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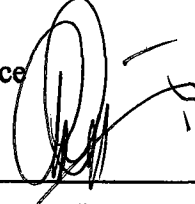
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THE ROLES OF ÇİFTLİK ON THE FORMATION OF
THE METROPOLITAN FRINGE IN THE EXPANSION OF
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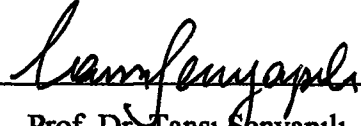
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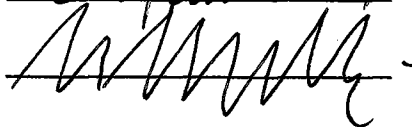
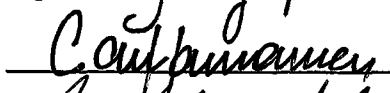
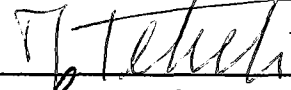
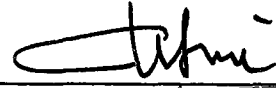
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ABSTRACT

THE ROLES OF ÇİFTLİKİS ON THE FORMATION OF THE METROPOLITAN FRINGE IN THE EXPANSION OF İSTANBUL METROPOLITAN AREA

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The thesis has two objectives. The first objective is to explain the transformation mechanism of land in general theoretical perspective of rent, land-use and metropolitan city form approaches and to test transformation of lands in the metropolitan fringe of Istanbul for understanding the contingent transformation patterns of different historical cases. The second objective is to show that insufficient capacity of general theoretical perspective for explaining the formation of Istanbul metropolitan fringe in which includes some historical land ownership patterns such as *Çiftlik*.

While conducting a research in this framework, the question that should be asked have appeared in the practice of research. As an answer to these questions several theses are found to be important in explaining the formation of metropolitan fringe of Istanbul. Some of these are unique outcomes and some of them can be put forward as general propositions for metropolitan cities sharing similar transformation characteristics with

Keywords; Çiftlik, Istanbul, Metropolitan Form, Rent.

ÖZ

İSTANBUL METROPOLİTEN ALANININ YAYILMA SÜRECİNDE METROPOLİTEN ÇEPERİN YAPILANMASINDA ÇİFTLİKLERİN ROLÜ

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Bu tez çalışmasının iki hedefi bulunmaktadır. Birincisi kent toprağının mülkiyet ve kullanımındaki dönüşüm mekanizmalarına rant, arazi kullanımı ve metropoliten form ile ilgili genel kuramlar açısından bakarak İstanbul'un metropoliten çeperinde bulunan arazilerin dönüşüm mekanizmalarını açıklamada bu kuramların açıklama kapasitelerini ve tarihsel olanın etkisini ortaya koymaktır. İkinci hedef ise genel kuramsal çerçevelerin yetersizliğini İstanbul'un çeperindeki tarihsel mülkiyet örüntüsünün bir parçası olan çiftliklerin dönüşüm süreçlerini sınyarak göstermektir

Bu çerçevede ortaya atılan sorular alan araştırması sırasında ortaya çıkmıştır. Araştırma sonucunda İstanbul'un metropoliten çeperinin yapılanmasını açıklayan bir takım tezler öne sürülmektedir. Bu tezlerin bir kısmı sadece incelenen alana özgü özellikler içerirken, bir kısmı da İstanbul'la benzer özellikler taşıyan diğer metropoliten kentlerle ilgili öngörülerini içermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çiftlik, İstanbul, Metropoliten Form, Rant

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZ	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiv
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. FORMATION OF THE METROPOLITAN FRINGE OF ISTANBUL: AN OVERVIEW ON EXISTING THEORIES	11
2.1. INADEQUACIES OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS WITH UNIVERSAL CLAIMS	11
2.1.1. Formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area and Theories of Urban Rent and Land-Use.....	11
2.1.2. A Critical Overview on Theories of Metropolitan Development and the Specificity of Greater Istanbul	15
2.1.3. The Problem of Metropolitan Fringes in the Unauthorized Urban Development Processes	21
2.2. THE GROWTH PATTERN OF ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN AREA	26
2.2.1. Changing Structure of Istanbul in the Late Nineteenth Century: Historical Dynamics Preceding the Formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area	26
2.2.2. Changing Structure of Istanbul in the Early Stages of The Metropolitan Formation	32

2.2.2.1. Housing Supply Patterns in the Early Stages of the Metropolitan Formation	36
2.2.2.2. Location of Production in the Early Stages of the Metropolitan Development: <i>Incubator Hypothesis</i> and the Concept of <i>Saçaklanma</i>	38
2.2.3. Transformation in the Urbanization Pattern of Istanbul Since the 1980s	40
2.2.3.1. Mass Housing Supply and Land Demand in the Fringe since 1980s	46
2.2.3.2. Location of Production since 1980s: Overgrown Industrial Town or Metropolitan City?	48
2.2.4. Changing Relationships Between Land ownership and Land Rent During the Metropolitan Growth of Istanbul	49
2.3. AN INTRODUCTION TO EXPLANATORY STUDY ON ISTANBUL ÇİFTLİKLER: THE EXPLANATORY CAPACITY OF HISTORICAL STRUCTURES IN THE FORMATION OF ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN FRINGE	53
2.3.1. Significance of Searching for Contingencies in the Formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Fringe and the Role of <i>Çiftlikler</i>	53
2.3.2. Propositions for the Study	55
3. THE ROLE OF HISTORICAL LANDOWNERSHIP STRUCTURE DURING THE FORMATION OF ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN AREA: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF <i>ÇİFTLİKLER</i>	58
3.1. LAND HOLDING PATTERNS AND THE MEANING OF <i>ÇİFTLİK</i> IN OTTOMAN LAND ORDER	58
3.1.1. Land Regime in Classical Period of Ottoman Order	60
3.1.2. <i>1858 Arazi Kanunnamesi</i> (New Land Code) as a Consequences of Appearance of Property Rights on Land	64
3.1.3. Meaning of <i>Çiftlik</i> in Ottoman Land Order	68

3.2. TRANSFORMATION OF LANDOWNERSHIP PATTERN AND CONDITION OF ÇİFTLİKLER DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD SINCE 1920s	72
3.2.1. Transformation of Property Rights on Land from Ottoman Land Code to Republican Civil Code	72
3.2.2. New Land ownership Patterns in Istanbul Metropolitan Area.....	78
3.2.2.1. Public Lands	78
3.2.2.2. Privately-Owned Lands	79
3.2.2.3. <i>Vakıf</i> Lands	80
3.3. FORMATION OF INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS ENSURING THE CONFORMITY BETWEEN LAND DEMAND AND LAND OWNERSHIP IN THE METROPOLITAN EXPANSION	83
3.3.1. Institutional Mechanisms That Provide Opportunity For New Land Demand	85
3.3.2. The Operational Buffer Mechanisms Which Matching Land ownership and Land Demand	89
4. AN EXPLANATORY STUDY ON ISTANBUL ÇİFTLİKLER: ROLE OF A HISTORICAL LANDOWNERSHIP STRUCTURE IN THE FORMATION OF METROPOLITAN FRINGE.....	91
4.1. SOURCES IN THE STUDY FOR ISTANBUL ÇİFTLİKLER	91
4.1.1. A Promenade on Ottoman Maps	91
4.1.2. A promenade on the Ottoman Documents and <i>Temettuat</i> Registers	92
4.1.3. A look at Large Istanbul <i>çiftlikler</i> From the Viewpoint of Land Registers	94
4.1.4. Other Sources	95
4.1.5. Boundaries of The Area of the Case Study	96

4.2. THE <i>ÇİFTLİK</i> IN THE PERIPHERAL AREAS OF ISTANBUL IN LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY.....	99
4.2.1. <i>Çiftlik</i> s Within Land Use Patterns in the Fringe of Istanbul in the 19 th Century	99
4.2.1.1. Landholding and Land ownership Patterns of the <i>Çiftlik</i> s in Neighborhood Areas of Istanbul	100
4.2.1.2. <i>Silivri Çiftlik</i> s in <i>Temettuat</i> Registers	108
4.2.2. Ownership and Location Patterns of Istanbul's <i>Çiftlik</i> s	112
4.2.2.1. <i>Çiftlik</i> s Belonging to <i>Vakıfs</i>	112
4.2.2.1.1. A Brief Overview on <i>Levend</i> , <i>Balmumcu</i> and Other <i>Çiftlik</i> s Owned by <i>Sultan Beyazıt Vakfı</i>	113
4.2.2.1.2. A Discussion on <i>Çiftlik</i> s Belonging <i>Sultan</i> <i>Beyazıt Vakfı</i>	116
4.2.2.2. Privately Owned <i>Çiftlik</i> s and Three Case Studies in the Late 19 th Century	118
4.2.2.2.1. <i>Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği</i>	129
4.2.2.2.2. <i>Resneli(Katoronya)</i> and <i>TatarcıkÇiftlik</i> s	136
4.2.3. Relation Between Changes in the Fringe of Istanbul and Transformation of <i>Çiftlik</i> s From Late 19 th Century to 1950's	141
4.2.3.1. Transformations in the Fringe of Istanbul in the Late Ottoman Period	141
4.2.3.2. Transformations in the Fringe and Ownership Status of <i>Çiftlik</i> s in Istanbul During the Republican Era	143
4.3. THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE METROPOLITAN FRINGE DURING THE FORMATION OF ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN AREA: AND DEMAND AND ROLE OF <i>ÇİFTLİK</i> IN THE PROCESS	148
4.3.1. Interrelations Between the City Growth Pattern and the Changing Structure of Fringe	148

4.3.2. The First Stage of Formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area : Land Demand and The Roles of <i>Çiftlik</i> s on Restructuring Fringe	152
4.3.2.1. The Role of Treasury-Owned <i>Çiftlik</i> s on Responding to Demand of <i>Gecekondus</i>	152
4.3.2.2. The Role of Private-Owned and Non-Moslem <i>Çiftlik</i> s on Responding to Land Demand of Middle Classes	156
4.3.2.3. The Role of <i>Çiftlik</i> s Satisfying the Land Demand for Public Services Through Expropriation Mechanism: The Case of <i>Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği</i>	161
4.3.2.4. The Role of <i>Çiftlik</i> s on Metropolitan Fringe Within New Time Distance Matrix and Land Demand	165
4.3.3. The Second Stage of the Formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area : New Land Demand in the Fringe and Roles of <i>Çiftlik</i> s	170
4.3.3.1. Changing Urbanisation Patterns of Istanbul Metropolitan Area Since 1980s	170
4.3.3.2. Correspondence Between Land Demands and Land ownership Patterns in the Metropolitan Fringe	172
4.3.4. Three Types of Land Demand and The Roles of <i>Çiftlik</i> s on Restructuring Patterns of the Metropolitan Fringe Since 1980s	174
4.3.4.1. Land Demand Created by Decentralization Projects and the Privately-Owned <i>Çiftlik</i> s : <i>Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği</i> and <i>Cicoz Çiftliği</i>	174
4.3.4.2. Land Demand Created by Big-Scale Mass Housing Projects and the Privately-Owned <i>Çiftlik</i> s : <i>Tatarcık, Dereköy, Ada</i> and <i>Yeniburgaz Çiftlik</i> s	177
4.3.4.3. Land Demand Created by Industrial Decentralization Projects and Big Manufacturing Zone Projects and the <i>Çiftlik</i> Lands : <i>İkitelli</i> and <i>Çatalca Çiftlik</i> s	181

5. CONCLUSIONS : AN OVERVIEW ON THE FORMATION OF THE METROPOLITAN FRINGE OF GREATER ISTANBUL: EVOLUTION OF LAND OWNERSHIP AND LAND USE PATTERNS.	184
GENERAL REFERENCES	192
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX A: Metropolitan Map of Istanbul in 1990s.....	205
APPENDIX B: Metropolitan Map of Istanbul in 1950.....	206
VITA	207



LIST OF TABLES

TABLE

II.1 : Major Land ownership Groups in Turkey and Britain	52
III.1: Transformation of Private Property Rights on Lands Within the Transition Period From Late Ottoman to Turkish Republic	75
III.2 : Transformation of Property of Arable State Land Within the Transition Period From Late Ottoman to Turkish Republic	76
III.3: Transformation of Property of <i>Vakıf</i> Lands Within the Transition Period From Late Ottoman to Turkish Republic	77
III.4: Landownership / Tenure Patterns in Metropolitan Areas	82
III.5: Operation of Institutional Mechanisms That Provide Compatibility Between Land Demand and Landholding	84
IV.1: Information of Some <i>Çiftlik</i> s in Thrace Region	106
IV.2: Information of Some <i>Çiftlik</i> s Located in <i>B. Çekmece</i> Region.....	107
IV.3: Information of some <i>Ciftlik</i> s Located in <i>Silivri</i> Region	110
IV.4: Some Information on <i>Levent</i> and <i>Balmumcu Çiftlik</i> s	114
IV.5: Transformation of Landownership Status on <i>Çiftlik</i> Lands Within the Transition Period in 1920's	121

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

1: The <i>Çiftlik</i> s in Goltz Pasha's Istanbul Map, Between 1888-1890, 1/100.000	97
2: The <i>Çiftlik</i> s on the Map of Istanbul Between 1888-1920s, 1/100.000 (Designed From Ottoman Maps)	98
2A: Location of <i>Çiftlik</i> s in the First Stage of the Formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area	122
2B: Location of <i>Çiftlik</i> s in the Second Stage of the Formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area	127
2C: Location of <i>Çiftlik</i> s in the Third Stage of the Formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area	128
3. Location of Large <i>Çiftlik</i> s in Thrace Region, 1/100.000	111
4: Metropolitan Map in 1950s, 1/ 25.000	205
5: Metropolitan Map in 1990s, 1/25:000	206
6 : Locations of <i>Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği</i>	134
6A: Location of <i>Çiftlik</i> s in Thessalia and Larissa	135
7 : Location of <i>Çiftlik</i> s Around E-5 Highway: <i>Çiftburgaz, Haznedar, Ayasma, İncirli</i> and <i>Çavuşbaşı Çiftlik</i> s:.....	169
8 : Locations of <i>Resneli(Kataronya)</i> and <i>Tatarcık Çiftlik</i> s.....	140
6B: Location of <i>Ferhat Pasha</i> and <i>Cicoz Çiftlik</i> s	176
9: Location of <i>Çiftlik</i> s in Newly Emerging Mass-Housing Project Areas: <i>Ada, Dereköy</i> , and <i>Sırtköy Çiftlik</i> s	180
10: Location of <i>İkitelli Çiftliği</i>	183

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The transition from predominantly rural to urbanized service economies is associated with a series of land-use transformations in metropolitan fringe lands by changes in urban functions, new demands for urban land and housing stock. This process though *not* unique to developing countries produces unprecedented spatial outcomes stemming from historical differences in land ownership and land-use. Hence similarities may be formal and misleading.

This study attempts to show that observed patterns of metropolitan development and restructuring of metropolitan fringe are contingent upon ownership transfer mechanisms and the efficiency of the land market in supplying required development land. It is hoped that this scheme based on historical analysis can produce a better account and a plausible story on the fragmented metropolitan development, and explain the presence of large vacant properties at accessible positions while a major part of metropolitan development takes place further away.

If duly accomplished such a study may cover up the theoretical gaps of deterministic theories of metropolitan development and produce a plausible account for the *apparent* discrepancies of land-use transformation. We will try to set up modules so as to incorporate local historical characteristics relative to local ownership transfer mechanisms. Historical analysis shows that this is fundamental property that can not

be filtered out for any practical considerations. The historical approach emerge therefore not as a matter of choice but as an inescapable theoretical necessity.

A superficial scrutiny on actual social and spatial structures Greater Istanbul would disclose numerous particularities, that available theoretical models on metropolitan development can not account for. These discrepancies stem mostly from authorized and unauthorized fringe developments land ownership transfers.

A first theoretical approach refers to as classical or neo-classical rent and location theories, and produces an allegedly universal economic explanation, the second emphasize sociological factors devises ecological, morphological models or by political economic models to elucidate urban and metropolitan dynamics. But, rent and land-use theories are deterministic approaches. With no room for historical contingencies these approaches can not provide us with relevant and realistic empirical accounts on urban development nor they can explain land-use and ownership transformations on adjacent agricultural lands.

In this perspective there is no significant difference between rent theories nor morphological /structural analysis both are deterministic and with no emphasis for the specificity of places and agency. Hence neither rent theories nor morphological /structural analysis can account for emergent forms of metropolitan development. It is therefore not surprising that the issues related to the transformation of fringe lands; a crucial aspect of metropolitan development, remained up to now unaccounted for.

Classical agricultural land-use, location and rent theories concentrate on economics and explain the variation of land-use patterns as a consequence of differential rents associated with *productivity* (Ricardo in Dobb, M., 1973), distance to market places (von Thünen in O'Kelly and Bryan, 1996, Mills, E.S., 1969 in Harvey 1973). And agricultural Labor and private property on land (Marx, K. Capital III, Harvey D., 1973, 1985, Massey, D., 1978). Ricardo emphasizes natural factors. Marx opts for frameworks emphasizing social factors. Von Thünen attributes such differences to differences of accessibility. Neo-classical theory explains the negative gradient of rent surfaces as a consequence of low levels of utility associated with the

inaccessibility of fringe lands. In equilibrium analysis, the internal organization of land-uses in a theoretical mono-centric city is explained as a function of transport costs and income levels (Alonso, 1965). For obvious purposes of tractability this hypothetical model conceives of urban space as an isotropic plane, allowing for the free flow of commuting traffic in any direction (Ibid.). This unfortunately is not the only unrealistic assumption.

The model does not take into account, distortions that may stem from unavailability of urban transport, infrastructure, poorly integrated transport networks, mode of organization of urban transport, ownership patterns and the structure of demand for fringe lands. As a consequence they do remain silent on the inertia effect large and hardly divisible properties may generate. Such is the case of readily available rent theories that emphasize fertility differences but disregard issues related to ownership pattern, private or public property rights, land tenure systems. None of them (theories) lay stress on the active role landowners and/ or speculators play in the process of transformation from agricultural to urban land-uses. It is, therefore, difficult for these approaches to incorporate the inertia effect generated through historical land tenure systems.

We start to see that there is trade-off between concern for analytical tractability, predictive capability and empirical and historical relevance. Over emphasizing the former may lead to severe deficiencies on the latter. Hence the theoretical elegance of available is virtual and costly. Historical scrutiny suggests that such factors can neither be filtered of nor they can be abstracted out.

The characteristics of metropolitan development and transformation are the phenomenon contingent upon their interplay. Hence the inertia to subdivision is neither a component of available models on urban land-use transformation nor incorporated into rent theories rent theories and that this structural deficiency can not be easily repaired by Ecological models, or structural approaches. As such they can not contribute to our understanding of the process of transformation of metropolitan fringes. Hence neither the “concentric zone ” theory of Burgess nor the “sector”

theory of Hoyt or “multi-nuclei” of Ullman with no room to accommodate historical contingencies are capable to account for the particularities of the actual the development of Greater Istanbul (Burgess, 1926; Harris and Ullman, 1969; Hoyt in Levy, 1985).

It would none the less be possible, via detailed historical studies on the demand for development land, land use changes, historical and existing tenure systems and land ownership transfer mechanisms to shed light and produce plausible accounts on such local contingencies. Hence historical analysis would alleviate the problems of existing theories in explaining the case of peripheral countries.

There exists other approaches to side-step this issue. Some assume that, with the completion of the process of industrialization, structural dissimilarities and discrepancies are bound to fade out and transitory institutions will be gradually substituted by their counterparts in developed countries (Kıray,1982). New categories such as metropolitan forms of the peripheral countries which implicitly assume a gradual dissolution of observed dissimilarities and discrepancies are, no less deterministic. The same holds true for structural political economy, which conceives of urban development as a *consequence* or a reflection of capital accumulation processes. Both approaches do not have any theoretical allowance or room for contingent factors (Harvey, D., 1985). These theories see urban growth as a consequence of investments in the secondary circuit of capital to prevent the crisis of over accumulation. Hence investments in built environment are but an outlet for surplus capital.

But the actual diversity of urban forms and macro forms cannot be easily explained through general structural concepts such as “*capital accumulation*”. *Such approaches do not have* no room for historical contingencies. This however does not imply that we can or should, ignore their eventual contributions. On the contrary, a constructive critique should be formulated in such a way to side step such difficulties while preserving their eventual contributions. We maintain that local historical analyses on metropolitan fringe may alleviate such inadequacies. When existing

theories are used to account for the case of metropolitan development in peripheral countries.

But the formation and the development of metropolitan fringe are contingent upon a multitude of pervasive historical and local factors. Hence it would be unrealistic to devise a comprehensive analysis relative to *all* contingencies. Instead, we will concentrate on a specific problem. It relates to historical land ownership patterns and land use changes in the vicinity of Istanbul. Such a study is unavoidable if we are to produce a plausible account of structural discrepancies with established models of metropolitan development.

Land-use changes in the core and peripheral areas of Istanbul have been investigated by sociologists, architects, historians, city planners, geographers and urban designers, not only to explain the interaction between the social changes and built environment, but also to account for the urban sprawl and decentralization. Comprehensive historical analysis on land-use changes and the transformation of tenure system are multidimensional problems. They are beyond the scope of a thesis study.

This led us to limit ourselves with the case of the transformation of '*çiftlik*s'. This study on the process of transformation of *çiftlik* lands, in spite of its limitations, provide us with important clues capable to elucidate previously uncharted aspects relative to land-use transformation processes, and to the constitution of new industrial and residential spaces. Metropolitan growth generates formidable changes in the land tenure systems and land-use patterns on peripheral agricultural lands as a function of the changing functions of the city and the process of land-use transformations triggered by increasing demand for land resulting from the development of the Central Business District.

Considering its strategic importance, we will concentrate on the historical transformation processes *çiftlik*s situated on the metropolitan fringe of Greater Istanbul. Hence this study, in spite of its limited scope, would eventually contribute to our understanding of inertia effect stemming from indivisible properties,

fragmented ownership, institutional characteristics of land tenure systems, hence it would eventually elucidate processes wider in scope. Needless to say that these issues are all, inadequately studied issue within established theoretical approaches to metropolitan development. Land supply mechanisms put into effect to satisfy the increased demand for development land assume a central role in shaping city forms and in the transformation of metropolitan fringes. The bulk the increased demand for urban development land of Istanbul since 1950's is met through regular or irregular allotments of large tracts of *çiftlik*s lands.

Thus the observed direction, speed, pattern and the sequence of metropolitan expansion, depend on the geographic position of large tracks of *çiftlik* lands and their suitability for urban development and the historical evolution of land-uses and tenure systems. In this respect spatial distribution of property rights, institutional arrangements on land tenure and changes in land ownership emerge as factors capable to account for the particularities of, and major changes, in the pattern of metropolitan development. Hence if adequately carried out, such an historical study on ownership transformation processes and *çiftlik*s may improve our understanding relative to forces and obstacles to, and present characteristics of, metropolitan development in Istanbul.

Metropolitan development, which is emerge as a phenomenon contingent upon a plethora of local contingencies, can not be successfully elucidated by theoretical frameworks that do not have a historical component. It would, of course be difficult, unrealistic, if not impossible to concentrate on contingencies in general. Here we will concentrate on Peripheral lands and tenure systems of *çiftlik*s around Istanbul. The presence of large *çiftlik* lands (that can hardly be subdivided in the short term), emerge as obstacles to urban development as they may lead to local shortages for development land.

We start to see that metropolitan macro-form would assume totally different characteristics should requirements for development land were met through alternative land supply mechanisms. In this regard the processes of subdivision and

ownership transfer of *çiftlik* lands are crucial, if we are to understand the impact of structural and contingent factors on the historical development and land-use transformations and the planning problems of fringe in Greater Istanbul.

Istanbul has throughout its long history experienced problems associated with settlement of migrants and urban population increases. However the unprecedented population increase observed after World War II has not only created pressures for land-use transformations in metropolitan fringes but also restructured the demand for urban development land. Moreover, demand for development land will be predominantly urban. And it will not be concentrated on agricultural properties as it was previously been the case.

In different phases of metropolitan development the demand for development land is met through the dissolution of different types of land tenure systems. Regular and irregular subdivision and transformation of large *Çiftlik* properties is a major component of this spatial process which in the case of Istanbul constitutes the major source of supply for development land. To improve our understanding of this process it would be convenient to concentrate on factors such as: efficiency of land supply mechanisms in establishing a correspondence between land demand and supply. This analysis should be repeated at particular locations and stages of metropolitan development. In each case we propose that one has to concentrate on the following four points.

1. An overview on the tenure type, size, land use characteristics of *çiftlik*s located at the fringe of metropolitan areas and an assessment of their development potential.
2. Analysis of the metropolitan growth and transformations with a specific emphasis on land demand associated with population increase, decentralization of employment population, production and urban services.
3. Investigation of land-use changes in fringe lands as a result of pressures created by metropolitan expansion.

4. A critical assessment of the development potential of *çiftlik* lands in meeting the land demand associated with metropolitan expansion. (Evaluation should be supported by substantive research on the transformation histories).

Such an inquiry on the transformation processes would elucidate important roles *çiftlik*s assumed at different phases of metropolitan development and in the process of land-use transformations observed on metropolitan fringe. This would shed light on one crucial factor of metropolitan area development.

The study comprises five chapters. After the introductory chapter one, chapter two, presents a critical overview of theories of metropolitan development. Adequacy of rent and land use theories in explaining the transformation of fringe is taken up first. The evaluation of ecological and structural approaches on metropolitan development and dynamics is followed by a critical analysis of existing universal theoretical approaches. The case of metropolitan development in Istanbul is used as a test field to illustrate their inadequacies. This critical analysis on existing universal theories show that they produce but inadequate accounts of metropolitan development; and that they are to explain the case of Istanbul. This chapter ends with summary of fringe developments in Istanbul during different stages of metropolitan development.

Chapter three is an overview on the historical evolution and geographical variation in property rights with a special emphasis on predominant characteristics of Ottoman land regime and changes brought in subsequent to the proclamation of the Republic. This overview on the emergence and the evolution of *çiftlik* in the vicinity of Istanbul is followed by an analysis on institutional structures and ownership transfer mechanisms, expropriations, proliferation of squatter settlements, planned or irregular subdivisions realized in the real estate market.

The fourth chapter starts with a review on data sources, their adequacy for such an inquiry, and previous empirical studies. This chapter considers that the observed dynamics of metropolitan development is contingent upon the historical, geographical and spatial specificity of *çiftlik* on fringe lands. Historical evidence is

analyzed to assess whether the Istanbul case corroborates with it or not? This empirical inquiry provides ample evidence that is in line with this proposition. Hence the presence of *çiftlik*s emerge as an important explanatory factor in explaining the transformation of metropolitan fringe and the direction of metropolitan growth. The relationships between tenure types and mechanisms of land supply through the subdivision of large *çiftlik*s are key factors. Changes which affected the ownership and land uses on surrounding *çiftlik*s are taken up under three different periods.

During the second half of 19th Century, Istanbul evolved from a typical imperial capital, specialized in administrative functions, into a metropolitan center specialized in international commerce and finance. Flow of migrants escaping the turbulent independence movements in Balkan provinces and the movement of troops during the Crimean War put an end to a long period of stagnation. This period of rapid growth, which lasted until the end of the First World War, was associated with formidable changes in built environment (especially in residential areas and in the Central Business District) reforms in urban administration and with a new division of labor, started rapid transformations on fringe lands.

In the early years of the Turkish Republic, between 1920-1950 Istanbul had a stagnant economy and a stable population. But this did not affect land use transformations neither at the inner city nor at the periphery. In the second period between 1950-1980 Istanbul displayed rapid population growth, and this gave restructuring processes unfolding on metropolitan fringes an unprecedented impetus. However, because of rampant land speculation at inner sectors, chronic shortage of funds for investments in urban infrastructure, a major part of land required for residential and industrial development had to be met through the subdivision of peripheral *çiftlik*s lands. In other words developments at inner sectors of the city are implicitly linked to, and lie at the basis of, new types of demand for fringe lands. This fed fuel to ownership transfer mechanisms on *çiftlik* lands. Analyses suggest that metropolitan growth would assume entirely different characteristics in the absence of such an impressive historical stock of development land. In this regard,

availability of large *çiftlik* parcels subjected to various tenure types explicate the observed pace and pattern of urban growth.

