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**TIME-RELATIONAL PROCESS READING
BETWEEN CULTURE AND FORM:
TRANSFORMATION PROCESS OF
PRIVATELY OWNED INDUSTRIAL
HERITAGE SITES AND ACTOR ROLES**

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Declaration

I hereby declare that, the contents and organization of this dissertation constitute my own original work and does not compromise in any way the rights of third parties, including those relating to the security of personal data.

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15.02.2022

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to my loving parents

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Abstract

Industrial heritage places are the epicentres of formal, ideological, economic, social and cultural transformation and change, they become an appropriate tool for learning from existing conditions, from projects and from experiences. They have gone through different transition periods throughout their life span, from industrial places to industrial heritage places, from heritage places to the new cultural locales. Their time-based characteristics make them one of the important subjects of complex transformation processes that have been driven by new attributed meanings and values given by multiple actors constituting the new sense of these places. Along with the change in value meanings, the concept of ‘industrial culture’ has also transformed over time from industrial culture to the cultural industries or creative industries through new forms of culture. Using culture as the primary driver of the transformation is considered not only economic strategy but also a planning strategy that provides the balance in many dilemmas, including socio-cultural environment, conservation and transformation, conflicts and consensus. These facts cause a varied number of different heritage transformation projects to be finalised as either ‘good’ or ‘bad’, and they have progressed through complex and conflicted processes. Besides, ownership status of these heritage assets, top-down or bottom-up structured decision-making mechanisms and multiple actors participating in these processes with different expectations are other important complexity layers. These dynamics usually create project-based implementations, such as privately owned or publicly owned heritage transformation projects, privatised heritage conservation projects or transformation projects in specific areas.

Within this perspective, this research seeks solutions for how to deal with the actor-based processual and value-based spatial complexity in the privately owned industrial heritage transformation process by providing solutions to conservation as well as readaptation in a multi-dimensional perspective via the new lives of those former industrial sites. It focuses on privately owned industrial heritage projects which have generated in top-down decisional contexts, and it is structured based on two main objectives, the first of which is to propose a set of actions to have better transformation projects focusing on the micro-projects’ outcomes. The second concerns the actors and process-related problems, and offers a comprehensive toolkit for the possible social actors which not only provides them with ideas about

possible decision options, but also informs them of the pros and cons of those possible decision options that have been already experienced in the real-world cases.

To conduct such empirical research, an exemplar and observatory real-world cases for pair-comparison choices to the exemplar have been selected, and their presentation is organised in two parts. For the first part, the Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus in Turkey has been chosen as exemplar, which represents an emblematic project applied in its top-down decision-making system with a great number of vicious circles, actor-based biases and value-based conflicts. In Turkey, urban transformation processes of heritage sites and structures are controversial politically, and are economically contested due to the complex dynamics of the cultural context and society that originate from the actors' path-dependence and attitudes in decision-making. To better understand the current developments in the macro-scale and macro actors' network in the analysed cultural context, the Vision 2050 project launched by the current Istanbul mayor in 2020 has also been analysed, which aims to increase the participative level of the decisional process. This investigation helped to identify the primary process-based and power inequality problems of the top-down contexts, focusing on planning actions in Istanbul.

In addition to the exemplar case to understand the existing process of privately owned industrial heritage transformation projects in top-down contexts, *Leipzig Baumwollspinnerei* is selected as an observatory case or pair-comparison example to *Beykoz Kundura* that aims to propose a set of actions for the deciders from the micro accounts of the privately owned projects focusing on the primary expected project outcomes to create better practices.

This comparison investigation between these two real-world projects aims to reveal the best practice parameters, and it offers decision contents for how to choose new functions focusing on these parameters that might balance the value-base conflicts during the decision-making process.

On the other side, Le Grand Paris in the French context is selected as an observatory macro-scale project applied in a top-down context that represents a pair-comparison policy with Vision 2050 Istanbul in the Turkish context to structure the recommendations for the actors involved, considering the macro-scale process problems. It attempts to realise how to increase the participation level of the decision-making in different phases focusing on the possible solutions for local government dynamics and power inequality problems in top-down contexts. Considering the complexity of transformation projects and complex processes, a multi-methodological approach is proposed to structure the contents and analyse these multi-dimensional dynamics. Each part comprises a varied number of

methodologies or methodological supports that complement the previous one to reach the final objective of the research to conduct a multi-criteria evaluation in the last section. Accordingly, it offers diverse originalities in each part, while it investigates comprehensively the exemplar case in the first part of the thesis using retrospective analysis of the exemplar including both *ex-ante* and *ex-post* phases of the transformation benefitting from cognitive mapping, social network analysis and expert reflections, on the other hand, it offers diverse solutions for actors participating in these phases of processes in future implementations through multi-sited analysis conducted via complex social value approach, strategic choice approach and multi-criteria evaluation. Thus, to a certain extent, through its multi-dimensional profoundness, this research also contributes theoretically and methodologically to the urbanism discourses that have discussed by diverse scholars since the 1960s. By doing this, it offers a realistic toolkit based on the real-world examples rather than the one-size fit generic assumptions for the actors participating in privately owned industrial heritage projects by giving them alternative decision contents in specific conditions with specific objectives. It also aims to inform the real deciders about possible barriers, conflicts and contradictions in future implementations to prevent the similar risks that have been already experienced.

L'abstract

I siti del patrimonio industriale sono gli epicentri della trasformazione e del cambiamento culturale, ideologico, economico e sociale in atto nelle diverse aree nel mondo, e sono dei soggetti perfetti per imparare dalle condizioni esistenti, dai progetti e dalle esperienze. La loro straordinaria varietà e complessità offre l'opportunità di rileggere diverse stratificazioni dei processi di trasformazione guidati da diversi valori attribuiti da molteplici attori, conferando una nuova essenza di questi siti, *'the new sense of place'*. Parallelamente, anche il concetto di *"industrial culture"* si è mutato nel tempo passando dalla cultura industriale alle *'cultural/creative industries'* attraverso nuove forme e integrandosi alle nuove dinamiche dello zeitgeist attuale. Infatti, questi rapidissimi cambiamenti culturali, economici e sociali, in relazione della contemporaneità, impongono una nuova elaborazione di strategia, politiche di conservazione, riuso e valorizzazione, sempre più innovative e diversificate che forniscono equilibrio in molti dualismi, tra cui la contemporaneità e la memoria, la conservazione e la trasformazione, i conflitti e il consenso.

Tuttavia, oggi come oggi, ci sono diversi esempi di progetti di trasformazione, realizzati su siti ex-industriali, che si occupano di patrimonio industriale e che sono definite "buone" o "cattive" pratiche, portati avanti attraverso processi complessi e conflittuali. Infatti, la memoria di questo patrimonio deve vivificarsi nei nuovi progetti creando nuovi valori, integrandosi nelle dinamiche dello zeitgeist attuale dei territori e proiettandosi verso il futuro. Inoltre, altri importanti livelli di complessità sono: lo stato di proprietà di questi beni del patrimonio, i meccanismi decisionali strutturati con approccio top-down o bottom-up ed i molteplici attori che partecipano a questi processi con aspettative diverse. Queste dinamiche di solito creano realizzazioni basate su progetti, come quelli di trasformazione del patrimonio di proprietà privata o pubblica, progetti di conservazione del patrimonio privato o progetti di trasformazione in aree specifiche.

In questa prospettiva, la tesi si pone l'ambizione di indagare su come affrontare la complessità nelle sue diverse stratificazioni, fornendo soluzioni già sperimentate in casi reali sulla conservazione e sul riadattamento in una prospettiva multidimensionale, nel tentativo di conferire nuova vita e cultura attribuita a questi siti. Il presente elaborato, si concentra su progetti di patrimonio industriale di natura privata generati in contesti decisionali con l'approccio top-down, strutturato in base a due obiettivi principali, il primo dei quali è: proporre una serie di azioni atte a

migliorare i progetti di trasformazione focalizzandosi sui buoni risultati dei ‘micro-progetti’. Il secondo riguarda gli attori e i problemi legati al processo decisionale, ed offre un *toolkit* completo per i potenziali attori sociali fornendo, non solo, idee su possibili opzioni decisionali, ma informandoli anche delle conseguenze e dei pro e contro in funzione dei casi realizzati e già sperimentati.

Per condurre tale ricerca empirica, sono stati selezionati un caso esemplare e dei casi osservativi di confronto, in funzione degli obiettivi definiti, e verranno presentati in due parti. Per la prima parte, è stato scelto come esemplare quello di Beykoz Sumerbank Industrial Campus in Turchia, che rappresenta un progetto emblematico applicato nel contesto turco, integrato nel suo sistema decisionale e strutturato con l’approccio top-down in cui sono presenti un gran numero di circoli viziosi e diversi conflitti basati sugli attori e sui valori. In Turchia, i processi di trasformazione urbana dei siti culturali, in generale, sono politicamente ed economicamente contestati a causa delle complesse dinamiche del contesto culturale. Inoltre, per comprendere meglio gli sviluppi attuali in macro-scala e analizzare il network dei macro-attori nel sistema decisionale, ci si è concentrati anche sul progetto Vision 2050, lanciato nel 2020, dall’attuale sindaco di Istanbul, il quale mira ad aumentare il livello partecipativo del processo decisionale focalizzandosi sulle azioni di pianificazione ad Istanbul. Così facendo, l’indagine permette di identificare problemi primari sul processo e sulla disuguaglianza di potere degli attori coinvolti nei processi decisionali ed in simili contesti top-down.

A seguire, è selezionato ‘*Leipzig Baumwollspinnerei*’ come caso osservativo guidato con l’approccio bottom-up ed esempio di confronto con ‘*Beykoz Kundura*’, il quale mira a proporre una serie di azioni per i decisori dei micro-conti dei progetti di proprietà privata, concentrandosi sui principali buoni risultati. Tale indagine comparativa fornisce la base per definire i parametri delle pratiche migliori, offrendo diversi contenuti decisionali sulle modalità di scelta di nuove funzioni al fine di bilanciare i conflitti dei valori creati dai diversi attori durante il processo decisionale. Inoltre, come progetto osservatorio in macro-scala è stato scelto ‘Le Grand Paris’, applicato nel contesto francese, con approccio top-down come quello in Turchia, rappresentando un’alternativa politica al Vision 2050 Istanbul. Infatti, questa analisi permette di strutturare raccomandazioni in particolarmente per i macro-attori coinvolti in processi simili, tenendo in considerazione i problemi decisionali nella macro-scala, e cercando di capire come aumentare il livello di partecipazione nel processo decisionale nelle sue diverse fasi. Tale elaborazione basato su contesti diversi aiuta evidenziare possibili soluzioni alternative in funzione delle dinamiche del governo locale e dei problemi di disuguaglianza di potere degli attori coinvolti nelle decisioni.

Infine, considerando la complessità dei progetti e dei processi decisionali, viene proposto un approccio multi-metodologico al fine di strutturarne i contenuti ed analizzarne le dinamiche multidimensionali. Ogni parte comprende diverse metodologie che completano la precedente, per poi giungere, nell'ultima sezione, all'obiettivo finale della ricerca, ossia quello di condurre una *multi-criteria evaluation*. In questa ottica, la tesi offre diversi spunti di originalità in ogni sua parte, mentre indaga i casi in modo comprensivo usando l'analisi retrospettiva ed includendo sia le fasi *ex-ante* che quelle *ex-post* della trasformazione, beneficiando di diverse metodologie a supporto, come: le *cognitive mapping*, *social network analysis* e le riflessioni degli esperti. Dall'altra parte propone diverse alternative per gli attori coinvolti in simili futuri processi, usando *multi-sited analysis*, con il supporto di '*complex social value approach*', '*strategic choice approach*' e '*multi-criteria evaluation*'. In questo modo, attraverso la sua profondità multidimensionale, questa ricerca contribuisce teoricamente e metodologicamente al dibattito sull'urbanistica portati avanti da diversi studiosi dagli anni '60, ma soprattutto propone un toolkit realistico per i futuri attori basati su esempi sperimentati e già realizzati, offrendo quindi, alternative pratiche ai contenuti decisionali in condizioni specifiche piuttosto che ipotesi generiche.

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List of Abbreviations

AIA: Association for Industrial Archaeology
AIGP: *Atelier International du Grand Paris*
AKM: *Atatürk Kültür Merkezi*, Ataturk Culture Centre
AKP: *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, Justice and Development Party
ANT: Actor-network theory
BHC: *Boğaziçi İmar Yüksek Koordinasyon Kurulu*, Bosporus High Council
BPB : *Boğaziçi Planlama Bürosu*, Bosporus Planning Bureau
CHP: *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, Republican's People Party
CIAM: International Congress on Modern Architecture
CM: Cognitive Mapping
CSV: Complex Social Value
DOCOMOMO: DOcumentation and COnservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighbourhoods of the MOdern Movement
NGOs : Non-Governmental Organisations
DP: *Demokrat Parti*, Democrat Party
ECoC: European Capital of Culture
ERIH: European Route of Industrial Heritage
EU: European Union
HC – *GEEYK-Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu*, High Council for Immovable Old Assets and Monuments
ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites
IKSV: Istanbul Culture and Art Foundation
IMF: International Monetary Fund
IMP: Istanbul Metropolitan Planning
MCDA: Multi-criteria Decision-aid Approach
MCE: Multi-criteria Evaluation
MM – Metropolitan Municipality
NIT: Netherlands Institute in Turkey
OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PA – Privatization Administration
PHC – *Özelleştirme Yüksek Kurulu*, Privatization High Council
PPA: Public Participatory Administration
PPF: Public Participatory Fund
RCB – *Koruma Bölge Kurulları*, Regional Conservation Boards
SCA: Strategic Choice Approach

SEE: *Kamu İktisadi Teşekkülü*, State Economic Enterprises
SIA: Society of Industrial Archaeology
SNA: Social Network Analysis
SPO: *DPT-Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*, State Planning Organization
TICCIH: The International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VEB: *Volkseigene Betrieb*, People's Enterprises

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This research aims to analyse the complex transformation processes focusing on privately owned industrial heritage projects which have generated in top-down decisional contexts. It is structured based on two main objectives, the first of which is to propose a set of actions to have better transformation projects focusing on the micro-projects' outcomes. The second objective concerns the actors and process-related problems, and offers a comprehensive toolkit for the possible social actors which not only provides them with ideas about possible decision options, but also informs them of the pros and cons of those possible decision options that have been already experienced in the real-world cases. To do this, an exemplar and observatory real-world cases for pair-comparison choices to the exemplar have been selected to understand the various number of complexities, such as the complexity of the transformation process of industrial heritage places, and the actors participating in this process, their roles and inter-relations among them which are varying from the value-based complexities of those heritage sites to the actor-based conflicts in decision-making mechanism. This investigation of the experienced projects also reveals the generally generated value-based, spatial and actor-related conflicts during the process, which are the important decisional problems to be balanced from the technical point of view in the future implementations to ensure better projects. Thus, seeing those various complexities in different projects and contexts is instructive to grasp how the negotiation and balance have been provided for those conflicts which will be then used to propose a toolkit to inform the actors taking part in these similar projects.

Considering the complexity of transformation projects and complex processes, a multi-methodological approach is proposed to structure the contents and analyse these multi-dimensional dynamics. Each part comprises a varied number of methodologies or methodological supports that complement the previous one to reach the final objective of the research, which focuses on proposing a set of actions for good transformation projects, with an actor guideline to inform them of possible decision contents. Accordingly, it offers diverse originalities in each part, while it investigates comprehensively the exemplar case in the first part of the thesis, which has not been extensively studied in a multi-dimensional perspective until today,

while, on the other hand, it proposes a multi-methodological approach that might be used to understand complex processes in future studies.

The complex process of privately owned heritage sites' transformation has been analysed by rereading each fragment of the complexity within the historical trajectory of the selected exemplar project in its cultural context, focusing on visible and invisible, material, and immaterial, or human and non-human agents involved in its transformation process, which include both transformed agents and agents of the transformation considering both historical development of the heritage site and decisional context. This retrospective view of the exemplar case also reveals which part has influenced the other part of the process, or which actor and decision has multiplied the different types of values of the heritage, which conflicts and contradictions were generated, and how they were resolved or were not resolved by different deciders. Besides, rereading the transformation process, including all previously mentioned dimensions on industrial heritage places within the course of time, from industrial places to industrial heritage places, from heritage to cultural or creative industries, is instrumental and might enlighten the hidden parts of some dynamics, including heritage conservation and urban development policies, conservation practices, expert-based problems, experts' roles, and related conflicts. Thus, to a certain extent, this research also contributes theoretically and methodologically to the urbanism discourses that have discussed by diverse scholars since the 1960s¹.

Meanwhile, this experience of the exemplar will help to define the existing transformation of privately owned industrial heritage places in top-down contexts like Turkey, and it will be used for exposing a varied number of uncertainties in different themes to be improved, or common collective decision problems to be resolved in similar projects to allow better future implementations. Even though these uncertainties, conflicts and contradictions have lied mainly behind socio-economic and political bias depending on the given geography in conditions of the deciders' path-dependence, normative-regulative structures, heritage perception of the given society and power relations among the actors participating in these projects, they are also common collective problems in the decision-making of each geography. Based on this assumption, seeing how similar conflicts and contradictions or common uncertainties have been overcome in different projects by different actors with decision contents, is instrumental to have a guideline for the future actors despite projects' diversities and contextual differences.

¹ For further information see 1.1 State of Art within the next section.

In this regard, it is fundamental to discover the process together with transformed agents and agents of this transformation to evaluate which problems might be easily resolved as collective problems and which might be the stable vicious circles originated from the path-dependent trajectories changing case by case according to the contextual dynamics. By doing this, this research will offer a realistic toolkit based on the real-world examples rather than the one-size fit generic assumptions for the actors participating in privately owned industrial heritage projects by giving them alternative decision contents in specific conditions with specific objectives. It also aims to inform the real deciders about possible barriers, conflicts and contradictions in future implementations to prevent the similar risks that have been already experienced.

1.1 State of Art

It is a paradox that in today's world, where cities and societies have been in continuous change through social processes, while the term 'transformation' has become essential to discuss in various fields for understanding contemporaneity, contemporary societies, and cities, on the other hand, 'conservation and heritage' also necessitate a new way of rethinking in these shifting dimensions considering both the needs of time and places. The transition moments or nebulous levels in this complex system are the primary triggers of a passage from an epoch to another, and play an important role to understand the drivers of the current time. Hence, these aforementioned terms require contemporary views on re-organization in socio-spatial dynamics, and rethinking them by considering urban and architectural discourses (Secchi, 2011; Bandarin, 2015), and heritage as well.

The urban discourse concerning the contemporaneity, cities and urban/heritage conservation have been discussed for intense debate at the centre of the research. While thinkers as Camillo Sitte, Gustavo Giovannoni, H.G. Wells, Patrick Geddes, Werner Hegemann, Oswald Spengler predicted the term 'urbanization' by embracing the historical value and its continuity in urban conservation since the turn of the 20th century (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012; Madden, 2012; Brenner and Schmid, 2014), from the 1920s, through the modernism, those discussions expanded pioneered by Le Corbusier² with the ideas on *cities of to-morrow*. It was a transition period in seeking ideal-modern cities of which would not focus on the eternity, but on the recreation of functionality in the present (Choay, 1995; Augé, 2004).

² Officially the 'urbanisation' discourse had changed its previous direction through Le Corbusier's Athens Charter -CIAM- in 1942 (Bandarin and van Oers, 2012).

During the 1950s, the discussions evolved based on humanistic approach in broad dimensions by some scholars such as Aldo Van Eyck and Giancarlo De Carlo, and the 1960s brought a new vision among the others such as Jane Jacobs (1961) and Henri Lefebvre (1968). This new approach on thinking the ‘urbanism’ during the 1960s and 1970s was quite influential through the newly emerged concepts, such as typo-morphological analysis and layering processes of cities. Indeed, those concepts started to apply in ‘urban conservation’, pioneered by the Italian architect Saverio Muratori, and in the following years, were promoted by Leonardo Benevolo focusing on the historic city. Following these developments, the modern urban theory developed by Aldo Rossi, and the city had started to see as a living organism and a palimpsest of the past strata that also influence each stratum of the present and future. Furthermore, the 1980s was a period for new contributions and modern views on the ‘place’, and various meanings of place were the debated issues in a humanistic approach considering the development process of the spatial environment. For example, the modern interpretation of genius loci by Norwegian architect Christian Norberg-Schulz, and the seminal works of J.B. Jackson on the landscape, sense of the place and zeitgeist, were influential in the urban and architectural discourses (Bandarin, 2015)³.

On the other side, an epistemological approach was also introduced in urban theory and urbanism, and was canonized in the 1925’s mission statement of urban sociology by Chicago School. From the 1960s, it was adopted by different scholars, and ongoing debates pervaded and evolved in diverse modes of engagements in different fields, including the social, scientific, cartographic, literary and cinematic concepts. Post-fordist cities, global city formation, neoliberal cities, ordinary cities, post-colonial cities became the foci of the discussions (Katznelson, 1993; Merrifield, 2002; Brenner, 2009). Furthermore, the planning related activities, conservation principles in planning focusing on the praxis also started to discuss during the post-1968 led by another group of scholars with leftists thought as diverse as Henri Lefebvre, Jane Jacobs, Herbert Marcuse, Manuel Castells, Edward Soja and David Harvey (Brenner, 2009; Alexander, 2015)⁴. They integrated the

³ As cited in F. Bandarin, (2015):

Norberg-Schulz, C. (1979). *Genius Loci. Paesaggio Ambiente Architettura*. Electra: Milano.

J.B. Jackson’s influential works have been collected in several books including *Landscapes* (1970); *American Space* (1972); *A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time* (1994).

Lefebvre, H. (1996 (1968)). *The Right to the City*. In E. Kofman and E. Lebas (Eds.) *Writings on Cities*, Cambridge, UK: Blackwell.

Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York, U.S.A.: Vintage Books.

⁴As cited in B. Brenner (2009) and E.R. Alexander (2015):

Marcuse, H. (1954) *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory*. London, England: Humanities Press.

Foucault's critique into modern description of urban theory and society (Alexander, 2015).

During the 1970s and 1980s, many other post-modern European thinkers' theories and concepts were imported into the urban discourse, for example, P. Bourdieu's habitus and state apparatus, J. Lacan's Real, J. Derrida's difference were the influential ones that not only improved the theoretical profoundness of those discourses but also illuminated the problems and complexity of praxis, process, and their translation into the urban environment. These critical reflections in diverse ideas benefitted from those aforementioned concepts brought the necessity of a new way of thinking to understand the real-life of urban experiences and realised projects (Alexander, 2010; 2015). Besides, the seminal book published by C. Rowe and F. Koetter in 1978 with the title of 'Collage City' was an important manifesto on modern chaotic urban processes, and the chaos and complexity discussed considering planned and unplanned dynamics. Following this, the 'chaos' became the primary focus that was considered as a contemporary urban condition to understand all these dynamics (Bandarin, 2015). Considering these developments on the ongoing debate, John Freidmann's (1987) definition of planning in relation to knowledge and actions was influential among many scholars, and proliferated in a broad perspectives, such as planning as rational choice (Davidoff and Reiner, 1962), controlling the future (Wildavsky, 1973), framing subsequent decisions (Faludi, 1987), and subsequently, the focus of the debates changed the direction towards 'there is no planning, only planning practices' (Healey, 2008, 2010; Alexander, 2015)⁵.

Hence, the new discourses related to practice/praxis as pragmatic thinking of the transformation process referring any form of practice, started to gain attention

Marcuse, H. (1964) *One-Dimensional Man*. Boston, U.S.A.: Beacon.

Castells, M. (1977 [1972]) *The urban question: a Marxist approach*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Castells, M. (2002) Preface. In P. Evans (ed.), *Livable cities?* Berkeley, CA, University of California Press.

Soja, E. (2000) *Post-metropolis*. Cambridge, MA, U.S.A.: Blackwell.

Soja, E. and Kanai, M. (2007) 'The urbanization of the world', In R. Burdett and D. Sudjic (eds) *The Endless City*, pp. 54–69. London, England: Phaidon Press.

⁵ As cited in D. Healey (2008,2010) and E.R. Alexander (2015):

Freidman, J. (1987). *Planning in the public domain*. Princeton, New Jersey, USA: Princeton University Press.

Davidoff, P. and Reiner, T.A. (1962). A Choice Theory of Planning. *Journal of American Institute of Planners*, 28(2): 103-115. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01944366208979427>.

Wildavsky, A. (1973). 'If Planning is everything, maybe it's Nothing'. *Policy Sciences*. 4: 127-153.

Faludi, A. (1987). *A Decision-Centred View of Environmental Planning*. Oxford, UK: Pergamon Press.

from many scholars, for instance, planning as guidance towards future actions by J. Forester (1989) and premeditation of action by B. Harris (1996) were among the important ones (Alexander, 2015)⁶. Subsequently, planning as a framework of rules and norms and their drivers also came to the fore which were discussed from various perspectives, such as religion and societies' path dependency focusing on the diversity that included the socio-political and cultural dynamics of different societies (Healey, 1992). Thus, understanding the planning dynamics started to consider as an important phenomenon that not only help to understand the real-life practices but also to provide a source for future actions towards more communicative decision-making mechanisms and more knowledge-planning based practices. It was also crucial to ensure the democratic heritages and heritage-based democracies by preventing the polarizations on heritage practices (Larsen, 2018).

Within this regard, a praxis or practice like planning came to the fore as a phenomenon that includes theory, practice, action, and actors, and requires multi/inter-disciplinary dialogues between theory and philosophy, urban, architectural and heritage discourse, human and cultural geography, by correlating them beyond space and time dimensions (Healey, 2016). Hence, the concept 'chaos' as the 'urban condition' of the contemporaneity applied in different fields of studies since the 1960s for grasping the complex processes, and the different complexity layers of the flux (Bandarin, 2015).

In parallel to these concepts, industrial heritage sites represent one of the fundamental sources to understand all these dynamics and change since they stand as the witnesses of these chaotic transformation processes including ideological, political, and socio-economical dimensions of their era, having gone through different transition periods according to diverse chaotic urban conditions, namely 'industrialization, de-industrialization and post-industrialization periods. As a result of the technological shifts that occurred in global and local scale from the 1950s, industrial sites became the post-industrial sites as potential areas to realise the transformation projects due to de-industrialization and post-industrialisation processes. Subsequently, the notions 'industrial archaeology and industrial heritage' emerged in the conservation agenda which started to be discussed among many scholars as diverse as M. Rix, 1955; H. Kenneth, 1963; T.A. Sande, 1973; C.

⁶ As cited in E.R. Alexander (2015):

Forester, J. (1989). *Planning in the Face of Power*. Berkeley, CA, USA: University of California Press.

Harris, B. (1996). *Planning Technologies and Planning Theories*. In Mandelbaum S.J., Mazza L. And Burchel R.W. (Eds.) *Explorations in Planning Theory*. New Jersey, USA: Rutgers the State University of New Jersey, 483-496.

Cossons, 1975; A. Raistrick, 1986; R. Buchanan, 1980; B. Trinder, 1992, 2000; M. Palmer and P. Neaverson, 1998; M. Stratton, 2000. In time, the industrial heritage conservation proliferated due to its complexity concerning the contemporaneity, and started to be studied by diverse writers from different perspectives, including the political, social, economic dimensions of the issue. Following these contributions, the re-adaptation and transformation of these heritage places also became one of the important interests focusing on the conservation principles and new intervention strategies among some other scholars, such as G. Brooker and S. Stone (2004), M. Binney, F. Machin and K. Powell (1999), L. Feireiss and R. Klanten (2009), T. Rogic (2009) (Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2011)⁷.

Besides, from the 1980s and 1990s, the re-configuration of the spatial and cultural formations of contemporary cities debated focusing on a search for

⁷ See for further information on industrial archaeology and industrial heritage:

Rix, M. (1955). *Industrial Archaeology. The Amateur Historian*.

Kenneth, H. (1963). *Industrial Archaeology: An Introduction*. London, UK: John Baker.

Sande, T.A. (1973). *Industrial Archaeology in America*. Vermont, USA: The Stephen Greene Press.

Cossons, N. (1975). *The BP Book of Industrial Archaeology*. USA: David and Charles.

Cossons, N. (2012). Why Preserve the Industrial Heritage. In Douet J.D. (Ed.) (2012) *Industrial Heritage Retooled: The TICCIH Guide to Industrial Heritage Conservation*. p.6-16. Lancaster, UK: Carnegie Publishing.

Raistrick, A. (1973). *Industrial Archaeology: An historical survey*. London, UK: Paladin Grafton Books.

Buchanan, R. (1980). *Industrial Archaeology in Britain*. London, UK: Allen Lane.

Trinder, B. (1992). *Industrial Archaeology*. In The Blackwell encyclopedia of industrial archaeology. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Trinder, B. (2000). From FICCIM to TICCIH 2000: reflection on 27 years. TICCIH Bulletin.

Palmer, M. and Neaverson, P. (1998). *Industrial Archaeology: Principles and Practices*. New York, USA: Routledge.

Stratton, M. (2000). Reviving industrial buildings: An overview of conservation and commercial interests. In Stratton M. (Ed.) (2000). *Industrial buildings: Conservation and Regeneration*. U.S.A and CANADA: M.E & FN Spon.

See for further information on conservation and intervention principles, adaptive reuse on industrial heritage as:

Brooker, G. and Stone, S. (2007). Form & Structure: The organisation of the Interior Space. In G. Brooker and S. Stone (Eds.) *Re-readings: Interior Architecture and the Design Principles of Remodelling Existing Buildings*, 2004 (p. 26). UK and Switzerland: AVA Publishing.

Binney, M., Machin, F. and Powell, K. (1990). *Bright Future: The Re-use of Industrial Buildings*. London, UK: SAVE Britain's Heritage.

Feireiss, L. and Klanten, R. (Eds.) (2009). *Build-on: Converted Architecture and Transformed Buildings*. Berlin, Germany: Die Gestalten Verlag.

Rogic, T. (2009). *Converted Industrial Buildings: Where Past and Present Live in Formal Unity*. Doctoral Dissertation, TuDelft.

economic and cultural urban redevelopment and related state strategies within 'post-modern' or 'post-industrialised' urban development regimes. B. Hillier and J. Hanson (1984) defined the socio-spatial transformation between tradition and 'modern' as 'lived space' that reconcile to the contemporary needs, while S. Zukin (1992) connected the post-modern landscapes to the notion of consumption in the means of visual and economic manners by re-defining the image of the post-modern city according to the global and local trends (Pakarinen, 1993). In addition, some scholars, such as D. Hesmondhalgh (2006), J. Smith Maguire and J. Matthews (2012) opined the 'new culture' as 'intermediaries' for the urban development. Starting from this general concept of culture and its new definition, industrial heritage places with their surrounding started to be considered as 'cultural intermediaries' for the urban redevelopment, not only because they represent an adequate cultural resource for cultural industries but also, they have diverse potentials to re-shape the contemporary cities and societies (Wynne, 1992; Perry et al, 2015; Cooke and Lazzaretti, 2008) through re-industrialisation processes⁸.

Accordingly, industrial heritage places which are the epicentres for the industrial revolutions as a symbol of transformation and change, have gone through different transition periods throughout their life span, and in the contemporary age they have become an intermediary of this transformation process by redefining the new 'culture'⁹ in contemporary cities for contemporary societies. Hence, they are one of the primary agents involved in this process which contain material and

⁸ See for further information on spatial and cultural transformation, and contemporary city discourses:

Hillier, B. and Hanson, J. (1984). *The social logic of space*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2006). Bourdieu, The Media and Cultural Production. *Media, Culture & Society*. 28(2): 211-231.

Smith Maguire, J. and Matthews, J. (2012). Are we all cultural intermediaries now? An introduction to cultural intermediaries in context. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*. 15(5): 551-562.

Zukin, S. (1992). 'Post-modern Urban Landscape: Mapping Culture and Power' In Lash S. and Freidman J. (Eds.) (1992). *Modernity & Identity*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

For redefinition of the culture, See:

Bocock, R and Thompson K. (Eds.) (1992). *Social and Cultural Forms of Modernity*. Oxford, UK: Polity Press.

Yùdice, G. (2003). *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era*. USA: Duke University Press.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York, USA: Basic Books.

Williams, R. (1976). *Keywords*. London, UK: Fontana.

immaterial sub-agents in constant change and transition. They have not only reshaped their surrounding where they were constructed, but they also played a crucial role on urban formation and reformation of the cities by attracting mass populations and new defined urban areas. While they represent one the important transformed agents during this process, on the other hand, they become the driver of the transformation by changing socio-economic, spatial dynamics of the cities. They are the perfect exemplars to understand the current sense of the place and current zeitgeist.

These new re-defined spatial forms generate mostly using the industrial heritage places in contemporary cities, and include mixture of cultural functions and activities, from theatre, cinema, visual arts, to music and new media under the name of 'cultural industries' pioneered by France, and under the name of 'creative industries' pioneered by UK as an alternative source for the cultural and urban redevelopment. These new forms of industrial culture considered as catalysts to strengthen the local economy for contemporary cities depending on the states' agenda. The role-play of culture as an intermediary for the redevelopment of cities and local economy started to be discussed by highlighting the economic dimension of the discourse by some scholars, such as C. Raffestin (1980), G. Mossetto (1992), A.J. Scott (2000), W. Santagata (2002), L. Lazzaretti (2004), OECD (2005). These initiatives were driven via new culture that housed mostly within the industrial heritage complexes and places. While some of them were generated by informal cultural groups, some of the others came to life through flagship projects committed by diverse experts with comprehensive planning through new policies of states, or stimulated by a group and they developed step by step. These dynamics make these transformation projects more complex and more chaotic due to the plurality of the actor participating in these processes¹⁰.

In parallel to this, the globalisation dimension of the issue and the neoliberal agendas of the states brought new discourses, such as neoliberal urbanism and nomadic concept which were the travelled ideas and policies, and translated diversely from place to place and from language to language (Healey, 2012, 2016;

¹⁰ See for further information on the role-play of culture in the contemporary cities:

Raffestin, C. (1980). *Pour Une Géographie du Pouvoir*. Paris, France: Litec.

Mossetto, G. (1992). *L'Economia della Città d'Arte*. Milano, Italy: ETAS.

Scott, A.J. (2000). The Cultural Economy of Paris. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 24(3): 567-582.

Santagata, W. (2002). Cultural Districts, Property Rights and Sustainable Economic Growth. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 1(26): 9-23.

Lazzaretti, L. (Ed.) (2004). *Art, Cities, Cultural Districts and Museums*. Florence, Italy: Florence University Press.

OECD Annual Report (2005). <https://www.oecd.org/about/34711139.pdf>

Minca, 2013, 2016). Hence, actors involved in these transformation processes including the experts from different fields, such as politics, economic development agencies, private investors with global and local tendencies, became varied and more complex which also made the processes more chaotic with various numbers of uncertainties, conflicts and ambiguities that are quite diverse case by case, nation by nation (Mommaas, 2004). Within this regard, the terms of creative culture or cultural industries that were manifested in post-industrial landscapes became one of the critical strategies for reconfiguration of the traditional urban and cultural redevelopment policy models (Landry and Bianchini, 1995), and various numbers of nations adopted this policy as culture-led urban redevelopment that was applied differently in different projects with different impacts.

Although some projects showed appropriate outcomes in the means of the sense of the place that met the demands of the current zeitgeist, some of them were under the subject of destruction or mutation based on financial profits of their deciders. Based on this assumption, two basic questions emerged to ensure better practices which have not been fully answered: how these initiatives stimulate the sustainable urban transformation in favour of industrial heritage values in relation to contemporaneity, and who should lead this process both from micro projects' accounts and macro-scale cultural contexts (Della Lucia and Trunfio, 2017; 2018).

1.2 Selection of the Exemplar and Observatory Cases

To conduct such empirical research, the thesis is structured in two main parts. While the first one focuses on the exemplar case to understand the existing projects, processes and common decision problems in top-down contexts, the second concentrates on the selected observatory cases and contexts as pair-comparison choices to the exemplar case based on the problem structuring obtained from the first part, and it attempts to propose a set of actions for the good projects and a toolkit for the actors to improve the existing processes. For the first part, the Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus in Turkey has been chosen, which represents an emblematic project applied in its top-down decision-making system with a great number of vicious circles, actor-based biases and value-based conflicts. In Turkey, urban transformation processes of heritage sites and structures are controversial politically and are economically contested due to the complex dynamics of the cultural context and society that originate from the actors' path-dependence and attitudes.

The main research questions of this part are: What comprises the transformation process of privately owned heritage sites? What are the transformed agents and agents of transformation of this specific process? Who are the real deciders,

including active and passive ones? What relation do they have among them within their network during the act of decision? To respond to these macro-questions, I propose a time-relational reading between culture and form on the selected industrial heritage site to understand how the built and urban forms have been changed physically and how they have been transformed socially and culturally by constituting the contemporary state of place as one of the important modern heritages. And, it continues to grasp which technical and regulative transformations have influenced and triggered this process, and which actors have had the authority on which decision area during the transformation. Accordingly, this part of the thesis analyses the transformed agents and agents of transformation on the exemplar case to respond to these questions in Turkey, which has an extremely top-down decision-making mechanism. It comprises two chapters that are structured to frame those dynamics in diverse periods by reading them chronologically regarding the Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Complex in its transformation process between ‘form and culture’ to acquire a holistic perspective of the site’s contemporary evaluation.

Solely formally looking at a heritage site by means of its historic, cultural, social and aesthetic values is not sufficient for the heritage valorisation due to the complexity of discourse that also comprises the public nature of the goods and property rights that intersect different values to evaluate. K. Michael Hays (1984), in his essay ‘*Critical Architecture: Between Culture and Form*’, published in 1984, emphasised that culture is the cause and the content of the built forms and it becomes the instrument for defining the cultural values of the ‘things’ that are the objects providing the continuity in the contemporaneity depending on the socio-economic, socio-cultural, political and technological processes of the transformation of each place. To define the values of an object in the present requires a retrospective view based on the interpretations made throughout its transformation process, and it necessitates charting the origin of the object and how its parts were integrated up to the present time.

“(Critical) Architecture is “one resistant to the self-confirming, conciliatory operations of a dominant culture and yet irreducible to a purely formal structure disengaged from the contingencies of place and time.” (Hays, 1984:15).

Moreover, another intention of this part is to represent the contemporary sense of the heritage site together with the conflicts and contradictions that occurred within the dominant culture in relation to those time relational dynamics and the values of the heritage in question regarding the memory of the place. It aims to understand the new sense of these memory sites in relation to the new sense of the

time, which calls for reconciling the industrial culture with the current and future *zeitgeist*¹¹ according to the contemporary needs. Thus, the question of what kind of memories are represented in these memory places as a part of contemporary culture is also important issue in transformation process which is the driver of the future *zeitgeist* for socio-cultural development. To do this, cognitive maps are produced following a qualitative research design, named ‘topological *zeitgeist*’¹², which aims to recognize those discussed transformed agents and agents of transformation of the exemplar case to understand the new life of the project and the new sense of the time in the given context. This helps to identify the different types of values of the heritage site such as traditional versus new and public versus private and understand how to reconcile these with the current *zeitgeist* while providing the memory layers of the heritage place. However, cultural heritage is a multi-dimensional and multi-value problem due to its social and time-based nature, thus, it is necessary a comprehensive retrospective and contemporary analysis.

Within the course of time, the role-play of the heritage in urban redevelopment comes to the fore as being a palimpsest of the cultural history, which has not only ethnic, anthropological, archivist and literary value but also contemporary values derived from the needs of time (Give, Rosato, & Breil, 2011). Within this context, economic considerations vs. cultural value become an important controversy within the decision-making mechanism about what to conserve as heritage and through which scope (Marta de la Torre, 1999). In fact, actor and value-based plurality of

¹¹ “*Zeitgeist*” is a German originated word, and it indicates the general intellectual, moral and cultural climate of an era (Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). *Zeitgeist*. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. Retrieved February 8, 2022, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/zeitgeist>). Within the scope of the thesis, it refers to the relationship among the former industrial places and industrial heritage places, industrial culture and new forms of industrial culture considering the socio-cultural and urban transformation dynamics.

¹² Although the term ‘topography’ or ‘topology’ has been used with diverse perspective in different disciplines, like mathematics, architecture, anthropology, sociology, human geography and many others, my intention in this research by using it as a concept for reconceptualising the heritage site to *depict the relation between the place and its historical process* with its meanings. Originated from *logos* and *topos*, topology refers to concepts like cultural landscape, place or text as noted by C. Geertz (1973). Since the topology is a concept beyond this research, I intend to use it as a term to map those fragments of the complex process in relation to the heritage site within its historical trajectory and its cultural context; it aims not only to understand the spatial transformed layers, but also to grasp the other cultural links that are the drivers of this transformation by shaping the cultural climate of a specific era. More specifically, it indicates to visualise each transformation stratum of the place and culture that have been an influential meaning-making process of the heritage place towards its contemporary sense and ongoing *zeitgeist*.

the decision-making process is one of the common complexities that necessitates a balance among different types of values, actors and regulations, and it becomes a crucial challenge for heritage conservation (Mason, 1999). The economic and cultural thinking of the heritage is differentiated as use and non-use value under two macro-categories (Stellin and Rosato, 1998). According to the scientific base of the literature, while the use value indicates that heritage assets themselves offer to be reused directly to their consumers, which should have a strong and active relationship between their new users, on the other hand, non-use value defines a kind of utility through which the consumers perceive from its conservation for themselves and for future generations based on a nostalgic approach (Giove et al., 2011; Ferretti, 2016). It is fundamental to bridge these macro-categories of the values to find a balance and appropriate project outcomes that are strictly linked to the contemporary sense of the heritage sites by looking from a macro perspective. Thus, a solely retrospective reading to understand the process of industrial heritage sites is not sufficient but should also be supported via contemporary analysis and the contemporary needs of the society to reveal the contemporary values or those value-based conflicts as the drivers of the current zeitgeist.

Accordingly, the research starts with the historical trajectory of Beykoz Kundura between 1933 and 1990, focusing on those aforementioned discourses and how they influenced the case study both in form and culture since they were the origins of the changes and transformation of the heritage place from the industrialisation to de-industrialisation during the *ex-ante* process while constituting the memory layers of the place. Then, it continues with the *ex-post* phases from the 1990s onwards to evaluate the contemporaneity and primary drivers of the current zeitgeist, such as decision-making mechanisms, decisional agencies and their roles in the transformation, and concludes with the contemporary sense of the place in relation to the zeitgeist. The *ex-post* phases of the exemplar have been discussed in two categories, which are differentiated as the privatisation-heritagisation and re-industrialisation phases, to better evaluate the different stages of the implementational process. Following this, actors participating in the transformation of the case study from the 1990s onwards including both *ex-post* phases are analysed to determine different types of actors in the network and actor-based problems.

Based on this comprehensive process reading, the second part concentrates on the common uncertainties and collective decision-making problems of the existing processes in top-down contexts according to the first part's outcomes. It attempts to respond to the second group research questions and to propose a toolkit for future actors. The primary preoccupations have been gathered from questions such as what

should include the project results to reconcile the zeitgeist and how to choose new functions for the industrial heritage sites. Moreover, how to balance the value-based conflicts, how to integrate the bottom-up approach within top-down contexts against actor-based process problems and, who should lead the process. To respond to these research questions, I propose a multi-sited analysis through selected observatory cases as pair-wise comparison examples to offer a toolkit for the actors that includes possible decision contents for each of them by informing of the possible consequences of those decisions.

To do this, first, the expected project results to reconcile the current zeitgeist have been investigated through micro accounts of the projects, which also might be used for the decision contents for the actors. Then, to better evaluate the overall process considering all complexities, the cultural contexts to reconcile the current zeitgeist have been analysed through different contexts' decision-making mechanisms in relation to urban redevelopment actions, which might be used for the decision contents for actors that have more power in the process. While Leipzig Baumwollspinnerei and Beykoz Kundura have been analysed as a pair-comparison project that allows for good project results, on the other hand, Vision 2050 Istanbul, Le Grand Paris and Leipzig 'creative city' have been filtered to see different decision contents for processual problems and to grasp various solutions to increase the participatory level in different stages.

The Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus, which is selected as an exemplar for this dissertation, is one of the primary cultural representatives in Turkey passing through Ottoman and republican industrialisation, modernisation and globalisation until today. It was firstly constructed in 1810 as a tannery, namely *Debbağhane-i Amire*, and was re-equipped in 1842 with new machines, including a steam engine with maximum horsepower, among the other complexes in Istanbul following the technological and industrial developments in prominent nations in that period. It was reorganised in 1882 according to the technological necessities and replanned by extending the process with shoe production, adding new facilities into the complex. The relevant facilities regarding the developed industrial process were constructed newly or reorganised using the existing built forms in compliance with the production processes, which were shaped through cross-technological and cross-cultural flows from other geographies to Istanbul (Toprak, 1985). In addition to this, the complex was modernised and transformed systematically through other cross-cultural flows that occurred between other geographies from the west and the east, and through the internal-external dynamics of the country in socio-political, economic and cultural contexts in the course of time starting from the 1930s until today.

Apart from the Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus, the Turkish cultural context also acts as an appropriate laboratory to analyse those complexities through their historical process in cultural transformation, which includes industrialisation, modernisation, deindustrialisation, post-industrialisation and, currently, reindustrialisation. The first principles and objectives regarding the new Turkey's political economy and future actions were firstly discussed at the Izmir Economic Congress in 1923 just before the declaration of the republic, and systematically nationalising the industry was one of the main arguments of the new planned economy (İnan, 1989; Coşkun, 2003). Despite the efforts towards the new industrialisation through the dominant actors' new agenda and the enacted encouragement law in 1927, planned developments regarding the industrialisation were suspended due to the post-war economic conditions and global economic crisis until the 1930s (Sönmez, 1999:2).

The 1930s was also an important period for the formation of a close friendship between the new Turkey and the Soviet Union, which was started due to their self-reimagining as the 'liberators' from their previous dark and imperial past (Zajicek, 2014). In 1932, the Turkish prime minister of that period, İsmet İnönü, travelled to the Soviet Union and Italy to find the financial and technical support to construct the new economic model and systematic industrialisation (Kocabaşoğlu et al., 1996; Zajicek, 2014; Tezel, 2015; Köse, 2018). In fact, during those years Soviet Union delegates not only travelled to Eastern European countries but also were in connection with the 1930s' new Turkey following a friendship policy under the name of political alliance for developing and promoting their ideological priority of the 'Soviet Model' as an alternative to the European capitalist one (Zajicek, 2014). This development was crucial for the socio-physical development of the industrial complexes in Turkey, which was generated from the 1930s.

Furthermore, as mentioned by Y.S. Tezel (2015: 353), in 1933, the Turkish government's republican elites were also in connection with American experts not only to construct the new nationalised industry and economic model, but also to plan the existing cities as 'modern' in compliance with the western urban planning approach. The urban planning projects and initiatives in those years, which emerged as an action to adapt the cities in relation to new transportation technologies, public hygiene and, most importantly, for catching the new industrial age for the new country, had been quite important sources not only to understand the modernism and industrialisation process in Turkey (Bilsel, 2010:103), but also to chart the developments or crisis in contemporary cities and decision-making dynamics for the transformation of heritage places. In fact, the 1930s was also quite significant for the urban planning history of Istanbul, and the discourse of urban planning and

architecture as a 'science' emerged during the single-party government system operated by the Republican Peoples' Party, CHP, namely *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (Akpınar, 2014:59; Bilsel, 2010).

Within this socio-economic context of this period, Sümerbank as a state-centred Public Economic Enterprise, *Kamu İktisadi Teşekkülü*, considered as one of the biggest Turkish state policies of the 1930s, prepared by the surveys of Soviet and American experts (Okyar, 1965:101), was established on 3 June 1933 to look after the financing, construction and operation of various industrial branches, including textiles, steel, paper, rayon, ceramics, caustic soda, chlorine and cement, and to construct huge facilities for them in the whole of the country by incorporating them with the factories managed by the Industrial Mining Bank, *Sanayii ve Maadin Bankası*, which remained from the Ottoman era (Himam and Pasin, 2012), such as the case study of this research.

In fact, those constructed and reorganised industrial complexes were planned as social campuses with social facilities, including theatres, workers' residential facilities, dining halls, social clubs, hospitals, sports areas, schools, fire stations, and mosques to serve the workers and their families, and were designed both by Soviet and local experts consulted by a team in Russia. The administrative, organisational and architectural schema of these facilities were planned in a rational approach, which made them the representation of the Soviet model applied implicitly in the Turkish context, and their residential facilities were the first example of mass-social housing in Turkey (Köksal, 2012). The Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus is one of the important representatives of these industrial complexes, which were reorganised and transformed both socially and physically according to those dynamics starting from 1933 when Sümerbank was established.

Following these developments on the formative and definitive threshold of industrialisation and industrial architecture in the Turkish context, the years between 1944 and 1960 were an important transition period considering the impacts of global crisis and transformations after World War II and the significant political shift towards a multi-party system between 1944 and 1950 with the victory of the Democrat Party. Soon after, the 1960's Turkish *coup d'état* brought changes in the constitutional and implementational context, which caused a shift in balance in most fields, including the political, economic and socio-cultural context. Indeed, this transitive period was identified as changes from radical modernity to populist modernity (Tekeli, 1986; 1994; 2001; 2009) that had influenced the formal and cultural layouts of those industrial places during this period.

As a result of Marshal Plan aid and American influences on planning culture, the first five-year development plan impelled in 1963 was aimed at rapid

industrialisation, which was the priority of the democrat years with essentially a political urban planning process. In fact, those relevant changes came into force in those years with the emergence of ‘autonomy’ and ‘quasi-autonomy’ as a concept towards a decentralised decision-making mechanism based on the contradictions that occurred among the dominant actors due to undefined operational processes in a conflicted political context. And, they influenced the implementational system in urban planning, conservation and architecture, together with the existing socio-political context (Ahmad, 1993; Tekeli, 2009; Dinler, 2017).

Following this, a second development plan between 1968 and 1972 prepared by the civil government operated in a different political atmosphere in which social housing and modernisation in industry and agriculture were the main priorities, adopting the mixed economy approach predominantly by public investment. The foundation of the ‘State Planning Organization’ was one of the main issues in those years, which influenced a great number of enacted laws and operational processes in urban planning and architecture. Following this, the third development plan came into force in a completely different political atmosphere aiming for development based on priority zones (Keleş, 1983) in which the private sector enterprises were supported and the operational process was reformulated to facilitate the bureaucratic steps.

The year of 1980 was influential through the 12th September military coup causing another transition period when the neoliberal policies applied by shifting the previous development policies and urban planning practices were mostly operated behind the scenes. From the 1980s, a new era started with neoliberal approaches and policies officially aiming to restructure the political, economic and socio-cultural internal balance (Tachau and Heper, 1983; Dinler, 2017). In addition to that, as Tekeli (2009) notes, the 1980s and the 1990s were the distinctive years when tourism and coastal developments, free capital market with free zones, big scale redevelopment projects (Tekeli, 2009) as well as local governance, increase in foreign enterprises, privatisation, NGOs and public participation were the newly emerged issues due to those global influences (Keskinok, 2006).

The process from industrialisation to post-industrialisation developed in Turkey between the 1930s and 1990s with those unstable internal and external dynamics, which were generated through cross-cultural, cross-technical exchanged ideas, know-how, technologies that travelled through the channels of architecture, urban planning actions, any branches of art and culture, during those years by constituting the modern industrial heritage places. Following the 1990s, neoliberal policies, privatisation and culture-led urban redevelopment entered the state agenda, and they were firstly experienced on those post-industrial landscapes due

to their potential for economy. The Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus has passed through all these stages of transformation to reconcile the zeitgeist; its historical process might illuminate not only hidden parts of the historical trajectory on industrialisation, (industrial) culture and urban planning discourses but also the decision-making mechanism and actors' path dependency in transformation practices in Turkey.

All implementations made by the prominent actors until today have had an impact with their tangible and intangible traces on the industrial site, and it has been shaped according to those drivers in the course of time until its new life after its privatisation. The former industrial site was transferred to its current owner after its privatisation process, which lasted from 1999 until 2005 and the following years until today, and the site's new life has been shaped via a new defined culture and a varied number of actions from different actors. The Industrial Complex continues to be a living site today through its new use as a film plateau from 2005 onwards that enables the analysis of the *ex-post* stages of its transformation process through reindustrialisation via a new defined culture. The site is currently known as *Beykoz Kundura* where films and TV series are registered and produced within this post-industrial landscape. A varied number of cultural activities have taken place for different user groups varying from every-day users and tenants for film production, users with and without art interests, researchers, ordinary users and previous Sümerbank community members.

In the initial years after privatisation, the site has drawn outsiders' reactions due to the unclear new intentions on its new life varying from a holiday resort to luxury residence district, which have originated from the site's characteristics of the Bosphorus conservation site area that was designated as partially greenscape to be preserved and partially tourism and development zone. Nevertheless, as being a privileged project in the cultural context, the property owner and other important actor groups have stimulated the transformation process shifting it into a bottom-up and step-by-step approach using a newly defined culture and function in line with the contemporary needs of Istanbul. Moreover, the project is instrumental in future implementations in ascertaining how to overcome value-based conflicts from the actors' standpoints that also stimulate the cultural and urban redevelopment by balancing those value and actor-based biases.

On the other side, recently, there is a crucial development in local governance in Istanbul initiated by the Istanbul Metropolitan Museum. There is a new regional policy under the title Vision 2050 Istanbul, which was launched by the current mayor in 2020, aiming for regional and macro-scale city development in different themes, including urban transformation, conservation and culture redevelopment.

This macro-scale project represents a positive initiative inviting diverse social actors, including citizens, researchers, volunteers and activists, who generally remain outside the decisional schema. Even though it is still under growth and ill-defined, there are several actions towards incrementing the participation level in the decision-making system. The establishment of diverse communicative platforms using both social and mass media and organised workshops to discuss the city and regional problems, launching public projects to see different solutions is among those positive actions; but, nevertheless, the project and process itself need to develop and improve to solve and balance actor-based and decisional problems.

In addition to the exemplar case to understand the existing process of privately owned industrial heritage transformation projects in top-down contexts, Leipzig Baumwollspinnerei is selected as an observatory case or pair-comparison example to *Beykoz Kundura* that aims to propose a set of actions for the deciders from the micro accounts of the privately owned projects focusing on the primary expected project outcomes to create better practices. This comparison investigation between these two real-world projects aims to reveal the best practice parameters, and it offers decision contents for how to choose new functions focusing on these parameters that might balance the value-base conflicts during the decision-making process. On the other side, Le Grand Paris in the French context is selected as an observatory macro-scale project applied in a top-down context that represents a pair-comparison policy with Vision 2050 Istanbul in the Turkish context to structure the recommendations for the actors involved, considering the macro-scale process problems. It attempts to realise how to increase the participation level of the decision-making in different phases focusing on the possible solutions for local government dynamics and power inequality problems in top-down contexts.

SELECTED EXPLORATORY CASES WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

- BEYKOZ SUMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN ISTANBUL
- LEIPZIGER BAUMWOLLSPINNEREI IN LEIPZIG
- LE GRAND PARIS IN FRENCH CONTEXT

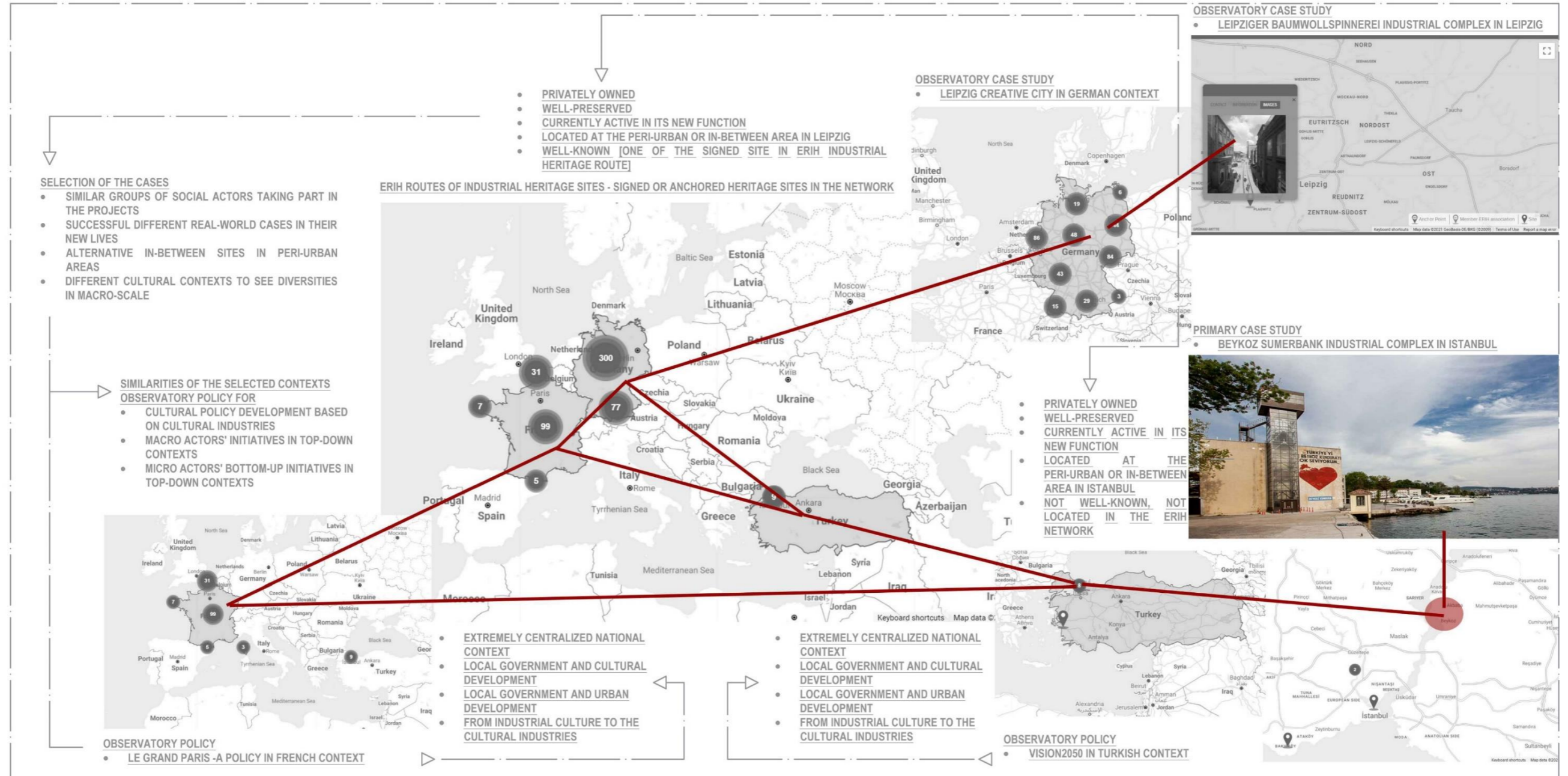


Figure 1: Selected exploratory cases within the scope of the research, the maps taken from the ERIH website, the numbers on the maps show the quantity of the industrial sites signed on the route.

1.3 Theoretical and Analytical Path of the Research Design

Based on this preface, this section of the chapter aims to present the theoretical and analytical theories used for structuring the parts, chapters, and their contents within the thesis, which is fundamental to organise, and to avoid the researcher becoming blinded by specific process fragments. The ‘complexity’ characteristic of the privately owned industrial heritage practices requires a multi-dimensional focus on the issue, including socio-cultural, political, economic and managerial perspectives. This is mainly why each chapter and each part touches upon diverse dimensions of transformation following different methodology. Basically, the index and themes for chapters are structured using post-structuralist philosopher concepts, such as G. Deleuze and F. Guattari’s rich philosophy on process, and their interlocutors through their enlightenments on contemporaneity, process and assemblage design methodologies¹³.

Accordingly, ‘assemblage thinking’ and actor-network theory (ANT) are used as the main theories to construct the contents and discourses in the chapters. Assemblage thinking within the transdisciplinary field of critical social studies, as diverse as social geography, urban planning, neoliberalism, urban policy and the like, has become frequently utilised as a tool since the 2000s, providing comprehensive insights in the context of complex conditions, ideas, actors, projects and materials¹⁴ (Clarke et al., 2015; Prince, 2010). Being analytical thinking to

¹³See, Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. (1987). *A Thousand Plateaus*. (B. Massumi, Trad.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Deleuze, G & Guattari, F., (1991). *What is Philosophy?* (J. T. Burchell, Trad.) New York: Columbia University Pres.

Their useful concepts might shed light on different contemporary problems, constituting a model for the interdisciplinary connections and explanations of each component both inside and outside the heritage sphere by concatenating them as ‘assemblage of assemblages’. These assemblages will be used to explore, to enfold the conservation/transformation planning process of privately-owned industrial heritage places in Turkey, and to improve the process and implementation mechanisms for future challenges focusing on policy spheres and expert roles in conservation/transformation planning/adaptive reuse practices of industrial heritage. To provide this design path to follow focusing on a place as assemblage and dynamic entity, *post-structuralist philosopher concepts*, ‘*assemblage thinking*’ and *Actor-Network Theory -ANT-* are used as an *analytical and theoretical guide*.

¹⁴ Even though ‘assemblage thinking’ has frequently used in the urban realm, it appears less commonly in the conservation and heritage discourses. Nevertheless, it has been gradually started to use in few critical heritage studies with diverse foci by some scholars like Bille (2012), Hillier (2012), MacDonald (2009) from diverse perspectives (Pendlebury, 2012). As cited in Pendlebury (2012):

Bille, M. (2012). “Assembling heritage: investigating the UNESCO proclamation of Bedouin intangible heritage in Jordan” *International Journal for Heritage Studies* 18(2): 107-123.

Macdonald, S. (2009). “Reassembling Nuremberg, Reassembling Heritage,” *Journal of Cultural Economy* 2 (1-2):117-134.

frame diverse discourses, it might also help to acquire a comprehensive understanding of each discourse, thus it allows arguing comprehensively each part and chapter by offering an analytical model to translate the concepts to be analysed and revisited, and giving an ontological orientation to them by opening-up new sub-categories as discussed by various authors such as E. McCann (2008), C. McFarlane (2011), K. Rankin (2011), T. Baker and P. McGuirk (2017)¹⁵.

On the other side is ANT, also known as ‘sociology of translation’, developed by Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, John Law¹⁶ and their followers in the 1980s who have applied it in critical studies as a theory derived from actant-rhizome ontology departing from Deleuzo-Guattarian philosophy to fathom each assemblage (Brenner et al., 2011). Extending these analytical ideas and theoretical framing in this research, they assist one another with a reciprocal relationship by addressing the important notions of linkages (Allen and Luckinbill, 2011). Since the transformed industrial heritage sites, related urban conservation-planning policies, and actors participating in decision-making, which are the main research objectives to reveal within the scope of the dissertation, are not just the networks of single technical practices, but, rather, they are the networks of plural actors and a various number of norms and regulations. Therefore, to construct the research design in the parts and chapters and to organise their contents, these theoretical approaches are used due to their complementary characteristics.

In addition to this, G. Deleuze’s concept of the fold is beneficial for structuring the contents of the sub-discourses due to its usefulness on unfolding each

¹⁵ See for further information:

McCann, E. (2008). “Expertise, Truth, and Urban Policy Mobilities: Global Circuits of Knowledge in Development of Vancouver, Canada’s ‘Four Pillar’ Drug Strategy,” *Environment and Planning A* 40: 885-904.

McFarlane, C. (2011). *Learning the City: Knowledge and Translocal Assemblage*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Rankin, K. (2011). “Assemblage and Politics of Thick Description.” *City* 15(5): 563- 569.

Baker, T., & McGuirk, P. (2016). “Assemblage Thinking as Methodology: Commitments and Practices for Critical Policy Research,” *Territory, Politics and Governance* 5, (4): 425-442.

¹⁶ See for further information:

Latour, B. (1999) ‘On recalling ANT’, In J. Law and J. Hassard (eds) *Actor Network Theory and After*, pp. 15–25. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Latour, B. (2005) *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Latour, B. and Hermant, E. (2006 [1998]) *Paris: Invisible City*, trans. L. Carey-Libbrecht. Available at: [http:// www.bruno-latour.fr/livres/viii_paris-city-gb.pdf](http://www.bruno-latour.fr/livres/viii_paris-city-gb.pdf)

Law, J. and Hassard, J., eds (1999) *Actor Network Theory and After*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Fariás, I. and Bender, T., eds (2010) *Urban Assemblages: How Actor-Network Theory Changes Urban Research*. New York: Routledge.

assemblage and interrelating them with different kinds of transformation platforms of a specific geography. It also permits going beyond the context through its selected place, such as a selected case study in its cultural context, or from culture to form, by incorporating the given assemblage with its geometrical, morphological, political, economic, social and cultural constructed mechanisms in relation to their change in time (Deleuze and Guattari, 1991). By doing this, this theoretical path of the research allows the assessment of each dimension of the complexity in relation to the past, present and future, and it enables seeing the flux in each fragment of the complexity and actors of the transformation together with their social network through time-relational reading.

Besides, social network theory has also been used for facilitating to read the complex networks of the actors or critical events and concepts that have triggered the flux. Each flux in different assemblage has been presented through their complexity networks by using Gephi software allowing to follow and discuss easily different transitional periods, transformed agents and agents of this transformation to the readers. By doing so, complexity and common decisional problems have been better structured in the second part aiming to proceed multi-criteria value evaluation phase for proposing future challenges for actors participating in similar processes. Indeed, multi-criteria decision aid approach has been selected for this phase, aiming to sum each supportive methodological tools and the design path to respond to the primary objectives of the thesis in the second part.

Considering that industrial heritage places are the epicentres of formal, ideological, economic, social and cultural transformation and change, they become an appropriate tool for learning from existing conditions, from projects and from experiences. Thus, these complex and multi-dimensional characteristics of the research necessitate good organisation that should be structured with a multi-methodology approach depending on the constructed chapters' content to prevent all these dynamics becoming an enigma. Hence, a detailed description of each proposed methodology or supportive methodological tool for a specific discourse is given in the related chapter, and each one is complementing the other. In the next section, brief information of this proposed multi-methodological framework is presented to realise the general chapter contents and the structure of the thesis, which are constructed by benefitting from previously mentioned theoretical approaches following this design path.

1.4 Proposed Multi-Methodological¹⁷ Approach and Structure of the Research

This research is constructed in two main parts to cluster the analysed discourses depending on the complexity fragments according to the defined objectives. The first part is titled ‘The transformed agents and agents of the transformation’ following a time-relational reading between culture and form on the exemplar case study of the Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus in the Turkish context. It specifically concentrates on the complex process of privately owned heritage transformation in a multi-dimensional perspective with a retrospective approach considering both the *ex-ante* and *ex-post* stages of the transformation. The main objective of this part is to fully understand the transformation process of the exemplar case together with the transformed elements of the site, and, subsequently, it focuses on the drivers of this transformation including different strata of the complexity that have caused ‘the flux’ in relation to the cultural context in which the project is applied. It comprises two chapters: the first investigates the formal and cultural transformation process of the case study between 1933 and 1990, while the second discusses the period from the 1990s onwards focusing on the actors participating in *ex-post* phases. Both chapters aim to present the main collective decision problems during the decision-making and to investigate the possible social actors participating in this process of transformation. Thus, this part tries to answer the question of what comprises the transformation process of privately owned heritage sites in top-down structured contexts.

Part II is titled ‘Reconciling bottom-up and top-down approach and actor roles, learning from real-world experiences’, and is conducted through a multi-sited analysis on the observatory cases and contexts as pair-comparison experiences to realise different alternatives for similar conflicts and common collective problems obtained from the exemplar case. The main objective of Part II is to propose a set of actions that reveals good project parameters to check by offering alternatives in decision contents to reach those project outcomes for real deciders. The useful part of this methodology lies in the fact that all the data proposed at the end are derived from real-world experiences by informing the actors about experienced consequences of those decision contents in relation to the specific common decision problem.

¹⁷ Detailedly information on each methodology is discussed within the related chapter itself, here in this section, it is briefly given to anticipate to the readers for showing the structure and in which direction those complementary methodologies have used.

This part also comprises two chapters; the first discusses the selected observatory cases of Leipzig BaumwollSpinnerei in the German context and Le Grand Paris in the French context, while the second presents overall evaluation of the pair-comparison experiences according to the identified evaluation matrix using a social multi-criteria decision-aid approach. It aims to create the expected project outcomes and set of actions for how to choose a new function, and how to operate the bottom-up approach into a top-down context. It concludes with recommendations for each identified actor including possible decision contents and their pros and cons based on those real-world experiences. In the initial phase of the investigation, even though the selected projects show appreciation for being good practices, an evaluation matrix was prepared through various good practice parameters for choosing a new function categorised performance themes, criteria and attribution.

First, they are evaluated within the pair-comparison projects accounts to see which project themes are achieved better in which project, and then the projects are compared to see which scenario offers better results in which specific theme. By doing this, each project has been analysed comprehensively to realise the decisional experiences together with the positive and negative consequences, or the impacts of those experiences in different themes. This pair-comparison project evaluation focusing on the determined project parameters is used to chart the set of actions based on different scenarios for image creators to give them ideas on how to choose a new function for industrial heritage sites that might provide both the memory and zeitgeist. Following this, the evaluation continued, considering the decisional and processual problems that mainly originate from the actor-based biases or priorities. For this part, the main expected process themes have been identified, and they have been traced within the real-world experiences of the analysed contexts from the macro-scale perspective to see how they have been achieved in different cultural contexts. By doing this, the proposed set of actions has expanded considering the macro actors and macro-scale decisional problems offering various alternative solutions or recommendations for each specified social actor of the process including the macro and dominant actors.

However, even though they are prepared based on the obtained data from the real-world successful cases, they are evaluated by me as an analyst through equally important project parameters or scenarios. To create a realistic toolkit for specified actors that informs on risks or advantages, a panel meeting with a different group of actors has been conducted to strengthen the proposed set of actions according to the real deciders' standpoints. It also aims to understand the pros and cons, or priorities, in different decision contents, and reflections on performance themes and

criteria according to the participants during the panel meeting. The outcomes of this brainstorming are used to structure the recommendations for each actor participating in the process. Through this, the final toolkit has strengthened through recommendations for each actor, considering both micro and macro scale decisional and processual problems from the standpoints of real deciders.

Pursuant to this, *Beykoz Kundura* and *Leipzig BaumwollSpinnerei* are compared as two successful scenarios realised through different decision contents as to how to choose a new function by different actors. First, different successful project themes for searching alternative decision contents have been identified: cultural quality and accessibility, social accessibility, physical accessibility, long-term sustainability, and macro-scale impacts. Then, they have compared each other to realise the interconnections among them and to understand which one positively or negatively has influenced the other parameter within those realized real-world cases. On the other side, macro-scale multi-contextual analyses are used to propose different decision contents to improve the existing process problems, such as communication, collaboration, participation, information sharing and transparency, and it looks at the issue both from the micro and macro-actors' position.

Thus, the first part is constructed to define the existing transformation process, the actors taking part, the conflicts and contradictions generated, and the value-based biases that occurred during the process based on comprehensive research applied on *Beykoz Kundura* in the Turkish context. The second part is developed towards the direction of how to improve the existing process focusing on the micro actors and their roles in choosing a new function by balancing the different types of values. It continues concentrating on both macro and micro actors and their roles in cultural and urban redevelopment, which aims to resolve the actor-based biases and actor network problems for future implementations.

The fieldwork of the research was conducted in 2019 and 2021 in Istanbul. For the first part of the dissertation, firstly, archival research was completed in the SALT Research Archive, ANAMED - the Koç University Research Centre for Anatolian Civilisations, the Kundura Archive, and other university libraries to understand the *ex-ante* process of the Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus using written published documents, books, theses, reports, articles, pamphlets, Sümerbank journals related to the case study, and Beykoz and Sümerbank culture to fully synthesise the historical development of the heritage site from 1933 when the heritage site transferred to Sümerbank under the republican ideals until its contemporary state. All those documents collected from the archives were processed to fully present the historical trajectory of the heritage site and related discourses to highlight the complexity, which have caused the transformation until

today, including industrial culture, planning and conservation culture in the Bosphorus area, the administrative and legislative framework, national economy, privatisation, heritagisation and re-industrialisation. These discourses which were the origins of the transformation and ‘the flux’ to reconcile the zeitgeist, have been argued in detail in relation to the exemplar case in its context to understand the transformation as a process in the first part of the dissertation.

Then, the fieldwork was continued in the archive of the Istanbul Conservation Board (RCB) no VI and the archive of the Bosphorus Planning Bureau (BPB) in Istanbul, and all documents related to the case study and the Bosphorus conservation site area were analysed to better investigate the *ex-post* phase of the transformation. These documents have been collected to understand the *ex-post* stage of the transformation of *Beykoz Kundura* from the 1990s onwards when its privatisation and heritagisation process was completed until its recent state as a film plateau that represents one of the new creative locales in Istanbul. In addition to this, to better understand the *ex-post* phase of this transformation, 11 in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with the experts as ‘insiders’ who have been participating in the process, and experts as ‘outsiders’ who have perceived the process from the outside. The interviewees as insiders included the current owner of the heritage site, the cultural and art director of the case study, a conservation expert and architect from the Regional Conservation Board (RCB), an official from the Privatization Administration (PA), a researcher from Kundura Hafıza Foundation, while the interviewees as outsiders included an architect, an architect from the Chamber of Architects, an urban planner from the Chamber of Urban Planners, an academic who works for the High Council (HC) and a cultural policy developer from a cultural organisation. The interviewees as outsiders who might have full knowledge of the project have also been selected according to their professional skills to gain their reflections on the case study from the objective point of view.

For the second part of the thesis, detailed problem structuring has been presented to see the collective problems of the process based on the fully analysed exemplar case, and, following this, observatory cases were selected based on the outcomes of the first part and the identified problems. They have also guided the observatory cases where channels should go in detail to determine different solutions for collective problems within the pair-comparison experience. Next, observatory cases were presented using written documents, theses, books, articles, website information and reports, and were evaluated to reveal which lessons were learned from those experiences. Based on all these real-world cases and based on the problem definition of the existing processes in top-down contexts, possible

social actors of the transformation are presented, which represent specifically the privately owned heritage site's transformation projects in top-down contexts. Then, following this proposed complementary multi-methodological approach that varies in each chapter depending on the analysed discourse, the last part of the research experiments with multi-criteria decision-aiding to create a set of recommendations and actions for the actors participating in similar projects.

Accordingly, this thesis is developed in two parts and five chapters, starting with Chapter I, which includes state of art, introductory information about the research, aim and scope, structure and methodology. Chapter II discusses the transformation process of the case study between 1933 and 1990, which comprises four sections. The chapter starts with industrial culture in flux by touching upon the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s and how industrial culture and forms have been changed. Urban planning and conservation culture in flux follows the previous one, focusing on the 1960s and 1970s, analysing the local government organisation in Turkey, planning and conservation culture concentrated on the Bosphorus conservation site area. Then, administrative and legislative framework in flux is discussed by highlighting the important changes generated in the 1980s, and it focuses on the authority division in the Bosphorus sit area, enacted laws, main actors participating in urban planning and conservation implementations. Finally, economy in flux is debated referring to the 1990s and the privatisation and heritagisation of post-industrial landscapes or destruction, and how those changes influenced the urban planning and conservation implementations during these years. Chapter II aims to discuss these fundamental discourses as origins of the transformation to better understand how the culture and form were transformed in this period and who the primary agents were or what the forces of the flux were.

Chapter III discusses the agents of the transformation, concentrating on the deindustrialisation and reindustrialisation of the heritage place in the contemporaneity, known as *Beykoz Kundura*. The chapter starts with a brief look at post-industrial sites and industrial heritage sites, touching upon privatisation or heritagisation discourses to understand the place-making policies for post-industrial sites in Turkey, and how industrial heritage is perceived in the given context. It continues with heritagisation and reindustrialisation, which focuses on new formations of culture, new creative locales and creative city concept in Istanbul. This section aims to highlight the contemporary condition of Istanbul, culture-led urban operations, actor-based and spatial biases.

In this section, recent developments in Istanbul in planning and cultural and urban development were also highlighted through the Vision2050 project that was launched by the current Istanbul Mayor in 2020. Following this, the chapter goes in

detail to understand how the transformation process was generated for the *Beykoz Kundura* Film Plateau from shoes “kundura” to culture. It aims to discuss the *ex-post* phase of the project including the privatisation and heritagisation stage and reindustrialisation stages from the standpoints of different experts who are differentiated insiders and outsiders within the scope of the thesis. This section helps to expose the actors participating in the process, the conflicts and contradictions generated, and then to evaluate them within the frame of complex social value approach, which permits charting the multi-values of heritage that intersect with the cultural, social, economic, environmental and political dimensions. It allows realising the values attributed to the heritage itself and how they are perceived by the actors participating in the transformation process. Finally, this chapter concludes with a reformulation of the process and a transformation, using social network analysis and cognitive mapping as supportive methodologies, to determine the common decisional and process problems, the value-based conflicts and the new sense of the heritage place.

Within the scope of Chapters II and III, a time relational reading on the historical trajectory of the Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus and on Turkish culture is proposed to better evaluate the related discourses ‘in flux’ from a retrospective point of view. This complexity and the time-based characteristics of the heritage drive the research to look from a multi-dimensional perspective using complex social value centred approach that permits grasping the different types of values of the heritage in time attributed by different actors. Following this, social network analysis (SNA) was used to analyse the decision-making system through actor weights and their centrality in the network, which creates the stable barriers originated from the path dependency. These actor-based and power inequality problems are generally observed as common collective decision problems in top-down contexts. SNA is chosen using Gephi software in this part of the thesis to conduct the actor analysis in relation to the research objectives. Then, cognitive mapping (CM) follows as a supportive methodology to represent each stratum of change on a free format mapping to understand the transformation in a specific selected heritage site in relation to culture. Besides, CM is an appropriate tool which was developed as a visual mapping strategy for the elicitation of agents participating in the transformation process, their relationship and perceived values. Thus, at the end of the part I, cognitive maps will be presented to understand the existing process, actors and value-based and actor-based conflicts that are usually observed in many projects as collective problems.

Passing to Part II, Chapter IV includes multi-sited analyses, and it starts with problem structuring to see in which channel should be searched for the alternative

solutions against conflicts and contradictions as collective problems. For this, the Strategic Choice Approach (SCA) as a supportive tool is used to assess the main problematic areas and uncertainties observed in *Beykoz Kundura* and Vision 2050 Istanbul. This supportive methodological approach helps to structure and categorise the complex problems and uncertainties in different areas. In fact, this problem structuring based on defined uncertainties obtained from *Beykoz Kundura* and Vision 2050 Istanbul was re-evaluated to see how similar uncertainties as collective problems have been solved, overcome or remain unsolved in the observatory cases of *Leipzig Spinnerei* and Le Grand Paris.

Subsequently, Chapter V turned into a set of actions or alternative decisions in two directions. The first is a possible set of alternative decisions for the micro actors on how to decide the new function for privately owned industrial heritage complexes and how to lead the process from the macro-scale by solving the value-based and actor-based biases. The second is a possible set of alternative decisions for the micro and macro actors on how to provide collaboration, participation and transparency in the decision-making system by resolving the actor weight problems from the macro-perspective. Based on these, identified sets of actions as primary successful performance themes obtained from *Beykoz Kundura* and *Leipzig BaumwollSpinnerei* are compared to each other to see the pros and cons of each project decision in new function choice and new image creation. On the other hand, Vision 2050 Istanbul and Le Grand Paris are used for possible decision contents for macro actors in different fields including culture and urban policy planning, by providing collaboration, participation and transparency specifically for the top-down contexts. This experience is conducted using a multi-criteria decision-aiding method via PROMETHEE GAIA Plane based on the prepared evaluation matrix valued by the five different sector experts -architect, urban planner, cultural policy developer and art director, representative of cultural foundations of NGOs, and official in an ad hoc agency- via a panel-meeting conducted in September 2021. By doing this, a proposed set of actions is weighted by the real deciders to see which theme is the most important for which participant and which decision might bring a more participative level in which decisional area.

PROPOSED MULTI-METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH FOR THE RESEARCH

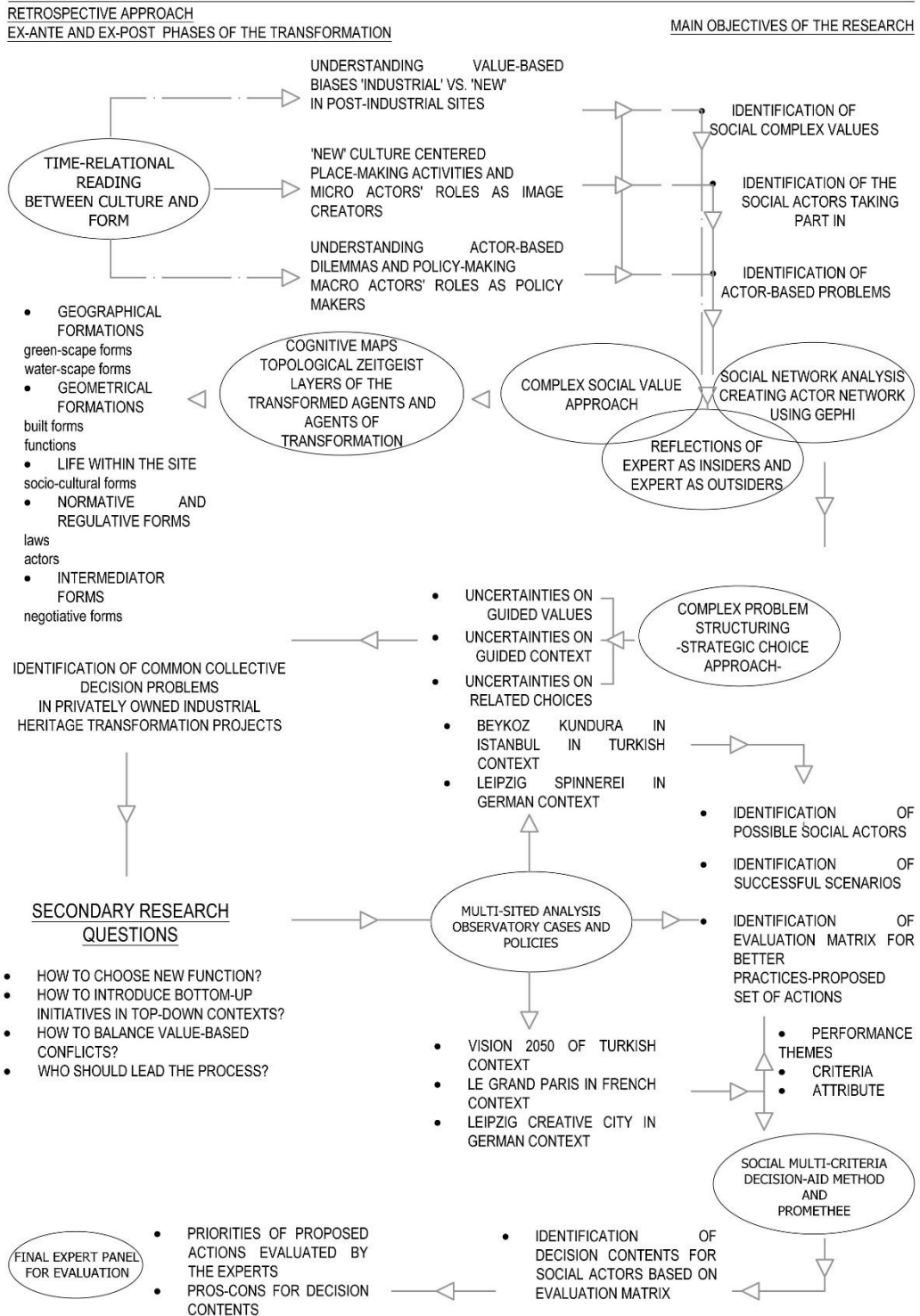


Figure 2: Proposed Methodology for the research

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY USED IN PARTS AND CHAPTERS

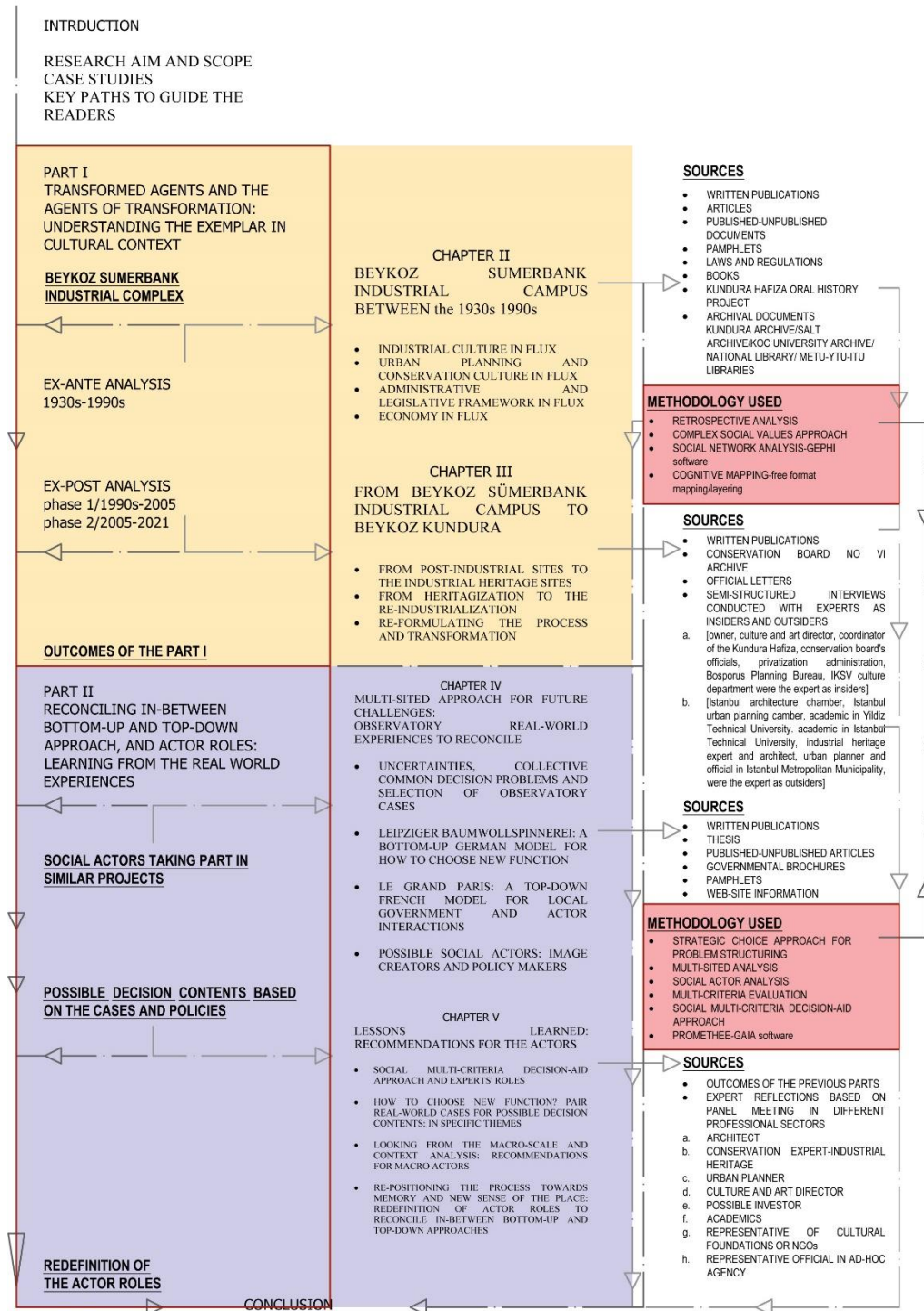


Figure 3: Sources and Methodology used in the parts and chapters

1.5 Mapping the Topological Zeitgeist: Reconciling Contemporaneity and Memory of the Heritage Sites

Cognitive mapping is another methodology used in this research which is a free format mapping of those assemblages or strata of the topography that have changed in the course of time while constituting the memory, and those transformed forms that have reconciled with the current zeitgeist. Learning from existing visible forms within contemporary cities is not a new phenomenon. It was already studied and discussed as a revolutionary way to look at things for gaining comprehensive insights which overturns the city in its time trajectory. Cities have been continuously redefined in their topological zeitgeist looking backward to the history to go forward, which demonstrates that the process is a unique way to learn from everything (Venturi et. al, 1977).

Starting with a formal reading on visible forms to be investigated in contemporary cities, focusing on industrial heritage places in this research, first, I will focus on the general frame of *geographic assemblages*, which are the urban formations and their spatial configurations ‘in flux’ in relation to industrial heritage places. Then, I will classify *each geometrical assemblage* to be taken into consideration related to the case study, which are the architectural forms constructed in different periods for different purposes. Following this, I will integrate the layers of their changes that occurred in different times to understand the body-soul relationship of the heritage place, focusing on the transformed culture and forms which have been the main sources of those memory layers. By doing this, not only the sense of the place and other intangible values will be assessed, but also some impulsive assemblages and their forces and drivers will be discovered. These selected geometrical forms as a representation of the sense of the place will be used in these free format cognitive maps to better understand the site in different time periods up to today.

Regarding the visible forms to investigate in this research in the *geographical assemblages*, I will classify landscape formations and their position within cities that have influenced the physical layouts of industrial places instituting the reasons behind their location to construct a construction layout by shaping their surrounding urban environment as well. Accordingly, the seas, rivers and any other water sources that had been used for industrial operation during the active period of the industry, and the green or agricultural lands that had been used for production sources, represent the important natural formations for these heritage sites. These landscape formations are usually located in the countryside, the rural zone of the cosmopolitan cities, which also define the settlement characteristics of these places,

such as waterfront settlement, industrial settlement and agricultural settlement. These zones are considered as peri-urban areas, transitional interfaces of rural and urban land uses in which the 'flux' or changes play a crucial role in their geographical and other assemblages in the course of time. In fact, peri-urban areas represent an intimate relationship between the city and its surroundings, having different denominations such as urban fringe, in-between city, post-suburb, transition zone, rural-urban hybrid, and challenging periphery, and they always offer great potentials for the experiences of change.

In addition to the geographical assemblages, there are also *geometrical assemblages*, visible forms to read the formal flux in contemporary cities and industrial heritage sites -architectural and urban productions of these industrial heritage sites that had been constructed, organised and reorganised, transformed or mutated according to the time needs-. They are essential visible sources for gaining a comprehensive insight into their enfolded invisible forms, which have been shaped through their socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic trajectories of geographies, and they have readapted through their internal lives to the ongoing zeitgeist. For example, while the process organisations as cultural rituals have defined their geometrical forms and the internal architectural characteristics of the industrial built forms, they had developed and readapted into the changes of process according to the technological necessities. While on the other hand, the social lives of the former workers have defined the social facilities within the campus, and they mixed with the industrial ones by giving to the site as a living place. Their relations and interactions according to the time needs define the life in these sites since they are a living organism. Moreover, these enfolded invisible forms are the main sources by which to understand cultural changes, collective memory, new sense of the place, authenticity and tangible-intangible values of the industrial heritage sites.

The invisible forms of geographical and geometrical assemblages will be explained under the sub-categories of *value assemblages* and *functional assemblages* of visible forms which will permit understanding not only the definition of the culture in the present, but also the changed values of architectural, urban and natural forms according to the ongoing zeitgeist. By doing this, it can explain how those natural and built forms, cultural and social lives in the site are reconciled to the time needs through value-based and functional changes for the exemplar case in Beykoz which define the current sense of the heritage site. This investigation helps to clarify charting the value-based conflicts -such as industrial culture vs. cultural industries, industrial area vs. industrial fringe area, or industrial heritage place vs. new creative locales, or private vs. public, semi-private vs. public

or semi-public vs. public, city centre vs periphery, previous community vs. new community-.

To better understand these value-based and cultural changes, I will continue with the stimulators of the flux that have been the main drivers of the zeitgeist. There are normative and regulative assemblages, such as land regulations, conservation laws and charters, and other rule-based documents and norms, which include limitations, and in the meanwhile, stimuli of the change through their gaps or obscure definitions. They are mainly nomadic ideas that shaped the local culture through global manuals by changing the internal dynamics in various fields, for instance, industrialisation, deindustrialisation, neoliberal influences, privatisation, and reindustrialisation through cultural redevelopment. In addition to these queens of the transformation that drive the ongoing zeitgeist, there are also operators of the transformation in each assemblage. They are the actors involved in the whole process, including the design process of architectural and urban forms during the *ex-ante* stage; and the actors participating in the implementational process during the *ex-post* phases including urban redevelopment, conservation and privatisation, and reindustrialisation.

In addition to this, there are conflicts, contradictions, dark rooms or turning points that are specific to each assemblage, and they are ill-defined interconnections of these plural members of each assemblage. Thus, other strata to apply in cognitive maps are the different group of social actors that have different interconnection to each other and which are the main sources of actor-based and spatial dilemmas and value-based conflicts during the reconciliation to the zeitgeist. This investigation helps to identify the primary objectives of each actor and their expectation from the different stages of process. Through this, the main decisional problems related to power inequality in decision-making, or the main processual problems related to participation, will be elicited, will be used in problem structuring identifying the common decision and processual problems of the transformation in a top-down context.

