 1987)	8 (2%)	2	2	4
TOTAL		8 (2%)	2	2	4
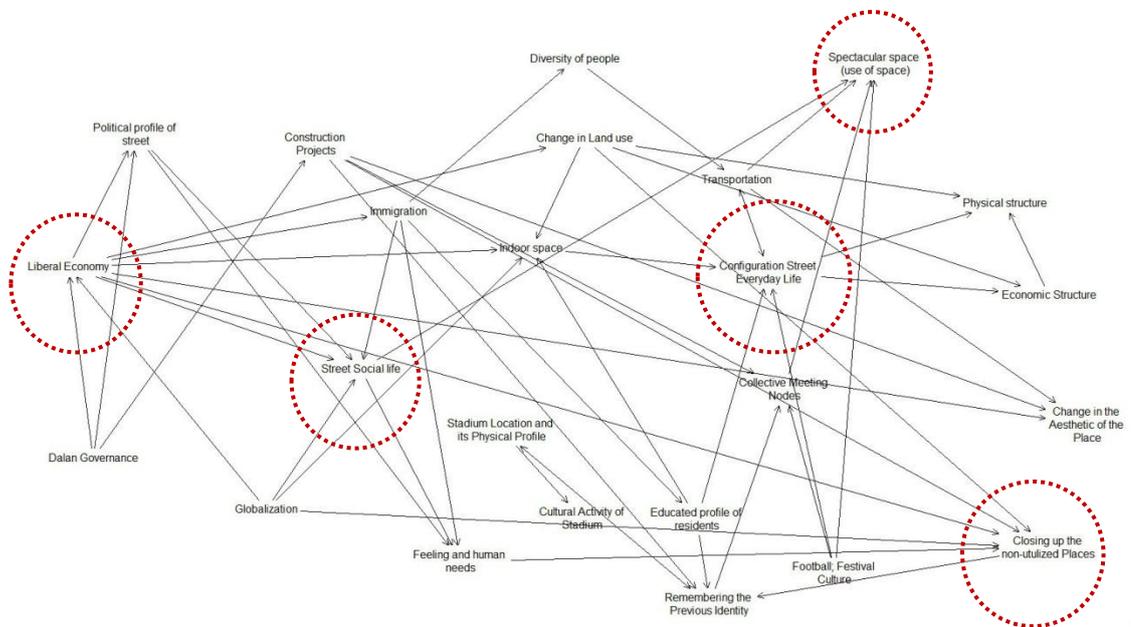
Figure 6.3: Cognitive Map from 1980 to 1995-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

In summary, the dominant attributes of the street in the late 1980s are 'the non-utilized activities', 'change in land use (commercial-uses)' and 'change in the physical aesthetics of space', which all those appeared through changes in the contextual attributes as 'developing private sector', 'the spectacular culture of the globalization process', 'developing residential buildings', 'permanent settlements of residents', 'developing transportation network as private people buses', 'reappearance Fenerbahçe club in street structure' and 'unrest socio-political condition after coup d'état'. The 1980 coup d'état influenced deeply the socio-spatial life of the street, as people no longer used the street due to a lack of security and safety that lasted until the late 1980s. The street became a place of communist-nationalist conflict, inconsistencies between the old and new inhabitants (Anatolian immigrants) and the criminal gangs (Bostancı residents, age 55, October 2013). In this condition, people were forbidden to speak about socio-political and art issues, and so the only forms of amusement left were football events, or passing the time with house 'tea-parties'. The street of the early 80s was the place of fear and fights, meaning that people preferred to pass time in the communal parts of the neighborhoods. For the Bostancı female residents (Interview: age 60s, October 2013), *the strong neighborhood relationships kept people together.*

In this environment, the former popular places in the street, including nightclubs (casino), cinemas and beaches, were forced closed due to a lack of customers (Map 6.3) under climate of fear following the coup. This did result in a new mode of existence or development; and moreover, the coup was not the only reason for the decline in popularity of what had once been popular places. The 1980s saw the happening of the liberal modernization and globalization processes, indeed the military coup coincided with the Dalan (1984–1989) government [67] attempts to achieve the traditional tries of Turkey to join the European Union through the adoption of policies of privatization, individualization and decentralization under influences of liberal economy and globalization.

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[67] Bedrettin Dalan was the first mayor of Greater Istanbul, serving from 1984–1989.

The liberalization efforts saw the launch of construction projects that contributed to the reconfiguration of the physical-economic structure of the street as increasing land values and residence with daily routines. In this regard, the incomplete physical structure of late 1970s had been reconstructed and the empty plots of land in the neighborhoods were opened to constructions projects, including the gardens of the palaces and villas, and residential blocks were gradually transformed for commercial use in the late 1980s, and land values reached a peak in the late 1990s, leading the middle-class profile of the residents to shift to upper class. In this sense, the permanent profile of space required a reconstruction of social-recreational activities that would fit into the everyday life of the street. Indeed, the 1980s was an era of transition from traditional social practices (e.g. sea-baths and casino) to those that were global, modernized and socially constructed.

The globalization process reconstructed traditional habits of the street under the spectacular culture of the global modernization, which led to a gradual reconfiguration of the embodied attributes such as pubs and nightclubs to sightseeing and chatting in street sidewalk. These changes coincided with the development of a public-private transport (Halk [people] buses) and the physical restoration of the street between 1985 and 1988 brought larger pedestrian areas, one-way traffic and street furniture to use the street for walking, chatting, sightseeing and exercising. Indeed, the inauguration of the coastal road in 1988 changed the two-lane street to one-lane, and decreased the traffic of the street, encouraging a social and cultural use of space, as young people continued the use the wider and less busy street for car racing. Following that, people began using Şaşkın-Bakkal and Suadiye for such activities as exercise or walking, and young people would roam in the sidewalks and sit on the walls flanking the street. Another significant street activity in the late 1980s was the fans of the Fenerbahçe Football Club that used the street to celebrate winning the championship in 1989. For the first time, Bağdat Street experienced a celebration, and in turn, the Fenerbahçe club was able to reinvent its lost identity and regain popularity after a

long absence while the stadium was being renovated (1965–1982). For Bacıoğlu (Interview: age 65, October 2013), the '*street was decorated with the blue and yellow flags of the Fenerbahçe club'.* The festival culture reconfigured the traditional identities of the street (as a place of summer resorts) into a new phase of socialization within street culture.

Indeed, Fenerbahçe celebrations, which had traditionally been held within the stadium, were conducted in the street for the first time, launching a tradition that continues to this day. In the 1980s, Yoğurtçu Park was used by Fenerbahçe fans as a gathering place after matches, based on a history that goes back to the early twentieth century. The park also has since that time witnessed both the fights and celebrations of young supporters of the club, just as in the case of Kalamış Park (Map 6.3). In the late 1980s, Fenerbahçe was still not the popular soccer club it is today in Turkey, having a fan base that was limited to a great extent to the local neighborhood.

Therefore, the traditional communal activities (nightclubs, pubs, beaches) were all reconfigured under the physical restoration of the area. Moreover, the physical aesthetics of the street saw replacing small stores with big, aimed at satisfying the daily needs of the upper/middle class residents. In this regard by the late 1980s, the street had an entirely different image to the one seen in the early 1980s in the aftermath of the military coup. The street became a small city center in Istanbul, although it could still not fully integrate with Istanbul.

In summary, the spectacular culture of the globalization process was the newly constructed attribute of the street that brought a new mode of street entertainment. Indeed, the street's sociocultural phenomenon retained the embodied cultural heritage, but in a reconfigured setting that was based on contextual attributes. Artifacts may disappear and/or be destroyed, but the inter-subjective culture develops and modifies over years. The late 1980s of the street witnessed the 'liberal market', 'structured daily life', 'physical restoration' and 'a festival

culture', bringing new opportunities and possibilities for development. The following section describes Bağdat Street in the 1973–1980 periods with the entrance into the globalization process.
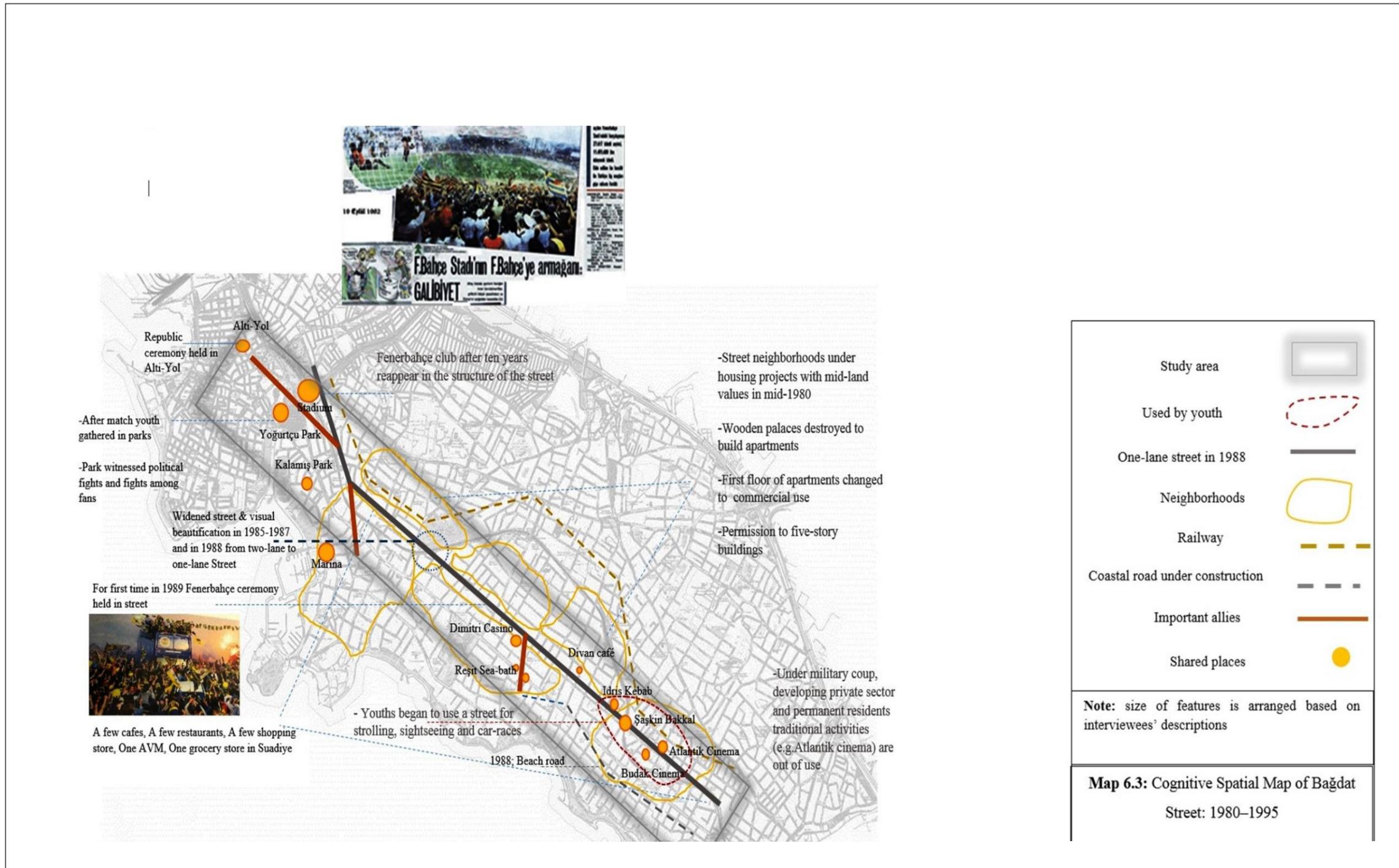
Map 6.3: Cognitive Spatial Map of Bağdat Street: 1980-1995-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Text labels on the map:

- Altı-Yol
- Republic ceremony held in Altı-Yol
- Stadium
- -After match youth gathered in parks
- Yoğurtçu Park
- -Park witnessed political fights and fights among fans
- Kalamış Park
- Widened street & visual beautification in 1985-1987 and in 1988 from two-lane to one-lane Street
- Marina
- For first time in 1989 Fenerbahçe ceremony held in street
- A few cafes, A few restaurants, A few shopping store, One AVM, One grocery store in Suadiye
- Dimitri Casino
- Reşit Sea-bath
- Divan café
- İdris Kebab
- Şaşkın Bakkal
- Atlantik Cinema
- Budak Cinema
- - Youths began to use a street for strolling, sightseeing and car-races
- 1988; Beach road
- Fenerbahçe club after ten years reappear in the structure of the street
- -Street neighborhoods under housing projects with mid-land values in mid-1980
- -Wooden palaces destroyed to build apartments
- -First floor of apartments changed to commercial use
- -Permission to five-story buildings
- -Under military coup, developing private sector and permanent residents traditional activities (e.g. Atlantik cinema) are out of use

Legend:

- Study area
- Used by youth
- One-lane street in 1988
- Neighborhoods
- Railway
- Coastal road under construction
- Important allies
- Shared places

Note: size of features is arranged based on interviewees' descriptions

Map 6.3: Cognitive Spatial Map of Bağdat Street: 1980–1995

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-Bağdat Street between 1973 and 1980: In-depth interviews were used to identify the inter-subjective attributes. To begin with, the technical part of study is explained, followed by a discussion of the revealed attributes of the street's sociocultural phenomenon between 1973 and 1980. An analysis of the data garnered from interviews revealed 10 content categories that were meaningful to the interviewees in their experiences of the Bağdat Street between 1970 and 1980. It can be seen from Table 6.4 that almost one-third of the mentioned attributes refer to the 'shared space' of the street (32%), followed in order of frequency by 'everyday life' (12%), 'street economy' (11%) and 'people and characteristics' (10%). The remaining attributes included 'aesthetics of the place and change in land use' (8%), 'globalization' (8%), 'peoples' feelings and use of space' (7%), 'identity transferred' (5%), 'ethics of space' (3%) and 'transportation' (2%) (see Table 6.4). With respect to the 'shared space', the interviewees mentioned in similar frequencies the attributes related to 'casino (nightclub)' (6%), 'cinema' (6%), 'beach' (6%) and 'pubs' (6%), while also referring to 'cafés' (4%), 'hotels' (2%) and 'collective nodes' (2%). Talking about specific venues, they mentioned the Fenerbahçe and Maksim Casinos, Atlantik Cinema in Şaşkın Bakkal (1978 Barış Manço concert), Suadiye Cinema, Budak Cinema, Summer Cinema "Cadde-Bostan", the summer cinema in Şaşkın Bakkal beside the mosque, the cinema in Erenkoy and the beaches. Speaking about the beach front, they referred to the music, dancing and competitions, in Cadde-Bostan beach. Modern life, being full of men and women, women swimming in bikinis, the decrease in popularity of the beaches in the late 1970s, the Todori pub in Kiziltoprak, cafés, restaurants, no bars, a few cafés, cafés in the late 1970s replacing the Casino and cinema hotel in Suadiye, Alti-Yol as a venue for social activities (see Map 6.4). Referring to 'everyday life', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'physical structure of space' (5%) and 'street location' (5%), and also those related to 'everyday life' (1%) and the 'social structure of space' (1%). On this issue, they underlined the residential structure; the opening of Bosphorus Bridge in 1973, and how it changed the area from a temporary summer settlement to a permanent settlement; its sub-street function and its location in the Istanbul

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morphology, configuring everyday life in the street; the street having an everyday life, but not active; and the neighborhood structure (see Table 6.4). On the issue of the 'street economy', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'construction explosion; apartment' (6%), and also the attribute related to the 'debut liberal economic system' (5%). Elaborating, they spoke about the demolition of the villas and palaces, the granting of permission for the construction of five-story buildings on either side of the street and on 25/100 of land, the street becoming a place of investment, and commercial activity and capitalism gradually appearing on street, as well as such service sectors as a doctor clinic (see Table 6.4).

When discussing 'people and characteristics', the interviewees' mentioned the attribute related to 'diversity of people' (5%), and also those related to the 'educated profile of residents' (3%) and 'immigration' (2%). In this respect, they expressed the presence of an upper, lower and middle class, people who had been educated in foreign universities, rich people from Anatolia and immigration from the west side of Istanbul, while mentioning also the decline in number of civil servants in the neighborhood (see Table 6.4). The attribute 'educated profile of residents', which causes (7) and is the result of (3), is the most influential attribute for the 1970–1980 period (see Figure 6.4). Discussions of 'aesthetics of the place and changes in land use' led the interviewees to mention the attribute related to 'change in land use' (5%), but they also mentioned the attribute related to 'aesthetics of the place' (3%). In this respect, they explained that in the late 1970s cafés replaced the Casinos and the cinema, as well as the planting of plane trees, lighting and asphalt (see Table 6.4).

On the subject of 'globalization', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'globalization and capitalism influences' (6%), as well as the attribute related to 'modernism' (2%). They said that people listened to the Beatles, Elvis Presley and Tom Jones, while talking about advances in technology, the advent of TV in Turkey, the street under the influence of world capital, luxury buildings and

brands, gradual changes in lifestyle and the modern people in the street (see Table 6.4).

Referring to 'peoples' feelings and use of space', the interviewees' mentioned the attribute related to 'spectacular space (use of space)' (5%), and 'feelings and human needs' (2%). Within this respect, they expressed the interaction between girls and boys (teenagers), fights among teenagers, issues with girls, car races (Zengin gençler Fenerbahçe burnunda toplanip ve amerikan arabalarila Bağdat doguru yarişmalar olurdu (Bu yarişmalar sabaha kadar sorerdi, genelde yarişmalar gece olardi ki trafik olmasin[68]), baby-faced girls with boyfriends walking along the street and safety and security (see Table 6.4). On the matter of 'identity transferred', the interviewees' mentioned the attribute related to 'remembering the previous identity of the place" (5%), and how it expressed meaning; being a place for vacationing, but reducing gradually in this regard; and myths, including the Fenerbahçe myth and that of the Boğa statue (see Table 6.4). When speaking about the ethics of street, the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'ethics' (3%), highlighting unethical behaviors related to fashion, and cinemas in 1975 broadcasting 'Emmanuel', promoting unethical behavior; and women being depicted as sex objects in such contexts as cinemas advertisements (see Table 6.4). On the subject of 'transportation', the interviewees' mentioned the attribute related to 'transportation' (2%), underlining the public transport network (of buses, mini-buses and taxis) and two-lane streets (see Table 6.4).

The revealed attributes included descriptive contents that are examined in the cognitive map; and the causal matrices of the cognitive map (see Table 6.4.) unveil the driven forces and the emergent attributes of peoples' experiences. The driving force concepts were the 'educated profile of residents', which causes (7) and is the result of (3); and 'street location', which causes (6) and is the result of (0). The emergent concepts were 'construction explosion', which causes (3) and is

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[68] The young fashionable members of the wealthy families gathered in Fenerbahçe Cape for car races in Bağdat Street.

the result of (4), 'diversity of people', which causes (0) and is the result of (4), and 'spectacular space', which causes (1) and is the result of (4) (see Figure 6.4).

Table 6.4: General Content Groups, Groups, Attributes, Frequency and Causal Integers-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

CONTENT GROUPS	CONTENT SUBGROUPS	Frequency of mention (%)	No. of Causes	No. of Effects	Total of Causes & Effects
SHARED SPACE	**Casino(Nightclub)** (Maksim Casino)	20 (6%)	2	1	3
	Cinema (Atlantik Cinema in Şaşkın Bakkal (1978 Barış Manço), Suadiye Cinema, Budak Cinema, Summer Cinema "Cadde-Bostan". Summer Cinema in Şaşkın-Bakkal beside mosque, cinema in Erenkoy)	20 (6%)	3	1	4
	Beaches (Beaches, beach sides: music, dancing and competitions. In Cadde-Bostan beach modern, full of men and women, women swimming in bikinis, late-1970s decrease in popularity of beaches)	20 (6%)	0	2	2
	Pubs (Todori pub in Kiziltoprak)	20 (6%)	1	0	1
	Cafés (Cafés, restaurant, no bars, a few cafés: cafés in late 70s replacing Casino and cinema)	12 (4%)	1	3	4
	Hotels (Hotel in Suadiye)	5 (2%)	0	1	1
	Collective Node (Alti-Yol, where social activities happen)	6 (2%)	0	0	0
TOTAL		**103 (32%)**	**7**	**8**	**15**
EVERYDAY LIFE AND STRUCTURE	**Everyday Life** (Street has everyday life, but not so active)	4 (1%)	0	3	3
	Social Structure of Space (Neighborhood-based social activities, people know one another)	4 (1%)	2	0	2
	Physical Structure of Space (Residential structure. Physical structure changed as a result of 1973 Istanbul bridge, changing the structure of space from temporary settlement to permanent settlement, sub-street place)	16 (5%)	3	2	5
	Street Location (Good location of street within Istanbul helps to configure everyday life)	15 (5%)	6	0	6
TOTAL		39 (12%)	11	5	16
STREET ECONOMY	**Debut Liberal Economic System** (Street becomes place of investment, Commercial activities and capitalism gradually appear on street, Service sectors e.g. Doctor's clinic)	16 (5%)	3	2	5
	Construction Explosion; Apartments (Construction explosion, Demolition of palaces and villas, Permission granted for 5-story buildings on either side of street since change to permanent place of settlement, permission for construction on 25/100 of land)	18 (6%)	3	4	7

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Table 6.4 (continued)

TOTAL		34 (11%)	6	6	12
PEOPLE AND CHARACTERISTICS	**Diversity of People** (Lower, upper and middle classes)	17 (5%)	0	4	4
	Educated Profile of Residents (Decline in number of civil servants, Families who have studied in Europe and were familiar with philosophers as Sartre and Camus and foreign languages settle in Bağdat street	9 (3%)	7	3	10
	Immigration (Immigration from west side of Istanbul in 1976, Immigration of rich Anatolians)	7 (2%)	1	2	3
TOTAL		33 (10%)	8	9	17
AESTHETICS OF THE PLACE AND CHANGE IN LAND USE	**Aesthetics of the Place** (Plane trees, Lighting, Asphalt)	10 (3%)	0	0	0
	Change in Land Use (in late 70s cafés replaced Casino and cinema)	15 (5%)	1	3	4
TOTAL		25 (8%)	1	3	4
GLOBALIZATION	**Globalization and Capitalism Influences** (People listening to the Beatles, Elvis, Tom Jones, Advances in technology, TV in Turkey, street under influence of world capital, luxury buildings, gradual change in lifestyle)	19 (6%)	9	0	9
	Modernism (Modern people of street)	6 (2%)	3	2	5
TOTAL		25 (8%)	12	2	14
PEOPLE'S FEELINGS AND USE OF SPACE	**Feelings and Human Needs** (Safety, Security)	7 (2%)	1	3	4
	Spectacular Space (Use of Space) Girls and boys interaction (teenagers), Fights among teenagers over girls, Car races (zengin gencler Fenerbahçe burnunda toplanip ve amerikan arabalarila Bağdat doguru yarismalar olurdu (bu yarismalar sabaha kadar sorerdi hatta), genelde yarismalar gecel olardi ki trafik olmasin), Baby-faced girls with boyfriends walking in the street)	17 (5%)	1	4	5
TOTAL		24 (7%)	2	7	9
IDENTITY TRANSFERRED	**Remembering the Previous Identity of a Place** (Meaning, place of vacation but gradually it goes to disappear, Myth; Fenerbahçe myth, Boğa statue myth – people believed that it was sited there from 1969, and indicates power of Kadiköy (In reality Boğa statue sited in Alti-Yol in 1995)	16 (5%)	0	2	2
TOTAL		16 (5%)	0	2	2
ETHICS OF STREET	**Ethics** (Unethical behavior in fashion, street cinemas in 1975 showing 'Emmanuel' promoting unethical behavior, Women as sex objects, sexual advertisements in cinemas)	10 (3%)	3	0	3
TOTAL		10 (3%)	3	0	3
TRANSPORTATION	**Transportation** (Public Transport [Buses, mini buses, Taxi]; Two-lane street)	6 (2%)	1	1	2
TOTAL		6 (2%)	1	1	2

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In summary, in the late 1970s, the street was identified with the sea-bath, nightclubs, pubs, cinema and café through the incomplete physical structure (the physical aesthetics was inconsistent with permanent-use of the street and diffused apartments), newly settled educated and wealthy residents of the western side of Bosphorus Bridge, the incomplete everyday life and newly appeared globalization process and liberal capitalism.

The Akerman (Author) said (Interview: age 65, October 2013): *'the good location invited new residents to the street and brought about the development of public-private transport, and also encouraging liberal modernization construction projects and the globalization process that shaped everyday life in the street, but people still used traditional land uses as sea-bath'.*

The good location of the street due to the inauguration of Bosphorus Bridge (1973) encouraged many to settle permanently in the street, particularly the wealthy and educated residents of Istanbul. In this regard, the social and recreational activities of the street being (re)constructed based on the everyday life of the street while the liberal modernization that was underway took advantage of the street's potential for development. The private sector developed within the structure of the street, with for example, a clinic and hotel in Suadiye. Moreover, the villas and palaces were demolished to permit the construction of four- and five-story apartment blocks on either side of the street (four on the beach side, five on the inner side) under new regulations in 1972. The ground floors of the new apartment blocks were planned for commercial use in an attempt to answer everyday life in the street. Additionally, the social-recreational activities of the street were in reconfiguration under the spectacular culture that came with the global modernization, as parading, sightseeing and car-races. Therefore, the socio-spatial and economic profiles of the street changed after the opening of Bosphorus Bridge, with the settlement of upper-class and educated residents, developing a global market that made the street an attractive place for development. Indeed, the emergence of the globalization process and liberal market coincided with decrease

in the popularity of the traditional coastal activities of the street, according to Bostancı residents (Interview: age 60, October 2013), *'Life was changing; the beaches were less crowded than before. We still used the beaches, but it was somehow different. In the evening, the street was a nice place to walk',* although street could not fully answer needs of the residents. For the female Bostancı residents (Interview: age 60, October 2013), *'The street did not answer to the daily needs of the local people, and so they were forced to do their shopping in Kadiköy center and Istanbul*, in that the street still lacked the department stores and café-restaurants, and in that sense it was a domain of limited street activities. In this regard, traces of globalization could be seen in the behaviors of young people, for whom the traditional entertainment attributes (cultures) were reconfigured under the globalization process, such as walking and car races in the evenings.

Ogün Altıparmak [Former Fenerbahçe player and Cadde-Bostan resident] (Interview: age 75, October 2013) said, *'people were very modern'.* The new residents of the street had graduated from foreign schools and were aware of global cultures. Young people listened to foreign music such as the Beatles, Elvis and Tom Jones, and this spectacular global culture influenced the lives of the young, in this regard *'the street witnessed fights among teenagers over girls, fashionable baby-faced girls and unethical foreign movies (sexual advertisement)'* (Bostancı residents, age 60s, October 2013). Moreover, in the evenings, car racers entered the street with luxury American cars. The Fenerbahçe Cape was the meeting place for car racers and young people. Since the nineteenth century, the Fenerbahçe Cape has been a meeting place for the young people, from football players to lovers in the twenty-first century. The street life indeed began with the young people of the 1970s.

Broadly speaking, the lack of socioeconomic structure failed to fully satisfy the social-recreational and everyday demands of the residents, and so people were still attached to the traditional identity and activities of the place. The Fenerbahçe,

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Maksim nightclubs, Atlantik (Şaşkın-Bakkal), Budak (Suadiye) cinemas, Todori pub (Kiziltoprak), and beaches (Cadde-Bostan) of the 1970s were the dominant attributes of the time (Map 6.4). In addition to the lack of socioeconomic structure, according to Müfid Ekdal (Interview: age 95, October 2013), *'the physical aesthetics were the same as before, until the late 1980s'.* In this regard, the physical aesthetics of the street did not fit into the new mode of the spectacular culture (self-presentation in street), and so the social-recreational life of the street was still under the influence of the traditional shared activities (beaches, nightclubs and cinemas) of the street. The coastal road was still hosting summer dances and swimming competitions, scattered with diffused permanent housing and summer resorts.
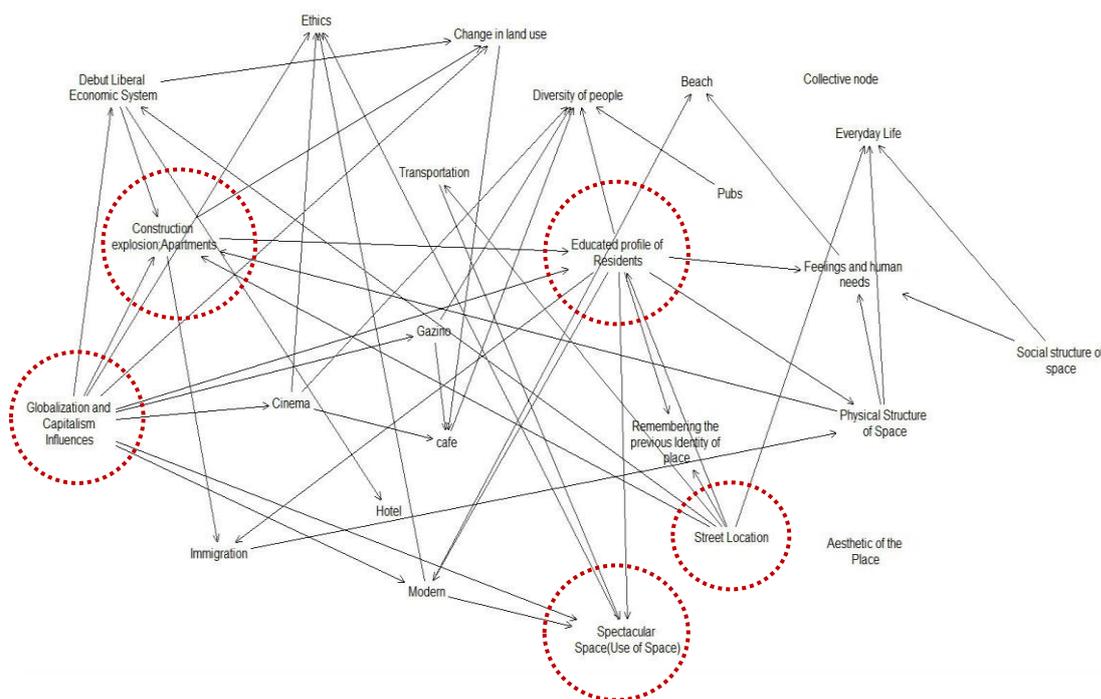
Figure 6.4: Cognitive Map from 1973 to 1980-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

In summary, in the late 1970s, the street witnessed many changes; the rise of permanent settlements and decline the popularity of the predominant attributes (e.g. sea-bath); the modern and fashionable beach life was partially reconstructed, to be replaced by modern street activities. In this sense, until the 1970s, the street

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was merely an asphalted road with summer resorts such as outdoor cinemas, pubs and sea-baths, but by the late 1970s, the street had come to accommodate people engaged in such street activities as chatting, walking and sightseeing. However, that said, the physical aesthetics of the street did not permit the full implementation of the new mode of the spectacular culture under globalization process. The following section explains the development of the street in the 1960s.
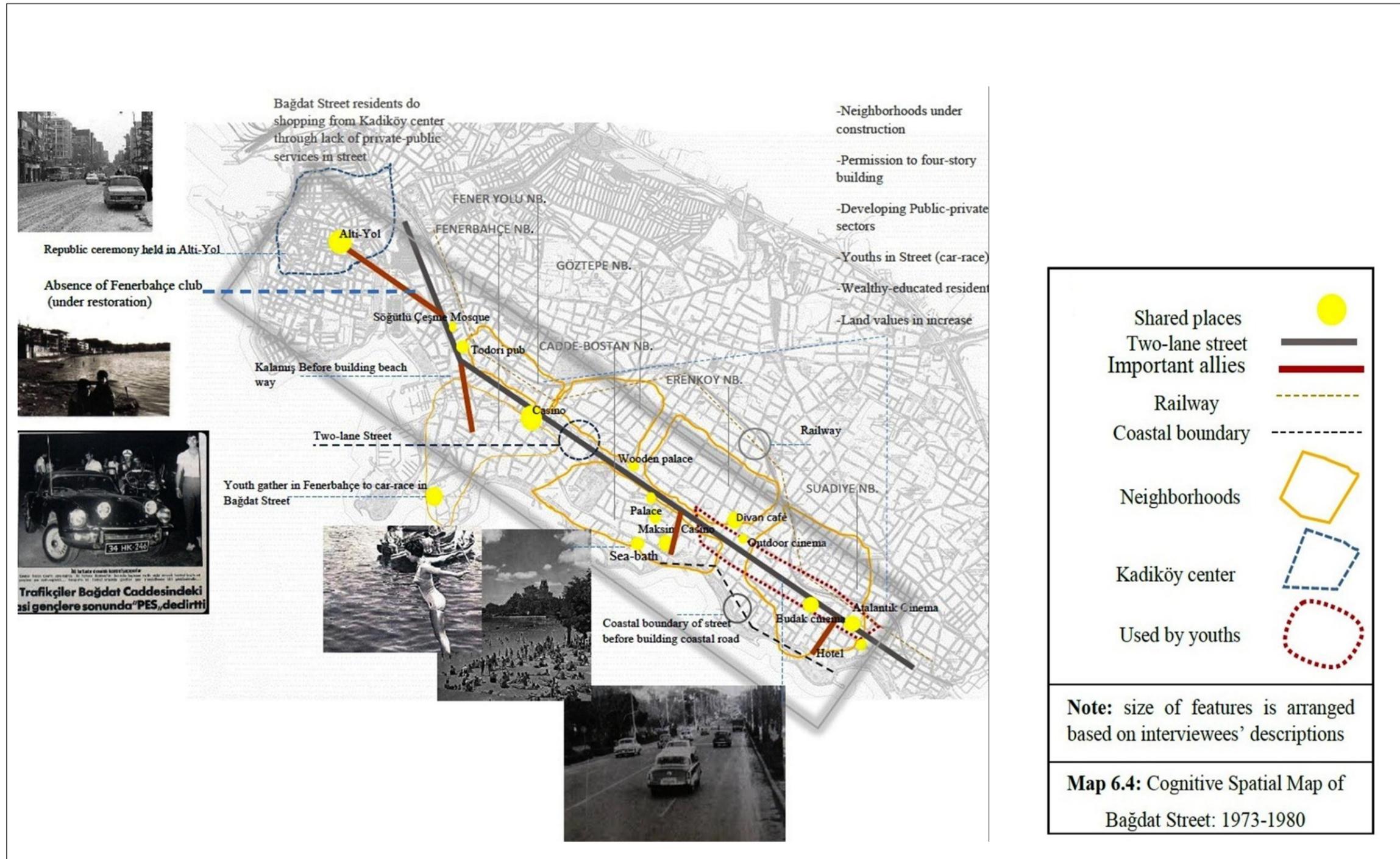
Map 6.4: Cognitive Spatial Map of Bağdat Street: 1973-1980-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

-**Bağdat Street Between 1965 and 1973:** In-depth interviews were used to identify the inter-subjective attributes. To begin with, the technical part of study is explained, followed by a discussion of the revealed attributes of the street between 1965 and 1973. The analysis revealed 13 content categories as meaningful to the interviewees in their experiences of Bağdat Street between 1965 and 1973. Table 6.5 shows that over one-third of the mentioned attributes referred to the 'shared space' of the street (36%), followed by 'people and characteristics' (12%), 'no everyday life, no structure' (10%) and 'people's feelings and the use of space' (9%). The remaining attributes include 'Kadiköy industrialization' (7%), 'street identity' (6%), 'identity transferred' (5%), 'people's characteristics in Kadiköy' (5%), 'street development' (4%), 'transportation and change in land use' (4%), 'aesthetics of the place' (1%), 'Street development'(2%) and 'political profile of the street (1%) (see Table 6.5). With respect to the 'shared space', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'nightclub (Casino)' (6%), 'cinema' (6%), 'beach' (6%), 'coffee house and restaurant'(6%) and 'patisserie' (6%). In this respect, they highlighted such specific venues as Maksim nightclub (Casino) in Cadde-Bostan, Dimitri nightclub (Casino) in Cadde-Bostan (Bar Street), Cadde-Bostan nightclub (Casino), the cinema in Şaşkın-Bakkal: Atlantik cinema (Foreign movies), cinema in Suadiye (Turkish movies), Budak cinema in Cadde-Bostan, Reşit beaches in Cadde-Bostan (Bar Street), Bostancı Beaches, Cadde-Bostan beaches, Fenerbahçe beaches, Suadiye beaches, Turkish culture coffee house and restaurant, no cafés with terraces on which to sit and watch the world go by, home tea parties held by women in their homes and the opening of the Divan patisserie in 1969 (see Map 6.5). Respectively, when talking about 'people and characteristics', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'diversity of people' (6%) and 'social profile of the residents' (6%), referring to such events as people commuting to the street, the street users being mainly young people, nationalism, Kemalism, the immigration of uneducated people and the Roma minorities (see Table 6.5). Elaborating on the attribute 'no everyday life, no structure", the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'no everyday life' (5%) and 'no physical structure' (5%). In this respect,

they spoke about such aspects as the place of vacation, the lack of a considerable physical structure, not being a part of Istanbul, but a part of the Kadiköy district, and crossing neighborhoods (see Table 6.5). On the subject of 'people's feelings and uses of space', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'entertainment use of the place' (6%), and the attribute related to 'feelings and human needs' (3%). In this respect, they expressed such activities as dances, boating, security and safety and singing Turkish songs in the street. One interviewee's said, 'in those years, the street was a green place, we went boating, we went to the dances held on the beach', giving an idea of the forms of entertainment held in the street. Among all the attributes 'entertainment use of the place', which causes (4) and is a result of (1), is the most influential street experience, as cited by the interviewees (see Figure 6.5).

On the subject of 'Kadiköy industrialization', the interviewees mentioned the attributes related to 'immigration' (4%) and 'industrialization' (3%). They elaborated that the population of Kadiköy was increasing, and spoke of Fikirtepe, which had separated as an independent neighborhood in 1969. They spoke also of the commercial and service economy that developed in Kadiköy center. One interviewee claimed that 'industrialization influenced Kadiköy's commercial activity', highlighting the commercial activity of Kadiköy rather than the street. Among all the attributes 'industrialization', which causes (4) and is the result of (0), was the street experience most cited by interviewees (see Figure 6.5 and see Table 6.5). Referring to the 'street identity', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'street as a place of vacation and picnic' (4%) (see Table 6.5), while on the matter of 'identity transferred', they mentioned the attribute related to 'remembering the previous identity of place' (5%), expressing the events, meanings and myths (see Table 6.5). On 'people's characteristics in Kadiköy', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to the 'social profile of Kadiköy' (5%), recalling that the social profile of Kadiköy was affected both by the influx of labor from Anatolia and fashionable modern women (see Table 6.5).

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On the matter of 'street development', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'street development projects' (5%), emphasizing parceling, 'Kat Mulkiyet Kanoni' [69] in 1965, the rapid construction of apartments in the low-density neighborhoods, the granting of permission for the construction of four- and five-story buildings in either side of the street, the re-building of Fenerbahçe stadium in 1965 and the matches held in Inönü Stadium (see Table 6.5). Talking about 'transportation and changes in land use', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'change in the use of the place' (3%) and the attribute related to 'transportation'. In this respect, they expressed the commercial use of the ground floors of a few buildings, Todori pub being replaced by Ziraat Bank in Kiziltoprak (see Map 6.5) and the move of the Todori pub to Fener-Kalamış, the demolition of the palaces and villas, and public transportation, (minibuses, taxis and buses [black]) (see Table 6.5). On the subject 'aesthetics of the place', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'aesthetics of the place' (3%), referring specifically to three-floor apartment, street near to the beach, asphalt, Green pedestrian, lighting and plane trees (see Table 6.5). Recalling the 'street development in Kadiköy', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'Kadiköy development project' (2%), referring to such events as the opening of Bosphorus Bridge in 1973, connecting Istanbul and Kadiköy and the development plan of 1972 in 1/5 000 scale (see Table 6.5). On the 'political profile of the street', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'street political life' (1%), recalling socialist debates (see Table 6.5).

The revealed attributes are examined in cognitive map. The causal matrices of the cognitive map (see Table 6.5) explain the driving forces and the emergent attributes of peoples' experiences. In this regard, the driving force attributes were 'entertainment use of space', which causes (4) and is the result of (1), and 'industrialization', which causes (4) and is the result of (1). The emergent attributes were 'diversity of people', which causes (0) and is the result of (6) and

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[69] Floor Ownership Law or Condominium law (1965) to increase density of population.

the 'street as a place of vacation and picnic', which causes (0) and is the result of (3) (see Figure 6.5).