The third phase extending from 1980–onwards displays an entirely new set of developments. This section assesses the level of correspondence between observed growth patterns and demand for development land, land supply and property ownership transfer mechanisms with which it is met. These three components and investment strategies of the public and private sectors are crucial to explain the unprecedented pace of metropolitan growth and sprawl.

In brief this study considers the pattern of urban development observed in and around Istanbul, as a phenomenon contingent upon the dissolution of diverse land tenure systems and on their spatial distribution pattern. The relevance and the empirical validity of this assumption are subjected to empirical inquiry. Research findings (summarized in chapter five) corroborate with this fundamental hypothesis. The diversity of land-use changes and level of complexity of ownership transfer mechanisms can hardly be fitted into simplistic theoretical schemes; striving for universal validity. More often than not, land supply was subjected to formidable legal and institutional constraints and obstructions stemming from the size and situation of *çiftlik* properties.

It would therefore be difficult –if not impossible- to produce a convincing and relevant account on the development of Greater Istanbul without an in depth inquiry on the *çiftlik* and contingencies related to this complex tenure type, and the spatial distribution of this formidable land stock.

CHAPTER 2

FORMATION OF THE METROPOLITAN FRINGE OF ISTANBUL :AN OVERVIEW ON EXISTING THEORIES

2.1. Inadequacies of Theoretical Frameworks With Universal Claims

2.1.1. Formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area and Theories of Urban Rent and Land-Use

Neither classical rent theories which confront the problem of spatial organization and the value to users of naturally occurring or humanly created differentials in fertility, nor neo-classical land-use theories which is postulated for the urban system based on high densities and rents in the center and low ones towards the periphery and the values of actors in the system for balance between space and minimal daily travel distance are ubiquitous and functional for the achievement of an equilibrium are not adequate to explain the growth patterns of the metropolitan scales.

These theories concentrate on factors that lead to the constitution of rents in agricultural and urban lands. It is assumed that in rural lands rent stems from differences in the productivity, and from accessibility to urban infrastructure and proximity to workplaces and other urban services as far as housing is concerned. In the pre-industrial social formations agriculture, was the dominant form of production that created surplus value the magnitude of which depended on differences in land

and labor productivity and proximity to markets. This is the background in classical rent theories of Ricardo, Marx and von Thünen (Ricardo in Dobb, 1973, Marx, 1978, von Thünen in O'Kelly and Bryan, 1996). These theories originally set up to explain agricultural rent in feudal or capitalist agriculture were highly influential in shaping the rent components of theories of urban form developed in 20th century.

According to von Thünen rent is related to distance to market centers. His model indicates that agricultural intensity is indirectly related with distance to market centers. According to von Thünen technological innovations in agriculture would uphold this relationship while urban growth and increased demand for urban land would lessen its importance. This theory produces but a partial account of contemporary land use transformation processes on metropolitan fringes (O'Kelly and..1996).

The theory of differential rents may account for the transition of agricultural to urban land uses but, its explanatory power leaves much to be desired in peripheral societies characterized with feudal and capitalist land ownership patterns with no counterparts in advanced capitalist societies. For example the landowner has no role in the constitution of *differential rent II* which depends upon additional capital investments on land regardless of its size or accessibility to surrounding land-uses. In this case tenants invest and receive the benefits of production. But, in growing peripheral metropolises such as Istanbul, *differential rent II* stems from investments and improvements financed from the public budget.

On the other hand according to Marx, landowners appropriate *monopoly rents* according to natural endowments of their properties (e.g. rich mines or suitability for a particular produce ,vineyards) proximity to public investments, factories, warehouses or highways or other public goods. Here the landowner has no role what so ever in the production of such public investments is capable to seize this rent thanks to the limited number of parcels endowed with such advantages. Monopoly rents are crucial in explaining the mechanisms of urban land and property markets. The case of *absolute rent* is rather different. Here, landowners intervene and

influence public investments that generate such rents. Landowners may take advantage of institutionalized privileges of private property and limit the use of technology, produce various obstacles and raise overall production costs. In the sphere of social activity, absolute space constitutes the basis for monopoly rents.

Monopoly rents are related to the monopoly privilege of private property. But absolute space is in general overcome by the interaction between different spheres of activity. Positional advantages and relative attributes of space emerge as the guiding principles for the establishment of both differential and absolute rent in urban areas (Harvey, 1973, 183).

In some stages of development, interests of industrial capitalists and landowners may be coming into conflict. Legal and administrative instruments, such as right of expropriation, are set up to put limit the exclusionary powers of landowners.

Local and historical contingencies in land markets produce unique geographical ownership patterns which impede the explanatory capabilities of theories pertaining to metropolitan forms and play havoc with their claims on universal applicability. Difficulty arises because these theories find it unnecessary or have not modules capable to accommodate the specificity and contingencies of local urban histories.

The capitalist forms of rent appropriation generate tensions between capitalist and landowners. In advanced capitalist societies legal and administrative measures devised to reduce privileges of landowners and to produce a land market free from their direct interference transformed the latter into passive figures. The same does not hold true in peripheral countries where landowners emerge as active agents. Capitalists are concerned with land rents to the extent it affects surplus value production, while landowners are concerned with the yield per acre. This is an irrelevant assumption as far as peripheral countries are concerned.

Land is a commodity with unique characteristics. It can neither be produced nor physically expanded. Hence any increase in landowners' revenues depend either on

changes on the status of the plot, its relative position in the city, increased building rights, or land-use changes.

Development plans and massive investments in urban infrastructure trigger the process of production of urban land. For any commodity inadequate supply leads to market distortions and this holds true urban land supply inadequate supply of which leads to the formation of monopoly and absolute rents (Tekeli, 1982, 8). There is thus a clear correspondence between land supply and rents extracted by landowners.

In capitalist economies land rent arises in monopoly, differential and absolute forms, and is instrumental in allocating land to uses.

When use determines value, a case can be made for the social rationality of rent as an allocative device that leads to efficient capitalist production patterns. But when value determines use, the allocation takes place under the auspices of rampant speculation, artificially induced scarcities, and the like, and it loses any pretence of having anything at all to do with the efficient organization of production and distribution. Social policy should be directed towards encouraging the former kind of allocation and discouraging the latter. But, the monopolistic power of private property can be realized in its economic form by innumerable stratagems. If rent can not be extracted by one means then it will be by another. Social policy is helpless in the face of these innumerable stratagems (Harvey, 1973, 191).

Homogeneity to capitalist city forms albeit their political, legal and administrative differences and their unique production, distribution and the social matrix stems can be taken up as an outcome of this complex interplay between these rent mechanisms.

Rent and land-use theories are devised to shed light on variables determining the land-use patterns and on agricultural and urban land rent surfaces and they can not produce a framework capable to account for developments at the metropolitan scale. To overcome this deficiency it would be convenient to study local land rent levels and changes in land-use patterns. Hence it would be convenient to transcend universalistic claims of established theoretical frameworks and to lay stress on empirical research at the local level. The empirical emphasis is necessary for two

reasons. First, it is evident that theoretical schemes capable to account for metropolitan development processes and the resulting metropolitan forms in advanced capitalist countries leave much to be desired in explaining the dynamics of peripheral metropolises such as Istanbul. Secondly, classical rent and neo-classical land-use theories are devised to account for agricultural land-use patterns of pre-industrial societies. Contemporary metropolitan development process take place in a totally different context and is affected by a totally different set of variables.

For example, Alonso considers a compact mono-centric city and assumes contiguous growth (1965). Such assumptions allow him to avoid the problem of transformation of metropolitan fringes. Such assumptions although compatible with principles of neo-classical utility maximization produce inadequate and irrelevant accounts of land-use transformation processes observed in metropolitan fringes. Existing sizes and location of existing properties, their tenure types, mechanisms of ownership transfer, demand for various land-uses are key elements to understand dynamics of metropolitan growth of Istanbul.

2.1.2. A Critical Overview on Theories of Metropolitan Development and the Specificity of Greater Istanbul

In spite its criticisms Chicago School's ecological theory constitute *the* dominant theory of metropolitan development. *The model assumes a* competitive ecological equilibrium which is transformed by local processes of *invasion* and *succession*. This approach conceives of the social landscape of cities as being shaped through this ecological interaction.¹

¹ By such means, the biological analogy that lies beneath this theory on city sociology has been transported to economy and geography areas. According to ecological approach, spatial organization of urban settlement incorporates conformity of social organization with the physical environment of its own (Park, 1925). This correlation between ecological issues and social processes is one of the basic elements of city geography. As pointed out by Herbert, the basic assumption from the viewpoint of geography, spatial organization itself is of a certain importance in the understanding of the patterns of human activity (1972, in Gottinder, 1985). Contributions of the Chicago School may be collated in three main themes : The model introduced by Burgess explaining that industrial settlement ad commercial organization of the city is based on Ecological Competition Theory. This is

This model has some variants. Burgess explains the structure of urban land use patterns and the spatial arrangement of various types of residential, industrial and commercial land uses. This social -spatial model was further developed by Burgess himself to accommodate the notion of centrality. McKenzie concentrates on the two regional processes of centralization and decentralization² and attempts to account for the internal differentiation of large metropolitan regions. The concept of *metropolitan community*, introduced by Gras in his theoretical account on metropolitan economy, conceives of rise of metropolitan society as a social consequence of the economic history of 1920's.³ Bogue's classical study on *metropolitan dominance* sheds light on the internal structure of metropolitan communities. Bogue produces basically a comparative study; where metropolitan centers are compared with hinterlands with respect to; levels of production; prevailing trades and service industries. This comprehensive

a kind of socio-spatial approach and is expanded by the concept of centrality. The model that illustrates spreading of widening metropolitan regions and internal differentiation, together with McKenzie's "internal structure Cycles" is re-arranged by the addition of two regional processes of joint centralization and overflow from the center. Cooke, starting from that point, points out in the early models on urban development process of the Chicago School to the development of a balance system in urbanization, maintenance of that system and a capacity to re-stabilize the system in the event of an agitation that would disturb the operation of the system in its entirety (Cooke, 1985). This stabilized system is attained in fighting for life of different groups by the most powerful groups receiving the best in location selection and the weaker acquiescing with what remains from them. This dominance factor constitutes the foundation of the structural form of the city. Emergence of this element is the result of the pressure applied by the industry and worker groups that affect the form of the developing city. This is followed primarily by the existence of attainable facilities and is restricted by the necessity of settlement of the population working in a competitive environment.

² According to McKenzie, This new type of regional community (metropolitan community), that is emerging from the former pattern of semi-independent units of settlements is, of course, the direct result of motor transportation and its revolutionary effect upon local spatial relations. The metropolitan region is primarily a functional entity. Geographically it extends as far as the city exerts a dominant influence. It is essentially an expanded pattern of local communal life based upon motor transportation...The metropolitan region represents a constellation of centers, the interrelation of which are characterized by dominance or subordination. Every region is organized around a central city of focal point of dominance in which are located the institutions and service that cater to the region as a whole and integrate it with other regions... Certain functions, notably communications, finance, management, and more specialized commercial and professional service, are becoming more highly concentrated in or near the center of the dominant city. (1933, 67-71).

³ According to Gras, "The new metropolitan economy was based upon an internal organization of productive forces and an external relationships with other units either of the same order or of more primitive form. Internally the new unit was made up of more commercial city as nucleus and a large surrounding area as hinterland. In the big surrounding area of the unit were the towns and the farms, the railroads and the mines, the canals and the forests. In the metropolitan center are the specializing agencies which manage the exchange of the whole group...A metropolitan community arises at a favorable conjunction of two circumstances, the

analysis leads Bogue to conclude that *“every zone in the hinterland is dependent upon the metropolis for wholesale trade and services and that the outer zones are dependent upon the inner zones for manufacturing”* (1949,59, Ibid). Early approaches are associated with morphological models and attempt to adapt von Thünen's economical model pertaining to the organization agricultural production facilities to urban contexts.

Almost all theoreticians of the Chicago School adopt a comprehensive approach in explaining the spatial organization of cities and in so doing emphasize functional relationships amongst components of metropolitan whole. In these approaches, transformations of such morphologies are almost always triggered by external factors such as technological innovations, increases in the population densities in some zones, invasions of some groups towards adjacent areas etc.

Metropolitan areas are conceived of as locales for social reproduction. Hence, spatial organization of manufacturing activities, relationships between workplaces and residences, spatial differences in wage levels, labor market dynamics are not duly taken up into account in spite of the flagrant evidence that metropolitan areas emerge as *the* major nodes of industrial production. Even industrial cities are conceptualized according to this morphological model. This ideal type that emerged as the result of the study that investigated certain cities has dissimilarities with the shapes cities with different historical and physical characteristics have taken during their metropolitan development process. This fact is apparent in the dissimilarity of the form of Istanbul metropolitan region in comparison to above mentioned models.

New urban economics which attempted to explain urban rent surfaces by rational economic behavior constituted one of the earliest challenges to the morphological models of the Chicago school (Alonso, 1965, 1967). The phenomenon stressed by neo-classical approaches in explaining the urban form is the logic of location selection of production structures (industry). In mathematical models used for

economic development in the hinterland and the rise of business ability and organization in the center.” (1926,183-189,in Duncan, Scott, and...1961,83-86)

explaining location selection, in order to maximize the benefits for the producer and the consumer, distances of minimum transport/travel they will be subjected to have been taken as the basis.

In turn, conceptions such as labor used in production, private ownership on land and spatial inequalities created by capitalism have been disregarded also in neo-classical analyses.⁴ The lack of particular characteristics owned by the spatial phenomenon among the variables in explaining the urban form is a revelation of shortcomings of historical perspectives of these theories. The explanatory capacities of neo-classical approaches that define location selection of production activities by costs of transportation, and relate concepts of labor and capital to a cost and investment factor by eschewing their historical content have by necessity limited their explanations of urban and metropolitan form.

On the other hand, materialistic approaches asserted that urban form may be explained by establishing various direct and indirect connections between industrial capitalism and cities. According to these approaches space can not be considered as fixed capital or built environment. Space is simultaneously a factor of production, a field of consumption, and also one of the control mechanisms of the state and an object for political struggles. (Lefebvre, 1974).

Industrial revolution engendered substantive changes in the pre-industrial cities; characterized by political and commercial functions. Moreover, cities would acted as agents of social change and assume important roles in the transformation of societies.

In Katznelson's words:

Now, rather than the city being a generative force for change, industrializing factors exogenous to cities reshaped their size, form and function. The city became a wholly dependent entity. Encapsulated by the logic of capitalist accumulation, the city ceased to be a worthy object of independent study. ... But, in twentieth century, the driving forces of new order are urban and these are, liberating humankind from capitalism's constraints. In Marxist

⁴ In the words of Massey "... *We learn, certainly, of producers and consumers, but not of capitalist, workers, imperialism and private property.*" (1973, 36).

economic terms, the secondary circuit of capital, concerned not with the production of surplus value in industrial activity as is the first, but with its creation through finance and speculation, has become dominant (1992, 97).

Hence the city is conceived of as an arrangement of social artifacts in space, and urbanization a way of life. In our times modalities of urban life though variable according to social contexts are instrumental in shaping the quality of daily lives (Ibid.).⁵ The city form emerges as major and crucial element of capitalist logic (Harvey, 1973, 311-13). According to Harvey, the capitalistic logic discloses properties of built environment and the way it functions as a resource system to ensure the production and the reproduction of surplus value. The second point that is emphasized relates to collective consumption (Ibid.). According to Harvey urban space do not directly stem from and reflect inner logic of the city as Lefebvre, but asserts on the contrary, that urban space is created by industrial capitalism. Moreover, according to Harvey urbanization and creation of an extraordinarily and complex artificial environment endows capitalism with new characteristics.⁶ It follows that the city as a social domain shaped through the interaction of processes of production, circulation, exchange and consumption.

⁵ According to Lefebvre, urbanization, further that this, is spreading world-wide to create homogenous expectations and ways of life in an unprecedented degree. Lefebvre asserts that his "urban moment" concept would re-achieve in the history of mankind the right of employment of space to serve the purposes of man together with the opportunity of finding a passage to a new phase where the re-interpretation of the meaning and value of daily life in harmony with nature would be possible to a degree much higher than would ever be permitted by industrial capitalism. Lefebvre, in his approach, primarily constructs the connections of cities with capitalism, but later points out that cities could be one of the vehicles (ridding of the yoke of capitalism) for attainment of freedom (1974).

⁶ Harvey strongly emphasizes that the modern city is a capitalist city. This means that this city is a sum total of production forces established by the labor employed within the framework of the transient capital circulation processes. This city is fed by the capitalist production metabolism built for the changes in the world market and supported by highly sophisticated production and distribution systems arranged within its boundaries. The population of the city is composed of individuals who use their monetary revenues gained from the circulation of capital created as a result of their own re-production (wages and profits) or else revenues derived from the same source (rents, interests, taxes, commercial profits, returns from services). The city is governed by a special coalition of non-continuous but closely arranged labor market which combines individual forces of class, different societies fractured by social re-production where daily substitution of work contingencies against labor force is possible and where labor force of a given number and qualification is available. It is obvious in Harvey that what has created the city is capitalism. The city creates the consciousness reflected by its different realities (Katznelson 1992).

According to new materialist models, urban forms and transformation processes are related and should be interpreted as a consequence of the social division of labor and the geography of production (Scott, 1988, 1). This approach rise the following issues.

1. What are the factors that impact urban dynamics in modern capitalism?
2. Which forces have the final word on the organization of economies of those cities?
3. How is the geography of production organized and how does it change in time?
4. How does the denizen work force of the city behave on the urban system and induces productive working conditions?
5. What are the effects of economy in urban life?
6. What are the effects of urban life on local economical structure?

To answer these questions, urban processes are analyzed in the following three stages:

1. Analysis of division of labor in industrial production and capitalism,
2. Analysis of wide scale urbanization processes that pave the way to concentration of capital and labor at certain regions,
3. Analysis of internal geography of production, work and society

These approaches -in spite of their deterministic claims- fall short in explaining social and spatial transformations, restructuring of production activities and metropolitan processes in late capitalist societies. However the issues they raise and their analytical set up is richer than that of the morphological models of Chicago school. Thanks to their explicit emphasis on historical-geography and regimes of accumulation, materialist approaches are capable to produce meaningful partial accounts pertaining to metropolitan dynamics in peripheral countries. They don't however any room and/or modules for local history and contingency. However the development of Istanbul metropolitan area can not be easily understood in the absence of such a component. In what follows particularities of metropolitan development in and around Istanbul will be studied from a perspective that leaves large fields of maneuver for both structural and contingent factors.

2.1.3. The Problem of Metropolitan Fringes in the Unauthorized Urban Development Processes

Metropolitan development takes place on fringes, which constitute transition zones between urban and agricultural land uses. This is a functional zone which does rarely coincide with administrative boundaries (Cole, 1958). In the case of a growing metropolis, this transition zone attracts population and economic activities and residences and display outward shifts. This process is exacerbated by the economic and demographic impact of industrial decentralization.

The metropolitan fringes are attractive for people who wishing to escape high and rising rents in city, who opt for large plots. Development of private/public transport facilities, increasing rate of car ownership, improvements in communication systems, in brief anything that reduces the friction effect distances or time-distances would increase the demand on fringe lands.

In advanced capitalist societies, metropolitan areas display planned contiguous growth patterns. The whole process of metropolitan growth is monitored by planning tools and development laws. This, however, is not the case in peripheral countries, where growth takes place in irregular settlements are scattered in metropolitan fringes. (Kiray, 1982). This, of course is not a spurious difference. It reflects the impact of various tenure types, the mechanisms of ownership transfer, and the historical dimension of the relationship between land ownership and rent.

Land-use forms in the metropolitan fringe and ownership patterns on land change rapidly under this development pressure. Thus, the fringe becomes part of the metropolitan area. We shall have to discuss briefly here the reconstruction phase that emerges during this transformation process and increase in value. First of all, urban development in leading capitalist countries late 19th century until the end of World War II has created its own conditions, it took place without any major intervention

from state. In this context capital shaped the cities in its own image (Roweis, 1981, 167). Individual private capital as opposed to corporate capital, subsistence wages as opposed to welfare wages and competitive free markets are distinctive features of this early phase during which land owners, capitalist and wage earners constitute major classes.

The liberal era during which capitalists were left to their own would be short lived. Tensions between social classes, sharpening income disparities, concerns for the stability of the social order, prevention of over-production and over investments, the realization of public works such as roads, railroads, ports, power stations, schools, parks, etc. led central governments to adopt measures that heralded the end of the *laissez-faire* era. These policies enhanced the role and responsibilities of local and central governments in housing supply and finance, land-use planning, public transport. These policies had direct impacts on urban land supply and on the land ownership and land-use pattern at metropolitan fringes. In this process, nearby villages and adjacent and small land ownership on land was realized by means of certain tools of intervention and consensus.

Although the development laws and the tools, such as expropriation, nationalization and privatization in the hands of public authorities were effective in the transformation from agricultural to urban land-use, the transfer of public or private lands to achieve rent was another important aspect of this transformation. As a result, the agricultural land-use at the fringe was rapidly transformed into urban land-uses and land ownership was transferred in various ways.

In advanced industrial countries where metropolitan growth is strictly controlled, transformation from rural land-use to urban land-use is determined by such instruments. The development profit of these transformations is shared among landowners, investors and local authorities. This sharing is accomplished by taxing the land according to its market value, purchase or expropriation of the land by the local authority at market value, and controlling the land market. Legal frames set up

to ensure these transitions are endowed with measures to prevent speculative operations.

Metropolitan cities become attraction centers of migration because of employment opportunities they possess during rapid urbanization processes in peripheral countries. In this context, the central town expands rapidly toward its perimeter. However, during this expansion period, urban legal mechanism sometimes has to follow the spontaneous reconstruction and has a low sanctioning power. Since reasons behind this spontaneous reconstruction mentioned in detail in previous parts of the study, we shall confine ourselves with a look of its effect on the fringe.

A rapid urbanization began to develop in Turkey after World War II. While 18.3% of the population lived in cities at the end of the war, this ratio increased to 54 in 1990s (SIS, 1995). This urbanization process creating disparity in the distribution of population has an interaction with the distribution of the capital in space. The capital heads towards those cities where labor is cheap. In this manner, some cities led by Istanbul become attractive both for labor and capital.

Basic dynamics that would initiate the change of the social structure of Turkey after the end of World War II and resultant rapid urbanization were as follows:

1. Development strategy based on industrialization through state enterprises was adopted and the power of introvert single political party was substituted by multi-party regime was replaced by liberal policies with the coming into power of Democratic Party.
2. With the inclusion of Turkey in Marshall Aid Plan prepared for restructuring of Europe after the war, mechanization of agricultural production was realized.
3. These two developments were also effective in the attempt of balancing disparities between regions engendered by industrialization through state enterprises and changes in the means of transportation in favor of motorways.

First of the major results of mechanization of agriculture was the reduction in labor demand in that sector which, in turn, resulted in unemployment. The second effect

was polarization on land and establishment of farms that started commercial production. This was due to the fact that small plots of land which were not suitable for mechanical agriculture were sold to large landowners creating a landless work force. From that point onwards, while transition from subsistence farming or farm production oriented towards local markets was headed towards the national market, unemployed work force, assisted by improved transportation facilities, started to flow into cities where they expected to find work with the hope of a better way of life.

Because of inadequate employment and housing supply, cities have devised conformity mechanisms of their own. While inadequate housing supply created *gecekondu* (squatter housing) on Treasury lands or privately owned lands not included in the development plan, inadequate supply of work in industrial and service sectors resulted in the emergence of an informal sector. These conformity mechanisms encountered in peripheral countries which experienced a rapid urbanization process after World War II, are defined as *tampon mekanizmalar* (buffer institutions) (Kıray, 1982). According to this definition, such institutions during the transition from agricultural societies to industrial communities, are intermediary forms that fill the gaps resulting from the asynchronous behavior of their individual elements that make up the social structure (Ibid.)⁷.

Since 1950's, the number of settlements with a population more than 1000 have increased from 3,782 to 31,805 (SIS, 1995). The increase in such settlements in the surrounding areas of particular cities indicates the increase in administrative units. Largest share of this huge migration surge was absorbed by the three largest cities. Transformations brought about by the population pressure on the work structure and spatial organization of these cities have been explained by urbanization and metropolitan development models typical for less developed countries (Kıray, 1982).

⁷ This approach has given importance to comparative analyses among neighboring countries and has evaluated similarities and differences in a development model. The ideal type here is the urban development of the West borrowed from modernization theory. According to this viewpoint, these different structures that emerge in the urban development of neighboring countries (informal sector,

In this context, an attempt has been made to determine whether some of these cities are single dominant cities, metropolitan cities or overgrown industrial cities by comparing these city models with an ideal type applicable to all.

It has been observed that in the beginning of the development of cities in peripheral countries, a city incomparable in size with other cities emerges, causing a reduction of all surrounding settlement areas. This single dominant city, although evaluated as an asset in the competition of the country with the external world, creates a handicap in the development of other regions in the country. In this respect, planners try to find out whether the settlement system is consistent with the sequence magnitude rule. According to this rule, the population of the second largest settlement in a country is expected to be half of the largest settlement.

However, this ratio of the population of Istanbul to the population of the second largest city, *İzmir* before the Republic was 5. size distribution among settlements in Anatolia was far from conformity with the sequence magnitude rule. On the other hand, in the Republican Period, various attempts have been made to achieve a balanced distribution of settlements. These can be cited as moving the capital city from Istanbul to Ankara, pursuing a railroad policy to integrate the interior market, adopting policies of import substitution and having the industries built on small settlements along the railroad network. As a result, during 1960s, distribution of settlement sizes was to a large extent in conformance with the sequence magnitude rule (Habitat, Turkish National Report, 1996).

According to Kıray (1982), after World War II, the relationship between single dominant cities which had developed by means of commerce before industrialization and their peripheral areas began to re-change through development in transportation, communication and production technologies, leading to the evolution of metropolitan areas. This phenomenon resulted in the spread of the metropolitan cities towards its environs, change of settlement structures, and emergence of new settlements in those

squatter housing) are transient "buffer mechanisms" and will disappear at a certain phase of development.

areas as these cities were converted into centers of agglomeration in terms of both population and capital (Tekeli 1991). Istanbul metropolitan area, as the largest settlement in Turkey, is the greatest concentration center. During the rapid urbanization process, some cities and their environs have grown rapidly and attained a metropolitan status due to the location of industry for a variety of their advantages. Istanbul has become an attraction center, owing to such advantages.

2.2. THE GROWTH PATTERN OF ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN AREA

2.2.1. Changing Structure of Istanbul in the Late Nineteenth Century: Historical Dynamics Preceding the Formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area

Istanbul Metropolitan Area is associated with increasing population as well as social, economic and land- use changes under the impact of migration since the 1950s. In fact, the change in the land use is a part of the economic and social changes experienced in the country. On the other hand, the existing characteristics of an area condition the emerging land use patterns. Land use is one of the determinants of the new social structure; therefore, the form of Istanbul metropolitan area has emerged on the basis and under the impacts of the existing historical, social and land use characteristics of the city. In this respect, the structural characteristics of Istanbul until the 1950s should be taken into consideration in the analysis of the metropolitan expansion process.