RESEARCH VOCABULARY OF COGNITIVE MAPS AND LAYERS OF TOPOLOGICAL ZEITGEIST

TIME-RELATIONAL READONG ON BEYKOZ KUNDURA IN ISTANBUL

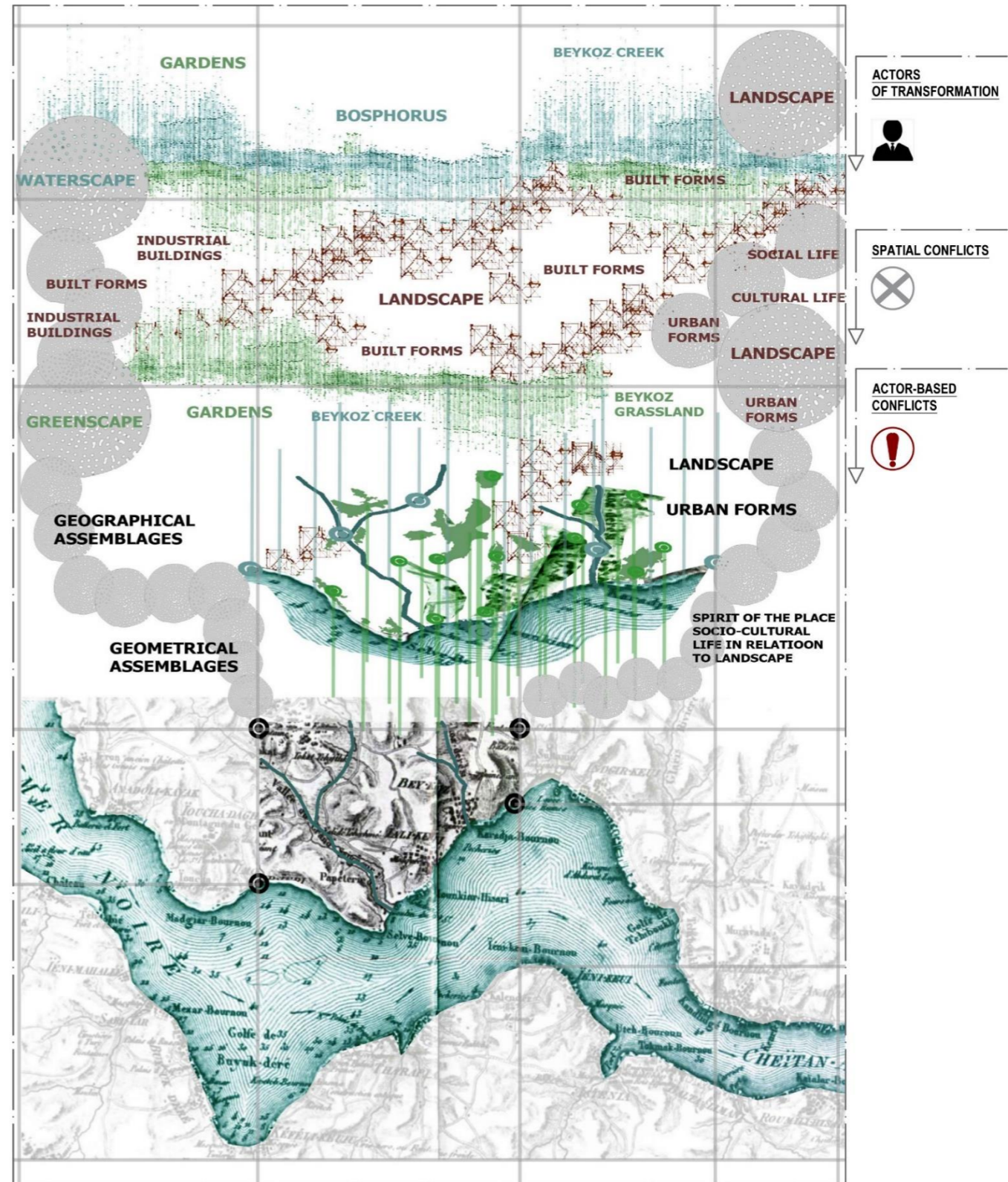
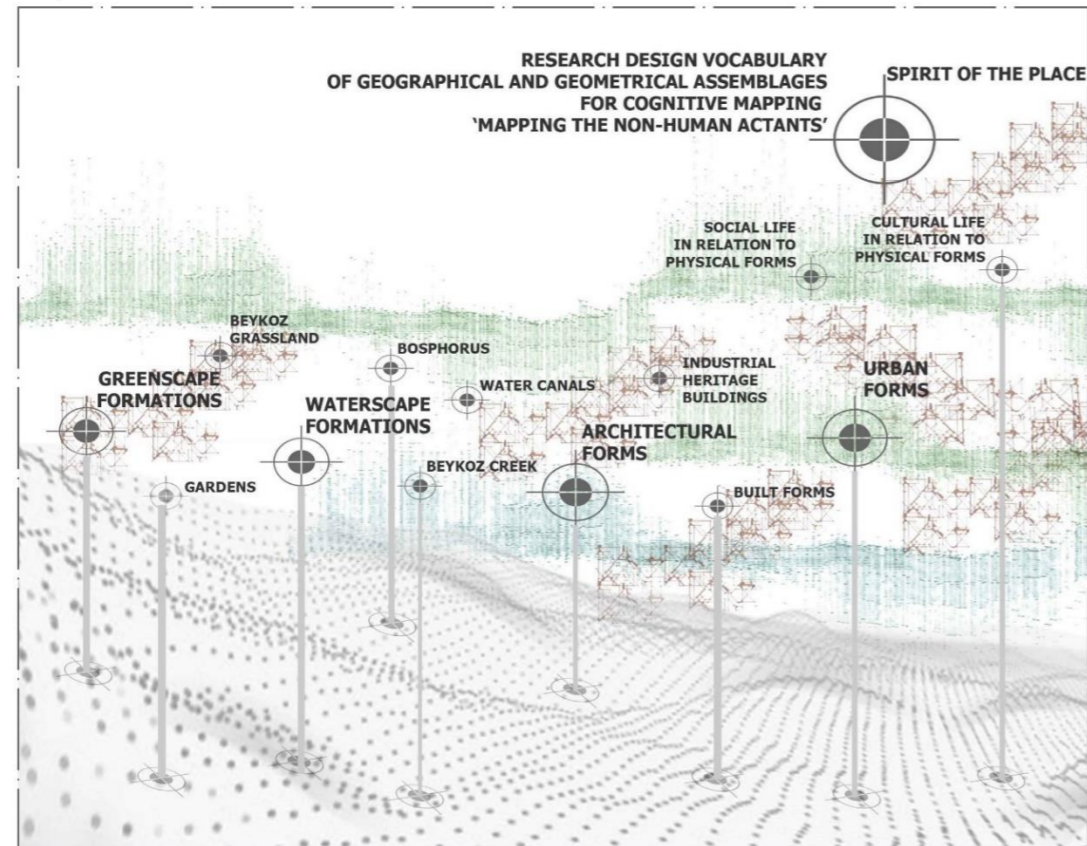
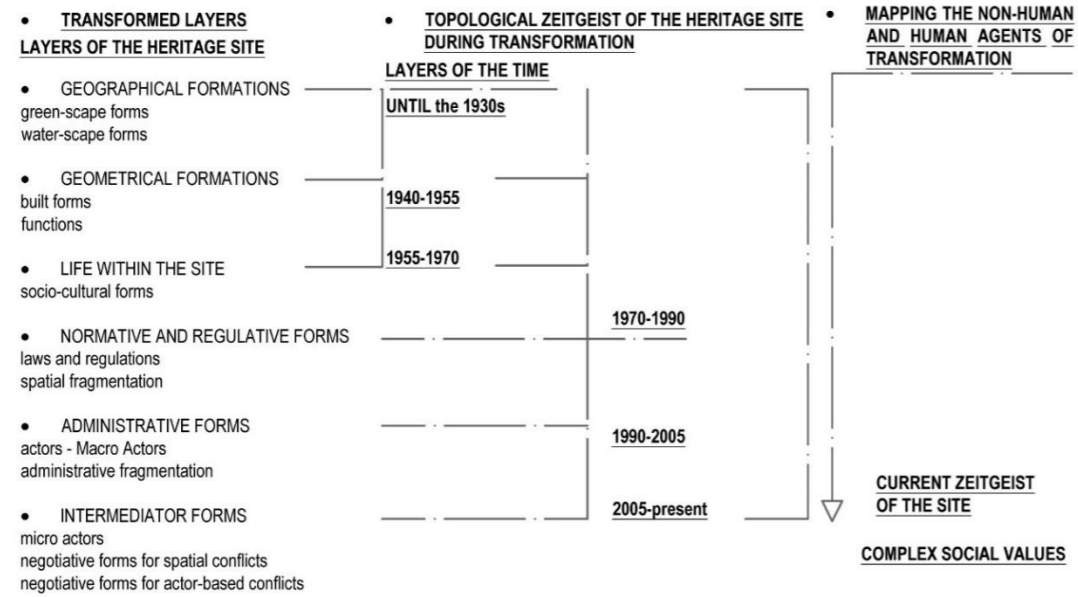


Figure 4: Research vocabulary of cognitive maps and layers of the topological zeitgeist

**PART I – TRANSFORMED
AGENTS AND THE AGENTS OF
TRANSFORMATION: TIME-
RELATIONAL PROCESS
READING: THE BEYKOZ
SUMERBANK INDUSTRIAL
CAMPUS’ TRANSFORMATION
WITHIN THE TOP-DOWN
STRUCTURED TURKISH
CONTEXT**

CHAPTER II

BEYKOZ SUMERBANK

INDUSTRIAL CAMPUS

BETWEEN the 1930s and 1990s:

From Historical Development of the

Industrial Site to the Formation of

Decisional Process in the Cultural

Context

Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus is located in the largest peri-urban district of Istanbul namely Beykoz, situated at the northern part of the Asian side on the Bosphorus seashore close to the Black Sea with a strategic position confined with Beykoz Forest as an immense greenery natural area. The district is surrounded by the hills at the north and the east, except a part of its flat side at the side of Beykoz Woods which defines the wide greenery area, it has quite rough in characteristics (Anon., 1994:194). Two different etymological claims on the ancient name of Beykoz in which the selected heritage site is located, are essential point to start this Chapter. They are ‘koz’ as walnut and ‘kos’ as village (Koçu, 1961; Oral, 1973; Eyice, 2003) which are the keywords to classify the geographical assemblages of the heritage site to trace in this part of the dissertation. They are predefined as the waterscape and green-scape elements of the site’s landscape formations which have always been critical in the historical trajectory of Beykoz by giving a rural characteristic to the district.

Beykoz as having been one of the important Bosphorus districts throughout the history of Istanbul which was also referred in *Seyahatname* in the 16th century by Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi as “a town with vineyards, gardens, mostly inhabited by woodsmen, fishermen and gardeners” (Gökçen, 1988), and re-

described by Armenian poet and historian Eremya Çelebi in the 17th century as “a waterfront village where there are a great number of creeks and streams flowing to Bosphorus” (Anon., 1993:193-194). In the 18th century, the Italian poet Edmondo de Amicis, during his travel to the Bosphorus in 1874, he described the district as “the Armenians’ popular vacation place located behind the *Hünkar* pier with poetic natural characteristics” (De Amicis, 1980:499-500). The famous poet Ahmet Mithat Efendi also noted as “an impressive district surrounded by the sea at the front, forest at the back with a lot of gardens in the 19th century” (Küçükerman, 1987; Yeşilbaş, 2005).

In fact, this unique waterfront rural district having five diverse streams inside of its immense greenery area have always been an important land for the urban development in Istanbul taking its fame from those landscape formations which made the district as a seashore resort for the Ottoman elites and wealthy communities during the Ottoman era. As a result of the geographic conditions of the Bosphorus which had permitted solely waterway transportation in those years, the surrounding settlements of the strait have been developed in waterfront characteristics and they have been shaped according to those landscape potentials (Kuban, 1994; Salman and Kuban, 2006:105) including both rural and urban characteristics.

Starting from the 17th century, the district attracted the attention for the initial industrial development benefitting those natural potentials for the manufacturing purposes particularly through its waterscape elements. Yet, surrounding neighbours of Beykoz such as *Paşabahçe* and *İncirköy* were also important industrial places since the first industrial developments of Istanbul due to having those landscape characteristics as the main sources of industrial productions. Thus, this fame of Beykoz in rural and industrial forms originated from its nature-city and water-city relationship which were the primary impulses of the urban and industrial development on the site’s historical trajectory, and the district has taken the attentions since the early times thanks to its waterscape and green-scape formations (Küçükerman, 1987).

In addition to the shore of the Bosphorus strait as a unique waterscape formation with unique natural characteristics providing an important silhouette for Istanbul, there is also ‘Beykoz creek’ which has been another waterscape element of Bosphorus defining the historic Beykoz greenery area¹⁸, and it flows to the Bosphorus strait that has provided an important source of water within the historical development of the case study and for its nearby environment. For giving a general

¹⁸ Namely, *Beykoz Çayırı* in Turkish

frame of the importance of those waterscape formations in Beykoz, even though there are not any large-scale rivers within the district, there are a vast number of creeks and water canals or small lakes that have been used for watering purposes since the ancient times (Tarakçı et al., 2012), and they were also considered as a primary impulse of the industrial development in the district.

There are also important greenery traditional areas including Beykoz Forest, *Sultaniye* Field, Beykoz *çayırı*, small gardens along the Bosphorus seashore which have been used as promenades¹⁹ providing an impressive vista for the inhabitants and people of Istanbul who preferred to use the site as an alternative location to the city centre for leisure activities. Especially Beykoz *çayırı* among those greenery historical places has an important place of the site development that had been used for military barracks, growing vegetables for orphans during the Ottoman times (Oral, 1973:40), social activities in service of the workers during industrial years (Gökçen, 1988:47), and open air festivals due to its connection to the Bosphorus through *Hünkar* pier which constructed as the first pier construction of Istanbul (Yeşilbaş, 2005:51). In addition, there is also Beykoz forest on the east side of this district that is another green-scape formation of the selected landscape (Mihçioğlu Bilgi, E. and Uluca Tümer, E., 2009) which defines a part of the glorious silhouette of the Bosphorus.

Accordingly, given geographical characteristics of the district that are composed of those waterscape and green-scape elements, have triggered the development of district within the course of the time by shaping the urban and built forms of the selected case which are constituted the modern industrial heritage place in the contemporaneity. They have been also changed in relation to socio-cultural, political, economic context of the given culture. Those landscape formations of Beykoz and the case study are the transformed non-human agents of this process which still stand bearing the traces of the past offering the potentials for the future. Hence, geographical assemblages are the beforementioned waterscape and green-scape elements which have triggered the development and change by shaping the built forms and urban life of the heritage place in relation to the ongoing zeitgeist.

During the Ottoman industrialisation efforts mostly focused on the needs of the army, one of the main productions established by the Ottoman Palace was the leather which necessitated to operate with the help of water²⁰ (Küçükerman, 1987). Beykoz district has had an appropriate condition for leather production activities through its countryside characteristics especially of those elements such as water

¹⁹ Those traditional promenades called in Turkish *mesire* place which are important large recreational areas along the Bosphorus strip (Mihçioğlu Bilgi and Uluca Tümer, 2009).

²⁰ As mentioned by O. Küçükerman (1987), to process a kg of leather requires a hundred kg of water.

canals, creek which has flowed to the Bosphorus strait, and it has provided a large quantity of water for this industrial manufacturing branch. Although the Bosphorus had only been considered as a transportation point in the ancient times until the 16th and 17th centuries due to its connective position between European and Asian sides, strong industrial impact in Beykoz started in the early 1800s.

In fact, the neighbourhood organisation, any kind of built forms both monumental and residential ones constructed in this zone before this initial industrial intervention, they had ‘temporariness’ characteristics in terms of functional use which had inserted during the Ottoman Reign with the aim of entertainment of the Palace in a countryside resort area. The district had been reserved for leisure activities such as hunting and fishing for the Sultans, diplomats, or important international delegates. Thus, the early transformation in the heritage place might be initiated in the early 1800s as direct consequence of industrial development on leather and paper manufacturing, ceramic, and glass productions of the district. In the 19th century, it is known that there were existed tanneries produced leather and shoe, ceramic and glass factories, paper factories which were discontinuously operating by changing the names by their changed owners according to the era’s context of industrialisation (Anon., 1994:193).

Indeed, the very beginning efforts regarding to industrialisation²¹ on this landscape had done by the Selim III in the early 1800s with a paper factory, however it did not last long due to a riot caused the throne change in the Empire in those years. Following this, one of the Ottoman tanner craftsmen namely Hamza Efendi established a tannery in the early 1800s using the millrace remained from the paper factory located nearby those nature and water-based potentials where Beykoz creek exactly flows to the Bosphorus strait. In 1812, this privately industrial initiative turned into the service of the Empire by the Mahmut II, since then, until de-industrialisation, this very first industrial campus had developed industrially, and it

²¹ Industrialisation of Istanbul in the 17th and 18th centuries were the insignificant efforts which were the initiatives unaware of any competition with other prominent nations like Britain, France, Germany, or Belgium. Although the industrial sites and complexes in those years had constructed both by the Empire and the private enterprises in various industrial branches, a great number of them were the investments to provide the needs of Ottoman palace and the modern army²¹ (Toprak, 1985). Within this economic context during the end of the 18th century, leather, and shoe productions -*deri ve kundura*- were one of the dominant industrial branches which had have an important place within the Ottoman industrialisation (Toprak, 1995; Küçükerman, 1987). In fact, industrialisation was accelerated during the Ottoman Empire, especially starting from the second half of the 18th century, and mostly it was led by the capitalist European nations in those years through their support on investment, equipment, and worker labour (Köksal, 2008:6). However, despite all efforts, the systematically industrialisation during the Ottoman Empire did not achieve, but rather those experiences provided a base for the next industrialisation initiatives in the Republican period (Önsoy, 1988:57).

had modernized and re-organized incrementally in time both technologically, architecturally, and culturally by expanding its production capacity adapting them into technological developments (Küçükerman, 1987).

In fact, the industrial complex has passed through both ottoman and republican industrialisation and modernisation processes, de-industrialisation and re-industrialisation phases that have been stimulated by legal and normative framework, urban planning and conservation culture, privatization, and finally new contemporary cultural process via cultural industries and creative cultures. They are the origins of the transformation and transformed agents of the case study which will be discussed within the next sections²².

2.1 Industrial Culture and Forms in Flux: Historical Development of Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Complex until the 1970s

The industrial built forms of the industrial complex, which number 53 at present, had been shaped or constructed in compliance with the necessity of the changed organisation schema using the former paper production units, adding, or organising them for leather, shoe and leather-based production requirements. In the course of time, the campus had evolved according to the cultural transformation in the Turkish context in compliance with the necessity of the accommodation needs and socio-cultural facilities for the workers and their families, which were the products of the technological, political and socio-cultural changes in the historical trajectory of the site during its active period. Thus, those predefined geometrical forms were developed and transformed including those production facilities with warehouses or silos in the service of those manufacturing forms, and for educational, socio-cultural services with housing units for accommodation purposes in the 1950s until the 1990s when the deindustrialisation had taken place in the cultural context. In this chapter, the *ex-ante* process is presented briefly to frame those formations, their transformation and development through additions or destructions to better understand the current state of the heritage site and its development regarding the geographical, built and urban forms that constitute the modern industrial heritage site today.

²² See Figure 13-14-15 in the Appendix A, for the timeline produced for the cultural context and for the industrial heritage site's historical process.

As per the records from the 1800s²³ regarding the former paper factory buildings, it is known that it was composed of a foundry, mill, tamping unit, warehouses, exhibition area, pools, main processing building, carpenter's shop with workers' rooms inside and an imperial palace (<https://hazine.info/basbakanlik-arsivi/>, Ottoman archive of the prime ministry (BOA). Eventually, it finished operating in paper manufacturing, and the aforementioned built forms that had belonged to this complex started to be reused for leather and shoe making manufacturing processes. According to the records dated back to 1848 from the Ottoman archives of the Prime Ministry (<https://hazine.info/basbakanlik-arsivi/>), there was a new layout of the industrial complex and the buildings for the leather production processing units within the site included a pier, pier structure, worker housing units, a mosque, a bath, a facility for the oak wells, a building for the honing stage, a grocery store for the workers, a police station and a pool²⁴ (Yerlitas, 2013).

In the late 1800s, a shoe workshop unit was constructed within the Beykoz Wood (Küçükerman, 1987:237), and, soon afterwards, the former paper factory was reorganised for the shoemaking process integrating those previously constructed production facilities with newly constructed workshop building (Tanyeli, 2006). In the early 1900s, new parts of the production buildings were added; for instance, a second shoemaking production building according to the production necessities of those years (Toprak, 1987:17). Based on these documents, the industrial site layout just before the republican era might have been composed of these previously mentioned production units (See Figure 5, and Figure 9 in the Appendix A).

The 1930s is considered as a breaking point for the industrial culture and the industrial campus, and the majority of the important changes that occurred in the historical trajectory until this time were mostly based on the technological context of the production process such as importing new machines from Europe to catch the era's industrial technology, and know-how in the process through invited engineers and workers from Europe. The increase in the number of tanning wells, added mills, imported steamships to facilitate transportation and improvement of the steam power were the primary developments and transfers that occurred in the 1840s in technology and production capacity to catch the era's industrial culture. Moreover, there were also imported machines from Britain and transportation of Marseilles leather as raw materials that were generated in the late 1800s. The 1900s

²³ Those historical record information obtained from O. Yerlitas (2013) who studied the campus in his master's thesis focusing on the Ottoman developments. For further information regarding Ottoman period see his thesis, Yerlitas, O. (2013). *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Sümerbank Deri Fabrikası* (master's thesis). Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey.

²⁴ Some of those early built forms are not in present, but they could be traced from historical photos which have been presented in the Appendix A.

was also an important period, when the know-how transfer between Germany could be traced from the historical records of the case study during the Ottoman era (Küçükerman, 1987).

Just after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the industrial complex transferred to the General Directorate of the Industrial Facilities of the Military Department, *Askeri Fabrikalar Umum Müdürlüğü*, and correspondently it began to be occupied by the State Bank of Industrial Development, *Sanayii ve Maadin Bankası*, which was founded in 1925 (Toprak, 1988:24; Sönmez, 1999:2: Boratav, 1999:32; Köse, 2018). Sümerbank was established as a state economic enterprise as one of the initial economic efforts of new Turkey by a mono-party regime, namely CHP Republican People's Party, for the new country's development. On the one hand, it was a project of the capitalist model of the state using industrialisation as a main tool (Anonymous, 1994:17); on the other hand, it was an attempt to be a socialist state applied implicitly in the Turkish context (Toprak, 1988; Tezel, 2015). Soon after the establishment of Sümerbank, the first five-year industrialisation plan for the period between 1934 and 1939 was implemented by the state; it was prepared with the help of Soviet and American experts in economy and industry (Tezel, 2015), and it was decided to construct new facilities within the whole country by Soviet engineering and architectural support incorporating those facilities remaining from the Ottoman era (Toprak, 1988: 45).

Following this primary initiative in 1938, the new arrangement on the law regarding state enterprises was enacted, which necessitated managing the industrial facilities as an institution rather than incorporated companies. This new arrangement on the regulation had two main objectives which were to facilitate imposing the new ideology of modernity into society and to create an industrial network within the whole country by promoting local products as a part of the industrialisation policy. In fact, the Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus was managed by Sümerbank as a joint-stock company until 1939, when this new regulation for state economic enterprises was implemented (Toprak, 1988:48). Accordingly, the name of the industrial complex, previously known as *Debbağhane-i Amire*, had changed in 1939 to Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus, and the Sümerbank industrial network started to develop by establishing and constructing new industrial complexes in this context within the whole country²⁵.

²⁵The cities of Kayseri, Nazilli, Afyon and Denizli were selected for the first industrial campuses to be constructed according to the deep research done by Soviet and American experts based on the cities' infrastructural and climatic conditions, railway and transportation possibilities for raw materials, existing water sources including sewerage systems (Tekeli and İlkin, 1982;

Immediately afterwards, a department for promoting local manufacturing was organised within Sümerbank central facility located in Ankara to avoid the negative impacts of World War II conditions on Sümerbank productions, including the leather and shoes produced by the case study in those years in the 1940s (Toprak, 1988: 51). Accordingly, Beykoz Sümerbank shoes and leather productions produced by the industrial complex also became a part of Turkish industrial culture that had been considered as a tool for imposing the term ‘modern’ into society by the prominent actors. In fact, Sümerbank factories established within this ideological framework not only had served for the industrialisation and economic structure of the state, but also had become the centres to apply the new culture and new life style indirectly by establishing the Sümerbank culture (Uzunoğlu, 2008).

Within this economic and industrial context of the 1930s Turkey, the exemplar case after changing its name in 1939 to Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus through the new regulation in the law 3460²⁶, started to transform and expand its built forms in service of the new ideology of new Turkey according to the technological, industrial and cultural necessities of the era as a part of Sümerbank state policies (Sümerbank, 1948). The first development that occurred on built forms could be traced to 1943 and comprised a newly added screw unit within the leather processing area, an expanded moulding unit and electrical repair shops, and construction of a new facility for those additions was also proposed during these years (Küçükerman, 1987:157).

As per the 1943 survey data, the industrial complex was composed of leather and shoe production units including preparation facilities such as depots and soaking stages of the raw material, liming and de-liming, tanning, glazing-crusting-painting (finishing) and luxury leathering (for patent leather productions) departments (Küçükerman, 1987: 157). In the industrial complex among those pre-existed built forms (See Figure 5) constructed in the 19th century before the

Uzunoğlu, 2008). In 1934, the first campus was established in Kayseri for textile industry and the other constructed complexes were articulated in this network during the first five-year plan. Paşabahçe Glass, Keçiborlu sulphur, Isparta rose-oil and Bakırköy linen were the other Sümerbank initiatives constructed during the early republican period (Tezel, 2015; Köksal, 2012; Köse, 2018). In addition, during this era, those locations for the newly constructed ones were selected in accordance with the state’s modernisation target as appropriate places for social transformation (Tezel, 2015).

²⁶ The law no 3460, was enacted on 4 July 1938, and the role of the State Economic Enterprises, their roles and management organisation inside of the institution were identified. Following this regulation, the departments within the industrial campuses were organised as selling, social services, cultural services and financial services managed by a general assembly, general inspection department, a board of directors and a general director. Thus, the industrial campuses of Sümerbank were developed until the 1950s according to the industrial and modernisation developments (Sumerbank, Sumerbank’in 25. Yili, 1948).

republican era, while the liming process might be operated using lime pits / wells within this department, tanning might be generated in two different ways depending on the type of finishing material of the final production within these wells or leather processing drums located in these buildings.

2.1.1 Industrial Built Forms and Production Process Organisation within the Industrial Campus

To better understand the organisation of the industrial built forms and their subsequent developments, it is necessary to describe the main production stages (See Figure 11 in the Appendix A) of the leather and shoemaking. Basically, there are three main stages to follow: preparation of the raw pelt for tanning, tanning as a main process and finishing stages. Firstly, hides were soaked in the lime pits (wells) with a large quantity of water to remove the unwanted materials. Then, they were limed and de-limed to adjust the pH of the processing material. After those preparatory stages, tanning was conducted where the raw material was converted into leather as the main processing stage (Gebremichael, 2016).

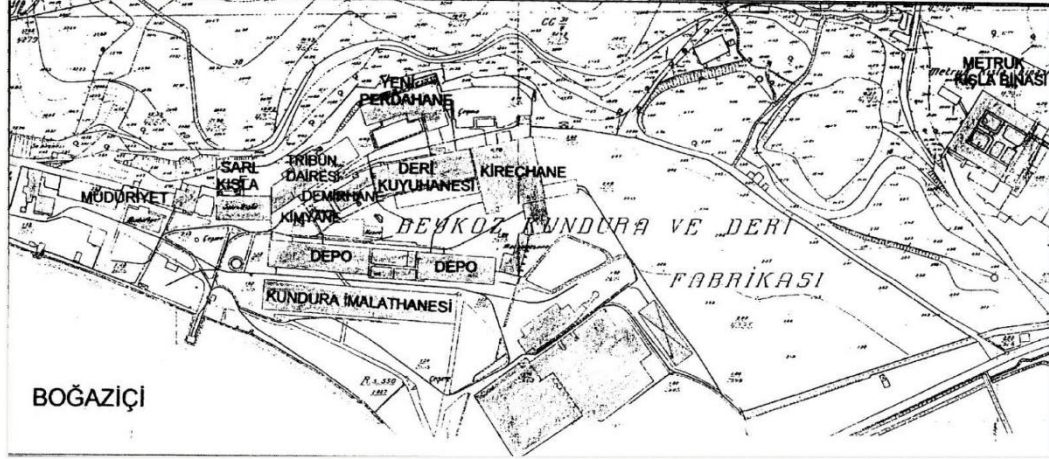
The tanning processing units in the factories generally occupied the largest amount of space since that was the main operation conducted in the whole process. Oak bark was used as a valuable tanning material. Unwanted materials were removed by steeping the hides in lime and water within the lime-pits located on the floor of the workshops. After steeping the hides for a certain time to clean them, they were transferred to drums or barrels. Then they were conveyed into the tanyards with wells in different size. In these units, they were washed and dried by the aid of revolving drums. Finally, they were separated according to the production purposes, such as shoe leather and patent leather (Anonym., n.d.). In the early years of the industrial complex, the production process was mostly generated through vegetable tanning stages using mainly pine or oak crusts which were the common tree types within the site. In addition to this traditional tanning process, from the 19th century onwards, metallic tanning mostly using the chrome or potassium with salt was introduced into the main tanning process (Tanyeli, Beykoz Deri ve Kundura Fabrikası Tarihsel Araştırma On Raporu, 2006).

For the operation of the main leather process, there were also depots, warehouses, power generation centres and technical units to provide technical and manufacturing support. In addition to these main pre-existing leather production facilities, there was a building for a felting facility, a building for ironworks and a distillery constructed in the 1910s. Moreover, there was also a fire station, mosque, laboratory building, an administration building and railway lines for the transportation of the raw materials within the site that were constructed in the 1910s

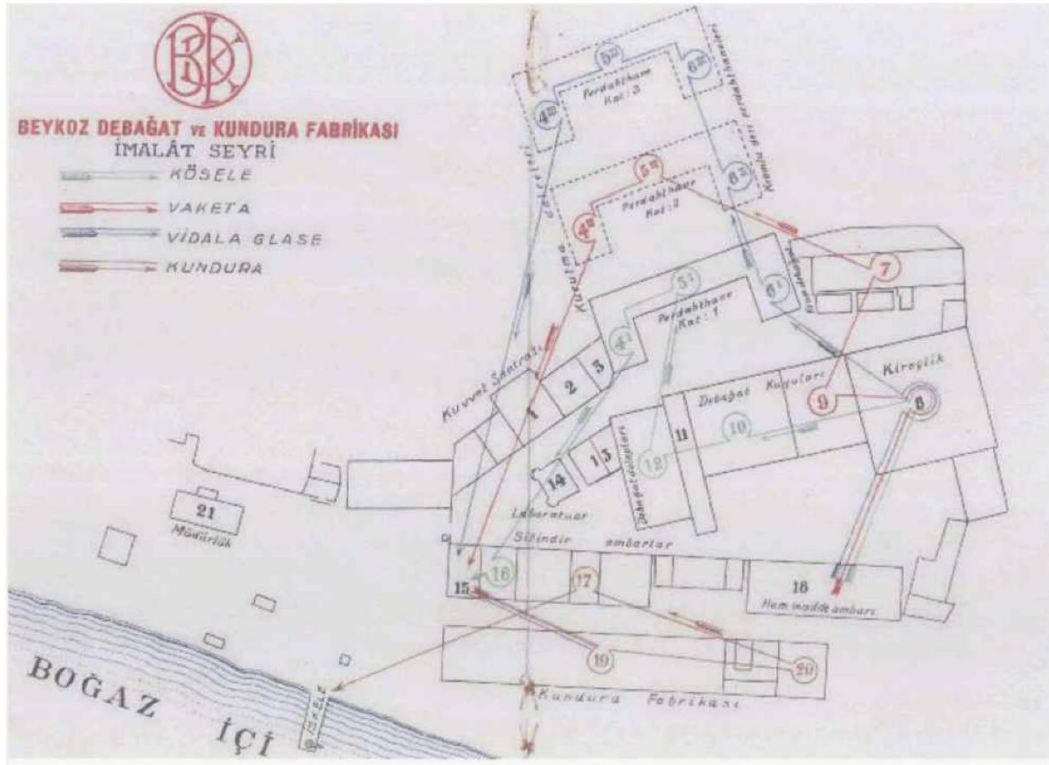
and continued to be reused at the end of the operation in the industrial campus (See Figure 9-10 in the Appendix A). Following the initial changes occurring in the 1930s Turkey, just after the establishment of Sümerbank as a State economic enterprise in 1933 until the 1940s, a medical facility for the workers was also constructed within the industrial site (Küçükerman, 1987).

As defined by Tanyeli (2006), the process flow within the factory in the 1940s is shown on the map (See Figure 5). The colours indicate the phases of processing leather to be prepared for drying, polishing and glazing before tanning to become shoes or final products. While the green and red colours indicate the initial phases of the leather to be processed as stout leather, *kösele* and *vaketa*, the blue and brown colours denote the following phases of the processed leather as glazed or polished leather to be tanned, *vidala glase* and *kundura*. The built form in number 8 was the preparation unit where the stout leather was prepared for the lime pits. The leather was soaked, cleaned, dried and polished or glazed for the tanning process. The built forms in numbers 9-10 were the buildings where the lime pits were located for the prepared leather to be tanned. The built form in number 11 was used for the technical unit for the preparation of the tanning process. The built form in number 12 was the unit where the drums were located for the next stage of the tanning process, while the built form in number 13 was the building housing the repair unit of the machines in case of malfunctioning and the building in number 14 was used as a laboratory where the necessary controls were made. The buildings in numbers 15-17 and 18 were the storages for processed leather and number 16 housed the roller operational unit for the next process for levelling of the tanned leather to become the final product. Finally, the built forms in numbers 19-20 were the shoe workshops, which were differentiated for military and civil production, and the building in number 21 was the administration unit (Tanyeli, Beykoz Deri ve Kundura Fabrikası Tarihsel Araştırma On Raporu, 2006).

SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1930s - PRODUCTION PROCESS
PROCESSING ORGANIZATION WITHIN THE CAMPUS



PHYSICAL LAYOUT OF THE PRODUCTION FACILITIES WITHIN THE CAMPUS; ATATURK LIBRARY ARCHIVE



PROCESS ORGANIZATION WITHIN THE CAMPUS; TANYELI, 2006

Figure 5: Early built forms and production process organization within the campus, sources: upper map, Atatürk Library Archive; bottom image, Tanyeli, 2006.

AGENTS OF FLUX IN THE HISTORICAL PROCESS OF THE INDUSTRIAL SITE AND DECISIONAL PROCESS IN TURKISH CULTURE

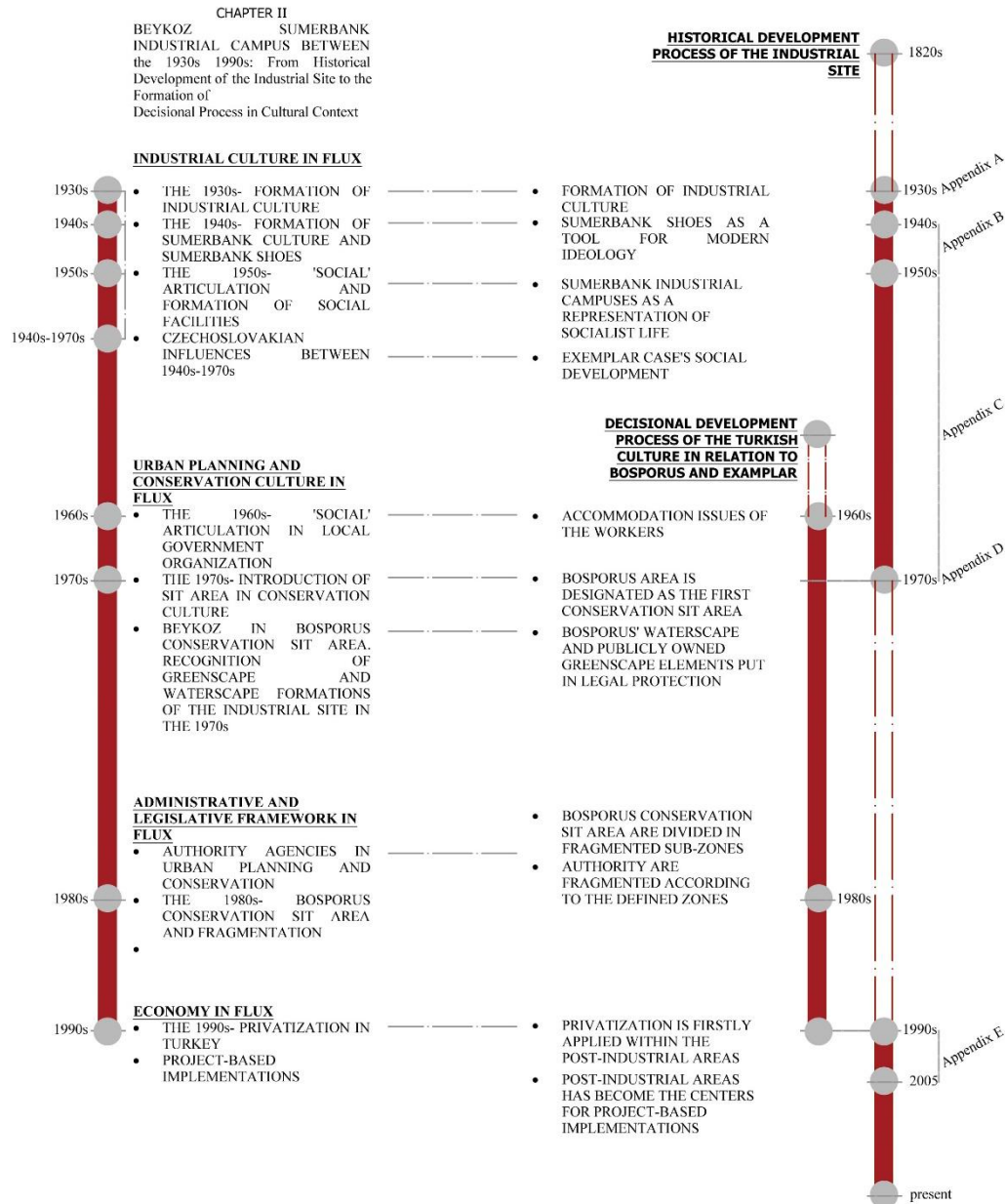

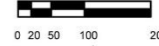


Figure 6: Agents of flux in the historical process of the industrial site and decisional process in Turkish culture revisited in this chapter

COGNITIVE MAPS - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1930s

N  Scale 1:1000 

MAP NO 1
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENTS

MAPPING VOCABULARY

- PROJECT AREA
 - GREEN-SCAPE FORMS
 - WATER-SCAPE FORMS
 - INDUSTRIAL BUILT FORMS
 - INDUSTRIAL FUNCTIONS
- GEOGRAPHICAL FORMATIONS
- GEOMETRICAL FORMATIONS
- LIFE WITHIN THE CAMPUS
- INDUSTRIAL CULTURE
 - SHOE AND LEATHER PRODUCTION
 - TRADITIONAL LEATHER PROCESSING

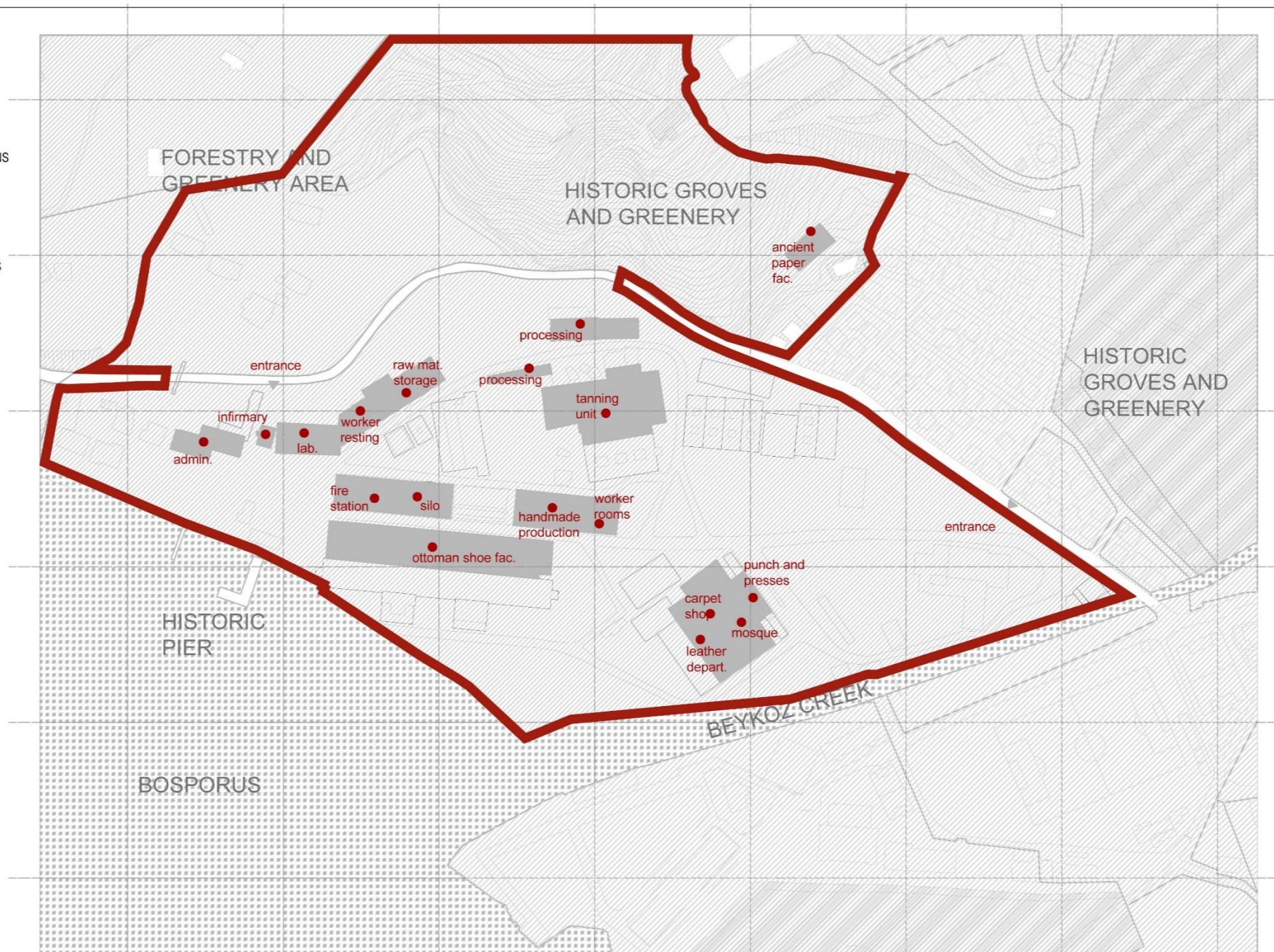
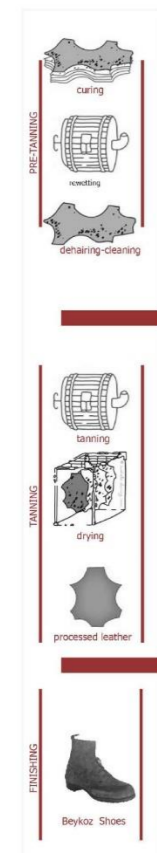


Figure 7: Cognitive map no-1 Sümerbank industrial campus in the 1930s, source: map is elaborated by the Author using the base map of the site obtained from the Municipality.

Appendix A – The Industrial Site in the 1930s

APPENDIX A - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX BEFORE THE 1930s

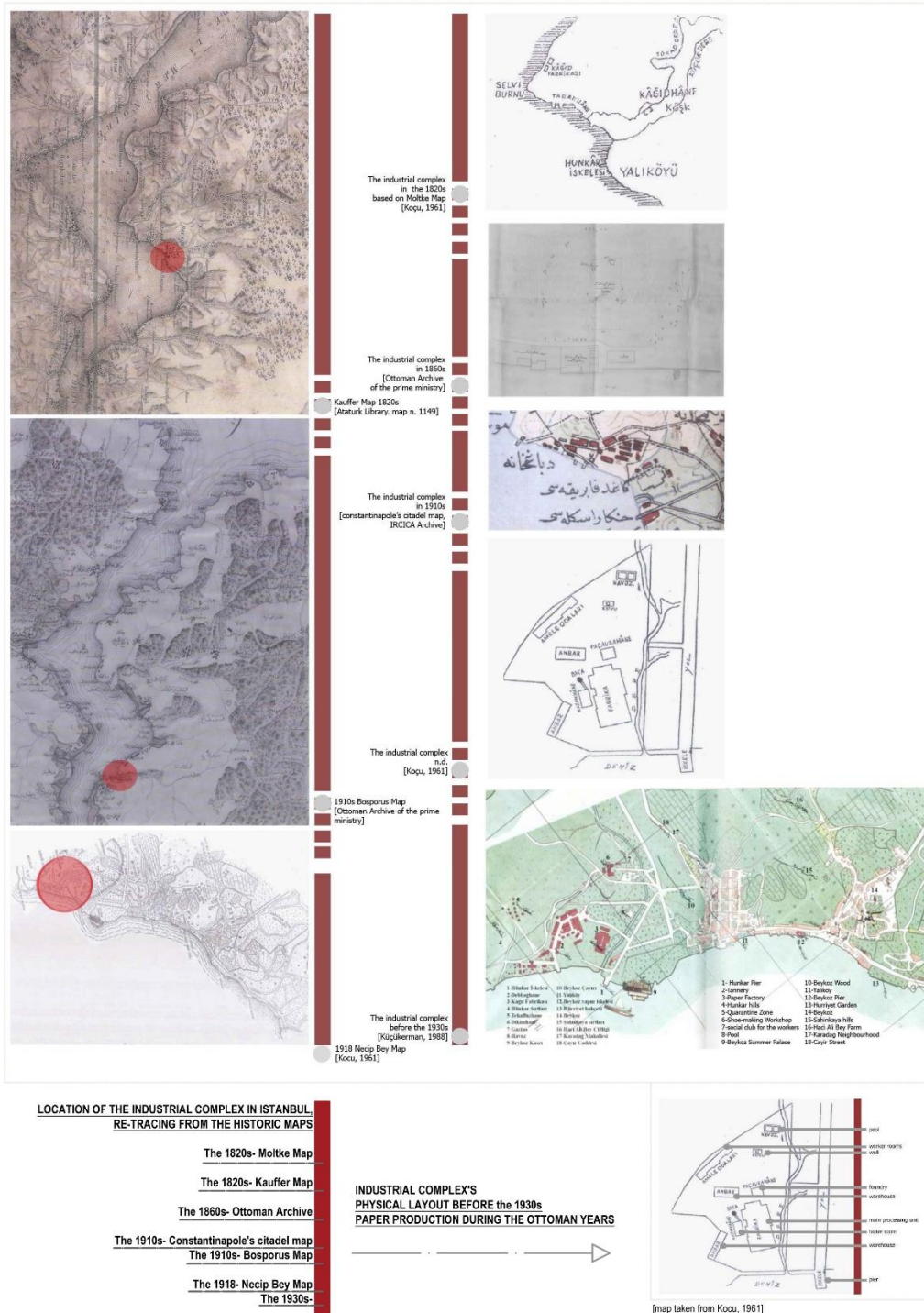


Figure 8: Industrial complex in Beykoz district in the 1800s, source: image is elaborated by the Author using the maps obtained from archival research as indicated.

APPENDIX A - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX BEFORE THE 1930s - BUILT FORMS



Figure 9: The pre-existed buildings within the industrial complex before 1933, source: image is elaborated by the Author using the old photos obtained from archival research as indicated (photos sources: Abdul-Hamid II Collection, Library of Congress, achieved from Conservation Board no III Archive, 2020).

APPENDIX A - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX BEFORE THE 1930s

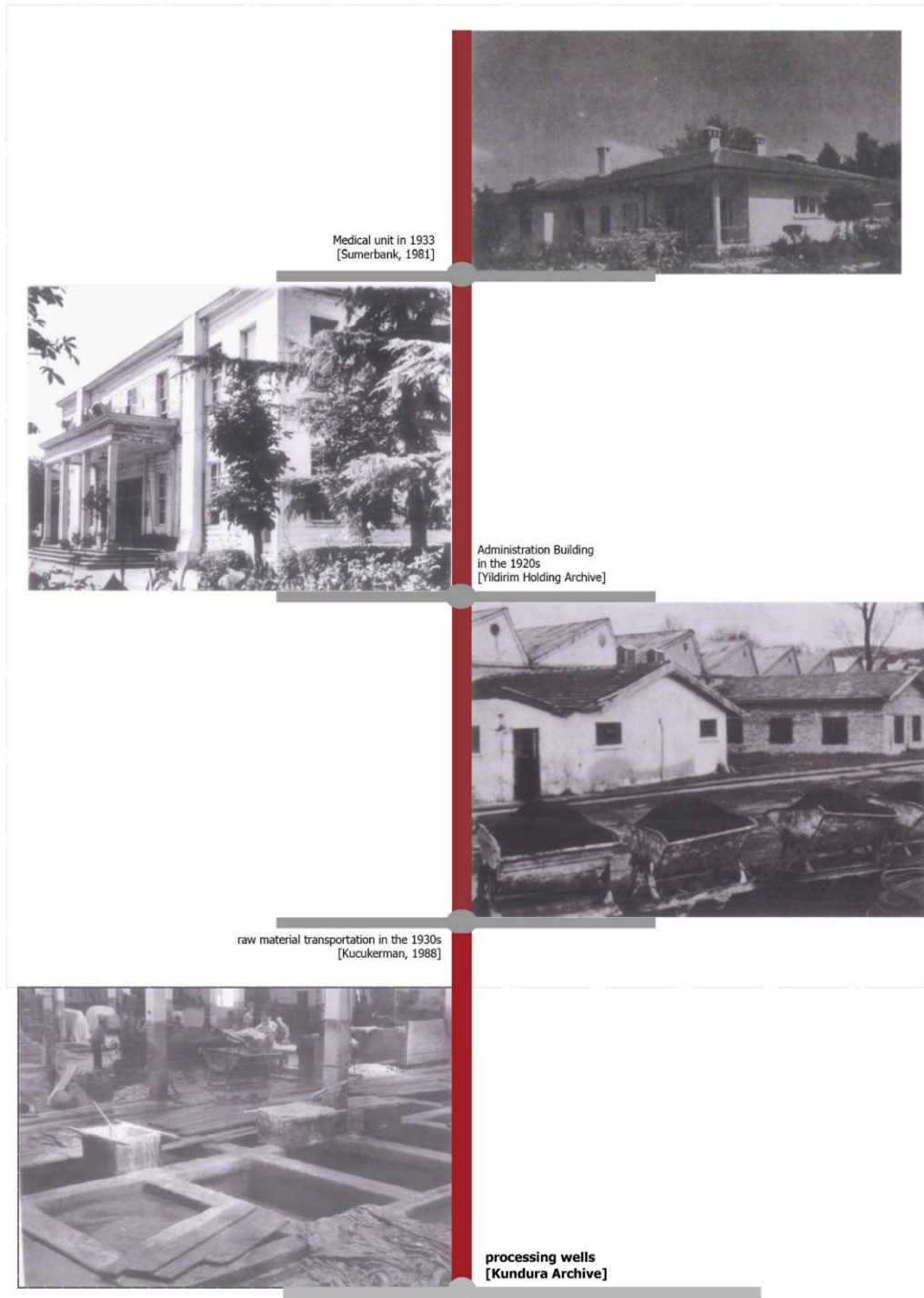


Figure 10: Pre-existing buildings within the industrial campus before 1933, source: image is elaborated by the Author using the old photos obtained from archival research as indicated.

APPENDIX A - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1930s - PRODUCTION PROCESS

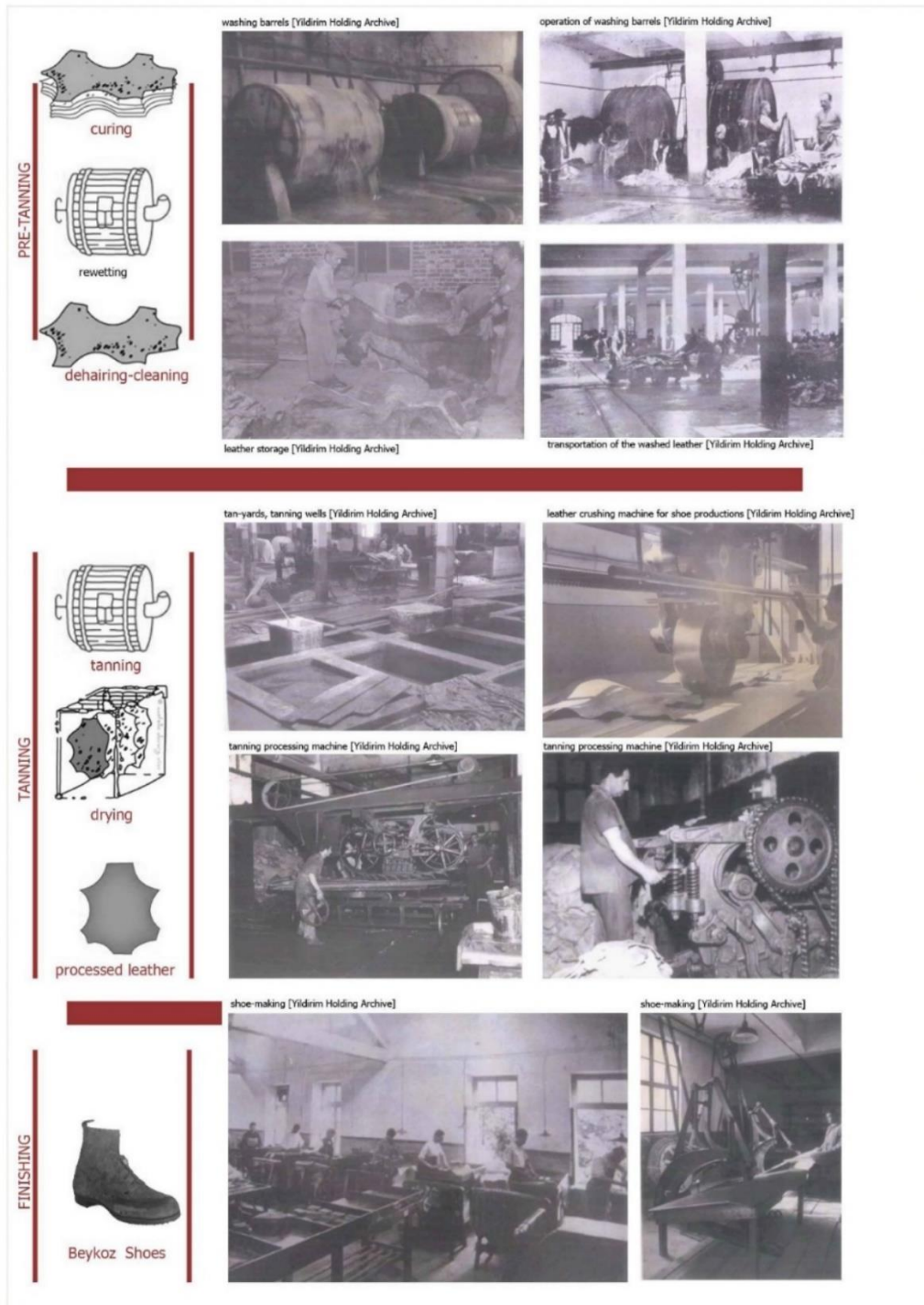


Figure 11: Organization of the Production of Leather and Shoe and spaces of the production, source: image is elaborated by the Author using the old photos obtained from archival research as indicated.

APPENDIX A - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1930s - INDUSTRIAL FUNCTIONS

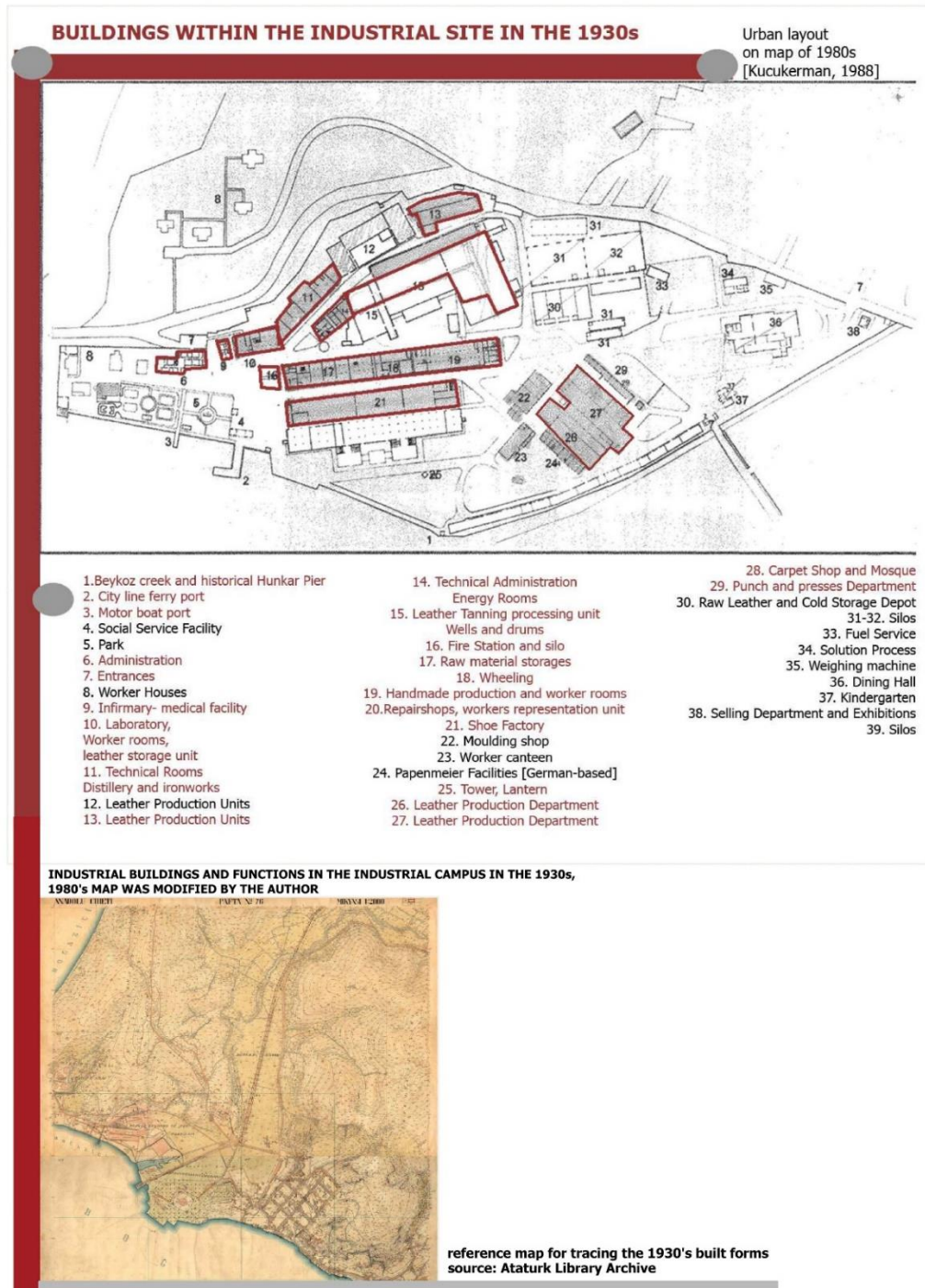
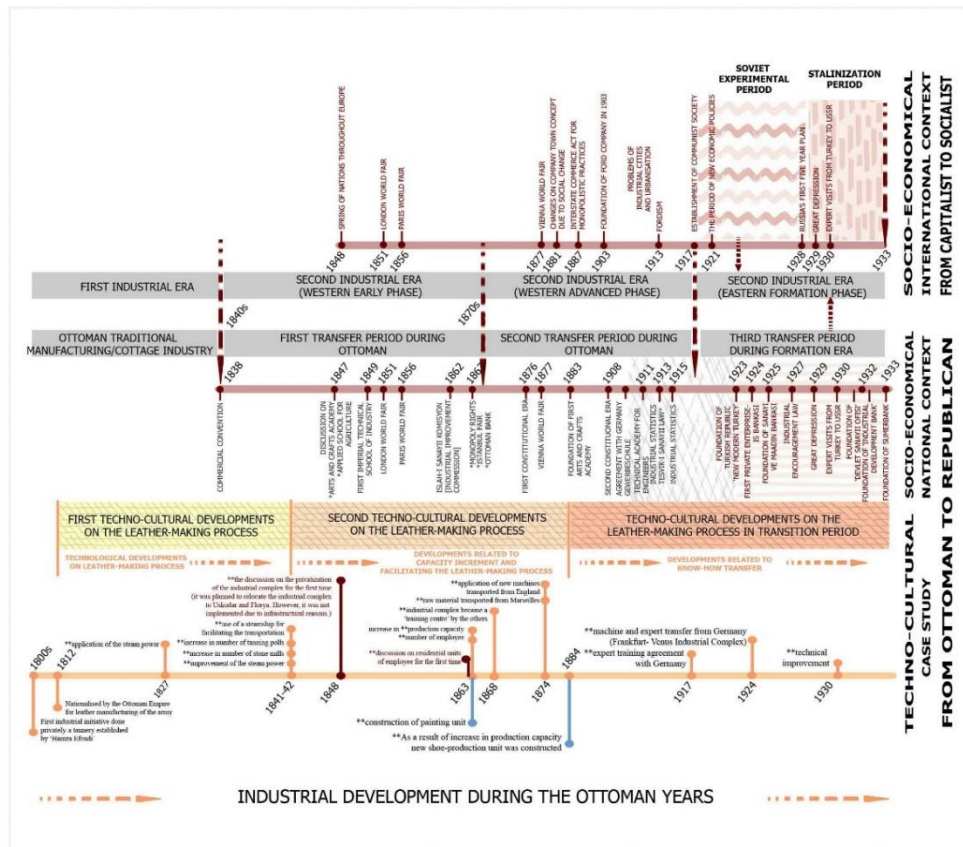


Figure 12: Industrial functions in the 1930s, source: produced by the Author based on 1980's Küçükerman's map, and map obtained from Ataturk Library Archive.

APPENDIX A - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX - TIMELINE



TIMELINE OF THE SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL CAMPUS BEFORE THE 1930s DURING THE OTTOMAN INDUSTRIALIZATION, PREPARED BY THE AUTHOR

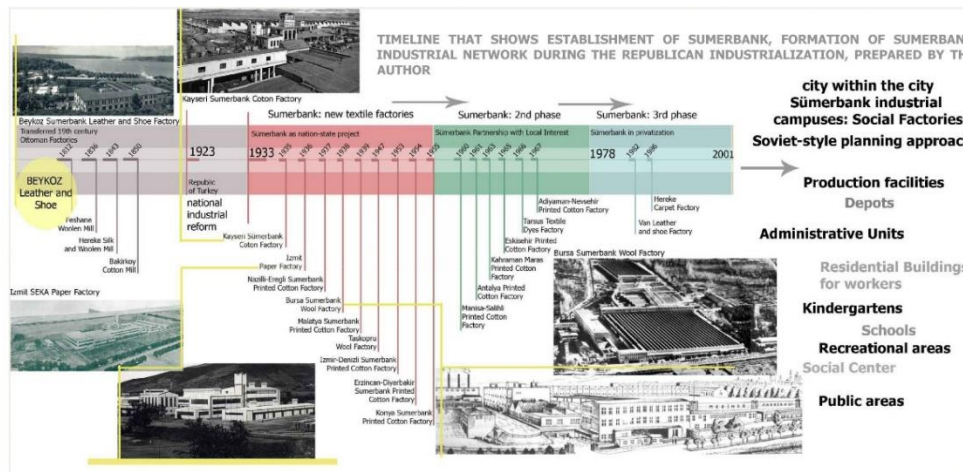
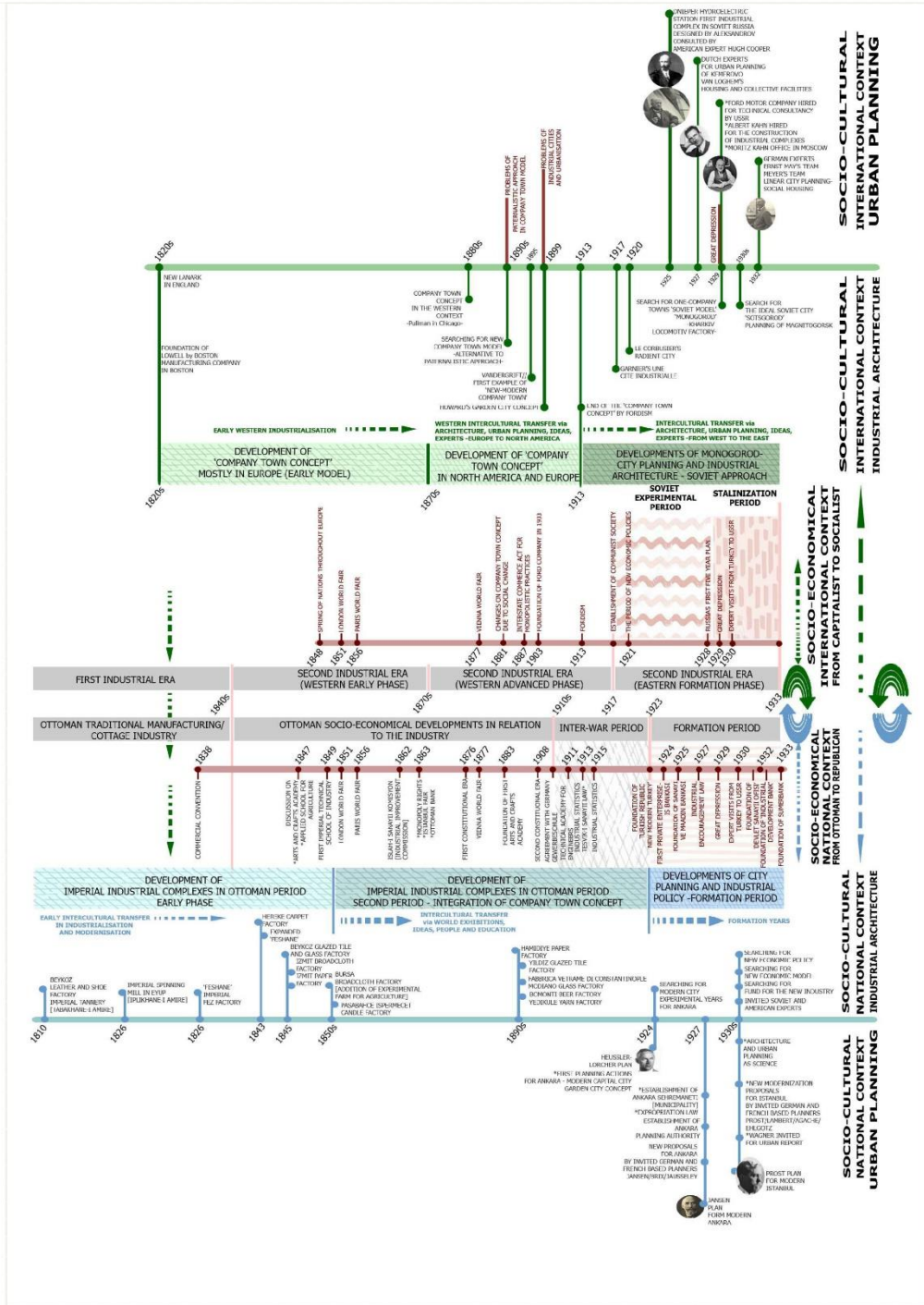


Figure 13: Upper timeline shows international and national developments which have influenced the Sümerbank Industrial Complex until the republican period, bottom timeline shows the Sümerbank industrial network in Turkey and its historical development process until the de-industrialisation. source: timelines produced by the Author

APPENDIX A - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX - TIMELINE



TIMELINE OF THE NATIONAL CONTEXT IN DIFFERENT FIELDS UNTIL THE 1930s, PREPARED BY THE AUTHOR

Figure 14: Timeline shows cultural context and development process in urban planning and industrialisation until the 1930s, source: produced by the Author.

APPENDIX A - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX - TIMELINE

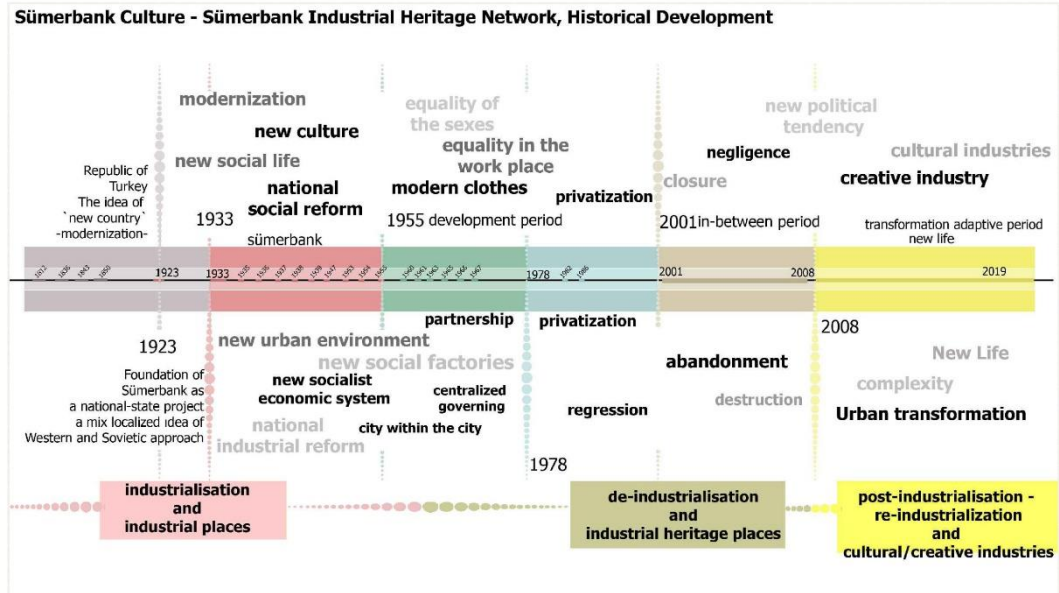


Figure 15: Timeline shows important development periods of Sümerbank industrial network until present. Source: produced by the Author.

2.1.2 ‘The 1940s’: Formation of Sümerbank Culture and ‘Modern’ Articulation-Sümerbank Shoes

Most of the objectives of the first Five Year Industrialisation Plan (1934-39) were based on the national industrial improvement and new industrial places to be established in the whole country, and were achieved by 1939. The 1940s was the important period for the produced products and their accessibility to the whole society, which was the main socio-cultural and economic objective of Sümerbank as a State institution together with the national ideology and ‘modern’ preoccupations of the state. As being a particular period in social reality that also included the inter-war problems and their global impacts to be taken into consideration apart from the national priorities, this era represented the conservative-statist period of the mono-party regime (Boratav, 1976).

Following the 1930s’ developments within the industrialisation and institutionalisation of the industry, the general assembly of Sümerbank and the general director of the industrial complex of the era defined the new development programme to be achieved by 1947 as a second step towards industrialisation and regarding industrial activities within their conducted spaces. According to this new programme, the primary foci were the increment of the production and improvement of the industrial activities, and, subsequently, some important related actions were put in the national agenda for the national scale, of which some were highlighted for the exemplar case. To educate students about industrial development, organization of training activities for the workers by planning training units within the industrial campuses were among the main decisions taken on a national scale. Moreover, some of the students to be educated for industrial improvement were nominated by the institution, were chosen based on the specialisation of the leather and shoemaking process due to its expensive process of know-how. Meanwhile, it was decided to send some of the workers of the industrial complex abroad to learn new techniques and related know-how to hasten the process, which would increase production capacity. In addition, the talented workers in the industrial operation who were working for the factory complex were selected and nominated to be educated by the head-craftsmen to provide continuity and quality of the produced work (Küçükerman, 1987).

Within the time span of the first Five Year Industrialisation Plan and the following years in the 1940s, modernist and Kemalist reforms also passed into the policies of newly established state institutions to ensure national and economical uniformity. The promotion of domestic goods and their consummation and the idea of living economically were some of the primary targets to provide uniformity of

‘culture’ in line with this modernity policy. The foundation of the journal of economy and savings, celebration of the domestic products week, preparation of the brochures and pamphlets of the national productions were among other efforts that also had ideological purposes to provide the concrete outcomes of the social transformation during this period (Himam and Pasin, 2011:159).

The promotion of domestic goods was seen as one of the main priorities towards industrialisation, which was also a part of the radical modernity project of the state. Within the tasks of Sümerbank, the establishment of a selling, saving and promotional department for domestic goods for institutionalisation of the industry was also included. This established department was managed by the transferred industrial campuses’ managers in collaboration with other state institutions until the 1940s (Toprak, 1988:50-51). In fact, the manager of the exemplar case was one of the members of this department, which automatically made the *Beykoz shoes and leather production* an instrument of the ‘cultural and symbolic forms’ of being modern in Turkey during this period. In fact, these products produced by the exemplar factory were seen not only as the materials of industrial culture but also a tool for shaping the modern culture in the early republican years²⁷.

Focusing on the exemplar’s role playing in modernity and cultural transformation, the civil shoe production unit that had already been constructed in 1928 was a direct consequence of these modern preoccupations. In the following years, modern, western shoes were also included in the updated production portfolio of the campus as a further step of in the modernity policy. The first selling unit of the chain regarding these modern shoes and leather crafts was established within the industrial campus to better organise the marketing process of the Sümerbank productions by offering the retail trade to the whole country. These selling stores expanded in 1934 in two diverse places in Istanbul that were specifically planned for Beykoz Sümerbank shoe production. Until 1938, those produced domestic goods were promoted in seven diverse selling branch offices in Turkey to distribute them to other cities (Toprak, 1988:55).

In parallel to those developments, the second Five Year Industrialisation Plan was implemented at the end of the 1930s and included the establishment of energy and related heavy industrial branches, such as mining facilities, metal, chemical, cement and food industries, and electrification and transportation departments within the campuses. However, those planned actions were interrupted due to the war conditions (Tezel, 2015; Köse, 2018). The 1940s was also important when World War II impacts spread throughout the world with their significant influences.

²⁷ See Appendix B for some images that show the promotion of those modern productions produced by the industrial campus during these years.

Even though Turkey did not get involved in World War II, the strong consequences of the period were seen in almost every field during those years. According to the 1943 reports regarding industrial activities, leather and shoe manufacturing was the most affected industrial branch within the nation due to increments on the raw material prices because of the global crisis. Moreover, increase in the number of the military service personnel, and in parallel to this, increase in leather and shoe production based on the army needs, necessitated a specific management and strategies for Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus during those years (Makal, 1999).

The crisis caused by the war conditions had added a new dimension to the retail selling-saving-promoting actions for domestic goods. Through the enactment of the National Security Law in 1940, all productions by private enterprises were seized by the state, and priority was given to the Sümerbank productions to sell and promote them in the selling facilities to expand their selling networks and to prevent negative impacts of the crisis. However, these practices brought reactions from the private enterprises who were dissatisfied with the strong limitations for the private sector in the national market at the end of the war. As a result of those forces and crises of the post-war period, the Turkish Economic Development Plan was put in the state agenda in 1947 in which support for private enterprises was taken as one of the primary decisions (Toprak, 1988; Sönmez, 1999). Following this, the selling, saving and promotional department for domestic goods was abolished from regarded law to gratify private enterprises and traders (Toprak, 1988:51-55). Within this national cultural development of the era, Sümerbank shoes have become one of the important cultural symbols that have represented both the new 'modern' society and new republican industrial culture.

2.1.3 'The 1950s': 'Social' Articulation and Formation of the Social Facilities

At the end of the 1940s, the before-mentioned post-war conditions and a shift towards a multi-party system had strongly influenced industrialisation and modernisation policies of the State, which had resulted also in a new formulation of statism by reformulating being national (Toprak, 1988:87). Sümerbank industrial campuses are one of the important testimonies by which to understand these dynamics of Turkey since they were the places where the politics were practised and experienced by the State for cultural transformation. To better understand the national context at the beginning of the 1950s, it is fundamental to mention the transition to a multi-party system that started to take shape during the second half of the 1940s until the Democrat Party victory in the 1950 elections. This radical

shift in politics caused various changes in the State policies in almost every field. Initially, liberating the economy from the strict state control was one of the main promises of the DP's agenda. The political environment of those years, described as the preparation stages of the liberal approach by adopting a mixed economy as a state policy in Turkey, which was a consequence of the previous context, was directly associated with the DP members' same national preoccupations on a class-free society due to the party members' path dependency²⁸ (Toprak, 1988; Makal, 2002).

Within this socio-political context, industrial facilities that had been managed by Sümerbank, had continued to develop and transform in the following years by expanding their networks in other cities with this new formulation of political economy via 'social' articulation. However, the new adopted policy based on a mixed economy had caused vague planned development actions during those years by creating a various number of conflicts between the political figures (Toprak, 1988; Keyder, 1988, 2000). Accordingly, the 1950s was still a decade in which previous political context and related industrial and cultural reforms were seen dominantly, and they had become apparent in the urban and social environment through their urban and cultural forms within the axis of being a 'social' state (Keyder, 1988, 2000). During this period, industrial complexes had demonstrated both radical modernist and socio-industrial characteristics on their physical layouts derived from the previous axis of political economy and cultural ideology.

In addition to the previously mentioned labour force and worker education programme of Sümerbank in the 1940s following the radical 'modern' axis, there were also city infrastructural problems that had been in the state agenda to be resolved within the modern industrial cities. Thus, some precautions regarding the poor quality of the industrial settlements, such as lack of accommodation for the workers including the new 'modern' life conditions, were considered as the era's social problems. Accordingly, there were also proposed transformations and evolutions within the industrial complex through new social service facilities, cultural units and a selling department for the domestic goods that were the mission of Sümerbank in the 1940s until the 1950s (Makal, 1999). Concordantly, 'social' articulation had been also applied through those planned actions on the industrial campuses during those years.

Following this, searching for the solution of the improvement of the labour force, which had been experienced in the beginning of the republican

²⁸ The internal composition of the DP had been formed with CHP/RRP background, but with a criticism of the state control policies on the industry and previous *étatist* strategy of the mono-party regime (Toprak, 1988; Makal, 2002).

industrialisation policies, brought the idea of permanent worker spaces within those campuses apart from their working lives. Indeed, they were the direct consequences of those developments and the industrialisation impact of the eastern and western contexts within the scope of the social reality of the era. Social, cultural, medical, and educational facilities began to be constructed within the campuses starting from the late 1940s and in the 1950s, which had already been proposed in the initial reports prepared by Soviet and American experts in the 1930s (Makal, 1999). In fact, this development agenda was already prepared by the mono-party regime, which was defined during the 3rd congress of the CHP Republican People's Party in 1931, through new reforms to be integrated within the scope of statism into the party's politics based on a class-free society (Tekeli, 1998). As a result of those developments, Sümerbank industrial facilities started to be the areas for practising politics by the State, since the State was the owner of those production areas through establishment of the State Economic Enterprises (Uzunoğlu, 2008:69).

As mentioned by H. Doğan (2007), Sümerbank industrial facilities which were also called 'social factories', comprised not only production spaces for the related industrial branches, but also included the spaces where society had practised and experienced a new way of living, being modern, and having equality and secularity that had been shared by all citizens. During their active years, social welfare and healthcare services had also been provided for the workers and their families by Sümerbank with given special assistance to them during the 1940s within well-equipped healthcare and social facilities. According to the Sümerbank Introduction Book, while an infirmary unit was added within each industrial campus to provide health assistance for the workers and their families, seven of the campuses were enriched through an architectural programme by adding primary and elementary schools to provide education assistance for the workers' families. Furthermore, four of those campuses in different industrial branches were selected as centres for internship to train the newcomers and senior workers regarding technological developments, know-how and related industrial skills. Some of them also included clubs, outdoor sports and recreational spaces within the sites for workers' leisure activities to improve their intellectual and physical state of health (Sümerbank, 1948).

Regarding previous studies on the other Sümerbank facilities in Anatolia, for instance, Nazilli industrial campus, which was one of the early constructed sites during the first Five Year industrialisation programme, it was noted that the socio-cultural life conducted by the workers and their families was quite a dominant and important part of their lives in the 1940s. Thus, the existing industrial programme of the campuses was expanded by adding leisure time activities, such as theatres,

cinemas, picnics, festivals, foreign language courses, sporting activities and competitions, which were available not only to the workers but also people outside the Sümerbank community (Himam and Pasin, 2011:6). Accordingly, in the late 1940s and in the 1950s, industrial culture and its intangible and tangible cultural forms took shape and developed within those state factory complexes that have become the main sources through which to understand the urban forms and socio-cultural life during those years.

This socio-cultural and industrial transformation was considered as an appropriate way to achieve the objectives on industrialisation and modernity by the state which took shape in their built and urban forms starting from the 1940s until the end of the 1960s in compliance with the new regulation on the law no 3460 regarding to the new tasks of State Economic Enterprises. Besides, new state institutions such as educational mobilisation programme or village institutions and public houses, were also established to promote the new industrial culture. Schools and training centres, outdoor sports areas and recreational spaces were added into the campuses, or were replanned by reusing existing spaces to train the workers and to provide social assistance for their socio-cultural activities (Makal, 1999).

2.1.4 Czechoslovakian Influences and Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus between the 1940s and 1950s

In this part of the dissertation before framing the contextual background of the political economy in the 1950s and direct or indirect consequences in the 1960s and 1970s in the industrial complex with Czechoslovakian engineers, the 1940s and 1950s' urban layout and the developments that occurred in the Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus will be provided. The historical trajectory of the industrial complex from the 1940s until the end of the 1950s (See Figure 16),²⁹ which has been traced through the Sümerbank records, written documents, and publications, shows that the changes that occurred within the industrial complex were mostly based on the increment of the production and products capacity. In addition, during this period, Sümerbank shoes and leather crafts had been promoted by the State as a part of its modernity policy. Thus, from 1933, the following developments occurred: the addition of glue production and its processing facility in 1942, expanded production spaces of the civil shoes department in the 1940s and the addition of new leathercrafts such as gloves, new models of civil shoes, modern wallets and bags and their production spaces within the site (See Figure 20-21 in

²⁹ Appendix B includes all other mentioned developments regarding to the case study.

the Appendix B). The industrial complex in the 1950s, the built and cultural forms, might have been composed of those pre-existing and newly added or expanded units that have been examined through 1946 and 1950 aerial photos (See Figure 19-20 in the Appendix B).

During the war period in the 1940s, Turkey's pro-German behaviour and similarities of the political economy with the German model (Keyder, 1988; 2000) were also visible in the historical trajectory of the case study. For instance, there was an important training centre in the German 'schule',³⁰ the Freiburg School, based within the industrial complex, which was quite famous for industrial training in Turkey that had success by learning from the former workers' experiences. The studied industrial complex was also used as a training centre for leather processing to introduce the era's know-how where the workers were trained by the head-craftsmen who had been educated in Germany in the early republican years. In fact, those head-craftsmen called themselves the Freiburg team (Küçükerman, 1987). During this period, training of the workers was an important policy of the State in industrialisation to improve the production quality and quantity.

Furthermore, at the end of the 1940s, the canteen for the workers and trainers was constructed within the industrial complex near to the processing areas where they worked in the main processing. Even though it was constructed to increase the labour force aiming for a better work organisation with short worker breaks by organising a place for their basic needs, this canteen building later became a landmark of the site for the former workers through its multi-use as a winter cinema hall in the 1950s, where Hollywood films were screened after working hours or during lunch time for them and their families (Küçükerman, 1987; Kundura Memory Project interviews).

Moreover, it is of interest to mention that the 1940s was the period when the Sümerbank administrative committee and the managers of the studied campus were seeking the investment and support for the renovation of the existing mechanisation equipment under the name of modernisation of the industrial process. These managers travelled to Italy, Czechoslovakia and other prominent places to find

³⁰ German similarity in the political economy and industrial policy during those years was also linked with the German professors and advisors who were consulate during the statism practices and industrial development in the nation. For example, Dr. Von der Porten was among those scholars and prepared a comprehensive report on the problems of the state control on the industry and the consequences in 1938 just after industrialisation plans. One of his important influences in the nation industrialisation policies in the 1940s and 1950s was based on the education and condition of life of the workers to increase the labour force. In his report, he made a deep analysis regarding to those problems in Turkey with a comparison to German cases and, hence, during those years, most of the problems were attempted to be solved in the German way (Tekeli and Ilkin, 1992: 41-42)

investors for production equipment to transfer the modernised machines of the era into the pre-existing processing. This initiative also aimed to bring working discipline into the working life for increasing mass production in the capitalist direction. According to conducted research by Kundura Hafiza, the relations between Czechoslovakia and the case study, had started in the late 1940s and influenced the campus both socially and architecturally. A newspaper from 1947, highlighted that the managers and engineers of the campus had visited one of Czechoslovakia's prominent industrial complexes, namely Bata in Zlin,³¹ to search for the necessary modern machines and mechanical equipment.

In the beginning of the 1950s, while the social life within the industrial complex had transformed and developed according to the previous modernity axis, in the meantime, new measures and formulations were also introduced regarding the industry and ongoing industrial developments by considering politico-economic measures within the national scale. The 1950s political environment and new steps towards liberal economy brought the planned development period, which began with the first industrial development plan for the years between 1962 and 1968. Through the first development plan, modernisation of agriculture and industrial activities was the priority, aiming to support the private enterprises that were displeased due to the strict state control over the industry during the early years of the mono-party regime (Keyder, 1988; Toprak, 1987). As a result of this development plan aiming to restore the war conditions' impacts on the domestic trade, there were technological developments in the whole of the campuses based on the modernisation of the industrial machines. During this period, most of the modernisation of the industrial process equipment was predominantly undertaken by foreign private enterprises in the 1960s as noted from Czechoslovakian influences on the selected industrial campus.

³¹Tomáš Baťa was a Czechoslovak global entrepreneur and the founder of the Bata Shoes Company and a global shoemaking network in other places including Brasilia, Croatia, India, Netherlands and so many others until the 1940s. The original industrial campus located in Zlin was nationalised in 1947 by the Bolsheviks (documentary on Tomas Bata, 2021). The Bata Company followed an important mission called 'shoe the world' starting from the 1930s in line with the era's Fordist-inspired approach. The company expanded its links in the world establishing the Bata system which was a centralised system towards mass production to increase the labour force in 55 industrial complexes in different geographies. The Bata system provided control and monitoring of the process from the raw materials phase to the final product. It aimed to standardise the production process by increasing the production quality and quantity, thus saving time (English-Lueck, 2000).

Moreover, the main decisions taken within the scope of the first development plan by the DP (1963) members in those years were also aiming to better organise the socio-economic conditions of the unplanned industrial campuses including the social life of the workers in order to solve the problem of their inconsistency in labour which had been determined as one of the main problems of the previous experiences through the observations and reports prepared by invited foreign experts among whom were Dr. Von der Porten and Mr. Thornburg. In parallel to this, lifestyle standardisation of the workers, social welfare and related services for them and their families had started to be organised within the industrial campuses where they were not planned previously. It was not only the consequences of transition towards multi-party regime aiming to bring more democracy in workers' social lives, but also they were related providing the full-time working principles for increment of the ongoing industrial actions. Within the 1950's programme of the DP committee led by Recep Peker, lack of workers accommodation³² and extreme working hours were referred to as industrial development priorities of the State, and they highlighted the ongoing process of the workers' houses and barracks projects within the whole nation and the beautification process of the cities to clean up after the newly emerged urbanisation impacts. Moreover, the CHP/RPP also expanded their programme in the 1950s through new principals of housing problems to be resolved in which these problems had influenced the new legislations concerning construction, zoning legislation and encouragement on the collaboration of private enterprises for housing construction by facilitating bureaucratic stages. They also put emphasis on new worker houses with gardens nearby the industrial areas to provide comfort for workers on these industrial campuses (Tekeli, 1996).

In addition to these developments, establishment of the Ministry of Labour and adoption of the Occupational Insurance Law in 1945 had triggered hastening the construction of the workers' houses; nevertheless, these initiatives and rhetoric did not become apparent in the 1950s except for some of the Sümerbank campuses such as Nazilli, Kayseri, Ereğli and Izmit³³ (Sey, 1998; Arnold, 2012). In the initial

³² During the 1950s, a various number of illegal worker houses were constructed of which most were in Beykoz since several industrial complexes were in this district due to the geographical potentials.

³³As mentioned by C.E. Arnold (2012), Sümerbank started to provide those social measures constructing or extending housing units and social work departments within the campuses. For instance, while 180 worker houses and barracks were constructed in 1943-44 within Karabük iron and steel factory complex, Nazilli industrial complex was reorganised constructing worker barracks within the campus for 300-350 immigrant workers in 1945. He added that most of the Sümerbank industrial complexes without medical services for their workers, established their hospitals or medical units in 1945 to provide healthcare services for the workers.

period of the DP rule during the 1950s, some of the industrial complexes, such as those constructed in the Aegean region (Uzunoğlu, 2008:92), included accommodation facilities in the campuses that had previously been used only by civil servants (Makal, 2002). Sey (1998) also mentioned a report prepared by the Sümerbank administration committee in which the main design principles of the new worker houses and the project measures to take into consideration were published. According to this, while such accommodation would be planned as garden houses or apartments depending on the industrial campus' character, they would also include kindergartens and playgrounds for the families of the workers, sports facilities, such as tennis, volleyball and soccer, for their leisure activities. Besides, hierarchy zones in the campuses had been identified to house the workers in barracks, dormitories or worker houses depending on their working status, which was another highlighted issue for those projects.

Returning back to the case study, after the 1955 investment on the Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus, which was aiming for an increment in the production capacity, modernisation of the industrial technology and related mechanisation, there was a renewal project confirmed in 1960 to provide those measures together with the social ones, such as standardisation and organisation of the workers' lives, including their social welfare, education and accommodation, and in regard to necessary services (Küçükerman, 1988). The Sümerbank managers' efforts in providing a solution from the foreign sphere were associated with these developments; in fact, the agreement was signed with the Czechoslovakian Bata company³⁴ in 1958. It had influenced the built, urban and cultural forms of the studied campus, which had been concretised in their visible forms within the following years³⁵.

The primary transformation had started with the standardisation of the processing stages in manufacturing to achieve mass production by increasing the production capacity, which were the main decisions taken by the state within the first development plan. Between 1962 and 1965, there were significant modernisation changes in the processing stages within the industrial site that had been made by a prestigious Czechoslovakian Shoe Company. According to the records and interviews conducted with the former workers³⁶, new processing units

³⁴Bata Shoe Companies which were constructed in these years all around the world, had influenced a various number of nations not only through the standardisation of the production process, but also through standardisation of the workers' social life since they were the sites constructed in the hybrid Fordist-socialist approach in industrialisation (English-Lueck, 2000).

³⁵ See Appendix C for regarding documents and maps.

³⁶ The information regarding to the Czechoslovakian Company obtained from the oral history project conducted by Kundura Archive and the History foundation.

had been added within the industrial site by those Czech engineers who worked for a year within the campus. After establishing a rubber-band system, also called the 'Bata system', to provide standardisation in the production process, new rubber processing units and their supported facilities regarding the processing necessities were added within the site (See Figure 17). The Czechoslovakian team, namely *Centroproject*, planned and designed the new building, *Yeni Kundura*, during this period which is currently the symbol of the heritage site. Furthermore, conducted interviews were the important sources to provide information about Czechoslovakian interpretations³⁷ between 1962 and 1965. According to this, they not only trained the workers in labour efficiency and production quality by the help of a translator, but also planned and designed different modern facilities within the campus which represent the modern architectural forms within the industrial campus, differentiated from the Ottoman ones constructed previously (See Figure 18).

Following this transformation of the site in the 1960s, there was another technological change regarding the processing phases that occurred in 1968, which were initiated by a Swedish Shoe Company³⁸ aiming to increase the production capacity of soles and heels for producing cheap civil shoes in these years. As a result of this development, imitation leather processing units were added within the site by expanding the production types in manufacturing (Tanyeli, 2006). During this period, the department for preparation of soles and heels was reorganised for more efficient working outcomes by expanding the main operation places, including storage for raw, finished and partly finished materials, cutting and preparation places for soles and heels, and newly added shoe welts and shoe linings. The independent units of the main process, which employed lesser work forces, were moved to another place of the campus site. Some machines that were not in use or were used rarely, were renewed with the modern machines bought from the international prominent industrialised countries.

Hence, it can be said that the main innovations in the 1960s were based on the process layout keeping the worker movement to a minimum from one operation to the next to increase the labour force. In addition, the main developments regarding the industry also included the introduction of the injection moulding process instead of the traditional process methods in the manufacturing of military shoes, which

³⁷ Since the research mainly focus on formal and cultural reading of the case study in this period, the pure social interpretation of Czechoslovakians on workers' life is beyond the discourse.

³⁸ United Shoe Machinery Company AB (Tanyeli, 2006).

required an operation called the ‘singer’³⁹ department to put the shoes into boxes. This process operated by conveyor was a bant system introduced by Czechoslovakian engineers between 1962 and 1965 (Sümerbank assessment report on Beykoz).

Accordingly, through this renewal project conducted by the Czechoslovakian technical team, *Centroproject*, there were significant numbers of new modern constructions which became the symbol of the campus. The ‘*Yeni Kundura*’ building, social service facility, new recreational areas and parks, accommodation units for the workers and civil servants, dining hall, kindergarten, cinema and theatre hall within the pre-existing canteen building were the significant additions of the 1960s and 1970s that caused an important socio-cultural transformation in the case study. They were important additions which became landmarks in the following years. Thus, the industrial site in the 1960s and 1970s with its built and urban forms might have been composed of those pre-existing ones and newly added or expanded units, which were the initial years of change in social life significantly⁴⁰.







³⁹ Most of the workers of the Singer Department were female which was also associated with the encouragement policy of the State for women during these years.

⁴⁰ See regarding Cognitive Maps and Appendix C.

