



Drivers of socio-spatial change in Istanbul: Historical and longitudinal analysis of 5 cases from Bakırköy

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Abstract

This article aims to reveal the social and spatial change in Bakırköy through time and to identify the drivers behind this transformation. Bakırköy has been chosen as it hosted the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman Empires, leading to its multicultural and layered structure. It has been influenced by the dominant features of each era, shaping socio-economic changes, spatial transformations, and urban planning practices over the historical process. The interaction of these socio-spatial elements within Bakırköy encompasses broad themes such as social differentiation, economic change, and urban governance, thereby presenting case studies to examine the dynamics of urban areas in Istanbul. The research has been conducted at two levels. First, spatial changes were examined through relevant documents, literature, and historical maps. The periods were determined as the state-led development period (1923-1950), liberalization period (1950-1980), neoliberal transformation period (1980-2000), and globalization period (post-2000), with the pre-1923 period being considered separately. Subsequently, five case studies were selected to represent different functional land use at the local level. The first case study involves an area known as the İskender Çelebi Farm in the 17th century, which was chosen to represent the transformation from a food production area to industrial production in the 18th century and has become a mass housing area in the 20th century, now known as the Ataköy districts. The second and third case studies represent the transformation from industrial production areas in the 19th and early 20th centuries to residential, tourism, and shopping areas. The fourth case study focuses on the coastal strip, which was used as a public space for 'sea baths' in the 19th century and today exists as luxury housing projects under private ownership. The fifth case study involves an area that served as an airport in the early 20th century and is currently planned for a hospital and green spaces, although it remains a public service. Through these cases, which demonstrate the shift from the productional use of space to consumption, the study seeks to answer the following questions: First, how do demographic and economic changes play a significant role in the differentiation of urban space, and in a related context, what is the local-scale impact of changing policies on the functional change of the selected cases? The findings reveal that industrial investments, supported by transportation investments, choose their locations in the changing/transforming economic order. The decentralization of industry and the privatization or transformation of public investments into consumption-focused urban areas through public-private partnerships have also been observed. The study aims to prove that this change in space lays the groundwork for social differentiation.

Keywords: land use change, periodic features, social differentiation from past to present Bakırköy, temporal-spatial characteristics

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1. Introduction

The geographical positioning of cities, alongside the opportunities extended by their transportation infrastructures and the burgeoning of industrial zones, significantly contributes to urban growth and the shaping of spatial configurations. This study delves into the socio-spatial changes within urban areas with a particular focus on Bakırköy, tracing its evolution from the late Ottoman era through to the contemporary period marked by globalization. The intricate interplay between state policies, capital flows, and social stratifications has critically influenced these transformations, initiating a pivotal shift in the urban fabric from the establishment of the Republic of Turkey onwards (Kurtuluş, 2005). The advent of industrial capitalism in Western Europe in the 19th century and its ideological and spatial manifestations introduced a new paradigm of urban development, which was subsequently adopted and modified within the Turkish context (Tekeli & İlkin, 1987). The post-republic era saw the Turkish state adopt an active role in industrial investment leading to a period of planned urban development which was only disrupted by World War II and further shifts precipitated by the 1973 oil crisis (Arslan, 1997; Castells, 1992; Ersoy, 1993).

However, existing literature on socio-spatial change often glosses over the nuanced dynamics specific to regions like Bakırköy where a unique confluence of historical, economic, and policy-driven factors has sculpted the urban landscape. Previous studies have predominantly focused on macro-level analyses, frequently overlooking the localized impacts of such transformations on urban land use, the socio-economic fabric of communities, and the changing patterns of residential and industrial spaces (Akin, 2011; Kurtuluş, 1999). By critically examining historical periods such as those proposed by Boratav (Boratav, 2009), which delineate Turkish history through economic epochs, this research aims to bridge the gap in the literature by providing an in-depth exploration of how these broader trends have specifically manifested in Bakırköy's spatial and social structure.

Furthermore, this study introduces an original perspective by incorporating a detailed analysis of land use changes through historical cartography and evaluating the implications of shifting governmental policies and lifestyle changes on the local urban morphology. In doing so, it not only highlights the specificities of Bakırköy's development within the broader context of Turkish urbanization but also contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the socio-spatial dynamics at play. By comparing the characteristics of different periods—from the early Republican era's state-led development to the neoliberal and globalization phases of post-1980—this research offers novel insights into the intricate processes shaping urban spaces and their social implications in a rapidly changing world.

In essence, this study seeks to elucidate the multifaceted nature of socio-spatial change in Bakırköy, contrasting its trajectory with that of other urban areas while underscoring the unique contributions and challenges that define its urban evolution. Through this approach, the research not only fills a significant void in the existing body of work but also sets the stage for future inquiries into the complex interrelations between urban development policies, economic transformations, and social dynamics.

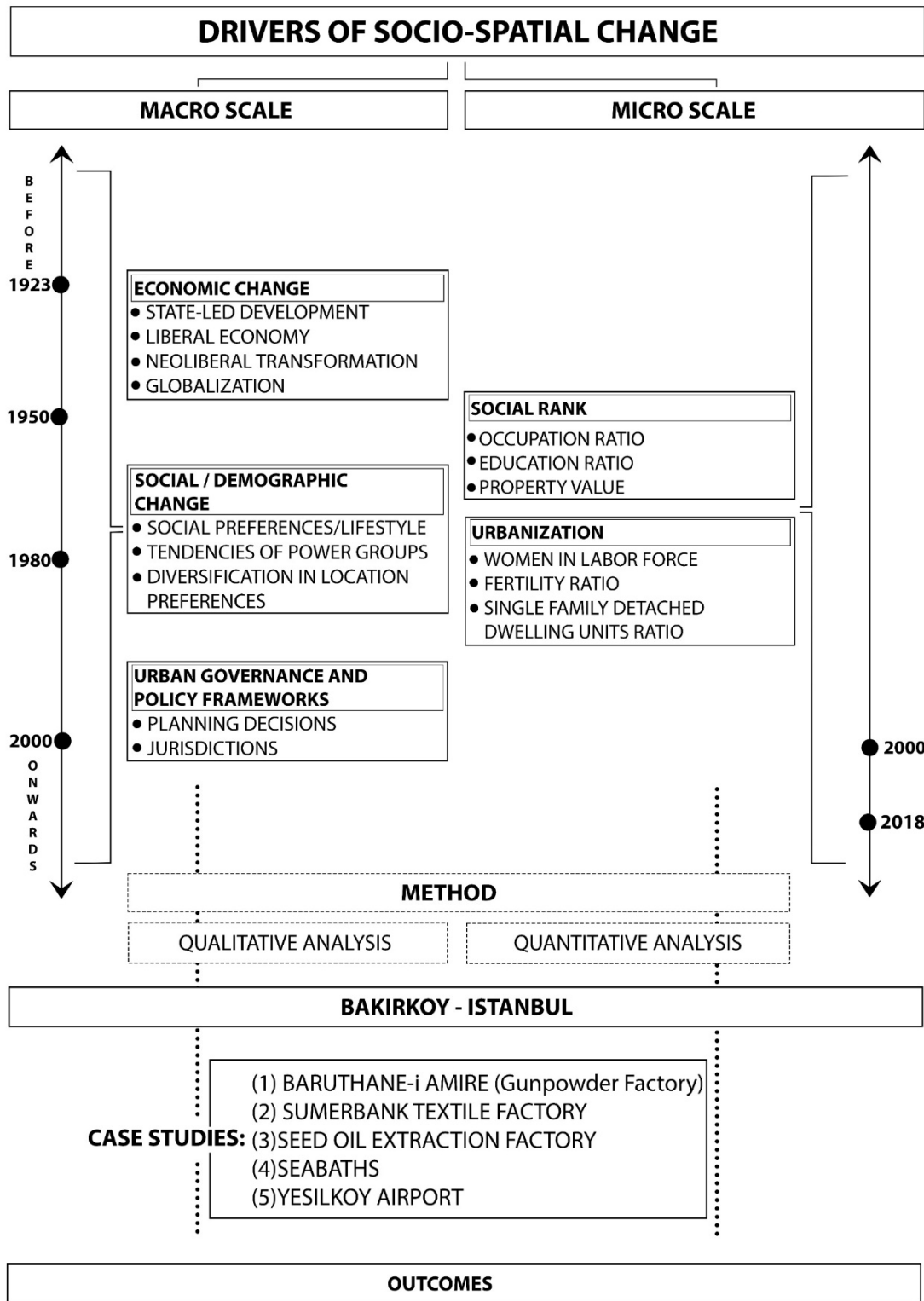


Figure 1 Conceptual framework

In assessing the urban development of Bakırköy on a macro scale, it is evident that the spatial effects of the post-republic era’s production-focused state investment, the transition to a liberal economy in the 1950s, the influence of neoliberal policies on the economy post-1980, and the subsequent globalization process can be observed in conjunction.

At the micro scale, social and demographic factors such as changes in social preferences, lifestyles, and public opinion come to the fore. However, urban governance and policy frameworks show that local planning decisions and jurisdictional boundaries have a direct impact on the city.

For example, local government decisions in urban planning can dramatically affect the social structure and settlement patterns of a city.

The five case studies—Baruthane-i Amire (Gunpowder Factory), Sümerbank Textile Factory, Seed Oil Extraction Factory, Sea Baths, and Yeşilköy Airport—provide concrete examples of how Bakırköy was transformed over different time periods. Each case study reflects the long-term effects of economic policies and urban planning decisions, as well as the challenges of preserving local memory and social identity.

This comprehensive framework (Figure 1) highlights the complex nature of socio-spatial change occurring in Bakırköy. This study initially adopts a comprehensive framework, subsequently identifies and analyzes the driving forces, and ultimately comprehends the fundamental causes behind the social and spatial changes within the unique context of Bakırköy.

2. Drivers of Socio-Spatial Change in Bakırköy

A study by Dadashpoor and Malekzadeh in 2020 classified the driving factors affecting the spatial structure of metropolitan areas into four main dimensions: developmental, transformative, contextual and intrinsic, and incentive and disincentive. Furthermore, their study divided these dimensions into subcategories. Dadashpoor and Malekzadeh's developmental dimension encompasses the economic, communication, and infrastructure development forces that shape the spatial structure of metropolitan areas, highlighting how investments, accessibility, and physical growth drive change and development within these regions. The authors' transformative dimension captures the internal and external factors, including demographic shifts, social changes, and government policies, that instigate transformations within the spatial structure of metropolitan areas, influencing their evolution through planning, migration, and social processes. Their contextual and intrinsic dimension refers to the stable and less mutable factors, such as geographical, historical, and environmental characteristics that inherently influence the spatial organization and development patterns of metropolitan areas, underpinning the foundational context for other dynamic changes. Dadashpoor and Malekzadeh's final incentive and disincentive dimension explores the motivators and deterrents affecting urban spread including policies and socio-economic shifts that either encourage dispersion and development in new areas or discourage excessive concentration in already densely populated centers.