Table 6.5: General Content Groups, Groups, Attributes, Frequency and Causal Integer-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

TERRITORY	CONTENT GROUPS	CONTENT SUBGROUPS	Frequency of mention (%)	No. of Causes	No. of Effects	Total of Causes & Effects
KADIKÖY	KADIKÖY INDUSTRIALIZATION	**Industrialization** (Commercial and service economy developed in Kadiköy center)	10 (3%)	4	0	4
		Immigration (Population of Kadiköy in increase, squatter in Fikirtepe neighborhood which separated as an independent neighborhood in 1969)	12 (4%)	2	1	3
		TOTAL	22 (7%)	6	1	7
	PEOPLE CHARACTERISTICS	**Social Profile of Kadiköy** (Labor from Anatolian, Fashion women)	15 (5%)	0	1	1
	URBAN DEVELOPMENT	**Kadiköy Development Project** (Istanbul bridge in 1973 Connect Istanbul to Kadiköy, Development plan of 1972 in 1/5000 scale)	7 (2%)	2	1	3
TOTAL			44 (14%)	8	3	11
STREET	POLITICAL PROFILE OF STREET	**Street Political Life** (socialist debates)	3 (1%)	0	0	0
		TOTAL	3 (1%)	0	0	0
	STREET DEVELOPMENT	**Street Development Projects** (Parceling, "Kat Mulkiyet Kanoni (Floor Ownership Law)" in 1965, Fast build apartments in low density neighborhoods of the street; 1972 permission for five-story buildings and 4-story buildings on the beach side of the street, Re-building Fenerbahçe stadium in 1965, matches held in Inönü Stadium)	12 (4%)	2	1	3
		TOTAL	12 (4%)	2	1	3

Table 6.5 (continued)

	TRANSPORTATION AND CHANGE IN LAND USE	**Transportation** Public transportation, minibuses, taxis, buses (black)	4 (1%)	0	2	2
		Change in the Use of the Place (Commercial use in ground floors of buildings, Todori pubs replaced by Ziraat Bank in Kiziltoprak, Todori moved to Fener-Kalamış; Demolition of palaces and villas.)	9 (3%)	0	2	2
	TOTAL		13 (4%)	0	4	4
	SHARED SPACE	**Casino** (Maksim Casino in Cadde-Bostan, Dimitri Casino in Cadde-Bostan (Bar Street), Cadde-Bostan Casino)	20 (6%)	0	1	1
		Cinema (Cinema in Şaşkın-Bakkal: Atlantik cinema (Foreign movies), Cinema in Suadiye (Turkish movies), Budak cinema in Cadde-Bostan.)	20 (6%)	0	1	1
		Patisserie (Divan patisserie opened in 1969)	20 (6%)	0	1	1
		Coffee House and Restaurant (Turkish culture coffee house and restaurant, No café with terrace to sit and sightsee, tea parties for women held at home)	20 (6%)	0	1	1
		Beach (Reşit beaches in Cadde-Bostan (Bar Street); Bostancı Beaches, Cadde-Bostan beaches; Fenerbahçe beaches, Suadiye beaches)	20 (6%)	0	1	1
	TOTAL		100 (36%)	0	5	5
	PEOPLE AND CHARACTERISTICS	**Diversity of People** (All people commute to the street, Space used intensely by young people)	18 (6%)	0	6	6
		Social Profile of Residents (Nationalist; Kemalist, Immigration uneducated people, Roma minorities.)	18 (6%)	0	1	1

Table 6.5 (continued)

	TOTAL		36 (12%)	0	7	7
	PEOPLE'S FEELINGS AND USE OF SPACE	**Feelings and Human Needs** (Security and safety, Singing Turkish songs in street)	8 (3%)	1	0	1
		Entertainment Use of the Place (Dancing, Boating)	18 (6%)	4	1	5
	TOTAL		26 (9%)	5	1	6
	NO EVERYDAY LIFE AND NO STRUCTURE	**No Everyday Life** (A place of vacation, not identified with everyday life [no everyday life])	16 (5%)	0	1	1
		No Physical Structure of Space (It does not have the considerable physical structure, it is not part of Istanbul city, it is merely part of Kadiköy district, it crosses neighborhoods)	16 (5%)	0	1	1
	TOTAL		32 (10%)	0	2	2
	AESTHETICS OF THE PLACE	**Aesthetics of the Place** (Three floors, street near to beach, asphalt, Green pedestrian, Lighting, Plane trees)	14 (4%)	1	0	1
	TOTAL		14 (4%)	1	0	1
	IDENTITY TRANSFERRED	**Remembering the Previous Identity of Place** (Meaning, Myth)	17 (5%)	1	0	1
	TOTAL		17 (5%)	1	0	1
	STREET IDENTITY	**Street as a Place of Vacation and Picnic** (Place of summer vacation)	18 (6%)	0	3	3
	TOTAL		18 (6%)	0	3	3

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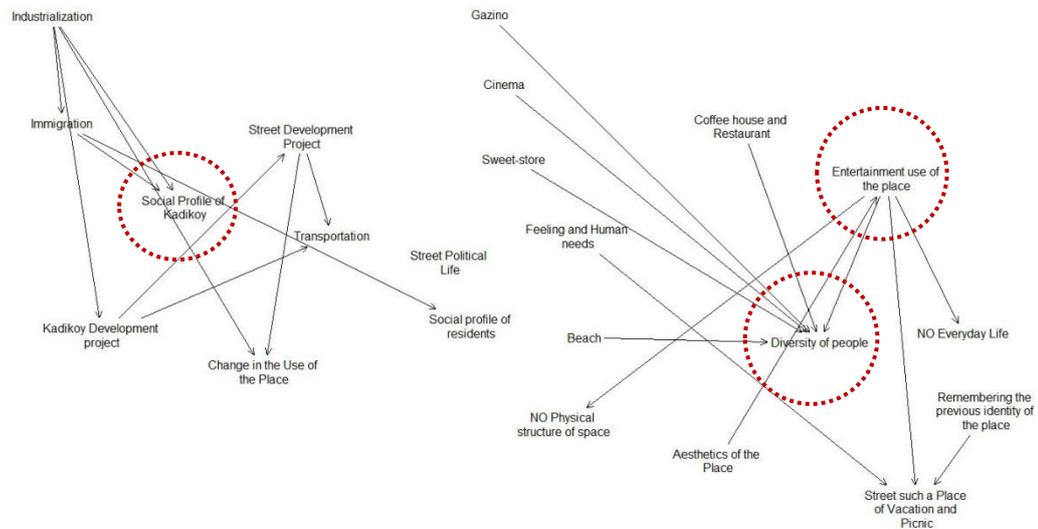
Figure 6.5: Cognitive Map from 1965 to 1973-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

In summary, in the 1960s, the dominant attributes of the street were 'casino', 'cinema', 'Turkish coffee house', 'patisserie' and 'sea-bath' through 'diversity of users', 'unstructured everyday life', 'diffused housing project' and 'unstructured socioeconomic structure' of the street which encouraged using the street as a place for seasonal-recreational activities.

The industrialized modernization saw a reconfiguration of the socio-spatial and economic relations of Kadiköy and Bağdat Street. Bağdat Street, being newly registered as part of the Kadiköy district, was not the center of construction projects. The main intention was to change the traditional image of Kadiköy, as well as its social profile. The social context led fashionable women and Anatolian rural migrants to settle in the cheap areas of Kadiköy, close to work places.

The physical development of Kadiköy and newly constructed Bağdat Street encourages the development of a public transport network of buses, minibuses and taxis. In this sense, the physical projects and transport network development accelerated changes in land use. The Todori night club (Casino) was replaced by Ziraat Bank, and the ground floors of several residential were transformed for commercial use. Furthermore, the Floor Ownership Law (1965) gave floor

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ownership rights to increase the population of Bağdat Street. The strategy purposed to increase density in the context, but the resulting construction projects obliterated the timber Ottoman palaces and the modern villas of the early Republic.

Despite physical and transportation developments, according to one Bostancı resident (Interview: age 55, October 2013)*, 'the 1950s and 1960s of the street were remembered for the beaches and nightclubs'.* In this regard, the imposed physical projects failed to reconfigure the existent attributes of the context, and the social context developed as a result of two independent procedures (Figure 6.5), in that it was the unstructured everyday life that could not reconstruct and transform the summer resorts of the coastal road.

Therefore, the dominant activities of people were the nightclubs (Maksim and Dimitri [Cadde-Bostan]), cinemas (Atlantik [Şaşkın-Bakkal], Suadiye, and Budak [Cadde-Bostan]), Turkish coffee houses and beaches (Reşit [Cadde-Bostan], Bostancı, and Fenerbahçe, and Suadiye) (Map 6.5). The only initiative was the Divan patisserie in 1969, as a newly constructed communal venue, emerged as a potential communal place for women while Turkish coffee houses were considered the domain of men. Indeed, Divan patisserie was considered an innovation in the street life of women. One female resident of Bostancı (Interview: age 60 October 2013) said, *'the women usually had tea-parties in their homes'.* Moreover, the coastal life of the street was enjoyed by women, families, men and children without exclusion.

In summary, the street in the 1960s was a scene of security, pleasure and safety, accompanied by people singing Turkish song in the beaches while the physical aesthetics of the street (plane trees, lighting, natural green spaces and asphalt) was not ready to the new modes of shared activities (Figure 6.5). The following part explains Bağdat Street in the 1950s under the physical projects of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes.
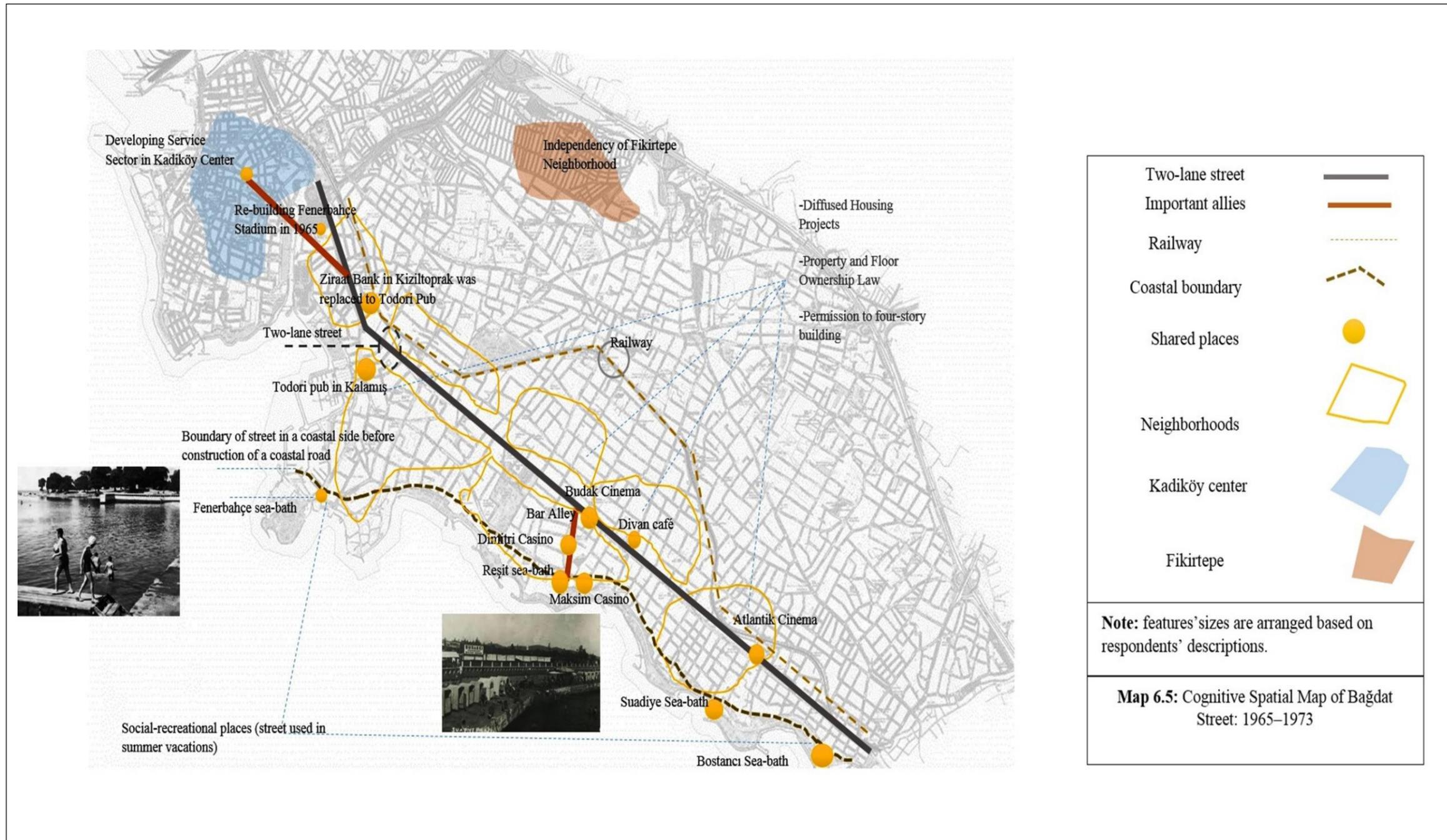
Map 6.5: Cognitive Spatial Map of Bağdat Street: 1965-1973-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

-Bağdat Street between 1950 and 1965: In-depth interviews were used to identify the inter-subjective attributes at the time. To begin with, the technical part of study is explained, followed by a discussion of the revealed attributes of the street between 1950 and 1965. The analyses revealed 10 content categories as meaningful to the interviewees in their street experiences of Bağdat Street at the time. From Table 6.6 it can be seen that two-fifths of the mentioned attributes refer to the 'shared space' of the street (40%), followed by 'people and characteristics' (10%), 'aesthetics of the place and change in the use of the place' (9%), 'transportation' (9%), 'no everyday life, still detached from Istanbul' (8%) and 'industrialization and immigration to Istanbul' (8%). The rest of the described attributes were 'peoples' feelings and use of space' (7%), 'street identity' (6%), 'street development' (6%) and 'political profile of the street (5%), which were mentioned at almost equal frequencies. With respect to the 'shared space', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'Casino' (6%), 'Cinema' (6%), 'Beach' (6%), 'Coffee house and restaurant' (6%), 'Pubs' (6%) and 'Social gathering nodes' (6%). Elaborating, they highlighted such elements as Maksim Casino in Cadde-Bostan, Dimitri Casino in Cadde-Bostan (Bar Street), Cadde-Bostan Casino, Hristo Casino, the cinema in Şaşkın-Bakkal (Atlantik cinema; foreign movies), Reşit Beach in Cadde-Bostan ([Bar Street], Bostancı Beach; Cadde-Bostan beach, Fenerbahçe beach, Suadiye beach, Erenkoy beach, dance competitions and Moda beach, Turkish culture coffee houses and restaurants, Idris Kebab in Şaşkın-Bakkal, no cafés with terrace on which to sit and watch the world go by, home tea parties organized among women, Todori pub, and social activities held in Alti-Yol and in the Fenerbahçe stadium (see Map 6.6. and see Table 6.6). On the subject of 'people and characteristics', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'diversity of people' (5%) and 'social profile of residents' (5%). In this respect, they spoke about the street belonging to all, its cultural aspects, the departure from Kadiköy of minorities and Anatolian people adapting to the culture of Kadiköy (see Table 6.6). The attribute 'diversity of people' causes (0) and is the result of (7) (see Figure 6.6). Referring to the 'aesthetics of the place and change in the use of the place', the interviewees

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mentioned the attributes related to 'change in the use of the place' (5%) and the 'aesthetic of the place' (4%). In this regard, they noted the ground floor of buildings being transformed for commercial use, the close proximity of the street to the beach, the widened street, the lighting, the granting of permission for three-story buildings, the asphalt and the plane trees (see Table 6.6).

On the matter of 'transportation', the interviewees mentioned the attributes related to 'change in transportation' (5%) and to 'change in land use' (4%). In particular, they recalled the removal of the tramway (green), the phaetons in the late 1950s, the minibuses, buses, taxis, buses and cars, and the two-lane street, bus stations along Bağdat Street, beside which were places for resting and grocery stores, and the demolition of the palaces and villas (see Table 6.6). Referring to the attribute 'No everyday life; detached from Istanbul', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'no everyday life' (4%) and 'no physical structure of space' (4%). They highlighted the summer settlement profile and the lack of an everyday life in street, the lack of a physical structure, and the fact that the street was not part of Istanbul (see Table 6.6). Referring to 'industrialization and immigration to Istanbul', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'industrialization' (%4) and 'immigration' (4%). Going into more detail, they spoke about the laborers from Anatolia, the opening of the economy to outside, Istanbul's first wave of immigration and the squatters in the Fikirtepe district (see Table 6.6). Referring to the 'peoples' feelings and use of space', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'entertainment use of the place' (5%), as well as 'feelings and human needs' (2%). Elaborating, they said that young people would walk and picnic, that they felt secure and safe, and recalled Turkish songs being sung in the street (see Table 6.6). On the matter of 'street identity', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'street as a place of vacation and picnic' (5%) (see Map 6.6 and Table 6.6).

On the subject of 'street development', the interviewees mentioned the attributes related to 'construction projects (5%) and 'street development' (1%). They spoke

about the first development project of the street in 1958, the rapid construction, apartment buildings, contractors, residents becoming rich, parceling, construction of the Ankara road to the north of Bağdat street and the inter-urban profile of the street, rather than an inter-city road (see Table 6.6). Referring to the 'political profile of the street', the interviewees mentioned the attributes 'political profile of the street' (5%), and referred to events, the multi-party system, the Adnan Menderes government and democratic Turkey (see Table 6.6). The revealed attributes are examined in a cognitive map. The causal relations of the cognitive map (see Table 6.6) explain the driving forces and the emergent attributes of peoples' experiences. In this respect, the driving force attributes were 'industrialization', which causes (4) and is the result of (0) and 'entertainment use of the space', which causes (3) and is the result of (1). The emergent attributes were 'diversity of people', which causes (0) and is the result of (7) and 'street as a place of vacation and picnic', which causes (0) and is the result of (4) (see Figure 6.6).

Table 6.6: General Content Groups, Groups, Attributes, Frequency and Causal Integers-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

TERRITORY	CONTENT GROUPS	CONTENT SUBGROUPS	Frequency of mention (%)	No. of Causes	No. of Effects	Total of Causes & Effects
ISTANBUL	INDUSTRILIZATION AND IMMIGRATION TO ISTANBUL	**Industrialization** (Laborers from Anatolia, open economy to outside)	14 (4%)	4	0	4
		Immigration (First Istanbul immigration; squatter in Fikirtepe district)	15 (4%)	1	1	2
	TOTAL		29 (8%)	5	1	6
STREET	STREETDEVELOPMENT	**Urban Development** (Ankara road construction to the north of Bağdat street; street used as an inter-urban street not as an inter-city road)	2 (1%)	1	0	1
		Construction Projects (First development project in the street in 1958, high speed construction, apartment buildings,	17 (5%)	2	1	3

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Table 6.6 (continued)

		contractors, residents becoming rich through construction contracts, parceling)			
	TOTAL		19 (6%)	3	1	4
POLITICAL PROFILE OF STREET	**Street Political Life** (Multi-party system; Adnan Menderes government, democratic Turkey)	18 (5%)	2	0	2
	TOTAL		18 (5%)	2	0	2
TRANSPORTATION	**Change in Transportation** (Removal of tramway (green) and phaeton of the late 1950s; Minibuses, taxis, buses, cars; two-lane street; bus stations places for resting and grocery stores.	18 (5%)	0	2	2
	Change in Land Use (Demolition of palaces and villas.)	15 (4%)	0	2	2
	TOTAL		33 (9%)	0	4	4
SHARED SPACE	**Casino** (Maksim casino in Cadde-Boston; Dimitri casino in Cadde-Bostan (Barlar Street); Cadde-Bostan casino, Hristo casino)	20 (6%)	1	0	1
	Cinema (Cinema in Şaşkın-Bakkal (Atlantik cinema; Foreign movies); Cinema In Suadiye (Turkish movies); Budak cinema in Cadde-Bostan; outdoor cinemas)	20 (6%)	1	0	1
	Pubs (Todori pubs)	20 (6%)	1	0	1
	Coffee House and Restaurant (Turkish culture coffee house; Turkish culture restaurant, Idris Kebab in Şaşkın-Bakkal; Turkish café; No café with terrace to sit and watch world; tea parties organized by women in the home)	20 (6%)	1	0	1
	Beach (Reşit beaches in Cadde-Bostan (Barlar (Bar) Street); Bostancı Beaches; Cadde-Bostan beaches; Fenerbahçe beaches; Suadiye beaches, Erenkoy beaches, Dance competition and Moda beach)	20 (6%)	1	1	2
	Social Collective Nodes (Social activities held in Alti-Yol and inside Fenerbahçe stadium)	16 (4%)	1	0	1
	TOTAL		116 (40%)	5	1	6

Table 6.6 (continued)

PEOPLE AND CHARACTERISTICS	**Diversity of People** (Belongs to all)	18 (5%)	0	7	7
	Social Profile of Residents (Cultural minorities departing Kadiköy; Anatolian people adapting to culture of Kadiköy)	18 (5%)	2	0	2
TOTAL		36 (10%)	2	7	9
PEOPLE'S FEELINGS AND USE OF SPACE	**Feelings and Human Needs** (Security and safety; Singing Turkish songs in street)	8 (2%)	1	1	2
	Entertainment Use of the Place (Used by youth for walks and picnics)	18 (5%)	3	1	4
TOTAL		26 (7%)	4	2	6
NO EVERYDAY LIFE AND STRUCTURE, PART OF KADIKÖY YET DETACHED FROM ISTANBUL	**No Everyday Life** (Summer settlement, no everyday life of the street)	16 (4%)	0	1	1
	No Physical Structure of Space (Lacking physical structure; not part of Istanbul city)	16 (4%)	0	1	1
TOTAL		32 (8%)	0	2	2
AESTHETICS OF THE PLACE AND CHANGE IN THE USE OF THE PLACE	**Aesthetics of the Place** (Street very near to beach, Widened street, lighting, Permission for three stories, asphalt, Plane trees)	16 (4%)	2	3	5
	Change in the Use of the Place (First floor of building for commercial use)	17 (5%)	0	1	1
TOTAL		33 (9%)	2	4	6
STREET IDENTITY	**Street a Place of Vacation and Picnic** (Place of summer vacation)	18 (5%)	0	4	4
TOTAL		18 (5%)	0	4	4
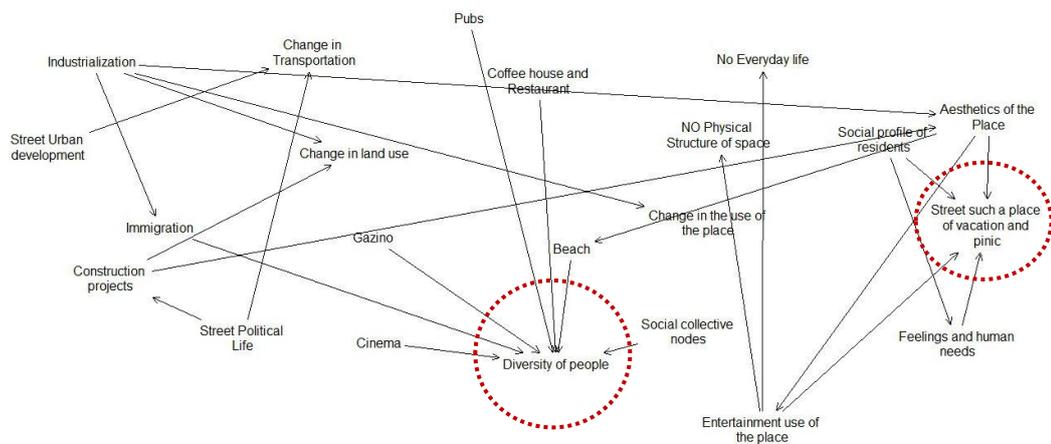
Figure 6.6: Cognitive Map from 1950 to1965-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

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In the 1950s, street was identified with the dominant attributes, including casino, pubs, coffee house, cinema and sea-bath through 'diversity of users which used summer resorts', 'unstructured everyday life', 'diffused physical projects', 'developing transportation network as bus which brought security to street neighborhoods' and 'unstructured socioeconomic structure'. All those contextual attributes contributed to use the street as a summer recreational place in spite of the industrial modernization-focused projects to rid street of the image of being a summer resort and replace it with one of a permanent settlement. In this regard, the FCM identified two separate procedures related to the street structure (Figure 6.6) that brought the social life of the street into conflict with the physical projects.

The mechanization of the agriculture sector, the relative liberal economy and Anatolian immigration changed the demographical, socio-spatial and economic attributes of Kadiköy and its surroundings. These changes coincided with the change in the Turkish political system, from a single-party to multiple-party system, and the electoral victory of the Democratic Party. New Prime Minister Adnan Menderes launched the second development projects of Istanbul, aiming to create an international image for Istanbul. Part of his plan was to change the summer settlement into a small sub-center of Istanbul, widening the street to two lanes, asphalting the dusty transit road, removing the tramway, increasing construction rights, land parceling, allowing commercial use and finally, the construction of the Ankara road, changing the function of the transit road to a residential-commercial street of Kadiköy. These works can be considered as the first steps towards the development of Bağdat Street.

Indeed, the physical changes were intended to construct an industrialized image of the street. The tramway and 'phaetons',[70] which were used intensively in the summer seasons, were removed from the street in 1958, after which, buses, minibuses and taxis became the predominant modes of transport in Bağdat Street.

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[70] Phaetons were a form of public transport from the Ottoman era and the early decades of the Republic.

The street was kitted out with bus stops, and from Kiziltoprak to Bostancı, each neighborhood had its own bus stop and grocery store near to the station. In fact, the new public transport saw a return of the secure and safe profile of the street, encouraging street development into a permanent settlement.

Moreover, the building contractors exploited the new building rights, taking advantage of the opportunity to launch housing projects. The land-owners in the street were from middle to lower classes of the society, and many were able to increase their financial standing as a result of the changes to the land-parceling law and building rights. The agricultural-recreational lands along the street were gradually taken over by residential projects.

In fact, the physical changes purposed to construct an everyday image for the street; however the top-down physical changes did not accomplish their goal in the construction of the everyday life of the street. According to residents of Bostancı and Fenerbahçe (Interview: age 70s, October 2013), *'the street of the 1950s was characterized with nightclubs, cinemas, beaches and pubs'*. People spent the summer season in the Maksim, Hristo and Dimitri nightclubs, and at the Atlantik, Budak and summer outdoor cinemas, in Turkish coffee houses between the neighborhood streets, and at the Suadiye, Fenerbahçe, Reşit, Moda, and Bostancı beaches, where there was swimming, yachting and Miss Turkey competitions (Map 6.6). Accordingly, in the 1950s, Bağdat Street had still been the coastal road used during summer vacations and the FCM of the 1950s and 1960s demonstrates the morphological and functional disintegration of the structure. Construction projects were developed independent of the social-recreational life or dominant cultures of the street, in that according to one Fenerbahçe resident (Interview: age 70s, October 2013), *'the street did not support the essential needs of the residents; there was nothing within the characteristics of the street to answer people's essential needs.*

In summary, the multiple strategies applied to change the temporary image of the street included housing projects, physical restoration efforts and Bağdat Street being accepted as part of the Kadiköy district. However, the applied strategies did not result in the reconstruction of the dominant attributes (e.g. casino) of the street, in that lacking a socio-physical connection to Istanbul prohibited the development of the street as a small residential-commercial center of Istanbul. Müfid Ekdal (Interview: age 95, October 2013) claimed that: *'the physical structure of the street did not support the essential needs of the people. Shopping had been done in Kadiköy and Istanbul.'* The physical-economic structure of the street did not support the day-to-day needs of the residents, as the street was more suited to seasonal-recreational activities. The following section provides an explanation of Bağdat Street in the 1940s, when the neighborhoods were filled with summer settlements.
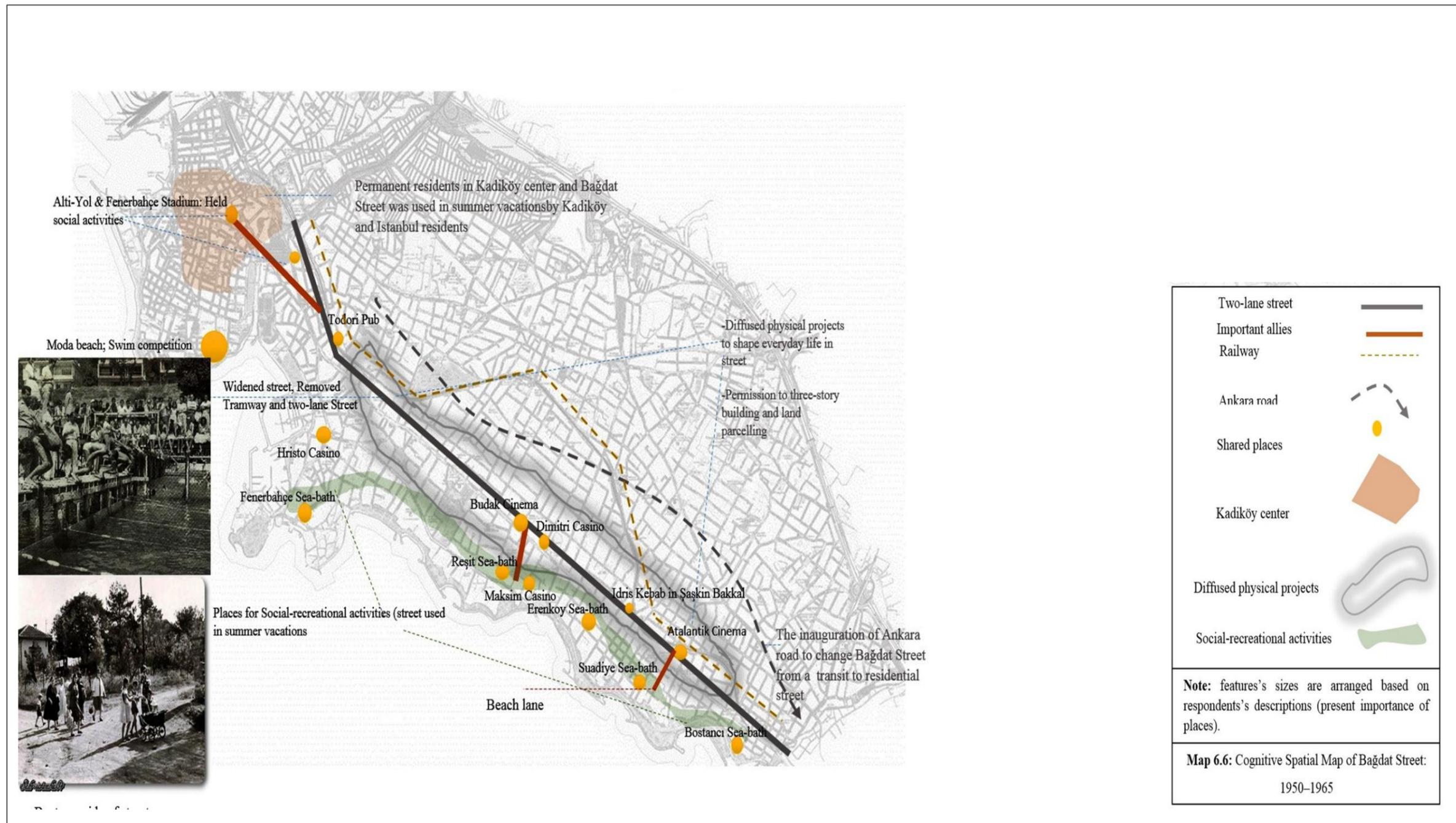
Map 6.6: Cognitive Spatial Map of Bağdat Street: 1950-1965-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

-**Bağdat Street between 1940 and 1950:** In-depth interviews were used to identify the inter-subjective attributes of the period. To begin with, the technical part of study is explained, followed by a discussion of the revealed attributes of the street between 1940 and 1950. The analyses revealed nine content categories that were meaningful to the interviewees in their experiences of Bağdat Street between 1940 and 1950. Table 6.7 shows that more than two-fifths of the mentioned attributes refer to the 'shared space' of the street (42%), followed by 'no everyday life and no structure' (12%), 'transportation and change in land use' (12%), 'people feeling and using the place' (9%) and 'people and characteristics' (9%). The rest of attributes, including 'street identity' (6%), 'modernization of the street' (5%), 'national modernization' (3%) and the 'physical profile of the street' (2%) are mentioned at lesser frequencies.

With respect to the 'shared space', the interviewees mentioned with equal frequency the attributes related to 'casino (nightclub)' (7%), 'cinema' (7%), 'pub' (7%), 'beach' (7%) and 'coffee house and restaurant' (7%), and with less frequency, 'collective node' (6%) and 'patisserie' (1%). Going into more detail, they spoke about the Maksim Casino in Cadde-Bostan, Dimitri Casino in Cadde-Bostan (Bar Street), Cadde-Bostan Casino, Suadiye Casino, Hristo Casino, the cinema in Şaşkın-Bakkal, the cinema in Suadiye, the cinema in Cadde-Bostan, the outdoor cinema, the Todori pub, the Turkish culture coffee house and restaurant, Idris Kebab in Şaşkın-Bakkal, the lack of cafés with terrace on which to sit and take in the view, the tea parties organized by women in the home, Reşit beach in Cadde-Bostan (Bar Street), Bostancı Beach, Cadde-Bostan beach, Fenerbahçe beach, Suadiye beach, Erenkoy beach, dancing competitions, the Kadiköy Harbor patisserie 'Haci-Bekir', and the social activities held in Alti-Yol and inside Fenerbahçe stadium (see Map 6.7 and see Table 6.7). On the attribute 'no everyday life and no structure', the interviewees mentioned with equal frequency the attributes related to 'no everyday life' (6%) and 'no physical structure' (6%). Elaborating, they spoke about the summer settlements, the lack of a physical structure, and not being part either of the Kadiköy district or the city of Istanbul

(see Table 6.7). For 'transportation and change in land use', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'transportation' (6%) and 'change in land use' (6%), referring more specifically to the narrow village, the two-lane tramway, the few taxis, the four buses, being the first bus line between Kadiköy-Cadde-Bostan (2 buses), and the four buses between Kadiköy and Suadiye, the special summer season tramway, the railway, the demolition of the wooden palaces, to be replaced by modern concrete buildings (see Table 6.7). On the matter of 'people's feeling and use of the place', the interviewees mentioned the attributes related to 'entertainment use of the place' (6%) and the 'feelings and human needs' (3%), elaborating with comments on the street being used by young people, who walked along the street and in Alti-Yol with their fiancés, the places that were used as summer settlements, being: Erenkoy, Göztepe, Suadiye, Security, the safe atmosphere and singing Turkish songs in the street (see Table 6.7). Referring to 'people and characteristics', the interviewees mentioned the attributes related to 'people diversity' (6%) and the 'social profile of the residents' (3%), highlighting the use of the street by all, and the Jewish and Roman minorities (see Table 6.7). The attribute 'people diversity' causes (0) and is the result of (8) (see Figure 6.7). When speaking on the subject of 'street identity', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'street used as a place for vacations and picnics' (6%), highlighting its summer use profile (see Map 6.7 and see Table 6.7). On the 'modernization of the street', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'street modernization' (5%), specifically the modern style of architecture and concretization (see Table 6.7). On the subject of 'national modernization', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'nation modernization' (3%) referring to the state-led governance of the economy and social issues (see Table 6.7). Referring to the 'physical profile of the street', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to the 'physical profile of street' (2%), mentioning the street as a village road, only part of which was asphalted, the plane trees planted in the 1940s, the narrow pedestrian ways of big block stones, the lack of light due to the use of only "lanterns (Fenerler)" and the two-story modern villas (see Table 6.7).

The revealed attributes are examined in the cognitive map revealing the causal matrices (see Table 6.7), highlighting the driving forces and the emergent attributes of peoples' experiences. With respect, the driving force attributes were 'street modernization', which causes (3) and is the result of (1), while the emergent attribute was 'diversity of people', which causes (0) and is the result of (8) (see Figure 6.7).

Table 6.7: General Content Groups, Groups, Attributes, Frequency and Causal Integers-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Territory	CONTENT GROUPS	CONTENT SUBGROUPS	Frequency of mention (%)	No. of Causes	No. of Effects	Total of Causes & Effects
TURKEY	NATIONAL MODERNIZATION	**Nation Modernization** (State-led governance of economy, social issues)	9 (3%)	1	0	1
	TOTAL		9 (3%)	1	0	1
STREET	MODERNIZATION STREET	**Street Modernization** (Modern-style buildings, concretization)	14 (5%)	3	1	4
	TOTAL		14 (5%)	3	1	4
	TRANSPORTATION AND CHANGE IN LAND USE	**Transportation** (Narrow Village road, two lane tramway carriages, a few taxis, four buse the first busline Kadiköy-Cadde-Bostan (2 buses), The second with four buses Between Kadiköy and Suadiye the special summer season tramway), the railway	16 (6%)	0	1	1
		Change in Land Use (Demolition of wooden palaces replaced by concrete modern buildings).	17 (6%)	1	1	2
	TOTAL		33 (12%)	1	2	3
	SHARED SPACE	**Casino** (Maksim Casino in Cadde-Bostan; Dimitri Casino in Cadde-Bostan (Bar Street), Cadde-Bostan Casino, Suadiye Casino, Hristo Casino)	20 (7%)	1	0	1
		Cinema (Cinema in Şaşkın-Bakkal, Cinema in Suadiye and Cadde-Bostan, outdoor cinema)	20 (7%)	1	0	1
		Pub (Todori Pub)	20 (7%)	1	0	1
		Coffee House and Restaurant (Turkish culture coffee house and restaurant, Idris Kebab in Şaşkın-Bakkal, no café with terraces to sit and watch the world, tea parties organized by women in the home)	20 (7%)	1	0	1

Table 6.7 (continued)

	Beach (Reşit beaches in Cadde-Bostan (Bar Street, Bostancı Beaches, Cadde-Bostan beaches, Fenerbahçe beaches, Suadiye beaches, Erenkoy beaches, dancing competitions)	20 (7%)	1	0	1
	Patisserie (In Kadiköy Harbor; "Haci-Bekir")	4 (1%)	0	0	0
	Collective Node (Social activities held in Alti-Yol and inside Fenerbahçe stadium)	16 (6%)	1	0	1
TOTAL		**120 (42%)**	6	0	6
PEOPLE AND CHARACTERISTICS	**Diversity of People** (Street belongs to all)	18 (6%)	0	8	8
	Social Profile of Residents (Cultural, minorities: Jewish and Roma)	10 (3%)	1	0	1
TOTAL		28 (9%)	1	8	**9**
PEOPLE'S FEELINGS AND USE OF THE PLACE	**Feelings and Human Needs** (Security and safety; singing Turkish songs in street)	8 (3%)	2	0	2
	Entertainment Use of the Place (Street and Alti-Yol used by young people for walking with their fiancés, the first places of street used as a summer settlements: Erenkoy, Göztepe, Suadiye)	18 (6%)	2	1	3
TOTAL		26 (9%)	4	1	5
NO EVERYDAY LIFE AND NO STRUCTURE	**No Everyday Life** (Summer settlement)	16 (6%)	0	2	2
	No Physical Structure of Space (No physical structure; not part of Kadiköy district or Istanbul city)	16 (6%)	0	2	2
TOTAL		32 (12%)	0	4	4
PHYSICAL PROFILE OF THE PLACE	**Physical Profile of Street** (Bağdat still a village road, only partly asphalted; plane trees planted in the 1940s; narrow pedestrian area paved with big block stones; no lighting, only "Fenerler (lights)", two-story modern villas)	6 (2%)	0	2	2
TOTAL		6 (2%)	0	2	2
STREET IDENTITY	**Street as a Place of Vacation and Picnic** (Place of summer vacation)	18 (6%)	2	1	3
TOTAL		18 (6%)	2	1	3

In summary, in the 1940s, the street was identified with shared activities (casino, cinema, pubs, coffee house, patisserie and sea-bath) that were supported by the unstructured socio-physical structure of the context. The unstructured everyday life, the public transport network of public buses (four buses) and the tramway contributed to the development of summer resorts in the Göztepe, Erenkoy and Suadiye neighborhoods. With the Republican modernization, street reconstructed as a place for the summer resorts and summer settlement projects of the neighborhoods, in this regard the summer-use activities reached a peak in the late 1940s (Map 6.7).

While the recreational and social activities of the street developed around the summer resorts, for the first time, Bağdat Street witnessed a considerable reconfiguration of the shared activities as the asphalted side of the street in Cadde-Bostan-Suadiye was put to use by young people in the evenings. Accordingly, under the Republican modernization, the traditional image of the context partially reconstructed through the appearance of traces of the new demands in the unstructured fabric of the place. Similarly, the youths of the 1970s used the Cadde-Bostan-Suadiye sides of the street, but in different manner as a result of the different contextual attributes.

Moreover, Müfid Ekdal (Interview: age 95, October 2013) said, *'the lack of lighting in the street prevented its use at night'*. The street at the time was illuminated only by dim 'lanterns (Fener)' that were widely spaced. He continued, *'the pedestrian areas of the road were paved with stone blocks, which was the first physical change to be made',* although such physical changes were not enough to bring many novelties to the antiquated life of the road. In this regard, in spite of changes, the road was still known for its cinemas, nightclubs, pubs, Turkish coffee houses and beaches.[71] Specifically, the Maksim, Dimitri, Hristo, Cadde-Bostan

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[71] Reşit beach in Cadde-Bostan (Bar Street), Bostancı beach, Cadde-Bostan beach, Fenerbahçe beach, Suadiye beach, Erenkoy beach.

and Suadiye nightclubs[72], the indoor and outdoor cinemas, the Todori pub and Idris Kebab in Şaşkın-Bakkal were the most popular activities along the Bağdat road. Additionally, the competitions held along the coast related to boating, swimming and dancing defined the recreational-social life of the road in the 1940s (Fenerbahçe and Bostancı residents, age 70s, October 2013).

While the road was still not under the responsibility of Kadiköy municipality, Kadiköy was intensively under construction based on the Prost (1939) and Pervitich (1940–1950) development plans in comparison to road. In this sense, the radiances of modernization were being justly felt in the Bağdat road as a suburb of Kadiköy. Indeed, this process contributed to development of Bağdat road through the diffusion of Kadiköy summer settlements within the neighborhoods situated along the road. In this regard, under the modernization process, the wooden palaces of the late Ottoman Empire were demolished and replaced by modern two-story villas, bringing new inhabitants to the street. The civil-servant profile was on the decrease, and the street was becoming much more open to public use. In short, the Bağdat road of the 1940s was a narrow, coastal and dusty road that connected Kadiköy to Anatolia with the intensive summer resorts. The following section details the Bağdat road under the traces of the Republican modernization.