COGNITIVE MAPS - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1940s-1955

**MAP NO 2
INDUSTRIAL AND MODERN DEVELOPMENTS**

MAPPING VOCABULARY

- PROJECT AREA
 - 
 - GREEN-SCAPE FORMS
 - 
 - WATER-SCAPE FORMS
 - 
 - INDUSTRIAL BUILT FORMS
 - 
 - ADDITIONAL BUILT FORMS
 - 
 - ADDITIONAL INDUSTRIAL FUNCTIONS
 - 
-
- GEOGRAPHICAL FORMATIONS
 - GEOMETRICAL FORMATIONS
 - LIFE WITHIN THE CAMPUS
-
- INDUSTRIAL CULTURE
 - TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT
 - ADDITIONAL UNITS AND MACHINES FOR MODERN CIVIL SHOES
 - MODERN CIVIL LEATHERS
-
- MODERN CULTURE
 - ADDITION OF THE CINEMA IN SOCIAL LIFE OF THE WORKERS
 - ADDITION OF SELLING UNITS
 - OF PRODUCTIONS
 - DISTRIBUTION OF MODERN PRODUCTIONS TO THE OTHER CITIES

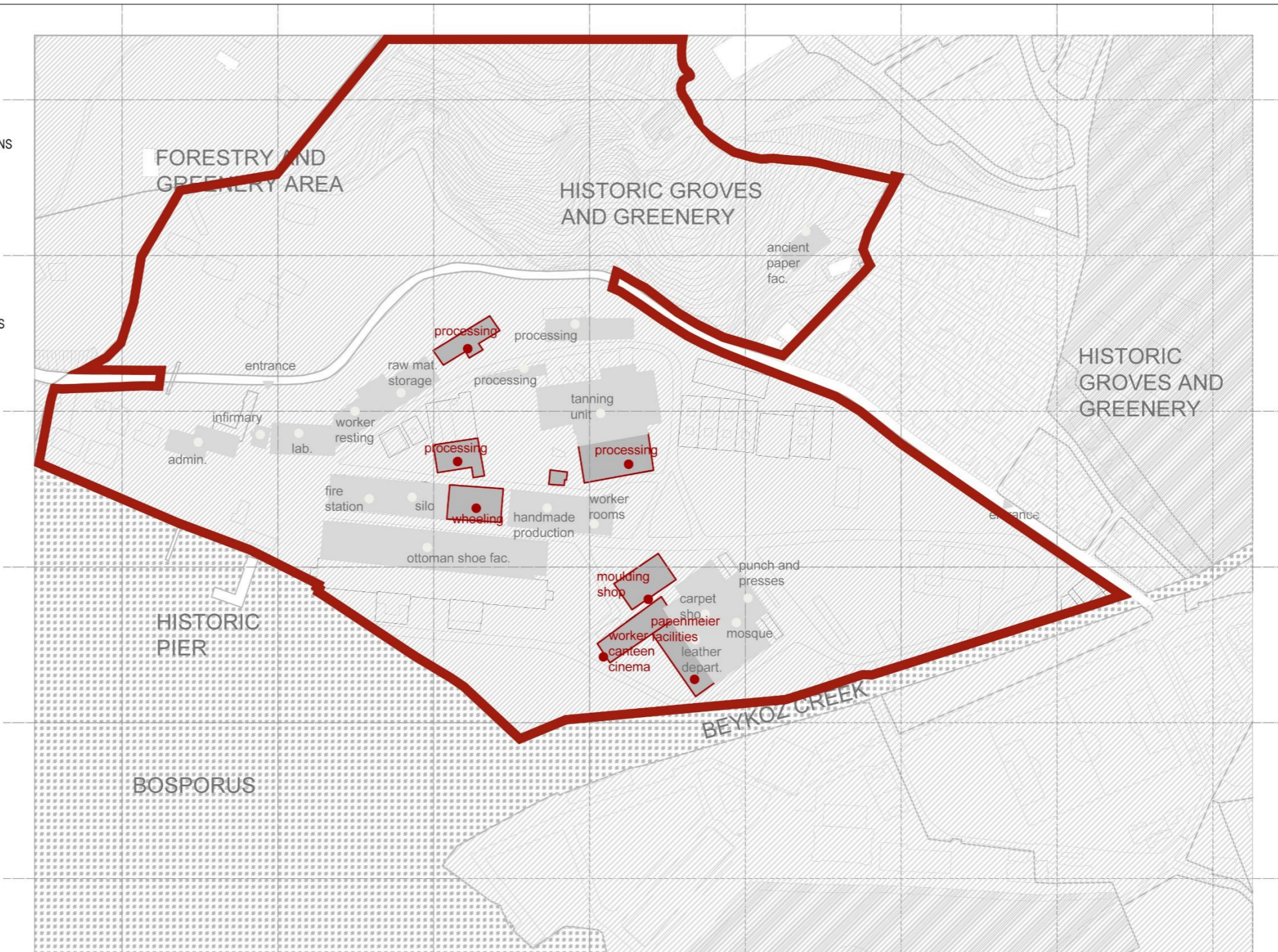

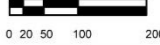


Figure 16: Cognitive Map no-2, Sümerbank industrial campus between the 1940s and 1955, source: map is elaborated by the author using the base map obtained from the Municipality.

COGNITIVE MAPS - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1955-1970

N  Scale 1:1000 

**MAP NO 3
INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS**

MAPPING VOCABULARY

- PROJECT AREA
 - GREEN-SCAPE FORMS
 - WATER-SCAPE FORMS
 - INDUSTRIAL BUILT FORMS
 - ADDITIONAL BUILT FORMS AND MODERN LANDMARKS
 - ADDITIONAL INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS
-
- GEOGRAPHICAL FORMATIONS
 - GEOMETRICAL FORMATIONS CZECHOSLOVAKIAN INFLUENCES
-
- 'SOCIAL' ARTICULATION IN INDUSTRIAL CULTURE
 - TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT
 - ADDITIONAL MACHINES FOR MASS PRODUCTION
 - ADDITIONAL UNITS FOR MODERN MACHINES
-
- LIFE WITHIN THE CAMPUS
-
- 'SOCIAL' ARTICULATION IN MODERN CULTURE
 - STANDARDIZATION OF WORKER LIVES
 - WORKER ACCOMMODATIONS IN THE CAMPUS
 - WORKER SOCIAL FACILITIES IN THE CAMPUS

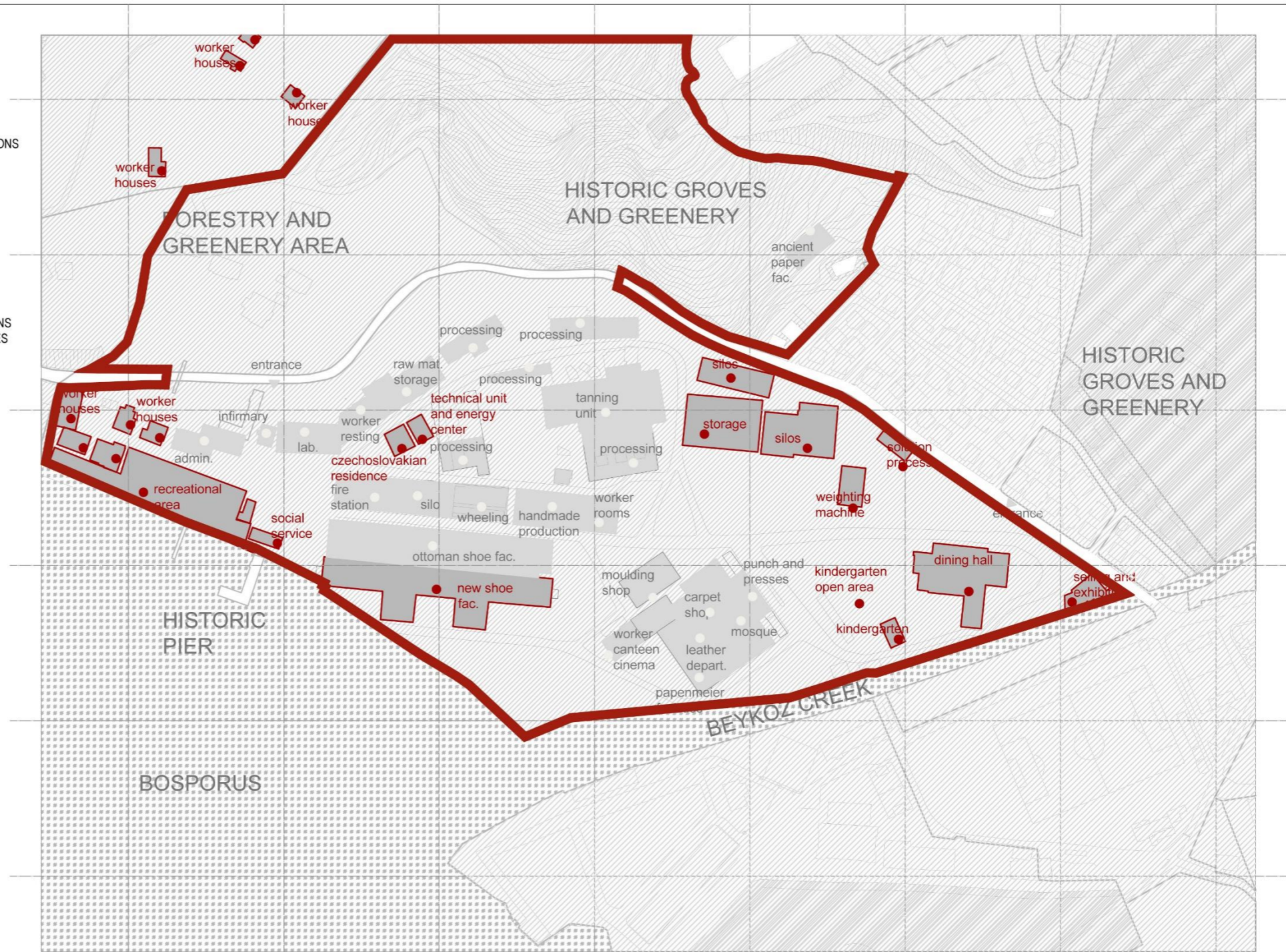


Figure 17: Cognitive Map no-3, Sümerbank industrial campus between 1955-1970, source: map is elaborated by the author using the base map obtained from the Municipality.

COGNITIVE MAPS - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1955-1970. CZECHOSLOVAKIAN INFLUENCES AND FORMATION OF MODERN LANDMARKS

**MAP NO 4
MODERN LANDMARKS**

- SOCIAL' ARTICULATION IN INDUSTRIAL CULTURE
- TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT
 - ADDITIONAL MACHINES FOR MASS PRODUCTION
 - ADDITIONAL UNITS FOR MODERN MACHINES

- SOCIAL' ARTICULATION IN MODERN CULTURE
- STANDARDIZATION OF WORKER LIVES
 - WORKER ACCOMMODATIONS IN THE CAMPUS
 - WORKER SOCIAL FACILITIES IN THE CAMPUS

-CENTROPROJEKT BY CZECHOSLOVAKIANS
**All sources about the project obtained from KUNDURA ARCHIVE

Preliminary Design for the factory was approved in November 1959. This is the first fully mechanized large-scale shoe manufacturing plant in Turkey designed and developed by Czechoslovakian engineers and architects.

Czechoslovakian experts from BATA complex in Zlín visit Beykoz Sumerbank Industrial Campus in 1959, 1960 and 1961. They stayed this period of time for the industrial development and improvement.



— • LIFE WITHIN THE CAMPUS

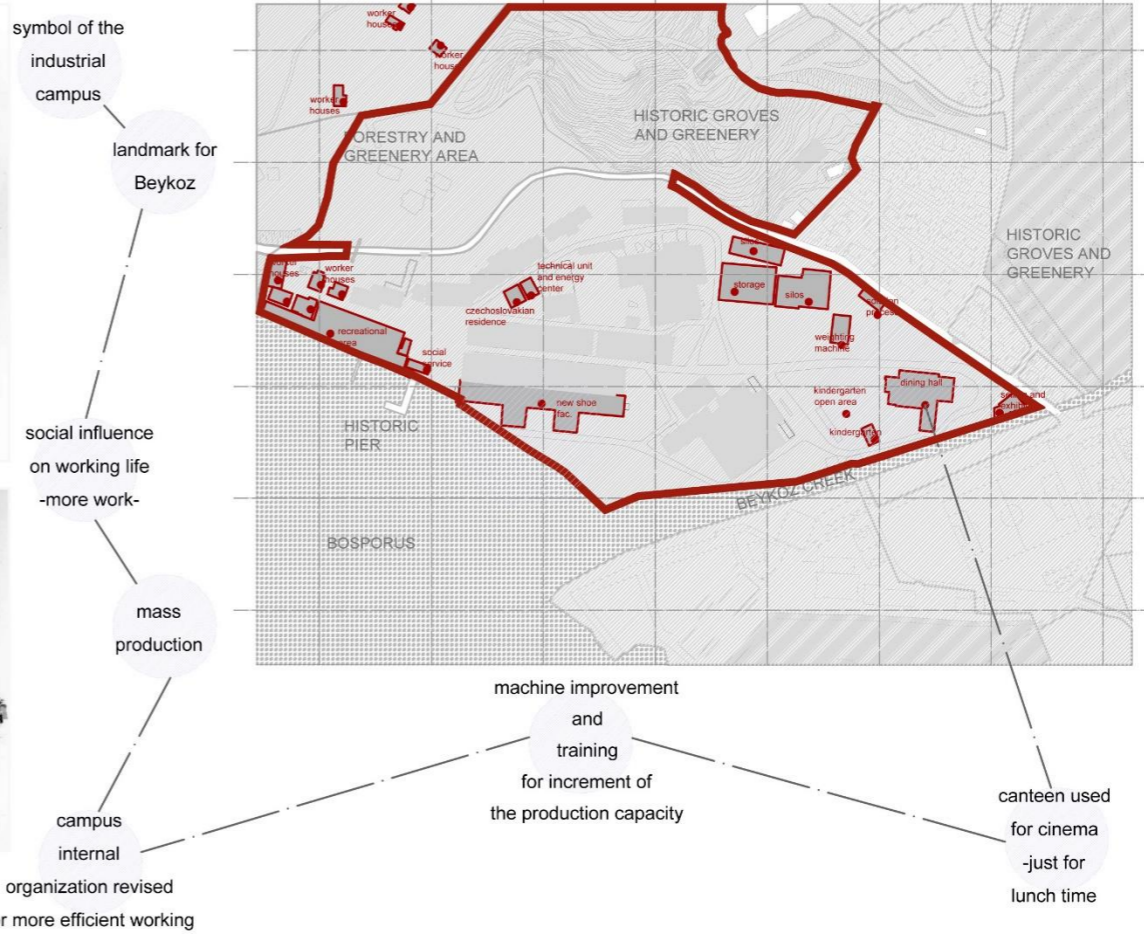
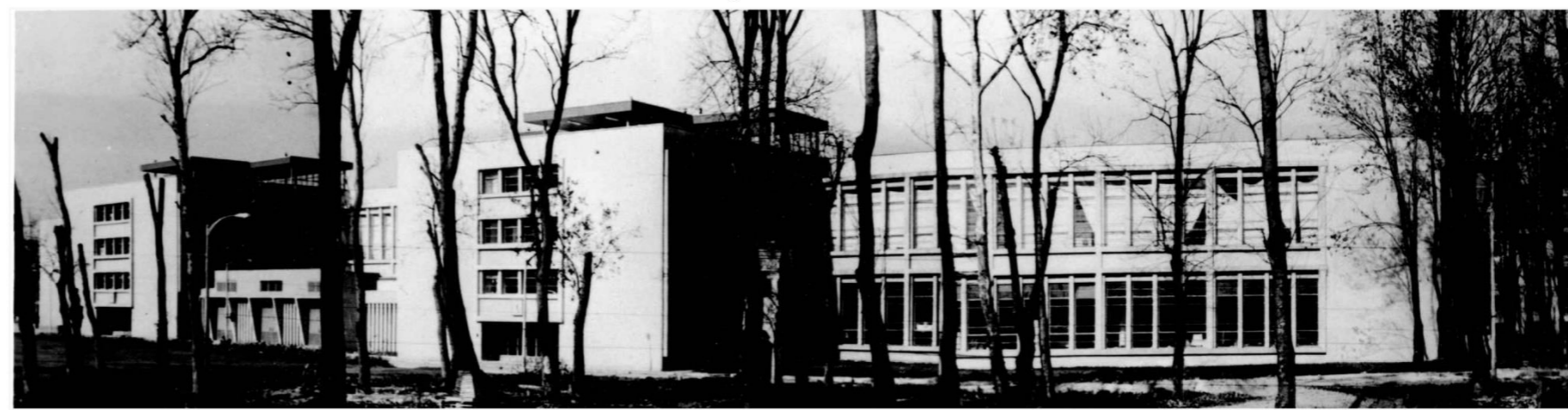
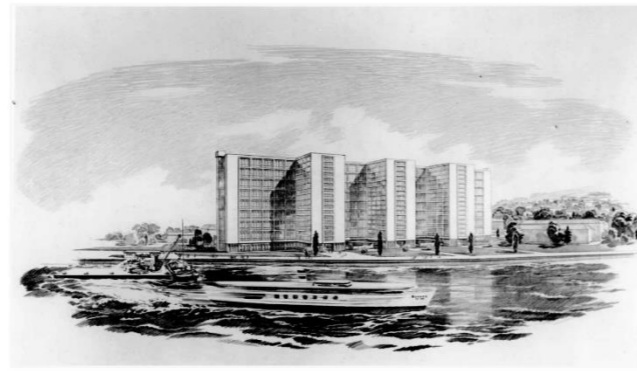
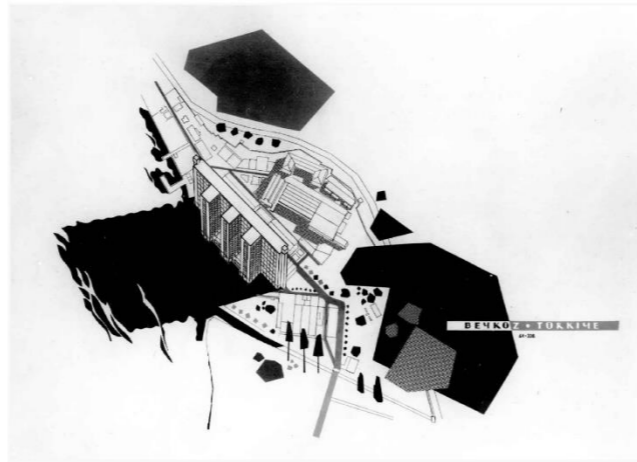
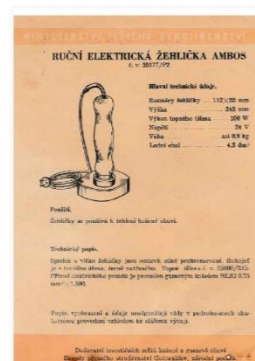
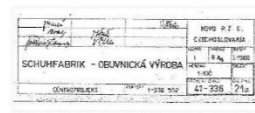
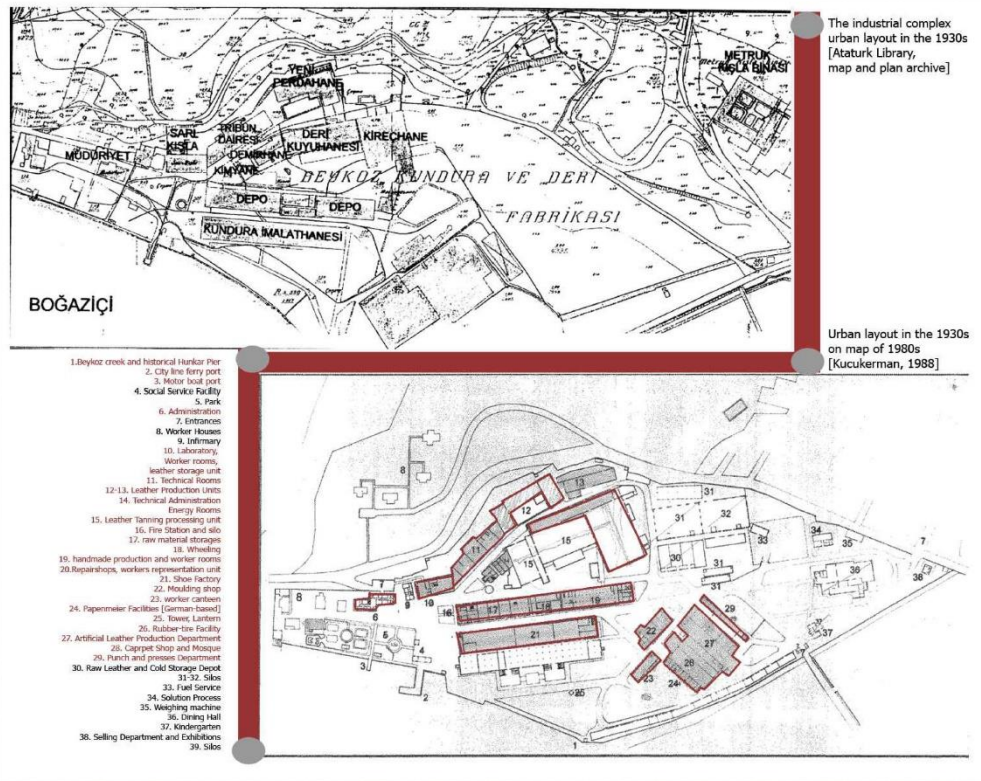


Figure 18: Cognitive Map no-4, Czechoslovakian influences, source: map is elaborated by the author using the base map obtained from the Municipality, the documents and old photos obtained from Kundura Archive.

APPENDIX B: The Industrial Site between the 1940s and 1950s

APPENDIX B - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1940-1955



1946 Aerial photo, reference document used for tracing the 1940's built forms

Figure 19: Sümerbank industrial campus in the 1940s, source: image elaborated by the author using the 1980's Küçükerman's map and 1946's aerial photo obtained from General Command of Cartography.

APPENDIX B - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1940-1955

'MODERN' ARTICULATION: 'MODERN' SUMERBANK CIVIL SHOES AND LEATHER PRODUCTIONS



promoted Beykoz productions in the 1940s within the pamphlets [images taken from Yildirim Holding Archive]

promoted Beykoz productions in the 1940s within the pamphlets [images taken from Yildirim Holding Archive]

promoted Beykoz productions in the 1940s within the pamphlets [images taken from Yildirim Holding Archive]

Figure 20: 'Modern Articulation' to the industrial culture, source: collage is produced by the author using the old photos and pamphlets obtained from Kundura Archive.

APPENDIX B - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1940-1955

'MODERN' ARTICULATION: 'MODERN' SUMERBANK CIVIL SHOES AND LEATHER PRODUCTIONS

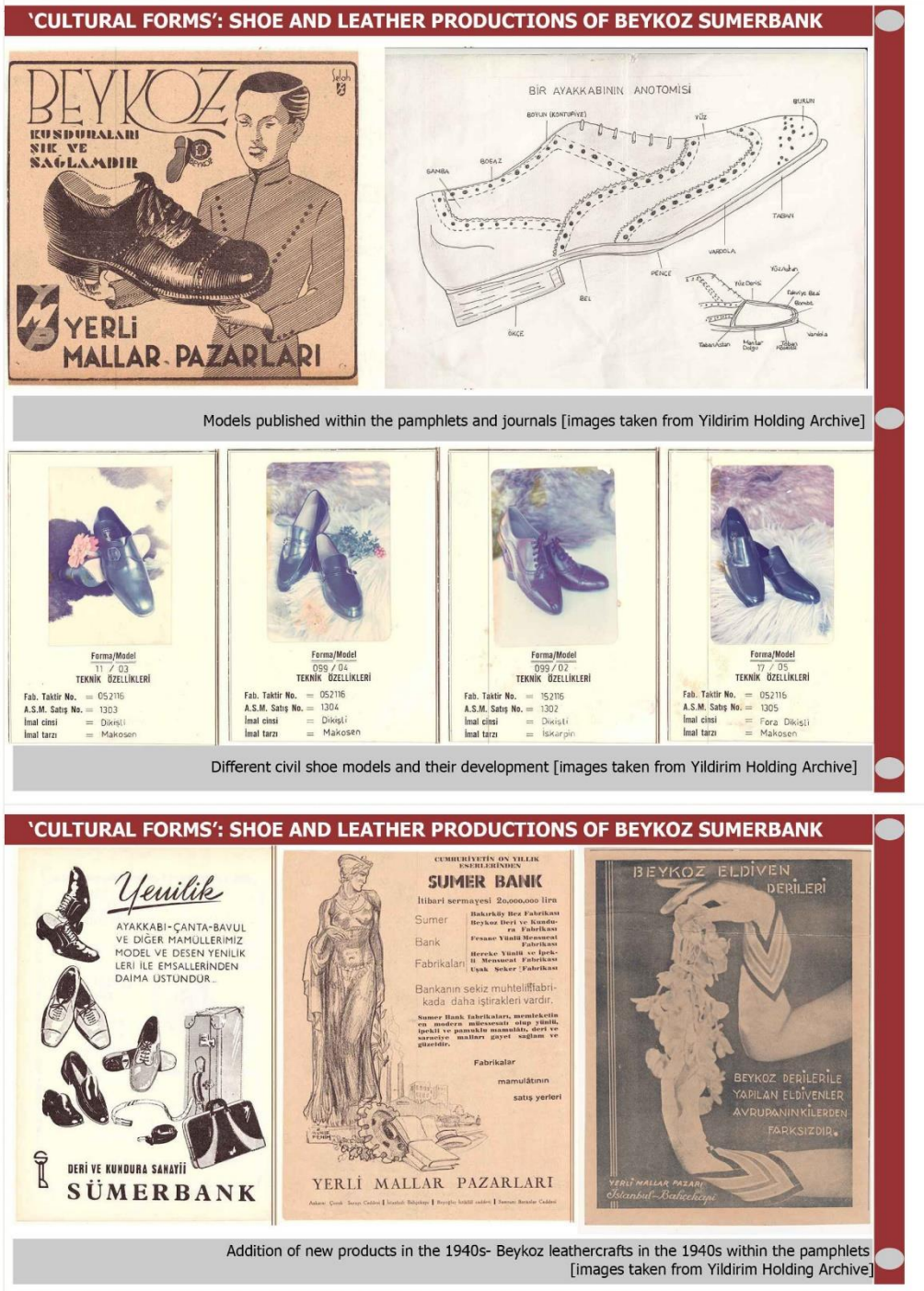
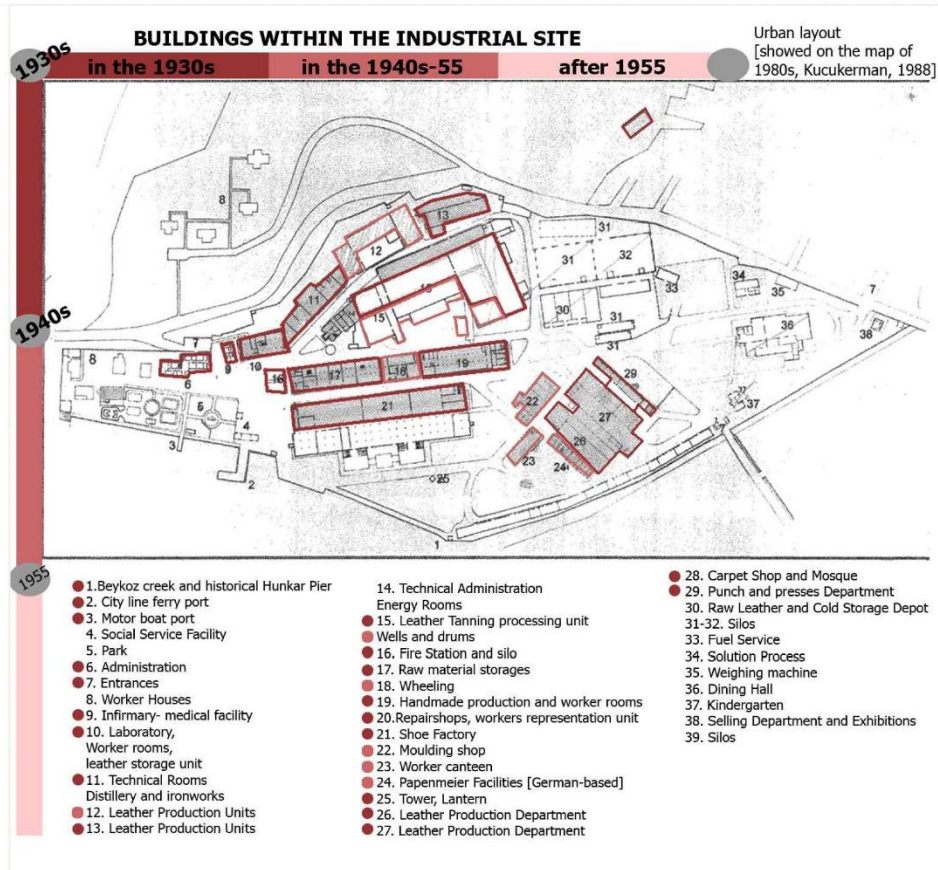


Figure 21: 'Modern Articulation' to the industrial culture, source: collage is produced by the author using the old photos and pamphlets obtained from Kundura Archive.



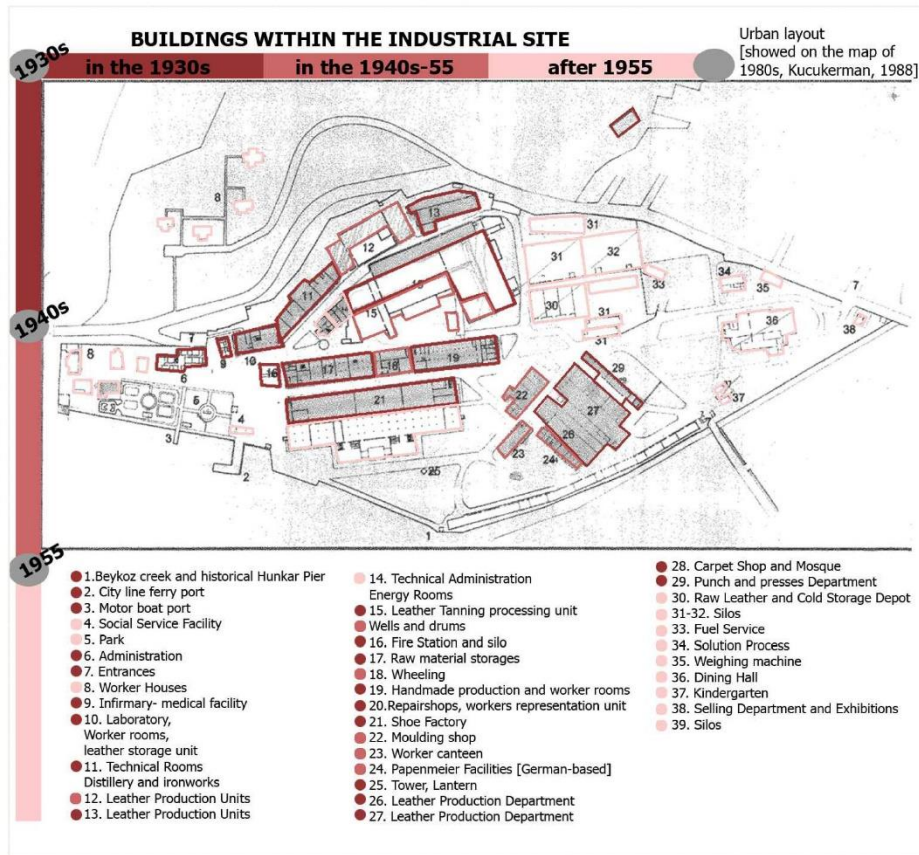
INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS AND FUNCTIONS IN THE INDUSTRIAL CAMPUS IN THE 1950s, 1980's MAP WAS MODIFIED BY THE AUTHOR



1950 Aerial photo, reference document used for tracing the 1950's built forms

Figure 22: Industrial campus in the 1950s, source: image elaborated by the author using the 1980's Küçükerman's map and 1950's aerial photo obtained from General Command of Cartography.

APPENDIX C- The Industrial Site between 1955 and 1970



INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS AND FUNCTIONS IN THE INDUSTRIAL CAMPUS IN THE 1960s, 1980's MAP WAS MODIFIED BY THE AUTHOR



1966 Aerial photo, reference document used for tracing the 1960's built forms

Figure 23: Industrial complex in the 1960s, source: image elaborated by the author using the 1980's Küçükerman's map and 1966's aerial photo obtained from General Command of Cartography.

APPENDIX C - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1955-1970

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN INFLUENCES, INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND STANDARDIZATION OF WORKER LIVES

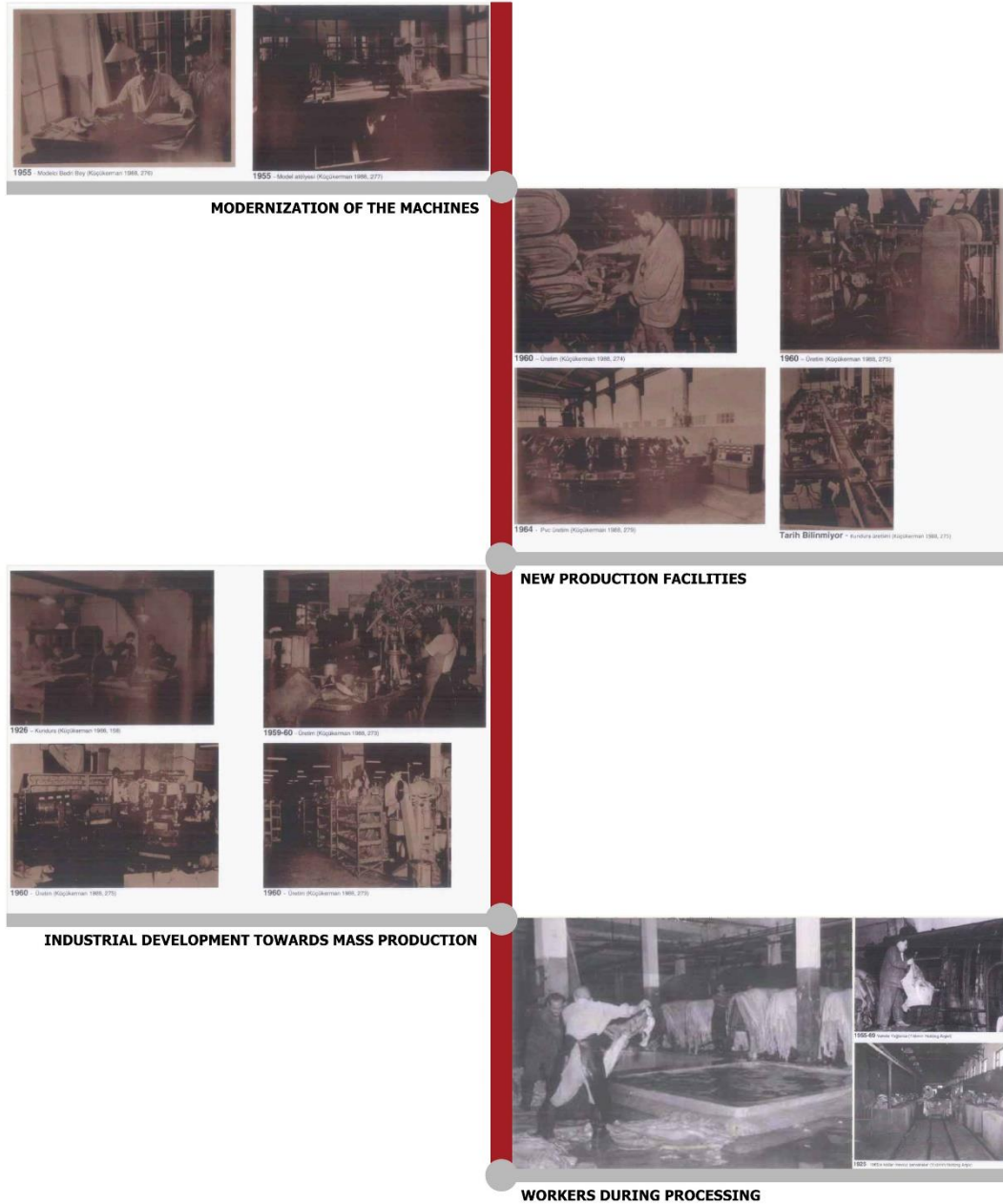


Figure 24: Photos show the modernized machines and standardization of the worker lives, source: image produced by the author using old photos obtained from Kundura Archive.

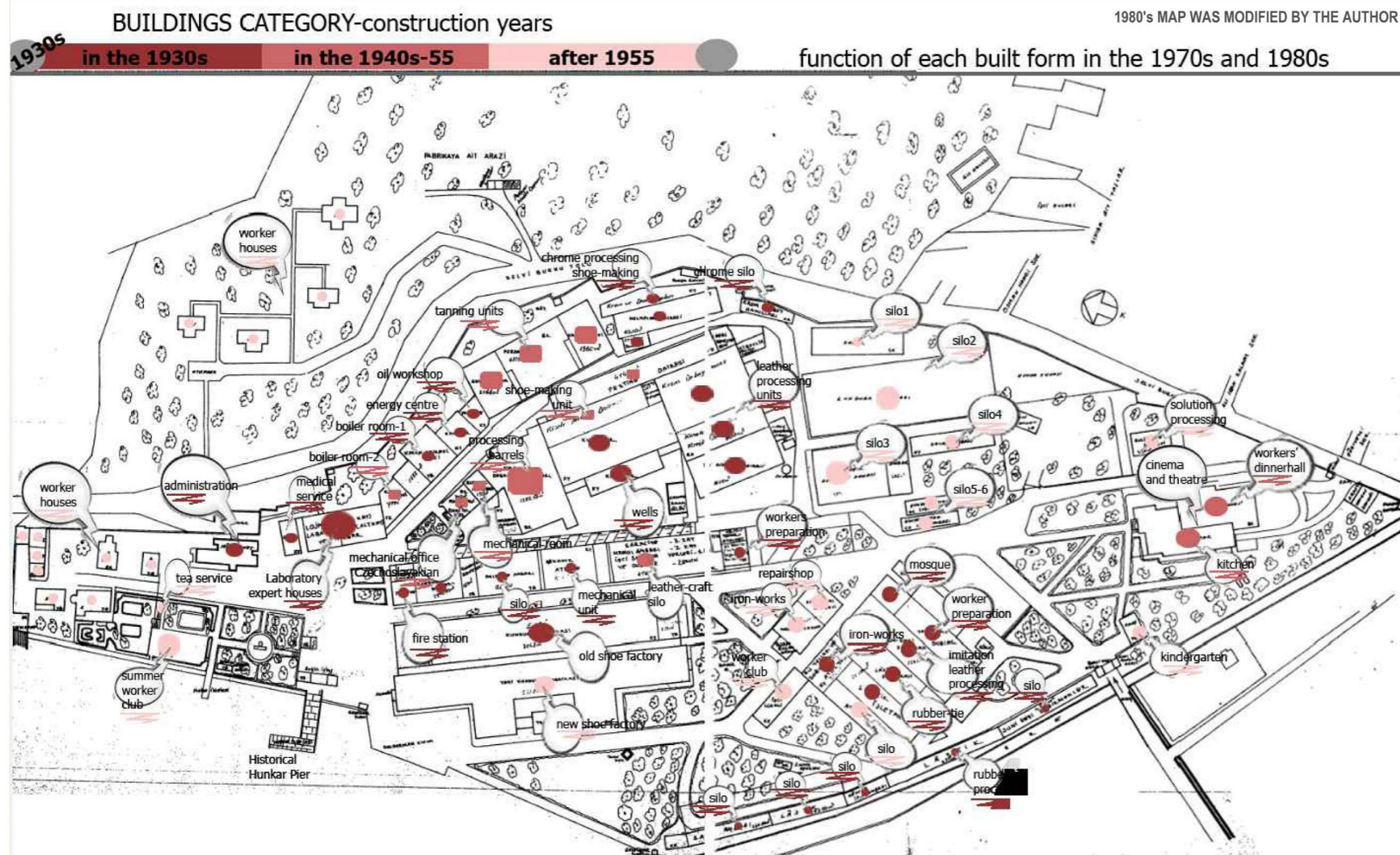


Figure 26: Built forms and functions until the 1970s, source: image elaborated by the author using the 1980's Küçükerman's map.

2.2 Urban Planning and Conservation Culture in Flux: Institutional Formation of Decisional Process, Actors and Specific Area Designations

The necessity of restoring the post-war period impacts in the 1950s and its direct responses within the state policies in the 1960s had been not only perceived in the new formulation of the political economy, but also seen in legislations and norms through the adopted liberal model. According to this, while the fast modernisation in the industrial development and regarding social measures were taken as priorities for political economy, on the other hand, the problems of urban growth upon practices had taken first place in the state's agenda to prevent them through prohibitory legislations and norms. The urban planning history of Istanbul⁴¹ during the 1950s was intervened through urban growth and fast urbanisation with newly constructed illegal houses due to accommodation needs of the workers who worked in the peri-urban industrial districts (Tekeli, 1998). Concordantly, these transformation actions caused various numbers of contradictions and chaos to the urban morphology of Istanbul during those years (Tekeli, 1998; 2009). Furthermore, during this period, the state's priority on industrialisation had changed direction towards discourses, such as the urban planning system and legislative framework of the planning implementations for peri-urban and underdeveloped provinces due to the previous republican period's context that was focused on the privileged cities⁴². In fact, this period was important for the Turkish cultural context; this attention on the urban planning problems had caused the current institutionalised administrative organisations (Tekeli, 1998).

Within this socio-political background, the planning practices which were mostly based on neighbourhood and rural planning, redevelopment of existing and new settlements and zoning regulations until the 1960s, had changed the direction through the enacted law no 6785⁴³ in 1956 and the newly established Ministry of

⁴¹ Since the main aim and scope the dissertation is the transformation process of Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus, the urban planning actions will be focused on Bosphorus and their impacts on the exemplar case.

⁴² The years between 1923 and 1946 were the years in which the peri-urban areas or periphery/provinces were considered potential disaffection and political places to be controlled by the central authority (Bayraktar and Massicard, 2012); thus, the early republican efforts for those developments were applied on the specific privileged cities like Istanbul according to the priority of regional state policy.

⁴³ This law shows the initial steps towards regional planning. However, it was prepared for the areas defined according to the municipal applications by ignoring the rural areas. Accordingly, even though these efforts were important steps for regional and metropolitan development within the

Public Works and Housing in 1958 (Ayataç, 2000). This shift in urban planning actions opened up a new period in which development master plans and implementation plans were implemented (Köroğlu and Ölmez, 2002). In addition, the establishment of the chamber of architects and engineers in 1954, the foundation of the first urban and regional planning department, the establishment of the State Planning Organization in 1961 and the Istanbul Master Plan Bureau within the Ministry of Public Works and Housing in 1966 were the other developments showing the increased attention paid to urban planning issues during the 1960s and 1970s (Tekeli, 2009).

Indeed, immediately after the 1960's military coup, the new constitution was published in 1961, which was considered as the threshold towards democracy, and there was an atmosphere of more freedom in every field in Turkish culture. This period was the milestone when the foundations of decentralisation principles were established. The phrase 'social state' entered into legal documents for the first time, which meant the state would also envisage the necessary social measures for citizens such as housing and other social services (Tekeli, 2009). Thus, to provide those necessary services, there were some innovations in the administrative organisation within the government.

Although urban planning had gained its importance with its regional planning approach in a more democratic atmosphere, contradictions and conflicts were still dominant between local and central governmental agencies due to incoordination between the decision-makers, undefined regulations, unclear new enacted laws and the era's socio-political conditions⁴⁴ (Keleş, 2004; Tekeli, 2009). Despite these developments in favour of the local government authorities towards decentralisation, the main problem remained because it was due to the persisting old administrative system with unequal power of the deciders, the financial distribution issues, incoordination between agencies and political dissidence between local and central powers during the 1960s (Keleş, 1983; Bayraktar, 2007).

urban history of Istanbul, the actions undertaken during this period were not of a holistic frame due to other enacted laws and regulations such as the Expropriation Law no 6830 in 1956 by Menderes' government (Tekeli, 2009).

⁴⁴ These contradictions and conflicts had derived from the incoordination between local and central authority which were directly linked to the socio-political context and unequal power of prominent actors. During this period, even though there had been a significant transition in various fields including political, socio-economic, cultural, industrial contexts, and urban planning developments, the legal framework of the local government administration was not changed, and it almost remained as its previous version (Tekeli, 1994; 2009).

2.2.1 ‘The 1960s’: ‘Social’ Articulation in Local Government Organisation

Local government⁴⁵ in Turkey was traditionally established to practise central government, and not as administrative agencies to function independently, but rather to totally rely on the central authority that was inherited from its Ottoman origins. Within the local government’s organisational schema, there were provincial administrations established to control the municipalities, while villages were the tertiary administrative agencies controlled by the municipalities. The republican context was shaped as a kind of semi-autonomous organisational framework, which was firstly legitimised through the 1930’s municipal act and has evolved through time (Bayraktar and Massicard, 2012; Kpentley, 2020). The municipal act with the law no 1580 was the main legal document which included the definition of the local government system and working organisation in Turkey. According to this, the decision-making mechanism of local government works in three main hierarchical administrative bodies: provincial administration, municipalities and villages each of which would serve the central government under central control (Akıllı and Akıllı, 2014). This legal and administrative framework remained as it was in the 1950s excepting some authority changes, such as the administrative body’s working assignments on infrastructure and mapping, but the general frame persisted centralised under the control of central power (Kpentley, 2020).

In fact, despite the efforts towards decentralisation through the 1961 constitution, these primary initiatives did not work due to the pressure of five-year development plans and the acts of planned economy that recentralised the decision-making system again. The central authority was officially legitimised through the amendment of the development and zoning law no 6785 in 1972 just after the 1971 military *coup d’état* and the main authority changed from municipalities to the central government. Accordingly, in the 1960s and 1970s, the centralised characteristic of the local government system was not changed except for the election process, which brought more democratic processes and new established institutions. While this dilemma between central and local government created conflicts in the authority phase, on the other hand, it also caused opposition groups

⁴⁵ Basically, the main innovation in the local government system during this period through the 1961 constitution was on municipalities and their administrative organisation. Modern municipalism in Turkey goes back to the 1860s, which was generated for Istanbul as the Paris model, namely *arrondissements* Paris as a French influence in the Ottoman era. In time, it expanded with provincial municipalities to control different sizes of cities during those years (Ortaylı, 1990; Bayraktar and Massicard, 2012). In fact, the administrative system and decision mechanism of Turkey is quite similar to the French one.

in the political atmosphere that increased the conflicts in the implementation process through political biases (Danielson and Keleş, 1980).

These developments and crises in the Turkish context during this period resulted in significant changes in the administrative and legal framework of the urban planning system in the late 1970s and 1980s (Danielson and Keleş, 1980; Tekeli, 1996). Accordingly, a vast number of amendments and regulative changes began to be implemented under the name of ‘new municipalism’. Paradoxically, ‘socialist municipalism’ was adopted as a form of local politics through a large number of mayors in this decade, and this administrative approach required a ‘participative’ decision-making mechanism with transparent and clear administration according to the legal documents (Göymen, 1999). The establishment of small-scale district municipalities⁴⁶ in the 1970s was one of the necessities of this period due to the ongoing urban growth towards the peri-urban areas that were not designated as municipal adjacent areas previously. This novelty in the local government system in the 1970s brought another dilemma for the decisional phases⁴⁷ within the metropolitan cities and their peripheries (Tekeli, 2009).

One of the important parts of the administrative issues in the 1970s until the 1980s for this research was the regional and development plans and policies that brought a province-based planning approach in Turkey operated by the SPO during these years. Regarding this, master development plans and implementation development plans were the important documents to be prepared, which constituted the foundation of the Turkish planning system and that also had some similarities with the American and German models⁴⁸ (Yılmaz Bakır et al., 2018). According to the regulations and relative laws, master development plans are the plans prepared in 1/5000 scale which include administrative and planning boundaries, and development areas with necessary infrastructural and social services, and are used

⁴⁶ District municipalities operates under the control of the metropolitan municipalities and provincial administrative units.

⁴⁷ This dichotomy and socio-political chaos in the administrative organization system in the Turkish context between local and central wings brought a great number of contradictions in the following years which caused the concept of border and fragmented administration in planning which influenced drastically the Bosphorus area in the 1980s. It will be discussed within the next section.

⁴⁸ The planning process in the American system operates according to the regional policies through objectives, targets, and general principles, and continues proceeding further stages at the sub-region, surrounding and planning areas, entire province, district, and neighbourhood. On the other side, the German planning system functions in dual coordinated administrative channels which are at federal and state as local levels. The principles of each development plan depend on the responsible state within the federal system in compliance with the environmental protection rules (Yılmaz Bakır et al., 2018).

as a base map for the implementation development plans to be prepared with a detailed report. Implementation development plans, on the other hand, are the plans prepared in 1/1000 scale that indicate each implementation step by showing them on the existing master development plans, and they include the design principles and relative guides for future development.

However, this new direction in urban planning with those development plans and the ‘new municipalism’ movement towards decentralised organisations in the administrative framework, caused a various number of conflicts and contradictions in the 1970s due to ill-defined norms, lack of experience, lack of know-how, insufficient number of experts in the administrative agencies and central pressure. For instance, while master development plans had to be approved by the city municipalities, implementation development plans had to be approved by both city and district municipalities as the main authorised agencies. As a result of incoordination and lack of communication between these agencies, fast urbanisation had its peak through the illegal houses and contested urban actions, which were also associated with internal migration and the era’s industrial development. The illegal houses, most of which had been constructed by the workers, were permitted by the central authority with legitimised actions during this transition period despite all predictive laws and regulations. In fact, this origin of the Turkish planning system, which also constitutes the base of the current strategic urban planning framework, has never been clear due to its ‘(de)centralized’ cultural context (Erçetin, 2012).

2.2.2 ‘The 1970s’: Introduction of the ‘Sit’ Area in the Conservation Culture

On the other side, the 1970s had quite a conflicted and chaotic atmosphere in which the urban conservation and heritage discourses were considered as blurred issues due to the conflicts and contradictions between central and local government, lack of implementation guides and the era’s decision-making mechanism. Within this context, the ‘sit’, urban conservation area designations imported from the French *site*, came to the fore, which were mainly done without on-site surveys and with a lack of registration schemes for listing heritage buildings and sites (Özgönül, 2015; Dinler, 2017). One important innovation in the 1970s was the conservation master plans, which became a must to prepare for the designated sit areas. This innovation made the planning process more complex, which was already contested between local government coordination as described above.

Through the necessity of the conservation plans, master development plans and implementation development plans were overruled for the areas designated as *sit* in

this period, they would be re-evaluated by those conservation master plans prepared by the High Council, GEEYK,⁴⁹ which was the autonomous authority in conservation. The Bosphorus coastal strip in which the exemplar case is located, was the first designated urban conservation sit area; thus, the conservation master plan and relevant decisions taken under the authority of the municipality and the HC of preservation managing by the Istanbul Grand Master Planning Bureau represent the first example and experience in the Turkish context. This plan has been the very first example for the forthcoming ones focusing on the traditional residential buildings along the Bosphorus coastline, which were the primary problems of this period due to the fast urbanisation.

Basically, the institutional organisation in conservation during the 1970s in Turkey was composed of the General Directorate of Old Artefacts and Museums⁵⁰ as the main responsible body for conservation implementations, the HC of Immovable Ancient Artefacts and Monuments, GEEYK in the 1970s, the Ancient Artefacts Bureau⁵¹ as an intermediary between the HC and municipalities operating under the control of (Istanbul) Municipality. At the beginning of the 1970s, Istanbul was the unique municipality⁵² housing a unit for conservation issues of ancient buildings; thus, the era's conservation implementations were mostly focused on the city of Istanbul. The law no 1710, which was enacted in 1973, was considered as a milestone for conservation practices in Turkey, and it changed the direction of conservation acts in the cultural context. This law was important for this research in which the conservation, *sit*, areas were defined, and they were categorised under three groups: archaeological, historic, and natural sit areas (The law no 1710, 1973).

Moreover, the administrative and institutional framework of the responsible governmental agencies for conservation implementations and the scope of their authority were also identified within the law by including some other missions to the High Council. The approving of the sale of state properties, conversion of state

⁴⁹ Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu, GEEYK

⁵⁰ Its establishment goes back to 1922, its name was changed over the course of the early republican years, and it became the General Directorate of Old Artefacts and Museums in 1946. This authority worked under the control of the Ministry of Education during these years. The high council for historic real estates and monuments was established in the 1950s which operated completely as an autonomous body in the decision-making mechanism beyond central and local government (Şahin Güçhan and Kurul, 2009).

⁵¹ Eski Eserler Bürosu

⁵² Istanbul was the exceptional metropolitan planning bureau that was charged with strategic planning controlled by the central authority. It particularly comes from its architect members and its famous 'rejected' planning process that was directly linked to the members' attitudes as master plan designers. After the dissolution of these bureau in 1983, they re-emerged in 1985 as the Metropolitan Municipality Planning Bureau (Oc and Tiesdell, 1994).

properties into new uses, registration processes of state properties, revisions of masterplans (particularly for the designated *sit* areas), defining the responsibilities of the owners and experts of the ancient buildings and the modes of transfer and maintenance of them were the important added tasks. Indeed, this law also highlighted the conservation administrative bodies' decision (the High Council) priority over the municipalities before any implementations and revisions for the designated *sit* areas. The vast number of *sit* designations were proceeded with during this period by the HC, of which the members were insufficient in number and without urban planners and any specific heritage experts. Besides, the increasing quantity of designations, which also required further steps of integration within the master development plans and implementation development plans to be completed by the other local authorities, also increased the conflicts and contradictions in the decision-making system.

For instance, for the *sit* areas, conservation master plans had to be prepared within two years after their designation by defining temporary implementation decisions for each area (Şahin Güçhan and Kurul, 2009; Dinler, 2017). Thus, the existing master development and implementation-development plans were invalidated, had to be revised by the municipalities according to the conservation development master plans after the decisions of the HC. However, the era's development and zoning law⁵³ referred to the local government as the responsible authority for survey and master plans; these obligatory revisions decided by the HC through conservation master plans in these years caused disapprobation of the local government. This unclear organisational schema in the planning and conservation practices for the *sit* areas created a big conflict between the HC and the municipalities, which resulted in malfunctioning and inappropriately prepared conservation and development plans in those years. Moreover, there were no definitions or guidelines for the conservation development plans, which was another reason for the malfunctioning⁵⁴. Concordantly, during this period, innovations made within the administrative schema did not work as expected due to regulative gaps, lack of experiences, experts and know-how (Özgönül, 2015; Dinler, 2017).

⁵³ The Law no 6785 was enacted in 1956 and was revised with an amendment in 1972. According to this, local authorities including central and neighbouring municipalities had to have the consent of the HC during the designation of *sit* areas and regarding conservation master plans (The law no 6785, 1972).

⁵⁴ The conservation-development plans were officially involved within the planning literature in the 1980s with the conservation law no 2863, which will be better discussed within the next section.

2.2.3 Beykoz in the Bosphorus *Sit* Area: Recognition of the Greenscape and Waterscape Forms of the Industrial Campus in the 1970s

Following these developments and crises in the administrative context, through increased attention to urban planning and conservation in this period, the Bosphorus area came to the fore in the 1970s through the immense size of rural-urban areas and industrial settlements and natural and cultural heritage sites. Since then, the area which defines the Bosphorus region, had its turning point in the legal process of urban planning and conservation actions. The 1970s up to the 1980s represent one of the most significant decades for the case study to understand the planning decisions, which were influential in its transformation process due to its specific position within the Bosphorus conservation sit area. In parallel with that era's development, the first action regarding the Bosphorus *sit* area occurred in 1970, and the Bosphorus coastline historical houses⁵⁵ were registered as listed buildings by the HC to prevent their destruction from the fast urbanisation. Afterwards, in 1971, the 1/5000 scale Bosphorus coastline conservation-implementation development plan⁵⁶ was implemented, and in 1973 and 1974, the site was designated as a natural and cultural *sit* area by the HC, focusing on its green-scape and waterscape characteristics. It was a significant step in which the specific characteristics of the Bosphorus region and its cultural and natural values were highlighted, and they were officially recognised as the areas to be protected legally. In fact, 1973's conservation law no 1710 was the important legal document for those decisions on the Bosphorus conservation sit area⁵⁷ (Şahin Güçhan and Kurul, 2009).

The first designated sit area in the history of Turkey is the Bosphorus historic and natural *sit* area in which the Beykoz, Beşiktaş, Sarıyer and Üsküdar districts are located (Dinçer et al., 2009). Even though there were also decisions regarding the conservation of the Bosphorus seashore in 1970, which were already identified by

⁵⁵ 'Yalı' in Turkish.

⁵⁶GEEYK/8172. 1/5000 ölçekli Boğaziçi Korularının ve Ormanlarının korunmasına ilişkin Boğaziçi Doğal ve Tarihi Sit Alanı Koruma Kararları, 1972.

⁵⁷ After this breakpoint in conservation and following international developments such as the Amsterdam Declaration in 1975, which significantly increased the emergency of those regarding actions in Turkish context, the Department of Documentation and Designation, and the Conservation Planning Department within the General Directorate of Ancient Artefacts and Museums were established following the principles of this declaration (Şahin Güçhan and Kurul, 2009). In addition, between 1971 and 1983, various numbers of sit designations were generated. There were 11 in total located in Istanbul, while 5 of them were designated as natural sit areas and 3 of them were designated as mixed sit areas (Dinçer et al., 2009). (See Appendix D, Figure 28).

the HC before its natural *sit* designation⁵⁸, the scope of this was not comprehensive like the decisions were taken in 1974. Those previously taken decisions mainly focused on the traditional waterside residential buildings, known as traditional Bosphorus mansions, which were under threat from the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation during the 1970s. Just after the decisions were taken in 1974, a 1/5000 scale master development plan was also prepared by the SPO in 1974 (Salman and Kuban, 2006).

In parallel to this, relative conservation and new construction decisions were also integrated into the conservation development plan by the HC in 1977 (Conservation Board no 6 Archive, 2020). In this masterplan which was prepared predominantly with the aim of the conservation of the Bosphorus region, the prominent decisions mostly concerned the coastline part and the natural characteristics of the specified area, such as historical gardens and greenery areas, water and historical houses relationship, and were focused on their legal conservation status. Within the scope of this plan, also permitted were the new constructions for the empty lots along the seashore under the condition of being compatible with the traditional registered ones or those to be registered with the consent of the HC (Salman and Kuban, 2006). This plan was approved in 1977 and revised in 1978, 1979 and 1982 according to the priority of the primary deciders, which addressed that the Bosphorus would be transformed for recreational, tourism and cultural, and residential uses for future development⁵⁹ (Conservation Board no 6 Archive, 2020).

However, these developments in the conservation issues of the Bosphorus area in the 1970s were implemented case by case depending on the specific problem without a holistic perspective, and these initiatives remained as *bona fide* on the Bosphorus conservation area, and did not create a barrier for unplanned urbanisation in this period (Salman and Kuban, 2006). The 1970s' developments in the conservation of the Bosphorus area were also important and were crucial in recognition of the landscape characteristics of the area in addition to its settlement tissue. Particularly, the Bosphorus' publicly owned green-scape formations,⁶⁰ which were identified as greenbelt areas, historical groves, and forests, were underlined as important elements of the *sit* area to be preserved within this approved plan and conservation decisions. The HC also highlighted the prohibition of any

⁵⁸ 'Boğaziçi sahil şeridi imar planı raporu' (Pamay, 1974).

⁵⁹ This partial planning solutions in the 1980s were contested again in the decisional phase with a change of the main responsible agency from the planning bureau to the municipalities, which will be better discussed in the next section focusing on the actors taking part in the Bosphorus implementations.

⁶⁰ See Appendix D, Figure 27.

constructions on such areas, on those ‘publicly owned’ green-scape formations, and this decision was officially articulated into the published documents in the 1970s⁶¹. Besides, these legally protected, publicly owned green areas of the Bosphorus area were indicated to be reorganised for recreational uses of the inhabitants’ public benefits within the first integrated development plan (1/5000 scale conservation-development plan) that was approved in 1977.

These developments in the Bosphorus planning and conservation in its historical trajectory⁶² are fundamental to understand the 1980s as a milestone in legislations and planning activities which also constitute the base of the current planning system that has influenced the exemplar case’s transformation process. The Bosphorus preservation area comprises the Sarıyer and Beşiktaş districts in the European side and the Beykoz and Üsküdar in the Anatolian side in Istanbul. The administrative border of Beykoz as a district in which the Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus is located, has been defined incrementally in time starting from the 1930s’ municipal organisational framework. The provincial border started to get its shape with the provincial law no 1580 in 1930, and took its final state in 1984⁶³ through the law no 3030⁶⁴ which brought quite a number of changes to the municipal organisational structure.

The Bosphorus area through its great number of industrial settlements and rural villages was influenced drastically during this transformation process of the fast industrialisation and with regard to the urban planning actions in Istanbul over the course of the 1950s until the late 1970s, which were exercised without a holistic perspective in the upper scale and due to the conflicts that occurred between the administrative agencies during these implementations. Beykoz is one of the most emblematic settlements in the Bosphorus region that has been under the subject of those urban transformation and urban sprawl in this period due to its industrial, rural and natural characteristics including a vast number of forests, greenery, agricultural and watershed areas. But meanwhile, it has been the less mutated and transformed district among the others, due to having mostly publicly owned green areas and tough topographic features.

Beykoz was a completely rural district before the 1950s when the migration arose because of the fast industrialisation and urbanisation. In fact, the surrounding areas of the industrial complex in Beykoz started to urbanise and transform rapidly

⁶¹ GEEAYK/8172, 1/5000 scaled conservation master plan, conservation decisions taken 12th April 1975.

⁶² See Appendix D, Figure 27.

⁶³ See Appendix D, Figure 29.

⁶⁴ The law no 3030 was important for the organisational schema of the municipalities by influencing various number of implementational phases which will be discussed within the next section.

after the early 1950s when the worker accommodations were still in the State agenda to be completed. Akbaba, Tokatköy and Dereseki villages, Beykoz centre, Yalıköy and the coastal part were transformed from their previous rural characteristics, which might be defined as ordinary fishing and agricultural villages towards blue-collar quarters from the 1950s until the late 1970s. Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus, *Paşabahçe* Glass Factory and the monopolised Tekel Distillery⁶⁵ were the main triggers in this transformation process that made the district a blue-collar quarter in the subsequent years. Yet, among the predefined industrial and rural landforms of Beykoz where there are streambeds and valleys in between the greenery areas, illegal constructions had also developed such as inadequate late workers' houses, military lodgements and squatter houses. They were mostly constructed starting from the 1950s because of the fast industrialisation and socio-political atmosphere of the era. Although they caused mutation within the urban morphology of the pre-existing forms by transforming the identity of Beykoz, the district did not completely lose its anterior atmosphere but was reincarnated by those actions.

Besides, Beykoz covering an area of 396 km² as one the largest districts in Istanbul, has represented an important green point in Istanbul comprising the largest greenery and forestry areas with traditional promenades '*mesire* areas,'⁶⁶ which were the important historic green-scape elements of urban life in diverse periods. Particularly, those dense green-scape formations that are located at the *Paşabahçe* district and Beykoz centre at the coastline where the valleys are dominantly seen up to the hills⁶⁷. The greenery areas and gardens along the waterside have become rich in flora with diverse tree species, and generally having a fountain or pool as a water-scape element. They represented important recreational areas within the city for formation or transformation of the urban forms, having an important water-nature relationship due to their specific characteristics.

Despite unplanned urbanisation during the 1950s and 1960s, which mutated the morphology and natural balance of the Bosphorus area, Beykoz was subjected to less

⁶⁵ See Appendix D, Figure 30.

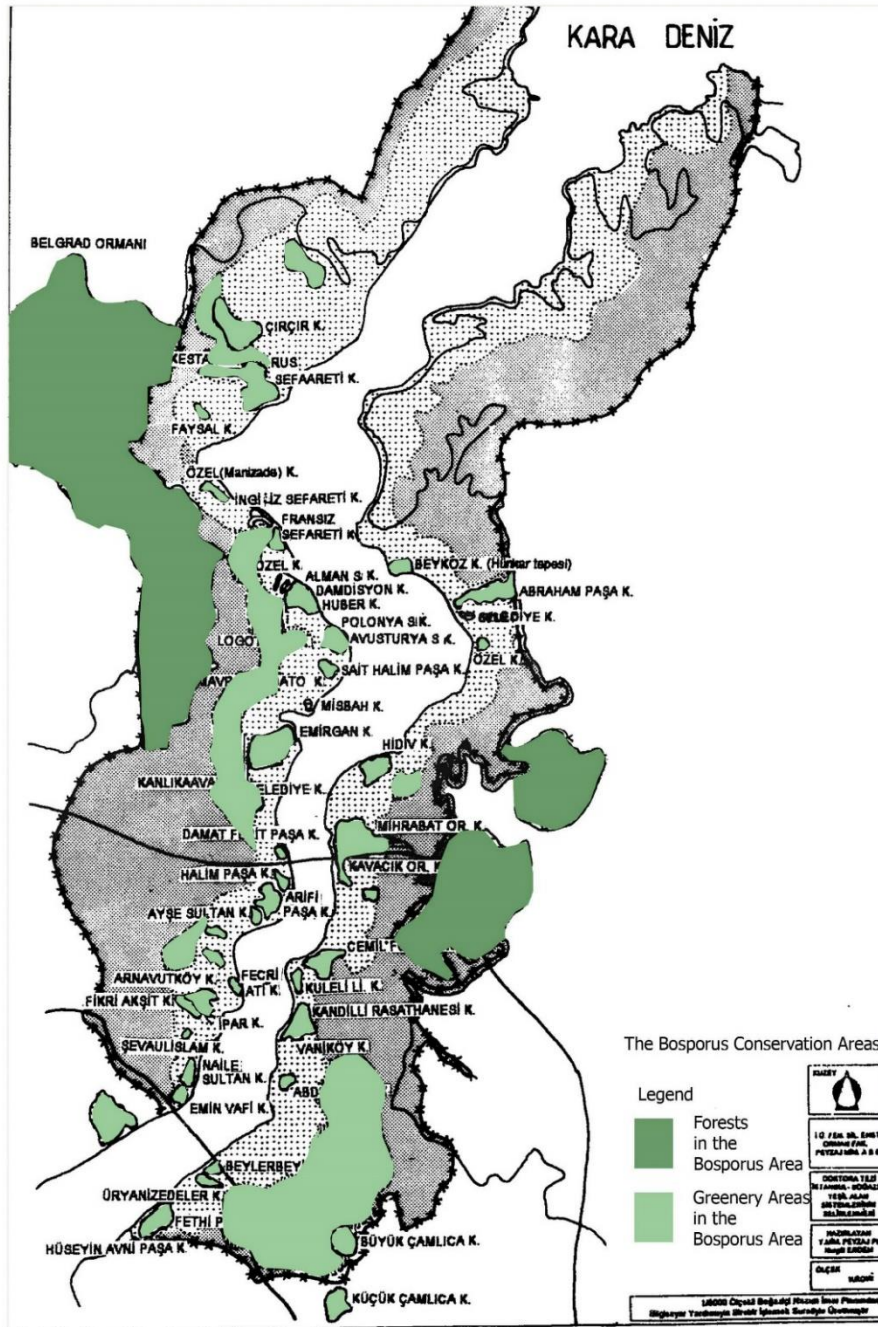
⁶⁶ During the fast urbanisation period starting from the 1950s until the 1970s, some critical implementations occurred influencing the Bosphorus area. One of them was newly constructed residential buildings at the hills of the Bosphorus, since these places gained attention due to the unique Bosphorus vista, nature-water relationship. The worker accommodations were the other crisis of the period which were illegally constructed at the hills and valleys of the Bosphorus area close to the industrial settlements by the internal immigrants who came to work in these industrial complexes. In addition to these, the first Bosphorus Bridge started to be used in 1973 to connect the European and Anatolian sides. They were the main implementations between 1950 and 1980 changing the identity of the Bosphorus area (Çubuk, 1994; Diker et al., 2008).

⁶⁷ See Appendix D, Figure 30.

urbanisation impact on its green-scape elements compared to other Bosphorus settlements in the 1970s. One of the main reasons behind this was linked to its high number of military areas and publicly owned greenbelt zones, which had been put under legal protection, and unsupported transportation due to its tough topographic features that did not permit the construction of new roads from the European side. The Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus is located in Beykoz, Yalıköy district, inside the Bosphorus Natural and Historical Sit Area that was designated in 1974 by the HC. Accordingly, from 1974 onwards, those actions regarding the Bosphorus conservation sit area influenced the exemplar case and its transformation. These influences appeared mostly after the privatisation of the campus and will be better discussed in the next chapter.

Appendix D – Beykoz in the Bosporus conservation area in the 1970s

APPENDIX D - BOSPORUS SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION - 1970-1990



BOSPORUS CONSERVATION SIT AREA AND SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION; THE 1970s
MAP SHOWS GREENSCAPE ZONES

Figure 27: Publicly owned greenery areas and forests in Bosphorus area which had been enlisted by the High Council in the 1970s, source: 1983's Bosphorus plan is elaborated by the author.

APPENDIX D - BOSPORUS SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION - 1970-1990

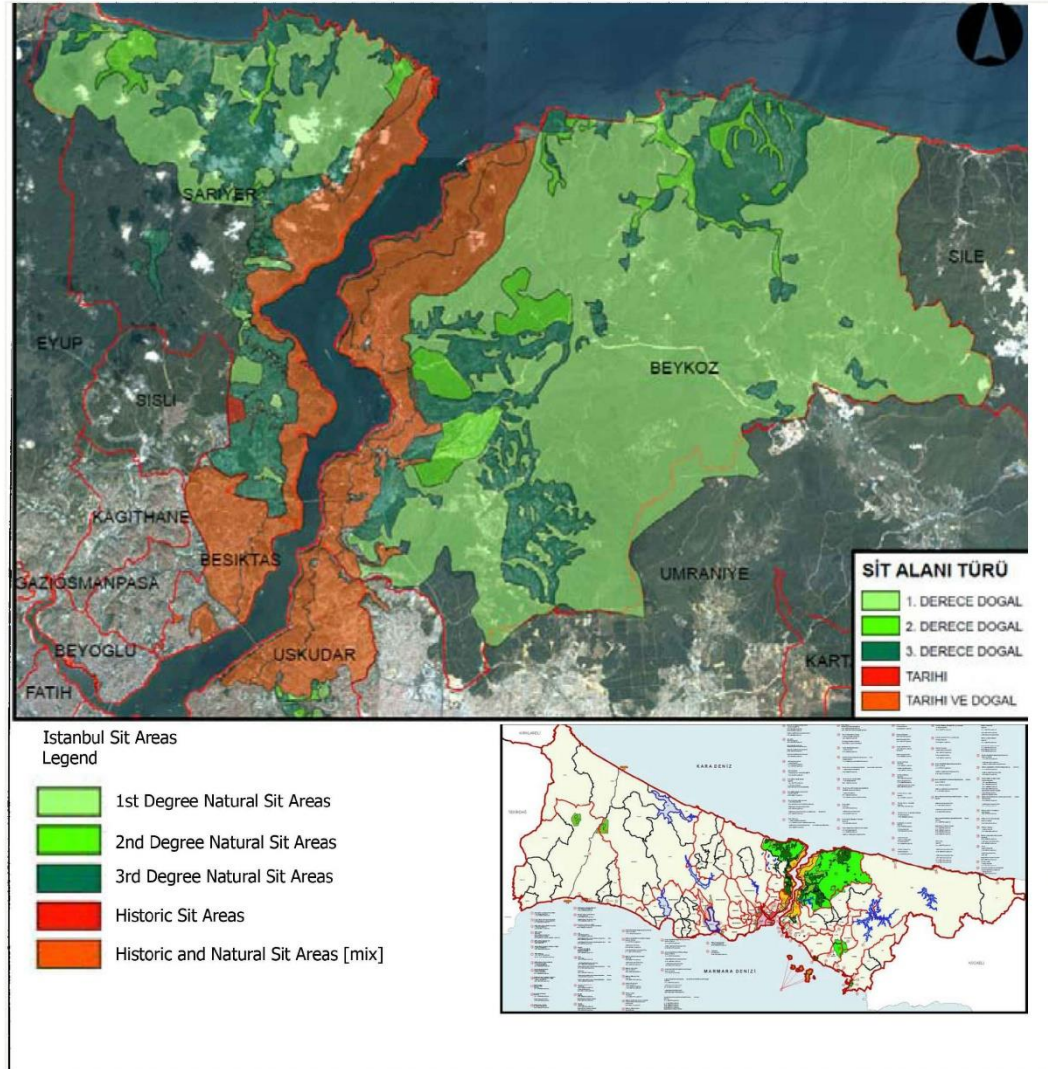


Figure 28: Designated sit areas in Istanbul, source: Dinçer et al., 2009

APPENDIX D - BOSPORUS SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION - 1970-1990

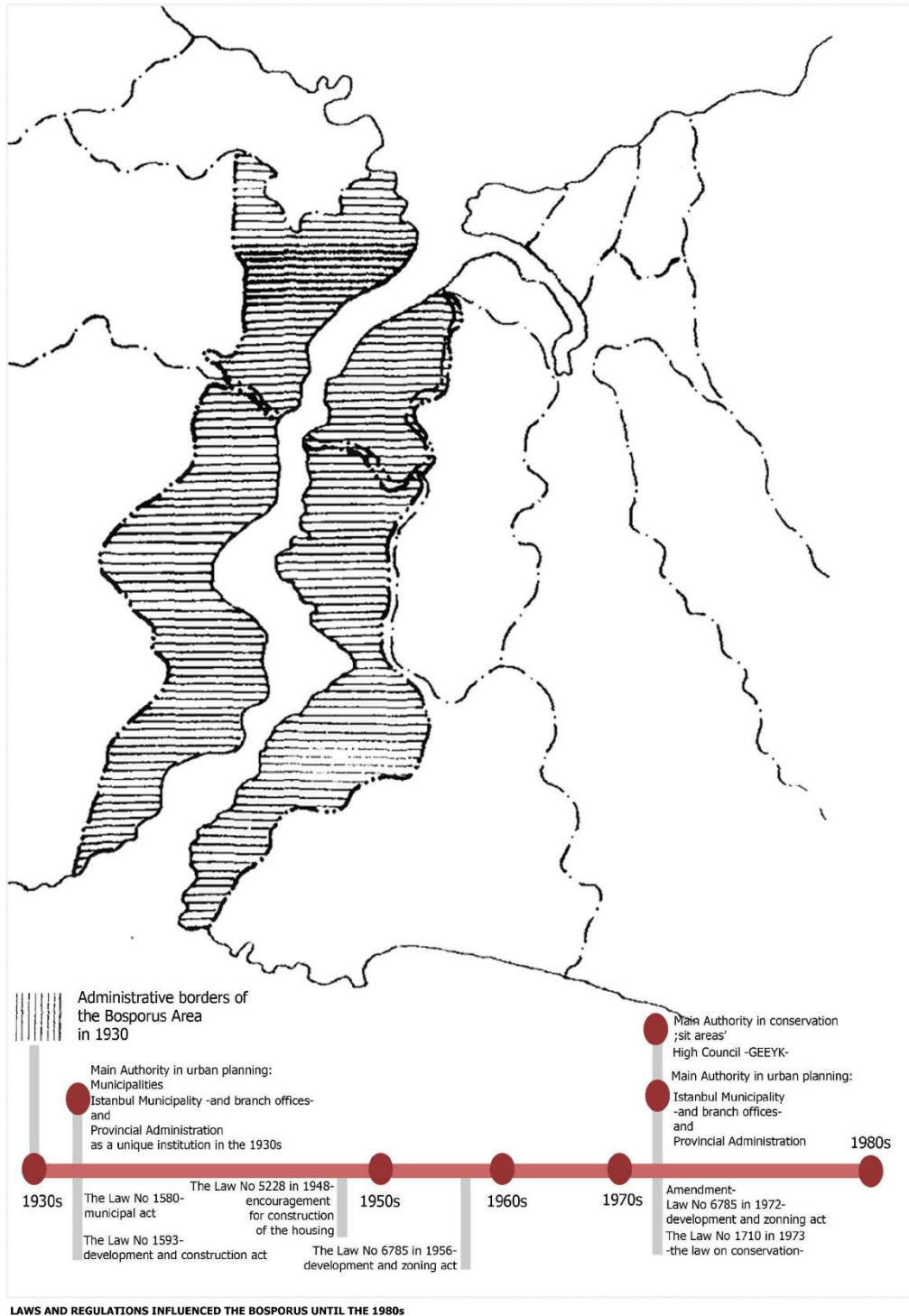
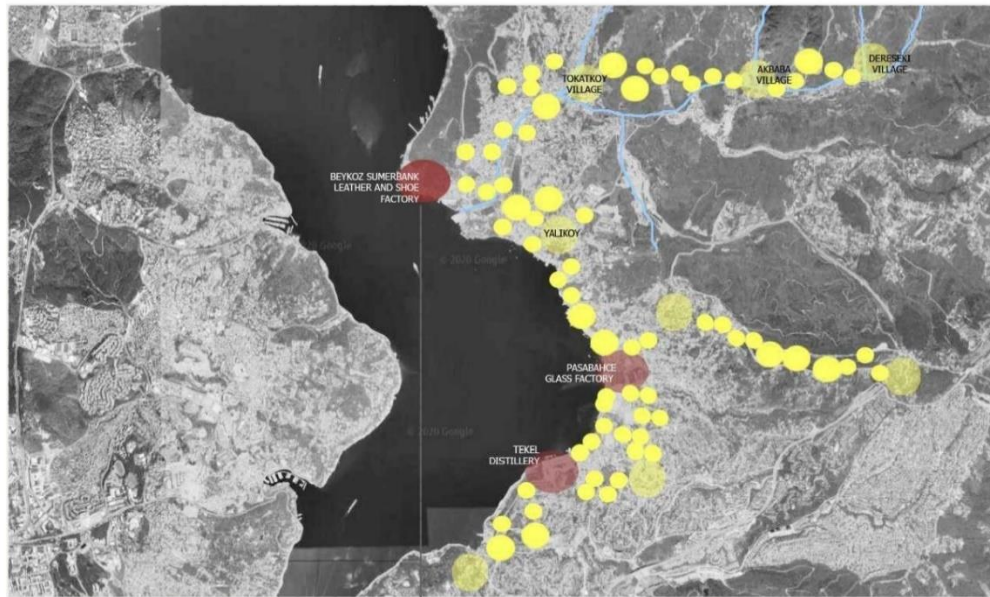
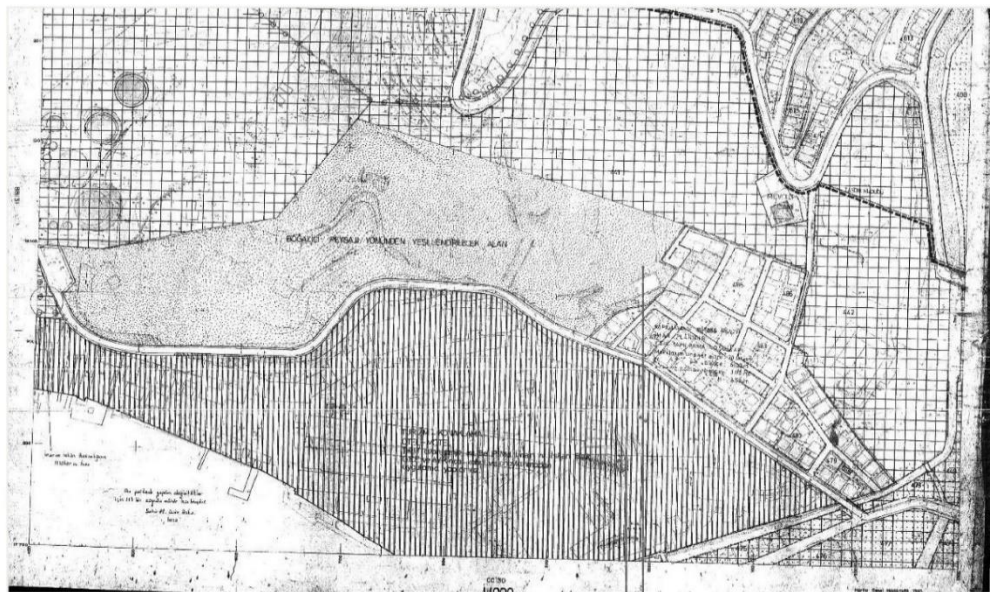


Figure 29: Laws and regulations influenced until the 1980s, source: image is elaborated by the author using Bosphorus base map.

APPENDIX D - BOSPORUS SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION - 1970-1990



INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENTS IN BOSPORUS CONSERVATION SIT AREA WHICH WERE THE TRIGGERS OF URBANISATION

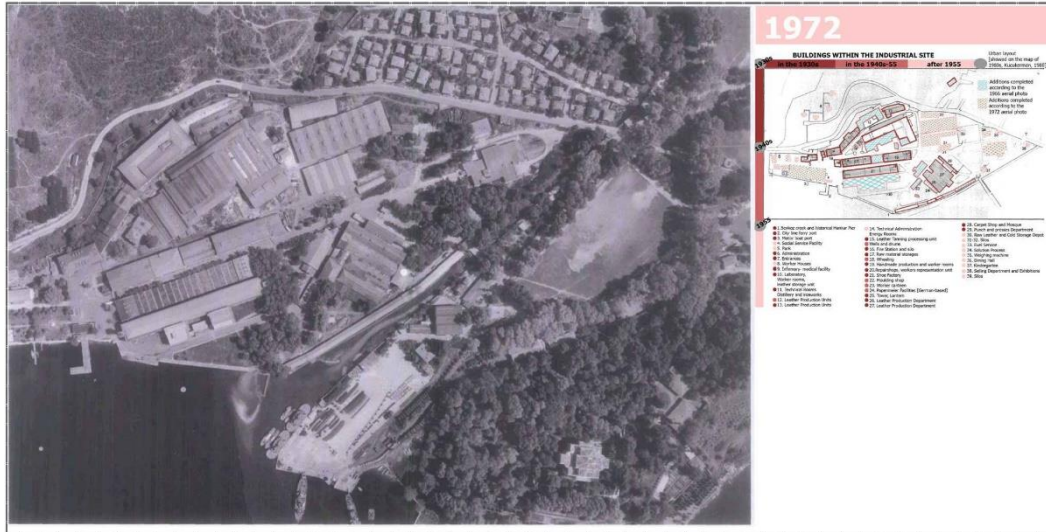


SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION OF THE CASE STUDY IN BOSPORUS, CONSERVATION BOARD NO VI ARCHIVE

AREA RECLAIMED AS GREEN-SCAPE
 AREA RECLAIMED AS TOURISM
 DEVELOPMENT FOR FUTURE USES

Figure 30: Industrial settlements which had been the triggers of urbanisation of Bosphorus and Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus' fragmentation, source; top, elaborated by the author using the google earth image as a base; bottom, Conservation Board No VI Archive.

APPENDIX D - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1970-1980



1972 AERIAL PHOTO, REFERENCE DOCUMENT USED RETRACING THE 1970s' FORMS



1982 AERIAL PHOTO, REFERENCE DOCUMENT USED FOR RETRACING THE 1980s' FORMS

Figure 31: Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus in the 1970s, source: 1972's and 1982's aerial photos obtained from General Command of Cartography, they are elaborated by the author.

2.3 Administrative and Legislative Framework in Flux: Authority and Spatial Fragmentation in the Bosphorus Conservation *Sit* Area in the 1980s

The 1980s was another breaking point in the history of Turkey when another *coup d'etat* changed the internal dynamics with a new constitution. The reestablishment of a multi-party democracy with newly elected Özal's government in 1983 pressed Turkey towards more liberal period⁶⁸ with a variety of reforms. Restructuring the state administrations through enacted legislations in this neoliberal atmosphere was one of those reforms (Öniş, 1991; Gold, 1989), which also changed the pre-existing framework of urban planning and conservation activities. In addition, Turkey adopted free market policies that shifted the existing public policy towards liberalisation and privatisation (Öniş, 1991) which caused other crucial developments and crises in the late 1990s, the consequences of which drastically influenced the studied industrial campus.

2.3.1 Authority Agencies in Urban Planning and Conservation

In 1983, the new law no. 2863 for the conservation of historic artefacts⁶⁹ was enacted, by which the HC's autonomous position was replaced with the RCBs and Regional Councils that were established as responsible bodies working under the control of the HC. This law constitutes the foundation of the current conservation activities in Turkey in which the responsible agencies were firstly defined in a comprehensive manner to better coordinate the conservation activities. It was a primary legal document by which the HC's sole autonomy in conservation decisions was ended (Law no. 2863).

⁶⁸ Prior to the 1980s, the economy of Turkey was mainly based on the State enterprises and industrial development which have been discussed in the previous section of this chapter. The privatisation of the state enterprises was the other crucial theme for this research, which will be discussed in the following section with the historical evolution of the privatisation in Turkey.

⁶⁹ The conservation law no. 2863 was enacted in 1983, and defines the cultural and natural properties, sites and conservation areas, evaluation of immovable and movable natural and cultural properties. The main differences from the previous law no. 1710 were the introduction of the sit and conservation areas with their detailed definitions, and administrative innovations of the authority institutions through establishment of the regional councils. However, this law also indicates the historical value of the buildings to be registered which were limited pre-dating the end of the 19th century. Thus, it directly puts the industrial buildings or sites into a disadvantaged position due to their time-based characteristics mostly dating back to the 19th and 20th centuries.

According to this new regulation, the HC works under the supervision of the General Directorate of Historic Artefacts and Museums⁷⁰ as the primary authority to define the main principles, and which is an adjudicator to resolve the conflicts between newly established regional councils and applicants for the registration process. The regional councils are assigned as delegates to lead and mediate the process with local government in the further steps. Although this identified organisational structure was quite a positive step in the means of decentralisation for conservation activities in comparison with the 1970s' concept, which survived both public and private actors' protests, and their reactions in the beginning of the 1980s, it did not work well due to financial issues, lack of experience and insufficient experts in these institutions in the initial years. Besides, the intermediary role of the newly established regional councils between the local government and the HC's ongoing dominance in the process exposed them to local pressure. Thus, this tension between the responsible actors caused the malfunctioning of the regional councils in the beginning of the 1980s (Şahin Güçhan and Kurul, 2009).

The HC's central position in the hierarchical frame to coordinate the RCBs, continued between 1983 and 1987 until the first amendment of the conservation law⁷¹ was enacted. In 1984, there were two main RCBs, while Ankara RCB was the responsible delegate for Ankara, Istanbul and the whole of Anatolia; while on the other hand, Istanbul RCB was the responsible delegate for the Bursa and Thrace region. Through the amended law in 1987, the responsibilities given to regional conservation boards were increased due to the previous problems that occurred regarding the tension among the HC, RCBs and local governments.

This administrative organisation and regulative perspective on conservation implementations remained until 2003, but in the meantime, the ownership problem of the historical buildings and historic lands increased drastically because society was not yet ready to embrace the notion of 'conservation'⁷². Indeed, between these

⁷⁰ It was established in 1946 as a department under the supervision of the Ministry of Education until 1965 when it was replaced as the City Directory of Culture, *Kültür Müsteşarlığı*. Following this, The Ministry of Culture was established in 1971, those cultural authorities of the undersecretariat of the cultural works were passed to The General Directorate of Historic Entities and Museums that had worked under the supervision of this ministry. Paradoxically, in 1972, this newly established ministry was re-named again as the City Directory of Culture (*Kültür Müsteşarlığı*) under the supervision of the Prime Ministry until 1989. Just after those nomination problems, the General Directorate of the Historic Artefacts and Museums was replaced by the Presidency for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Artefacts under the Ministry of Culture established in 1989 ('The Ministry of Culture and Tourism', 2021).

⁷¹ Amendment, the Law no 3386, put in action in 1987.

⁷² These conservation decisions were perceived as limitations against their property rights by the private owners of historical buildings and historical lands (Şahin Güçhan and Kurul, 2009).

years, the registering and listing of the historic buildings and sites increased in number without systematic documentation or any conservation strategies. Moreover, the increased documentation and listing of the historic buildings and sites in the 1980s continued with a set of urban conservation projects⁷³, and local governments and other related institutions were informed by the conservation boards to integrate those conservation decisions and registrations into development plans which also automatically influenced the planning implementations. However, this integration was not clear until the end of the 1990s; thus, the prepared development plans were not holistically prepared during this period (Şahin Güçhan and Kurul, 2009; Salman and Kuban, 2006).

Accordingly, in the pre-2000s, when this legislative arrangement was changed, the process for conservation implementation for single buildings and sites, such as surveying, registering the buildings and sites, designation of the sites, preparation of conservation master plans and approval of any kind of restoration and renovation projects⁷⁴ were under the control of the General Directorate for Preservation of Cultural and Natural Entities as a unit comprising the HC and Regional Councils under the Ministry of Culture. The decision taken in conservation-related issues were communicated with the municipalities by the Regional Councils for the possible annotation of registered buildings to the current development plans or cancellation of any current master plan rights including any executions and implementation decisions. And, as a final step, related decisions were announced as approved document, and following implementation phases proceeded with the other stakeholders depending on the building or site category based on the approved decisions (Şahin Güçhan and Kurul, 2009).

N. Şahin Güçhan and E. Kurul (2009) also discussed this transitional period through conservation implementations' organisational problems in the pre-2000s⁷⁵. For instance, at the end of the 1990s there were 33 regional conservation boards for proceeding with the conservation measures and implementations, however, the main problem was an insufficient number of staff in these agencies with a limited budget. On the other hand, the main problem of the local governance was the missing established units to coordinate and control the approved conservation

⁷³ They might be considered as positive developments in conservation, however during the 1980s the main intention was internalisation of the existing resources within the axis of globalisation and liberalisation under Bedrettin Dalan's Municipalism (1984-1989) which will be mentioned in the following section.

⁷⁴ Archaeological excavations and regarding implementations were not considered since they are beyond the topic of this research.

⁷⁵ See for further information: Sahin Guchan, N and Kurul E. (2009). History of the Development of Conservation Measures in Turkey: From the mid-19th until 2004, *METU JFA*, 26 (2):19-44.

implementation activities. In addition, municipalities had quite limited authority in conservation decisions, which forced them to approve some implementational decisions that were not agreed by their sides.

Changing direction to the local governance from the conservation context, municipal organisation and municipal assignments also changed from the previous axis in this period. The Metropolitan Municipality Law no. 3030 was promulgated in 1984, which was another legal document that had influences on the administrative organisation of local governments in Turkey. Through this law, the Istanbul Planning Bureau was closed, and the planning authorities were transferred to the relevant municipalities depending on metropolitan and district levels according to the identified project borders. Following this, a new period began in two levels of planning through this new metropolitan governance approach which was evolved in 1984 into a two-staged organisation based on vertical coordination. Hence, the regional and development master plans would be coordinated in the first level, and the supplementary plans in the secondary stage (The Municipal Law no. 3030).

The Construction Law no. 3194 was another important legal document in which this two-level planning system was firstly defined including necessary maps and research to be prepared by a certain institution. By this law, in addition to the previously prepared regional plans, master development plans and implementation development plans in the 1970s, environmental order plans were also introduced as a compulsory assignment in which the future land use decisions were also identified (The Construction Law no 3194). However, the definitions and preparation measures of those maps were still not clear enough during this period.

Thus, development and implementation plans were the main second level maps to be prepared by the local government depending on the municipal borders and annexed areas. There were some exceptional areas, such as tourism development areas, conservation zones or designated *sit* areas, of which the authority was divided into other related institutions. Besides those plans, supplementary plans were also introduced through the construction law to provide the requirements in the implementation phases. They were mainly defined as plan modifications; revision plans and local development plans. While plan modifications would be based on the public benefits in compliance with the approved development plans, on the other hand, revision plans were the plans that would be prepared by the responsible municipalities when the current development plans would not provide the needs in relation to the environmental or social changes. Modifications might also have been included according to the social or infrastructural needs, enlargement or the construction of roads and necessary changes on land use and densities. The

revisions, on the other hand, might have covered an entire plan or a part of it based on the problem definition. In addition to those maps, local development plans were introduced for the development of the subjected settlements beyond the boundaries of the current development plans (See Figure 33), (Ünsal and Türk, 2014).

Within this legislative and regulative framework, the first upper-scale spatial plan for the Istanbul Metropolitan area in 1/50000 scale was prepared and approved in 1980 with a target year 1995. It was prepared by the Istanbul Master Plan Bureau under the supervision of the Ministry of Development and Housing aiming at the conservation of the historical, cultural and natural resources, and linear development of the city on the east-west axis in the southern part. However, after the establishment of the MMs and new decentralised two-level planning system, the planning authority was passed to the municipalities which decreased the Istanbul Master Plan Bureau's authority. Following this, the next upper-scale master development plan of the Istanbul Metropolitan area was approved in 1994, targeting the year 2010. However, it was interrupted through the socio-political contradictions, and the plan was invalidated due to the planning authority problems of the MMs on this scale ("Vision2050", 2020, available at <https://vizyon2050.istanbul/en>). In fact, this plan's invalidation was considered a legacy of the responsible agencies' attitudes developed in the 1970s, which have been already discussed in the previous section (Oc and Tiesdell, 1994).

As Ersoy (2000) highlighted, through the decentralisation of the planning authorities in the 1980s, there were increased numbers of modifications and revision plans that created a speculative atmosphere not only between the local government and other related authorities but also among other stakeholders who were interested in the process actively or passively. For instance, even though one of the crucial differences between modification and revision plans was defined as the necessity of a research and appropriate report, the modification plans were substituted for the revision plans in most of the implementations particularly within the coastal areas due to this speculative atmosphere and uncertainty in the definitions in the regulations (Ünsal, 2009; Ünsal and Türk, 2014).

Accordingly, in the national context, the first level planning and conservation activities in the pre-2000s (See Figure 33) comprised regional plans that would be controlled and coordinated by the State Planning Office⁷⁶ and the environmental order plans that would be prepared by the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry

⁷⁶ The State Planning Office had authority for regional plans until 2011 when the authority was passed to the Ministry of Development. In addition, in 2006 when the Regional Development Agencies were established, they also obtained the authority for preparing regional plans according to the new split of regions.

of Urbanism as two separate ministries⁷⁷. On the other hand, the second level planning and conservation activities comprised development plans that would be prepared by MMs, District Municipalities and governorates depending on the municipal borders, and implementation plans that would be prepared by the local governments and/or RCBs depending on the site characteristics, such as conservation sites, coastal or tourism development areas or reclaimed green areas to be preserved. Implementation plans would proceed with the supplementary plans as modification, while revision and local development ones would be prepared by the second level authority institutions depending on the project type⁷⁸. The hierarchical order between the second level primary institutions in planning activities started with the Special Government for Provinces, which was structured by an elected council and assigned governor. Greater or MMs followed it, coordinated by an elected council and elected mayor, and the authority priority was passed to the district municipalities coordinated by an elected council and elected mayor (Ünsal and Türk, 2014).

2.3.2 ‘The 1980s’: Bosphorus Conservation Area and Fragmentation

After the first holistic assessment on the conservation of the Bosphorus area including its settlement pattern, water and green-scape characteristics which was also approved in 1974 by the HC, it was revised in the following years in 1978, 1979 and 1982. The main innovation was the division of the Bosphorus conservation area into different zones which opened a new period in urban planning strategies, urban conservation activities and coordination of planning activities. Just after this new plan was prepared in 1982 by the Istanbul Grand Master Planning Bureau, the Bosphorus Law no. 2960⁷⁹ was enacted in 1983, which was a milestone for the Bosphorus conservation area which drastically influenced the historical trajectory of the Bosphorus conservation sit area and of the exemplar case.

The Bosphorus law was the first code regarding the conservation of a specific area by which the area’s specific characteristics in Istanbul were legally confirmed. This law aimed to conserve, and to maintain the Bosphorus historic buildings and

⁷⁷ Environmental order plans for the definition of land use were under the control of these two ministries until 2011. In 2005, the authority was transferred to the Special Provincial governments until 2011 when those ministries were united under the name of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism and started to coordinate those plan types as a first level planning activity.

⁷⁸ Aproject-type approach is quite important for this research, since the actors participating in the transformation process depend on the project types. This complexity of the actors will be discussed in detail with different types of authority areas including conservation, urban renewal privatisation in Chapter II on the studied industrial campus’ transformation process from 2005 onwards.