In reference to the above study, our research covers the subcategories related to spatial change. Within the developmental dimension, we explore the role of public infrastructure development, property value fluctuation, and the restructuring of industry as pivotal forces. For instance, the transformation of Bakırköy's industrial areas into residential and commercial spaces underscores the impact of economic shifts on urban form. The selection of these subcategories is justified by their direct influence on the urban growth patterns observed in Bakırköy where historical industrial sites have given way to mixed-use developments, reflecting broader trends in urban redevelopment. Within the transformative dimension, we explore the effects of migration, land use policies, and spatial planning initiatives. Bakırköy's demographic evolution, shaped by both internal migration and international influxes, provides a lens through which to assess the socio-spatial impacts of these factors. The decision to focus on migration patterns is informed by the area's history as a recipient of diverse population groups, which has enriched its cultural fabric and simultaneously posed challenges for urban planning and service provision. Focusing on Bakırköy's historical settlement patterns, environmental context, and social differentiation, within the contextual and intrinsic dimension, we highlight the enduring influence of geographical and historical factors on urban development. The preservation of Bakırköy's historical heritage, amidst rapid urbanization, reflects the ongoing tensions between development and conservation. These factors are chosen for their significance in shaping the district's identity and their implications for contemporary urban planning practices. Within the incentive and disincentive dimension, we address the dual forces of municipal regulation and household lifestyle change. The rise of new residential typologies in Bakırköy, catering to evolving consumer preferences for green spaces and

recreational amenities, illustrates the complex interplay between policy directives and market dynamics. The emphasis on municipal regulations is particularly pertinent in light of recent urban renewal projects which have transformed the district's physical landscape and socio-economic profile.

2.1. Historical Background of Bakırköy

Bakırköy's history dates back to the 2nd century BCE. Known as Hebdomon from the 4th century, it was one of the most important settlements outside of Constantinople. Located on the Via Egnatia—the main road connecting the capital Constantinople to Europe—it is a fishing village situated seven miles west of the Milion Monument, which rises at one end of the Augusteion Square in front of Hagia Sophia. Augusteion Square is considered the starting point of all roads leaving the capital (Kuban, 1996). Hebdomon's real significance began with Emperor Constantine the Great (AD 272-337), becoming a resort center where summer palaces, mansions, gardens, cisterns, churches, and monasteries were built. Hebdomon was burned on multiple occasions between 104 and 1261 AD, suffered complete destruction during the Latin invasion of the Byzantine Empire, and eventually lost its importance. After this date—in the last period of the Byzantium—it was a small fishing village known as Makri Khori (Khora), meaning 'Long Village' due to its long coastline. After the conquest of Byzantium, during the Ottoman Period, Khora was changed to Makri Village (Makriköy). In the early 17th century, new settlements were established in the area; mansions, palaces, mosques, and baths began to be built in Makriköy (Koçu, 1944). The region's importance increased further when a gunpowder mill was moved there during Sultan Mahmud II's reign, and over time—due to ease of transportation—many factories were established, turning the old fishing village into an industrial center (Bilgin & Yarış, 2011). Following the proclamation of the Republic and the Turkification of place names, Makriköy was renamed Bakırköy in 1925 (Tuna, 2000) (Erez, 2009).

2.2. Administrative Division and Boundaries

In 1926, Bakırköy became a district through the passage of Law No. 877 by the Grand National Assembly. In 1957, Zeytinburnu was separated from the boundaries of Bakırköy and became a district. Subsequently, until 1989, Bakırköy, bordered by Çatalca to the west, Eyüp and Gaziosmanpaşa to the north, and Zeytinburnu to the east, covered an area of 275 km², making it the largest district of Istanbul.

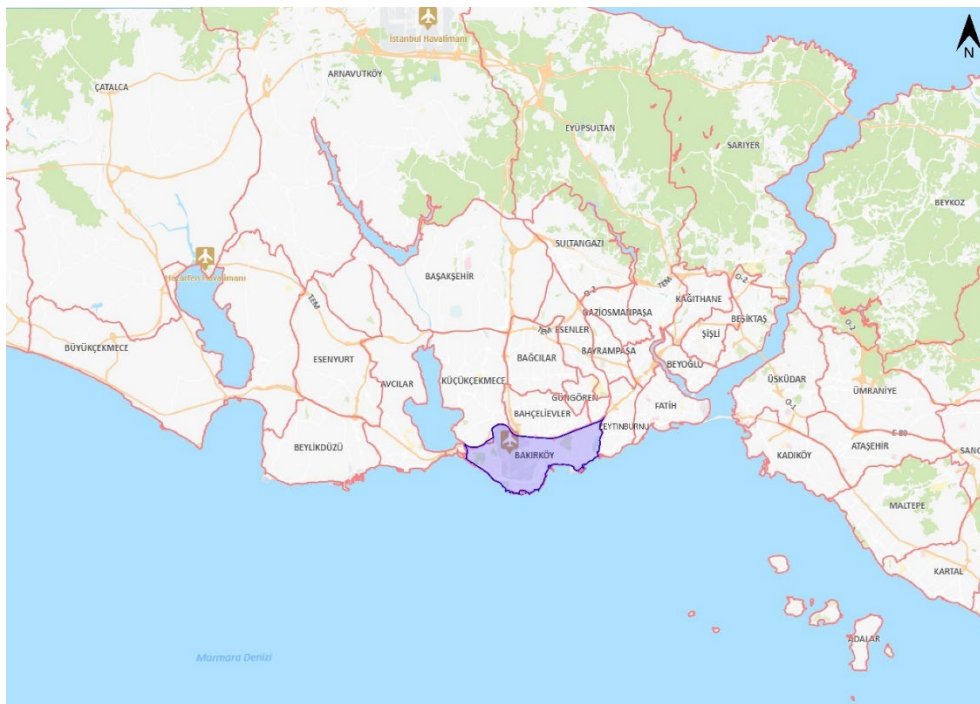


Figure 2 The location of Bakırköy in Istanbul (Source: IBB Şehir Rehberi (City Guide), 2024)

In 1989, Küçükçekmece was separated from Bakırköy to become a distinct district, followed by Bağcılar, Bahçelievler, and Güngören in 1992. These separations resulted in a decrease in both the population and area of Bakırköy. Currently, Bakırköy district encompasses an area of 35 km². It consists of the Central Bakırköy Region, Ataköy Region, Yeşilköy Region, and Florya Region, comprising a total of 15 neighborhoods. This paper's research area is bordered by the Ayamama Creek to the west (marking the boundary with Küçükçekmece district), the Çırpıcı Creek to the east (marking the boundary with Zeytinburnu district), the D-100 highway to the north (marking the boundary with Bahçelievler district), and the Sea of Marmara to the south.

2.3. Movements of People into and out from Bakırköy

In this section, statistical information related to the ethnic composition of the research area—specifically in terms of population—will be provided, and changes in patterns of migration over the years will be described.

Following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, people from every city of the Empire were resettled there in order to transform the city into the Empire's capital. The city's densest residential settlements were on the southern slopes of the Golden Horn; meanwhile, Greek and Armenian neighborhoods were located along the Marmara's shores. The initial Muslim settlement of Bakırköy is known to have begun in the 17th century, as evidenced by the construction of the Çarşı Mosque and the first Muslim burials in the graveyards dating to this period (Belge, 1993).

In the 18th century, an Armenian director managing the Baruthane-i Amire (the area where today's Ataköy neighborhood is located) within the boundaries of Bakırköy attracted the Armenian population from Anatolia (Koçu, 1944). Moreover, after the 1894 Istanbul Earthquake, Armenians whose homes were damaged in the historic city center chose to live in detached houses in Bakırköy, which offered ample space (Alus, 1995).

The opening of the Rumelia Railway in 1872 and the subsequent train station in Bakırköy brought Muslim families, as well as a few Jews and Levantines, leading to the emergence of a cosmopolitan population in the area, similar to Yeşilköy (Tuna, 2000).

Between 1830 and 1914, the Ottoman population censuses provided clear information regarding ethnic diversity. Ethnic origins were defined as Muslims, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Greek/Armenian Catholics, and Protestants (Karpas, 2010). During that period, 5% of Istanbul's population resided in Makriköy, with Muslims constituting 62% of Makriköy's population and approximately 37% being Armenians and Greeks. The harmonious coexistence of Muslims, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews in the area until the 1960s is documented in the books of Turgay Tuna and Selçuk Erez.

Table 1 Ottoman Population 1830 – 1914 (Source: Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu 1830-1914*, İstanbul 2010, s. 356 – 357)

Ottoman Population 1830 - 1914								
	Population							Total population
	Muslims	Rum Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Greek Catholics	Armenian Catholics	Protestants	
Makriköy	28967	11221	5734	364	46	220	6	46558
Istanbul	560434	205375	72962	52126	387	9918	1213	902415

Between 1914 and 1965, the ethnically heterogeneous structure of Istanbul gradually became more homogeneous. During these years, the Muslim population increased from 61% to 93% (Mazman, 2015). Following World War II, in the 1950-60 period, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes prepared a comprehensive development project. When a large population of poor, landless, uneducated, and politically unaffiliated rural people began to move to the city center, they started to exert their influence through the electoral process. This led to the population in the city center moving west to more prestigious areas in the Bakırköy – Yeşilköy region (Kuban, 1996).

The political changes and the subsequent emigration have significantly reduced the ethnic diversity in Bakırköy. Although the social structure of Bakırköy varies at the neighborhood level, it can generally be described as having a high level of education and income, with a low housing density.

2.4. Demography and Social Structure

Between the 1927 census and 1950 census, the population of Istanbul increased from 806,863 to 1,166,477, while the population of Bakırköy rose from 23,732 to 42,956. When comparing the population growth rates, Istanbul's was approximately 45%, whereas Bakırköy district's was about 81%. Since the industrialization in agricultural production that occurred after the 1940s, the introduction of machinery has led to a significant increase in output. The technological change in agricultural production took place after the 1940s. While the introduction of machinery led to a significant increase in agricultural output, the reorganization of the agricultural sector according to market conditions resulted in the population, detached from the land, accumulating in cities (Kılınçaslan, 1981). However, the central government's move to support the national bourgeoisie in terms of Istanbul's industrialization and urbanization potential after 1950 constituted another driver of migration to cities (Özbay & Yücel, 2001). In 1955, while the population of Istanbul reached 1,533,822 Bakırköy's population rose to 107,287. In 1957, Zeytinburnu district was separated, and by 1960, the population growth rate in Bakırköy had decreased compared to the previous five-year period. With intense migration to the city, the state's inability to meet the housing needs in a planned manner led to a rapid increase in illegal squatter settlements. In this process, the rapid increase in construction in the Zeytinburnu district, and the observed increase in its population after separating from Bakırköy, can be considered one of the main reasons for the decline in Bakırköy's population.

Table 2 Population Data for Bakırköy and Istanbul from 1927 to the Present

Year of Population	Total Population (ISTANBUL)	Population Growth Rate	Total Population (BAKIRKÖY)	Population Growth Rate	Ratio of District Population to Provincial Population
1927	806.863		23.732		
1950	1.166.477	44,57%	42.596	79,49%	3,65%
1955	1.533.822	31,49%	107.287	60,30%	6,99%
1960	1.882.092	22,71%	102.617	-4,35%	5,45%
1980	4.471.890	137,60%	882.505	760,00%	19,73%
2000	10.018.735	124,04%	208.398	-76,39%	2,08%
2023	15.655.924	36,01%	220.476	5,80%	1,41%

Following the intense migration that started in the 1950s, the population of Istanbul by the 1980 census had increased from 1,166,477 to approximately 4,471,890. Bakırköy's population increased from 42,596 to 882,505; its proportion within the Istanbul population rose from 3.65% to 19.73%. As of 2023, while the population of Istanbul continues to grow, no significant differentiation is observed in the population of Bakırköy district. This situation indicates that the spatial growth of the city and the distribution of its population are occurring in a heterogeneous manner across different districts.