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[72] Maksim Casino (nightclub) in Cadde-Bostan; Dimitri Casino in Cadde-Bostan (Bar Street), Cadde-Bostan Casino, Suadiye Casino, Hristo Casino-Cinema in Şaşkın-Bakkal, Suadiye and Cadde-Bostan.
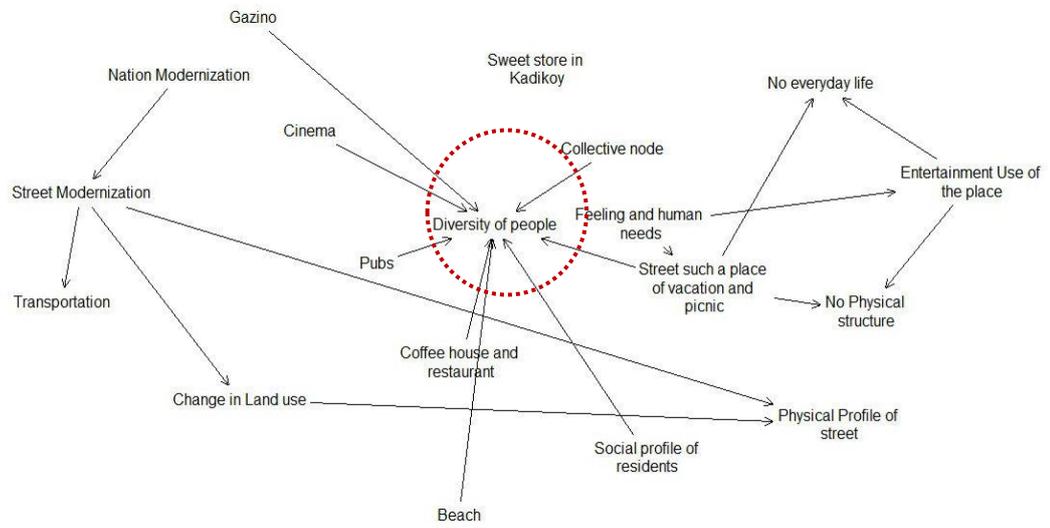
Figure 6.7: Cognitive Map from 1940 to1950-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Map 6.7 within the image:

- Hacı Bekir Patisserie
- Republic ceremony and social activities held in Alti-Yol & Fenerbahçe Stadium
- Outdoor Cinema
- Todori Pub
- Kadiköy was under construction to function as a small city center in the structure of Istanbul
- Göztepe villa designed by Emin Onat (Arkitekt, 1941, p.7)
- Dusty road; partially pedestrianized and asphalted.
- Transportation: Tram, Bus, Taxi
- Hristo Casino
- Railway
- Göztepe
- Developing summer settlements in Göztepe, Erenkoy, Suadiye
- Fenerbahçe Sea-bath
- Outdoor cinema
- Erenkoy
- Casino
- Reşit Sea-bath
- İdris Kebab in Şaşkin-Bakkal
- Cadde-Bostan Sea-bath
- Erenkoy Sea-bath
- Cinema
- Suadiye
- Casino
- Suadiye Sea-bath
- Social and recreational places (Dance & Competition)
- Between Cadde-Bostan and Suadiye used by youth in evening
- Bostancı Sea-bath
- Suadiye sea-bath

Legend:
- Dusty Bağdat road
- Important allies
- Railway
- Used by youth
- Summer settlements
- Kadiköy center
- Social-recreational activities
- Shared places
- Note: size of features is arranged based on interviewees' descriptions
- Map 6.7: Cognitive Spatial Map of Bağdat Street: 1940–1950

Map 6.7: Cognitive Spatial Map of Bağdat Street: 1940-1950-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

-Bağdat Street Between 1923 and 1940: In-depth interviews were used to identify the inter-subjective attributes for the period. To begin with, the technical part of study is explained, followed by a discussion of the revealed attributes of the street between 1923 and 1940. The analysis revealed 10 content categories as meaningful to the interviewees in their experiences of Bağdat Street between 1923 and 1940. Table 6.8 reveals that almost one quarter of the mentioned attributes refer to the 'shared space' of the street (24%), followed by 'Kadiköy development' (13%), 'no everyday life, no structure' (10%), 'national modernization and the Republic' (9%) and 'street modernization and development' (9%). The remaining attributes include 'transportation' (8%), 'people's characteristics' (8%),'people's feelings and use of the place' (6%), 'street identity' (5%) and 'physical profile of the place' (5%) are mentioned in almost equal frequencies. With respect to the 'shared space', the interviewees mentioned with equal frequency the attributes related 'beach' (5%) and 'Casino' (5%), and spoke also of those related to 'cinema' (4%), 'stadium' (4%), 'pubs' (3%), 'social collective nodes' (3%), 'coffee houses and restaurants' (3%) and 'mosque' (2%). They further highlighted the Cadde-Bostan beaches, Fenerbahçe beaches, Suadiye beaches, Moda beaches, Erenkoy beaches, dance competitions; in 1933, the Suadiye Casino and Belvu Casino in Fenerbahçe, Kadiköy center being full of Casinos, the outdoor cinema in Kalamış and Yoğurtçu Park; in 1926, Kuşdili Cinema, football matches in Papaz place, Hristo pub, Alti-Yol and stadium social activities; and Zuhtupaşa mosque in Kiziltoprak (see Map 6.8). On the issue of 'Kadiköy Development', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'Kadiköy Bazar' (5%) and the 'Kadiköy patisserie (5%), and also those related to 'Kadiköy hotel' (2%) and 'Kadiköy development' (1%). Elaborating, they highlighted Kadiköy Bazar in 1927, the Haci-Bekir patisserie, the hotel on beach in the center of Kadiköy and Kadiköy's independence from Uskudar (see Map 6.8 and Table 6.8). On the attribute 'no everyday life and no structure', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'no everyday life' (5%) and 'no physical structure' (5%), referring to the street as a temporary settlement, and not part of either Kadiköy or Istanbul (see Table 6.8). On the subject of 'national modernization and republic',

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the interviewees mentioned the attributes related to the 'political profile of Turkey' (6%) and 'nation modernization' (3%). In this regard, they highlighted the victory of 1923, the state-led governance of the economy and social issues (see Table 6.8).

Referring to the 'street modernization and development', the interviewees mentioned the attributes related to 'debut street modernization' (5%) and 'street development' (4%), highlighting the modern-style villas and the Suadiye beaches in the 1930s, when people would use the street up to Suadiye, the planting of trees in Yoğurtçu Park and the Fenerbahçe stadium development in 1932 (see Table 6.8). On the subject of 'transportation', the interviewees mentioned the attributes related to 'change in land use' (5%) and 'transportation' (3%)., mentioning specifically the replacement of the wooden palaces with two-story concrete villas, the railway, the tramway in 1934, carriages and the few taxis, Bağdat still being only a part-asphalted village road (asphalted in 1935, between Fenerbahçe-Bostancı) and as the "road" connecting Ankara to Istanbul (see Table 6.8).

Referring to 'peoples' characteristics', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'diversity of people' (4%) and the 'social profile of street (4%), underlining the street as belonging to all, the fewer number of civil servants than before, and the Jewish and Roma minorities (see Table 6.8). The attribute 'diversity of people' causes (0) and is the result of (4) (see Figure 6.8). On the subject of 'peoples' feelings and use of the place', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'entertainment use of the place' (5%), and the attribute related to 'peoples' feelings and human needs (1%). In this regard, they recalled young people walking in the street and in Alti-Yol with their fiancés, boating in Kurbağli valley, the beach side of Bağdat Street, swim and scoop races, the habit of young people to use the expression 'asfalta çikma[73]' (see Table 6.8). Referring to the 'street identity', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'the street as a place for vacations and picnics' (5%), highlighting the summer vacation profile,

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[73] Young people would us this particular expression do describe walking at the asphalted end of the street, 'asfalta çikma (Go out to the asphalt), the meaning of which can be translated as 'hit the streets'.

the lack of communal activities, and the first places along the street to be used for summer settlements, being Erenkoy, Göztepe and Suadiye (see Table 6.8). Speaking about the 'physical profile of the place', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to the 'physical aesthetics of the place' (5%), recalling the two-story modern villas, the empty plots of land, the lack of lighting, and the Kiziltoprak side of the street being filled with flowers (see Table 6.8).

The revealed attributes are examined in the cognitive map, the causal relations of which (see Table 6.8.) explain the driving forces and the emerging attributes in people's experiences. In this respect, the driving force attributes were 'debut street modernization', which causes (3) and is the result of (1), and the 'street as a place of vacation and picnic', which causes (3) and is the result of (2). The emergent attributes were 'diversity of people', which causes (0) and is the result of (4) and 'no everyday life', which causes (0) and is the result of (3) (see Figure 6.8).

Table 6.8: General Content Groups, Groups, Attributes, Frequency and Causal Integers-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

TERRITORY	CONTENT GROUPS	CONTENT SUBGROUPS	Frequency of mention (%)	No. of Causes	No. of Effects	Total of Causes & Effects
TURKEY	NATIONAL MODERNIZATION AND REPUBLIC	**Nation Modernization** (State-led governance of economy, social issues).	10 (3%)	1	1	2
		Political Profile of Turkey (Republic victory of 1923)	20 (6%)	1	0	1
	TOTAL		30 (9%)	2	1	3
KADIKÖY	DEVELOPMENT OF KADIKÖY	**Kadiköy Development** (Independency Kadiköy of Uskudar District)	2 (1%)	0	0	0
		Kadiköy Patisserie (In Kadiköy Harbor Patisserie 'Haci Bekir')	16 (5%)	0	0	0
		Kadiköy Hotels (On beach side of Kadiköy center)	6 (2%)	0	0	0
		Kadiköy Bazar (Kadiköy Bazar in 1927)	16 (5%)	0	0	0
	TOTAL		40 (13%)	0	0	0
STREET	STREET MODERNIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT	**Debut Street Modernization** (Gradually built modern-style villas)	16 (5%)	3	1	4
		Street Development (Suadiye beaches in 1930s street opened to use up to Suadiye, planting trees in Yoğurtçu Park, stadium development in 1932)	14 (4%)	0	2	2
	TOTAL		30 (9%)	3	3	6

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Table 6.8 (continued)

TRANSPORTATION	**Transportation** (Railway, tramway in 1934, carriage and a few taxis; Bağdat still a village road, only partly asphalted (in 1935 between Fenerbahçe –Bostancı); justly a "road" connecting Ankara to Istanbul)	9 (3%)	1	1	2
	Change in Land Use (Replacement of wooden palaces with two-story concrete villas)	16 (5%)	1	1	2
TOTAL		25 (8%)	2	2	4
SHARED SPACE	**Casino** (1933: Suadiye Casino and Belvu Casino in Fenerbahçe, most Casino located in Kadiköy center)	16 (5%)	1	0	1
	Mosque (Kiziltoprak: Zuhtupaşa mosque)	7 (2%)	0	0	0
	Cinema (Outdoor cinema in Kalamış and Yoğurtçu Park, 1926 Kusdili Cinema)	13 (4%)	1	0	1
	Pubs (Hristo Pub)	10 (3%)	2	0	2
	Coffee House and Restaurant (Turkish culture coffee house; Turkish culture restaurant, Turkish café house; no cafés with terrace on which to sit and see the sights; tea parties organized by women in the home)	9 (3%)	1	0	1
	Beach (Cadde-Bostan beaches; Fenerbahçe beaches; Suadiye beaches, Moda beaches, Erenkoy beaches, dancing competitions)	16 (5%)	1	0	1
	Stadium (Papazin çayiri [Papaz valley] matches)	12 (4%)	1	0	1
	Social Collective Node (Social activities held in Alti-Yol and inside Fenerbahçe stadium)	9 (3%)	0	1	1
TOTAL		92 (24%)	7	1	8
PEOPLE AND CHARACTERISTICS	**Diversity of People** (The street belongs to all)	12 (4%)	0	4	4
	Social Profile of Residents (Fewer civil servants than before, minorities; trade generally in the hands of Jewish and Roma minorities)	15 (4%)	2	0	2
TOTAL		27 (8%)	2	4	6
PEOPLE'S FEELINGS AND USE OF THE PLACE	**Feelings and Human Needs** (Secure place)	3 (1%)	1	0	1
	Entertainment Use of the Place (Young people walking in the street and Alti-Yol with their fiancés, Kurbağli valley boating, Beach side of Bağdat Street for swim and scoop races, young people's habit of going out using the expression 'Asphlata çikma')	17 (5%)	1	1	2
TOTAL		20 (6%)	2	1	3

Table 6.8 (continued)

NO EVERYDAY LIFE, NOT YET PART OF KADİKÖY AND ISTANBUL, NO STRUCTURE	**No Everyday Life** (Temporary summer settlement; no everyday life of street)	18 (5%)	0	3	3
	No Physical Structure of Space (No physical structure; not part of Kadiköy district or Istanbul city)	18 (5%)	1	1	2
TOTAL			36 (10%)	1	4	5
PHYSICAL PROFILE OF THE PLACE	**Physical Aesthetics of the Place** (Two-story modern villas, Empty plots, no lighting, Kiziltoprak side of street filled with flowers)	18 (5%)	0	1	1
TOTAL			18 (5%)	0	1	1
STREET IDENTITY	**Street as a Place for Vacations and Picnics** (Place for summer vacations; devoid of communal activities; the first places of street used as summer settlements: Erenkoy, Göztepe, Suadiye)	18 (5%)	3	2	5
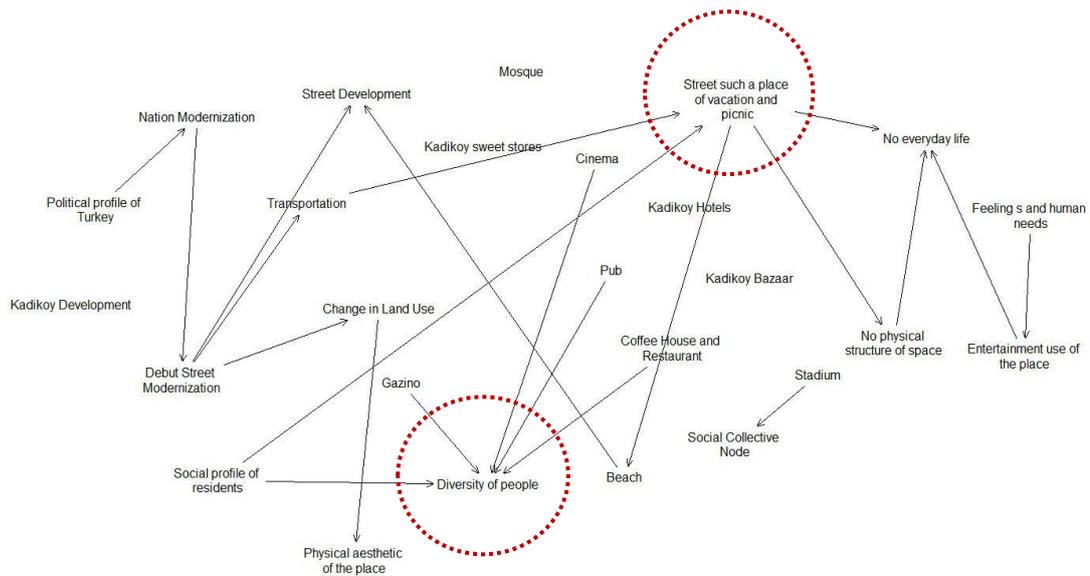
Figure 6.8: Cognitive Map from 1923 to 1940-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

In summary, the 1930s were a time of shared activities, supported by the unstructured socio-physical structure. This lack of structured everyday life contributed to the development of modern villas in different neighborhoods; and the improvement to public transport with the advent of the tramway and taxis accelerated the development of summer settlements and resorts in the Suadiye neighborhood (Suadiye beach). The road of the 1930s was witnessed the

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emergence of Turkish coffee house, which opened to serve the increasing number of Turks in the neighborhood. As a consequence, recreational and social activities developed around the summer resorts.

The era of modernization started with proclamation of the Republic in 1923, and for three decades, Bağdat road developed as a recreational summer resort and settlement area. In the early Republic, Kadiköy was formally registered as an independent municipality, and launched physical development programs under the Republican modernization efforts. The socio-spatial and economic development of Kadiköy was more considerable than that of the Bağdat road, which developed primarily as the summer settlement of Kadiköy's residents. The Haci-Bekir patisserie, the hotel and Kadiköy Bazar (1927) were examples of the socio-spatial development of Kadiköy in the early Republican era (Map 6.8).

In this regard, Bağdat road was a dusty, costal and narrow thoroughfare connecting Kadiköy to Anatolia. It extended along the Marmara Sea to the west and to the railway station in the east, providing access as the village road of the summer settlements. The tramway (1934) as a new mode of transport, contributed to development of the summer settlements (Map 6.8), in fact the development taking place in Kadiköy contributed to the development of the Bağdat road, in that the summer settlements of the people of Kadiköy were diffused along the neighborhood road, contributing to its development as a summer settlement. However, the road did not have integrated and structured socio-spatial or economic relations to allow road to be referred to as a 'street'. Former Fenerbahçe players (Interview: age 87, October 2013) said, *'there was nothing that we would expect from a street ... it was only a village road'.* The FCM illustrates the disintegrated and disconnected relationships of the attributes (Figure 6.8). The following part broadly discusses Bağdat road in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
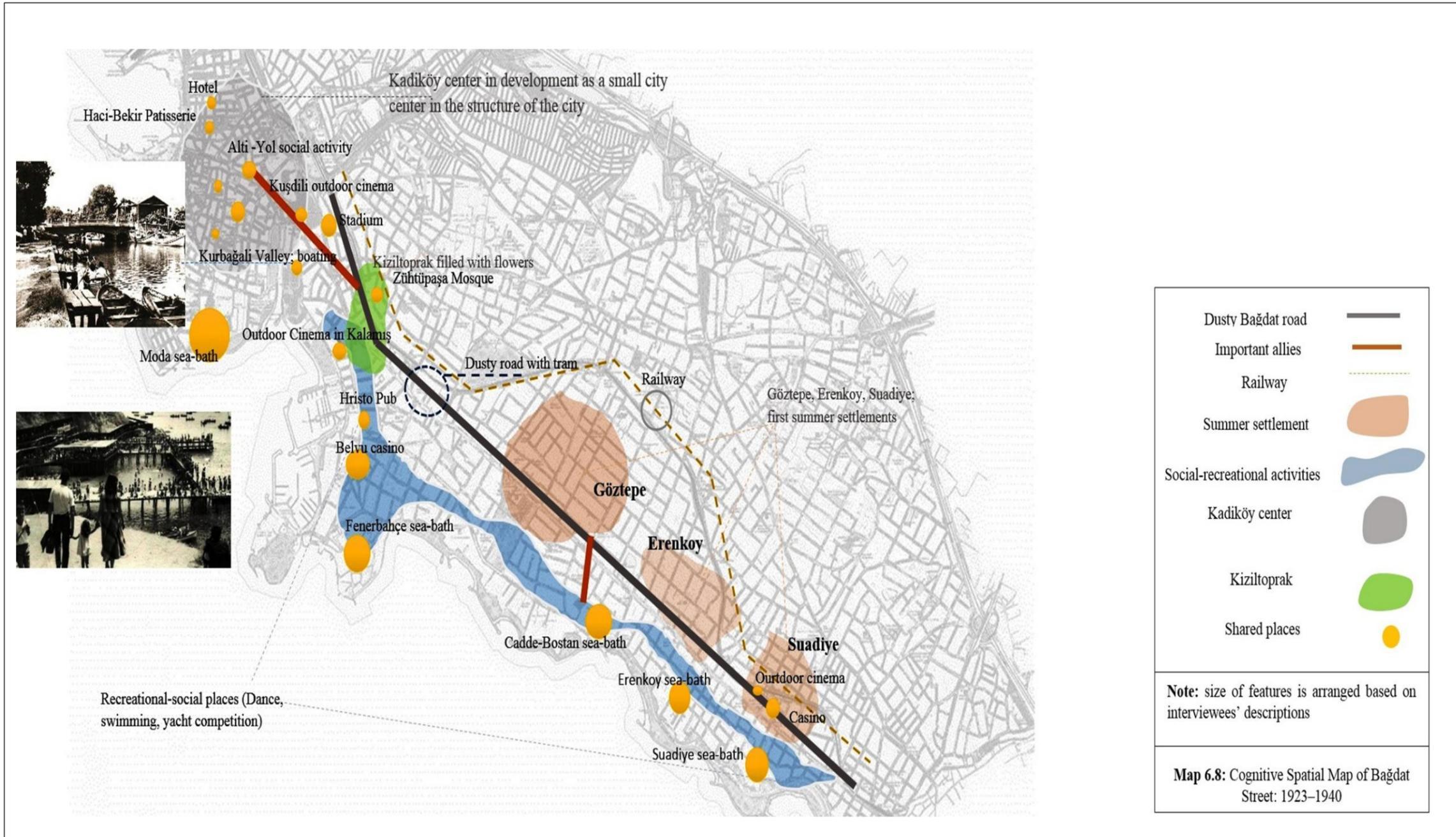
Map 6.8: Cognitive Spatial Map of Bağdat Street: 1923-1940-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

-Bağdat Street pre-1923: In-depth interviews were used to identify the inter-subjective attributes. This section begins with an explanation of the technical part of the study, followed by a discussion of the revealed attributes of the street in the pre-1923 era. The analyses revealed seven content categories that were meaningful to the interviewees in their experiences of Bağdat Street prior to 1923. Table 6.9 illustrates that almost two-fifths of the mentioned attributes refer to the 'shared space' of the street (39%), followed by 'No everyday life and no structure' (20%) and 'Kadiköy shared spaces' (19%). The rest of the attributes included the 'physical profile of space' (11%), 'transportation and change in land use' (9%), 'people and characteristics' (5%) and 'Kadiköy's political profile' (4%) are mentioned in almost equal frequencies. With respect to the 'shared space', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'casino' (8%), 'pub' (8%) and 'picnic area' (8%), and also those related to 'stadium' (7%), 'cinema' (5%), 'park' (2%) and 'mosque' (1%). Elaborating on the issue, they spoke specifically about Fenerbahçe Casino and the casinos on the beach side of the street, the Hristo Pub in Fenerbahçe, the 1920 Todori Pub in Fener-Kalamış, the Roma pubs on the two sides of the Kadiköy harbor path, the Roma using Fenerbahçe Cape for picnics while vacationing, the Papazin field football matches between English and Roma, the outdoor cinema in Kalamış in 1920, Yoğurtçu Park in 1914 and the Erenkoy Galipaşa mosque from 1918. On the matter of 'no everyday life and no structure', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'no everyday life' (10%) and no physical structure (10%), referring specifically to settlements of civil servants and famous traders, it the lack of an everyday life structure and the street being apart from Kadiköy (see Table 6.9). On the subject of 'Kadiköy as a shared space', the interviewees mentioned equally the attributes related to 'Kadiköy patisserie' (7%) and 'beach' (7%), and also the attribute related to 'bazar' (5%). In this respect, they highlighted the Haci-Bekir patisserie at the harbor, the Moda and Kalamış scoop and swimming competitions and the Kadiköy center bazar (see Map 6.9 and Table 6.9). On the subject of the 'physical profile of space', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to 'physical profile of street' (11%), claiming that the street was dusty and without lighting

(see Table 6.9). Referring to 'transportation and change in land use', the interviewees mentioned the attributes related to 'change in land use' (8%) and 'transportation' (1%). In this regard, they expressed the change in land uses from agriculture to settlements for famous traders and civil servants, and the railway in 1871, carriages (Phaeton), and Bağdat road as an international caravan road from Berlin to Bagdad (see Map 6.9. and see Table 6.9). On the subject of 'people and characteristics', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to the 'social profile of residents' (5%), referring to educated people, civil servants, famous traders and minorities, few Turks and more Roma (see Table 6.9). For the 'Kadiköy political profile', the interviewees mentioned the attribute related to the 'Kadiköy political profile' (4%), explaining 'Kadiköy' increased importance under Ottoman Emperor Abdullah II' (see Table 6.9).

The revealed attributes are examined in a cognitive map, in which the causal matrices of (see Table 6.9.) explain the driving forces and the emergent attributes of people's experiences. In this respect, the driving force attribute was the 'social profile of residents', which causes (5) and is the result of (0) (see Figure 6.9).

Table 6.9: General Content Groups, Groups, Attributes, Frequency and Causal Integers-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

TERRITORY	CONTENT GROUPS	CONTENT SUBGROUPS	Frequency of mention (%)	No. of Causes	No. of Effects	Total of Causes & Effects
KADIKÖY	KADIKÖY POLITICAL PROFILE	**Kadiköy Political Profile** (Kadiköy's rise in importance under Abdullah II)	6 (4%)	2	0	2
	TOTAL		6 (4%)	2	0	2
	KADIKÖY SHARED SPACE	**Patisserie in Kadiköy** (Kadiköy Harbor Patisserie 'Haci Bekir')	11 (7%)	0	1	1
		Beach (Moda and Kalamış, swimming and scoop competitions)	12 (7%)	0	1	1
		Bazar (Kadiköy center bazar)	9 (5%)	0	0	0
	TOTAL		32(19%)	0	2	2

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Table 6.9 (continued)

| STREET	TRANSPORTATION AND CHANGE IN LAND USE	**Transportation** (Railway in 1871, Carriage [Phaeton]; Bağdat as internation caravan route from Berlin to Bagdad)	2 (1%)	0	1	1
		Change in Land Use (From agriculture to settlements of famous traders and civil servants)	14 (8%)	1	1	`2
	TOTA		16(9%)	1	2	3
	SHARED SPACE	**Casino (nightclubs)** (Fenerbahçe casino, and in beach side of road)	14 (8%)	0	1	1
		Pubs (Hristo Pub in Fenerbahçe, 1920 Todori Pub in Fener-Kalamış, Roma pubs on two sides of Kadiköy harbor path)	14 (8%)	0	1	1
		Cinema (In 1920, outdoor cinema of Kalamış)	9 (5%)	0	0	0
		Stadium (Papa valley field to football matches between English and Roma)	11 (7%)	0	1	1
		Picnic Place (Roma using Fenerbahçe Cape during vacations for picnics)	14 (8%)	2	0	2
		Mosque (Erenkoy Galipaşa mosque from 1918)	2 (1%)	0	0	0
		Park (Yoğurtçu Park in 1914)	3 (2%)	0	0	0
	TOTAL		67 (39%)	2	3	5
	PEOPLE AND CHARACTERISTICS	**Social Profile of Residents** (Educated, civil servants and famous traders and minorities, few Turks, more Roma)	8 (5%)	5	0	5
	TOTAL		8(5%)	5	0	5
	NO EVERYDAY LIFE, NOT YET PART OF KADİKÖY AND ISTANBUL CITY AND NO STRUCTURE	**No Everyday Life** (Settlements of civil servants and famous traders – no everyday life structure)	16 (10%)	0	1	1
		No Physical Structure of Space (No physical structure; a part of neither Kadiköy district nor Istanbul city)	16 (10%)	0	1	1
	TOTAL		32 (20%)	0	2	2
	PHYSICAL PROFILE OF SPACE	**Physical Profile of the Place** (Dusty road, without lighting)	18 (11%)	0	1	1
	TOTAL		18 (11%)	0	1	1
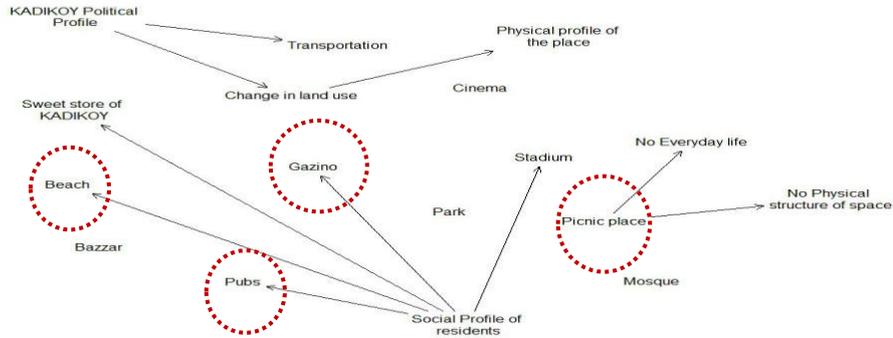
Figure 6.9: Cognitive Map for Period Prior to 1923-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

The Bağdat road of the Ottoman Empire was (re)constructed under the administrative 'Tanzimat' reforms. In the late Ottoman era, the lands in the area were parceled for the construction of wooden palaces for civil servants, while permission was also granted to non-Muslims to settle in Kadiköy. The educated-cultural Levantines constructed villas in Rasimpaşa, Moda, Bahariye, Alti-Yol, Yoğurtçu, Erenköy and Bostancı according to the modern architecture style of the time, which significantly different to the existing local architecture. Moreover, the British people who had settled in Moda Cape during the War of Independence[74] would play football in green fields in Kadiköy and along the road. Therefore, the agricultural and empty plots of land around the road were developed for the settlement of civil servants and non-Muslim traders, and people moved around by phaeton or horse. In this regard, with the settlement of civil servants and Levantines, the profile of the area changed from military-use to entertainment (Map 6.9), while Fenerbahçe Cape was traditionally used for picnics by the Roma.

In summary, the Bağdat road was used intensely by caravans and for military campaigns, but changed to become the summer residential area of the Ottoman civil servants and non-Muslim traders, and so the space had to answer social-recreational needs of the new residents. The nightclubs, cinemas and beaches were

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[74] Turkish War of Independence 1919-1922.

located predominantly in the Kadiköy center[75], although some could be found on the coastal side of Bağdat road[76] (Map 6.9). In the late Ottoman era, the pubs and nightclubs were in the hands of Roma and Jewish. The cosmopolitan profile of the residents (the Levantines, Ottoman civil servants, Roma, Jewish and British) influenced the construction of the inter-culture and inter-religious context of Bağdat road while the international caravan road configured the inter-nations dialectical context.

The study so far has explained the history of Bağdat Street during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The study has elaborated upon the socio-spatial and economic attributes of the road according to the responses of the interviewees presented in the Table of Content, Fuzzy Cognitive Map and Cognitive Spatial Map. The study is explained in two parts, looking individually at the technical and argumentative sides. The following section provides a brief overview of the street in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

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[75] Yoğurtçu Park in 1914, roma pubs on the two sides of Iskele (harbor) street.
[76] Fenerbahçe Casino, Hristo Pub in Fenerbahçe, Todori Pub in Fener-Kalamış and outdoor cinema in Kalamış.
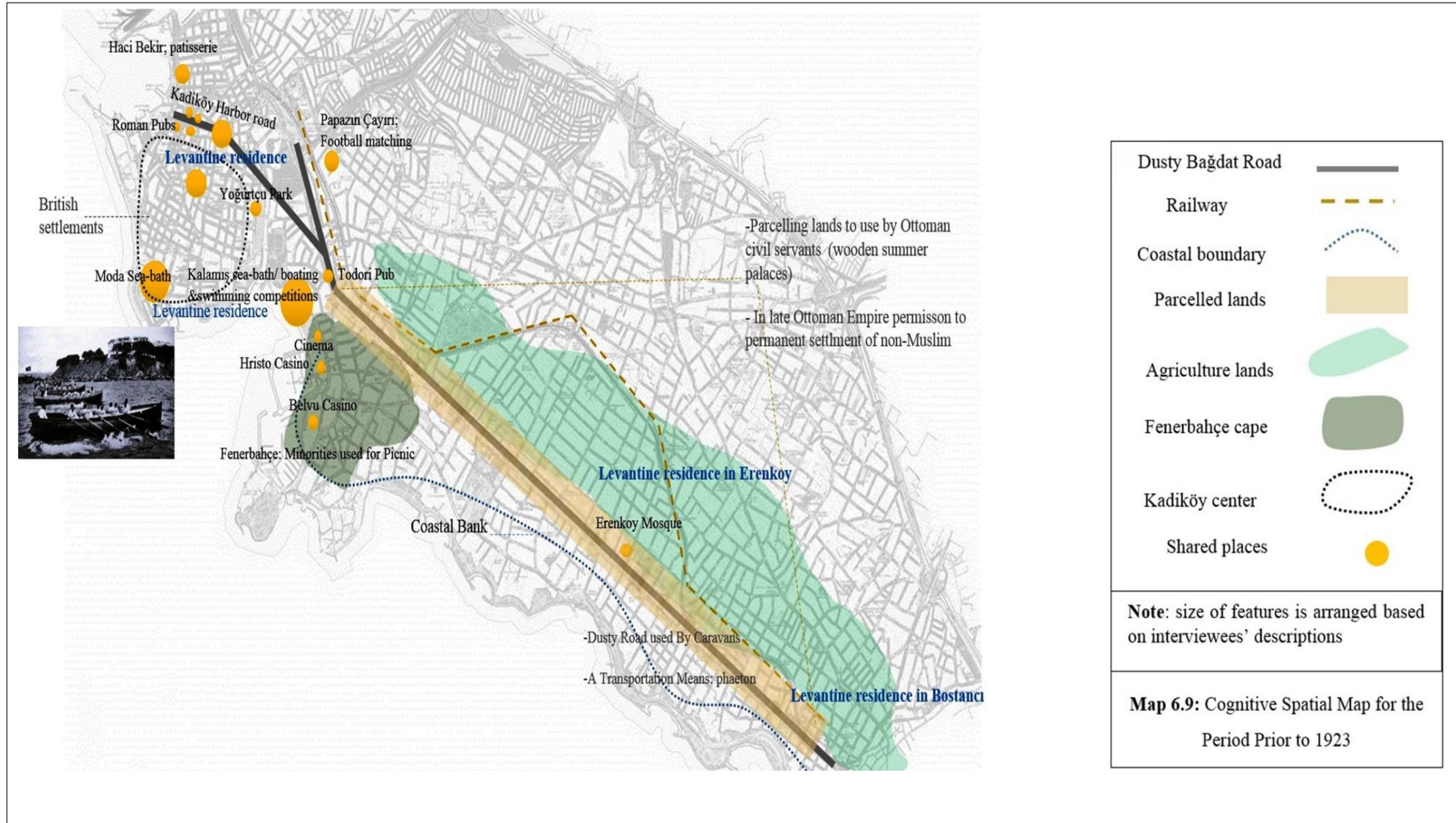
Map 6.9: Cognitive Spatial Map for the Period Prior to 1923-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

6.3. Discussion

This section discusses briefly the construction of space within the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. To answer the first research question, a standard semi-structured questionnaire was prepared for the different historical periods to obtain a broad knowledge of the configuration and reconfiguration of the structure of space. The historical periods have been categorized according to gathered data, and the derived attributes of the in-depth interviews are presented in a Fuzzy Cognitive Map (FCM) and Cognitive Spatial Map (CSM) to allow an understanding of the structure of the space and the position of each attribute in the wholeness of the structure.

The FCM presents readable knowledge about the process-based development of the sociocultural phenomenon. Strategies follow each other to (re)construct socially constructed attributes as a sociocultural phenomenon. In this regard, Bağdat Street has developed as a result of local, city, national and global strategies, resulting in its current form as a self-organized and self-confident phenomenon of the twenty-first century, indeed the study has attempted to visualize and narrate the development process of the sociocultural phenomenon, in that the culturally and socially constructed attributes of the street are in a state of constant turning and modification. The constructed context of the Levantine, Muslim, Jewish and Romans with beaches, pubs and nightclubs are the contextual culture, inherent and embodied attributes of the place, (re)constructed in the living space of the street based on newly constructed contextual dynamics (attributes). The inter-subjective knowledge of the context is turned and modified within the historical process, as the cultural practices never stop moving, being in the nature of any sociocultural reality.

The sociocultural reality is the context-specific phenomenon. The entertainment-recreational context is (re)constructed through the newly constructed multiple attributes. The railway of 1873-5 and the permission granted by the Ottoman

government to non-Muslim settlers contributed to the prosperity and development of Kadiköy and Bağdat neighborhoods, indeed the non-Muslim summer resorts accelerated the development of the context. The context of diversity and entertainment has continued to be (re)constructed up to the present day. The process of reconstruction experienced ups, downs and a peak level of development, in this regard for four decades, the context was reconstructed based on the summer, seasonal and recreational use with no radical change until the late 1940s brought something new to the previous cultural and shared activities. The asphalted road (Cadde-Bostan-Suadiye) attracted young people; hence the shared activities of the context modified and extended the boundaries of their socializations and existence. So that, the entertainment and recreational could no longer be restrained to the seaside, coastal nightclubs and pubs. The strolling of young people in the street of the 1940s was reconstructed, shaping the communal lives (e.g. strolling, meeting, chatting and sightseeing) of young people in the twenty-first century. The Cadde-Bostan-Suadiye side of the street in the twenty-first century was the most popular place for young people in terms of outdoor and indoor communal activities, celebrations and demonstrations. In short, the Cadde-Bostan-Suadiye of the twenty-first century was a reconstructed attribute of the early Republican culture. Accordingly, culture freezes time and brings together the young people of the early Republic with those of the twenty-first century in an interaction of generations. Indeed, the power of place is the dialectical platform of many; the lived experience is transformed and modified down through the years. Broadly speaking, the late 1940s in the street are identified with two major factors: the context of diversity and the entertainment-recreational context, and these two dominant cultures defined the future phases of development for the Republican Asian beach road.

In the continuity of early republic, the late 1950s were a turning point in the history of the Bağdat road. The physical projects purposed to transform the traditional recreational use of space for activities based on the everyday lives of the residents. However, the physical projects did not alter the recreational and

seasonal image of the street, as they were carried out without taking into account the dominant contextual attributes. The summer lives of many did not adopt the changes demanded by the physical transformation (e.g. two lane road, housing project and parceling), in that the social minds do not adopt radical changes.

In this case, the Istanbul planning bureau applied different strategies to construct a residential-commercial image of the street, including land parceling (1958), the Law of Property Authority (1965), granting of permission to commercial use and for four- and five-story apartment buildings (1972) and finally, the opening of the Bosphorus Bridge, which certainly changed the image of the street. These were intermediary strategies to connect Bağdat to Kadiköy and Kadiköy to Istanbul. Those strategies coincided with the emergence of the globalization process, which accelerated the development of socio-spatial structure of the street as parading in street pedestrian and car-races, and this process continued until the late 1980s, when the street witnessed a new mode of spectacular culture that reconstructed the traditional cultures and identities of the street. To exemplify, celebrations surrounding Fenerbahçe club contributed to the emergence of a sociocultural phenomenon that lived within the social consciousness. Indeed, the traditional communal areas of the street were reconfigured with a new meaning as meeting places of Fenerbahçe fans (e.g. Şaşkın-Bakkal). This process clarified that inter-subjective knowledge follows a line of continuity and modification. The traditional communal area was further reconstructed in the Republic rally in 1995. The communal nodes of the street, such as Şaşkın-Bakkal, took on a new meaning as a meeting place for the celebration of the Republican heritage, and so the chain of meaning brought together people of different generations, genders and classes. Şaşkın-Bakkal preserved its own inherent nature as a communal place for shared activities that were reconfigured based on newly constructed contextual dynamics as physical aesthetics of the street, the spectacular culture of globalization process and permanent-use of the street. Indeed, inter-subjective knowledge developed out of the nightclubs and cinemas of Şaşkın-Bakkal into the center of sociocultural and political activities with brand café-restaurants.

The sociocultural context of the twenty-first century was an integrated sociocultural phenomenon, in which the socio-spatial and economic relations of space could integrate with the globalization process. In this regard, the street saw the advent of multiple modes of entertainment and social-political activity with diversity of users. If it was the nightclubs, beaches and pubs that brought the diversity of users in the early Republic, the street of the twenty-first century protects the diversity of its users through festivals, shared indoor and outdoor venues, Republic celebrations and political activities. The cultural practices developed within the historical process and branched into several new activities that loaded the shared setting with multiple meanings.

Accordingly, process-based development is required in the modification of the socioeconomic and spatial attributes. Table 6.10 describes Bağdat Street in the nine historical periods covered in this study, suggesting that the lifespan of the street has passed through three phases: 1) as a social attribute; 2) as a phenomenon (in transition); and 3) as a sociocultural phenomenon. The continuous construction process represents the endless attempts of people to create a meaningful world.

Table 6.10: Bağdat Street from a Road to the Street's Sociocultural Phenomenon-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

BAĞDAT STREET FROM ROAD TO THE SOCİOCULTURAL PHENOMENON								
Dominant meaning: Commercial-Entertainment use (inter-cultural site)	**Dominant meaning:** Coastal entertainment -use	**Dominant meaning:** coastal entertainment -use	**Dominant meaning:** Coastal Entertainment-use under influence of the physical projects	**Dominant meaning:** Coastal entertainment -use under influence of the physical projects	**Dominant meaning:** Coastal entertainment -use under influence of the spectacular culture of globalization process	**Dominant meaning:** Self presentation, strolling, chatting, car-race, sightseeing, festival	**Dominant meaning:** festival, rally, consumption culture, passing time in street, sightseeing, chatting, café culture	**Dominant meaning:** street with national identity, festival, rally, protest, chatting, shopping, sightseeing, strolling
Bağdat Road (the social attribute)[1900–1950] Silent Development of the road			Bağdat Road (Phenomenon) [1950–1980] Strategies to development of Everyday life			Bağdat Street (Sociocultural Phenomenon) [1980–2013] Everyday life and economic development		
Weak Street economy and Street Life						Advanced Street economy and life		
LOCAL CULTURE						URBAN CULTURE (Community)		

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Up to this point, the study has answered first research question of the study, related to the shared conceived attributes in the (re)construction of space. To this end, the study has used Fuzzy Cognitive Maps, Cognitive Spatial Maps, frequency of mentioned attributes and causal relations to present the shared conceived attributes and their interaction in the construction of space. The following chapter answers the second research question of the study with contributions from the methodologies.

CHAPTER 7

THE SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF BAĞDAT STREET FROM 1923 TO THE PRESENT DAY

This chapter explains the reconstruction and transformation of Bağdat Street from a historical perspective, intending to reveal the shared conceived socio-spatial attributes of Bağdat Street that have been handed down from 1923 to the present day and that have contributed to the construction, re-construction and/or transformation of the street's sociocultural phenomenon.

In this chapter, the study analyzed the grouped descriptive information into readable content attributes of the sociocultural phenomenon specific to each period. The content attributes, referred as 'dominant attributes' defined attributes associated with the dominant culture as well as closely integrated with the contextual dynamics. Additionally, the study revealed the causal relations of the dominant attributes with other predominating contextual attributes in other domains of life and within a hierarchical order, from local to global, in different historical periods. Furthermore, the study counted the frequencies of the mentioned attributes to identify the dominating attributes within each period. This allowed a comparison of the dominating attributes in relation to other predominating contextual attributes across different eras and an understanding of how the dominating attributes change as a result of changes in the contextual attributes. In addition to frequencies of the mentioned attributes, the causal matrix of the cognitive maps revealed the dominant attributes of the context comparable through periods (see Chapter Six).

