

Reviewing Istanbul's urban structure through a local retail shop: Neco Cornet Ice Cream Shop

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Abstract

The settlements of Istanbul started with a colony in 7th century BC, continued with becoming a "World city" in the 4th century BC and still go on by being a global metropolis. During the 20th century; the outwards of the urban space were structured by the addition of new big scaled layers over privatized public lands or gecekondü areas rapidly. In the same time, the inner old settlement areas were structured by the slow articulation of fragmental layers over each other in long time periods. This multi-component/stratificate urban structure of the city, which allows and inspires various researches, is handled by the term "palimpsest" in some contemporary studies. Kocamustafapasa Neighborhood of Fatih County reflects the city's palimpsest character by enclosing the old urban processes' spatial and socio-cultural traces and functions as a temporal cross section for the citizens.

In this study, Istanbul's palimpsest character's reflection over the urban space is scrutinized through a 25 years serving shop in Kocamustafapaşa: Neco Cornet Ice Cream. In the first section, Kocamustafapasa's history and current state is presented. In the second section; the development of ice cream sector in Turkey is assessed. In the third and fourth sections; the data obtained from the case study is presented and the sectorial position of the case study subject is evaluated. In conclusion, the findings about the structural qualities of the small scaled urban retail shops, Istanbul's palimpsest character are presented and potential contribution of similar researches to urban studies is emphasized.

Keywords

Istanbul, Globalization, Old city, Small retailer shops, Palimpsest.



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1. Introduction

The settlements of Istanbul started with a colony in 7th century BC, continued by becoming a “World City” in the 4th century BC and still go on by being a global metropolis. Throughout this urban structuring Istanbul survived with various effects of physical, social, cultural, political, geographical, technological and economic dynamics. The city sometimes kept these effects inside its structure, sometimes transformed them and sometimes was transformed with them to adapt to the new circumstances it was facing. These relationships with various dynamics left many traces transforming Istanbul into a multi-component/stratified urban structure in the end. This structure which enables and inspires various studies has been handled through the term “palimpsest” in some contemporary studies (Turgut, 2013). *Palimpsest* is a term that refers to the existence of multiple and intermingled layers together in the context of a written paper. In the urban context then, the term refers to the existence of urban layers – that bear the traces of every kind of local/global dynamics- together over the same spatial and temporal dimensions. These layers combine and survive together on the one hand; and they carry those traces to the city’s present/future context on the other.

Even though the population of Istanbul had been decreased in the 15th and 20th centuries, throughout the full process, the urban space had continuously been expanding with an increasing speed. During the 20th century, the outwards of the urban space was structured by rapid articulation of new big scaled layers over the privatized public lands or *gecekondu* areas. At the same time, the inner old settlement areas were structured by the slow addition of fragmental layers over each other in long time periods. In recent history, this structuring continued with the city’s consumption oriented spatial and cultural transformations, the gentrification movements and big scaled urban transformation projects.

Although this process seems like an uninterrupted movement of renewal at first sight, many urban components of the past managed to survive in Istanbul’s

old settlements areas. In the Süriçi district (Historically central peninsula of Istanbul), the Süleymaniye, Hatice Sultan, Yedikule, Topkapı and Kocamustafapasa neighborhoods survived by sustaining their social, cultural, physical and economical qualities partially; and managed to carry the traces of their past to the future. As one of these neighborhoods, Kocamustafapasa had the chance to be a scene for many urban transformation movements and had developed a unique, clear and certain characteristic which also reflects Istanbul’s palimpsest character explicitly.

Under the light of these reviews, the aim of this study is to present Istanbul’s multi-component/stratified structure’s reflection over the inner urban settlement areas. To this respect, a twenty five year old ice cream shop in Kocamustafapasa was selected for the case study considering the scope of the long term serving retailer shops located at the inner of urban areas.

In the first section of the study, Kocamustafapasa’s history and current state is presented over literature research and observational data. In the second section; the development of ice cream sector in Turkey is assessed. In the third section; the data obtained from the case study is presented under “Location, Proprietors, Operational Structure, Spatial Properties, Products, Sales Data, Formal Licenses and Customer-Business Relations” subtitles. In the fourth section, the sectorial position is evaluated by a comparison between the shop and the industrial manufacturers according to the products, marketing techniques and customer relations. In the last section, the major findings are presented and the potential contribution of similar type of researches to urban studies are indicated.