In the 2000 census, Bakırköy's population experienced a significant drop due to the separation of the Küçükçekmece, Bahçelievler, Bağcılar, and Güngören districts. The change in the socio-economic structure after 2000 has been interpreted through the lens of social rank and urbanization—specifically between the years 2000 and 2018—with a detailed examination to follow on one of the case studies, the Ataköy neighborhoods.

2.4.1. Method

We used mixed method in this research including historical cartographic analysis, qualitative analysis at macro level and quantitative analysis at micro level. We adapted Shevky and Bell's social area analysis approach to create social rank index and urbanization index for micro analysis. The method of the following section 3 is qualitative analysis and historical cartographic analysis.

Table 3 Social Rank Index (2000)

District	No.	Neighborhood	Social Rank Indicators			Social Rank Index
			Occupation Ratio Standard Score	Education Ratio Standard Score	Property Value Standard Score	
BAKIRKÖY	1	ATAKÖY 1	66,95	94,27	28,99	63,40
	2	ATAKÖY 2 5 6	100,00	97,94	9,34	69,09
	3	ATAKÖY 3 4 11	93,86	95,10	5,65	64,87
	4	ATAKÖY 7 8 9 10	88,80	95,41	14,86	66,36
	5	BASINKÖY	40,72	77,46	11,07	43,08
	6	CEVİZLİK	19,73	83,10	11,00	37,94
	7	FLORYA-ŞENLİK	44,97	97,69	51,91	64,86
	8	KARTALTEPE	53,28	69,62	26,28	49,73
	9	OSMANİYE	0,00	0,00	11,78	3,93
	10	SAKIZAĞACI	10,65	100,00	2,23	37,62
	11	YENİ	10,80	78,81	0,00	29,87
	12	YEŞİLKÖY	45,83	82,50	100,00	76,11
	13	YEŞİLYURT	44,81	86,53	13,12	48,15
	14	ZEYTİNLİK	48,50	84,44	4,04	45,66
	15	ZUHURATBABA	57,82	88,20	14,48	53,50
Average of Bakırköy						50,28

The variables constituting the social rank indicators have been evaluated based on the proportion of individuals who are under-educated and working in low-prestige jobs. Moreover, the analysis of the real estate market provides additional indicators. Therefore, those with a low social rank index represent the group with a low level of education, working in low-prestige job groups, and having a low property value.

When examining the data from 2000, it's observed that Osmaniye neighborhood—the only area in Bakırköy district with irregular settlements—has the lowest Professional Status Ratio indicator. The proportion of the population working in low-prestige jobs is above the district average, while the employment rate of women is significantly below the district average. In contrast, the neighborhoods of Ataköy have values much higher than the average, indicating a very low proportion of the population in low-prestige jobs and a very high employment rate among women.

When considering the education rate among adults over 25 years of age—including those who are literate but have not completed any school, and primary and middle school graduates—Osmaniye again has the lowest rate. Sakızağacı (one of the oldest settlements), and Ataköy 2-5-6 neighborhoods along the coast, as well as Yeşilköy, are significantly above the average.

In an evaluation of neighborhoods based on property value rates as an income indicator, Yeşilköy and Florya have the highest values. Sakızağacı, Zeytinlik, and Ataköy 3-4-11, some of the oldest settlements, have the lowest values. When interpreted in terms of income, the highest

income group is in Florya, whereas the areas surrounding the historic city center of Bakırköy consist of neighborhoods inhabited by the middle-income group.

Table 4 Social Rank Index (2018)

District	No.	Neighborhood	Social Rank Indicators			Social Rank Index
			Occupation Ratio Standard Score	Education Ratio Standard Score	Property Value Standard Score	
BAKIRKÖY	1	ATAKÖY 1	40,05	92,13	0,71	44,29
	2	ATAKÖY 2 5 6	100,00	92,50	2,09	64,86
	3	ATAKÖY 3 4 11	40,05	93,35	4,45	45,95
	4	ATAKÖY 7 8 9 10	60,55	94,26	15,29	56,70
	5	BASINKÖY	63,07	80,05	12,54	51,89
	6	CEVİZLİK				
	7	FLORYA-ŞENLİK	40,05	92,30	76,60	69,65
	8	KARTALTEPE	55,58	63,75	27,93	49,09
	9	OSMANİYE	58,68	0,00	17,12	25,27
	10	SAKIZAGACI	65,46	100,00	0,00	55,15
	11	YENİ				
	12	YEŞİLKÖY	40,05	84,33	100,00	74,79
	13	YEŞİLYURT	40,05	92,12	11,41	47,86
	14	ZEYTİNLİK	40,05	83,05	7,53	43,54
	15	ZUHURATBABA	0,00	84,30	13,01	32,44
Average of Bakırköy						50,88

When the data from 2018 are examined, it is observed that the average social rank index is generally lower. In particular, there is a dramatic drop in Zuhuratbaba.

Urbanization Indicators are fertility ratio, women in labor force ratio, and single-family detached dwelling units ratio. Standardized values are inversely proportional to real values. When evaluating the urbanization index 2000 data (Table 5), the Ataköy neighborhoods—which started construction after 1957—consist of high-standard and spacious houses, so the standard score value in these neighborhoods is below average. Bakırköy, having an aging population, has low fertility rates. However, since it is more modernized, the number of women participating in the workforce is high. Specifically, in the Ataköy 2-5-6, which has the first mass housing structures, is a neighborhood with a high average age.

Table 5 Urbanization Index (2000)

District	No.	Neighborhood	Urbanization Indicators			Urbanization Index
			Fertility Ratio Standard Score	Women in Labor Force Standard Score	Single Family Detached Dwelling Units Ratio Standard Score	
BAKIRKÖY	1	ATAKÖY 1	86,29	55,35	0,00	47,21
	2	ATAKÖY 2 5 6	100,00	100,00	34,23	78,08
	3	ATAKÖY 3 4 11	96,05	72,69	44,34	71,03
	4	ATAKÖY 7 8 9 10	96,21	81,62	39,93	72,59
	5	BASINKÖY	0,00	18,44	88,46	35,63
	6	CEVİZLİK	97,46	35,59	8,66	47,24

	7	FLORYA-ŞENLİK	54,60	0,00	96,99	50,53
	8	KARTALTEPE	88,19	39,52	63,35	63,68
	9	OSMANIYE	60,92	18,88	100,00	59,93
	10	SAKIZAĞACI	88,38	18,88	34,58	47,28
	11	YENİ	74,08	19,11	26,14	39,78
	12	YEŞİLKÖY	99,64	18,63	58,25	58,84
	13	YEŞİLYURT	79,91	97,22	60,40	79,17
	14	ZEYTİNLİK	98,27	86,75	9,75	64,92
	15	ZUHURATBABA	91,96	27,98	45,06	55,00
Average of Bakırköy						58,06

When evaluating the data from 2018, it is observed that the general urbanization index average is lower. Due to the inverse correlation among the variables, it can be inferred that the fertility rate has increased and women have been included in the workforce at a higher rate.

Table 6 Urbanization Index (2018)

District	No.	Neighborhood	Urbanization Indicators			Urbanization Index
			Fertility Ratio Standard Score	Women in Labor Force Standard Score	Single Family Detached Dwelling Units Ratio Standard Score	
BAKIRKÖY	1	ATAKÖY 1	44,64	100,00	43,21	62,61
	2	ATAKÖY 2 5 6	9,39	32,27	60,55	34,07
	3	ATAKÖY 3 4 11	42,12	3,66	49,90	31,89
	4	ATAKÖY 7 8 9 10	44,15	4,86	33,93	27,65
	5	BASINKÖY	43,58	28,70	94,22	55,50
	6	CEVİZLİK	76,54			
	7	FLORYA-ŞENLİK	15,19	3,99	100,00	39,73
	8	KARTALTEPE	57,61	31,60	58,65	49,29
	9	OSMANIYE	38,74	23,41	69,69	43,95
	10	SAKIZAĞACI	89,46	58,07	28,53	58,69
	11	YENİ	68,91			
	12	YEŞİLKÖY	62,75	0,00	61,75	41,50
	13	YEŞİLYURT	0,00	22,05	65,60	29,22
	14	ZEYTİNLİK	68,86	8,66	0,00	25,84
	15	ZUHURATBABA	100,00	52,95	38,88	63,94
Average of Bakırköy						43,38

3. Trajectory of Urban Land Use in Bakırköy

Hebdomon hosted Campus Martis, the largest training ground of the Eastern Roman army, as well as a military port. Campus Martis was located within the present-day boundaries of Veliefendi Hippodrome (Tuna, 2000). As recently as the 1950s, this area contained farms, dairies, vineyards, and fig orchards and was a resort and a picnic destination. Following modernization post-1950, large tracts of land were planned and developed as residential areas, transforming from the existing 1-2 story wooden houses to apartment buildings. After the 1980s, neoliberal planning policies created consumption-oriented spatial areas, and post-2000, high-rise towers, hotels and conference centers were constructed in these areas.

Although its military identity, distance from the walled city, and presence of a railway once made it a popular region for industrial facilities, recent policies and the decentralization of industry to the city outskirts now primarily define it as a residential area. Breaking points in Bakırköy's historical

process, including transportation, changes in spatial areas, characteristics of the periods, and functional changes of structures, have been considered in a general framework with a timeline specific to the periods as indicated in Figure 1.

When defining spatial changes within the studied periods, shifts have been identified through macro-scale economic, socio-cultural, and state policies (relationship between local-central government). The impact of transportation investments on spatial formation has also been described. In this context, the reflection of changing economic policies on space, the changing definition of space with the concept of planning, and the transformation in the social structure have been defined. Following these explanations, cases have been identified to further explore the changes over the studied periods.

3.1. Pre – 1923's Spatial Change

In the 16th century, Evliya Çelebi, who is known for his *Seyahatname*, mentions the existence of 'İskender Çelebi Farm' in Makriköy, known for its resort features, describing it as 'the most famous among the vineyards and gardens belonging to the sultans among the people' (Koçu, 1944). In 1698, a fire at the Şehremini Gunpowder Factory in Istanbul led to major explosions, and it was decided to move gunpowder production outside the city walls. 'İskender Çelebi Farm' was chosen as the new location. The decision on the location took into account the availability of water from the Siyavuşpaşa stream running through the area and the ease of material supply by sea (Doğaner, 2012). After the establishment of facilities in the area, gunpowder manufacturing began in 1701 (Koçu, 1944). Today, remnants of these two-hundred-year-old facilities are scattered along the coastline and within the Ataköy neighborhoods. The gunpowder facility and alike, have given Bakırköy an industrial identity, furthermore, the housing needs of those working in the industry have influenced spatial growth towards the perimeters of the historic settlement area.

In 1871 with the construction of the railway connection and the train station, settlements began on the north side of the railway line; Muslims built mansions and pavilions towards İncirli vineyards, laying the foundations for today's İncirli road stretching to the D-100 highway.

After the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Era in 1908, the Mapping Commission was reorganized and created the map of Makriköy in 1909 (Ülkekel, 1998, 19-39). Makriköy maps were prepared by Necip Bey, who worked in the Şehremaneti between 1914 and 1918. Kartaltepe, located north of the historical settlement, can be identified via this map (Figure 3). Contrary to the agricultural lands on the south side of the railway being opened for development, the 1909 maps by the Erkan-ı Harbiye Department show a denser housing. The area consisted of residential and industrial facilities, alongside agricultural lands (vineyards, fig orchards, etc.) and farms (Osmaniye, İskender Çelebi).