Take an example from the case study, 'the globalization process requires everyday life to develop in the social space, the football sector needs dynamic everyday life to increase its own public popularity, people feel comfortable under organized everyday life, and so everyday life is an agent of existence for multiple layers of a society' (Chapter Six: Figure 6.1). In this regard, dominant attributes define the cultural practices that are adopted and used in an encouraging diversity of activities, such as the dynamic everyday life associated with a socioeconomic project of the football sector and a sense of place. From this it can be understood that the dominant attribute is a main determinant in the construction of place. The dynamic daily life (mixed land-use and 24-hour activity) of the street defines the types of socioeconomic and physical investments and strategies that will be made, such as global brands, high rents and street celebrations. In turn, these newly embedded strategies modify everyday life as a dominant attribute of the sociocultural context, which transfer, reconstruct and turn into something new as a result of changes in the context. In this way, the structured socioeconomic structure of the street contributes to reconstructions for the seasonal-use of space, such as for street rallies and festivals. That said, modification and turning into something new does not necessarily diminish the original meaning of the attribute, but is rather a new branch of it that has been reconfigured based on the contextual changes, in this case, in entertainment activities. Seasonal recreational activities are replaced by such street activities as chatting and passing the time in café-restaurants. In this respect, any sociocultural phenomenon has an inner line of development, expanding like the branches of a tree from simple shared events to a complexity of street activities. From this perspective, the phenomenon reveals itself be seen from itself the very way it shows itself' (Heidegger, 1996). Indeed, every sociocultural phenomenon attempts to reconstruct the existing structure in the incessant way of being, and so the sociocultural reality rises up as what it is and how it is. For Heidegger (1996), the original mode of being is 'coming to presence while reconstructing (modifying) itself'. In this regard, the sociocultural phenomenon characterizes the meaningful inter-subjective attribute, insisting on its existence in the structure of the social phenomenon throughout the ongoing

development process. Moreover, for Giddens (1984), such attributes are the 'strong structures', 'strong rules' and 'strong resources' that (re)structure the street's sociocultural phenomenon as a demonstration and celebration of the identities of a place. Street celebrations contribute to the economic well-being of retailers and the extension of the physical structure of the street based on the demands for diversity among its users. Furthermore, these strong rules, driving the luxurious image of the street, with its fashionable café-restaurants and shops, identify how the space is used. As one municipality employee (Interview: age 37, October 2013) says, *'the fashionable cafes, stores and upper-class residents of the street define the ways people should behave and the mode of dress in Bağdat Street',* claiming that *'the poor and middle class groups of society try to be clean and fashionable in the street'.*

As the social attribute requires the very practices of socio-spatial and economic relations to emerge as a sociocultural phenomenon, the study classifies the derived conceived attributes into three generations to investigate the changes in social attributes. The intergenerational analysis contributes to the observation of the changes in the dominant attributes that are based on changes in the contextual attributes. Each generation brings new changes to the dominant attribute and the sociocultural and economic attributes of the context. Accordingly, this study presents robust evidence of the intergenerational links in the social interactions between the older generation and their offspring. In the intergenerational analysis, attributes can be seen either to resist or adapt to preserve and re-contextualize the embodied meanings and knowledge of the context of use by the present and future generations. The study uncovers two possible conditions in the intergenerational analysis: one being a firm resistance to the dominant attribute through the consensus of the majority to use a place for recreational purposes; and the second is the reconfigured dominant attribute, adapted by the users in line with the new contextual changes. Taking an example from the case study, up to the late-second generation, the dominant attribute resisted the contextual changes, but following changes to the socioeconomic and political structures (developing private sector

and coup d'état) of Istanbul and Turkey, the dominant attribute of the street started to reconstruct and change. Broadly speaking, the resistance or adaptation of a dominant attribute depends on changes in the contextual attributes.

This study makes an analysis of the changes in derived conceived attributes over time, and examines the preparation of the contextual aspects that result in the resistance or adaptation to new attributes. A comparative analysis of the historical conceived attributes reveals three generations of dominant attributes within the sociocultural phenomenon of Bağdat Street, as presented in Table 7.1 along with the two turning points that led the (re)construction of Bağdat Street. In the first generation, Bağdat Street was not identified with the integrated socio-spatial and economic relations or 'bricks for building' (Nietzsche, 1986) that would secure its existence as a sociocultural phenomenon in people's lives. Indeed, the street was in an early stage of configuration, and so carried the inherent attributes of development. These were reconfigured gradually under the provided contextual attributes, in that the world-hood is not in a state of inertia, but is full of new attributes and complexities (Heidegger, 1996). The first generation refers to the 1900–1950 period of the street, when the shared activities (nightclubs, sea-baths, coffee-houses and pubs) were the dominant attributes within the context of 'unstructured socioeconomic and physical structures (e.g. diffused summer resorts and groceries)', 'temporary-seasonal settlements', 'the lack of a physical connection between the western and eastern sides of the Bosphorus', 'the diversity of users', 'the non-Muslim and civil servant settlements', 'the increased security of the new transportation means, including trams, buses and taxis' and 'the partially asphalted road'. In the second generation (1965–1980), although Bağdat Street took on new attributes in an attempt to configure the everyday life of the street, including 'the Floor Ownership Law', 'parceling', 'permission for three- and four-story buildings', 'inauguration of the Bosphorus Bridge', 'permanent settlement of wealthy-educated residents of the Istanbul center' and shared activities (sea-baths, cinema, coffee-house, pubs, hotel, bank and patisserie), it was the trivial changes that were the dominant attributes of the context. Indeed,

'the semi-structured socioeconomic and spatial structures of the street (e.g. one bank, one hotel, diffused housing projects in either sides of the street)' prevented the development of the street as a small city center until the late 1970s, when it was spurred by 'the increase in land values', 'the physical accessibility of Istanbul and Kadiköy', the 'demands of the educated and wealthy residents of street', 'the developing public and private sector', 'constructed neighborhoods' and 'the newly appearing global products (e.g. foreign music and movies in the cinemas)'. All of these encouraged the use of the street for such activities as parades and car races. Accordingly, up until the late 1970s the predominant attributes had resisted change through a trivial adaptation to the newly constructed contextual attributes. Finally, the last generation (1995–2013) revealed the integrated sociocultural phenomenon, encompassing all of the integrated attributes. Indeed it can be said that the most dominant attributes in the context transformed out of shared activities (nightclubs, sea-baths, pubs, coffee houses and cinemas) into a place for rallies, celebrations, demonstrations, protest and indoor activities under 'the terrace architecture of the street facades', 'high-value lands', 'high rents', 'upper-middle class residents', 'Kemalist (Ataturk) residents', 'the structured socio-physical structure', 'accessible public-private transportation', 'the daily needs of the residents', 'physical aesthetics (e.g. street furniture)', 'developed private sector' 'the industrialized football sector', 'social networks (Twitter)', 'the economic welfare of the street', 'transformation projects', 'the Republican nature of the local municipality', 'diversity of users' and 'the conquest of Justice and Development party'. In this respect, the third generation presents the full transformation of the dominant attribute through the adaptation of the most dominant attributes into newly constructed contextual attributes. In spite of the changes in form of the most dominant attributes of the street, the strongest meaning of the context is as a place of entertainment and social activity that has been modified based on contextual changes, in that people associate the street with its historical roots as a place of nightclubs, the Atlantic cinema, the Suadiye sea-baths and the Todori Pub.

Table 7.1: Bağdat Street in Three Generations-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

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FIRST GENERATION

LATE OTTOMAN AND MODERN REPUBLIC

SECOND GENERATION

INDUSTRIALIZATION

THIRD GENERATION

INTEGRATION IN GLOBAL MARKET

DOMINANT CULTURAL PATTERN

HUMAN POTENTIAL

COGNITION — ACTION

Shared space

Shared space (NEW: -social places -Turkish coffee house -Beach - mosque)

Shared space (NEW: patisserie store)

Shared space (NEW: Cafe)

Shared space (NEW: Hotel)

HUMAN POTENTIAL

COGNITION — ACTION

Street culture

Place identity &Street culture

1923 1940 1950 Re-structure 1965 1973 1980 Re-structure 1995 2002 2013

SOCIO-PHYSICAL CULTURAL PATTERNS

-1871 railway & phaeton
-International road
-Dusty road
-Diversity

-Tramway 1934
-Taxi
-Part Asphalt
-Connect Istanbul to Ankara
- Two floors villas
-Diversity
-Build stadium in 1932

- Narrow Pedestrian floored with big block
-Taxi, Bus, Tramway
- Modern Villas
-plant trees
-summer settlement
-Youth uses street

-Liberal ideologies
- Multi-parties.
- Heavy construction
-industrialization
-Immigration
- Change in transportation
- Change in Aesthetic of street
- Change in street economy
- Change in social profile
- Change into inter-urban street
- Debut apartment building

- Floor ownership law in 1965
- In 1972 permission to build 5 store
-Low density neighborhood under construction
-Re-build Stadium 1965
-Public T.

1973 Bosphorus Bridge
- Change from temporary to permanent settlement
- Sub-urban
-Street location
- 5 stories building
-permission to 25/100
-Educated people
-Spectacular use
-Ethics
-Educated people

- Globalization
- Green space, one Lane Street in 1987-8
-In 1988 widened street
-Visual beautification
- 5-6 floors apartments
- Big stores
- Closing up the previous shared space
-Social Conflict
- Political conflict
- Technology
-Neo-liberal economy
- No security and safety
- Football celebration in 1989
-Spectacular use
-private T 1985
-AVM
-Foreign names

-Indoor space
- Café
-Fast food
-spectacular use
- Collective meeting nodes
-Kemalist and secular people
-Diversity
-Ethics
-Internet
- Advertising

- Resistance 2011
- Festival in 2007
-Demonstration
-Spectacular
-Consumption
-Café culture
-Empowered women
-Diversity
-Beautification Street in 2005
-Open and indoor space

Agriculture to civil servant

Entertainment use of space

Neighborhood culture

Festival and demonstration culture

Political-economic cultural patterns

- Ottoman Empire
- Economy in hands of minorities, less Turk

- National modernization
- Republic
-Minorities and Bureaucrats in decrease

-State-led economy
-Wooden palace destruction
-Diversity

- First floor use for commercial
-Diversity

- Debut liberal economy
-Construction explosion
- Immigration
- Casino replaced by café

- Liberal economy
-Globalization
- Change in land use
-Clashes between Islamic and western thought
-Republic ceremony in 1995
-Brand
-Rent explosion

- Global market
- Rent, Transformation
-post modern
-Kadiköy municipality, street, stadium same political vision
-Industrialization Football 2002

NO EVERYDAY LIFE

EVERYDAY LIFE IN PROCESS OF CONFIGURATION

DYNAMIC EVERYDAY LIFE

This chapter is presented in four sections. The first section deals with Bağdat Street in its preliminary stage of development, as a beach road of Anatolia between 1900 and 1950. The seasonal-recreational life of the road reached its peak point of development in the late 1940s. Also included in this section is a discussion of the first turning point between 1950 and 1965 years, detailing the physical construction of the street in the wake of economic and political change in the form of the transition from a single-party to multi-party system, the relatively liberal economic system and the reduction in the agricultural products. The second section explains the dynamics and strategies implemented for the construction of everyday life of the street between 1965 and 1980, defining the second turning point as being the aftermath of the coup d'état of 1980. At the time, the traditional habits of the street (e.g. the coastal nightclubs and sea-baths) were reconstructed under the influence of globalization and liberal market policies. In this sense, the street, first and foremost, is identified as an area of urban culture (e.g. chatting and daily life in the street and celebrations). Finally, the third section elaborates upon the identification of the street with an integrated morphology and functionality between 1995 and 2013. In this period, the street reached a higher level of integration into the global market of the twenty-first century. In this regard, the third generation of the street reinterprets Bağdat Street with new sociocultural activities shopping in the brand and fashionable department stores, street rallies, protests and festivals. In short, the intergenerational development of the practical consciousness reached a higher level of being in the twenty-first century. Finally, the fourth section makes a brief review of the presented discussions of the three generations, referring to the initiatives of the intergenerational analysis.

7.1. First Generation; a Seasonal-recreational Identity of a Place

The first generation elaborated upon the dominant attributes of the context between 1900 and 1950, which included sea-baths, nightclubs and pubs (see Chapter Six: Table 6.9). It was these elements that configured the forms of activity within the context, although the stable contextual attributes prevented any considerable development of the dominant attributes. The provided contextual

attributes indeed contributed to the configuration of the dominant attributes of the context; and in this regard, 'the structured everyday life (of the permanent residents and commercial activities) of Kadiköy' had a significant role in the construction of the dominant attributes of Bağdat road. Through the configuration of daily life in the Kadiköy center, its recreational-seasonal activities (e.g. sea-baths) diffused among the neighborhoods along Bağdat road (Table 7.2). Broadly, with the structuring of the everyday life of Kadiköy , the development of a transport system (tram, bus and taxi) and the physical restoration (e.g. the asphalting and pedestrianization of parts of the road and lighting), Bağdat road gained priority as a place for summer settlements in the late 1940s. In this regard, the study aims to elaborate upon the contextual attributes, which contributed to the (re)construction of the dominant attributes of the context between 1900 and 1950s.

Table 7.2: Kadiköy Giving Birth to first Generation of Bağdat Street-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Pre-1923	1923-1940	1940-1950
Kadiköy Center with seasonal-recreational activities	Kadiköy Center everyday life in configuration; its seasonal-recreational activities diffused in surrounding regions	Kadiköy Center with configured everyday life hence fully diffusion seasonal-recreational activities throughtout Bağdat road
Reasons: -Unstructured daily life (Temporary summer-use) - Minorities and bureaucrats - Caravan Bağdat road (dusty coastal road)	Reasons: -Tramway - Seasonal villas along Bağdat street - Decline bureaucrats - Decline religious forces - Used by Kadiköy inhabitants	Reasons: -Tramway-buses-Taxi -Pedestrian -Partially asphalted road -Youth in road -Emergence coffee house - Used by Kadiköy inhabitants and Istanbul -Cheap lands
Later Ottoman Empire, First World War, Turkish independence War.	Istanbul in gradual development aftermath of First World War; plans to socio-physical connection of Istanbul hinterlands with center to design modern republic city.	

In the first cycle of development, Bağdat Street was a dusty-coastal road on the Asian side of Istanbul with no socio-physical connection to the city. The context was empty of the influential sociocultural policies to integrate the locally constructed attribute to city level. In this sense, the locally constructed dominant attribute follows the trivial changes from within. In fact, the unplanned, diffused, contingent and weak dynamics in the construction of Bağdat road (e.g. seasonal sea-baths, pubs and settlements) was unable to trigger the socio-spatial development. The road connected Asia with Uskudar, as the last stop on the caravan route from the East and in the latter years of the Ottoman Empire, in this sense the road served the summer palaces of Ottoman civil servants. The plots of land along Bağdat Street initially were parceled for the construction of two-story wooden summer palaces, and so what had been a road serving the military and agriculture, changed to become an access road to the summer settlements. Moreover, at the time the Ottoman Empire granted permission for the permanent settlement of non-Muslims, and the Levantines, as the most prominent group in this regard, brought with them lifestyles, arts and sciences that would have an lasting influence on the socio-spatial and economic life of Kadiköy and Bağdat Street, settling on the Fenerbahçe, Suadiye, Moda, Bostancı and Bahariye. Furthermore, the arrival of the railway (1887) contributed to accelerate the diffusion of settlements into different neighborhoods of the street, with the new neighborhood stations promoting security of space. Besides railway, the rise of Kadiköy and Bağdat Street can be attributed much to the water transportation route connecting Istanbul to Kadiköy-the Uskudar-Suadiye waterway-in the second half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, the residency of civil servants and non-Muslims, railway and waterway transportations encouraged the construction of the dominant attribute as the place of entertainment and recreation. Hereby, in the early twentieth century, Bağdat Street was configured under the influence of both Muslim and non-Muslim values. Recreational-commercial activities in the street developed under hands of the non-Muslim as the pubs, nightclubs, cinema and beach facilities were all arranged based on the demands of non-Muslims, although they were also used by Muslims, particularly Ottoman

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civil servants. Besides commercial activities of non-Muslims, the meadows in Kadiköy became the place for football matches between La Fontaine[77] and the Romans, and the people of Kadiköy would gather to watch the matches at weekend. The Asian beach road therefore witnessed cultural engagements between Muslims and non-Muslims as a site addressing both Islamic and Western ideologies.

In spite of development summer resorts, the Bağdat thoroughfare, as the coastal road connecting the summer palaces and the diffused settlements of Levantines, could not be referred to as a street, as it was more of a village road, accommodating different religions. Indeed, the lack of any physical hindrance between Kadiköy and Bağdat Street resulted in the socio-physical development of Kadiköy influencing changes in the street, although the road was not still registered as the Kadiköy boundary. The road witnessed the gradual diffusion of Kadiköy's socio-recreational places to the surrounding neighborhoods, where sea-baths, outdoor/indoor cinemas and nightclubs began to open gradually (Table 7.2). In this regard, the dominant attribute constructed through the structured daily life of Kadiköy center, and diffusion socially constructed activities of Kadiköy to the surrounding regions. Broadly speaking, seasonal settlement of civil servants and permanent settlement of Levantine, following those, railway and waterway transportation configure the dominant attributes of Bağdat road.

Following that, in the era of Republican modernization, the dusty, narrow costal road of the summer settlements did not still be described as a developed socially constructed phenomenon. The early Republican era was a time of silent development, with the road still being identified by the cultural attributes of the late Ottoman era. The sea-baths, pubs, outdoor cinema (Kalamış), nightclub and Yoğurtçu Park were the most dominant activities of the context. Indeed the unstructured everyday life, diversity of users and summer resorts served to create the recreational identity of the road. Moreover, with the collapse of the Ottoman

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[77] The *La Fontaine* family settled in Moda during the Turkish War of Independence.

Empire, the number of civil servants decreased in the Kadiköy milieu, throwing Kadiköy and surrounding open to public use as sea-baths and the shared indoor spaces that had been used by the civil servants and famous traders were intensively opened to the public. In this sense, the people who had settled in western Istanbul and the Kadiköy center began building two-story villas in a modern style. The public-use of the road contributed to development of Bağdat road as a recreational place in the eastern Bosphorus.

Therefore, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the hidden potentials of street were appeared under modern republic regulations, as the religious affinity went into a period of decline, to be replaced by modern ideologies as the sea-baths were opened to modern women. Moreover, the arrival of the tram in 1934 contributed further to the development of summer resorts in Suadiye, Erenkoy and Göztepe, and brought security to the region, and so the prosperity of beach life and the rise of security in the region contributed to the development of summer settlements. Furthermore, the restoration of the Fenerbahçe stadium (1932) allowed it to host Republican rallies and Idman Festivals. At this time, the Alti-Yol Square and Fenerbahçe stadium were the two main venues in the region for Republican ceremonies. Thus, the decline of religious obligations, permission to diversity of users (age, gender and ethnics), transportation development and building Fenerbahçe stadium contributed to appear a place for the sociocultural-recreational activities.

In the second half of the 1930s, Kadiköy was registered as an independent municipality of Istanbul. The socio-spatial development of the Kadiköy began, with the opening of hotels, Kadiköy Bazar and the 'Haji Bekir' patisserie. The development of Kadiköy influenced that of Bağdat Street, which witnessed a rise in the number of summer settlements in different neighborhoods, new modes of transportation (bus and tramway), asphalt roads between the Fenerbahçe and Bostancı neighborhoods, Turkish coffee houses and block-paved pedestrian areas. Young people began to pass the time in the evenings at Cadde-Bostan-Suadiye,

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resulting in a reconstruction of recreational activities along Bağdat Street as the summer resorts to the new shared activities. Therefore, for four decades, summer settlements and shared public areas developed around Bağdat Street as a result of the stable contextual attributes. The night clubs in the Fenerbahçe and Suadiye neighborhoods, the outdoor cinema in Kalamış, Yoğurtçu Park, the Cadde-Bostan, and Fenerbahçe, Moda and Erenkoy sea-baths and the Hristo Pubs (Fenerbahçe) all emerged as shared areas within the context, attracting a diversity of users. These shared areas were reconfigured based on the trivial contextual changes that occurred over the four decades. Indeed, the constructed culture was generally structured under demands of the local residents without communication with city and state policies. At these times, Bağdat Street was going through its early phases of life. Within the four decades, the stable contextual attributes prevented any considerable transformations or reconstruction from taking place in the types of the shared activities of the context. Indeed, the disintegrated socio-physical structure of the coastal road and the daily structure of Kadiköy center encouraged development of Bağdat Street as the place for recreational activities. Broadly speaking, the contextual happenings contributed to the stable continuity of the dominant attribute for around four decades were: transportation; emergence bus and tramway, seasonal settlements; villas, partly asphalted road; Suadiye-Cadde-Bostan, and development Kadiköy center; as the place for permanent settlement. The social-recreational life of Kadiköy center developed throughout the coastal road and reached higher level through newly constructed contextual dynamics (e.g. transportation (tram and bus), asphalting road) in the late 1940s (Table 7.2).

The following section describes the first turning point in the construction and reconstruction of Bağdat Street, when new strategies were put in place aimed at constructing the everyday life of the street and reconfiguring the early-Republican attributes (shared activities) in line with the everyday demands of the people.

7.1.1. First Turning Point in the History of Bağdat Street

The period between 1950 and 1965 was identified with the contextual changes as the restoration of the physical structure (e.g. asphalting and two-lane street), the construction of the Ankara road to the north of Bağdat to promote road as the urban street and removing tramway while those coincided with changes in economic-political and demographical structures of Turkey; from single-party to multiple-party system and industrialization which resulted in rural-urban migration. These physical changes aimed to resolve the city center problem, which endured the residential deficiency. In this regard, this period could be considered as the starting point for the intervention of city policies to construct the daily life of the street. Everyday life of a place refers to a place with a permanent settlement of the people. However, the physical interventions were not enough to reconfigure the traditional predominant attributes (sea-baths, pubs, nightclubs and Coffee-house). In this regard the dominant attributes resisted top-down changes through the lack of the socioeconomic perspective of newly imposed physical projects as housing project. Indeed developing accessibility of street's sea-bath through trams, bus and taxi, cheap land uses and the diversity of users who preferred to use the street in the summer vacations encouraged people to use street as a place for the seasonal activities as the late Ottoman era (Table 7.3).

Table 7.3: The Contextual Dynamics Supporting Dominant Attributes-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

	1950-1965
Dominant Attributes	Dominant attributes (sea-bath, pubs and nightclubs) do not adopt top-down changes.
Contextual Attributes Supporting Dominant Attributes	The contextual dynamics supporting dominant attribute, including unstructured socioeconomic and physical structure, developing security, asphalted road, more accessible than previous eras, cheap lands, diversity of users

After four decades of trivial development, Bağdat Street witnessed a number of spatial changes in the late 1950s as a result of the change in the administrative

structure from a single-party to a multi-party system, and the electoral victory of the Democratic Party. Under the presidency of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, one of the founders of the Democratic Party, the spatial profile of Istanbul underwent several changes. In this sense, Bağdat Street was earmarked as a commercial-residential settlement of Istanbul in the second development plan, implemented in the second half of the 1950s while the presidency of Menderes coincided with changes in the modes of production under the industrialized modernization. Through the industrialization, the sources of economic welfare changed in cities, and rural residents took to squatting in illegally built houses. This process transformed the demographical structure of Kadiköy and Bağdat Street, indeed the cheap agricultural and empty lands around Kadiköy (including Bağdat Street) becoming very attractive for illegal residence. The rural migrants preferred to settle in areas close to the factories, leading to the reconstruction of the socio-physical image of Kadiköy as one major work place. Indeed, the diffusion of factories and workshops around Kadiköy and Bağdat Street accelerated the development of both; the agricultural economy of the street was reconstructed through construction projects and the establishment of new work places. Therefore, when Kadiköy entered a period of change with the development of new workplaces, as was the case with much of Istanbul, Menderes administration aimed to promote Bağdat Street as part of the industrialized Kadiköy district through the physical projects. However, the physical changes and workplaces did not come up with the reconstruction of the dominant attributes (sea-baths, pubs, nightclubs, coffee houses). Indeed, the unstructured everyday life, diversity of users of dominant attributes, physical disconnection Istanbul-Kadiköy, summer villas and coastal nature of the road developed the road as a place for the seasonal-recreational activities as the early republic.

Therefore, besides Anatolian emigrants and industrial development of Kadiköy and surrounding, the narrow coastal road was widened and asphalted, and construction projects were launched aimed at changing street reputation as a summer resort. To complete the new image, the enlarged street was given new

modes of transportation, securing the industrialized and modernized vehicular image of Kadiköy. The street was prepared for two-way automobile traffic as the tramway was no longer able to answer the communication needs of the residents. That said, according to residents of Bostancı (Interview: age 60, October 2013), '*the tramway was not a problem; Menderes was attempting to introduce new ways of socialization to Bağdat Street'*. The removal of the tramways did not satisfy the actual need of street for new modes of transportation, in that street still had no permanent settlement structure. Moreover, the physical transformation of the district coincided with the construction of the Ankara road to the north of Bağdat Street, transforming it from an inter-city road to residential street. So that, multiple strategies were applied to construct the permanent image of the street and indeed to change the long-term identity of Bağdat Street as commercial and express route between nations into one that was residential. However, while the sociocultural policies aimed to reconstruct the dominant attributes (sea-baths, pubs and nightclubs) of context to a new phase of cognition about the lived space, the changes did not contribute to transform dominant dynamics, in that the newly constructed policies were unfamiliar and irrelevant with the demands of the residents and cultural resources of context (see Chapter six: Figure 6.6.). In that condition, although dominant attribute did not adopt changes, the physical transformation of Bağdat Street resulted in the destruction of the wooden palaces of the late-Ottoman era and the modern concrete villas that were representative of the early republic. The buttonwood trees that had surrounded the destroyed palaces decorated the street. Indeed those annihilated artifacts did not affect the social morphology of Bağdat Street, as physical transformation was not the reason behind the social change. In fact, social change takes a long time, and the high mentally and physically practiced attributes are maintained, despite the changes. In this sense, the dominant shared attributes that carried the essences of the sociocultural context strived for development from within, and still structured the socio-spatial activities of the street through the top-down physical projects. Thereby, nightclubs, cinemas, Turkish coffee houses and sea-baths were still the dominant practices in the 1950s and 1960s, as the industrialization process and

physical interventions of Menderes were unable to transform the social morphology of the street, except the industrialization process on the social space transformed the agricultural land-uses into new work places. In other word, the dominant activities did not adopt changing since the constructed context still did not serve peoples' daily economic-spatial, social and recreational needs. Indeed, the dominant attribute is always in a state of change or adopts changes until those contextual changes do not result in the annihilation of dominant attribute. In this sense, the socio-spatial development and the term 'reconstruction' refer to the protection of the embodied attribute from disasters, chaos and unpredictable events. That said, the dominant attributes of the 1950s were not reconfigured under the physical changes, as the socio-spatial and economic relations of the implemented physical projects did not answer the recreational and social needs of the people. Indeed, the upper polices were applied by the city planning bureau, aimed at integrating Bağdat Street, as the residential-commercial center within Istanbul failed through the lack of any physical connection between Kadiköy and Istanbul.

In summary, Bağdat Street faced the challenge of development under the industrialized modernization and physical transformations of the late 1950s. The physical changes did no reconfigure and transform the dominant attributes of the street to the new modes of socializations, as social structure of a society is formed over a longer time than the physical changes resist the unfamiliar and imposed policies. Indeed the applied upper-strategies functioned as the intermediary projects/strategies aimed to drive the dominant attribute to new modes of existence, but the dominant attribute was not approached to the new mode of socialization through the imposed policies of 1950s and following years. Indeed, the strategies aimed to identify Bağdat road as the street which it carries the meanings and functions of the street, a place that lives in people's consciousness while the residents of Fenerbahçe (Interview: age 65, October 2013) referred to *'the village road'*, as they did not experience, participate or observe any special events that remind it as a 'street'. They remembered the dominant attributes

(nightclubs, sea-baths and cinemas) to be independent of the road (see Chapter six: Figure 6.6), in that the road was a two-lane coastal road with diffused housing projects. In short, the dominant attributes of late 1950s preserved its attributes constructed in the early republic through the disintegrated socioeconomic and spatial relations of the road (Table 7.3).

In the following years, strategies were applied intending to change the road into a sociocultural phenomenon. If the early Republic was a period of silent development for the area, the second generation took up the challenge to shape everyday life and integrate road into the city structure. Accordingly, the following section explains the second phase in the construction of Bağdat Street, describing the socio-spatial and economic developments of street as a result of the industrialization process and after the physical transformation of the late 1950s.

7.2. Second Generation; Strategies to Modify a Seasonal-recreational Identity of a Place

The second generation was characterized by the top-down strategies to reconfigure the predominant attributes (shared activities, including sea-baths, nightclubs, coffee houses and pubs) within the everyday structure of the street, given that the permanent residents needed the types of activities appropriate for their daily routine. Accordingly, this section describes the construction of Bağdat Street under influence of multiple strategies, including the granting of permission for the construction of four-story buildings and the Property Ownership Law, which increased land values between 1965 and 1980. Accordingly, the street in the 1960s followed the vision of the late 1950s, when attempts were made to change the summer resort image of the street as the area came to be identified as an important residential-commercial center of Istanbul. The study revealed that in spite of the implemented strategies, the dominant attributes (sea-baths, nightclubs, pubs and coffee houses) opposed the top-down changes until the late 1970s, which heralded the arrival of the globalization process and the inauguration of Bosphorus Bridge. As a result of this, the traditional dominant attributes (e.g. sea-

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baths) were gradually overtaken by such street activities as car races and simply strolling in the street. Broadly speaking, the 'permanent settlement of wealthy and educated residents of the Istanbul center', 'the physical connection between the street and the city center via Bosphorus Bridge', 'the increase in land values as a result of decentralization polices (e.g. permission for four-story buildings)' and 'the developing private sector' encouraged people to use space differently, sweeping away the traditional dominant attributes of the late 1970s (Table 7.4).

Table 7.4: Partially Reconstructed Dominant Attributes of a Place-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

	1965-1980
Dominant Attributes	**Until mid-1970s:** Cinema, Pubs, and Nightclubs, sea-bath, hotel and patisserie. **In late 1970s**: car-race, strolling in pedestrian, chatting, sightseeing
Contextual Attributes Supporting Dominant Attributes	Semi-reconfigured dominant attribute of the place; through 'partially integration local dynamics with the global products and liberal markets', 'the spatial structure of the street, it does not contribute to fully reconstruct dominant culture with the global product', 'increase land values', 'increase density of place through Floor Ownership Law', 'physical accessibility of Istanbul and Kadiköy through Bosphorus Bridge', 'development private sector as Ziraat Bank', 'educated and wealthy residents of street' and 'permission to four-floor residential building', 'construction neighborhoods', and 'diversity of users'
Istanbul	Privatization policies contributing decentralization policies of Istanbul; development hinterlands

The era of industrialization was characterized by heavy construction projects and the re-appointment of agricultural lands for urban development while the first land parceling of the street dates back to the late Ottoman era, when civil servants were given the opportunity to build summer palaces amid the outstanding nature of Bağdat Street. The Floor Ownership Law (1965)[78] and the new land parceling rules raised land values, and opening empty plots to construction. The land owners made contracts with contractors to build three-story apartment blocks, making the residents of the street richer than ever. The area consequently saw a rapid rise in the number of apartment blocks, and the young and incomplete

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[78] Floor Ownership Law was passed in 1965, and was aimed at accommodating large groups of people within the physical structure of the street. The strategy was used to increase the residential density of the context, and encouraged people to construct apartments on either side of the street.

everyday life of the road began to be reconfigured as a result of these strategies. In this regard, until the late 1970s, great efforts were spent to shape everyday life and then to reconfigure the dominant attributes of the context. The dominant attributes broadly referred to 'the site of inter-cultures', 'the site of diversity' and 'the site of entertainment', and in this sense everyday life should be based on those three major cultures. In this sense, the dominant attributes of the early Republic were in reconfiguration based on the street life as Şaşkın-Bakkal attracted the young people in late 1940s, the young people of the late 1970s used Şaşkın-Bakkal in a different way as a result of the influence of globalization on social space. The young people of the early Republic used the asphalted Şaşkın-Bakkal area for strolling in the evenings, but by the late 1970s, Şaşkın-Bakkal had become a meeting point within the structure of street. Indeed, the effects of globalization on the social space reconfigured the behavior of young people to new modes of self-presentation under partially configured socio-physical structure of the road. Young people began using the street for being seen, chatting and window shopping. In all parts of the street in the late 1970s foreign music could be heard, cinemas were showing adult-themed foreign movies, sexual advertising was openly on display, and baby-faced girls and fashionable boys defined the socio-spatial climate. Moreover, car races served to identify the street as a playground of the young in the evenings.

Therefore, the newly constructed everyday life, increase land values and spectacular attributes of the globalization process finally contributed to the trivial modification of the dominant attributes while the opening of Bosphorus Bridge in 1973 accelerated the physical connectivity of Istanbul and Kadiköy, inspiring the wealthy and educated residents of Istanbul to settle in the street. The new residents of the street had knowledge of urban life, and their expectations from the street differed from the traditional socio-spatial and economic relations as sea-baths, pubs and nightclubs. Indeed, the residents accelerated further the development of the service sectors, their social and recreational demands encouraged the construction and reconstruction of the dominant attributes.

Moreover, Bosphorus Bridge served to highlight the strategic location of the street in Kadiköy, bringing further investment and settlement. Its extension along the Marmara Sea, the coastal climate and the closeness to Kadiköy harbor made Bağdat Street highly attractive to the rich families of Anatolia and Istanbul. In this regard, the early 1970s witnessed many construction projects after permission was granted in 1972 for the construction of four-story buildings on the coastal side of the street, and five-story buildings on the other side to protect the coastal climate of street. Thus, in the late 1970s, the street grew in popularity as a place of residence among the upper and middle classes of society. Despite change in socio-spatial structure of the street, the physical aesthetics of the street were still out of consistency to live in the outdoor shared space. Coming to the 1980s, the study explains how the culture of self-presentation reconfigured the land uses and physical aesthetics of the street. It is worthy to say that this culture (presenting self) was the reconfigured attribute of the 1970s and backward years, in that the sense of self-presentation was not limited to late 1970s and onwards, it was traditionally been in the context according to the contextual attributes. The global-based pastime of presenting-self clashed with the embodied mode of self-presentation to reconfigure the dominant attributes capacities with new opportunities. The newly constructed spectacular culture demanded terrace-style cafés and enlarged pedestrian areas, as the street of the late 1970s was unable to fully support this attribute due to physical incompleteness. Besides spectacular culture of globalization process, the ground floors of the residential apartment blocks were in transformation for commercial use under the liberalized market to reconfigure the street from residential use to mixed residential-commercial use.

The second generation witnessed the physical and socioeconomic strategies to construct the sociocultural phenomenon. Indeed it is a part of development process to undergo upper policies to reconstruct the socio-spatial relations. Therefore, from the late 1950s until the end of the 1980s, the street went through a period of transition period, during which the traditional embodied attributes of the street were under pressure to take into account the changes in the contextual

attributes. The incessant strategies to configure daily life which was coincided with the development of the global policies contributed to the appearance of global strategies and products on sociocultural context, and the liberal modernization left its mark on the social space through developing private sectors as hotel in Suadiye. In short, daily life, city policies, globalization and the liberal modernization were all significant factors in the reconfiguration of the dominant attribute of the street. Indeed, the context always waits for the right time to reconfigure dominant attributes, in this regard since the early 1950s there had been incessant strategies to prepare the context for socio-spatial changes, in that the social morphology of space takes a considerable amount of time to adapt.

Therefore, in the 1960s and 1970s, the nightclubs, cinema, sea-baths and Turkish coffee houses were still the dominated activities of the street, and how people engage in these activities, but also the location of these activities, defined socio-spatial life of the region. Indeed, although the street can be identified with daily life, people still arrange their socio-spatial activities based on the time and location of the traditional shared activities. Indeed, the regulated time and space of everyday life had not been adopted by people, as everyday life in the street did not be planned based on the residents' familiar demands. Indeed, everyday life, when adapted to the capitalism system (Harvey, 2001), do not support people's socio-recreational needs and can result in a decline in the shared space spirit of the context. In this regard, every newly constructed dynamic of the street needed to develop in relation to everything else to ensure complete integration of the dynamics and reconfiguration the dominant attribute.

In spite of resistance traditional dominant attributes to change, it is worthy of note that the traditional dominant attribute of the 1970 were not as popular as those of the 1950s. Indeed, the spectacular culture of globalization process and liberal modernization partially contributed to the reconfiguration of the dominant attributes of the street as the appearance cafés, the Divan patisserie (1969) and hotels.

In summary, the changes in the socio-spatial process were piecemeal and relational, since people lived in the mind-created world rather than the physical prefabricated world. Accordingly, up until the late 1970s, it was stable dominant attributes (e.g. sea-bath) that structured the wholeness of space. Indeed, for seven decades, the strategies that were applied failed in their intended purpose to come up with the integrated sociocultural phenomenon replace those that were embodied (Table 7.4). The following section describes the second turning point in the history of Bağdat Street under influences of two events: 'the coup d'état of 1980[79]' and 'the continued globalization'.

7.2.1. Second Turning Point in the History of Bağdat Street

The second turning point refers to the dominant attributes of the street resulting from the changes in the socioeconomic (e.g. development of the private sector and liberalization of the economy), political (military coup) and spatial attributes (e.g. physical beautification and the return to a one-lane street) of the street. These contextual changes contributed to the reconstruction of the dominant attributes (e.g. sea-baths) within the context of the everyday life in the street. This era saw the transition from the traditional dominant attributes to the street activities under the interplay of the local-city and global scales, according to which, traditional activities were left unutilized for about a decade (1980–1989). First and foremost, Bağdat Street began to be identified as part of the urban culture within the structure of the city through the street celebrations that began in 1989, chatting and strolling in the pedestrian areas. Broadly speaking, the traditional dominant attributes of street were swept away by 'the restoration of physical aesthetics (e.g. street furniture)', 'the developing private sector', 'the structured everyday life', 'the strategic location of the street', 'the accessible public-private transport network' and 'the re-appearance of Fenerbahçe Football Club within the structure of the street'. All of these factors contributed to the increase in land values and rents, leading to the permanent settlement of upper-class members of society.

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[79] 12th of September 1980.

Within this situation, the traditional socio-recreational activities (e.g. sea-baths) of the street were (re)constructed to address the demands of the upper-class residents (Table 7.5).

Table 7.5: Reconstruction of Dominant Attributes-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

	1980-1995
Dominant Attributes	Non-utilized traditional activities of the street as sea-bath, pubs, nightclubs
Contextual Attributes Supporting Dominant Attributes	Reconfigured Dominant attribute; through 'increase land values', 'unrest climate aftermath of military coup', 'daily needs of residents', 'restoration physical aesthetics', 'developing private sector', 'educated profile of residents', 'new mode of spectacular culture (street strolling)', 'private-public transportation', 'diversity of users', 'no security through political conflict', 'increase in rent', 'cultural celebration', ' permission to destruction palaces and villas', 'construction in empty lands of street'
Istanbul & Turkey	Turkey, Istanbul; transition from central government to decentralization and privatization

After coup d'état, for a long time, a climate of fear influenced the socio-spatial and economic life of the street as the restrictions on debates about the socio-political and industrial (arts) issues, leading soccer to become the most common subject of discussion in the 1980s. In this regard, the street was a battleground of the conflicts between the nationalists and communists, and according to Bostancı residents (Interview: age 60, October 2013), '*the conflicts and the criminal gangs destroyed the secure and safe environment of Bağdat Street*'. Moreover, although Kadiköy and Istanbul had always seen rural-urban migration, the early 1980s saw an upsurge of bloody fights between the young people from the street and the new immigrants, as described by the residents of Bostancı (Interview: age 60, October 2013), '*the immigrants did not adapt to the cultural profile of the residents*', and consequently, Yoğurtçu Park became a scene of struggle for young people. As a result, the early 1980s of the street witnessed the closure of many traditional activities, such as the cinemas, nightclubs and sea-baths under the political climate of the time, beginning a long period of limited communal activity in the street. Accordingly, the street of the early 1980s was devoid of people, as they preferred to pass time in the smaller communal areas of the neighborhoods.

The political unrest in the street coincided with the effects of the liberal market and the globalization process appearing in the socio-spatial structure of the street. The globalization process of the 1980s brought about a spectacular use of space by young people, including car races, parading in the street, chatting, sitting on walls and window shopping, while the liberal market exploited the unstable economic-political environment to bring about a change in land uses. The appearance of the shopping mall phenomenon for first time in the late 1980s and the commercialization of residential apartment buildings transformed Bağdat Street gradually into a commercial-residential center.

The liberal market and globalization processes did not emerge out of the structure of the street arbitrarily, as the contextual dynamics supported their existence within the fabric. Indeed, the cultural-educated profile of the residents, the street location alongside the Marmara Sea, accessible public-private transportation, Fenerbahçe soccer Club, everyday life on the street and the historical meanings, all of which inspired the liberal market and the globalization process to make their mark on socio-physical structure of street. Thereby, it was the contextual attributes the provided the appropriate conditions for the appearance of the liberal market. The emerging global modernization reconfigured the spectacular culture of the 1960s and the boundaries of the traditional entertainments as pubs and nightclubs to street festivals. Indeed, the everyday life of the street was enabled to define the social-recreational and daily needs of the street residents. The late 1980s of the street was, in this regard, an outcome of the liberal market, the spectacular culture, everyday life and aftermath of the military coup.

In this sense, toward the late 1980s and early 1990s, the liberal modernization and spectacular culture of globalization process had a significant influence on reconstruction dominant attribute. Individualization and privatization encouraged real-estate activities and an explosion of construction projects, while the spectacular culture transformed the physical structure of the street on the basis of new modes of socializations as physical beautification (enlarged pedestrians and

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street furniture). Indeed, the physical profile was required to be reconstructed to allow the integration of the global and local attributes. A project had been implemented under local municipality government, which the physical aesthetics of space were restored. Street furniture, wide pedestrian routes and green areas (1985–1988) were regenerated to provide the appropriate setting for the reconfiguration of the traditional dominant attributes under new modes of the spectacular culture. Moreover, with the opening of the coastal road (1988) and the two lanes of the street being reduced to one led to a decrease in vehicular traffic in the street. The late 1980s saw the creation of the residential-commercial and spectacular image of street, and hence the appropriate land values of the mid-1980s reached a high level in the early 1990s.