2. Place overview: The history and present of Kocamustafapasa

There is only a little information about the condition of Kocamustafapasa district before 15th century. In the 4th century, there were cemeteries at Kocamustafapasa’s current area and that region was Eksokionion (Kultur Bak. ve Tarih V., 1994a). At the south of that region was located Psamathi-

on, a residential settlement area (Kultur Bak. ve Tarih V., 1994b) (Figure 1). In the 5th century Psamathion was transformed into a religious center by the construction of Studios Monastery (Also known as İmrahor Mosque and İonnes Promodos Church). Following this, Ayios Andreas Monastery was constructed at Eksokionion in the 6th century. These two regions, intertwined in time, developed in relation with each other and gave rise to the urban settlements of Samatya and Kocamustafapasa.

In 15th century, in line with Ottoman Empire's population policies, Armenians were settled at the south of Kocamustafapasa, along the seashore (Kultur Bak. ve Tarih V., 1994b), and Muslims were settled in Kocamustafapasa's region. To the end of the 15th century, the grand vizier of II. Bayezit, Koca Mustafa Pasa, had reconstructed the Ayios Andreas Monastery as a mosque (Kultur Bak. ve Tarih V.,

1994a). Afterwards, throughout the 16th century Islamic monasteries were established in the district to foster the Muslim population and Kocamustafapasa turned into a dense Muslim district. At the 18th century, Kocamustafapasa became one of the civilized districts of its period with its timber mansion houses, Islamic monasteries and their new settlers (Kultur Bak. ve Tarih V., 1994a).

In the 19th century, Istanbul had spanned a spatial modernization period (Kurtuluş, 2007), but Kocamustafapasa and Samatya could not reached the speed of this new urbanization process (Kultur Bak. ve Tarih V., 1994a). At the beginning and middle of 20th century, the upper income groups and non-Muslim settlers moved away from Samatya and Kocamustafapasa and it was resulted with a non-used residence supply all around the district (Kultur Bak. ve Tarih V., 1994a) (Figure 2).

During intensive migration movements caused by industrialization (Çavuşoğlu, 2014); the residence supply of Kocamustafapasa was started to be used by the Anatolian migrants, mostly from Rumeli and Karadeniz regions of Turkey (Kultur Bak. ve Tarih V., 1994a). Muslims belonged to middle income group became the major resident character in the district, living together with a little number of non-Muslims (Kultur Bak. ve Tarih V., 1994a). During 1970's, the growing residence demand was fulfilled with a new transformation model called "yap-sat" (ing. Build-Sell) (Çavuşoğlu, 2014). Almost all the timber houses transformed to multistory apartments (Kultur Bak. ve Tarih V., 1994a), and consequently average height of the buildings increased partly but the parcel dimensions were sustained.

In 1980's, the urban transformations accelerated and radicalized as a result of the new neo-liberal politics. While the historical fabric of *Suriçi* was being destroyed by big scaled government projects (e.g. the coastal road and boulevards) (Çavuşoğlu, 2014), transformations in Kocamustafapasa had continued still with small scaled interventions. The physical and social characteristics that become clear in 1970's were amplified; the "yap-sat" trans-

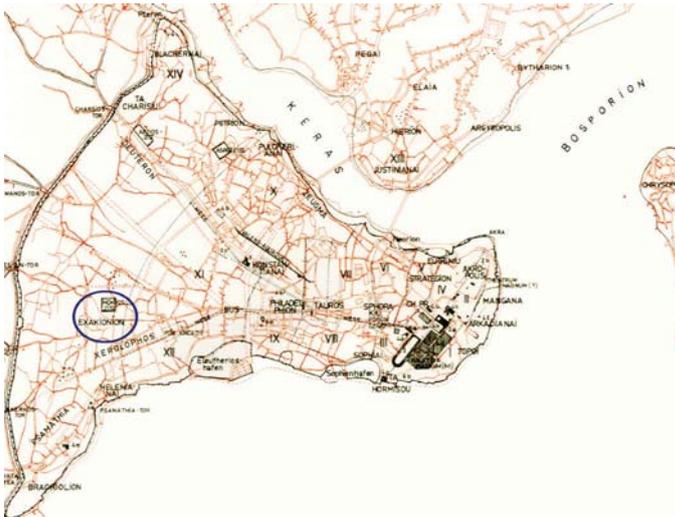


Figure 1. İstanbul Suriçi district and Kocamustafapasa, 4th-7th Centuries (Müller-Wiener, 2007).



