Istanbul’s new housing trends: The structural analysis of housing pattern in the process of urbanization & globalization

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Abstract:
This article investigates impacts of the urbanization and globalization process in the city of Istanbul regarding to housing preferences and changing housing patterns. During the last two decades, Istanbul’s socio-cultural and urban identities have been undergoing radical transformation. Globalization, internationalization and the rapid flow of information, as the case in the rest of the world, have played a significant role in changing the city and her people. The multi-dimensional outcomes of this transformation have manifested themselves through the peculiarities of activity patterns, behavioral relationships, social and cultural norms, as well as architectural and urban patterns. Process of economic and social change that occurs in our country and all over the world requires to, continuously, define urbanization and housing problems in the light of this change. In this context, it is essential to focus on the subject of quality of environment in newly formed urban areas. In the process of quality search in urban environment and especially in housing environment it is necessary to identify which objective determines the “of good quality environment”

Based on these above arguments, article aims to analyze and discuss the transformation in the new housing developments in Istanbul in the context of quality of life issues. The article, which consists of five sections, has two three sections besides the introduction and conclusion. In the first part a theoretical framework is established, explaining and discussing culture, continuity and change in the process of urbanization. The second part includes the latest housing trends in Istanbul with the subjects of economical, cultural and political conditions that Turkey is already in and related. The Third part examines new residential patterns catering to the upper classes, which have been emerging in Istanbul since 1980 will be considered. We will, therefore, discuss the emerging patterns of social and cultural differentiation in Istanbul through the examples of the exclusive suburbs in the third part. At the end, we argue that recent housing projects and trends represent new forms of organizing social and cultural differences, and could be read as urban forms, which create segregation and reproduce inequalities while transforming the character of public life.

Keywords: Culture, housing environment, place identity & diversity, local & global culture
Introduction

Over the last two decades, Istanbul's socio-cultural and urban identities have been undergoing radical transformation. Turkey's globalization, internationalization and the rapid flow of information, as the case in the rest of the world, have played a significant role in changing the city and her people. The multi-dimensional outcomes of this transformation have manifested themselves through the peculiarities of activity patterns, behavioral relationships, social and cultural norms, as well as architectural and urban patterns (Marcuse, 2000).

Process of economic and social change that occurs in our country and all over the world requires to, continuously, define urbanization and housing problems in the light of this change. And in this context it is essential to focus on the subject of quality of environment in newly formed urban areas. In the process of quality search in urban environment and especially in housing environment it is necessary to identify which objective determines the "of good quality environment"?

Based on these above arguments, this article is mainly based on ongoing research, and the observations, media and literature analysis of the author that have had experience on the housing subject as an architect and researcher. In the first part of this paper a theoretical framework is established, explaining and discussing culture, continuity and change in the process of urbanization.

1. Conceptual framework: Structural analysis of the housing pattern in the process of culture and space interaction

The theoretical base of the article has been tried to create by using the conceptual framework and the model developed by the researcher (Turgut, 1996, 1998; Turgut & Altinoluk, 2003; Turgut & Akbalik, 2004). According to these works, the formation of the conceptual framework of the paper has been based on transactional approaches with a holistic perspective. (Werner, Altman & Oxley, 1985). This approach believes that people and their environments are not composed of separate elements but are a confluence of inseparable factors that depend on one another and are examined in the context of time and space (Altman & Rogoff, 1986).

According to this view, home is an integrative scheme that creates a bond between the person and the place, and it is a set of interactions between the experience of the dwelling and the wider spatial, socio-cultural and temporal context within which the meaning of domestic space emerges (Turgut & Kellett, 1996).

The approach to meaning and use of home will therefore be built on this holistic concept comprised of cultural, behavioral, spatial and temporal components in a transactional perspective. The housing pattern in the urbanization process contains the spatial setting which is appropriate to the cultural, behavioral, socio-economic characteristics of the user group and their alterations in the course of time. These characteristics formed in the process of urbanization can be grouped as structural components composing housing patterns: Cultural components consisting of norms, customs, mores, life-style, family and kinship structure form the "Cultural Setting"; behavioral processes such as "personal space", "territorial behavior" and "privacy" form the "Behavioral Setting"; components of "dimension", "location" and "form" the "Spatial Setting"; characteristics of "income", "profession", "education" form the "Socio-economic setting".