The physical restoration and structured daily life provided an ideal condition to reappear the Fenerbahçe Football Club in the structure of Bağdat Street in 1982 after a long absence. It enhanced sociocultural life of street while it invited diversity of users to street. If it was the traditional shared activities of the 1960s as sea-baths and pubs that protected the diversity of users, from the 1980s onwards, it was certainly Fenerbahçe that took up this role. In the 1980s, football was a common topic of public discussion, and the Kadiköy residents would gather in the Kalamış and Yoğurtçu parks after football matches to celebrate Fenerbahçe victories. Indeed, the Kalamış and Yoğurtçu parks that had traditionally been used by young people were reconfigured under football venues. Moreover, the Turkish coffee houses in Kuşdili street that traditionally been a common haunt for the residents of Kadiköy through its pubs were also reconstructed under the football after the fans began using them as meeting places of Fenerbahçe fans and furthermore the football festival of 1989 contributed effectively to the reconfiguration of the traditional communal areas of the street, such as Şaşkın-Bakkal and Divan patisserie. The Şaşkın-Bakkal of the 1960s was identified with its cinemas and as a meeting point for young people, while it came to be used by the fans of Fenerbahçe in the late 1980s. In this way, football was reinvented in the history of Bağdat Street and reawakened the sedimented metaphors and myths

that lay behind the history of the Fenerbahçe club. The street entered a period of new socio-spatial practices through the cultural celebration, indeed the physical aesthetics provided the condition for the celebration of cultural events, as the one-lane street with wide pedestrian zones and ample street furniture was more appropriate for celebratory events. In this regard, everything is related to everything else: the sociocultural attributes encouraged and inspired one another to modify and reconstruct the dominant attribute within the structure of space, such as the spectacular culture associated with the physical aesthetics of the street to encourage the appearance of the culture of celebration.

In summary, the 1980s of the street was a period of transition for the traditional attribute, in which street entered a new phase of development. Globalization, the military coup and the liberal market were the three main factors in the (re)structuring of street activities. They contribute to structure socio-physical structure of the street to stimulate the new happenings, as the culture of celebration.

The following section presents Bağdat Street in the late 1990s and the twenty-first century. Bağdat Street as the sociocultural phenomenon integrated into the global market while the late 1990s saw intense changes in land-uses and the twenty-first century witnessed the rise of a complicated sociocultural phenomenon with multifarious modes of existence. Indeed, for the twenty-first century, it is hard to predict how the street will develop as a result of the incessant interaction of attributes.

7.3. Third Generation; Street Culture

The third generation is characterized by the complete adaptation of the dominant attributes of the 1960s to the changed contextual attributes, leading to a shift from shared attributes (sea-baths, nightclubs and pubs) to street celebrations, rallies, protests and dynamic everyday life (mixed land-uses and 24-hours living) with the arrival of brand café-restaurants and department stores. Contextual attributes,

including 'the economic-welfare of the street', 'structured everyday life (24-hour living and mixed land-use)', 'the industrialization of football (spatial/cultural activities of the local club, including the opening of Fenerium stores and match-day celebrations)', 'the physical beautification of late 1980 and 2005 (e.g. enlarged pedestrian areas and restored furniture)', 'the terrace architecture of the street facades', 'high land values', 'high rents', 'upper-middle class residents', 'Kemalist residents', 'accessible public-private transportation', 'the developed private sector', 'street celebrations', 'transformation projects', 'the political vision of the local municipality', 'the diversity of users' and 'the victory of the Justice Party and Development Party in 2002' (Table 7.6), all contributed to the full modification and turn-around of the traditional dominant attributes (e.g. sea-baths and pubs). Indeed, the reconfiguration of the dominant attributes started in the late 1970s, but reached a higher level of order in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Accordingly, the forms of the traditional shared activities (e.g. sea-baths and nightclubs) were transformed as part of the adaptation to allow the permanent-use of the street as a residential-commercial and recreational minor city center. The study revealed that the forms and types of activities changed, while the inter-subjective knowledge of the context, as a place of entertainment, social and recreation, was continuously reconstructed and modified.

Table 7.6: Reconstruction of Dominant Attributes of Street's Sociocultural Phenomenon-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

	1995-2002	2002-2013
Dominant Attributes	Dominant attribute from shared space (nightclubs, cinema, sea-baths) to street culture (demonstration culture, consumption culture)	Dominant attribute from street culture to **place identity** (national place, political place, festival place, popular place with sense of pleasure)
Contextual Dynamics Supporting Dominant Attributes	Contextual dynamics to reconfiguration dominant attribute; 'terrace architecture', 'high-value land uses', 'high rent', 'upper-class residents', 'Kemalist (Ataturk) profile of residents', 'structured socio-physical structure', 'accessible public-private transportation', 'daily needs of residents', 'physical aesthetics', 'develop private sector', 'football celebrations', 'meaningful places of street', 'internet', 'transformation projects', 'diversity of users'	Contextual dynamics to reconfiguration dominant attribute; 'socio-physical structure of street', 'social network', 'upper-middle class profile of residents', 'diversity of users', 'public-private transportation', 'high land values', 'intensively integrated in global and national market', 'industrialized football sector', 'economic-welfare of street', 'CHP local municipality', 'socio-political visions of Fenerbahçe club', 'myths', 'meaningful place of street for public', 'physical restoration of street', 'physical restoration Fenerbahçe stadium', 'dynamic and active life of street'.
Turkey and Istanbul	Turkey and Istanbul; Political conflict (modern and postmodern; westernization and Islamic ideologies), economic crisis.	Turkey and Istanbul; AKP-government, intensively integrated in global market, Istanbul calls as cultural capital and world city

The dominant attributes of the context deconstructed to reconstruct the contextual relations through the policies of the newly added social agents. In this regard, the globalization process and liberal market were two majors making differences on the predominated sociocultural relations. The spectacular culture of globalization process and privatization liberal market on the sociocultural structure of Bağdat Street reached a peak in the late 1990s and in the twenty-first century, when the empty commercial units of the street were taken up by national and international brands. Marks & Spencer replaced the Atlantic cinema in Şaşkın-Bakkal, while Converse, Nike, Mango and many other well-known global brands settled along the street. Moreover, shopping malls, department stores and fast-food outlets such as McDonald's and Burger King characterized the new lifestyle of the street. Thus, the shared attributes of the 1970s were reconfigured under the consumption culture of the global market, and the communal activities in the street were no

longer identified with the cinema, nightclubs and sea-baths. Indeed, the contextual attributes contributed to the emergence of new attributes in the structure of space, but with preserving the traditional cultures of the place to construct a place for a diversity of users and a diversity of activities. In this regard, the significant contextual attributes of the late 1990s included physical aesthetics, structured everyday life, the educated profile of the residents and the football celebrations. In fact, the educated and upper-class residents of the street were all very interested in change and novelty adopting socio-spatial products of globalization process. Therefore, the traditional dominant attribute of the context enriched through new modes of existence. Young people no longer sat on the street walls to chat and watch the world go by, as the terrace-style architecture of the restaurants and cafés provided a high-class environment with ideal opportunities for self-presentation and sightseeing; the terrace architecture of the cafés was shaped under influence of the spectacular culture of the globalization process. Indeed, the physical and land-use changes contributed to a reconfiguration of the shared activities of the 1970s under the spectacular culture of the globalization process, and so the physical strategies provided the condition for the integration of local attributes with the global level. In this sense, dynamic everyday life, a diversity of communal activities as café-restaurant, brand shops and street celebrations, caused the traditional shared activities of the street, such as car races, nightclubs and pubs, to be left behind. In fact, the visual aesthetics of the street through its fashion stores encourage young people to stroll and pass the time in the pedestrian areas, stores and cafés along the street. Furthermore, the physical structure was reconfigured to answer the daily lives of the residents. The service sector was in development, and so people no longer had a need to go to the Kadiköy center. In comparison to the 1980s, Bağdat Street was characterized by dynamic everyday life in the late 1990s.

On the other side of the coin were the explosion in rents and the many transformation projects. The liberal market brought investments to places with potential for economic gain, and the upper-class and educated profile of the

residents encourage a great deal of private-sector development of Bağdat Street as a sub-branch of the capital (center: Beyoğlu). This process resulted in a rapid rise in land values, rent explosions and real-estate activities. Indeed, the liberal modernization shifted the sociocultural phenomenon into one of competition between land owners, leading the late 1990s of the street to be characterized by its upper-class and luxurious image.

That said, Bağdat Street was not only under the influence of the liberal modernization attributes, in 1995, the street witnessed a Republican ceremony that could be considered as a turning point in the political vision of the street. The Kemalist residents embraced the Republican heritage, although the identity of residents alone would not be enough to see Bağdat Street emerge as a place of Republican rallies. The Republic celebrations had been held traditionally in the Fenerbahçe club and in Alti-Yol Square, the event moved to Bağdat Street following the siting of the Bull sculpture at the center of Alti-Yol square while the Fenerbahçe club made use of the street for celebrations of its victories since1989 onwards, and so Bağdat Street, with its appropriate physical qualities and structured everyday life, as well as the common political vision and contextual consciousness shared with the Fenerbahçe club, was from then on considered as the ideal site for Republican rallies. According to Bağiş Erten (Interview: age 35, October 2013), *'the Republican rally of 1995 was in continuity with the Fenerbahçe celebrations'*. This study underlines the dialectical relations among the shared attributes of Bağdat Street, where the mode of being is not a simple reality, as it appears out of the dialectical relations of the attributes. The Republic celebration is made possible through the integration of different attributes, from the social profile of the residents to the Fenerbahçe celebrations. For one resident (Interview: age 40, October *2013), the Republic Day and Fenerbahçe celebrations have the same essence: both represent the heritage of Atatür*k', which is what lies behind the Fenerbahçe club myth that '*Ataturk was a Fenerbahçe fan*' (Interview: age 65, October 2013).

Therefore, the late 1990s, Bağdat Street carried many diverse attributes, ranging from the abstract to the concrete, among those the culture of demonstration, cafés and consumption emerged in the late 1990s were the reconstructed dominant attributes, allowing different layers of society to come together. Indeed, the dominant inter-subjective attribute of the 1970s reconstructs its own capacities to bring about the demonstration, consumption and café cultures. In this regard, the communal activities surrounding Şaşkın-Bakkal as nightclubs and cinema were reconstructed under the contextual attributes to become a place of demonstration, multiple café-restaurants and brand stores.

The twenty-first century brought a complicated image to the sociocultural phenomenon, when Bağdat Street witnessed modes of being that ranged from the global to local with the conquest of Justice and Development Party (AKP). In this regard, the economic-political changes had the effects on the socio-spatial, economic and political developments of the street. While the famous brands competed to settle in the street, and this led to high rents and the extension of the commercial-physical structure of the street towards the Bostancı neighborhood, the spatial-political policies of AKP aimed to annihilate the republican profile of the street. Destruction of the gained consciousness over a century was a challenging process for political power; administrative powers followed two policies to approaching destination. One was the housing projects aimed to change the social profile of street, with the new residents of the high-rise residential buildings being inconsistent with the Kemalist profile of the existing inhabitants. According to one Bostancı resident (Interview: age 65, October 2013), *'the inconsistency decreased both neighborhood relations and security'*. Moreover, the constant construction projects brought about an increase in neighborhood density, and were detrimental to the communal spirit of the neighborhood. According to other female resident of Bostancı (Interview: age 55, October 2013), *'the crowded street was no longer the preferred place for older residents, and people no longer trust each other'*. The other policy was the political coup against Fenerbahçe club,

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which it was the significant power broadcasting the republican ideologies in the structure of the street.

In the continuity of the late twenty century, Bağdat Street began to witness social and political demonstrations that reconfigured both the traditional shared places along the street, among which were Şaşkın-Bakkal, Suadiye Square, Divan patisserie, Ruşdiye Alley, Fenerbahçe Football Club, Yoğurtçu Park and Alti-Yol Square. Indeed, the celebrations and demonstrations contributed to the identification of the street as a communal area with a diversity of users, rather than being exclusively for upper- and middle-class use. Accordingly, the football sector maintained great influence on the economic and socio-spatial development of the street as a popular center that brought together people of different class, sex and age on a regular basis to experience Bağdat Street. The spatial development of the street as a place of differences and diversity extended the street towards Kiziltoprak and around the Fenerbahçe stadium, and so the luxurious image portrayed by the upper-class users of the street found balance through the cultural celebrations. Thereby, the upper-middle class fabric of the residents and the luxurious physical structure did not decline the diversity of the street users. While the Cadde-Bostan-Suadiye side of the street was extremely popular among the upper-class residents, Kiziltoprak and the area around the Fenerbahçe stadium were characterized by the lower class groups. Indeed, the diversity of street users' resulted in a variety of applications those changed from Bostancı to Fenerbahçe stadium. While Bostancı was seen as the residential area of the upper-middle class, Suadiye-Cadde-Bostan was identified intensely as an area of mixed-use street activities, and towards the Fenerbahçe stadium, the luxurious image of street was replaced by private service sector companies, such as a private hospital. Hence the density of the street was not evenly spread along its length, from high-density Cadde-Bostan-Suadiye to low-density Bostancı and Fenerbahçe, although this is only true for the regular street life. On Fenerbahçe match days, the density distribution of the street witnesses a dramatic change. In the early evening the most observable density can be seen in Cadde-Bostan-Suadiye, but as match hour

approaches, the density shifts to Kiziltoprak, Fenerbahçe-Kalamış Street, and to the areas around the stadium, such as Yoğurtçu Park and Kuşdili Street. This does not mean that Cadde-Bostan-Suadiye is stripped of its density, as families and women flock to the Şaşkın-Bakkal and Cadde-Bostan café-restaurants to watch the match. According to one Fenerbahçe resident (Interview: age 70, October 2013), *'in spite of the particular architecture of Fenerbahçe club, aimed at accommodating families and women, the aggressive nature of football keeps many families and children from attending'*. Women generally prefer to follow events related to the Fenerbahçe club in such places as the 'Fenerbaçeliler Derneği[80]' in Alti-Yol Square. In general, the people who come from the center of Kadiköy and the west side of Istanbul use the Kiziltoprak and Kuşdili restaurants, while the residents use those in Cadde-Bostan-Suadiye and Fenerbahçe-Kalamış to watch the matches.

Events surrounding the Fenerbahçe Football Club change the image of street into major festivity center in Kadiköy. For Selami Öztürk (Interview: age 65, October 2013), *'every 15 days, people witness street celebrations'*. The public-private transport network contributes to the reconstruction street as a place of festivity for different groups of society. Indeed, from a historical perspective, Bağdat Street has always embraced different groups of society, and when the liberal market started to create give the street a luxurious image, the Fenerbahçe celebrations brought balance back to the street users. Moreover, the football sector boosts the street economy, in that football invites large groups to the street, animating the street economy of the monotonous development. According to one Fenerbahçe employee (Interview: age 65, October 2013), '*Football events enhance the economic welfare of the street'* while events surrounding Fenerbahçe are broadcast incessantly in the media and across social networks, encouraging national, international brands to settle in Bağdat Street as a center of economic development. This raises the land values, and brings about the emergence of luxurious residential buildings, a rapid transformation of residential buildings to

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[80] Fenerbahçe Association; founded in 1986.

commercial use, high rents for commercial units and intense real-estate activity; hence the street develops in two poles. On one side, the land values rise, leading to intense settlement by the upper classes, while on the other side, the cultural-physical structure develops while attempting to maintain the diversity of users.

In addition to Fenerbahçe celebrations, every year on 29th October the street is host to a traditional Republic rally, having appropriated a republican heritage through the common political vision of its residents and that of the Kadiköy municipality. These play a significant role in defining the street as a center for Republic celebration. According to some Fenerbahçe residents (Interview: age 70, October 2013), *'republic celebrations are held all over Turkey, but Bağdat Street has become the refuge of the Republic and a symbol of Republican tradition'*. This belief is based on the historical story that the residents of Kadiköy helped Atatürk during the War of Independence, and that Atatürk thereafter had much respect and love for Kadiköy, particularly Fenerbahçe Football Club. This is a common belief among residents, who claim that *'the Republic celebrations and Fenerbahçe club are both heritages of Atatürk that belong to Kadiköy'*. Indeed, Fenerbahçe celebrations and Republic celebrations both carry the same messages related to the Republic, democracy and equality. According to a Bostancı resident (Interview: age 60, October 2013), *'the Kemalist social profile of the residents underlines the qualities of equality and justice.'* When three major actors, the Fenerbahçe club, residents and local municipality present a common political vision, street life becomes structured under the shadow of all three, and in doing so, gains national significance, particularly after the Şike scandal of 2011[81]. In Şike scandal, Bağdat Street is the venue for social-political demonstrations by many different groups of society in support of Fenerbahçe club.

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[81] In 2011, a scandal came to light in Turkish sports related to the fixing of matches, incentive premiums, bribery, establishing a criminal organization, extortion, threat and intimidation in Turkey's top two association football divisions. In the summer of 2011, Turkish police launched an investigation into 19 football matches that were suspected of being fixed, and by 10 July, 61 individuals had been arrested, including club managers and Turkish national players. On 3 July 2011, people marched in Bağdat Street in support of the football community. The demonstration brought people from different clubs together with local residents in support of the football community.

Besides Şike fight, the Gezi Park event [82] reconfigured the socio-political activities of the street; people chanted slogans used in the Taksim demonstrations in support of people. Indeed, after the Taksim-Gezi events, sociocultural events have taken on different meanings, when people take advantage of any opportunity to bring up the injustices of Gezi Park and Taksim Square, says Ilyas Buclay (Interview: age 60, October 2013). The social relations of the street are reconstructed under the influence of events at national and global scales, extending the street beyond the boundaries of Kadiköy and Istanbul as a social reality that projects the voices of many. Furthermore, people experience the street with past memories of it, in that the liberal market and globalization process on the social space have been unable to dilute its sedimented cultures. Those who settle in the luxurious terrace-style cafés do so with the embodied knowledge of the street. Indeed, the globalization process injected the American-lifestyle into people's lives, from shabby clothes to branded fast food outlets, cafés and shopping malls, but without disrupting the sense of community. Therefore, the mixed-use of the physical structure of the street accompanies the sociocultural and political activities in the creation of a sociocultural community.

In summary, the sociocultural phenomenon is a consequence of the dialectical relationship between many attributes, all of which rely on the existence of the others. Sociocultural celebrations emerge out of the mixed-use physical structure of the street, the social profile of its residents, etc., and in turn, the mixed-use physical structure of the street develops as a result of the sociocultural celebrations. Therefore, the construction of the phenomenon depends on factors that range from the abstract to the concrete, but among all the attributes, the sociocultural, political demonstrations, the sense of place and national identity of street are the attributes of the street that are shared the most, in that they bring people together in an intense form. These are the dominant attributes of Bağdat Street that are modified setting of the traditional habits of the street. Thereby, the

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[82] In late May 2013, plans to redevelop Gezi Park in the heart of Istanbul into a complex containing a mosque and a shopping mall brought about months of protests all over the country.

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sociocultural phenomenon transforms from within under the contextual changes, hence the dominant attributes of the twenty-first century carry the same message as those of the 1970s, as both underline the communal life of the street, although in different ways. In short, the street follows the line of progression from within, as is the nature of any sociocultural phenomenon, which listens to its inner voice in the process of development.

Finally, the study synthesizes the (re)construction of the street throughout these three generations. To do that, the analysis focuses on the conceived attributes that dominated people's conception about the street, what made people to associate those concepts to the street, and when and why those concepts broke up and transformed into a new concept in the following period.

7.4. Discussion

This section details Bağdat Street over three generations to explain the process-based (re)construction of the sociocultural phenomenon, which underlines the completeness of the socio-spatial and economic relations of the locality to integrate within the upper scales. In the first generation of the study (1900–1950), the cultural phenomenon was identified with the disintegrated morphology and functionality of the structure, that prevented the road being referred to as a sociocultural phenomenon.

The disintegrated socio-spatial and economic relations were in danger of annihilation through trivial changes. Indeed, the contextual attributes of the early twentieth century were the initial traces presented the line of future development. The study presents the line of development with the dominant attributes of the context during 1900-1950 years, as presented in Table 7.7:

Table 7.7: Dominant Attributes of 1900-1950 Years-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Activities	Location of Activities	General Constructed Culture
Nightclubs (Casino)	Suadiye; Fenerbahçe; Alti-Yol,	Diversity of users, Diversity of activities, Social-recreational place
Cinema (Outdoor, indoor)	Kalamış; Yoğurtçu Park; Kuşdili; Şaşkın-Bakkal-Suadiye	
Sea-Baths (Dance competitions, boating)	Cadde-Bostan; Fenerbahçe; Suadiye; Moda, Erenkoy	
Pub	Fenerbahçe, Fener-Kalamış	
Meeting points for young people	Cadde-Bostan-Suadiye; Alti-Yol	
Fenerbahçe stadium	Kiziltoprak	

In the 1950s, the street witnessed many changes to its physical structure under the development plan to transform the seasonal image of the street into one of a permanent settlement in Istanbul. The Fuzzy Cognitive Map for the period (FCM) (see Chapter six: Figure 6.5) indicates that the dominant attributes (sea-baths, nightclubs and pubs) (Table 7.8) did not integrate with the implemented projects (e.g. physical development as two-lane automobile road and housing projects), as they were the intermediary strategies and projects to reconfigure the dominant attributes. Indeed, the socio-spatial and economic relations of the implemented projects were inconsistent with the socio-recreational attributes of the context while the weak economy of the street seriously prevented the reconfiguration of the dominant attributes. The applied intermediary strategies included physical changes, the construction of the Ankara road, the Floor Ownership Law, the granting of permission for the construction of four- and five-story buildings, new modes of transportation, the opening of Bosphorus Bridge, the arrival of upper-class residents, and the acceptance of globalization and the liberal market into the social space of the 1950–1980 years aimed to the configuration of everyday life in the street, although the dominant attributes resisted the contextual strategies until 1980s. In the 1980s, the street witnessed reconfiguration of the dominant attributes under the spectacular culture of the globalization process, developing private sectors, structured daily life and physical policies of local municipality. Indeed, the liberal market accelerated the completeness of everyday life through private sector development and the shift residential buildings to the commercial

use on either side of the street, while the physical aesthetics provided an appropriate physical structure to local-global interplays. Thereby, the late 1980s of the street witnessed the relationship between the local-city and global, and reached a peak in the twenty-first century.

The street of the twenty-first century carries the complex image of the sociocultural phenomenon with the interaction of multiple layers, while traditional dominant attributes fully being reconfigured under the contextual attributes of the twenty-first century. What had been the place of nightclubs and cinemas transformed into a place of socio-political demonstration, public leisure, fashion stores and café-restaurants (Table 7.8). In short, the cultural practices refer to 'the inter-cultural site (diversity)' and 'the site of entertainment' reconfigured over three generations. The street in the twenty-first century is identified by its diversity of users and as a place of leisure, similar to the street of the early Republic.

Table 7.8: Dominant Attributes of the Twenty-First Century**-**Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Activities	Location of Activities
Café-restaurant, public place activities, department and fashion stores	Şaşkın-Bakkal, Suadiye, Cadde-Bostan
Fenerbahçe celebrations	Kiziltoprak, Yoğurtçu Park, Kuşdili, Ruşdiye, Suadiye, Şaşkın-Bakkal, Divan patisserie, Kalamış, Alti-Yol, Kadiköy Harbor
Republic rallies	Şaşkın-Bakkal, Suadiye
Political demonstrations	Şaşkın-Bakkal, Suadiye

The construction of the sociocultural phenomenon calls for a process-based development that contains intermediary strategies to connect the local-city to the global levels. Socio-spatial and economic relations become integrated into the local level to connect with the city and the rest of the world. The street of the early Republic, with its disintegrated relations, could not communicate with Istanbul. In the 1950s, attempts were made to connect a local to city, which prepares the context for further development.

To sum up, the study presents the dominant culture that developed their own capacities over the years based on the provided contextual attributes (Table 7.9), indeed the cultural practices protect the inherencies in the process of construction and reconstruction to extension the boundaries of the shared existence from simplicity to complexity while the context-dependent developed knowledge brings together different generations. In short, the sociocultural attributes incessantly reconstruct to promote the capacities of the knowledge, place, form and activity of the dominant knowledge (Luria, 1976 and Fuller, 1993).

Table 7.9: Dominant Attribute during Three Generations in the Process of Reconstruction-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Pre-1923	1923–1940	1940–1950	1950–1965	1965–1973	1973–1980	1980–1995	1995–2002	2002–2013
No daily life	No daily life	No daily life	Daily life in configuration; here daily life refers to permanent settlement (residential building)	Daily life in configuration; here daily life refers to permanent settlement (residential building)	Daily life refers to permanent car-race, residence, strolling and sightseeing, private-public sector, contextual meanings	Daily life refers to permanent strolling, chatting, residence, public-private sector, contextual meanings	Daily life refers to intensive shopping mixed land use, residence, developed private sector, meanings	Daily life refers to intensive shopping mixed land use, residence, developed private sector, indoor and outdoor activities, meanings
Dominant culture out of boundary of street	Dominant culture out of boundary of street	Dominant culture with new practice as youth in street	Dominant culture does not considerably adopt changes.		Dominant culture gradually adopts changes	Dominant culture is in reconstruction under daily life of the street	Dominant culture is modified to street culture	Continuity of reconfiguration of street culture
Unstructured physical and social structure as a street	Unstructured physical and social structure as a street	Appearance some changes in physical and social structure	Forming physical structure with weak social structure	Forming Physical structure with weak social structure	Developing socio-physical structure of the street	Developing socio-physical structure	Developed socio-physical structure	Integrated socio-physical structure under local-global interplay
Diffused summer settlements and resorts around Kadiköy center	Diffused summer settlements and resorts	Intensive summer settlements and resorts in street neighborhoods	Diffused physical projects to structure permanent-use of street	Diffused physical projects	Construction street neighborhoods, strolling and chatting in street, car-races	Neighborhoods, Street festival, strolling, chatting, car-races, a few indoor space	Forming indoor-outdoor relations, rallies, festivities, shopping	Interactive outdoor-indoor spaces, festivities, rallies, protest, shopping
Local Culture					Transition to street culture (urban culture)	Street culture		

Up to now, the study has addressed the second research question of the study, elaborating on the (re)construction of the dominant attribute over three generations. The dominant inter-subjective knowledge of the context, based on the shared activities of the Muslim/non-Muslim population in the early twenty century, is based on sociocultural celebrations, rallies, political opposition and communal indoor activities (cafés, restaurants, shopping malls and department stores) in the twenty first century. The following chapter explains the hierarchical configuration of the sociocultural phenomenon (street) within the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

CHAPTER 8

THE HIERARCHICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT

This chapter explains the development of Bağdat Street within a hierarchical structure of the conceived attributes, by addressing the third research question: "Which socio-political and spatial relations may have prepared the context for those attributes to settle as the part of the urban culture?" This part of the study uncovers the socio-political and spatial attributes that contributed to (re)construction of the sociocultural phenomenon, referring to the scalar configuration of place. In this regard, the study generated cognitive maps from interviewed descriptions by adopting the FCM methodology (see Chapter Six) and by using historical documents to elaborate relations and interactions of scales in the construction of the scalar (hierarchical) structure of space. Indeed, there is a complicated procedure that lies behind the construction of sociocultural phenomenon in which the attributes are the outputs of the dialectical relations of different scales. Global products and policies must convince national and local agents to get involved at the local and citizen scales, since globalized processes and liberal market cannot get involved in social space without the permission of actors at national and local scales. In this regard, this study claims that any sociocultural phenomenon can come into being only with the interaction of different scales. On the other hand, the social reality is inspired from the local scale, and explores sequentially opportunities and possibilities at the national and global scales. In this regard, external dynamics have no reality, yet any existing dominant dynamic contributes to (re)construction of socio-spatial reality.

Taking this as a point of departure, this chapter discusses the hierarchical development of sociocultural context in three sections. The first focuses on Bağdat Street in the twentieth century, which prepares the construction of sociocultural phenomenon under local influence, and how it sequentially created new opportunities and possibilities influenced by what went on at global and national scales. This provides clues about the scalar configuration of sociocultural phenomenon. In this period, the street witnessed two major influences: "the industrialization starting the 1950s" and "the 1980 coup d'état". The second section elaborates how Bağdat Street became integrated into the global market in the twenty-first century. The sociocultural phenomenon in this period is identified by two major events: "Industrialization of football" and "the electoral victory of Justice and Development Party (AKP)". In the twenty first century, street is identified with relational interactions of the conceived attributes through the incessant communication of scales. Finally, the third section synthesizes the (re)construction of the street throughout these two centuries. To do that, the analysis focuses on the conceived attributes that dominated people's conception about the street, what made people to associate those concepts to the street, and when and why those concepts broke up and transformed into a new concept in the following period.

8.1. Bağdat Street in the Twentieth Century

This section presents an analysis of Bağdat Street with the aim of unveiling the ongoing gradual socio-spatial development of the sociocultural phenomenon under the influence of dynamics at local, urban, national and global scales. To this end, the study analyses the street of the twentieth century in four historical periods. While the focus is on the twentieth century, the study begins with a discussion of the (re)structuring of the street in the pre-nineteenth and nineteenth centuries to show the genesis of the contextual attributes. Following on from the Ottoman Empire, the political change in 1923 (with the proclamation of the Republic) had only a minor effect on the hierarchical structure of space, while the

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second change dates back to the 1950s when an economic-political change took place in Turkey, that saw a switch from a single-party to a multiple-party system and the advent of industrialization. The third period refers to the debut of decentralization policies (e.g. Property Ownership Law) in 1965 in an attempt to turn Kadiköy and Bağdat Street into small city centers on the eastern side of the Bosphorus. Finally, the study explains the post-1980 period following the coup d'état, the start of the globalization process and the onset of the neo-liberal economy. Accordingly, the dominant attributes (e.g. sea-baths, pubs and nightclubs) of the pre-republic era had been defined under an interplay of Ottoman regulations (e.g. cadastral mapping and right to ownership by non-Muslims) and local scale. In the early years of the republic, city policies held influence at the local scale, with the Prost plan in particular influencing change in the traditional dominant attributes (e.g. sea-baths). That said, the prepared plan failed to contribute to the integration of the local and city scale due to the lack of a transportation network to connect the western and eastern Bosphorus. In the 1950s, with the political change from a single-party to multiple-party system and closure of the Democratic Party, Istanbul witnessed physical changes under the Menderes government. Menderes' urbanization policy aimed to reconstruct Istanbul's hinterlands and connect them at a city scale, but his physical interventions, lacking a socioeconomic perspective, prevented such juxtaposition. In this regard, the traditional dominant attributes (e.g. sea-baths and pubs) of the late Ottoman era were still the dominant cultures of the context until the late 1970s, when, under decentralization policies, the liberal economy and the globalization process, the interplay of the city-local-global scales brought about a (re)structuring of space. This contributed to the reconfiguration and modification of the traditional dominant attributes into such street activities as street festivals and self-presentation in brand café-restaurants as part of the spectacular culture of the globalization process. Indeed, such decentralization strategies as the Property Ownership Law and the granting of permission for four-story buildings contributed to the gradual increase in land values, which encouraged people to make permanent rather than seasonal use of space. This has been a brief summary

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of what will be discussed in the following parts. For each period, the study makes a summary of the period, and then elaborates the period in as much detail as possible. The periods can be defined as 'pre-republic era', 'young republic (1923–1950)', 'Menderes Government (1950–1965)', 'Decentralization policy, globalization and the Bosphorus Bridge (1965-1980)' and the 'Globalization process and liberal economy (1980–late 1990s)'.

-Pre-Republic Era (Ottoman Empire): In the nineteenth century the dominant attributes (e.g. pubs and nightclubs) of the street were under the influence of Ottoman regulations and the local scale. Indeed, the street was in an early phase of development, aiming to satisfy the local demands of the non-Muslims and civil servants. In this regard, the dominant attributes of the context were configured around shared activities, including sea-baths, cinemas, pubs, night clubs and the temporary summer settlements that answered the demands of the residents (see Chapter Six: Figure 6.9). Kadiköy and its surroundings were the permanent residence of the Levantine population, and were used by Ottoman civil servants in the summer season. Accordingly, the interplay between Ottoman regulations (e.g. cadastral mapping and parceling) and the local scale contributed to transform the military and agricultural context of Kadiköy and the commercial and military-use of Bağdat road into a place of socio-recreational activities. The recreational identity of the road was the result of the lack of a physical connection between Istanbul and its hinterlands.

Therefore, the interplay between the late Ottoman Empire regulations and local scales constructed the hierarchical organization of the street as a place (Figure 8.1). Accordingly, the social context of Kadiköy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was identified by the civil servants and educated non-Muslim residents, and it grew into the most modern and significant Istanbul suburb as a result of the administrative (Tanzimat) reforms including land divisions, the development of the summer residences and the development of the sea and railway transport networks contributing to the popularity of the Kadiköy and its

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surrounding (Bağdat road). Indeed, Kadiköy gave birth to Bağdat road through construction Kadiköy center with the cadastral mapping and parceled lands, while Bağdat began to use as a suburban to Kadiköy with summer resorts as nightclubs and sea-baths.

In this regard, the city scale had only a limited role on the construction of space, and so the local space developed independently of the city's problems. Figure 8.1 explains the hierarchical construction of the social context under the influence of the national policies. The city scale had very little influence in the construction of Bağdat Street in the early-twentieth century, as the sociocultural projects of the context developed rather under national influence by administrative regulations of Ottoman Empire and that of the local residents' demands such as recreational-social places (e.g. pubs and sea-baths).
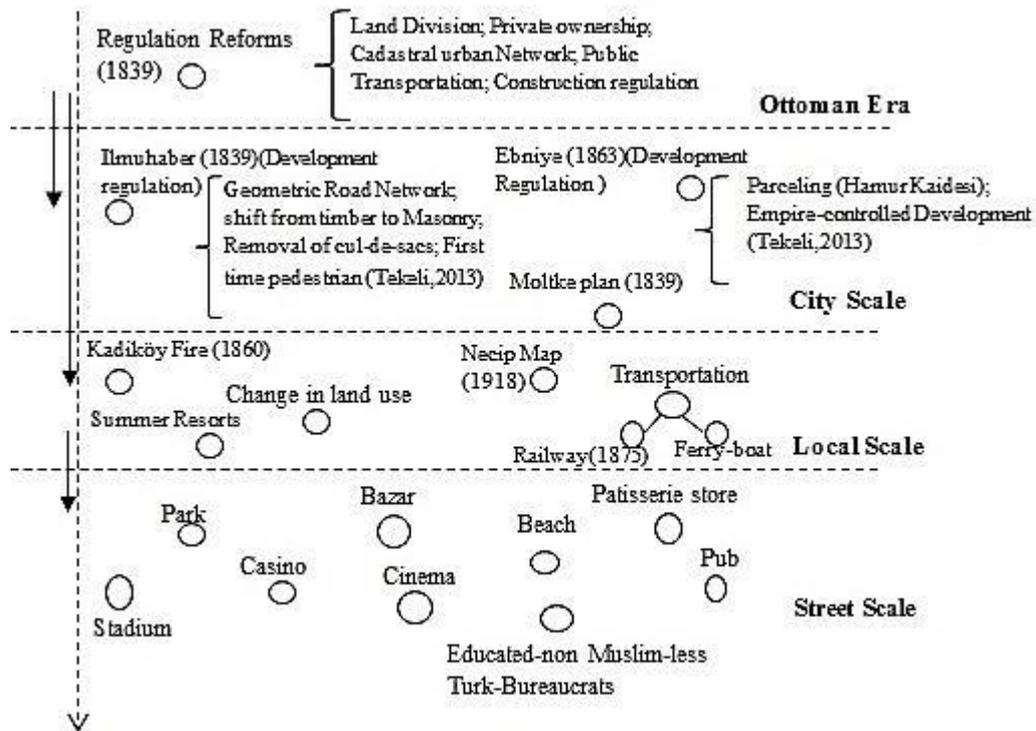

Figure 8.1: Juxtaposition of Hierarchical Attributes pre-Republic; Late Ottoman era (Hierarchical Structure)-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

The history of Bağdat Street and Kadiköy goes back to the pre-Byzantine period, when Megarean settled in the green lands on the shores of the Marmara Sea in Kurbağalidere (Bülbulderesi), Kalamış (Kalamışia) and Fenerbahçe (Hirera)[83]. In the Byzantine era, the eastern side of the Bosphorus was used by the Roman Empire as a summer resort, when Bağdat Street was most probably only a dusty road bringing merchants from Asia. With the collapse of Roman Empire, Kadiköy was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire with approximately 100 households (Mantran, 2001). The Romans left Constantinople and settled on the Marmara coast where they made a living either as sailors or from fishing, and the more wealthy Romans continued to use the village of Kadiköy and its surroundings as summer resorts up until the eighteenth century. In the early Ottoman Empire, Uskudar witnessed rapid development as the final stop for caravans coming from the East, and was a more appropriate connection to Istanbul, while Kadiköy and its surroundings were left mostly untouched. In that sense, the first settlement in Kadiköy was around Osmanağa Mosque and the summer settlements (Ekdal, 1996) while the western Bosphorus, which had not developed beyond the boundary of the Theodosian walls, had little effect in the development of the Eastern Marmara.

Indeed, the turning point in the socio-spatial development of Kadiköy and Istanbul was in the nineteenth century, when the administrative regulations were reformed under the influence of Western ideologies,[84] and it was in this period that Istanbul began to outgrow the Theodosian walls. The organic form of Istanbul, with narrow cul-de-sacs and wooden buildings, could not accommodate the influx of new residents, while the organic structure of city served to ease the spread of consecutive fires (Özcan, 2006). In this regard, a modern urban structure was

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[83] Sertaç Kayserilioğlu; 'Truva' dan, 'Körler Ülkesi' nden, 'Fenerbahçe' nin çim Sahalarina…' (Fenerbahçe Spor Kulübü Resmi Dergisi, p.76).
[84] The Ottoman Empire embraced modernization on 3th November, 1839 with the application of the Tanzimat reforms. These were essential to address the huge immigration to Istanbul that occurred in the 1789–1807 period. The Istanbul urban system also needed reform, leading to the Haussmann urban system, which was deemed applicable for the avoidance of fires with a grid-pattern urban form (Mimarlik No. 7, 1972).

required, calling for wide, straight streets and a cadastral urban form, and so proposals were put forward by Moltke, Aradin and Boudvart[85] suggesting a modern city based on western urban forms.

The first development plan was prepared by Moltke (1936–1939) for Mahmud II in the Ottoman Era, calling for enlarged roads and public squares while the eastern Bosphorus still had no organized urban form until a fire in Kadiköy cleared the way for the grid-based development of the region. For the first time, the street concept could be applied to Kadiköy in the form of Bahariye Street in the late-nineteenth century. Land divisions, the granting of private property, public transportation and construction regulations opened new doors for the socio-spatial development of Kadiköy, extending its boundaries to the Yerldeğirme, Moda, Osmanağa, Rasimpaşa and Haydarpaşa districts (Kuban, 1970). Istanbul and its hinterlands were in growth, compelling the central government to divide Istanbul into fourteen municipalities, and Kadiköy became independent district of Istanbul in 1860 (Mimarlik, No.7, 1972).

Following that, restrictions against the settlement of non-Muslims were removed, and the Ottoman administration started giving construction concessions to foreign nationals. Christians began settling in Kadiköy, where they used the green areas as resorts. They built sea-baths[86] in and around Moda, with separate facilities for men and women, while the Levantines who were engaged in commercial activities took up residence in the Moda, Bahariye, Alti-Yol, Yoğurtçu, Erenkoy and

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[85] Moltke's plan (1837–1839) proposed arteries to combine the different administrative regions with the old gates, and the replacement of wooden houses with masonry structures. Aradin proposed a railroad connection across the Anatolian shore (Uskudar) via a bridge with stylistic towers. Bouvard's (1902) proposal followed Beaux-Art principles, involving regularization, symmetrical compositions, the isolation of monuments and the creation of vistas, and also suggested several significant demolitions. A rational urban scheme was desired, and the proposals by Moltke and Bouvard included European features such as large squares and straight boulevards. Aradin's proposal, however, included Islamic features such as domes and minarets (Ibid. pp.107–125).

[86] Sea-baths were built out of timber for the summer and dismantled in the autumn. The materials were saved for re-use the following summer (Ekdal, 1996).

Bostancı neighborhoods[87]. Thereby, Kadiköy shifted from military to residential use, with the summer settlements of civil servants and the permanent settlements of the Levantine[88] population around Bağdat Street. The educated and cultured non-Muslims and non-Turks defined the sociocultural activities in the region, with the owners of the nightclubs and pubs being of Jewish and Roma origins. Accordingly, military facilities were replaced with modern land uses, including theaters, cafés, hotels and Yoğurtçu Park[89], and further socio-spatial developments of Kadiköy were with the opening of ferry lines[90] (Figure 8.1). These facilitated the crossing to the western side of the Bosphorus, while the railway [91]connected Kadiköy to Asia, extending along Bağdat Street. These new modes of transportation served to underline Kadiköy as a strategic location between the West and Anatolia.

Therefore, before the First World War, in the early twenty century, Kadiköy was a key district of Istanbul, as the seasonal residential-commercial center through the development of the steamboat and railways (Kültür Bakanliği ve Tarih Vakfi, 1994). Indeed the administrative regulations resulted in the village-like Kadiköy to spawn masonry settlements, public-cadastral infrastructures and the wooden summer palaces of civil servants. The wealthy and educated residents (civil servants and non-Muslim[92]) constructed Kadiköy using European technologies at a time when the ethnic structure of the area included Muslims (44%), Romans (28.5%) and Armenians (17.8%), according to the 1906–1907 census (Kültür Bakanliği ve Tarih Vakfi, 1994). In fact, a major factor in the development of a

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[87] Ibid. p. 44.
[88] Levantine families, including scientists, poets, writers, historians, doctors, artists and government officials built houses that they named after themselves in Kadiköy and its surroundings (Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi, 1994, pp.331-335).
[89] Yoğurtçu Park was constructed in 1914.
[90] The Marmara seashores were opened for use by non-Muslims and Non-Turks in 1846, when ferry services were put into operation from Kadıköy by Seyr-i Sefain, Fevaid-i Osmaniye, İdare-i Aziziye, İdare-i Mahsusa and Şirketi Hayriye companies (Tanrıverdi, 2006, pp. 71-133).
[91] There were two railways lines 1873–1875, with a route from Europe to Istanbul extending to the historical peninsula and a route from the Anatolian to the Asian side of the city (Akçura, 2010, p.90).
[92] The Administrative Regulation (Tanzimat Reforms): Land parceling for the construction of palaces for Ottoman civil servants and the granting of permission for the permanent settlement of non-Muslims in Kadiköy (Kültür Bakanliği ve Tarih Vakfi, 1994).

context was the social profile of the residents, the composition of different cultures promoted a civilized structure in Kadiköy.