The urban history studies have revealed that Istanbul experienced a slow change until the 19th century and the most important transformation in the land use structure started to be encountered in the second half of the 19th century (Ortaylı, 1978; Selman, 1982; Çelik, 1986; Tekeli, 1992). The rapid industrialization and transformation in the Western world in the 19th century was reflected in various forms in Istanbul. The basic indicators of this reflection can be cited as the rapid increase in urban population, urban expansion toward the metropolitan fringe, restructuring of the administrative organizations and new land use types and

structures arising out of the interactions of these changes with the land use. A modern bureaucracy was created for the administrative organization of the city. Accordingly, the ministries started to be located outside the Grand Palace; in other words, housing and administrative functions were separated. The Palace which had been located in the city center for many centuries moved to the outskirts similar to other modern cities. The narrow and sloppy streets of the city used for human and animal traffic expanded and a new transportation system was established. The construction of stone/brick buildings was encouraged. For the organization of this transformation, Istanbul *Şehremaneti* (Prefecture of a large town) and 6. *Daireyi Belediye* (Municipality Administration) were established respectively in 1854 and 1857 (Çelik, 1986; Tekeli, 1992).

In the same period, the business activities of the city also showed important changes. While *Eminönü-Beyazıt* and south side of the Golden Horn survived as the old bazaar and trading sites, the new trading activities mainly settled in *Galata*. Thus, the city transformed into a metropolis with two city centers, and the *Galata* Bridge was built to connect these two centers. And with the three ports (*Galata* in 1895, *Sirkeci* in 1900 and *Haydarpaşa* in 1904) built in the same period, Istanbul developed its trading relations with the West, rather than Anatolia.

In addition, wheat produced in Anatolia was more expensive than import wheat (Kılınçarslan, 1981). Although 82% of the population was still engaged in agriculture, the wheat requirement of the capital city was met from Europe; and this was a clear indication of the deformation in the surplus product flow system and the land use control mechanisms in that century.

According to the statistics of 1914, the share of agricultural income in Anatolia, Syria, Iraq and Rumelia regions in total agricultural income was 60%, while the share of Istanbul region was only 3%. Such low agricultural income was interpreted by Von Moltke as follows :

Since the dissolution of the Janissary corps, price of the bare necessities have increased by four times in Istanbul, because of the loss of the

biggest grain supply areas of the capital city, namely *Eflak*, *Boğdan* and *Egypt* which were obliged to supply at least half of their grain products to Istanbul in the past. No-one wishes to deal with grain agriculture in the country, because the government purchases grains at prices determined arbitrarily by itself. Such compulsory purchase of the government is a greater misfortune for this country than fire and plague. This is why the government is obliged to purchase wheat from *Odessa* while vast and boundless productive fields are waiting to be cultivated at a distance of one hour to the gates of this city with a population of 800,000 (Moltke, 1969, 47).

According to this view, while the surroundings of Istanbul were full of *çiftlik*s and cultivated lands that were the grain cellars of Istanbul in the 16th and 17th centuries, the agricultural production declined and such vast and productive fields were left idle in the 18th century and especially, in the first half of the 19th century. The lands which von Moltke mentions were the fields starting immediately at the fringe of the central residential areas of Istanbul and the vegetable gardens a part of which were located inside the city walls. However, the statistical data is not adequate in verifying this point of view. For this reason, it is not possible to predict the volume of agricultural production in the *çiftlik*s around Istanbul and to claim its adequacy in the food supply of Istanbul.

The most important change in housing behavior in this century was the shift from housing areas based on ethnicity to the ones based on social status. As a result, new prestige areas emerged in *Pangaltı* in addition to *Beyoğlu* and *Taksim*. The rich families of the minorities left *Balat*, *Fener* and *Samatya* and moved to *Beyoğlu*, while the poor families stayed there. With new migrations, these old wards slowly transformed into squatter housing areas (Ortaylı, 1978).

The origin of the metropolitan transformation of Istanbul in the 1950s may be found in that century. This transformation was a result of the role assigned to Istanbul in accordance with the transformation of the West, rather than the internal dynamics of the Ottoman society. In other words, the metropolitan transformation of Istanbul necessitated a structural transformation in the city.

This transformation may be examined roughly in three dimensions: The trading routes passing through Istanbul, and the impacts of such trading routes on the urban land use in the 19th century. This dimension was debated the most in the studies of economic historians. The process of transforming into an important intermediary city of the world trade led to transformation in the land use patterns in line with new functions. This articulation with the world economy enabled Istanbul to establish new channels of external relations, increase the port capacity, build new railways and railway stations, develop the mail systems and construct new warehouses (Tekeli, 1992, 55-63).

On the other hand, the new functions of the city necessitated the foundation of financial companies, banks and insurance companies for the new trade pattern, this sector also developed rapidly. While *Eminönü-Sirkeci* continued to be the traditional business center, *Galata* area developed as a new business center for the connections of the city to the world trade; consequently, banks, financial companies and insurance companies were located in multi-store buildings in *Galata*. The foreign and local merchants and bankers of this new business center created a new housing area in *Tarlabaşı*, consisting of luxury, conspicuous and multi-store buildings corresponding to their new social class status. As the housing pattern based on social status became more common, the non-Moslem merchants living in *Fener*, *Balat* and *Eyüp* moved to another new settlement area of the city, namely *Nişantaşı-Teşvikiye* area. New transportation networks such as the *Galata* Bridge and new automobile routes were established between the old and new business centers and the new housing areas of the city.

Articulation with the capitalist world and metropolitan transformation in the second half of the 19th century led to the transformation of the physical environment (built environment) in the business centers and housing areas. In such an era of urban revival after the stagnation in the 18th century, the transformation was mainly attributed to Istanbul's becoming a nodal point within the world trade (Keyder and Öncü, 1983). This view seems to be rather exaggerated. It is true that the population of Istanbul substantially increased in the late 18th century and the 19th century and

important population movements occurred particularly in the Ottoman lands in Europe (Erder, L., 1978; Karpat, 1974, 1976). However, this population increase was not as high as the population increase experienced in other leading industry, trade and finance centers of the world. This is evidenced by the fact that Istanbul was not among the first ten cities of the world in terms of population in the 19th century (Hohenberg and Lees. 1985).

Furthermore, the population increase in Istanbul in this period was a result of the Crimean war and the independence revolts in the Balkans, rather than Istanbul's being a nodal point in the world trade. As a result of the independence revolts in the Balkans, the Moslem Ottoman *çiftlik* owners sold their *çiftliks* in the Balkans and settled in the large *çiftlik* lands in the periphery of Istanbul which remained idle since the 17th century. Reorganization of the *çiftliks* in the periphery of Istanbul reactivated the agricultural production and created new demand for labor, leading to the absorption of Moslem population of the Balkans in the new agricultural areas, which, in turn, created population increase to a certain extent.

The legal infrastructure required for such a transformation in the land use patterns of Istanbul in the 19th century was realized through administrative reforms and reorganization started with the *Tanzimat*. *Ebniye Nizamnameleri* (the Regulations and Laws for Buildings) enacted in 1848 and *Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi* (the Regulation for Streets and Buildings) enacted in 1864 were the important factors leading to the transformation of Istanbul in the 19th century (Tekeli, 1992, 10).⁸

⁸ (Selman, 1982, 76) According to Selman, these laws intend to create a new urban form (ibid.). She writes "A large proportion of the changes in the physical urban structure starting during this period; and *Şehremaneti*; and later, the Sixth Municipal Department was established. Now it was the municipality which was responsible for urban organisation, and it needed certain rules to be able to do it. Recognition of the rights of ownership and the changing character of land speculations also required that urban growth be kept under control. When fires were added to all these with increasing frequency and coverage, cities began to be organised according to a new regulation of the one enacted in 1849" (ibid.).

With the changing economic and administrative structures of the city in the 19th century, the land-use patterns and the land ownership rights also started to change. For the settlement of the increasing urban population, the vegetable gardens and uncultivated fields as well as the lands in fringe became important. Therefore, the vegetable gardens and the vacant fields were opened for construction with a prior consent of the Sultan in the *Ebniye* regulations enacted in 1848 and 1849; and this process gained momentum with the rapid population increase and intensive migration to the city after the Crimean war in 1854.

Selman states that

...in the 1864 *Turuk and Ebniye* Regulations, it is stated that for construction on gardens and vacant lands and for establishment of new quarters, maps would be prepared according to the regulation principles (street widths, building heights, etc.) and presented to the Ministry of Commerce. The Ministry would present the maps to *Bab-ı Ali* after specifying the conditions to be followed for the good of the public by communicating with related institutions and investigating the advantages of opening these lands for construction. Certification of the map and construction of the new quarters were then left to the special order of the *Sadrızam* ." (1982, 92). More developed essential rules were added to these regulations in 1882. According to the new rules, "it would be determined by the *şehremaneti* and other related institutions whether there was any harm in turning these areas into settlement quarters and whether there was need for building schools and police stations in these areas... Permission would be given according to the "*İrade-i Seniye*" after certification of the maps by the Ministry of Interior Affairs (Selman, 1982, 93).

These regulations aimed at ensuring the controlled settlement of the rapidly increasing population and migrants, preventing irregular and spontaneous settlements, and at the same time, controlling the decline in the lands and fields supplying food to the city. Although the people who settled in the villages on both sides of the Bosphorus were allowed to travel freely on the ships of *Şirketi Hayriye*, these villages and areas were mainly used as summer resorts due to the inadequate land transport means. Consequently, the quarters extending from the left side of the Golden Horn to the city walls were rapidly settled.

According to Tekeli, the transformation of urban structure in this period was not built up on a planned basis. It evolved on a fragmented basis and the most prominent changes took place in the city center (1994, 42). However, in same period, new physical patterns were encountered as the city expanded into new areas in the fringe and former fireplaces. The growth of the city was limited on the historical peninsula where urban settlements were enclosed by the city walls and old districts. Thus, new areas started to be established for housing. While historical peninsula extended outside the city wall, *Galata and Beyoğlu* extended from *Tophane to Ortaköy* and *Taksim* to *Şişli, Nişantaşı* and *Teşvikiye*. At the same time, the villages located along the Bosphorus started to get integrated into the city. Expansion on the Anatolian side was realized as an expansion from *Üsküdar* to *Kuzguncuk*, filling in the vacant areas between *Üsküdar* and *Kadıköy* and suburban districts emerged along the railway tracks from *Kızıltoprak* to *Bostancı* (Ibid.). The newly emerging macro form of Istanbul lacked internal integration even though substantial changes were experienced in the organization of the urban transportation system (Ibid. 47).

The growth of the city appears to reflect the leap-frogging model in connection with the new transportation system did not provide internal integration for the whole city. On the other hand, the ownership pattern and divisibility of lands determined the expansion of the city because private and public property lands provided different opportunities for settlements. While divisibility of lands into incremental components led to the rapid transformation of certain areas, indivisible large lands such as *çiftlik*s retained their status nearly until the end of the war.

2.2.2. Changing Structure of Istanbul in the Early Stages of Metropolitan Formation

Istanbul metropolitan area has been established within a time span since the end of World War II, which comprises massive migration from rural to urban areas. The new world organization after World War II led to a rapid transformation process in peripheral countries, and one major result of this transformation is the severance of

the roots of rural population from the land and its flow in torrents towards cities, inducing rapid urbanization in those countries. During this rapid transformation process, the housing stocks and employment opportunities of Istanbul were inadequate in accommodating this influx of immigration. The population of 1,200,000 at the end of the 19th century dwindled to 794.444 by 1927, which corresponded to 5.8% of the total population in Turkey. This ratio was maintained without much change until 1950 when the population of Istanbul made up 5.6% of the total population (SIS, 1995).

Between 1920 and 1950, Istanbul lost its characteristic of being both an intermediary city in the world trade and a capital city since the second half of the 19th century. The major reasons of this stagnation in Istanbul can be cited as the decreasing volume of trade in the Black Sea related to the Soviet Revolution; the new spatial organization attempts of the Turkish Republic with the aim of establishing a nation state integrated with the internal market and the declaration of Ankara as the capital city.

In this stagnation period, the fringe was not transformed substantially; however, some structural transformations were experienced in the urban macro form. This was related to the operations in Istanbul, especially between 1935 and 1954, because of the shift to automobiles in urban transportation. New prestige areas such as *Şişli*, *Nişantaşı* and *Teşvikiye* continued to develop in the form of apartment housing until the Second World War (Tekeli, 1994, 64-65).

In addition, there were important transformations in the ownership structure in the rural areas around the town and within the city despite its slumber since the 1920s. As will be emphasized later in this study, much of the real estate once owned by the Ottoman Sultans and their *vakıfs* had been transferred to the State Treasury by the 1920s. On the other hand, considerable amount of real estate owned by non- Moslem minority who had left the country during the years of Turkish Independence War and its aftermath came under the control of *Milli Emlak Müdürlüğü* (National Real Estate Administration). While some of those buildings and lands were allocated to certain public establishments and institutions majority of them were transformed into

derelict vacant lots with loose agricultural activity. In a city where reconstructed housing areas could barely suffice the population, these buildings and lands created an important building stock for immigrants.

During the early stages of metropolitan restructuring, existing housing stock could not accommodate the influx of intensive migration into the city and derelict buildings and rooms in the abandoned sections were not suitable for long-term demand for housing. This created a demand for land. The demand for land in this first phase was use-value oriented rather than exchange value and it was fulfilled by *gecekondu* (squatter housing) on vacant Treasury and *Vakıf* lands, which were considered “ownerless” since they were not privately owned. These shanty town belts, which were established without city zoning, infrastructure and transportation network, shaped the metropolitan fringe in the early phases of metropolitan expansion. Therefore, *çiftlik* lands, which had been transferred to the State Treasury responded quite well to the demand that created the *gecekondu* type settlement.

In the years that followed the early stages of metropolitan expansion, different types of land demand started to emanate. Investigating different types of demand for land from the end of 1950s to 1980s, it has been acknowledged that two groups has statistical significance. One of these is the demand met by demolishing old buildings to built multi-store independent housing units which, being out of bounds, will be neglected in this study.

The other type is the demand oriented towards lands that could be subdivided and sold. The most important criterion that distinguishes this type of demand from the demand for land that created the early-phase *gecekondu* is its being guided by exchange-value rather than use-value. The housing demand constantly increasing in the 1960s and 1970s fired by migration to Istanbul resulted in an increase in squatter housing areas legitimized through construction amnesties, and formation of an urban land market operating on particular mechanisms. During those years, the leading actors in this market were small and medium-scale “build & sell” contractors and speculators who bought privately-owned lands outside the plan boundaries to

subdivide and sell them in parcels of their own design. The subdivision was realized by cartographers legally in the early phases of urban growth, gained a legal status with the shared title deeds. However, in the proceeding years, this mechanism is replaced by other power relationships: The Mafiosi.

Sub-developers with limited capital opted for lands that would be attractive for lower-middle and middle income groups and which would be sooner or later be connected to the prospective land with sufficient urban infrastructure. The small and medium-scale sub-developers could not provide infrastructure services to the vacant lots they *develop*; in addition, they do not have the power to entice sponsors who could be effective in local governments to have such work undertaken. Therefore, the demand for such lands was pushed towards urban land with some infrastructure and slopes along newly built motorways where infrastructure expected to be built.

Among the areas that met such demand for land during this period was old privately owned *çiftlik*s were divided into parcels and sold by their owners or sub-developers. Some of these lands were *çiftlik*s transferred to the National Real Estate Administration and the land owned by non-Moslems who had left the country during the war. National Real Estate Administration sold some pieces of *çiftlik* lands from time to time. Those who bought these lands were generally real-estate agents or individual land speculators who divided the land into parcels or accomplished housing projects to sell them against cash or on an installment plan.

With the development of the metropolitan city until 1980s, although few in number, land demand of mass housing cooperatives constituted another type of demand for land. The share of such cooperatives in total housing construction in Turkey was 5.2% in 1970, 8% in 1975 and 8.7% in 1980. This ratio increased to 25.2% in 1990 (SIS, 1991, 242, Öncü, A., 1988, 43). A large segment of such cooperatives are observed to have been organized by workers' unions, public servants, Social Security Agency and professional vocation groups (Öncü, A., 1988, 43). The factor that had an important role in the location of mass housing projects was to find an adequate piece of land registered as single property. Such lands could be found among old

*çiftlik*s transferred to the Treasury, land owned by National Real Estate Administration or private property.

2.2.2.1. Housing Supply Patterns in the Early Stages of the Metropolitan Formation

As emphasized above, in the rapid urbanization process, supply of housing was not sufficient for the population. Individual housing supply in cities is described as the prospective house owner buying land included in the development plan, and after having the technical projects approved by the municipality, having a house built by means of a sub-contractor or builders. However, this type of housing supply has been incapable of meeting the rapidly growing housing demand since the 1950s. This inadequacy was partly due to insufficient amount of land in the development plan and partly because of less affordability of such lands by low-medium income groups in the face of constantly rising prices. This inadequacy in land supply has initiated two means of access to housing in the early stages of metropolitan growth. One of these was *gecekondu*s (squatter housing) and the other, apartment houses built in the model of build & sell (quick-turnover). In the further years of development, large-scale mass housing supply has appeared. These different supply patterns have created demand for land with different characteristics.

1. *Gecekondu* Processes:

Gecekondu areas have emerged as a result of building illegal barracks from cheap materials by migrants on Treasury lands generally with unregistered ownership. The main factor in the emergence of squatter housing areas was the inability of local authorities to produce sufficient land and housing to solve the problem of housing for the migrants. In addition, due to the inadequacy of the ownership structure on land and urban settlement laws, the homeless found the solution themselves. However, although not legally regulated, the acceptance of the *de facto* solutions as legal by local and central political authorities could not produce an alternative has given a new dimension to *gecekondu* phenomenon. This dimension is related to land speculation created by the demand for *gecekondu*. With the coming of 1960s,

building of *gecekondu*s by migrants to have a roof on their heads began to be commercialized (Şenyapılı, 1992, Erder, 1996).

Actors of commercialized *gecekondu* building (Mafiosi) who divided land into parcels and sold them to prospective *gecekondu* owners and contractors who built more than one *gecekondu* to sell at various stages of construction as well as *gecekondu* owners who built more than one *gecekondu* to rent out.

That academicians, authors and politicians of the times are of one opinion on the necessity of intervention of central and local authorities on the urbanization process in the name of public interest is apparent from the arguments put forth at the time. Although the severe housing problem since the beginning of migration to cities, and resultant unauthorized and unplanned development and speculative earnings were acknowledged, land policies and laws that were expected to solve the problem could not be effected. This self-construction process that has persisted to our day is, in fact, directly associated with capital accumulation through urban space. This relationship becomes apparent when power mechanisms are reared for the seizure of the increasing value of urban land produced by the community.

2. *Yap-satçı* (build & sell) Housing Supply:

The conditions that generated another housing supply mechanism created by excess-demand, *Yap-satçı* (Build & Sell) can be summarized as follows: Insufficient land within the development plan and high prices of urban land have led to a difficulty for low-middle income groups in having an access to housing. Having lost their chance, these groups gathered together and paid their share on a piece of land to own independent housing units in an apartment house. This process was legitimized by Regulation on *Istanbul Kat Nizamları Planı*” (Istanbul Plan of Condominium Rights). This housing supply method which emerged in the 1960s has kept its profitability in small scale contractors in the old city areas and new growth zones of Istanbul until 1980s (Tekeli 1994, 160-161). This legally acceptable supply method oriented towards middle income groups with assured regular income has led to an

increasing demand for lands where heights of building permits had been raised or was certain to be raised in the future.

This supply type has been in crises since the 1980s. This was because of the reduction in the number of old housing areas convertible to high-rise buildings, which led to an increase in the prices. In addition, the legislation permitted the emergence of mass housing cooperatives built cheaper houses with longer mortgage terms for middle income groups. Mass housing cooperatives could have been an alternative to *Yap-sat* contracting was not so wide-spread until 1980s (Öncü, 1988, 43; Berkman, 1995, 43). This was related to two basic reasons: One of them was inadequate or even no legislation at the time. The second reason was that, during the import substitution period, the middle and large capital was headed towards revenues from production of domestic consumer goods rather than the income from urban land speculation.

2.2.2.2. Location of Production in the Early Stages of Metropolitan Development: *Incubator Hypothesis* and the Concept of *Saçaklanma*

In the early stages of metropolitan development, industrial production was not decentralized yet. Cities were shaped according to the nature of industrialization policies implemented during the transition from rural to industrial society. The growth of small-scale producers and penetration of commerce capital into industry during the industrialization process or the course of industrialization through state investments generate different impacts on society. When the growth of small producers is considered, as small producers concentrated around the city center achieve success and advance into medium-scale, they jump to the peripheries of the city. The area occupied by these small producers around the center of the city serves as an incubator which protect them (Tümertekin, 1972, Güvenç, 1992).

The cities are formed through the intersection of changing spatial requirements of firms and house dwellers as well as land rents.⁹ According to Scott, urban development is a function of capital-labor ratios varying among firms that opt for technological changes basically in order to maximize profits (1980, 34). Increase in capital intensity that go hand-in-hand with investment in technology is accompanied by location decisions shifting from the center to the fringe. However, many labor-intensive firms remain dependent on labor supply in the center of the city. Although technological transformations are not as widespread as in the production industry, a similar logic is also prevalent in location of the service sector.

According to *incubator hypothesis*, the firms use the central districts of cities as an incubator in the first stages of production due to their weaknesses in the production process. Because of the sufficient infrastructure and cheap labor pool in central areas, new firms continue their production in those areas serve as an incubator until they reach an adequate size and power. After that stage, they move to the urban fringe and the areas abandoned by these firms which are filled by small production units. In the Istanbul case, incubator thesis is descriptive for the location of small-middle scale industrial establishments in the early stages of metropolitan development.

Kıray explains the spatial repercussion of industrial location behavior in peripheral metropolises with the concept of *saçaklanma* (1982). In metropolitan areas, as the industries reaching an adequate size move out of the city to locate in big industrial campuses, the land between those campuses and the area in the vicinity of the city where small and medium-sized production units are located, is exposed to dispersed and unplanned settlements. These settlements are composed of low-quality housing units and small establishments. Although they are close villages, they show a settlement pattern different from the villages. These settlements meet the housing demand which cannot be met by the insufficient number of lodging houses around the campus on the one hand; and on the other hand, they house the labor power

⁹ Scott too stresses a causal relationship where the logical correlation between two prominent social classes such as capital and labor is determined along the lines of relations in the dominant Production

demanded by small and medium-sized production units (Ibid.). These settlements are manifested in the form of *saçaklanma* because of their dispersed image on former agricultural land, which does not resemble a typical village settlement. This image provides a good example reflects the uniqueness of the structuring of the metropolitan fringe in Istanbul.

As a result, in the early stage of metropolitan development, it is possible to form a meaningful link between the incubator hypothesis and the unique type of settlement pattern created by the location decisions of production units of various sizes. This settlement pattern served the function of an incubator zone for production units by constituting a cheap labor pool because the settlement cost of the migrants was socially paid and it did not put a financial burden on capital holders.

In this respect, the medium and large-scale industries concentrated around the city provided an attraction center for cheap labor. *Gecekondu* belts that surrounded the cities in Istanbul formed distinctive settlement areas that validate this fact. On the other hand, at this stage of metropolitan growth, large-scale state industries were relatively more easily separated from cities and tended to settle in large campuses. However, financial and administrative functions continued to accommodate in the center of the city.

2.2.3. Transformation in the Urbanization Pattern of Istanbul Since the 1980s

In 1980s, a considerable transformation was witnessed in metropolitan areas throughout the world in connection with the restructuring of capitalism. Together with the policies developed by capitalism to overcome the new crisis encountered in the late 1970s, a rapid transformation began to appear in cities and particularly in

manner. These are taken together along the lines of Ricardo that expounds distribution of profit to capital and wages to labor (Cooke, 1983, 145).

metropolitan areas (Scott 1983, 3). On the other hand, the present theoretical frameworks were inadequate in explaining this rapid transformation.¹⁰

As of the second half of 1970s, economies of developed countries began to suffer from job losses, unemployment and chronic inflation. This period, according to Scott was “*a dramatic economical deterioration and restructuring*” (1988). While the world witnessed the shut-down of factories for rationalization of the industrial capacities in the USA, mergers and location changes, there happened similar destructive developments in the old industrial regions in England (Massey, 1984). In the basic industries both in the USA and Western Europe, a deepening crisis emerged partly because of the competition on export materials arriving from Japan and semi-peripheral countries.

This crisis termed as the crisis of Fordist production method has brought along new demands in towns and metropolitan areas shaped within this type of production. Countermeasures taken against this crisis which was also termed as Post-Fordist production method found its reflection largely in spatial rearrangements and the matrix of social clashes. The impact was especially felt when the social polities adopted after World War II started to be substituted by neo-liberal policies. Housing and welfare programs of the welfare state era were dismantled; social services privatized and social opposition movements were relatively subdued.

This transformation process has affected metropolitan areas throughout the world in the following dimensions: Metropolitan areas, through the industrialization of surrounding regions, enjoyed an industrial discharge towards rural areas.¹¹ This

¹⁰ This development seemed to have surpassed the capabilities of old urban theories. This of course did not mean those previous theories had all to be scrapped. We see that since 1980s, in order to describe the city with its this new face, new question have been put and developed by geographers in a attempt to include space in the analysis as an active variable (Massey, Scott, Walker et al.). In this context, urban theorists from geography discipline, rearranged the questions by taking production systems and production geography omitted in the earlier theories, or in Scott's words, assimilated in the urbanization theory (1983, 3).

¹¹ Large cities of North America and Western Europe have been intensely affected from these developments. Important industrial centers in North America such as Buffalo, Detroit and Pittsburgh

decline has resulted in severe financial and social problems in large cities and metropolitan regions. Against all these developments, a considerable number of production units have opted to remain in cities. While these changes were in progress, office and service functions in those cities have continued to grow at an accelerated rate which resulted in the development of the service sector forming the backbone of business structure in most of those regions (Scott, 1988). While high technology deserted old metropolitan centers, Taylorist mass producers of basic goods have started to choose lands in those areas. New production technologies supported by developments in micro-electronics industry has created flexibility in working conditions and enabled the spreading of manifold environmental work varieties (Esser and Hirsch, 1989).¹²

During this whole process, emergence of a new division of labor is observed. The determinant factor is this division of labor is internationalization of production through intermediary multi-national or supra-national companies¹³. This transformation in the division of labor in the world has resulted in the emergence of specialized urban structures. Classifications such as industrial city metropolitan town have begun to be substituted by the city archetypes developed under the

have first entered a stagnation and then a decline period due to closure of factories and shifting of new capital investments to surrounding area where cheap labor is available (Scott, 1988).

¹² The widespread economic and political dislocation of this period challenged the certainty of the modern city and urban systems. The dynamics that could underpin the emergence of the post modern city started to be shaped. These include wholesale displacement to peripheral countries, wholesale displacement of suburban mass production industries followed by inner city re-industrialization based upon the adoption of new flexible production technologies, just-in-time inventory and delivery systems, new division of labor between large firms and small firms, the growing importance of the city based function and design and fashion in highly segmented but global markets, the rediscovery of the quality of the built environment and a sense of place and their incorporation into images which shape individual and corporate investment and location decisions, the growing importance of media and audio-visual industries in creating in marketing these images of place, the emerging role of information and communication technologies in supporting process of organizational restructuring associated with the globalization of production and distribution, the commodification of information, and the undermining of national urban hierarchies (Fox-Przeworsky, de Jong, 1981).

¹³ Until recent year, international division of labor used to explain its structure in the following way : "Commerce" of goods produced in different countries. In that commerce, South Hemisphere and part of the Middle East, used to sell raw materials to the industries in Europe, North America and Japan and buy industrial goods from them. The new division of labor is based on the possibility of production and sales of global companies their products to various regions of the world engendered through company marriages and sub-contracts. This situation results in the increase in global scale the services associated with companies (banking, consulting, accounting, advisory companies) and have them choose locations in business centers of metropolitan cities (Ibid.).

concept of rational economic city (Lambooy and Mouleart, 1996, 219). Among these new urban archetypes are urban structures such as innovative city, produce and business services city, informational city, which are typical examples for the transformation of large cities in the metropolitan areas and the new urban form that has emerged.¹⁴

Discussions on global city with its wide-ranged literature shows that some cities in some prominent regions of the world are going through a transformation that cannot be explained by the phenomenon of the metropolitan city. This transformation not only alters the function of metropolitan cities in the division of labor, but also change rapidly their urban forms.