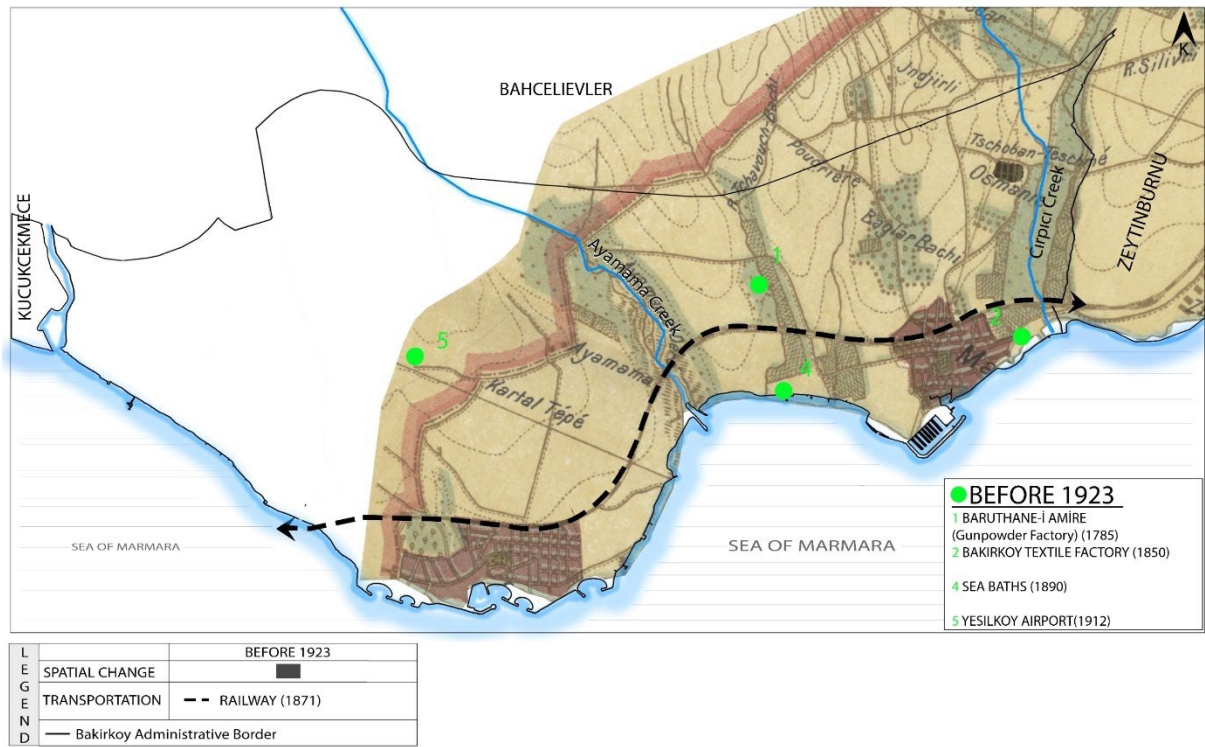


Figure 3 Landuse change before 1923 (Source of the map base: Necip Bey 1908, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Atatürk Library)

Documents in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives on Makriköy provide insights into urban development, including records about new lands opened for settlement to accommodate immigrants from the Balkans and the increasing population. Both in the Byzantine and Ottoman eras, the empires' highest quality building stone quarries were located in the extensive lands to the northeast of Bakırköy. Osmaniye neighborhood, close to the northeastern boundary within Bakırköy, was a settlement of 35 households where immigrant families settled in 1895.

3.2. Spatial Change During 1923 – 1950 the State-Led Economic Development

To understand the economic development process during this period, this study is going to divide it into two distinct phases. The first phase, from 1923 to 1929, spans from the proclamation of the Republic to the onset of the Great Depression worldwide in 1929. The İzmir Economic Congress of 1923, aimed at defining an economic development strategy, is significant in the economic and social history of Turkey. The parliament, attended by delegates representing merchants, farmers, industrialists, and workers, facilitated a class-based societal organization in Turkey, a phenomenon not seen again in Turkish history (Bahçe & Eres, 2017). The second phase from 1930 and 1950, saw the state taking an investor role in economic policies. In 1932, the State Industry Office and the Industry and Loan Bank were established to support the industry, later merging under the name Sümerbank in 1933. The first Five-Year Industrial Plan was implemented in 1934, with Sümerbank being granted the execution authority. However, World War II caused a long hiatus in state-planned industrialization. To cover decreasing public revenues and increasing military expenses, first, the 'Wealth Tax,' and then the 'Agricultural Products Tax' were introduced, with the former significantly sourcing from wealthy minorities (Boratav, 2009).

The selection of industrial areas and the presence of railway connections have led to the spatial development of the ancient settlement. The Bakırköy residential centers developed between the coast and the railway, particularly in today's Zeytinlik and Cevizlik neighborhoods. The 1934 map produced by the Istanbul Municipality shows the expansion of the Bakırköy residential area towards the current Yeni and Sakızağacı neighborhoods (Istanbul Maps City Guide, 1934) (Figure 4).

Until the late 1940s, there was little significant internal migration within Turkey from the founding years of the Republic; however, during World War II, some residents of the European side sold their lands at below-market values out of fear of German occupation, prompting a migratory movement to the Anatolian side (Kurtuluş, 1999).

A chronological evaluation of maps shows that in the early 20th century, Bakırköy transitioned from a small coastal resort town into an urban settlement through continuous development. Figure 4 maps out its spatial evolution from 1923 to 1950, using the 1934 City Guide with maps as a reference point. These maps were derived from the work of Prof. H. Prost, who served as the Urbanism Specialist at the Istanbul Municipality between 1936 and 1950.

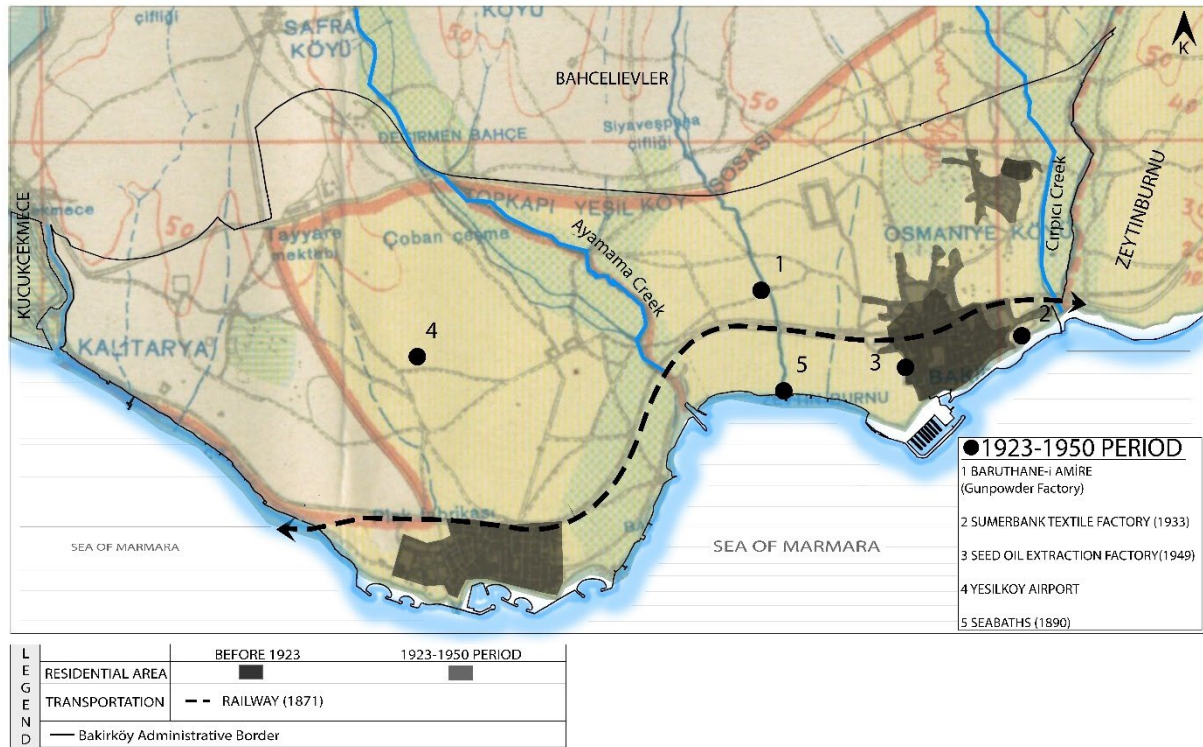


Figure 4 Spatial change during 1923 – 1950 (Source of the map base: City Guide, 1934, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Atatürk Library)

The maps documenting Prost's work reveal that beyond the city walls, past Kazlıçeşme, stood several industrial facilities: the Baruthane-i Amire gunpowder mill, Bakırköy Textile Factory, an oil extraction plant processing seeds, and stone quarries. The primary settlement areas were the towns of Bakırköy and Yeşilköy. The stone quarries around Osmaniye continued operating until the 1950s, after which point they ceased activities.

During this period, the spatial changes can be summarized as an expansion around the historic city center and the construction of housing to accommodate workers employed at the industrial facilities.

3.3. Spatial Change Due to Industrialization and Rapid Urbanization in the Liberal Era from 1950 to 1980

In 1935, M. Wagner states that it is necessary to move industry out of the city, but in 1939 H. Prost continues the development of the industrial settlements of the Golden Horn, which started in the last century, within the plan. On April 27, 1947, according to the Istanbul's Municipality's 'Instructions for Istanbul Industrial Zones' published in newspapers, heavy industrial zones were designated between Yedikule and Bakırköy. The second decision regarding the areas where the industry would be located was stated in the report of the relevant commission published in newspapers on August 4, 1949. According to the report, Istanbul's heavy industrial zones were designated to be outside Bakırköy, around Yeşilköy, Çekmece, and Zeytinburnu (Kılınçaslan, 1981).

The 1950s witnessed a surge in urban population growth and consequent rapid urbanization, resulting in a severe housing shortage that gave rise to unplanned developments such as squatter settlements (Tekeli & İlkin, 1987). Beginning in that decade, Turkey's economy underwent a multi-faceted, structural shift adopting policies that favored entrepreneurship and an open market orientation. In the post-World War II era, Bakırköy emerged as a significant urban development area, growing in parallel with the privately-led industrial expansion. However, after the 1960 coup d'état and the enactment of the 1961 Constitution reestablishing the social state ideal, national development efforts refocused on societal objectives (Tekeli & İlkin, 1987).

In 1952, the Istanbul Municipality formed the 'Advisory Committee,' composed of faculty members from the Istanbul Technical University and the urban planning department of the State Academy of Fine Arts. This committee identified industrial establishments, marked them on a map, and in 1955, approved an industrial zones plan that determined the areas designated for industry (Özler, 2007). A planning decision designated the Zeytinburnu district, located on the eastern border, as a medium and heavy industrial zone. Throughout its historical development, industrial areas continued their site selection tendency along the Çirpıcı Creek axis; the Vita/Sana Margarine Factory, Kartaltepe Textile Factory, Aksu Yarn Factory, and the Leather Factory all commenced production activities in the 1950s within this corridor.