(1) This paper is mainly based on


this structural analysis of housing pattern, each sub-system - output form an input for the other sub-system and, together, they form the "Housing Pattern" (Turgut, 1996).

Figure1: Conceptual framework: Structural analysis of the housing pattern in the process of culture and space interaction

The residential area, during the interaction of culture and space, reflects the dynamic and changing relations of time and attributes between man and his surroundings. Cultural elements that have a dynamic structure within time change due to acculturative influences and according to this, behavioural and residential characteristics also change. The structural elements of the residential areas can be grouped as the socio-cultural, behavioural and residential characteristics that have occurred and keep changing with time. This interactive structure of housing patterns becomes more important in developing countries where rapid and successive physical and socio-cultural changes are experienced.

The structural analysis is summed up in Figure 1. As described in the Figure, there is a transactional relationship among spatial, cultural, behavioral, socio-economic components. These dimensions of home are defined interdependently. In a temporal context, change and continuity being
inseparable aspects of domestic space, take on added significance. In the context of this conceptual framework, structural analysis of the housing pattern in Istanbul in the process of culture and space interaction will be analyzed in the second part.

Emerging housing patterns in Turkey
From time to time it is thought the "Istanbul is a bridge between east and west, Islam and secularism" or "An arena of strife between these." But actually Istanbul is a much more confusing city than the clichés suggest and is a place in which a struggle for the spirit of the city and the identity of those living in the city has been taking place. "Istanbulites" insist on an Istanbul that is changing with globalization and is being transformed as a result. As well they are two people those who fit and those who are trying to understand and fit. Istanbul has always been a city of duality, fragments and polarity (Keyder, 1999) However, never before, has the city displayed such intense qualities of heterogeneity as it does today.

Since the beginning of the 1980s, the city has been driven by the intricate effects of transformation including globalization, liberalizing economy, rapid urbanization and technological advances.

The housing and spatial production forms in Istanbul are changing quickly. The economic and social change process that is being experienced in our country is essential that urbanization and housing problems be identified again in light of this change and in a continuous manner. The development of housing areas over the last thirty years in the city can be taken up in three periods:

1. Migration from rural areas to city; the city center's being surrounded by squatter settlement (beginning from the 1950s);
2. Differences in national development and in the housing areas of the middle class (beginning from the end of the 1960s and the 1970s); apartment buildings and
3. Globalization and today's situation (beginning from the 1980s) luxury villas and high-rise residences.

Figure 2: General view of Bosphorous
Figure 3: The development of housing areas over the last thirty years in the city

From the point of view of tracking each one of these three phases individually, the first doesn't end when the second begins; today the squatter housing developments in the area and the differentiation of the middle class still continue. The result has created a mixture of one phase with the other. Where housing preferences are concerned, there is a certain value in explaining the chaotic and confused situation of recent years by discussing the older situation in the city.

2.1. First period: Migration from rural areas to city

Squatter settlements: During the urbanization process in developing countries, changes in housing patterns have a more vital importance where the changes in social and spatial contexts are closely linked. In these cases urbanization causes or even forces social change. Newly migrated societies with their changing way of life display many socio-cultural and spatial
adaptation problems resulting in settlements with neither purely urban nor village characteristics (Turgut, 1996). This is well illustrated in the case of Turkey where internal migration to urban centers began in the 1960s and has since accelerated. With the help of relatives from the same region, immigrants from Anatolian villages build illegal dwellings without tenure, plan or permit in 'gecekondu' (squatter) settlements. Within this process the spatial patterns of the squatter dwellings reflect physical and socio-cultural characteristics of their region of origin. Rural people do not easily drop their socio-cultural and domestic life patterns, but in time important changes take place in their life style, along with cultural changes as they experience urban life.

