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An Interstitial Reading of Istanbul

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Abstract

As palimpsests of multiple layers of historic, geo-political, and socio-economic complexity, contemporary cities demand innovative methods of deciphering and unraveling their development. Typically referred to as reading the city, these methods of delayering and synthesizing urban complexity have, for long, pre-occupied urban planners and decisionmakers. Drawing from its interdisciplinary literature, this paper explores a comprehensive model of reading the city. Using a qualitative approach from both the archival and visual data sources, this study provides a better understanding of complex layers of urbanism that guide urban planners, policy makers and decisionmakers in developing more convenient solutions to urban problems. With multiple layers of its urbanism, Istanbul makes a suitable case study for this purpose. Identifying three types of developments (controlled or top-down, partially controlled and outlawed, bottom-up), different interactive networks provide sufficient grounds for reading Istanbul. Reading these intricate layers of Istanbul's 'closed' and 'open' city (Sennett, 2017) in close proximity to a main transportation artery (D 100 highway) against the broader backdrop of its long history intertwined with geographic and socioeconomic push and pull forces provides a comprehensive tool for adopting similar methods for reading other cities.

Keywords: Interstices, Istanbul, reading the city, urbanism, urban complexity

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INTRODUCTION

Reading the city allows planners, scholars and policymakers to "understand how [the city] works, why people behave the way they do, live where they live, choose what they choose" (Rybczynski, 2010), and captures the dynamics of understanding the seen and unseen attributes of the built environment. It also helps make long-term decisions for the future of cities (Mahyar Arefi, 2004; Clay, 1973). Based on this working definition, this paper offers a reading of Istanbul's intersecting and interstitial layers, the constitutive features of urban space, and the impacts of the urban development process.

Interstices comprise the layers of planned and unplanned, formal and informal, and fragmented and integrated urban tissues. Reading the city combines these layers as multiple narratives and stories providing a comprehensive understanding of their interrelationships. This reading unfolds contradictions, uneven infrastructure developments, defects and deficiencies, which in turn, stimulate spatial and social segregation, and how salient actors and stakeholders engage in the urban transformation process.

Defined as "the residual spatial products of contemporary urban planning," interstices lie between planned and unplanned parts of the city (Tonnelat, 2008), and "infrastructural forms" particularly suitable for informal activities and marginal groups (Wall, 2011). Interstitial spaces, then, emerge as outcomes of distinct development activities, and responses to global or local forces, processes, and factors, which holistically represent "continued reproduction of the capitalist economic systems" (Scott, 2008a). "Found between, under and over" (Wall, 2011), they compete on many levels, and give rise to developments and urban forms for different purposes.

These spaces vary widely in terms of social, cultural, and spatial qualities. While some interstitial layers characterize non-places (Webber, 1964) or placelessness (Relph, 1976), they represent continuous tensions and conflicts between "figured and disfigured spaces" (Boyer, 1995), and affect consequences of public or private planning decisions (i.e., infill or piecemeal developments), that might weaken potential connectivity among places (Boyer, 1995).

These types of developments could also stem from ill-conceived, defective or "splintered" (Graham & Marvin, 2001), and separate development patterns and policies, representing tensions between prosperity and poverty, exclusion and inclusion, legality and illegality or planned and unplanned, ultimately posing serious

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challenges to citizens and plans. Understanding the transformation process in today's fractured metropolises, therefore, requires reading these "interstices" that represent the city's historic, geographic, and socio-economic layers.

A comprehensive reading of the city may help better understand how interstitial spaces may become transitional instead of fragmented. Different disciplines propose different ways of reading the city where disguised interstices ultimately impact social and spatial layers and reveal lingering problems in polycentric cities. Providing a comprehensive model of reading the city demonstrates how adjacent urban layers or zones influence each other. This study seeks to apply this method of reading to Istanbul, posits how actors, different historical layers, and architectural traditions affect each other, and defines the elements of reading the city.

To provide a compelling reading of the city, this study seeks to offer three urban typologies. By reading the urban interstices, one bounces back and forth within and between cultural, political, historical and spatial associations; thereby hoping to get a glimpse of the larger picture. Reading Istanbul and an overview of the literature capture its dynamics through a typological classification approach.

Thus, looking at the interconnectedness of different parts of the city explains how interstitial spaces operate. Studies on recent developments of Istanbul (Dinçer, 2011; Enlil, 2011; Kurtuluş, 2005; Terzi & Kaya, 2011), do not, however, explain how different layers, approaches and ideas create a comprehensive picture of the city. Also, little is known about how interstices alter the citizens' daily routine activities. Therefore, such a reading of Istanbul displays the juxtaposition of intricate urban issues against one another.

This paper is organized into four parts. The next section explores the literature on reading the city, and discusses how different approaches and methods of reading the city vary with respect to its scope and scale; what they cover or miss out. The next section represents the research methodology, and then outlines the interstitial reading of Istanbul, representing three types of developments, and discusses how the proposed model helps understand and analyze Istanbul's development types. The last section discusses how three interstitial types of developments in Istanbul emerged and their policy implications.

WHY READ THE CITY?

An overview of the literature provides an interdisciplinary approach in reading the city, and shows how different disciplines address certain urban questions while exclude others. It ideally integrates the spatial, geographic, historic, morphological, and political layers of Istanbul. A comprehensive reading of the city, which according to (Rybczynski, 2010), helps planners and policymakers to "understand how [it] works," unravels how people behave the way they do and combines "market forces, user demands and design intentions," (ibid: xiv), that at times demonstrate conflicting interests and intentions.