The restructuring capitalism in the world has certain effects on the division of labor and the related settlement pattern within and around the metropolitan areas in peripheral countries. This new division of labor results in a transformation within the metropolitan area, creates a particular type of demand at the metropolitan fringe. The peripheral countries attempt to become attraction nodes for the globalized capital in the restructuring capitalism and the resulting structural transformations within the metropolitan areas determine the nature of this demand. In this respect, the industries

¹⁴ Some larger cities in the world, particularly those in developed countries, have world-scale command and control functions. Different explanation forms have been devised to describe them. For instance, while Hall defines global cities as centers where world “business” is conducted, Braudel explains this concept as centers of specific world economies, whereas Friedman and Wolff observe them as centers where spatial articulation of the production with global market among cities in the world system is realized (King, 1990, Friedman and Wolff 1982). According to Sassen-Kobb, the need for centers at certain distances necessary for the control and coordination of global economic activities have given some cities the status of a global city. These cities become centers where high echelon management and control functions are gathered. According to Rose and Trechte, global cities are locations of theoretical association of resource allocation in the world and knots of global capitalism within the network of a symbolic hierarchy and dependence where production of cultural properties is settled (King, 1990). In more recent works, certain large cities are spoken as having gained expertise on major subjects such as production of a given raw material, its distribution, marketing and financing. According to the description of Cohen, such global cities emerge as a result of the requirement of coordination of the new division of labor in the world (Cohen, 1981). In the work of Castells on this subject, these cities are described as high technology and information centers (Castells, 1990). Another author, Thrift, defines global cities as centers of finance and information center, thus emphasizing their traditional role (Fujita, 1991). All these authors find a correlation between global economic forces and restructuring of global cities. However, it is not quite clear which economic forces guide some cities towards becoming a global city. In this context, Fujita points

within the metropolitan area are decentralized; illegal and unplanned housing areas are improved; various projects are developed to direct the housing demand towards the fringe; and the metropolitan area is developed so as to make it attractive for capital.

These developments raise the rents within the metropolitan area and the groups cannot afford these rents direct their demand for urban land toward the fringe. As will be discussed in detail in the following parts, this demand leads to various types of settlement patterns at the fringe.

In connection with the transformations mentioned above, a considerable change began to be encountered in the Istanbul Metropolitan Area since the early 1980s. The key dynamics that initiated this change was the reflection of national and international restructuring policies on metropolitan areas.¹⁵ At that time, the relevant character of demand for land in the reconstruction of metropolitan fringe took an entirely different look in comparison to earlier times. An understanding of the correspondence between the land demand that emerged during this period and privately owned *çiftlik*s among the lands that responded to this demand will contribute to the explanation of the new reconstruction pattern in the metropolitan fringe.

Concentration of a large section of public investments and private sector capital in Istanbul metropolitan area and its environs after 1980s created considerably high

of that the most important factor that determines a global city is globalization of flexible production style. The example given there is Tokyo (Fujita, 1991).

¹⁵ The effort for integration with the restructuring and globalization process that began in the late 1970s and continued throughout the 1980s led to important changes in Turkey's development strategy. This period, termed as a passage of national development era from import-substitution strategies to export oriented development strategy, has had important effects on Istanbul metropolitan area. In the words of Keyder and Öncü, "For it was in the 1980s, during a period of major reduction in state subsidies and fiscal austerity, with its attendant consequence of worsening income distribution and social polarization that Istanbul received a major influx of state funding for the first time in republican history" (1993, 19). At this stage, the leading actor role chosen for Istanbul as the epitome for development through neo-liberal policies resulted in the support of investments in urban areas introduced as the second cycle of capital on the Istanbul metropolitan area. To discuss whether or not the support of Istanbul metropolitan area as an urban development sector as the second cycle of capital introduced as a relief measure against reduction of profit margins arising from excessive inventories due to production of commodities -as employed in early capitalist countries- is a subject

revenue sources for urban areas inside the metropolitan circle. The magnitude of capital accumulation not only changed the scale of the investments in the area, but also their content. As well as high rise business centers of large companies and company groups, luxury housing complexes were also being built (Keyder, Öncü, 1993, 25-29); the metropolitan fringe was shaped by the construction of expansive mass housing sites, small-medium scale industries that remained in the metropolitan town and some urban services (wholesale fruit-vegetable and grocery markets, main transportation terminals) that started to be reconstructed as large shopping malls and illegal housing.

Disparity in income levels, increased by the economic policies pursued at the time, created an important variety in consumption norms. Reflection of this variety on spatial dimension engendered different housing areas in character and quality demanded by different income groups. This demand for housing has also been a determinant in the demand for land that emerged in the metropolitan fringe.

The demand for land that appeared during this period has to be analyzed in two dimensions. First of these is the demand for land by the Mass Housing Administration founded in 1984 with the aim of providing a solution to insufficient housing supply, especially for low-middle income groups, by means of resources created by Mass Housing Fund. This institution, established with the purpose of generating urban lands by the hand of the state to provide legal settlement areas, with its authority for expropriation, could choose areas suitable for its own projects disregarding private ownership status in rural areas in the metropolitan fringe. When a highly divided piece of land was found appropriate for a mass housing project, the whole land was procured by means of expropriation and prepared for large construction firms and cooperatives (Eraydın, Güzel, Türel 1996, 112).

In this context, choosing land for the Mass Housing Administration was not affected by ownership status of the land, but by its size and compatibility with the

that extends beyond the boundaries of this paper. However, the leading role assumed by this sector in the shaping of Istanbul metropolitan area during this period is obvious

metropolitan area development plan. A second type of demand for land came from private construction firms with large capital. The determining criteria for lands chosen by such firms for building high density mass housing and low density luxury projects were its size and status of ownership. When these private firms selected land for their projects, they were faced with certain restrictions. One of these was the ownership of the land divided into many large-and-small plots. Since private persons do not have the privilege of expropriation, they generally opt for choosing lands with less divided ownership pattern. For these firms, the size and less divided status of the land were more important than its infrastructure facilities and distance to the city. This is because, they have the resources to build the infrastructure. On the other hand, the patronage (clientalistic) relationship of such firms with central/local authorities enable them to have a piece of land far away from the city to be included in the development plan without regarding its conformance with the development plan and receive urban infrastructure utilities.

The suitability of large *çiftlik* lands that had protected their private ownership status so far help explain the shape and dimension of reconstruction in the metropolitan fringe. Decentralization projects after 1980s also had a certain effect in the reconstruction of the metropolitan fringe. Some of the lands that corresponded to the demand for land of such projects were still in the ownership of old privately held *çiftlik*s that had been converted into urban land by means of expropriation.

2.2.3.1. Mass Housing Supply and Land Demand in the Fringe Since 1980s

From 1980s onwards, mass housing supply has started to grow with an incomparable intensity. This increase was realized with the support of the government not only for generating solution to inadequate housing supply and producing legal urban areas, but also to provide capital accumulation in the urban development sector. This support was given by means of Mass Housing Fund and Mass Housing and Investment Administration, increasing the amount, scope and context of the credits available for this purpose. The settlement that has benefited the most from mass

housing projects has been Istanbul metropolitan area (Eraydın, Tüzel, Güzel 1996, 115).

Land demand for large-scale mass housing projects are different from other housing supply modes. The first of these criteria is to obtain large, vacant and indivisible land. The second criterion is its suitability in terms of topography, and the third is cheapness. Lands that possess these three criteria are the wide tracts of *çiftlik* land along the Istanbul metropolitan fringe. For these reasons, during mass housing supply period, rapid reconstruction have started on these lands within 45 minutes to 1 hour distance from Istanbul, owing to two motorways and wide-spread car ownership. One of the factors that determine location decisions are the ownership status will be dealt in detail in further chapters.

Scarcity of land within the development plan necessary for a rapidly growing metropolitan population and the high value of limited amount of lands drive people towards lands outside the development plan in the fringes of the city. This demand on the fringe, on the one hand, is related to reconstruction directed by private sub-developer groups, and on the other hand, illegal occupation. During metropolitan development, the growing industry tends to spread outside the town. Large tracts of lands suitable for mass housing projects and urban services realized by public financing were also located on the fringe.

In this period, a leapfrogging expansion occurs in two ways; first of these is realized through illegal settlement on agricultural land and the second is through mass housing projects supported by the state on legal urban land. These types of housing areas form one dimension of the development of metropolitan fringe. The other dimension is related to the construction of modern office buildings demanded by the growing service and finance sectors as well as the control functions of industrial production; consumption centers; recreational areas; main transportation terminals; and wholesale food markets and trade centers.

Moreover, since speculative operations on land were also effective in the rural area, relatively cheap lands in the fringe were seized with the expectation of increasing value with the expansion of the city. Thus, the fringe became the target for multi-dimensional demand for land created by the physical expansion of the city. However, reconstruction in the fringe was not the same at every point because other variables, such as historical ownership and land-use pattern, were also effective. The ownership patterns registered on these lands resulted in full reconstruction of some segments and maintenance of rural status of others; this has emanated as one of the contingencies in explaining the empty plots as the boundaries of the fringe shift outwards.

2.2.3.2. Location of Production Since 1980s: An Overgrown Industrial Town or A Metropolitan City?

The entrepreneurs who accumulate sufficient amount of capital from commerce tend to establish medium-scale industries in close proximity to the city. Where private car ownership is not prevalent, medium-high income groups settle between the *gecekondu* areas and the city center. This scheme is highly representative for metropolitan macro-form of Istanbul from 1950s to the end of 1970s (Güvenç, 1992).

In connection with the overall transformation process, the industry in Istanbul has begun to spread to lands of considerable distance from the city center with the onset of metropolitan growth since 1980's. The city center still retained the administrative function where decision on control, distribution and management were conducted. The industry began to concentrate on self-sufficient, specialized satellite towns disrupted from the central city. In the periphery of the central city, the first belt was formed by suburban housing, then comes industrial suburbs and outside those were satellite towns. There were *çiftlik*s and vacant plots between the metamorphosed central city and suburban belts which rapidly disappeared by the profitability of land speculation. Demand for land with various features gave Istanbul the shape of a constantly expanding oil spot in the semblance of an overgrown industrial city.

Because of this unique model of development, there is a debate on whether Istanbul is a fully developed metropolitan city or an overgrown industrial city (Tekeli, 1995). Although industrialists have chosen lands outside the city boundaries, production and manpower is within the industrial and employment geography of Istanbul (Güvenç, M., 1992). Moreover, in a study that compares electricity consumption of the province of Istanbul with other provinces, it was observed that Istanbul as a province is not one of those at the top of the list of consumption (Güvenç, M., Erder, S.,1999). However, as an overgrown industrial town, Istanbul should have been the foremost in electricity consumption. The conclusion here is that a fairly important segment of industry in Istanbul and work force it employs live outside the province boundaries of the city but inside the metropolitan area. When viewed from this point, it would be a right approach to say that Istanbul is a metropolitan town with a large area.

2.2.4. Changing Relationships Among Land Ownership and Land Rent During the Metropolitan Development of Istanbul

It is clear that the land ownership patterns and land rent in Turkey are different from those in Europe which was transformed into industrial capitalism in the late 19th century. This difference is not only related to ownership patterns but also the mechanisms of the transfer of ownership. When the distribution of ownership in the feudal order is analysed, it is seen that, in England, the ownership rights were collected in the hands of the landed aristocracy, landed gentry and crown estates (Massey and Catalano, 1978,65).

However, in the 19th century Turkey, ownership rights were mainly in the hands of the state, *Hassa* treasury, Moslem or non-Moslem *vakıfs* and individuals. The land under state ownership is allocated to landlords who have the land cultivated and collect the taxes to be paid to the state. Therefore, the transformation of the ownership pattern did not occur similar to the western patterns were determined during the transformation from feudal structures based on agriculture into industrial production. The changes in the political structure rather than the dynamics of the

social structure were determinate in the transfer of land ownership and the identification of new ownership rights. In fact, this transformation was effective in the rent and ownership patterns emerged especially after the Second World War when social change gained momentum.

During the period of transformation into a capitalist society in Europe, private property rights were controlled by the state in favor of the development of industrial capitalism. The conflict between the landowners and the capitalists was settled in a consensus by means of expropriation and planning tools of the state. On the other hand, in the countries could not achieve the transformation into capitalist order through industrial capitalism, such as Turkey, land demand, ownership on land and rent has produced different mechanisms of conflict and consensus.

During the period of state-led industrialization and the period after the World War II when high influx of migrants created a high demand for land, there was not a struggle between the groups that claim for land and the ones holding the ownership rights. This was related to the fact that the land owned by the state could be utilized to meet this demand through different mechanisms. The conflict and consensus conditions appear in different forms in countries are transformed into industrial capitalism through their own specific experiences and dynamics. Conflicts appeared between the state under Ottoman land regime and the landlords who wanted to secure their tenure of tenancy; however, these were resolved through various consensus agreements. On the other hand, the conflicts emerged between the Turkish Republic and the migrants who settled on public land for security and the speculators who wanted to seize the new rent opportunities on land for capital accumulation. Similar to the previous period, various mechanisms were found to resolve these conflicts to reach a consensus. For this reason, the distribution of land ownership in modern capitalist countries is quite different from that of latecomer capitalist countries, such as Turkey.

When the groups with ownership rights in Turkey and England are compared, it is observed that land belonging to the Church and the Crown and the related

agricultural and urban rents (housing, offices, shops, industrial land use) were nonexistent in Turkey. On the other hand, there were lands belonging to the state treasury and used for similar purposes. In addition, *vakıfs* constitute a unique type of land ownership. On the other hand, while industrial and financial ownership types exist in Turkey as well, there are unique ownership types in housing areas in Turkey. The first one is related to shared title operation which allows one piece of land to be owned by more than one person and the second one is the *gecekondu* ownership as a result of the invasion of public (treasury) land. The source of these unique ownership types is the treasury land owned by the state treasury and big land ownership (Table II.1).

The difference in the land ownership pattern in Turkey led to unique land-use patterns and rent appropriation forms. As will be discussed in detail in the following pages, big pieces of land owned by the state treasury, small peasant land ownership and the common land which did not belong to anybody resulted in various land-use, land ownership and land rent relationships as the feudal structures started to dissolve.

As the cities developed, land ownership types on urban land and the mechanisms of ownership transfers affected the directions of urban growth and led to the emergence and concentration of rent in particular areas. In this respect, classical rent theories and neo-classical land-use theories are inadequate in explaining this unique transformation process. When the historical aspect of the former landed property in Turkey is incorporated into this universal theoretical framework, it becomes possible to understand the land ownership patterns, the active role of the landowner in creating rent and the patterns of urban structuring.

Table II.1. Major Land Ownership Groups in Turkey and Britain

Landowner Groups in Turkey	Landowner Groups in Britain
Former Landed Property	
<i>Vakıfs</i> (Moslem/non-Moslem) Çiftlik (large estates) State Estates Small Peasant Common Land	Church Landed Aristocracy Landed Gentry Grown Estates
Industrial Land Ownership	
Owner –farmers Manuf.-industry (Construction cos.)	Owner-farmers Manuf.-industry (Construction cos.)
Financial Land Ownership	
Financial institutions (Property cos.)	Financial institutions (Property cos.)

2.3. AN INTRODUCTION TO EXPLANATORY STUDY ON ISTANBUL ÇİFTLİKLERİ: THE EXPLANATORY CAPACITY OF HISTORICAL STRUCTURES IN THE FORMATION OF ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN FRINGE

Istanbul metropolitan fringe has been structured as some of the functions within the metropolitan area are pushed outwards to the fringe due to the new division of labor and structures created by new demands formed within the metropolitan area. The central business district expanded gradually encompassing the housing areas and small production units in the vicinity. In addition, monopoly rents forming in these areas pushed various income groups outside this area. As a result, the housing areas and small production units close to the central business district moved to the agricultural land on the metropolitan fringe.

A multi-dimensional structuring pattern was experienced at the fringe. In order for this structuring to be realized, historical land ownership and land-use patterns were transformed rapidly. However, explaining transformation requires the analysis of the historical patterns prevalent at the fringe. In this context, research on one of the historical structures in the peripheral areas of Istanbul may account for the formation of metropolitan fringe.

2.3.1. Significance of Searching for Contingencies in the Formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Fringe and the Role of Çiftlikler

We have discussed that grand theories used in explaining the emergence of cities and formation of metropolitan regions are inadequate in accounting for the formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area and the reconstruction patterns on the metropolitan fringe. Although these universal theoretical frameworks are useful in explaining some aspects of this development, they appear to be inadequate in accounting for the unique historical and spatial structures, which can only be explained by searching for contingencies. Therefore, formulating a correspondence between deterministic

theories and historical uniqueness in the explanation of a phenomenon generates a higher explanation capacity in the development of the metropolitan fringe.

In this context, *çiftlik*s can be considered as contingent upon the configuration of the metropolitan form. *Çiftlik*s, as large tracts of lands with several types of ownership patterns along the periphery of Istanbul have been subject to demand for land during the expansion of the city. Explanation of the correspondence between the ownership patterns and the demand for land and research on different configurations of these lands that later were converted into urban lands are the basic purposes of this study.

As we will be explained in detail in the following chapter, the transformation mechanisms of *çiftlik*s, which are known to have existed since the 16th century along the periphery of Istanbul, is helpful in exploring the historical formation of the metropolitan fringe. Especially in the 19th century, *çiftlik*s were a wide-spread type of ownership along the periphery of the city. These *çiftlik*s are different from *çiftlik*s within the *miri* land regime. In classical literature, *çiftlik* means a parcel of land to be tilled by a yoke of oxen pulling a single plough. In cadastral registers of the 15th and 16th centuries, the term did not signify a large estate in particular but referred to cultivated land which was between 60 and 150 *dönüms* and held by a small independent peasant (Nagata, Y., 1995, 119). *Çiftlik*s in the environs of Istanbul are privately owned large estates about 5000 to 15000 *dönüms* (İnalçık, H., 17-35, Veinstein, G., 1986, 36-58).

Private ownership status of these large estates will be a determinant factor in fulfilling the land demand emerging in the formation of Istanbul metropolitan area. Towards the end of the 19th century, there used to be three types of ownership status in the *çiftlik*s around Istanbul: *Hassa çiftlik*s owned by the Sultan's treasury; *çiftlik*s owned by Sultans *vakıfs*, and *çiftlik*s owned by private individuals. As will be seen in this study, some of the ownership statuses of these *çiftlik*s have been modified after the abolition of the Ottoman dynasty and proclamation of the Turkish Republic. *Çiftlik*s owned by the Sultan's treasury, or directly by the Sultan and those owned by *Sultan's vakıfs* were expropriated. The *çiftlik*s transferred to the State Treasury

played an important role in the development of the metropolitan fringe in the early stages of metropolitan expansion. The vacant Treasury lands were not allocated for any public service enabled squatter housing development. In the 19th century, proximity to the city was an important criterion; therefore, the most valuable *çiftlik*s were collected in the hands of Sultans and *Sultan Vakıf*. and they were transferred to the Treasury of the Republic. Proximity to the city was a major effective factor in the location decisions of the migrants, at a time when transportation network was not inadequate. Thus, the formation of *gecekondu* is contingent upon the structure of land ownership on fringe areas.

On the other hand, privately owned *çiftlik*s that retained their ownership status after the proclamation of the Republic provided opportunities for different types of land demand which emerged during the later stages of metropolitan development. Privately owned *çiftlik*s in divisible ownership status led to regular or unauthorized subdivision met the middle-income land demand. On the other hand, indivisible ones were suitable for mass housing projects that became widespread after 1980s. In this manner, the ownership statuses of Istanbul *çiftlik*s of 19th century have emerged as one of the variables that affected the direction, shape and concentration of the metropolitan fringe.

2.3.2. Propositions for the Study

Two specific themes appear to be crucial in the empirical part of the study:

The first theme concerns the genesis and character of the evolution of *çiftlik* type of land ownership and land-use were wide-spread in the peripheral areas of Istanbul in Ottoman order. The second theme concerns the contingencies related to land demand and transformation mechanisms of *çiftlik*s located on the fringe of the city. Unless there is suitable land supply for the land demand emerging during metropolitan expansion, it becomes necessary to obtain this correspondence by means of land ownership transformation. However, instead of expensive legal land supply, spontaneous operations are institutionalized. In this respect, this study attempts to

analyze the transformation of *çiftlik* lands in order to exemplify the process of enabling a conformity between land demand and land ownership patterns in a metropolitan area which expands under insufficient legal land supply conditions. One of the fundamental problems in the case study was a lack of knowledge about the form, nature and structural relations of land ownership in Istanbul both in Ottoman and Republican periods. The picture was of course not entirely blank but many of the specific characteristics of land ownership in society were not clearly described.

Since the formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area has been realized in a spatial structure with peculiarities of its own, an understanding of that structure carries importance from the viewpoint of understanding the metropolitan formation. Until the beginning of the 20th century, there exists a great number of private, *vakif*, *hassa* (owned by Sultan's Treasury) *çiftlik*s. These *çiftlik*s were not only in the periphery of Istanbul, but also around larger cities in the Balkans and Anatolia up to the beginning of World War I. (Nagata, İnalçık, Gandev, Stoinvich, et al.).

In this study, the role of *çiftlik*s in the development of a metropolitan area will be attempted to be put forth through various propositions:

1. Ownership patterns of large *çiftlik*s in the periphery of Istanbul and their transfer mechanisms since the 19th century have had a determinant role in the reconstruction of the fringe during the development of Istanbul metropolitan area.
2. Rural areas in the periphery of cities have a change in their land-use function with the expansion of the city and are subject to a pressure of conversion into urban land. During this expansion stage, the correspondence of the ownership status and land demand results in diverse settlement patterns on the fringes of the city. In this context, *çiftlik*s which gained different ownership statuses in the 19th century generated diversified settlement patterns when encountered with different kind of demand for land during different time spans of the formation of Istanbul metropolitan area.
3. Mechanisms that provide a match between urban land demand and land ownership have had a determinant impact on location decisions during metropolitan growth of Istanbul.

4. As a result of the change in the magnitude and type of rents received from land that emerged at different stages of metropolitan growth and the high cost of transformation process, the suitability of land for a particular type of demand becomes more important than its proximity to the city. In this manner, changing urbanization patterns have caused earlier and more rapid settlements in relatively distant *çiftlik* lands rather than areas in closer proximity to the city.

In order to test the validity of the above assumptions, the empirical study was structured in the following manner. The historical, social and spatial structure of Istanbul before metropolitan expansion will be described. Since the city has expanded on this structure, an understanding of that structure would release us from the restrictive boundaries of deterministic theories.

In order to examine different types of land demand at successive stages of metropolitan growth, reasons leading to this demand will be analyzed by explaining the internal dynamics of these periods. For instance, it will be shown that squatter housing development within the first circle around Istanbul was possible because their ownership belonged to *Hassa* treasury, private properties of the Sultans and *Vakif* properties all of which were transferred to the Treasury of the Republic. On the other hand, it will also be shown how privately owned lands were divided into parcels to house middle-income groups or how they presented suitable lands to the land demand of large mass housing projects, urban infrastructure services, decentralized industry and organized industrial sites.

This study will cover three periods:

1. From the second half of 19th century to the 1950s,
2. From the 1950s to 1980s the city experienced metropolitan development,
3. After 1980 the growth patterns of the metropolitan area changed.

In all these periods, the transformation of *çiftlik*s along the periphery of the city will be evaluated with respect to the attributes of their size and ownership statuses as well as the emerging land demand and the institutions/mechanisms that provided the correspondence of these factors. In addition, the relationship between this transformation and the reconstruction pattern in the metropolitan fringe will be put forward.

CHAPTER 3

THE ROLE OF HISTORICAL LANDOWNERSHIP STRUCTURE DURING THE FORMATION OF ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN AREA:

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF *ÇİFTLİK*S

3.1. LANDHOLDING PATTERNS AND THE MEANING OF *ÇİFTLİK* IN OTTOMAN LAND ORDER

Ownership license, and *çiftlik*s, a mode of ownership during the formation phase of Istanbul metropolitan area have had a positive/negative impact on the land decision of demand for land during that period. This effect emerges as a mode and intensity factor in the formation of the fringe. In order to test this assumption, one primarily has to investigate the context of theories that relate the emergence of the *çiftlik* phenomenon. Before analyzing the ownership statuses of *çiftlik*s existed as a form of private ownership, it would be worthwhile to examine briefly the concept of ownership and property rights.

Demsetz defines, in general that “... *the property rights are an instrument of society and derive their significance from the fact that they help a man from those expectations which he can reasonably hold in his dealing with others. There expectations find expression in the laws, customs, and mores of society*” (1967,347). Landowners hold property rights by act in particular ways. An owner expects the community to prevent others from interfering with his action, provided that these actions are not prohibited in the specification of his rights (Ibid.).

It can be asked a number of questions on the structure of property rights in a society. The first question is about which kind of property rights exist. There may exist a particular right of use in a society that did not exist earlier or that does not exist in other societies. The second question may be about the fact that the identity of right owner may vary. Perhaps the most important ownership distinction is between state (public) ownership and private ownership (Demsetz, H., 1973, 18).

Another question calls attention to the fact that another distinction is between the rights of ownership and the rights of control (or use). In the debate of property rights there is a growing discussion to understand and describe the absolute meaning of property rights. Here, I shall just use some parts of the discussion related to property rights on land.

In the case of land, rights of ownership relate to the use of land to receive income in the form of rent, taxes, and commission of the taxes. Property rights can also be classified according to modes of acquisition, through exchange, gift, inheritance, assignment, or expropriation (Arıcanlı, 1991, 124). In the social history, the property rights on the land are concerned such

..connection between their emergence and the radical transformation of European civilization. Existing relationships in European society and its economy were totally changed while property rights were being established in a process of long-lasting social struggle between the nobility, the state, and the peasantry. ...Together with the emergence of strong property rights on land, methods of production underwent a revolutionary transformation in Europe (Ibid., 125).

Arıcanlı states that the meaning of this claim is that, property was a defense against the infringement of the state, a basis of legitimacy inviolable by the state. This form of absolute, inviolable property is associated with social change and epoch-making transformations, and this is what the Ottoman form of property precisely is not (Ibid., 126).

While attempting to analyze property rights on lands and the modes of keeping possession of lands, two separate terms have to be considered. The first of these is

the *tımar* system considered as the classical Ottoman land organization. The structure of this organization that started to disarray from 16th century onward has a large field of discussion. The second term is the corruption of the old *tımar* system where complex landholding and ownership existed simultaneously, deep conflict emerged on the subjects of land-use and ownership, and preparation of an *Arazi Kanunnamesi* (land law) 18th and 19th centuries to legalize this modified structure.

3.1.1. Land Regime in Classical Period of Ottoman Order

In the classical ages of Ottoman land tenure, arable land (*miri topraklar*) are belong to state. Inalcık 's studies show that these state-owned lands are basically divided into *tapulu* and *mukataalı*, the former comprising all lands given to peasants under the *tapu* regulation, and the latter including those lands leased under a simple rental contract *mukataa* (1973,108). Inalcık states

The *tapulama*, leasing under *tapu*, giving a specific status to the land, brought it under the *çift-hane* system. The *tapulu çiftlik*s were family farms unit given over to peasant households. The *mukattalı* ones were those rented to any person who, under a rental contract, a lease, paid only a lump sum rent agreed upon for the *aşar* (tithes). The renters were not liable for any peasant taxes. Here, the specific nature of the *çift-hane* system clearly emerges. While the simple rental contract, the *mukataa*, was freely concluded between the state and the individual, the *tapu* implied a certain status stemming from an original 'subjugation' (*kulluk*) which entailed, in addition to the *aşar*, certain personal obligations such as the payment of *çift-resmi* or the *ispence*. In the case of *tapulama*, the one who leased the land was a peasant or *reaya*, who had to pay all taxes and also provide the certain services to the state and *sipahi* (1973,108).

Tapulu lands included fields for the cultivation of grain, which made up far the greater part of arable land, as well as pasture lands registered meadows and lands reclaimed by peasants. Vineyards and orchards were excluded from the *tapulu* lands because of their status as private freehold. Vegetable gardens, were registered and taxed in the survey books, were considered among the *tapulu*. In other word, *tapulu* lands were all those arable lands registered in the survey books with fixed tax

revenues, and constituted the area of the *çift-hane* system. Those arable lands reclaimed by a peasant within the boundaries of *tımar* automatically became *tapulu* and the *tımar*-holder took for himself the taxes applicable to such land (Ibid., 1973, 109).