*Figure 4: Temporary, semi permanent, permanent buildings*

Squatter settlements are, therefore, transformed into complex spatial patterns, due to acculturation, the effects of new status symbols and new life-style preferences. During this process, many important replacements in the meaning and use of space occur, due to a number of economic and social developments related to urbanization. In the course of time the housing patterns change dramatically from a temporary shelter to a
permanent house, reflecting alterations in cultural, behavioral and spatial dimensions (Turgut, & Kellett, 1996).

2.2. Second period: Change in middle class settlement
Sites made up of apartment buildings; while the development of those for Squatter Settlements inhabitants continued in “illegal” areas, the legal, developmentally complete areas of the “city” grew in conformity with the wishes of the middle class. This desire was met with new apartment buildings constructed on privately owned lands. While the houses from the Ottoman period were torn down, five and ten story apartment buildings were built in their gardens. In addition the practice of having “housing cooperatives” multiplied during this period. Middle-income people preferred these cooperatives in particular who earned a monthly wage.

![Figure 5: Apartment buildings](image)

3. Third period: The influence of globalization
As for the new spatial developments that appeared in Istanbul in the 1980s, they reflected the influence of globalization. What shaped the way the city turned occurred as an international flow of capital and know-how intensified. Under the influence of an economy that was globalizing, Istanbul quickly created a society of new businessmen and professionals. The reasons why housing projects were born is that they are the direct result of rapid growth that the free market economy, applied after 1980, created and began with the young people who had had a good education and were working at high salaries in Turkish and foreign capital companies. In addition to this in the 80s young women also joined the speedily growing market. Prior to 1980, women didn’t have a large share in the labor market but after 1980 young couples in which both worked speedily became the model. Most of the time these young couples, who were top-level managers or had a profession, wanted to continue a life style that fit their social level and began searching for luxury housing. These new groups are much wealthier and have traveled to the global cities of the world. In these projects of 60-70,000 people, the majority of the residents are in the media sector, models, and the sports sector in international companies and the finance sector and foreigners. For companies that develop draft plans for this type of settlement, the critical point is to find land suitable for large-volume housing outside the city, to develop projects that suit the expectations of the potential buyers and to
market these successfully. From this standpoint Istanbul is a suitable city. When housing projects began appearing the urban elites were influenced by two different search patterns.

As for the other when one left the glass-enclosed rooms of business centers that kept the rays of the sun out, they wanted a life in the best possible form for the very brief time they had to be free (luxury villas).

The movement that began slowly to resemble a breath-taking copy of Manhattan with its skyscrapers was at the same time a search for green space where one could escape from a crowded and “provincialized” Istanbul and take a deep breath of fresh air. (high-rise residence).

This search for “quality of life” brought choice and separate life styles together.

3.1. Luxury villas
Prior to the 1980s, luxury housing in Istanbul—bearing names containing the terms “Country” or “City”—was owned by the elite of Turkey’s business world, who lived in custom-designed mansions with gardens. Simultaneous to the rise of giant high-rises, interest arose in reviving old Istanbul’s local character. Entrepreneurs who became familiar with this interest now sell freestanding villas as “life in a local quarter.” (Bali, 1999) Ads play up “contemporary lifestyle” luxury apartment flats and big villas constructed to international standards with imported materials. Key selling terms are “high security” and “ultra luxurious.” In a manner not unique to Istanbul, most of these units are at a distance from the center city. It is possible to live protected by security walls, far from urban filth, confusion, and noise. As a result, showy consumption has become linked with being spatially separate from Istanbul society (Turgut & Altinoluk, 2003).