Figure 2. Samatya, Beginning of the 20th century (Yerasimos, 1997).

formations continued. Afterwards, in 1990's, Kocamustafapasa faced with a decrease in its public spaces as a reflection of the ongoing capital oriented transformations. All of the seven cinemas in the district were closed; six of them were transformed to commercial or privatized places and one of them was transformed into a Community Center of SHCEK (Turkish Social Service and Children Protection Institution). At the same time, the consumption pattern of the region was started to take shape with the growing number of small scaled retail shops serving at the apartments' ground floors.

After 2000, the new legal regulations that were aiming to build new life spaces for the middle/upper income groups raised the land prices in *Suriçi* (Terzi & Bölen, 2008), while the urban transformations continued in small scaled interventions -except the Sulu-kule Neighborhood's transformation in 2010-. In Kocamustafapasa, some of the apartments were repaired or reconstructed, and many restoration projects are started that include the small mosques, mosques and social complexes. A market building and the automobile industry zone were reorganized as public parks afterwards. Consumption axes become significant as the small/middle scaled retail shops spread from the square to Samatya, Cerrahpasa and Capa neighborhoods through wide streets.

Today Kocamustafapasa Neighborhood consists of religious buildings, a square (Figure 3 and 4), 3 parks, 3-6 floor height adjacent apartments and many narrow streets. Along the Hekimoglu Ali Pasa, Kuvayi Milliye and Kocamustafapasa Streets many small scale retail shops line up that that serve mostly for 5-15 years and there are eight supermarkets (Figure 5 and 6). Also, there are some long term serving local shops that opened between 1950-1980, such as Beyaz Saray Ice Cream, Senol Patisserie, Sumbul Efendi Bakery and NECO Cornet Ice Cream (Figure 7).

The social focal points are Kocamustafapasa Square (Figure 4), Cevre Theatre, Kocamustafapasa Sumbul Efendi Mosque and Complex (Figure 8), Surp Kevork Armenian Church (Figure 9),



Figure 3. Social focal points and public transportation stations.



Figure 4. Kocamustafapasa Square.



White Good and Furniture Store, Household Linens and Dowry Store, Dress Shop, Hardware Shop, Glassmaker, Electrician, Florist, Optician, Pharmacist, Pirated Cd Shops, Supermarket Chain Subsidiaries, Open Market on Saturdays, Toy Shop, Tobacco Shop, Restaurants, Hairdresser, Patisserie, Traditional Fast-Food, Kebab Restaurants, Buffet, Bakery, Grocery, Butcher, Cheese Shop, Phyllo Shop, Liver Shop, Pickle Shop, Dessert Shop, Ice Cream Shop, Mobile Tea-Man, Bagel Seller.

Figure 5. The distribution of the commercial spaces in Kocamustafapasa.



Figure 6. The subsidiaries of national chain firms in Kocamustafapasa.



Figure 7. Small scaled local retail shops in Kocamustafapasa.



Figure 8. Kocamustafapasa Sumbul Efendi Mosque and Complex.



Figure 9. Surp Kevork Armenian Church.

Ramazan Efendi Mosque, Hekimoglu Ali Pasa Complex and Park and two other public parks. The public transportation to the district is supplied by four IETT bus lines and a “dolmuş” line to Taksim for twenty four hours (Figure 3). Families belong to middle and lower-middle income groups are constituting the main population of the district. The rest of its population is composed of students, retired employees and a little number of Non-Muslim residents.

It is clearly seen that, Kocamustafapasa encloses the old urban processes’ spatial and socio-cultural traces on the one hand, and functioning as a temporal cross section for the citizens with its long term serving consumption spaces on the other. The district achieved to transform in peace with its residents, in spite of the various powerful dynamics over the city. It is also remarkable that, the attached residents of the district use “Paşa” instead of Kocamustafapasa to identify the district in their daily life.