In possession under *tapu*, the principal rights established a real ownership was denied. The possessor of state-owned land could not sell, denote, endow, mortgage or leave it by will, or change its original use by turning it into a vineyard or orchard or by constructing buildings on it. On the other hand, possession with *tapu* entailed certain privileges which distinguished it from a simple tenancy, such as rights of the transfer to another farmer, bequeathing (*vasiyet*) to sons, and prominent rights (*öncelik hakkı*) of acquisition by wife and brother (Ibid., 110). In this regime, the sale of state-owned land was prohibited. Ottoman state was trying to prevent the land would become the object of private ownership with all its consequences¹⁶.

By the middle of the 16th century, the illegal sale of state-owned lands become widespread because of the religious courts were instrumental in these sales.¹⁷ According to Inalcık that ambiguity seems to have stemmed mainly from the fact that the transfer (*ferag*) of state-owned land in return for monetary compensation, which was a lawful transaction, also was called a sale.¹⁸ Such a formula made it definite

¹⁶ Inalcık writes “According to Islamic jurisprudence, all debts of a deceased person were paid out of his properties before division of the inheritance. In practice, the court records contain instances when lenders attempted to take the peasant’s land for an unpaid debt and to deprive to son of his inheritance. Apparently because such cases become quite widespread, the sultan issued a law, in 1601, that under no circumstances could miri lands be sold to pay a debt, in particular, ottoman legists expressed the concern that in such cases, the *çiflik*s units of the peasants would be apportioned among the heirs or buyers and the whole Ottoman tax assessment and prebendal system would collapse. The integrity of the *çiflik* units was particularly stressed in Ottoman Land Laws.” (1973, 111).

¹⁷ The opinion of the *seyhülislam*, the most authoritative religious person in the realm, was needed to stop the practice. *Şeyhülislam Abussud* declared that these sale documents absolutely against Islamic Law; the question was even asked whether a *kadı* who issued such a document was liable for punishment.(Ibid,112). Inalcık states “It appears that in most cases a sale of state-owned land occurred because the situation was ambiguous, or it was impossible for the *kadı* to investigate and establish the true nature of the possession...Successive sales of such lands further consolidated the proprietary rights of its owner” (Ibid., 112)

¹⁸ To reduce this ambiguity, the religious ruling required that in such transfers the *kadı* should specifically state that “...the possessor of the land transferred its full possession(*tasarruf*) to so and so with the *sipahi*’s permission in return for such and such a payment of money; and thereupon the *sipahi* too confirmed it by given it in *tapu* for such and such an amount of money paid as *hakk-ı karar* (payment for the establishment of permanent possession rights)”. Inalcık points out “When an

that the object of the transaction was not a regular sale with freehold rights but a simple transfer of possession or tenure (Ibid., 112).

Ottoman state controlled the state-owned land under a system which are called *timar*. Although *timar* grantees were unable to own or use the land for their own benefit, they were authorised by law to have control of arable lands, vacant or possessed by the peasant *reaya*, pastures, wastelands, fruit trees, forests or waters, within their *timar* territories. *Timar*-holders's duties consisted of protecting the persons and rights of peasants who were assigned to them in their *timar* territory and to join the imperial army during campaigns when called.(Ibid.,114)

There were free lands outside the *timar* system in Ottoman land order. Part of these lands carry characteristics that could be a source for private property rights. But, information presently available on these lands are rather insufficient. According to generally accepted approach, these lands outside the *timar* system termed as *miri* lands may be classified under six different landholding types.

Temlik: *Miri* lands assigned by the Sultan to private use of certain persons are termed *mülk* (freehold) generally within the boundaries of old cities and townships and real properties handed transferred to persons by way of *temlik* (alienation) (Barkan, 1941, 157-76).¹⁹

1.Arid and non-arable *mülk* lands where persons who implement *Şenlendirme* (reclamation) are given right of free use.

influential member of the ruling class entered into possession of land by sale, he usually went also to the sultan to obtain a document granting freehold rights on it in order to consolidate his proprietorship. In the mid-sixteenth century , Sheyhülislam Abusuud, pre-occupied with the problem of the state land versus freehold status and taxation, formulated responses(fetvas) on the land regime with commentaries based on classical Islamic theory... Given by the most authoritative religious scholar of the time, his fetvas had a decisive effect on the subsequent Ottoman interpretation of landholding and taxation practices in the empire. Abusuud's formulation on state-owned land was to be included in the new law codes and survey registers as the ultimate and the definitive commentary of the ottoman land law. Abusuud's main concern was to give an authoritative definition of the Ottoman miri regime and land taxation, in order to stop practices which threatened the landholding system."(Ibid., 113).

¹⁹ Since information about the status of these lands in the Ottoman Empire land system has not yet sufficiently come to light, to arrive at a decision about their size and relative number of occurrence is difficult.

- 2.Lands owned by a sale contract according to Islamic Law.
- 3.Lands confirmed as *mülk* by the Sultan obtained through conquest and held in the hands the elite.
- 4.Lands for free use in the hands of *vakıfs* established in the interest of the public.²⁰
5. Vacant non-arable *Mevat* lands which were therefore outside the *miri* land regime and not assigned to the state as land (such as shrubbery, rocky land, desert, marshes). Persons who reclaim such lands and convert them to *miri* land receive full ownership rights of such lands (İnalçık, 1973). There are approaches that claim such lands have been one source of privately owned *çiftlik*s (Ibid.).

In classical land organisation of the Ottoman *timar* system is defined as the mechanism for supervision of the surplus product. However, because of the loopholes in the laws which are the basis of this system, it is difficult to assert that *timar* system has been implemented in perfect order. In fact, there is a deep controversy on this matter among Ottoman historians. It is clearly observed that *timar* system which began to deteriorate from the 16th century onwards has had an inadequate theoretical frame to explain landholding, property rights and conflicts that have risen in later years of the Ottoman State. Gradually growing complexity of the system and its restructuring after being the cause of many struggles has had itself legalised by a new land code put into effect in the middle of the 19th century.

As will be explained later in detail, the classification of this new land code is based more on the established rules for the legalisation of the new land system rather than the provisions of classical *timar* organisation. The arrangement brought about this new land code will have important effects on urban lands during the formation of future cities.

²⁰ It is emphasized that under *miri* land regime a large proportion of these lands were later converted into *vakıf* lands (Barkan, 1942. 906-42). Although *vakıf* lands were under the supervision of the state, their use and administration were autonomous. Large tracts of *Çiftlik*s in their status as Sultan *vakıfs* inside and around large Ottoman cities that have played an important role during the growth periods and spatial transformation of those cities have arrived in our day as an ownership form.

the provisions of classical *timar* organisation. The arrangement brought about this new land code will have important effects on urban lands during the formation of future cities.

3.1.2. 1858 *Arazi Kanunnamesi* (New Land Code) as a Consequences of Appearance of Property Rights on Land

It is the fact that, in the Ottoman case, the emergence of the property rights on land had not similar features with European case. Arıcanlı's argument is that, if large landed property was there, as Keyder's assumption (1983a 131-45), it had to stay in an institutionalised form; if it was not permanent, then the strong European notion should not be used (Arıcanlı,1991,126). Although there is another big discussion about the emergence or existence of property rights on Land in Ottoman Empire in the different time spans, it is acceptable argument that the *Arazi Kanunnamesi* (Ottoman Land Code) which was made by state in 1858 was a tool to regulate the existing property rights and relations which had been transformed by various ways.

Late Ottoman state made an effort to solve one of the major problems about the declining state revenue. The main goal was expansion of the base and yield of the revenue within the rule of Ottoman Land Code. Arıcanlı states that

Ottoman state had been a land-revenue-based administration, and it was enhancement of that revenue that the state had been working on.... Along with the nineteenth century settlement policies of the Ottoman state, large expanses of land were granted to individuals with a title deed (*tapu*). Legislation to this effect is explicit in the Land Code.... Title deeds did not imply that inviolable private property was granted . They signified usufructuary rights contingent upon continuous cultivation. This was nothing more than a policy for the purpose of expanding a revenue base for the state without any conflict or collusion between the central and local powers (Ibid,128).

According to him, large landed property eventually materialised as a result of this process in the twentieth century (Ibid.).

vakıfs inside and around large Ottoman cities that have played an important role during the growth periods and spatial transformation of those cities have arrived in our day as an ownership form.

The conflicts for sharing the products/revenues of lands rise in parallelism with the changes in the structure. When *çiftlik* event is approached from this perspective, the destruction of the established *tımar* structure is certainly not a cause of the rise of *çiftlik*s, but rather an inevitable consequence of it. The differences in the revenues of land that are generated by the changes in the structure and relations of production cause the conflict between the groups want to get a share from this difference.

Within this framework, until the middles of 19th Century, the property rights on land has to be conceived as a property right over the revenues of land, rather than as a right of free buying and selling of land like a commodity. In other words, it may be argued that the rights over the revenues of land have changed its direction from the state towards the individual.

On the other hand, from the middles of 19th, a stronger notion of property on land had been rising. One of the origins of the emergence of this stronger notion of property was the increasing demand of European markets; but the other origin was the rising of a new form of rent obtained by sale of lands used to generate a certain agricultural rent. Moreover, this new form of rent was as important as the agricultural rent.

The widespread of the transfer of the agricultural land in ways different than the hereditary devolution, that is the widespread of transfer of rights of use and of property rights from individual to individual through sale, in addition to the transfer of these rights from state to individual, consists an important dimension in the analysis of *çiftlik* event. As indicated in the next section, *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği* which is one of the *çiftlik*s of chosen as the case study for the thesis, was transferred also in a way which exemplifies this form of buying and selling. In the late 19th Century, *İbrahim Bey* who was owning large *çiftlik*s in Larissa had sold his lands by the influence of nationalistic independence movements occurring in this region and bought *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği* located in the periphery of Istanbul. There are documents confirm that some of the several *çiftlik*s in the periphery of Istanbul had been transferred in this way.

Although there are some claims about some lands situated generally in the peripheries of cities, which may be sold and bought freely and named as *mülk tarla* which existed in the Ottoman land regime, by the beginnings of 17th Century (Faroqhi, S., 1984, 263-66); an explicit association between those lands and the formation of *çiflik*s has not been lightened yet. Moreover, the origin of the emergence of *mülk tarla* has not been found too.

Therefore, the fact on which we must focus here is the beginning of the process of free holding change of property of large estates which are called *çiflik* and which do market oriented production. In his study on the Vidin region, Bulgarian historian Gandev claims that the *çiflik* regime has emerged in the second half of the 19th Century, under the influence of the increasing demand of Central Europe and that these *çiflik*s were producing export products for the Austrian market under the organisation of urban investor (Gandev, 1960, 207-20). Those investors were buying abandoned, non-agricultural lands; were transforming them into agricultural lands and thus positioning them into status of private property. But the demand of the Central European markets which has been seen as the determinant factor of the emergence of *çiflik*s in Balkans, is not always the most important variable influencing the rise of *çiflik*s in the periphery of Istanbul and in West Anatolia. It's know today that especially the *çiflik*s in the neighbourhoods of big cities were doing production for the provision and market of these urban centres (Faroqhi, 1993, 271-96; Güçer, 1950, 397-416).

We may mention that during the late 19th Century, there had been the fast appreciation of the lands in the peripheries of big cities accommodate on their ground a large commercial activity and a crowded population. Moreover, we may add that in parallelism to this appreciation, a process of fast change of holding of these lands had been taking place. This was especially true for big cities such as Istanbul and İzmir: the former being an intermediate city channelling the trade between West and East and the latter being a port city which was the centre of the whole West Anatolian trade. The analysis of two questions may especially help us for the understanding of property rights on the lands surrounding big cities : Which mechanisms were

intermediary to this process of fast change of landholding and on what kind of legal legitimacy this process was based. On the other hand, the origins of the process of transition from the agricultural rent formed on agricultural land, to the urban rent formed on urban land in a city such as Istanbul may be also exposed through this analysis. It's an especially important task when we consider that this transition is one of the main dynamics of the process of metropolitan transformation of Istanbul which accommodates several *çiflik*s in its periphery since the 16th Century.

In the light of above mentioned developments, the meaning and function the Ottoman Land Code promulgated in 1858 are better understood. This code has classified lands of the Empire in the following manner (Barkan, 1939,119-84):

1. Privately owned lands (*Arazi-i Memluke*) where private ownership or land-use right continuously remains definitely in the hands of one family.
2. State- owned lands (*Arazi-i Emriye-Miri lands*). This constitutes the largest share in the land system. Operation rights are assigned to persons, but where he fails to operate the land it is taken from him and given to another.
3. Common lands (*Arazi-i Metruke*) appropriated to public use and interest such as woods, forest, harvest land, grazing land, summer and winter quarters, roads, squares, resort places, markets and local fairs.
4. Ownerless lands (*Arazi-i Mevat*) where there is no ongoing function whatsoever, such as rocky lands, underbrush, barren lands in distant places
5. *Vakıf* lands (*Arazi-i Mevkufe*) endowment lands held for that purpose.

Although widest tract of lands so classified in the Ottoman Land Code are known to be *miri* lands, land tracts where *miri* land regime are not applied are also know to occupy large areas. Apart from *vakıfs* that seized the yields of large areas, along with administrative groups *ayan* and *mültezim* there is a *Malikanei-i Divani* system in effect in province of *Rum* (Barkan, 1939, 119-84). According to that system, the Ottoman State has had to accede the bare ownership of the land in the province of *Rum* to Turkish-Moslem *umera* class who have resisted the establishment of Ottoman suzerainty for a long while (İnan, H. I., 1991).

3.1.3. Meaning of *Çiftlik* in Ottoman Land Order

With the beginning of effectiveness of the Ottoman Land Code, while on one hand private property right that had been actually established was legalised and regulated, on the other hand, *çift-hane* system was attempted to be maintained (Barkan, 1940, 367). While ownership structure regulated by this Code was reflected in the Civil Law of the Turkish Republic, private properties that were expropriated with the abolishment of the Ottoman State were transferred to the Treasury of the Republic. These transfers that were not the cause of important disputes until 1950s when cities started to expand, have become the subject of various property right controversies with the increase of land values.

An article in Ottoman Land Act indicates a counter measure attempted to be taken by the state against constantly spreading large expanses of privately owned *çiftliks*. A provision of Article 130 of the Code stipulates that lands of a *karye* (village) with existing lands may not be transferred to a person to be used privately as a *çiftlik* (Ibid.). According to Barkan, the reason for this is the emergence of non-restrain large *çiftliks* that kept popping up all over the land of the Ottoman State.

While these *çiftliks* kept spreading in the country in the last years of the Ottoman State when the land regime had deteriorated, *çiftliks* owned in the Balkans owned by Ottoman *Beys* go back to earlier times (Ibid.). Investigations following independence insurrections in the Balkans and World War I revealed that, particularly in Thesselia and Mecedonia, many villages had been *çiftlik*-villages operated by independent landowner-farmers (Ibid. 368). Ottoman Land Act of 1858, while extending the concept of private ownership on one hand, with the said article, has attempted to curb to some extent the tendency to rapid privatisation of land.

Genesis, nature and the economic significance of *çiftlik* in Ottoman Society are considered by the theoretical approaches in the various ways. Veinstein classified

these theories in the three main basis. The first type of interpretation of this classification comes from Marxist perspective.

In this view, emergence of the *çiftlik* on the ruins of the old *timar* system is interpreted as the passage from feudalism to capitalism in agriculture. This would be an instance in the Ottoman context of the general process affecting modern societies. A concrete illustration of this view was provided in a study that the Bulgarian historian Gandev devoted to the *çiftliks* of the Vidin area in the eighteenth century on the basis of documents from the *sicils* of the concerned *kadi*. The accent was put first on the changes in the social origin of the new landholders, urban capitalists taking the place formerly occupied by the landed seigniors, and secondarily on the new relationship between the landowners and the peasantry (*reaya*). The *reaya* was no longer a freeholder subjected to a rent payment, but had become a wage-labor (Veinstein, 1991, 35).

A second kind of approach comes to the picture under the highly depending on the theories of “second serfdom”. Although it has some similarities with the Marxist perspective, “*..the accent is shifted: trade opportunities, which was merely one factor in addition to the local factor in the Marxist scheme, is now seen as the very origin of the constitution of the çiftlik.*” (Ibid., 1991, 35). This approach points that the main factor of the process is the growing needs of central and western Europe. Ottoman landlords were influenced from these huge demands and found a way to maximise their profits. They tried to get rid of old forms of land tenure for more intensive and more market-oriented production. “*This view was based originally on geographical studies of the Balkans. It was subsequently asserted by Stoinovich, Braudel and Sadat.*” (Ibid., 1991, 36).

In the 1950s and 1960s this conception was updated with Wallerstien’s “Peripheralization Theory”. In his view, “*emergence of Ottoman çiftliks is considered as the result of the integration of Ottoman agriculture in the capitalist world-economic system of modern times. It is a consequence of the trade of Western Europe, centre of the system, with the Ottoman Empire acting as one of its peripheries.*” (Ibid., 1991, 37). Both approaches paid great attention that the factors of *çiftliks* genesis are purely external, the impact of international trade being the necessary and sufficient condition for its emergence.

According to Veinstein's classification,

...third set of interpretation may be labelled as the 'Ottomanist Theory' since it was first expressed by Ottoman chroniclers and political thinkers themselves and exerted a great influence on Ottomanist historians until the present day. According to this analysis, the emergence of *çiftlik* is the product of the corruption of the classical Ottoman institutions related to the *timar* system. This idea was first expressed by Ottoman writers like *Selanikli Ali*, *Ayn-i Ali*, *Koçi Bey*, *Sarı Mehmet Pasha*, and the unknown author of the *Kitab-ı Müstebab* (Ibid., 1991,37).

Veinstein thinks that it is more or less present through the works of the different contemporary historians such as İnalçık, Akdağ, Cvetkova and Özkaya, if their explanations of the subversion of the ancient order are not always the same.(Ibid., 1991, 35-37).

In Veinstein's approach, the emergence of the *çiftlik* correspond to the transformation of the former state land (*miri*), traditionally allocated under special conditions simultaneously to as holdings (*çift*) and to state officers as prebends (*timar*), to large freehold properties or quasi-properties in the hands of a newly emerging stratum of private individuals.

After the general classification above, another theory comes from İnalçık who brought a new dimension to the debate. Firstly, he makes a strong accent on the contradiction between different considerations of Islamic law (*shari'a*) and State Laws (*örfi kanun*) on the landholding rights that the Islamic Law protected free-hold rights of the individual on land in general while the *kanun* system was concerned with the maintenance of state control on agricultural lands (İnalçık, H., 1991, 17). He states that, "*The history of landholding in the Ottoman Empire, or in Islamic countries in general, can be summarised as a constant struggle between the state and the individual for control of agricultural lands which constituted the principle source of wealth for capital formation or state finances*" (Ibid.,1991, 17).

According to İnalçık, the *çift –hane* system continued and the relationship between farmer-*reaya* and private individuals or *vakıfs* was the same as under the *timar*

system.. The view of İnalçık creates a new perspective about the topic that the emergence of plantation-like farms which rarely emerged on the *vakıf* or *mülk* lands from *miri* origin.

In the Ottoman Empire, plantation-like farms, that is, large agricultural lands organised as a production unit under a single ownership and management and usually producing for the market, came into being mostly on waste or abandoned (*mevat*) lands outside the areas under the *çift-hane* system. Prior to the eighteenth century, such big farms were usually developed by members of the ruling class on *mevat* lands, and labor on them was mostly supplied by slaves or sharecroppers (Ibid.,1991, 19).

This process was called reclamation (*ihya –senlendirme*) which depended on Islamic law. The state encouraged these reclamation project for reasons such as extension of arable land. In this process the ownership is guaranteed by Sultan with a document which called *temlikname*. İnalçık stated that there are some examples of entrepreneurs first restoring the land and later obtaining the sultan's *temlikname* in early period and, the final *temlikname* was a diploma which granted freehold ownership and specified boundaries of the land (Ibid., 1991, 19-21). It means that “...through obtaining *mülk* lands from *mevat*, Islamic law provided a legal framework to bring about large farms owned by individuals, and the Ottoman state, as a rule, encouraged the application of this legal device to expand the area of such lands” (Ibid., 1991, 21).

The various theories above are supported by various documentary works on the Balkan and Anatolian *Çiftlik*s such as Stoinovich's, Gandev's, McGowan's, Nagata's, Faroqhi, and Cvetkova's studies.²¹ Their works are attempting to analyze, on the one hand, the nature and significance of *çiftlik* and the struggle on the land on the other hand. The struggle on the land is one of the puzzling phenomena for

²¹ It can be found more detailed references in the book which was edited by Keyder and Tabak : Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East, 1991, State University of New York Press

understanding the property rights on the lands in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore private property rights on land and their influences on the formation of Istanbul metropolitan area are highly depend on this phenomena.

3.2. TRANSFORMATION OF LANDOWNERSHIP PATTERN AND CONDITION OF ÇİFTLİK DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD SINCE 1920s

3.2.1. Transformation of Property Rights on Land from Ottoman Land Code to Republican Civil Code

Property rights on lands during the establishment years of the Republic of Turkey have been transformed under laws and legislation leaving considerable stretches of land in the hands of the Treasury. (Table III.1, III.2, III.3). First and the most important among these are with the going into effect in March 1924 Article 8 the Law declaring the abolition of office of the Caliphate (*Hilafet*), *çiftlik*s and other lands used by the Sultans and their successors including immovable properties owned by title deeds were transferred to the Treasury of Turkish Republic (Table III.2). The second source is *emlakî metruke* (*Common Properties*), *Tasfiye Kanunları* (*Laws on Liquidation*) and exchange of Moslem / non-Moslem population staying behind boundaries of the Republic in accordance with the conditions of Lausanne Convention and immovable properties owed or used by the emigrating population of Greek and Armenian descent from Turkey were all transferred to the Treasury (National Properties Communiqués), (Table.III.1). Communiqués on the transfer of those immovable properties issued by the National Real Estate Administration of the Ministry of Finance since 1922 are held in considerable volumes. From these documents, it is possible to follow the manners and processes of releasing of such properties from the hands of the state under the control of the National Real Estate Administration.²²

²² That large tract of lands and other immovable properties transferred to the Treasury have been disposed of with an irregularity due a the lack of a land policy is asserted in a report prepared in 1965. In that report prepared by Head Advisor to the Ministry of Finance, Sinan Erdemgil, it is stated "Had

Authors of those times have stressed dispossession of such lands by the state as a sign of lack of a general land policy. However, it would be more realistic to assess this policy as the effort of the government to consider land as the most easily presentable item in the attempt to create modern capitalism with a national bourgeoisie outside the revenue from farming. It is for this reason that politicians of the times have not taken measures to close the gates that has passed land ownership from the state into the hands of private ownership. In this manner, they have opted for capital accumulation by way of exchange of lands in free market instead of reorganisation of the rural production and spatial organisation of cities. Lands that have been transferred to the Treasury with the coming of the Republic, following several transformations have today become one the sources of the existing ownership patterns in the metropolitan area.

On the other hand, Turkish Civil Code in 1926 reorganised the private ownership rights and identified the conditions and rules of ownership on land. Although this law did not make a substantial change in the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 extended the private ownership rights on land, it brought important changes in the land ownership types were identified under different headings in the Ottoman Land Code. These changes were important in bringing a solution to the ownership conflicts that would arise during the restructuring of the cities and in determining the ownership status of the land to be developed. As Turkish Civil Code which replaced the Ottoman Land Code regulated private ownership and heritage rights, it at the same time specified private ownership on land. This law regulated the ownership rights of big landholdings and small agricultural lands had been cultivated by peasants for a certain period of time as well as the ownership rights on urban land. Moreover, the

those transfers been made with the idea of various future needs of the country, lands and plots that are envisaged by the Five Year Plan today could have been on hand. Whereas, in those days, let alone long-term plans, there was not a short-term plan prepared and determined for the settlement of immigrants, providing land to landless farmers, reconstruction of cities and township. As a result, lands that were transferred to the Treasury, most of which were given at no charge, were disposed of without a plan, program and purpose (quoted by Yavuz, 1980, 46). During the first years of the Republic, particularly during the reconstruction of Ankara, large plots of lands were disposed of by the treasury, and fields surrounding the city were made salable through parceling (Yavuz, 1980, Rıfıkı Atay).

law attempted to regulate the changes in land ownership transformations as the Ottoman land order was replaced by the Republican order (Table: III.2).

On the other hand, there were important transformations in the ownership structures of big pieces of land owned by *vakıfs* were widespread in the Ottoman land order (Table: III.3). In the Republican period, the control of *vakıfs* passed to General Directorate of Pious Endowments and certain restrictions were put on their real-estate properties. As the land constituting *Sultan vakıfs* were controlled by the General Directorate, they were transformed into public land. On the other hand, some part of the *vakıf* lands owned by non-Moslems was appropriated or various restrictions were put on their renting or transferring their properties; as a result, this type of *vakıf* lands turned into mismanaged land losing their value in time.



Table III.1. Transformation of Private Property Rights on Lands Within Transition Period From Late Ottoman to Turkish Republic

Distribution of Private Property on Land In 1858 Ottoman Land Code	Transformation of Landed Private Property
<p>Land for Private Property of</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">: Moslems</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">: Non-Moslems</p> <p>Lands for Private Property of Sultans Lands Belong to <i>Hassa</i> Treasury</p>	<p>Land Transformed to Private Property (By Turkish Civil Law)</p> <p>Individual Private Property</p> <p>Individual Private Property</p> <p>Land Transferred to Treasury of Turkish Republic (By confiscation and Liquidation Laws)</p> <p>Lands Transferred from non-Moslems to the Treasury and National Real Estate Administration (<i>Milli Emlak idaresi</i>)</p> <p>Lands Transferred to Treasury of Turkish Republic</p>

Table III.2. Transformation of Property of Arable State Land Within the Transition Period From Late Ottoman to Turkish Republic

Distribution of Arable State Controlled Lands (<i>Miri</i> Lands) in Ottoman Land Order	Transformation of Arable State Controlled Lands
<p>Large Arable State Lands Controlled by:</p> <p>Local Tenants (<i>Mütesellim</i>)</p> <p>Land Lords (<i>Tımar sahibi</i>)</p> <p>Arable State Lands Managed by: Small Peasant Families (<i>çift hanes</i>)</p>	<p>Transferred to Treasury of Turkish Republic</p> <p>Transferred to Private Property of Local Tenants</p> <p>Transferred to Treasury of Turkish Republic</p> <p>Transferred to Private Property of Small Peasant</p>

Table III.3. Transformation of Property of *Vakıf* Lands Within the Transition Period From Late Ottoman to Turkish Republic

Distribution of <i>Vakıf</i> Lands in Ottoman Land Order	Transition of Property of <i>Vakıf</i> Lands During The Transition Period of 1920's
<p>Lands Belong to:</p> <p>Sultan <i>Vakıfs</i> Public Service <i>Vakıfs</i></p> <p>Non-Moslem Minority <i>Vakıfs</i></p> <p>Moslem <i>Vakıfs</i></p>	<p>Public <i>Vakıfs</i> (Under the Control by <i>Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü</i>)</p> <p>Non-Moslem Minority <i>Vakıfs</i> (Under the Control by <i>Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü</i>)</p> <p>Transferred to Moslem Private Property (Under the special law for unprotected lands)</p> <p>Moslem <i>Vakıfs</i> (Under the Control by <i>Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü</i>)</p>

3.2.2. New Land Ownership Patterns in Istanbul Metropolitan Area

Land ownership which was transformed substantially in the Republican period started to restructure after 1950s parallel to the rapid urbanisation process. New land ownership patterns emerged in the rapid urbanisation related to the settlement behaviour of various types of actors (Table III.4).

Land ownership patterns in the metropolitan area may be taken under two headings, namely, public properties, private properties and *vakıf* properties. These three ownership types may be investigated under the headings of their own legal system that describes them.