-Bağdat Street between 1923 and 1950 (Young Republic): The First World War concluded with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and occupation of some parts of Turkey by British, French, Italian and Greek forces. After the success of the national resistance against the invaders, the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed on 29th October, 1923, after which administrative (Tanzimat) reforms were prepared to facilitate the construction of a modern Turkish nation. Following on from changes made in the latter years of the Ottoman Empire through regulatory reforms, Bağdat road was reconstructed as a place for seasonal-recreational activities in the early years of the republic. The development of a transport network, including trams, buses and taxis, brought security and contributed to development of two-story villas on the sites of the old wooden Ottoman palaces.. In this regard, the dominant attributes of the Bağdat road were (re)configured around the recreational-social activities, including sea-baths, pubs, nightclubs and outdoor cinemas, while the coastline of Bağdat road opened more to public-use for swimming, yachting and Miss Turkey competitions. Indeed, the street began to be heavily influenced by the decline in religious segregation, everyday life of Kadiköy center was structured, the transport network developed, and parts of the Bağdat road were pedestrianized and asphalted (Cadde-Bostan-Suadiye), and became a a meeting point for young people. The structured daily life of Kadiköy brought about a diffusion of the recreational activities on Bağdat road. Accordingly, by the late 1940s, Bağdat road had become to be known for its summer resorts, attracting people from both Kadiköy and from Istanbul as a whole, losing completely the identity it held during the Ottoman era as an agricultural area and military road. This contributed to the promotion of Kadiköy and Bağdat road as a strategic location connecting Istanbul to Anatolia.

Figure 8.2 shows the scalar configuration in the construction of space between 1923 and 1950. The city scale influenced local scale construction, although this

connection did not fully represent the integrated relationship that existed between the city and local scales. In fact, the local context developed under the modernization policies of the young Republic, influenced by fading religious beliefs and urban planning taking into account the increased use of automobiles. In this sense, although the Prost and Pervititch [93] plans aimed at the (re)construction of the context of the hinterlands to resolve the city-center problem, they failed to bring about the integration of the city and local scales as a result of inefficient transportation, a lack of physical connectivity between the western and eastern sides of the Bosphorus, and the lack of a comprehensive plan. In this regard, the plans contributed to the (re)configuration of the economic and socio-spatial life of Kadiköy center based on permanent use, and the Bağdat road as transit route, surrounded by a few permanent recreational-residential land uses, such as the Yacht Club on Fenerbahçe cape and residential projects in Suadiye and Fenerbahçe. This led people to continue using the traditional dominant attributes (e.g. nightclubs, pubs and sea-baths) of Bağdat road and brought about an increase in temporary summer settlements, which began to spread along the coastal road.

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[93] The Pervititch Plans 'the Insurance Plan', dated 1922, was derived from the 1890 map of the Galata and Pera regions drawn by R. Huber and the Goad maps. The Pervititch maps were used for insurance purposes until the large-scale reconstruction operations conducted by the Democratic Party in the 1950s (Sabancioğlu, 2003).
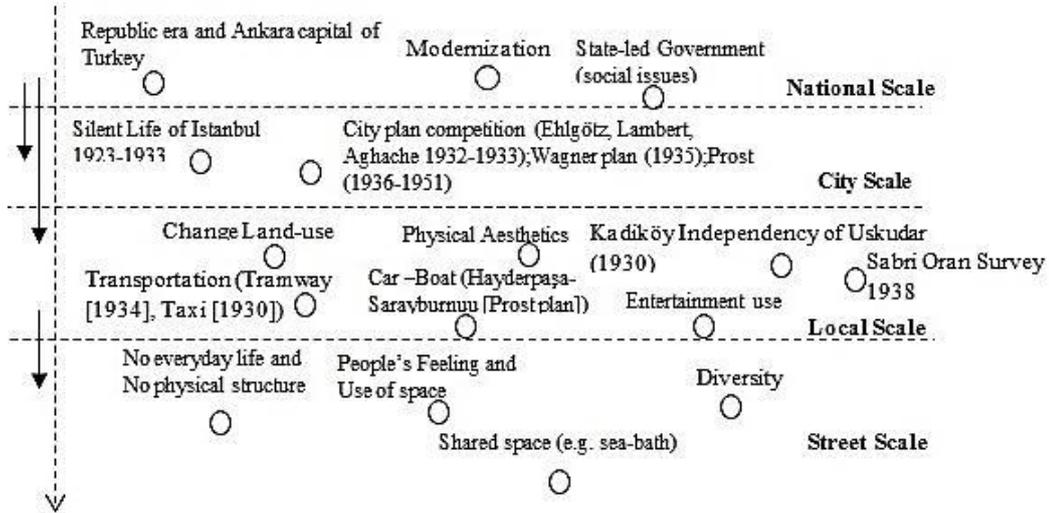
Figure 8.2: Juxtaposition of Hierarchical Attributes from 1923–1950 (Hierarchical Structure)-Source: Lotfata. A. (Author)

With the proclamation of republic, urban space and architecture were considered as a means of presenting visually the modern secular culture, and as Istanbul had been the capital of the Ottoman dynasty, many works were launched to present the modern culture, in this sense, a new capital was founded in Ankara, containing parks, squares, sociocultural facilities, modern hotels, large outdoor recreational areas and monuments, all of which were built based on the architectural language of the modern international movement that had manifested the young secular Republic. In this regard, for a decade, the socioeconomic life of Istanbul went into decline and many of the main commercial sectors left the city (Gül, 2009), while as one of the most developed hinterlands of Istanbul in the early republican era, Kadiköy saw its public and infrastructure services develop to a much greater degree than Istanbul's other hinterlands. Indeed, the socio-spatial infrastructure of Kadiköy had been constructed according to the needs of modern and educated residents, and based on development in transportation as tram, in the early twentieth century. These contextual attributes accelerated the development of Kadiköy as a strategic location connecting Istanbul to Anatolia in the Republican era.

Within the modernization of the republic, the permanent settlements of the non-Muslims and summer resorts of Ottoman servants were reconfigured to become the summer and permanent settlements of the Muslims and Turks. The Ottoman civil servants were forced to leave the territories of the Republic, and their wooden palaces that had been constructed in Kadiköy and along Bağdat Street were replaced with modern two-story concrete villas. Accordingly, Bağdat Street witnessed the beginning of the dynamic and modern beach life of Kadiköy's residents as the waterfront was opened up to women[94], as well as swimming, yachting and Miss Turkey competitions. In the early years of the Republic, the socio-spatial and economic structures of Bağdat Street and Kadiköy did not see many changes beyond those detailed above, similar to the trivial development witnessed in Istanbul in the early Republican era.

Kadiköy witnessed a silent process of development until late 1930 when Kadiköy became an independent district of Istanbul. After that time, development projects were launched to change the temporary and seasonal image of Kadiköy and its surroundings to become a residential and commercial center of Istanbul. The Greater Istanbul Municipality held a competition in 1930 that called on foreign planners to come up with a solution to the fragmented Istanbul structure. Ehlgötz (1933) proposed the transformation of Kadiköy into a commercial center in the 'Kadiköy Development Plan Survey (1938)'[95], which foresaw Kadiköy and the Marmara coast as a dense permanent settlement area and as a cadastral network connecting the neighborhoods to the Marmara shore. Indeed, the main intention in the plan was to gather the spatial fragments together on a city scale, as the disintegrated and incomplete socio-spatial and economic relations of Kadiköy had made it incomplete and unable to be juxtaposition with Istanbul (city scale). Accordingly, the integrated socio-spatial and economic relations of Kadiköy would lead to the development of Bağdat road, while Kadiköy serving as an intermediary in connecting Bağdat road to the city. In this sense, in the 1930s,

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[94] In the Ottoman Era, Muslim women were forbidden from using the Marmara beach under Islamic regulations (Interview: age 95, October 2013).
[95] Sabri Oran in 1938 (Mimarlik, No.7, 1972).

Bağdat road was planned as the highway[96] connecting Istanbul and Ankara, and so planning strategies focused on the transformation of the seasonal-recreational identity of the Marmara coastline and the Kadıköy center with permanent residential-recreational activities. The transit road (Bağdat Street highway) passed from Kiziltoprak, behind the Fenerbahçe stadium and the railway station towards Uskudar while the coastal nature of the road led to it being designated for tourism in future development, the first project conducted in this regard was on the Fenerbahçe cape, where summer settlement was replaced by a yacht club. Indeed, the Prost Plan underlined the preservation of the natural, cultural and historical heritages of the context, in that the Fenerbahçe cape was known for its magnificent nature, and so was planned for public use. Therefore, the plans purposed the reappointment of the recreational activities of the street with modern recreational land facilities, which led to the eastern Marmara coastline being planned for the permanent residential-recreational activities. Accordingly, Fenerbahçe and Suadiye neighborhoods were developed for residential use, and so strategies formed to replace the temporary image of the road with permanent uses (Mimarlik, No.7, 1972), while the Sarayburnu-Haydarpaşa car ferries accelerated the development of the context (Prost plan, 1939). However, the lack of a physical connection between Kadıköy and Istanbul still prevented the full integration of the hinterland to the city as a whole.

In summary, the Republican modernization program called for the integration of Istanbul with its hinterlands, and so the second half of the 1930s witnessed much transformation in this regard as structuring permanent use of Kadıköy center, transportation development (tram, bus and car ferry) and permanent recreational activities in the coastline. Indeed, the Prost Plan sought to create a 'beautiful and contemporary city', calling for the preservation of the coastline and the historical and cultural sites in the city, and sought to bring together Istanbul and hinterlands

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[96] A 25-meter wide highway connecting Istanbul, Izmit and Ankara (Mimarlik, No.7. 1972).

on a common platform[97], and this led to a trivial reconstruction of people's socio-spatial practices in the late 1940s. The asphalted Bağdat Street attracted the young people of the neighborhoods, who would pass the time there in the evenings while the tramway[98] and taxis enhanced the security of the road, and contributed to the development of summer resorts in the different neighborhoods along the road, from Kiziltoprak to Bostancı (see Chapter Six: Figure 6.7). The 1940 census put the numbers of residents at 57,901 while by the end of the decade, Kadiköy would be well known for its bazar, hotels, patisseries and new modes of transport; buses, taxis and trams, and so the summer settlements in the center of Kadiköy re-contextualized significantly around the Bağdat neighborhoods. Thereby, the Prost Plan had reconstructed the recreational, social and everyday activities of Kadiköy based on its permanent residential profile, while the Kadiköy summer events were diffused around Suadiye, Kiziltoprak, Erenkoy, Fenerbahçe and Bostancı neighborhoods. The development of the summer resorts can be understood from the Fuzzy Cognitive Map and Cognitive Spatial Map presented in Chapter six (Figure 6.7). By the late 1940s, Bağdat Street was a busy summer settlement while *Kadiköy center with its permanent daily life, residents no longer shop in Istanbul as the Kadiköy center answers the residents' needs'* (Interview: age 95, October 2013).

In short, the proposed plans[99] of the 1930s attempted to bring together the independent districts to resolve the city center demolished organic urban form. In this regard, in the late 1940s, Kadiköy functioned as a small city center, and Bağdat Street was the highway leading to the many summer settlements. Accordingly, the prost plans contributed to a reconfiguration of the permanent

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[97] Henri Prost, Master plan (1939) 'Anadolu Sahili Nazım Planını İzah Eden Rapor' (Mimarlik, Forum, No.7, 1972).

[98] Opened in 1934.

[99] The planning proposals of the early 1930s were drawn up by Agache, Lambart, Ehlgötz and Wagner. Agache: connecting inner districts with highways, with Istanbul as the economic center connecting Europe to the Middle East; Lambart: Istanbul of industry; Istanbul of culture; Istanbul of sport and tourism; Ehlgötz: Residential area outside the Istanbul boundary and a coastal road along the Marmara; and Wagner: Istanbul's problem is the relationship between the center and its hinterlands (Mimarlik, No.7, 1972).

profile of Kadiköy, and Bağdat Street came to be seen as the suburb of both Istanbul and Kadiköy. In this regard, while in the early Republican era, Bağdat Street was used intensely by Kadiköy's residents, with the development of daily life in Kadiköy and the car ferry, Bağdat Street had by the late 1940s been appropriated also by the residents of Istanbul. Socio-spatial changes took longer, but eventually the configured everyday life of Kadiköy transformed Bağdat Street into the summer settlement of the majority.

-Bağdat Street between 1950 and 1965 (Menderes Government): In the 1950s, Istanbul's hinterlands were (re)constructed under the influence of the construction policies of the Menderes government, although an integrated structure of Bağdat Street could not be created due to the lack of a socioeconomic perspective in Menderes' urbanization policies. Physical strategies, such as the granting of permission for three-story housing projects; permanent recreational activities along the seashore; the creation of a two-lane street; the inauguration of the Ankara road, which changed the Bağdat road into a city street; and the removal of the tram to promote automobile-use were all included in the initial changes aimed at developing what had been a mere transit road into a potential permanent settlement with commercial-residential use. The lack of a socioeconomic structure did failed to meet the daily demands of the permanent settlement; and in this sense, the Menderes plan could not prevent the unplanned growth of Istanbul, in that the construction of Bağdat Street as a smaller city center of Istanbul would necessitate the integration of socio-spatial and economic relations. In this sense, although Bağdat Street was identified as the commercial-residential center by the Istanbul planning bureau, the outcomes of the physical changes were different. People used the street seasonally for summer vacations, and the traditional dominant attributes, including sea-bath, pubs, nightclubs and coffee house resisted the top-down changes (see Chapter Six: Table 6.6). Thereby, Istanbul still faced a serious problem in terms of its connections with the hinterlands, in that the integrated socio-spatial and economic relations of the street failed to integrate the local scale with the city scale. Figure 8.3 elaborates upon the incomplete

interplays of scales in the construction of the street through the failures of Menderes' development plan.
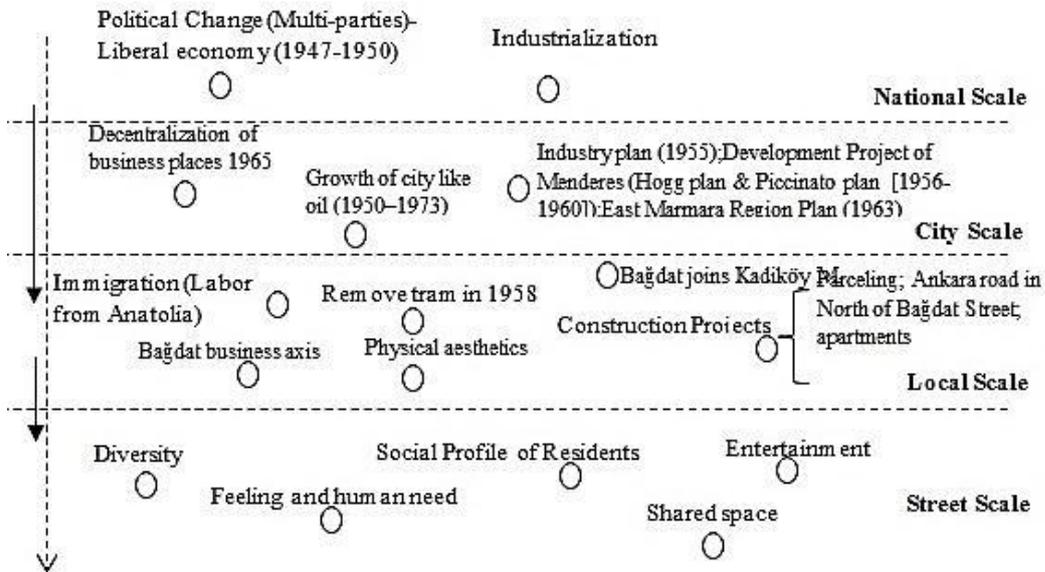

Figure 8.3: Juxtaposition of Hierarchical Attributes from 1950–1965 (Hierarchical Structure)-Source: Lotfata. A. (Author)

In the early 1950s, alongside industrialization, Istanbul and Kadiköy witnessed rapid urbanization as a result of rural-urban migration, and the subsequent extension of the city boundaries through illegal settlements in the unplanned territories of both the city and Kadiköy. In this regard, the first illegal squatter housing appeared in Kadiköy around the summer settlements of Fikirtepe. Thereby, the late 1950s saw Kadiköy and Istanbul underwent a physical transformation under Menderes Development Plan, drawn up by Hogg and Piccinato (Mimarlik, No.7, 1972), while Istanbul was suffering seriously from a lack of housing, and still had a weak relationship with its hinterlands. The unresolved urban problem combined a number of novel stresses related to the immigrants and the residential deficiency, resulting in the unplanned development of Istanbul. Indeed, the organic nature of the urban form could not accommodate so many new residents, and the urban transport network was not enough developed to carry people between the hinterlands and the city center. In this

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regard, Istanbul was undergoing a rapid industrialization, while the sociocultural and spatial infrastructure were not ready to adapt to the changes, and so Istanbul was growing like an 'oil stain' (Tekeli, 2013) in the absence of a comprehensive plan, and was developing rather under speculative approaches. In this sense, while social, industrial and commercial activities were all agglomerated on the city center, Menderes administration attempted to overcome the residential problem and the chaos of the urban center by integrating the hinterlands with the city. The approach of Menderes administration was different to that of its Ottoman and Republic predecessors, in that the demographical, socio-spatial, political and economic profiles of Istanbul were somewhat different to those of Ottoman era and the young Republic, as the state began to develop international economic relations, and made a political transformation from a single-party to multi-party system, resulting in victory for the Democratic Party. Accordingly, the physical structure of Istanbul and Kadiköy transformed under the construction policies of Menderes, who saw Istanbul as an international and modern city, free of a traditional urban structure (Çelik, 1986). In this condition, the economic aid that came with the Marshall Plan [100] allowed the Menderes administration to implement many construction projects, while the development of Istanbul's hinterlands was seen as the answer to the city's socio-spatial and economic problems, particularly the suburban Bağdat Street and the surrounding neighborhoods. Accordingly, in the 1930s, Kadiköy had witnessed reconstruction with the Prost and Pervititch plans, but in the 1950s, it was Bağdat Street that was focused upon for construction projects to shape its permanent structure. Indeed, Menderes purposed to extend the boundaries of Kadiköy to Bağdat Street while Istanbul needed the developed hinterlands to resolve the problems of the city center.

In this regard, Bağdat Street experienced a second phase of development, turning from a highway to a city sub-center as the major axis of development in the

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[100] Marshall Aid 1948–1951 for the economic development of Turkey after the Second World War.

eastern Bosphorus. The road was planned for commercial-industrial activities to resolve the housing, commercial and industrial problems of Istanbul. Accordingly, while Bağdat Street and its surroundings were under construction, as the street tramway was removed, it was widened into a two-lane road and the inauguration of the Ankara road, parallel to the north of Bağdat Street, contributed to the transformation of the former transit road into an urban road, commercial uses were being rearranged in the Istanbul center, which was cleared of its dilapidated and non-utilized uses (Mimarilk, No.7, 1972). Moreover, the lands on either side of street were parceled for the construction of three-story buildings, while the coastline was reconstructed based on recreational use. Indeed, these strategies were attempts to (re)configure the recreational-social and essential life of the context based on everyday life prepared by Piccinato (1960–1967) and Hogg (1957–1960) in the development plans, featuring boulevards, squares and wide streets (Mimarlik, No.7, 1972). In the Hogg Plan (1957), Bağdat Street was designated as an important express route to Ankara, and it was thought that this important sociocultural area on the Anatolian side of the city should develop with residential, commercial and industrial activities. Hogg proposed the radial roads to connect the small parcels of the city, while the center of Istanbul was to be rid of all non-utilized activities. In that sense, central business districts disseminated across different sides of the city, and the profile of Kadiköy and Bağdat Street transformed into one of commercial-industrial use. The Piccinato Plan, drawn up in cooperation with Iler Bank, could be considered as a 'transition master plan'. Unlike Prost's plan, Piccinato's plans took into account projected population rises, and looked to the lands that were currently outside the municipality boundary. Piccinato's economic vision led him to suggest that the city's problems were not just a lack of housing and a poor transportation network, as he believed that the future of the city depended on the sensible distribution of industry. In this regard, a regional plan for Istanbul was required if the problem was to be resolved, given that Istanbul was in a natural state of growth. For Piccinato, Istanbul should be considered as the official and administrative center, and he believed a decentralization of the industrial sectors would resolve both the housing and

transportation problems of city. Piccinato prepared a 1:10 000 plan in 1960, although it would never be implemented due to the first military coup (Mimarlik, No.7, 1972).

Therefore, Istanbul problem could not be resolvable only within the limits of city center, as the planning process needed to include the hinterlands to allow a dissemination of the socio-spatial activities of the city center. However, financial constraints, political interventions[101] and the inefficient transportation network prevented Menderes administrations from achieving the desired results, and from the early 1950s until the opening of the Bosphorus Bridge[102], Istanbul grew in the manner of an oil stain. Indeed, Istanbul's unresolved problems went from bad to worse, with the continuous development of squatter neighborhoods forcing the planning process to issue amnesties[103].

In summary, although the political unrest of the 1960s decelerated the socio-spatial development of Istanbul and Bağdat Street, the Menderes development plan promoted Bağdat Street to become significant as a strategic location in Istanbul, indeed plans were launched aimed at the integration of Bağdat Street with Istanbul. Kadiköy, as the initial stimulus for the construction of Bağdat Street as a summer settlement in the 1930s, diminished in importance as a result of the initial development of Bağdat Street under Menderes' physical intervention, although physical intervention was not enough for structuring of Bağdat Street as a small city center.

-Bağdat Street between 1965 and 1980 (Decentralization, Bosphorus Bridge and Debut Globalization): From 1965 onwards the street came under the influence of such decentralization strategies as the Floor Ownership Law, the granting of permission for four-story buildings and the development of the

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[101] The first military intervention in 1960 (Tekeli, 2013).
[102] Opened in 1973.
[103] The first squatter amnesty was in 1949, with subsequent amnesties announced in 1953 and 1966 (Tekeli, 2013).

private-public sector, with the arrival of banks and hotels. These were aimed at turning the street into a small city center with permanent residential-commercial activities, but caused also the effects of the globalization process to appear in the social life of the street, including car races among young people, window shopping and walking as a social activity. Figure 8.4 elaborates the appearance of globalization as a new actor in the scalar configuration of space, which decentralized the entire structure of space from the national to local scale. The decentralization accelerated under the individualization and privatization policies of the globalization process, under which local actors gained the power to intervene directly in the structuring of social space. Accordingly, through the empowerment of different social actors in the legal construction of space, the urban spaces of Istanbul no longer continued its oil stain-like growth. The Bostancı-Erenkoy Master Plan (1971) was prepared, according to which the public-private infrastructure of Kadiköy and Bağdat Street was to be developed. The central bus station was moved to Kadiköy harbor and numerous other large construction projects were launched. This brought about a boom in the private sector, and all of these factors led to an increase in land values. These local changes coincided with the inauguration of the Bosphorus Bridge and the permanent settlement of the upper-class residents of Istanbul in street. The educated and wealthy residents chose to pass their time in the pedestrian areas, although these locations were still not fully suitable for the shared uses of chatting and strolling, in that the street was identified with a few indoor places. These venues contributed to the reconfiguration of the traditional dominant attributes (e.g. sea-baths and pubs) into new shared activities (e.g. strolling in pedestrian areas and car races) to answer the demands of the new residents of the street.

Therefore, in the second half of the 1970s, the socioeconomic and spatial relations of the local scale were in completeness to connect fully with the global scale. Hereby, the relational hierarchical construction of space started in the late 1970s under the influence of the globalization process, in contrary to the hierarchical configuration of space in the 1950s under the Istanbul planning bureau though its

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results had not been pleasant when people reacted against hierarchical imposed ideas. In the relational scalar configuration, attributes were evaluated based not on the size of each scale, but on the strategies used to integrate the many actors in society. In this sense, the sociocultural phenomenon in the late 1970s saw communications between the local and city scales and so first and foremost, Bağdat Street began to take on a significant role in the (re)construction of Istanbul. In this regard, local knowledge interacted with city and global knowledge, and so the shared activities and places of the street (e.g. pubs and sea-baths) were reconfigured under the global-local interplay. Şaşkın-Bakkal and the Atlantik Cinema became meeting points for fashionable girls and boys, and so for a long time, shared activities (nightclubs, cinemas, pubs and sea-baths) were the dominant attributes of the street started to the gradual change to present street as permanent settlement with pedestrian strolling and car-races than seasonal-temporary activities of the coastal road.
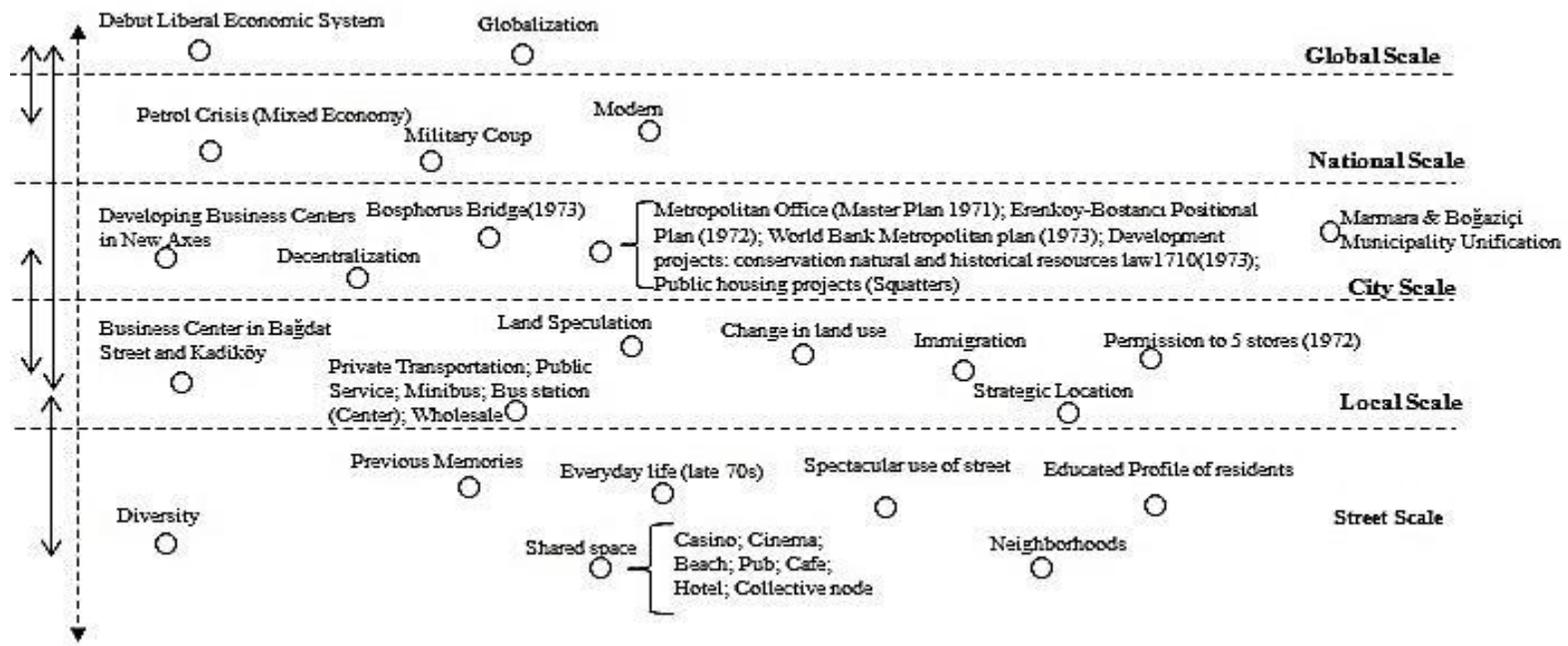
Figure 8.4: Juxtaposition of Hierarchical Attributes 1965–1980 (Relational Hierarchical Structure)-Source: Lotfata. A. (Author)

After the 1960s, strategies were proposed for the integration of Bağdat Street with Istanbul. Accordingly, the empty lands of neighborhoods were under construction, particularly after the enactment of the Floor Ownership Law (1965), which encouraged social actors to build apartment blocks along the street. In this regard, the land values rose, accelerating the physical development while in the late 1960s, the road was identified with the three- and four- story residential projects of Suadiye and Fenerbahçe. Moreover, the private-public economic sectors of the street started to develop in the late 1960s, and so with the launch of strategies the summer resorts gradually removed from the road. For example, the Todori pub was replaced by Ziraat bank, and resettled in the Kalamış-Fener alley. A similar process had occurred in the 1930s, when Kadiköy was planned for commercial-residential use, in this regard the summer resorts were pushed out to Bağdat road, contributing to development of the street. Therefore, strategies were applied that gradually provided the street with new modes of activity, as part of the proposed decentralization policy aimed at integrating Istanbul with its hinterlands, in that Istanbul had been suffering from problems related to the chaos in city center since the late-nineteenth century. Accordingly, Bağdat Street and Kadiköy were two significant axes in the development of small city centers, and so it was in the late 1960s that Bağdat Street began to be looked at as part of the solution to the planning problem of the city as a whole. In this sense, at the turn of the 1970s, with the opening of Bosphorus Bridge[104] the contextual attributes of Bağdat Street changed to reconfigure the traditional dominant attributes, where the street was going to function as a small city center of Istanbul. The seasonal, temporary and summer uses were reorganized to become parts of everyday life of the street with permanent settlement of the wealthy and educated residents of the western side of Bosphorus. Accordingly, permission was granted for the construction of four- and five-story buildings brought about increasing land values and spurring a construction explosion. Those strategies were coincided with the emergence globalization and liberal market as new actors in the late 1970s, contributing further to the configuration of the residential structure of the street as well as commercial uses as banks and hotels. Liberal market led to the development of the

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[104] Opened in 1973.

economic life of the street while the spectacular culture of the globalization process adopted by the foreign-educated residents. Teenagers and young people used street for self-presentation, chatting, car races and sightseeing. In fact, changes in the socio-spatial activities of the street presented the attempts in integration Istanbul into the globalization process, when the state was seeking to join the European Union (see Chapter Six: Figure 6.5). In this regard, the 1970s began a new phase in the construction of a place from hierarchical to relational under globalization process. While the scales were horizontally connected, the hierarchical configuration contributed to readably steer up the scale of influence in the construction of the street. Therefore, the street in the late 1970s was being constructed under the influence of both the global and local scales, although this process yet did not result in the required integrated socio-spatial and economic relations of the street to connect with the city scale. The introduction of a new actor (global scale) into the hierarchical structure of space deconstructed and reconstructed the socio-spatial and economic relations of the existing scales (actors). The nation state, city and local relationally connected each other reconstructed and modified their socio-spatial and economic policies according to socio-spatial and economic patterns of the global scale while the full integration of different scales of society with one another under the new regulations necessitated time. This process was part of the transition from the traditional central system to the decentralized governmental system, as in the late 1970s the global scale did not still allow a full reconstruction of the socio-spatial and economic attributes of the street based on decentralization and privatization policies, in that amid the chaos of the administrative transition, the stakeholders still failed to recognize their own responsibilities in the construction of space as an independent actor. To exemplify, the physical aesthetics of the street were inconsistent with the spectacular culture of globalization (see Chapter Six: Figure 6.4), in that the central municipality was no longer responsible for physical constructions according to decentralization and privatization policies of the liberal modernization, although the urban system still did not adapt to the administrative changes. Accordingly, the disconnection of Istanbul and Bağdat Street was a problem at the time. The Fuzzy Cognitive Map readably projected the

disintegration and disconnection of Bağdat Street at a global scale (see Chapter Six: Figure 6.5).

Therefore, while in the 1960s, it was the hierarchical structure that brought about the construction of the street, in the late the 1970s it was based on the socio-spatial and economic relations of the street that emerged out of the interplays between the global, national, city and local scales. Indeed, globalization was able to influence the social space through consistency of the nation state with the global changes, in that Turkey had been traditionally in favor of communication and unification with the European Union, as Istanbul plans had always been drawn up by foreigners, underlining the importance attributed to a connection with European policies. In short, the Bosphorus Bridge, globalization and the liberal modernization, all contributed to socio-spatial and economic developments of Bağdat Street while the traditional dominant attributes left to street activities in the late 1970s.

-Bağdat Street between 1980 and 2000 (Coup d'état and Globalization Process): Following on from the 1970s, the traditional dominant attributes (e.g. sea baths) of Bağdat Street were replaced in time by such street-based activities as festivals, window shopping and just passing time in the street, all of which had emerged under the influence of the globalization process, the liberal economy and the military coup that had resulted in the antagonistic milieu of the 1980s. In this situation, the shared activities (e.g. sea baths, pubs and nightclubs and seasonal settlements) of the 1960s were left behind as non-utilized activities, to be replaced by the street activities (cafés, restaurants and festivals) that had become a part of the structured daily life (permanent residences and a few café) of the street. Broadly speaking, the unrest surrounding the military coup, the developing private sector, the continuous housing projects following the granting of permission for five-story buildings, the demands of the wealthy/educated residents, the physical beautification projects (street furniture, enlarged pedestrian areas, the change from two-lane to one-lane street with the inauguration of the coastal road in 1988), and increasing land values contributed to breaking up the traditional dominant attributes (e.g. sea baths). In this regard, the local government played a significant role in the organization of global and national strategies, and projects related to the structure of the street. The following paragraphs provide a broad overview of the changes in the socio-spatial and economic structures of the street under the influence of the interplay between the global and local levels.

After the military coup of 1980, the administrative regulations were reformed under the liberalization efforts, bringing about the entrepreneurial municipal model. Local government was strengthened, while central power was restrained. In the relational hierarchical morphology of the socio-spatial structure, the local scale is in a direct relationship with the global and national scales, and so the local scale no longer has only a passive role, as it becomes responsible for the organization of national and global capital in the social space with respect to local values. From this perspective, local government had unlimited opportunities in the socio-physical development of Bağdat Street, which had the potential to turn it into a sub-center of Istanbul. While the crowded Istanbul center was no longer

appropriate as a place of residence as the population began choosing to settle in the hinterlands, as a result, the value of land declined in the city center, and for a time was occupied by the homeless and lower-class social groups (Ayataç, 2007). In this regard, decentralization, as a strategy to integrate the fragmented hinterlands into the whole, may result in the disintegration of the city center within the structure, but does not necessarily take a long time. Under the globalization process, the city center was reconstructed with the removal of the homeless residents for the construction of commercial buildings and luxurious housing projects.

Under decentralization policy, from 1980 onwards, Kadiköy started to witness the implementation of a number of spectacular projects. According to the Development Law [105] enacted in 1985, the gardens of the palaces along Bağdat Street were opened up for development in the form of five-and six-story apartment blocks. Following that, the restoration of the physical profile of Bağdat Street involved its change from a two-lane street to a one-lane street, enlarged pedestrian and the restoration of its street furniture, all of which contributed to reconstruct the socio-recreational life of the sociocultural phenomenon under the permanent structure of the street. In this regard, the moderate land values that were seen in the mid-1980s reached a peak in the early 1990s as the wealthy residents of Istanbul and Anatolia began to settle in the street. Indeed, from the nineteenth century onwards, street had been driven by the wealthy residents, who embraced novelty and development. In this sense, the street developed gradually in response to the demands of the upper-class residents. Shopping malls, fashion shops and a few brand café-restaurants began to appear within the fabric, resulting in interplay of the global and local cultures of consumption. In short, the globalization process served to reconfigure the dominant attributes of the place as a place for consumption global brands and passing time in shopping malls and cafes.

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[105] Development Law of 1985, No. 3194 (Permitting the construction of more than one building on a parcel) (Çelik, 1986).

Therefore, the 1980s was a period of transition for Bağdat Street, when its traditional attributes were replaced by newly emergent urban activities under the influence of the global-local. In this regard, the traditional dominant attributes (e.g. sea-bath) of street were reconstructed and transformed based on the opportunities of the liberal modernization and globalization processes while those did not adopt the contextual changes until the 1970s, based on the hierarchical configuration of the space. Indeed, while the upper scale strategies forced the construction of space, the relational hierarchy brought together local strategies and upper-scale strategies on an intermediate platform of interaction, as strategies of urban design and global enterprise should be consistent for the construction of space. In this sense, the local municipality planned and directed the globalization process towards the reconstruction of the social and economic life of the street, initiating local strategies that were able to integrate with the global scale as planning physical aesthetics of the street. The physical aesthetics with the cultural-educated profile of residents and the strategic location of the street were three major aspects in the emergence of the celebration culture in the late 1980s. Celebrations around Fenerbahçe Football Club brought a diversity of users, influenced the socio-spatial and economic relations of the street in the national and global scales, just as national and global events changed the socioeconomic and spatial life of the street. Therefore, contextual attributes defined modes of development, just as those of the early-twentieth century encouraged the Ottoman administration to use the context as the summer settlements of civil servants, the contextual attributes of the 1980s identified space in terms of its potential for the development of global-local policies.

Besides the globalization process role in transformation traditional dominant attributes, the dominant attributes were under influence of the coup d'état, the climate of terror and fear disrupted people's social lives until the late 1980s. People were forbidden from discussing socio-political issues, and in the darkness of the coup, the liberal market transformed the residential image of the street into one of commercial use, indeed the resulting chaotic context was exploited by the global market. Thereby, the residential image of Kadiköy in the early 1980s as the

area underwent a transformation to become a residential-commercial center in the early 1990s.

In summary, the social profile of the residents, globalization, the liberal market and the military coup all affected the construction of the street in the 1980s, and so Figure 8.5 explains the relational hierarchy of space between 1980 and 1990. The figure elaborates that, while the Özal government [106] integrated with the globalization process to reconstruct Istanbul and its hinterlands with eye-catching project, under the global-local policies of the Kadiköy municipality [107], Bağdat Street witnessed the production of urban cultures. Broadly speaking, the residential-commercial activities and physical aesthetics of the street contributed to break up the traditional dominant attributes (e.g. sea-bath) to the emergence of street cultures, including a festival culture, consumption culture and a street life based upon the interplay between global and local.
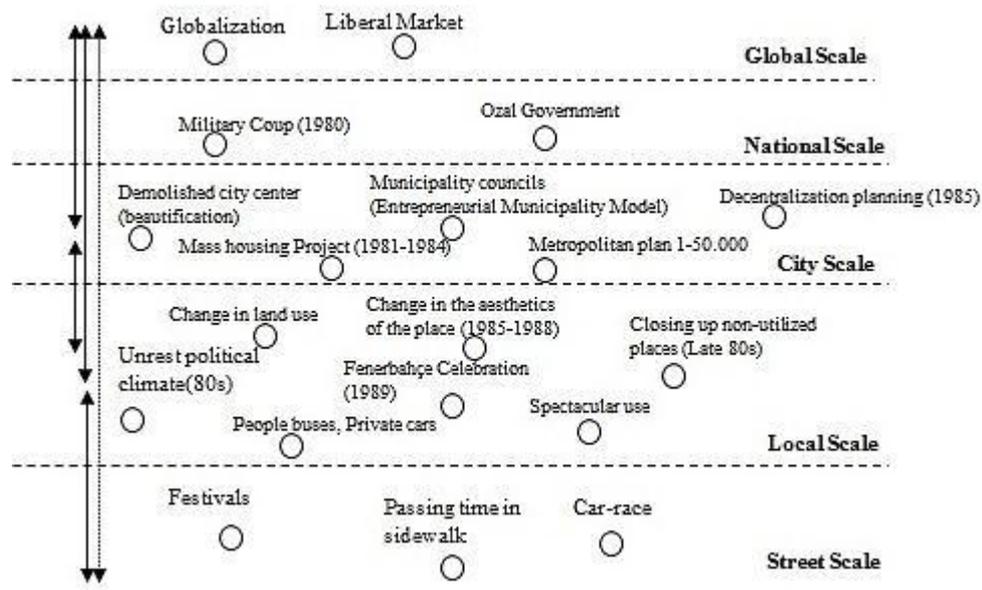

Figure 8.5: Juxtaposition of Hierarchical Attributes 1980–1990 (Relational Hierarchical Structure)-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

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[106] Halil Turgut Özal; Prime Minister of Turkey (1983-1989) and President of Turkey (1989-1993).
[107] Kadiköy Municipality in 1984 (Kültür Bakanliği ve Tarih Vakfi, 1994).

Following on from the changes in dominant attributes in the late 1980s, the 1990s in the street were identified with street festivals and rallies, and saw the arrival of brand stores, as well as cafés and restaurants, promoting self-presentation under spectacular culture of the globalization process. Although the economic-political instability of Turkey between 1991 and 2002 prevented any considerable socio-spatial development of Istanbul, the globalization process and the liberal market spurred the (re)construction of street practices in the form of street rallies and celebrations. Following the physical restoration of the street in the late 1980s, global products began to appear in the physical structure of Bağdat Street, such as sub-branches of branded stores (after those in Beyoğlu). In this regard, the non-utilized spaces of the late 1980s (e.g. sea-baths, pubs and nightclubs) were replaced with such global brands as Marks & Spencer, Converse and Nike, while department stores, shopping malls and fast-food outlets saw rapid growth. This resulted in the reappointment of the residential buildings on either side of the street for commercial use, aside from the top two floors of the five-story buildings. Thereby, by the late 1990s, the majority of local actors were interplaying with global enterprises, changing the image of the sociocultural phenomenon into one that was based on integrated global-local socioeconomic capacity.