3. Sectorial information: Evaluation of ice cream sector in Turkey

In the history of Turkey, ice cream appears for the first time with “karsambac” which contains snow or ice flavored with sugar, honey, fruit juices or nectars (Yaşar D. ve G. M., 2016). This Ottoman tradition spread to Anatolia in the 17th century by the snow trades called “karcı” (Snow monger) Besides, in the 20th century, the South-east of Anatolia ice cream followed a different way and Maras ice cream was born by the mix of goat milk, sugar and sahlep (İTO, 2006). Until 1970’s, ice cream was produced in artisan shops (ITO, 2006) where the producer gave his name to the product, such as Receb in Aksaray, Armenian ice cream seller near the Ali Efendi Restaurant and Albanian Andon in Fenerbahce (Alus, 2005). The first industrial production was realized by Atatürk Forest Farm Pasteurized Milk and Products Factory in 1957 and followed by İzmir Milk Products Industry Incorporated Company in 1970-1974 (ITO,2006). After 1984 the sector was expanded by the entrance of local/global firms. The increasing competition led to an increase

in the product range, a decrease in prices and a significant change in promotion strategies.

In 1984, Has Gıda entered in the sector, with the brand Panda, as the first industrial ice cream manufacturer of Turkey. Panda met the supply deficit around the country and did not affect the small scaled businesses. The next firm Algida entered the sector in 1989 and expanded its market share to 60 percent in 2005 and it realized the first strike into the local small scale businesses. The second strike came from Golf, a brand by Ulker Group after its entrance in 2003. The other face of the ice cream sector is the patisseries. Mado (1993) is the frontrunner of them with its %20 market share, followed by Edo (1986) and Gullu Dondurmacı (1979). The consumption rate of ice cream raised 3.5 times after 1990 with 74% of them being industrial packaged products (Figure 10) (İTO, 2006).

International brands -like Algida and Golf- transformed the content, manufacturing, variety, presentation, accessibility and promotion of their products to adapt the new citizens. This transformation also steered the reformation of the new lifestyles or corroborated them. Verifying Lefebvre's (1991) argument on the process of industrial production; ice cream was abstracted from its producer's traces, its actual ingredients and the meanings they bear; marketed over images that attribute it some secondary/third meanings such as a happy partner, beautiful girlfriend, peace or pleasure. A regular food product turned into a tool that shapes the consumption based life style of the city.

The transformation of the life styles accompanied by the transformation of the city; the urban space became a place gathering images of men/women whom enjoy themselves by consuming.

In the middle of this image oriented urban space, the connection between the consumed product and the consumer's identity was strengthened (Zuckin, 1998). In the beginning, individuals started to define themselves through the symbols they were exposed in their daily life. This continues with the definition of places through the symbols, and some of the places lost their previously built identities correspondingly. Then, the loss of identities leads to the loss of citizens' connections to significant places; or to the urban space in general (Tuna, 2009). In the end of this process, this rupture between the city and the citizens caused the disappearance of the citizen's sense of responsibility towards the city in every dimension. As a result, the urban transformations directed by capital's demands were made easier and speeded up.

4. A small scaled retail shop in Istanbul: NECO Cornet Ice Cream Shop

In this study, *NECO Cornet Ice Cream Shop* is selected as the case study subject to present Istanbul's multi-component//stratificate structure's reflection over the inner urban settlement areas. The research data is collected from two interviews done separately with the two proprietors, literature researches and particular observations in 2010 and 2014¹.



Figure 10. Some product images of the brands Algida, Golf, Panda, Mado.

¹The preliminary case study was prepared for the course "Paradigms on Architecture" in ITU Architectural Design PhD Program in June 2010. This case study was extended and rearranged for this study in November 2014.

In this section the research data is presented under the subtitles of *Location, Proprietors, Operational Structure, Spatial Properties, Products, Sales Data, Formal Licenses and Customer-Business Relations*.

4.1. Location

NECO Cornet is located in the oldest region of Kocamustafapasa; at the east side of a Sumbul Efendi Mosque and right across the Kocamustafapasa Primary School's main entrance. In addition, a new public park is built at the north-west side of the shop in 2010. Shop is serving at the ground floor of an apartment like most of the small scaled retail shops in the neighborhood (Figure 11).