Therefore, reading the tangible (i.e., telecommunications) and hidden (i.e., sewer lines) interstitial and overlapping layers of the urban environment examines the dynamics of the city that shape urban identity. This perspective exposes urban practitioners to look below the surface and analyze the contemporary built environment, and reveals how hidden networks and infrastructures may segregate urban spaces (Graham & Marvin, 2001). Others have also shown how unraveling problematic juxtapositions highlight spatial segregation as one way of reading the city (Banerjee & Verma, 2005).

Rapid changes in the late nineteenth century America made Ebenezer Howard conscious of thinking differently about building new towns, especially compared to those of the past (Rybczynski, 2010). As a "symbol of collective purposes" in Mumford's seminal work "Culture of Cities" (Lewis Mumford, 1938), urban settings develop agendas for future plans, and their purposeful transformation. Identifying the roots of the urban form (Kostof, 1991, 1992) urban scholars typically analyze cities historically, and through evolutionary planning perspectives (Hall, 2002). Mumford's Culture of Cities (1938) shows how cities undergo social transformation, focus on factors affecting urban growth, and the historic evolution of their streetscapes. Cities characterize the physical outcomes of collective purpose, symbols of human experience, by-products of time, and accumulation of social conditions (Lewis Mumford, 1938; L. Mumford, 1961).

Criticizing this approach, however, (Clay, 1973) considers these practices narrow, "tunnel-vision" methods of the past seen as business-as-usual, boilerplate, and stereotypical. An alternative approach incorporates nuances of urban space by coming "down below," enabling urban practitioners to read the city from the street level (de Certeau, 1984). Rather than a place with "freestanding objects," the city may be seen as ordinary, but with characteristic elements and places of daily lives (Clay, 1973).

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In addition to the tunnel vision critique, parochial views, remote, and stereotypical readings, which ignore people's everyday lives and urban encounters, practitioners recommend to "make use of seen and visible spaces" (de Certeau, 1984). Cullen (1961) also emphasizes the eye level street view of the city as a form of self-discovery and serial vision; where pedestrians walk through and experience the spaces of the city at a "uniform speed." This experiential recognizes three impacts: "exposure," "enclosure," and "consciousness," to grasp both entangled relationships and the spontaneity of urban life in city environments (ibid.).

Concentrating on human scale, revealing the daily routines, and spontaneous solutions in the public realm, "everyday urbanism" also looks at the city in a similar way (Chase, Crawford, & Kaliski, 1999)Alternatively, Graham and Marvin (2001) see infrastructure as an important element of the city and as a prime mover of complex interactions in the local and global networks that could help scholars and practitioners to deal with spatial and social segregation. Some of these interactions include the role of transportation in urban growth (Fogelson, 1967; Fulton, 1997), accessibility and modification of urban patterns (Banham, 1971; Blumenfeld, 1967), and the narrative disguised behind infrastructure (Banham, 1971). While Blumenfeld (1967) and Banham (1971) note that the transportation networks reflect the financial and geographical divide among different income groups, (Fulton, 1997) attributes the growth of Los Angeles to the interrelationships between the networks of capital, power, structure, and land.

Apart from these approaches, growth politics explores the historic transformation through stakeholders' (i.e., developers, policy makers, urban planners, and architects) involvement in the development process. (Fulton, 1997) stresses how the powers that be help developers in changing or circumventing zoning and construction ordinances. He also notes that transportation projects accelerate urban growth and change, and new developments intensify social segregation. The role of the marketplace in creating a rustic life style in Los Angeles' urban sprawl is a case in point. Investigating the role of land use and density in urban sprawl, Banerjee and Verma (2005) explore how spatial segregation has exacerbated social segregation in Los Angeles.

Actors and processes impact urban growth in Los Angeles, and separate activities, where polycentricity arises from creating distinct topographical characteristics. Polycentricity, in turn, modifies transportation policies, particularly given the natural resource limitations on one hand, and their impacts on urban

form, architecture and culture on the other (Banham, 1971). Macro-level planning decisions of rapid growth in Los Angeles during the 1950s and 1960s expanded the transportation and transit system (Fogelson, 1967), and increased the economic benefits of population growth. Besides geographic segregation caused by transportation and market-based decisions, the ecological dimension of urban sprawl brought piped water from greater distances, and drained coastal wetlands (Barnett, 1995).

(Edward W Soja, 2000) and (Scott & Soja, 1996) multi-tiered spatial geography framework allows observers to explore conflicting and interdependent relationships of place against the broader political, natural, social and spatial backdrops of the metropolis. (Scott, 2008b) also focuses on the human-space interactions in carrying out various activities from production and transportation to consumption. He sees the land use pattern and urban form as the outcomes of intersecting layers, actions, and physical and non-physical activities. He suggests "focusing on [a] peculiar form of spatial integration instead of aliquot parts, to discover the urban characteristic" (ibid.: 756).

Politicians and academics alike, recognize interpretation of the multidimensional nature of the urban environment as a crucial planning tool. The call for a holistic understanding of the city reflects the increasing complexity of urban problems seeking more effective solutions. The nexus between space and society or the social production of space has always engaged scholars and professionals (Lefebvre, 1991; Scott & Soja, 1996) in exploring people's roles in creating robust and lively spaces (Alexander, 1977). Barthes (Hassenpflug, Giersig, & Stratmann, 2011) sees the city as "a place of communication," whereas for Lefebvre (1991), the city is an outcome of overlapping ideologies. However, depending on collective cultural values and individual idiosyncrasies (Mahyar Arefi, 2013; Lynch, 1960; Rapoport, 1982), the perception of the urban environment varies widely.