In summary, the globalization process, in interaction with the local attributes, reconstructed and developed the culture of consumption. Indeed, the process had started with the physical restoration of the late 1980s and intensively continued in the late 1990s, as the café-restaurants and luxurious department stores began to be used for the purpose of self-presentation and for the consumption of fashion products. Indeed, acts of self-presentation in the late 1970s and 1980s were somewhat different to those of the 1990s, as car-races of 1970s and strolling in pedestrians of 1980 to passing time in café of 1990s. The Şaşkın-Bakkal in 1990 brought terrace-architecture cafés to the culture of sightseeing and high-end fashion shopping, bringing a new profile of street users that was unlike those who passed the time sitting on the walls of the street watching the car races of young people. Moreover, the festival atmosphere led to the construction of a spectacular

identity within the place that presented broad opportunities for self-presentation. Indeed, the global-local process constantly developed new strategies in the construction of space while the municipality created a good monitoring system to control the local and global actors' strategies in construction of space. In short, the essential and socio-recreational activities were constantly reconfigured under the globalization process, in this regard the dominant meaning of the street changed, from referring to a place of summer activities as sea-bath to a spectacular place.

In addition to the street festivals, the sociocultural phenomenon became home to the Republic rally of 1995 after the installation of the Bull sculpture in Alti-Yol Square. In fact, the physical quality of street, the Kemalist residents and the Fenerbahçe cultural celebrations encouraged the appearance of republic rally in the street. Thereby, Bağdat Street in the late 1990s began playing host to Fenerbahçe club celebrations, as well as the annual Republic Demonstration[108]. In short, the various attributes of the global to local scales contributed to the (re)construction of the activities in the street.

In this section, an explanation has been made of the hierarchical and relational hierarchical structures of Bağdat Street during the twenty century. What follows is an elaboration of the development of the sociocultural phenomenon under the influence of the integrated local, national, city and global scales in the twenty first century.

8.2. Bağdat Street at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century

The study of the hierarchical structure of Bağdat Street analyses the various attributes of the street, from local to global scales that communicate and integrate in the construction of space. The global-local integration took place over three decades, and in this regard, the effects of globalization on the social space of the 1980s were somewhat different to those of the twenty-first century, with the

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[108] Held annually on Bağdat Street every 29th October since 1995.

"conquest of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in 2002" and the "industrialization of football", both of which were attempts to integrate into the global market. The street is today identified with the Republican Fenerbahçe club, residents and local municipality, all of which influenced the configuration of the political status of the street against the AKP. This can be seen quite clearly in the chanting of such slogans as "Naïve Kadiköy" and "Republican Kadiköy" during republic rallies and celebrations, emphasizing the social-political profile of the street. In this regard, the street is identified with political protest, street celebrations and, moreover, integration with the global market, which has seen the street develop as a center for the consumption of brands, commodities and fashionable cafés and restaurants. Accordingly, while the world city (2003) and cultural capital (2010) concepts underlined the Istanbul vision, the strategic location of Bağdat Street in Eastern Marmara, with its upper-class profile and dynamic daily life (24-hour café-restaurants and fashion stores), make the street a valuable place for investment and development. Broadly speaking, the street of the twenty-first century became integrated into the global market when the intensive interactions of the social actors defined the structure of the socio-cultural phenomenon. In this sense, the local municipality was responsible for ensuring the dialectical relations between different social actors, in that it was these relations that preserved the traditional dominant attribute of annihilation.

The dialectical relations of the scales constructed the street for the diversity of users and activities, such as the events surrounding Fenerbahçe club as cultural celebrations and matches made headline news, (re)constructing the socio-spatial and economic profiles of the street at both global and national levels. Indeed, this process encouraged global and national enterprises to invest in the street, meaning that Fenerbahçe club had a key role in socio-spatial and economic developments of the street in the twenty-first century. The cultural events prospered through the restoration of Fenerbahçe club in 2002, following that regenerated street furniture with enlarged pedestrian areas in 2005, opening street up to the intensive cultural celebrations. Therefore, after 2005, as Turkey's economy stabilized, Bağdat Street and Istanbul witnessed a rapid acceleration in sociocultural events such the

centennial of Fenerbahçe Football Club in 2007 that saw the street decorated through the combined efforts of the local municipality and Fenerbahçe club.

The other important factor was the socio-political vision of the street, which distinguished street from other parts of Istanbul and identified it as the national phenomenon. The Republican profile of the residents with the Fenerbahçe club political view (Republican), republic rallies and Republican people's party (CHP)-led local municipality represented the political vision of the street. As a result, the central government (AKP) made attempts to weaken the socio-political profile of the street through housing and transformation projects and continuous coups against Fenerbahçe club as Şike scandal in 2011.

Besides cultural celebrations and political visions, the street of the twenty-first century presented as a center for commercial-cultural and recreational-entertainment activities. The sociocultural phenomenon was (re)constructed based on traditional dominant attributes of the street as 'a place of entertainment and recreation'. To exemplify from the case study, the Şaşkın-Bakkal, Suadiye, Cadde-Bostan and Fenerbahçe club of the twenty-first century were reconfigured based on the dominant attributes of the 1950s when street was identified with the sea-shore recreational activities as sea-bath and pubs, as while a diversity of users had come to Şaşkın-Bakkal for its cinemas and pubs, today the area attracts people with its café-restaurants and cultural celebrations. Similarly, while young people used Suadiye to meet their friends, today Suadiye has become the meeting point for Republic rallies. The inter-subjective knowledge of space is reconfigured constantly according to the newly constructed contextual attributes, reaching a peak of completeness as the sociocultural phenomenon. In short, within a historical perspective, the national policies, local demands, Istanbul planning contributed to the configuration of the residential-commercial image of the street while the global scale accelerated the (re)construction of the socioeconomic and physical structures of the street as the small city center in the structure of city.

The following section synthesizes the (re)construction of the street throughout the late nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries. To do that, the analysis focuses on the dominant conceived attributes of the street; what made people associate these attributes to the street; and when and why did those attributes disappear, to be transformed into a new concept in the following period.

8.3. Discussion

This study examines the (re)construction of the sociocultural phenomenon from a historical perspective under the hierarchical and relational hierarchical structures of space. In the early twenty and late nineteenth centuries, the entertainment attributes of space were constructed by the Ottoman rulers and through local dynamics while Kadiköy was not integrated at a city scale. Accordingly, while the Ottoman administration parceled street lands to build summer palaces of civil servants and gave settlement permission to Levantine, the street developed for the recreational demands of civil servants and non-Muslims as sea-baths, pubs and nightclubs, which they constructed the dominant attributes of the context in the late Ottoman era.

Following that, in the early Republic, while the space was under influence of the national policies and local demands, in the 50s it was identified according to the national- and city-scale decisions at the local scale. However, the imposed attributes of the national and city scales were not adopted at a local scale for the reconstruction of traditional dominant attributes (e.g. sea-bath) through lack in the socioeconomic policies in the construction of space. In continuity of Menderes physical interventions, decentralization policy began to the applied strategies (e.g. Property Ownership Law) to increase land values and so the shaping of the physical-economic structure of the street at the late 1970s, after which, in the late 1970s, the street began to be influenced by the global actors in terms of the construction of permanent-use with street culture. The street was reconstructed as part of the ongoing liberal modernization (developing private sector), globalization process (e.g. foreign music, movies and teenagers' behaviors in

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street) and under the demands of the educated-upper class residents through the opening Bosphorus Bridge in 1973. The liberal modernization led to privatization and individualization policies, empowering local actors in the construction of space. In this regard, the relational scalar structure replaced the hierarchical organization, according to which the dominant attributes of locality became reconfigured under the interplay between the local and global, In this sense, the traditional dominant attributes (e.g. sea-baths and pubs) adopted the contextual changes (emergence global products and opening Bosphorus Bridge) to modify own capacities and or break up traditional dominant practices to replace by street activities under structured everyday life of the street as festivals, rallies and passing time in café-restaurants (Figure 8.6).
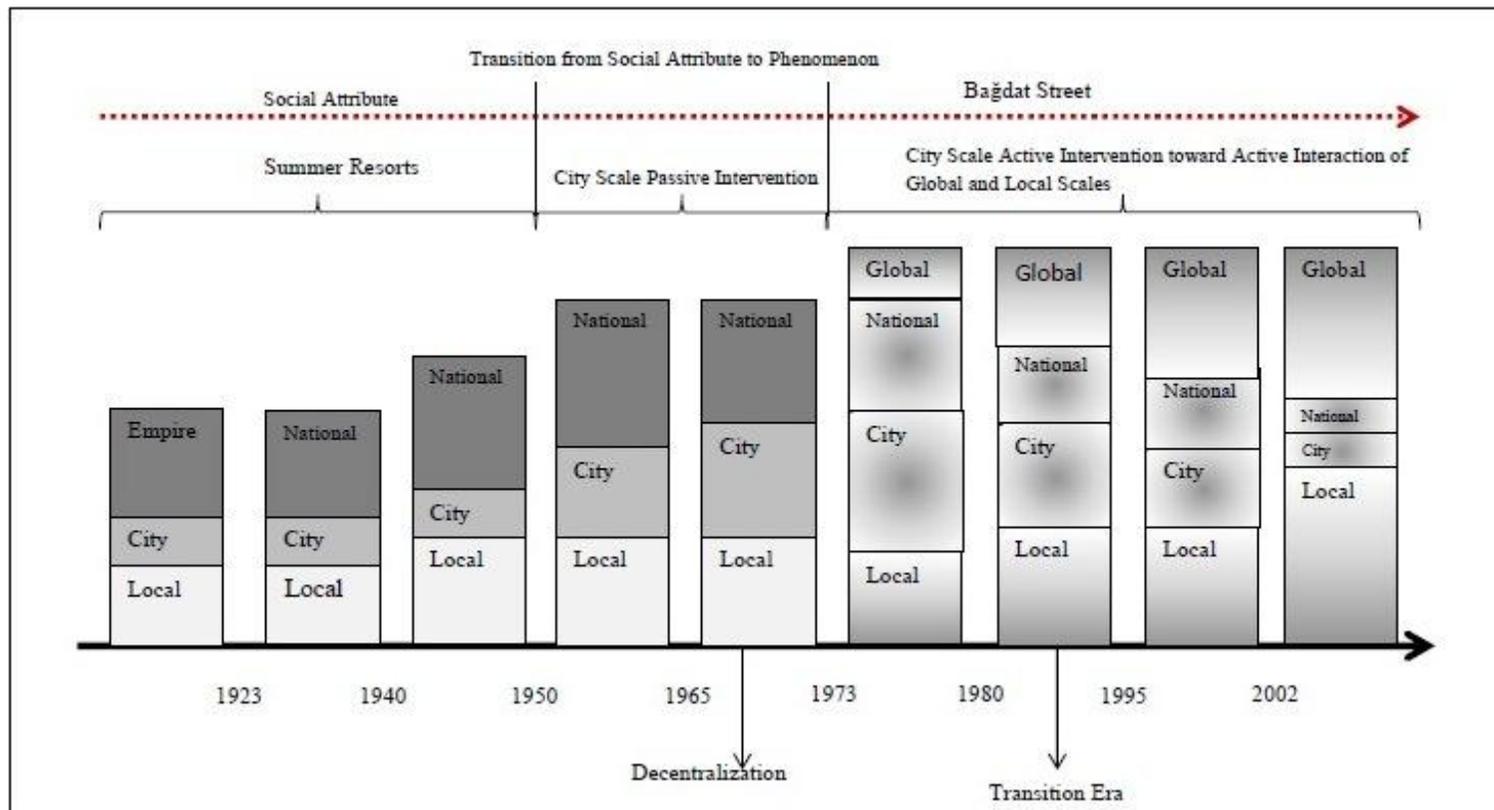
Figure 8.6: Hierarchical Construction and Relational Hierarchical Construction of the Street's Sociocultural Phenomenon between 1900 and 2013- Source: Lotfata. A. (Author)

Figure 8.6 explains the three major phases of the street construction. The first two phases identify the early phases in the hierarchical construction of space. In this regard, in the late Ottoman period and in the early Republic, it was hard to speak about a sociocultural phenomenon, being a socially constructed attribute with the trivial development of the contextual attributes. Following that, in the 1950s and 1960s the street was subject to the construction decisions of the city and the state scales. The Menderes development plan did not take into account dominant dynamics (attributes) in the construction of space, leading the dominant attributes (e.g. sea-baths) to oppose the implemented projects, although Bağdat Street was purposed to plan as the commercial-residential axis of the eastern side of Bosphorus. In this regard, the multiple top-down strategies (land parceling, permission to four-story building and Property Ownership Law) implemented to increase land values and in this regard people encouraged to settle in the street. In this sense, the street as the transit road was promoted in status to an urban road.

Indeed, the turning point in the history of Bağdat Street dates backs to the opening of the Bosphorus Bridge in 1973, when the educated-upper class residents of Istanbul began to settle in the neighborhood. Accordingly, the street was reconstructed according to the demands of the upper class, while it was coincided with the advent of globalization and liberal modernization in the world. In this sense, while Istanbul planning has applied decentralization policy to bring together the fragment components of the city, adopting the globalization process accelerated decentralization due to empowered local actors in the construction of space. Thereby, in the late 1970s, emergence of the global actor deconstructed the traditional socio-spatial and economic relations of the multi-layers (scales) of society, while the process of deconstruction and reconstruction under the influence of globalization and the liberal market took one decade (1980–1989), during which individualization and privatization were the two main policies in the construction of the socio-spatial and economic relations of scales. Privatization developed the entrepreneurial model; this meant that the local municipalities were responsible for organizing and controlling the behaviors of the global, local and

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state actors in the construction of space as had been the case (physical restoration) in the late 1980s. The physical restoration of street (street furniture and from two-lane to one-lane street) enhanced life of the street through providing an ideal place for cultural celebrations. The local municipality indeed aimed at integrating the local and global through the street's physical aesthetics, in that the spectacular culture of the globalization process required an appropriate physical quality to experience by people. Therefore, the end of the transition era (from centralized to decentralized in 1980s) coincided with the emergence of a festival culture, shopping malls and a few cafés, reaching a peak in the late 1990s. The branded café-restaurants, shopping malls and fast food culture served in the construction of the image of the street as people became intense consumers of global products. The physical-social structure of the street indeed developed to support the daily needs of the upper-class residents. In addition to the consumption culture of the street, celebrations related to the Fenerbahçe Football Club and Republic rally transcended the value of the sociocultural phenomenon. This combination of activities results in a rise of land values and rents, accompanied by a construction boom.

The sociocultural phenomenon of the twenty-first century was a complex self-organized creation that integrated all scales of society. The commercial-recreational image of the sociocultural phenomenon was reconstructed out of the traditional dominant attributes (nightclubs, cinemas, pubs and sea-baths), and the meaning of the street adapted from being a place of summer settlements and resorts to a place of sociocultural demonstration, political opposition and a center for consumption brand products. Indeed, the street culture that formed around Şaşkın-Bakkal, Suadiye, Cadde-Bostan, Fenerbahçe Football Club, Yoğurtçu Park and Alti-Yol Square was passed down through generations and re-contextualized based on the changed contextual attributes. In short, the socially constructed attribute was reconstructed and modified to keep together all generations, in this regard the shared spaces of the early-twentieth century empowered in the process

to bring together the young, middle-aged, old, women, men, and the upper and lower classes.

The following chapter presents the findings of the study in relation to existing literature and suggests the new research potentials for further studies, while also providing recommendations on the sociocultural development of the urban context.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This exploratory-descriptive study which examined the (re)construction and transformation of Bağdat Street's sociocultural phenomenon showed that within the trivial changes that occurred in the contextual dynamics in the early phase of the street development, the dominant attributes reconfigured from within. This study verified that the change in contextual attributes modifies dominant attributes, in that the dominant attribute in itself experiences a trivial change, which partially contributes to the completeness of the socially constructed attribute. That is to say, the dominant attribute is unable to unveil its hidden potentials to manifest as a part in the city structure. Indeed, the dominant attributes are slightly affected by disintegrated contextual attributes as the inconsistency between physical aesthetics and the spectacular culture of the globalization process in the late 1970s of the street. On the other hand, consistent newly constructed contextual dynamics accelerate the development of the cultural structure towards a high level of integration and completeness. Additionally, the dominant attributes need a change to stably settle in the structure of a place, otherwise it may not respond to people's demands.

Within this context, in the case of Bağdat Street, in the 1950s, space-related strategies were implemented in the case study area, which in turn, enriched contextual attributes. This resulted in a configuration of everyday life, yet with no consideration of the existing traditional contextual attribute, the sea-bathing. In this sense, sea-bathing resisted imposed physical changes to preserve its inner equilibrium, and continued to dominate the street's sociocultural life in that era. Such top-down spatial projects were an imposition because they attempted to

configure the physical setting of the context in absence of socioeconomic policies; thereby these policies did not contribute to the reconfiguration of the dominant attribute, sea-bathing in this case, nor to enhancing the street's connectivity with the city until the late 1970s. Indeed, in the 1950s, this kind of implemented strategies aimed to prepare a context with new attributes that would modify the predominant practices such as sea-bathing. Although the top-down spatial projects did not consider people and street life that existed there, they played a role of reconstructing a context that opened up a new phase of development for the street as a permanent settlement within the structure of city.

In the late 1970s, with the entrance into a globalization process and liberal modernization, the street's dominant attributes including sea-bathing and pubs were reconstructed and modified, resulting in new shared meanings including strolling on street's sidewalks. In this regard, the 1980s onwards witnessed a transition from the traditional contextual habits to a new level of socialization and existence. This led the traditional shared places to fall out of use, and be replaced by new activities as shopping malls and brand cafés. This happened because every sociocultural phenomenon may experience a break in continuity during which the layers of society move towards the new ways of existence. Indeed, under the privatization policies of the 1980s, the street structure was subject to local municipality strategies and different social groups who organized national and global projects within the existing sociocultural context. Local actors were in a free relationship with global and national policies such as Fenerbahçe Club and property owners who began renting commercial units to brand café-restaurants. This, in turn, increased the complexity, integration and completeness of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. This added to (re)construction of sea-bathing and so the dominant attribute of the 1980s and onwards to become street festivals, rallies and passing time in street's sidewalks. This process also contributed to the construction of a place that benefited a diversity of users and activities.

In general terms, this study showed that intensive relationship of attributes construct the self-organized sociocultural phenomenon. It is a system that permits the creation and control of emergencies, such that neither emergencies nor newly constructed attributes ever result in the collapse or destruction of the unity of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. As an example of this, the political demonstrations witnessed in the study area in 2011 as the newly constructed attribute contributed to invigorate the communal structure of the sociocultural phenomenon. Indeed, emergencies are products of the integrated relations of the attributes in reaction to an imposed policy that contribute to the reconfiguration and modifying of inner dynamics (see Chapter Six). Broadly speaking, the street of the twenty-first century was a community with a strong sense of collaboration, in which different groups of society, from global to local; contribute to the integration and completeness of the street 's sociocultural phenomenon while that happens in time. The (re)construction process gives emphasis that the street's sociocultural phenomenon was, in fact, a sociocultural-historical phenomenon; the sociocultural attributes emerge as sociocultural phenomena as a result of highly contextual practices within the historical process.

More specifically, by deciphering people's cognition constructed in time through experience and connection to the street, this inquiry explored shared conceived attributes of the street constructed through history; dominant shared conceived attributes in the transformation and (re)construction of the street's sociocultural phenomenon; and socio-political and spatial relations of the shared conceived attributes within the structure of the sociocultural phenomenon as an urban culture.

Socially Constructed Practices: Respectively, an analysis of the conceived dominant attributes of the street's sociocultural phenomenon contributes to the existing literature in three ways. First, the study revealed that people have broad cognitions of space, but that it is the intensive context-specific cognitions that bring about the (re)construction and development of the cultural structure.

Secondly, the study uncovered that the newly constructed attributes are consistent with the socioeconomic and spatial relations of the cultural structure to ensure its sociocultural development; otherwise it will undergo development from within. Thirdly, the study revealed that 'meaning making' is a result of the intensive contextual practices of different groups of society; and that meaning is constructed in the interacted relations. Accordingly, the study presented that the relationally constructed system of meaning adapts to changes without undergoing a radical change in the dominant meaning of the context, in that the newly constructed meaning has to connect and interact with the dominant existing meanings if it is to settle within the structure of space. The relational structure of the dominant meaning resists making a significant change in the existing meaning; indeed changes in the meaning system may lead to reconfiguration of the existing attributes with new meanings. That is to say, to a radical change of a relationally constructed meaning, all components need to change; otherwise change in a part(s) does not bring about a radical change. The contextual dynamics of the 1970s and 1980s revealed that change in the economic and political structures do not cause the annihilation of the traditional meanings of the context (e.g. a recreational place), in that the permanent residents preserves the traditional habits of a place as when people conceive and use street based on its traditional practices. As an example of this, the cultural and political meanings assigned to Şaşkın-Bakkal location in different periods and political contexts. Indeed the symbolic places that celebrate history and grant locations with meanings and myths provide a sense of belonging in place and time. Likewise, Fenerbahçe club, Suadiye square and Divan café are invested with meanings and myths which fuse context and history in terms of memory, meaning and myth. In this regard, Fenerbahçe club rewrote its lost identity through the street celebration in the late 1980s which revived the democratic and Republican visions of the street. Accordingly, the study revealed that the contexts resist making a radical change through the multiple layers of meanings, social-beings and social consciousness in the fabric of those symbolic places. The places that witnessed different modes of social-beings are able to open up new opportunities and possibilities for a

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development of the sociocultural context. Additionally, the multiple symbolic nodes where people attached their emotional feelings connect individuals from different social statuses to a context. Hereby, I give an example from the case study. Şaşkın-Bakkal located in Suadiye-Erenkoy, Divan café in Cadde-Bostan and Fenerbahçe club situated in Kiziltoprak present the symbolic structure of a place that steers people's practices in a sociocultural context. Indeed those places bring people to space in both an emotional and a physical way. Indeed, those places encourage people to take further actions, in this regard the emotional bond between place and individuals reconfigures with new meanings. As an example of this, Şaşkın-Bakkal in the heart of Bağdat Street is structured with mixed-land uses (café-restaurant, shopping department and art galleries) which serve many. While the spatial arrangement of Şaşkın-Bakkal and surrounding places of Divan Café answer demands of the upper-, middle- classes, the spatial arrangement around Fenerbahçe stadium supports demands of middle- and low-classes of a society. In this regard, the study revealed that the spatial arrangement of the symbolic places of a context should plan based on the economic welfare of different classes to construct a context for diversity of users and activities. The study has clarified further that the symbolic nodes organize hierarchically the social life of a context, taking into account the frequency and diversity of activities. To exemplify this, Şaşkın-Bakkal and Divan café, surrounded by fashion and department stores, café restaurants, a library, galleries, a meeting point for festivals, rallies and protests, as well as other outdoor shared activities, are settled in the highest-level of the hierarchy, with the Fenerbahçe stadium and its surrounding low-priced commodities coming in below. Accordingly, while in the daily routine of the context, Şaşkın-Bakkal and the Divan café are used intensively by people, the diffusion of population changes between early evening and the late evening on football match days (Table 9.1).

Table 9.1: Population Diffusion in Daily Routine and Football Match Days of Street-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

| Daily Routine	Football Match Days
In daily rountine, people intensively use distance between Beach lane (Suadiye) and Bar lane (Cadde-Bostan)	In early evenings (about 5 pm), people intensively gather in Şaşkın-Bakkal, but around 7pm, population move to Kiziltoprak, Ruşdiye, Yoğurtçu, Kuşdili and Alti-Yol

The study verified that the individuals' spatial awareness encourage them to take actions based on the predominant habits of a context. In this sense, change in economic-political attributes does not bring about the destruction of the embodied meanings. In fact, those changes contribute to modify artifacts from a nightclub to a bar and or from a coffee house to a café without the annihilation of the original inherencies of a place (see chapter Six: Figure 6.3 and 6.4) and Table 9.2.

Table 9.2: Contextual Change and Continuity of Contextual Inherencies-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

	1970s	1980s
Structure of Dominant Meaning		
Dominant Meaning	Sea-bathing, nightclubs, cinemas, pubs, coffee house	Street festival, strolling in sidewalks, a few cafés
Change in Contextual Dynamics	Change in economic and political system (decentralization and privatization) do not make a radical change in the dominant meaning	
The essence of practices and spirit of a place does not change	Street used for recreational-social activities	Street used for recreational-social activities and people arranged their spatial behaviors according to a meaningful place of street as Şaşkın-Bakkal

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Additionally, the study verified that the change in the contextual dynamics does not bring about the decline in the existing social life of a place, in that the newly constructed practices thrust out the central practices to function as the marginal activities of a place such as the newly constructed dynamics of the street in 1960s. With a development in a public sector, Todori pub was replaced by Ziraat bank, in this sense, Todori pub continued working in Kalamış road (see Chapter Six: Map 6.5). In this regard, the study revealed that a dominant meaning develops and modifies in three phases, respectively, a dominant meaning in a center, a dominant meaning in the margin of the street structure, a dominant meaning in a structure of street after reconstruction of the socioeconomic and spatial relations of the street in the late 1980s (Table 9.3).

Table 9.3: Dominant Meaning in Moving-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

| 1900-1950s	1960s-1985	1985-2013
Dominant activity in the structure of the street	Dominant activity moves to behind lanes (street structure prepares to a new lifestyle)	Dominant activity returns back to the street structure in new setting as café (was replaced to coffee house) and in new locations
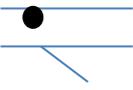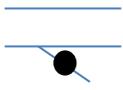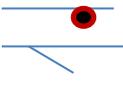
In this regard, in the twenty-first century, street witnessed 'festival' and 'protest', 'recreational-social daily life'; all those are the reconstructed dominant meanings of the early Republican era. Indeed the relationally constructed dominant meaning (shared activities: pubs, sea-bath and nightclubs) of the early Republic modified in the late 1970s with the entrance into the globalization process. Modification does not cause a disappearance of the existing dominant meaning; indeed the dominant meaning adapts the newly constructed attributes. To exemplify this, the protest movement in 2011 was a type of street's sociocultural phenomenon's adaptation to a new happening (e.g. central state action against Fenerbahçe club) which contributed to identify street with new social meaning. In this sense, adaptation

happens when dominant attributes ('Republican profile of residents', 'dynamic daily life' and 'socially practiced events (e.g. rallies') of a context change their sensitivity to the stimulus (e.g. central government policy). That is to say, the dominant attributes are the sensory receptors which do not stay neutral in crisis, and in this regard they do not let crisis deteriorate into a real conflict. Additionally, the study revealed that a disintegration of the contextual attributes constructs a rigid society which can no longer adapt to the changing conditions. Hereby, I give an example from the case study. Up until late 1970s, the dominant attributes insistently resisted making adaptation to the changing conditions (e.g. developing private and public sector and permanent settlements), but in the late 1970s with the semi-integration of the contextual dynamics, street witnessed new modes of activities as the car-race and strolling in street's sidewalks (see Chapter Six: Figures 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5). Process of adaptation is endless through the integrated structure of the sociocultural context, and so dominant attributes, relationally constructed phenomena, are majors in the reconfiguration of a place. In this regard, the integrated attributes of a context accelerate the intensity of adaptation, in that the common consensuses of different groups' strategies and actions contribute to a better development of a sociocultural context. To exemplify this, in the late 1970s, the semi-integrated structure of a place partially adapted to changes and or partially developed, but in the late twentieth century, the integrated structure of a place intensively embraced the contextual changes. The study revealed that the multiple social consensuses result in an adaptive context.

The study further verified that an adaptation happens in a particular spatial time. Disintegrated temporalities of a context prevent the adaptation of the dominant spatial temporalities (e.g. seasonal resorts) to the new temporalities of a context. To exemplify this, in the late 1950s and 1960s, the street was identified with the summer recreational facilities which resisted making adaptation to the daily structure of a place. This occurred due to inconsistencies and inner conflict of the daily routine of a place (residential buildings) with the social-recreational demands of residents (see Chapter Six: Figure 6.5 and Table 9.4). The contextual

inconsistencies become worse into a real conflict and destruction of a social life in a crisis.

Table 9.4: Interplay of Spatial Temporalities-Source: Lotfata. A. (Author)

1950s	1980s	2000s
-Traditional spatial temporality is in inconsistency with the newly constructed spatial temporality (see Chapter Six: Figure 6.6) -Spatial arrangements do not contain a recreational schedule of space	-Traditional spatial temporality is in connection with the new spatial temporalities (see Chapter Six: Figure 6.5 and 6.4)	-Traditional spatial temporalities in integration with the multiple contextual temporalities. The historical meanings of a context are in intensive interactions with the temporalities of dynamic daily life, festivals, rallies, protest and indoor and outdoor activities (see Chapter Six: Figure 6.1).

The adaptation is an ongoing process which enhances social consciousness means that mental and physical connections of individuals to the changing conditions raise their socio-spatial awareness. Indeed, the social and physical landscape of Bağdat Street (re)constructed based on the cycle interaction of individuals' actions and a place. Accordingly, adaptation being an element of evolution contributes to the reconstruction of the social consciousness scale. In the early Republic era, the summer uses defined modes of a social-being. That is to say, people recognized and conceived their social and communal abilities through the recreational-use of a place. This socio-spatial apprehension continued until the late 1970s. In the late 1970s, people began to show new communal actions as the permanent settlement, parading in sidewalks and sightseeing. The existing social consciousness indeed was in adaptation to the changing conditions which those contributed to re-scale social consciousness. In this regard, societies inhibit the reconfiguration of social consciousness as a way of being opens up to creative doorways as the reconstructed socio-physical landscape of Bağdat Street in time (Table 9.5).

Indeed a society that embraces its own adaptation-reconstruction process that is able to go where none have gone before. That is able to celebrate multiple possibilities offered to it through the increase a diversity of actors.

Table 9.5: Rescaling Social Consciousness-Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

1930s	1970s	2000s
Local seasonal demands: people pass the time in sea-bath, pubs, outdoor cinema, nightclubs, coffee house	**Urban life:** people pass the time in street while street began to plan as a center in the structure of city	**Urban life:** people participate in festivals, rallies, protest, outdoor/indoor shared activities with integration of a context into the global market
Diversity of users (local scale)	Increase the diversity of actors (from national to local scale)	Increase the diversity of actors (from global to local sale)

The case study revealed three significant attributes in this regard that became embedded for a specific period of time throughout history in the construction of a sociocultural phenomenon of Bağdat Street. These include 'the social profile of the residents', 'the Fenerbahçe soccer club' and 'everyday life'. The study presented that everyday life in the area is a significant factor in the innovative and creative development of space, and so should be planned taking into account the socio-recreational and everyday needs of its residents, as a place that responds to the needs of its residents can be a host to festivities, public space activities and rallies with the strong participation. Existing studies do not discuss the consistency of the newly constructed attribute (e.g. everyday life) with the predominant culture and inherencies (e.g. a seasonal-recreational entity) of a place. Hereby, I give an example from the case study. The 'recreational', 'inter-cultural' and 'inter-religious' predominant cultures of a place reconfigured under change in the contextual attributes as the spectacular culture of the globalization process. The spectacular culture of globalization indeed requires an appropriate physical structure to reach own goals. Accordingly, the social-physical structure under the global visions and pre-dominant cultures of a context constructs a daily structure of a place, a place for the entertainments and recreations with a diversity of users and activities.

Moreover, the existing arguments do not discuss the significance of multiple dominant attributes in (re)structuring of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. The multiple integrated attributes indeed make space more resistant and adaptive to the unplanned happenings. It is comparable in the disintegrated structure of a place in the late 1970s and the highly integrated structure of the street in the twenty-first century. The disintegrated structure brought about the breakup of traditional dominant habits (e.g. sea-bath) under the entrance into the globalization process, while in the integrated structure, street resists making a radical change and adapts to the central government policy with manifestation of the protest movement in 2011 (see Chapter Six: Figure 6.5 and Figure 6.1).

The street of the twenty-first century is identified with the multiple integrated attributes, including 'dynamic everyday life', 'football sector', 'social profile of residents' and 'festival culture'. These attributes which bring together different actors of a society around common issues construct the relational sociocultural context. To exemplify this, I present the following statements. 'The dynamic everyday life can be a host for festivals', 'the dynamic everyday life prospers the economic wellbeing of the street', 'the dynamic daily life develops the sense of pleasure' and 'the dynamic everyday life encourages brand department store to settle in the street'. Likewise, 'football sector uses the street to increase its popularity', 'football sector brings a diversity of users to street', 'events around football sector transcend the social relations of the street to the national scale' and 'the political vision of football sector combines with the political vision of residents reconfigure the political profile of the street as a center against the central government'. In this regard, 'football sector' and 'dynamic everyday life (mixed land-use, 24 hours active life)' are the two majors in the structuring of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. Indeed, the existence of the marginal attributes as 'the economic-wellbeing' depends on those two dominant attributes. In this sense, the annihilation of daily life and a failure in the socio-spatial and cultural activities of the football sector might end up with the destruction of the street as a whole. In the lack of the structured daily life (with social-recreational and

essential activities), the connected contextual actions/attributes decompose into parts and so a disintegrated reality easily destroys in a chaos. The existing studies do not discuss about the role of the integrated and disintegrated contextual attributes in the stable development of the dominant culture of a context.

The existing literature related to the conceived attributes in the construction of space refers, most notably, to the works of Blumer (1969), Mead (1934), Luckmann (1979) and Schütz (1934, 1974), who put forward theories related to the (re)construction of space. The theories of Blumer (1969) and Mead (1934) on symbolic interactionism refer to the (re)construction of the sociocultural relations as a result of the interaction between the existing cultural practices and the newly constructed ones. In this regard, the present study revealed that the conceived attributes from abstract to concrete (e.g. myths to housing projects) are in interaction to construct space while people's cognition is in constant change, in that the social mind incessantly manipulates under changing actions/strategies of social actors. Thereby, the sociocultural context is not in a state of inertia, but is rather dynamic as a result of the perpetual interaction. Accordingly, the cultural structure of a place is the result of intensive interaction of the practices, although the existing literature does not point to the interaction of the conceived practices in the (re)structuring of a place. Additionally, the theories of 'meaning is holistic, more like a web' and humans are born into the world of meanings which are in interaction (Schütz, 1974 and Luckmann, 1979)', in this regard dominant inter-subjective meaning (re)constructs through accessibility of life-world of people to each other. The present study uncovered that the relational structure of the dominant meaning adapts a new conceived attribute and resists making a radical change. To exemplify this, in the early Republic era, the street identified with 'the summer resorts' under 'unstructured socioeconomic and physical structures', 'developing transportation means (e.g. tram)' and 'fading religious segregation' adopted a new meaning under 'the entrance into the globalization process' in the late 1970s (see Chapter Six: Figure 6.8 and Table 9.1).

Furthermore, according to Luckmann (1973), A causes B and B causes A, and so the interplays of the socially constructed attributes construct the street's sociocultural phenomenon. The contextual attributes indeed need each other to fully exist in the social life and social mind. In this sense, Schütz (1970) explains that the inter-subjective cognitions bring individuals to the state of social-being. Accordingly, the sociocultural context is constructed through 'joint flow of actors' practices (Schütz, 1973)' and 'joint act (Blumer, 1969)'which all steer practices within the sociocultural context as a 'dynamic daily life' and 'football sector' in the structure of street in the twenty-first century. The present study revealed that the consistency of socioeconomic and spatial strategies is required in the construction of street's sociocultural phenomenon. To integrate and enrich the relational structure of the dominant attributes, the newly constructed strategies should not be in inner conflict with the dominant practices, otherwise the inconsistency ends up with the self-destruction of the dominant ones. The disintegrated contextual attributes indeed prevent the modification and development of the dominant attributes.

The present study applied a single case-study survey that allowed a deep understanding of the attributes and dynamics in the construction of space, while following up the development of the social context from a historical perspective contributed to identifying the reasons behind the complexity of the contemporary social context. In this regard, the Fuzzy Cognitive Map provided a clear overview of the changes that occurred in the contextual dynamics within a historical perspective, and it also reveals the quality of the connections and interactions of the shared conceived attributes within each historical period. FCM indeed contributed to visualize the extended cultural structure within time (see Chapter Seven and Figure 9.1). Accordingly, the contextual attribute reached a high level of the integration in time as the entertainment identity of a place from simple seashore activities (e.g. sea-bath and pubs) to the complex street activities (e.g. festivals, strolling in pedestrian and café-restaurants). The existing studies do not discuss the structure of a place as a socially constructed reality is structured in

time; in this regard the structure is not in a state of inertia. That is to say, past and present melt into one another in the construction of a place structure.
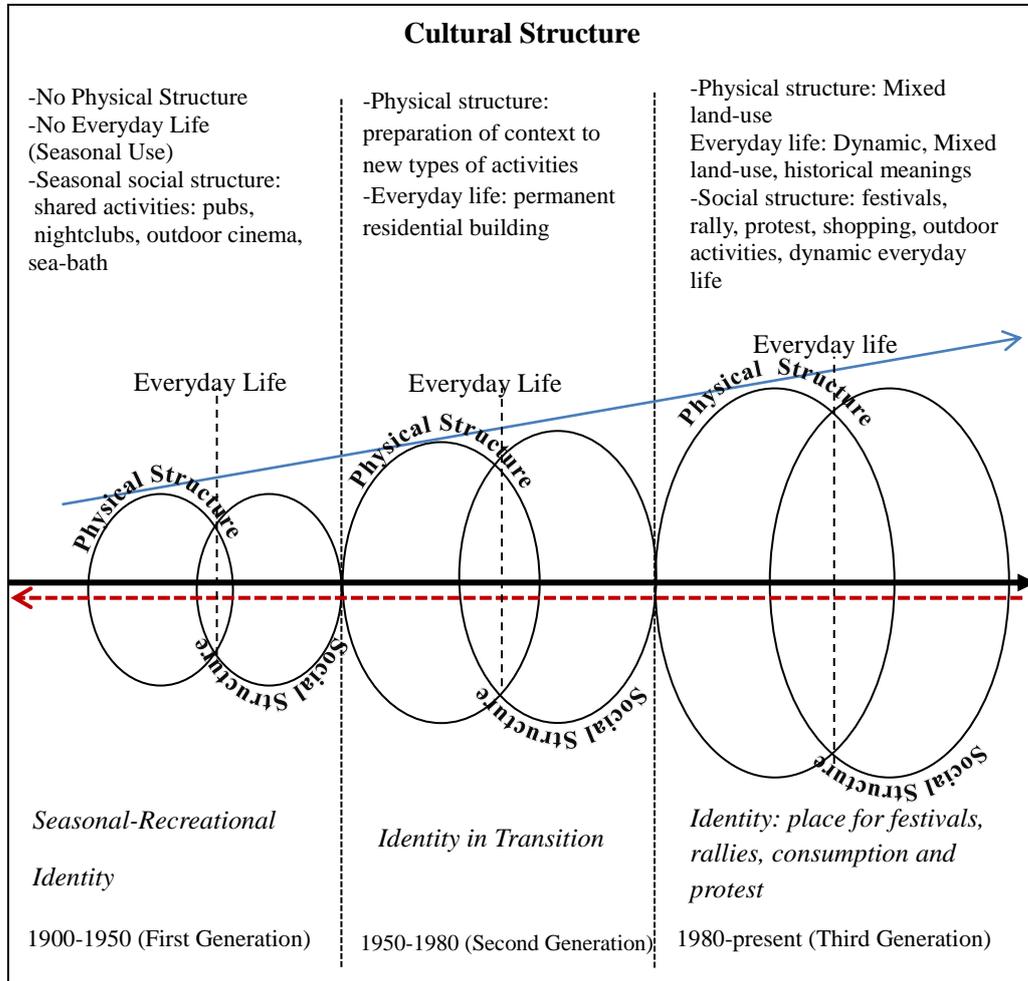

Figure 9.1: Schematic Presentation of the Extended Cultural Structure in Time-Source: Lotfata. A. (Author)

In the FCM presentation, the simple social attribute developed to appear as a core attribute in structuring of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. The core attribute steers the further actions in the sociocultural context as the 'street festival' encouraged an extension of the physical structure of the street according to the demands of the different users. The recreational attitude of a context indeed

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reconstructed in time to appear as a central phenomenon in the twenty-first century (Table 9.6).

Table 9.6: From Simple Attribute to a Phenomenon-Source: Lotfata. A. (Author)

	Early Republic Era	**1970s**	**2000s**
Attitude	Recreational Attitude of a Context	Recreational Attitude of a Context	Recreational Attitude of a context
Change in Attitude Capacity	Sea-bathing, pubs, boating and swimming competitions	Car-races, parading in sidewalks and sightseeing	Festivals, outdoor common space activities, shopping, passing time in café restaurant

Additionally, FCM visually presents the strength and weakness of the relations among attributes. According to the FCM of the late 1970s (see Chapter Six: Figure 6.4), the physical aesthetics of the street was not in consistency with the spectacular culture of the globalization process; in this regard the newly emerged global actors could not (re)construct the social structure of the street.

This inquiry also offers practical advices related to the sociocultural development of an urban context. Firstly, the derived conceived attributes show that multi-disciplinary strategies play a role in the construction of space from abstract to concrete (e.g. myths to architectural style) and they also present the quality of connectedness in the applied strategies. Indeed the interacted strategies develop a kind of monitoring system where actors control each other's actions. To exemplify this, the economic policies of global brands are not independent of the local demands in the construction of space. Moreover, the study identifies leading strategies/or attributes that contribute to the construction of space. The leading attributes indeed are the integrated attributes of the context which are in consistency with the different socially constructed actions/strategies. 'The sense of pleasure' as the leading attribute supported by 'the dynamic everyday life', 'physical aesthetics of the street', 'festivals' and 'mixed land-use'. In this sense, 'the sense of pleasure' was common among the actors, although actors' strategies

do not derive pleasure in the same ways. The street's sociocultural phenomenon relies on different channels to reach the sense of pleasure. In this regard, the study revealed that the dominant strategy (e.g. sense of pleasure) is a relationally constructed reality. Additionally, the study presents a leading strategy/or strategies for different historical periods which define(s) the dominant vision(s) of a sociocultural context. While up until late 1970s, the social context followed an unchanging vision of a seasonal-recreational use of a place, in 1980s, the dominant vision changed to street cultures. The study further revealed that cognitive science can provide useful means in planning and design, and that people's cognitions can be used in understanding how a place is socially and spatially constructed (see Chapter Six: Maps).