4.2. Proprietors

NECO Cornet was opened as a family business by Necati Senol and Cemal Senol brothers born in Uskup. As a sequel of 40 years long migration movement, Senol brothers migrated to Bayrampaşa-Istanbul in 1979. Afterwards, Necati Senol settled in Karamursel County of Kocaeli and decided to continue his profession that he had

acquired by apprenticeship in primary school years. He got his certificate of mastership of ice cream production, and opened his first business at 1985 in Karamursel. He opened a subsidiary shop at 1989 in Kocamustafapasa, handed over the shop in Karamursel after a few years and moved to Kocamustafapasa in the beginning of 1990's.

Today Necati Senol is married with 3 kids, and Cemal Senol is married with 2 kids.

4.3. Operational structure

NECO Cornet always prepared, served and sold fresh products on daily basis. The family workshop in Bayrampaşa had supported the production partially including the cornets and desserts. The apprenticeship tradition was maintained till 2010 with 12 young people. These children/teenagers were selected from relative or acquaintance families live in the neighborhood. Today, Necati Senol stated that they cannot find any apprentice to train and it is hard for him to do all the work by himself because of his grown age. He also remarked that they are concerned that their profession would be forgotten and their business would be closed after their retirement. Previous attempts to open subsidiaries were not successful but the proprietors' researches for new subsidiaries is still continuing within the Marmara Region.

4.4. Spatial properties

At the opening of the shop in 1989, the counter was placed parallel to the short edge of the open space and the rest of the space was used for service (Figure 12). In the beginning of 1990's, the counter was turned to be parallel to the long edge, the storage was rearranged as a closed space behind it, and the rest of the elements were renewed with expensive materials. The floor was covered with granite, the lightings were changed and the facades were rearranged like a showcase (Figure 13). In summer time, the short facade always remained open and its front was used to place tables at the open space. In winter time, all the tables and the portable dessert counter were used inside (Figure 14).

In 2014, the counter was shortened



Figure 11. Location of NECO Cornet in Kocamustafapasa.

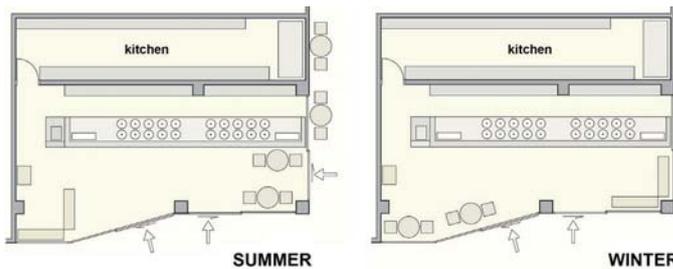


Figure 12. Spatial arrangements in summer and winter, 2010.



Figure 13. Inner views, 2010.

and covered with black granite and wood patterned pvc covering (Figure 15). The rest of the counter was turned into a cold show case for desserts (Figure 16). The floor and the ceiling remained the same but the walls were covered with patterned wallpaper. The windows, external wall coverings, signboard and sunshades were renewed with similarly looking contemporary elements (Figure 17).

4.5. Products, sales data and formal licenses

The major product of the shop always remained as the ice cream. The proprietors stated that they would not give the recipe of the ice cream, and that they prefer to hand it by apprenticeship. Today, 12 kinds of ice cream are produced with fresh milk, “sahlep” (orchid roots), sugar, fresh fruits or concentrated fruits approved by TR Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock. The industrial preservatives, aromas or water are not used in any of the products. The production duration decreased from five hours to thirty minutes after the ice cream machines came up. The nutritional and energy values of ice cream are high because of its fresh contents. Cemal Senol’s answer to the questions about their products healthiness was “I do not let my children to eat ice cream anywhere but here.”

In 2005, *NECO Cornet* had received “Work Permit for Food Manufacturers Organizations”, “Food Certificate of Registry” and “Food Production License” one by one for every product. For the food certificate, the health of the workers, the raw materials used,



Figure 14. Facade view, 2010.

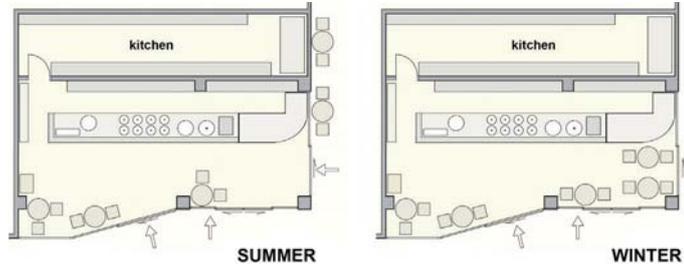


Figure 15. Spatial arrangements in summer and winter, 2014.

the space for production and the tools used for production are controlled by the investigators once or twice a year. These license procedures or similar certificate procedures usually seem disturbing, unnecessary or compelling for some proprietors and many similar retail shops did not have any license. Unlike them, Cemal Senol evaluated these procedures as “necessary, appropriate and right” and stated that these licenses are in fact “the registration documents of their customers’ trust in them”.