Reading the city means different things to different people. Historians often seek to evaluate the roots of cities and urbanization over time. Urban geographers tend to explore the role of location on urban development while urban sociologists focus on human interactions in urban space. While those differences certainly define disciplinary boundaries, a comprehensive reading of the city, mainly requires delayering or decoupling such boundaries first and then integrating them. The recent surge in different types of urbanisms reflects such disciplinary loyalties on one hand, and the need for a common understanding on the other. The next section addresses research

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methodology and operationalizing the interstitial reading of Istanbul.

AN INTERSTITIAL READING OF ISTANBUL

Despite growing research on understanding the urban process following ground- breaking studies on reading Los Angeles, planning approaches to urban problems are still fairly generic, fragmented, and monolithic in scope. An inter-related and interstitial focus on urban issues requires not only a more engaged and multidimensional approach, but also a comprehensive and holistic one. Although the extant literature provides insights into large or small scaled market-led and consumerist neoliberal developments, it adds little to the inter-relatedness and relevance of urban tissues.

Long debates show how the dominance of the private sector in the production of space triggers micro and macro scale segregation and socio-spatial disparities. The relational ties between "urban splintering and infrastructural unbundling" and how they feed into each other, exemplify the uneven infrastructural development process and solutions such as "toll highways, enclosed quasi-private streets, malls, and skywalks," deepening segregation (Graham & Marvin, 2001). Consistent with Graham and Marvin (2001) work, research on gecekondus in Istanbul shows insufficient infrastructural provisions that deepen the exclusion and weaken the integration of the urban poor into urban life (Baharoglu & Leitmann, 1998; Pınarcıoğlu & Işık, 2007).

Enlil (2011) notes how new transportation investments and uneven infrastructure provisions relocate upper-middle income groups to peripheral gated communities. Her studies followed affluent citizens to show evidence of dramatic redistribution of socio-economic classes in the city. Capturing the interdependence of "site and function" and their procedural impact on urban form, Blumenfeld (1967) underlined the interactions of the physical and socio-economic urban conditions. The process of building "disconnected hypermodern buildings and shopping malls" or post-urbanism (Kelbaugh, 2001) and "proto-postmodern urbanism" (Dear & Flusty, 1998) exemplify these trends. Subject to agglomeration economies, (Sassen, 1991), however, considers "spatially dispersed yet globally integrated organization of economic activity," part of the globalization process. Postmodern urbanism defines how "human and non-human ecologies," transform citizens into consumers, traditional neighborhoods into monitored and gated communities, moving them into privately owned themed, controlled malls and segregating marginal groups (Dear & Flusty, 1998)

Different disciplines describe urban settings with their unique perspectives. Using a holistic approach, this study views the city as a phenomenon that showcases the outcomes of human activity, where stakeholders set in motion conflicting ideas and actions. To interpret and examine these activities, planners experience "wicked" problems (Rittel & Webber, 1973) that do not necessarily lend themselves to straightforward planning solutions. These problems interfere with a holistic reading of the city, because the recent "phase of capitalist development" (Scott, 2008b) sees the city as a combination of fractured pockets instead of a "total entity" (Boyer, 1995). These landscapes represent social and physical fragments and create the so-called "interstitial" opportunities. Reading the city exposes the interstitial and overlapping layers as well as the hidden features by looking at the interconnected dynamics that shape the urban identity. The infrastructure, i.e., sewer lines, telecommunications, subway lines and also superstructures such as residential and commercial land uses include various layers of these readings.

The historic evolution of the urban form (Kostof, 1991, 1992) within the socio-economic, geographic and global dimensions (Sassen, 2007; Scott & Soja, 1996) unravels a multi-scaled approach including observing people's daily lives (de Certeau, 1984), their spontaneous solutions to urban problems (Chase, Crawford, & Kaliski, 1999), and nuances (Clay, 1973), where 'going up' to remote urban spaces of sprawl, new developments, contradicting patterns, effects of globalization and neoliberalism (Brenner & Theodore, 2012), social segregation (Banerjee & Verma, 2005; Scott, 2008a), and infrastructural networks and fragmented urban pockets (Graham & Marvin, 2001), all underline profound changes in Istanbul. With its dynamic and robust spatial structure and rich historic legacies and remnants of three distinct civilizations, Istanbul serves as an appropriate case study. Its physical, social, economic, political, and bureaucratic layers provide strong dynamic, multi-layers of analysis of reading the city, which contribute to better and more relevant policies.

Istanbul constitutes a leading city in Turkey both demographically and economically with unique geographical features, unprecedented historical background and a modern infrastructure. The city connects Europe and Asia, and is also the capital of the Roman, Byzantium and Ottoman empires, shaped by varied planning approaches (Bilsel, 2011; Çelik, 1993; Dokmeci & Ciraci, 1999; Kuban, 1996; Ayataç, 2007). These rich historical and architectural layers (Çelik, 1993; Kuban, 1996), in turn, combine local and global flows of human interaction and capital accumulation (Keyder, 2005; Kurtuluş, 2005). The liberal policies

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of the 1950s', however, reversed the demographic and economic recession that occurred between 1923 and 1930. The rural-urban migration, modernization, and increased regional accessibility following the construction of two bridges (built in 1973 and 1988) over the Bosphorus Strait, bear similarities between Istanbul and Los Angeles, where land speculation plays a major role in their expansion. With these transformations, Istanbul experienced a phenomenal population growth from 2.78 million in 1970 to 13.96 million in 2014 (World Urbanization Prospects, 2015). Istanbul's globalization process, adoption of liberalization policies (Keyder, 2005), integration into the free market, and the ongoing European Union accession process (Uzun, 2010) since the 1980s, have also altered state-led planning mechanisms, aiming to promote the private sector and giving impetus to market-oriented developments. Since early 2000s, neoliberal policies have changed the pace of Istanbul's development. Besides new malls, and mixed-used towers, the privatization of public land and the urban transformation on pre-gecekondu settlements have accelerated. Furthermore, by 2011 the process surged with the central government's decision on urban transformation and the city has experienced a state-led transformation process with the goal of marketing Istanbul as a global city (Karaman, 2013).