![Two examples of luxury housing projects](image)

**Figure 6: Two examples of luxury housing projects** (Istanbul Istanbul Houses and Beykoz Mansions)

In selling housing, what attracts the most attention is “high security and ultra luxurious.” But most were at a distance from the center of Istanbul. In particular it is possible to continue living far from all the filth of the city, from
its confusion and noise, and be protected by security walls. The most attractive advertisement was one in which one could live in places with life styles that promised these material possibilities and in places where one is isolated from the rest of society. Security-gate housing projects of course aren't just peculiar to Istanbul. The luxury-showy consumption that has been identified with the rich living spatially separate from society in Istanbul also became a much debated dimension of the new order. These projects rapidly spread to lands that only ten years ago were empty fields or places that had been squatter areas. If you don't reside in these housing projects, undoubtedly they've drawn your attention as you passed by. At the door are security guards, high walls, a swimming pool, tennis courts, social facilities, shopping center, cinema -- in short one can find everything necessary for city life within those walls. Every one of these housing projects is complete in itself: there are shopping centers, clubs and even schools. So projects aimed at this goal began to be developed. Some elements were exaggerated in order to better clarify this distinction. A new set of concepts like "being a neighbor of some famous person regardless of whom" began to appear. Like the "Americans" that we saw in films a set of projects took off that were internally empty and relied on show began to be created.

The solution to providing a feeling of privilege and possession to those who reside in the housing project convince apartment owners to step into an exceptional world belonging to themselves alone. So attention was paid to see that the people who would live at the site were selected and were above a certain income level. The choices have the possibility of vetoing the sale if the neighbors don't approve because they prefer people of their own culture and income level. As a result of this in these new settlements a kind of community has been created of people who can become a member with a minimum of two positive references and it gives the atmosphere of a select social club.

3.2. A New housing model: High-rise residences
In the 90s, residences were a type of living arrangement that spoke to an urban elite aware of village and housing project living. For those living in these housing units it was the same as being in a first-class hotel that offer secretaries, food, hospitality, room-cleaning and laundry services. The people in the residences are people who have limited time, high-level professionals in terms of income and high-level managers who live alone. Those who live outside Istanbul but frequently come to Istanbul have to live here.

The companies that construct residences describe the potential renter or owner as those in finance, stock brokering, architecture and construction, who works more than 12 hours a day in these areas. The first examples in Istanbul are the BJK Plaza, Akmerkez Residence, Polat Tower Residence and Elit Residence. At the end of 1999 a new debate was added over whether one should meet the "21st century in Paris, London, New York or Istanbul? A debate carried out with friends was one that created excitement and trembling and retrograde thoughts about entering a new millennium.
As an example, in the introductory catalogue of Metrocity Millennium whose construction in 4th Levent continues, the “city of the future” has been portrayed within a panoramic view in which one sees a bluish silhouette of Istanbul and the Bosphorus in the back. This view brings to mind a scene we remember from films advertising Parliament cigarettes; the silhouette of Manhattan that is blurred in a smoky way in a “Parliament blue” night illuminated by lights burning late in offices in skyscrapers...

4. Some concluding remarks: What do users really want?
As the research is summarized;
In Istanbul the development of housing areas and the creation of the environment is being formed under the effect of a confused interaction between globalization and the city's own history. The differences and inequality in income distribution and consumer patterns have become very clear and this too has brought housing areas to be clearly separate from one another.

Those who migrated from village to city have long since become the majority in Istanbul. They have stamped their presence on the political and cultural life of the city. But the most important is the differentiation among themselves. Here the history of the migration to the city, the difference in capital accumulation and how they have worked at a job play a role in their cultural and political orientation. It is also reflected in the housing forms that occur in this new identification. Multi-storied housing, squatter house that have been apartmanized, squatter settlements that have been povertized, show that there has been a differentiation in the settlement forms of the person in the squatter settlement.

The “rich” who are attached to large companies are investing in villas suitable for the global design.

Society is being fragmented and the tie between social classes weakened.

The city, as time goes on, is closing in on itself and the separation between social classes is growing stronger as time goes by. Walls are drawing the
boundaries and cutting society's strata off from each other. Istanbul is being surrounded by "privately protected ultra-luxurious housing projects" that are managed like a city and squatter settlements that continue to survive in the immediate vicinity of these projects and the historic urban fabric is being worn down.