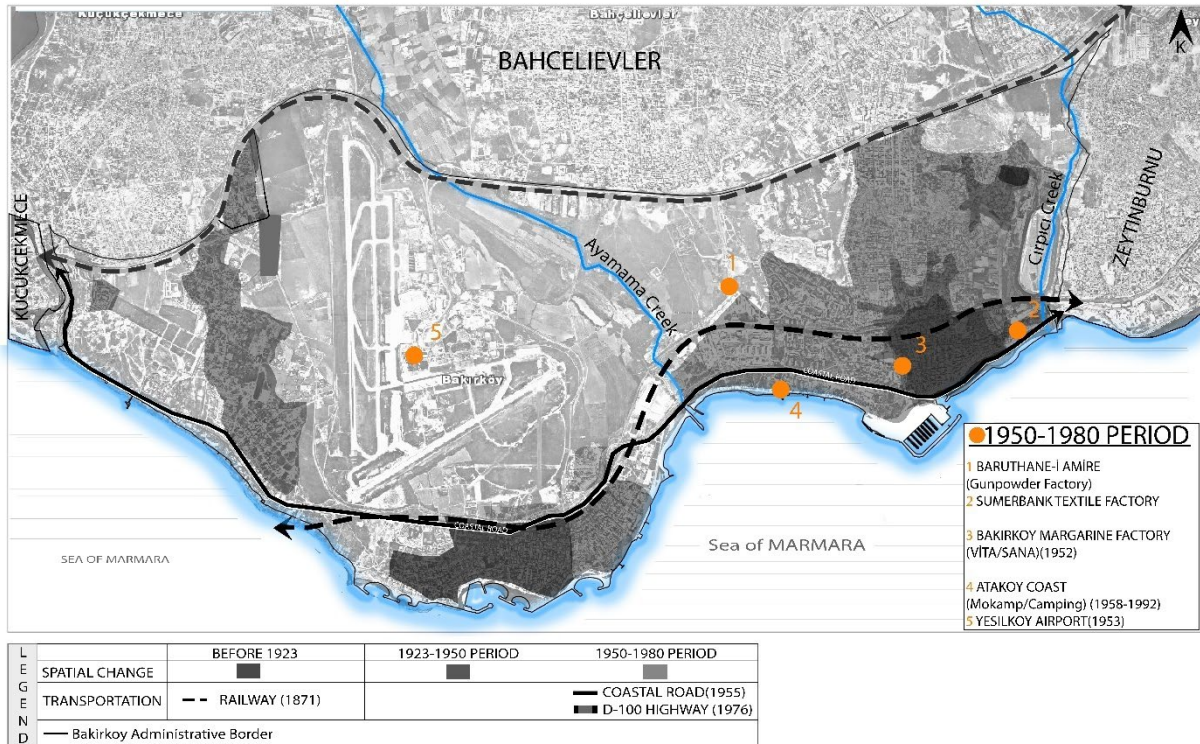


Figure 5 Spatial change from 1950 to 1980 (Source of the map base: City Guide, 1980, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality)

With urbanization accelerating from the 1950s onward, Bakırköy's population surged (Table 1), prompting the expansion of inhabited areas. In the post-World War II period, the land housing the then-idle gunpowder factory was sold to Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası in 1955. The Ataköy/Baruthane Project, designed and implemented by Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası A.O., represented an innovative model for large-scale mass housing production at that time.

In 1957, Prime Minister Menderes opened a new coastal road between Sirkeci and Bakırköy, part of which was built by filling in the sea. The area west of Ataköy neighborhood within Bakırköy district, now known as Istanbul Atatürk Airport in Yeşilköy, was renovated to international standards between 1947 and 1953 (Kuban, 1996).

Until the 1950s, Bakırköy maintained its resort characteristics, preserving its traditional structures and street texture. In the 1960s, while İstasyon Caddesi and Ebuuziyya Caddesi, leading from the train station to the shore, were widened, some historical buildings were expropriated and demolished (Doğaner, 2012).

The migrant workforce lacked the necessary skills and resources for industrial or manufacturing employment, leading to unemployment on one side and the development of informal economic sectors on the other. This development process, characterized by insufficient infrastructure, gained significant momentum in the 1950s and resulted in distorted, unplanned urbanization, further exacerbating the rate of population increase (Tekeli, 1977). In the northeastern district of Bakırköy, the area around Osmaniye Neighborhood also witnessed an expansion of squatter settlements during this period (Eres & Aydın, 2018). On the other hand, to meet the increasing housing demand, small-scale construction contractors struck deals with homeowners in established neighborhoods: they would replace the existing one- or two-story wooden and masonry houses with multi-unit apartment buildings, providing the homeowners with flats in the new structures (Kurtuluş, 1999).

The establishment of the Ministry of Development and Housing in 1958 and the adoption of a new constitution in 1961, which included provisions emphasizing social rights and welfare, led to significant changes, particularly in housing policies. During this period, 'state-supported housing' projects re-emerged. The Five-Year Development Plan of 1963, which resulted in the establishment of the State Planning Organization, contained specific targets for housing acquisition. This plan and subsequent ones aimed to balance housing needs with resources, develop standards for the production of affordable housing, create regulations to address the squatter housing problem, reduce state investments in this area, and increase the role of cooperatives, private investors, and local governments in housing production and financing. Moreover, the Condominium Law enacted in 1966 introduced legal, economic, and social regulations to support these policies.

In the mid-1970s, during the preparation of the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan, it was determined that the housing deficit was increasing annually. In these years, urban settlement areas have seen the creation of low-quality physical environments by private contractors, despite adherence to zoning plans and regulations. All these changes in general policies triggered the process that led to the formation of the Ataköy neighborhoods, where large-scale housing investments took place on the Baruthane land in Bakırköy, which will be explained in detail later.

3.4. Spatial Change Produced by Neoliberal Policies from 1980 to 2000

Since the 1970s, neoliberal economic policies have begun to create significant transformations in the urban-metropolitan areas of both advanced industrialized countries and late-industrializing countries around the world (Kurtuluş, 2005). Following the 1973 oil crisis, technological changes in the transportation, communication, and information sectors have led to diverse spatial reflections, ranging from production methods to social-cultural behaviors and living habits, demonstrating their ability to emerge and reproduce themselves. While the industrial function, which constituted the primary power center of the previous period, has shown a tendency to move from city centers to the periphery and then out of the city, the areas vacated by industry have quickly become targets for service sector structures and housing projects (Akin, 2011).

This period also witnessed significant and drastic transformations in Turkey, both politically and economically. Following the 1980 coup d'état, the September 12 military regime implemented legal regulations that would commodify the entirety of the urban area and expose it to the free market economy. The use of public resources was reorganized to prioritize the interests of private capital.

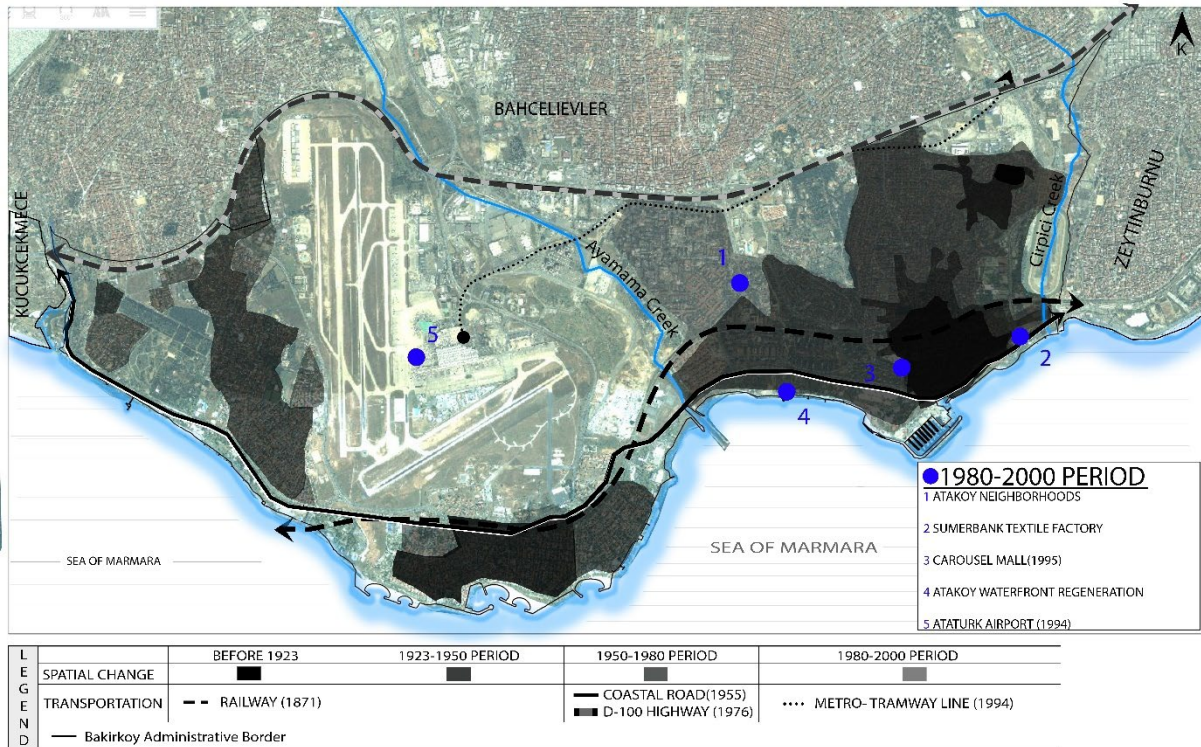


Figure 6 Spatial change from 1980 – 2000 (Source of the map base: City Guide, 2006, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality)

The Urban Planning Law No. 3194, which came into effect in 1985 and is still in force, has granted local governments extensive powers regarding urban planning applications. During this period, the urban development and formation were largely unaffected by zoning plans, leading to a general amnesty for unauthorized constructions in 1983 and a series of amendments made until 1989 (Unsal, & Turk 2014). Urban Regeneration Plans, defined by amnesty laws, were created; ignoring the need for amenities, a transformation from squatter houses to apartments emerged, and this renewal occurred at the individual building scale, driven by landowners and contractors (Turk, & Korthals Altes, 2013).

When the spatial development after 1980 is defined specifically for Bakırköy, there is construction up to the D-100 highway, which forms the northern boundary of the district, connected by the roads of the Bosphorus Bridge built in 1973. With the improvements made in public transportation and new lines, the district has become more accessible, and construction has been completed in a spatial sense, except for public spaces.

3.5. Spatial Change Produced by Post – 2000 Globalization Policies and Government – Private Sector Partnership

In the 2000s, the state's role favoring capital owners in the process of reorganizing (redistributing) property in urban spaces became evident through widespread urban regeneration projects. When evaluated from a planning perspective, it is observed that the central government in Turkey tends to implement special-purpose plans, indicating a trend towards utilizing planning authority for specific objectives (Unsal & Turk, 2014). It is a period when local governments accelerated collaboration with the private sector and the term 'transformation' was strategically defined in the spatial context.

The 2005 Municipal Law No. 5398, Article 73, granted local governments the authority to designate urban renewal areas. In 2010, the scope of Article 73 of Law No. 5398 was expanded. According to the law, municipalities can designate an area as an urban renewal area regardless of whether there are buildings on it or not, and can define the floor area ratios and height limits for the area. The 2012 Law No. 6306 on the Transformation of Areas Under Disaster Risk granted the

central administration the authority to designate urban renewal areas and implement projects in these areas. Implementation in these areas is generally carried out by TOKI (Housing Development Administration of Turkey). This is because TOKI's resources were increased with Law No. 4966 in 2003, allowing it to carry out profit-oriented projects (Unsal & Turk, 2014). The transformation projects implemented during this period necessitate a new form of governance where local government forms partnerships with the private sector, either directly or through joint ventures, taking on entrepreneurial roles (Kuyucu & Unsal, 2010).