Table 1 displays the steps taken to synthesize a new framework for reading the city of Istanbul. By looking at archival resources and the visual data, a two-step mixed approach minimizes the limitations and weaknesses of a singular method, and provides a more coherent and holistic view of the research apparatus. The proposed method gleans from different urban layers (natural and man-made), conduct an evaluative comparison, and analyze the interaction between stakeholders, inhabitants, policymakers and market forces in creating new urban tissues.

Table 1. A 2-step process for reading the city

(1) archival (literature review:) - secondary data
1: holistic readings on approaches, elements, limitations
2: readings on actors, processes, outcomes in Istanbul
(2) empirical: comprehensive, qualitative, inductive - primary data combine and minimize limitations of existing models develop a new framework in analyzing of Istanbul (control mechanisms / stakeholders)

The research method contains an overview of the literature, particularly on ways of obtaining secondary data on meanings, approaches and components of reading the city in general (Table 2); and focusing on Istanbul's historic evolution along with new technologies that help show the emerging phenomena, such as urban sprawl, gentrification, gated communities, informal settlements, social and physical fragmentations. Against the broader backdrop of both the natural and manmade elements, this approach examines various means of development control (i.e., government, market and citizens as stakeholders) as a basis for conceptualizing the urban typologies in Istanbul.

Table 2. The macro- and micro-scale attributes of the case studies

Site	**Type**	**Land use**	**Urban Pattern**	**Outcome**	**Pre-Socio-Economic Class**
Macro scale					
Tarlabaşı (Historic)	Renewal	Residential vs. commercial and touristic	Planned	Dislocation Gentrification Economic upgrading	Migrants and immigrants
Sulukule (Squatter)	Renewal	Low income Residential vs. high income residential	Organic vs. Planned	Dislocation Gentrification	Roma Low income
Fikirtepe (Squatter)	Renewal	Low income Residential vs. middle and high income residential	Organic vs. Planned	Dislocation Gentrification	Migrants Middle and low income
Micro scale					
Ali Sami Yen Stadium	Redevelopment	Public facility vs. mixed use complex for high income group	Designed	Privatization of public domain	All citizens
Haydarpasa Train Station	Adaptive reuse	Public facility vs. tourism/hotel	Designed	Privatization of public domain	All citizens
Cercil D'Orient	Redevelopment	Registered historic building vs. shopping mall	Designed	Loss of historic identity	All citizens

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Examining Istanbul brings to bear infill planned developments surrounded by unplanned, left over and/or dead spaces, which not only keep the unwanted out (Öncü & Weyland, 1997), but also stir up "interstices" between "figured and disfigured spaces" (Boyer, 1995). This "coexistence as a problematic of non-integration" (Auge (1995) from Arefi, 1999) practically relates governance and market orientation (Erkip, 2000). Collaborations and interrelationships between politics and development, global and neoliberal policies and processes generate new land use configurations (Fulton, 1997). Global capital flows, the rise of the new economic class and new consumption habits, profit-oriented urban governance, market-led and piecemeal reproduction of space as reasons of spatial fragmentation and social segregation in Istanbul "[fill] up every piece of vacant land left between buildings" (Blumenfeld, 1967), inducing privatization of the public realm, reluctant relocation of aged and middle income families, and the imperious displacement of low-income groups, (prone to earthquake vulnerability) (Erkip, 2000; Keyder, 2005; Kurtuluş, 2005). This process is conducive to the introversion of low-income groups (Pınarcıoğlu & Işık, 2007), and "voluntary ghettoization and self-segregation" (McLaughlin & Muncie, 1999) of prosperous (upper and middle) citizens isolating themselves in gentrified neighborhoods, and within the walls of rapidly increasing malls, gated communities, gated apartment complexes, and mixed-use towers (Akgün & Baycan, 2011; Erkip, 2000; Keyder, 2005; Kurtuluş, 2005).

The urban transformation of Istanbul encompasses wiping out the urban memory (Emek Theatre, Ataturk Cultural Center, Inci Patisserie etc.), and loss of identity in historic districts (Aksoy, 2012; Aksoy & Robins, 1996), while also deepening the rich-poor gap (Pınarcıoğlu & Işık, 2007). The proposed framework in aims to decipher vague urban layers with their interstitial issues by utilizing Edward W Soja (2000)'s geohistorical approach requiring an examination of culture, nature and society, Cullen (1961)'s, de Certeau's (1984), and Chase et. al.'s (1999)everyday life, Blumenfeld (1967)'s progressive, (Banham, 1971)'s architectural history oriented, Barnett (1995)'s socio-spatial, Fulton's (Fulton, 1997) planning policy, and Banerjee and Verma (2005)'s quantitative approach. This comprehensive model minimizes potential limitations and provides a better understanding of the urban environment.

To engage in a more holistic reading, examining these interstitial or in-between layers requires a mixed-methods approach. Qualitative methods include ethnographic, participant observational interpretations, whereas the quantitative methods

emphasize remote sensing and demographic analytical methods of reading; both are used to study Istanbul so that theory may be applied to discover the varied approaches the city presents.

What follows operationalizes the interstitial reading of Istanbul and deciphers its development typologies by using visual data including maps, satellite images and aerial photos, research and technical reports from the Istanbul Chamber of Planning, urban policy reports, development plans, urban transformation projects and parcel-based plan decisions from Istanbul metro municipality.