3.2.2.1. Public Lands:

Public lands exists in Istanbul Metropolitan Area are generally created by transforming state regime from Ottoman to Republic of Turkey. According to Tekeli these lands can be classified such as : Lands controlled by state; lands owned by state; lands controlled by land Office and *Emlak Bankası*; land controlled by local authorities and lands owned by local authorities.

Some of the resources of these lands are historical *çiftlik*s of Istanbul transferred to state treasury in transition period of 1920s and 1930s. As we explain in following chapter, large *çiftlik*s had been owned by non-Moslem minorities, *Hassa* Treasury and sultans transferred to the Treasury of Turkish Republic by certain legislation's. In connection with this transference, the large amounts of land collected in the public hand. This condition plays a characteristic role to formation of metropolitan fringe of Istanbul as a contingent factor. When the land demand comes to the picture for metropolitan expansion of the city, Public lands provide certain opportunities for.

3.2.2.2. Privately-Owned Lands

A. Typical Private Ownership

These are privately owned lands accumulated in the hands of the public during the term immediately after the Republic and changed into the status of private ownership through certain mechanisms. These are lands the sources of which is recognition by the Republic of the private ownership rights that was inherent at the Ottoman times. As will be touched upon in detail in further chapters, these are lands private ownership rights of which have been definitively prescribed. But, what should be stressed here is that through a specific policy applicable to private properties of the Ottoman Sultans and their once removed relatives, these immovable properties have been transferred to the Treasury of the Republic. These lands have had an important role in meeting the demand for land during the expansion of the metropolitan regions.²³ Private property rights of persons outside the scope of those lands have been protected. Whether or not they have attained private property status by passing from public property to private property during the Republic or the status of private property has been attained at Ottoman times, changing of ownership of such lands are subject to market conditions.

B. *Gecekondu* Ownership

Due to the lack of production of urban land within urban legal frame, settlement types on public land outside city-development plan that increased during 1950s when immigration from rural to urban areas was intensified have resulted in the transfer of public ownership in urban lands to private property. Roughly speaking, *gecekondu* ownership has emerged as a private ownership status developed as a result of the obligation of setting a de facto condition created by illegal construction into a legal frame. Basic variables of the creation of this private ownership mechanism may be listed as :

1. Deficiencies in the registration of existing ownership types in urban lands.

²³ Successors of the Ottoman dynasty have attempted to re-own these immovable properties in private property status registered by title deed by way of litigation and have indeed have won back a very small portion of them.

2. Sloth in cadastre work on urban lands.
3. Since *gecekondu* phenomenon in the beginning settled in lands that did not carry urban characteristics, outside city-development plan, without infrastructure and on highly uneven grounds, its deceptive appearance to the political authority of having no consequential financial burden.²⁴
4. The conflict lying between the demand for ownership document of the population living in *gecekondus* which would assure their housing right, and the vote expectations of the political authority in elections.
5. The necessity of having to receive the *gecekondu* precincts which were entirely illegal into a legal frame.

Simultaneous existence of above variables have caused the emergence of a self-styled private ownership of *gecekondus*. *Gecekondu* Laws promulgated at various times and construction amnesties that have given the dwellers of these shanty towns a legal status, with the coming of Law 2981 in 1984 have began to attain the right to receive title deeds and thus their ownership status taken under guarantee.

C. Shared Private Ownership

Another ownership form is the Shared Private Ownership emergent as a result of increase in the urban population, deficient housing inventory and planning. This is an private ownership model in accordance with Article 623 of the Civil Law by sales executed without parcelling out the property (Tekeli, Ibid , 91).

3.2.2.3. *Vakif* Lands

Among the immovable properties *Vakıfs*, one of the most important institutions of the Ottoman times, were vast tracts of land. *Vakıf* institution and the lands it owns, as an inheritance of the Ottoman Empire exists as a unique ownership model not only

²⁴ At the time when rents on these urban areas were not high enough to draw attention of the capital investors, in the eyes of the political authority the relative cost of producing urban plots were higher than this self-styled settlement method.

within the boundaries of the Republic of Turkey, but also in many of the Middle Eastern and North African countries.²⁵

There are three types of *vakıfs* under the Ottoman land system; those that have been founded for the purpose of social services are Sultan *Vakıfs* and Private *Vakıfs*.²⁶ The first two groups of these lands are allocated from *miri* lands for a specific public service. The third type of *vakıfs* are composed of lands that have been granted to certain persons as private property whose owners transfer these lands as *vakıfs* founded by themselves and the lands of *vakıfs* founded by the minorities in the population (Barkan, 1940, 325). With the start of the Republican era, lands in the hands *vakıfs* of the first two categories were perceived as public lands under the auspices of Directorate General of *Vakıfs*. Rather complex ownership statuses have emerged in lands held by private *vakıfs*. For instance, since change of hands by way of sale, rent or use were subject to extremely rigid rules for immovable properties of minority *vakıfs*, these were not involved in the process of changing hands conformant with the changing dynamics and speed of cities.²⁷ (Table: III.3-4).

²⁵ For detailed information on the role played in the growth of cities in these countries, refer to Razzaz, 1992, and Chabbi, 1988).

²⁶ For detailed information on the characteristics of *vakıfs* under the Ottoman land organization, refer to:

Barkan, 1942, "Characteristics of Land property and *vakıfs* during the Empire", Istanbul Law School Periodical, 906-942; 1940, "Inheritance in Moslem Law and *vakıfs* for the Adopted Children", Istanbul Law School Periodical, 1-26; 1940, "Reorganization in the History of Turkish Land Code and Land Code dated 1274 (1858)" Publication of the Ministry of Education, Istanbul, 1-101.

²⁷ It is well-known that there many disputes at litigation stage between minority *vakıfs* and Directorate General of *Vakıfs* on properties in and around Istanbul. It is observed that the major complaint of minority *vakıfs* rises from legal barriers to transfer, sell or change its manner of use of immovable properties under their ownership. Immovable properties under the ownership of other *vakıfs* other than minority *vakıfs* may change hands in market conditions upon the decision of their board of trustees.

Table III.4. Land ownership / Tenure Patterns in the Metropolitan Area of Istanbul

Major Property Distribution on Land in Modern Turkish State	Land Tenure Patterns of Metropolitan Areas
Private Property Lands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Modern Private Property on Land <i>Gecekondu</i> Type of Private Property on Land Shared Private Property on land Small Peasant Property on Peripheral Land
Public Lands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lands controlled by State State owned Lands Lands controlled by Land Office and <i>Emlak Bankası</i> Lands controlled by Local Authorities (Municipalities) Local Authorities owned Lands
<i>Vakıf</i> Lands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Private <i>Vakıf</i> Lands Private Non-Moslem Minority <i>Vakıf</i> Lands Public <i>Vakıf</i> Lands

3.3. FORMATION OF INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS ENSURING THE CONFORMITY BETWEEN LAND DEMAND AND LAND OWNERSHIP IN THE METROPOLITAN EXPANSION

Land is an immovable and non-reproducible property with different characteristics from other properties by virtue of its being needed by every person at a relative scales, increasing in value due to change of activity on it or by having it change hands, carrying two characteristics simultaneously due to its both use and exchange values, where its value may increase due to its use or when left vacant and due its innumerable manners of use, purpose, manner and purpose and culture. Therefore, it may change hands in other ways than properties that that are bought and sold in the free market and may be transformed into another method of use. Within this context, some institutional mechanisms that established the conformity between types of land ownership in urban and rural areas in Istanbul metropolitan area and land demand.

An organic tie exists between the evolution of the land ownership types existing in the metropolitan area mentioned above and the emergent demand for land. While on one side the emerging demand for land causes the transformation of a given ownership type to another, it also drives the demand for land towards lands that have specific types of ownership. Several institutional mechanisms have been devised for the realisation of this balance. These institutional mechanisms that create this compatibility during the formation of the metropolitan area enable the lands to change of hands. (Table.III.5)

Table III.5: Operation of Institutional Mechanisms That Provide the Compatibility Between Land Demand and Landholding

Land Demand Patterns in Metropolitan Areas	Property Status of Land Supply in Metropolitan Areas	Institutional Mechanisms:	Property Patterns of Land in the Metropolitan Fringe
Land Demand For:	Land Supply From:	Compatibility Between Land Demand and Land Ownership:	Private Property:
Housing for Middle Class	National Real Estate Adm. Land Office	Improvement laws (to Provide legal Urban Land)	Classical Private Property
Low Cost Housing for Under / Middle Class	Private Property	Civil Law (to Provide Sailing in Free Market)	Shared Private Property
Housing for Irregular / Low Income Groups	National Real Estate Adm. Treasury Lands	Shared Property Law (to Legalise the Subdivision)	Gecekondu Type of Private Property
Mass Housing for Different Income Groups	Treasury Lands Public Vakif Lands	Gecekondu and improvement Amnesty Laws (to legalise the Squatting)	Classical Private Property
Construction for Public Interest	Large Ciftlik lands (Treasury / Private)	Civil Law (for Free Sailing) Improvement and Expropriation Laws (to Create legal Urban land)	Public Property: State Owned Lands Treasury lands Local Munic. Owned Lands
Needs for Local Facilities	State / Treasury / Private lands	Legislation for Transfer, Allocation and expropriation of lands	Vakif Lands

3.3.1. Institutional Mechanisms That Provide Opportunity For New Land Demand

1. *Legislations* of Turkish Civil Law that determine the rule purchase/sale of private properties in a free market and coming to ownership of a property through inheritance.

2. *Laws* that regulate voluntary donation of a private property right to another person or institution.

3. *Laws* that regulate the transfer of ownership of land under any one type of public ownership to another type of public ownership and laws that regulate allocation of public land under the ownership of one public institution to the use of another public institution.

4. *The expropriation institution* that enables the establishment of public ownership of privately owned land for the purpose of public use.

5. *Improvement laws*, construction amnesties laws and *gecekondur* laws that create ownership of *gecekondus* as a sort of private ownership by legalizing illegal settlement by way of occupation of *vakif* lands not allocated by the Treasury for a specific purpose and old *vakif* lands of the Sultans.

7. *Shared Title Deed Law (Hisseli Mülkiyet Yasası)* and laws governing ownership of independent flats in an apartment house (*Kat Mülkiyeti Yasası*) that permit multi-storey buildings on land and bore than one ownership on that land. (Table.III.5)

Owing to these institutions and mechanisms that provide the compatibility between the demand for land and its ownership, the demand for land chooses locations of a given ownership mode. It is generally evident that ownership is shifting towards from the public to the private ownership during the formation of Istanbul metropolitan area. This trends is enabled by the above mentioned institutions and mechanisms which have emerged at specific stages during the formation of the metropolitan area. Although expropriation institution has been planned to be implemented from the first years of the Republic onwards, it has been executed more

liberally during two terms.²⁸ The first of these came about in 1950s when *Menderes* under the reconstruction of Istanbul project had a lots of lands expropriated and the second instance was 1980s during restructuring of the metropolitan area. Operations of expropriation are conducted by *Emlak Bankası* and *Arsa Ofisi* (Land Office).²⁹ On the other hand, Law 775 on *Gecekondu*s and Expropriation right granted to the Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing have been turned over to municipalities by the Decree in Effect of Law 250 published in 1985. The expropriation institution retains certain lands in the hands of the public so as to be able to orient urban development. These lands in the hands of the public are initially passed over to private ownership under certain conditions, and then change hands according to market conditions (Tekeli, 1988, 90).

In the transfer to private ownership of mountains, hills, shores, forests, natural resources and ruins of antiquity which are strictly under the sovereignty and disposal of the state illicit construction has a important role. After a while, illicit constructions receive private status by the passing of reconstruction amnesty laws (Tekeli, 1988, 87).

²⁸ An example of inapplicability of expropriation in Turkey is given by Barkan citing Law 4737 published in 1945 on "Landing of the Farmer". He states although the article on expropriation is clear in this law, they could not be realized.

²⁹ From the early years of the Turkish Republic onwards, in order to prevent land speculation and rapid transfer of public lands accumulated in the hands of the Treasury into private ownership by diversified means before the completion of land survey and without determining detailed legal frames, to provide a healthy growth of the large cities and particularly the expansion axes of those cities have been assigned to the disposal of certain institutions.

Emlak ve Kredi Bankası, one such an institution, has the authority to buy land and plots, sell and exchange them after putting up buildings and parceling. By this virtue, it has the purpose of producing urban land for the encouragement of building housing units. The reason for the establishment of Directorate General of Land Office is to regulate extreme increases in land prices fed by the population flow particularly after 1950s and act as a barrier against speculative attitudes in lands that are likely to be converted into urban areas. With this purpose in mind, it is assigned to buy large tracts of land, sell them and provide land to meet the land demands of institutions for housing, industry, tourism and persons of public legal status (Yavuz, 1980, 42-46). The Land Office provides the need for these required lands by way of transfer, purchase from the market, exchange or expropriation where necessary of unallotted plots of the Treasury and unallotted municipality lands transferred from the Treasury. In the sales of the Land Office, it is mandatory to have the land used in conformance with the reason for the sale. Usage, construction, transfer or sale to third persons outside the rules for the sale is prohibited. In view of the purpose of establishment and its authority, Land Office could be an institution that could bring important solution to land issues, its effectiveness has not been adequate (Tekeli, 1988, 90). The most important among this inaptitude is undoubtedly is that land is considered as a major accumulation vehicle by capitalists during capitalization process in countries where capital accumulation is not sufficient.

Other public ownership lands used commonly such as grazing lands, summer quarters of nomads, harvest lands and pastures that are outside the boundaries of municipalities, increase in value by the expansion of towns towards them and feel the pressure of speculative development. Transfer to private ownership of such lands is made possible by the decision of the board of aldermen of the village and a bill termed as the Village Bill. This document, not in the nature of a title deed, is sufficient as a *de facto* bill of sale. Transfer of public lands in the ownership of the Treasury and local governments too are actually transferred to private sector by similar means. On the other hand, once the city grows sufficiently to cover these common properties, the reason for their common use is invalidated which are then registered in the name of legal persons and legally made available by ways of allotment to other function, sale, transfer, conveyance (Tekeli, Ibid., 89).

There are two mechanisms that operate to convert public lands registered in the name of the Treasury as the private property of the State into private property. First of these is the land being presented for sale within the frame dictated by the Budget Law every year which bound by the sale prices cited in the Budget Law may be proposed by the Ministry of Finance and decreed by the Council of Ministers or by law published by the Grand National Assembly (Kırbaç, 1985, 118). The second way is again the occupation mechanism. This is how *gecekondu* precincts built particularly on lands that have not been allocated to a public administration with a general or private budget.

The institution that is expected to realise the conformity between demand for land and ownership is assuredly the municipality. In order to have this realised, municipalities have the authority and capabilities such as purchasing, expropriation and donation. Where the municipalities use such powers to produce urban lands in growing cities in a way that would meet the demand for land, it would be possible to have the cities expand in consistence with the city plan. But, during the metropolitan growth of Istanbul, the authority in the hands of the municipality has not been used effectively in preventing the speculative land exchange mechanisms that determine the growth dynamics and direction of the city. The free land market mechanism

created by varying sized capital and interest groups that see urban land as a means of capital accumulation during the development of the city and power balance between central and local administrations are of a character that checks the capacity of municipalities to orient the development of cities by using their authority. One of the two of the fundamental mechanisms that eliminates the opportunity of municipalities to orient the cities in public interest via the city-development plan is political benefit anxiety and the second is the determinant factor of the patronage relationships established between capitalist groups of varying sizes that have seized the revenues in urban lands and local and central administrators.

It is generally known that city-development plans, even where lands in the growth direction of cities are in the hands of the public, or in other words where there are certain restrictions on private ownership on urban lands, are instruments that create disparities in the social structure where capitalist production relationships are dominant (Börtücene, 1978). In a great many capitalist countries where private ownership on urban lands exist, disparities engendered by city-development plans consistent with the absolute revenues gained from private ownership are attempted to be alleviated by various tax laws (Altaban, 1979).

Whereas in Turkey, instead of guiding urban development in a planned manner according to the principles of social justice thanks to the large tracts of lands in the hands of the Treasury and municipalities and their authority for acquiring them, city-development plans prepared under the pressure of political concerns and patronage relationships on one side *de facto* situation has been taken into the frame of legislature, and on the other side, certain capital groups have been handed over the value that emerged as a result of public investments thanks to the surplus value produced by the public.

When lands in the hands of the municipalities, their authority to acquire land and their duty of preparing the city-development plan are combined, and when local politics cannot be independent of central politics in lately capitalised countries such as Turkey is taken into consideration, the emergent picture shows that lands in public

property status are being transferred to private ownership in a way that will make a planned urbanisation impossible.

Studies reveal that sales by dividing land into parcels, another mechanism that harmonises demand for land in Istanbul metropolitan area with the land ownership, is a well-spread mechanism used in the Middle Eastern and North African countries too²⁷. The mechanism of parcelling in this case renders suitable the demand for land of low-middle income groups for ownership in large tracts of land. The institution that operates this mechanism and realises the compatibility is Article 623 of the Civil Law regulating shared ownership.

3.3.2. The Operational Buffer Mechanisms Matching Land Ownership and Land Demand

It is possible to identify various buffer mechanisms lead to the formation of institutional structures to bring about the unity between land demand during the formation of the metropolitan area and land ownership. These mechanisms lead to the illegal (spontaneous) settlements on particular types of land due to the insufficient legal land supply in the city. Some of the institutional structures cited above are established in order to form a unity between land demand and ownership by means of these buffer mechanisms. These mechanisms can be identified in three groups:

A. Squatting mechanism that provides compatibility between migrants from rural areas who cannot resolve their demand for land by legal means and the vacant lots of the Treasury not allotted to a specific purpose. In order to solve the land ownership problems related to spontaneous and illegal settlements, the above mentioned institutional regulations, such as the development law and amnesty law were made;

B. Patronage mechanism that has the guiding power on the city-development plan that regulates the demand for land being localised at certain zones during the expansion of metropolitan areas.

C. Sub-division Mechanism that purchases the vegetable gardens settled along the old settlement zones of Istanbul and *çiftlik*s (agricultural lands) in their outer circle and sell them consistent with the land demand of lower-middle income groups and thus causing the phenomenon of shared ownership on a single piece of land.

The above mentioned institutional structures and buffer mechanisms constitute a good example for the matching land ownership patterns and the newly emerging demand on land during metropolitan expansion in a peripheral country (Table III.5). As the metropolitan fringe is restructured, the transformation of agricultural land in these areas into urban land is realised owing to this juxtaposition and new institutional structures are established to restore this unity as new demand and land-use types emerge.

For example, when treasury land is opened to settlement through invasion, the necessary conditions are prepared for this land to be transformed into private ownership and by means of institutional regulations, it changes into urban land in time. By conducting operations, such as amnesty projects or local development plans, a unity is obtained between the ownership structure on land and new demands, which constitutes the next stage in this process. It is also possible to describe the process which brings about phenomenon of shared ownership as a similar type of mechanism of accordance.

As can be seen in *Table III.5*, the land ownership pattern emerging in the metropolitan area displays a unique appearance and variation owing to the institutional and operational mechanisms which unifies the former property patterns within the metropolitan area and at the fringe and different types of demand which emerged during metropolitan expansion. The land ownership transformation experienced at the metropolitan fringe as the agricultural land changes into urban land and the newly emerging land ownership patterns also reflect the determination of the historical land ownership structure and land-use types at the metropolitan fringe, which can be identified as a transition zone.

CHAPTER 4

AN EXPLANATORY STUDY ON ISTANBUL *ÇİFTLİK*S:

ROLE OF AN HISTORICAL LANDOWNERSHIP STRUCTURE IN THE FORMATION OF METROPOLITAN FRINGE

4.1. SOURCES IN THE STUDY FOR ISTANBUL *ÇİFTLİK*S

4.1.1. A Promenade on Ottoman Maps

The map (1888-1895) which was made Goltz Pasha shows the peripheral boundaries of Istanbul in late nineteenth century from the *Küçük Çekmece* Lake to *Kartal*. The Land in this map includes certain types of *çiftlik*s (Figure 1). These *çiftlik*s took place within the same names in Halil Bayrı's book about Istanbul in 1947. It is clear that most of these *çiftlik*s had been existed until the beginnings of the metropolitan transformation process. (Figure 2).

The Maps shows that the concentration of *çiftlik*s is between *Haliç and Küçük Çekmece, Küçük Çekmece and Büyük Çekmece* in the western corridor on European side. As for the Anatolian side, they distributed homogeneously on the whole side. Goltz's map includes 65 *çiftlik*s in the area. Bayrı's book lists 79 *çiftlik*s around Istanbul. On the other side, according to Evliya Çelebi there were 1060 *çiftlik*s and 10600 *çiftlik* workers (*ırgat and bekar uşağı*) around Istanbul in seventeenth century (Koçu, R.E., 1966,3978). We are, of course, not sure whether *Evliya Çelebi* had given us exaggerated numbers or not but we can get a sense about the *çiftlik*s at that

time from his writings. It is acknowledged from the published documents that there were quite a large number of *çiftlik*s of various sizes, which were not located on maps. The *çiftlik*s which were seen on maps were the ones which reached a certain size. Therefore, The Ottoman documents are important in giving information about the *çiftlik*s of various sizes.

4.1.2. A Promenade on the Ottoman Documents and *Temettuat* Registers

The Ottoman documents were used for obtaining the property, spatial and organisational peculiarities of *çiftlik*s around Istanbul. Two kinds of documents are fruitful among others that *Cevdet Saray's* Classification and *Temettuat* Registers (Registers of taxes on profit on land).

Cevdet classification includes three kinds of *çiftlik*s. A kind of private property *çiftlik*s which were belonged Sultans and Sultan's family members' with a property right act (*mülkname*), *hassa* type of *çiftlik*s which were controlled by the palace and military type of *çiftlik*s. Although this document concerns about the *çiftlik*s which were related to the palace in various way, it does not present any efficient knowledge about the structural features of these *çiftlik*s. However, it creates a strong sense that private property rights were extensively existing in sultan's family and the members of high position ruling elite. We notice that a number of the *çiftlik*s mentioned in *Cevdet* Classification is situated in the periphery of Istanbul; whereas the rest is located in West Anatolia and especially in regions close to two coasts of Marmara sea.

Another resource in the Ottoman Archives, *Temettuat* Registers give us more detailed information's on *çiftlik*s. *Temettuat* Registers are tax registers entered in 1841 (1261 in the *Hicrî* Moslem Calendar), for only one time in the Ottoman provinces (*eyalet*) where *Tanzimat* Reforms were being in effect. These registers are important in three respects. Firstly, they reflect the application of Ottoman modernisation movements into the registration system and therefore the efforts of

central state to increase its tax revenues. Secondly, they offer us valuable information's such as the superficies of the pieces of land that people run, in modern measurement units for the first time in Ottoman history; a detailed registration about the activity on these lands; the population that they accommodate and most importantly about the structural elements of the organisation of production on land. Finally, these registers constituted the foundational data resource for the Ottoman Land Code of 1858.

During the exploration of *Temettuat* Registers, we haven't been able to find any register book involving direct information's about Istanbul. However the records of *Mevacip* Registers, the maps and prose texts of 19th Century, point out the existence of about a hundred of settled *çiftlik*s in the periphery of Istanbul. Those *çiftlik*s take either the name of the place where they are located or the name of their proprietor. From the title adjectives such as *pasha* or *efendi* passing within the names of *çiftlik*s recalled according to the names of their proprietor, we can understand that a majority of their owners were from military bureaucrat elite class. There isn't any detailed study about the property status, the superficies of the *bahçes* and *çiftlik*s recorded in *Mevacip* Registers and about the activities on them; therefore following the literature, it's legitimate to consider them in the status of private property and as subject of a land market where they may be freely sold and bought.

As the value of urban land increased, in another words when the urban rent replace to agricultural rent they started to change hands and attained new functions by getting transformed into housing areas. The fast change of holding of these lands in the process of metropolitan expansion of the city; their purchase, subdivision and sale by real estate agents; and their transportation generally to the improved settlement areas of today's city are originated from the fact that their private property status in the Ottoman Period is recognised in the Civil Code of Republican period too. The transformation of the these lands is broad enough to form another research topic

As there isn't any found *Temettuat* Register of these approximately 100 *çiftlik*s near Istanbul, we had to look at the registers of Edirne and Bursa, in the search of a

possibility of interpretation through the study of registers of cities close to İstanbul. In these registers that we have studied, we found records on the region of *Büyük Çekmece* Lake situated at the European Coast of İstanbul and on *Kartal* and *Maltepe* Districts located at the Asian Coast; these places are today within the metropolitan area of İstanbul.

There are nine registers that we studied within this framework. Three of them, i.e. the 6759, 6761 and 6763th register books include records of land and real estate revenues and taxes of some *çiftlik*s within the frontiers of *Erikli* sub-district of *Vize* district near Edirne; Two of them, 5167th and 5186th registers include some *çiftlik*s located in *Ahyolu* sub-district near Edirne; 6764th register contains information about *Çaliçe Çiftliği* in Edirne/Hasköy whereas 6224th register is interested with some *çiftlik*s in *Silivri* sub-district of Edirne; 6752th register is concerned with *çiftlik*s of *Büyük Çekmece* town and villages close to it; finally 4027th register includes records about some *çiftlik*s located in *Maltepe* village of *Kartal* sub-district near *Kacaali* district.

Among these, *Silivri çiftlik*s seem like a continuation of *çiftlik*s along the environs of İstanbul and have been included in detail in the study for their characteristics that could be used as a reference to the structure of 19th century İstanbul *çiftlik*s.

4.1.3. A Look at Large İstanbul *çiftlik*s From the Viewpoint of Land Registers

Despite the unavailability of direct information in *Temettuat* registers, data supplied by these registers on *çiftlik*s in the periphery of İstanbul are of a character that could be used as a reference for İstanbul *çiftlik*s in general. However, in the archives of Regional Land Registration Administration in İstanbul and Land Registration Administrations in Townships, documents containing more direct information may be found. But, since these records are title deed registers, they do not contain detailed information available in *Temettuat* registers.

Although, bureaucratic limitations in the examination of title deed registers prevent us to receive truly satisfactory data, even the limited information obtained facilitates to have an idea on the process of changing hands and size of *çiftlik*s. From the examination of these registers, it is observed that *çiftlik* have generally been registered under the two headings of *Vakaf Çiftlik*s and Privately Owned *Çiftlik*s.

Among the land registers in Regional Land Registration Administration in Istanbul and in the registers of *Vakafs* records on a large number of *çiftlik*s may be found. Among these *vakafs*, particularly in the 160 registers of *Sultan Beyazıt Vakaf* records on Istanbul *Vakaf Çiftlik*s exist. Following the names of these *çiftlik*s in the maps of late 19th century reveals that they had been concentrated starting from the left bank of *Haliç* along the south corridor extending to *Silivri*. In a comparison of the records on privately owned *çiftlik*s and the maps, it is observed that these *çiftlik* have been distributed along the north of the said corridor. On the Asian side, although the number of *çiftlik* are less, they are still in considerable number more evenly distributed (Figure 2).

4.1.4. Other Sources

Another source used in the study was in-depth interviews with *Nesibe Batıyok* and *İbrahim Kıray* two of the successors of *Ferhat Pasha Çiftlik* and Lawyer *Enver Nalbant*, attorney for the various property rights of the successors of *Ferhat Pasha* and *Cicoz çiftlik*s. The interview held with *Nesibe Batıyok* carries particular importance in the sense that she is the youngest of the five daughters of *İbrahim Bey* who had sold his large *çiftlik*s at Larissa at the end of 19th century and arrived in Istanbul and bought *Ferhat Pasha Çiftlik*. She was born in the *çiftlik* in 1909 and is still an owner of the remaining lands of the *çiftlik*. *Nesibe Batıyok* has an extensive knowledge on the transformation processes of both *Ferhat Pasha* and other large privately owned *çiftlik*s in the region. The in-depth interview with lawyer *Enver Nalbant* has contributed to the validity of the assumptions on the diverse demand for

land and development pressure encountered by *Ferhat Pasha* and *Cicoz çiftliks* during the growth stages of the city.