In 1990, 300 kg of ice cream was produced and sold every day during summer season. This amount decreased to 70kg in 2010. Till 2011, “sahlep” (milk



Figure 16. Inner views, 2014.



Figure 17. Facade view, 2014.

and orchid roots hot drink), “boza” (thick, slightly fermented millet drink) and various kinds of milky desserts were served in winter. After 2011, the product variety was increased with profiterole, éclairs, rice pudding, “kazandibi” (pudding with a caramel base) which are manufactured by Cemal Senol in Bayrampasa.

In 2014, the organic food trends and the shop’s relationship with the new public park increased the selling rates. The price of the products did not change between the years 2004-2010, and raised 20-25 percent in 2014, but still stayed under the prices of patisseries. Therefore the shop’s selling rates and income were increased after 2014.

4.6. Customer profile and customer-business relationships

The customer group had come into being by itself, depending on the product’s low price and its consuming style as fresh and with small portions. The general characteristics of the customers are consistent with the neighborhoods’ social structure after 1950’s; they belong to the middle income group, they are attached to the neighborhood’s life

style and history.

The customers and the proprietors are economically and socially bonded to each other through the space of the shop. The bilateral emotional bonds that arose from these strong relations become the most powerful factor that supports the sustainability of the business. As a result of these emotions arising from personal memories, customers strongly objected to any changes when they are asked about their advice for new arrangements or products. Then, the proprietors act in this direction and sustained the same organization at the same place for twenty years. Besides, after the renovation in 2010, most of the spatial elements, the appearance and the main products were kept the same.

This stability assured the customers about what the shop may offer to them and encouraged them to share the product by their families, especially the young ones, in the first place. They talk about and suggest the products and pursue an unconscious spontaneous promotion movement which in the end enlarges the customer group from neighborhood to the city. This considerable social promotion was -and is- the business’s most powerful means of advertising.

5. Reviewing a local retail shop in a global neo-liberal city

The current lifestyles that are formed around speed and short-term experiences built a social structure integrating/disintegrating around the products that people consume. The products and promotion techniques targeting this new social structure are transformed

in every sector. The small scaled retail shops were advised to get transformed in the same direction; otherwise it is projected that they will disembark (İTO, 2006). *NECO Cornet* is one of the little numbers of small scaled retail shops that continue to serve in Istanbul. Even though it is in the same market with industrial manufacturers, *NECO Cornet* significantly differentiates itself over three issues: product contents, marketing techniques and customer-business relationships.

Beginning with the content of its products; *NECO Cornet* avoid all the industrial contents intentionally and prefers fresh and natural ingredients (such as milk, fruits and sugar). On the other hand, the industrial ice cream products contain many different raw materials, mostly aromas, preservatives or industrially refined materials such as whey protein, as written on their packages. The sector profile of Istanbul Chamber of Commerce defined the sweetening agents as cheap and dry material sources and remarked that red potato is used in the products instead of sugar and cocoa (İTO, 2006). At this point, it is possible to state that *NECO Cornet*'s products are more natural and healthy.

In terms of the promotion techniques, the industrial manufacturing firms come to the fore. Their promotions were pursued all over the city, through every kind of media and the scope of that promotions were expanded to contain all the places and moments of life. For example, Algida promised beautiful summer loves with "Cornetto", and the pleasure of a Tango after a romantic dinner with "Magnum", whereas Golf suggested its customers to eat Bravo to color their lives. All of the actors in those advertisements have a contemporary life style, they are athletic, social, well-groomed and cheerful (Figure 18). On the other hand, *NECO Cornet* sustained its service, promotion and selling styles that are dependent on its location and space. The organization did not have any promotion budget or tool to compare with theirs except its signboard, the two price lists and the certificates on the wall. These components of the shop were its main and constant visual



Figure 18. Algida, Panda and Golf brands' advertisement images.