Reconstruction of Socially Constructed Practices: Additionally, the study analyzes the reconstructed dominant attributes in the (re)construction and transformation of the cultural structure. The dominant attributes of the street's sociocultural phenomenon develop and transform within the historical process, indeed those attributes are reconstructed and modified constantly from generation to generation. Accordingly, the study area has witnessed three generations of development. In the first generation, the street endured the silent development of the sociocultural context, in that the minor changes of the contextual attributes brought about only minor development and reconstruction of the dominant attribute (e.g. sea-bath and pub). After long time the stable development of the context, in the 1940s, the street witnessed the emergence of 'Turkish coffee houses', and this was a time when young people starting to be seen in the street. Indeed, the disintegrated and limited contextual dynamics prevented the emergence of new meanings. The second generation began with the physical projects of the 1950s (Two-lane street, enlarged pedestrian, permission to three-story building, parceling and inauguration of Ankara road) and in the 1960s (Property Ownership law, permission to four-story building and developing private-public sectors) aimed at reconfiguring dominant attributes (e.g. sea-bath) towards new modes of socialization and existence under daily life of the street. In

this regard, the second generation in the study area saw a struggle between two separate and independent contextual procedures: the dominant attribute (e.g. sea-bath and pubs) and implemented physical projects (see Chapter Six: Figure 6.6). The dominant attributes resisted physical transformation projects, as they failed to take into account the socioeconomic relations of the context, hence, the second generation saw no distinguishable changes to the dominant attributes until the 1970s, with the physical connectivity of the study area with the wider city via 'the Bosphorus Bridge', 'entrance into the globalization process', 'the liberal market' and 'increasing land values under decentralization policies (e.g. Floor Ownership Law)', all of which contributed to the reconstruction of dominant attributes through new modes of recreational activities and socialization. In this regard, the traditional communal spaces of the study area hosted a number of new social activities as a racetrack where young people could race cars, and a place where the residents could walk. The third generation began with the political-economic revolution (coup d'état), when the socioeconomic and spatial attributes of the sociocultural context developed under the liberal market and the globalization process. Indeed, under 'developing private and public sector', 'increasing land values and rents', 'industrialization Fenerbahçe Football club and its headline news in the social network', 'educated and Republican residents', 'dynamic daily life with mixed land-uses', 'economic welfare of the street', 'Republican Peoples' Party-led local municipality' and 'accessible public-private transportation network' and 'aesthetics of the physical structure', this period can be considered as an era of fully transition from the traditional attributes (e.g. coffee house, sea-bath and pubs) to the new modes of activities as passing time in café-restaurants, branded fashion shops and department stores, and festivals, rallies, protest and demonstrations. Accordingly, under change in the contextual dynamics, the traditional dominant attributes (sea-baths, pubs, coffee house and nightclubs) broke up to settle activities based on demands of the diversity of users in the street structure. The change in the type of activities and artifacts does not fade the existing social consciousness and inter-subjective knowledge of a context. Indeed, the study uncovered that the traditional experiences and knowledge continue the

line of development but in the new forms and activities under the changed contextual dynamics.

The present study contributes to the existing literature by identifying 'the resistant cultural structure', 'adaptive cultural structure' and 'inclusive space'. On these issues, the study primarily revealed that the cultural structure demands continuity of dominant practice, while the newly constructed attribute attempts to make changes to the inner regulations of the dominant attribute, but can only do so from within a limited domain, in that the relational cultural structure decreases the power of the newly constructed attribute to a radical change of the inner rules of the structure (Table 9.1). Additionally, the study verified that the cultural structure needs to resist if it is to reach a higher level of development, pointing to the fact that resistance is necessary to be more productive, integrated and complete and the study further revealed that the resistance is the relational phenomenon configured in the interaction of different groups and dynamics of the social context. To exemplify this, the intensive relational structure of the street's sociocultural phenomenon in the twenty-first century is more resistant than the disintegrated attributes of the street in the 1960s (see Chapter Six).

The second contribution relates to 'the adaptive cultural structure'. The study revealed that the cultural structure develops while preserving the existing cultural attributes. In fact, being inherently familiar with the culture of adaptation, it develops while adapting to the newly constructed contextual attributes. The present study conceptualizes this adaptation based on the reconfigured cultural structure within a historical process. To illustrate, since 1940s, the socio-physical structure of the street was in the adaptation to the contextual changes. In this regard, Şaşkın-Bakkal, a meeting point for youths of the street in the late 1940s, reconstructed to a meeting point for fashion girls and boys, those who strolled around Atlantic cinema in the late 1970s. Following on from the late 1970s, Şaşkın-Bakkal turned to use as a meeting point for Football celebration in the late 1980s and it reconstructed to use as a place for brand café-restaurants in the late

1990s. In the twenty-first century, it is identified with brand and fashion stores, café-restaurants, meeting points for festival, rallies and protest. The existing studies do not empirically discuss about the line of development through the adaptation of the existing cultures to the changing time-space.

The third contribution is related to the construction of inclusive space through the reconstruction of the dominant attribute. The study revealed that the relational sociocultural structure is reconfigured through the preservation of the traditional socially constructed attributes, bringing together different generations and groups (gender, age and classes) within the space. It can thus be said that traditional sociocultural habits (e.g. pubs) and embodied social consciousness have a strong association with the newly constructed sociocultural activities (e.g. festivals). This is to say that, street is constructed to use by different groups of society. Every generation can make relation with the socially constructed street.

Therefore, the study put forward a new argument related to the (re)constructed dominant culture. The (re)construction and transformation of space, based on the dominant culture of the context, seeks to continuity of the shared culture down through generations to construct an inclusive space for diversity of users and the resistant space. There is no direct reference in literature explaining the construction of inclusive, resistant and adaptive space based on the reconstruction of embodied knowledge and structure, while Mead (1934), Blumer (1969), Dewey (1934) and Giddens (1979) all touch upon the subject. The present study empirically examines the meaning of reconstruction and transformation, concluding that it refers to the continuity of existing practices (Dewey, 1934). The sociocultural structure is in the process of being-becoming, aiming to attain a higher level of order, which is 'a developmental journey' and 'a continuous meaning making process' (Vygotsky, 1978). In this regard, the socially constructed dynamics disappear and reconstruct on the basis of the new happenings (Mead, 1934 and Blumer 1969) and they indeed are the actions of actors adapted to the sociocultural situations set the direction for future

development. Blumer (1969) and Mead (1934) add 'each generation conceives the past in new terms based on the changes in the contextual dynamics'. Additionally, Giddens (1981) puts forward the reconstruction of the dominant rule under new attributes; indeed the newly constructed attributes encourage people to new actions and then new socio-spatial consciousness. To exemplify this, in the late 1980s, actors took knowledge and actions through the restoration of the physical structure. In this regard, people began to use street's sidewalks and do shopping. According to Lippuner and Werlen (2009), the constructed environment gives people knowledge without being able to express that knowledge. Accordingly, the study revealed that the appropriate contextual attributes invite actors to actions.

Methodologically, the study uses the frequency matrix at which shared attributes are mentioned and the causal integers to clarify the most dominant attributes, while explaining how dominant attributes are affected and transformed within the contextual attributes in different historical periods. This can be considered as an appropriate method for observing the processes of development, reconstruction and transformation of the cultural structure. To exemplify this, hereby I present the conceived dominant attributes for the nine historical periods and briefly explain what made people to associate those concepts to the street, and when and why those concepts broke up and transformed into a new concept (s) in the following period. In the late Ottoman era, the dusty and commercial road was identified with a few shared activities (pubs, nightclubs and sea-baths) through 'the concentration of the shared activities in the Kadiköy center', and 'unstructured daily life of the road'. With the proclamation of the Republic, the traditional shared activities (e.g. sea-bath) began to diffuse in the street neighborhoods through 'the structuring of daily life in the Kadiköy center (permanent settlement and commercial activities)', 'developing transportation as tram, bus and taxi' and 'fading religious segregation'. Following that, with the political-economic change in Turkey (from single-party to multiple-party system and industrialization), the physical projects aimed to construct Istanbul hinterlands to solve city center problem. The predominant attributes (e.g. sea-bath and pubs)

of the street did not adopt the physical changes since those physical strategies did not take into account socioeconomic demands of the residents. Until late 1970s, the predominant attributes resisted change in spite of the decentralization policies (e.g. Property Ownership Law and parceling) to reconfigure the dominant attributes. In the early 1980s, under 'privatization policy of the globalization process', 'liberal market', 'the permanent-use' and 'increase in land values', the predominant attributes broke up to replace by the street activities as festival, chatting and parading in the street's sidewalk. In this regard, the integrated relations among attributes (from local to global) transformed and reconstructed the dominant attribute. In summary, for seven decades, the dominant attributes of the street resisted the change, in that the disintegrated socioeconomic and spatial relations prevented the modification of the traditional habits as an example, in the late 1970s, the inappropriate physical structure of the street prevented the spectacular culture of the globalization process to construct the social life of the street. Broadly speaking, the dominant meaning of the street has changed from a place for the coastal-recreational activities to a place for protest, rallies, festivals, public activities and passing time in brand café-restaurants and fashion department stores.

The study has attempted to explain in a practical way the more integrated attributes in the construction of space, and those attributes that were mentioned most frequently by the respondents can be considered as the main drivers in the structuring of the wholeness of urban space. It is these attributes that organize the socioeconomic and spatial relations of the space, and in this sense, newly constructed strategies should contribute to the dominant attribute for the (re)structuring of space. The study emphasizes the importance of consistency in the contextual dynamics for the development of the dominant attribute, meaning and practice of space, as this will strengthen the structural resistance and adaptation of the urban context. Hence, the present study revealed that urban design plays a crucial role in the reconstruction of the embodied culture of the social context under influences of new social actions. As an example, the physical

restoration of the late 1980s contributed to the modification of communal activities of the place into new modes of socialization; the communal arena emerged as a place of festivity and rallies, in a marked change to the traditional entertainment modes, such as nightclubs and beaches (Table 9.7). Table 9.7 highlights the most significant communal areas of Bağdat Street within a historical perspective in which the cultural practices underwent constant development. The Table details the proliferation of the traditional shared activities.

Table 9.7: Shared Places of Street's Sociocultural Phenomenon within a Historical Perspective- Source: Lotfata, A. (Author)

Location	1940s	1950s	1970s	1990s	2000s
Şaşkın-Bakkal-Suadiye	Meeting place for young people,	Meeting place for young people, cinema	Meeting place for young people, cinemas (Atlantik and Budak), beaches	Meeting place for young people, festivities, chatting, walking, Brand department stores (Marks & Spencer), Çarşi (Bazar)	Meeting point, cinema (Cadde-Bostan Cultural Center replacing Budak Cinema), Festivities, rallies, protests, café-restaurants
Divan Patisserie	-	-	Shared indoor place of women and men	Shared indoor place for window shopping and self-presentation	Shared indoor place of Fenerbahçe fans, Symbolic meeting point
Fenerbahçe Club	Inside of stadium; Celebration and rallies	Inside of stadium; celebrations and rallies	Under restoration (1965–1982)	Post- match celebrations outside of club	Pre- and post-match celebrations, meeting point
Yoğurtçu Park	Outdoor cinema	Outdoor cinema	Political conflicts	Football fans	Symbolic place for Fenerbahçe fans
Alti-Yol	Republic Day rallies, celebrations	Republic Day rallies and celebrations	Republic Day rallies and celebrations.	Bull Statue in the center of the square, celebrations and rallies held in Bağdat Street	Post- match meeting place for Fenerbahçe fans, place for small public movements.

Additionally, the dominant attributes of each historical period are the leading strategies which reconstruct and modify in time to structure the integrated sociocultural phenomenon of the street. The study verified that the continuity of the traditional strategies contribute to construct the complete and integrated structure of a place.

Hierarchically Reconstructed Space: Finally, the study aimed at identifying the 'socio-spatial and political relations in the (re)construction of street culture as a part in the structure of city', brings clarity to the hierarchical construction of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. To this end, the shared conceived attributes were categorized based on their scale of influence, indeed the hierarchical structuring of the shared attributes contributed to the better understanding of the actors and scales in the construction of space.

The study area was identified according to two scalar configurations: the hierarchical construction, and the relational scalar configuration of space. Up until the 1980s, the study area had been identified with the hierarchical construction of space, in which the scales are assumed to be fixed entities in the construction process. The local scale was a passive entity, being shaped, constructed and reconstructed under the influence of the upper scales; in this regard the dominant attributes were not considered in the planning processes or decisions, or in the drafting of spatial policies. In this sense, while the upper scale policies defined the spatial profiles of the local scale, leading the contextual dominant attributes (e.g. sea-bath and pubs) to be reconstructed from within, in opposition to the purpose of the imposed physical policies. The study identified this era as one in which the city scale implemented different strategies in an attempt to configure the everyday life of the street. Eventually in the 1980s, the study area witnessed a shift from a hierarchical construction of space to a relational-based scalar configuration, which purposed to retain both a hierarchical and relational understanding in the construction of space; of these, it was the hierarchical construction of space that contributed most to distinguishing the scale of leading attributes in the process. Indeed, privatization policy of the globalization process contributed to the empowerment of the local actors in the construction of space, hence the local scale was no longer a passive entity, but took on a dynamic role in the construction of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. The local scale reached a peak of development as its attributes became more connected and re-scaled in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Thereby, the present study contributes to the existing literature in its analysis of the scalar construction of the space based on the 'integrated scales'. The study suggests a new hierarchical structure for the construction of space, in which scalar configuration is dependent upon the integrity of the individual scales rather than their size (global to local), and considers the fact that the relational connections of scales contribute to construction the integrated phenomenon. The study revealed further that the relationally constructed structure is resistant to a radical change, and clarified that the concept of resistance is based on the willingness of the scale, attribute and practice to reach a higher level of order. To exemplify this, the street was in construction under upper-scale polices in the 1950s; in this regard the local culture did not have a role in the construction of space. In this condition, the street was not in a real-process of development since the local culture did not take into account in the construction process, while the street of the twenty-first century was structured under interplay of local-global. If the dominant attributes of the early Republic was constructed based on the local demands, the dominant attributes of the twenty-first century were (re) structured under interplay of local-global as festival culture. The dominant attributes are the dominant powers of a context which steer practices within a sociocultural context.

The theories of Brenner (1997a), Lefebvre (1991), Smith (1992, 1993), Taylor (1982, 1993), Agnew (1993) and Herod (1991) were deemed relevant to the hierarchical construction of space, with the findings of Brenner (1997a) and Lefebvre (1991) related to social constructions of the scale in particular being consistent with findings related to the study area. Smith (1993) suggested that the relational hierarchical system contributes to the follow-up behaviors of actors in the construction of space and this is applicable to the study area in terms of the multiple actors and attributes, hence the hierarchical method contributed to the readable observation of the change in the agents' behaviors (shared conceived attributes) in the construction of space within time. According to Taylor (1993), Agnew (1993) and Herod (1991), there is no such thing as the center in the structure of a place, as the scales are in a horizontal relationship. In this sense, the

study area featured a (re)construction of space based on a hierarchy of integrated scales (attributes) (see Chapter Two: Figures 2.2 and 2.3), in that in the relational construction of scales, the scale that are highly integrated (re)construct the sociocultural phenomenon. In the study area in the late-twentieth century, the integrated local-global scales brought about a (re)structuring of the sociocultural relation that brought it to its twenty-first century space, in which the scales are well interconnected and integrated. The local, global, national and city levels and scales melt into one another (see Chapter Eight and Six). In this regard, the Fuzzy Cognitive Map visually presents the integration of the scales within different periods. In the FCM presentation model, the highly interacted node presents 'integrated scales (dominant power)' of a particular historical period.

The scalar configuration practically contributes to revealing strategies that may contribute to construct an integrated cultural structure. This leads to a structural resistance to change, in that constructed knowledge is a clear result of the collaboration of the socioeconomic and spatial strategies of different scales' actors in the (re)construction of space. In this sense, a newly constructed strategy is in interaction with the inter-dependently constructed knowledge to settle in the structure of a place. Thereby, the intensity of change reduces to the level of the structural modification. Moreover, the scalar configuration contributes to the exploration of upper-scale strategies and the reactions of the public (see Chapter Eight: street scale) to implemented strategies within the historical process and it permits the exploration of the disconnected relations of scales and their effects on the production of innovative strategies to regenerate their relationships.

The four main findings of the study can be summarized accordingly:

- The study revealed that people prefer to pass the time in a place where they have retained memories associated with either individual or multiple parts of that space. Thereby, the relational development of the context contributes to the preservation of the past traces in the cultural structure of

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the place, keeping generations together. Intergenerational approach indeed promotes an essential interdependence among generations and recognizes that all members of society have contribution in the construction of the cultural structure of the street's sociocultural phenomenon. In respect to the case study area, the reconfigured shared activities of the early Republic to the multiple local-global shared activities of the twenty-first century construct the cultural structure. In this regard, the existing cultures are taken into account, as it takes community-led initiatives to construct an inclusive place.

- In relational-based development, the negative effects of change can be turned positive through the diffusion of the effects of the change among the contextual attributes of the context. Accordingly, this study suggests that planning and design should aim at the integrated relational development of space where the relationally constructed phenomenon is resistant to a radical change. In respect to the case study area, interaction of 'the physical aesthetics of the street', 'collective practices: festivals and rallies', 'active life of the street', 'Republican people's Party vision of residents, Fenerbahçe club and local municipality' and 'Myths related to Ataturk love to Fenerbahçe and Kadiköy' brought about 'protest of 2011', 'slogans and social movement to support Gezi-Taksim event' and 'the ongoing conflict against the central government policies'. That is to say that, the connected contextual dynamics configures a resistant context that reacts against the imposed and unplanned thoughts and policies, while the disintegrated contextual attributes brings about a radical change in the socio-physical structure of a place, as the late 1970s of the street.

- The study revealed that the cultural structure can reach a higher level of integrity among the scales, layers, meanings and attributes through the adaptation of the traditional dominant attributes to the newly constructed attributes (e.g. spectacular culture of globalization process and structured

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mixed land-use). In the study area, the entertainment activities of the early Republic (e.g. pubs and nightclubs) associated with the entertainment activities of the twenty-first century (e.g. café-restaurants and bars).

- The study criticizes the existing practical, educational and professional framework of urban design, which looks at a place often from an aesthetic point of view. In this regard, the study revealed that urban design calls for an inter-disciplinary perspective. It requires a consideration for interfaces between different social groups and actions of the society from myths and memories to global policies. Indeed, the global products need urban design strategies to be experienced by people. Otherwise, it becomes unable to reach its own socioeconomic goals. Therefore, urban design should develop a language providing relational connection of the dynamics from abstract to concrete (e.g. street economy to architectural style) and global to local (e.g. liberal policy to myths). The relational structure of the sociocultural context presents the layered sociocultural structure, in that sense the cultural structure does not belong to present, past or future; it is something in-between. It is hard to make distinguish between past and present, in that they are reconstructing each other. In summary, the study presenting that to construct the contextual structure belonging to all generation and social groups, it is essential for urban designers to coordinate dialectical relations between the new dynamics and the practiced cultures and habits of the context. Accordingly, urban design should bring together the existing social consciousness and the newly created consciousness, in this regard the consciousness never disappears incessantly developing and experiencing by different generations and groups.

The present study revealed that the contextual attributes connect relationally in the structure of a place. In this sense, the study further verified that the attributes develop and modify through interactions, in this regard Vygotsky (1978) said

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individuals' cognitions develop in interactions. To exemplify this, dominant attribute (e.g. sea-bathing) was inconsistent with the 'everyday life (residential buildings)' in the street in the 1960s, in that the constructed routine life did not answer the local demands. Accordingly, 'everyday life of the street' did not develop until late 1980s. In the late 1980s, the empowered local actors reconstructed a routinized daily structure of a place under traditional habits (a place for entertainments and recreations) of a place. In this regard, in the twenty-first century, everyday life in the street is identified with historical meanings and myths, and social, recreational and essential land uses. Broadly speaking, all contextual dynamics develop, turn and modify in a relationally constructed setting. In this regard, this study produced an effective introduction to the following research studies.

- **Self-Organized Cultural Structure.** The present study revealed that the contextual attributes relationally connect to (re)construct a sociocultural context. The study further verified that a relationally constructed context both opens to new happenings and enables to produce similar attributes based on the inner rules. These preliminary results encourage a further investigation on the relationship between self-organization and the structure of a place. The researchers might examine that relationship with a large data and under an appropriate control on the contextual changes.

- **Adaptive Cultural Structure.** This study verified that the integrated and connected contextual attributes are resulting in an adaptive context. That is to say, the consensus among different strategies/actions comes up with a flexible context which reconfigures its inner rules under new happenings. Indeed, while the relationally constructed cultural structure preserves its traditional habits, it adopts a modification of inner regulations under changing conditions/dynamics. Accordingly, this study finds a clue to conceptualize '*an evolutionary-adaptive process*' in a (re)construction of the cultural structure. The researcher might use the findings of this study to

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investigate the evolutionary process of a development. They also can use the methods of this study in analyzing the structural changes in other contexts and geographies.

- **Resilient Cultural Structure.** This study revealed that the connected and integrated contextual dynamics constructs an adaptive and a resistant cultural structure. The study indeed verified that the relationally constructed phenomenon resists making a radical change when it diffuses the frequency of a change among the interacted contextual dynamics. Hereby, change in the relationally constructed realities calls an adaptive process. This study further presented that the relationally constructed phenomena inherently tend to resist, in this regard a transition from an insistent resistance to an adaptation process takes time. Accordingly, the adaptation is the endless process through the appropriate connection of new dynamics with the relationally constructed structure. Therefore, this study finds a clue to an investigation of the '*resilient structure*' of a place, in that a resilient structure preserves its traditional habits while it adopts the new happenings. Broadly speaking, this study opened up new and richer ways to study a structure of a place.

- **A New Type of a Shared Space.** The study revealed that a shared space that reconstructs under the existing socially constructed consciousness is a resistant and an adaptive context. That is to say, the study presented a new type of a common space where the multiple actors of a society from local people to political-economic decision makers work together in (re) construction of the socio-spatial and economic life of a place under the continuity of traditional contextual strategies, habits and practices. Indeed, the findings of this study provide a clue to investigate '*a right to city life*' on the basis of the reconstruction of the embodied social consciousness and contextual awareness.

Additionally, the present study puts also forward suggestions for four new research paths. First, further research may use similar methods to reveal individuals' cognitions related to transformations and restructurings, either in different parts of the city, in a comparison of different geographies and contexts. Second, further research may apply tests of onsite responses to examine the reliability of the revealed conceived attributes. A third line of research may focus on applying controlled tests of specific variables and the relationships between the attributes of sociocultural context. Finally, further studies may apply tests of onsite responses to confirm the revealed findings related to the sociocultural phenomenon with respect to different living areas.

The following section describes some of the most significant limitations in this study.

- The prior research studies could form the basis of my literature review and contribute to understand the research problem, but in the lack of prior researches, I conducted a new research typology to explore dynamics in the (re)construction of space. Accordingly, this project has been an exploratory-descriptive study, examining the shared conceived attributes, (re)constructions and transformations. The study applied a qualitative methodology to obtain subjective descriptions from the respondents, and applied a Fuzzy Cognitive Map to analyze the relation of the subjective descriptions. The frequency of the mentioned attributes and causal matrix contributed to the extraction of the dominant attribute/practices from a single case study. Researchers can use the research findings, which suggest certain directions for further investigations on the contextual culture. They should begin with the selection of a case study of a living environment, after which they should identify the key attributes in the construction of the contextual culture. They may adopt the methods used in this study, and may include other methods. The findings should reflect the inter-

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subjective meanings of the sociocultural context of the people who practiced and experienced it.

- In a qualitative in-depth interview, people described events that occurred at one time as if they occurred at another time. The further problem was related to remembering or not remembering events and or experiences which occurred in the past. Finally two significant limitations in gathering a reliable data were respondents' acts of 'attribution' and 'exaggeration'. In this case, I had to investigate extra documents to report a reliable data. As an example of this, I conducted interviews with Fenerbahçe fans who exaggerated the events to hold the importance of Fenerbahçe stadium in a destiny of Kadiköy and also Turkey. The interviewee (interview: age 55, October 2013) said 'Fenerbahçe is my religion' and also added, 'Fenerbahçe club saved Turkey in Independence War of Turkey'. In fact, interviewees explained the development of Bağdat Street and Kadiköy under an influence of Fenerbahçe club. This problem continued with the residents of the street who described living in the street as 'a different identity (original text: Kadiköy de yaşamak ayrıcalıktı)'. In this regard, I had to study the historical documents, the media analysis (Twitter and Milliyet newspaper analysis) to record the places of events, interviews with intellectual persons as Müfid Ekdal and follow-up events in the street to report a reliable data. The researchers can use methods of this study to further investigations on the contextual dynamics, and their own geographies and contexts. They also might add new methods to derive a reliable data.

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APPENDIX A

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1- Could you summarize your everyday life?

    1-1-   Sub-Questions:

      -Could you please explain the places you go shopping?

      - Could you please explain where you like to pass the time?

      - Could you please explain places you pass in your leisure time?

    1-1-1- Sub-Questions in Time Sequences

     - Could you explain where you did your shopping between 1923 and the 2000s?

     - Could you please explain the places you preferred to pass the time between 1923 and the 2000s?

     - Could you please explain places where you passed your leisure time between 1923 and the 2000s?

2- Could you please explain the social, cultural and political activities that occur in the street?

    2-1-   Sub-Question

      - Could you please explain the social, political, cultural activities in which you participate?

      - Could you please explain which places are used for shared social, political and cultural activities?

2-1-1- Sub-Questions in Time Sequences

- Could you please explain social, political, cultural activities you participated between 1923 and the 2000s?
- Could you please explain which places were used for shared social, political and cultural activities between 1923 and the 2000s?

3- Could you please describe the social-political profiles of the street?

3-1-   Sub-Questions
   - Could you explain the education level of your neighbors?
   - Could you give a generally overview of the political interests of the inhabitants?

3-1-1- Sub-Questions in Time Sequences

- Could you explain the education levels of your neighbors between 1923 and the 2000s?
- Could you provide an overview of the political interests of the inhabitants between 1923and the 2000s?

SELECTED QUOTATIONS (TWEETS)

(1) *'The Championship way, Bağdat Street' [Original Text: Şampiyonun Yolu Bağdat Caddesi! (May 2014)]*

(2) *'Champion Fenerbahçe goes to Bağdat Street [Original Text: Şampiyon Fenerbahçe Bağdat Caddesi'ne gidiyor! (May 2014)]*

(3) *'Bağdat Street is a castle of Fenerbahçe club' [Original Text: Bağdat Caddesi Fenerbahçe'nin kalesidir" tezahüratlarını atıyor. (May 2013)]*

(4) *' In Bağdat street, we celebrate championship' [Original Text: o kalade şampiyonluk kutlarız (May 2013)]*

(5) *' Movement in Bağdat Street for Justice' [Original Text: Bağdat Caddesi Adalet için Yürüdü (February 2014)]*

(6) *' Principle of Fenerbahçe club (Aziz Yılırım) in Street [Original Text: Aziz Yıldırım'a Bağdat Caddesi'nde (February 2014)]*

(7) *'We are in Bağdat Street! We are in Şaşkin-Bakkal! We are fans of Fenerbahçe team!' [Original Text: Bağdat Caddesi'ndeyiz! Şaşkınbakkal'dayız! Biz Fenerbahceyiz! (January 2014)]*

(8) *'Fenerbahçe club will decide future of this country and its' fans and club bring security for this country (Turkey)' [Original Text: Fenerbahçe, bu ülkenin her şeyine karar verecek, kulübüyle taraftarıyla bu ülkenin emniyetidir, son kaledir (January 2014)]*

(9) *'In Bağdat Street, protest to support Gezi Park' [Original Text: Bağdat Caddesi'nde Gezi Parkı protestosu (June 2013)]*

(10) *'In Bağdat Street, there is 'thief'(AKP) [Original Text: Bağdat Caddesi'nde "Hırsız var" (March 2014)*

(11)‘*Bağdat Street does not want AKP*’ *[Original Text: Bağdat Caddesi AKP'yi istemiyor (March 2014)]*

APPENDIX C

BAĞDAT STREET TIMELINE

Pre-republic Era

In 1786: *F. Kauffer, French engineer, marked Bağdat road in his map.*

Until 1850: Bağdat Street was identified with agriculture lands, used for military campaign and caravans

In 1850 and onward: with developing water-transportation (1857) and railway (1873-8) and under 'Tanzimat' regulation of (1839 and 1863), non-Muslim's residential buildings and summer palaces of Ottoman civil servants changed the agriculture and military use of the lands to a place for summer resorts and recreational activities.

In 1918: 'Necip' engineer marked Bağdat road with name of 'Ihlamur' road in Kadiköy map. The road extended from Taşkopru to Bostanci neighborhood. Phaeton was a dominant transportation mean in a dusty road.

Young Republic Era: 1923-1950

In 1930s: *asphalting road between Fenerbahçe and Bostanci neighborhoods*

In 1934: tramways in two sides of road began to work

In 1940s: *road widened, pedestrianized and railways move to banks of road, in this regard street began to use as an express road, connecting Istanbul to Ankara. Besides, the lands around road intensively were used to recreational resorts in summer seasons. Two-floor modern style villas with beach resorts presented the scenic image of the road.*

In late 1940s: *bus, taxi and tram were the transportation means of the road.*

Mid-Republic Era: 1950-1980

In 1955: *Bağdat Street within boundary of Kadiköy district.*

In 1958: *'widened and asphalted to construct two-lane street', 'removing tram to automobile-use' and 'inauguration of Ankara road in north of Bağdat road to change it from an express road to the residential urban road'.*

In 1959: *land parceling and permission to build three-floor buildings in two sides of the street. According to Hogg and Piccinato plans, street was planned to residential-commercial use.*

In 1965: ***'****Floor Ownership Law' increased density of population under decentralization policy of Istanbul and 'Eastern Marmara Plan'. Street was planned as a small city center. Accordingly, summer Ottoman palaces and villas of early republic era destroyed to replace by the residential apartments.*

In 1972: *permission to four- and five-floor buildings, but four-floor in coastal side and five in front side.*

In 1973: *with inauguration of Bosphorus Bridge, the wealthy and educated residents of Istanbul center settled in Bağdat Street. Accordingly developing public and private sectors began to change the traditional summer-use of street.*

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In late 1970s: decline in popularity of traditional habits (e.g. sea-bathing) to replace by street activities as strolling in pedestrian, sightseeing and car-races.

Republic Era: 1980-2013

In 1980s: permission to five-floor buildings and settlement of wealthy Anatolians.

In 1980s: private people buses.

In 1985: permission to destruction of gardens (gardens of Ottoman palaces) to build apartments.

1985-1987: restoration of physical aesthetics of the street (street furnitures and widened sidewalks).

1987-1988: with inauguration of the coastal road, two-lane Street changed to one-lane.

In 1989: street festival (under newly re-appeared Football club in the structure of street [in 1982]).

In 1989: shopping mall.

In 1995: republic rally (for first time held in 1995 up to present annually held in 29 October).

In late 1990: explosion of brand (global and national) stores.

In 2002: industrialization of football sector.

In 2002: *with conquest of Justice and Development Party (AKP), global brand café-restaurants and department stores intensively settled in the structure of the street.*

In 2005: *restoration of physical aesthetics of the street (street furniture and widened sidewalks).*

In 2007: *street festival (centennial anniversary of Fenerbahçe stadium).*

In 2011: *protest movement (Şike fight).*

In 2013: *protest movement supporting Gezi-Taksim event.*

APPENDIX D

DEFINITION OF TERMINOLOGIES

(1) Everyday life: everyday life is synonymous with the habitual, the ordinary and the mundane. Since capitalism and industrialization impact on human existence and the types of socializations, the uniform and repetitive aspects of human lives become more prominent. Accordingly, everyday life is a secular concept in that it conveys the sense of a material world without the miraculous, the magical, the sacred, myths, meanings and events. The present study intensively used the concept of everyday life to present a routinized everyday life combined with the recreational-social activities, myths and meanings of a place. In this regard, not only everyday life anchors people in the mundane, it contains the sacred and symbolic places which connect people to a world of possibilities. Additionally, the everyday structure of a place is the spatial ordering in this regard space can be a host to sociocultural and political events. Accordingly, for Giddens (1991), people need psychological security that achieves through the predictable and understandable life, is not just totally chaos.

(2) Festival: Bakhtin' (1968) notions of festival are founded on a non-democratic society. In festivals, authority can be suspended temporarily, and the people given a chance to act out their desires freely. Indeed, festivals are supported from bottom-up and top-down to enhance social life and public life of society. Festivals affirm the power of imagination and fantasy against the logic of reason in favor of an organic and seasonal temporal flow. In the present study, festivals impact the idea of community

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where a diversity of users comes to participate. In festivals, people cross boundaries, mark places as their own in a variety of ways. That is to say, festivals claim that space does not belong mainly to urban planners and authoritarians who decide physical forms of space.

*(3) **Place Identity:** acts that belong to a particular space-time present the place identity. People have a sense of belongings to space under those acts which contain a broad domain of practices from abstract to concrete. The present study conceptualizes an identity of a place in becoming through changes in socioeconomic and spatial structures of a place. In this regard, the traditional static and the oneness of identity replace by the multiple identities always in a state of becoming. That is to say, the acts that connect people to a context modify through interaction with other attributes/dynamics of a context. Accordingly, identity is in process, and so not only community maintains its uniqueness as the traditional identity but also identities have opportunity to reconfigure according to other dynamics effects.*

*(4) **Spectacular Space:** Baudrillard (1988) explains that 'reality is enmeshed with unreality and history becomes a toy'. An urban space change to the meaningless commodity presents the 'simulated' version of reality or hyper-reality. According to Berger and Luckmann (1967), in the spectacular space, people do not have a direct access to realities. Their lives passively are shaped by third one. The society is in a danger of recognition reality; Baudrillard (1988) writes 'so long as an illusion is not recognized as an error, it has a value precisely equivalent to reality'. Spectacular urbanism aims to reconfigure city as the spectacular space of consumption and the fantastic commodity and the spectacular culture could not recover the annihilated relationship of subject-object. It encourages self-presentation to fill gap but it unites a person only in its separateness. A person is confused of her needs and desires. In this regard,*

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Simmel (1978) points out 'the process of distancing' occur in all the relationships between man and objects, between man and others and between man and himself. The present study conceptualizes the spectacular culture in interaction with the other dynamics of a context; in this regard a spectacular culture develops with respect to local values.

*(5) **Culture:** culture is the holistic system; the substructures interlink one another, for Parson (1974), the interconnected attributes produce the common language of the cultural system which defines the whole vision of a context. Under the relational approach, a cultural system keeps a balance of multi-goals of a system. Accordingly, culture includes both 'structure and agency' and 'macro and micro' attitudes. In fact, under the holistic approach, culture does not reduce to the subjective and invisible attitudes and or define s as the structural approach of space. Additionally, culture as the self-regulating system resists the unplanned happenings. Indeed, a culture includes the rules which allow people to interact within inner regulations. Culture is further the adaptive complex system; similar to the biological system which attempts to the maintenance of the existing attributes to survive organism, in this regard the cultural system adapts the contextual changes. Broadly speaking, according to Durkheim (1965a); Geertz (1973); and Parsons (1968), culture as the system of attributes which opens to new happenings and is able to produce the similar cultural attributes according to inner rules is resistant and so resilient.*

APPENDIX E

A HISTORICAL MAP OF ISTANBUL

Byzantine Era
Ottoman Empire 15-18 Cen.
Ottoman Empire 19 Cen.
Turkish Republic 1920-1950
Turkish Republic 1950-1970
Turkish Republic 1970-2000
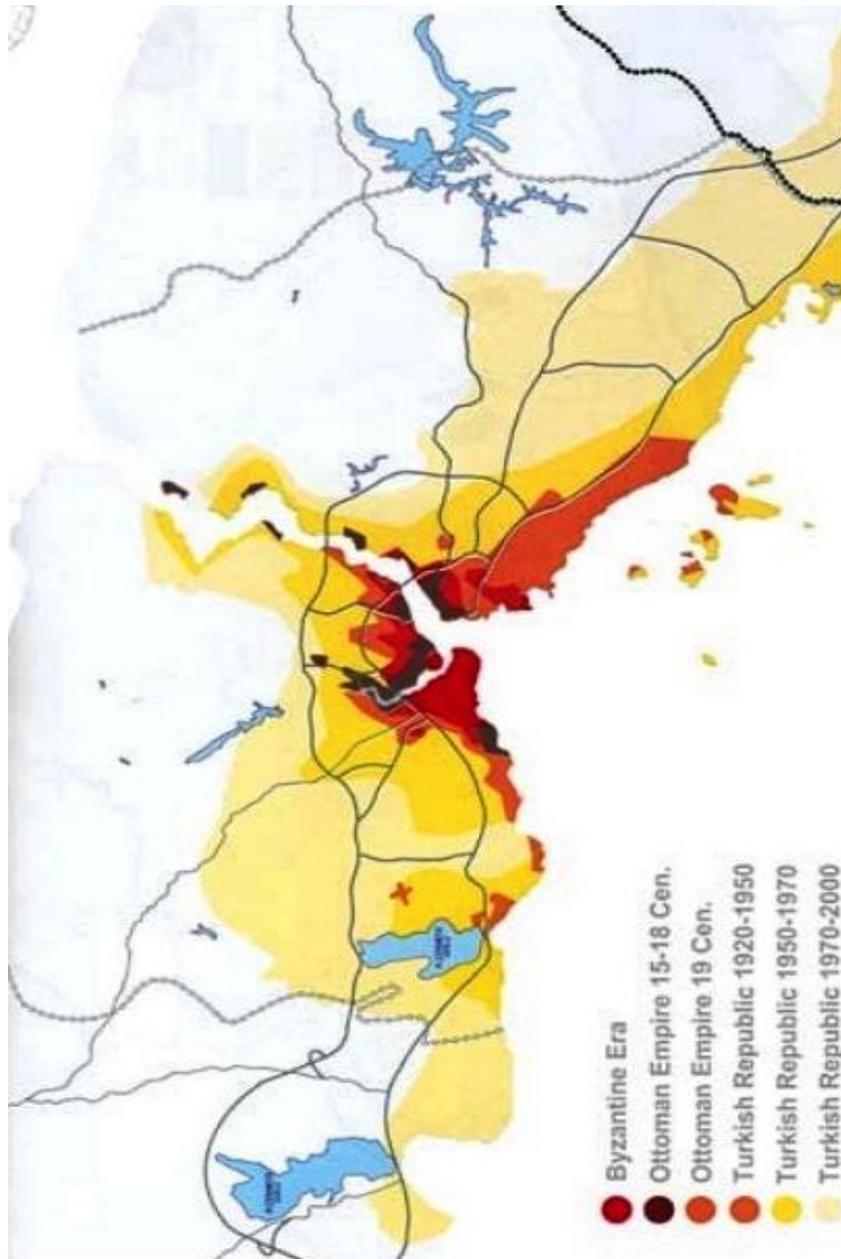
CURRICULUM VITAE

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PUBLISHED BOOK

Lotfata, A. (2013), Socio-Spatial Resilience Strategic Planning: City Planning through Discovering Neural Brain Function-New Modes of Intervention in Planning to Control Uncertainties, Lambert Academic Publishing, Germany.

PUBLISHED PAPERS

Lotfata, A. (2013), Transformation of Urban Spaces through Time-Space Politics towards Ethical Developing Urban Spaces in Turkey Context. Sub-Title: Ethical Strategy of Urban Spaces, Global Journal of Computer Science and Technology, Volume 13 Issue 4 Version 1.

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Lotfata, A. (11-15 July 2012), Socio-spatial Resilience strategic planning through understanding strategic perspectives on Tehran and bath, 26th annual Aesop conference.

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Lotfata, A. (2013), Minor Urban Transformations toward Enhancing Participatory Qualities of Urban Spaces", IAPS International Network Symposium 2013, Coruña from the 25th to the 28th of June of 2013, Oral presentation.

Lotfata, A. (2013), Growth of Cancer through Declining Human Spatial Engagement in the Tehran Streets", International Conference on "Changing Cities": Greece, June 18-21 2013, Oral Presentation.

Lotfata, A. (2013), Epistemological Differences in Tactical and Strategic Spatial Planning, 18th International Conference; Real CORP 2013, Roma Italy, Oral Presentation.

Lotfata, A., Ataov, A. (2013), Resiliency of Open public space (Streets) Through Transferring memory "Graffiti and Wall arts in the Tehran Streets, AESOP Conference, Dublin.

Lotfata, A., Pazhuhan, and M. (2013), a historical assessment of Universities in Socio-Spatial Transforming of urban space toward the innovative and knowledge-based city: Tehran University of Tehran Metropolitan, "EURA Cities as Seedbeds for Innovation 4 – 6 July 2013, Netherlands (Oral Presentation).

VISITING FELLOWSHIP

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AWARD

2010- TUBITAK Ph.D. (2215) Scholarship, Ankara, Turkey.

Oct. 2013- Full grant UNESCO SEE Science Journalism. Belgrade, Serbia.

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July 2013- Full grant, Grant Complex Systems Summer school (ISCN), Le Havre, France.

WORKSHOPS

14th Mediterranean Research Meeting Mersin (Turkey), 20-23 march 2013; "The discussed topic on "The Violence of Pluralism: Urban Transformations and New Political Subjectivities in the Rebellious Mediterranean"; Directed by: Daniel Monterescu (Central European University, Hungry) and Benoit Challand (New York University, USA).

URBEGO Planning and Design Workshop, 11-14 February 2013, the Discussed topic" Discovering a cohesive urban identity", Netherland.

TUNNISTUS, the discussed topic "Revisiting the revolution: past, present and perspectives" 130 hours (5ECTS), July 27, August 3 2012. The presented paper: "Transferring Collective Memory as an Agent change to Arab Localities.", Estonia.

The Barcelona Cognition, Brain and Technology summer school – BCBT2013.