⁷⁹ The Law No. 2960- Boğaziçi Kanunu-22.11.1983

natural characteristics as a precaution to the rapid urbanisation that occurred in the previous years, especially after the enacted law no. 5228 in 1948 for encouragement of the construction of accommodations which caused the construction of a various number of illegal houses. According to C. Aysu (1989), most of those illegal housing units were constructed close to the industrial settlements in the 1950s and 1960s, including Beykoz district within the Bosphorus area due to the accommodation needs of the former workers which have been discussed in detail in the previous sections.

The Bosphorus Law caused significant changes in the administrative framework of urban planning and conservation activities, by which new departments were also established to coordinate and conduct the planning activities for each zone within the Istanbul MM. The Bosphorus High Coordination Council of Development, the Bosphorus Committee of Development and the Directorate of Bosphorus Housing-Development Department were those new established organisational institutions that were charged with the conservation and development of the Bosphorus area by this law⁸⁰.

According to this new regulation, while the area between the Bosphorus seashore and coastal line was defined as the Bosphorus waterside zone⁸¹, the area included the densest and most important green-scape pattern that constitutes the Bosphorus silhouette through its natural characteristics, defined as the front view zone⁸². The area that gave the profoundness to these zones by confining the exterior border of the Bosphorus was defined as the back view zone⁸³. The final determined zone was called the affected zone⁸⁴, and was defined as the area that had a close relationship with those prior zones to be protected strictly. The affected zone was categorised as two types of buffer zones. While the first one provided the transition from the urban pattern to the Bosphorus green-scape and waterscape elements, the other one defined this transition from the rural settlements towards the Bosphorus' natural pattern.

Within this legislative framework for the Bosphorus conservation area, between 1983 and 1990, a master development plan was prepared in 1/5000 scale by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, implementation plans were prepared in 1/1000 scale by the district municipalities, and a conservation development plan and related conservation decisions in 1/5000 scale were prepared by the RCBs in collaboration with the municipalities with the Directorate of the Bosphorus Planning Bureau (See

⁸⁰ The Bosphorus Law No. 2960

⁸¹ Boğaziçi Sahil ve Kıyı Şeridi

⁸² Boğaziçi Ön görünüm Bölgesi

⁸³ Boğaziçi Geri Görünüm Bölgesi

⁸⁴ Boğaziçi Etkilenme Bölgesi

Figure 34). Accordingly, at the beginning of the 1990s, the responsible authorities in urban planning and conservation activities for the Bosphorus area comprised the the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the Directorate of the Bosphorus Planning Bureau, district municipalities (Beşiktaş, Sarıyer, Üsküdar and Beykoz Municipalities, depending on the municipality borders) and related RCBs (during these years, Istanbul Conservation Boards nos I, II and III) (Aysu et al., 1993). In addition, there were other related legislations and institutions participating in the process: the Ministry of Forest and Agriculture through the law of forest and the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism through the coastal law for reclaimed coastal areas.

Returning to the Bosphorus law, which was a specific legislation within the planning and conservation history of Turkey, it is essential to mention the main principles and decisions taken regarding the Bosphorus conservation area. According to this, the waterside and front view zones would be used solely for public benefit, and the area defined as tourism development would be used for recreational, resort or touristic purposes. New constructions were strictly banned within these zones to maintain the status of the conservation. Some measures were also decided for the non-listed buildings and lands; for example, un-registered building lots would be changed in status to forest and greenery, which would be followed with several further steps. This created a chaotic atmosphere during these years among the private owners of those sites. According to these new measures for those sites, public owned ones would directly be transferred to the State Treasury, while the private ones would be decided for expropriation by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Afforestation, and enhancement of the existing or possible greenery areas would be encouraged and all related actions would be conducted solely for public benefit⁸⁵.

Following this important development in the Bosphorus area, the establishment of any kind of edifices for industrial uses, depots, shipyards and quarries was restricted to provide conservation of the identified characteristics in each zone. Most particularly, any construction activities within the front view zone were strictly limited, and these zones were defined as the areas to be preserved by maintaining the Bosphorus silhouette. Furthermore, the prohibition of any construction within the front view zone was one of the other important decisions taken through the Bosphorus law which caused an increase in the number of registered buildings in this period. The main reason behind the latter mentioned increased during this period was a direct consequence of the decisions made under

⁸⁵ The Bosphorus Law no. 2960

the Bosphorus law and regarding the conservation development plan. According to this, in the case of any destruction of non-registered buildings, the legal position of these lots would change to greenery areas to be protected and expropriated. Thus, ordinary buildings were also registered in the initial years by the responsible authorities since this situation caused fear among the private owners. Besides, the new buildings were also constructed under the name of the reconstruction of previously destroyed historical buildings which were registered through incorrect documents or photos that were presented to the regional councils by their owners. Although the necessary guides for new constructions and limitations within the affected zones were defined through 1982's development master plan, they were prepared without considering the topographic characteristics of the Bosphorus area. Thus, some of the new interventions during these years also damaged the Bosphorus silhouette and front view zone due to the wrong implementations and disputes between the authorities (Salman and Kuban, 2006).

Even though the Bosphorus law had priority over any other legislations due to its specific position, the construction law enacted in 1985 invalidated some important codes of the Bosphorus law. The construction law no. 3194 was also critical in terms of administrative organisation in planning activities for the Bosphorus conservation area which is also currently in effect. According to this, the administrative structure of planning activities within the Bosphorus zones was subdivided into different institutions that were previously given to the Directorate of Bosphorus Housing-Development Department through the Bosphorus law in 1983. While the authority for any kind of planning implementations and their control within the Bosphorus front view zone was given to the MMs, the district municipalities were assigned to coordinate the planning activities within the Bosphorus back view and affected zones. This legislative framework was a milestone in the historical trajectory of urban planning and urban conservation implementations in the Bosphorus area influencing its transformation from the 1980s onwards.



Moreover, one of the other controversial codes of the construction law was regarding newly established institutions, such as the Bosphorus Planning Directorate and the Bosphorus High Council, which were assigned the implementations in the Bosphorus conservation area. According to the construction law, they were excluded from the process. However, in the meantime, within the scope of the legislation, the structure of these institutions and their members was also defined, ironically, which would comprise cabinet ministers. Thus, the authority in the planning activities of the Bosphorus area were recentralised, and it was highlighted that the revisions regarding the Bosphorus priority zones would be confirmed by Metropolitan or

district municipalities and by the Bosphorus High Coordination Council of Development assigned by the central State. Consequently, albeit those developments in this period in urban planning and urban conservation were considered a forward step in the democratic decision-making system towards decentralisation in Turkey, they made the process more controversial and extremely centralised (Ünsal and Türk, 2014).

Following this, the coastal law no. 3621 was enacted in 1990, which was another influenced legislation within the historical trajectory of the Bosphorus conservation area. The main purpose of this law was the construction limitations in the coastal zones in the first 50 metres from the sea to allow their use for public benefit. This law included all general and specific previous legislations including the definitions of the exceptional situations for the specific areas, such as the Bosphorus conservation area. Even though the law was prepared in this condition as a secondary law compared to the other specific laws, there were some differences in the Bosphorus law such as the permission of the new constructions and their minimum distance along the coastline for construction limitations. These unclear definitions between regulations drew reactions from the authorities and applicants, and the law was terminated in a decision taken by the Council of the State as the Bosphorus law had priority over the other legislations due to its specific characteristics and priority.

Besides those main legislations and authorities in the historical trajectory of Turkish urban planning and conservation on the national scale and the Bosphorus conservation area in the local context, there were also other important legislations that affected the urban form of Istanbul by changing administrative organisations. The law no. 2634 for encouragement of tourism was enacted in 1982, in which all cultural heritage sites and buildings were considered as potential sources for the development of tourism. Through this law, the Bosphorus area also became an important target for the interested actors through the site's great potential for tourism development offered by its natural, industrial, cultural, and historic characteristics as well as its specific green-scape and waterscape elements. It was also officially confirmed and legitimised through the master development plan that was revised in 1982, in which the future development zones and land uses were also categorised as recreational, tourism and residential. This law resulted in a varied number of tourism development projects such as hotels and yacht ports using the historic buildings as potential sources for economic benefits in the 1980s through a various number of urban development projects (Öztürk and Çıracı, 2010), which will be discussed further in the next section focusing on the ones applied on the post-industrial landscapes.

COGNITIVE MAPS - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1970-1990

N  Scale 1:1000 

**MAP NO 5
NORMATIVE FORMS AND SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION**

MAPPING VOCABULARY

• PROJECT AREA



• GREEN-SCAPE FORMS



• WATER-SCAPE FORMS



• INDUSTRIAL BUILT FORMS

• ADDITIONAL WORKER HOUSES SURROUNDING BECAUSE OF URBANIZATION



• FUNCTIONS OF THE BUILT FORMS



'BOSPORUS CONSERVATION AREA' ARTICULATION

• BOSPORUS CONSERVATION SITE ARE AND PROJECT SITE



• BOSPORUS FRONTAL VIEW AREA



• BOSPORIS BACKVIEW AND BUFFER ZONES



SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION

• AREA RECLAIMED AS GREENSCAPE TO BE PRESERVED



• AREA RECLAIMED AS TOURISM DEVELOPMENT



• GEOGRAPHICAL FORMATIONS

• GEOMETRICAL FORMATIONS

• NORMATIVE AND REGULATIVE FORMS

• SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION

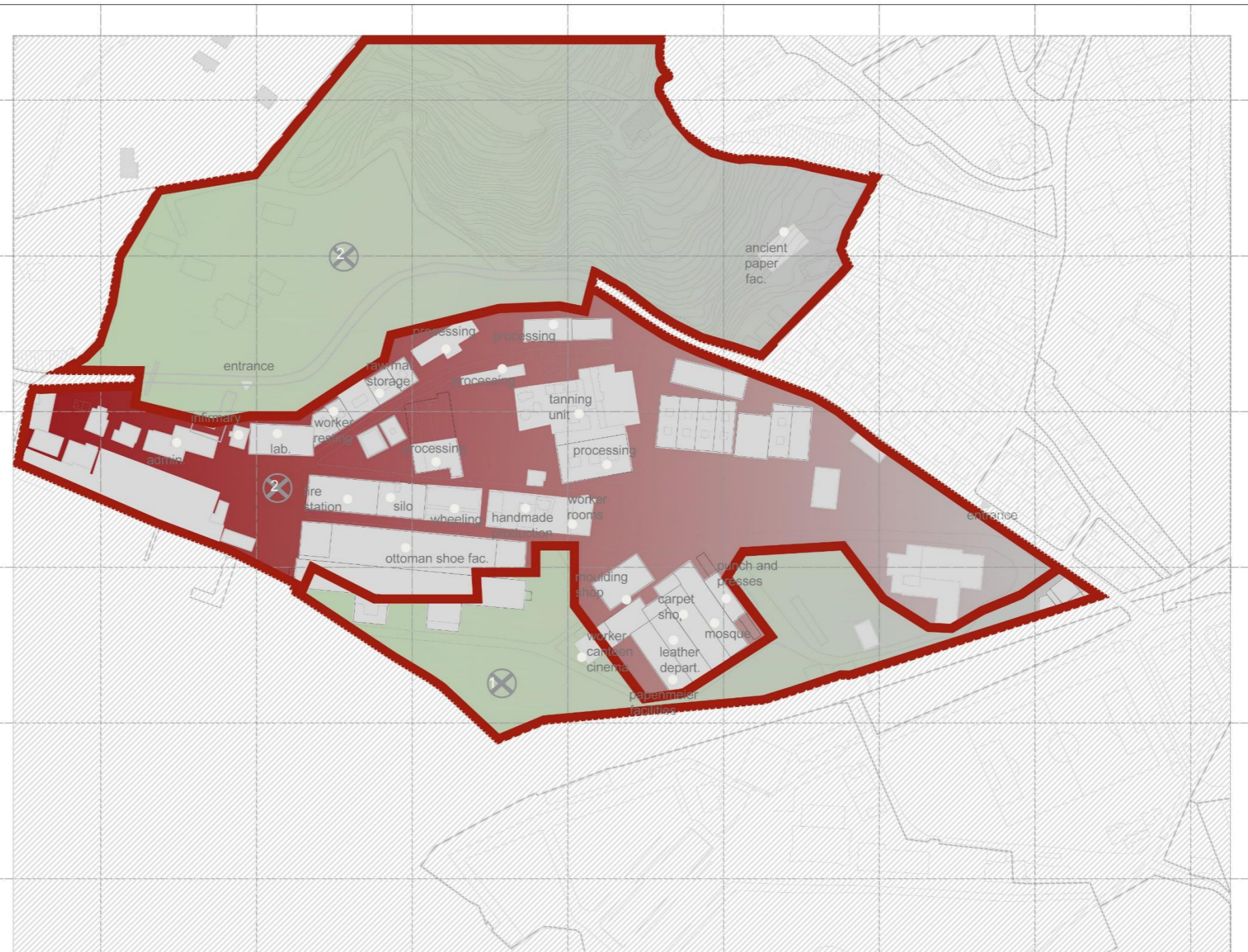


Figure 32: Cognitive map no-8, Bosporus articulation and spatial fragmentation, source: map is elaborated by the author using the base map obtained from the Municipality.

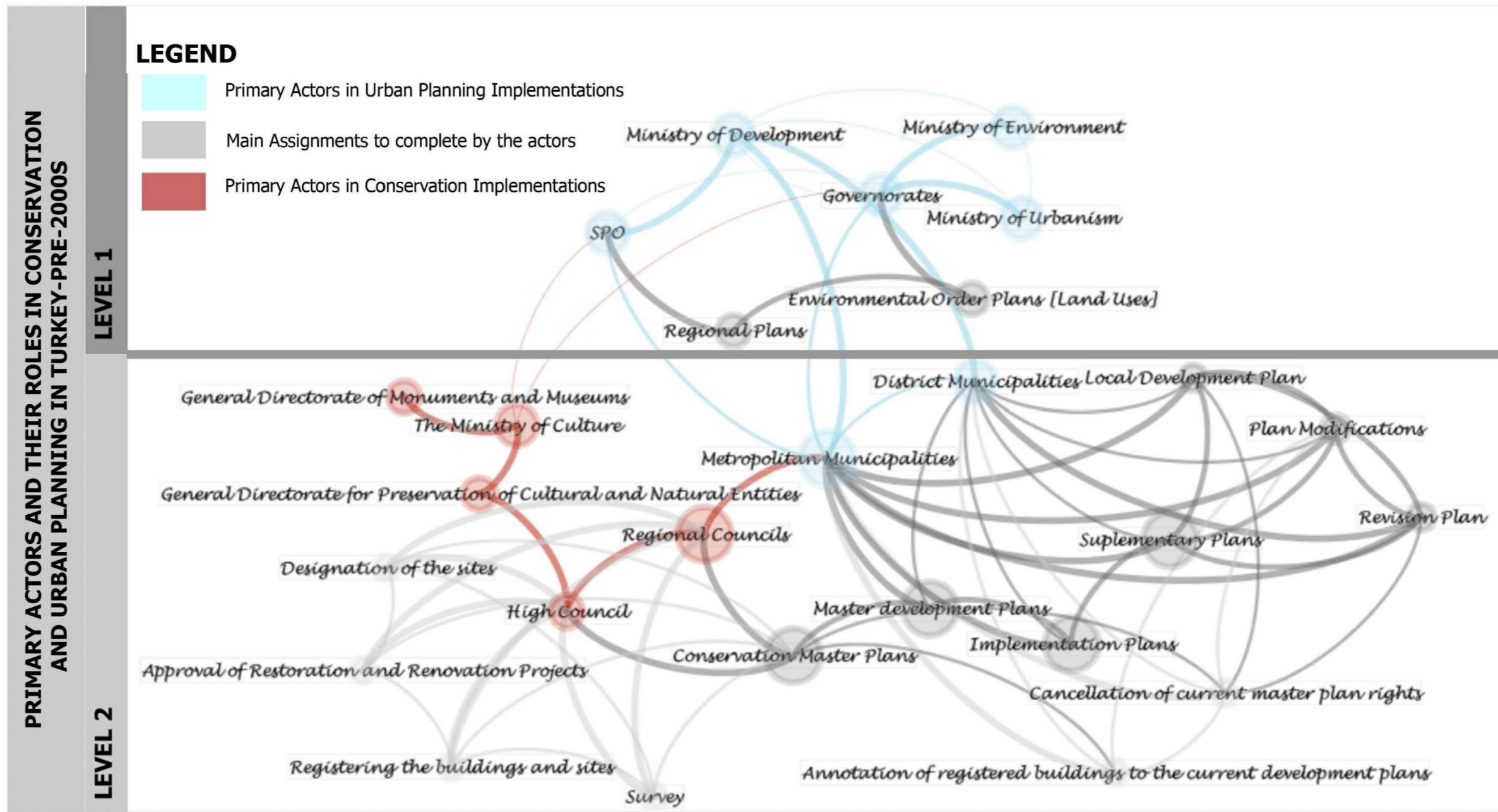


Figure 33: Primary actors of conservation and urban planning implementations in pre-2000s, source: image produced by the author using Gephi software.

2.4 Economy in Flux: Privatisation as Fast as Possible, Project-based Implementations and Actors Involved

Privatisation of state-owned assets was a major economic policy of many countries in the 1980s, especially for those where the state was the primary device for resource allocation in centrally planned economies. The drivers for privatisation derived from a more political than pure market versus planning concept, and they were aiming at reducing government involvement in the industry, improving efficiency in the privatised industries, easing the problems of the public sector, widening shared ownership and gaining more political power (Clarke and Pitelis, 1993). In the 1980s, public policies of many countries shifted in market-based solutions, and they embarked upon a major programme of structural adjustments (Öniş, 1991). By the 1980s, a sharply shifted state's policy in favour of the market-based solutions in economy was seen as a remedy, and it was applied through the structural adjustment in state administration and privatisation. This major restructuring policy was manifested through the urban mega projects and urban revitalizations as new types of consumption in the form of a new culture and new society (Keyder, 1999; 2000).

Local government working organisation in Turkey in this period was influenced drastically by globalisation and a neoliberal agenda, and some of the mega-projects lead by Bedrettin Dalan⁸⁶ were the important renewal urban projects completed in these years. In fact, S. Erder and N. İncioğlu (2008) defined the municipalism of the 1980s lead by Dalan as 'project fetishism-based municipalism'⁸⁷. For instance, revitalisation of the Golden Horn was one of those projects financed by the World Bank and completed in the 1980s, which was the direct consequence of the deindustrialisation aiming at the transformation of former industrial sites. The new legislations prepared in the neoliberal atmosphere in the 1980s also triggered other urban mega-projects in Istanbul changing the urban morphology and socio-cultural life within the city. The second bridge over the Bosphorus and its connection with the forest and greenery areas which was undertaken as a result of the construction law no. 3194, new constructed high-rise buildings and apartments benefitting from the housing development act and new projects of hotel and business centres benefitting from the Tourism encouragement law were the other important implementations in the 1980s influencing the urban

⁸⁶ Bedrettin Dalan was the mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality between 1984 and 1989.

⁸⁷ 'Projeci Belediyecilik' (Erder and İncioğlu, 2008).

planning activities in the following years (Gürsel, 1998; Keyder, 2000, Ayataç, 2000).

In fact, those planning implications were followed by the new Istanbul Metropolitan Area Master Plan in 1995 by advocating the revitalisation of former industrial sites within the city centre that were under the subject of deindustrialisation in the 1980s⁸⁸, and they had been seen as potential sources for new expectations of the primary actors. One of the significant urban implementations in Istanbul related to the industrial sites accrued in the 1980s through cleaning up the Golden Horn which is located at the Bosphorus in the European side. As a direct consequence of the industrial activities and their refuse processing caused a sewage problem and varied number of related infrastructural planning problems, which became one of the flagship projects of the political actors. The area was designated as a green area in the 1980s development master plan prepared by the Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Bureau through the decision on the relocation of the displaced industrial activities. And by 1986, the area was cleaned up through a various number of destructed industrial heritage buildings (Oc and Tiesdell, 1994).

Following this drastic implementation, Yedikule tanning industrial sites were also cleared up in the 1990s for another era's political flagship project. According to this project, the area was designated as an Olympic Village within the scope of the Istanbul Olympic 2000 bid to be transformed into a residential area (Oc and Tiesdell, 1994). Following these developments in urban planning and conservation of industrial heritage sites, a 'new culture' was emerging as a new phenomenon which started to see an alternative to the industrial and modern culture for contemporary society in Turkey. It will be discussed in the next chapter under the topic of new formations of the industrial culture in the contemporary Istanbul.

2.4.1 'The 1990s': Privatisation in Turkey

All those flagship projects and reformation of the post-industrial landscapes through urban redevelopment supervened upon those previously mentioned developments and crisis, but the main driver of the process was the privatisation in the 1990s. Following this, it continued with the heritagisation and reindustrialisation process in the cultural context in the 2000s due to shifted public policy as a global influence. Turkey experimented this shifted public policy with neoliberal state agenda to be integrated into the world economy, and the

⁸⁸ The 1980s was the important period in which industrial activities conducted in the city centre were relocated outside.

privatisation of the State Economic Enterprises (SEEs) was the first target for accomplishing those objectives in this period to reduce their burden (Ercan and Öniş, 2001). SEEs were the institutions that were established by the State itself or public corporations with other governmental agencies, and their profits or funds belonged to the State. They were the institutions controlled directly or indirectly by the central authority in Turkey, and were necessitated to pay for benefitting their provided services (Toprak, 1988).

Even though the privatisation of the SEEs in Turkey was put in the state agenda in the 1980s, the effective implementations translated from rhetoric started to become apparent in the 2000s due to the absence of the relevant regulations (Ercan and Öniş, 2001). The 1983 elections with the victory of Özal's government was another breaking point in the Turkish history re-changing the internal dynamics. Liberalisation, readjustment of the state policy and privatisation were the main focuses of the State through the strong commitment to rationalisation of the political economy (Öniş, 1991). In fact, the Turkish fragmented political and implementational system with weak coalition and coordination drastically influenced the exemplar case by making its transformation more contested and complex in the 2000s, which will be discussed in the next chapter in detail. In this part of the thesis, privatisation in Turkey, its legal and regulative framework and evolution in the cultural context are discussed focusing on the administrative agencies in decision-making, which were the main sources of the complexity of the transformation process of the Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus in the late 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s.

The SEEs were the important part of the Turkish modernisation and industrialisation project tracing back to the early republican years, which have also been considered as national heritage from the Kemalist era. Sümerbank was the first established one that represents the industrial culture in Turkey through constructed industrial complexes, produced manufacturing and impacts on socio-cultural life during the active years. Accordingly, Sümerbank community was an important actor in this process that witnessed the formation of modern and industrial culture in these factories, which has been discussed in the previous sections in detail. In this section, the privatisation in Turkey focuses on the SEEs and Sümerbank specifically to better understand the further actions relating to the exemplar case in the 2000s.

Within the 1980s rationalised economical context through neoliberal public policy, at the end of the 1970s Sümerbank had already requested reports from the experts of the World Bank regarding the modernisation and rationalisation projects of the ongoing industries and their active complexes, which were already put under

observation due to their insufficient performance since the 1960s (Toprak, 1988). In fact, the underlying problems of the SEEs and Sümerbank were accelerated in the 1970s, which caused the administrative restructuring in managerial organisational structure of Sümerbank, since it was considered as the main problem of their pre-existing deficits and insufficient performance. Consequently, the SEEs were put into the reform programme in organisational structure by which more autonomy was given to the managers of these institutions despite the era's neoliberal context, and their organisational changes continued to proceed between 1980 and 1983 together with the major changes in the political economy in 1980s Turkey⁸⁹. Indeed, during these years, the World Bank and IMF influenced the national dynamics on the orientation of the public reform. The first attempt regarding the SEEs was organising them as sector-holding companies, taken from the Italian IRI⁹⁰ model (Öniş, 1991). The initial reports regarding the problems of Sümerbank had been prepared by the experts of the World Bank in the years 1967–1970 and 1976, and by the Shirley Institute in 1977, which were the important documents towards the privatisation during the stable period of Sümerbank⁹¹.

Following the outcomes of these reports and the economic restructuring policy of Turkey, in 1984, Sümerbank and other SEEs embarked upon an arrangement of their organisational schema focusing on specialisation and performance to improve the economical return. Moreover, those neoliberal policies of the era⁹² started to appear and privatisation was mentioned officially for the first time in the new public policy. These neoliberal measures were also applied into Sümerbank's administrative organisation by increasing the authorities of its managers at the beginning of the 1980s to hasten their privatisation process⁹³, and its role had

⁸⁹ Z. Öniş (1991) highlighted that the previously mentioned reforms in the administrative framework of the SEEs during this neoliberal period were closely associated with the traditional bureaucracy and the concept of neo-etatism. The main policy for the SEEs focused on changing their role in industry and to support the private sector.

⁹⁰ *Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale* were a similar institution to Sümerbank in the Italian context. Lead by the Amato Government in 1992, these public enterprises were put into privatisation programmes, and their roles were transformed from producers to regulators. IRI, ENI, ENEL, IMI and INI were the representative institutions that were put into the reorganisation programme between 1992 and 2005 by the Ministry of Treasury (Barucci and Pierobon, 2007).

⁹¹ Those reports were the studies to compare Sümerbank as an SEE with the other private enterprises, and they highlighted the insufficient mechanical equipment and product quality problems compared to the privately produced ones.

⁹² The newly elected Özal's government in 1984 pressed for those neoliberal reforms as the first measure of the new state agenda (Öniş, 1991).

⁹³ During the 1980s, neoliberal policies and new management discourse had come to the fore in the international platform lead by the UK and other prominent industrialised countries. It was the period in which most of those countries set up their management and regulative frameworks to hasten and facilitate the process of the transfer of the monopolies into private enterprises. Thus, the monopolies

become a ‘regulator’ instead of a ‘producer’ to manage other corporate and joint-stock companies (Toprak, 1988).

Initially, the responsible authority of the privatisation programme and the relevant implementations was given to the SPO. Following this, the Morgan Guaranty Trust was commissioned to prepare the master plan for the privatisation programme in Turkey, and the process of the programme culminated in a report in 1986 without considering a regulative framework, which was quite similar to the Latin American style decision-making system. The legal foundation of the privatisation programme was established in 1984 in collaboration with the Board of the Mass Housing and Public Participation Fund⁹⁴. As per this first legal document, the cabinet under the name of the ‘Committee of Public Participation’⁹⁵ had the sole authority to select the SEEs to be privatised, and the selected SEEs would be transferred through its assets under the responsibility of the ‘Public Participation Fund’ for the following stages, including its management, rehabilitation and mode of transfer to private ownership or other legal entities⁹⁶. Basically, the privatisation process had been managed by this centralised organisation under the control of the Prime Ministry and the cabinet, which were independent of the other agencies such as the SPO, The State Treasury or the Central Bank. In fact, Public Participatory Administration (PPA) and the Public Participatory Fund (PPF) were established as instruments of the managerial bureaucracy comprising the US educated technocratic elites. This committee was also the central organisation for the allocation of the extra-budgetary funds in any

under the subject of privatisation also underwent restructuring in their managerial and strategical organisations (Clarke and Pitelis, 1993).

⁹⁴ The basic legal framework for the implementations of privatisation was established through the law no. 2983 with the Housing Development and Public Participation Administration in 1984, which allowed bypassing the primary bureaucratic stages, like the Latin American style of decision-making (Ercan and Öniş, 2001). The law no. 2983 for saving incentives and increment of the public investment was the first legal document enacted in 1984, in which the primary measures of the privatisation such as profit-sharing certificates were mentioned for the first time for the SEEs. Following this, a statutory decree was issued by which the committee of the Public Participation Fund was assigned as the sole authority for the transfer of the profit-sharing certificates for SEEs (The law no. 2983).

⁹⁵ It was renamed Privatisation Administration in the following years.

⁹⁶ Three basic modes of transfer were used in the implementations, which were categorised as direct sales of the enterprise’s assets, offers to sell the management rights of the enterprise, and offers of certificates entitling the public to share in the operating income of the enterprise. In this dissertation, the first category was taken into consideration as pure privatisation in the usual sense of a transfer of an ownership from the public to the private sector, which directly concerns the case study. The first examples of this type of privatisation were emitted together with the first Bosphorus bridge in 1984 (Öniş, 1998).

kind of institutional innovations of the post-1983s, which was the legal base to realise the implementations without parliamentary approval (Öniş, 1998).

The other rearrangement on privatisation was accrued in 1986 through the law no. 3291 in which the aforementioned institutional agencies were described in general scope for the privatisation process. Moreover, it was highlighted that the privatised public enterprises and all belonging assets including joint-stock companies would be directly transferred together with their debits to the privatised institution. Within this administrative and legal framework, the institutions that would have decided to be privatised, directly transferred to the Prime Ministry, and they became sector-holding companies, and their assets and joint-stock companies were transmitted to the Board of the Mass Housing and Public Participation Fund without any cost⁹⁷. The authority structure in privatisation and those ad hoc implementations under the control of this central agency⁹⁸ remained as they were until 1994 when the legislative context was slightly changed through the privatisation law no. 4046.

2.4.2 Linking Conservation and Urban Planning to the Privatisation: Project-based Implementations and Actors

As a result of these initial efforts towards privatisation in the early 1980s, the implementations were done through an ad hoc approach by those technocratic elites appointed within the administrative agencies due to an absence of regulations (Öniş, 1998). The initial changes on the regulative and administrative structure of the privatisation were evolved between 1992 and 1994. According to this, the authority of the Public Participation Committee was increased, and it was renamed Privatization Administration with a high council for taking the privatisation decisions. In addition, the privatisation fund was also constituted for the necessary privatisation implementation costs. However, these new measures in the

⁹⁷ According to the law no. 3291, any kind of costs and taxes were released for the privatisation implementations, which was another spur to hasten the process.

⁹⁸ It is important to mention that the State's discretionary authority was usually lead by the Prime Minister in Turkey, and this had increased during Özal's government (Onis, 1998; Gulfidan, 1993). Although the governmental administrative agencies were comprised of the managers and bureaucrats following the *etatist* ideology, Özal's government had been quite influential by establishing the new institutions, such as the Undersecretariat of Treasury and the Foreign Trade and Privatization Administration, which were the symbolic agencies to realise the implementations lead by the Prime Minister's Office. Accordingly, the balance of power in the authority had completely changed during the 1980s. For instance, the SPO's activities were controlled by decreasing the existing managers' authorisation in the implementations through newly appointed liberal-oriented managers (Öniş, 1998: 188; 341).

privatisation process were invalidated by the constitutional court in the 1990s, and the process continued to proceed via the previous agencies (Öniş, 1998, 2000).

Following these developments in privatisation, Sümerbank was transformed into a holding company⁹⁹ on the 8th of December 1987 by the Board of Mass Housing and Public Participatory committee, and it was assigned to manage all joint-stock companies and assets that were established and constructed until this date. While the organisational structure of Sümerbank started to reconstruct from the early 1980s as a regulator agency instead of its previous producer role in the national economy, on the other hand, the ‘Sümerbank privatization research group’ was established for the management of those privatisation decisions in the 1990s and 2000s. The first privatisation initiative of Sümerbank started from the textile, linen, and chemical industries, accrued in 1986 according to the reports and analysis of the Boston Consulting Group by the SPO (Toprak, 1988). Even though Sümerbank privatization research group was the responsible agency to plan the privatization programme and the priorities in its process, the authority returned to the Public Participatory Committee several times due to legal and regulative contradictions in the late 1980s until the beginning of the 1990s, and the final rejection of the constitutional court.

On 16 July 1993, Sümerbank was restructured under two different company types as Sümer Holding A.S. and Sümerbank A.S. Within the first decisions taken during this period, the priority for privatisation was given to the efforts for decreasing the unnecessary working labour through putting the non-used complexes into the privatisation programme. The joint-companies and their held assets were primarily decided to transfer the former workers through share-certificates. The Sümerbank facilities located in Beykoz, Bakırköy and İzmir were primarily considered for change of their industrial location, and these lands and complexes were put in the first stage of the privatisation portfolio. Furthermore, the department of public relations and publicity was organised to work closely with the privatisation team to prevent the speculative impacts of the privatisation implementations¹⁰⁰ in the 1980s (Danacı, 1996). This decision was also linked with the Bosphorus planning dynamics in relation to its conservation such as the limitation of ongoing industrial activities in the Bosphorus *sit* area.

In the 1990s, these measures which were highlighted as the privatisation initiatives and were not produced as expected outcomes neither economically nor socially, and opposition groups started to communicate their reactions. Workers’

⁹⁹ It transformed into Sümerbank Holding A.S.

¹⁰⁰Sümerbank Holding A.S. Privatisation Implementation Plan, Sümerbank Özelleştirme Koordinatörlüğü Yayınları, 1993.

Unions and Civil Servants' Unions, against political party members and other professional organisations, were among these actors who had raised their voices. In addition, workers' protests were other important crises in this period (Önder, 1999). In fact, this opposition between the *etatist* past and free-market orientation in the national economy was one of the important characteristics of the Turkish culture that influenced any kind of implementations in the following years (Bakan et al., 2002).

In 1994, the privatisation law no. 4046¹⁰¹ was promulgated, which also constituted the foundation of the current privatisation implementations in Turkey. Accordingly, the foundations of the legal and structural arrangements of privatisation in Turkey were re-regulated through this law. The main innovations were the establishment of the High Council of Privatisation and Privatisation Administration to operate the implementations. Yet, the administrative organisation for the implementations was still centralised around the HC which was composed of the four different ministers,¹⁰² as the sole authority to define the process of the privatised public enterprises including the privatisation method and timing until the final stage of the transfer to the private ownership or to other legal entities.

On the other hand, Privatisation Administration is identified as the executive agency in the law that had an intermediary role during the privatisation process between the PHC and other related executive agencies depending on the project-based implementations (See Figure 35). Also, social security and redundancy payments of the displaced workers were ensured. The incentives for early retirement and social welfare support were the other innovations to hasten the privatisation programme through termination of the ongoing industrial activities of the complexes (The law no. 4046). Within this legislative context, the Turkish government demanded investment support for the privatisation implications in agricultural and industrial state enterprises from the IMF by presenting intention letters starting from 1999 until the 2000s' crisis. However, the assistance of the IMF for the privatisation came to an end, and 2001 witnessed one of the greatest crises in the history of Turkey. Following this, economic restructuring actions accelerated through the Derviş programme,¹⁰³ which terminated with the '*15 laws in 15 days*'.

¹⁰¹ The Çiller government enacted the privatization law to hasten the privatisation process and to prevent the opposition groups' reactions and court's cancellation against privatisation decisions taken by the Prime Ministry.

¹⁰² It would be composed of the Prime Minister, a state minister, the Minister of Privatization, The Ministers of Economy, Finance, and Industry (The Law No. 4046, 1994).

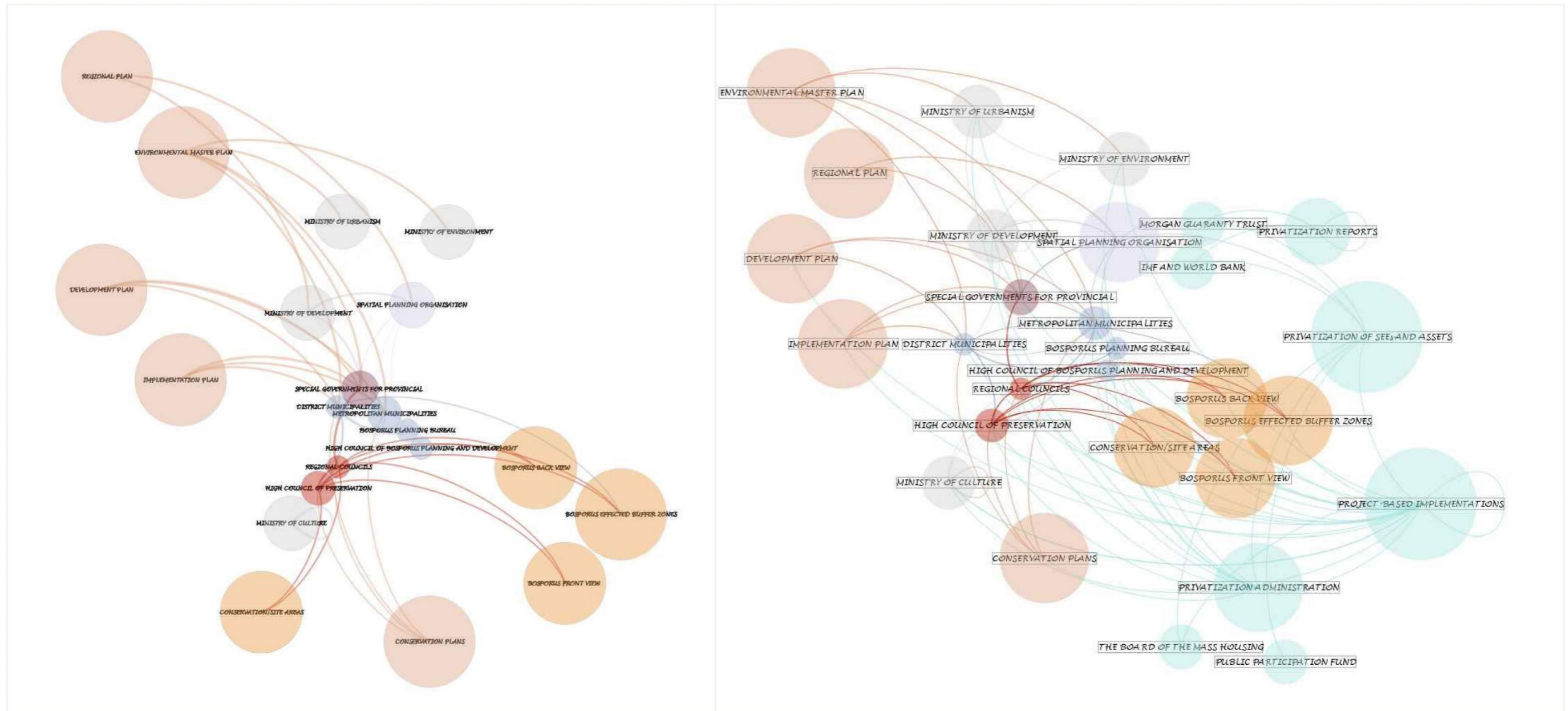
¹⁰³ Kemal Derviş was one of the vice-presidents of the World Bank, who was later appointed as the Minister of Economy. He was one of the prominent actors between the external and internal actors

Just after the crisis, the Justice and Development Party came into power through the 2002 elections, and it was the most effective period of the privatisation implementations (Önal, 2016).

In the post-crisis period, the EU also became an important external actor, and the Turkish State's policy started to restructure according to the European norms (Öniş and Bakır, 2007). The EU was one of the important triggers in the privatization process during this era for many nations to obtain its financial assistance. In fact, the European Commission had manifested the necessary requirements for the candidate countries for its support, such as necessity of liberalisation of trade, adequate legal and macro-economic system and elimination of any barriers for the free-market attempts (Eder, 2003:227). Privatisation implementations were proceeded in the following years lead by primary internal and external market-oriented actors, and the AKP (the Justice and Development Party) continued this line following the neoliberal policies that transformed the socio-political and economic structure of the cultural context from 2002 on (Öniş and Keyman, 2003).

and agencies for the privatization programme and economical restructuring in the 2000s (Onis, 2003).

PROJECT-BASED IMPLEMENTATIONS : URBAN PLANNING - CONSERVATION -PRIVATIZATION



URBAN PLANNING AND CONSERVATION IMPLEMENTATIONS IN BOSPORUS CONSERVATION SIT AREA; PREPARED BY THE AUTHOR, IN GEPHI SOFTWARE

URBAN PLANNING, CONSERVATION AND PRIVATIZATION IMPLEMENTATIONS IN BOSPORUS CONSERVATION SIT AREA; PREPARED BY THE AUTHOR, IN GEPHI SOFTWARE

Figure 35:Project-based implementations, urban planning-conservation-privatization, source: images are produced by the author using Gephi software.

2.5 Transformed Agents and Agents of the Transformation: A Comprehensive Look at the Transformation of Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus up to the 1990s

After a deep time-relational reading on the historical trajectory of the case study between culture and form, this chapter concludes with a critical evaluation of those formal and cultural changes and changers until the 2000s. Just after the main socio-cultural turning point in the history of modern Turkey from its Ottoman past towards ‘new modern culture’, Sümerbank was established with the parallel ‘modern’ ideology that had shaped Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus as one the republican industrial places from its previous Ottoman characteristics. The first driver of the transformation was accrued because of the ‘fast industrialisation and industrial development’ based on socio-economic restructuring in the cultural context according to the era’s politico-cultural condition until the 1960s.

This transformation period has been discussed as industrial culture and industrial forms in ‘flux’, in which modern and social articulation into the industrial culture and architectural and urban development has been retraced. While these changes influenced the ongoing life of the campus, which was manifested by the former workers through new social activities and improvements in the processing stages, on the other hand, they also caused technological innovations through imported machines and standardisation of the working life. Directly associated with those developments, there had been new added buildings and rearrangements of the existing ones to improve the existing industrial processing. In fact, the existing spatial organisation of the industrial process was also developed and replanned by Czechoslovakian experts. The site also developed in the means of social welfare through newly added edifices, such as cinema, theatre, kindergarten and recreational areas within the campus, which changed the site not only architecturally but also culturally.

On the other hand, there were also crises which define the era’s zeitgeist in the 1950s. For example, rapid urbanisation and the construction of various numbers of illegal houses by the former workers surrounding the campus were the important ones. They resulted in the transformation of the Beykoz district during this period; it transformed towards a blue-collar quarter through illegal worker accommodations by changing its previous atmosphere. Besides, they also damaged the characteristics of the Bosphorus area in which

there were large numbers of industrial settlements. In fact, it was the primary force of the next transformation period to prevent the damages.

The second driver of the transformation was accrued because of the 'legislative and normative restructuring' based on the cross-cultural influences through 'social' articulation into various numbers of fields, such as social realism, social state, social factories and social municipalism, which transformed not only the intrinsic logic of the campus in the means of social life towards 'social industrial campuses' but also most of the legislative and organisational framework in urban planning and conservation through the adoption of social municipalism by many nations until the 1980s. The most influential law in this period was the conservation law no. 1710 by which the *sit* designations were introduced. The Bosphorus area was the first designated conservation *sit* area, and, for the first time, natural characteristics of the site including waterscape and green-scape elements were recognised. However, these developments caused a various number of conflicts among the authority agencies and private owners of the buildings and sites in the Bosphorus area due to unclear definitions, and this situation turned into chaos, which triggered the next transformation period.

The third primary agent of the transformation of the site was 'neoliberal restructuring' through a various number of legislative and administrative changes. 'The Bosphorus law no. 2960', enacted in 1983, was one of the fundamental legislative drivers by changing the case study's position from an industrial place along the Bosphorus strip to the place to be preserved according to the Bosphorus conservation *sit* area regulations. Even though the physical layout of the campus has remained as it was, the multiple impacts of the Bosphorus law caused a significant transformation of the exemplar from an industrial place to the post-industrial place by accelerating the deindustrialisation process since the industrial activities were terminated in the designated *sit* area to prevent any damages on the waterscape and green-scape elements of the Bosphorus area. The physical layout of the industrial campus remained without any changes, but rather this law transformed the implementation phases in the Bosphorus area and caused spatial and administrative fragmentation of the case study in different zones by different responsible authorities. This fragmentation in the urban planning based on specific zones with a various number of limitations and termination of the industrial activities for conservation of the natural characteristics of the Bosphorus area, affected the case study significantly, and the campus became a post-industrial landscape as a target for tourism redevelopment in the following years.

Finally, the very first privatisation law no. 3291 enacted in 1986, was another agent of transformation causing the ‘privatisation’ of the industrial campus, which changed the case study from a post-industrial place to a privately owned industrial heritage place. Indeed, it was the primary driver of the changes that have occurred from the 1990s up to today and which will be discussed in the next chapter. For example, the ‘heritagisation’ of the campus was accrued to hasten the privatisation process of the site, then place branding policies and urban redevelopment projects had their peak. Following this, industrial heritage and its conservation came to the fore which were the important emerged issues until its reindustrialisation.

TIME RELATIONAL READING - UNDERSTANDING THE PROCESS AND CHANGE

FROM BEYKOZ SÜMERBANK LEATHER AND SHOE INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX TO BEYKOZ SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE SITE

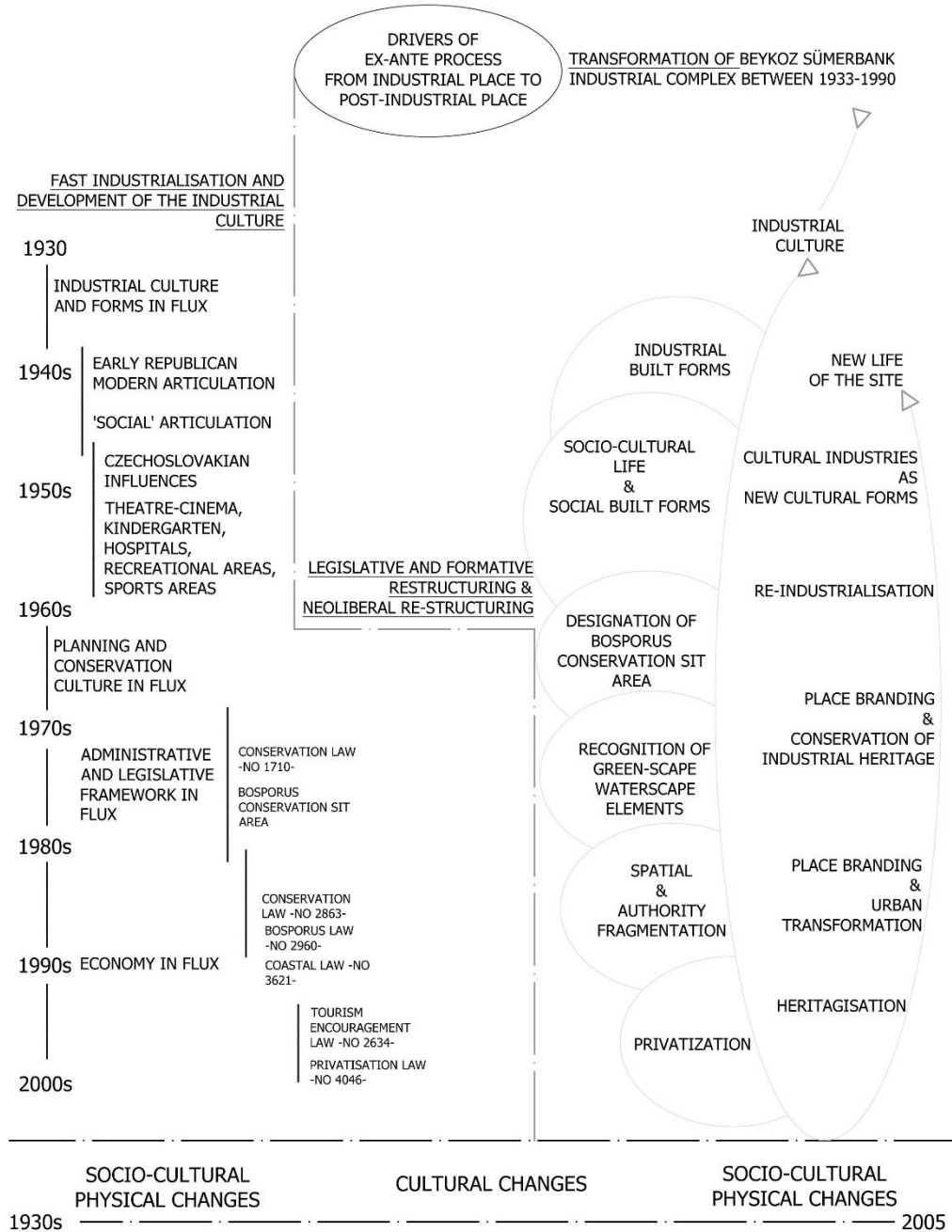


Figure 36: Time relational reading of the exemplar case, transformed agents and agents of transformation, and driver of each transition, source: diagram is produced by the author.

CHAPTER III

FROM BEYKOZ SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL CAMPUS TO BEYKOZ KUNDURA from the 1990s onwards: *Ex-post* Process Reading from Privatisation and Heritagisation to Reindustrialisation

This chapter provides a comprehensive analysis about the *ex-post* transformation process of the Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus towards its ‘new life from the 1990s up to present, *Beykoz Kundura*, during its realisation that includes privatisation, heritagisation and reindustrialisation phases. The articulation of these phases to the retrospective analysis between form and culture that were discussed in the previous chapter, proceeds with the contemporaneity-related discourses emerged in the late 1990s as a direct consequence of the previously discussed drivers of the transformation. Comprehensive looking at the *ex-post* phase of the selected case completes the formal, institutional, and contextual retrospective analyses, and it is essential to expose uncertainties, actor-based and spatial dilemmas during the implementation phase. By doing this, the complete image of a transformation process will be framed which will also help to define the common decision problems of similar industrial heritage transformation projects.

After-effects of the deindustrialisation process brought the notion of the ‘industrial heritage’ which also made these heritages as place-dependent phenomenon that felt usually at the local level (Johnson, 2002). National

contexts in administration and legislation issues and ideologies have played a significant role in this transition process, and are the fundamental sources for understanding the contemporary impacts of the change on post-industrial places through their transformed physical and social atmosphere. Indeed, deindustrialisation processes define the current sense of these former industrial places which cannot be tackled as a universalized phenomenon like industrialisation and geography-specific experiences of modernity. This place-dependent characteristic of the deindustrialisation process brought different forms of post-industrial landscapes in the contemporaneity varying case by case and nation by nation. While some regions have proceeded with heritagisation policies, on the other hand, some regions have affronted with the process by clear-up projects of these former industrial sites. It is strictly linked with the ‘heritage’ perception of societies to adopt as a part of collective identity (Berger and Wicke, 2017) and the historical process of nations in cultural development. T. Strangleman (2017)¹⁰⁴ argues that rereading the industrialisation and deindustrialisation processes in specific contexts together with the globalisation processes is the sole way not only to understand the values, sense of the post-industrial landscapes and contemporary industrial loss but also to see the change from industrial culture to the new forms of culture and invention of new identities. This process rereading approach is crucial to fully understand the public representation of the past (Berger and Wicke, 2017).

Privatisation was one of the primary drivers of the transformation of selected industrial campus, and it was completely linked to the urban redevelopment and regeneration intentions which gained particular attention in the 1980s and 1990s in Turkey by using the post-industrial landscapes as a source of contemporary economic development. Besides, the strategic position of the post-industrial landscapes that were constructed along the water and developed as waterfront settlements, made them the main actor of these urban regeneration and economic development implementations, thus, privatisation was firstly applied in these places by involving a vast number of interests due to their high economic profits. In Turkey, as many other countries, post-industrial landscapes were considered as a political tool to convince the public trust, or they have seen as an economic source by the interested actors for tourism and development activities and gaining trust during the election phases.

In fact, urban redevelopment implementations are objects of the public policy, new governance and public coordination, and include a range of semi-

¹⁰⁴ Cited in Berger and Wickle, 2017.

public and private actors which directly necessitate coordination and cooperation in a participatory decision-making process (Harvey, 1989). The complexity of *Beykoz Kundura* and its transformation process firstly derived from its strategic position in the Bosphorus conservation sit area which gained the particular attention of many interests due to its high potential in financial profits that lies behind its nature-city and water-city relationship. Indeed, the former industrial campus not only represents a potential place due to its time-based characteristics that is no longer useful in its original function but also offers the rare opportunities for waterfront, urban and tourism redevelopment through its location with an immense size of natural area along the Bosphorus strip. What happened then was a direct consequence of this condition, the former industrial campus has gone through urban transformation process that started with privatisation, heritagisation, and continued with the reindustrialisation phases.

AGENTS OF FLUX IN THE EX-POST PHASE OF THE INDUSTRIAL SITE TOWARDS ITS NEW LIFE

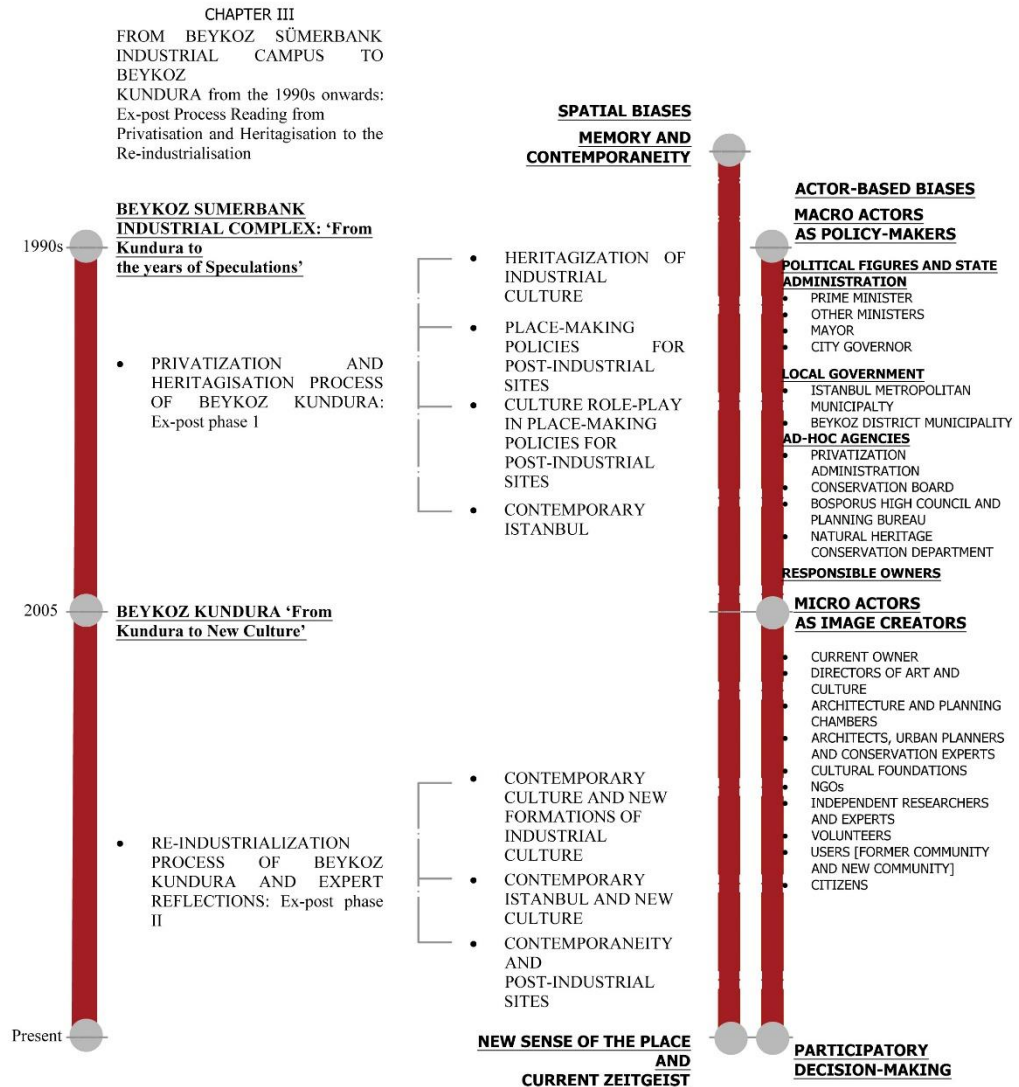


Figure 37: Agents of the Flux from the 1990s onwards which have been revisited in the Chapter III.

3.1 From Post-industrial Sites to the Industrial Heritage Sites: Privatisation or Heritagisation

As a result of the deindustrialisation which caused the decline of industrial sites and abandoned buildings, the notion of 'industrial heritage' gained attention as a volunteer activity at the beginning of the 1950s

(Symonds, 2004). Former industrial sites and buildings which were previously excluded from the definition of the culture, started to be re-evaluated, and were presented as a part of local culture from the active industrial places to the industrial heritage places. Although working class heritage activists were the prominent part of this growing interest by engaging these activities to the industrial heritage politics, this network extended through the involvement of the academic and volunteers in time who supported these former active industries as a part of heritage culture to be preserved (Berger and Wicke, 2017). Following this, the ‘heritagisation’ of industrial culture as a movement has come to the fore.

The initial interests in the industrial heritage and industrial archaeology led by K. Hudson, A. Buchanan, N. Cossons, and A. Raistrick¹⁰⁵ in the academic platform (Trinder, 1992). Within the course of time, several national and international organisations such as the Industrial Archaeology Research Community, the Society of Industrial Archaeology, the Association for Industrial Archaeology, TICCIH, ERIH were also articulated in this network by supporting the idea of heritagisation of the industrial culture (Palmer and Neaverson, 2001; Koksal, 2005). In addition to these organisations, there were also the other prominent actors to promote the industrial culture and industrial heritage, such as UNESCO, SIA, AIA and DOCOMOMO (Trinder, 1983).

The term ‘industrial archaeology’ was firstly used by the historian Michael Rix in 1955¹⁰⁶ (Trinder, 1992), and it was developed later by K. Hudson in the 1960s (Palmer and Neaverson, 1998). The up dated definition of the industrial heritage and industrial archaeology was placed within the Nizhny Tagil Charter¹⁰⁷ highlighted by the International Committee for the

¹⁰⁵ As cited in Trinder (1992), see for further information:

Cossons, Neil. (1975). *The BP Book of Industrial Archaeology*. USA: David and Charles.

Cossons, Neil (2012). “Why Preserve the Industrial Heritage.” In Douet J.D. (ed.) *Industrial Heritage Retooled: The TICCIH Guide to Industrial Heritage Conservation*, 6-16. Lancaster, UK: Carnegie Publishing.

Hudson, Kenneth. (1963). *Industrial Archaeology: An Introduction*. London, UK: John Baker.

Buchanan, R. Angus. (1980). *Industrial Archaeology in Britain*. London, UK: Allen Lane.

Raistrick, Arthur. (1973). *Industrial Archaeology: An historical survey*. London, UK: Paladin Grafton Books.

¹⁰⁶ As cited in Trinder (1992), see for further information:

Rix, Michael. (1955). “Industrial Archaeology.” *The Amateur Historian* 2(8):225-229.

¹⁰⁷ Nizhny Tagil Charter was issued by TICCIH in 2003 in its Moscow meeting which is the most recent declaration for the conservation of industrial heritage in which the values and any explanations regarding to identification, recording, documentation, research, legal

Preservation of Industrial Heritage in 2003. According to this, industrial archaeology was defined as “*an interdisciplinary method of studying all the evidence, material and immaterial, of documents, artifacts, stratigraphy and structures, human settlements and natural and urban landscapes, created for or by industrial processes which makes use of those methods of investigation that are most suitable to increase understanding of the industrial past and present*” (TICCIH, 2003). Besides, the scope of the industrial archaeology was also another topic of the discussion among those prominent scholars such as A. Raistrick (1973), T. A. Sande (1973)¹⁰⁸, N. Cossons (1975), and was defined independently the pre-industrial or post-industrial revolution (Tanyeli, 2000). In the Nizhny Tagil Charter, the up-to-date scope of the industrial archaeology was drawn as any activity or remains¹⁰⁹ from the beginning of the industrialisation from the second half of the 18th century up to present including with the earlier pre and proto industrial periods (TICCIH, 2003).

On the other side, the valorisation of these heritage places and related regeneration projects were other parallel developments which had their earliest examples in Britain and in the USA. They emerged from the 1970s as a direct consequence of deindustrialisation. The process of valorisation of the projects also varies, and are different in characteristics as their decline process within the axis of deindustrialisation. Indeed, cities and regions deal with their industrial legacies and with those declined post-industrial landscapes in completely different ways. While some of them such as Ruhr area in Germany deal with them as a part of their identity through heritagisation, some of the others, such as Glasgow, erase their industrial past in favour of the place-branding operations under the name of other ‘heritagisation’. For example, Dortmund’s industrial history is the official representation in the contemporaneity differentiated with the promoted industrial image of Glasgow. Besides, some of them, such as Detroit, appropriated their heritage sites as in-between images of death and rebirth. These differences between the regions and places in dealing with those post-industrial landscapes are strictly related with different public heritage approaches that shaped by the

protection and methods for the maintenance, preservation, education, presentation, and interpretation were defined (TICCIH, 2003).

¹⁰⁸ As cited in Tanyeli (2000), see for further information:

Sande, T.A. (1973). *Industrial Archaeology in America*. Vermont, USA: The Stephen Greene Press.

¹⁰⁹ According to the Charter, “*These remains consist of buildings and machinery, workshops, mills and factories, mines and sites for processing and refining, warehouses and stores, places where energy is generated, transmitted and used, transport and all its infrastructure, as well as places used for social activities related to industry such as housing, religious worship or education*” (TICCIH, 2003).

heritage perception of societies and diverse heritagisation policies depending on the prominent actors (Richter, 2017; Berger and Wicke, 2017). Accordingly, each case realised in specific approach open to discussion due to the complex nature of the conservation and readaptation discourses in relation to the industrial heritage and urban redevelopment policies.

Those distinctions in dealing with the industrial heritage by nations are also associated with the political context, as highlighted by Harrison (2013) in 1972's UNESCO Heritage Convention in which he focused on different meanings of the heritage, from its technical to legal meanings. Following the global developments, the World Heritage Committee was seeking the balance within the World's heritage list in which industrial heritage was identified as the weak theme with insufficient numbers of experts as early as 1992. Thus, the identification of related criteria for the evaluation of the industrial heritage places was issued by ICOMOS and TICCIH in this period, including a methodology of the selection and evaluation of diverse cases. Most of the member States participating to the convention started to document their industrial heritage places that varied from company towns to bridges and canals or other industrial complexes of different industrial branches. Meanwhile, the redevelopment projects continued using these sites, for example, one of the most destructive acts was accrued through prettification and greening projects realised by the states depending on their planning policies, and this became a universal act in the following years by different nations (Cleere, 2001).

Turkey got involved within the member states of UNESCO Convention from 1983, which influenced the heritage-based activities by adapting their operational processes in the European norms. In parallel to this, the European Landscape Convention took place in 2000, and approved by Turkey in 2003, which was an important development regarding the conservation of natural sources and landscape areas. Indeed, after the strong influence of the Amsterdam Declaration in 1975 in the Turkish context, which changed the direction of the conservation and planning culture through newly established departments for documentation and designation, these conventions also influenced the national conservation framework by opening new discourses of change, and caused restructuring process in the administrative mechanism that previously discussed in detail (Şahin Güçhan and Kurul, 2009). All these international developments during these years also influenced the planning policies in Turkey, particularly for the Bosphorus conservation *sit* area, and, they might be retraced from the post-industrial landscapes' transformation process from the 1990s up to present.

European orientations were one of the influential impacts on the urban planning policies, specifically for the declined inner, peri and waterfront urban places independently from the heritage discourse, and they generated new urban renewal and regeneration projects which were mostly applied in the post-industrial landscapes. These projects and their processes are emblematic and quite exemplar to analyse the political orientation of each geography due to the themes' nature which strictly associated with the political priorities of the prominent actors and regarding policies on heritage, conservation, and urban planning. Indeed, R. Harrison (2013) criticizes this conventional approach in heritage and preservation, he notes that thinking in a particular way about the objects and the past depends on the role of the state in using those objects for contemporary storytelling. Thus, the established norms and policies for those practices are completely political which makes the 'heritage' as a tool for politics.

Accordingly, the term of 'heritagisation' in this research addresses the macro-scale national policies to tackle with the industrial heritage and post-industrial landscapes, thus, it aims to realise which political or profit-based preferences lie behind those policies to create the new sense of post-industrial places. Heritagisation is a process by which objects and places transformed into objects of exhibition (Harrison, 2013: 42). In addition to these contemporary heritagisation examples through city-branding operations on the post-industrial landscapes, such as Dortmund and Glasgow, there is also museumification as another way to deal with those heritage sites which generally operated through sanitization of such places and keeping few of them for museum clusters as an ideal representation of the heritage past (Gobster et al., 2007).

3.1.1 Heritagisation of Industrial Culture and Place-making Policies for Post-industrial Sites in Turkey

The deindustrialisation process in Turkey started in the late 1980s with the privatisation of the state-owned enterprises, which was the breaking point for the declination process of industrial places (Övgün, 2009; Köse, 2017). The term 'industrial heritage' came to the fore in the 1990s, almost forty years later than other European countries, as direct consequences of the deindustrialisation process and potential use of post-industrial landscapes in tourism development purposes via urban redevelopment implementations. The main intention for post-industrial landscapes was not directly addressed as the conservation of this heritage branch in the initial phase, but rather they were used by and benefitted the political actors for their rhetoric to set up their

trust relation. The initial efforts focused on the declined post-industrial landscape of the Golden Horn through the sanitisation of varied numbers of the industrial buildings for recreating the green areas instead of retaining them as a part of the political policy of the era's government. This ideological project of sanitisation by erasing the industrial past attracted the attention of industrial heritage activists during these years (Köse, 2017).

Moreover, the continuation of those sanitisation acts by different politically structured agencies within different cities, for instance, demolished Ankara gas factories, provoked the activists, and the term 'industrial heritage' was firstly used during one of the manifestations against the destruction of the Ankara gasometers in 1991 (Saner, 2012). From the 1990s onwards industrial heritage and preservation discourses gained attention in academic fields, and they began to be discussed via varied platforms. Yet, conservation of this type of heritage remains a recent topic, and until today there are few PhD studies focused on industrial heritage-based themes from different perspectives¹¹⁰.

¹¹⁰ Among them:

Kıraç, B. (2001) "Türkiye'deki Sanayi Yapılarının Günümüz Koşullarına Göre Yeniden Değerlendirilmesi Konusunda Bir Yöntem Araştırması", Basılmamış Doktora Tezi, İstanbul, MSGSÜ. Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü.

Köksal, G. (2005). 'İstanbul'daki endüstri mirası için koruma ve yeniden kullanım önerileri. PhD thesis, (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). İstanbul Technical University, Turkey.

Tuluçcu, T. A. (2007). Adana kenti tarihi endüstri yapılarının yapısal analizi ve korunmaları için yöntem araştırması. (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Gazi University, Turkey.

Kazas, J. (2008). Endüstriyel miras kapsamındaki alanların kentsel yenilemeyi oluşturmadaki rolünün irdelenmesi: Ödemiş örneği. (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Yıldız Technical University.

Canaran, C. (2009). An integrated framework for sustaining industrial beings in the urban context. PhD thesis, (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Middle East Technical University, Turkey.

Engin, H. E. (2009). Tarihi yapıların yeniden kullanımında iç mekân etkilerinin incelenmesi için bir yöntem önerisi; İstanbul endüstri yapıları örneği. PhD thesis, (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Karadeniz Technical University, Turkey.

Ozen, E. S. (2014). Liman kentlerinde koruma ve yasadışı prensipleriyle değerlendirilen gemi inşa endüstrisi yapıları: Tersane-i amire üzerine yeni bir senaryo "haliç tersanesi bilinç platformu". (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Yıldız Technical University, İstanbul.

Çorapçıoğlu G., (2015). A research of method about documentation and conservation of water mills in the example of Black Sea Region. (Unpublished master's thesis). Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Institute of Science and Technology, İstanbul.

Karelse, O. P. (2015). Living sites: rethinking the social trajectory of the Tophane area in İstanbul. (PhD Dissertation). The University of Manchester.

The legal framework of the issue is also insufficient to protect these heritage sites and their immaterial objects. There is no systematic inventory or documentation guide, and all implementations regarding them are based on the registration state of each asset according to the regulation defined in the general meaning of the cultural heritage and heritage assets (The law no. 2863). There are no national organisations or significant laws specifically addressing these heritage branch, the main preservation law (The Law no. 2863) was taken as a base for the registration and surveying which also put them in a disadvantaged position due to their construction dates. In fact, their official registration was generally shaped in the case of being relative to regeneration projects or being a privileged project depending on the political agenda, which is seen in the case study's historical trajectory. Thus, most of those listed industrial heritage sites in Turkey show different heritagisation processes that are linked to the era's political agenda.

Beyond these, I will briefly look to the Turkish state policy on industrial heritage sites referring to those already transformed examples to understand the contemporary sense of the post-industrial landscapes drawn by the state. Starting from the Golden Horn sanitisation project, accrued in the 1980s, prepared by the Istanbul Municipality, the main intention was cleaning up the industrial dirty structures for the construction of new, green recreational areas for Istanbul, which was the main promise of the ongoing political party's agenda during these years. Within the scope of this sanitisation project, while some of the potential industrial buildings were transformed into cultural and educational functions, such as Sütlüce Butchery and Fes Factory, which were refunctioned as a congress and cultural centre, on the other hand, some of them were destroyed as a part of this green project. It might be said that even though city-branding was not yet the discussion of the state, the main priority was earning trust for the political elections through promised acts of their political roots.

In fact, city-branding or place-branding policies burgeoned in the late 2000s through the involvement of the international actors in the national structural transformation process such as the European Union with the ECoC 2010 project or UNESCO with the design capitals project. Until this time, the main consideration on regeneration implementations was running between public-private subjects based on financial profit-oriented policies according

Köse, Bilge. (2017). Responding the Challenges of Preserving an Industrial Network as Heritage: Turkey Cellulose and Paper Factories (SEKA). (PhD Dissertation). Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

to the real estate values of the heritage buildings without consideration of the importance of the industrial heritage and its fundamental values. Besides, the industrial past of Istanbul had never had priority over other heritage layers of the city for city-branding, thus these post-industrial landscapes have always been seen as potential places to trigger the urban economy that might be used to produce different purposes according to applied project priorities.

Istanbul as a city is completely different among other industrial cities, such as German cases where the 'industrial' past has been reused in contemporary image. The prominent actors in Istanbul have never seen the city's industrial layer as fundamental to choose for using the contemporary identity of the city, since the city has other particularities due to its glorious past that have always been privileged. This reality was also effective in industrial heritage politics and the rhetoric of the regeneration projects regarding the post-industrial landscapes. In fact, in Turkey, more specifically in Istanbul, there is not a particular policy adopted by the state for the post-industrial heritage sites of which they have appeared ranging from museumification or heritagisation, to heritagisation or invention mechanism using new culture. Their application also varies such as preservation through a nostalgic approach, readaptation through cultural industries or creative culture, destruction, and mutation through clear-up or flagship projects. Nevertheless, one explanation might be the reason for this patchwork policy approach that is directly linked with the city marketing practices and unstable multi-political atmosphere.

According to the geographers, such as Kearns and Philo, city marketing is a practice to promote city images by using or selecting a particular layer of the cities' past as a representation of the cultural-historical packages, which might be used for the current storytelling to public. It is also strictly related to the authorised heritage discourse and heritage-related practices. They were guided by elites and expert groups who decided which part of the layer was appropriate to remember for the collective memory, or which buildings reflect the collective identity (Laurajane, 2006). This distinction in case by case made the city of Istanbul an urban lab for analysing the regeneration projects that mainly intersect many other different fields including heritage conservation, waterfront redevelopment, peri-urban rehabilitation, flagship, or clear-up projects in relation to the newly defined culture and identity. Thus, to understand the contemporary condition of the post-industrial landscapes together with contemporary Istanbul, it is fundamental to discuss the particularity and current spirit of the city and the post-industrial landscapes, what they offer for new culture, and vice versa, it is also crucial to analyse

the particularity of the new culture and how it overlaps these sites generating the new sense of place.

3.1.2 ‘Culture’ Role-play in Place-branding Policies for Post-industrial Sites in Turkey

Culture is a completely dynamic element and an important key driver for urban development strategies due to its characteristics that are intrinsically diverse and multifaceted depending on the context of different geographies (Duxbury et al., 2012), and it is one of the fundamental agents of the place-making operational processes. It becomes one of the important key drivers for the regeneration policies that were already conceptualised by G. Evans (2005) according to their consequences: culture-led regeneration, cultural regeneration, and culture and regeneration. Place-making operations in favour of urban and economic development were mostly driven by using heritage and heritage places through readaptation and regeneration projects (Olins, 1999).

According to the categorisation of culture role-playing in the regeneration and redevelopment operations claimed by G. Evans (2005), the first model ‘culture-led regeneration’ was described through an event or activity-based operations that were mostly used for post-impacts to complete the transformation through EXPO, Festival or Olympic events. In the second model ‘cultural regeneration’, he intends a more integrated approach of operations including socio-economic dimensions. Besides, this model represents more strategic processes in which actors generally collaborate with each other, and the operation mostly reflects the city’s strategic and master plans through its integrated process. Finally, the third model ‘culture and regeneration’ was defined as a default model without any collaboration and integration that proceeds exactly as two separate acts. This categorisation of G. Evans (2005) is important for *ex-post* evaluations of the projects, but it does not strictly provide the borders of the operations since they sometimes overlap one to another depending on the project types, actors, and participatory levels of the operations during the process. Some examples prove that they might be initiate with a specific approach, but the process might turn into another depending on the process characteristics.

Industrial heritage places are significant potential sources of cultural transformation and regeneration operations due to their pragmatic nature of construction that had already ended because of the deindustrialisation process and technological necessities of the contemporary era. They are one of the non-human actors in constant change that have been triggered by place-

branding dynamics of the cities depending on the actors and agencies participating in this process and the socio-political framework of each context. In this respect, urban regeneration policies, new urban programmes and new culture are the important triggers to shape the industrial heritage places depending on the political agenda of the primary actors of which their results might vary from transformation to mutation by constituting the new sense of those former industrial places.

Cultural heritage and contemporary expressions of the heritage and culture are essential for urban development strategies they are the intermediators for adaptation to change by redefining our sense of belonging (Landry, 2000:39; Miles, 2013). C. Landry (2000) noted that the presence of the past in the present could guide the place-making operations to avoid the loss in collective memory and history erasures that have occurred through most of the 'cleared' post-industrial landscapes such as the London Docklands (Miles, 2013). The term 'regeneration' has been defined as the transformation of a specific declined place towards a new life that brings sustainable development in socio-cultural, economic and political context (Evans, 2005). The role of the new culture in regeneration and readaptation projects is particularly crucial for this research, which helps to evaluate the new 'industrial' culture via a new given function that has been manifested in those post-industrial landscapes. They are also essential and fundamental drivers of the current zeitgeist that might illuminate the current sense of place in relation to its historical link (Lange, 2005; Evans, 2009). Accordingly, contemporary successfully transformed industrial heritage places should include the identity of both the prior and current layers of the place comprising each cultural layer of the historical process of the place, but, meanwhile, they should respond to the necessity of the current zeitgeist in relation to the contemporary city.

G. Evans (2005, 2009) also mentions that the place-branding policies have launched new themes for the cities and regeneration projects such as 'culture city', 'creative city', 'entrepreneurial city' or 'intercultural city', which attribute new potentials to the contemporary cities by making them more complex and more heterogeneous. These concepts bring a significant shift from industrial culture to the cultural industries in most of the geographies that have emerged from the 1980s and 1990s onwards by changing the culture in the traditional sense together with the intrinsic logic of the cities. Thus, place-making operations are completely associated with heritage and conservation, zoning and planning strategies, and the state's cultural programme for reproducing new forms of culture. Realised examples are mostly clustered within the cities in different zones which have been seen

as a panacea for urban development by offering different alternative locations to their new users, especially for the metropolitan cities. Moreover, culture-led place-making operations mainly rely on selective images of the cities driven by central and local authorities and inter-global and political actors that make the transformation process of heritage sites more complicated and more contested (Miles, 2013; Cooke, 2002).

This complexity lies behind the fact that while these place-making operations regenerate inner-city historical zones and post-industrial landscapes, they are not proceeded in favour of socio-cultural urban development, but rather they are mainly driven by economic and commercial preferences of the prominent deciders. It means that the current and future intrinsic logic of the cities and the spirit of heritage places are in the hands of malfunctioned decision-making mechanisms that operate through different priorities depending on the economic and commercial based motives of the plural actors participating in these processes (Miles, 2013). Accordingly, within this contested and globalised world, the ‘heritage’ becomes the industry itself (Gunay, 2014). Using the words of K. R. Kunzmann (2004:2), “Each story of regeneration starts with poetry and ends with real estate”. Yet, there are various numbers of definitions on good practices and expected outcomes of those projects from the technical point of view; however, the technocratic dimension of the issue concerned with their deciders have not been fully answered. My primary intention in this section is to discuss the origins of the problematic and unbalanced issue of transformation vs. mutation in post-industrial landscapes focusing on the contemporary Istanbul and the contemporary definition of the post-industrial landscapes in relation to the contemporary culture and place-making policies. Hence, it brings some question chains in a twofold stage under the themes of actor-based and spatial dilemmas¹¹¹.

The first group of questions is more managerial and technocratic and mainly concerns the actors as responsible authorities in the process as drivers of the current zeitgeist. They seek the answers for the obscurities such as which priorities are attributed to the applied policy, which type of hierarchy is generated between the decision makers and to which aim and which roles are carried out by which actor. On the other hand, the second group of questions is related to the spatial and cultural decoding of the place that has been generated via a new culture and new given function, and it aims to

¹¹¹ In fact, Bianchini (1993) identifies the different types of dilemmas of the policies as audience and spatial dilemmas and economic dilemmas that are fundamental to solve to acquire better redevelopment examples.

understand the current sense of place in relation to the current zeitgeist. This complexity feature of these kinds of projects generates value-based biases due to the plurality of participating actors, which also must be balanced to have better practices in the future.

Therefore, in the first section of this chapter, firstly, the actor-based dilemmas in culture-led place branding operations in Turkey will be presented, and *Beykoz Kundura*'s privatisation and heritagisation process will be specified to re-read them on a real-world example. Following this, a redefinition of the culture in Istanbul and spatial reflections of these new cultural formations within the city will be reviewed, focusing on the regenerated post-industrial landscapes and ongoing trends. Then, the film industry and cinema sector as a new form of cultural industry, and what it represents for the contemporary Istanbul will be discussed to understand the general framework of the contemporaneity. And, finally, re-industrialisation phase of *Beykoz Kundura* will be presented.

3.1.3 Contemporary Istanbul: Actor-based Dilemmas in Culture-led Operations

Within this global context in the spatial perspective of the issue, UNESCO, OECD and other international institutions have already started to launch their global networks for supporting place-branding operations in favour of the creative and cultural industries which have also hastened and triggered the regeneration and transformation processes and projects in the contemporary cities. Such developments are fundamental to understand how culture and new formations of culture reproduced over the traditional sense of culture through new uses and how they were practised within the transformed sites or places (Miles and Paddison, 2005). To do so, it is necessary to define the contemporary culture in the existing context referring to those fundamental dynamics that are strongly geography-specific depending on the given context.

In the late 1980s, the European City and Capital of Culture (ECoC) programme was instigated; it was commissioned by European representatives from diverse nations by influencing the culture-led redevelopment and regeneration projects. It commenced with the city of Athens in 1985, and continued with the other European cities, including Florence, Barcelona, Berlin, Paris, Glasgow and Lisbon (ECoC, 2009). Istanbul also got involved in this process in 2010 along with the other European cities of Germany's Essen, for the Ruhr, and Hungary's Pécs with a strategic programme that triggered the place-branding operations through diverse regeneration

projects. Basically, the concept of the ECoC was launched by the Ministers of Culture of the designated cities in collaboration with the European Commission. Within the scope of the ECoC, Istanbul 2010, an initiative group¹¹² was structured comprising 13 different non-governmental organisations that were supported by the Ministry of Culture, the Prime Ministry, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Istanbul Governorates and the Istanbul MM. This responsible group launched a dossier under the four primary themes and four conceptual sub-themes for the main cultural strategy for the Metropolitan city of Istanbul. The themes were urban regeneration, cultural heritage, cultural and artistic infrastructure and multi-culturalism in relation to the shared European culture. Until 2010, the ECoC Istanbul initiative group expanded with the involvement of academics and other domestic cultural associations, which was a quite positive step towards the participative policy process in Turkey (Istanbul ECoC Initiative, 2005).

For the implementation of the Istanbul ECoC programme, an executive body ‘Istanbul European Capital of Culture Agency’ was established by law in 2007 as an intermediary between local governmental agencies. Strong state control on this agency¹¹³ was also dominant in the Turkish context as in other administrative agencies, and the government was the main supplier of 95% of the funding. Soon afterwards, this executive body branched out in diverse departments to spur the projects based on visual arts, film, music, art, urban culture and performing experiences which were controlled and managed strongly by the Prime Ministry for the ECoC project during these years. Even though the decision-making agency was not turned into a completely traditional public authority, this democratic and participative decision-making initiative practice was interrupted due to the consultants and advisors for these projects who were appointed by the State in the following years (Öner, 2010; Doğan, 2013). The programme influenced a great number of regeneration and refurbishment projects of heritage sites and buildings, mostly for the post-industrial landscapes depending on the applied project types varying from privately owned and public ones. The initial implementations were focused on the public spaces over private venues by involving the civil actors and volunteers in the process. Thus, these

¹¹² ‘Participative policy’, or learning organisation, was one of the trendy policies introduced in the 1980s that intended to mean an organisation that learns to transform for better policies. Following this new urban management trend, the EU initiated a project under the name ‘participative cultural policy’ in which the ECoC programme was one the tools to apply and experience (Öner, 2010).

¹¹³ Interestingly, many officials in this agency were appointed by the central authority and resigned their positions in 2009 after the preparation of this programme (European Commission report, 2011).

developments brought a ‘partially’ participative decision-making process in Turkish context for post-industrial transformation projects in new cultural locales.

The other parallel capitals’ strategies of ECoC were mainly focused on the regeneration and redevelopment of the post-industrial heritage sites, and they had a different programme and process in comparison to Turkey. They also created impacts on Istanbul (European Commission report, 2011). For instance, the Ruhr 2010 programme was one of the influential global cases in Turkey during the 2010s and was an initiative that established diverse proximity links with 53 cities under the name ‘twin-city concept’. The Ruhr project and its ongoing policy was seen as an appropriate potential for Istanbul’s cultural development that would be taken into consideration as a reference (Hein, 2010). Even though this programme as a catalyst for urban regeneration implementations in Istanbul was not completely associated with the exemplar case in this research, it has influenced mostly the new life of the heritage site, and some of the operational stages in the macro scale since it has been the only planned cultural policy prepared in Turkey.

In addition to the ECoC programme, UNESCO also launched a discourse under the theme of creative cities in 2004 for strategic global sustainable urban development in different sub-themes. Istanbul also became involved in this network in 2017 under the theme of design as another catalyst for urban regeneration projects. In addition to the cultural potentials, Istanbul is also defined as the city with varied number of opportunities for contemporary design and design-based developments due to its strategic position and cultural and intellectual capital stock by constituting different job opportunities and economic potential to use for sustainable development. This also brings many diverse potential sources to use for the urban economy. Although these opportunities were also clustered within the central districts, such as Beyoğlu, Sisli, Mecidiyeköy, Galata, Karakoy in the European side and Kadıköy and Üsküdar in the Asian side (Enlil, 2000), Beykoz also became indirectly involved in this network as a peri-urban district through *Beykoz Kundura*, which represents one of the emblematic projects initiated by the site’s private owner and other involved actors. It not only stimulated cultural regeneration for its surroundings as an alternative creative point to the inner-city places, but also acted as a spur and a reference for similar projects in the following years.

Cultural policies in Turkey are mainly based on state-oriented efforts (Ada, 2011) and political powers which have always played an important key role in launching culture-based operations. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the current conservatist Islamist government (AKP) which has

been in power from the 2002 onwards, have been the key drivers of this process due to their roles of regulator and decision-maker. From the 2000s onwards as a direct consequence of the change in decision-making mechanism towards liberalisation and globalisation, culture and art-based initiatives have been set in motion by the private investors and rich families,¹¹⁴ which made them the prominent leading actors (Polo, 2015).

Within the last two decades, the developmental paths of new culture and cultural clusters¹¹⁵ are quite diverse and complex through the regeneration and transformation projects in favour of the contemporary economy and global trends independently from their primary drivers, and they necessitate a holistic assessment and evaluation for each specific project instead of the prototype analysis. These operations and their initiative dynamics are completely varied depending on the project type, socio-cultural context, urban planning and conservation strategies of the specific cultural contexts, and the potentials offered by the place. In fact, these redevelopment policies have become place-making operations, and while they drive the current zeitgeist, they also redefine the new sense of the heritage places. Furthermore, they have made the process more complicated due to the involvement of various ad hoc agencies that have been specifically established for those operations and for specific areas (Mommaas, 2004).

Those ad hoc agencies and policies that were established for a specific area, have been quite a common concept in the Turkish context, making the projects more complex and conflicted through ‘patchwork’ operations. As A. Scott (2000) highlighted, those place-making projects have usually applied in the post-industrial places due to their pragmatic characteristics, and they are quite variable from their pre-existing formal and urban layouts to their developmental path of architecture, from their historical trajectories to their developmental path of implementational stages. Understanding those dynamics is crucial, and it requires more holistic project-specific analysis that might be a guide to determine responses to the problems and conflicts of this eclectic way of operations (Healey, 2004).

Using new formations of the culture as a trigger is an opportunity for the redevelopment policies of declined historic quarters, inner-city areas and post-industrial landscapes. Retrofitting the declined heritage sites and

¹¹⁴ Three leading families, Koç, Sabancı and Eczacıbaşı, and other important entrepreneurs, Oğuz Özerden, SALT and Borusan, have been the primary actors in the cultural and art-based economies in Istanbul (Polo, 2015).

¹¹⁵ Clustering is a term used for urban development and marketing strategies based on the formation of new creative culture (Porter, 1995); creative clusters were defined by Porter (1998:78) as “a geographic concentration of interconnected companies, specialized suppliers, service providers, associated institutions and firms in related creative industries”.

building complexes through place-branding operations is fundamental content to guide the sustainable urban policies that might trigger the cultural tourism development in favour of the contemporary economy. Thus, the discourse of creative cities and creative industries, urban redevelopment strategies, cultural tourism development and the heritage overlap, leads them to become one of the complex phenomena in the conservation, urban planning, and management arena. These intertwined concepts bring a varied number of conflicts and contradictions with those implementations that have usually operated according to value-based dualities, such as economy vs. culture, public vs. private, local vs. global, ephemeral vs. permanent, transformation or adaptation vs. mutation depending on their deciders (Costa et al., 2009). Understanding the actors' dilemmas of each project should be supported with the spatial dilemmas to make a holistic assessment for the projects and to redefine the actors' roles. In fact, such sanitisation projects, museumification or heritagisation policies of post-industrial landscapes, as discussed in the previous sections, are essential to determine the main criteria to rethink the values and the sense of the place in compliance with the contemporary context for finding a balance between those dilemmas as expected outcomes from the implementations.

3.2 BEYKOZ SUMERBANK INDUSTRIAL CAMPUS: 'From Kundura to the Years of Speculations'

From the 1 January 1995 to 11 October 1999, some the industrial assets owned by Sümerbank, which were decided upon as Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus and Bakırköy Ready-made Clothes Manufacturing Department in Istanbul with their facilities, were put in the privatisation programme of the government based on the privatisation law no. 4046. According to the council meetings accrued in two stages in 1995 and 1999, while all immovable assets of Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus, covering an area of 162 m² and 182 m² in two different lots,¹¹⁶ would be transferred to Istanbul Technical University on condition to transform them into a research centre for doctoral studies including specific research units controlled and synchronised remotely with high-tech equipment, Bakırköy Ready-made Clothes Manufacturing Campus' assets would be transferred to

¹¹⁶ The transferred assets were defined as "all immovable assets located on the map section no 55, building block no 352, lot no 45 covering an area of 162 m², and the ones located on the map section no 66-67, building block no 41 and lot no 2 covering an area of 182.705 m²".

Galatasaray University on condition to transform them into additional campus areas. Moreover, all industrial machines and equipment surviving in these facilities were left to Sümerbank Holding, and the holding-company itself decided to transfer them to the Ministry of Finance in substitution for the holding's tax debits to the State (Privatization Administration Decision no 99/73, 12.10.1999).

This was the first assize taken by the Privatization Administration and privatization council comprising the era's six ministers with their consent regarding the case study's privatisation process, which lasted until 2005 when the site took its recent privatized status. In this part of the dissertation, I will highlight what happened during the privatisation process of the case study in the period between 1990 and 2005, and its following phase accrued from 2005 onwards when the site began to shape towards its new life.

Just after the privatisation decision of Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus which was put in the State Agenda in the 1990s, a varied number of governmental correspondences started between different governmental agencies. They are the important documents not only to trace the contradictions and conflicts generated during this phase due to power inequality problems of the actors, but also to see how they were solved or remained unsolved in specific circumstances. They are used as sources to identify the primary characteristics of the current transformation process in Turkey. This section of the dissertation is based on my research in the Istanbul RCB no VI archive, retracing those official correspondences chronologically, and the semi-structured interviews conducted with the officials and experts who have full knowledge of the project to better describe and analyse the process framework of the case study in subject.

3.2.1 Privatisation and Heritagisation Process of *Beykoz Kundura: Ex-post phase I*

According to the official definition of the privatisation process, the institutions together with their assets to be privatized would be immediately evaluated by means of their registration status and preservation conditions or legal provisions to proceed with the privatisation programme. The first step in the historical trajectory of the case study was accrued through an official letter written by Sümerbank to the RCB no III¹¹⁷ in 1998 for a consent

¹¹⁷ The RCB no III was the responsible authority at the local government level for any kind of preservation implementations and decisions on the municipal borders of Beşiktaş, Sarıyer, Üsküdar and Beykoz until 2007. In 2005, based on the laws no. 3386 and 5226, Istanbul RCB No VI was established appointed as the responsible authority for Kocaeli, Sakarya Grand

regarding this transfer if it was applicable since the immovable assets to be transferred were located on the Bosphorus conservation *sit* area. In reply to this letter, to evaluate this transfer by the preservation council, the RCB no III requested from related agencies any specific information, research and documentation regarding these lots and assets, including their zoning status, internal and external photos of the buildings, silhouette of the site and survey on trees within the Bosphorus conservation area approved from the Ministry of Forestry. This evaluation stage by the conservation council lasted until 2004 to give a final registration decision of the site, which was a period comprising six years with a vast number of official correspondences between Sümerbank Holding, the PA, The Ministry of Forestry, the Istanbul MM and the Bosphorus Planning Department, Beykoz Municipality, and the Istanbul RCB no III as intermediators between these agencies at the local level. In fact, the case study is one of the emblematic examples to see the macro experts' position and power inequality within the privatisation and heritagisation phase in Turkish culture.

Within this heritagisation or privatisation period, several requests were turned down for the site's evaluation, or they were suspended based on a varied number of reasons. Among them were missing documents of the dossier, which was highlighted by the responsible RCB, such as missing photos of some buildings within the site, insufficient reports and surveys on the industrial machines and equipment, insufficient studies about any other valuable historical objects located within the site remaining from different periods and missing research on the monumental trees and green-scape forms located in different predefined zones of the Bosphorus conservation *sit* area. It might be said that this period was the heritagisation period of Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus, which was the direct consequence of the ongoing privatisation process being completed as fast as possible. In fact, the privatisation law no. 4046 gives priority to the privatisation projects by highlighting that all governmental authority agencies should give primary attention to these projects rather than other ongoing projects to hasten this process (The Law no. 4046).

Until 2004, the aforementioned missing and insufficient parts of the site's dossier in documentation were progressed by adding more photos and

Municipalities and Istanbul Ağva and Sile municipal borders until 2007. Finally, in 2007, Istanbul regional boards and their authority distribution were reorganized which is still in this condition today. Pursuant to this, RCB no VI was authorised for the municipal borders of Beykoz and Üsküdar for the decisions of preservation practices (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2021). This is why all acts were passed through the RCB no III until 2007, and those from 2007 onwards were approved or denied by the RCB no VI.

historical studies on the buildings, industrial machines and related equipment. The monumental tree survey was also completed by the Istanbul University of Forestry Department. With the decision taken on 30 July 2004 by the RCB no III, the site including its assets in the subject of the privatisation was registered officially as second category cultural heritage. The decision highlighted the site's significance in industrial archaeology through the pre-existing industrial machines and equipment remaining from its industrial past from different periods that include not only republican Sümerbank culture but also Ottoman remains from its anterior development.

In addition, the natural landscape characteristics of the site were also added within the conservation decision including monumental trees and green areas which are also quite important parts of the Bosphorus conservation sit area in which each zone was already designated as first category natural heritage since they define the Bosphorus frontal views and the Bosphorus silhouette. Together with this decision of the RCB, which was officially published and distributed to the other related local authority agencies, Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus' privatisation process was completed via a selling method¹¹⁸ and some conditions and legal provisions were presented by the HC with regard to its further transfer process.

The necessary further steps for the privatisation of the site included following deep studies and investigations that also contain industrial archaeological materials, and green-scape elements. Their comprehensive documentation and survey with their structural system and material features, and detailed study of all machines and equipment in the subject of industrial archaeology were in the list of the further requirements. It was also indicated that these requirements would be completed under the supervision of '*industrial heritage experts*' from Istanbul Archaeology Museum. Historical research regarding the buildings and equipment to be surveyed would be completed with their historical phases, and they would be supported with detailed documents benefitted from any governmental and private archives which might enlighten the site's historical accounts in a multi-dimensional perspective. In parallel to this, the decision also addressed that any construction activities or renovation/restoration implementations would be prohibited until the said requirements were completed. Any interventions

¹¹⁸ The decision regarding the privatisation of Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus via a selling method, was taken on 7 April 2004 by the PHC, and it was officially approved, being published in the official gazette on 10 April 2004. Yildirim Holding has been the official owner of the site from 2004 onwards. Interestingly during the privatisation process of the case study, one of the HC committee members objected to its privatisation referring to the site's importance on collective memory, which should be saved for public interest finding this privatisation process completely dangerous from the conservationist perspective.

regarding new uses would not be applied before the consent of the RCB and the BPB, and these new proposals would be supported by comprehensive further analysis through prepared projects by specialist experts on industrial heritage.

Furthermore, the HC also highlighted the site's importance within the scope of industrial heritage and industrial archaeology, which means that it would be preserved holistically using innovative methodological approaches. All historical phases of industrial production process operated within the campus during its historical trajectory would be one of the main objectives by dedicating a museum as one of the legal provisions of the complex's privatisation. Thus, the survived industrial machines and equipment would be surveyed holistically, and relevant inventories would be taken for their conservation in compliance with the European Union norms which were entered within the Turkish cultural context during those years¹¹⁹. The RCB added to this decision that there would not be any objections or barriers regarding the privatisation of the industrial site¹²⁰ in the case of all these aforementioned conditions and legal provisions being provided according to the decision published in the official gazette.

Within this decisional framework, the RCB no III sent an official letter to the Prime Ministry highlighting the importance of the survey of the machines and equipment relating to industrial archaeology, which would be completed fundamentally to complement the privatisation phase via a final decision. However, the absence of specialised experts on industrial archaeology and industrial heritage in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum was an important problem from the conservation approach of the site, which would be supported in some way during these years. In fact, the HC recommended that an expert team specialised specifically in industrial archaeology and industrial heritage might be provided from the universities in case of their absence within the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. They were the fundamental conditions of the privatisation that was accrued in 2004, and each related responsible agency was informed regarding this decision.