4.1.5. Boundaries of The Area of the Case Study

It is seen in 19th century maps that, lands settled as *çiftliks* in the European side of the city concentrated on the southern corridor starting from outside Istanbul fortifications and extending towards *Silivri* (Figure 3). It is seen that metropolitan growth of the city in the European side, with positive contribution of transportation network, is along that corridor to the north. Population distribution movements between the years 1950-1985 in the three geographical component of Istanbul have been as follows: Share of Istanbul side in total population has risen from 43% to 48.8%; *Beyoğlu* side has been reduced from 36% to 20.6%; Asian side has risen from 21% to 29.5% (Güvenç, 1992, 118). Between 1990-1997, fastest growing townships according to total population have been *Büyük Çekmece*, *Gaziosmanpaşa* and *Ümraniye*, followed by *Pendik*, *Avcılar*, *Zeytinburnu*, *Sultanbeyli*, *Güngören*, *Esenler* and *Silivri* (Sönmez, 1998). Because of being an area where 19th century *çiftliks* had been concentrated and a region where population have been drawn in all stages of the growth of the city, left bank of *Haliç* and northwest corridor starting from outside the fortifications and surrounding *Küçükçekmece* and *Büyükçekmece* lakes have been taken as the model area of the study.

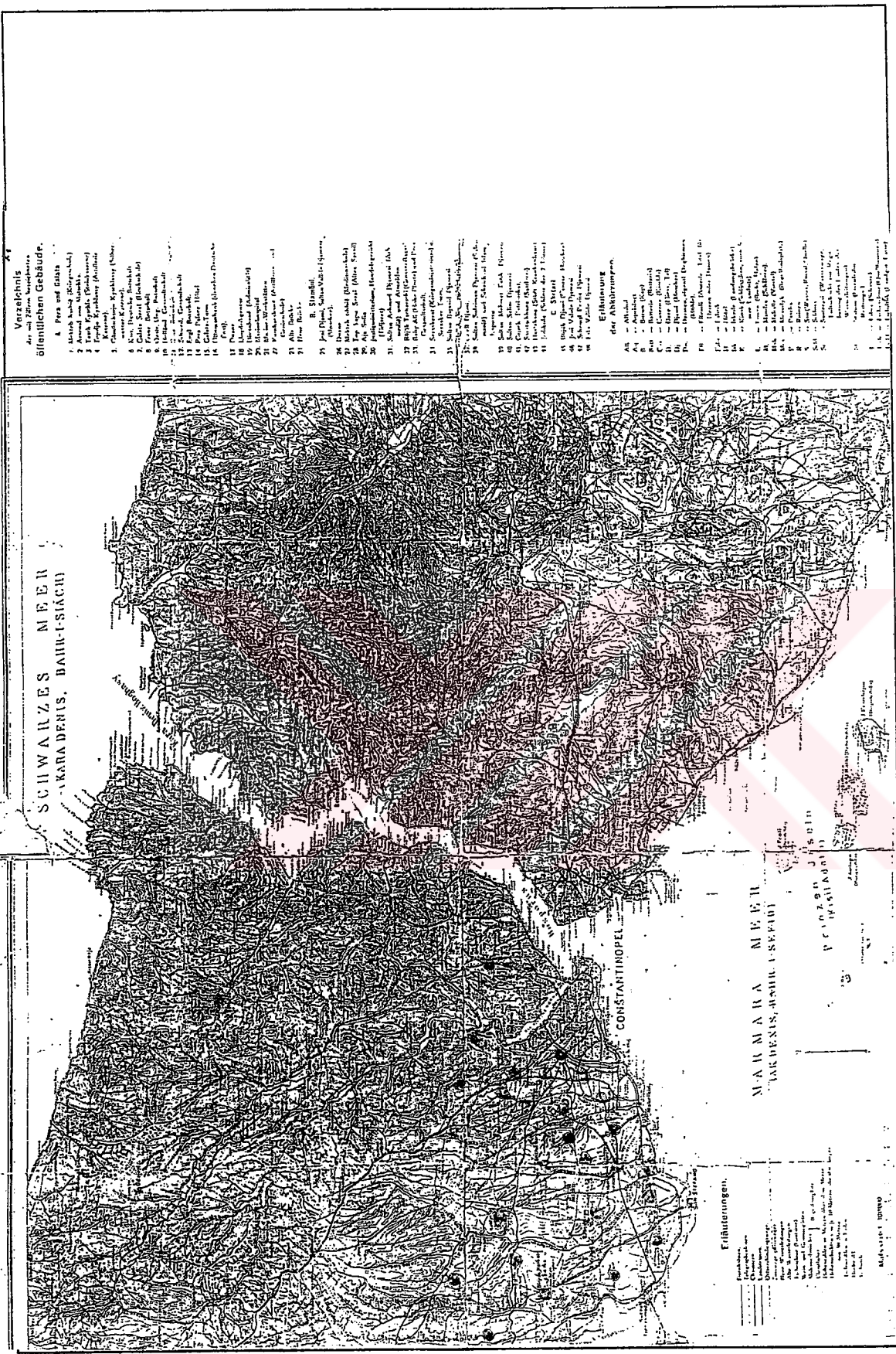


Figure 1: Goltz Pasha's Istanbul Map Between 1888-1890 ; 1/100.000

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 3. Griechisch-bau (griechisch)
 4. Französisch-bau (französisch)
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4.2. THE ÇİFTLİKLER IN THE PERIPHERAL AREAS OF ISTANBUL IN LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

4.2.1. Çiftlikler Within Land Use Patterns in the Fringe of Istanbul in the 19th Century

Çiftlik lands of various sizes with cultivated/uncultivated wide fields were located as from the ring after the vineyards, gardens and vegetable gardens within the first external circle surrounding the city in the 19th century. These çiftlikler not only produced the grains and animal foods needed by the city, but also included wide vegetable gardens used for supply of fresh vegetables to the city. The very high food demand of Istanbul caused allocation of products of certain areas of the Ottoman Empire to Istanbul, and size of the agricultural lands and çiftlikler in the peripheries of Istanbul was also determined by said demand. In the 17th century, the state has allocated 26,000 fields in the peripheries of Istanbul to the custody of civilian administrations for supply of food demands of the city (Mantran, R., 1962; in Kılınçarslan, İ., 1981).

In the second half and especially the last quarter of the 19th century, it is observed that the old settlement areas and quarters of the urban zone expanded to the peripheries, and the vegetable gardens and vacant fields located along the new expansion axes were transformed into urban lands. In the same period, the owners of the çiftlik lands in the peripheries of the city changed.

This change of owners was in the form of change of ownership with no change in the purpose of the use of the çiftlik lands. The featured actors of this change of ownership toward the end of the century were mostly the Ottoman çiftlik owners who sold their çiftlikler in the Balkans and purchased the old çiftlik lands in the surroundings of Istanbul, İzmir and Manisa and revived the agricultural production there in, as well as the Sultans, members of the Dynastic family and the military and bureaucrat elite who tended to own lands and properties. This further indicates the

existence of a land market where lands in the peripheries of the city were freely bought and sold, and the openness of the rights of ownership on these *çiftlik* lands.

As mentioned above, many *çiftlik* lands and fields in the peripheries of Istanbul were allocated for food demands of Istanbul in the 17th century. In the 18th century, there were private merchant ship fleets employed for carriage of grains from the Black Sea and *Tekirdağ* to Istanbul (Güçer, 1950, 403).³⁰

In this period, the increase in the demand of Istanbul for fresh and dried foods was one of the main reasons of the revival of the *çiftlik*s in the outer periphery of the city, and the emergence of actors who responded to this revival of demand. This process of coincidence in time may be briefly explained as follows. The *çiftlik* owners who moved from the Balkans and bought the *çiftlik* lands in the peripheries of Istanbul were equipped with vast experiences on private *çiftlik* management, and this process coincided with the increasing food demands of Istanbul, and this coincidence in time led to the revival of agricultural product in line with the change of ownership in the *çiftlik*s in the peripheries of Istanbul.

4.2.1.1. Landholding and Land Ownership Patterns of the *Çiftlik*s in Neighbourhood Areas of Istanbul

We may say that during the late 19th century, there was a fast increase of value of the lands in the peripheries of big cities which accommodate on their ground a large commercial activity and a crowded population. Moreover, we may add that parallel to this value increase, a process of fast change of ownership of these lands has been taking place. This was especially true for big cities such as Istanbul former being an intermediary city channelling the trade between the West and the East.

³⁰ In his study named "*Needed Supply of Grains For Istanbul in the Mid-18th Century*", Güçer says that in Istanbul the food requirements of the palaces, people, Janissary corps and other military troops were supplied from the *Has-kiler* and *Kiler-i Amire* directly managed by the Ottoman state, and the food requirements of the indigents and destitutes accommodated in the *İmarethanes* and *Darülşifas* were supplied by grains supplied from the rural fields and lands of said foundations, and the food requirements of other people living in Istanbul were supplied by grain commodities brought to and traded in the Istanbul exchange. These grain commodities were carried from the Black Sea and Thracian ports to Istanbul under the contracts signed between the free merchant fleet owners and the

The analysis of two questions may particularly help us to understand the ownership rights on the lands surrounding the big cities : Which mechanisms mediated to this process of fast change of ownership on lands and on what kind of legitimacy was this process based. On the other hand, origins of the process of transition from the agricultural rent formed on agricultural lands to the urban rents formed on urban lands in a city such as Istanbul may also be exposed through this analysis.

It is an especially important task when we consider that this transition was one of the main dynamics of the process of metropolitan transformation of Istanbul which accommodated several *çiflik*s in her peripheries since the 16th century. When we try to analyse the land ownership patterns in peripheral areas of Istanbul in the late nineteenth century, three types of lands appear to be important. They are *vineyards and orchards (bağ-bahçes)*, vegetable gardens (*bostan*) and farms (*çiflik*s).

These lands played an important role in the metropolitan expansion process owing to their size and the different types of transformation in ownership patterns. Vineyards, orchards and vegetable gardens located at the fringe of central areas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries supplied the city with vegetables, fruits and flowers.³¹ Transformation of these lands to urban uses started with land demand in the second half of the 19th century and been gradually transformed until 1980s and have entirely disappeared after 1980s.

state. These ports were all ports from the Bosphorus to Odessa in the Black Sea and *Çekmeceler, Silivri, Ereğli, Rodosçuk* (Tekirdağ), *Şarköy and Gelibolu* ports in *Tekirdağ and Thrace*.

³¹ *Bostans* (vegetable gardens) were situated within the first circle surrounding the central settlement area of Istanbul; the activities thereon were under supervision of the Palace through the official commanders named "*Bostancı Ocağı*" and associated to the Palace (Encyclopaedia of Islam). But there exist no such explanatory studies about the vineyards and orchards yet. In a study about the *Mevacip* Registers (Appropriation Registers) covering vineyards and orchards, the most striking point we must underline for our study topic is that majority of the lands recorded in these registers were under ownership of the military bureaucrat elite (pashas) and the wealthy people in the status of agha (chief, master, a title borne by higher Ottoman officers; also, a title of respect given to important persons not officially associated to the Ottoman administration, such as wealthy merchants); moreover, some of the registered orchards were "*has bahçe*" (domain of the Sultan and his family) belonging to the members of the Palace, while some of them were recalled under the term "*çiflik*" (Erdoğan M., 1958, 149-82).

The lands were located in the peripheries of Istanbul of the 19th century and stayed intact until the starting years of the metropolitan expansion process and responded to the demands for different types of land during the expansion process were the large situated on vast fields.

According to the *Temettuat* Registers of Edirne and Bursa covering Thrace and *Kocaali* regions near Istanbul, pertaining to the landholding and ownership status, size, activities and population of the *çiftlik*s in these regions :

1. In parallelism with fundamental approaches developed to understand *çiftlik* event in Ottoman land order, we noticed that there are different *çiftlik* models existing in the region subject to this study. First of these models refer to *çiftlik*s formed by a number of household settled on units of lands that can be worked using a pair of oxen, that is on *miri* lands defined as *çift-hane* in classical terminology. In the areas that those households are settled, except the *miri* lands there is the possibility to observe lands belonging to *vakıfs*, as much as come near the cities. Second model is composed of *çiftlik*s accommodate several *çiftlik* servants, have several cattle, are in charge of a possessor and run by this possessor himself. Third model refer to *çiftlik*s with a large territory which again are in charge of a possessor, but rented to another person.

For example, according to the records of the 5167th Register Book relevant to *Mihribez Çiftliği* in *Mihribez* village of *Ahyolu* sub-district, the land and estates belonged to *Seyid Ahmet Pasha* who lived in Istanbul. On the other hand, according to the 5186th Register Book about a *çiftlik* in the *Kara Toprak* village of the same sub-district, there were 11 households in the *çiftlik* . In another example, 34 households were recorded in the 6746th register relevant to the *Çaliçe Çiftliği* in *Hasköy* sub-district of Edirne.

Besides, the 6761st Register Book relevant to the *Çeşmeli Çiftliği* within *Erikli* sub-district of Edirne recorded that the *çiftlik* belonged to two possessors, namely *Mehmet Emin Agha* and *Çorlulu İbrahim Agha* and the 6750th Register Book includes *Sekban Çiftliği* in the same sub-district shows us that the land and estates

belonged to Agha Bin Hasan from Abdülbaki Ağazade family. Besides, the 673th register of the çiftlik of Es-Seyid Halil Agha from *Erikli*, located in *Umurca* village of the same *Erikli* sub-district (Table: IV.1)

2. Another result derived from the studied *Temettuat* Registers is that the *çiftlik* lands located in near neighbourhoods of Istanbul were hired by their proprietors totally or partially, to generally one, but sometimes several tenants (*müstacir*). It is evident here that the rights of usufruct on the lands were transferred through rent contracts signed between natural persons without any intervention of the state. In the same way, we observe that by the end of the 19th century, the ownership rights on land were transferred through direct sales between natural persons. In summary, it might be argued that there are many evidences which support that an active land market did exist in Istanbul, at least by the 19th century and land was sold and purchased freely.

3. In *Temettuat* Registers, another important point in respect of the ownership rights is the fact that some of the lands of *çiftlik*s belonged to foundations or there were fields or water channels belonging to foundations within the territory of a certain *çiftlik*. As you come near the city, the lands under ownership of foundations increase, and the right of process of these lands were granted to peasantry against bonds and debentures (*ba-sened and ba-tahvil*).

For example, In the 6752th Register of *Büyük Çekmece* town, we see that majority of the lands and estates around the town belonged to a foundation named “*Sultan Beyazıt Vakfiyesi*” and that majority of 120 households in the town used their own fields, vineyards and vegetable gardens or their own estates such as workshops or shops against payment of a type of rent with bonds and debentures. In the same region, except *Sultan Beyazıt Vakfiyesi*, we encounter other large or small foundations, too. A minority of lands and estates used against bonds and debentures is recorded as possession against bonds, as *mülk tarla*. This means that these lands and estates do not cover only rights of usufruct, but also ownership rights against bonds. This property status refers possibly to the status named as *mülk tarla* in the

Ottoman land regime. In the same region, there are lands used against a certificate named *Ba-Hüccet-i Seriyeye*, to a limited extent. It is known that this certificate granted by *kadı* gives a type of ownership right to the user of the related lands and estates.³² In the region, each household possesses about 1 to 5 *dönüms* of vineyards, 0.5 to 1 *dönüm* of vegetable gardens and 1 to 4 *dönüms* of agricultural fields.

Taxes levied on profit of lands, i.e. *Temettuat*, of 6 villages of the town are also recorded in the same register. In these villages, land is exploited under the *çift-hane* system, divided into small units between peasant households. According to the records of the register, the lands and estates in *Büyük Çekmece* town and in her near neighbourhood belong generally to foundations and are used by small peasant enterprises against bonds and debentures. This status verifies the mechanism of donation of private ownership, mentioned by Barkan (1942). On the other hand, in the villages close to the town, the agricultural production is organised in the form of small-scale peasant enterprises on *miri* lands (Table: IV.2)

4. Either in the *Temettuat* registers in respect of the *çiftlik*s that are associated to the Thrace region of Edirne province, but supply their products to Istanbul, or in the *Temettuat* registers in respect of the *çiftlik*s of *Maltepe* village in *Kartal* sub-district of *Kocaeli* district of *Bursa*, we see some records about the fact that some people who exploit fields and lands in these *çiftlik*s live in the central quarters of Istanbul and work in administrative or commercial jobs in the city. Some of the examples of this fact we find in the records concerning *Büyük Çekmece* are as follows : A person who lived in *Zincirlikuyu* district of Istanbul possessed a vegetable garden and some animals in *Bucadar* village of *Büyük Çekmece* and earned an annual income of 18,800 *kurus* therefrom. Besides, another person who lived in *Koca Mustafa Pasha* district of Istanbul possessed fields and estates in *Karaağaç* village and earned an annual income of 2065 *kurus* therefrom. Also, a person who lived in *Karagümrük* district of Istanbul owned a vegetable garden and a water mill in *Muha* village and

³² *Hüccet* was a type of certificate granted by the *kadı* for holding of large lands by Moslems (Veinstein, G., 1991, 38)

earned an annual rent income of 10,000 for his properties. Also, a person who lived in *Eminönü* district of Istanbul collected rents from his vineyard, cucumber garden and cultivated fields in *Maltepe* village of *Kartal*. *Arif Bey Efendi* who served as a counsellor of military treasury in Istanbul had in *Maltepe* village some animals, an okra field, a vineyard, a cucumber garden and cultivated fields of which a certain part was exploited by himself and the rest was rented to others (Table IV.2.).



Table IV.1 : Information of Some *Çiftlik*s in Thrace Region

Name of <i>Çiftlik</i>	Register No.	Owners	<i>Dönüm</i> of land	Household / Servant	Animals
<i>Karatoprak</i>	5186	NI*	132 Cultivated 30-40 Uncultivated	11 Household	60-70 Ships in majority
<i>Çaltıçe</i>	6764	NI*	280 Cultivated 210 Uncultivated 1-2 Vineyard	35 Household	NI*
<i>Çeşmeli</i>	6761	<i>Mehmet Emin Ağa</i> <i>Çortulu İbrahim Ağa</i>	875 Cultivated 4126 Uncultivated	7 Servant	92 Animals
<i>Sekban</i>	6750	<i>Ağa Bin Han</i>	1350 Cultivated 3000 Uncultivated	32 Servant	144 Animals
<i>Umurca</i>	7673	<i>El-seyid Halil Ağa</i>	1000 Cultivated 500 Uncultivated	19 Servant	121 Animals
<i>Mihribez</i>	5167	<i>Seyit Ahmet Paşa</i>	NI*	NI*	NI*

Source: 1844 Ministry of Finance (*Temettuat* Registers) in Ottoman Documents; NI: No Information About This Item

Table IV.2. : Some Information's of *Çiftlik*s Located in *Büyük Çekmece* Region

Name of the Villages	Register No.	Owners	Number of Household
<i>İslam, Bucadar, Karaağaç, Muha, Ömerli and Çakmaklı</i>	6752	<i>Çiftlik</i> s Belong to <i>Miri</i> Land <i>Çiftlik</i> s Belong to <i>Sultan Beyazıt Vakfi</i>	Managed by 59 households
		<i>Çiftlik</i> s Belong to Private landowners who live and work in Istanbul	Managed by Majority of 120 households
			Rented

Source: 1844 Ministry of Finance, (*Temettuat Registers*) in Ottoman Documents

4.2.1.2. *Silivri Çiftlik*s in *Temettuat* Registers

When compared with the registers of other areas, *Silivri* region reflects some major differences in respect of both size and forms of the usufruct and ownership rights of the units of agricultural production. In the region, there was no piece of land processed by the peasantry under the classical *çift-hane* system. The whole region was divided among the local people and the members of merchants and military bureaucrat elite classes from Istanbul, in the form of large land ownership. In the registers, the *çiftlik* proprietors were recorded as *ashab-ı çiftlik*, which means the *çiftlik* owners. There is no such record in other registers studied by us.

We can legitimately consider the *çiftlik*s of *Silivri* as a geographical continuation of privately owned *çiftlik*s, covering large territories, engaged in commercial production, which exist widely in Istanbul, as we assume. On the other hand, the location of *çiftlik*s in the European side of Istanbul is within a corridor in which *Silivri* region is also included (Figure 2 and 3).

In a study conducted by us in the Land Register and Cadastral Survey Directorates of the concerned districts of Istanbul in order to determine the process of change of ownership of the Istanbul *çiftlik*s during the metropolitan expansion period of the city, the documents with regard to some *çiftlik*s situated within the corridor extending from the left side of the Golden Horn to the region around *Büyük Çekmece* Lake show that a number of these Istanbul *çiftlik*s resemble the *Silivri çiftlik*s in terms of size and forms of ownership.

These similarities seem very meaningful in respect of the large size of the whole territory on which the *çiftlik*s are located and of the fields of this territory and in respect of the fact that this territory belongs to an individual or to a family. *Çiftlik*s named *Ferhat Pasha*, *Cicoz*, *Tatarcık* and *Resneli* on which we have collected some data, have territories between 2000 and 7000 *dönüms*. In this context, the *Silivri çiftlik*s constitute a meaningful reference point in our study area.

In the register of *Silivri* in Thrace region, there is no *çiftlik* composed of *çift-hane* according to the records. In this register, there are 6 *çiftlik*s. The first two *çiftlik*s, namely *Büyük Çeltik Çiftliği* and *Küçük Çeltik Çiftliği* were owned by *Muhtar Bey* (as *ashab-ı çiftlik*) who was the local governor (*mutasarrıf*) of *Silivri*. The owner of another *çiftlik* which located in *Bosna* village recorded in this register was *El-Hac Abdullah Agha* (as *ashab-ı çiftlik*). The landowner of this *çiftlik* was also in the status of tenant (*müstacir*). Another *çiftlik* recorded in the same register was located in *Sarı* village and belonged to *İlyas Agha* (as *ashab-ı çiftlik*). Another *çiftlik*, *Kara Sinan Çiftliği*, was located in *Kara Sinan* village; belonged to *Mahmut Bey Efendi* (from *El-Hac Necip Paşazade* Family) and was rented to *İsmail Efendi*. The last *çiftlik* recorded in the *Silivri* register was in *Fethi* village and its possessor was *Şaban Bey* from Istanbul (Table IV.3).

We may derive the following result from the above findings : the big demand of the large Istanbul market for non-durable foods such as daily fresh vegetables, fruits and animal foods (e.g. milk, yoghurt, egg, meat, etc.) encouraged a part of urban population to buy lands near the city and earn from these lands by either personally working thereon or renting them to others. Therefore, we may assert that in the mid 19th century, in the peripheries of Istanbul, there were certain ownership rights over small scale lands which were similar neither to *çift-hanes* of *miri* land regime, nor to large-scale, privately owned *çiftlik*s. Moreover, these lands were exploited under a third form of usufruct rights, because the owners of these lands represented neither the little peasantry in its classical sense who worked on small units of agricultural production, nor the big farmers named as *çiftlik beyi* or military bureaucrat elite who owned private *çiftlik*s with large-scale agricultural production.

Table IV.3: Information of Some Çiftlik in Silivri Region

Name	Register No.	Owners	Dönüm of Land	Household / Servant	Animals
<i>Büyük ve Küçük Çeltik</i>	6224	<i>Muhtar Bey</i>	2020 Cultivated 3800 Uncultivated 1 Rented <i>Bostan</i>	82 Servant	544
<i>Ashab-ı Çiftlik</i>	6224	<i>El-Hac Abdulllah Ağa</i>	1200 Cultivated 2110 Uncultivated 2150 Rented(Cultivated)	67 Household	279
<i>Sarı Village</i>	6224	<i>İyas Ağa</i>	1200 Cultivated 3200 Uncultivated	30 Servant	126
<i>Kara Sinan</i>	6224	Hired <i>İsmail Efendi</i> From <i>Mahmut Beyefendi</i>	1250 Cultivated 2000 Uncultivated	40 Servant	132
<i>Fethi Village</i>	6224	<i>Şaban Bey</i>	2300 Cultivated 3000 Uncultivated	NI*	NI*

Source: 1844 Ministry of Finance, (*Temettuat Registers*) in Ottoman Documents; NI: No Information About This Item

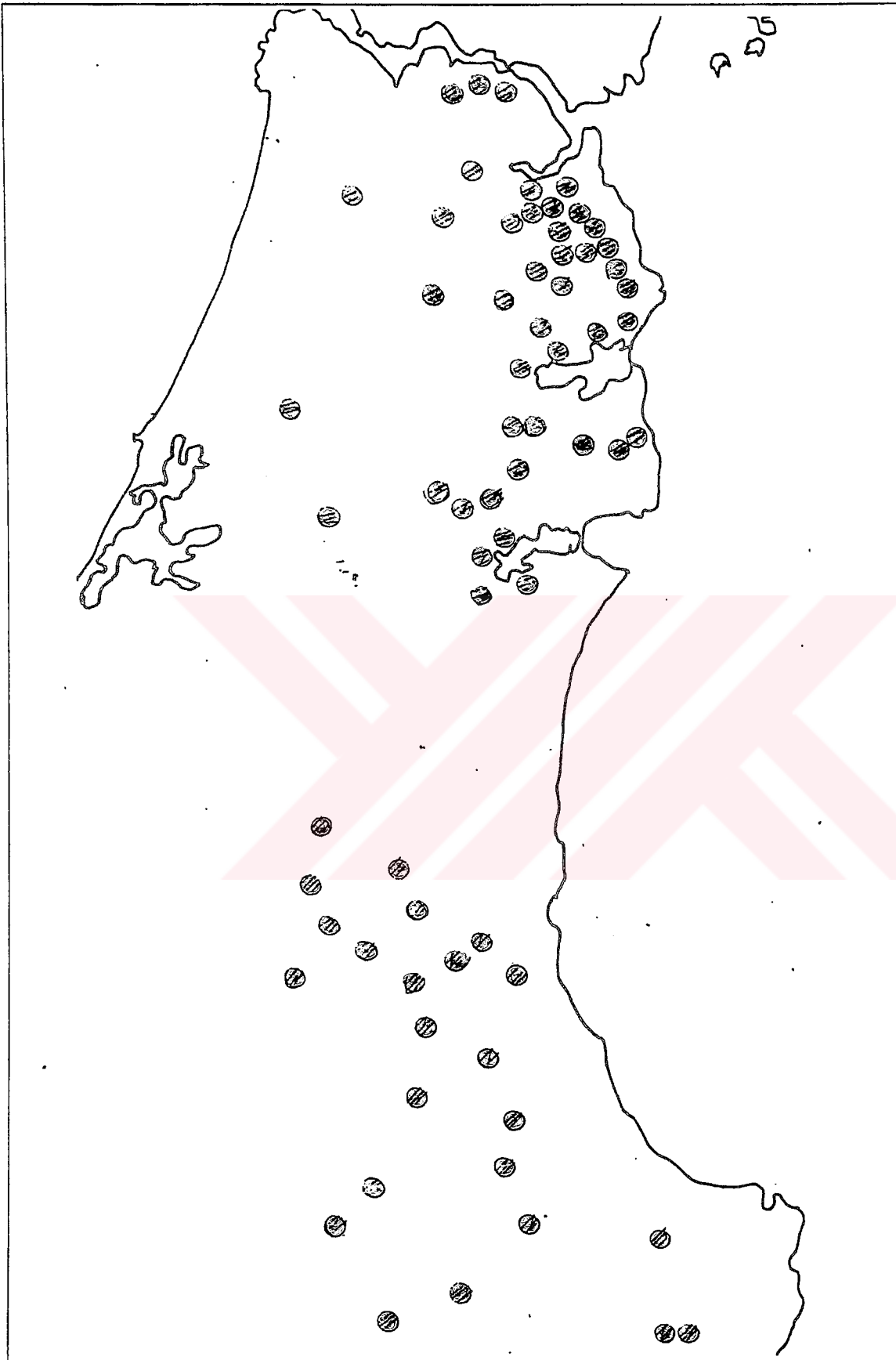


Figure 3: Location of Large Çiftlik in Thrace Region

4.2.2. Ownership and Location Patterns of Istanbul's *Çiftlik*s

Though the *Temettuat* Registers do not contain any direct data, the data included in these logs about the *çiftlik*s in the neighbouring regions of Istanbul give us a reference for the Istanbul *çiftlik*s. Such references verify and support the data in the archive files of the Area Land Registry and Cadastral Survey Directorate and the town land registers and Cadastral Survey Directorates with respect to the ownership and location patterns of the Istanbul *çiftlik*s. From the land register logs, we may have access to information about the ownership change process and size of the Istanbul *çiftlik*s. These logs reveal that the Istanbul *çiftlik*s were recorded and registered in two forms generally. These forms were *çiftlik*s belonging to *vakıf*s and privately owned *çiftlik*s.