Figure 19. NECO Cornet's promotion images, 2014.

media tools for 21 years (Figure 19).

In terms of its customer relations; while the industrial manufacturers built their customer relations through some values that are predicted to be common for all of the potential customers; *NECO Cornet* built its relations with its customers over their personal experiences and values. While they were establishing economical, spatial, social and personal bonds with the customers, Necati and Cemal Senol built their own personal histories. Similarly, the customers internalized their experiences at the shop, built memories of the space, proprietors and products; and established mostly emotional bonds over that memories.

To sum up; *NECO Cornet* had taken place in the sector after a short time of its opening and was able to support two families in 1990's. In 2000's, this organization had lost 80 percent of its income, but nevertheless the proprietors did not take the decisions that the sector forced them to, and continued to serve exactly the same way. After 2010, the new public space arrangements in the neighborhood, the new struc-

turing of the shop and the growing concern for organic/natural nutrition effected their income positively and strengthened their position in the sector. Along with those indirect effects of the economical politics, the social effects were the leading factors defining the sustainability of this organization. *NECO Cornet* developed an integrated relationship with the neighborhood and sustained its traditional structure through its service.

For industrial manufacturers sectoral performance is measured by market share. However, Necati and Cemal Şenol believe that serving their long term customers healthy and delicious products and a modest serving is the actual sectorial success. Today, the most proud thing for Cemal Senol is to host the grandchildren of their first customers.

6. Evaluation and conclusion

After 1990's, the small scaled retail shops of Istanbul slowly lost their income, mostly depending on the factors grounded on economy politics, and frequently were closed and forgotten. Specific to this study, one of these retail shops, a twenty five year old organization, "*NECO Cornet Ice Cream Shop*" is qualitatively analyzed. Three main findings of this analysis come to the fore that present the shop's multi-component structure, Istanbul's palimpsest character's structural qualities and their reciprocal relationship that ensure the preservation of some urban components.

First of all, *NECO Cornet* appeared to carry and sustain the traces of the production/consumption/promotion styles of its sector, the spatial/social structures of the neighborhood, the national politics that direct these structures, countless personal lives and many other urban components that could not be revealed in this study all together. *NECO Cornet* sustained its bonds with its customers and values they assigned to itself through those traces, and consequently managed to preserve its relations with its customers despite the negative effects of global market economies and rapid urbanization. These findings indicate that similar urban spaces turn into a funda-

mental component of the urban social life by being experienced by numerous citizens every day. And above all, they exist as multi-dimensional urban components that hold the social, personal, spatial, temporal and economical sections of the city together, visibly or invisibly.

Secondly, the structural qualities of Istanbul's palimpsest character are revealed through the analysis. The palimpsest layers, which refer to a horizontal structuring, formed by various urban dynamics became visible with a vertical temporal section through *NECO Cornet*. In this context, it could be stated that, these various layers of Istanbul built by national, regional, urban, cultural, social or personal dynamics can be researched through the long term serving small scaled commercial spaces. It is also projected that similar researches of public/semi-public urban spaces would contribute to the contemporary critical approaches that point out what is happening in and what is happening to the cities.

Thirdly, the reciprocal relationship between the two multi-component structures, *NECO Cornet* and Istanbul as a palimpsest city, appear to support the preservation of *NECO Cornet*. In other words, the relationships between the palimpsest layers on this urban place formed some bonds over/in it that function as a structural system. These bonds are the main structure that contribute to the urban place's survival by preventing the wearing down or collapse of it with rapid urban transformation processes. This evaluation also indicates the third dimension of the palimpsest concept strongly. In the urban areas the urban layers' dimensions and togetherness are various in scale and form and this articulates the palimpsest concept a third dimension. As a result, it should be stated that the palimpsest concept can be handled through its three dimensional and multi-component structure in the urban context.

In recent years, the big scaled transformations in various cities of the world caused the reactions of large masses. During this process, even the most open minded citizens developed a conservative attitude against these

new urban restructurings. One of the reasons under this attitude is the struggle to protect an uncertain, unknown, unseen reality that attaches the citizen to the city. Here, *NECO Cornet* and many other surviving similar urban places are the unique places that contain these unseen realities, the invisible structural bonds that hold the city and the citizens together.

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