In parallel to this, the Istanbul Provincial Directorate of National Education communicated to the Prime Ministry and the PA through an official letter that, if those industrial machines and equipment, such as

¹¹⁹ During the European harmonisation period in Turkey, varied numbers of norms and regulations were adjusted as per the European standards. Thus, the case study also represents one of the preliminary experiences by means of survey methods of the industrial buildings and assets according to the European norms. It also influenced the process positively; the surveys and documentation of the related assets were conducted comprehensively.

¹²⁰ It was indicated that there were no legal objections relative to the preservation law no. 2863 article no 13.

laboratory equipment, test machines, all documents and machines, which were functioning and in good condition, could be transferred to benefit one of the technical specialisation schools on shoemaking in Istanbul, since the school was in poor condition regarding such necessary equipment, it would be useful for better training the students. In response to this, the HC gave consent excepting the ones relative to industrial archaeology, which were not surveyed at that time due to the absence of the industrial heritage experts. These interests and pressures as a part of the privatisation process, influenced and hastened the documentation stage of the industrial heritage assets and the industrial equipment during these years, which also hastened its heritagisation process. Following these initial stages, in 2005, some of the appointed staff of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum made the first on-site investigation regarding those machines and equipment relative to industrial archaeology.

After the on-site investigation by the museum staff, some reports were submitted as a formality act to the RCB. Following this, the first conflict was generated regarding the expert know-how; the HC communicated with the related responsible agencies indicating that the submitted documents and research regarding the site were not sufficient and they were not at an appropriate scientific level, which required a more comprehensive and detailed study for better assessment. Within this complex process, which was proceeding slowly in some stages and fast in other stages, just in 2007, the conservation experts from the RCB and from Istanbul Technical University conducted a second on-site investigation to better understand and assess the values of the existing buildings and industrial archaeological materials.

According to the report prepared by those specialised experts in 2007 following European norms, it was noted that the most ancient machines and industrial equipment regarding production processes did not exist within the campus, and the existing ones had been transferred to the Mechanical and Chemical Industry Corporation or had completely disappeared. The machines in utilisable condition for processing the raw leather for shoemaking totalled 2,000, the oldest of which was a German-made sander from 1924. Other identified machines during this investigation were a German-made generator from 1936, a German-made send press machine from 1950, a Czechoslovakian press-cut machine from 1961, a Russian steam boiler from 1960 and a steam boiler made in West Germany dating back to 1984, which were the important technical elements to be preserved. In fact, this information regarding the machines that still survived within the campus, also shows the cross-cultural interactions during the historical process of industrialisation. Besides, these industrial archaeology collections are also an important part of the industrial past that should be conserved and exhibited in

the new life cycle of the heritage site. Subsequently it was decided that these machines and related industrial equipment should be stored in appropriate conditions within the depots until the process was completed¹²¹, and they would be used for dedication of a museum within the campus that reflects the industrial past.

The report also included a various number of socio-cultural accounts of the industrial complex during its active years. Pursuant to this, it was noted that while in 1974 the complex was active with 3,500 workers, on the other hand, in 2005, it was in a negligent condition awaiting 107 workers. Apart from the campus' industrial characteristics, the experts highlighted the significant position of the site, having a private port along the Bosphorus. Moreover, 1,334 trees were surveyed by Istanbul University, of which 34 were identified as monumental, and they were listed as natural heritage. It was also observed that the complex was still in good condition regarding conservation, and almost all production process stages might be traced through the existing layout. While one of the inscriptions located near the administration building indicates the year 1821, another one refers to the period of Sultan Abdul Mecid, which are the sources providing information concerning the construction of the factory. There were also a varied number of columns and fountains remaining from the Ottoman period constituting the multilayer-ness of the heritage site.

The interesting point regarding the privatisation and heritagisation phase of the project is that all these decentralised ad hoc agencies of the privatisation were pressed during the process by the Prime Ministry and PA due to the importance of the privatisation. It influenced positively the heritagisation phase, the documentation and the relative requested studies were completed ethically after the initial barriers related to the absence of specialised experts and missing reports. In fact, generally, conservation-based projects last a long time with oblivious agencies with a vicious cycle in some parts; however, as seen with the exemplar, the state's priority on privatisation makes the project privileged by means of process flow. It is quite emblematic to see how the agencies organised between themselves based on the projects' priority or their

¹²¹ According to the semi-structured interview conducted with one of the experts as insiders, even though storing the historic machines and equipment in one of the buildings until the designation of the museum seemed an ideal solution, it was dangerous in the meantime for the timber-based materials since their conservation requires a different methodology in specific conditions. The expert highlighted the importance of the specialised expert team comprising different parts of the sector rather than a specific specialisation one. Thus, this particularity of the material culture and conservation should be considered for future practices, which will necessitate these preoccupations.

privileged characteristics in Turkey. The key role of the RCB and the members of the HC were the crucial chance during the process.

This first phase of the process had its peak in 2007 through the site's registration, and its industrial archaeological importance came to the fore as the primary outcome. Indeed, the importance of the industrial complex had remained under a cloud until this date. Yet, apart from the case study's socio-cultural, political and economic significance reflecting the republican modernity, no one was aware of the importance of this campus by means of its industrial heritage and industrial archaeology values due to the theme's recent position in Turkey that emerged as a phenomenon in the 1990s. Until this date, the heritage site was not studied sufficiently, there were just few books or theses regarding the case study of which Ö. Küçükerman's book (1987), published in 1987, was the most comprehensive among them, highlighting mostly the industrial production's importance. In addition, there were also MSc dissertations, such as Tolga (2006) and Özdemir (2015), focusing on the new proposals after its negligence; Yerlitaş (2013), focusing on the historical development from the more general perspective; and Öncel (2015), that analysed its privatisation from the economic national history approach. Even though they are important sources to illuminate the transformation process of the former industrial site, there is no sufficient and comprehensive information that frames diverse issues in relation to the contemporaneity.

In 2007, along with the second on-site investigation for the industrial archaeological materials of the site, there were also several requested presentations from diverse experts, including architect, conservationist and planners, who were appointed as being responsible for the technical part of the project. This request was aimed to enlighten the design process and historical development of the campus, which would include building characteristics in terms of its structural and material features and its internal and external organisation in relation to the processing stages. After this analysis, the registration status of each building was comprehensively defined, including their legal category of protection, which constitutes the base and reference for the legal limitations of any new interventions for the new life of the site. The RCB¹²² also highlighted the significance of each

¹²² Until 2007, the industrial campus located in Beykoz district, was under the responsibility of the Istanbul RCB No III. However, a restructuring programme for the organisational framework of the regional boards was approved in 2006, particularly for Istanbul and Ankara, by adding new RCBs for renewal projects. Together with this new regulation, the RCBs became 35 in number in which three of them were assigned for renewal projects. Istanbul RCB No VI was also established in 2006, and this agency was assigned for the conservation implementations in Beykoz district (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism). Accordingly,

intervention to those buildings, which would be quite crucial for the integration of the site into the contemporary cultural context by contributing an important socio-economic income and potential for the national and cultural economy. Thus, all new proposals regarding them would be prepared through maximum attention with sensibility by the qualified experts specialised on the specific themes. These measures were highlighted as a must for the further steps during the HC meetings.

All these developments in heritagisation continued with another on-site investigation in 2007 that caused another conflict in this stage. According to this, the site was in good condition by means of conservation, and in addition to the republican modern buildings, there was also a cistern, historic pool and cemetery area located at the northern green zone of the campus' lot, along with the Ottoman industrial remains, such as fountains and ancient columns. While the early republican and those Ottoman buildings and remains were listed as second category cultural heritage assets, on the other hand, the late republican industrial buildings, such as the *Yeni Kundura* building, which was constructed by Czechoslovakian engineers, remained outside of this decision due to their construction date. There were also specific decisions within the campus, such as identified buildings no 16 and 19 within the master plan (See Appendix E), they were defined as the buildings that would be protected including their internal layout, while the area located between buildings no 5 and 6 on the master plan (See Appendix E) were identified as the new project zone to be proposed. The new proposals would be compatible with the pre-existing building traces, and they would be in same ornamentation with the pre-existing ones without exceeding the eaves' level of the other buildings¹²³.

However, those indicated buildings were not listed buildings, and they were quite close to the new proposal area, which made them a target for the new proposal. This condition created a conflict between the interested actors due to mismatching regulations for new proposals. In fact, these two mentioned buildings were the shoe factory buildings constructed in the 1960s by a Czechoslovak team and which had been used as landmarks of the site from the 1960s onwards. Thus, responsible experts who were in the technical team, comprising an architect, conservationist and urban planner, contacted the RCB to ask if it was applicable to transfer the industrial machines and equipment located inside of these buildings to another building and intervening their internal layout for new functions. They also highlighted that

from 2007 onwards, the case study's transformation process was transferred administratively to the Istanbul RCB No VI.

¹²³ See in appendix E, regarding decision and the master plan indicating those predefined buildings.

these buildings represent fundamental importance to have a further decision regarding their conservation status and degree of new intervention, since the owner of the campus would like to use them for the new life of the site. Following this, this request was terminated with a decision in 2011, in which the internal layouts and related machines would be protected as they were under a holistic conservative approach due to specific industrial and modern characteristics of the buildings. In Turkey, most of the regulations for new interventions were usually developed and evolved during the ongoing process pursuant to the problem-based solutions depending on the decider authorities. Yet, specifically for the exemplar, one of the main reasons behind this 'late' regulative and normative organisation was the negative position of the industrial heritage in the regulations due to their construction dates, which automatically excludes them from the conservation law.

In addition to the industrial characteristics of the site, monumental trees were also identified with their legal protection status according to the tree survey research completed by the Istanbul University. As mentioned previously, with reference to the Bosphorus law, the site is also important for the greenscape elements, which constitute a large part of the frontal view of the Bosphorus conservation *sit* area and Bosphorus silhouette. In 2007, there was also a natural disaster that damaged the physical environment of the campus and its nearby surroundings, most of the depredation was on the greenscape elements and residential zones outside the campus borders constructed in the 1980s by the former workers. It was a strong flooding of the Beykoz stream that necessitated a stream remediation project to recover the damages and to block the post-impact phases from its surroundings. Generally, stream remediation projects are generated as a part of a public project that is coordinated by the municipalities as the main responsible authority for infrastructural issues within the cities.

Accordingly, Istanbul MM initiated a stream remediation project. However, this process also necessitated consent from the other responsible authorities depending on the legal status of each damaged zone since it included a vast number of state protected green and natural zones and listed historic buildings. This administrative fragmentation, which is the consequence of decentralised modern planning and design management approach, is quite a positive step if all agencies work in sync and in a collaborative manner. Incoordination between agencies of the complex processes resulted in a vast number of negative impacts causing prolongation of the process itself. In fact, good organisation between agencies and intermediary ones is vital not only for remediation of the cultural and natural assets in danger, but also for the people living in these zones that prevents

their displacement due to any hazards or disasters, which generally generates gentrification problems. Even though this natural disaster that occurred in 2007 did not cause serious gentrification consequences, it resulted in damaged green areas by decelerating the ongoing process due to the site's political importance and the plurality of the responsible actors with incoordination.

On the other side, in 2009 another discussion emerged on the Bosphorus planning revisions, which also concerned the case study in subject. The year 2009 was the important year for Istanbul when those parallel cultural developments accrued within the scope of the European Cultural Capital programme. This new paradigm caused some of the revisions on the Bosphorus implementation plan and the relative conservation decisions taken in 1983, which focused on the fragmentation of the area for future development as a tourism development area, frontal view, back side view and other affected zones. Although the Bosphorus law highlights the obligations and limitations of the indicated zones, primary actors rationalised their revisions using the excuse of this programme in favour of the national economy during this period.

What happened in 2009 was a revision regarding these borders of the tourism development zone, which gave more convenience to the new interventions within the Bosphorus conservation area¹²⁴. From a general perspective, it did not generate any destruction for those cultural and natural values in subject; however, this situation created a gap and a conflict by affecting the general schema of the Bosphorus transformation process, which was used as an excuse by the primary actors to proceed with profit-based negative implementations. Just before the revision, according to 1983's approved plan, the general planning permission framework was defined by the BPB as: *“All interventions regarding the Bosphorus tourism-development zone would be generated with the sole consent of the RCBs and Istanbul MM. Minimum distance of the gardens was determined as 10 m for the new interventions, which also depends on each project and their responsible decision-makers' opinions and consents. It also permitted an underground car parking area within the scope of the new interventions to be done in the tourism-development area, which should be proceeded without damages to the cultural and natural assets. Additional basement floors were also permitted for those who would like to benefit the tourism encouragement law, but these interventions must be based on the functional description of each*

¹²⁴ See Appendix E for the new defined borders of the zones according to the revision plan of 2009.

zone providing the protection of monumental trees and green areas by requesting the consent of the Bosphorus Development Directorate. Any new constructions are strictly forbidden within the area defined as greening zone for the Bosphorus landscape” (Bosphorus Planning Bureau, translated from the official decision).

As per the decision published by the BPB on 1 July 2009, the before mentioned decision framework was revised, adding this inscription as “*Any interventions within the tourism development zone may be proceeded in compliance with the ongoing planning decisions for the process of **Istanbul European Cultural Capital Programme (ECoC, 2010)** in favour of the economic and cultural development. In addition, some parts of the greening zone for the Bosphorus landscape are transferred into the tourism development zone on the masterplan; thus, their regulative and administrative frameworks have been changed. The decision is taken based on their closeness to the buffer area and their natural characteristics defined by the Bosphorus Planning Bureau. Thus, the borders of the Bosphorus conservation zone, which were defined and approved in 1983, are revised in 2009 in favour of the tourism and cultural development projects” (BPB, translated from the official decision).*

Until 2009, the transformation process proceeded in an experimental way from the administrative point of view due to the unique project characteristics of the case study. The particularity has its origins in its privatisation and heritagisation period, and it was also linked with its strategic position located partially within the tourism development zone, partially within the Bosphorus frontal view and partially within the Bosphorus back view and the affected areas, which automatically divides the responsible bodies depending on the spatial intervention. Although the legal and regulative framework provides the base for those operations, it might also be said that paradoxically such operations shape the framework in time through such privileged projects as the case study in subject. Accordingly, this section of the thesis has fundamental importance to understand the relationship among the project types, regarding operations and regulative frameworks for future challenges, which offers appropriate analysis for complex projects and land ownership issues¹²⁵.



¹²⁵ Another interesting point related to the ownership issues came to the fore in 2009 through a lease request for three pier stages located within the campus borders along the Bosphorus, which is an area subjected within the scope of the coast law or tourism encouragement law depending on the State envisagement independently from the campus current owner. In the initial stage, it was recognised that these pier structures were not indicated within the implementation plan and there was no indication of its future uses. The issue was transferred to the related heritage department of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation referring

Up-to-date documentations and the ongoing process of the restoration projects of the industrial campus, including a kindergarten, small mosque and the main factory building for the leather production, were presented to the RCB in 2013 and in 2020, they were approved as they are, and the transformation process of the exemplar has proceeded along these lines. Furthermore, the efforts of the primary actors led by the campus' current owner are quite remarkable, which they have applied in the registration of some other buildings in the following years such as the small mosque¹²⁶ that had served the main factory building constructed in the Ottoman period. Although this process of transformation or heritagisation beyond their denomination is emblematic for complexity and the contested process, it also represents, in some parts, positive aspects that are open to discussion. My specific aim within this section is not focusing on purely political problems, which might be considered the unstable character of the Turkish context inherited from its past, but rather, to understand which actors and agencies got involved in this complex process, which acts they operated and in which part of the area they were authorised. All these dynamics might be considered as the sources of common conflicted situations waiting to be resolved. They are also crucial to grasp the cultural context, macro actors in the macro scale, and their interrelations, which helps to identify the common characteristics of the top-down decision-making mechanism.

to the protocol for superimposed areas in the legislative framework. This issue is not completely relative within the scope of this study in subject, but it represents another complexity content of the case study intersecting with the other legislations and other agencies. According to the Coast law no. 3621, article no. 6-7 refers to the limitations and prohibitions for any interventions for the coastal areas highlighting the importance of them as public spaces that should be used solely for public benefits. The only permitted interventions would be as pier and jetty structures that might have consent, or these areas might be used for technical structures for port services or customs areas, or touristic structure for increasing the prestige of the State such as restaurants, cafes, commercial centres, information centre and welcoming units, bank services, accommodation units or offices without blocking the sea traffic flow. The sports facilities such as the international Olympics with permission of the Ministry of Youth and Sports might be the other alternative use. Besides, any other functional uses and intervention permissions or limitations for the privatised areas are determined through the implementation development plans by the responsible authorities (The Law no. 3621).

¹²⁶ This building was registered by the RCB to be protected stately as 2nd group cultural assets.

COGNITIVE MAPS - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 1990-2005

N  Scale 1:1000 

**MAP NO 6
ADMINISTRATIVE FORMS AND MACRO ACTORS**

MAPPING VOCABULARY

- PROJECT AREA



- GREEN-SCAPE FORMS



- WATER-SCAPE FORMS



- PRE-EXISTING BUILT FORMS



'BOSPORUS CONSERVATION AREA' ARTICULATION

- BOSPORUS CONSERVATION SITE ARE AND PROJECT SITE



- BOSPORUS FRONTAL VIEW AREA



- BOSPORIS BACKVIEW AND BUFFER ZONES



SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION

- AREA RECLAIMED AS GREENSCAPE TO BE PRESERVED



- AREA RECLAIMED AS TOURISM DEVELOPMENT



ACTORS AND AUTHORITY FRAGMENTATION

- MACRO ACTORS



- VALUE-BASED CONFLICTS



- GEOGRAPHICAL FORMATIONS

- GEOMETRICAL FORMATIONS

- NORMATIVE AND REGULATIVE FORMS

- SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION

- ADMINISTRATIVE FORMS

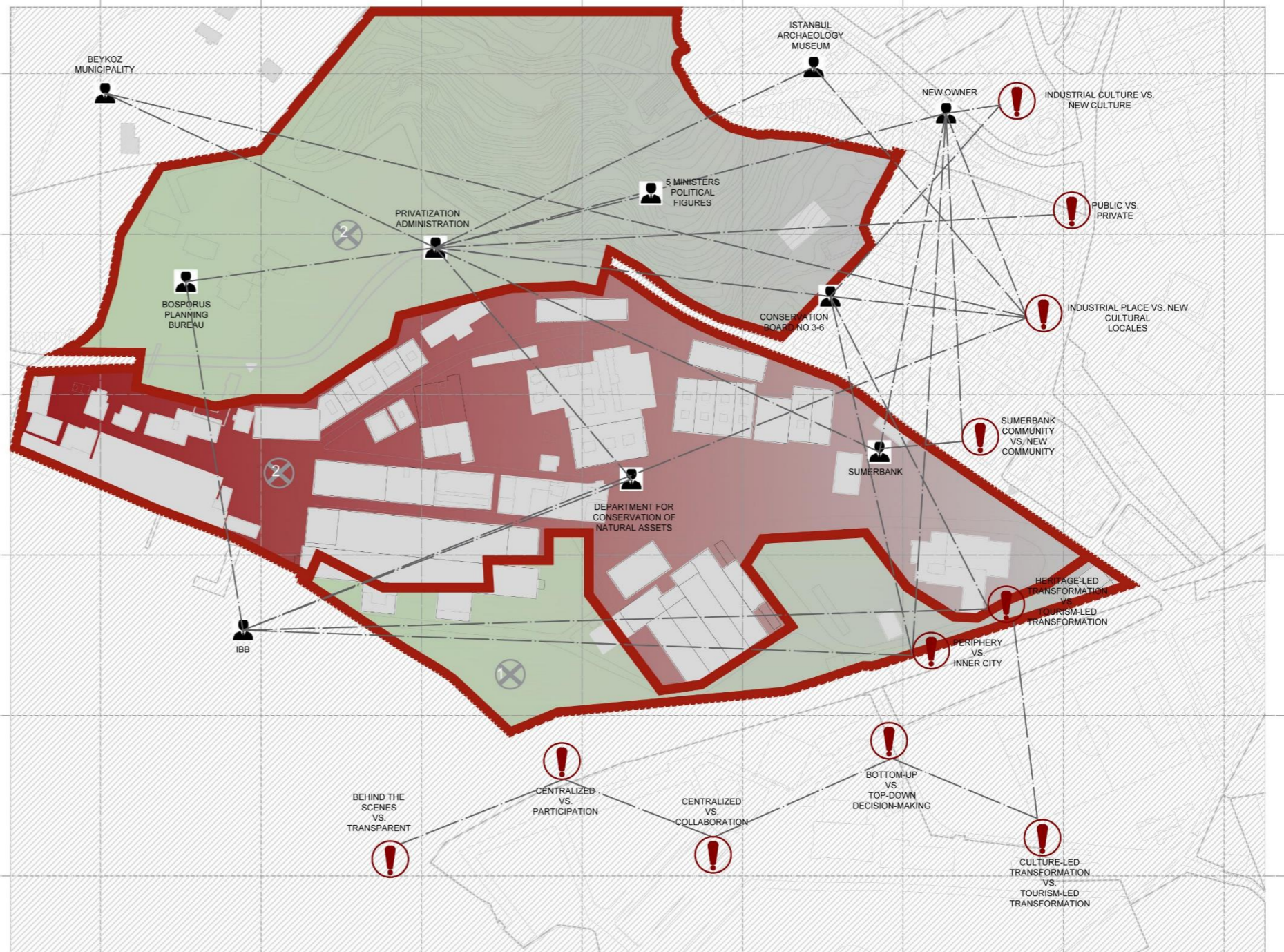
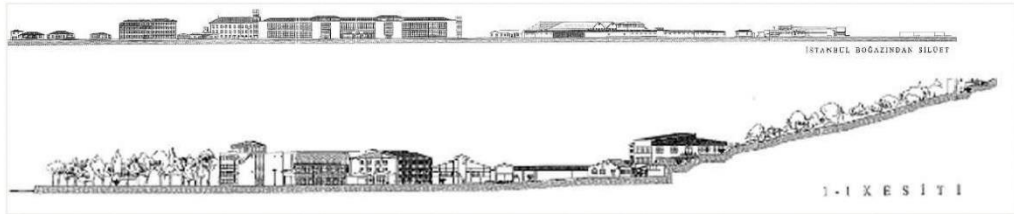


Figure 38: Sümerbank Industrial Campus in the 1990-2005, source: map is elaborated by the author using the base map obtained from the Municipality.

Appendix E – Transformation of *Beykoz Kundura, Ex-post Phase I*

**APPENDIX E - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, EX-POST PHASE I
PRIVATIZATION AND HERITAGIZATION PROCESS**



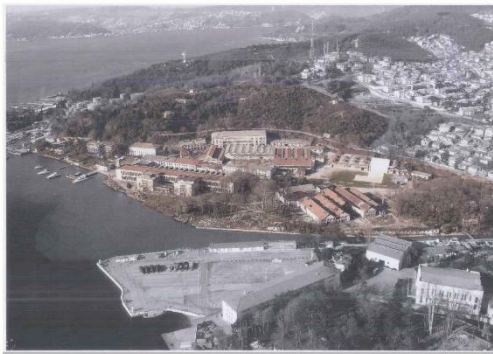
SILHOUETTE AND SECTION OF THE SITE CURRENTLY, ISTANBUL CONSERVATION BOARD NO VI ARCHIVE



2011 AERIAL PHOTO TO SEE THE PHYSICAL LAYOUT OF THE CAMPUS, ISTANBUL CITY GUIDE



2011 AERIAL PHOTO TO SEE THE PHYSICAL LAYOUT OF THE CAMPUS, KÜNDURA ARCHIVE



2011 AERIAL PHOTO TO SEE THE PHYSICAL LAYOUT OF THE CAMPUS; ISTANBUL CONSERVATION BOARD NO VI ARCHIVE



PROJECT AREA UNDER THE SUBJECT OF PRIVATIZATION, KÜNDURA ARCHIVE

Figure 39: Aerial photos and sections of the site, source: Conservation Board No VI Archive.

APPENDIX E - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, EX-POST PHASE I PRIVATIZATION AND HERITAGIZATION PROCESS

ÖZELLEŞTİRME YÜKSEK KURULU KARARI

TARİHİ : 15.10.1979
SAYI : 109/75
KONU : Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri

ÖZELLEŞTİRME YÜKSEK KURULU KARARI

TARİHİ : 15.10.1979
SAYI : 109/75
KONU : Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri

1) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...
2) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...
3) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...

[Signatures and stamps]

KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
İSTANBUL İNŞAAT KÜLTÜR VE TARIH VARLIKLARINI KORUMA BÜLGE KURULU

KARAR

Tarih: 15.10.1979
Kona: Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri

1) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...
2) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...
3) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...

[Signatures and stamps]

FIRST PRIVATIZATION DECISION TAKEN BY THE HIGH COUNCIL, 1999

KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
İSTANBUL İNŞAAT KÜLTÜR VE TARIH VARLIKLARINI KORUMA BÜLGE KURULU

KARAR

Tarih: 15.10.1979
Kona: Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri

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2) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...
3) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...

[Signatures and stamps]

KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
İSTANBUL İNŞAAT KÜLTÜR VE TARIH VARLIKLARINI KORUMA BÜLGE KURULU

KARAR

Tarih: 15.10.1979
Kona: Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri

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2) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...
3) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...

[Signatures and stamps]

INITIAL DECISION TAKEN BY THE HIGH COUNCIL FOR THE PRIVATIZATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL CAMPUS, 2004; ISTANBUL CONSERVATION BOARD NO VI ARCHIVE

KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
İSTANBUL İNŞAAT KÜLTÜR VE TARIH VARLIKLARINI KORUMA BÜLGE KURULU

KARAR

Tarih: 15.10.1979
Kona: Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri

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2) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...
3) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...

[Signatures and stamps]

KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
İSTANBUL İNŞAAT KÜLTÜR VE TARIH VARLIKLARINI KORUMA BÜLGE KURULU

KARAR

Tarih: 15.10.1979
Kona: Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri

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2) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...
3) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...

[Signatures and stamps]

FINAL PRIVATIZATION DECISION TAKEN BY THE HIGH COUNCIL, 2005; ISTANBUL CONSERVATION BOARD NO VI ARCHIVE

KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
İSTANBUL İNŞAAT KÜLTÜR VE TARIH VARLIKLARINI KORUMA BÜLGE KURULU

KARAR

Tarih: 15.10.1979
Kona: Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri

1) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...
2) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...
3) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...

[Signatures and stamps]

KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
İSTANBUL İNŞAAT KÜLTÜR VE TARIH VARLIKLARINI KORUMA BÜLGE KURULU

KARAR

Tarih: 15.10.1979
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2) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...
3) Sümer Holding A.Ş. ile ilgili İşletmelerin devri...

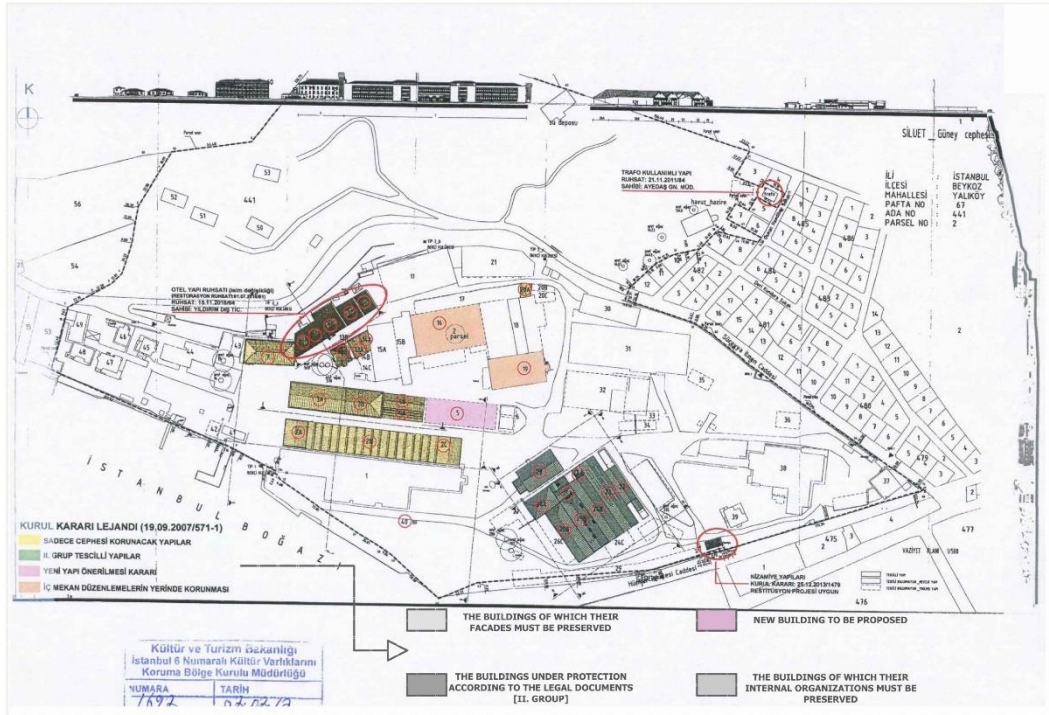
[Signatures and stamps]

HERITAGIZATION, CONSERVATION STATUS APPROVED OF THE INDUSTRIAL CAMPUS, 2007; ISTANBUL CONSERVATION BOARD NO VI ARCHIVE

Figure 40: Legal Documents during the transformation process, source: Conservation Board No VI Archive.

APPENDIX E - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, EX-POST PHASE I

URBAN PLANNING AND CONSERVATION IMPLEMENTATION CHANGES AFTER PRIVATIZATION



CONSERVATION DECISIONS OF THE BUILDINGS WITHIN THE INDUSTRIAL CAMPUS DEFINED BY THE HIGH COUNCIL, 2007; ISTANBUL CONSERVATION BOARD NO VI ARCHIVE

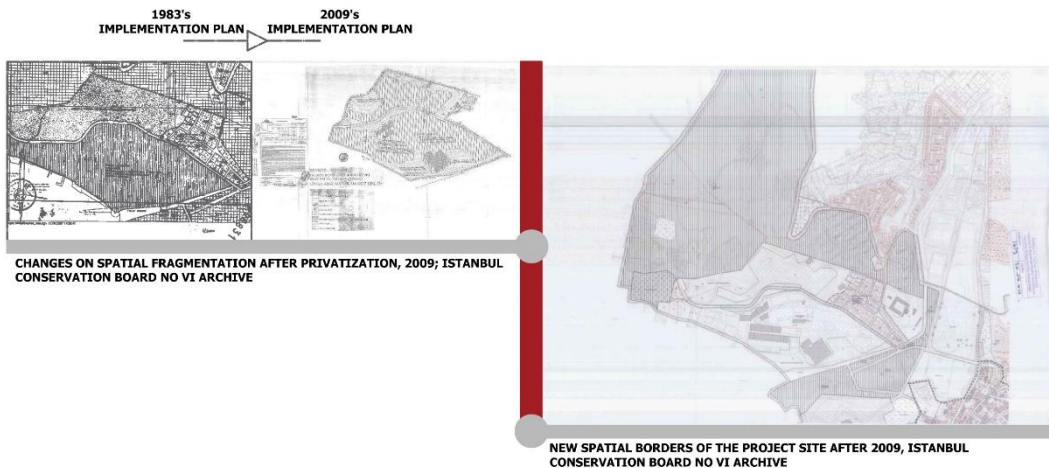


Figure 41: Technical documents that show the transformation process, source: produced by the author using the documents obtained from Conservation Board No VI Archive.

APPENDIX E - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, EX-POST PHASE I

TRANSFORMATION PROCESS DURING PRIVATIZATION PROCESS - MACRO ACTORS

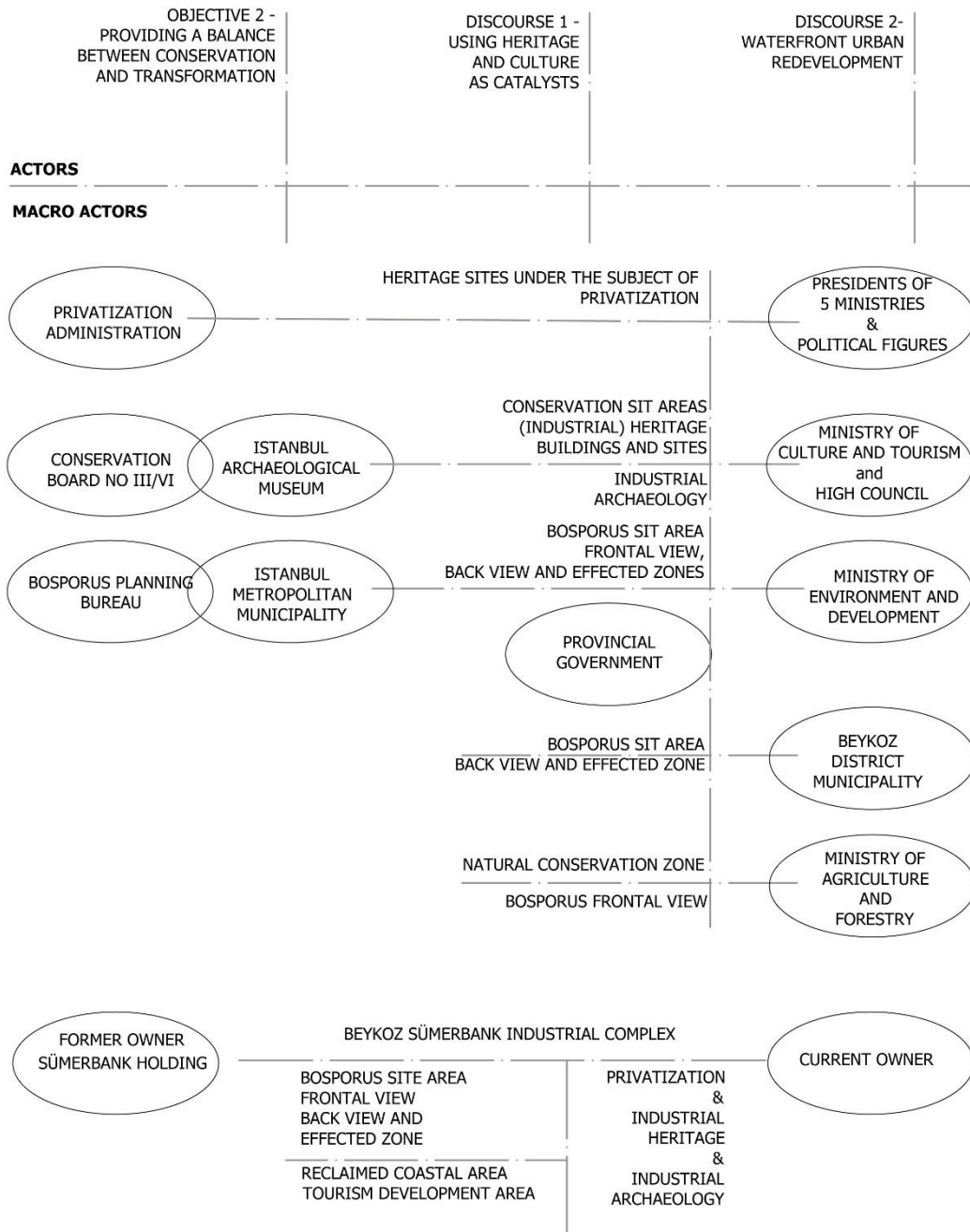


Figure 42: Macro Actors taking part in the privatization process, source: produced by the author.

3.3 Decoding the Transformation as Process and Condition towards the Current *Zeitgeist*: *BEYKOZ KUNDURA* ‘From Kundura to New Culture’

The time-relational reading on the historical trajectory of *Beykoz Kundura* shows that the change is a never-ending process that should be considered together with the human condition as a development process (Rana, 2000). Contemporaneity requires rethinking the ‘heritage’ and ‘values’ in relation to the economic changes to provide the sustainability and redevelopment according to the constantly changing conditions. Throsby (2001) discussed the shifted understanding of the term of ‘development’, and highlighted that it is turned into human-centred strategies from its previous commodity-centred nature. This conditional change also brings culture-centred development, which is the sole keyword to offer human-centred environments. When culture and people enter into a discourse, interrelations come to the fore as a keyword to define and understand the meanings as shared value, beliefs, tradition, and so many others. This never-ending process requires redefining the heritage and those attributed meanings.

B. Graham and P. Howard (2008) defined the heritage as a condition-based phenomenon that should be defined and redefined in line with the time needs and new attributed meanings. These radical changes from one condition to another have drastically affected the urban and built landscapes together with the socio-cultural environment, changing the meaning of the heritage assets together with the attributed values. In fact, these changes made the heritage an economic source of the present to produce new forms of culture. Thus, as argued by Throsby (2001, 2012), heritage becomes an asset that not only stores the intrinsic values derived from the origin of the object, but also offers new types of values independently from its economic dimension by producing multiple meanings in the contemporaneity.

The new meanings attributed to the heritage are time-based characteristics like heritage, and this complexity requires decoding each *topos* or layer of the topological *zeitgeist* as one of the main intentions of this research. For this reason, the heritage site, and the transformation process are analysed in a multi-dimensional perspective together with its complexity, going beyond the classic value types, such as historical, aesthetic, authentic, social and symbolic, and revealing those newly attributed meanings and values that are the cultural productions of the current *zeitgeist*. Decoding the topological pieces of time and the heritage site by focusing on those meanings is the key strategy to understand the sense of place in line with the *zeitgeist*, and it helps to assess the continuity, readaptation and redevelopment of not only the present-oriented but also future-oriented approach in a multi-

dimensional perspective, including the physical, socio-cultural and politico-economic environments. Based on these assumptions, 'topological zeitgeist' in this research refers to a kind of mental map that defines the actor-value relationship that might expose those values and changed values of former industrial sites.

Considering the former industrial sites in the contemporary times, they are not only influenced by the conditional changes from industrialisation to deindustrialisation and from deindustrialisation to post-industrialisation processes, but they are also affected by the industrial cultural changes to the cultural industries through new culture. This bi-directional offer made these places where the reindustrialisation process also can be understood. In this section, using the term reindustrialisation is a conscious choice, suggesting to the readers to rethink the transformation process in the new life of the former industrial sites as a reindustrialisation process, which necessitates the future consideration by bridging the past, present and future via the new given function. Here culture-centred transformation has come to the fore again, which is not only a tool for urban economic development of the contemporary cities, but rather, beyond this mono-dimensional approach, it becomes a spur for the socio-cultural and physical development and sustainability (Miles and Paddison, 2005).

According to the contemporary literature, economic and cultural values are distinguished in two main directions, which are use and non-use values of the heritage assets. The first links to direct or indirect uses and the benefits of an object that are offered to its users by the object itself; the latter indicates the existence of an object that offers a value through its original function and purpose to its users. These two value types define the communication between the object and its users that helps to perceive the sense of the object (Giove, Rosato, & Breil, 2011). As (Thorsby, Economics of Cultural Policy, 2010) highlighted, 'beneficial externality' includes both value types linking them one to another, which is the key to provide the balance between transformation and conservation through readaptation, and value-based biases.

A complex social value approach enables us to understand and to expose those multi-values of the heritage by revealing its cultural, social, economic, environmental and political dimensions. CSV-centred approach evaluations must consider a problem from a multi-dimensional perspective including identification of the human and non-human actors and the values attributed to the objects, and how they are perceived by their users (Coscia, Lazzari, & Rubino, 2018). In fact, it offers a multi-dimensional way of examining the heritage-value-actors' triangle, which permits the understanding and perceiving of the sense of place in the current zeitgeist. Moreover, a CSV approach enhances the assessment and management of

the culture and heritage in a bi-directional division, between the experts as insiders and outsiders and between the new life of the heritage and new users (Lesh, 2019). Although this research focuses on the technocratic dimension of the transformation from the perspectives of experts participating in the process and the actor-originated value conflicts, a CSV approach also touches on this issue in a way through defined values that also includes new users.

B. Graham and P. Howard (2008) note that heritage as an object has varied functions or purposes and is the subject of multi-stakeholders, such as individuals and associations, public and private agencies, governmental and non-governmental bodies, insiders and outsiders, experts and non-experts, users and other beneficiaries. Seeing the image from the expert point of view, both from insiders who became involved and from outsiders who judged the process and project, is also crucial to understand the tension that is generated in the place-making and technocratic dimension of transformation projects between plural actors within their professional environment that is usually structured by unequal powers in many nations.

Along with the change in value meanings, the concept of 'industrial culture' has also transformed over time from industrial culture to the cultural industries or creative industries through new forms of culture as contemporary cultural productions. Using culture as the primary driver of the transformation is not only economic strategy but also a planning strategy that provides the balance in many dilemmas, including socio-cultural environment, conservation and transformation, conflicts and consensus. These facts cause a varied number of different heritage transformation projects to be finalised as either 'good' or 'bad', and they have progressed through complex and conflicted processes. Within this perspective, this research also seeks solutions for how to deal with the actor-based processual and value-based spatial complexity in the industrial heritage transformation process by providing solutions to conservation as well as readaptation in a multi-dimensional perspective via the new lives of those former industrial sites. For doing this, transformation has been considered as the process and condition including its diverse complexities that requires the analysis of different complexity layers of the contemporaneity as well as the history.

When the privatisation process of Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus was completed in 2005, there were complex media speculations regarding the new life of the campus becoming a huge holiday resort, based on uncertain sources. It was directly associated with the particularity of the project including its position along the Bosphorus that was designated for future tourism development land uses. In fact, fragmented decisions operated by fragmented agencies in a centralised decision-

making mechanism are crucial characteristics of the Turkish urban planning culture, which peaked in the 2000s through a vast number of profit-oriented transformation projects. The transformation implications of post-industrial sites in Istanbul during these years, such as the Golden Horn clean-up project, Haydarpaşa Train Station or Galata-port, of which some are completed while others are still proceeding behind the scenes without transparency, were the basic reasons behind these speculations generated in these years. *Beykoz Kundura*'s reindustrialisation process also started within this opaque atmosphere behind the scenes, which was the main source of most of the initial conflicts, but, meanwhile, they influenced the outcomes of the project positively.

Apart from its strategic position on the Bosphorus *sit* area, the huge dimension of the site having a vast number of cultural and natural values was another reason for those initial speculations regarding its reindustrialisation process. In the following years, they created spill over-effects, splashing over onto other aspects of the new life of the project, including the current owner's vision, the cost of the site and new constructed villas and hotels. The reason behind these dense speculations and criticism about the site, despite any concrete information of the operations, was what was happening to the post-industrial sites located in privileged positions such as *Beykoz Kundura* during these years in Turkey.

Focusing on those speculations, my intention is to demonstrate the importance of mass and social media for rebranding the image of a place, and how communication influences the perception of the 'outsiders' of this process. Here, in this section, the reindustrialisation process of *Beykoz Kundura* will be discussed, which is based on in-depth and semi-structured interviews conducted with the insider and outsider experts. All sources in this section derive from those interviewees' points of view regarding the conflicts and compromises they have experienced during the reindustrialisation process of *Beykoz Kundura*. For this, I conducted 15 interviews¹²⁷ in total with the current owner of the site, the cultural and art manager of the current project, an academic and urban planner, who is also a member of the HC for assessment of the ongoing conservation activities, a conservationist, an architect from the Istanbul Architectural Chamber, an urban planner from the Istanbul Planning Chamber and a cultural policy developer from

¹²⁷ The semi-structured interviews were organised based on open-ended questions that were prepared depending on the expert's status as an 'insider or outsider' in the process to understand the recreation of the new image of the site and how it is perceived by the others. Each interview lasted 45–50 minutes.

IKSV¹²⁸. The semi-structured interviews were prepared based on the complex social values of the case study to guide the further evaluation stages.

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3.3.1 From Heritagisation to Reindustrialisation: Contemporary Istanbul and New Formations of the Industrial Culture

Culture-led urban regeneration and cultural tourism development have become some of the trendy phenomena in many European cities to improve the city image, and environmental and cultural quality, which are the current drivers of urban economy by bringing more investments together with more attractions and visitors. Recent efforts have mostly focused on using and reproducing the new formations of culture as an intermediary for those developments (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993). In fact, ‘industrial culture’ has been transformed into ‘creative culture’ or ‘cultural industries’,¹³⁰ changing the working time concept into resting time with

¹²⁸ Istanbul Culture and Art Foundation, IKS.

¹²⁹ The semi-structured interviews were organised based on open-ended questions that were prepared depending on the expert’s status as an ‘insider or outsider’ in the process to understand the recreation of the new image of the site and how it is perceived by the others. Each interview lasted 45–50 minutes.

¹³⁰ The term ‘cultural industry’ was used for the first time by T. Adorno and M. Horkheimer in 2002 relating to industrially produced cultural productions, such as film, music, art and museum installations (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002). Industrially produced productions, here refer to the mass production of culture. In addition, using the terms cultural industry, or creative culture, or cultural economy depends on the management and policy axis of the countries, such as the cultural

cultural and art-based activities. This new paradigm has brought new uses and new events in new created places in favour of the contemporary city development (Therborn, 2002). M. Curtin (1996) argues that one of the significant impacts of the transition from industrial culture to creative culture was the emergence of these new types of places, namely new creative locales that also increase the real estate values of the post-industrial sites.

M. Miles (2019) mentions the time-based characteristics of post-industrial landscapes, which made them cultural quarters through readaptation projects of those landscapes in the new types of places with new types of uses. As argued by A. Scott (2000), this close interrelationship between culture and place brought the place-bound culture and the 'placelessness' concept in the new form of culture by homogenising those places by means of sense and spirit. Those dynamics are important to define the contemporaneity by opening diverse discourses to illuminate creative cities, intercultural cities, entrepreneurial cities and many others. These new formations of culture are reproduced through the new uses and new events. They are manifested mostly within the post-industrial places by localising time while temporalising the place itself, which is strictly related to B. Tschumi's eventful architecture concept. Through these operations, industrial, architectural and urban forms have become great potentials offering the recreation of a new sense of these places. However, the results might vary from transformation or readaptation to mutation or destruction.

The contemporary way of creating the sense of place in post-industrial landscapes towards liveable cities through readaptation and reproduction of new culture is also considered a strategic tool for sustainable development, responding to the necessities of the contemporaneity. These place-making operations by using those declined landscapes might result as successful catalysts for socio-economic and cultural developments in the case of their successful applications in the cultural context (Yigitcanlar, 2009) as seen on the successful applied examples. Accordingly, the key question is what to do with the buildings and sites that die more than once. Turning back to the genesis of the research by means of understanding the sense of place, benefitting from B. Cache's (1995) architectural reading on forms in relation to body and soul is fundamental. I assume that the given events or functions, such as ephemeral, permanent or semi-permanent, public, private or semi-public, define the soul of those died buildings and sites transforming them in other 'places' in favour of the heritage conservation and readaptation within a respectful approach to their industrial past. Certainly, post-industrial landscapes

industries in France that has also been adopted by Turkey, cultural clusters in Spain and cultural economy in Germany (Wiesand, 2007; Ozturk Ekdi and Ciraci, 2015).

are critical; they might include pre-existing heritage values that are incarnated with the added concepts depending on the policy applied in different periods, which also multiply the heritage's complex social values in relation to the past and contemporaneity. However, meanwhile, they are the potential areas that should have an active relationship with their new users to match the current zeitgeist.

Istanbul is a city that includes a little piece of all those concepts in transformation as a representative of a multi-cultural city. Recent urban studies in the Turkish context have been mainly conducted in a twofold direction focusing on architectural urban history and sociological studies. The latter burgeon around the migration-based discourses while ignoring the changes of urban life from the 1990s onwards towards a more global atmosphere (Erman, 2001). The marketing of Istanbul was evolved on the axis based on the historical richness of the city, nightlife, gastronomy-led events, museums, exhibitions and festivals using the new forms of culture along with music, art, film, theatres, expos and many other experiences (Keyder, 2010). My main intention in this section is to discuss what enables the post-industrial spatial forms to reproduce the new industrial culture in this unique city and how they are manifested within these post-industrial sites of Istanbul.

One of the primary sectors in Istanbul in the new type of culture is arts and cultural festivals, which are strategically important in a local and global perspective through their interaction with the city and the manifested place with other cultures. Festivals are also strategically important not only for the urban and cultural economy but also for the intrinsic logic of the cities, creating ephemeral events and manifesting them in different permanent and semi-permanent locations by supporting the urban economy. They also stimulate the other service sectors during their preparation process and their pre/post-preparation phases (Merey Enlil et al., 2011). Moreover, they bring flexibility to the pre-existing places by renovating and readapting them as per the newly attributed functional programme. The film industry, as a new type of culture, is one of the other trendy creative cultural forms in Istanbul, present from 2005 onwards. However, the modern spatial and functional features for the film industry sector also require in-between landscapes with studios and huge exterior spaces due to the given function as 'new'.

These two important sectors as new formations of culture are quite important by means of how and where they are produced and manifested. Both of those forms of new culture require flexible and in-between places to practise their activities, with a strong relationship with the cultural and historical context of the cities and places in which they are manifested, and they should also reflect the cultural diversity in their production forms. Besides, festivals and film-making events are

strictly linked to the governmental support that requires infrastructure and transportation services together with information-sharing opportunities and additional financial sources provided by the state. Even though film-making is not a new phenomenon, it is always in flux according to the technological and time-dependent requirements. Following the new developments within the course of time in technology, culture, society, economy and so on, film production processes have also become subject to change in their practising and manifestation processes. Thus, they are the perfect type of cultural productions through which to also trace those changes.

Film-making as a new type of industrial culture requires different conceptualised studios and vast open areas, which are characterised as per the expected artistic production, a varied number of storage places for costumes, technical equipment, necessary catering areas and accommodation facilities for the actors and workers in this industry. It is also an important way to bring new job opportunities, which vary from the art and cultural sectors to the service sectors, and is a strategic tool to improve the welfare level of the population in these contemporary cities. In addition, the places for film-making should have a different and specific atmosphere integrated with greenscape, waterscape, urban and architectural elements due to its strong relation with visual preoccupation. They refer to the contemporary areas, namely plateaux as type of creative locales, which provide these changed requirements of the film-making process. They are generally positioned outside the city centres within a transition area that includes both urban and rural forms to provide their necessary production process. In this regard, the post-industrial landscapes offer great potentials for this cultural sector due to their construction characteristics, such as outside city centre location, having both rural and urban forms and other related elements for the necessary industrial visual representations.

In the beginning of the 2000s, Kâğıthane, Ayazağa and Kurtköy districts were proposed as adequate places to house such activities through the declined post-industrial sites that were not planned in Istanbul previously. Until the 2000s, those activities proceeded in different points of Istanbul while films were generally produced in the Bosphorus or other historic areas within the city centre depending on the expected production, and the studios for the preparation stages and other necessary associated places were rented in diverse outside districts of the city. For example, most of the film-making operations of Yeşilçam, which has been considered as the Turkish Hollywood, were conducted within the districts of the European side that are clustered mostly in Beyoğlu due to the nostalgic atmosphere offered by the chosen places' spatial characteristics (Merey Enlil et al., 2011).

In fact, reusing post-industrial sites by the creative cultures of the film sector has become trendy tourism policies in many former industrial cities, such as the Titanic Studios in Belfast through the set of *Game of Thrones* and Belle de Mai in Marseilles through the TV series *Plus Belle La Vie*. Istanbul as an important city through its specific characteristics has always been a source of inspiration for art and cultural productions, and has hosted a varied number of famous films, among which are ‘*The World is Not Enough*’ (1999) and *Skyfall* (2002). The creative industry’s initiatives in the film sector have generally focused on the central and inner-city areas concentrating on those aforementioned privileged historical quarters using the cultural heritage buildings, such as the Grand Bazaar, Maiden’s Tower and Galata for the film productions. Such global examples of plateaux have influenced the culture-based implementations that were started within the former industrial district of Bağcılar and continued with the former Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus by transforming them for filmmaking as their precursors (Celik Rappas and Kayhan, 2018). Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus, recently known as *Beykoz Kundura*, is the very first implementation managed privately and has been the spur for the subsequent ones in Turkey.

3.3.2 Contemporary Istanbul: Linking the Actor-based Dilemmas with Spatial Dilemmas

Klaic, a cultural analyst based in Amsterdam, spent one month in Istanbul in 2005 to analyse the city’s cultural arena, to determine the problems through focusing on the possible key issues and potentials of the city. It was directly linked with the ‘new’ Turkish-European relationship, which was started concretely in those years through a varied number of investments on regeneration projects in favour of the contemporary cultural economy. In a report prepared for this innovative programme, Klaic highlighted the state efforts for cultural development privilege in European popular zones, such as Galata, Karakoy and Beyoğlu, while the Asian side districts were neglected. He concluded his report, focusing on the great potentials offered by the city for heritage and culture-led tourism developments (Klaic, 2005), and ECoC Istanbul 2010 was set out as one of the primary spurs for the cultural development process of the city (Doğan, 2011).

Apart from those European and international prominent actors, primary domestic agencies relative to those practices on a local scale were also established or restructured in the 2000s. For instance, Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Centre (IMP) was established to prepare the vision of Istanbul and a cultural development master plan for future policies starting from 2005. One of the main priorities taken by these departments was the conservation of the cultural and

natural heritage and readapting them sustainably into the existing context in favour of the economy enhancement. These authorities would take any decisions concerning the cultural tourism development policies without integration of the other master and development plans, working with strong top-down decision-making mechanism. The control and executive agencies for those implementation stages were the Istanbul MM and other small-scale district municipalities, depending on the borders of the districts in which the projects were located.

Besides, in 2008, development agencies in various cities were also launched as responsible bodies for the urban and cultural tourism developments on a city-scale. Since then, the Istanbul Development Agency was appointed as the responsible authority for preparing policies on the culture and vision of Istanbul. Although those decentralised ad hoc agencies seem like a democratic planning process, the main decision-maker agency remained central without any participation. In fact, these ad hoc agencies for cultural policy were structured to control and intervene in the civil and non-governmental agencies that started to get involved in the process due to the participatory-policy approach imposed by the European Union Commission in the 2010s. Based on this administrative perspective, the actions for the cultural redevelopment programme in Istanbul were categorised as restoration or retrofitting projects of the specific heritage sites, and regeneration projects focusing on the peripheries and regarding implementations would be in compliance with future land use definitions in the master development plans, such as tourism and cultural development areas, reclaimed coastal zones and first degree conservation *sit* areas (Gezici and Kerimoglu, 2009).

Influenced by the acknowledged literature on creative cities, urban redevelopment and heritage as the new economical triangle, in this section of the research my intention is to discuss the importance of place and what it offers for the future of the cities. Many dilemmas have influenced these dynamics, such as the place vs. targeted audiences, new form of culture vs. its manifested places and previous users vs. current users. Hence, the exploration of the new possibilities of the post-industrial landscapes is fundamental to understand the industrial heritage sites as a non-human actor that should interact with the other concepts for successful culture-led redevelopment policies (Comunian, 2011) by balancing the value-based biases generated during the process.

More specifically, this section seeks to understand the role of the industrial heritage places for definition of the 'new' and new cultural policies. Jensen (2007) highlighted that as a direct consequence of those global catalyst programmes, many cities directly applied the successful strategies and projects from other cultural contexts that were already realised, and this global trend caused the global

homogenisation and mass cultural productions bringing the term ‘placelessness’ or ‘anonymous places’. Thus, creativity, culture and place are the crucial components for appropriate urban and cultural development to make apparent the new formations of the culture that requires diversity, instability, contrast, timeless and placeless concepts. But, meanwhile, these new types of ‘cultural places’ as spatial representations of the new culture should also have strong historical and cultural links with the applied place to thus represent it (Hospers, 2003; Törnqvist, 1983). This particularity of the ‘creative locales’ necessitates a different approach to realise them in these heritage places that should reflect this spatial duality of the place, which are the sense of placelessness and sense of authenticity. Thus, the created link between this spatial dilemma, past and present, is essential.

On the other hand, there is ongoing polarisation in urban discourse for place-branding operations focusing on the dualities of historic vs. contemporary, tradition vs. modernity, periphery vs. centre, urban vs. rural, local vs. global and so many others. The primary distinction between the public and the private is a textual depiction of places in which the given function is defined as public or private. In Turkey, urban regeneration operations and cultural policies are driven by the aforementioned public authorities and private actors through enforcement laws and rules that enable them to be responsible actors in this process. The post-industrial landscapes and derelict industrial heritage places have been the sole targeted places to realise such regeneration projects and cultural policies through the transfer of rights to the private actors in the real estate market. Istanbul MM as one of the primary actors of those policy operations driven by the AKP government has promoted and supported these culture-based actions relying on tourism development equivalent to Paris (Polo, 2015).

Istanbul is a city with a unique character amalgamated through its layers, rhythms, textures and topographies from diverse times, benefitting from its glorious past to its contemporaneity. Indeed, it is not surprising that most travellers have deemed it extremely difficult to define a representative image of the city due to its multi-cultural and metropolis features. ‘Change’ is one of the major and stable characteristics of the city itself. To redefine the contemporary culture in Istanbul, I will differentiate the concepts of the public vs. private, ephemeral vs. permanent and central vs. peripheral linking with the city through their spatial reflections. Dichotomy and contrast also exist in the city, which might be read from richness and poverty, and liveliness and calmness, and are the unified meanings felt in the city.

The terms ‘public’ and ‘private’ are the primary dualities describing the contemporary Istanbul and urban redevelopment operations. The spatial sense of

the 'public' refers to the places in which the events and relations between the spatial forms, and the events are established creating a sense of community as a generator of urban culture (Erdönmez & Akı,2005). R. Connah (2005) notes the significance of the architectural events in our memories permitting us to perceive time and place. In fact, they are the foundations of landscapes in our memory to remember. Accordingly, the products of the architectural events, buildings and complexes become some of the crucial components of collective memory through the act of remembering.

B. Tschumi (1994) opined that eventful architecture is one of the global phenomena to be tackled by contemporary societies, which takes its distinction from the architectural programmes given to the productions varying from expected or unexpected uses. On the other hand, the usage rights of the places were defined according to the investments made for the given function, which brings another meaning of public or private in the sense of ownership and usefulness. These dual terms overlap to create a concept of in-between spaces as examples of the unexpected concept of B. Tschumi (1994). They are the private spaces open to public events and are the private sites and complexes, and their external areas are driven by their owners in line with their priorities and personal motivations.

Following the duality of the terms of public and private, it is necessary to go further with the terms ephemeral and permanent that make the given function expected or unexpected. These terms are strongly linked with the concentration of the built forms and their functions housed by them. Ephemeral, semi-permanent or permanent uses have a close relationship with the public and private uses giving their forms of production in a new culture (Maharika, 2001). On the other side, being 'ephemeral' or '(semi)-permanent' is one of the specific characteristics of the industrial heritage places due to their terminated original functions that are in constant change in the course of time, adding a plus character to those sites through the flexibility of these places and of the given new functions.

As mentioned by Yürekli and Inceoğlu (2011), G. Downey (1960; 1991)¹³¹ highlighted that there are no fashionable quarters in Constantinople, the observers witness all these existing contrasts, which is the harmony of the city itself. The terms 'centre' and 'periphery' represent another contrast of the city as an identity, which is an important concept to define for this research due to the location of the case study in Istanbul that brings a new discourse, namely 'peri-urban'¹³². Peri-

¹³¹ As cited in Yürekli and Inceoğlu (2011), for further information See: Downey, G. (1960, 1991). *Constantinople in the Age of Justinian*, New York: Dorset Press.

¹³² Considering the different conceptualisation of the term peri-urban, some scholars have discussed the issue from diverse perspectives, such as focusing on migration, population and mobility.

urban landscapes are described as “*the transition zones from rural to urban land uses located between the outer limits or urban and regional centres and the rural environment*” (UNESCO, 2014). In fact, the term peri indicates a specific geographic area adjacent to or adjoining the urban areas in the large cities as in-between places, neither urban nor rural, and characterised by a varied number of land uses, communities and environments (Land and Water Australia, 2007: 4).

Peri-urban areas started to extend on their fringes from the 1980s due to the deindustrialisation process and experienced the significant transformation that has made these places mixed zones, having urban influences under the rural morphology (Caruso, 2001). They are the transitional spaces in-between landscapes as being zones of impermanence in constant transformation (Pryor, 1969). These areas might be also considered as the buffer zones for cultural reproductions in favour of the cultural tourism development, which requires different methods of the redevelopment policies and strategies.

Istanbul is a city connecting two continents owing to one of its unique characteristics that is the Bosphorus strip, which has been important since ancient times. This specific area has always been emblematic to show Istanbul’s identity based on the city’s characteristics as the reflections of those contrasts. Referring to the seminal book, ‘*Orienteering Istanbul*’ (2010)¹³³, the city’s unique topography enables orientation connecting the two other dispersed cities from the European and the Anatolian sides. Its nature-scape formations comprising varied numbers of hills offering the audience diverse transition points that open on to its waterscape formations. Inevitably, this unique landscape of the Bosphorus area also becomes one of the critical places for cultural tourism developments and experiences for the reproduction of new cultural and urban formations in the contemporaneity. The Bosphorus strip might be described as the place where time morphs into a frame of a historical layer from the past, present and future, melting together and becoming indistinguishable. It is a kind of in-between place, like Augè’s (1995) ‘non-place concept’, reflecting the timelessness and ‘placelessness’, which are perfectly adequate features for reproducing the culture.

Accordingly, the Bosphorus strip in Istanbul is a particular in-between place reflecting the change in culture and time within the Turkish context. Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus, within its new life, known as *Beykoz Kundura*,

However, by using the term peri-urban in this research, my intention is to discuss the spatial characteristics of the site in the built and urban forms that are linked to the physical layout and being an in-between landscape. In-between landscapes as peri-urban areas reflect both the rural, urban and industrial characteristics in themselves having other plus particularities, such as waterscape and greenscape elements which also made them waterfront settlements.

¹³³ Gokturk, Soysal and Tureli, 2010.

locating within this unique landscape, is a site that represents a frame of those contrasts as an ‘in-between place’, including all dualities in one. Those specific characteristics of the architectural and urban forms together with the given functions on these forms in the course of time constitute the spatial sense of the place by benefitting the before mentioned conceptual terms of contrast, such as public and private, ephemeral and permanent, urban and rural, tradition and modern, melting one on the other.

3.3.3 Reindustrialisation Process of *Beykoz Kundura* and Expert Reflections: *Ex-post* phase II

The origin of filmmaking as a new form of industrial culture derives from the experiences of the current owner, an anthropologist and currently the art and cultural sector manager of *Beykoz Kundura*. The very initial stage of the idea was initiated during her experiences abroad:

“I have lived abroad for a long time. The German cultural context was one of the most influencing factors that came back to me as an idea for *Beykoz Kundura* in Turkey. All my intentions became concrete during my visits to the Ruhr area, Zollverein and Landschaftspark, in which there were diverse things that influenced me.

“Landschaftspark is impressive through its landscape design, permitting access to everyone and offering a huge open area where one can find both past, present, industrial and contemporary culture. It also offers the sense of being equal, removing the differences between the public and private and the industrial and contemporary. In this project, the landscape is the key actor that connects everything in one image. Following this, Zollverein has played a particular role in which I have found the meaning of the term ‘empathy’ as a keyword linking not only the past and present but also the industrial and contemporary. These two examples and their characteristics, which I have coded in my mind as landscape and empathy, have helped me to understand the importance of the sense of place perceived by the people. These examples have impressed me to make clear what I really want to do in *Beykoz Kundura*. I saw many examples in London too, however, they seem like new places where one cannot feel the historic dimension of the place” (Owner, the director of culture and art – Personal Communication, 2019).

The reindustrialisation process of *Beykoz Kundura* was started as a ‘step-by-step’ process from Istanbul and the contemporary image of the city. What does the metropolis offer for post-industrial sites, what do post-industrial places offer new industry, and for whom? And, finally, how do we recreate a sense of place linking with the past from the standpoints of the image creators?

“Istanbul was one of the chaotic places in the world in which one can see a vast number of diversities in culture, place, people, belief, tradition and so many others. While the city itself offers many diversities in constant change, the city of Istanbul is a unique place which is not open to change. For instance, such examples realised in the 19th century in prominent countries like France started to be implemented in Istanbul only from the beginning of the 2000s. This is a challenge; these urban and cultural dilemmas and the contrasts that I felt in Istanbul were the spur for the project of *Beykoz Kundura*.

“At the initial stage, even though I have diverse nostalgic memories derived from my childhood regarding Istanbul and the post-industrial sites, such as Rahmi Koç Industrial Museum where one can see vast numbers of industrial rituals and machines as the traces of the past, or Santral Istanbul, which might be one of the compatible and popular transformations through its offered mix uses within a modern atmosphere, there are no examples where one can feel the past and present together.

“In the meantime, contemporary society in Istanbul can be defined as a community that is hungry for diversity and change, searching for an alternative to those unwanted changes, such as Taksim’s new face, or searching for an alternative place or activity to break their routine. This ‘new’ community is also differentiated between themselves, while some of them, who are the direct consumers, do not question the culture, and some of them, who are the indirect consumers, are the consumers of art and culture” (Owner, the director of culture and art – Personal Communication, 2019).

This was the initial image of the process from one of the important actors as place-maker or image-creator. While the reindustrialisation process proceeded ‘step by step’, there were many baseless news items published on the mass media regarding the new project to be realised. In parallel to this, a vast number of experts, including the era’s chairman of the architecture chamber, academics, and curators from the cultural sector, criticised it, even though the project was not yet realised; but, referring to those uncertain new images based on the baseless news, it was better to say those ‘uncertain imaginaries’.

“Obviously, this transformation project of a heritage site brings multi-dimensional responsibilities, in which one of them was to communicate and make clear all these blurred aspects. This is the cultural problem linking to the lack of communication and incoordination that we have always faced in our lives. Yet, the weakness of the mass media due to political biases and censorship issues, which are the barriers to healthy communication by bringing less freedom and democracy, pushed people to use social media for communication where there might be found

a vast number of uncertainties and fake news. This is one of the main reasons for the many speculations and baseless news in Turkey. The result is a ‘herd psychological’ effect of the issue; once one has reacted, then disrepute comes, which requires rigorous effort to clean up” (Owner, the director of culture and art – Personal Communication, 2019).

Those critics and ensuing disrepute lasted until the beginning of the 2010s. Here, I would like to change direction, looking at the issue from the ‘outsider’ perspective. What happened in 2009 regarding the Bosphorus *sit* area was influential in this disrepute process. In fact, it was a deeper issue than it seems (a basic media-based and communication problem). Returning to the 1983 Bosphorus implementation plan in which future land uses were defined according to the fragmented zones, the approved plan was revised in 2009 giving more convenience for new interventions under the name of tourism and development. In addition, the defined borders dedicated for the tourism development area were expanded, including some other parts for construction-prohibited zones in the development zone. In fact, one of the fundamental reasons behind the comprehensive analysis on the processual and institutional stages during the privatisation and heritagisation lies behind this aim to better understand each indicator together with its sources. From the bigger scale, those acts accrued from 2005 onwards caught the attention of architects, urban planners and conservationists, raising their voices for avoiding profit-oriented operations. Considering that it is very common to see a plan change for a specific implication without any communication in the Turkish context, which is generally decided by powerful ‘deciders’, such reactions and criticisms are inevitable for the privileged projects such as *Beykoz Kundura*.

“We did not know anything about the privatisation process of *Beykoz Kundura* as with the other previously privatised ones. Since we are living in a nation where everything might happen in one night legitimising them easily, the initial phase of the reindustrialisation process was perfectly matched with the projects operated behind the scenes. Personally, I still do not have comprehensive knowledge of this process, which means that I can still be criticised for its opaqueness. Considering the site’s importance, its huge dimension in the subject of heritage, requires a more transparent process rather than occurring as a surprise.

“Besides, what was happening on the Tekel industrial complex in the Anatolian site was emblematic. The complex was demolished in silence. We still remember the era’s mayor’s speech on the demolished site, highlighting the location of the site along the Bosphorus where a new constructed huge holiday resort would invigorate the economy through a vast number of employment opportunities. These were the exact words used by the mayor. These silent projects create fear, and

reactions become inevitable for any such projects” (Urban Planner, The Chamber of Urban Planners – Personal Communication, 2019).

In 2010, the first series’ scenery was set up through designing street façade décor within the site for the famous Turkish series ‘*Öyle bir Geçer Zaman ki*’. From then, the disrepute began to be cleaned up, and the site started to receive positive feedback from the outsiders.

“To be honest, everyone expected a kind of foregone conclusion, destruction or negligence. These were the direct consequences of what we experienced through Tekel and its silent demolition, or through Paşabahçe and its abandonment. The good fortune of Paşabahçe was in being a privately owned post-industrial site, which made it untouchable. Correspondingly, *Beykoz Kundura*’s new life was a surprise conclusion for the people” (Urban Planner, The Chamber of Urban Planners – Personal Communication, 2019).

This first success that gained the trust of the people proceeded with other famous popular series and movies. *Suskunlar*, *Keşanlı Ali Destanı*, *Karadayı*, *Devrim Arabaları* are a few of them; they helped make the project be known and are considered as the main sources for making the image visible. In fact, this reindustrialisation process of the site has also been influenced from the other developments in the national and international scale through ECoC 2010 Istanbul, since it was a unique cultural policy that might be used in Turkey. Even though the initial efforts of ECoC 2010 Istanbul were focused more on the public places than on the private venues through new cultural forms that had not directly affected *Beykoz Kundura*, they indirectly had their impacts during the reindustrialisation process. Following this initial stage of the new life housing, varied numbers of movies and cultural events and new collaborations were conducted with the NGOs, or with other public/private culture and art foundations, which are the agencies acting as intermediators among the state, private enterprises and society in the cultural sector and related organisations. They started indirectly influencing the site image and its perception by the people, and they became a communication tool to promote the new life of the heritage site. These developments awakened the curiosity of the people to see the site by bringing a dimension to the process. Who can access the site? To whom does the industrial heritage belong? Hence, public, private or semi-public issues arose.

“New cultural forms in Istanbul, or generally speaking, in Turkey, are within the hands of the private enterprises comprised of the specifically known wealthy families, without any state support, but rather with state barriers. This is another challenge to cultural policies, which need various reforms both from public and private perspectives. The accessibility of the culture is another challenge. There are

no relations between public and private cultural productions, yet it is not clear what is public or what is private. For example, the Archive of Mimar Sinan Fine Arts for filmography is one of the emblematic ones in which the ‘public’ film collection exists; however, no one can access them since the archive is not open to the public. These above examples comprise the conflict chain – no one knows what is going on” (Curator – Personal Communication, 2019).

Profit-oriented organisations or initiatives manifested within specific locations as historic environments have always been problematic, intersecting with public vs. private clash. *Beykoz Kundura* has other particularities apart from its heritage dimension; this specific feature is its strategic location along the Bosphorus strip within a cultural and natural site area that generates a conflictual situation between public vs private through its waterfront characteristics.

“The site is located at a very strategic point at the Bosphorus *sit* area requiring a multi-dimensional approach. One aspect, the waterfront urban development discourse, was marginalised in *Beykoz Kundura*. Waterfront characteristics and heritage values intersect in one project that is privately owned; however, public benefits and relative values are excluded. This huge area is too isolated, with limited access to the outsiders by means of users, but rather, the public aspect of the project should be dominant” (Architect – Personal Communication, 2019).

The public and private balance requires strategic planning both in cultural policies and urban planning. Even though there will be always the reality of being private property, under the subject of personal profit-based purpose in use, current efforts for making the site more accessible proceeded through cultural collaboration with the prominent art and cultural foundations. It is also a way to articulate the site into the local inner cultural cluster, which is located mainly at the European side of Istanbul identified as the cultural triangle. Collaboration not only makes the site more visible and more accessible, but also enriches the new cultural programme offered by the new life of the former industrial site. For example, in 2013, the site hosted an international organisation of YouTube to prevent public-private and accessibility criticisms; however, it was not solved by just an event. Within these developments on collaboration, while the initial conflicts started to be removed through the new life of *Beykoz Kundura* as a surprise conclusion, the new discourse of public vs. private continued, despite the owner’s efforts. The newly emerged conflict regarding the accessibility of the site was the problem of paid admission. Here, I will return to ‘insider’ reflections to understand the owner’s preferences.

“Recently, we are trying to make the site more accessible through regular organisations and parallel events based on films and festivals, museum and archives dedicated to the past of the site. IKSU and AKM are the prominent foundations for

art and culture organising the important national and local festivals in diverse cultural sectors. I really appreciate which activities and actions they are doing; however, if one looks from the bigger scale of the image, this is also a contested condition, which made these foundations a central ‘decider’. Other initiatives are displaced from the main image. These two organisations are working as unique intermediators to access state funds for the cultural plan and policies without a holistically defined national cultural policy, while the others just play a role within the execution stage. Yet, we are always working together, even though there is an obvious ‘centralised’ cooperation between actors in the cultural policy decision-making mechanism as in urban planning and conservation. The actors do not have equal roles and equal influence within the decisions in almost every field” (Owner, Cultural policy director – Personal Communication, 2019, 2020).

These developments had a quite positive manner regarding image promotion and making the site more accessible. However, the project was still contested since the site was not accessible to the ordinary users as a public place. Here, I would like to return to the privatisation decision of the site and the relative conditions taken in 2004. According to the decision taken by the RCB no III, there was a legal provision that was defined as establishment of a ‘museum’, dedicating one of the buildings as a particular requirement of the process. Correspondingly, experts as ‘outsider’ were questioning what happened to this provision. Even if it is not sufficiently known, in Turkey, the privatisation of the heritage sites was finalised in the 1990s and 2000s within the legal decision documents by including this provision as a specific requirement to complete in its new life, which tried to make a kind of compulsory act for public access. But, the question is, how was this process controlled and managed?

“This is rhetoric, the issue gets its origins from the privatisation and heritagisation process. I remembered RCB meetings regarding the privatisation projects; RCBs as intermediators between the governments were pressed by the Prime Ministry to hasten the process as fast as possible due to the era’s huge crisis. Since the former industrial sites have a strategic position in conservation and urban transformation policies, the issue was positioned within an intersected circle of heritage conservation and urban development. Moreover, the post-industrial sites through their waterscape and natural characteristics became the main source of the waterfront urban development, which is strictly linked to the public values. They should be developed and transformed as per the time needs for public benefits together with their historical links. They are the fundamental landscape of collective memory.

“RCB meetings regarding the project decisions were taken based on the appointed committee of the related RCB, which is comprised of diverse experts in different fields. Decisions were finalised in consensus or a majority of expert reflections; this ‘democratic’ process requires that the final decision should also respond to the objections and the opposing sides’ point of view. Thus, to provide the legal convenience of privatisation, transformation and conservation projects, this provision was put within the decisions as a formality requirement” (Academic and urban planner, a member of the RCB – Personal Communication, 2020).

To deepen this ‘formality’, I would like to turn back from the ‘insider’ actor to illuminate some questions. How are the conservation and transformation implementations controlled in Turkey? From the privatisation decision of the site in 2004 up to today, while the reindustrialisation operations were proceeding, the efforts for ‘museum’ requirements were concreted more recently, just after 2017, and were realised in 2021.

“I did not have full knowledge of this provision regarding the privately owned conservation projects in general. However, now it makes sense why in Istanbul there are a vast number of ‘museums’ that are always closed. They might be established to respond to this ‘formality’ using fake collections for exhibition or concepts. The terms ‘museum’ and ‘museology’ need to be redefined. Besides, museology and art collections are different things. Here in *Beykoz Kundura*, we have a large quantity of industrial cultural materials under protection. Using them for the exhibition needs a deeper study and further studies led by museologists and curators. We were in the progress of understanding these material culture in their situ places. The oral project, which we conducted in 2015 with the former Sümerbank community in collaboration with the Turkish History Foundation, helps to understand how to connect those material culture with memory and site” (Art and Culture Director – Personal Communication, 2020).

“Starting from 2015, we collaborated with the Turkish History Foundation to conduct research, as an oral history of Sümerbank, in which we contacted former ‘Sümerbank community’ members to integrate them within the site and process. This research illuminates a vast number of interesting parts of the socio-cultural life and previous industrial activities held in the campus during the active years. Within the scope of the project, 200 interviews with former workers and their families were conducted, they are also involved within the process as actors.

“This project was a very important step to understand their expectations and their ideas for the site. This became an opportunity to dedicate a documentation centre and archive where people can feel the sense of the industrial site through exhibited material culture of the industrial past. This is a way to bridge both past

and present in one image. The former carpenter's shop building within the site is dedicated as the documentation centre to exhibit this material culture of the former industry. In addition, an archive was established and nominated as Kundura Hafiza where the researchers or any interested people could benefit. These were not proceeded as a 'formality', but rather to get a feel for the site and in favour of the conservation and memory" (Owner, Cultural policy director – Personal Communication, 2019, 2020).

In fact, at the initial phase of the process between 2005 and 2007, conservation of industrial heritage and industrial archaeology was a newly emerged issue. Until recently, the process has developed organically, and while some phases have proceeded slowly, others have progressed coincidentally. To better understand the material culture of industrial heritage, industrial heritage buildings' conservation or heritagisation process, the reflections of experts as insiders are essential.

"Understanding the material culture including building values was a complex phenomenon. There were no experts specialised in industrial heritage within the RCBs, and this creates a lot of uncertainties between the committee members in the decision-making system" (Official of RCB, – Personal Communication, 2020).

"For *Beykoz Kundura*, the conflicts originated from the site's heritagisation process when RCB's expert visits were conducted in 2005. It was a long process in a vicious circle in which the buildings on the site, machines and industrial materials were 'surveyed'. These on-site investigations were quite superficial; for instance, they were just looking at the buildings, which were the most ancient ones remaining from the Ottoman period. Besides, the industrial materials were surveyed and documented, and only focused on the oldest ones that were recognised from their inscriptions by the 'experts'. The situation seemed like a 'formality' visit; the process proceeded without any decisions for two years until 2007. The main problem was the superficial studies and analysis on these materials due to lack of know-how, which was turning to further evaluations.

"What happened in 2007 was also impressive; during the second on-site investigation conducted by the conservation experts, the *Yeni Kundura* building, which is one of the important modern heritages in Turkey constructed in the 1960s and the essential landmark of *Beykoz Kundura* today, was the main theme of the discussion. The discussion started from the registered status of the building that originated from its disadvantaged position according to the legal documents and regulations due to its construction date. On the other side, since the building is located at the Bosphorus frontal view in which any constructions and operations were prohibited for the conservation of the Bosphorus' splendour referring to the Bosphorus Law, the demolition of the building came to the fore referring to the Coastal law,

which does not permit any construction within the first 50 metres from the coastline. Looking on the bright side of the picture, the meeting was concluded in the positive axis by postponing the final decision together with further detailed studies” (Owner, Cultural policy director – Personal Communication, 2019, 2020).

Meanwhile, the stream remediation project of Beykoz stream was operated by the municipality to recover the damaged areas due to the strong flood in 2007. It hastened some stages of the heritagisation of the site due to the emergency of the issue regarding the natural disaster and possible upcoming damages.

“The emergency of the remediation project also might be the salvation of the Yeni Kundura building since the priorities shifted due to the conservation issues in the post-disaster process indicated in the legal documents. It also hastened the survey regarding greenspace elements including monumental trees and their landholding status” (Conservationist – Personal Communication, 2020).

The transformation proceeded step by step, including both positive and negative sides in different perspectives. In the meantime, film-making continued to be manifested within the site by using the atmosphere offered by the former industrial characteristics. Following this, in 2017, the first open-air cinema festival was organised under the category of restored film days. Focusing on the ‘cinema’ is used as the main tool for connection with the past and present, and for collective memory, which was the outcome of the oral project. Pursuant to the interviews conducted with the former Sümerbank community, the ‘cinema’ was one of the central spaces for the former workers where their social life and working life was integrated. The main objective of the owner as the image creator was derived from her references from the German examples with key bridging words ‘empathy and landscape’, which were melded and realised in *Beykoz Kundura*, with the ‘film industry’. In time, some parallel event-chains followed one on another. In 2018, the boiler room building was converted into a cinema, which would be an opportunity to increase the accessibility of the site to the public in a sustainable manner. In 2020, ‘*Kundura Sahne*’ – Kundura Stage, reprogrammed as a theatre, concert or performance hall, was added within the site where art workshops could be conducted.

The initial effort through the establishment of ‘*Kundura Hafıza*’ – Kundura Memory, which was founded as a social media platform where the members of Sümerbank community could communicate and share their memories, became a foundation recently. It aims to work on the memory of the industrial site creating a vast number of links with the history of the site and Sümerbank community. The project attracts appreciation from the public sphere from the outsider perspective, promoted both by mass and social media.

Moreover, '*Kundura Hafiza*' is a positive development through integrating researchers, former community and the public into the transformation process using the site and memory to balance the conflicts and contradictions. In April 2021, the exhibition nominated '*Kundura'nun Hafiza'sı: Bir Fabrikaya sığan dünya*' –The Memory of Kundura: A world fit into a Factory, held a gala inspired by 'interconnectedness', the event promoted by the mass and social media by labelling it as 'remember and remind industrial past'. It was the first round of the Kundura Hafiza project, which will continue with further ones opening the site to the public reminding of the industrial past. These are planned as non-profit-based events through which people can access the site free of charge, which might balance the conflicts over the public vs. private benefits.

"*Beykoz Kundura* is a big fortune both for Beykoz and Istanbul. Its bottom-up transformation process, which links with the owner's vision, has progressed to its current surprising condition. There are a lot of positive aspects within the project. Firstly, it was a big success to convert it into a contemporary usage, rather than into a museum with a passive relationship with its users. Secondly, semi-public efforts are hope-inspiring issues despite still being disputable. However, it is a challenge to provide the balance between public and private from the private side. And I think it is a success" (Urban Planner – Personal Communication, 2019).

Being private property is always a challenge that is naturally profit-oriented. Revisiting the 'insider' perspective is essential to see the priorities of that side.

"In spite of these efforts towards a semi-public site, we are still faced with the criticism of *Beykoz Kundura* as to why the site is not always accessible to the public, or why there is a consumption to pay for benefitting from those services offered by the new use, landscape, waterscape, history, and so many others. Here, I would like to go further than the public profile and the new culture that we are offering in the heritage site through its new life.

"To begin with, the previous community of Sümerbank, who have memories here in this location, are privileged to access the site anytime they wish. For total accessibility to the site, I am within the direction of the organic development towards semi-public or seasonally public use. It is the most convenient way to find a compromise between contemporaneity and the site's industrial past, and to provide the daily-users' demands and daily comforts. There are a vast number of film studios and sets where the movies and TV series register, but this functional condition needs and necessitates some security measures. Moreover, I personally agree that the heritage is a common good too, but a deep look into the issue itself is necessary. This is a private site even though it is an industrial heritage and, thus, providing the requests and needs of the tenants in *Beykoz Kundura* has priority over

others since my main priority is still personal expectations that include the financial income. I am on side with being semi-public rather than completely public. The reason behind this is that art always requires a kind of filtration to produce better. I am also keen to keep the average level of the art produced within the new life of the campus.

“Future actions for the long-term development are essential, and we are working on not only for *Beykoz Kundura* but also for Beykoz and Istanbul, focusing on more semi-public actions and perception management for industrial heritage, industrial past and sense of place in relation to contemporaneity.

“From the district scale, the life set up within *Beykoz Kundura* indirectly brings positive impacts within the surroundings. Even though the job opportunities within the site were limited due to the difference in user profile focusing on film production and the art sector, the tenants compromised with local tradespeople, shopkeepers and related artisans to increase their incomes. One of the important impacts was felt by taxi drivers through either inside regular users or visitors for the organisations and events. The physical accessibility of the site was considered as one of the main priorities to attract people to the events and organisations. It necessitates providing an easy and convenient way to arrive at the site. For this, we agreed a logistic service to provide for *Beykoz Kundura*, daily and regular ring and ferry connections from different parts of Istanbul, including the Europe and Anatolian sides” (Owner, Cultural policy director – Personal Communication, 2019, 2020).

The reindustrialisation process of *Beykoz Kundura* was appreciated by the outsiders despite its failures. This is one of the rare bottom-up approached projects and urban redevelopment examples in the Turkish context.

“It is one of the good practices both in Turkey and Istanbul that has evolved organically. However, it remains punctual, one wishes to see a planned decision from the bigger scale including other former industrial sites in Istanbul, even other cities, as a planning policy. Yet, this is a contextual problem requiring state intervention. These processes should be conducted with planning and cultural policies integrating the other heritage sites not only in Istanbul but also in other cities. For instance, the Ruhr area draws many tourist attractions providing sustainability and offering new economic areas” (Architect – Personal Communication, 2020).

3.4 REFORMULATING THE PROCESS AND TRANSFORMATION:

Complex Dynamics that Drive the Zeitgeist and Sense of Place

The reindustrialisation process of *Beykoz Kundura* has exposed varied numbers of complexities, positive and negative aspects, consensus as well as conflicts. My main intention in this section is to represent those changes in values and value perceptions with their sources as a mental map that will not only expose the current transformation process in the investigated cultural context, but also provide a base to structure the primary conflicted areas that should be reassessed for future implementations. Mapping is a crucial instrument to represent the practice of architecture, urban planning and landscape by gathering all processes in a whole. Understanding different stratifications and their superimposition within a heterogeneous system, understanding them within a contemporary industrial heritage site, were the genesis of this research benefitted from those ideas of G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, J. Corner's writings, R. Koolhaas and B. Tschumi, and other important scholars. Apart from the plurality of architectural, urban and landscape stratifications of the former industrial sites, there are also plural actors participating in this complex system who shape the process and current zeitgeist of the former industrial sites through their decisions and actions. Thus, how to represent these particularities and complexities in different areas as a mental map of diverse numbers of actors was one of the primary concerns in this research that I nominated as mapping the topological zeitgeist. I assume that mapping each 'topos' or 'layer' or 'value' perceived by different deciders will help to understand the contemporary sense of the site, new culture and many other concepts for heritage and transformation studies.

Cognitive mapping (CM)¹³⁴ was developed as a powerful visual mapping strategy for elicitation of agents participating in a process, relationship between themselves, their preferences, and priorities during the realisation of the project. They are useful visual documents to structure complex problems, conflicts and contradiction occurred during the operational stages. Since the main preoccupation

¹³⁴ Even though the idea of cognitive mapping (CM) was proposed by the psychologist Edward Toldman, in time it was used in a varied number of studies for diverse purposes. The contemporary literature indicates that it was developed by B. Kosko (1986) as a semi-quantitative and dynamic method to structure expert knowledge. The visualisation of CM does not have any defined format, which is diverse depending on the studies and concepts focused on (Novak and Cañas, 2008).

of this research is to understand the expert roles and expert-based conflicts during the transformation process, CM is used as a hybrid supportive methodology to represent the experts by capturing their value perception, their know-how, facts, and misconceptions that occurred among them during the process, but also showing the current developments that drive the zeitgeist, which shows the current sense of place under investigation. Besides, integrating CM with social value evaluation approach and SNA not only permits working on complex decision situations with conflicting objectives, but also supports the existing decision-making system by identifying the values perceived and value-based conflicted areas. By doing this, main value-based uncertainties, barriers based on legal, regulative, and administrative context, actor-based biases in relation to the value-based conflicts and actors' activities during the process will be mapped and visualised as a complex network.

The aforementioned cognitive maps are free in format representing a model of the conflicts and problems based on the formal and cultural retrospective reading, and verbal accounts of the experts participating in this specific process, which have been mentioned within the previous sections in the dissertation. CM as a supportive tool has been applied in different ways depending on a strategic problem originated from research into methods for helping in the process of problem solving as a strategy development. In this research, it is interpreted as a visual tool to represent those uncertainties within the complexity of the case study in relation to the cultural context. This experiment aims to better evaluate the existing transformation process in a multi-dimensional perspective, and to develop a policy strategy within the next chapter according to the contemporary needs. Even though they are organised by me as a researcher of this dissertation, basically they are the outcomes of these previously conducted process analyses and verbal data obtained from the semi-structured interviews conducted with the experts as insiders and outsiders.

Based on the above reflections, the assessment of the *Beykoz Kundura* project is structured based on two directions. While the first concerns the contemporary sense of the heritage place and new cultural activities defined by the new function, heritage led image-making activities and actors taking part aiming how to choose new functions that might solve value-based and actor-originated problems, the second aims to improve the decision-making system, which mainly originated from actor-weight and authority problems in the macro scale. The approach used in this section is participatory and multi-dimensional to valorise the case study, and to make a critical assessment on the technocratic knowledge of the decision-making system in the Turkish cultural context specifically defined for the privately owned industrial heritage sites.

Considering the heritage as a ‘new place’, ‘use value’ of the heritage site has been interpreted as per the complex social value approach as a sum of the values of different categories deriving from the heritage’s traditional and contemporary sense. Adoption of the CSV approach has helped to understand how to multiply the social values offered by the heritage that might balance the traditional and contemporary ones by enhancing the physical and socio-economic environment of the contemporary cities. The multiple complex values of the industrial heritage places require multi-dimensional assessment including cultural, artistic and technocratic knowledge. To have more balanced cultural heritage enhancement policies, it is fundamental to balance the conservation and readaptation by bridging past and present, previous community and current users, for continuity of cultural heritage and for more balanced living environments. In that sense, attributed respectful new use becomes essential intervention for cultural heritage sites, which might allow the introduction of new activities and experiences by multiplying the social values without changing the physical features of the material and immaterial culture of the heritage sites (Cerreta, Daldanise, Giovene di Girasole, & Torre, 2021).

The Faro Convention¹³⁵ provides the referential document for culture and value in a multi-dimensional perspective giving tools and guidelines of new models in heritage valorisation. Moreover, recently published documents by UNESCO in 2009, which highlight the culture role-play in urban regeneration policies, started to focus on the cultural ‘activities’ attributed to the new life of the heritage sites as new formations of the culture in contemporary cities. Those activities might be based on cultural and artistic values providing links with the past and future triggering the socio-physical enhancement of the environment. All those culture-centred dynamics for heritage valorisation require a well-functioning decision-making system within a communicative and participative atmosphere. In fact, new models of participatory governance and management of cultural heritage have come to the fore through recently published documents and conventions in which the importance of participation and communication between authorities was strictly highlighted. Following these developments, action plans regarding the new participatory governance models were also published focusing on the who, how and what questions by redefining the actors and their roles towards a more participatory process (Cerreta & Giovene di Girasole, 2020).

Hence, understanding the current sense of place through attributed new uses and new cultural activities, and assessing how the new function multiplies the

¹³⁵ Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, 2005.

complex social values of the heritage site is instructive not only to see the appropriate conservation and transformation acts, but also to grasp the current conflicted stages in decision-making mechanism that are constituting the barriers for the actors who are image creators and policymakers. In this research, to understand these dynamics in the investigated cultural context, the experimentation started with the new use and new activities attributed in the former industrial site based on industrial cultural values and artistic contemporary expressions including market-oriented and non-profit, and how these newly attributed activities might bridge the past and present by multiplying the social values without mutating the physical and aesthetic features of the built and urban forms. Furthermore, understanding the sense of place will be articulated with the current planning and conservation decision systems for privately owned industrial heritage sites, since they were conducted by plural actors including individuals, governmental agencies, NGOs, groups or professionals in diverse sectors for the realisation of the new sense of place.

3.4.1 Presenting the Actor Network: Cognitive Maps to see Who Does What and How they are Connected

Within this context, the identification of the actors participating in the transformation, specifying them for each *ex-post* stages and understanding their interrelation during the operation is fundamental. It not only helps to understand the participatory level of the operations, but also to see their preferences from the project. Based on this assumption, actors participating in the *Beykoz Kundura* project are mapped to search for fundamental features of spatial complexity from their standpoints, which will expose specifically each conflictual situation in the decision-making system. To do this, the actor network is developed based on the context analysis in the historical trajectory of the project and information obtained both from *ex-ante* and *ex-post* analysis. The network model is created using Gephi software as one of the tools of SNA to determine the social relationships between the actors with some specific calculated indicators that will help to interpret some dynamics of the network that permits identifying the actors' category in the process.

As mentioned by Hanneman and Riddle (2005), the main properties of a social network structure are the size and number of the actors, connectivity and cut points and the social cohesion between them, which are the parameters by which to evaluate a network. Then, network density indicating the total links between the actors, network range showing the actor categories, such as institutional or organisational, are important criteria. These indicators will show the weaknesses of a network that require further evaluation to improve. For instance, network density

is one of the important indicators varying between 0 and 1. While a value towards 1 represents a very dense network with all actors linked to one another, on the other hand, a value towards 0 indicates the sparse ones. This will help to understand which part of the network is more cohesive or less cohesive without communication and coordination in the implementations showing the participatory levels of the operations.

Moreover, link characteristics are other important indicators of the network structure that will help to understand the actors as ‘haters’ as one of the fundamental sources of the conflicts during the planning process. Seeing these values of the link characteristics between the network members will show cooperative or individual deciders during the operation. Accordingly, strong links represent the cooperation in decision-making, while the weak ones indicate the structural holes to be resolved in the future. SNA and the network model also enable attributing the specific information about the actors and measuring the actor centrality, which expose the actor weights in the decision-making system. The degree centrality might be analysed into in-degree and out-degree indicators (Scott, 2000), which are the values by which to assess which actors are the main deciders by having a strong role and which actors are the secondary ones having weak authority as passive actors in the decision-making process. Besides, the combination of high in-degree and out-degree indicators, or in other words, high betweenness centrality value, show which actor plays a key role in the process influencing the other members of the network in operation (Schröpfer, Tah, & Kurul, 2017). By doing this, the project process will be evaluated, not only understanding the general participatory level of the decisional stages, but also grasping the actors’ characteristics with power inequality problems to consider.

This experimentation using Gephi is chosen due to the software’s capability to calculate the centrality and complexity of the network by visualising them through their connections and cut points, which help to identify unequal power relations and actor-based common decision problems in top-down contexts like Turkey. Basically, the programme works through a predefined dataset that should be prepared based on the comprehensive retrospective process investigation and *ex-post* phases’ outcomes. It offers directed graphs comprised of nodes, so-called actors, activities, perceived values and edges, so-called connections indicating the relations between each node. Gephi permits defining the nodes and edges through diverse parameters; for example, their weights varying from 0 to 1, or their category, such as nodes as institutional or individual. Moreover, the programme calculates different indicators, such as network range, network density or modularity based on specific formulas. The reason behind using this tool in this

section, is to visualise the process by showing which actor is more important and what is their cohesion, and what are the blind spots within the network based on their attitudes and attributes. Also, using SNA aims to evaluate the analysed process based on more accurate data, which are obtained from semi-qualitative outcomes rather than pure qualitative reflections.