DETECTING THREE READINGS

The selected interstices occur between "fragmented" parcels and "homogenized" landscapes (Lefebvre, 2009), where "overlays and articulations [are] becoming thicker and denser" (E W Soja, 2010). Bearing little identical visual or physical attributes, these transitional spaces connect different socio-economic groups to the rest of the city more so than to each other. These transitional spaces comprise three types. Type A includes controlled, Type B partially controlled, and Type C uncontrolled or ignored developments. The categories emerge from the historical, political and social development accounts of reading Istanbul. 'Remote sensing' of urban sprawl and development phases from 1946, 1966, 1970, 1982, satellite images of the 2000s, and 'coming down below' with serial visions', observing and photographing the city in a uniformed speed provided the basis for this reading. The political, social and economic plans and policies from Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Central Government provided additional layers of analyses. An overview of the literature on Istanbul added the final layer of information. Site visits and observations conducted between 2014 and 2016 in Istanbul adjusted possible pitfalls and helped obtains a more realistic reading of the emergent typologies. This analysis identifies a number of mechanisms for understanding Type A, the controlled (e.g., market led, urban transformation projects), Type B, the partially-controlled (e.g., the Metrobus), and Type C, the ignored, or uncontrolled (e.g., the illegal / informal settlements) types of urban development patterns (Figure 1).

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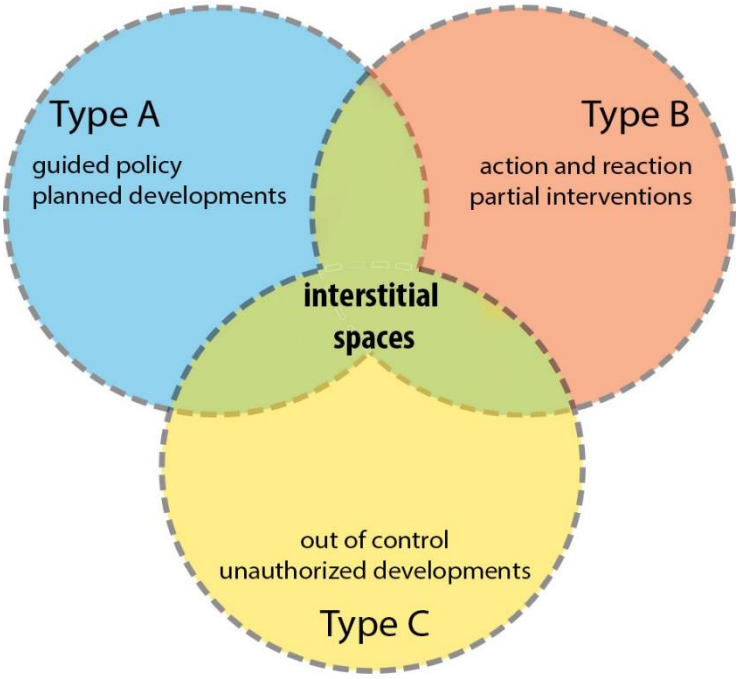

Figure 1. Conceptual framework summarizing interstitial spaces in three types

The juxtaposition or co-existence of these development typologies or patterns form complex landscapes and spatial interstices comprise historical and contemporary layers, highlighting the contradictions between the stakeholders and actors, and the public and private interests. As opposed to stasis, the typologies introduce vivid and dynamic aspects of Istanbul including gated communities with parcel-based development plans under Type A while a gated community illegally developed on forest land (2B) falls under Type C. Gecekondus while legalized since 1980s, go under Type C too. The main classification criteria involve the stakeholders' aims including the public officials, the private sector, and possible partnerships. They also materialize the interesting but fairly rare juxtaposition of closed and open city (Sennett, 2017). What is rare about these interstices is as Sennett argues, closed cities envisage top-down command and control and predictable planning while open cities constitute unpredictable settings that do not necessarily comply with the regulatory mechanisms and norms of the formal city. These potential juxtapositions, according to Sennett, creates potentially interesting opportunities for mutual dialogs between the open and the closed city. Finally, while historic settlements and buildings that constitute and define unique urban identity in Istanbul were excluded, more recent interventions such as urban retrofits, small or large-scale redevelopment projects on historic sites were included.

Type A Controlled Development:
Type A features the politics of growth where the role of marketplace, and collaboration between urban authorities and developers are prominent (Fulton, 1997) and designates small or large scale planned interventions at the metropolitan scale, i.e., industrial relocations, infrastructural investments, brownfields, and historic neighborhood redevelopment projects. 'Planned' developments refer to top-down developments (i.e. Istanbul Third Bridge and New Airport) or market-led megaprojects, including shopping malls, gated communities, mixed-use towers that target consumption-dependent middle to upper income social groups with high economic impact (Zukin, 1995, 2010) Financially viable market-oriented flagship projects and infills, mixed-use towers and shopping malls in the city center operate independently from the surrounding areas, and create infrastructural shortcomings, traffic jams, and noise. This type of urban redevelopment mainly includes industrial decentralization, infrastructural investments preceding peripheral urban growth, and infills. Examples include gated towers in the city center, state-led public housing, urban renewal and redevelopment projects on publicly-owned land, squatters and historic neighborhoods, high-end residential complexes and malls. Characterized by top-down decision-making process, in most cases, little consideration is given to international historical preservation (UNESCO), and most ensue irreversible outcomes disconnected from the rest of the city. Type A developments eliminate such barriers and clear the way for urban growth where active urban authority does not yield to opposition.