In urban circles, especially in housing in the search for quality it is necessary to know what objective characteristics identify a "good quality" environment. People want to be in a livable, safe environment. The quality of "the environment in which they can live" is not just the physical environment; it is tied to social environmental standards too. The personal evaluations related to how people perceive the environment in which they live change according to differences in socio-economic levels and cultural accumulation. As a result it is seen that different components identify quality living. Quality living creates two types of input: physical/objective and psychological/personal.

![Luxury housing and squatter housing examples](image)

**Figure 8: Luxury housing and squatter housing examples**

In the end, we would argue that these new projects could be read as urban forms that create segregation and reproduce inequalities while transforming the character of public life. I would like to end my paper by asking this question:

*What is quality of life: Is it a confused concept that supports different meanings given different environments and conditions?*

**References**


Bu makalede, küreselleşme sürecinin, İstanbul kentindeki “konut tercihleri” ve “yaşam kalitesi” üzerindeki etkileri incelenmektedir. Son 20 yılı, İstanbul’un sosyo-kültürel ve kentsel kimliği, köklü değişimlerle uğramakta; küreselleşme, uluslararasılaşma ve bilgi akış hızının artması, tüm dünyada olduğu gibi, kentin ve kent sahinlerinin değişiminde önemli rol oynamaktadır. Bu değişimnin çok boyutlu sonuçları; mimari ve kentsel biçimlenişlerde olduğu kadar, sosyal ve kültürel normlar, davranışsal ilşikiler ve yeni faaliyet biçimlenişleri üzerinde de kendini belir etmektedir.

Makale, değişimler bu tartışmalar işığında, özellikle “yaşam kalitesi” bağlamında, İstanbul’daki yeni konut yerleşimlerinde gözlenen değişimleri ve dönüşümleri ele
almaktaadır. Çalışma yapılmakta olan bir araştırmaya dayanırken, çok uzun yılların konut konusu üzerinde çalışan yazarın mimar ve araştırmacı olarak yaptıkları gözlemeler, medya ve literatür analizlerine dayanmaktadır. Makalede, Türkiye' nin ekonomik, kültürel ve politik olarak içinde bulunduğu durum ve ilişkiler olarak son yıllarda İstanbul’da konut geliştiriminin neler olduğunu idrak ettiğini bir giriş bölümü ve yaşamın kalitesinin tanım ve bileşenlerinin idrak ettiği bir kavramsal çerçeve den sonra son yıllarda uygulanılan farklı örnekleri verdiği konut yerleşimlerini karşılaştırmaktadır.

Kavramsal çerçeve: Kültür ve mekan etkileşimini süreci içinde konut örnekleri ve strüktürel analizi:


Konut örneklerinin bu etkileşimsel yapısı hızla oluştuğu ve birbirini takip eden, fiziksel ve sosyo-kültürel değişimlerin yaşamlandığı gelişmekte olan ülkelerde daha da önem kazanmaktadır.

Türkiye’de Son Dönem Konut Örnekleri Gelişmekte olan ülkelerin kentleşme süreçleri içinde, sosyal ve fiziksel faktörlerin birbirine bağlı olduğu konut örneklerindeki değişimler oldukça büyük önem sahiptir. Bu tarz kentleşme süreçleri, sosyal değişimi yaratmakta hatta bu değişmişte ilici güç almaktadır. Yeni güç etmiş topluluklar, yaşamlarının değişmesiyle birlikte, tam olarak ne kendi ne de köylü özellikleri gösteren yerleşimler ile sonuçlanan pek çok sosyo-kültürel ve fiziksel adaptasyon sorunu sorgulamaktadır. (Turgut, 1996) Bu durum, 1960’larda başlayan günümüzde kadar ivme kazanan, kent merkezlerine doğru yaşayan iç göçün yaşamını Türkiye’de oldukça net bir biçimde görülebilmektedir. Son otuz yılda kente kesintisiz konut alanlarının gelişimi, üç döneme sona erdirilir:
1. Kısırla aradan kente goc: kent merkezlerin şebeke ve growlarda yerleşimleri ile çevrelenmesi (1950’lerden başlayarak)
2. Ulusal kalkınma ve orta sınıf konut alanlarındaki farklılıkla (1960’larda sonu ve 1970’lerden başlayarak)