As mentioned within the methodology proposal, the actor network model provides not only understanding each actor's mental environment, but also permits eliciting the collaboration, communication and participation problems during the process within the actors' social environment. To obtain the graphs via Gephi, the experiment started with creating a data set in which previously mentioned actors, activities they did and their preferences (perceived values or social complex values) based on the case study assessment have been identified, and they have been submitted into the software as nodes. Then, to differentiate each node, some attributes have been created. 'Actor weight' is one of them to see their dominance and importance within the network, 'category' is an attribution to see actors' roles during the process stages, which also differentiates the phases as the privatisation and reindustrialisation periods. Furthermore, the software permits to visualising the model as a dynamic network, which indicates the possibility to add time indication for seeing which nodes appear or disappear within the course of time. Thus, 'start date' and 'end date' also have integrated as one of the attributes of the nodes, which help to see the dynamism of the network and how they evolved in time during the process. Following this, edges' so-called connections have been defined based on their types, if they are directed or undirected edges. While directed edges show the primary deciders, undirected edges imply which actor is an intermediary during the process as a key actor to provide negotiation. And finally, the weight of edges, in other words, the importance of the connections has also submitted to see the importance of each connection during the process.

Based on this created dataset according to the time-relational analysis and assessment on the case study by considering the cultural context, the actor network model has obtained via Gephi software, and the process has been visualised through those parameters that are already calculated by the programme for the final evaluation. The highest values of betweenness centrality of the nodes indicate the importance of the actor, importance of the activity completed, the impact of the value, or conflictual situation during the process. At the end of this analysis, these single indicators help to define the existing process and network, which will be fundamental to structure the main problems and uncertainties for future challenges. Thus, this experience is also conducted to identify the actors participating in the

transformation process together with the previously mentioned dynamics offered by the methodology.

Pursuant to this, PA was the key agency in the decision-making system during the privatisation and heritagisation process by acting at the primary stage together with Istanbul MM, the BPB and the RCB no III. These key agencies had different perceptions regarding the project, while PA wanted to privatise the former industrial site as fast as possible under the pressure of the strong political figures according to their economic expectations, on the other hand, MM and the RCB had technical responsibilities due to the project's location on the Bosphorus conservation *sit* area depending on the defined zone on the master plan such as tourism development areas or reclaimed coastal areas. IBB and BPB were the responsible bodies for the zones designated for coastal and tourism development purposes, while the RCB no III was the responsible authority for these zones with preservation preoccupations.

In addition to these primary actors with strong power for each fragmented zone in these specific decisional areas, Beykoz District Municipality has secondary position for the back view and buffer zones as per the regulation. However, the network shows that MM has also an active and strong influence in these areas, which put the district municipality in secondary passive position. It creates a blind spot in the process; while it has decelerated the operational stages in a negative direction, on the other hand, it has also decreased the participatory level of the decisional process. This disconnection within the network has also been observed through the secondary position of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, which has been charged as a responsible body for the natural heritage assets in fragmented zones. Istanbul MM's dominancy has also been observed on this decisional area by creating another blind spot in the network with disconnection. These cut points in the analysed network show that the act of deciding aggregated on Istanbul MM through Bosphorus Planning Department, RCB and PA during the privatisation and heritagisation phase.

On the other side, these disconnections should be taken into consideration as network characteristics, which are difficult to change radically for the top-down contexts. In fact, *Beykoz Kundura* has been one of the experimental operations of this kind of transformation in the Bosphorus conservation area since these fragmentation and decentralisation initiatives recently emerged in Turkey. However, one point has been grasped from this process, this pressure on privatisation that terminated with the designation of the site as a second category cultural heritage asset was important for industrial heritage sites. Even though, it has been a political formality act to complete this stage, it is one of the important

positive outcomes of the process that has prevented the site's destruction or mutation for personal expectations. The RCB's key role is important; the increased participatory level of the internal network of this authority has made it a promoter, which has caused ethical documentation and survey studies in compliance with the European norms.

After the site's privatisation and heritage designation, the process, actors and their interrelations have changed. In fact, starting from 2005, the process has turned into a reindustrialisation axis via a new attributed function with a varied number of new activities. This shift in the process from its previous axis of privatisation caused the involvement of various other (micro) actors who later have had an important role in the process. The main priority of the project has shifted to prevent the previous speculations, which has also stimulated the new given function. Thus, in this phase of the process, the network dynamics and outcomes have been observed differently with the additional actors. They have been categorised as micro actors in the dataset, which indicates the important promoters during the reindustrialisation operations, but they do not have authority in any stages. The connections between themselves have been noted as a positive development. The participatory level between this category of actors has been observed more than the powerful ones; however, the weakness in participation and collaboration between micro and macro actors has also been noted. This shows the significance of collective working, which necessitates increasing the participatory level of the different categories of the actors during the operation. Yet, this partially increased participatory level in decision-making has been influential despite its weak parts.

Regarding the decision-making mechanism of the reindustrialisation stage, the primary deciders remained as they were in the macro scale as previously, except for the PA, which has already completed the task and exited from the stage. The secondary position of the Beykoz District Municipality within the decision-making mechanism as being the responsible authority for the identified zone, has remained under the shade of the primary deciders due to power-inequality problems. The IBB and BPB were still primary deciders for the whole Bosphorus area despite those secondary decentralised agencies' existence within the network. This means that the implications and any new actions regarding the back view and buffer zones are still contested and centralised, which requires a specific solution such as the involvement of another key intermediary actor for finding negotiation or punctual solutions from the micro account of the project. Accordingly, ongoing activities and actions within the Bosphorus conservation zone have operated separately rather than from a holistic perspective. This is the ill-structured problem of the network, which might be seen through the inter-municipality of the Bosphorus area comprising four

district municipalities that have remained useless as a formality development. This information demonstrates that the main problem in lack of collaboration between the two categories of actors lies behind the macro actors' power inequality in the decisional process. However, the involvement of the micro actors as promoters during this phase has partially solved this problem by shifting the process in the bottom-up approach during the new function definition despite the network's ill-structured characteristic.

On the other side, the importance of the decisional area has been observed as one of the important factors that should be taken into consideration. For instance, even though deciding a new function has been an important decisional area, which has necessitated an increase in the participatory level and communication, the preservation of the greenscape elements has not represented a dangerous decisional area because their conservation status is important for those primary actors. Indeed, despite the secondary position of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the natural heritage characteristics of the site and their conservation could provide in many ways, particularly for the frontal view zone since the importance of the Bosphorus' charm is considered State policy. However, the greenscape elements located at the back view and buffer zones could be in danger due to the weak position of the district municipality as the responsible agency for the implementations, which facilitates the project-based revision plans by the strong actors bypassing some stages in the procedure.

The important outcome of the reindustrialisation stage of the process is that the current owner has become the intermediary in the involvement of the micro actors whose activities have stimulated the new life of the heritage site. The interesting result obtained from the calculated data for the reindustrialisation process from the network graphic shows that while Kundura Hafıza, which was established as a social platform to connect the site to the Sümerbank community and later was turned into an association composed of the researchers, has become not only another key actor, but also a spur for the project by resolving many value-based conflicts, such as public vs. private or industrial vs. new. The recently established exhibition, which was organised as a non-profit-based activity, was promoted by Kundura Hafıza, and it opens the site to the ordinary users.

In addition to this, ECoC Istanbul 2010, which was established as a branch governmental department, has also indirectly affected the site by making the site a host location for diverse cultural organisations during the 2010s. In fact, the 2010s was an important decade for the legitimisation of the new life of the former industrial site through a varied number of cultural events and organisations generated within *Beykoz Kundura*. The speculations and criticisms on the

'transformation behind the scenes' became appreciation perceived by the outsiders, which was not only linked with the efforts of the current owner's cinema passion, but also indirect influences of the ECoC 2010 Istanbul creating a cultural atmosphere in the city. It shows that the macro-scale cultural policy has been one of the important tools in image promotion that also has provided the transparency.

These positive events and their reflections on the privately owned heritage site later evolved to become collaboration with diverse NGOs and cultural organisations to make visible the site by hosting a varied number of parallel events and exhibitions. These attracted attention to the former industrial site, and the Sümerbank culture brought the curiosity of the Sümerbank community who are the primary actors of this process, and the efforts continued with a research project about memory and the Sümerbank community. The previous life of the community within the site, their memories passed within the campus brought the new discourse that is how to link the past and the Sümerbank community to the new life of the site. All these developments triggered the oral history project in collaboration with the Turkish History Foundation in 2015 regarding the former industrial site, memory and the Sümerbank community. Returning to the genesis of the research, which is dealing with the transformation of the industrial heritage sites and complex processes, it is essential to search for the definitions of the operational meaning of 'value' within this complex social system in which each interest and actor has a different meaning of 'value'. This complexity necessitates multi-dimensional policy development studies to acquire a comprehensive knowledge of what is important for the actors and what is relevant for the representation of the contemporaneity (Munda, 2004; O'Neill, 1993).

The different categories of values generally do not apply equally within a process like those aforementioned actors do not have equal weight within a decision-making system, as seen on the cognitive maps of the case study. This complexity requires an understanding of how these different values may be applied to planning contexts and decision-making systems, being aware of the sources of these different values. Within this complex system, the intrinsic value of an object in transformation becomes a key element to bridge these diversities, which is also called 'glue value' in the literature due to its ability in those value-based diversities to overcome the fragmentation and marginalisation (Cerreta and Mele, 2012). This complexity of the transformation process of privately owned heritage sites requires future consideration for development and sustainability, which has also been confirmed by the European Commission. The introduction of the intrinsic and social value of heritage within the operational documents is important for those further development strategies.

As I proposed in the methodology definition in this section, the investigation and CM aim to guide and structure the next part of the thesis for the future policy development to better identify the complex common decision problems and related conflicts. These so-called free format maps not only represent the actors' mental world, but also will be a base for problem structuring and the selection of the observatory cases within the next chapter. Based on this comprehensive assessment, the blind spots and weaknesses are retraced from the project's micro account and macro scale of the cultural context, which were mainly concerned with the weak strategies in the attributed new function and power inequality problems in different decisional areas due to the actors' different preferences. Thus, how to bridge the complex social values of the heritage site through parallel channels to bypass the regulative and contextual barriers, and how to solve the conflicts related to the decision-making mechanism and actor-based biases have become important research questions for the remainder of the research. Lack of communication, collaboration, participation, and superficial larger scale cultural and planning policies are the main themes to expand on within the next section to develop a realistic policy in which each actor should be informed for the future implementations to increase the participatory levels during the processes.

3.4.1.1 Macro Actors: Policy and Project Makers

Basically, in Turkey, the local government mechanism for privatisation projects comprises three tiered structures – special government provinces, greater municipalities and district municipalities. While the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is the responsible authority for the tourism development regions and the Ministry of Environment and Development is the responsible agency for the reclaimed coastal land, the PA is the primary authority for the assets under the subject of privatisation. The rest of the implementations are coordinated by other related ministries and departments depending on the issue occurring during the process and project scope. For instance, for the projects under the subject of conservation, in addition to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism as the main authority for cultural heritage assets, the Ministry of Forestry and Agriculture is the responsible authority for natural assets due to regulative separation of these terms in the legal norms. Apart from this complexity in the authority and normative definitions, the importance of this information for this research is the particularity of the case study, which contains many different types of project-based implementation procedures; thus, it acts as a perfect exemplar by which to study those aforementioned plural authority agencies of different implementation types, together with the different actors involved.

During the privatisation phase of Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus, two of the macro actors taking part were the PA and PHC, which comprised five different presidents of the ministries as important political figures. The PA's task lasts until the completion of the privatisation. The specific location of the project site on the Bosphorus conservation *sit* area directly makes the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and related RCB other macro actors of this process due to the legal status of the case study by means of conservation. On the other side, the Ministry of Environment and Development is another macro actor since the project is located on the reclaimed coastal zone.

The spatial fragmentation of the Bosphorus *sit* area into different zones such as conservation and tourism development, has caused a fragmentation of the authority into local government which comprised of those three tied structures and individual departments within these structures. While the Provincial Government is the first level agency, Istanbul MM and BPB are the main responsible authorities for the frontal view of the Bosphorus conservation *sit* area. Beykoz District Municipality is the tertiary local government agency responsible for the back view and affected zones in the Bosphorus *sit* area. Since the former industrial site is located partially in the frontal view zone and partially in the back view and effected zones of the Bosphorus *sit* area, all the aforementioned agencies directly become macro actors in the process.

During the first phase of the *ex-post* process in which privatisation and heritagisation were completed, while PA terminated the main task with the former owner of the industrial site, which was 'Sümerbank Holding', they exited from the primary actor network. On the other hand, the authority and the relevant tasks given to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the related RCB were increased after the site's designation as industrial heritage, which also generated a varied number of additional responsibilities to the current owner for the reindustrialisation process of the site regarding the new activities to be attributed.

Accordingly, the *ex-post* process was evaluated in two micro-categories, which are separated as the privatisation and heritagisation process and reindustrialisation process. The reason behind this categorisation is the diversities of the actors involved, and the previous one was the spur for the reindustrialisation process by making the project more privileged through its heritagisation. This bi-dimensional evaluation was conducted through the created actor network in which the primary actors were presented together with their roles and perceived values regarding the post-industrial site and new attributed function. Each stage of the process was analysed defining the positive aspects, conflict areas and origins of these conflicts. According to this, during the privatisation and heritagisation process of the *Beykoz*

Kundura, there were positive aspects of the project such as the awareness of tackling the industrial heritage and industrial archaeology, which was newly emerged in the 1990s in Turkey. It was one of the important developments that terminated with a special request for industrial heritage experts in the evaluation and survey stages of the project as crucial and hope-inspiring issues.

In addition to these, privatisation, despite, its global scope of the discourse, might be seen as one of the purposes that made the project more privileged by hastening some stages of the operations in favour of the heritage conservation. Privatisation as an act has always been considered as a primary action to complete in the first place due to the economic value of the heritage asset. Thus, this privileged condition gives crucial responsibility to the current owner tackling a common good under the subject of collective memory. Usually, this nature of the condition, being privately owned but also under the subject of public interest, creates conflicts between stakeholders clashing with a varied number of values. The most conflictual one is the public value of the heritage site, which is difficult to negotiate due to ownership status.

These conflicts are mostly based on regulative and normative framework of the cultural context; for instance, long lasting and slow processes in a vicious cycle, and formal legal provisions and formal actions to provide the necessity of the laws due to being privileged project features. These macro gaps and origins of those varied number of actor-based conflicts brought sequential problems by influencing the process in the project's micro account. They are mostly related to the expert know-how in conservation and valorisation of industrial heritage along with urban planning policies, which have been fundamental, basic problems to be resolved. Lack of specialised experts, enacted tourism-based and profit-oriented state policies, international and national actor-based dilemmas, weakness of the mass media, lack of state support in culture and development, ad hoc agencies, and their internal structure in decision-making functioning in parallel to the State were the main conflicting areas of the cultural context, which are waiting to be resolved for better implications. Moreover, both experts as insiders and outsiders consider that one of the primary decision problems is the lack of macro-scale urban and cultural redevelopment policies.

These main themes of the macro conflicts might be retraced on the project process through their indirect impacts, such as insufficient survey on the project dossier for further evaluation during the heritagisation. To begin with, the absence of industrial heritage experts to be appointed for the case study by the Istanbul Archaeological Museum was one of the anticatalyst factors that slowed down the other stages of the process. As being one of the newly emerged phenomena in those

years, industrial archaeology and related importance of the issue was solved through the efforts of the RCB's persistent attitude that led to the comprehensive study and documentation of the industrial site and relative material culture of the industry. Besides, it also influenced indirectly the academic platform by creating an attention-grabbing atmosphere among researchers regarding the industrial heritage discourse. It was an important step to improve the expert know-how in a specific skill.

The revised Bosphorus conservation *sit* plan in 2009 based on tourism-oriented state policies resulted in the increase in dimension of tourism development areas by changing the status of previously confirmed conservation zones. It created a conflictual situation by bringing a speculative atmosphere among experts, like architects, conservationists and urban planners, which led them to think of 'the possibility of any changes' regarding conservation decisions in favour of economic preferences. Their main preoccupation with those revisions of the decided plans within the conservation *sit* areas was linked to the possible future destructions of the cultural and natural heritage assets through new 'cultural' or 'touristic' projects. In addition to the new regulations of the revision plans, 2010's global cultural and economic influences were also influential on these preoccupations through completed flagship projects and newly defined cultural activities by the State. The establishment of ECoC 2010 was also an important development; however, the centralised internal organisation of this ad hoc governmental agency, in which the members were appointed by the State, was the main problem. Yet, within this conflicting atmosphere, there were some successes as well as failures based on the actors' roles and preferences.

Despite the aforementioned conflicts, *Beykoz Kundura* is instructive to realise a varied number of successes in favour of the heritage conservation and readaptation. The conservation of the industrial heritage site together with the material and immaterial assets was one of the important achievements of this process. It is important to mention that the conservation state of the *sit* is in quite good condition, which was provided through the new attributed activities without changing the physical features of the heritage characteristics, but rather contributing a new sense in the contemporaneity. A high number of conserved cultural materials of the heritage together with their appropriate survey and documentation might be considered as crucial successes, which was provided through supplied industrial heritage experts from the academic sector during the privatisation and heritagisation process. Most of the obtained successes derived from the project type making it privileged in diverse perspectives due to being under the subject of privatisation.

Yet, there were also failures to take into consideration, such as lack of communication and collaboration between agencies, absence of a large-scale plan from the macro scale and weakness of image branding policies and image promotion. Regarding the investigated case study, the purpose was the vision of the current owner, which was one of the fundamental and primary bonuses of the project bringing different successes to the micro account of the project itself. However, to better summarise the step-by-step process of the project, it is essential to mention specific conflict areas and their main origins, and how they were resolved in the reindustrialisation stage of the *ex-post* phase by other involved actors entitled micro actors, which indicates the actors who led the process from the micro projects' accounts.

3.4.1.2 Micro Actors as image-creators

The second phase of the *ex-post* process comprises the reindustrialisation phase of the project through its attributed new life. The conservation status of the industrial heritage forms, industrial culture and preserved quality of the physical and social environment were the important positive points of the process. A dedicated new form of culture through the attributed new activities has provided the continuity with an appropriate historical link between the pre-existing industrial culture. From industry to the film industry, or from shoe to film culture, was the new concept attributed for this reuse example to define the new life of the former industrial site. Using the site's natural and architectural characteristics for the creation of new culture, using the things from the past for the formation of the 'new' activities were the main strategies used by the micro actors participating in this process as image creators.

To begin with, considering the heritage site's ownership status, the current owner's vision and intentions became strictly fundamental for the conservation and transformation state of the project. One of the fortuities of the project is also linked to the owner's efforts due to being the first decider for the new function. Furthermore, the owner's significant efforts in collaboration with the other NGO's, culture-centred foundations, cultural activity regulators and other individuals, have been influential to achieve success during the reindustrialisation process, which also increased the involvement of the actors in the project scale. This generates some chain consequences for the legitimisation of the defined new culture, and for the prevention of a various number of preoccupations of the outsiders regarding value-based biases.

Even though the new attributed function and related activities were considered as positive aspects of the project, at the initial stage this was not clear, and it created

a speculative atmosphere. This conflicted ambience brought the public and private dilemmas, which originated from the ownership status of the site, heritage and collective memory. Public value of the heritage site has not only clashed with the ownership problem by bringing social and physical accessibility discourses, but also superimposed the waterfront development as being the subject of public interest located along the Bosphorus.

These conflicts were followed with the lack of state support, regulative risks, lack of large-scale plan and policies, plurality of the actors and their weights on the process and communication problems between them. They were mainly derived from the ill-structured character of the decision-making mechanism and the new given function, which was not clear to the outsiders in the initial phase. In fact, the initial public value dilemmas continued with the rights of the Sümerbank community on the heritage site by bringing the community value conflict into the process. How to bridge the contemporaneity and previous life of the site came to the fore, which would be a balance through the new attributed function via new attributed public and private activities.

In addition, physical accessibility was also one of the discussions during this process, since Beykoz is located far away from the central districts of Istanbul with limited infrastructure due to the immense size of the green and forestry areas. In the meanwhile, those natural features of the district require particular attention for their conservation without any damage to the physical environment. In fact, one of the specific issues regarding this was the increase in dimension of the tourism development zone, which permits new constructions through the 2009's revision plans, and it continued with the discourse of limited physical access to the project due to the topographical tough characteristics of Beykoz. These consequences brought to mind the possible new interventions that might cause destruction or various damage. The involvement of the plural actors and political biases were also crucial in this phase, which created the conflicted conditions, since those green areas under protection of their legal status require a different authority for any implementations. Many of these conflicts and contradictions originated from the type of project under the subject of privatisation, conservation, waterfront and tourism development, which were the discourses with legislative and normative gaps and the top-down vs. bottom-up dilemmas of the process itself. They were the direct consequences of the opaque process in the initial years. Accordingly, the opaqueness of the reindustrialisation process has caused a varied number of criticisms regarding the project from the experts as outsiders due to the era's ongoing contested transformation projects and behind-the-scenes acting.

These aforementioned barriers and conflicts were punctually solved in the micro account of the *Beykoz Kundura* project. For example, important successes were achieved from being a bottom-up initiative in a top-down system in the micro account of the project. To resume those successes, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the efforts towards being semi-public and public place are important developments of the site in the Turkish context as negotiation against those conflicts. The involvement of the Sümerbank community in the process in the following years as one of the micro actors and the subsequent conducted research of the oral history regarding the former site's memory, are fundamental steps to mention that were linked with the owner's vision together with the other NGOs' and volunteers' efforts directed from the collaboration efforts.

Using cultural tourism as a catalyst and introducing the collaboration with other cultural organisations for new attributed non-profit activities were not only important elements for place branding and sense-making policies, but also fundamental factors that can trigger the improvement of social and physical accessibility of the site by making it more visible. Additional transportation services such as shuttle services and ferry alternatives to access the site from diverse points of Istanbul were very encouraging, which were the micro solutions without physical damage to the green protected areas. Besides, the establishment of the Kundura Hafiza association, newly converted buildings for cinema and performance hall, and an established documentation centre, organised workshops and meetings for the Sümerbank community are important successes of the project, which usually remained unsolved for some cases due to being private properties. Finally, the malfunctioning and weakness of the mass media was resolved using social media, which might be considered as a crucial success for making the process more transparent by solving the problem of criticisms generated during the process.

However, some barriers were insurmountable since they require more holistic and bigger scale policy solutions. The absence of a large-scale plan without a specifically defined cultural policy was one of them, which was also the origins of the unsolved communication and collaboration problems. In fact, the lack of state support, weaknesses of the mass media and censorship were other factors hindering the process, generating the opaqueness problem concerning the project. Since the main conflicts based on collaboration and communication between the local government and responsible agencies also depend on the actors' path dependency and cultural context, they require multi-dimensional technocratic investigation with realistic policy solutions due to the difficulties in reforming the existing decision-making mechanism.

Hence, the *ex-post* phase of the transformation process of *Beykoz Kundura* is instructive, not only to see those varied number of solutions of the contextual conflicts, but also to grasp the unresolved dimensions of the existing transformation process and to rethink them for further development. Indeed, as previously mentioned, most of the conflicted conditions and actions traced from the micro account of the project originated from the cultural context depending on the decision-making mechanism and actors' path dependency and the indirect or direct impacts of other actions undertaken in the conservation and planning culture within the course of time. This is the main reason for the deep investigation on the legislative and administrative institutionalisation in the urban planning and conservation implementations in this research. Starting from the 1960s and up to the pre-2000s, the evolution of the decision-making agencies within the axis of decentralisation, but in parallel to the national centralised tradition, have drastically influenced a varied number of projects in their micro accounts by creating multiple conflictual situations. Thus, to grasp those conflicts and their sources in the macro scale, and to realise how some of them have been resolved via punctual solutions from the micro account of the *Beykoz Kundura* project, are fundamental for future implementations. It will be of benefit to understand the micro actors' position within the process.

3.4.2 Reconciling the Zeitgeist to Memory and Contemporary Sense: New Life of *Beykoz Kundura*

The transformation process of *Beykoz Kundura* is investigated in two macro process stages under the title 'ex-ante process from 1930s until the 1990s' and *ex-post* process during its operational stages of transformation when its privatisation and heritagisation and reindustrialisation phases were generated. To resume the *ex-ante* process of the *Beykoz Kundura* from the 1930s until the 1990s, which was discussed comprehensively in Chapter I, there were two macro transformers causing the varied number of transformations within the site and investigated culture.

While, until the 1960s, the fast industrialisation and development of industrial culture was the 'queen' of the transformation in the cultural context, it has reflected on the formal elements within the site in diverse ways. In this period, industrial culture was matured, and was incarnated with the modern and social articulation until the 1950s. Following this, there was a strong influence of Czechoslovakian culture both on the industrial and social forms, specifically on the case study, by the invited Czechoslovakian Bata Company, which generated the physical development of the former industrial site through additional industrial and socio-

cultural buildings, such as Yeni Kundura building (new production building), theatre, cinema, sports facilities, recreational areas, kindergarten, accommodation, medical facilities, and clubs for the workers and their families. During this period, the former industrial site was developed not only by means of industry by improving technical and mechanical equipment, but also as a social node, and gained its fame from the social factory through those changes that occurred.

On the other hand, between the 1960s and 1990s, the ‘queen’ of the transformation was legislative and neoliberal restructuring in many fields, and this resulted in a varied number of transformations in the planning and conservation culture from the macro perspective. No physical changes were observed within the former industrial site, but rather its official status in the legislations and regulations changed drastically. In addition to the Bosphorus conservation *sit* designation, the conservation law, Bosphorus law, coastal law, tourism encouragement law and privatisation law were the main drivers of the spatial and administrative fragmentation of the industrial site within the Bosphorus conservation sit area. Thus, it was the transition period for the privatisation and heritagisation of *Beykoz Kundura*.

From the 2000s onwards, the ‘queen’ of the transformation has been the new industrial culture or new cultural industries, which have been manifested within the post-industrial landscapes in Turkey, and *Beykoz Kundura* is one of the prominent ones through its new life as a film plateau. Even though the initial initiatives started in 2005, the site was firstly used for film producing in 2010 for the famous Turkish series ‘*Öyle bir Geçer Zaman ki*’. Then, other popular series and movies followed the previous one, which has been influential for the new life of the heritage site. In the course of time, the site has become famous by drawing the attention of the producers of these forms of new culture due to its spatial atmosphere and preserved essence or sense of the industrial place. In fact, while the site hosted a big YouTube event in 2013, it has become an alternative location for film festivals organised by the NGOs from 2015 onwards.

These drivers of the current zeitgeist stimulated the current owner and cultural director and thus they launched open-air cinema nights in 2017, which was an opportunity to invite other users from outside the film community. A various number of cult films based on their original curatorial contents, with thematic programmes prepared by the film experts and curators, have been screening in *Beykoz Kundura*, which have drawn appreciation from the real film lovers. In addition, side-events have been organised periodically, such as audiovisual works, varying from silent films performed with live music, new copies of restored

Hollywood classics, creative documentaries or experimental films selected from the international festivals.

Also, the former boiler room was converted into a film theatre where once there was a historical kiln known as the Russian boiler. The area is being used as a food court and lounge, serving the film theatre where the kiln was located, while on the other hand, the warehouse of the kiln has been transformed into a film theatre known as Kundura Sinema today. It was restored with a seating capacity of 135, and it opened its gates to interested audiences on 27 September 2018 with a private event as part of UNESCO's World Day for Audiovisual Heritage. Following this, the building hosted an anthology 'Snow-Clad Nightmares', which was inspired by the dark and deserted corners of the heritage site. Following the previously launched open-air cinema nights, these have evolved into a summer ritual and become a tradition for film lovers with the cooperation of MUBI Turkey. These side-events have also been integrated with the live music that offers art experiences to their art devoted users¹³⁶.

Kundura Stage is another side-event organised through inspiration from the industrial site's past, which had been experienced by numerous production rituals and memoirs belonging to the former workers. It offers many open-ended experiences to art and culture aficionados. To do this, the first was conducted with the cooperation of the Remote X project of Rimini Protocol, which is one of the prominent German theatre collectives. The topic chosen was an Istanbul adaptation, and the initiative proceeded with the title 'Remote-Istanbul', aiming to rediscover the streets of the city in which the city becomes a stage. During the performance, earphones were provided to the audience, which helped them to experience not only a physical connection to the city, but also a sense of those places they have passed through. Kundura Lab is another ongoing side-event in the campus, which enables the performing of art and cultural events by amateur artists. These side-events as new attributed activities create semi-private or semi-public venues within the new life of the campus, which has enriched the existing mono-approach of the primary given function of the film plateau¹³⁷.

What is interesting and positive for this research is the former carpenter's shop has been converted into the Kundura Hafıza Exhibition entitled '*Kundura'nın Hafıza'sı: Bir Fabrikaya sığın dünya*', and it has opened its gates to audiences with or without art interest. This has evolved through comprehensive research on the

¹³⁶ See, (<https://www.beykozkundura.com/kundura-hafiza>, 2021).

¹³⁷ See, (<https://www.beykozkundura.com/kundura-hafiza>, 2021).

historical process of the industrial site and the oral history conducted with the former Sümerbank community. While the former carpenter's shop has hosted this exhibition in which the visitors might find historical documents of the industrial campus, memories of the former workers, and might listen to the audios that include the storytelling of this industrial past from the workers' voices, on the other hand, the former warehouse, which served as the carpenter's shop, has been converted into a museum where all the industrial machines and equipment from the campus are exhibited. Basically, the interested visitors can pre-book a visit that is guided by the former workers of the campus.

Moreover, Kundura Hafiza has become an association that acts as promoter of these non-profit-based side-events that have recently attributed to the new life of the site. The association comprises the researchers, heritage volunteers, representatives of the former Sümerbank Community Association and other culture-based organisations, and offers a private archive that might be useful for the researchers and academics who work on industrial-heritage centred studies. There are also organised meetings with the former workers and their families, which permit them to re-experience the current zeitgeist. Kundura Hafiza has been established as a promoter collaborating with universities and other educational organisations including schools. There are organised workshops for children of different ages, which allow them to discover the industrial places, past and present, and pedagogical events for adults whose aim is to make recognisable the Sümerbank culture or historical development of the living environment. The association also cooperated with NIT¹³⁸ Istanbul for a workshop held in Istanbul in October 2021. While the campus and its historical process was introduced to the participants as a part of collective memory, the campus hosted the workshop to facilitate experiencing its atmosphere and current zeitgeist.

The gala of the exhibition and museum took place through inviting a various number of actors from mayors, journalists, media members and interested visitors, which created an opportunity to introduce the ongoing developments in the new life of the site. But, in the meanwhile, it has also helped the image promotion from the micro account of the project. All these actions, which have been attributed in the new life of the heritage site, have created the public venues of the heritage site with non-profit activities by multiplying the plus values of the project by the existing ones. They are important drivers of the current zeitgeist, which also define the new sense of place. Finally, the promoter role of the Kundura Hafiza association has continued with recently conducted efforts to expand the heritage site's network into

¹³⁸ Netherlands Institutes in Turkey (see <http://www.nit-istanbul.org/education/nit-urban-heritage-lab-industrial-heritage-for-sustainable-cities-course-announcement>)

an international platform. The foundation has participated in ongoing congresses of industrial heritage aiming to get involved in the ERIH, *the European Route of Industrial Heritage*, and to nominate the site as one of the anchor points on the ERIH map. These attempts to become a member site of the ERIH association might also be considered as other important steps in the ongoing process. Acceptance as an anchor point requires some selective measures and procedures by bringing various numbers of obligations to the primary actors of the process, but, meanwhile, it also one of the ways to increase the project performance themes and the quality of the new life attributed to the industrial heritage site.

3.4.3 Reconciling the Zeitgeist to City and Cultural Development: Vision 2050 Istanbul

Top-down vs. bottom-up dilemmas, actor-based and political biases and inequality power problems in decision-making procedures were the commonly observed conflicting conditions from the macro account of the investigated context. The main problem in those macro dilemmas originated from the lack of communication and collaboration attitudes, and this represents one of the important barriers that should be taking into consideration for future implementations as an ill-structured characteristic of the decision-making mechanism that is usually unrealistic to reform. In addition, the establishment of an ad hoc agency for specific action is a popular adopted approach to remain central in all project types within the ‘formality’ of a decentralised framework, which is another characteristic of the cultural context, and it is also not easy to resolve, requiring unrealistic radical action. Furthermore, bypassing some stages through those ad hoc agencies is another point to consider. It is a paradox that there are no ad hoc agencies to provide negotiation for solving the dilemmas and biases. This might be generated via the internal organisation of those ad hoc agencies to balance these macro-scale ill-structured problems. This plurality in different decisional areas brings not only social fragmentation in the society or political community, but also spatial fragmentation and heritage discrimination from the technocratic side in implementations.

Hierarchy has always been a problem in the decision-making mechanism in each governmental agency in Turkey, for instance, it caused central-local dilemmas as a result of limited authority of local governmental agencies, which also have created opaque processed operations generating behind the scenes. Yet, the project-type approach made some projects privileged for ‘a specific actor’ facilitating to bypass some official stages in favour of profit-oriented objectives. These common particularities of the cultural context have become ‘normalised’ in society, and this

condition pushed people to generalise each condition, even though the condition might progress positively. One might call it the ‘herd psychology’ effect, which is codified genetically to society. Again, it is strictly associated with the absence of communication.

However, despite these conflicted areas that are not realistic to change and which require radical unrealistic rhetoric, there are also some significant developments applied recently which might be used for further policy developments to decrease those aforementioned contextual conflicts. These new initiatives were led by the local government in Istanbul after the recent changes in the political atmosphere in 2019 through the election of the current mayor Ekrem İmamoğlu. This administrative change in the MM has brought a more democratic atmosphere, keeping the balance between central and local government.

To begin with, the efforts for more democratic financial distribution among cultural organisations, recently planning macro-scale cultural policies and increased collaboration efforts with NGOs and citizens might be considered as positive developments in the cultural context that might be used as a spur to improve, or at least prevent, the destructive impacts of the macro conflicts. The establishment of the state project led by the MM titled ‘Vision 2050’, which aims to develop new ways to make the future of the city of Istanbul fairer, greener and more creative in a multi-dimensional approach, is a hope-inspiring development that aims for these preoccupations. Based on the objectives of how to plan the future of Istanbul ‘together’, the Vision 2050 office was established as a governmental department of the Istanbul Planning Agency in February 2020, which is one of the important positive elements by which to find solutions for those macro-scale conflicted conditions that bring a participative approach in a various number of decisional areas.

The project was launched to find a better coordinated large-scale policy and city plan by a shared vision based on identified strategy. It aims to shift the decisional process towards a more participatory direction, which might be considered as a recently launched action by the local government to decrease the profit-oriented transformation projects prepared by those different institutions without coherent actions. This has been a crucial step to provide integrity within the city character. Within the scope of the project, different thematic research areas, such as migration, transportation, gender problems and environment development, were defined as the topics to be developed through a holistically defined strategy and actions. It aims to reach those defined objectives by involving different actors in the process, making it more democratic, more transparent and more participative. By doing this, universities and academics were also integrated within the process

to develop those policies, which offers a various number of expert reflections on the ongoing regulations and projects prepared generally by their mono actors as regulators or operators. Recently, there have been organised panel meetings conducted by appointed advisors from the urban planning and architecture departments with involvement of various experts in the network, including architects, urban planners, engineers, regulators and managers, to ensure better implementations that are to be generated participatively. This might be considered as one of the positive steps to find a solution to the absence or lack of expert support in specific projects, or to provide communication and collaboration, which also creates transparency in decisional processes. Although it might be taken as a positive development to increase the participatory level, nonetheless, it might be noted that the process is still seen as a technocratic issue, the citizens are not considered as an actor.

However, the created platform ‘Your Istanbul, Your City’ within the scope of this macro project is generated for this purpose and invites the citizens into the process to express their opinions through criticism, suggestion, expectations or imaginations from their accounts. Besides, organised workshops against ongoing mega-projects that damage the existing environment is another development to mention, conducted by appointed experts to discuss those issues in a multi-dimensional perspective including economic, social and ecologic perspectives together with the risks and possible effects of projects on Istanbul. Even though these aforementioned efforts might be considered as positive steps, the main conflicted areas remain blurred; for example, the promotion of Vision 2050 by the state is still weak due to the weakness of the mass media. This condition forced the use of social media as a unique communication tool, which might be sometimes dangerous creating accuracy problems in data. Yet, the project is still not well known by the people due to the weakness of the communication strategies.

Moreover, lack of collaboration of local governmental agencies or malfunctioning is one of the fundamental problems, and which are also linked to the political biases and unstable political atmosphere. For example, the Bosphorus conservation *sit* area is one of the strategic planning zones in Istanbul, and it makes the area a subject of a varied number of transformation projects, which requires particular attention for the strategy development. The fragility of the zone in Istanbul, either through spatial fragmentation in the frontal, back and buffer zones, or administrative fragmentation in implementations, creates a high number of conflicts, which should be taken into consideration from the macro scale for the future implementations in Bosphorus. This complex and conflicted position of the area requires collaboration, participation and communication in the decision-

making mechanism, which should be better coordinated together with the MM and other district municipalities including the Anatolian and European sides with a shared vision for the future developments.



In fact, union of Bosphorus municipalities¹³⁹ in 2001 was aimed at this purpose; however, it was not concluded as expected, since the district municipalities do not work in collaboration in a multi-dimensional perspective. In the existing decision-making mechanism, the position or the role of this multi-municipal agency is unknown even by many experts. It demonstrates that this agency has been structured as an ad hoc agency with a project-based approach to legitimise one of the previously completed implementations. Furthermore, the main objective for the Bosphorus zone generally focuses on the conservation of the natural and cultural characteristics as a generic term without valorisation and strategic actions, considering each component of the area in a holistic manner.

Within this perspective, these conflicts and contradictions remain the foundation of much malfunctioning, and they are the fundamental sources of the conflicts that should be re-evaluated for future improvement of the existing process both in the macro and micro-scale perspectives. Yet, the unstable political and socio-cultural characteristics of the context always should be taken into consideration, which means that all the aforementioned developments crucially depend on political agendas. This should be considered as an unstable condition of the top-down cultural contexts, which might result in either positive or negative outcomes depending on the deciders' attitudes in specific circumstances.

Consequently, I assume that if the cultural context requires punctual solutions or punctual actions depending on the situation from the micro accounts of the projects, which might be legitimated in some way, new strategies should also be prepared considering this particularity of the culture. Since some features might not be changed in the realistic perspective, or might not be transformed easily without a radical reform, considering the process depending on a condition is the sole way to achieve an adequate social and cultural level. Based on this argumentation, within the rest of the thesis, in the next chapter, I will conduct a multi-sited analysis to realise different solutions in possible conditions to determine the diversities in successes and failures for the future challenges from different project or policy accounts.

¹³⁹ <http://www.istanbulbogazi.gov.tr/birlik-hakkinda/detay/TARİHCE/7/1/0>

COGNITIVE MAPS - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 2005-present

N  Scale 1:1000 

- MAP NO 7
ADMINISTRATIVE FORMS AND MICRO ACTORS**
- MAPPING VOCABULARY**
- PROJECT AREA
 - GREEN-SCAPE FORMS
 - WATER-SCAPE FORMS
 - PRE-EXISTING BUILT FORMS
- 'BOSPORUS CONSERVATION AREA' ARTICULATION**
- BOSPORUS CONSERVATION SITE ARE AND PROJECT SITE
 - BOSPORUS FRONTAL VIEW AREA
 - BOSPORIS BACKVIEW AND BUFFER ZONES
- SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION**
- AREA RECLAIMED AS BE
 - AREA RECLAIMED AS TOURISM DEVELOPMENT
- ACTORS AND AUTHORITY FRAGMENTATION**
- MACRO ACTORS
 - MICRO ACTORS
 - VALUE-BASED CONFLICTS
 - MACRO ACTOR-VALUE NETWORK
 - MICRO ACTOR-VALUE NETWORK



Figure 43: Sümerbank Industrial Campus in the 2005-present, source: map is elaborated by the author using the base map obtained from the Municipality.

COGNITIVE MAPS - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 2005-present

MAP NO 8
NEW FUNCTIONS ATTRIBUTED

MAPPING VOCABULARY

• PROJECT AREA



• GREEN-SCAPE FORMS



• WATER-SCAPE FORMS



• PRE-EXISTING BUILT FORMS



• NEW FUNCTIONS

promenade seashore for

*exterior film production areas

daily or monthly rented

building with interior for film production

buildings with terrace offers vista

exterior plateau area

promenade seashore for

*open-air rented activities

*sport activities

*educational workshops

*festivals

buildings reused for restaurant, cafe, cinema, performance hall, meeting centers

vista points

promenade seashore

might be used by people during the visiting hours

exhibition non-profit based activities

• GEOGRAPHICAL FORMATIONS

• GEOMETRICAL FORMATIONS

• NEW FUNCTIONS ATTRIBUTED

NEW ACTIVITIES ACCORDING TO THE PRIVATE PRIORITIES OPEN TO FILM-MAKING SOCIETY

• PRIVATE

• FOR EVERYDAY USERS

NEW ACTIVITIES ACCORDING TO THE PRIVATE PRIORITIES BUT IN THE MEANWHILE OPEN TO OTHER TYPES OF VISITORS

• SEMI-PRIVATE/SEMI-PUBLIC

• FOR SEASONAL USERS

• CULTURE AND ART CONSUMERS

NEW ACTIVITIES ACCORDING TO THE SEMI-PUBLIC/PUBLIC COMMONS TO BALANCE THE CONFLICTS

• PUBLIC

• OPEN TO EVERYBODY

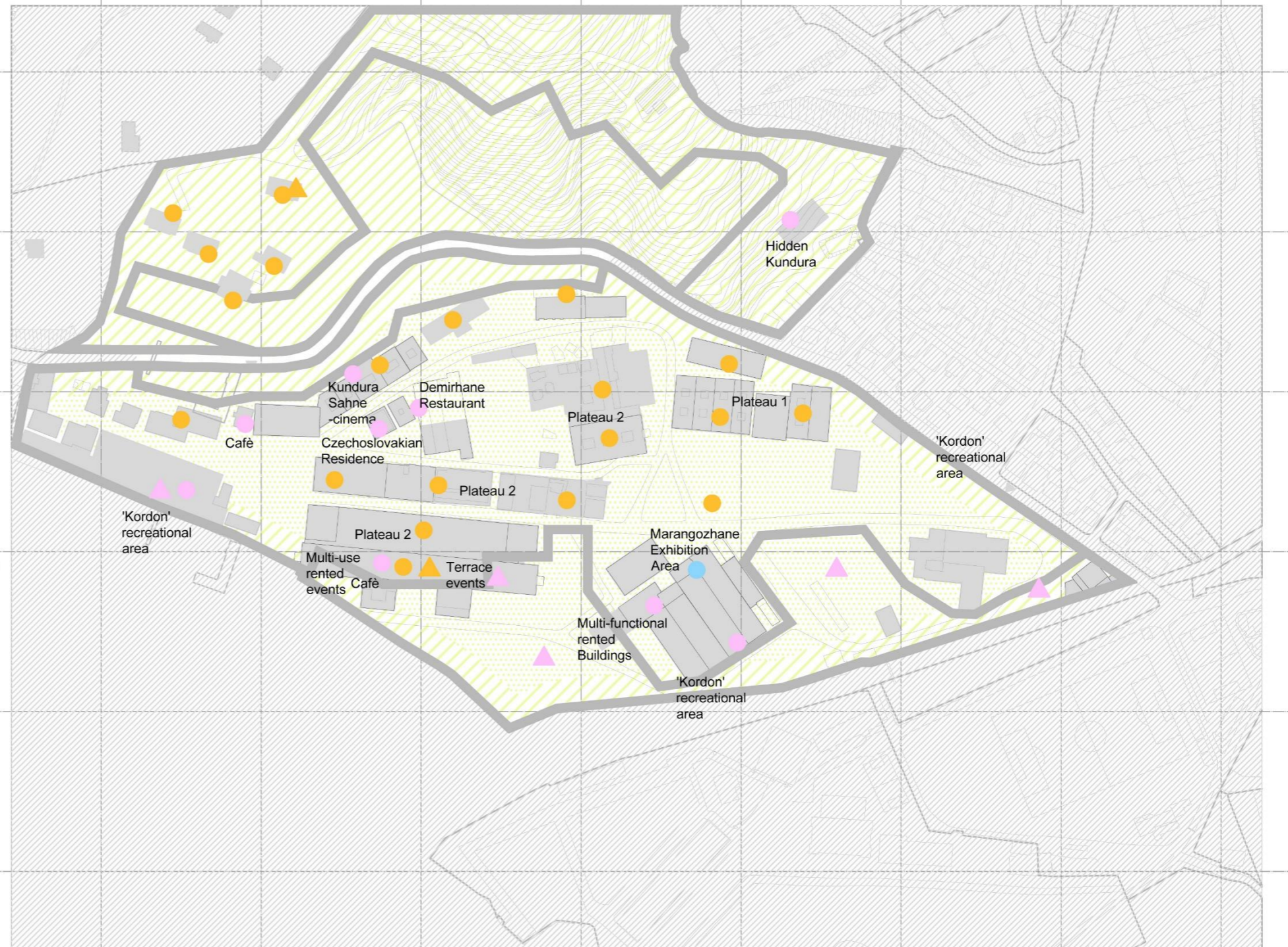


Figure 44: New functions attributed within the former industrial site, source: map is elaborated by the author using the base map obtained from the Municipality.

COGNITIVE MAPS - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 2005-present- NEW LIFE OF THE SITE AND NEW FUNCTIONS

N Scale 1:1000 0 20 50 100 200

MAP NO 9
NEW IMAGE OF THE SITE

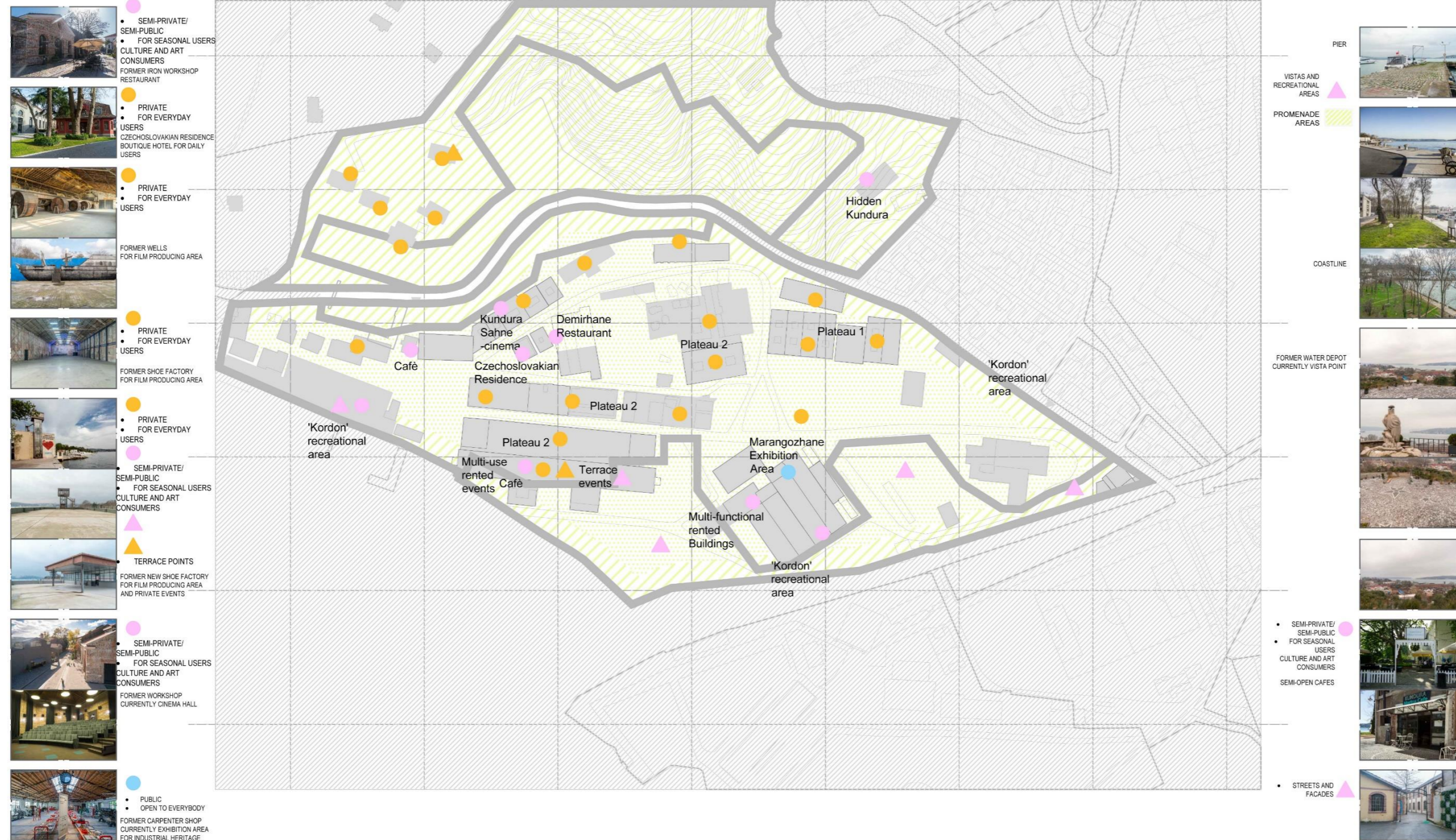


Figure 45: New life of the site and new cultural spaces, source: map is elaborated by the author using the base map obtained from the Municipality.

MAP NO 11
CONFLICTED VALUES AND ACTORS
NETWORK

**ACTORS-CONFLICT-DECISION NETWORK
DURING THE RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION**

- VALUE-CONFLICTS AND CONFLICTED OBJECTIVES
- PUBLIC USE DECISIONS
- SEMI-PUBLIC USE DECISIONS
- PRIMARY PRIVATE USE DECISION
- MICRO-ACTORS DURING THE RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS
- MACRO-ACTORS DURING THE RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS

*SIZE OF THE NODES SHOWS THEIR IMPORTANCE OR POWER DURING THE PROCESS

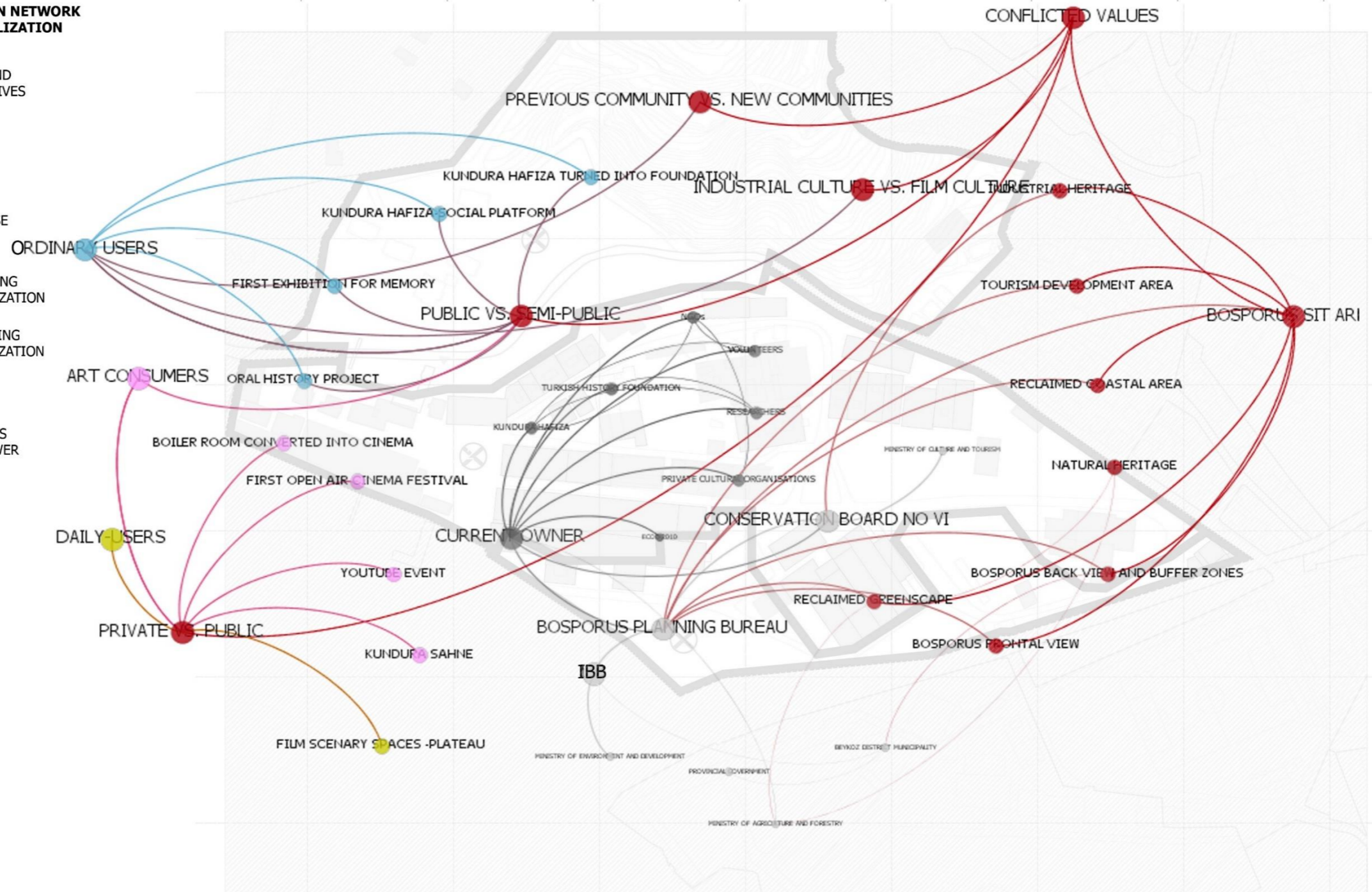


Figure 47: Actor-conflict-decision network during the re-industrialization phase, source: map is elaborated by the author using the base map obtained from the Municipality.

COGNITIVE MAPS - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE 2005-present

MAP NO 12
POWER INEQUALITY BETWEEN THE ACTORS

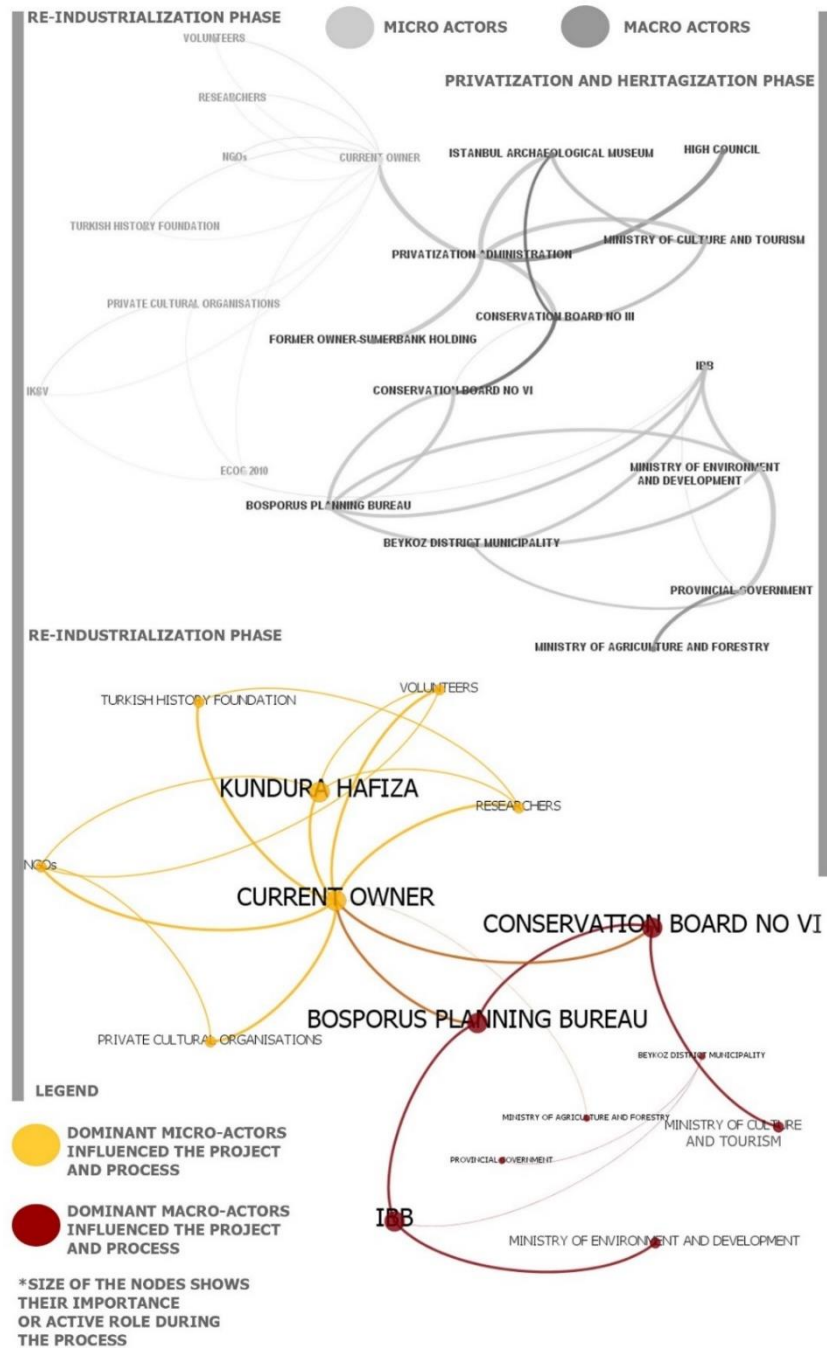


Figure 48: macro and micro actors, dominant actors during the re-industrialization phase, source: image produced by the author using Gephi software.

MAP NO 13-
IMPORTANCE DEGREE OF THE INTERCONNECTIONS
ACTORS-CONFLICTS-DECISIONS

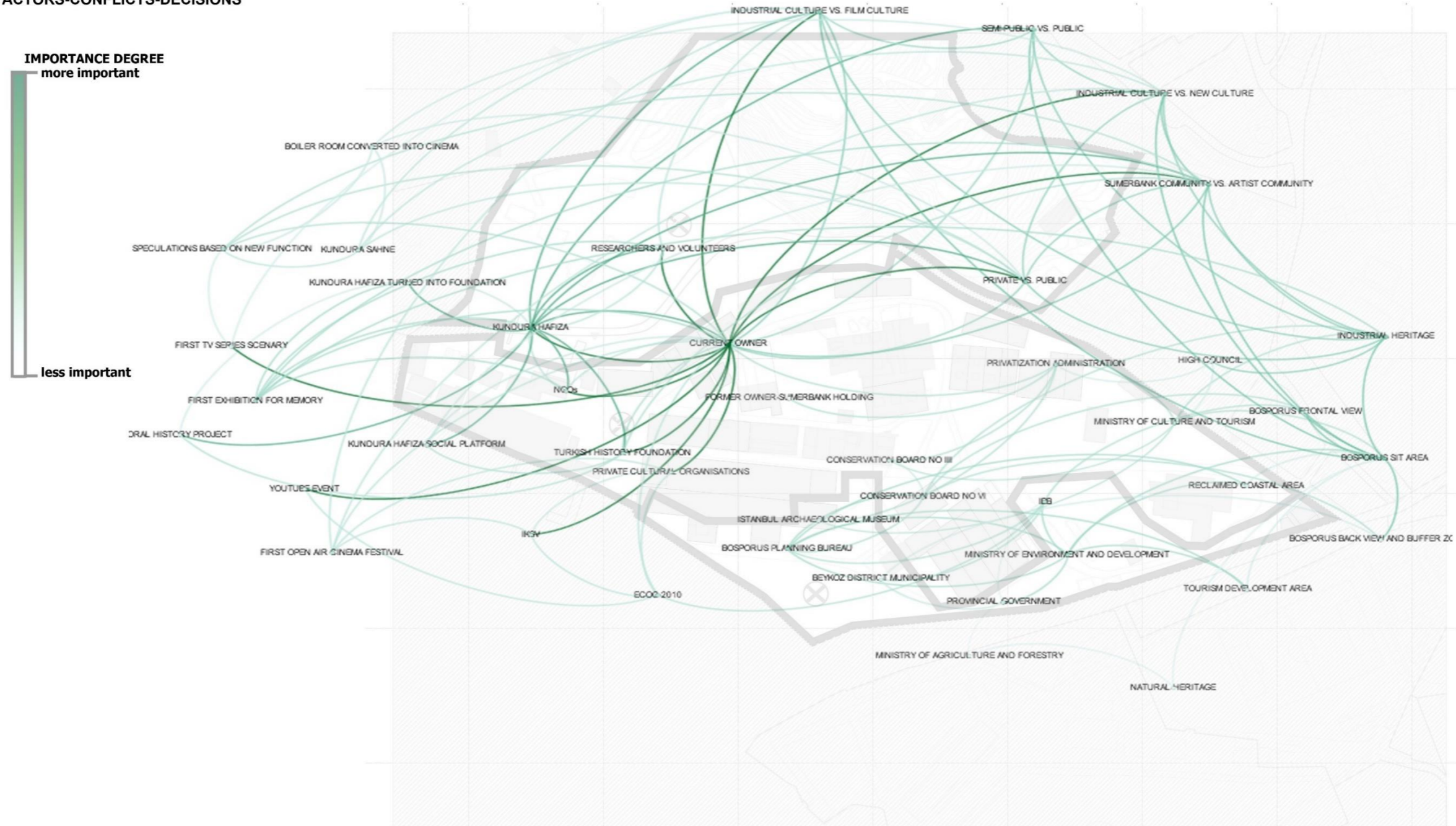


Figure 49: Importance degree of the actors, conflicts, and decisions, source: map is elaborated by the author using the base map obtained from the Municipality and Gephi diagrammes.

Appendix F – Transformation of *Beykoz Kundura, Ex-post Phase II*

APPENDIX F - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, EX-POST PHASE II

TRANSFORMATION PROCESS DURING RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS - MICRO ACTORS AND COMPLEX SOCIAL VALUES

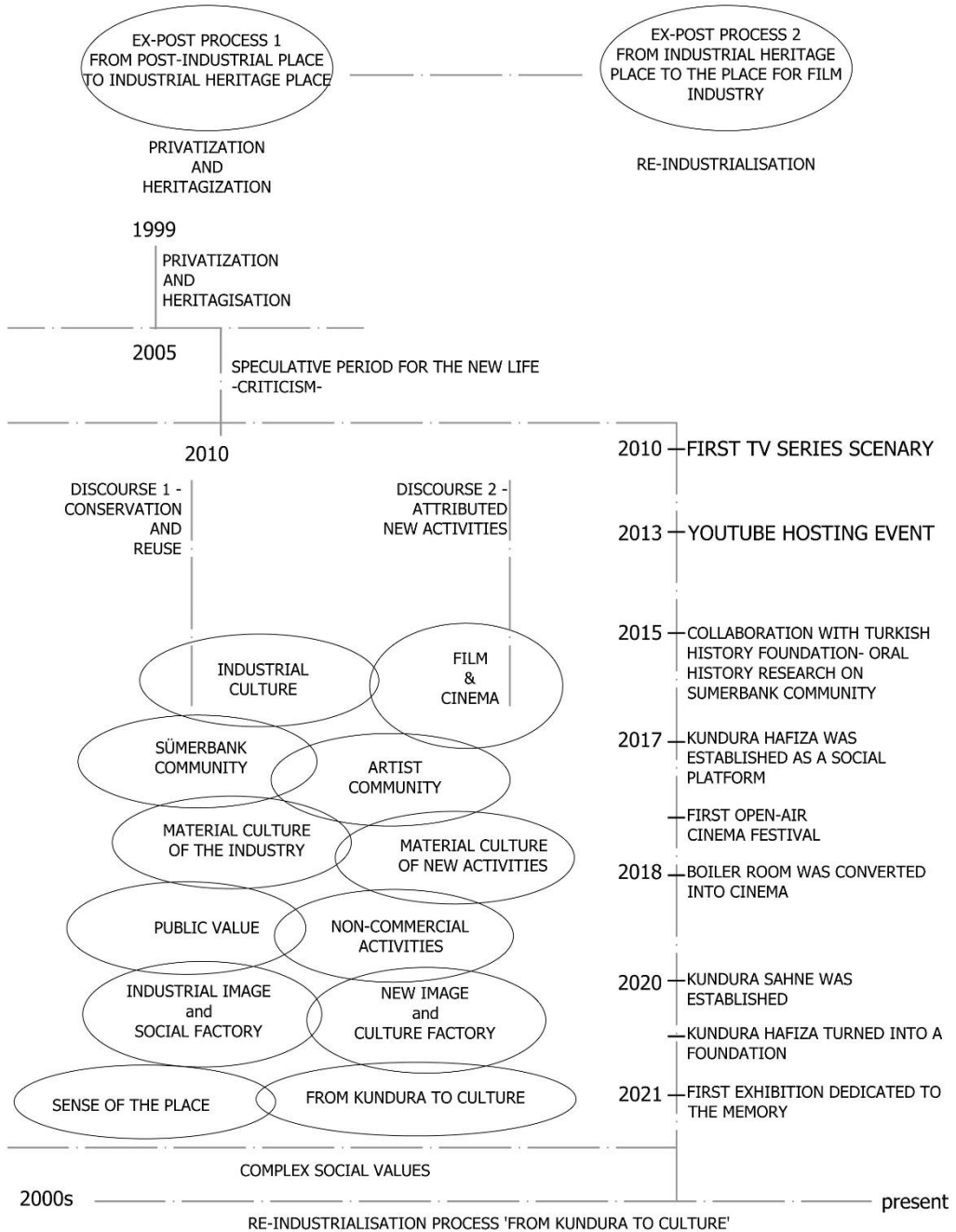


Figure 50: Involvement of micro actors during the re-industrialization phase, source: produced by the author.

APPENDIX F - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, EX-POST PHASE II

TRANSFORMATION PROCESS DURING RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS - MACRO-MICRO ACTORS

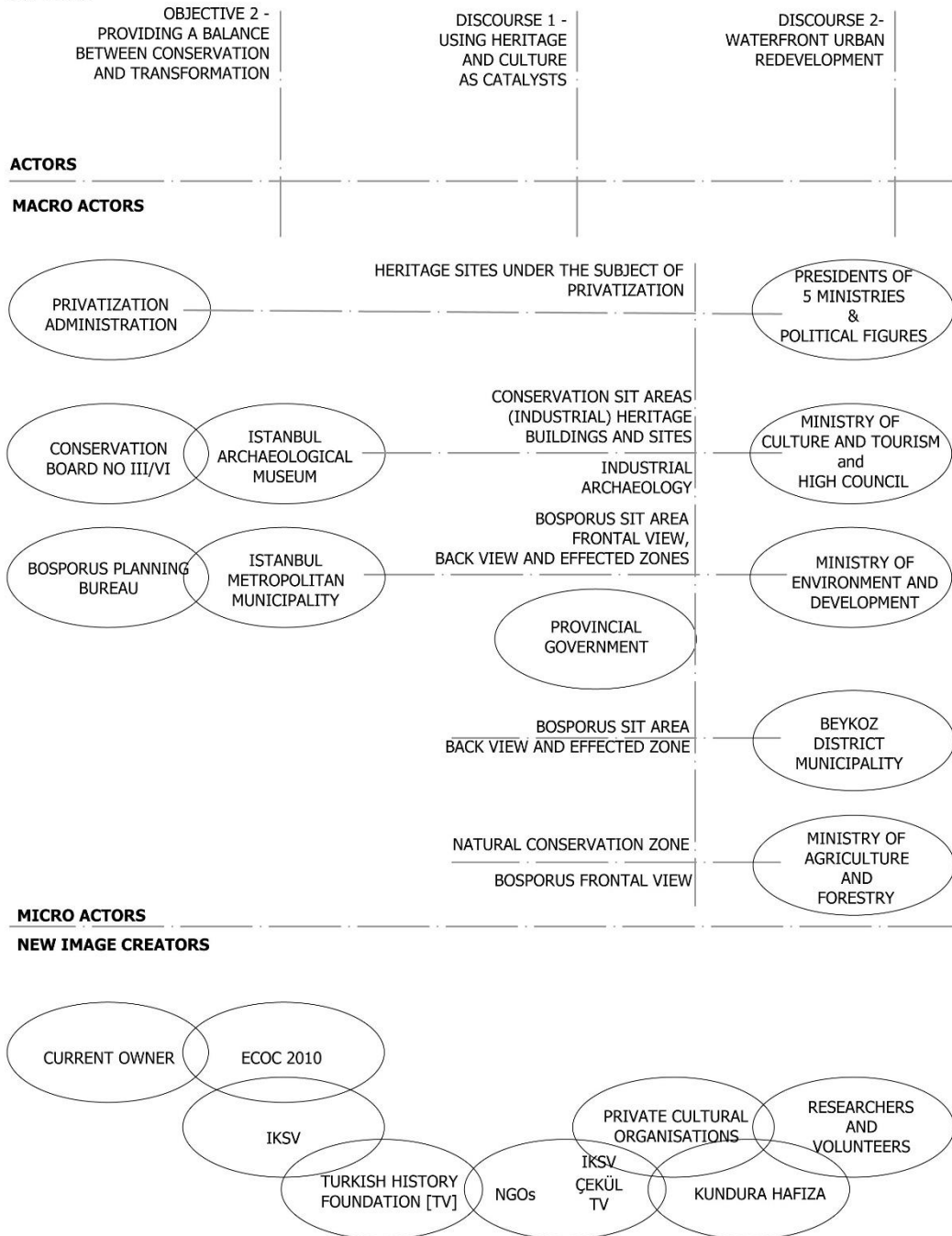


Figure 51: Actors taking part in *ex-post* process, general framework, source; produced by the author.

APPENDIX F - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, EX-POST PHASE II

TRANSFORMATION PROCESS DURING RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS - EXHIBITION FOR INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE- SUMERBANK MEMORY BOX AS NON-PROFIT BASE ACTIVITIES



CARPENTERS' WORKSHOP IS CONVERTED INTO EXHIBITION CENTER DEDICATED FOR THE SUMERBANK INDUSTRIAL CULTURE IN 2021; KUNDURA ARCHIVE



CARPENTERS' WORKSHOP IS CONVERTED INTO EXHIBITION CENTER DEDICATED FOR THE SUMERBANK INDUSTRIAL CULTURE IN 2021; KUNDURA ARCHIVE



INDUSTRIAL MATERIALS EXHIBITED; KUNDURA ARCHIVE



INDUSTRIAL MACHINES EXHIBITED; KUNDURA ARCHIVE



OBJECTS EXHIBITED WHICH REFLECTS THE FORMER INDUSTRIAL LIFE; KUNDURA ARCHIVE

Figure 52: New cultural spaces, source: photos obtained from Kundura Archive.

APPENDIX F - SÜMERBANK INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, EX-POST PHASE II
TRANSFORMATION PROCESS DURING RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS - INDUSTRIAL IMAGE
OF THE SITE VS. NEW IMAGE OF THE SITE

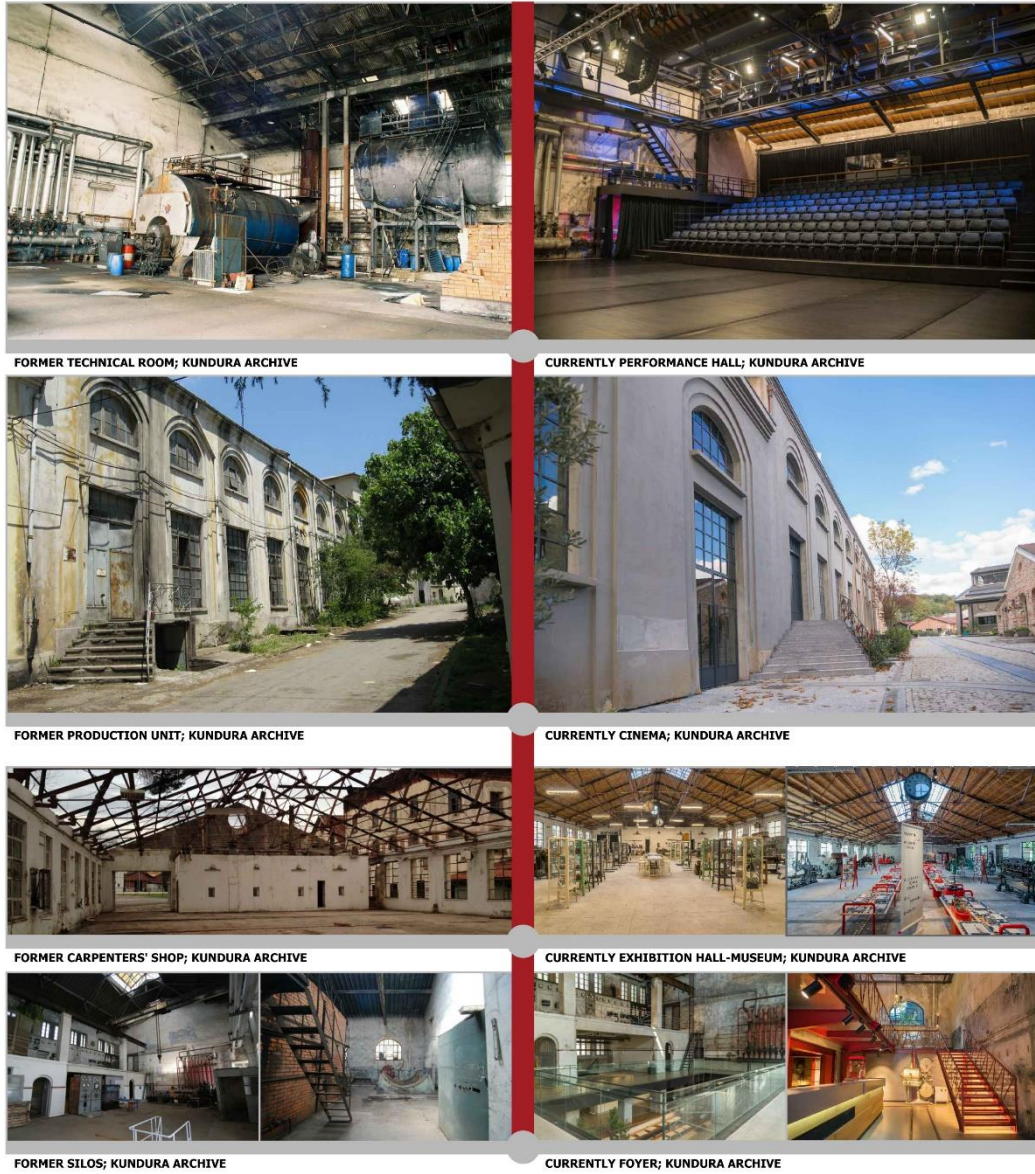


Figure 53: New cultural spaces, source: photos obtained from Kundura Archive.

**PART II – RECONCILING
BOTTOM-UP AND TOP-DOWN
APPROACH, AND ACTOR
ROLES: LEARNING FROM
REAL-WORLD EXPERIENCES**

CHAPTER IV

MULTI-SITED APPROACH FOR FUTURE CHALLENGES: OBSERVATORY REAL-WORLD EXPERIENCES TO RECONCILE

The main drivers of the ‘transformation’ such as privatisation, urban redevelopment, heritagisation and new culture have been traced from the cultural context and from *Beykoz Kundura* in the historical trajectory. In fact, they are the main sources of the ‘flux’ which have spread around the world through different adopted approaches as well as international principles and professional standards, but their interpretations are also diverse depending on the cultural context and the type of project or policy that are operated through different actors. The culture role-played in the transformation of industrial heritage sites in contemporary cities are completely based on the value perception of the actors taking part, legislative and normative frameworks of each cultural context that are defined by differently adopted cultural and urban policies working with diverse expert coordination.

The conservation and successful readaptation of industrial heritage places through new uses only achieved through a comprehensive understanding in multi-dimensional perspective with an adequate valorisation of the heritage place in its cultural context. New uses attributed into the heritage buildings that are no longer used for original purposes due to their time-based characteristics such as industrial heritage sites, are quite important phenomena for urban development and socio-cultural sustainability. At that point, the concept of sustainability comes to the fore for understanding the changes in lifestyle, the fragmentation of landholdings and portioning, but also for understanding the heritage conservation and re-adaptation of heritage sites through their new uses together with their drivers. However, it has been generally studied from the environmental perspective in most of the studies by ignoring the socio-cultural dimension of the issue which is fundamental to go in detail to grasp the contemporary needs. The main intention of this part of the dissertation is focusing on the physical and socio-cultural sustainability of reusing

industrial heritage places through new uses for a long-term future development, but in the meanwhile, it also aims to offer a practical toolkit for the actors taking part in these implementations that might include more sustainable choices or alternative decision contents to be chosen against possible conflicts occurred during the transformation process.

The term of ‘sustainable development’ was defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987 as “*development that meets the need of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*” (WCED, 1987: 43)¹⁴⁰. Even though the social sustainability has been interpreted from different aspects by the scholars, the definition of McKenzie Institute as “*a positive condition within communities and a process within communities that can achieve that condition*” (McKenzie, 2004: 23) is important for this research. Benefiting from this definition which highlights the condition and process as keywords of social sustainability, here in this research, they have been re-interpreted using multi-sited analysis on observatory cases from the micro accounts of the projects according to the problem structuring based on the defined common uncertainty areas. More specifically, it has been re-interpreted to identify the good project outcomes based on the real-world examples which has helped to categorize the decisional areas and decision contents for specific actor (Rasouli and Kumarasuriyar, 2016).

To do this, multi-sited analysis has been conducted to see how those common decision problems are reconfigured through different decisions with divergent consequences. This is a bi-directional challenge, on the one side, these diversities of different decision contents in other real-world experiences are important references to see how to balance between conservation and transformation from the micro accounts of the projects for their micro drivers, on the other side, they are also useful to identify specific decisional areas for better planning sustainable policies or processes with appropriate project outcomes. Understanding how they are customized in different contexts through different successful projects not only helps to better valorisation of the existing projects, but also clarifies and improves the decision-making mechanism through redefinition of the expert roles for specific circumstances.

¹⁴⁰ As cited in Rasouli and Kumarasuriyar, (2016), WCED (Singer-songwriter). (1987). *Our common future*. World commission on environment and development. On: Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York, 383p.
McKenzie, S. (2004). *Social sustainability: towards some definitions*: Hawke Research Institute, University of South Australia Magill.

Within this regard, the methodology proposal for this chapter starts with problem structuring through definition of uncertainty areas which are categorized for reformulating the common decision problems using Strategic Choice Approach as a supportive tool according to the cognitive maps produced in the previous chapter. Problem structuring and categorizing them in sub-problems via direct questions serve for identification of the criteria to conduct the multi-sited analysis which also represents the primary decisional areas. Then, common social actors of similar transformation projects are given who are categorized as micro actors as image creators, and macro actors as policy makers to select the observatory experiences for multi-sited analysis that are real-world references for decision contents in specific decisional areas.

The idea has been explored within *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei* in German context as privately owned industrial heritage site converted into ‘New Leipzig School of Painting’, and multi-sited investigation has been continued within *Le Grand Paris* of French cultural context focusing on the *Pleyel* area and the *Plain Commune* during planning process of the area’s transformation in a cultural hub as a part of a big scale policy. The selected observatory cases were analysed and evaluated focusing on their *ex-post* phases by briefly mentioning their *ex-ante* stages to understand the related cultural contextual background. The intention in the multi-sited analysis is not to present detailly observatory cases, but rather, it aims to use them as observatory pair cases to produce primary decisional areas which have been mainly operated with various number of conflicts, then, they are filtered to see different decision contents for the identified actors in these decisional areas which aims to inform the future deciders for possible decisions with possible consequences. Based on this preface, *Leipzig BaumwollSpinnerei* and *Beykoz Kundura* has been analysed as pair-example real world projects focusing new life of the heritage sites, on the other hand, *Le Grand Paris* and *Vision2050 Istanbul* have been discussed as pair-policies in top-down context to offer recommendations for macro-scale decisional problems for different deciders. Information regarding to the observatory cases were obtained using the published written sources, including books, thesis, articles, governmental brochures, pamphlets, websites, reports, and any kind of accessible documents about them.

4.1 Presenting Uncertainties, Collective Common Decision Problems and Selection of the Observatory Experiences

Beykoz Kundura shows through its historical trajectory from industrialisation to its reindustrialisation that culture-led urban redevelopment is a crucial

transformation type of heritage sites, particularly for post-industrial landscapes. Referring to the categorisation of urban regeneration projects by Evans (2005), the rigid categorisation to tag the *Beykoz Kundura* project is not aimed within the scope of this research. This is because the project does not show specifically a particular category, instead, it carries each of them partially, which also intersects with the waterfront urban redevelopment and cultural tourism development, as secondary phenomena. These dynamics, which mostly originate from being privately owned but under the subject of public interests, are not only multiplying the new value categories of the post-industrial landscape under investigation, but also increasing the conflicts and complexity due to the plurality of the participating actors.

Within this regard, a multi-sited analysis is conducted via two observatory experiences to realise how possible common decision problems were overcome in different projects and experiences in diverse cultural contexts through different social actors with different decision contents to be chosen. Seeing these diversities in different experiences, for example, to see how the new function and new activities were attributed by producing different types of values and conflicts during the reindustrialisation phase, how micro actors lead the process from the micro accounts of the projects, how these place-making operations might multiply the project impacts on a larger scale, and what the macro actors can do for cultural and urban redevelopment as policy makers, will be important references for future challenges to inform each expert for the upcoming implementations. Accordingly, the multi-sited analysis seeks to answer the questions of what might be learned from *Beykoz Kundura* as one of the rare bottom-up transformation projects evolved in an organic way, step by step within a contested context such as Turkey and what might be learned from the projects and processes for future challenges.

In this initial stage of the research, SCA¹⁴¹ is used as a supportive methodology for restructuring the decision problems that occurred during the transformation process to define the uncertainties generated in different stages, which might be the common collective problems in the similar projects or similar contexts. SCA as a supportive tool helps to better assess the conflicted areas in the realised projects aiming to point out the complex decision problems and related uncertainties to control or to resolve for better practices. SCA is basically used to support the

¹⁴¹ The Strategic Choice Approach (SCA) was first proposed by Friend and Jessops (1969), and was developed by J. Friend and A. Hickling (1987) as a supportive methodology for complex decision problems. In time, it has been applied in a varied number of studies and projects. It has also been applied in numerous varied number of planning and urban governance problems to solve political and technical issues as a rational foundation for comparison of competing solutions (Lami and Todella, 2019). As cited in Lami and Todella (2019), see, Friend J.K., Hickling, A., 2005, *Planning Under Pressure: the Strategic Choice Approach* (3rd edn.), New York, Elsevier.

improvement of the existing transformation process of privately owned industrial heritage sites in this research, which is a methodological tool to define the main uncertainty areas in similar complex projects. This methodological step is necessary for the creation of direct questions to search for their answers in the pair-comparison real-world cases.

Accordingly, the common uncertainties are identified and are restructured in sub-problems in direct questions using SCA, which complements the previous methodological sequential steps, including time-relational retrospective analysis, expert reflections, SNA, and CM, conducted in the previous part and chapters. In fact, each methodological step is organised to complement the other ones to arrive at the last step of social multi-criteria analysis for better and comprehensive evaluation of the pair comparisons in the next chapter. SCA mainly represents a supportive tool to shape the main decision problems in sub-problems based on the research objectives; it is a preliminary phase of the policy development studies to improve the existing process dynamics, conflicted and blurred situations (Lami and Todella, 2019).

Following the previously mentioned methodological steps, first, uncertainties in different identified areas are stated in detail using real-world cases within a multi-dimensional perspective. According to this, uncertainties on guiding values, environment and context, and related choices were taken into consideration to grasp the common decision problems of the privately owned industrial heritage transformation process. Uncertainties on guiding values were the blurred points regarding the traditional and contemporary value types of the post-industrial landscapes, which depend on the given cultural context, including decision-making mechanisms, legislative and normative frameworks, actors involved in the projects and many other dynamics. To be more precise, they were categorised as uncertainties with regard to different types of values, these being intrinsic values of the industrial heritage sites associated with their historical trajectory and original function that is 'industrial', and contemporary values of the heritage associated with the new given function via a new defined culture in the contemporaneity. Since the industrial heritage sites are no longer useful for their original purposes, those value-based biases are usually observed as one of the common decision problems in industrial heritage transformation projects in many geographies, clashing with the new formation of culture as cultural industries. This conflictual situation necessitates finding appropriate solutions and negotiations to respond to both value indicators, either traditional ones or contemporary ones, to have better practices that also provide the balance between conservation and readaptation in an integrated

approach, taking into consideration the memory and identity of the industrial heritage place in relation to the contemporaneity.

Uncertainties concerning context and environment is another blurred area as common decision problems to be resolved. They are mostly related to the urban planning and image-making problems, which are also perceived from the macro-scale accounts of the given context through problems of the cultural policies and waterfront urban redevelopment strategies that usually develop into conflicts in public vs. private discourse. The fundamental origins of those uncertainties are mostly associated with the plurality of actors involved, city branding or place branding policies in operations, spatial fragmentations based on these policies that are adopted by the nations in line with their contextual background and actor preferences. They are mostly different types of values that are perceived by different deciders. For the industrial heritage sites, this uncertainty area on context and environment generates conflicts in a varied number of value types, including public and private, previous community and new community, traditional and new culture, or past and present, which generally remain blurred or unsolved for the privately owned industrial heritage sites due to landholding issues and currently defined 'new'. Moreover, they are the foundation of actor-based biases, which are generated particularly by experts as insiders and experts as outsiders due to their different objectives and priorities.

Finally, the last uncertainty area is on related choices, which comprises insufficient expert know-how in the operations, lack of collaboration and communication during the process, unbalanced actor weights and hierarchy. Even though the last category of uncertainties is mostly related to the decision-making mechanism and process dynamics, which usually changes case by case depending on the contexts' administrative and legislative backgrounds, they might be balanced from the micro accounts of the projects led by the micro actors through numerous decision contents as alternatives. Accordingly, these identified common decision problems require a deep exploration both from the micro projects' accounts and macro contexts, considering each category of actors and their roles during the process.

To begin with, the first primary preoccupation, which is related to the discourse of conservation vs. transformation, which seeks alternatives for how to bridge the traditional and contemporary values of the heritage place by providing the sustainability from the micro and macro accounts of the projects, was enriched by sequential concerns following these 'What' questions.

- What would be the best new function for privately owned heritage sites considering past, present and future?

- What would be the target users in the new life of the heritage sites to provide a balance in social accessibility of the heritage site considering the previous and contemporary communities?
- What would be the appropriate decisions via the new culture to find negotiation between public and private value conflicts by means of new users?
- What would be the appropriate solutions via the new culture to balance public and private conflict by means of ownership status?
- What would be the appropriate strategy for the new use to solve the problem of ‘admission fee’ for public accessibility?
- What would be the appropriate approach to material culture of the industrial heritage to provide conservation?

Regarding the second objective, which seeks to answer how to use culture and heritage as a catalyst for urban planning and waterfront development, it was also re-evaluated under different sub-factors based on ‘How’ statements that concern both macro and micro actors.

- How to provide an appropriate solution for legal provisions?
- How to overcome ethically the formality provisions in the legislations in favour of the heritage conservation?
- How to multiply the micro impacts of the project in the larger scale using new functions?
- How to legitimise the new function to prevent unrealistic criticism?
- How to promote the new culture providing transparency?
- How to provide state support for privately owned heritage sites?
- How to communicate and how to be transparent for image promotion?
- How to be active in decision-making despite the hierarchy and dominance problems of the system?

Finally, the last objective which focuses on uncertainties related to choices was restructured under actor-based sub-problems. This group of questions is used for identification of the common social actors with a key role in those common decision problems.

- Who would intervene in the case of unfair criticism and unclear shared information, and to what extent?
- Who would intervene if there is no state support, and to what extent?

- Who would intervene to balance value-based conflicts in the definition of the new, and to what extent?
- Who would intervene in the case of insufficient expert know-how, and to what extent?
- Who would intervene to provide collaboration and communication between participating actors, and to what extent?
- Who would intervene in the case of actor-based conflicts between two different authority agencies as opponents, and to what extent?
- Who would intervene in the case of vicious cycles and suspensions occurring in the macro scale due to contextual problems, and to what extent?

These identified direct questions in the problem structuring phase are applied in *Beykoz Kundura* and *Leipzig Spinnerei* to better evaluate them as different successful scenarios as to how to choose a new function from the micro accounts of the projects for the identified micro actors. And, they are filtered in Vision 2050 Istanbul and Le Grand Paris to create a set of decision contents for macro actors to redefine their roles in a process for specific circumstances. *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei* is a former industrial complex in the *Plagwitz* district of Leipzig in East Germany. Leipzig is one of the biggest and most important cities within the region of Saxony. The city was developed based on the textile industry and gained its peak in the 19th century in the industrialisation process, and was one of the fastest growing cities in Europe in population (Power and Herden, 2016). After the termination of the industrial activity in the 1990s, the industrial site passed through various transformations and currently is known as the ‘New Leipzig School of Painting’, nominated as ‘from cotton to culture’ (Chilingaryan, 2014).

The ‘New Leipzig School of Painting’ was chosen as an observatory pair-comparison case according to some reasons that were set up based on the particularities of *Beykoz Kundura* in Istanbul in relation to how micro actors led the transformation from the micro accounts of the projects. Firstly, both realised examples, *Beykoz Kundura* and the New Leipzig School of Painting, show appreciation by means of their continuities of cultural and economic value, and by means of preserved industrial setting in the contemporary context and even in their new profile led by contemporary culture, which was defined by their private owners. Secondly, they are both transformation examples driven by a ‘step-by-step’ process as a positive approach by means of actors participating collaboratively. Accordingly, *Beykoz Kundura* and *Leipzig Spinnerei* have been taken as two different appropriate scenarios for privately owned industrial heritage

transformation triggered by the ‘new culture’. They represent perfect pair-examples as two different scenarios seeking how to choose a new function in support of industrial heritage and socio-cultural sustainability in the contemporary cities, and who led the process in an organic way through different decision contents.

On the other hand, *Le Grand Paris* is one of the biggest political projects in the French cultural context that draws many similarities with the Turkish culture by means of fragmentation in political territories and the plurality of the actors in any implementations. The project offers a varied number of alternatives to uncertainties on related choices, focusing on macro actor-based conflicts. It was also chosen due to its similarities to current ongoing developments in Istanbul in urban planning through the Vision 2050 project launched by the current mayor of the Istanbul MM in 2020. Since the *Le Grand Paris* project has already experienced undergoing some conflictual phases since 2007, it might be instructive for the Vision 2050 project and for similar top-down structured contexts. Moreover, the city of Paris that is divided into a large number of communes with a vast number of actor involvements in any operations, makes the French cultural context and *Le Grand Paris* as a perfect observatory policy to realise these diversities in the decision contents, particularly in authority fragmentation within a centralised context. This observatory policy in this research offers alternatives to develop relationships between scales and fragmented authorities, which might be used for possible conflicts and contradictions in other similar centralised contexts.

4.2 *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei*: A Bottom-up German Model for how to choose new function to Reconcile Contemporaneity and Memory

Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei is a former industrial settlement in the *Plagwitz* district of Leipzig. The industrial heritage site was constructed in 1884 and developed gradually within the axis of ‘industrial’, ‘modern’ and socialist cultures as per the condition of the time until the early 2000s, not only comprising production facilities, but also articulating other social infrastructures in its physical layout, such as kindergarten, recreational and social areas, and worker accommodation. It covers an area of six hectares including 20 separate production buildings alongside its articulated social facilities as a big industrial campus (Chiligaryan, 2014; Power & Herden, 2016).

In 1949, *Spinnerei* became an asset of the State Enterprise, turning into a place where politics were manifested. The site was not only an industrial place hosting those production practices, producing cotton for military use, but also as a stage for

practising politics. Also, the site was one of the important socio-cultural nodes comprising diverse socio-cultural facilities, such as cinema, theatre and social clubs where socio-cultural activities were generated by the workers and their families (Chiligaryan, 2014). The former industrial campus has passed through different periods of transformation that were linked with the German national deindustrialisation process and its direct or indirect consequences.

To better understand the German cultural context for further evaluation, firstly, this deindustrialisation process will be revisited briefly through the historical trajectory of the political structure and socio-cultural conditions of the German context towards the liberal-democratic society and how it has changed from the 1950s onwards. These dynamics are important sources not only to understand the intrinsic values of these former industrial sites and industrial heritage, but also to chart the urban planning and conservation activities that were operated based on cultural dynamics.

After the establishment of the State Chamber and People's Chamber, namely *Volkskammer*, in 1949, VEB – *Volkseigene Betrieb* – 'People's Enterprises' was founded in 1950, which was the main legal form of industrial enterprise in East Germany. It was a very similar institution to Sümerbank in the Turkish context, even though most of the dynamics were different. *Leipzig* and *Spinnerei* have played an important role of VEB culture in the German context, which made Leipzig and the industrial campus the symbol of industrial culture. After the establishment of VEB and its further development in the following years, the 1980s was quite influential within the urban environment of Leipzig through newly constructed accommodations that were a direct consequence of the post-war conditions, fast urbanisation and the socialist approach within the cultural context. In fact, during this period, a large number of prefabricated houses were constructed in the outskirts of Western Leipzig. Following these developments regarding the national industrial development, migration and urbanisation, urban planning and conservation culture also shifted the direction through new prepared master plans focusing on the accommodation problems and conservation of the historical urban environment (Lange, Burdack, Herfert, Thalmann, & Manz, 2007).

In parallel to these, the political atmosphere led by the German Democrat Party permitted the operations to create a 'new' image of Leipzig through new constructed cultural buildings, such as opera houses, theatres, cinemas or universities. The main breaking point caused by the privatisation of artists and cultural activists in the 1980s, was due to the political actors' tendencies, which were developed based on the culture and the term 'cultural' as a top-down political tool to educate the society. Thus, individual artists and cultural organisations started

to manifest themselves within this oppressive political atmosphere, and many artists and cultural organisations were displaced in this period. From the 1990s onwards when the political structure began to change, those displaced artists were re-discovered and later became the main actors of the 'New School of Leipzig' (Lange, Burdack, Herfert, Thalmann, & Manz, 2007).

After this socio-cultural and political transformation process in German culture, including the East-West division and reunification in 1989 as another breaking point in the cultural context, *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei* lost its original function due to the ongoing national deindustrialisation process. In the 1990s, organised planning implementations were generated through enacted laws, which were facilitated via their definitions in the legal documents for unattainable urban operations. These regulations and enacted laws permitted the bypassing of many stages of the official process, which were also driven politically in the given cultural context. Concordantly, these crises and developments and a vast number of declined post-industrial landscapes, urban revitalisation operations in historical urban areas triggered the city of Leipzig towards city branding policies for remaking a new image of the city in the 2000s. The transformation process of Leipzig is emblematic, not only labelling the process as 'catching up with modernisation', but also representing a path-dependent mode of the East German approach (Nuissl, Rink, & Stauer, 2005).