While these developments pursue economic growth, improve mobility and accessibility, and create a high impact/high profile for iconic projects, they may also cause loss of historic identity, environmental degradation, or a loss of natural resources, and involve unintended social inequality and adverse environmental consequences by inadvertently displacing low-income people, or a combination of both. Type A developments like Fener-Balat, Zeyrek, Süleymaniye, Sulukule and Tarlabaδı redevelopment projects result in gentrification, socio-spatial segregation, displacing original inhabitants and loss of cultural identity because of the urban renewal and transformation projects in historic neighborhoods.

Type A differentiates from Type B and Type C in terms of purpose, function, methods in use and collaboration among stakeholders, and features top-down command and control planning. They also disregard opposing opinions and do not seek to promote public participation or consensus building among stakeholders—be it

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NGOs (e.g. UCTEA), social activists, or government agencies. The central government's reconstructing of the Taksim Military Barracks as a shopping mall in Taksim Gezi Park that faced mass public opposition and protests (Gezi Park Protests have been held in May 2013) exemplifies this type of development.

Other state-led, financed infrastructural initiatives include the Third Bosphorus Bridge, Canal Istanbul, Galata Port, Istanbul New Airport, Marmaray (the subway crossing at the Bosphorus, Istanbul's strait), and the Euroasia Tunnel (the road crossing at the Bosphorus) (Akin, 1998). Planning these projects requires thorough cost-benefit analysis and environmental impact assessments. Bringing piped drinking water from greater distances, which cause the loss of wildlife, flora and fauna, exerting pressure on water basins and forests, in Istanbul, exemplify some of the negative ecological outcomes of these infrastructural megaprojects, which have increased vulnerability and the likelihood of flooding, and decreased resilience and protection against natural hazards, such as earthquakes.

Type B Partially-Controlled Developments:

Initiated by actions and reactions, type B developments characterize partially-controlled projects as solutions or reactions to unintended consequences and outcomes of planned (or unplanned) developments. Outcomes of large-scale plans result from long-term planning decisions, infill projects, and their short-term consequences, which in turn might trigger social engineering for unanticipated urban growth problems such as squatter developments. Unexpected infrastructure pressure demands from planned or unplanned developments (i.e., parking lots, upgrading the infrastructure or sewage, or public transportation systems) also typically emerge.

Reaction to the rural-urban migration and unauthorized developments, and setting up the dolmus (minibus) system as a self-induced transportation solution in the 1980s is a case in point. While the system mainly served squatter settlements, it became a major public transportation option particularly in Istanbul (Tekeli, Gülöksüz, & Okyay, 1976)., an intercontinental rapid transit system of Metrobus (i.e., bus priority lanes), is another instance of undetermined infrastructural demands stimulated by increased residential densities and uneven land use diffusion (Alpkokin & Ergun, 2012). It also aims to solve an interstitial problem created by previous plans which unintentionally caused urban sprawl.

Spontaneous gentrification of inner city neighborhoods, such as Cihangir, which depend on the agglomeration of the film and arts

sector and income groups (college students, creative workers, artists etc.), also serves as another example of partially-controlled developments. Type B developments feature action-reaction chains and find ways of urban authority mediation.

Type C Uncontrolled / Ignored Developments:
Type C conceptualizes the temporality-permanence, integration-disintegration, and necessity-opportunity dualisms and includes unauthorized squatter and informal settlements (gecekondus) as yet another pent-up or untapped demand that meets the needs of rural-urban migrants. The user-centered illegal growth of squatter settlements, were flexible and adaptive, and most commonly bottom-up driven. Although squatter settlements in Istanbul have mostly legalized since 1980s, they fit snugly into Type C with a bottom-up development process.

This type of development mostly subsumes opportunities, such as -informally developed- gated luxurious communities and light industries on naturally vulnerable and topographically-isolated lands. Although the emergence of squatter settlements relies on the basic need for shelter—a temporal solution to housing problems for low-income migrants becomes gradually permanent; a part of the urban fabric turned into profitable investments for gecekondu owners (building multi-storey buildings, inhabiting in one and renting others). Unauthorized developments result in part from upgrading or expanding the urban infrastructure, i.e., the transportation network which enhances mobility and access, or according to Banham (1971) allows/increases "freedom of movement," thereby attracting rural-urban migrants who previously concentrated along freeways and manufacturing plants.

Squatter settlements are viewed as temporary solutions to long-standing housing problems in developing countries. These bottom-up, grassroots spontaneous attempts to home ownership and tenure constitute deep-seated problems. While informal settlements reflect the illegal occupation of land, they typically point to larger structural macroeconomic problems, ranging from uneven development and squatting in vulnerable and hazardous areas, to social inequality. Even though many of these settlements, over time, attain *de facto* status, or legalize and establish their identity, they use local knowledge innovatively to solve endemic problems. However, these squatters remain socially and physically detached and isolated from the mainstream society (Akbulut & Başlik, 2011; Mahyar Arefi, 2011; Pınarcıoğlu & Işık, 2007). The challenge in Type C is to make urban authorities active (rather than inactive) so they differentiate between necessity versus opportunity, and transform temporary place-making to

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permanent settlements. Table 3 synthesizes the three types of spaces comparatively to better illustrate each type, their characteristics, and outcomes.