Privatizations facilitated the transformation of large tracts of land, which had previously been the subjects of public investments throughout history, into investment spaces for the private sector. Functional transformations in the areas to be discussed in the case study have created spaces that encourage consumption in newly produced areas. Areas where the state once built production facilities have been transformed into luxury housing and tourism areas for private sector profit. This transformation has had a negative impact due to a fragmentary planning approach, which hinders the development of transportation axes serving the city, the definition of city centers, and the appropriate direction of local investments.

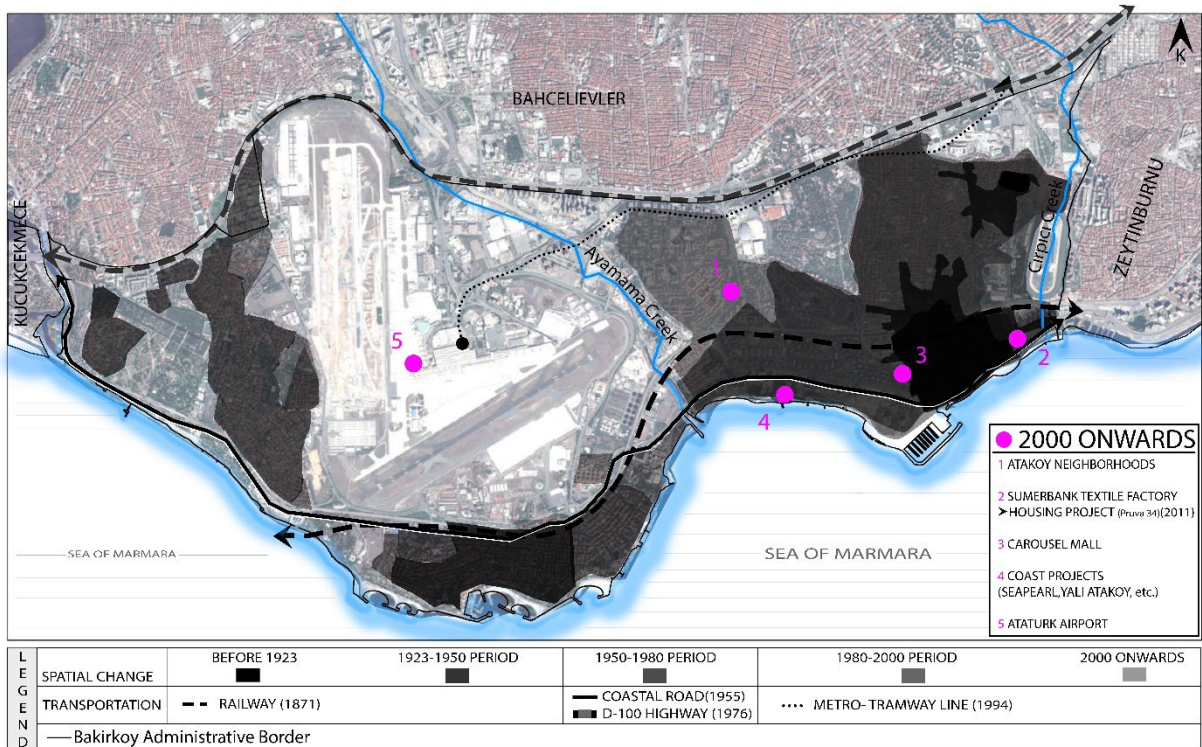


Figure 7 Spatial change post – 2000 (Source of the map base: City Guide, 2024, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality)

Summarizing all these processes, the spatial transformation process in Istanbul, ongoing since the second half of the 19th century, occurs at varying speeds and exhibits different characteristics, depending on a range of factors. It is evident that economic policies, which have created radical changes in the social structure and play a dominant role as in many metropolitan areas around the world, are also observed in Istanbul. These spatial transformation processes are dependent not only on national development strategies/policies, but also on the roles the city has historically taken on both nationally and internationally, as well as the preferences, powers, and possibilities of civil or public actors in different periods. These dynamics, emerging at different scales, blend with the potentials existing or created at the local level, transforming the urban space and revealing its new macro-form (Kurtuluş, 2005).

Istanbul is a city that has experienced the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman empires, each period reflecting its impact on the space in economic, political, and cultural terms, both socially and physically. While the modern planning action that began in the second half of the 19th century continues, the urban accumulations brought by the Ottoman period have merged with the planning

approach of this period, resulting in the first urban plan. After 1950, the country experienced significant change in every aspect. The year 1950 marks a period of socio-economic and societal transformations. Radically altered economic policies disrupted the political authority-market balance mechanism, causing rapid change in the social sphere. In the 1980s, spatial planning began to lose its holistic content, which considered public interest. Spaces lacking public cohesion and disconnected from each other began to emerge. Today, increasing social and economic polarization leads to the formation of private, gated communities, creating a social structure and living spaces disconnected from each other and their surroundings, undermining public life and public space.

In the following section, changes in selected case studies in Bakırköy are examined through the lens of different periods. The selected case studies reflect the characteristics of their respective eras, detailing different functions (recreation, transportation, production) and the varying legal frameworks and collaborations in mechanisms transitioning from public to private.

4. Changes in Selected Case Studies in Bakırköy Through the Lens of Different Periods

To define the spatial development within the boundaries of the Bakırköy district, numerous maps produced throughout history have been examined, and new maps have been created. In these maps, five selected sample areas have been closely examined individually: the Baruthane-i Amire, the Bakırköy Textile Factory, the Oil Extraction Factory from Seeds, the airport lands, and the area declared as the Ataköy Tourism Area along the southern part of the coastal road.

These areas were selected because they have undergone functional changes and transformations from the past to the present, and their existing identities in the local context have been completely altered due to political decisions.

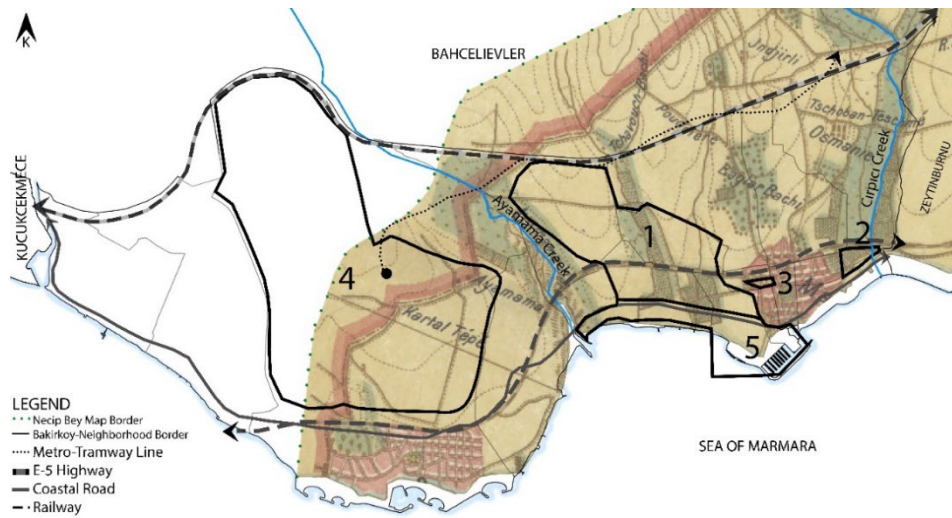


Figure 8 Selected cases as a sample of spatial change (Source of the map base: Necip Bey 1908, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Atatürk Library)

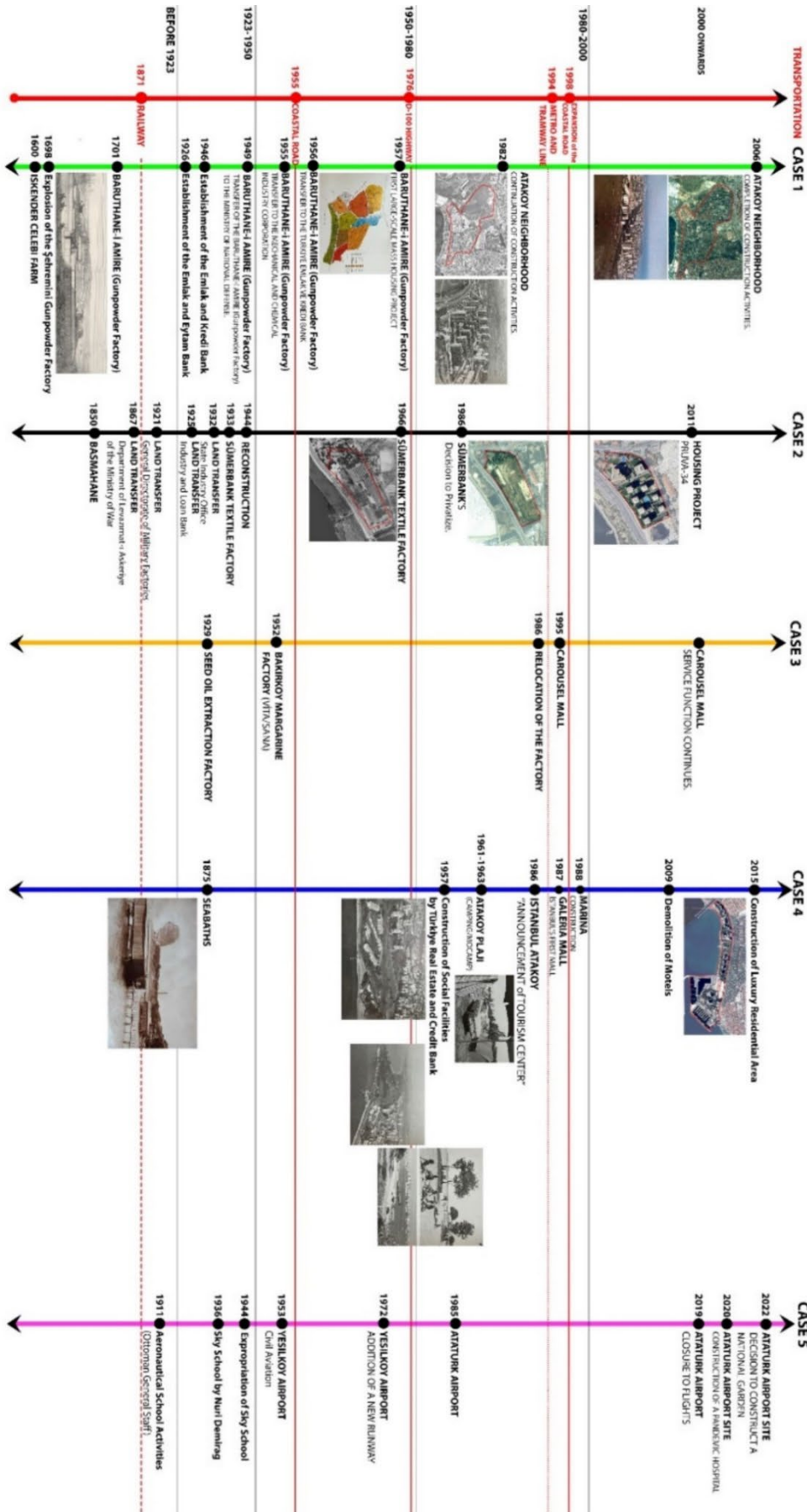


Figure 9 Breaking points in historical processes and spatial changes in sample areas (Source of Photos: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality City Guide and Atatürk Library)

4.1. Case 1: From the İskender Çelebi Farm Supplying Food for All of Bakırköy to the Ataköy Residential Neighborhood

After Istanbul was captured by the Turks during the rise of the Ottoman Empire, İskender Çelebi, one of the treasurers of Suleiman the Magnificent, became one of the famous names to make history in Bakırköy. Çelebi bought the land and he constructed a beautiful mansion surrounded by large fruit gardens, vegetable gardens, and flower beds for himself. After his death in 1535, these gardens were historically referred to as the İskender Çelebi Farm and İskender Çelebi Recreation Area (Tuna, 2000).