In parallel to this, post-industrial landscapes and sites have become the 'hotspots' for recreating the new image of Leipzig using the new culture as a spur. Thus, post-industrial sites have become the subject of city-branding or place-making operations in favour of changing the previous image of the city from its 'dirty' industrial past. The new cultural transformation of the city was started to evolve towards a creative and knowledge-based city concept by modernising the administrative framework with the cultural and planning policies and regulations. This transformation project was based on new culture as creative industries appeared from the 2000s onwards in the urban environment, which were applied diversely by means of cultural forms varying from media to technology, from art to film sector as alternatives to the industrial culture. This heterogeneity in cultural forms is also reflected in the spatial organisation of the urban environment that was operated by plural actors.

This aforementioned process of the German culture, which was revisited briefly to understand the main cultural context, has drastically influenced the *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei*, and the former industrial complex has become one of the primary actors of this transformation policy and image-recreation. In the 2000s, *Spinnerei* was transferred to the current private owners, even though its

transformation process into a cultural centre was already activated in the early 1990s by hosting diverse artists who were displaced due to political biases in the late 1980s. In these years, empty halls and buildings within the industrial campus were discovered by those artists who were searching for cheap and atelier-suited spaces. This situation regarding the reuse of the former industrial site by those artists in the 1990s was also perceived as heritage since it was also a part of a transformation process of the heritage site and the city of Leipzig. Then, the campus was sold to Heintz & Co., Tilmann Sauer-Morhard, Bertram Schultze and Karsten Schmitz in 2001 and 2002, who later became the main drivers of the site's transformation into an artist's community. The site was converted into the 'New Leipzig School of Painting', labelled as 'from cotton to culture'. Moreover, *Spinnerei*, which means 'crazy ideas' in German, was used as a symbolic bridge between the past and present, which refers to the cultural past of the city (Chiligaryan, 2014).

Accordingly, the new lives of these two sites, the 'New Leipzig School of Painting' and *Spinnerei*, have played a fundamental role in changing the image of Leipzig into a cultural hub by creating a multiplier impact from the larger scale. The Leipzig School does not refer to a teaching model or a school in the primary meaning, instead, it indicates a set of heterogeneous cultural categories and styles that focuses on the painting sector (Lange, Burdack, Herfert, Thalmann, & Manz, 2007). Thus, the artists' community and the culture were considered as the main transformers of the site 'from cotton to culture', which helped to recreate the new image of Leipzig from an industrial city to a creative city (Jacobi, 2014). In fact, the site's transformation has played an important role both for the city of Leipzig and the close environment of the industrial campus in which it is located. *Spinnerei* is in one of the difficult neighbourhoods considering its socio-economic dynamics. Despite the campus' new life based on pure culture within a 'difficult' neighbourhood, *Spinnerei*'s integrated transformation process has resulted in the improvement of the quality in urban life both for the neighbourhood and the city of Leipzig. This mutualist relationship between the project, city and neighbourhood was crucial to gain financial State and EU support for the Halle 14 project in the 2010s.

The new life of *Spinnerei* gained fame in artistic productions and its cultural hub by 2004 through an opening of an exhibition receiving many visitors. Basically, the new life of the site has been organised within the pre-existing buildings of the former industrial site, which are being reused as galleries to be rented by the artists for their cultural productions. To break this mono-approach on solely painting the cultural sector through new planned galleries within the site, other types of cultural

forms have been also articulated into new functions through additional new activities which might benefit other artists or designers, such as architects, dancers, manufacturers and sculptors and other actors of the art community. The enrichment of the new attributed activities has made *Spinnerei* a strong cultural hub by gaining many appreciations of the actors as outsiders. This was achieved through the owners' and other micro actors' efforts that have stimulated the new life of the industrial heritage site. In fact, the cultural and art directors of the site put emphasis on the site's fame as pure culture; thus, ateliers and other rented areas are reserved based on the artists' importance via art academies. Although the dominance given to new functions is based on pure art and related spaces, such as galleries, ateliers and workspaces and related service spaces, some of the larger halls and buildings are reserved for large film-making projects or call centres, which are the new given functions that increase the income from the owner's perspective. By doing this, the rents for the art spaces are kept to a minimum for the artists, which is one of the important personal expectations of the image creators (Jacobi, 2014; <https://www.spinnerei.de/>).

Even though the project has gained many positive thoughts by means of cultural transformation through its fame of *Spinnerei* as a culture factory and cultural hub, it has been also criticised by the outsiders, both outsiders of culture as tenants and outsiders of culture as public, due to the inaccessibility of the place in the initial phase. For instance, other possible visitors outside the art and cultural community criticised the project due to their hesitation to visit the site. This conflict in social accessibility was resolved through the new designed non-commercial hub with the Halle 14 project, which permits access to diverse outsiders without art interests. To use the site for different purposes through culture as a tool, such as exhibitions, biennales, workshop events, or any other type of meetings, is the realised solution to balance this conflict in the user profile. On the other side, the establishment of the *Archiv Massiv* as a museum and exhibition open to the public, which was dedicated to the industrial past of the industrial site through the records, objects and documents, is another positive approach of *Spinnerei*. These two developments through the Halle 14 project and *Archiv Massiv*, value-based conflicts, such as private and public, industrial and new, have been overcome (Chiligaryan, 2014) from the micro account of the project that was led by the micro actors as image creators.

The Halle 14 project is considered one of Europe's largest successful regeneration projects using creative culture as a catalyst for urban development on the larger scale. The project was promoted by the private owner, currently known as '*Spinnerei Company*' and '*Halle 14 e. V.*', which is non-profit organisation and

was the previous user of the building during summer whose aim is to make art and culture more accessible to people through the spirit of the *Spinnerei*'s industrial atmosphere. This NGO represents one of the important intermediators between artists and local communities in the decision-making process from the micro account of the project. Besides, *Halle 14 e. V.* is also a critical actor that succeeded in obtaining state support, which is quite difficult for privately owned assets. The conversion of Halle 14 is supported financially by the European Regional Development Fund on condition of the conversion of the building into a non-commercial hub for art and culture followers or artists for 15 years. Regular exhibitions, art library, the art education programme, namely '*Kreative Spinner*', the scholarship programme *Studio 14* and the *Lounge 14 Discussion* series have been programmed to attribute as new activities in the converted building that has an area of 20,000 m² (<https://www.spinnerei.de/>).

Today's user of the building is still '*Halle 14 e. V.*', and the role of this organisation is fundamental for providing a balance between private and public, or pure art users vs. users with no interest in art production. Also, the newly reserved area as a training room is also an important development that permits the use of the site to outsiders without art interest for pedagogical purpose, such as involving the schools to teach them art as a serious concept. In addition to '*Halle 14 e. V.*', *LIA, Leipzig International Art Programme* is another important NGO whose aim is to create an international network with *Spinnerei* via art, galleries, culture, and other new given activities in the campus. This organisation not only connects with other international cultural organisations to enlarge the new attributed cultural events' network but also works with national public organisations to arrange parallel events in the campus (<https://www.spinnerei.de/>).

In parallel to this, the step-by-step transformation process of *Spinnerei* has gone further through an international art programme linking the contemporary heritage site to others in different cities and countries, which was another positive development that makes the site more accessible even for other national and international users. All these developments were also promoted positively by the mass media introducing the project as a unique cultural hub to the people of Leipzig, which was another part of the site's fame, strengthening its positive image of transformation (Chiligaryan, 2014). The success of the vision and the project lie behind the good cooperation between the micro and macro actors of the process, and the realisation of the project in a step-by-step approach within an integrated redevelopment method together with mutual support.

Along with *Spinnerei*'s success in choosing the new function offering important ideas to the image-creators, the project also gives some important ideas

on city-branding policies in relation to the new life of the site from the macro perspective. Since the contemporary site serves currently for the historical past of Leipzig, a new image has been promoted by the mass media that has created a more transparent atmosphere for the transformation. Furthermore, it has been supported by the State in its infrastructural improvement, which has offered more opportunities to visit to the site by increasing its physical accessibility. In addition, the art and cultural management team of the industrial campus collaborated with other cultural organisations either public or private to expand the socio-cultural network and accessibility of the heritage site. This public support was influential not only for the image promotion of the heritage site, but also for the cultural development of the cities and regions.

All these efforts have turned into a city branding operation for the privately owned heritage site; but meanwhile, the project has also been a spur for the image creation of Leipzig as a creative city. This reciprocal process has been important to obtain public support, which has also multiplied a varied number of positive aspects of the realised project. It has also created an appropriate atmosphere for the image promotion of the project, and mass media and social media were also used as primary tools for promoting this creative or cultural image of Leipzig and, thus, the new image of *Spinnerei*. These actions have played an important role to make not only the city one of the touristic nodes in the world through this fame, but also the project as the centre of this node. Moreover, they have solved a various number of process problems, such as communication, information sharing and collaboration.

These aforementioned developments within the historical trajectory of the transformation process of *Spinnerei* have been led by the current owners, and the process has been strengthened through their collaborations with other organisations or public institutions. Political biases and processual problems depending on the deciders have occurred in each geography in different levels; thus, Germany has also faced actor-based problems associated with the actor path dependency originating from the past, such as the East-West division and unification in 1989, and other changed internal dynamics. Yet, globalisation and neoliberal global influences have affected each geography in different ways, which have constituted the base of the current administrative structure and many legislations in most of the nations.

In fact, even though *Leipzig Spinnerei* is chosen as a pair-comparison project to *Beykoz Kundura*, they represent completely different national contexts with different decider networks. Germany is a federal state with a three-tiered administrative structure comprising the federal government, federal states and municipalities. The cultural and educational policies are mostly decided at state

level. Although the local government practises its actions through self-administration, its authority is limited and restricted by the State, which is the sole authority intervening through legal provisions, standards and financial subsidies. The Federal Building Use ordinance revised in 2017 permits more flexible future land use definitions varying from dwellings, offices, retail and small enterprises to civic activities and others, which also stimulates good adaptive reuse projects through well-defined development plans. Moreover, there are 16 conservation laws separately identified, one for each land, whose definitions are also slightly different according to their regulators. A recently established urban heritage conservation programme is important for the German context, which offers a various number of funds for regeneration and adaptive reuse projects providing good practice guides and expert toolkits, and it invites many social actors into the process (OpenHeritage, 2020).

Culture has been considered a distinct field for urban development by the German states, and each state has been the primary responsible agency to develop cultural policies for each city from the 2000s onwards. The national policy on culture is not constructed based on a generic framework, but rather the states might publish the specific topics for cultural economy and creative industries, which might be a guide for the urban and cultural economy of different regions. And this is quite big bonus for the German context that automatically solves many conflictual situations. However, this lies in the administrative and coordinative ability of the states, which varies based on their political territories and internal structures. Funding is another issue because many other nations, as per OpenHeritage 2020 research, depend on the federal level, state and local level relations based on the project-type approach, such as housing or adaptive reuse or others (OpenHeritage, 2020). All these dynamics show that despite well-identified regulations, norms and standards, good projects with well-functioning decision-making mechanisms are mostly achieved through the collective working of the deciders by actively involving them in the process. What is important to mention about the German cultural context is that their state's cultural policy is more transparent and specific with clear topics, which might be a spur for more appropriate and transparent transformation. For example, there are well-identified macro actors in each level of the decisional system, and the professional conservation authority at state level not only issues and reports the operational stages, but also achieves negotiations, engaging the architects, urban planners and owners in the decisional process. In *Spinnerei*, this was achieved through using one of the defined topics in the cultural policy under the nomination of creative city, which also reflected positively on the collective memory of Leipzig as well as on

the project. The success has been obtained through the active role-play of local and state level deciders and the collective working of micro actors from the micro account of the project, which makes the project one of the good practices.

Accordingly, using the 'New Leipzig School' as a concept, which is one of the important nodes in art and culture in the world, not only influenced the urban economy of Leipzig by making the city a mecca for creating art, but also led the *Spinnerei*'s organic transformation process that makes the project an alternative cultural location to those clustered within the inner-city areas. By doing so, automatically, privately owned industrial heritage sites acquire state support, and this is articulated within the public project chain. These tactical strategies also provide collaboration and participation during the process, offering a more transparent atmosphere. Thus, *Spinnerei* has become a part of the city-branding tool for the local government and state, and the State's cultural policy provided the base in the decisive stage of the new life of the heritage site with reciprocal expectations in favour of the heritage, city and urban economy.

Despite *Spinnerei*'s privileged position in this reciprocal relationship with the city of Leipzig and within the Saxony region, there are still some weaknesses which should be taken into account for the future challenges. For example, Leipzig is generally considered as a 'gateway' for contemporary people of the city, mostly the young generation and students. This might be considered a threat in regard to constantly changing the user profile of the city, creating the sole relationship between artists and economic growth by ignoring the other communities in the city; however, it might turn into an opportunity due to its proximity to other important cities, such as Berlin, Dresden and Chemnitz. The creative city concept as a label is an umbrella concept for many stakeholders, sector policies and academic disciplines, where the success and multiplier effects of a project are always achieved through collaboration and comprehensive policies.

4.3 Le Grand Paris: A top-down French Model for Local Government and Actor Interactions to Reconcile the City and Cultural Redevelopment

The French cultural context represents one of the exemplar laboratories by which to explore similar conflictual situations and a varied number of different actions experienced in those conflicts, which enrich the diversities in the decision contents for macro actors. The main reason behind this similarity was their extremely state-centred operational and cultural policies and politically 'decentralised' governance, which functions in parallel to the centre. The problems

of institutional coordination and non-cooperation between the authority agencies in decision-making are important characteristics for urban planning implementations that usually intersect with the political biases. These particularities make the French culture alternate to the Turkish one, providing an exemplary channel by which to explore the diverse solutions for barriers in similar conditions from the macro perspective.

France is a republic led by a prime minister and is divided into regions, departments, districts or *arrondissements*, cantons and communes. The regions established in 1982 are the responsible authority for implementation of state laws and policies. The inter-communes play a significant role in planning for larger urban areas, and comprise several municipalities depending on these specific large urban areas. The Ministry of Culture is the main responsible agency for conservation decisions, cultural heritage legislations, designations and survey methods, in which there is a national commission comprising a various number of experts to evaluate designations and revisions. Also, there are regional councils structured with regional directorates for the environment, architecture and heritage, in which regional commissions for cultural heritage proceed with the decisions regarding heritage-related projects and designations. At the local level, there are municipalities with elected mayors who are charged with the implementations through their *ad hoc* departments. Within this administrative framework, each implementation or designation regarding heritage and conservation should be authorised by these agencies under the control of the State. Listed buildings can be sold freely, either publicly or privately owned ones, with the consent of these authorities. There are also neighbourhood councils organised by the municipalities, which are created as discussion platforms inviting residents for information sharing, and they are organised every two years to plan and develop neighbourhood projects (OpenHeritage, 2020:87).

The French administrative system is almost similar to the Turkish, which is criticised by the European Commission from different perspectives. First, there are superabundant tiers that generate duplication problems, coordination and confusion of roles in these departments. In addition, even though there are abundant agencies in authority, the implementations and decisions are mainly practised by the primary dominant agency. The most important feature of the French context is the rigid separation of the public and private sectors, which are scheduling their activities without collaboration. There are very few fund and financial opportunities provided by the State to reserve for the privately owned buildings, which are also quite difficult to obtain. Besides, the public sector lacks the proper funds, which causes the destruction of many cultural heritage assets. The main adaptive reuse or

regeneration projects are aggregated on post-industrial sites or public hospitals. And similarly, there are emerged phenomena and new trends, such as the circular economy and creative culture; nevertheless, heritage policies remain its traditional root (OpenHeritage, 2020:88).

Le Grand Pari is established as the State's regeneration programme based on the key word 'integration', both in the space and social environment. The project aims to connect the socio-spatial dilemmas of Paris, such as urban and rural, centre and periphery, landscape, greenscape and waterscape, public and private, left and right, insider and outsider, and so many other value and actor-based conflicts. The project particularly offers a vast number of different actions for actor-based conflicts but also exposes diverse alternatives for how to define urban redevelopment policies and place branding strategies, which include conservation, transformation, cultural economy, cultural redevelopment and image promotion, collaboration, participation and negotiation.

Le Grand Pari was launched by the former French government of Nicolas Sarkozy in 2007 as a city-branding project where Paris is re-imagined as an urban lab through different projects towards a more integrated, balanced and sustainable metropolis by 2030. It is an important initiative, bringing together the different teams and expert approaches, including architects, urban planners and academics, as well as local institutions and NGOs, introducing the term 'participation' within the French traditional top-down administrative context. Basically, it is one project with many sub-projects to strengthen urban connections by linking the urban and suburban areas through this macro-scale redevelopment policy based on the identified shared vision of the actors. Within the scope of the project, different thematic areas are defined, varying from cultural economy and peri-urban transformation, cultural industries, to housing as well as transportation. Apart from its political intention, it has been programmed and designed to redevelop the peripheries of the city by balancing the urban-rural dynamics within the aim of the redevelopment of these regions, which have struggled through the complex governance mechanism and social segregation within the big metropolis of Paris.

The project has been led by the state by involving the communes and councils as the intermediators of the state in this process, and they have encouraged working in collaboration, even though they have been commissioned to work separately depending on the regions and projects. It has been an opportunity for the communes and regions to perform their authority role by working 'together', adopting the main idea of *Le Grand Pari* as an acceptable shared mission by each agency. It has been an initiative to try collective working in different themes and regions in a multi-level planning system, within those of central and regional ones, by preparing a

participative atmosphere against the French contested political context and extremely centralised coordination (Williams T. , 2015). Besides, individual actors or agencies have been separately encouraged to collaborate with the mayors from different political backgrounds, which has been planned to break the barriers and political bias between them under the main mission of Grand Paris.

In the initial stage of *Le Grand Paris*, regions and areas to be redeveloped were defined according to their needs and social conditions, and were categorised as sub-project areas in different themes. The actors involved in each sub-project were diverse in characteristics depending on the project type as infrastructural, housing or transformation aiming not only at urban development but also socio-cultural integration and heritage conservation. The idea of *Le Grand Paris* was seen as a challenge to apply in the French multi-layered administrative system, which also struggled with the plural political coordination. One of those struggles was the problem of ‘inter-communalities’, which has been intersected with the unequal power of actors as a problem due to the contextual dynamics (Jein, 2021).

Basically, inter-communes are the sole authority comprising a varied number of secondary authorities of which they are responsible different regions depending on the defined confines for the implementations. In fact, there were regional projects in macro-scale divided into different thematic sub-projects, which required a collective working of different communes. However, this collaboration ‘encouragement’ did not work in the initial phases due to the opposing profile of some communes that originated from their political background. To overcome these conflicts and controversies, in 2009, *Paris Métropole* was created as a discussion platform in which all these discordant governmental agencies might be negotiated based on the shared mission of the Grand Paris project aiming to make the city a more balanced metropolis instead of caring about political dynamics (Cycak, 2018).

Besides these positive developments aiming to re-imagine the city of Paris as a whole, rather than separately, a government-funded committee, namely ‘*Atelier International du Grand Paris*’ – AIGP, was established in 2010 to coordinate the large-scale project together with each sub-project during the process as an intermediary agency. It aimed to provide communication between the primary actors of each project, and the committee of this governmental branch was structured comprising different representatives of each relevant governmental agency, which was an appropriate solution for introducing the democratic atmosphere into the decision-making process. Another positive beginning of *Le Grand Paris* was the involvement of different experts, including architects, urban planners, economists and ecologists, to gain their visions and how to link them in a sole project under the shared mission of being a more balanced metropolis. This

was also strategic to prevent the tendencies between experts as insiders and outsiders, which permits deciding and realising participatively in a transparent atmosphere instead of a behind-the-scenes approach. Meanwhile, different academics and research centres were also involved in the process, which were appointed by the Atelier considering their professional specialisation according to the dedicated development themes and related sub-projects. This initiative proceeded aiming to conduct relative studies on each region to prevent the conflicts between the needs of the state, regional demands and existing community characteristics, which was seen as appropriate progress for socio-cultural integration adopting a more human-based approach rather than the profit-oriented economical ones (Williams T. , 2015; VINCI, 2018).

While these introduced approaches were demonstrating positive development in participatory planning, some sub-projects passed through conflicted processes caused by the ministries as their macro drivers, which were the responsible authorities of those projects. In fact, the first conflict was derived from these ministries that had traditionally clashed, and this condition caused the project's suspension and cancellations. What happened during this conflictual situation was a quite compatible solution. Basically, an official committee, the AIGP, as an intermediary between the main actors, intervened in the ongoing conflicted and suspended projects, organising a roundtable meeting for those ministries as 'opponents' and other responsible actors to listen to and understand each other. It was an appropriate alternative solution to those actor-based dilemmas that might provide the balance, collaboration and negotiation among them to facilitate the redevelopment of the regions and realisation of those projects. While this conflictual situation was solved punctually by the AIGP, there were also failures in some sub-projects, which have been in suspension for a long time due to the complexity of the theme, such as housing¹⁴² that requires bigger financial support (Williams T. , 2015).

On the other side, culture-centred redevelopment was considered one of the primary themes of *Le Grand Pari*, which was seen as a catalyst to achieve other targets of the main project. Cultural economy is a contemporary term taking its origin from the prominent French scholars, which also made the French cultural context an appropriate laboratory searching for those diversities of decision contents for specific circumstances. Contemporary culture in Paris has evolved in

¹⁴² Although the projects in the housing theme were proceeded and completed individually in the design process, they were still not implemented in real life. The time-based problem of the housing issue is also linked to the economic barriers, which require State intervention exceeding the limit of the AIGP as an intermediary (Williams T. , 2015).

the axis based on clothing, fine leather crafts, books and magazines, fashion and design, perfumes and cosmetics, film production and music recording, theatre, cinema, multi-media and so many other newly defined alternative contemporary cultural forms. The city itself offers a large quantity of mixed-cultural sectors (Scott, 2000). that have been also applied in a varied number of projects within the scope of *Le Grand Pari* as a tool for urban redevelopment.

To begin with the ‘cultural economy’ in the French cultural context, it has been associated historically with the industrial-cultural productions that had occurred within the former industrial sites in the 19th century, such as silk from Lyon, lace from Calai and carpets from Aubusson. Paris obviously, like Istanbul, has not been considered as one of the industrial hubs in French culture due to the glorious past of the city with a vast number of intrinsic characteristics in addition to its industrial importance. Contrary to its industrial historical path, the city has become one of the contemporary cultural centres in the world through the new formations of the industrial culture in the contemporaneity based on fashion and design, which have also been nominated as cultural industries in the literature and which were firstly derived from the French context (Scott, 2000).

Nowadays, culture is seen as a tool for the enforcement of the living environment, which is a catalyst to trigger the local tourism development, offering many challenges for tourist attractions. It is also one of the important elements in policies and city branding operations to reshape the image of the contemporary cities that enhance the national economy by its diverse consequences. As an example of this cultural economy policy within the scope of *Le Grand Pari*, north of Paris, *Plaine Commune* has been declared a cultural development hub using those new types of cultural industries for the further development of the region. Basically, *Plaine Commune* is an inter-municipal government comprising nine suburban towns in north Paris adopting an entrepreneurial approach in the administrative schema due to its internal structure. The interesting point in this region regarding the research preoccupations is that, despite its completely different dynamics in comparison to the Beykoz district, the process offers a varied number of alternatives for local governments on how to benefit from one of the state projects for the regions’ redevelopment. It also shows possible options for how to play an active role for the secondary macro actors in a top-down structured context.

For example, *Le Grand Pari* metro project shows this experience which has influenced the process of cultural transformation and urban redevelopment of the project area that multiplied the positive impacts in diverse perspective by enhancing the infrastructural problems of the city. In fact, the project has created a kind of indirect impact on the *Pleyel* zone through its label as a cultural hub via creative

culture and the film industry, which has been considered as a tool of redevelopment for the region by the region's responsible commune that adopted a culture-centre planning policy for future development. The fame of the film industry was not new for this region due to the area's historical link to this cultural branch dating back to the 20th century. The first attempt at film culture occurred in the early 1980s through a former industrial site *Entrepôts et magasins généraux de Paris*, which was converted into film-making studios due to the spatial characteristics offered by this post-industrial landscape. Following this cultural development policy direction, the commune has organised various events based on the identified new culture, which were also promoted by the mass media to reach more people as an important action for the region's economy.

Concordantly, the transformation process of other post-industrial sites within the Pleyel area has also been influenced positively through these efforts, which have also indirectly obtained responsible local government support. These efforts by the commune, such as organised cultural events, have also become a platform for the actors of privately owned heritage sites for image promotion. While Le Grand Paris metro project strengthens this cultural redevelopment policy not only by improving the infrastructural problems of the zone by connecting the area to other parts of the city, but also by rebranding the zone in creative industries, on the other hand, these transformed sites in creative culture were used to promote the ongoing state's project in a mutual relation. For example, the pamphlets and brochures regarding the state project included the transformed areas and projects, which created a more transparent and collaborative atmosphere in the urban and culture development policies. It was a random example to see how to obtain local government support.

One of the important gaps of French planning legislation is exclusion to indicate the specific land use in the master plan, like many other countries, which permits only the main themes for future development for the defined areas such as tourism development or the area to be protected. It means that if the area is designated as a tourism development zone, the policy for its future uses remains in the hands of the local governments or the primary deciders as policy makers in the macro account depending on their preferences. Correspondingly, it reverts to being a barrier to more holistic and comprehensive policy planning from the urban scale such as planning the cluster areas (Aubry, Blein, & Vivent, 2015). However, all these initiatives show the importance of the local governments' active role in the decision-making that might lead the process both in macro and micro scales. It might shift the process indirectly to a bottom-up context despite the legal barriers. The area shows that all those initiatives, either directly or indirectly generated, have resulted in the transformation of the area to a cultural hub by generating a creative

cultural cluster nearby the surroundings. The process not only shows the importance of the local governments' role, but also gives some ideas on how to acquire state support by using a spur from the public policies or projects. By doing this, the participation, collaboration and transparency are also provided from the macro perspective.

The success of the cultural cluster in the Pleyel area was achieved through local governmental support and horizontal actor cooperation. Artist cooperation in the transformation process was also a spur to success in this peri-urban redevelopment, providing the socio-cultural integration via cultural policy. This 'step-by-step' process in urban planning, engaging different actors within a more democratic decision-making, is a unique solution to achieve better balanced cities, and it provides socio-culturally developed regions with better implementations by decreasing the quantity of the failures and negative impacts. Following this, in 2016, *Le Métropole du Grand Paris* was established as the governmental authority of the project comprising all related communes, including diverse political members, which permits working together based on a shared 'metropolitan interest' in different decisional areas, including urban development, conservation of historical environment and cultural development as well as circular economy, through newly created economic clusters, considering the future sustainability. Moreover, recently introduced developments such as 'Perspectives on 2020 and Beyond' for a more sustainable and intelligent Paris, and other established platforms titled 'open and connected city', are the other positive steps for providing sustainable solutions (Cycak, 2018).

The 'reindustrialisation of Paris' is another important platform of *Le Grand Pari*, which aims to understand the future formations of industrial culture or, in other words, creative industries, towards a more participative process. Finally, 'open government partnership' is also an important initiative in the participatory decision-making process, which has been created to involve the people of Paris in the process as an actor. Regarding citizen participation, diverse mobile applications have been generated not only to see the citizens' views on public places and their suggestions in master plans and for urban policies, but also to grasp their expectations and future imaginations for urban environment (Cycak, 2018). All these innovations for more democratic and transparent processes have been promoted by the state via mass and social media, using billboards within each district to inform the citizens and inhabitants about what is going on.

4.4 Presenting the Possible Social Actors of the Transformation that lead the Process

Plurality of actors in plural decisional areas is one of the fundamental characteristics of urban transformation projects causing the complexity and varied number of uncertainties during the process as discussed in this chapter. In the global world, incoordination between different agencies, increasing level of institutional fragmentation, political and actor-based biases create varied number of risks and uncertainties in the operational phases of the implementations. Usually, these ill-structured problems make difficult to take a decision due to their links with macro-negative aspects of the top-down cultural contexts. The decisional process of public policies usually works with multi-deciders with various number of objectives and expectations, and their complex interaction pattern which are unique for each, defines the network characteristics of the process. Although this complexity strictly depends on the given context varying from case, each experience shows exemplar by offering different decision contents for the actors involved in future implementations (Dente, 2014).

The act of deciding is also a process, and it indicates the act of will, existence of alternatives with different contents based on the objectives of the deciders. However, it is usually not easy to decide particularly for the public sphere, since there are many deciders with varied number of personal goals and decision consequences (Dente, 2014). Besides, their connection or disconnection of those deciders which constitutes the actor network of those operations make more complex the act of deciding. The decisions regarding to the transformation of privately owned industrial heritage sites are those complex ones with varied number of deciders, since they are privately owned but under the subject of public use and public redevelopment conditions. Thus, the alternatives of any proposed decisions should include their consequences by indicating the goals to be achieved which should provide the consensus based on the actors' preferences that are varied in number with different objectives. Those set of decisions are fundamental sources for resolution of a collective problems which have been already experienced and resolved in varied ways in different contexts and projects. For doing this, identification of the actors taking part in privately owned industrial heritage transformation is fundamental to understand who are the real 'deciders' within this process, since there are also interested ones without any act, or the active and passive ones due to problematic centralized decision-making system.

In fact, this is the main reason behind this nomination of experts as 'insiders' and experts as outsiders in the *ex-post* phase analysis which seeks to differentiate

actors' roles, their positions, and goals. Former ones have active role through their acts based on process-related goals, thus they are the real deciders, while on the other hand, the others are the interested ones who do not decide but criticize or support the projects or decisions through their reflections based on objective final product goals. In addition to this, insider ones are also varied, while there are macro actors comprised of primary and secondary ones having unequal position depending on their active or passive role who make the project or policy in the macro scale, while on the other hand, there are also micro actors who stimulate the process positively in favour of conservation and redevelopment from the micro-accounts of the projects.

Multi-sited analysis is proposed for this aim to see the alternative decision contents within those best practices from an objective point of view, and it searches for appropriate decision contents for the real deciders by giving some recommendations for the interested ones to have better practices in the future implementations. According to this, given appropriate new function based on new defined culture with acceptable physical change on the industrial heritage sites is one of the important decision criteria which might provide the balance between conservation and transformation by consensual solutions for value-based conflicts such as private vs. public, temporary vs. contemporary, traditional vs. contemporary, previous community vs. contemporary users, industrial culture vs. new culture, city centre vs. periphery. The first decisional criterion searches for alternatives from the micro project accounts for the possible active micro actors who might led the process. To do this, five themes are identified as sub-decisional areas to choose new function to facilitate the categorization of the decisional choices for the objective expected goals to be achieved from the realized projects. Cultural quality and accessibility, social accessibility, physical accessibility, long-term sustainability of the new function and macro scale impacts have been selected as the main themes of those sub-decisional areas.

Then the second criterion follows this which seeks alternative decision contents for how to promote the culture and creativity in relation to urban and cultural redevelopment policies that concerns both micro and macro actors' attention. The last criterion concerns how to improve decision-making system to provide participative and collaborative atmosphere to have better practices. It focuses on the macro accounts of the contexts, and searches for alternative decision contents particularly for macro scale processual problems. To do this, primary processual problems have been sub-categorized to better organize the decisional contents. They are participation, communication, collaboration, information sharing and transparency which are expected process indicators for better implementations.

Based on this preface, to better structure the multi-criteria evaluation process in the next chapter, actors taking part in privately owned industrial heritage transformation projects are categorized in two main headings based on identified criteria. While micro actors as image creators are considered as main responsible active actors to choose new function and new defined culture to provide a balance between conservation and transformation, while on the other hand, they might be the key agencies who led the process in step-by-step approach. In addition to the micro actors, there is macro actors as policy or project makers who are the main responsible active or passive actors in cultural and urban redevelopment as key agencies to provide those pre-identified process indicators by supporting the projects. Doing this categorization has two main objectives, the first one concerns heritage and culture, or creative culture role-play in socio-economic and cultural redevelopment and who should lead this process and how, and the second one is related to public policy improvement in urban and cultural redevelopment focusing on the heritage and culture as catalysts, who should lead this process and how.

This investigation is fundamental to see how to create collaborative atmosphere in decision-making with more connected relationship between micro and macro actors which is the most convenient way to have better practices. In fact, when governments are unable to resolve vicious circles and conflicted situations such as formality regulations and provisions, private and micro actors should position themselves as intermediators for providing an alternative solution, more flexible and efficient but nonbureaucratic ones. According to the recently published reports of UN, private or micro actors are defined as strategic agents in comparison to public formal actors who might fill the gap within the decision-making system and policy development by providing more democratic process through a wider set of actors, and through their connections to other local actors. They become the key players to achieve more collaborative and participative decision-making by providing negotiations between state and social actors. A specific feature of their position in the decision-making system requires sensitive attention to share the information about the project and process, since they are intermediators between the state and the society (Eskandapour & Wennmann, 2011).

Based on these potential roles of the private or micro actors in decision-making system which might bring socio-cultural and sustainable urban redevelopment and better planned policies, the first phase of the multi-sited analysis aims to obtain possible decisional contents for micro actors based on the projects of *Beykoz Kundura* and *Leipzig Spinnerei*. Even though these two projects are completely different from varied aspects including cultural and contextual differences, they are also perfect to create a set of decision content for the micro actors to improve the

transformation process of similar projects. This step is not only important for heritage conservation and transformation based on the contemporary needs, but also critical for contemporary cultural development from the bigger scale and for improvement of the policy planning.

Table 1: Identification of the Micro Actors and Their Objectives

Micro Actors	Objectives
1-Private Owners	-Choosing new function that bring economic income
2-Directors of art and culture	-Preparation of cultural program that meets owners' objectives and state's cultural policy direction.
3-Architecture and urban planning chambers	-Negotiation between experts as insiders and experts as outsiders
4-Cultural foundations	-Planning Local Cultural Program -Promoting socio-cultural redevelopment for public benefits -Negotiation between local authority and owners to have State support -Providing convenient shared information atmosphere to possible users
5-NGOs	-Supporting the socio-cultural redevelopment -Being Intermediators between local authority, other micro actors, and society -Providing convenient shared information atmosphere to possible users
6-Independent researchers and experts	-Supporting industrial heritage value -Supporting new cultural programme

Accordingly, micro actors who might lead the process from the micro accounts of projects are presented with their objectives from the process and projects as seen from the Table 1. The first one is private owners who are the key actors as one of the real deciders to choose new function mainly based on personal financial expectations. They have fundamental role in the decision-making process since their personal preferences guide the new life of the heritage sites. In addition to this, their decisions and acts are fundamental for involvement of the other micro actors.

Art and Cultural sector developers or directors come later who are the strategic experts in the process defining and managing the new cultural activities and events to be attributed into the new life of the sites that might change varied number of value-based dynamics of the projects' result. They are crucial active actors working in parallel to the owners' objectives by preparing each attributed activity within the new life of the sites according to the contemporary cultural needs. Their role is critical for socio-cultural sustainability and resolution of the value-based conflicts, and they should be strategic since their decisions shape the user profile of these sites that is important factor influencing the project result in social accessibility.

Architecture and Urban planning Chambers are also important actor groups, they are not the real deciders in the process, but rather, they play intermediary role between expert as insiders and experts as outsiders in finding negotiation between these two opposite parts. Their role is critical mainly during the planning phase in sharing information about the projects which might prevent the behind-the-scenes approach. Cultural Foundations including private and public ones and NGOs follow the chambers who are the intermediators between experts and society in negotiation and legitimization of the given new life. While NGOs play key role in sharing information about new given cultural programme for public benefits, while on the other hand, Cultural Organisations are intermediators on shared information about the new given cultural programme for the users with art interest. Finally, independent researchers and volunteers are also key actors promoting the importance of heritage and culture which might promote the realized projects in the academic platform.

There is a clear distinction between actors as policy makers and actors as image creators in this research. While the previously presented micro actors are important as intermediary between society and actors as interested ones, while on the other hand, macro actors as seen on the Table 2 are responsible in conservation, urban planning, cultural policy, and urban development with more power in the act of deciding. They are mainly governmental institutions with varied number of branches playing at the first stage of secondary position in the decision-making process, and they also have different objectives during the process. Such an understanding from the perspectives of plural actors is not only important per se, but also important for grasping the macro-level planning system and cultural context and micro-level experiences in the projects (Cohen , Browne-Hoshino, & Leung, 2007).

Table 2: Identification of Macro Actors and Their Objectives

Macro Actors	Objectives
1-Political Figures -Cabinet Ministers -City Governors -Mayors	-Political preferences to obtain trust
2-State Administration -Ministry of Culture and Tourism -Ministry of Housing and - Environment -Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry -Privatization Administration	-To control the process based on legal documents
3-Local Administration -Provincial Governments -Metropolitan Municipalities -District Municipalities	-To Coordinate the projects based on the spatial authority fragmentation
4-Ad-hoc Agencies for Conservation -Ad-hoc Agencies for Conservation of immovable cultural assets -Ad-hoc Agencies for conservation of natural assets	-To coordinate the projects according to their conservation status in the legal documents
5-Ad-hoc Agencies for Culture and Tourism -Ad-hoc Agencies for cultural redevelopment	-To develop a cultural policy for the areas reclaimed as tourism development area
6-Ad-hoc Agencies for Planning Implementations -Ad-hoc Agencies for specific area	-To Coordinate the projects according to the identified specific area

Accordingly macro actors are identified as project or policy makers who might drive the process from the macro account of the context. These actors and their roles are fundamental for urban and cultural policy planning that might enhance the micro accounts of the project and implementations by providing collaboration, coordination, transparency, and participation, or vice versa, their actions might block the process with conflicts and barriers. They are identified as under the title of political figures, state administration and local administration. Political figures are filtered as cabinet ministers, city governors and mayors whose objectives are

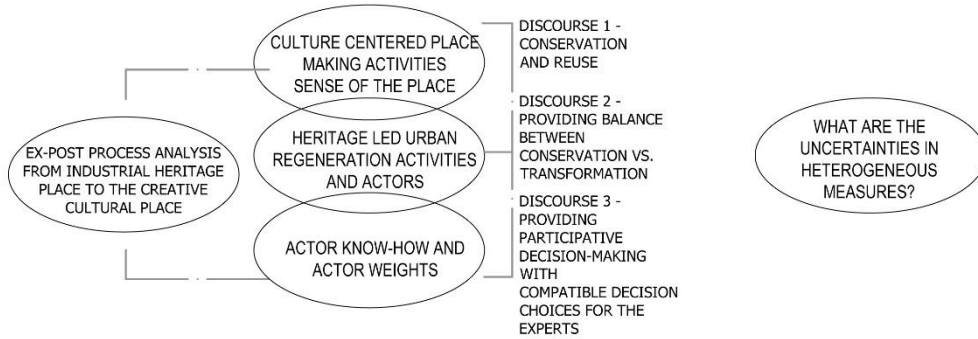
based on political preferences to obtain the trust. Thus, they are the key figures who can launch big projects and policies for those objectives.

Then, state administration comes that comprises of different responsible ministries including Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Ministry of Housing and Environment, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and Privatization Administration. They have dominant role to control the projects and implementations based on the legal documents, and they might revise and introduce necessary regulative acts. Following this, local government comes which comprises of provincial governments, metropolitan municipalities, and district municipalities. They are key actors who coordinate the projects and implementations based on spatial fragmentation identified within the legal documents. They might have *ad-hoc* agencies based on the project types depending on conservation, planning or privatization which give them to authority in specific circumstances. These *ad-hoc* agencies are generally categorized as authorities responsible for conservation, urban planning implementations, cultural and tourism redevelopment objectives, or authorities responsible for a specific identified area.

Appendix G- Observatory Cases, Problem Structuring and Critical Evaluation

APPENDIX G - PROBLEM STRUCTURING

OBJECTIVES AND DISCOURSES



UNCERTAINTIES OF PRIVATELY OWNED INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE TRANSFORMATION - GENERAL THEMES

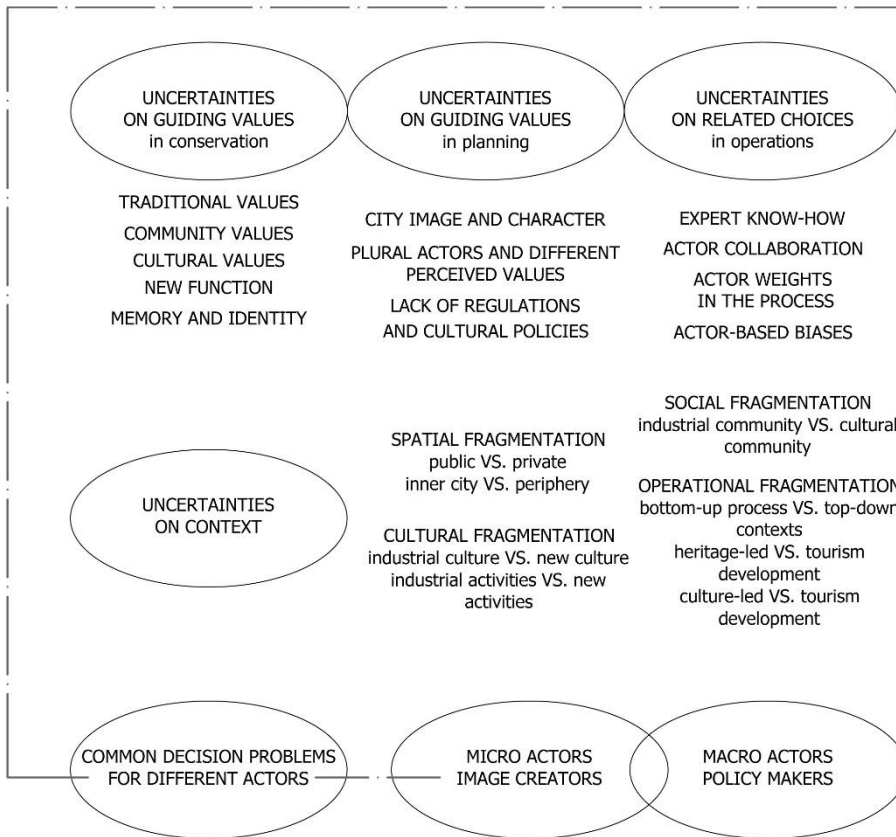
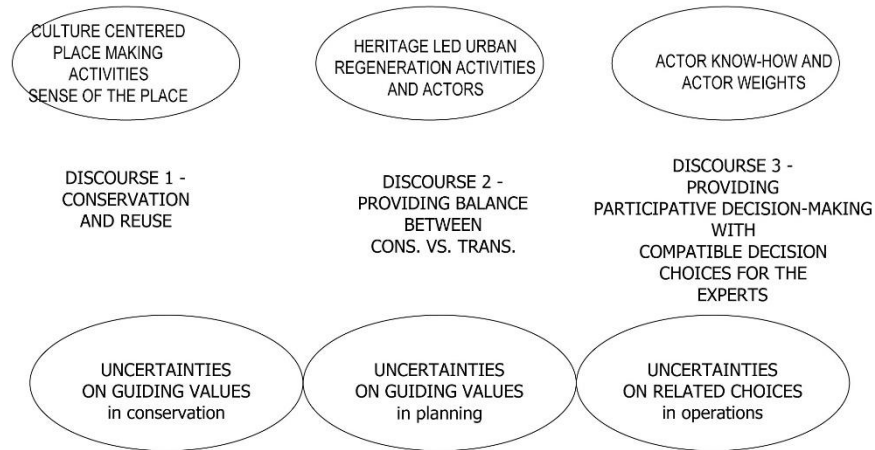


Figure 54: Problem Structuring, source: Author.

APPENDIX G - PROBLEM STRUCTURING

SUB-PROBLEMS BASED ON UNCERTAINTIES



- How would the best new function be chosen in compliance with the past, present and future?
Community values
- How to provide an acceptable public value for privately owned heritage places through new attributed activities?
Public values
- Is the 'admission fee' necessary for whole industrial campus? How to solve this problem through new attributed function? Public and community values/
non-profit activities
- How to tackle with the material culture of industrial heritage?
Indigenous value/
- How to provide a multiplier impact in the larger scale using new functions?
- Which cultural policy is the best option for heritage site during place-making to have a multiplier impact?
- How to provide state support for new life of privately owned heritage sites?
- How to promote the new image for preventing the fake speculations and criticism?
- How to communicate and to be transparent for image promotion?
- How and who would intervene in case of insufficient expert know-how, and to what extend?
- Which way would be followed for providing the collaboration and communication between actors taking part?
- Which way would be followed for providing the participation between actors taking part?
- How and who would intervene in case of actor conflicts between two different authority agencies?
- In which way would be overcome the legislative contradictions?

Figure 55: Identified Sub-problems based on uncertainties, source: Author.

APPENDIX G - PRIMARY CASE: BEYKOZ KUNDURA AND NEW LIFE

LESSONS LEARNED FROM PROJECT ACCOUNT - EX-POST PHASE 1 - PRIVATIZATION



LESSONS LEARNED FROM PRIVATIZATION AND HERITAGIZATION PROCESS

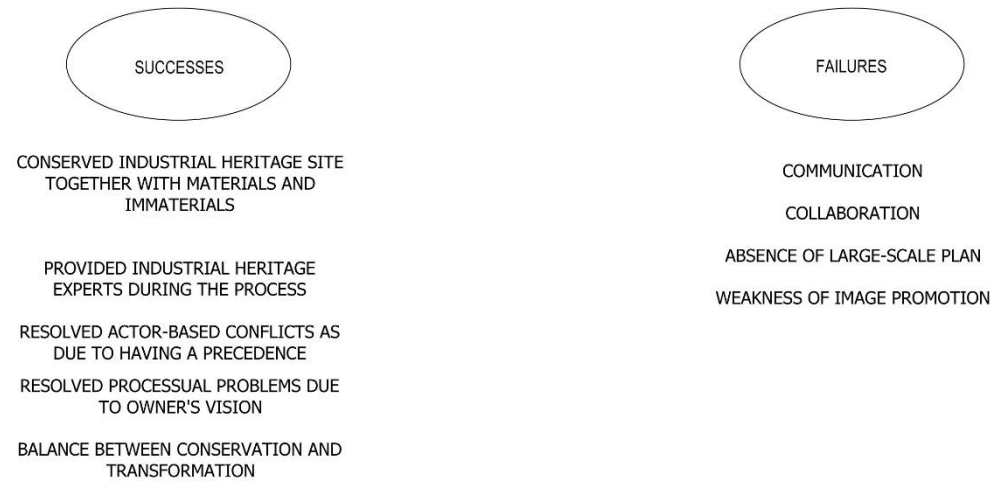
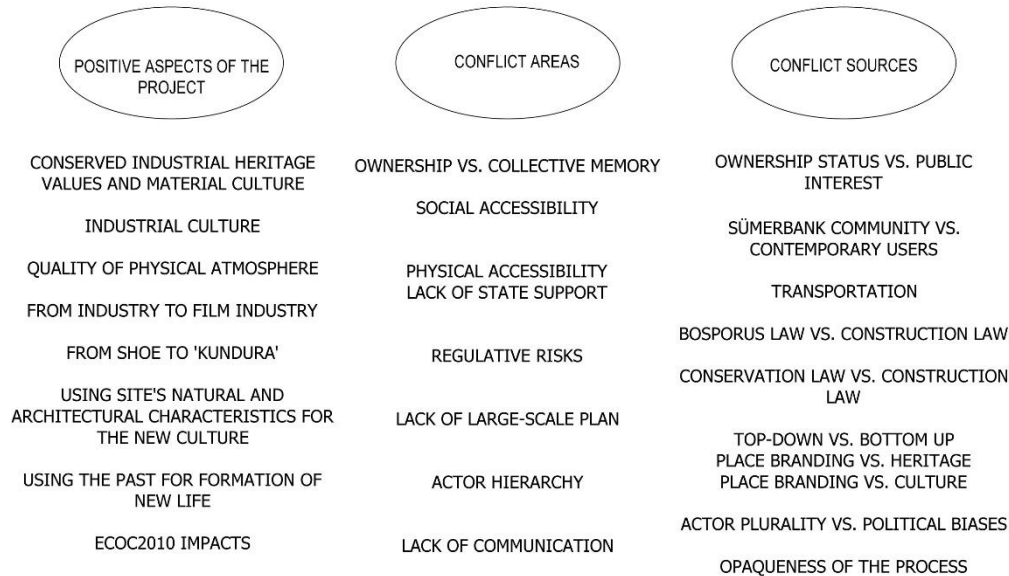


Figure 56: Lessons learned from *Beykoz Kundura* during the privatization phase, source: Author.

APPENDIX G - PRIMARY CASE: BEYKOZ KUNDURA AND NEW LIFE

LESSONS LEARNED FROM PROJECT ACCOUNT - EX-POST PHASE 2 - RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION



LESSONS LEARNED FROM RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS

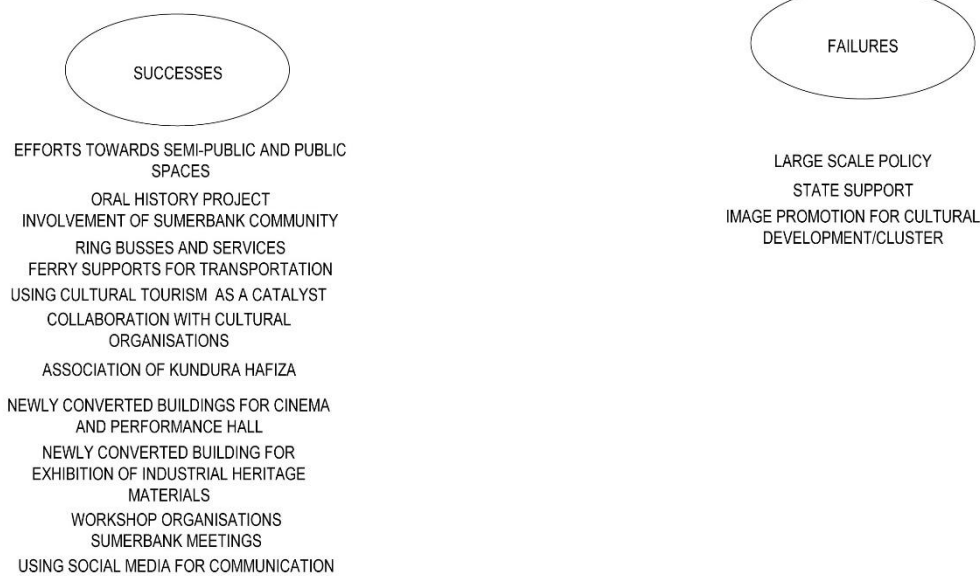
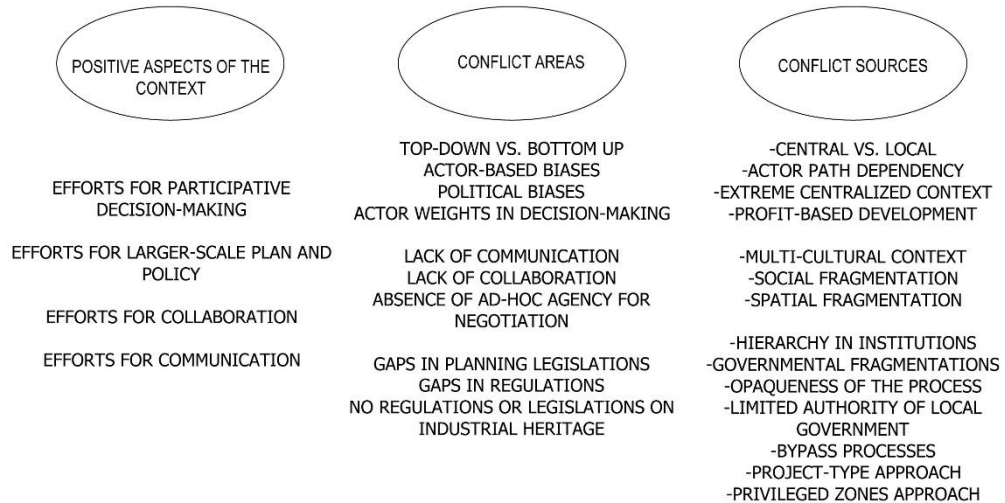


Figure 57: Lessons learned from *Beykoz Kundura* during the re-industrialization phase, source: Author.

APPENDIX G - CURRENT DEVELOPMENT IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND IMPLEMENTATIONS

LESSONS LEARNED FROM VISION2050, ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY



LESSONS LEARNED FROM TURKISH CONTEXT, BOSPORUS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT

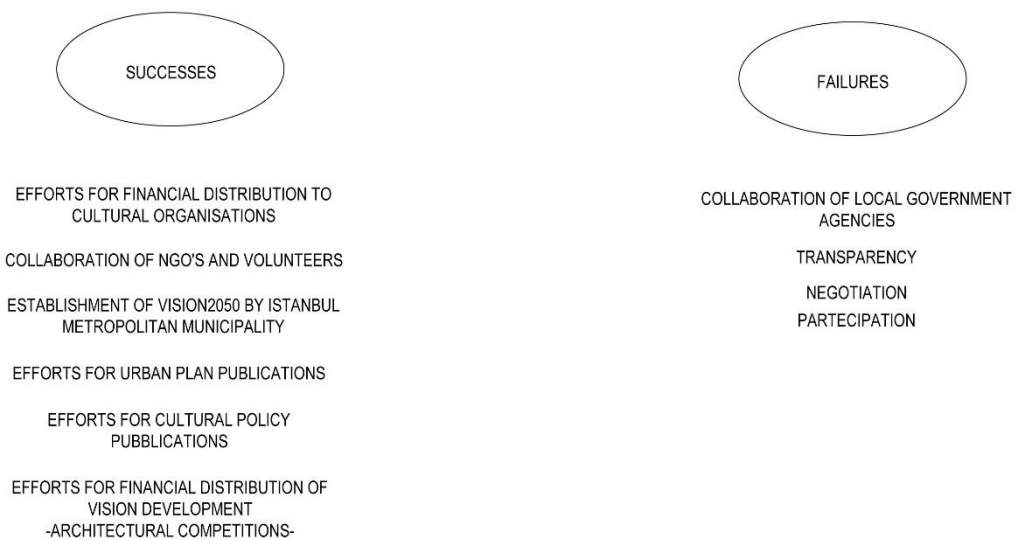


Figure 58: Lessons learned from Vision2050 and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, source: Author.

**APPENDIX G - OBSERVATORY CASE: LEIPZIG BAUMWOLLSPINNEREI AND NEW LIFE
PRIVATIZATION-HERITAGIZATION AND RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS**



SPINNEREI IN THE 1950s; Power and Herden, 2016



LOGO OF THE INDUSTRIAL CAMPUS; Power and Herden, 2016



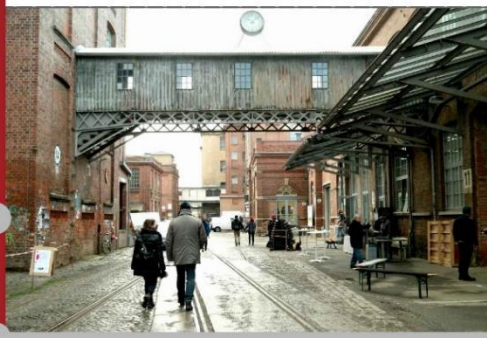
NEW LIFE OF THE SITE AND HALLE 14; <https://www.spinnerei.de/position-plan.html>



NEW LIFE OF THE SITE; <https://www.spinnerei.de/position-plan.html>



NEW LIFE OF THE SITE; https://www.meisterzimmer.de/spinnerei_leipzig.html



NEW LIFE OF THE SITE; <https://www.spinnerei.de/position-plan.html>

Figure 60: Leipzig Spinnerei and new life of the site, source: image is produced by the author using photos and sources indicated.

**APPENDIX G - OBSERVATORY CASE: LEIPZIG BAUMWOLLSPINNEREI AND NEW LIFE
PRIVATIZATION-HERITAGIZATION AND RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS**

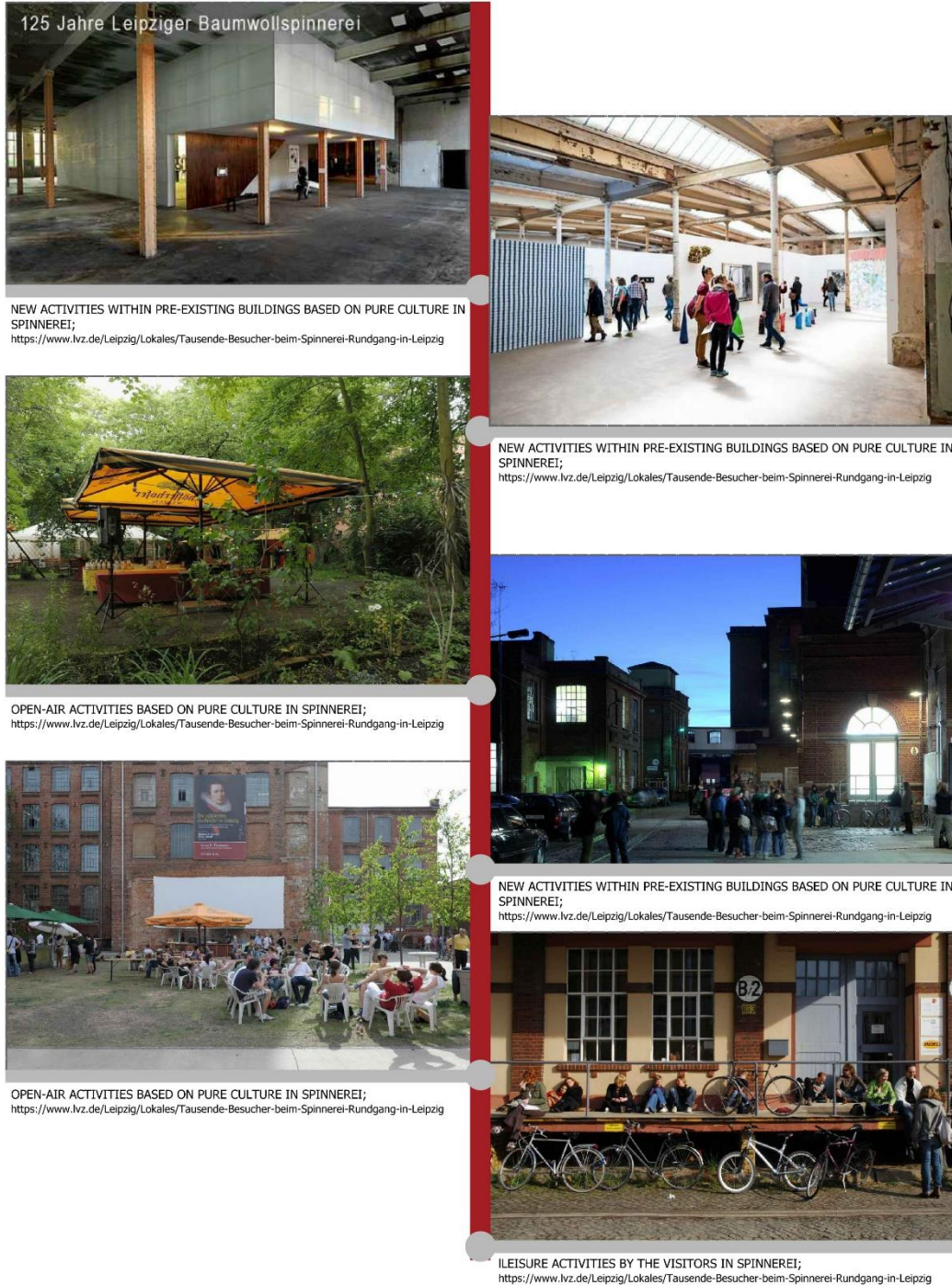


Figure 61: Leipzig Spinnerei and new life of the site, source: image is produced by the author using photos and sources indicated.

APPENDIX G - OBSERVATORY CASE: LEIPZIG BAUMWOLLSPINNEREI AND NEW LIFE

LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE PROJECT ACCOUNT

POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE PROJECT	CONFLICT AREAS	CONFLICT SOURCES
CONSERVED INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE VALUES	OWNERSHIP VS. COLLECTIVE MEMORY	OWNERSHIP STATUS VS. PUBLIC INTEREST
CONSERVED INDUSTRIAL MATERIALS INDUSTRIAL CULTURE	SOCIAL ACCESSIBILITY PHYSICAL ACCESSIBILITY	INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY VS. ARTIST COMMUNITY ARTIST COMMUNITY VS. COMMUNITY
QUALITY OF PHYSICAL ATMOSPHERE FROM INDUSTRY TO CULTURAL HUB FROM COTTON TO CULTURE	LACK OF COMMUNICATION	STATE-SUPPORT & TRANSPORTATION-INFRASTRUCTURE PLACE BRANDING VS. HERITAGE PLACE BRANDING VS. CULTURE IMAGE PROMOTION OPAQUENESS OF THE PROCESS

LESSONS LEARNED FROM LEIPZIGER BAUMWOLLSPINNEREI IN LEIPZIG

SUCCESSSES		
	EFFORTS TOWARDS SEMI-PUBLIC&PUBLIC EFFORTS FOR ENRICHMENT OF ART SECTORS PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR TRANSPORTATION AND INFRASTRUCTURES USING CULTURE AS CATALYST USING COLLECTIVE MEMORY FOR NEW CULTURE COLLABORATION WITH CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS PROMOTER ROLE OF THE CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS STATE COLLABORATION-COLLABORATION WITH CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS	ESTABLISHMENT OF MASSIVE ARCHIVE NEWLY CONVERTED BUILDING HALLE 14 BUILDING FOR EXHIBITIONS NON-PROFIT USE WORKSHOP ORGANIZATIONS FOR PROMOTION OF THE ART USING SOCIAL MEDIA USING MASS MEDIA

LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE GERMAN CONTEXT

POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE CONTEXT	CONFLICT AREAS	CONFLICT SOURCES
PARTICIPATIVE DECISION-MAKING LARGER-SCALE PLACE-MAKING POLICY IMAGE PROMOTION	OWNERSHIP STATUS PLURALITY OF ACTOR TAKING PART MONO-DIMENSIONAL PROBLEM OF NEW FUNCTION	PRIVATE VS. PUBLIC TOURISM-BASED DEVELOPMENT POLICY PROFIT-ORIENTED PRIORITIES ARTIST-BASED USER PROFILE

SUCCESSSES	
	ACTIVE ROLE-PLAY OF THE MICRO ACTORS NATIONAL REGULATIVE OPPORTUNITIES

Figure 62: Lessons learned from Leipzig Spinnerei, source: Author.

APPENDIX G - OBSERVATORY POLICY: LE GRAND PARIS IN FRENCH CONTEXT

CITY-REGION, REGION-STATE RELATIONSHIP AND ACTORS DURING RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS. GOVERNANCE AND ACTORS



Figure 63: Le Grand Paris in French context, source: image is produced by the author by using the sources indicated.

APPENDIX G - OBSERVATORY POLICY: LE GRAND PARIS IN FRENCH CONTEXT

CITY-REGION, REGION-STATE RELATIONSHIP AND ACTORS DURING RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS. GOVERNANCE AND ACTORS



Figure 64: Le Grand Paris in French context, actors involved in the policy, source: photos are taken from Williams, 2015.

APPENDIX G - OBSERVATORY POLICY: LE GRAND PARIS IN FRENCH CONTEXT

CITY-REGION, REGION-STATE RELATIONSHIP AND ACTORS DURING RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS. GOVERNANCE AND ACTORS

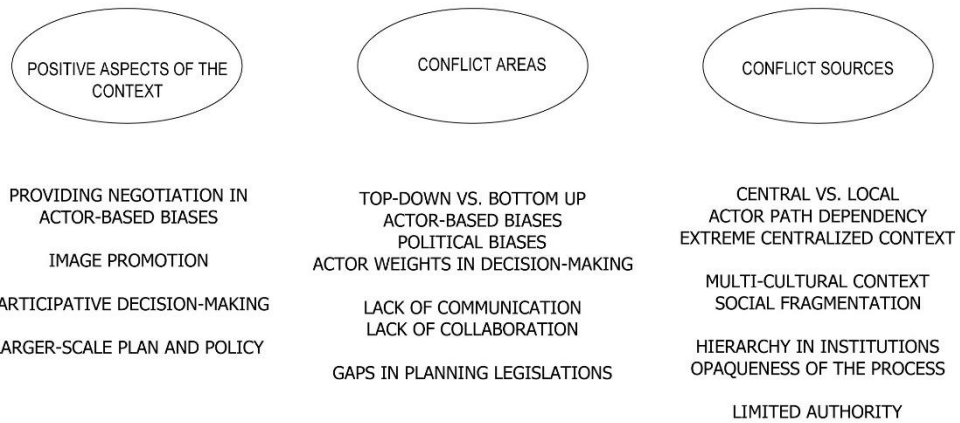


Figure 65: Le Grand Paris, projects, and cultural points, source: images are taken from Chiaradia, 2017.

APPENDIX G - OBSERVATORY POLICY: LE GRAND PARIS IN FRENCH CONTEXT

CITY-REGION, REGION-STATE RELATIONSHIP AND ACTORS DURING RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS. GOVERNANCE AND ACTORS

LESSONS LEARNED FROM LE PLEYEL AREA, AND PLAINE COMMUNE IN PARIS METROPOLE



LESSONS LEARNED FROM LE PLEYEL AREA, AND PLAINE COMMUNE IN PARIS METROPOLE

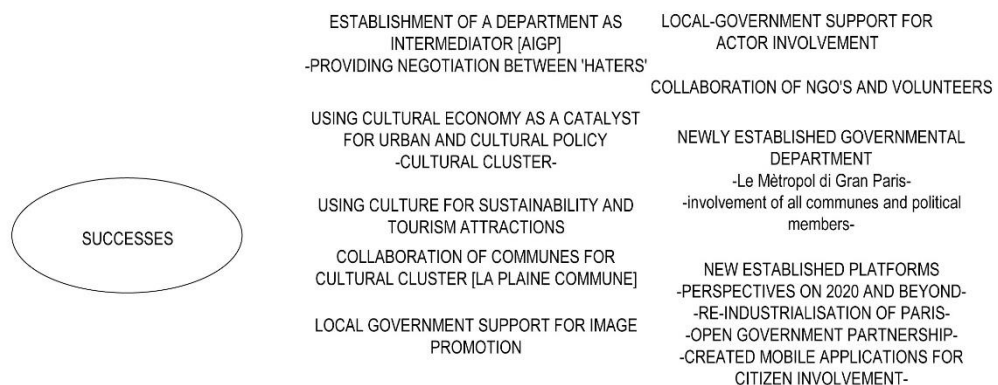


Figure 66: Lessons learned from Le Grand Paris in French context, source: Author.

CHAPTER V

LESSONS LEARNED: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE ACTORS

To address the future solutions for conflictual situations in transformation process of industrial heritage sites, *Beykoz Kundura* in Istanbul as a main case study, and multi-sited analysis on observatory project of Leipzig Spinnerei and large-scale projects of Le Grand Paris and Istanbul Vision2050 were conducted comprehensively to see the alternatives in actions and decision contents against the main observed common decision problems which are detailly analysed in the problem structuring section in the previous chapters. Existence of different levels and scales in the decision-making system with different subjective approaches makes difficult to reach an objective and consensual description for better decision-making system and better practices. The concepts of social and technical incommensurability are important (Munda , 2004) for the research objectives which refer the multiple legitimized values of heritage in society, and multiple subjectivity in the decision-making system perceived by their real deciders. These two concepts are the central components of the real-world problems of the transformation process which require multi-dimensional analysis as well as multi-dimensional policy development stages that includes especially urban planning, conservation, and transformation implementation dynamics and their perception by different actors.

This is the main reason that this research has been structured not only by focusing on the industrial heritage sites as the primary transformed non-human agents, but also by investigating the cultural context of each project and implementation, scale analysis from central to local government, and process analysis from past to present within a multi-dimensional perspective to understand the complexity of the transformation. In fact, physical transformations concern not only social, environmental, economic contexts, but also institutional aspects which require both theoretical and operational points of view (Bottero, D'Alpaos, & Oppio, 2019). The industrial heritage sites have played crucial role in the contemporary cities due to their time-based characteristics which are no longer

useful for their original purposes, thus, they are usually subject of transformation and regeneration projects through new uses. Generally, the results or outcomes of these projects depend on their contemporary owners, image creators and policy makers through their decisions with different objectives during the realization phases.

Within this regard, multi-criteria decision-aiding is proposed to create a set of actions to have better outcomes of the realized projects with recommendations for the identified actors who are taking part in the transformation of privately owned industrial heritage site. This proposed toolkit aims to inform those image-creators for how to choose new function considering both socio-cultural and technical dimensions, and how to lead the process that might prompt the macro actors for how to provide participation, collaboration, and communication during the act of decision based on the experiences observed in the selected real-world cases. This proposed evaluation process within a same framework will complete each other that starts from the micro accounts of the projects, continuing with the macro contexts, and it helps to highlight actors' roles and the importance of their interconnection during decision-making.

Multi-criteria decision aiding is firstly used the definition of possible scenarios derived from the investigated projects and policies, and they filtered to grasp the possible decision content for each identified actor. Afterwards, they are re-evaluated by a focus group comprised of different category of the identified actors to see the pros and cons of each alternative perceived by the different deciders. MCDA and outranking approach are one of the appropriate tools to analyse several heterogeneous measures of several projects, and it provides the support for redefinition of the actor roles which allows to aggregate and score those varied number of measures taking consideration into actors' preferences, feelings, and socio-cultural visions (Bottero, D'Alpaos, & Oppio, 2018).

This might be based on priorities and preferences of a part of decision makers from the technocratic approach of the decisional problem which are associated with the expert and know-how related choices. This part of the thesis focuses on this approach, searching for scientific and technical toolkit for expert choices during the realisation phase of the projects to have more dialectic and participative processes within a consensus atmosphere. More specifically, it aims to complete the previous analysis within a multi-methodological complementary perspective which included retrospective reading between culture and form, institutional and legislative investigation, SNA and cognitive maps, social complex value evaluations, uncertainties and problem structuring that are already discussed in the previous parts of the thesis.

Although MCDA and outranking approach have various positive aspects to analyse several heterogenous measures of a project, the methodology's weaknesses on revealing quantitative calculations, preferences and weights should also be taken into consideration due to the subjectivity and psychological dynamics of the weights given by the experts such as preferable, less preferable, or equally preferable. Thus, MCDA and outranking approach in this research are supported through qualitative measures as decision contents which are obtained from the experienced decisions of the ranking projects that are considered as the facts relatively. This makes the research as clear and understandable document for each identified decision-maker (Ashikhminn & Furems, 2005).

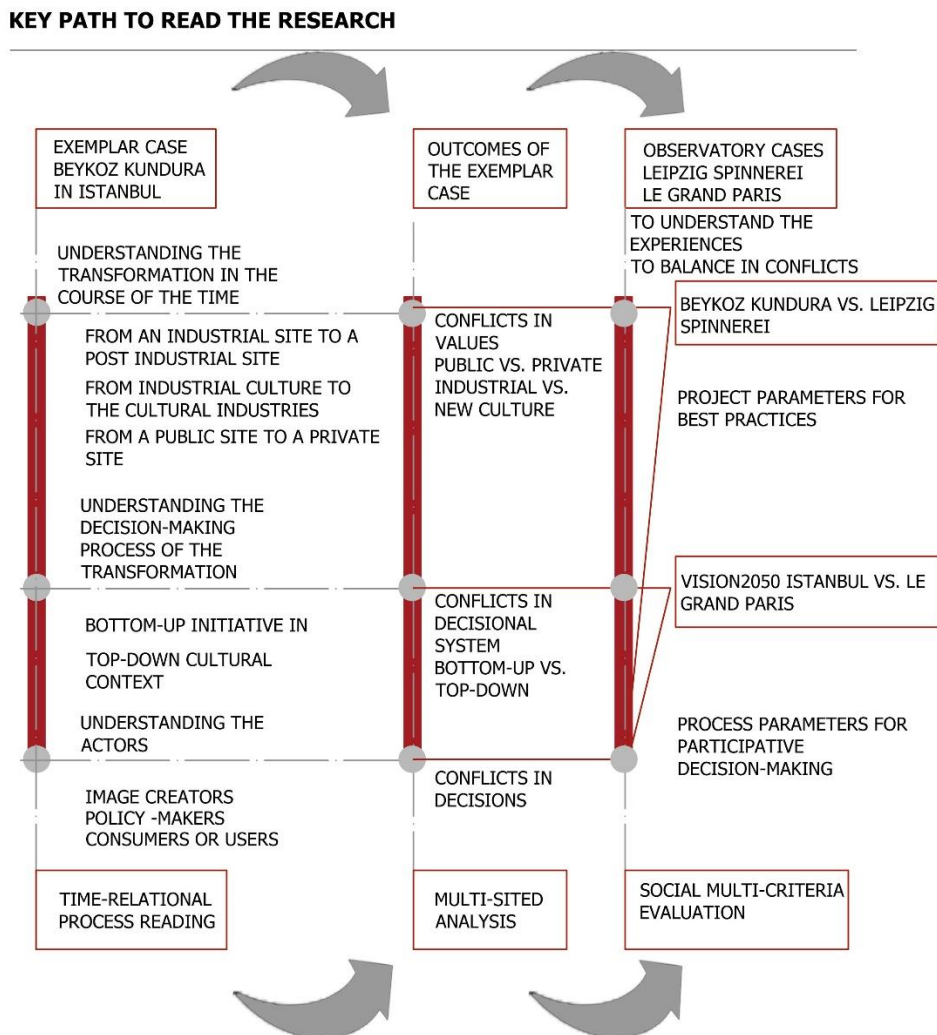


Figure 67: Key path to read the research

5.1 Social Multi-Criteria Decision Aid Approach and Experts' Roles

An MCDA approach is used to define the criteria or alternative decisions obtained from the real-world experiences, and for whom, as deciders, since the complexity of the decision problem mainly derives from a plurality of actors participating in this process. Based on this assumption, identified actors participating in projects, and their roles in the process, were re-evaluated under a varied number of heterogeneous criteria through identified measurement attributes to generate appropriate scenarios under different performance themes of best practices, which serves to search for the possible decision contents for the real deciders. Thus, this part involves offering various recommendations for the actors related to their decision contents according to specific circumstances based on the realised and experienced decisions.

In fact, the plurality characteristics of the actors involved are not the sole complex element of those real-world experiences, there are also a varied number of heterogeneous factors from regulations to administrative problems, and divergent expected project outcomes, which make it difficult to arrive at a clear policy that can optimise them in a unique toolkit. Thus, consensual actions and solutions become fundamental to manage the process via more human-based results within a participative and collaborative decision-making atmosphere. Social multi-criteria evaluation methods are generally used as appropriate guides to explicit this network of heterogeneous elements from a multi-dimensional perspective in a continuous feedback circle enlightening different phases of the process, as proposed by Munda (2004). It also helps to evaluate those heterogeneous measures from different actor standpoints based on their objectives in the process, which is fundamental during the act of deciding within a consensus atmosphere.

However, the methodology, per se, is not enough to respond to the complexity and uncertainty, which is why it represents the last step of the proposed multi-methodology approach for this research, feeding from those previously conducted analyses' outcomes. The act of deciding indicates taking the unexpected or foreseeable consequences into consideration. Thus, the application of the methodology was conducted in bi-dimensional directions. While the first one evaluates the real-world cases, gathering all analysed factors into one image following sequential mixed-methodology steps according to different dataset, the second aims to re-evaluate the actors and their positions within the process, which concerns their preferences and personal expectations during the process (Creswell, 2003; Bottero et al., 2017a,2017b). The latter direction also aims to elicit the pros

and cons of alternatives or options, which helps to prevent risk and conflict in the future implementations.

In fact, various decisions in transformations require translating the social preferences into technical problems for evaluation, which is critical to develop an appropriate and realistic toolkit for the deciders. It necessitates testing the robustness of the analysis completed from a technical point of view. The weights, which are the translations of the social preferences in MCA studies, generally represent one of the problematical aspects of the methodology due to difficulty in its identification (Giampietro, Mayumi, & Munda, 2006; Garmendia and Gamboa, 2012). Based on this, within the first phase of the application, both scenarios are evaluated as per the equally weighted criteria, which are identified as specific decisional areas as expected outcomes of the realised projects; then, they are modified in the second step of the application according to the re-weighted parameters and criteria based on the primary objectives by different actor groups as deciders. Firstly, while each actor as an evaluator is informed of both conditions of the proposed set of actions, and those decisional areas and proposed actions are weighted as per their importance to realise their perceived importance and value by their deciders.

Accordingly, first, the scenarios are identified as potential fields of action that include appropriate options for resolving the complex decision problems to present them concerning their different identified actors. A combination of options from each of field of action represents the alternative in specific performance themes for the final recommendations. To evaluate those dynamics, the Preference Ranking Organisation Method for Enrichment of Evaluations – PROMETHEE (II) application has been used, which is one of the most recent MCDA methods (Bottero et al., 2018), and it is respectively more compatible with human judgements, which makes the method easy to apply and understandable by each decision-maker (Gilliams et al., 2005). It allows the evaluation, partially aggregation and partially or completely ranking of different alternatives or heterogeneous elements for group decision-making, which has been aimed within the scope of this research. It is also able to expose the similarities or diversities among alternatives or heterogeneous measures based on different conditions from different objectives, which permits interpreting their advantageous or disadvantageous aspects in different criteria by different actors. Basically, it was firstly proposed by J. Brans in the early 1980s as a tool, and was developed in the course of time¹⁴³ that provides a complete ranking

¹⁴³ PROMETHEE is applied in varied numbers of fields and research from different management aspects to the social science. There are also combined approaches experienced in diverse studies according to the research contexts; PROMETHEE with fuzzy set theory, PROMETHEE with GIS,

of the defined alternatives for heterogeneous measures (Brans, 1982; Brans and Vincke, 1985; Bottero et al., 2019).

Since the MCDA models are often subjective, the weights and the scoring values of alternatives remain unclear by creating sensitivity problems in the final evaluation. In response to this particularity, a graphical tool was developed in 2001 to show this sensibility, which offers a visualisation and graphical representation of those alternatives via the GAIA plane, namely Geometrical Analysis for Interactive Aid, that vary according to the importance or dominancy of those measures perceived by different decision-makers (Brans, 1982; Brans and Vincke, 1985; Bottero et al., 2019).

In the PROMETHEE GAIA plane, alternatives are indicated by the points, while the criteria are shown by the axis. The length of the axis shows their importance within the complex decision problem, and while the closer alternatives highlight the similarity by means of their role within the process, their distance means that they are completely different actions. I will benefit from this capacity of the methodology to re-read the final considerations for specific decision-makers from the produced graphics. The methodology is considered as semi-quantitative, which gives possibility to mathematical pair-wise comparison for heterogeneous measures either through using quantitatively assigned weighted edges between 1 to -1 or through qualitative assumptions such as very low, low, medium and high. This feature of the method offers to make a holistic assessment for complex systems comprising heterogeneous criteria and plural agents, which allows to differentiate the attributes through divergent measurement units (Bottero et al., 2019).

Within this regard, scenarios are identified using *Beykoz Kundura* and *Leipzig Spinnerei* as two micro accounts of the successful projects that have been used in their new lives. The first field of action for ranking has been set up based on these projects' evaluation under specific evaluation criteria and attributes, and it aims to focus on how to choose appropriate new functions for the industrial heritage sites. Then performance themes, criteria and attributes to measure them are identified for how to compare two scenarios in multi-perspectives that meet different micro actors' priorities. Since both real-world cases are considered good examples, this pair-comparison experience helps to see each project's strong points or weaknesses in specific decision conditions; for example, the decisions under which performance themes and which criteria influence the other ones positively or negatively and which performance theme is obtained via which decision contents.

PROMETHEE with stakeholder analysis and SWOT analysis are some of the important ones (Bottero et al., 2019).

The proposed multi-methodological approach in this research is innovative by means of differentiation of decision contents in different forms of uncertain situations. If the decider is informed in possible decision contents without consequences, there is still a risk of uncertainty and conflict in the process. Hence, in this part of the thesis to redefine identified actors' roles in a realistic toolkit, outranking of the projects continues with the introduction of possible decision contents, and their positive or negative consequences from different projects and contexts' accounts that have been already experienced. Within this scope, Vision 2050 Istanbul and *Le Grand Pari* projects are also filtered in the macro scale perspective and are used as a base to present some of the possible decision contents for those macro-scale measures. Finally, to provide a participative atmosphere and to better weight the identified parameters, which is one of the fundamental characteristics of the methodology, a final panel meeting has been conducted including representatives of various micro actors and macro actors to test the robustness of the final recommendations from their verbal accounts.

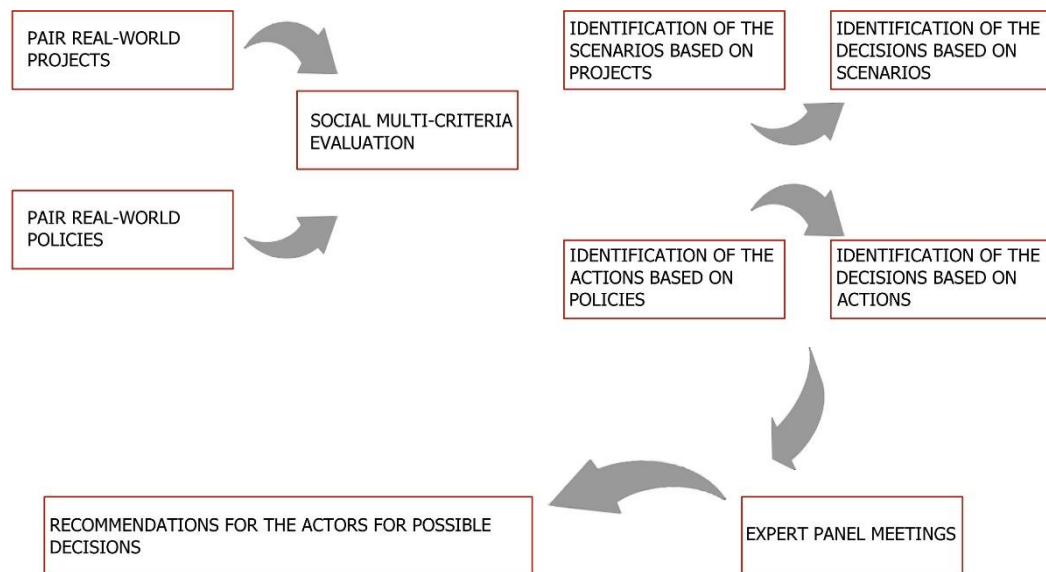


Figure 68: Social multi-criteria evaluation steps

5.2 How to choose a new function. Pair Real-World Projects for Possible Decision Contents in Specific Project Themes

As the first phase of the proposed multi-criteria evaluation, the main field of actions for the real-world cases concerning their deciders are identified as the main

criteria. From the micro accounts of the investigated projects, the new function identified using the new culture is considered one of the appropriate actions for privately owned industrial heritage sites. Both analysed cases have primary permanent functions that have been identified via cultural industries created by the new daily-users as tenants who are the primary new community of these heritage places, and they represent the primary financial source to fulfil the private owners' demands. The projects offer different scenarios with their new lives to balance previously mentioned value-based conflicts, which have originated from the projects' characteristic of being privately owned, but under the subject of public interest via the sites' heritage dimension.

Based on this assumption, while *Beykoz Kundura* is tagged as new function enriched through parallel activities based on popular culture referring to one of the heritage's socio-cultural layers, on the other hand, *Leipzig Spinnerei* is tagged as new function enriched through parallel activities based on the pure culture referring to one of the city's past layers. They are considered as two different alternative scenarios to choose new functions that might be used as a source for possible decision contents for image creators in future implementations. Even though both scenarios show appropriate outcomes in their specific environment, they also differentiate via their indirect consequences that influence different performance themes of the projects. First, the performance themes are presented, which are the primary expected characteristics within the new life of privately owned industrial heritage projects. Cultural quality and accessibility, social accessibility, physical accessibility and long-term sustainability of the new function and macro-scale impacts are the main expected performance themes from the realised projects within their new lives that balance the value-based conflicts.

Table 3: Identification of Scenarios

Scenarios	Scenario 1: Beykoz Kundura	Scenario 2: Leipzig Spinnerei
Description	Enriched new parallel activities based on popular culture, from the heritage's past layer	Enriched new parallel activities based on pure culture, from the city's past layer

Following this, the evaluation matrix for the scenarios has been designed by identifying the evaluation criteria under specific performance themes, regarding attributes and their definitions, and the measurement parameters that help to compare the scenarios from different perspectives. To do this, the performance

themes are widened through diverse criteria, attributes and their measurement references, and they are presented varying from quantitative and qualitative measurement units for the evaluation. While some of the attributes of the performance themes have been measured through actor judgements, which are the translation of the experts' reflections done by the researcher based on the comprehensive analysis conducted in the projects' accounts in the previous chapters and personal position of the researcher in specific fields, some attributes have been evaluated through the concrete facts of the projects.

Table 4: Generating Scenarios, the logic of the pair comparison in multi-criteria evaluation for the real-world cases and for the actors

<p>Identification of The field of Actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Appropriate new function against value-based biases *Appropriate actions against actor-based biases and common decision problems 	<p>Identification of performance themes for the evaluation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Cultural quality and accessibility *Social accessibility *Physical accessibility *Long-term sustainability of the new function *Macro Scale Impacts
<p>Scenarios:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Scenario1- Enrichment of parallel new activities based on popular culture *Scenario2- Enrichment of parallel new activities based on pure culture/art <p>Identified Actors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Micro Actors-image creators *Macro Actors-policy makers 	<p>Evaluation Steps:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Identification of criteria, attributes, and measurement units for each performance theme *Aggregation and scores of each alternative scenario in specific performance themes *Outcome of the pair comparison and overall evaluation <p>*Identification of the actors</p> <p>*Identification of the decision contents as options for each performance parameter from micro accounts of the scenarios</p>

After the identification of the scenarios, context analysis is conducted to see the issue from a macro perspective as to how to improve the cultural policy planning against top-down contexts and for legal-regulative gaps. For this action of area, the expected process themes are presented as communication, collaboration, participation, shared information and transparency, which are the fundamental parameters to improve the existing transformation projects' process. To analyse those dynamics, Turkish, French and German cultural contexts are used as sources to realise the experienced acts in city-region and region-state relationship, governance and actors' roles during the process, which have been filtered through the general contextual frameworks of the nations and via Vision2050 and *Le Grand Pari* projects to propose macro-scale actions for identified actors.

Table 5:Contextual analysis, and evaluation parameters

<p>Identification of the field of actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Appropriate cultural redevelopment policy against top-down contexts *Appropriate cultural policy planning against legal and regulative gaps 	<p>Identification of the process themes for the contextual evaluation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Communication *Collaboration *Participation *Shared-Information *Transparency
<p>*Context 1- Turkish cultural context and Vision2050 project</p> <p>*Context 2- French cultural context and Le Grand Paris project</p> <p>*Context 3- German cultural context and Leipzig creative city</p> <p>*Identified Actors Micro Actors-image creators Macro Actors-policy makers</p>	<p>Evaluation Steps</p> <p>Multi-sited Analysis on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *General frameworks of the cultural contexts *City-region, region-state relationship *Local government, governance, and actors as promoters <p>*Recommendations for the actors based on the experiences:</p> <p>Filtration from the macro accounts of other contexts for the negative aspects</p>

	French context/German Context/Turkish context
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Once those performance themes are evaluated for the selected projects using PROMETHEE II and contextual analysis obtained from different contexts, the pair-wise comparison decision contents related to the evaluation criteria and their experienced consequences are given for the specific actors in an evaluation matrix, which are considered as options for each performance or process theme that might be proceeded by different identified actors. Finally, the identified options of each actor, and their pros and cons, will be discussed via an organised panel meeting comprising different groups of actors who are not involved in either the projects or the initiatives of the analysed contexts, which helps to see diverse reflections of various actors based on different preferences.

5.2.1 Identification of Performance Themes, Criteria and Evaluation Matrix for the Projects

Following this preface, cultural quality and accessibility represent the performance themes for the projects and possible decisions, which comprise sub-themes (criteria) as the quality of the new culture, flexibility of the new cultural activities, industrial heritage value in relation to the new function, public and private uses based on the new activities and integration of the new life of the site to other cultural attraction points within the city, which are grasped for the evaluation of the cases and decision content of the actors. Social accessibility follows the cultural one, which concerns mainly new user communities, appreciation of the users and public and private uses with or without admission to act as criteria for the final evaluation. Then, physical accessibility comes with defined important parameters as the ways for reaching the site, ease of travel and distance to other cultural points within the city. Long-term sustainability of the new culture is another performance theme that focuses on the economic income and impact of the projects in a long-term span to see the appropriateness of the given culture in the specific context. Finally, the macro scale impact is defined as one of the important performance themes, which also concerns the macro actors' decisions to improve the existing processes. It focuses on how to obtain state support, or how to facilitate the legitimisation of the given new function, or how to create the projects' network to other attraction points both from micro and macro actors' standpoints.

Table 6: Evaluation Criteria and Clustered Identified Attributes

Performance Themes for the projects	Criteria to have ‘good’ results for privately owned industrial heritage projects
-Cultural Quality and Accessibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Quality of the New Culture produced *Flexibility of the new cultural activities *Industrial Heritage Value *Public and Private uses based on the new activities *Integration to other cultural points in the city through parallel events
-Social Accessibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *New user communities *Appreciation of the user communities *Public uses without admission to pay *Private uses with admission to pay
-Physical Accessibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Number of the ways to arrive to the site *Easiness of the arrival ways offered *Distance to the other cultural points in the city and existing or non-existing network
-Long-term sustainability of the new culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *New job opportunities *Economic income as direct consequences of new activities
-Macro-scale impact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Possible state support might be obtained *Facilitation of the legitimization of the defined new Culture and image promotion *Facilitation of the inclusion into the city’s cultural cluster – local and g-local network creation via communication, collaboration, and transparency

Accordingly, the evaluation matrix is set up via identified attributes under each title of the performance themes, and their measurement. Following this, how to measure those attributes is presented in the given table, which is applied in PROMETHEE II software to expose the positive and negative consequences or connections via produced diagrams. Pursuant to this, five new culture-based attributes are linked for the cultural quality and accessibility criterion. They are the

quality of the new culture produced, flexibility of the new cultural activities accorded onto the new life of the heritage sites, industrial heritage value and new cultural value relationship, public and private spaces in which the new activities take place in the heritage site, and integration of the other cultural points of the city through parallel new activities.

The first one is the new cultural value produced within the new life of the sites, which seeks to understand what the new function offers for the demands of the contemporary society. For the evaluation of this attribute, the experts' judgements were translated by the researcher based on the comprehensive analysis, which are used giving a value from 1–5 to determine which option is preferable or equal. The second is flexibility of the new activities in the given new function, which seeks to understand possible additional public or private activities that might enrich the existing given ones, including pedagogical or cultural purposes. The evaluation of this attribute is based on the number of the varied activities offered by the new life of the sites, which is set up and weighted between 1 and 5 as proportioned of those numbers according to the outcomes of the projects.

Following this, the industrial heritage value within the given new life of the sites is evaluated based on the experts' judgements translated by the researcher based on the previous parts of the research, which is weighted via qualitative measurement units as 'Yes' or 'No'. Subsequently, public and private uses in the campuses are evaluated in line with their percentage of surface area within the interior campus to realise the balances' uses, which are also weighted between 1 and 5 points as a proportion of those percentages. Finally, integration with the other cultural attraction points within the city through parallel events is considered an important factor to evaluate the projects regarding cultural accessibility of the heritage sites in two different scenarios. For this attribute, the number of parallel events is identified for measurement parameter for the projects under investigation.

The evaluation process continues with social accessibility as the second criterion for the evaluation performance theme. For this criterion four different sequential attributes are identified: new user communities, appreciation of the new user communities and uses with or without admission fee to access the heritage sites. Basically, the user communities are considered based on the number of user types targeted as the user profile within the scope of those projects. Appreciation of the new communities is assessed based on the judgement of the users translated by the researcher as per the case investigations, and this attribute is measured via 'Yes/No' measurement unit. Uses with or without admission fee is evaluated through their percentage of surface area, which was already evaluated in the cultural

accessibility criterion. Through this, not only social accessibility of the realised projects is evaluated but also their public and private balance is determined.

Physical accessibility follows the previous ones, which is evaluated based on the number of ways and ease of access of those project sites, which are weighted according to the users' judgement translated by the researcher, and distance in km to other cultural attraction points within the city obtained from the case investigations. The last one is also related to the peri-urban areas' urban and cultural redevelopment since both projects are located relatively far from the city centres offering alternative locations to the inner-city cultural clusters. It also tries to evaluate the obtaining of state support for the private projects, which concerns infrastructural improvements and remediation of the existing ways.

Following this, is the long-term sustainability of the new culture, which seeks to understand the new job opportunities created by the project and economic income to the owners. New job opportunities are assessed based on the number of job types created by the realised projects and weighted via proportioned value between 1 and 5, while economic income to the owners is assessed based on the number of parallel events with admission to pay by the users, which are considered as side-functions that multiply the possible income. Finally, the macro-scale impacts of the projects are identified as the last attribute for comparison of the two projects in which possible state support, facilitation of the legitimisation of the new culture by the outsiders, facilitation of the inclusion to the cultural cluster into the city, and information sharing with the public might be exposed via the decision contents.