Table 3. Distinctive features of three types of case studies

Control mechanisms, development characteristics, and outcomes in Istanbul		
Type A: Command & Control	Type B: Partially-Controlled	Type C: Uncontrolled or Outlawed
Urban re/development guided by policymakers Market-led Organized industrial areas in urban peripheries Gated communities in urban edge and gated blocks in city center Privatization of public domain Adaptive reuse, redevelopment of historical buildings	**Action and reaction Cycle** Action. Relocation of low and middle income population as a result of market-led Inner-city transformation and new settlements on urban periphery. Reaction. Intercontinental public transportation solutions as an indicator of polycentric development of Istanbul: Metrobus (bus priority lanes)	**Unauthorized growth** privately designed (unauthorized luxury gated communities) and/or unplanned (ad hoc) (squatter settlements); opportunity-based developments (Gecekondus) Ignored housing or industrial developments in urban periphery as a result of opportunity
Actors		
Central government/ state, market	Local government, planning authorities	Citizens, local authorities, market
Typologies		
Infill design Local developments ignoring		Parcel based or infill: gated communities, Undesigned/unplanned: gecekondu settlements,

environmental, sustainability; Profit making, triggering urban growth and population increase		topographically integrated organic growth; Starts as temporal housing for low income migrants.
Approach/Process		
Top-down	Combination	Bottom-up
Purpose		
Profit making	Problem solving / demand cover	Make use of opportunity
Outcomes		
Positive environmental impact of industrial decentralization in city center Economic gain for developers Spatial and social segregation Loss of public domain. Negative environmental impact of mass development. Private car dependent travels. Loss of urban identity	Increased public transportation for low and middle income groups, Positive impact on commutes Gentrification of inner city neighborhoods	Political gain for government, economic gain (opportunities) for people illegally settled on public/private property inadequate infrastructure Vulnerable Sites Loss of natural resources

Several case studies throughout Istanbul serve to provide a better understanding of the proposed typologies. Considering the role of transportation and accessibility in urban growth (Fogelson, 1967; Fulton, 1997) and their modifying patterns (Banham, 1971; Blumenfeld, 1967)different types of developments along and around D-100 highway, constituted the case study selection criteria. As a long-lasting transportation corridor, the D100 highway strikingly reflects the financial and spatial divide among different income groups (Banham, 1971; Blumenfeld, 1967), and

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connects urban peripheries to the city center, thereby manifesting urban transformation (from agricultural land to squatter, gated community, light industry, retail) during the 20th and 21st centuries. Figure 2 displays the locations of the examined interstitial cases in Istanbul. Points 1-6 illustrate the aerial photographs of the selected interstices, and their proximate streetscapes in Istanbul (Figure 3).

Figure 2. Case study locations along the D-100 transportation artery

Figure 3. Case study locations along the D-100 transportation artery

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Table 4. Examples of Interstitial Spaces in Istanbul

Figure	Location	Vicinity/Land use	Method
1	Gazi Osman Pasa	Mixed used	Type A + Type B + Type C
2	Levent	Mainly Residential	Type A + Type C
3	Sisli	Mainly Residential	Type A + Type C
4	Ferikoy	Mixed used (in CBD)	Type A + Type B + Type C
5	Sulukule	Mixed used (in CBD)	Type A + Type B + Type C
6	Beylukduzu	Mainly Residential	Type A + Type C

Table 4 executes critical examples of privatization, urban renewal and redevelopment in Istanbul. In order to see the urban interstices, a profound look is taken of the city, including informal developments, infill, renewal/redevelopment projects, infrastructural forms, and in what circumstances they bind together in space.

Figure 3 shows a number of developments in different Istanbul neighborhoods including the Metrobus station, a mixed-used tower with office, retail and residential uses surrounded by low and middle income neighborhoods in Sisli-Mecidiyekoy. An infill luxury gated community project in a low-income development Ferikoy comes next, followed by a gated community development in Sulukule showcasing the public (TOKI) and private consortium /partnership in state-led urban transformation project. The common ground in all those cases is creating new interfaces, physical and social borders in the city space.

These interstitial layers mostly act as transitional open spaces. For example, an interstitial solution, or a built infrastructural form, between Talatpasa Avenue in Levent had high rise residential and office towers on Büyükdere Avenue (Type A) when designed by Kemal Ahmet Aru in the 1950s. But the Gültepe neighborhood (gecekondu/squatter development) (Type C) in its close proximity started to develop since the 1970s. Due to globalization and the liberalization of the Turkish government and the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the area experienced rapid transformation. Levent developed as the first suburban social housing project by the Turkish government during the 1950s. Light industries followed by a gecekondu (Gultepe) developed on the west side of Levent. The construction of Bosphrous bridge in the 1970s triggered rural-urban migration,

and squatter settlements as well. Consumerist liberal economic policies and building the Istanbul metro Levent station in the 2000s led to building several shopping malls on Buyukdere Avenue (Levent metro station 2000, Metrocity Mall 2003, Kanyon Mall 2006, Sapphire Mall 2010). Furthermore, Levent's public housing status for the middle-income people experienced spontaneous gentrification, and the upper income class replaced the original residents.

Designed as a transportation solution, Sisli Metrobüs Station (2007), is another mixed-use example of interstitial space between the Trump Tower-Type A (2010), the metrobus-Type B, and Kustepe neighborhood (pre-gecekondu development)-Type C. The Trump tower was built on a formerly recreational and educational land with an infill redevelopment plan. The direct pedestrian subway connecting the Metrobus Station to Trump Tower came on board in 2014.

New urban peripheries also show that the piecemeal development of a gated community (Type A), and a gecekondu (Type C) face each other in Ferikoy, Sisli—an infill development where a luxury walled community faces a middle to low income neighborhood. Personal observation in 2013 showed that the gated community dwellers mostly drive instead of walk through the neighborhood for daily needs.

The urban transformation project in traditional Romani neighborhood Sulukule, replaced original inhabitants with high income residents, causing a price-boom where only 20 Romani families bought houses out of the 620 original homes. A public-private partnership venture initiated this project as an urban transformation site in 2006. Although Sulukule's previous inhabitants were relocated in Kayabasi TOKI public housing, most families moved back due to commute costs (URL-1, 2016).