In 1698, following the explosion and destruction of the Şehremini Gunpowder Factory, which supplied the army's ammunition needs, a large part of the district was blown up. To prevent such great dangers in the future, it was considered to relocate the gunpowder factory outside the city center. The most suitable location found was the land of the old İskender Çelebi Farm in Makriköy, which was a property of the state.

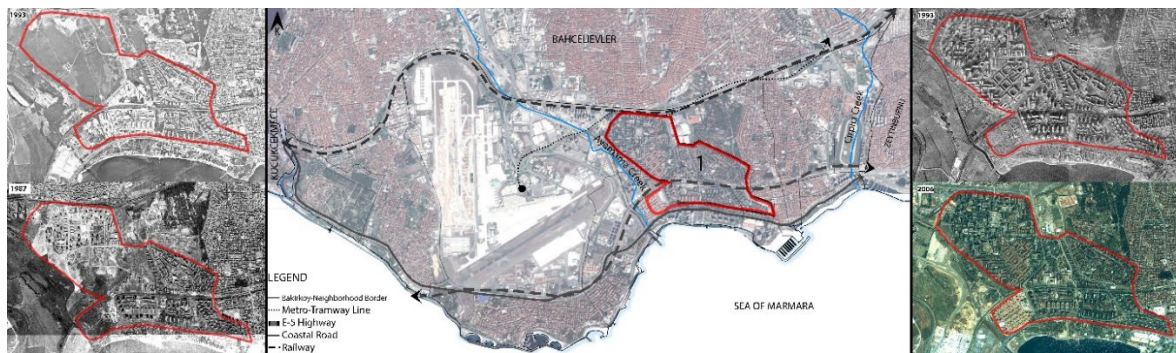


Figure 10 Case 1 spatial change during periods (Source of the map base: City Guide, different years, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality)

Subsequent legislation laid the groundwork for the development of what are today the Ataköy neighborhoods. The Real Estate and Orphanage Bank, established in 1926, was renamed Türkiye Emlak ve Kredi Bankası (Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank) in 1946 and was given expanded responsibilities and authority. The Building Construction Encouragement Law of 1948 facilitated construction activities on Treasury lands; however, it remained insufficient for housing production as it only provided land procurement authority. The 1954 amendment to the Land Registry Law, which allowed for condominium ownership, made it possible to use mortgage housing loans for apartment flats in multi-story blocks on the same land (Güvenç & Işık, 1999; Yöney, 2018). In 1955, the facilities on the gunpowder factory site, which were no longer operational, were transferred to the Machinery and Chemical Industry Corporation.

The approximately 375-hectare area known as the gunpowder factory site, located on Istanbul's western development corridor, was purchased by Emlak Kredi Bankası in 1955 (Fifty Years, 1973). The area is located on the coast of the Sea of Marmara and near Yeşilköy Airport. The Sirkeci – Florya Coastal Road, D-100 Highway, and the existing railway line, constructed between 1956 and 1957, provided convenient transportation infrastructure. Construction activity for Ataköy neighborhood I. Section began in 1957 after the plans were prepared and approved. The area, designed as a satellite city, was planned in 10 neighborhoods. Buildings of different sizes but with a similar architectural language, reflecting modernist planning and design principles in every detail including health, environment, transportation, commerce, education, and recreational infrastructure and facilities, were placed within extensive green areas.

In 2001, with Law No. 4684, Emlak Kredi Bankası was closed; all housing production activities were transferred to the Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) in 2002. Following the bank's closure, the VI. Section (Ataköy Mansions), implemented by TOKİ between 2004 and 2006, stands out from the rest of Ataköy neighborhood in terms of spatial and architectural qualities. As a result of the rapid increase in rents and real estate prices since 2001, the area reached an extreme point

in terms of luxury and expensive housing construction, moving away from mass housing (Yöney, 2018).

4.2. Case 2: From the Ottoman – Period Basmahane Factory to the Luxury Housing Project Pruva 34

In 1850, Basmahane was established as a private enterprise in Makriköy by Ohannes, to provide clothing for the military. After ten years of operation, the Basmahane was unable to continue its work due to lack of protection and European competition. In 1860, the enterprise was transferred to the Treasury-i Hassa and after six years of operation under this administration, it was transferred to the Levazimat-ı Askeriye Department of the Ministry of War in 1867 and only military-type cloth and fabrics were woven for the needs of the army.

After being transferred to the General Directorate of Military Factories in 1921, the Basmahane-i Amire facilities were reopened in 1924 with increased production capacity following repairs and renovations. In 1925, the institution was transferred to the Bank of Industry and Maadin, and in 1926, steam machines were removed and replaced with electric machines. The facilities were transferred to the Office of Industry in 1932 and to Sümerbank with the establishment of Sümerbank in 1933. In 1933, all production was transferred from hand looms to machines. The Sümerbank facilities, also known as Bakırköy Textile Factory, became an important business area for Bakırköy as well as an important supplier of fabric for the state.

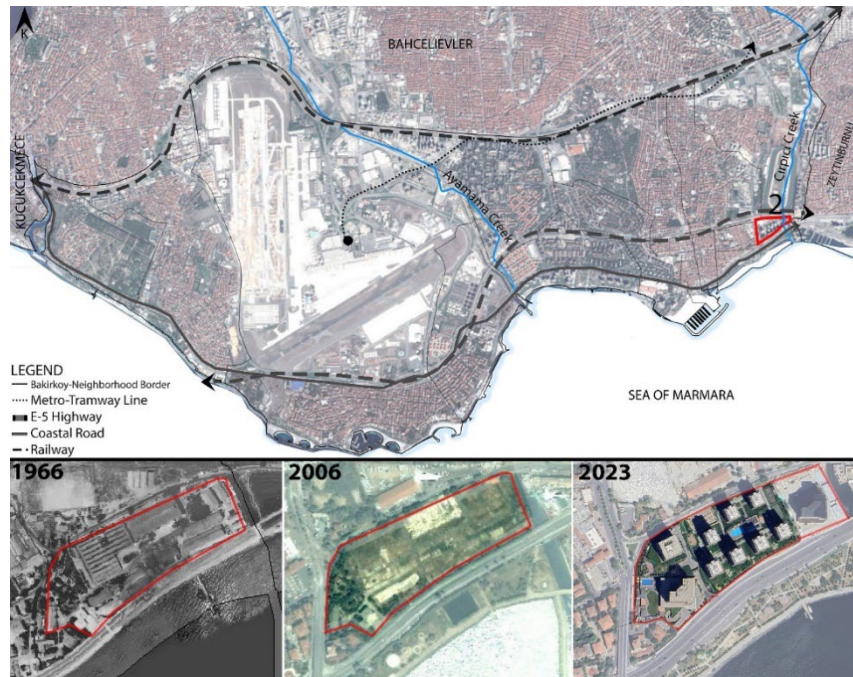


Figure 11 Case 2 spatial change during periods (Source of the map base: City Guide, different years, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality)

In 1944, new facilities were built to replace the old facilities of the Bakırköy Cotton Weaving Factory, which were designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem. Until its privatization in 1986, these facilities were continuously renewed to meet production needs (Köksal, 2005, 61). The Sümerbank factories in Bakırköy are one of the most important state sponsored contributions of the Republican era. A bank and a textile manufacturer at the same time, the institution was named by Atatürk. Between 1930 and 1940, the institution continuously increased its capacity by following technological developments and became a part of the modern production model that the Republic was trying to create.

When the location of the weaving industry in Istanbul is evaluated spatially, it is seen that it is located in Bakırköy (Aksu Street). The enterprises located in Bakırköy represent a large part of the

Istanbul weaving industry in terms of the number of workers, investment value, added value and production (Tümertekin, 1997).

In 2011, a private company purchased the factory land as a result of privatization and started the construction of a hotel and residences in the place of the factory since the land was zoned for tourism and housing. The 22-story, ten-block complex is located on the Bakırköy coast in front of the Veliefendi Hippodrome.

4.3. Case 3: From Seed Oil Extraction Factory to Carousel Shopping Center

As part of the planned industrial development policies, the Seed Oil Extraction Factory was established by the state in 1929. In 1953, its production function was maintained and it was purchased by a private company, Unilever, becoming the Bakırköy Margarine Factory (Vita, Sana). The factory was moved to its new location in Çorlu in 1986, and production was halted in 1988.

In 1989, the coastal line declared as the 'Ataköy Tourism Center' by the Council of Ministers in order to make a zoning plan change. The boundaries were expanded in 1995 to include this area as well. Following the zoning plan change that introduced a commercial function. Carousel Shopping Center and Acibadem Hospital which were built in 1995 by the private sector.

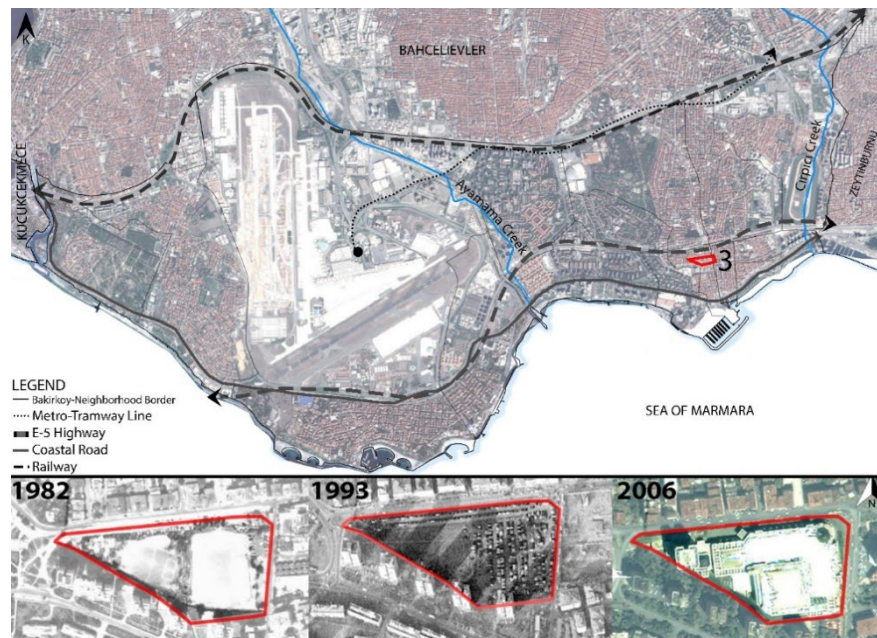


Figure 12 Case 3 spatial change during periods (Source of the map base: City Guide, different years, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality)

4.4. Case 4: From Historic Sea Baths to Luxury Housing Projects (Waterfront Regeneration)

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Bakırköy Pier served as a stop for the city line ferries of İdare-i Mahsusa, which operated round trips from Bakırköy to Yeşilköy (Tuna, 2000).

On the other hand, starting from the Ottoman period, going for a swim was an important habit in daily life. Entering the sea was accomplished through sea baths from the 17th century until the beginning of the 20th century, and from the first quarter of the 20th century onwards, people started to enter the sea from beaches (Yağan, 2018). Sea Baths is a place where people swam from a pool-like space in the middle of a shed-like structure surrounded by wooden curtains, which is reached from the shore with a long pier, and also called 'sea baths' in the old term, which functions as a kind of beach between four wooden walls (Tuna, 2000). In 1875, 'Regulation on Baths' was prepared by Istanbul Şehremaneti, and it is mentioned that there are sea baths in Makri Karyesi and Ayestefanos, one for 'zukura' (men) and one for 'inas' (women) (Erez, 2009).