Table 7: Evaluation Matrix for the projects of *Beykoz Kundura* and *Leipzig Spinnerei*

Evaluation Matrix to Measure the Performance Themes within the real-world cases		
CULTURAL QUALITY AND ACCESSIBILITY		
Attribute	Measurement	Value-Weights P1/P2
*Quality of new culture	Assessed by the researcher according to the outcomes	1-5 points
*Flexibility of the new cultural activities	Number of new activities in given new functions	Proportioned between 1-5 points

*Industrial Heritage Value	Assessed by the researcher according to the outcomes	Y/N
*Public and Private uses based on the new activities	Percentage	Proportioned between 1-5 points
*Integration to other cultural points in the city through parallel events	Number of the Parallel Events for other users (outside from the daily-users)	Proportioned between 1-5 points
SOCIAL ACCESSIBILITY		
*New user communities	Number of user communities for new function	Proportioned between 1-5 points
*Appreciation of the user communities	Assessed by the researcher according to the outcomes	Y/N
*Public uses without admission to pay	*N/%	Proportioned between 1-5 points
*Private uses with admission to pay	*N/%	Proportioned between 1-5 points
PHYSICAL ACCESSIBILITY		
*Ways for arriving to the site	Number of the ways	Proportioned between 1-5 points
*Relationship to the cultural points in the city	Distance and easiness to enrich – expert reflections translated by the researcher	Proportioned between 1-5 points
LONG-TERM SUSTAINABILITY OF THE NEW FUNCTION		
*New job opportunities	Number of jobs from the larger scale	Proportioned between 1-5 points
*Economic income as direct consequences of new activities	Assessed by the researcher according to the outcomes	Proportioned between 1-5 points
MACRO-SCALE IMPACTS		

*Obtained state support	Assessed by the researcher according to the outcomes	Y/N
*Image promotion in macro-scale via communication, actors' collaboration, and transparency	Assessed by the researcher according to the outcomes	Proportioned between 1-5 points
*Collaboration to other attraction points locally and g-locally	Assessed by the researcher according to the outcomes	Y/N

5.2.2 Aggregation of the Criteria Scores and Sensitivity Analysis

Based on the previously discussed evaluation steps, those identified parameters as performance themes, criteria and attributes are applied in PROMETHEE II and measured based on the evaluation matrix as described above to see the positive and negative aspects of the performance themes in each scenario for introduction of the decision contents. Pursuant to this, both scenarios represent good practice in how to choose the new function; thus, in the first phase, the application of all criteria and attributes are evaluated as equally important. While *Beykoz Kundura* shows an appropriate example in new function enriched based on popular culture, *Leipzig Spinnerei* represents a good example of new function enriched based on pure culture. However, they have different positive and negative consequences, or different dominant features, within their results in the performance themes. In fact, for those identified performance themes to have better practices is perceived differently by means of their importance according to the actors' preferences. Thus, they should be re-evaluated by the real deciders to understand which parties have which roles within the process.

To start with the cultural quality and accessibility, even though each project meets the preference threshold of an average good practice, they have different advantages in specific circumstances as per the pair-comparison outcomes. While to choose new functions that have been enriched via parallel events based on popular culture offers more flexible new activities in the new life, which also

enriches the new user profile, on the other hand, to choose new functions that have been enriched in parallel based on pure art allows drawing more appreciation from the artist community as a new type of user, which directly influences the quality of the culture produced. Thus, the first one increases the social accessibility of the industrial heritage sites, while the other creates plus-value in cultural accessibility by increasing the quality of the produced art.

On the other side, both examples show appropriateness in industrial heritage value in different manners. The first one reflects one of the heritage's past layers as collective memory and reindustrialises it as a tool for the new identified popular culture under the title of 'cinema'. The other one represents not only direct industrial heritage's historical value, but also reflects one of the past layers of the city, which gives it a plus-value that multiplies the project result in other circumstances through obtained state support and integration into other cultural clusters within the city, and so on. In fact, the new given function of former *Spinnerei* Industrial Complex not only resulted in obtaining state support in image promotion, and heightened fame for the industrial heritage, but also attracted infrastructural support that increases the physical accessibility of the site. Thus, being strategical to choose new functions or enrichment of the parallel new activities is an important parameter that might influence a varied number of performance themes.

Furthermore, both examples show positive results by means of public-private balance provided within the new given function. However, *Spinnerei* becomes prominent due to the percentage of the given surface area for these public activities. It influences the public use of the heritage site, which is quite important in value-based biases. Concordantly, it becomes essential to reserve a convenient surface of non-profit-based new activities or public events with admission to pay that serve to balance the private and public uses in these sites. Integration with the other cultural attraction points within the city is another important attribute, which shows how many parallel events are organised that increase the network of the projects. Besides, it is also crucial to increase the public or private activities with admission to pay that might also influence the economic impacts of the projects by increasing the socio-cultural and physical accessibility of those site by boosting the new types of users. It also offers how to collaborate with the other actors for cultural and urban redevelopment from the macro perspective via collaboration experiences for correspondingly attributed new activities.

Social accessibility is one of the other important parameters in transformation projects of privately owned industrial heritage sites. *Beykoz Kundura* shows that the project is preferable to *Leipzig Spinnerei* via several new user types due to its

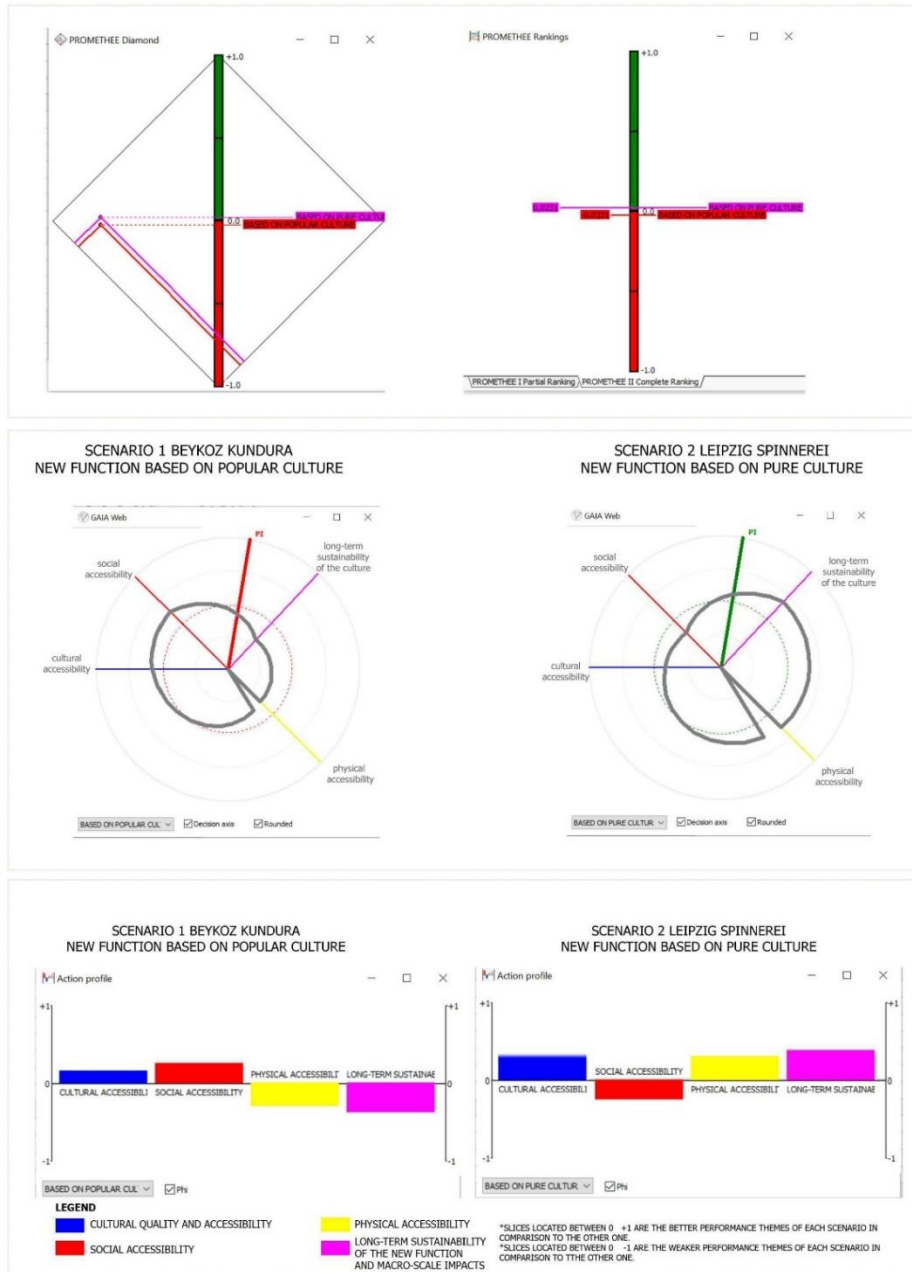
advantages via new attributed activities based on popular culture that draw more community attraction. The main reason for this is that giving popular culture-based new activities offers more flexibility and raises the number of user profiles of the projects. It is also essential to provide balanced public-private use within these heritage sites, since the given new function based on pure culture requires more filtration in cultural activities to allow quality of the culture. Thus, this option of pure art is preferable for the quality of the culture or art produced within the new life that increases the cultural aspect of the projects that also depend on the context the projects are applied in, and it requires comprehensive macro-scale analysis to prevent the possible gentrification problems for the site's nearby environment.

How to reach the sites, ease of access and average distance to other attraction points are other important attributes that show the physical accessibility of those heritage sites. Physical accessibility requires macro scale perspectives due to its direct connection with the infrastructural development and state support, which mainly remains the weak point of privately owned projects. The second scenario, *Leipzig Spinnerei*, shows better results due to its various macro-scale dynamics, including actors' active role-playing and regulative opportunities in the German context. Besides, the given new function of the project linked with the city history also stimulates macro-scale impacts that have also developed the region in which the project is located. These plus values of the project caused crucial developments in the macro-scale due to strategic decisions in the new function and nomination of the given new function; moreover, they indirectly influence the project's result, offering many possibilities for public or private collaboration and image promotion via shared information. Thus, the strategic decisions regarding the given new function influence many stages of the projects by offering a various number of opportunities in the macro-scale context, regardless of their top-down or bottom-up characteristics in the decision-making mechanism. They are important indirect ways to provide transparency, state support, balance in public-private uses, facilitation in image promotion and resolution of value-based biases that are also important themes of the process.

According to the aggregation of the criteria scores in pair-wise comparison between *Beykoz Kundura* and *Leipzig Spinnerei*, the outcomes show that while *Beykoz Kundura* is superior to *Spinnerei* regarding social accessibility, *Leipzig Spinnerei* is superior to *Beykoz Kundura* in cultural quality and accessibility, physical accessibility, long-term sustainability of the new function and macro-scale impacts. Thus, these real-world projects are the important sources to use as a base for possible decision contents for a various number of actors in future implementations.

OUTCOMES OF THE PAIR-WISE EVALUATION OF REAL-WORLD CASES

AGGREGATION OF THE CRITERIA SCORES



BOTH PROJECTS SHOW THAT THEY ARE EQUALLY SUCCESSFUL, HOWEVER, WHILE BEKOZ KUNDURA IS BETTER IN SOCIAL ACCESSIBILITY, WHILE ON THE OTHER HAND, LEIPZIG SPINNEREI IS BETTER IN CULTURAL QUALITY AND ACCESSIBILITY, AND MACRO-SCALE IMPACTS; CRITERIA SCORES PRODUCED IN PROMETHEE II BY THE AUTHOR

Figure 69: Outcomes of the pair-wise evaluation of real-world cases, source: Author, the diagrams are produced using PROMETHEE II.

5.2.3 Identification of the Decision Contents and Recommendations for the Micro Actors

Based on the projects' evaluation and their strong and weak points in diverse performance themes, in this section, the possible decision contents for the previously identified actors are presented. Even though both projects demonstrate appreciation in the overall aspect of how to choose new function, the previously conducted evaluation helps to realise which direction should be focused on for the preparation of the decision contents for each identified actor. Firstly, performance themes are categorised based on their concerning actors who have key roles as deciders to obtain good outcomes after the projects' realisation. The previously identified micro actors who are owners, cultural directors or curators, industrial heritage experts, cultural organisations, NGOs and new users including every-day users as tenants, and users with or without art interest, have key roles in the decision-making process and might be considered as stimulators and intermediators to achieve better results in different performance themes. Particularly, their key position in the definition of the new function is critical, which is important for privately owned industrial heritage sites to stimulate the whole project process into a bottom-up approach. Furthermore, the well-identified new functions have fundamental importance to obtain good results by multiplying other values of the projects in relation to their new lives in the contemporaneity.

Firstly, in this part, those performance themes of good projects are examined in detail to elicit the decision contents for specific actors, which have been already experienced within the two investigated projects. Their direct or indirect consequences in different circumstances are also taken into consideration. This deep and comprehensive analysis is instructive for the possible future actors, which gives them possible decision contents for how to obtain different success themes by informing their possible consequences. Regarding socio-cultural accessibility, possible decision contents are identified as defining the new function based on one of the cities' or heritage's past layers, and a new parallel programme prepared based on the popular or pure cultural sectors via enrichment of the given function with cultural public and private events, non-profit-based events and heritage-based events, using pre-existing industrial material culture for collective memory or exhibition in parallel to the attributed new activities. They are the possible decision contents for the micro actors that might increase the socio-cultural accessibility of the heritage sites by balancing the value-based biases originating from the conflicts between use and non-use value of the heritage sites, and public-private conflicts originating from ownership status.

On the other side, there are also possible decision contents that influence the physical accessibility of these heritage sites by stimulating the long-term sustainability of the new given function. They are identified as collaborations with other cultural attraction points within the cities, which generates network development; cross-cultural parallel event organisations organised with other private cultural organisations, which brings more economic income; and collaboration with NGOs, which offers more public use in privately owned sites by legitimising the given new function. Particularly, owners, cultural foundations and NGOs are the promoters to connect with the macro actors, or to connect with other micro actors to obtain state support in various dimensions. In addition, collaboration with the other state projects is another important decision content that might be undertaken by curators and owners by hosting the sites as meeting points or avenues for the introduction of the state projects. This is another possible decision content, which is also essential for better outcomes in macro-scale impacts and the physical accessibility of the heritage sites for their new lives.

Table 8: Evaluation criteria, concerning micro actors and possible decisions

<p>(Maximized) Performance Themes and possible decision contents to have good performance</p>	<p>Decisions Concerning Micro Actors</p>
<p>-Cultural Accessibility -Social Accessibility -Physical Accessibility</p>	<p>*Owners *Cultural Directors *Industrial Heritage/Archaeology Experts *Cultural Organisations *NGOs *Users [Every-day users/ users with-without pure art interest]</p> <p>Decision regarding to Socio-Cultural Accessibility *Defining the new function based on cities or heritage's one of the past layers *Enrichment of the given function with parallel cultural public-private events *Cultural Programme prepared based on pure art or popular art that managed parallelly *Enrichment of the given function with non-profit based activities</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Enrichment of the given new function with heritage-related events *Enrichment of the given function via exhibition and documentary centre for heritage past Decisions regarding to Physical Accessibility long-term sustainability of the given new culture, and macro scale impacts *Collaboration with other cultural attraction points within the city *Cross-cultural parallel event organizations with private institutions *Collaboration with NGOs for public pedagogical or educational purposes *Collaboration with other State's projects for network creation
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This section aims to elaborate on these main possible decision contents based on each identified actor to see what they might do and what are the different possible consequences, advantages and disadvantages observed in the previously evaluated real-world cases. To start with the owners, they are the key actors who are the real deciders of the new function. Even though it also depends on their personal interests and vision, there are some recommendations that might help them choose new functions. Pursuant to this, in the first case, a new function that is enriched via parallel new activities based on popular culture in relation to one of the heritage's past layers might generate more economic income as a direct consequence of the choice; it offers more flexible new activities in the new lives of the heritage sites from the micro account of the projects. It is also one of the appropriate ways to have more successful social accessibility outcomes, since it allows to increase the new user profile number making the site more accessible even for the ordinary people. By doing this, they might block the possible criticism from the outsiders' standpoints regarding public-private conflict, which is a common value-based problem due to the ownership status of the sites.

However, there are possible cons to consider in this option. For example, the given new function should be enriched via possible additional parallel public events promoted by the social and mass media to prevent it being isolated and unknown due to lack of communication and shared information, which also serves to create a network with the other attraction points that might become advantageous through diverse performance themes. Consequently, additional parallel events should be public and without profit interests, but, meanwhile, they might be strategic to obtain state support for the privately owned heritage sites due to the difficulty in obtaining

this for privately owned assets in many national contexts. Accordingly, the future possible owners should consider those pros and cons of the first option to reach their objectives during the process.

On the other side, if they choose the new function enriched via parallel new activities based on pure art, they should be more strategic in offering better social accessibility for the heritage sites since the decision delimits the user profile type with art interests. Even though they enrich the given new culture in diverse sectors of art to increase the new users, it is still not sufficient due to a limited identified user profile with art interests. They should offer more solutions to make the site more accessible for those people without art interests, without hesitation. The analysed real-world case is exceptional since the pure art originates from the city's past; thus, this choice should be strategic as well as dangerous depending on the applied cultural context due to the possibility to generate gentrification. Hence, this option requires comprehensive research and investigation not only for the heritage past, and material and immaterial culture, but also its nearby surroundings considering the contemporary inhabitants to prevent possible transformation damage caused by the new culture.

However, this option to choose a new function is appropriate to obtain the best quality of the culture produced within the new lives of the heritage sites that attracts appreciation from the art community as targeted user profile. It requires a comprehensive cultural programme in coordination with the art and culture directors and culture developers, which should be filtered rigorously. The disadvantageous side of this decision is that the application depends on the given cultural contexts in which the future implementations will be realised. Accordingly, the possible future owners should work closely with cultural and art directors, urban planners, sociologists and architects, following their advice, as they have the key responsibility to assess the new activity decisions that might be attributed in new lives of the heritage sites according to the user needs.

One of the other important micro actors is industrial heritage experts who should work closely with the owners and cultural directors, but also with the macro actors during the realisation phase of the projects. Their position in the process is fundamental both in the initial phase of the transformation when the new function is evolved, but also in the following stages to promote the industrial image and to evoke the previous industrial culture and industrial values of the heritage sites. In both pair-comparison projects, their existence and active roles are clear and shows that they should be promoters in the process in favour of the conservation and continuation of former industrial places; indeed they are the intermediators not only between micro and macro actors, but also between heritage and society.

There are also cultural organisations and NGOs who are the responsible micro actors for the legitimisation of the realised projects, cultural development and image promotion, and they have key roles between the image creators, the new life of the heritage and society. They are also critical for introduction of the non-profit-based activities within the new life by involving diverse social groups in the process, which increases the socio-cultural accessibility, long-term sustainability of the new function, cultural redevelopment and macro scale impacts that might evolve into state support through infrastructural development and shared information via mass media. It also strengthens the physical accessibility of the realised projects, and it helps to be recognised by the society preventing criticism on being unreachable. Concordantly, these organisations and individuals have a fundamental role to create a transparent atmosphere during the process, which is one of the problematic themes to provide for most of the top-down contexts.

While cultural organisations and NGOs are the important agencies during the *ex-post* phase of the projects, including the realisation phase and post-realisation, providing the negotiation between the project and society, architecture and urban planning chambers are the key agencies during the *ex-post* phase and provide negotiation between experts as insiders and experts as outsiders. They should be more active via consensus meetings during the planning phase to prevent tensions occurring between the real deciders and the interested ones.

Within this context, each actor has a key role for specific circumstances, but they should work closely and collaboratively in each phase of the projects to achieve good performance. This strict connection and their collective working are the key to provide well-organised operational process. However, this collaboration should not be a single act just between micro actors, it should be integrated into the macro accounts of the applied contexts to generate those expected results by prompting the macro actors' participation within the process. It is critical to proceed step-by-step completed projects and processes with respectful approach to the heritage, considering both traditional and contemporary values.

5.3 Looking from the Macro-scale and Context Analysis: Recommendations for the Macro Actors

Pair-comparison evaluation of the two micro projects, *Beykoz Kundura* and *Leipzig Spinnerei*, shows the necessity for macro scale evaluation to better identify the actor roles, particularly for long-term sustainability of the culture and macro-scale impacts performance themes. Both examples also show the fundamental importance to eliminate the processual problems, which are communication,

collaboration, participation, shared information and transparency. In this section of the research, pair-comparison evaluation of the scenarios is completed with the further step by using *Le Grand Pari* in the French context, Vision 2050 in the Turkish context and Leipzig Creative City in the German context to present the possible decision contents and to offer some recommendations for the actors from the bigger perspective, which also informs them how to overcome the bureaucratic blurry-defined stages. As previously presented, there are five groups of macro actors comprising political figures, state administration, local administration, provincial administration and ad hoc agencies. They are policy or project makers due to their strong power during the act of deciding.

Table 9: Evaluation criteria, concerning macro actors and possible decisions

(Maximized) Performance Themes and possible decision contents to have good performance	Decisions Concerning Macro Actors
<p>-Long-term sustainability of the new culture -Macro-scale impact</p> <p>*Decisions are obtained from -Le Grand Paris - French culture -Vision 2050 Istanbul – Turkish culture -Leipzig Creative City -German culture</p>	<p>*Micro Actors *Political Figures *State Administration *Local Administration *Provincial Administration *Ad-hoc Agencies</p> <p>Decisions regarding to Macro Scale Problems *Local government’s active role in decision-making *Regulative innovations for more use in favour of public benefits *Cultural Policy Redevelopment plan prepared in macro scale *Appropriate share information about cultural or redevelopment programmes</p>

Basically, the main decision contents for the macro actors are presented following three main headings considering the different category of the actors. The first concerns local government, the second concerns state administration and political figure and the third concerns the ad hoc agencies in different decisional

areas. Although these role identifications have been created for macro actors, their realisation in the real world is usually unrealistic. Therefore, these primary decisional areas have also been taken into consideration to realise how micro actors prompt the macro actors to achieve these objectives, which is the key to balance the processual problems. These fundamental roles firstly focus on local government's active role in decision-making to create coordination and communication, then continues with regulative innovations for more use in favour of the public benefits for privately owned assets and the necessity of cultural redevelopment plans from the macro scale that might include a various number of cities and other attractional points by creating projects network. However, it is not easy to foresee the local government internal coordination and its connection with the relative ministries.

Thus, ad hoc agencies in specific decisional areas or specific lands become key actors during the process that play a fundamental role in the negotiation of different hierarchical deciders during the process. The fundamental theme for ad hoc agencies to improve the process is the appropriate information-sharing and communication not only between local government and ministries but also NGOs and other micro actors. This is the sole way to eliminate the possible tensions not only between experts as insiders and outsiders but also between heritage and society. They are also important actor groups to reach the communication tools, such as mass media and public forums, which are the platforms whereby to share information to invite the other actors to participate and collaborate. In fact, they have a critical key position in the process and are the intermediators between 'public and private' connecting different groups. Even though these identifications seem like general assumptions, they are not unrealisable, and might be stimulated by the micro actors.

Political figures, which include cabinet presidents, city governors and mayors, have an extremely dominant role in the decision-making system, particularly within the top-down contexts. They have strong power and might facilitate various bureaucratic stages of the process through pressure, or they might permit bypassing some of the phases as observed in many contexts. However, *Le Grand Pari* of the French context shows a varied number of positive aspects in comparison to Vision 2050 Istanbul, which might be taken into consideration for future ones. Both examples show that 'launching a project with shared vision' is important to trigger and influence various numbers of projects in diverse themes with different scales. The difference in *Le Grand Pari* in comparison to Vision 2050 Istanbul, is that it was published under a shared mission, which increases a different level of the participative process. It might be an appropriate way to provide consensus between different authorities. It shows the importance of strategically 'nominating a project'

that might meet the needs of each party in the decision-making by providing a negotiation in political biases.

Thus, the identified political figures might use their power of policy initiatives in favour of urban and cultural redevelopment of the cities and regions, and they might invite different parties to participate in the process. This might be obtained through the reciprocal efforts of macro and micro actors with unequal roles within the process. On the other hand, Vision 2050 shows less participative process level in respect to *Le Grand Pari*, in which communication and collaboration problems have been observed as the main blocks to achieve the main purpose. Even though the French context is used to choose possible decision contents for the macro actors including the political figures, showing them which kind of failures or successes are considered by the interested parties for the future actions, unstable dynamics of the political atmosphere in many top-down contexts do not offer a clear guidance to those real deciders, and it remains unpredictable for the future implementations. In fact, both administrative systems are similar, and they have been criticised due to their superabundant levels to advance the operations, which have created various numbers of blocks, duplications and suspensions.

Then, state administration comes as a central authority that has a fundamental role not only in project-making, but also in defining the ongoing process through the enacted laws, norms or regulations. For the privately owned industrial heritage transformation projects, there are various numbers of ministers acting as authority agencies, and they have a fundamental role with strong power that might stimulate the process positively, or that might block the process through their intention. Although it is unrealistic to propose a decision content for those actors due to path dependency dynamics of the primary authorities, Leipzig Creative City in the German context shows an appropriate decision content for similar projects through enacted regulations. The regulation regarding offering financial and bureaucratic support for the privately owned cultural heritage sites is instructive for the other nations that might adopt the approach to achieve more socio-economic and socio-cultural redevelopment in their geographies. Relevant to this, the German government offers financial support to the transformation implementations that aim to reuse them for public benefits for at least 40 years. It is a critical step for the privately owned heritage assets since they do not easily receive state support, and it sometimes causes destruction or value loss. This was achieved via the micro actors' promoter role during the process, and means that NGOs and cultural foundations have the key role to prompt macro actors during the process. However, ad hoc agencies have a fundamental key position to bridge the inequality power problems between the macro and micro deciders.

Local governments and the related departments responsible for those projects are the most important ones as seen in each context, which might completely change the direction of the projects. First, each context shows the importance of their active roles in decision-making, rather than remaining under the shade of the state administration due to power inequalities, they are the fundamental intermediators not only among the real deciders but also between the deciders and users. For example, the French context through *Le Grand Pari* project shows the strong impacts of the local government's active role, which also provide solutions for process problems, including collaboration, communication and transparency. Yet, coordination of local government varies depending on the region and its internal structures of members, which also makes these agencies and actions unforeseen. They should have strong political connections with political figures, but, in the meanwhile, they should be more active rather than being tablemen of those figures.

In fact, *Le Grand Pari* shows that this effort of being active in the case of its achievement turns into a communication platform for the actors, which might be achieved through organised meetings with a various number of involved actors. It directly increases the participatory level of the ongoing process. It might also offer opportunities for the image creators or micro actors to create their network, which might help for image promotion and improvement of their personal niche. By doing this, the transparency problem might also be solved, which prevents the projects' criticism linked to their realisation phases behind the scenes. From a more general perspective, the French context is instrumental through *Le Grand Pari*'s policy, which shows a various number of possibilities to achieve indirect impacts of macro developments in the micro accounts and the region's redevelopment. It also shows that some formality stages might be overcome by local government efforts, such as the regulation barriers for future use in master plans via indirect influences of those launched state projects. It might be observed on the analysed region within the scope of the macro project, which later became a macro scale regional development, making the region one of the important cultural quarters in Paris.

To speak in more detail about local government organisation, it comprises MMs, district municipalities and provincial governments that have equal roles in the decision-making process according to the law and legal documents, even though they do not work with equal power in the reality. There are also ad hoc departments in those authorities, established for specific areas of specific themes based on the projects' characteristics. One of the critical issues for those ad hoc departments is that they have specific field experts and are structured based on the sole purpose of the objectives, such as only for conservation, urban planning or for a specific conservation *sit* area. This spatial fragmentation in the coordination system might

work adequately in the case of well-provided process themes, including communication, collaboration and participation.

The French context and *Le Grand Pari* project might also be taken into consideration as an exemplar for solving these kinds of scale and hierarchy problems within top-down contexts, which might be a guide for future policymakers and image creators for power-sharing solutions. Pursuant to this, the establishment of another ad hoc institution for the introduced policy of *Le Grand Pari* to coordinate and control this specific project process, which comprises each related department representative, is a fundamental step particularly for the context that has extremely political biases. Although it might be difficult to create an institution comprised of members with different political and professional backgrounds, it is not impossible, which might be created via a strategically labelled shared vision that might be adopted and accepted by each party. This might not only create communicative ambience but also a democratic platform, which is usually observed as one of the common decision and process problems during the transformation projects. Besides, since the establishment of an ad hoc agency is not a difficult issue within these kinds of cultural contexts, it offers one of the appropriate solutions that should be taken into consideration by the macro actors.

Furthermore, the ad hoc agencies for specific areas are another complex issue as observed in the Bosphorus conservation *sit* area in the Turkish context that is comprised of different spatially and administratively fragmented regions to advance conservation implementations and various numbers of district municipalities as responsible bodies to advance primary urban planning and cultural and environmental implementations. Moreover, although the inter-municipalities of the Bosphorus region enacted through the legal act to coordinate and control the implementations in Bosphorus area, seems an appropriate solution for fragmentation in administrative structure; these developments do not work according to their definitions within the laws due to political biases and state dominancy within those ad hoc agencies due to lack of participation levels of the existing process in the macro-scale. Thus, establishment of an ad hoc agency for a specific project seems convenient for the contexts of these kinds of problems.

In fact, although the Turkish and French cultural contexts show similar solutions against this scale and fragmentation problems, the French one is differentiated through specifically established ad hoc agencies for the coordination of an identified project or policy and through inter-communes that serve for participative and collaborative working for district municipalities. These facts for both extremely centralised cultural contexts show that the main reason for the good functionality of those developments depends on the initial phase of the project's

identification and introduction during the memorandum stages, which should address each party's preference under the shared mission. In fact, the Turkish context proves this assumption; the sole cultural policy plan in the macro-scale was structured in 2010 during the ECoC 2010 Istanbul, which was undertaken by responsible agencies under the shared mission of 'cultural implementations in favour of the socio-economic development of Istanbul', and was coordinated and controlled by an ad hoc department established for this purpose. Even though this department was dissolved just after 2010, most of the common grounds for cultural policies had been structured during this period. Yet, the strong role of international actors during this phase should also be highlighted, which was the spur for those initiatives and cultural implementations.

On the other side, local government's key role in the communication and participation issues is also apparent in *Le Grand Pari*, where it shows important solutions in those communication and collaboration experiences through the Plaine commune actions for Le Pleyel area. District municipalities and other related ad hoc departments might organise a various number of events to communicate and collaborate different micro and private actors. These public forums might be also crucial to obtain political trust for those macro actors, to improve the personal niche by promoting the new image of the private projects for the micro actors and a more transparent atmosphere for each party participating in this process including the citizens. Then, these communication and collaboration efforts should be strengthened both by the micro and macro actors via social and/or mass media, or other communication tools, to provide an appropriate platform for shared information and transparency. These are the fundamental steps to integrate a bottom-up approach within top-down contexts.

Finally, Leipzig Creative City and *Spinnerei* demonstrate the importance of the relationship between local government, cultural foundations and NGOs as promoters of a various number of common decision problems during the process. In fact, this was obtained via the communication and collaboration skills of those parties and generated financial state support for the privately owned heritage site. Besides, Halle 14 building's conversion is instructive for how to provide long-term sustainability of the given new function and how to increase the public use of the heritage site despite its ownership status. These regulative innovations are important to achieve this, which permits renting out the building for 40 years by a cultural foundation on condition to be used only for non-profit-based activities. Accordingly, this experience shows that the cultural foundations and NGOs are the promoters to prompt the macro actors, while, on the other hand, local governments are the other promoters between other macro actors who have a stronger role than

the others. Yet, although these previously mentioned decision contents show possible solutions based on the real-world cases, they remain ineffective due to the incommensurability of those technical and social issues, which generally depend on the political, social and economic dynamics of the specific context and ability of the collaboration of the deciders. However, this macro-scale examination of the issue might be a guide for the micro actors who have the potential to lead the process and projects that might also prompt the macro actors. Consequently, all these recommendations might be achieved through the network skills of both micro and macro actors via communication, collaboration, participation, shared information and transparent processes.

5.4 Repositioning the Process: Redefinition of the Actor Roles to Reconcile the Bottom-up and Top-down Approaches

Multi-criteria evaluation has been employed to realise the important performance and process themes, and their outcomes obtained from the investigated cases, and from different contexts that have already been experienced. However, one of the crucial features of the MCDA method is being a tool that solves decision problems participatively based on the real deciders' perspectives through organised focus groups. Until this part of the research, those identified actions and criteria have been assessed by me relative to my theoretical position within the investigated discourse, the comprehensive analysis and expert reflections completed through semi-structured interviews, written, published or unpublished documents, and archival research conducted in both public and private archives. Thus, even though the proposed set of actions and the decision contents for identified actors are the real-world experiences, they are structured and interpreted by me as a researcher based on the 'equally' important identified criteria and actions for the process evaluation.

In this section, those evaluated performance themes, criteria and related attributes are aimed to be weighted through an organised panel meeting that comprises diverse identified actor groups to realise their preferences and reflections on a proposed set of actions in future implementations. This experience has helped to re-evaluate each performance theme to have better practices, identified actors' roles in decision-making, actors' network and their hierarchy within the process, and how those possible decision options are perceived diversely by different actors. The outcomes of this experience are important to define the transformation process of the privately owned industrial heritage sites, particularly for top-down contexts,

and pros-cons analysis of those experienced decision options that are re-identified from different experts' verbal accounts during the panel meeting. There are various numbers of alternative tools for conducting this experience varying from the SRF¹⁴⁴ method, post-factum analysis and verbal analysis, which are applied in different research contexts by different scholars.

For this section of the thesis, a panel meeting has been organised comprising of a focus group with different categories of actors to weight those previously discussed good practice themes and regarding outcomes from their standpoints, which will elicit their preferences and their personal expectations and reflections. This part is seen as a fundamental step of this research since most of those common decision problems usually originate from actor-based contradictions due to their different preferences during the process. Thus, this step represents a 'consensus brainstorming' conducted by the possible real deciders to see what might be decided or not decided to provide the negotiation between actors during similar transformation processes.

Within this context, this thesis focuses on different complexities of the privately owned industrial heritage transformation projects fluctuating from various normative and regulative levels to the plurality of the actors involved in different stages of the projects, then it zooms in on this complex process, its different stages and related complexity caused by different actors via their decisions. Based on the analysed complexities of the whole process, this chapter discusses a set of actions for better transformation projects, which includes actors and their roles during the different stages of the process and recommendations for those actors involved, and it addresses the possible decision contents with the pros and cons of those measures from the deciders' perspectives.

Hence, the panel meeting was conducted on 2 September 2021 with representatives of identified actor groups that include an architect, a conservation expert, a culture developer and art director or curator of those kinds of projects who prepares the new activities of similar heritage sites in their new life, a possible investor as future owner, an academic and urban planner, an official who works in an ad hoc agency for conservation of cultural heritage and a representative of a cultural foundation or NGOs. They did not get involved in either the investigated projects' process or the macro-scale initiatives, but they have been chosen according to their expert skills and their position in these kinds of project transformations, which permit them to re-evaluate those previously mentioned

¹⁴⁴ A simple procedure proposed by J. Simos for determination of the values using a set of cards, was developed, and revised by Bernard Roy and Jose Figueira later, and is known as the SRF method in the literature (Figueira and Roy, 2002).

dynamics from outsiders' perspective. Thus, this part aims to see their reflections and priorities on the previously proposed set of actions, and will strengthen the research outcomes by making a more realistic toolkit by specifying each actor's role during the process since they are in the real deciders' positions.

Accordingly, the participants were asked to reply to several questions regarding the proposed set of actions. The first set of questions concerns the projects' expected outcomes, such as which identified performance themes, criteria and related attributes do they consider the most important from their standpoints; the second set of open-ended questions follows to understand the process characteristics, such as which group of actors is the blocker or intermediary within the process, which common decision problem is more problematic during the process and which actor is the origin of which decision problem. They are prepared as general questions that will help to generate their thoughts and preferences in specific circumstances to frame the final considerations for the research outcomes. While some of the questions were dealt with in a participative manner, some were examined via face-to-face conversations with open-ended questions to clarify their preferences and hesitations, particularly those regarding contextual analysis. They are as follows:

- With reference to the cases, which scenario for choosing the new function do you prefer? And to what extent?
 - New function based on popular culture/New function based on pure culture
 - Linking with one specific past layer of the heritage/Linking with one of the city's past layers
- With reference to the performance themes, which criteria do you think is the most important? And to what extent?
 - Cultural accessibility
 - Social accessibility
 - Physical accessibility
 - Long-term sustainability of the new given culture
 - Macro-scale impacts
- With reference to the cultural accessibility criterion, which attribute do you think is the most important? And to what extent?
 - Quality of the new culture produced
 - Flexibility of the given new activities
 - Industrial heritage value
 - Public-private balance in the given new activities
 - Integration with the other attraction points within the city

- With reference to the social accessibility criterion, which attribute do you think is the most important? And to what extent?
 - Number of the new user communities
 - Appreciation of the new users
 - Public uses with admission to pay
 - Public uses without admission to pay
- With reference to the physical accessibility criterion, which attribute do you think is the most important? And to what extent?
 - Number of arrival methods
 - Ease of access
 - Relationship with other cultural attraction points in the city
- With reference to the long-term sustainability of the new culture criterion, which attribute do you think is the most important? And to what extent?
 - Job opportunities offered
 - Economic income
- With reference to the macro-scale impact criterion, which attribute do you think is the most important? And to what extent?
 - Possible state support
 - Facilitation of the legitimisation of the new activities
 - Facilitation in the image promotion
 - Facilitation in the integration with other attraction points
- With reference to the contextual analysis, which group of actors do you think is the most important in the process of choosing the new function? And to what extent?
- With reference to the contextual analysis, which actor do you think is the ‘blocker’ and which actor is the ‘intermediator’ in conservation and in cultural redevelopment?
- With reference to the contextual analysis, which group of actors do you think is the most important in the process in urban planning? And to what extent?
- With reference to the contextual analysis, which group of actors do you think is the most important in the process in conservation? And to what extent?
- With reference to the contextual analysis, which common decision problems do you think is the most important? And to what extent? (which actor creates which common problem and so on)

These pair-comparison questions are used to re-evaluate the proposed set of actions to attain expected outcomes of the realised privately owned industrial heritage transformation projects for future implementations from the possible deciders' perspectives, and to rethink the process problems for how to balance them by different actors. The panel is conducted by a representative group of actors informing them anteriorly regarding the proposed set of actions, real-world cases' evaluation and contextual filtration in different cultural contexts based on the problem structuring. According to this, each actor weighted both scenarios equally preferable; thus, new function based on pure culture or based on popular culture are equally feasible from their point of view as possible attributed new functions for industrial heritage sites. They have met on common ground so that those former industrial places should have an active relationship with their new users by attributing new functions to them based on new culture, which is also considered to achieve the regional and socio-cultural redevelopment of contemporary cities. The use value of these heritage places is seen as more important because there are several examples converted into museums that are preserved and reused with nostalgic approaches, and the necessity of the new-coming museums should be assessed comprehensively as per the contemporary needs of each city.

During the definition of the new function for those sites, the nomination linking one of the past layers of the city or heritage plays a fundamental role to reuse them, which provides a respectful approach to preserve the common industrial past of those places. Choosing a new function from the common collective memory in relation to both city and heritage's past is seen as more strategic rather than the sole industrial heritage nomination. From the macro perspective, while it multiplies the contemporary values of those sites as an appropriate solution for different value conflicts, it is also considered as a 'strategic' approach that permits prompting the macro actors in the transformation process, particularly for top-down contexts such as Turkey. This strategical choice might influence the outcomes of the realised projects in the macro-scale. For example, a conservation expert highlighted that the nomination of the given new function with common collective memory that is known and felt by everybody within the society, brings more success regarding the conservation, which also promotes the new image of the sites by bringing macro-scale incomes. Thus, the second scenario, *Leipzig Spinnerei*, is preferable to *Beykoz Kundura*, which has weighted by the conservationist, architect and the official in the RCB. However, the experts also mentioned that the given new function specifically linked with the industrial heritage's past or industrial material culture that meets the contemporary demands is also crucial and stronger in relation to the pure industrial heritage conservation as seen in *Beykoz Kundura*. The important

feature to consider for making these choices, involving the previous community into the process, also brought appreciation from their side. However, due to the heritage characteristics of the former industrial sites, there is no one way to have respectful approach to their past, since they are the epicentres of not only industrial transformation processes but also socio-cultural and political ones. Thus, the key is to think of the heritage site together with the multi-dimensional dynamics considering both phases of the transformation.

In addition, the culture developer and art director of these kinds of projects has mentioned that the new culture based on the popular one for the enrichment of the new activities is more feasible; it offers a more flexible cultural programme and more flexible user profile. This option is also preferable from the owners' perspective due to its advantages in direct financial income. On the other hand, the option based on pure art for the enrichment of the new activities needs more filtration in the quality of the new life, both regarding the events' contents and user profiles that might not be preferable to the future owners depending on their priorities and their visions in terms of culture and art. Hence, the second scenario requires more comprehensive and collaborative management as well as physical organisation in the site's layout to avoid unbalanced 'private' uses by the sole art community. In fact, each participant has mentioned their concern about unbalanced private-public values of these heritage sites, which is one of the primary decision problems of privately owned heritage projects.

Based on this, the urban planner, architect, official of the ad hoc agency and representative of the NGOs weighted the first scenario as the more appropriate option since it offers more public use opportunities, which is their priority for those projects due to being under the subject of public interests. In fact, the public-private value conflicts of the projects create actor-based biases such as experts as outsiders' reflections that might turn into speculations during the realisation phase of the projects, which also brings disrepute for those implementations. This is fundamentally important, particularly for the sites' owners to consider since they are the primary actors in choosing the new function, and they have the responsibility to do this in a transparent atmosphere. Accordingly, there are some pros and cons in both scenarios in different fields, which should be considered by the future deciders, even though they are weighted as equally feasible and successful themes as shown by the results.

Table 10: Pros and Cons of the scenarios-real-world cases

	Pros	Cons
Scenario 1 BEYKOZ KUNDURA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Facilitate the legitimization process of the new function *Industrial culture and industrial heritage value increased *Facilitate to tackle with industrial material culture *Offers more flexible event contents for public use *Appreciation of various number of communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Possibility to remain outside the other cultural clusters of the city *Requirement of more efforts with other public events for state support *Requirement of more efforts for image promotion
Scenario 2 LEIPZIG SPINNEREI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Facilitate the legitimization of the new function *Facilitate to obtain state support *Facilitate integration into the cultural cluster in the city *Plus-fame *Appreciation of the art community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Pure industrial culture and value remain weak *Previous real community displaced *Requirement to other parallel activities for involving the ordinary people (For the people outside the pure art community) *Requirement of more filtration in the cultural events' contents

Following the scenario's re-evaluation, each participant was asked to reply to the questions related to performance themes and criteria, which was conducted to avoid the blinded parts by one particular sub-process perceived by the analyst. In fact, they already gave clues while they were brainstorming the scenarios and for the consequences of those real-world cases. By doing this, each group of actors' preferences and reflections on those main themes have come to the fore, which will help to identify the pros and cons from their standpoints in specific circumstances. According to this, the architect weighted social and physical accessibility as the most important performance theme that should be dominant via public value of the heritage sites for these kinds of projects. Moreover, they gave precedence to the

project's accessibility and being well connected to the other reference points within the city, which make the project a more 'common object'.

The urban planner weighted the macro-scale impact of projects and social accessibility as the most important, and he highlighted strictly the requirement of the well-identified macro-scale planning and cultural policy from the city and regional perspective. He added that the projects should not only connect with other references of the city in which it is located, but also should be in the network with other cities and international projects. On the other hand, the industrial heritage expert weighted social and cultural accessibility as the most important performance themes from their position in the process. The culture and art director weighted cultural quality and accessibility and long-term sustainability of the new culture as the most important themes that should meet the contemporary needs of the society. The given new function is extremely important, which also offers new channels to develop the new life of the sites for their sustainability. She also indicated the themes' importance for the possible owners since projects should also provide economic profits for those actors.

After this step, they were asked to weight which attribute is the most important parameter in each performance theme to see which criterion of those themes they focus on. Hence, for the cultural quality and accessibility theme, while quality of the new function and integration to the other attraction points within the city are the most important attributes perceived by the culture and art director by means of cultural accessibility and long-term sustainability of the new given function, on the other hand, industrial heritage value and public-private balance were weighted by the architect, urban planner and conservation expert. The possible investor gives priority to the flexibility of the new given activities since it offers more options for direct economic income linking to personal expectations.

For the social accessibility theme, the possible investor weighted the appreciation of the new users and public uses with admission to pay due to her position in the process. The culture and art director must work closely with owners, and thus, she also weighted those attributes as the most important ones. On the other hand, other experts gave priorities to the number of the user communities and public uses without admission to pay, which are the attributes that increase the social accessibility of those sites. With reference to the physical accessibility, number of arriving ways and the relationship of the site with other attraction points were considered as the most important ones by each expert.

Moreover, for the long-term sustainability of the new given function, while the possible owner and culture and art director consider economic income as the most important attribute due to their positions, other experts gave priority to the job

opportunities offered by the projects, which is also important from the macro-scale perspective. And, for the final performance theme, which is identified as macro-scale impacts, possible state support and the legitimisation of the given new function were weighted as the most important ones by the possible investor and culture-art director due to their difficulty to obtain for the privately owned assets that require state support. In fact, this theme is quite difficult and complex to achieve the primary objective, which is gaining financial support, and requires a strategical decisional process due to its close relationship with the actor-based problems. It is a concrete fact that the possible state support and image promotion are fundamentally important, which directly facilitate the network creation of the realised projects with other attraction points. They also highlighted the importance of those attributes from the macro-scale, which might positively influence other performance themes in the micro accounts of the projects.

Finally, each proposed action to bring better transformation projects of privately owned industrial heritage sites was re-evaluated by their possible real deciders to understand their position and priorities in the process. Following this, a previously proposed set of actions and responsible actors' roles were proposed participatively from their standpoints for future implementations. This investigation also helps to identify the possible risks and advantageous parts of those decision contents, not only from a theoretical perspective but also from a practical one since they have been achieved through possible deciders' reflections.

Table 11: Expected outcomes from the realized projects by the deciders against value-based biases

Decision Problem during the realization of the projects	Expected Outcomes from the projects	Actor
*Value-based problems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Long-term sustainability of the new function *Cultural quality and accessibility *Long-term sustainability of the new function *Social accessibility *Physical accessibility *Social accessibility *Physical accessibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Possible Owner *Cultural and art director *Architect *Conservation expert

	*Social accessibility *Macro-scale impacts	*Urban Planner-Academic
	*Social accessibility *Cultural quality and accessibility	*Representative of Cultural Foundation
	*Social accessibility *Macro-scale impacts	*Official in Ad-hoc department

Table 12: Preferable decision contents for value-based problems, and their pros-cons in outcomes of the projects to take into consideration for future deciders

Decision Problem	Decision Content	pros	cons
*Value-based biases during the realization phase	Enrichment of the new activities through parallel public and private events	-plus-fame for projects -possible state support -increase in public uses -facilitation of the network creation -increase in number of user type -facilitate the participation and collaboration in the process -increase in economic income	-possible dissatisfaction of the every-day users
	Enrichment of the new activities through appropriate non-profit-based events	-admission to pay problem solved -increase in public uses -takes more appreciation from the experts as	-sufficiency of these places should be taken into consideration -long-term sustainability should be taken into consideration

		outsiders about the project -takes more appreciation from each type of new user -balanced industrial value and new value -brings plus-fame -facilitate the image promotion	-requires well communication -requires well participation -requires step by step process -requires infrastructural development
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As seen from the outcomes of the panel meeting, most of the risks regarding the act of deciding for the deciders are related to contextual macro-scale problems, which is difficult to foresee for future implementations. Thus, each participant was asked to reply to the questions related to contextual analysis, which were prepared as open-ended questions to better understand their reflections based on their experiences and visions. It is important to understand which actor might perceive the other one as a threat or barrier in the process, and which actor has the key role in balancing actor-based decision problems. It aims how to equalise the power inequalities by offering an appropriate level of participative process.

For doing this, the first question was related to the contextual analysis, and each participant was asked to respond in relation to which group of actors they think is the most important within the process for definition of the new life of the privately owned industrial heritage sites. Each participant replied that the micro actors are the most important ones to shape the new lives of these sites since the primary decider is the site's owner. Also, generally there are no specific regulations defined in the macro scale for the future uses of those areas excepting their general assumptions under the title of reclaimed zones as tourism and development areas. This introduces financial profit-based implementations due to the real estate values, which are varied in different contexts. Then, each participant was asked to identify which group of actors they think is the most important in the process for cultural redevelopment. They replied that both categories of actors play a fundamental role in the process for cultural redevelopment, but macro actors should guide and support the micro actors based on the macro-scale cultural policy, which generally does not exist in many cultural contexts.

Table 13: Generally observed lack of process themes and tools to improve by different actors during the process, and reflections to consider

Process Problems in macro scale	Tools to improve	Pros	Cons
Lack of Communication Collaboration Participation Shared information Transparency	-Micro actors might use social platform to share more information	-facilitate image promotion -brings plus-fame -brings opportunity for the micro actors to create their personal niche	-might turn into fake news due to the risk of the social platform -requires mass media support by the state
	-Local governments might play more active role to provide participation	-facilitate the image promotion and cultural redevelopment in the regional scale -facilitate the network creation	-depends on the political background of the actors -difficult to foresee
	-Micro actors should be more promoter to collaborate with macro actors	-facilitate to obtain financial and infrastructural state support -increase actor involvement	-difficult to foresee some consequences due to the contextual dynamics that vary case by case depending on the macro actors' preferences

Finally, each participant was asked the final question concerning which common process problem is the most important to resolve during the act of deciding. While the possible investor replied that communication is the most important decision problem in the process based on her position by highlighting the 'blurred' steps to complete in the decision-making system, on the other hand, the culture and art director thought that collaboration and communication are the most

important ones since these two actors' positions in the process require working closely with each other, the necessity of the collaboration with the others and the importance of appropriate shared information of the new attributed activities is fundamental. This also brings transparency within the process, which solves many conflicts between actors and society. Other experts highlighted that each decision problem is equally important to have better practices in the contemporary cities.

Table 14: Expected 'themes' during the realization and *ex-post* stage of the realization process which bring the expected outcomes

Coordination and scale problems during the process	Expected theme	Actor
*Actor-based biases	*Communication *Collaboration	*Possible Owner
	*Communication *Collaboration	*Cultural and art director
	*Collaboration *Transparency	*Architect
	*Collaboration *Participation	*Conservation expert
	*Collaboration *Transparency	*Urban Planner-Academic
	*Communication *Collaboration	*Representative of Cultural Foundation
	**Collaboration *Transparency	*Official in <i>Ad-hoc</i> department

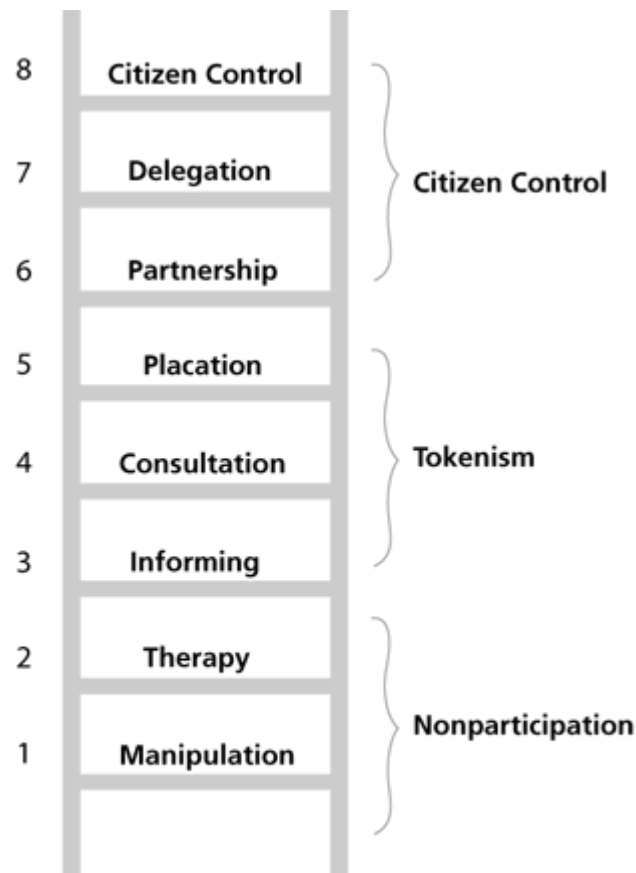
Moreover, both categories of actors should provide communication tools, either social or mass media, including the realisation and post-realisation phases to prevent those possible actor-based conflicts. Concordantly, micro actors have

fundamental roles in the decision-making within the top-down characterised contexts to ensure better practices and processes due to their possible key positions to prompt the macro actors in the various process stages. When micro actors' key role is supported by the local government's active role in the macro-scale, the results of these kinds of projects are generated better. Thus, both micro actors and local government play important roles for the definition of the new function and cultural redevelopment. It requires a 'participative' decision-making process in each stage, which is the solution to prevent communication, collaboration, shared information and transparency problems during the process that bring the expected outcomes.

In fact, participation is one of the important common decision problems within the process, but, it is an important concept and approach for future challenges on policy studies and practices. In fact, A. Melucci's (1989:174) definition is instrumental to understand the social dimension of the participation. He notes that it has double meaning, "*It means both taking part, that is, acting so as to promote the interests and needs of actor as well as belonging system, identifying with the general interests of the community*". W. Carey (2009:15) defines communication as being strictly linked to 'sharing', 'participation', 'association' and 'possession of a common vision or culture', where actors participate in that shared vision. Mass media, social media and any communication tools, such as forums and publication on billboards, become key tools where each actor with a shared common background is invited to participate in a specific process. On the other side, there is another meaning of participation, which is political, and it concerns the equalisation of power inequalities between privileged and non-privileged actors in particular decision-making processes. There are also levels of participation; for instance, partial participation or full participation, and partial participation that means that two or more parties might influence each other but the final decision belongs to the powerful one, while full participation means that each party has an equal role in the decision-making process, including citizens (Carpentier, 2011; Carpentier, 2016).

All these meanings of participation are important to explain my position within the scope of the research. Even though the analysed cases and contexts do not show full participation examples, they are instrumental to see different levels of the participation process to obtain those outcomes. My main intention to focus on the concept of participation has both social and political dimensions; I assume that the deciders' network and their decision-making process are a structured political approach of participation, but, in the meanwhile, the decisions taken by those actors are generated within their social environment. This chapter of the research is

structured to offer solutions for how to improve those level of participatory processes both social and political perspectives.



Arnstein's Ladder (1969)
Degrees of Citizen Participation

Figure 70: S. Arnstein's degrees of citizen participation (1969)

There are various studies on 'participation' conducted by social and political dimensions of the notion in different fields, varying from media studies to urban planning. S. Arnstein's (1969) seminal ladder of citizen participation in which she distinguished three primary categorisations under the titles of 'citizen power, tokenism and non-participation' with eight levels that are manipulation and therapy for non-participation; informing, consultation and placation for tokenism; partnership, and delegated power and citizen control for citizen power (See figure). N. Carpentier (2016) criticises this old model, and notes that it is useful to generally

define the process category but it does not respond to the complexity of the applied processes. Since this research also concerns the transformation process of privately owned heritage sites, these approaches to participation are quite crucial to conclude the completed analysis.

N. Carpentier (2016) strictly notes that participation is also not stable like the other components of the process, and the plurality of the actors involved in the process with different preferences and objectives are other complex dynamics to consider, which makes participation a ‘complex issue’. Hence, it requires new ways to rethink rather than traditional ladder-based approaches. He suggested focusing on the particularity of the specific process in a specific field, and to analyse it together with the levels of different complexities in heterogeneous measures.

Based on this re-evaluation, different participative levels of processes both from different micro accounts of the projects and macro-scale contextual backgrounds in different contexts are analysed in the previous parts of the research to arrive at an analytical toolkit for different actors including the macro category relative to their preferences concerning specific circumstances in relation to the process characteristics. Since the good outcomes for the realised projects are only achieved via participative processes, I will conclude with a final consideration of the proposed actions based on the possible actors’ reflections during the panel discussion.

The recommendations for the macro-scale process problems are mostly structured based on the micro actors’ possible decision contents to prompt the macro actors because the outcomes show that the power equality or inequality during the participatory process have different levels in each context. Since this research concerns top-down contexts where it is difficult to provide power-sharing in each stage of the process, the sole way to avoid the process-based and actor-based problems for the privately owned industrial heritage sites’ transformation depends on the micro actors’ key roles within the process, as previously discussed. They should lead the process towards a bottom-up approach to those possible decision contents, which have been grasped from the real-world cases. Their critical position led them to prompt the macro actors who have the power to decide.

As well as the ‘participation’ approach in decision-making, another important notion comes to the fore, which is ‘accessibility’. In fact, they are connected to each other; each actor should access the process to participate. During the panel discussion, experts also highlighted that one of the other problems concerns accessibility to information, including research, books, newspapers and mass media. To increase the participatory level of the different stages of the process, it is fundamental to mention censorship, access barred, or unpublished phase of

documents, which are the main sources of transparency and shared information problems. Here, experts again returned to the micro actors' key role to increase accessibility. They highlighted that each micro actor might be an intermedator despite the macro contexts' problems, such as censorship and malfunctioning of mass media; they should use social media or other communication tools by prompting the other actors to avoid the accessibility problems that might increase the accessibility and participator levels; and stated that researchers should also be more open – they should publish their academic productions rather than 'access barred'.

Appendix H- Final Outcomes

PERFORMANCE THEMES, CRITERIA AND ATTRIBUTES OF GOOD PRACTICES THAT BRING SUCCESSES

PROPOSED SET OF ACTIONS FOR PRIVATELY OWNED INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE SITES' TRANSFORMATION IN FUTURE IMPLEMENTATIONS

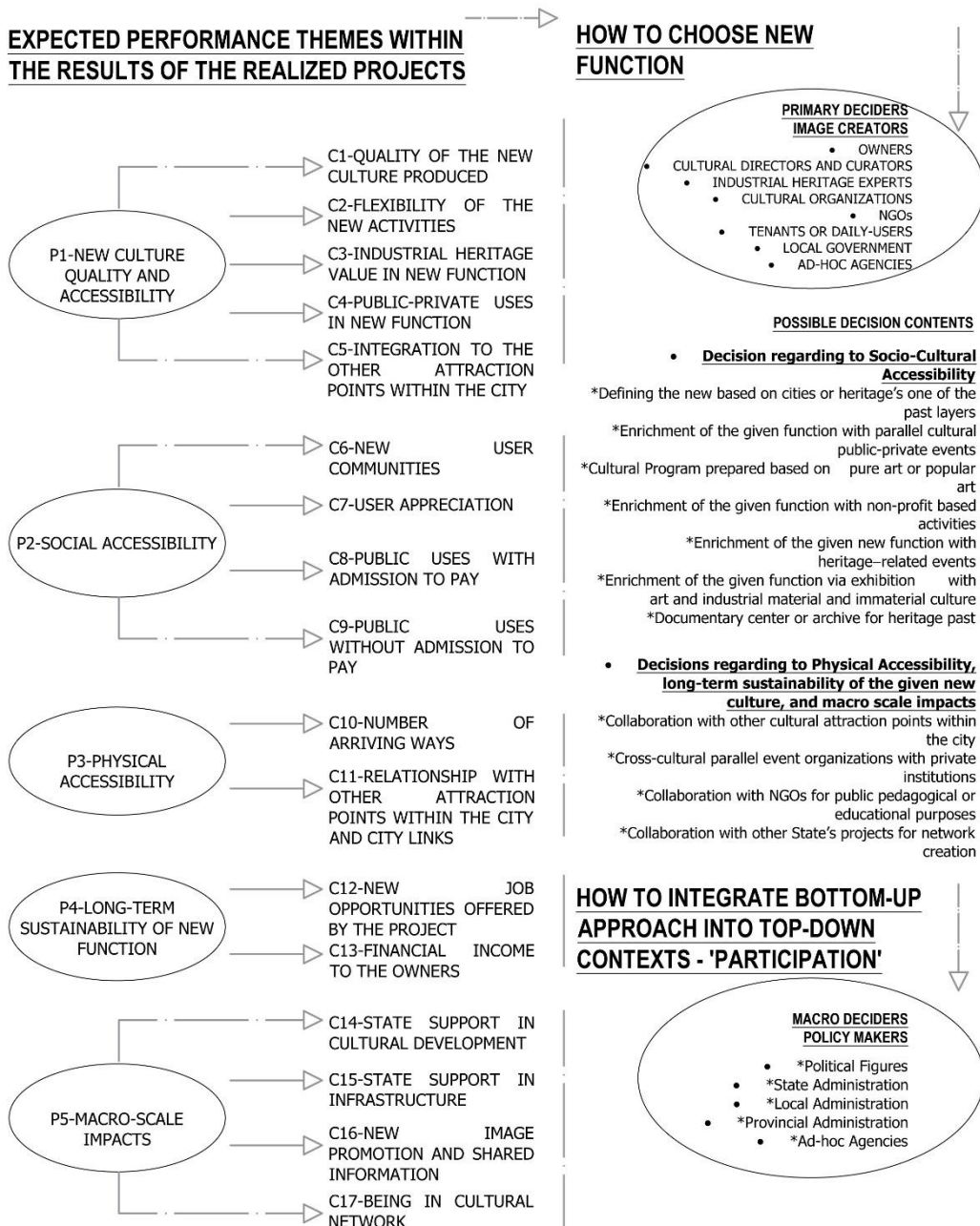


Figure 71: Performance themes, criteria, and attributes of good practices, source: Author.

PROCESS THEMES, CRITERIA AND ATTRIBUTES OF GOOD PRACTICES THAT BRING SUCCESSES

PROPOSED SET OF ACTIONS FOR PRIVATELY OWNED INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE SITES' TRANSFORMATION IN FUTURE IMPLEMENTATIONS

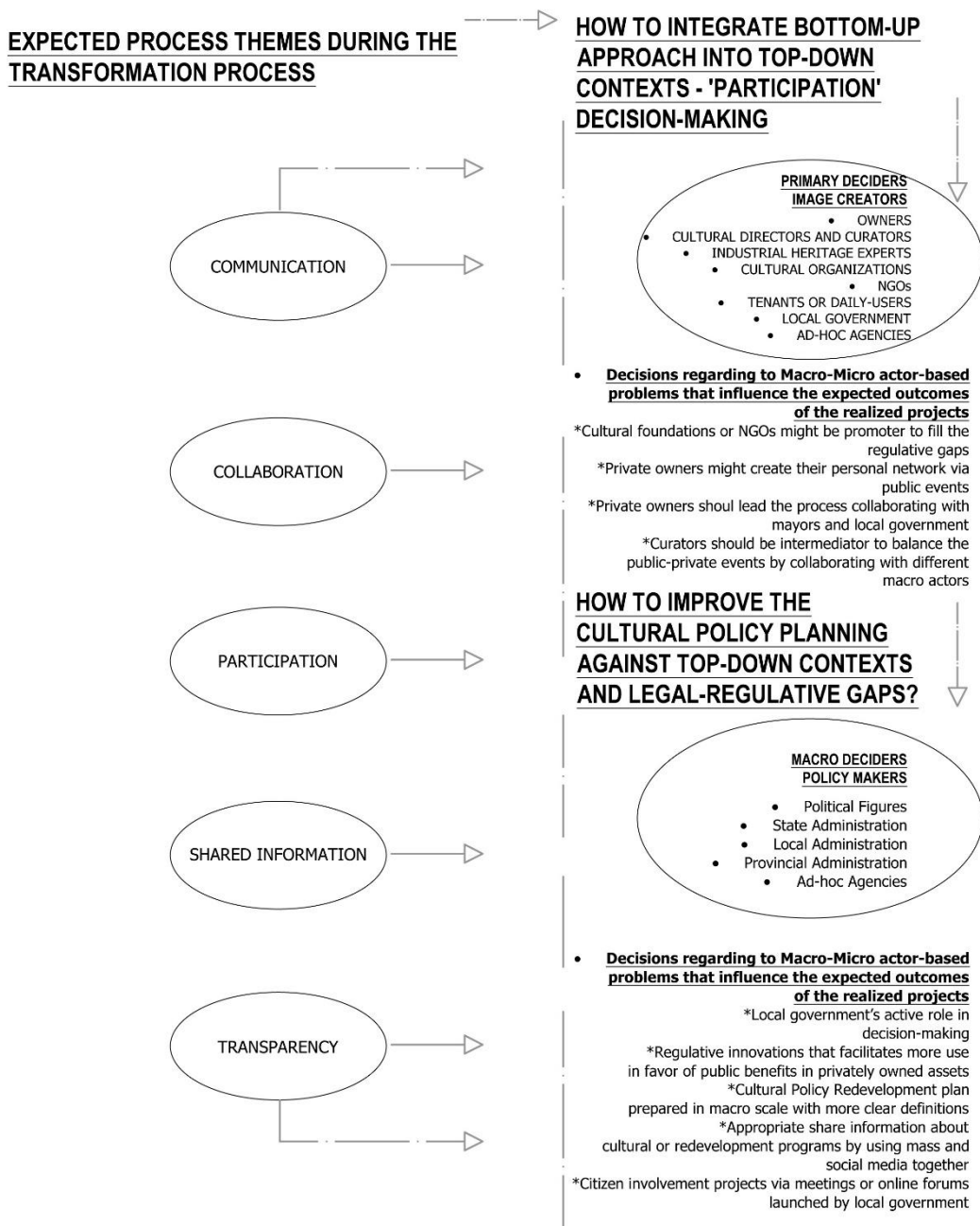


Figure 72: Process themes, possible decision contents, source: Author.

PERFORMANCE THEMES, CRITERIA AND ATTRIBUTES OF GOOD PRACTICES THAT BRING SUCCESSES AND ACTOR PREFERENCES

**FOCUS GROUP MEETINGS
WEIGHTING THE PROPOSED ACTIONS AND ACTORS' PRIORITIES**

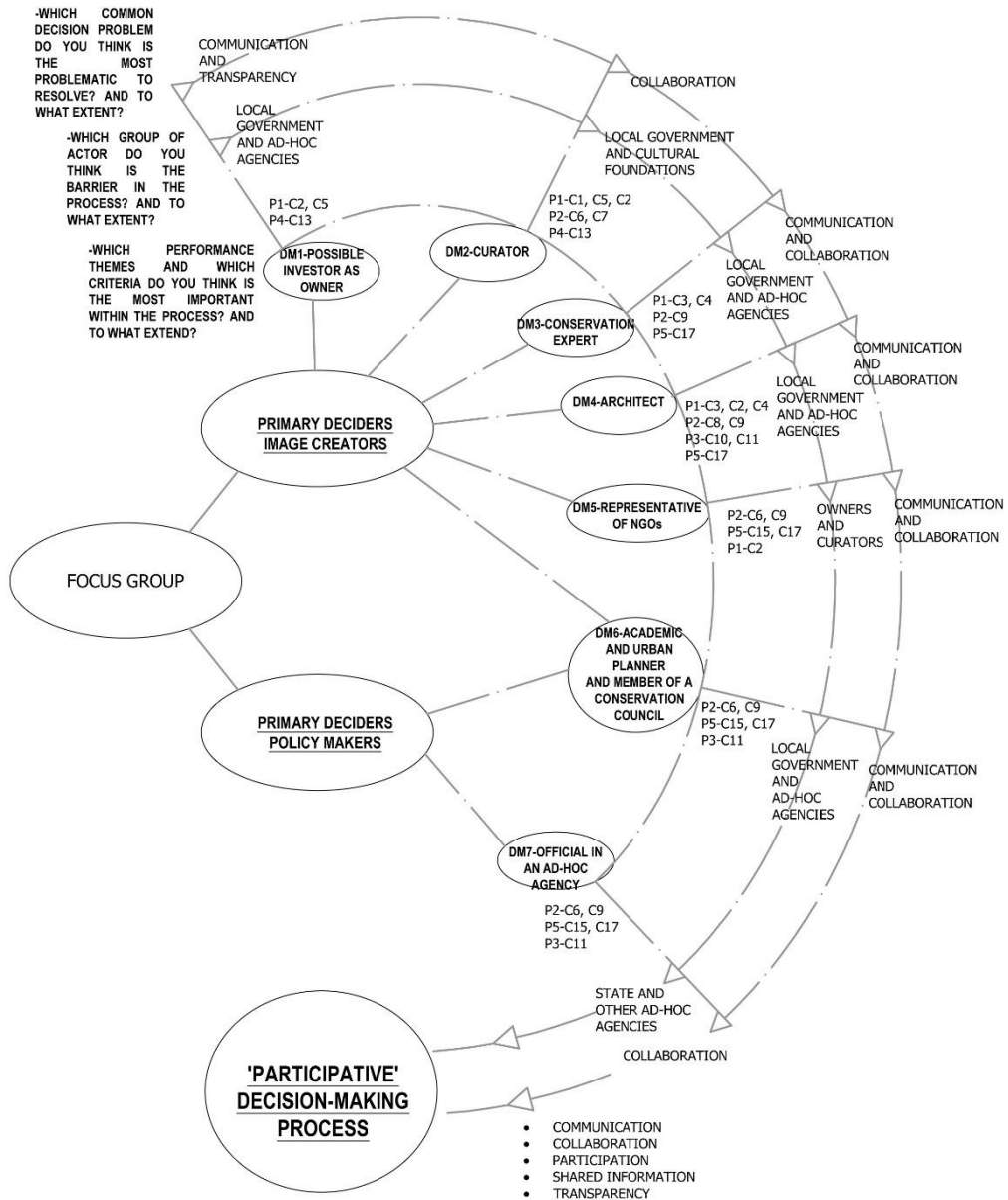


Figure 73: Focus group meetings and weighting the proposed set of actions, source: Author.

ACTORS AND THEIR ROLES - PRACTICAL TOOLKIT

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE IDENTIFIED SOCIAL ACTORS

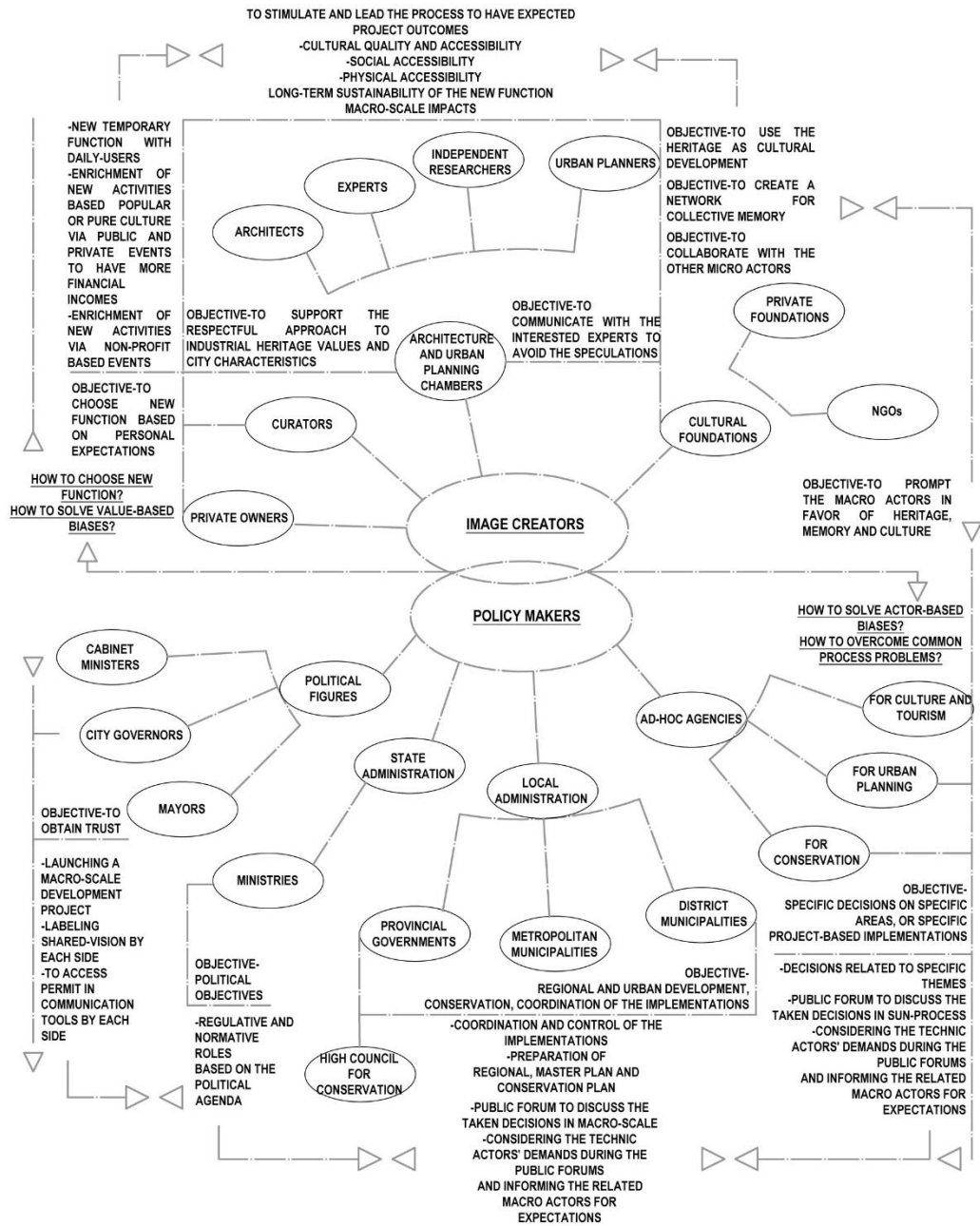


Figure 74: Actors, their roles. Practical toolkit, source: Author.

CONCLUSION

There are three discrete outcomes of this thesis, which also reflect the different originality parts of the research. The first concerns the comprehensive process analysis of the exemplar case in Beykoz, Istanbul, which has been presented in detail, which not only enlightens the unpublished and unstudied parts of Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus, but also offers an analytical guideline for the future analysts through the proposed multi-methodological approach for how to conduct comprehensive analysis for complex processes from the micro accounts of the project. The investigation on Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus has not only revealed the historical trajectory of the exemplar case and physical transformation of the heritage site, but also socio-cultural transformation, the changed urban and social life within the campus within the course of time.

Then, an integrated process reading on the exemplar case focusing on the cultural forms in relation to its context from the macro-scale perspective, which aims to focus on a sub-process of the complexity, has contributed to the previous outcomes by revealing the social actors involved in the site's transformation process, and the conflicts generated by them during the decision-making, which are linked to the different expected outcomes perceived by different deciders from the different stage of these sub-processes. 'Conflicts' that emerged during different phases of different processes are also one of the important themes in this research focusing on two fundamental conflictual situations. The first group of conflicts concerns the dilemma between intrinsic and contemporary values of the privately owned industrial heritage sites, and it addresses the in-between conditions of those sites as collective and private, industrial and cultural uses. On the other hand, the other group of conflicts are the origins of the decider and decision relationship of a specific process in a specific project, and it addresses the in-between conditions in a decisional process. In fact, these two groups of conflicts are linked to each other, and their complexity levels define the good or bad practices.

Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus has experienced different transformation phases, including industrialisation, deindustrialisation and post-industrialisation over the course of time. The privatisation and heritagisation, and then reindustrialisation phases of the transformation were the most conflicted and contested phases for the heritage site's trajectory, which also represent emblematic stages to expose the value and actor-based existing transformation process and decision problems for privately owned industrial heritage sites in top-down

contexts. Thus, the second originality of the thesis was derived from the findings of this comprehensive research on the exemplar case considering different phases of the transformation, and it exposes the common primary conflicts that occurred, the main uncertainties of the process structure within a top-down context according to the problem structuring method offered within the thesis.

In relation to this, for Beykoz Sümerbank Industrial Campus' transformation process focusing on its *ex-post* stages, there are mainly two discrete common decisional problems observed, which are grouped as value-based and spatial, and actor-based and processual conflicts. The first group value-based conflicts mainly originated from the use and non-use value of the heritage site, which also clashed with the public and private in the spatial terms, and with the industrial and cultural in the functional meanings. The other one concerns the plurality actors of the process, and relates to value-based biases due to their different preferences in the decision-making. This nature of decision-making mechanism not only generates processual problems due to the inequality power of the actors, but also creates value-based conflicts due to actors' preferences, such as public and private in the meaning of use, previous community and new community, which generally address the 'accessibility' and 'participation' problems of the process.

Focusing on those identified value and actor-based conflicts of the process, actors participating in the process were presented, following a SNA that helps to identify the actors, their interconnection and primary decisional area. SNA and the produced cognitive maps are also crucial findings of this research, which facilitates understanding the different complex fragments of the complexity. The actor diagrams obtained from this analysis show the actor network including their environment, active or passive role-playing in the process, or unequal powers, which help to analyse each specific position of the actors during the process. In fact, based on this analysis, actors are grouped as micro and macro actors relative to their primary decisional areas. While the micro actors are titled as image creators who usually choose or stimulate the new given function to balance those value-based and spatial conflicts, the macro actors are the primary authority agencies identified within the legal documents who have different roles and unequal powers during the process, and they are named as policymakers within the scope of the research due to their position in the process. To better understand the current developments in the macro-scale and macro actors' network in the analysed cultural context, I focus on the Vision 2050 project launched by the current Istanbul mayor, which aims to increase the participative level of the decisional process. This investigation helped to identify the primary process-based and power inequality problems of the top-down contexts, focusing on planning actions in Istanbul.

Following this comprehensive investigation, lessons learned from *Beykoz Kundura* are presented highlighting both positive and negative parts of the decisional process. Even though its complex process exposed the problematic parts of the decision-making, there were also various numbers of positive outcomes obtained from the project. While the micro actors' efforts during the reindustrialisation phase have showed important decision contents to balance those value-based conflicts, which originated from the heritage site, they have also demonstrated possible ways to resolve macro-scale process problems, such as communication and collaboration, which originated from the cultural context. For example, the private owner's vision and her efforts to create a micro actors' network by inviting them into the process, such as other cultural foundations, NGOs, researchers and volunteers, have been assessed as possible decisions to integrate the bottom-up approach in top-down contexts. And, they have also resolved some processual problems, such as communication and collaboration, due to an increased level of participation of the process. Then, it has been also grasped that all actions of those actors have influenced the project outcomes positively, which addresses the importance of collective working during the process. On the other side, it has also been observed that even though Vision 2050 Istanbul has revealed the main macro-scale process problems, it also shows positive developments for a top-down context through the local government's initiative to increase the participatory level.

Hence, although my thesis was searching for answers to those process problems and actors participating in this process, I discovered that the exemplar's process itself also offers some possible decision contents for specific actors to balance various value-based or actor-based conflicts, as mentioned above. Then, I decided to evolve the research to develop an analytical toolkit for the actors involved, which might give them ideas for a possible set of actions to achieve better practices and possible decision contents, in line with the specific conflict. It also aims to inform them of the positive and negative consequences of those proposed decision contents to prevent the possible same risks in the future. Thus, the other originality of this research is to offer an analytical toolkit to improve the process problems from the actors' standpoints considering their preferences, which also informs them of the possible advantageous and disadvantageous consequences of the decision contents according to the experiences from the real-world cases. To do this, a multi-sited analysis and applied multi-methodological approach for this part is the methodological originality offered by the thesis for further policy improvement studies. Within the scope of the research, this part was conducted via two observatory successful cases as pair-comparison choices to Beykoz Sümerbank

Industrial Campus in Istanbul and Vision 2050 initiatives to evaluate the further objectives on process and project improvement.

First, the idea has been applied in *Leipzig Baumwollspinnerei*, which is considered as one of the good practices in transformed, privately owned industrial heritage sites such as *Beykoz Kundura* regarding its defined new life. This project was chosen not only to propose a set of action for good projects, which are the expected outcomes, but also to seek alternatives for how to choose new functions for image creators. Besides, the project also shows diverse strategies on how to use micro project scope for the new image of the city and future development by the macro actors. These two particularities of *Spinnerei* make a pair example to see those diversities in decision contents for the image-creators in comparison to *Beykoz Kundura*. This pair-comparison investigation of two real-world successful projects has been used for two main goals within the second part of the thesis during the valorisation stages. Firstly, the two have been compared to see expected project outcomes, which have provided the main evaluation parameters of the projects. Cultural quality and accessibility, social accessibility, physical accessibility, long-term sustainability of the new function and macro-scale impacts have been identified as the primary performance themes of the good practices. Then, while they have been ranked to see which project shows better results in a specific theme, they were comprehensively analysed later to realise the possible decision contents that bring those outcomes, and how a specific criterion influenced the other ones. To do this, a social multi-criteria evaluation was proposed, and they were ranked using PROMETHEE II software, which facilitates the re-evaluation of the projects and performance themes for transformation projects.

Firstly, the problem of public value discourse, which clashed with being private property, but meanwhile under the subject of public interest, was resolved by reusing one of the layers of the city's past for the creation of new culture in the contemporaneity. It is one of the ways to bridge traditional and contemporary types of values of the heritage site, which not only provides the legitimisation of the new culture produced within the new life of the post-industrial landscapes for cultural sustainability, but also meets the expectations of society by using one of the collective memory layers. Moreover, the importance of labelling the new project and new life by choosing one of those layers of the city's or heritage's past is also crucial and is an influential action for choosing new use to legitimise the new culture and new function applied in these former landscapes. It particularly solves the conflicts between traditional heritage values and contemporary ones, and multiples the new types of values of the heritage itself. Using the labels 'from cotton to culture' or 'new Leipzig School of Painting' shows that the nomination is also

an important part of the image-making strategy that should be noted by the image creators.

During the transformation of the post-industrial landscapes, how to bridge the link between past, present and future through new function comes to the fore as one of the fundamental discourses as already noted within the research. Even though it is mostly related to the national cultural policy approach and actors' preferences, *Spinnerei* is one of the exemplars through which one can see how the new form of culture intersects with the other historical layer of the collective memory, directly linking with the owners' visions. Accordingly, the good result does not lie behind a specific actor, but is achieved through collective working within a participative and transparent process.

Generally, linking the new culture to collective identity in some way is one of the best methods to revive the identity of the place, even though it would not exactly link to the industrial past. What we saw in *Spinnerei*, is the functionality of this policy, creating the new sense of the place by labelling the cultural past of Leipzig, which was quite influential for collective memory and for the new community of the site that is an artists' community. By doing this, despite the ownership status of the site being a limiting factor, the image promotion of the place was also solved by using another collective channel of the culture and society, which also resulted in benefitting the access to state support for the legitimisation and image promotion by creating a cluster as an important source for the contemporary economy. This solution was strategic as well as political in place-branding policies both in the macro and micro scale, giving a strategic role to the micro actors, particularly to the owners of the heritage sites, in choosing the appropriate new life of those landscapes.

In addition, since the former industrial site was converted into a kind of 'art factory', it creates a conflictual situation in social accessibility of the site which needs to break this monotony approach of the new function and monotype of user profile that serves only for the specific artists. Regarding this, the architectural programme was enriched, adding new types of art sectors including architecture, dance and free type of performance to diversify the user profile of the heritage site, thus responding to the needs of 'other' art users who do not belong to the specific cultural community. This initiative has partially provided a balance; nevertheless, the public value was not solved to prevent criticism, since the targeted profile was still too specific and limited to the art-based users.

What happened then was influential by means of finding a negotiation for the conflict between the public as ordinary users and the current users of the art community. The solution was achieved through the conversion of one of the pre-

existing buildings into a social hub where ordinary people also might visit through non-commercial exhibition units dedicated for industrial cultural materials. The Halle 14 building within the huge dimension of the heritage site was converted into a multi-purpose exhibition unit for non-profit-oriented purposes open to everybody. It was the breaking point by creating a warmer atmosphere against the public vs. private criticism of the project. This action not only has solved the user type problem by balancing the value-based conflicts of the heritage, but also has removed the criticism of admission fees to access the heritage site by the ordinary people.

Furthermore, the conversion of Halle 14 is also an important step for the conservation of industrial archaeology, which is linked with the problem of how to tackle the material culture of industrial heritage. The project also represents an adequate solution to provide the balance between conservation and transformation, offering an alternative method of the conservation of material culture that has survived within these post-industrial landscapes. Industrial heritage sites not only comprise built forms, which enable their reuse through new attributed functions, but also include different numbers of material culture, such as machines, equipment and specific spaces constructed for production purposes. Indeed, this particularity of industrial heritage and industrial archaeology has caused varied numbers of academic discussions about the reusing problems of these structures and sites. Some of the scholars still claim that the best way to provide the conservation of the industrial heritage is a museum as a new function to preserve the authenticity and industrial archaeological values of the heritage. On the other side, some of the scholars assert that the sites should be re-evaluated by finding a balance between conservation and transformation instead of the museumification approach, which frames a passive relation between the heritage and the contemporary users. Since it is not a realistic solution to convert each industrial heritage site into a museum, *Spinnerei* and *Beykoz Kundura* represent alternative solutions to demonstrate how to tackle those issues through new function attributions.

Thus, both projects offer a balanced solution, and while each site has been converted into an active place using the new formation of the culture, the industrial archaeological values have also been highlighted and preserved in some way. Besides, one of the best ways to tackle the material culture of the industrial heritage is to establish a documentary centre or an archive to exhibit them or to use them for research purposes, which might enlighten many cultural productions' process stages as an important characteristic for industrial heritage studies. In fact, the establishment of a *Massive Archive* in *Spinnerei* was intended to this end like *Kundura Hafiza* in *Beykoz Kundura*. Establishing a documentary centre or an

archive is an important action for privatised industrial heritage sites since, on the one hand, it offers an opportunity for the researchers through the material culture and regarded documents for the industrial heritage studies, on the other hand, it is the only ethical way to respond to the legal provisions as seen in the Turkish context instead of the formality conversion of museums. Accordingly, *Spinnerei* and *Beykoz Kundura* offer important positive points for the activities of micro actors participating in transformation projects, particularly for balancing the public value and legitimisation of the new function to prevent criticism.

Following this investigation, *Le Grand Pari* in the French context, Leipzig Creative City in the German context and Vision 2050 Istanbul in the Turkish have been used to see different solutions from the actors' perspectives pursuant to the identified process problems. Communication, collaboration, participation, shared information and transparency have been grasped as the main processual and power inequality problems, and each context has been filtered to see how to improve the process, and which actor might do what to balance those problems. This part has been structured to redefine the actor roles in similar projects focusing on these identified objectives. Based on the previously completed analysis, possible decision contents and a proposed set of actions have been presented indicating a specific actor in the process. In this part of the research, the MCDA method was used, and while all datasets of those processes and projects have been proposed by me as an analyst according to the sources and real-world experiences that have been discussed through comprehensive study conducted for this dissertation, they have been strengthened through an organised panel meeting with a selected group of actors to acquire their reflections on the proposed data. This helped to present recommendations for each actor in relation to a specific conflict or problem, together with the pros and cons of the possible decisions.

According to this investigation, even though each cultural context represents a specific characteristic in process-based problems, *Le Gran Pari* has been chosen due to this particularity, which offers different comparison alternatives in the actions of the macro actors, and it shows how they might influence the micro project scale, or, vice versa, how the micro actors might influence the macro-scale contexts. Starting from the cultural economy of Paris, which is dominantly composed of modern industries as new formations of the industry feeding from her well-deserved reputation as a haven of intellectual, artistic and craft activity, cultural industries have been considered as one of the strategic tools for the transformation of industrial heritage places. Paris being one of the biggest metropolises in the world has some common characteristics with Istanbul, even though they have completely different dynamics. Both cities have glorious pasts through which it is difficult to

choose one of them, such as industrial culture, for image-making of the cities. They are also similar in the means of scale and actor inequality problems due to different structured local governments in different regions with various numbers of political biases or interruptions. In contrast, Leipzig Creative City in the German context represents a completely different example in respect to the Turkish and French cultural contexts, but it has been an important exemplar to see the process-based problems from more different contexts, focusing on the regulative and normative perspectives.

Most of the French transformation cases show that the adopted policy has been constituted based on the contemporary sense of place that is generated through the new lives of the post-industrial landscapes. In fact, seeing the ‘present’ as a reindustrialisation process makes the post-industrial landscapes exceptional potentials to realise the new industrial culture. From this point of view, Paris and Istanbul, as the important metropolises in the world, are quite different from the Leipzig case not only in regard to the cities’ industrial past but also their contemporary conditions. Yet, the French cultural context is also quite different from the Turkish one, since the term cultural industry has already been adopted as state policy for most of the post-industrial cases, which has resolved the majority of the process and decision problems automatically from the 2000s onwards.

Analysing *Le Grand Pari* as a pair-comparison example and to realise the alternatives for the macro actors’ roles for those inevitable conflicted situations that mostly originate from the cultural context, is quite instructive for the Turkish one. First, according to the ongoing research, it is observed that most of the emerged policies in French culture have been copied or readapted into the Turkish context such as France’s top-down structured decision-making mechanism. In fact, it is an exemplar by which to see the local government actors’ possible positions and alternative actions to solve actor-based conflicts during the process. Primarily, it is essential to clarify the term ‘public value’ in the French culture, which is fundamental not only to solve the value-based conflicts such as public and private discourse of the heritage site, but also to understand the state’s approach to the terms of public and public benefit¹⁴⁵. Public value is generally perceived as accessibility of an object by individuals in society. It usually refers to being equal to benefit an object, which in this research refers to the heritage as an object belonging to the collective identity that should benefit everyone equally. Since ‘the public value’ of the culture and heritage strictly depends on the national policy and cultural context, it is necessary to understand the meaning of public and heritage for the specific

¹⁴⁵ The definition of these terms are quite similar in both cultural contexts.

context. Cultural policy should be seen as a planning strategy rather than an economic one to have better implementations, and to have more balanced urban environment equal accessibility. In the meanwhile, however, it is also considered as a tool to realise the ideologies of nations to control society from the centre, which means that it might also be a political tool. Here, I would like to highlight the French cultural policy, which shows a perfect laboratory to see the diversities in public value of the culture and heritage that is defined in political terms due to extremely centralised contexts like Turkey.

To start with, the biggest conflict in many fields in the French context is that “*the preservation of the Republic depends on its being composed not of distinct communities and cultural identities, but on individual citizens equal under law and linked directly to the State without intermediary representation*” (Ingram, 2009, p. 269).

The strong power of the State has been later evolved, during the globalisation and neoliberal restructuring through decentralisation in parallel to the State, which means that the decentralised agencies were established to serve the State. It is a problem of the origins of actor-based biases since the larger scale policies and projects were defined by the State; thus, any bottom-up initiative has been forced to play based on this decisive mechanism. To re-evaluate the expert roles in the top-down decision-making system, *Le Gran Pari* shows different solutions on how to play according to the game and ‘competitor’ to find the negotiation in operations. More precisely, it offers a contrary means of alternative to actor choices compared to the Leipzig case through punctual solutions against those inevitable conflicted situations, which means considering how to achieve a best process from project scale initiatives to larger scale in image promotion within the centralised contexts by the micro actors.

The problem of actor weight in the process is one of the important issues requiring new solutions as already grasped from the Turkish centralised cultural context. The establishment of intermediary departments to manage the planned policy or project is one of the ways to decrease the actor-based biases observed both in the French and Turkish cases. However, the success of these departments depends on their internal structure to provide the negotiation, as in many cases they are structured by the actors appointed by the state itself. *Le Métropol di Gran Paris* in that sense meets the requirements of negotiation through its mixed-members comprising different political backgrounds and different ministerial representatives. The *AIGP* represents a further step of this organisation, being a high council of the established governmental department. It is the scientific committee for evaluation of the projects and ongoing process, scientifically resolving any problems that

occurred during the projects. Its particularity is the internal committee organisation including different experts with different political ideologies as one of the successes achieved during *Le Grand Pari* project, which is important to have a more democratic process within a multi-political culture. Still, they are not enough solely within the extremely centralised cultural contexts.

The local government is the key agency within centralised contexts, and hence if they play an active role in the decision-making process, the dialectic and communicative atmosphere might be achieved easily. Based on this assumption, the unification of different communes under the unique mission such as ‘making Paris a more balanced metropolis’ provides the shared vision between opposing ministries or other authorities in the secondary and tertiary levels, and it creates a participative and collaborative atmosphere, which is the sole solution for many conflictual situations. In addition, the creation of this shared vision between problematic agencies in the decision system is a fundamental step for the definition of the cultural policy and cultural clusters at the regional and district levels. For example, this would also be a solution to the legislative gaps in planning, which does not permit defining the specific themes for clusters or cultural development areas. However, it depends on the local governments’ self-administration skills in such contexts, which is mostly linked with the political dynamics.

Plaine Commune’s self-administration based on the stately defined shared vision is instructive. Organising an event-chain around the district landmarks according to ongoing cultural activities by using the artists, shows one of the successful self-administration examples. These efforts not only promoted the district image positively, but also transformed the previous stigmatised character of the district into a creative hub. Another interesting aspect of the *Plain Commune*’s initiative is how the individual entrepreneurs might benefit from these developments and their impacts on the micro project accounts. For instance, some local figures and social entrepreneurs became involved in these events for legitimising them, and they built their own reputation, which has been an idea for how to promote the new image of the realised projects by avoiding the attitude of ‘playing behind the scenes’, particularly for the privately owned heritage implementations. It also helps to shape their own niche and self-administration to benefit the public support by using the public projects and policies as a tool for the micro-scale project accounts.

What to do or in which way to articulate in this public process is diverse. For example, specifically discussing the private owners of these heritage sites, the site might be used for hosting public events creating their network with the officials, but also these projects might be strengthened through infrastructural support from

the local government. Another idea might be the possible collaborations for the cultural organisations with the NGOs using their active cultural programmes as a host structure, which are both observed in the French and Turkish examples. These are important micro solutions to how to provide collaboration and communication between actors from a bottom-up to top-down decisive system. *Le Grand Pari* is also instrumental to see different participative solutions for a more transparent process. Newly established platforms, which have been mentioned in the dossier of the observatory case, such as *Perspectives on 2020 and Beyond*, *Reindustrialisation of Paris* and *Open government partnership*, and created mobile applications for involving the citizens in the process, are influential to create the participative atmosphere and transparent decision-making system during the process. Even though they are important steps to follow for more participative decision-making, they should be promoted by local governments, making them more visible by using mass and social media as a communication tool. Thus, it is fundamental that local governments should play an active role in decision-making, even for the punctual solutions. It is generally associated with the political background of the responsible deciders, which is usually unstable; nevertheless, self-administration is not impossible even for the top-down contexts.

Thus, the recommendations for macro-scale process problems are mostly structured based on the micro actors' possible decision contents to prompt the macro actors, because the outcomes show that the power equality or inequality during the participatory process have different levels in each context. Since this research concerns top-down contexts, in which it is difficult to provide power-sharing in each stage of the process, the sole way to avoid the process-based and actor-based problems for the privately owned industrial heritage sites' transformation depends on the micro actors' key roles within the process, as previously discussed. They should lead the process towards a bottom-up approach with those possible decision contents grasped from the real-world cases, by prompting the macro actors who have the power to decide.

As well as the 'participation' approach in decision-making, there is another important notion that has come to the fore, which is 'accessibility'. In fact, they are connected to each other, each actor should access the process to participate. During the panel discussion, the experts highlighted that one of the other problems relates to the accessibility of information, including research, books, newspapers and mass media. To increase the participatory level of different stages of the process, it is fundamental to mention censorship, access barred, or unpublished phases of documents, which are the main sources of transparency and information-sharing problems. Here, experts again turned back to the micro actors' key role to increase

accessibility. They highlighted that each micro actor might be an intermediary despite the macro contexts' problems, such as censorship and malfunctioning of mass media, and many other accessibility problems. They should use social media or other communication tools by prompting the other actors to avoid the accessibility problems, which might increase the accessibility and participator levels. Researchers should also be more open, and should publish their academic productions rather than these being access barred.

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