1980’lerde kadar organik ve Türkiye’nin kendi iç dinamikleri ile şekillenmiş bu konut modeleri, kentsel dokunun biçimlenişinde oldukça büyük önem sahiptir. 1980’ler ile günümüzde başlayan değişimler ise, küreselleşme sürecine dahil olmayan üç dönemi çalışma Türkiye’ne nın kentsel biçimlenişinde daha fazla bir dönemi temsil etmektedir. Bu dönem içinde, ülkenin kendi iç dinamiklerinin yani sıra, küreselleşmenin en belirgin özellikleri olan, hızlı bilgi akışı ile birlikte kısalma mesafelerinin etkisiyle, dünyanın pek çok farklı noktasi arasında yaşamın değişimlerini yansıması da görülmektedir. Bu değişimler, sermayenin uluslararasılaşması, dünya devlet kavramının yok olmaya başlaması,
ortaça çıkan yeni iş alanlarında çalışan kesimin oluşturulduğu yeni bir üst orta sınıfın ortaya çıkması, sosyal statü ve kimlik dışavurumunda estetik, tüketim ve stil kavramlarının öneminin artması şeklinde öznelenebilir. Sosyal ilişkiler ağının yeniden tanımlanmasına yol açan tüm bu değişiklikler, mimarlık pratiginde de yeni öylemler eşliğinde yansımasını bulmaktadır. Geçmişe gönderme yapma, farklı fonksiyonların "yaşam tarzı" konsepti içinde bir araya getirilerek çok fonksiyonlu mekanlar olarak karşıma çıkmış ve her türlü görsel simulasyon öznesinin tasarım içinde araç olarak kullanılması şeklinde karşıma çıkan bu yeni biçimlenenler, Türkiye’dede 1990’lar ile birlikte görülmeye başlayan lüks konut alanlarında da karşıma çıkan özelliklerdir. Bu yerleşmeler; gerek kent içi ve kent dişi konumlanışları, barındırdıkları fonksiyon ve tasarım anlayışları ve hedefledikleri üst orta sınıfı yönelik sundukları "yaşam tarzı" ve "yaşam kalitesi" kavramlarını, gerekse de temsili ettiğini yeni sosyal biçimleniş ve ayrımlaşma açısından oldukça önemlidir.

1990’lardan, rezidanslar, konut yerleşimi ve köy yaşamının farkında olan kentli elitler ve yönelik bir yaşam düzenlemesi olarak ortaya çıktı. Bu birimler, sakınlar için, sekreter, yemek, mutfak personeli ve her türlü hizmeti sundan birinci sınıf bir otelde yaşamış hissi verryordu. Buralarda yaşayan insanlar; çoğunlukla yalnız yaşayan, kısıtlı zamanı olan üst düzey profesyoneller olarak genel bir profil oluşturuyordur. İstanbul’daki yaşamayan; fakat sıkıca İstanbul’a gelenlerin tercih ettiği mekanlar olarak rezidansların önemi giderek artmıştır. (Ball, R., 2002)

Rezidans yapılarını inşa eden firmalar; potansiyel kiracı da da miglior profili; finans, borsa, mimarlık ve inşaat sektöründe, çoğunlukla 12 saatli fiziksel çalışma insanlar olarak tanımlamaktadır. Bu tip yapıların İstanbul’da ilk örnekleri; BJK Plaza, Akmerkez Residence, Polat Tower Residence ve Elit Residence’dir.

Son sözler:

Makaleyi şöyle bir sonuçla bitirebiliriz: "son dönem konut yerleşimleri ve eğlimler, sosyal ve kültürel farklılıkların yeni biçimlenişini temsil etmekle ve bu durumda, kamusal yaşamın karakterini dönüştüren ve aynı zamanda etkisi olan kentsel formlar olarak ele alınmalıdır".