The first facilities completed within the scope of the project, prepared and approved after the transfer of the Baruthane land to the Real Estate Credit Bank of Turkey (a State Economic

Enterprise, or SOE), were Ataköy Beach on the seaward side of the coastal road. In 1959, Ataköy Beach Motels were built next to the beach facilities. Two new motel blocks were added in 1962, and between 1961 and 1963, Camping Ataköy and Camping 2 were designed and built on both sides of the beach facilities (Giray & Tayfun, 1963). Additions were made to the motel facilities in 1967. The Ataköy Beach facilities and camping facilities, which lost their function over time as a result of increasing sea pollution in the 1970s, were demolished between 1986 and 1988 for the Ataköy Tourism Complex in the area declared as the 'Ataköy Tourism Center'.

A shopping center (Galeria), an international marina, hotels and other commercial, restaurants and entertainment units and a sea bus pier were planned in 1988 within the scope of the 'Ataköy Tourism Complex' planning application on an area of approximately 50 hectares.

The motels that continued to be used until recently were demolished in 2009 by TOKİ and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality for different housing projects planned to be built on the coast (Yöneş, 2018). Today, the southern part of the coastal road, except for the area planned as the National Garden and opened for public use, has become an area where access to the sea is completely cut off from the public with luxury housing/tourism projects and can only be used by the residents of the houses.

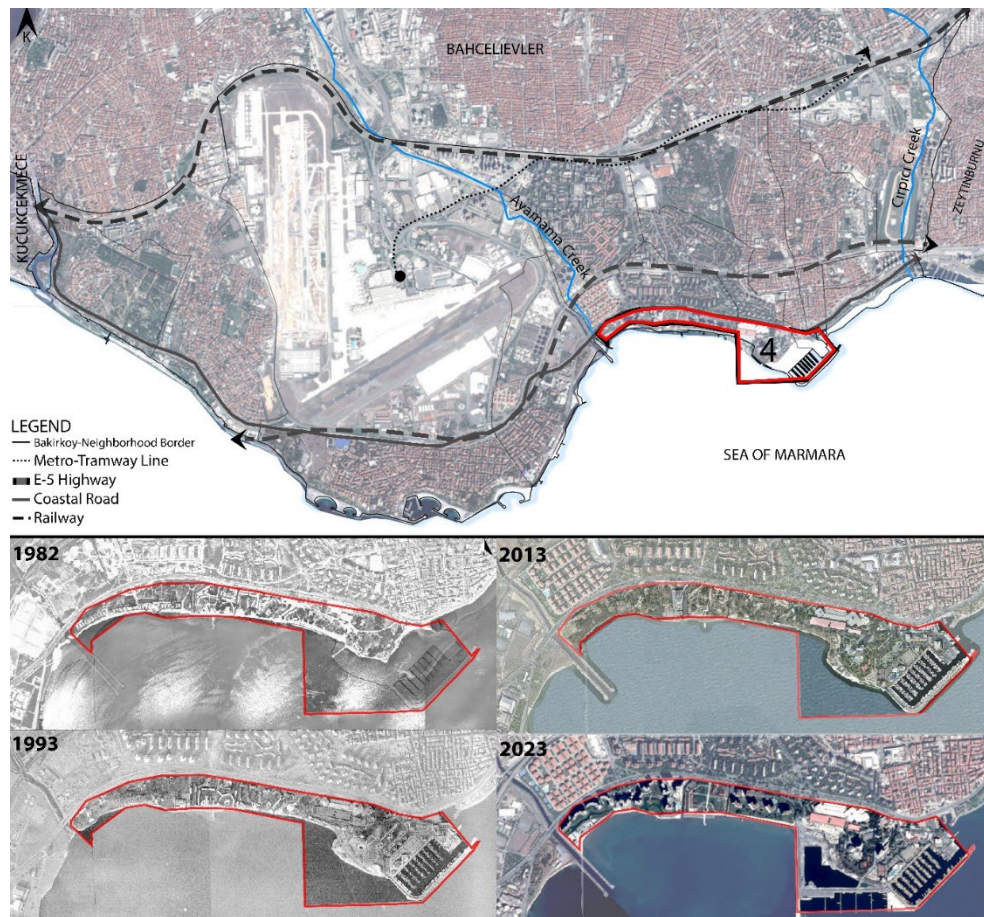


Figure 13 Case 4 spatial change during periods (Source of the map base: City Guide, different years, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality)

4.5. Case 5: From Airport to National Garden

After the Tripoli War (1911-1912), a military aviation commission was established by the Ottoman General Staff. As a result of the commission's studies, a suitable location for flight practice was found a few kilometers north of Aystefanos (Yeşilköy) and this area formed the basis of today's Atatürk (Yeşilköy) Airport. In 1912, the construction for Tayyare School started.

In 1936, Nuri Demirağ purchased the Elmaspaşa Farm in Yeşilköy for test flights. A large airstrip, hangars and an aircraft maintenance workshop were built on the land in Yeşilköy. The Yeşilköy facilities, now used as Atatürk Airport, were called the 'Sky School' when it was founded.

In 1944, the Sky School and its lands were expropriated on the initiative of the Turkish Aeronautical Association, and it was decided to expand the airport in Yeşilköy and establish an international airport. In 1953, Yeşilköy Airport was put into service. A new runway was added to the international airport in 1972. In 1985, it was renamed Atatürk International Airport (Kline, 2002).

Following the construction of a new airport in the north of Istanbul, Atatürk Airport was closed to flights in April 2019 on the grounds that the new airport conflicted with air traffic. Within the scope of the preparations in the area planned to be built as a 'National Garden' by the central government, runway demolition operations were initiated in October 2019. Along with these developments, a decision was taken to build a pandemic hospital to combat the coronavirus outbreak affecting the whole world, and the construction of the hospital was completed.

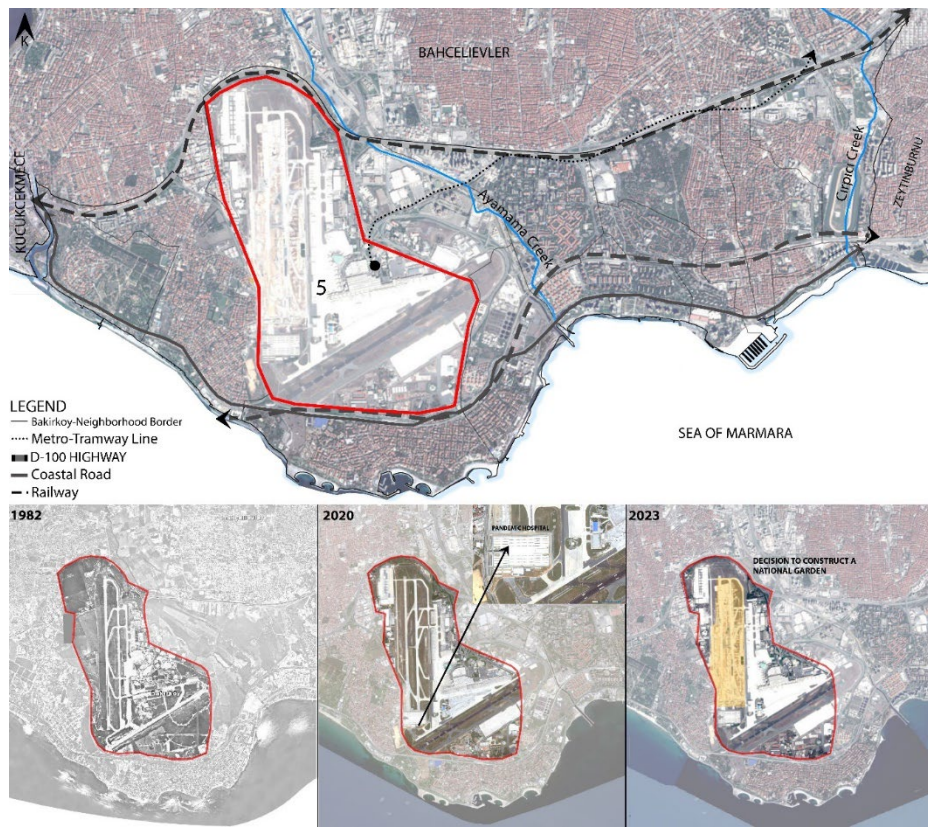


Figure 14 Case 5 spatial change during periods (Source of the map base: City Guide, different years, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality)

In May 2022, the functions of airport / military area and military security zone were changed to national garden and urban and regional social infrastructure area with the amendment made in the 1/100.000 scale Environmental Plan applied throughout Istanbul. Construction is ongoing on the entire north-south axis in the east of the area.

The closure of Atatürk Airport, which provides services on an international scale, and the reuse of the area on an urban scale is a process that needs to be evaluated in terms of effectively directing both central and local government policies and public expenditures. This spatial change offers important opportunities for improving public health, environmental sustainability and urban quality of life. However, in terms of the effective use of resources, the area that was historically used with a focus on transportation function should have remained in the transportation function and the plan decisions should have been evaluated at a smaller scale in public spaces within Bakırköy borders.

5. Conclusion and Evaluation

This study reveals how the physical space of Istanbul has been shaped by economic changes, administrative decisions, and functional changes in land use from ancient times to the present. In this context, the spatial change and development in Istanbul have been analyzed by evaluating sample cases in Bakırköy, a district whose history shares similar characteristics with that of the city. The city's development was influenced by the administrative decisions of the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman empires starting from the ancient period (Figure 4).

After the 17th century, Bakırköy's popularity as a resort area along the Marmara Sea coast, outside the historical peninsula, led to the district's spatial expansion around the historical city center. The introduction of the suburban train in 1871 increased accessibility to the district. Following the proclamation of the Republic, the intensification of state investments in Bakırköy's existing industrial areas and the construction of residential areas to meet the housing needs of the industrial workforce led to further spatial expansion.

Between 1950 and 1980, the shaping of urban space through the function of industry pushed the population migrating from rural to urban areas to search for spatial locations, triggering the formation of slum areas. The location of industry was influenced by both upper-scale plan decisions and the development of transportation infrastructure, such as the First Bosphorus Bridge and the D-100 highway connection.

From 1980 to 2000, urban space demands shifted due to changes in production and consumption habits. The decentralization of industrial areas to the city periphery led to the transformation of vacant areas, which were repurposed for service sector and luxury housing projects. After 2000, the changes in land use functions that emerged in the previous period gained momentum and took on a new dimension with public-private sector collaborations. The idle industrial areas in Bakırköy were not considered for industrial heritage protection and were instead transformed into upper-income group housing areas through public-private partnerships.

Although Bakırköy has historically been spatially connected to the coast, the declaration of the coastline as a Tourism Center Area completely severed public access. The long coastline of the settlement, historically known as the 'Long Village', has been reserved for housing and tourism, opening it to private sector use.

In conclusion, the pressing issue of earthquake risk in Istanbul is particularly significant for Bakırköy, given its location along the coastline and proximity to the earthquake fault line. The increased density resulting from multi-story constructions on reclaimed coastal areas highlights the negative impact of building spaces based on consumption from the perspectives of sustainability, urban resilience, and livability. Strategies for spatial transformation and development must be redefined and implemented with these fundamental concepts in mind.

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Note

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