Beylikdüzü and Esenyurt boroughs have also witnessed multiple projects (Figure 5) including a theme mall/park, an unplanned neighborhood, a Metrobus station, a connecting concrete surface crossing over a six-lane highway, acting as a pedestrian flyover. These projects connect the station to the city and bridges on two sides of the highway. Cooperative housing complemented the squatter settlements that rapidly popped-up around the village area by the 1980s. The Metrobus connection increased accessibility to the area, property prices and the new malls in 2012 (Bauhaus 2000, Marmara park 2012).

The last case study located in the Asian side of Istanbul includes different developments: Type A (luxury gated communities i.e.

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Almondhill 2008), Type B (Uzuncayir metrobus station in 2009), and the Istanbul metro Unalan station, Type C gecekondu settlements (legalized) (Fikirtepe), Type A Akasya tower including residential, office and retail uses (2014). An urban transformation project on a 134-hectare land has started through a public and private partnership in 2010 in Fikirtepe gecekondu. With a discourse to redevelop earthquake vulnerable buildings, and to redevelop housing stock in the area (Karaman, 2013) the proposed project increased the building height and population density (from 47,000 to 150,000) without additional new public space.

Research on Istanbul views state and market-led strategies (Terzi & Bolen, 2009) as causes of accelerating rates of sprawl, its polycentric spatial structure, and how new suburban settlements morph into peripheral centers (Dökmeci & Berköz, 1994; Terzi & Kaya, 2011). The increased traffic between the outer and inner city areas, however, mainly stems from insufficient employment opportunities and predominant residential land use (Aysan, Demir, Altan, & Dökmeci, 1997; Özüş, Sence Türk, & Dökmeci, 2011), creating a greater demand on rapid public transit systems. As the "freedom of movement" (Banham, 1971) accelerates urban sprawl, partially planned developments increase the edge city density, thereby creating more demand for rapid public transit. Developed due to high demand and insufficient supply, the intercontinental public transit system, Metrobus has become a familiar cyclical action-reaction (Alpkokin & Ergun, 2012; Banham, 1971; Jacobs, 1961) case of social and spatial isolation of middle and low income groups from the city center.

The market-led / public private partnership urban transformation projects from infill to neighborhood scale not only increased density without considering infrastructural demand/capacity, but also deepened the social inequality. Table 6 illustrates macro and micro views of sites and how planning or the lack thereof has changed land use, social mix, and the stakeholders involved.

Since physical and non-physical forces both matter in the production of space (Scott & Soja, 1996), capturing the causes and dynamics of interstices, along with their characteristics and reflections help discern the challenges people face in their everyday life. Drawing from reading the city, this study proposes recommendations for policymakers, developers, decision makers, and the other stakeholders to make informed decisions. Regardless of the potential tensions, interstitial spaces encompass regular and irregular urban forms with definitive or, at times, undefined spatial boundaries, thereby, accommodating to

heterogeneous or even contradicting juxtapositions of socio-economic and spatial patterns. These spaces neither create human scale public spaces nor integrate them into the existing urban fabric, but instead mainly showcase fragmented urbanisms based on the logics and necessities of the neoliberal orthodoxy (M Arefi, 1999).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Cities characterize complex forms of interconnections. (Rittel & Webber, 1973) notion of "wicked" problems owes much of this complexity to the interdisciplinary nature of forces acting on them. While governments initiate urban management policies, social and spatial divides seem to have widened. Interstitial spaces continue to pop up as proofs of widening socio-economic conflicts and divides.

Reading the city unravels the spatial complexity and engages academics in ongoing interdisciplinary debates by focusing on specific elements of the urban form, albeit with their inherent biases and "fixes" (Clay, 1973). This paper sought to develop a more holistic modus operandi for reading the city. Limited methods of reading the city have prompted new approaches of capturing interpretive nuances (Mahyar Arefi, 2004) based on the elements of the city and their interrelationships.

Istanbul's historic, geographic, and socio-economic layers of interpretation coupled with episodes of planned and unplanned developments provided its holistic and interstitial reading. Istanbul has a rich inventory of "complex and interconnected whole" ((Jacobs, 1961) in Rybczynski, 2010 p.60-66), where conflicting ideas and interests intersect and create interstitial spaces. These layers, in turn reflect:

- global and neoliberal ties of reproductive spaces of urban development and redevelopment;
- controlled and uncontrolled growth;
- conflicting interests of actors and the marketplace.

These interactions operate in three different typologies. Type A represents the first degree of government control covering planned (including infill) developments, i.e., land use changes, privatization of the public space, urban transformation and mass housing, decentralization of industries from the city center, and large-scale transportation and infrastructure plans. Type B signifies the second degree of control partially driven by supply and demand under, increasing land values as a consequence of increased accessibility. Type C includes undetermined and unexpected developments, i.e., squatter settlements or

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undesirable migrations. This framework helps evaluate relational and contextual interstitial problems, layers and actors, and varied urban forms.

Two interrelated observations warrant attention: first, parochial decisions and policies, which by nature serve short-term goals and purposes, might by default, ensue detrimental long-term consequences; second, these activities enable a holistic approach toward reading the city.

The Istanbul case study revealed a complex palimpsest of geographic, historic and socio-economic overlays. New ways of reading the city helps planners to explore resilient solutions for diverse urban problems, and grapple with formidable challenges in the face of the globalization process. Interstitial spaces epitomize varied approaches and conflicting interests that eventually form new landscapes of contestation and equilibrium. These readings, in turn, unravel the increasing fragmentation and segregation, and how high and low income settlements stand side by side, while not quite intruding upon each other. Interstitial spaces in Istanbul pervade throughout the city, between, under and around, figured and disfigured, temporary and permanent, informal and formal spaces, with both short-term and long-term planning implications of 'glocal' decisions.

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