4.2.2.1. *Çiftlik*s Belonging to *Vakıf*s

The land registers of the *vakıf*s contain records about a great number of *çiftlik*s. Among these *vakıf*s, the *Sultan Beyazıt Vakfıyesi* owning many *çiftlik*s in Istanbul plays an important role. The *çiftlik*s owned by this foundation are recorded in 160 separate register books. Some of the these *çiftlik*s are *Levend Çiftliği*, *Balmumcu Çiftliği*, *Cihanoğlu Çiftliği*, *Anarşa Çiftliği*, *Sultan Çiftliği*, *Salih Efendi Çiftliği*, *Pirinççi Çiftliği*, *Katip Çiftliği*, *İncirli Çiftliği*, *Siyavuşpaşa Çiftliği*, *Mustafa Efendi Çiftliği*, *Şerifpaşa Çiftliği*, *Derviş Mehmet Ağa Çiftliği*, *Şanlızade Çiftliği*, *Hasanpaşa Çiftliği*, *Karaağaç Çiftliği*, *Akpınar Çiftliği*, *Haraççı Çiftliği*, *Viran Çiftliği*, *Kaşıkçı Çiftliği*, *Filibelizade Çiftliği*, *Ayanama Çiftliği*, *Kanarya Çiftliği*, *Mehmet Emin Ağa Çiftliği*, *Küçük Halkalı Çiftliği*, *Murtaza Çiftliği*, *Kadı Yakuplu Çiftliği*, *Pendaniçe Çiftliği*, *Filiboz Çiftliği*, *Karaahmetli Çiftliği*, *Taşagıt Çiftliği*, *Bojdar Çiftliği* and *Kızullar Çiftliği* (Figure 4).

As mentioned earlier, upon the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, the *miri* lands, *hassa çiftlik*s and private lands of *Sultans* in the Ottoman land regime have been transferred to the Treasury of Turkey Republic, and the *çiftlik*s owned by

Sultan *vakıfs* have been taken under control of the General Directorate of *Vakıfs* and have thus been transformed into state-owned land status, and have on one hand been used as a source for the national policies such as land allocation and urban land production, and have on the other hand been areas of settlement by way of squatting housing processes in the metropolitan expansion of the cities.

At the mid 19th century, there were a great number of lands and *çiflik*s owned by *Sultan Beyazıt Vakfı* in central and peripheral areas of Istanbul. As they constitute a good example of the mechanisms of improvement of vast lands in line with the land demands emerging in the process of metropolitan expansion of Istanbul, we deem it useful to give a brief overview of some *çiflik*s owned by *Sultan Beyazıt Vakfı*

4.2.2.1.1. A Brief Overview on *Levend*, *Balmumcu* and Other *Çiflik*s Owned by *Sultan Beyazıt Vakfı*:

Levend Çifliği, one of the *çiflik*s owned by *Sultan Beyazıt Vakfı*, was located on an area of about 4000 *dönüms*, bordering *Kağthane* village on its left side, and bordering *Ayazağa* and *Arnavutköy* villages on the other sides . *Balmumcu Çifliği* was located on an area of 4100 *dönüms* and 6 islands of fields from the top side of *Ortaköy* stream to *Beşiktaş Yıldız* Garden and *Zincirlikuyu* (Figure 2; Table IV.4).

Fields and lands of *Levend* and *Balmumcu çiflik*s have been transformed to urban lands after the last quarter of the 19th century, as they were along the expansion route of the city and as agricultural production was falling. The ownership and usufruct status of these *çiflik*s clearly indicates a new structure emerging as from the 19th century. Though they were owned by *Sultan Beyazıt Vakfı*, the usufruct, sale, transfer and waiver rights thereon belonged to individuals. These individuals were mostly from military bureaucrat elite and members of dynastic family.

Table: IV.4. Some Information on *Levent* and *Balmumcu Çiftliks*

Name / Doc.No	General Characteristics	Transferring Process in the Tenure of Tenant
<p>Levent Çiftliği</p> <p>Reg.No:441 Vol. 87/1 P: 162</p>	<p><u>Total Area: 4000 dönüm</u></p> <p>Cultivated fields: 800 acre (12 kıta)* Uncultivated lands: 3000 acre Orchard: 20 acre Vegetable garden: 18 acre Vineyard : 7 acre</p>	<p><i>Mustafa Pasha</i> In 1769 transferred as a waiver (<i>feragat</i>) ↓</p> <p><i>Hasan Bin Yusuf</i> In 1776 transferred as a waiver (<i>feragat</i>) ↓</p> <p><i>Kaptanı Derya Gazi Hasan Pasha</i> In 1920's transferred ↓</p> <p>General Dir. of Pious Endowment (<i>Vakıflar genel Müdürlüğü</i>)</p>
<p>Balmumcu Çiftliği</p> <p>Reg.No:441 Vol. 96 P: 1-red</p>	<p><u>Total Area: 4100 dönüm</u></p> <p>Cultivated fields : 6 kıta (400 acre) Uncultivated lands : 3000 acre Vineyard : 1 kıta Vegetable garden: 1 kıta Flower garden : 1 kıta Fruit garden (mulberry): 1 kıta</p> <p><i>Çiftlik</i> includes : Two rooms, a toilet, a mill, a furnace, a warehouse, three gardener huts, two shepherd sheds, and a straw rick</p>	<p><i>Ahmet Fethi Pasha</i> In 1849 transferred as a waiver (<i>feragat</i>) ↓</p> <p><i>Sultan Abdülhamit</i> In 1920's transferred ↓</p> <p>General Dir.of Pious Endowment (<i>Vakıflar genel Müdürlüğü</i>)</p>

Source: Istanbul Land Registry and Cadastral Survey Regional Directorate Archives ; Title Deeds Registers (*Temessük Kayıt*) ; *(1 kıta : 66-70 dönüm of land)

Not only the *çiftlik*s inside Istanbul, such as *Levend* and *Balmumcu*, but also some other *çiftlik*s located in the peripheries of Istanbul of the 19th century and owned by *Sultan Beyazıt* Foundation were held in the same status. The records of these *çiftlik*s are included in the logs 121 and 122 of *Sultan Beyazıt* Foundation. The below listed *çiftlik*s are meaningful examples :

Subaşı çiftliği in Silivri : Consisted of 4176 *dönüms* of fields and lands and was entrusted with *Fatma*, daughter of *Selim Giray Sultan*.

Gökçeli Çiftliği : Consisted of 2660 *dönüms* of fields, 5 islands of meadows producing grass of 50 carts, and 30 *dönüms* of vegetable gardens, and was entrusted with *İsmail Pasha*, son-in-law of *Selim Giray Sultan*.

Halkalı Çiftliği : Consisted of 1220 *dönüms* of fields and 30 *dönüms* of vegetable gardens, and was entrusted with *Fatma Sultan*, daughter of *Selim Giray*.

Haraççı Çiftliği : Consisted of 16024 *dönüms* of fields and 30 *dönüms* of vegetable gardens, and was entrusted with *Fatma Sultan* in 1839.

Viran Çiftlik : Consisted of 528 *dönüms* of fields, was entrusted with *Yorgi* and sold to *Yorgaki Zimni* in 1850.

Büyük Çekmece Anarsa Çiftliği : Consisted of 2800 *dönüms* of fields and 10 *dönüms* of meadows, and was sold by *Dilbezer Hanım* from the dynastic family to *Mehmet Esat Pasha* in 1844, and by *Mehmet Esat Pasha* to *Mustafa Resit Pasha* in 1847.

Parakçı Çiftliği : Consisted of 4820 *dönüms* of fields and a mill, and was sold by *Dilbezer Hanım* to *Mehmet Esat Pasha* in 1844 and by *Mehmet Esat Pasha* to *Mustafa Reşit Pasha* in 1847.

Almost all of these *çiftlik*s were located in a corridor from the outskirts of the city walls and the left side of the Golden Horn, i.e. periphery of Istanbul in the 19th

century, to *Silivri*. From the second half of the 19th century, their ownership has changed. *Çiftliks* were transferred by way of sale. Transfer of these *çiftliks*, owned by *vakıfs* way of sale indicates that the *vakıf* ownership did not physically prevent the change of ownership by way of sale (Figure 3).

4.2.2.1.2. A Discussion on *Çiftliks* Belonging *Sultan Beyazıt Vakfı*

As will be widely discussed in the following sections, the large *çiftlik* lands in Istanbul and her peripheries and their transformation mechanisms were one of the contingent mechanisms in the formation of Istanbul metropolitan area. The ownership, usufruct and transfer status of the *çiftliks* owned by *vakıfs* constitutes another face of this unique structure. As mentioned by Barkan, while the types of ownership based on the Islamic Law did not lead to the same land ownership and land use regime in all Moslem countries (Barkan, 1942, 298), the regime was applied in different types within a country administered with the same land ownership and land use regime.

According to the Islamic law, in all Moslem countries, all lands are devoted to a *vakıf* or only once in the name and to the benefit of the whole Islamic community, and their status cannot ever be changed and transformed into private properties, and all lands are in fact owned and held by the *emir* (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad). It is clearly concluded in all studies that this basic rule of the Islamic law has never been fully abided by in the Ottoman land regime (Ibid., 298). In spite of this mandatory rule of the Islamic law, the *vakıf* ownership functions as private ownership in the Ottoman Istanbul. It is obviously depicted from the registers that especially after the mid 18th century the *vakıf* lands surrounding Istanbul have been sold, assigned or donated to individuals like treasury properties (Title Deed Registers, Istanbul Land Registry and Cadastral Survey Regional Directorate Archives).

It is understood from both the status of the *çiftliks* owned by *vakıfs*, and the existence of a great number of privately owned *çiftliks* as will be discussed in the following

sections hereof, that the lands surrounding Istanbul were not exploited under the classical *miri* land regime, and many *çiftlik*s with large lands and fields were exploited, bought and sold in the status of privately owned properties.

The registers indicate that the *çiftlik*s of *vakıf*s were possessed generally by military bureaucrat elite and members of the dynastic family and were transferred among themselves by way of sale, waiver, etc. However, as from the second half of the 19th century, the food requirements of Istanbul have increased as a result of the migrations after the Crimean war and her being an intermediary city in the world trade, and the increasing food demand has caused revival of the *çiftlik*s in the peripheries of Istanbul after a period of extremely low agricultural production.

In this period, the *çiftlik*s possessed by the military bureaucrat elite and members of the dynastic family have again entered into a process of change of ownership. The members of the old *tımar* families who have sold their vast *çiftlik* lands in the Balkans and moved to Istanbul as a result of the independence revolts in the Balkans have purchased the *çiftlik*s in the peripheries of Istanbul. Particularly in the late 19th century, there were many *çiftlik*s for sale in the peripheries of Istanbul. Though we do not know how many of them were owned by *vakıf*s and how many were privately owned, we know that the Ottoman palace has sold some of the *çiftlik*s belonging to *vakıf*s in order to overcome its deep financial crisis.

Upon dissolution of the Empire and reclamation of the Republic of Turkey, the ownership rights of the privately owned *vakıf*s in Istanbul and her peripheries have been maintained, but the *çiftlik*s owned by the sultan *vakıf*s and used by the members of the dynastic family or the military bureaucrat elite have been transferred to the National Treasury of the Republic of Turkey. The status of ownership rights has been rather complex from the dissolution of the Empire to the Second World War, and therefore, the process of change of ownership has slowed down in the large lands in Istanbul and her peripheries. The lands and *çiftlik*s owned by *vakıf*s have again gained importance and their ownership and land use have again entered into a

transformation process slowly during the Second World War and the process has speeded up after the war until today.

4.2.2.2. Privately Owned *Çiftlik*s and Three Case Studies in Late 19th Century

In addition to the *çiftlik*s of *vakıfs*, there were many privately owned *çiftlik*s in Istanbul in the 19th century. These *çiftlik*s were located homogeneously on the Anatolian side of Istanbul, but within a corridor on the European side (Map 2). The corridor beginning immediately at the end of the city walls covered *Büyük Çekmece* and *Küçük Çekmece* Lakes and extended to *Silivri*. Within this corridor, several *çiftlik*s of different sizes were located in the 19th century (Figure 3). The size, establishment, form of change of ownership and property regime of some of these *çiftlik*s may illuminate the spatial structure of Istanbul and the dynamics of the ongoing change of this structure.

This corridor lies to *Silivri* and the *çiftlik*s located within this corridor seem as a continuance of the *Silivri çiftlik*s mentioned here above. We have told that almost all of the *Silivri çiftlik*s recorded in the *Temettuat* Registers were privately owned *çiftlik*s with vast lands. It is further verified by the archives of the Land Registry and Cadastral Survey Directorates and the heirs of some *çiftlik*s that most of the *çiftlik*s covered by this corridor were directly in the status of private property. The land demand emerging in the process of formation of the Istanbul metropolitan area has triggered the transformation of these *çiftlik*s. Understanding the mechanisms of this transformation is a part of our efforts to clarify the structural patterns of the fringe of the city. For this purpose, first of all, we have to discuss the place of the privately owned *çiftlik*s in Istanbul of the 19th century and the structure of these *çiftlik*s.

The privately owned *çiftlik*s which we have studied in the Archives of the Land Registry and Cadastral Survey Directorates departing from the map of Goltz Pasha drawn at the end of the 19th century were mostly located in the aforementioned corridor. Origin of the private ownership rights associated to these *çiftlik*s was any one of donation, assignment, gift, or sale by a *kadı* certificate.

The *çiftlik*s owned by *hazine-i hassa*, i.e. the treasury of Ottoman Sultans, were nationalised and transferred to the National Treasury of the Republic of Turkey upon abolishment of the Ottoman Empire (Caliphate) and abandonment of the members of the dynastic family. Thus, not only the *miri* lands of the Ottoman Empire, but also the Sultanate properties of *Hazine-i Hassa* have been transferred to the National Treasury of the Republic of Turkey.³³ A portion of these lands and *miri* lands were devolved on an administration named *Milli Emlak* (National Properties) and organised in order to ensure planned development of cities and produce lands in response to the demands. Some of the privately owned *çiftlik*s shown in the Istanbul maps of the 19th century have thus been transformed into state-owned lands and devolved on *Milli Emlak* (Table IV.5).

The private ownership status of the *çiftlik*s in the peripheries of Istanbul in the last quarter of the 19th century, also including the private properties of the Ottoman Sultans, is very obvious and the mechanisms of the change of ownership of these properties have played a determinant role on the metropolitan expansion of the city in the future. The role played by this ownership regime on the leaping metropolitan expansion of the city will be dealt with in more details in the following sections of our study.

In this frame, the privately owned *çiftlik*s located in the aforementioned corridor in the 19th century may be classified in three main categories :

First category : The *çiftlik*s in this category were located in a circle from the left side of the Golden Horn, outskirts of Istanbul of the 19th century, i.e. immediately after the city walls. This circle covers *Rami*, *Gaziosmanpaşa*, *Esenler*, *Bagcılar*, *Güngören*, *İncirli*, *Haznedar* and *Zeytinburnu* districts included in the Istanbul metropolitan area today. Many small or large *çiftlik*s which supplied food to

³³ The members of the dynastic family had to leave the country in a very short period of time. Therefore, only a very limited number of their private property lands could be sold (Bardakçı, M., 1991, 121). The inheritors of the Ottoman family (Osmanoğulları) have entered into a struggle in the following years in order to get back those privately owned lands from the Republic of Turkey and from natural persons to whom they had entrusted their lands by production and they brought many suits against them (Bid, 121-169).

Istanbul in the 19th century were included in this area (Figure 2A). The distances of these *çiftlik*s covered by this circle to the walls of Istanbul are in harmony with the site selection theory of von Thünen. The *çiftlik*s within this circle were located parallel to the city walls until the start of a linear expansion process of the city by means of highways.

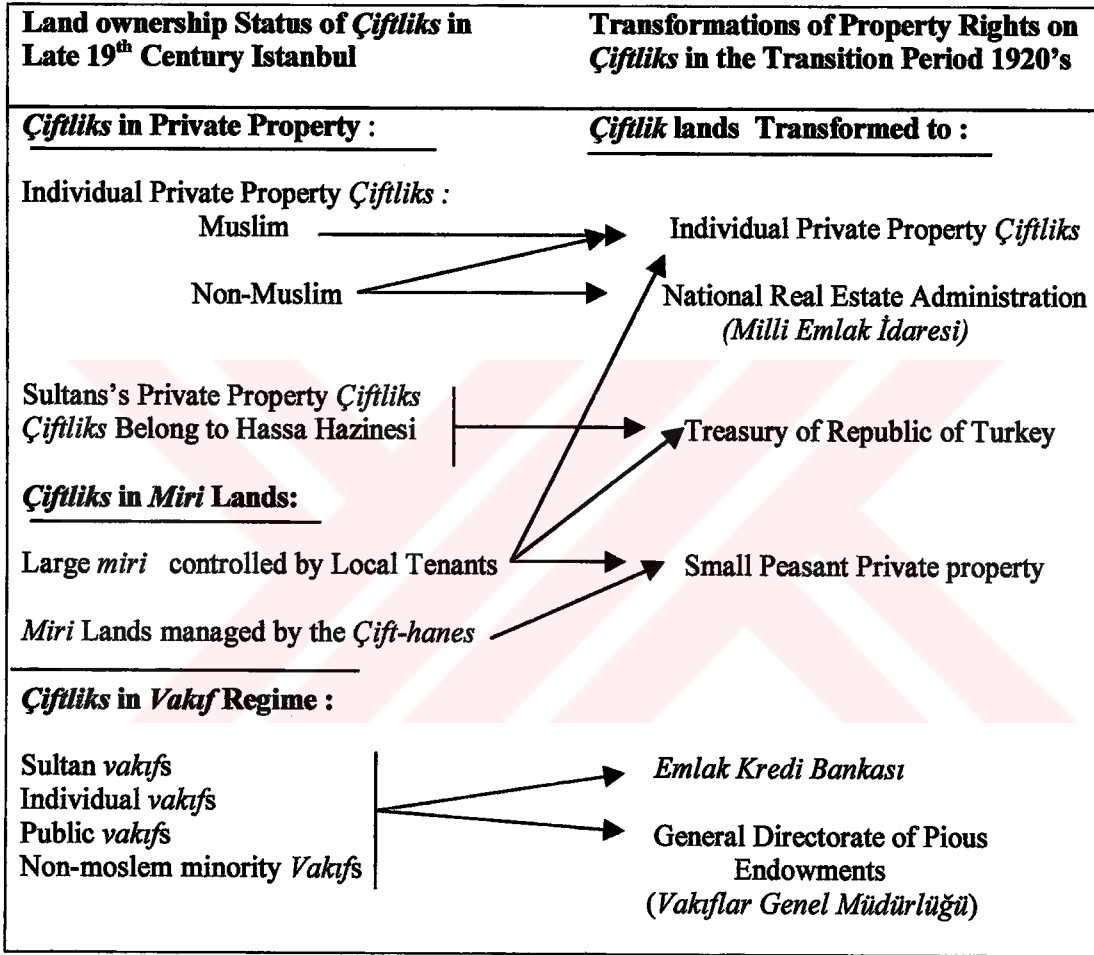
Until the start of the metropolitan expansion process of the city, distances of these *çiftlik*s to the city walls were close to each other (Figure 2A). However, as the northern parts of the city were covered by forests and military zones, and as the level lands allowing settlement and the types of ownership allowing sub-division of lands were mainly in the southern corridor of the city, the metropolitan expansion has first started along the southern corridor, and therefore, while some of the *çiftlik*s covered by this first circle have been used to satisfy the land demands during the initial stages of the metropolitan expansion, some *çiftlik*s have remained intact.

As will be discussed in more details in the following sections, the *çiftlik*s of this first category which were located at almost equal distance and parallel to the city walls have been opened to settlement at different stages because the gradual metropolitan expansion of the city has realised linear, not parallel.

Large *çiftlik*s which were included in this category and which supplied daily vegetables, fruits and animal foods to Istanbul until the first half of the 20th century are *Ferhatpaşa, Cicoz, Çiftburgaz, Viran, Yeni, Haznedar and İncirli çiftlik*s. Their area varied from 4000 to 5000 *dönüms*. Owners of some of these *çiftlik*s have expanded their *çiftlik*s by purchasing the *çiftlik* lands which were abandoned as a result of the population movements during the Balkan wars. The determining factor of the agricultural activities in these *çiftlik*s, some of which were extending up to 7000 *dönüms*, was the food demand of the city. Therefore, there were wide vegetable gardens, and big water wells and irrigation channels built for irrigating the vegetable gardens, in these *çiftlik*s. Furthermore, cattle and sheep were fattened in these *çiftlik*s for satisfying the animal food needs of the city. Other relatively small *çiftlik*s in the same area were *Güngören, Soğanlı, Çavuşbaşı, Siyavuşpaşa, Ayazma,*

Güneşli, Papazköy and Uğurlu çiftliks. These *çiftliks* are examples of the private ownership and land use regime on the lands in the corridors extending to and including *Silivri*.

Table IV.5: Transformation of Land Ownership Status on *Çiftlik* Lands Within the Transition Period in 1920's



Second category :

The *çiftlik*s in this category were located on the right and left coasts of *Küçük Çekmece* Lake, along the First Bosphorous Bridge Highway (E5 highway). Although the distance of the *çiftlik*s in this category to the city were more than the *çiftlik*s in the first category, the *çiftlik*s in this category have been opened to settlement before some *çiftlik*s in the first category. The reason is the Bosphorous Bridge and its highways which created a new time-distance matrix in the city and generated a new corridor at the north of the city in 1970s. The *çiftlik* lands on the northern part of the circle covering the *çiftlik*s in the first category have been exposed to the development pressure only after the planning stage of the Second Bosphorous Bridge Highways (E7 highways) and the access roads thereof, i.e. at the third stage of the metropolitan expansion of the city.

In the process of the settlement on the lands of *çiftlik*s located at the north of the corridor covering the *Küçük Çekmece* and *Büyük Çekmece* Lakes, their distance to the Second Bosphorous Bridge Highways and access roads, rather than their distance to the city, has been the determining factor. The reason of this was the adaptation of city form to the new time-distance matrix of the city (Tekeli, 1992).

Had Istanbul been a city expanding with parallel circles around a centre, all of the *çiftlik*s in the first circle would be opened to settlement at the first stage of the metropolitan expansion of the city. However, since the lands of metropolitan expansion of Istanbul were effective on the development dynamics of the city, the city has expanded not in circles, but in linear and leaping steps leaving gaps in between. In line with this trend, the metropolitan expansion has realised on the lands transformed into urban lands along the E5 highway under the determining effects of their distance to said highway, geographical characteristics and types of ownership. As a result, some *çiftlik*s located along the E5 highway have been transformed into urban lands before the *çiftlik*s located at the north of this corridor.

Some of the *çiftlik*s included in the second category are *Ayastafanos, Eloria, Soğuksu, Firuzköy, Kapanarya and Saadetdere (Küçükboşan) çiftlik*s. Some *çiftlik*s included in the same area, but remained intact for some time during the metropolitan expansion of the city due to their long distance to the E5 highway have been opened to settlement and the gaps have been filled in upon construction of access roads between the first highway (E5) and the second highway (E7) passing on the north of the corridor (Figure 2B).

Third category : The *çiftlik*s of this category were located in an area at the north of the aforementioned corridor, which was opened to settlement upon construction of the second highway (E7-TEM). Upon planning and construction of this highway, the city access time, rather than the physical distance to the city, has been the determining factor on the pressure of development. As mentioned earlier, the *çiftlik*s covered by the first circle starting immediately from the city walls in the 19th century have been opened to settlement at the beginning of the metropolitan expansion process of the city.

However, in that period, since the railways and highways passed on the south of the corridor, the *çiftlik*s located on the northern part of the same circle have not been exposed to a substantial development pressure and have not been transformed into urban lands. However, the agricultural production on the vast lands of these *çiftlik*s have lost their value and profitability of the 19th century, because vegetables and animal products brought from Anatolia at a lower cost due to the new roads and technological developments satisfied the food demand of Istanbul.

Therefore, while the *çiftlik* lands on the southern part of the corridor were transformed into urban lands and shifted from agricultural to urban income sources in line with the metropolitan expansion of the city, the lands on the northern part of the corridor remained as vast and vacant fields with no active or intensive agricultural production thereon. As will be dealt with in the following section of the study, the factor triggering the transformation of these lands was the planning of the

Second Bosphorous Bridge and the direction and routes of the highways associated to the Bridge.

The *çiftlik*s included in this category were situated on an area starting from the left side/north coast of the Golden Horn, passing along the north coast of *Küçük Çekmece* Lake, and extending to *Büyük Çekmece* Lake and *Silivri* (Figure 3). Some *çiftlik*s of the first category were also included in this third category, because some portions of them have entered into transformation process as from the first stage of the metropolitan expansion, while some other portions of them have remained intact until the second highway and have not been exposed to any development pressure from the end of 1800s until 1980s. Therefore, it will be meaningful to include *Ferhat Pasha*, *Cicoz*, *Çiftburgaz*, *Uğurlu*, *Küçük Halkalı*, *Kaynarca Menekşe*, *Yarımburgaz*, *Tahtakale*, *Ispartakule*, *Kataronya (Resneli)*, *Cemal Bey*, *Tatarcık*, *Dereköy*, *Kapadık*, *Ekşinoz*, *Turan*, *Akçaburgaz*, *Sırtköy* and *Kurşan çiftlik*s in this category (Figure 2C).

The land registers of some *çiftlik*s in this category and an interview with the inheritors of one of these *çiftlik*s verify that there was an active land market and the private ownership was dominant in the market in Istanbul at the end of the 19th century. We may have an idea about the sizes, functions and ownership status of the *çiftlik*s in this area from the end of 19th century to the end of the first half of the 20th century by discussing about three *çiftlik*s in this category as examples. These *çiftlik*s are *Ferhatpaşa*, *Tatarcık* and *Resneli(Kataronya)*.

In the late 19th century, transfer of ownership rights by way of sale was a common practice, as in the case of these *çiftlik*s. This fact is confirmed also by existence of many *çiftlik*s offered for sale in the peripheries of Istanbul. Therefore, it is quiet rational to assert that the privately owned *çiftlik*s with large territories were widely present in the peripheries of Istanbul, under the legal regime formed by the 1858 Ottoman Land Code. Moreover, we may argue that the *çiftlik*s could be legally sold and bought. The facts that there were also other families who sold their *çiftlik*s in the Balkans, immigrated to Istanbul and bought large *çiftlik*s in the peripheries of

Istanbul, and that the family of *İbrahim Bey* (owner of the *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği*) got into relations with their neighbours and acted with solidarity with those families are stated during our interviews in an effort to clarify the oral history of the family.



4.2.2.2.1. *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği*

We could not find the *Temettuat* registers of these *çiftlik*s among the archive files. That is why we tried to understand the formation and ongoing transformation process of the *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği* through deep interviews with the inheritors of the *Çiftlik*, from the documents and certificates held by the inheritors, and from information collected from the archives of the Land Register and Cadastral Survey Directorate. We have conducted deep interviews with the youngest of five daughters of *İbrahim Bey* who has bought the *Çiftlik* in 1899, i.e. *Nesibe Battıyok*, born in 1909, and with the son of second daughter of *İbrahim Bey*, namely *İbrahim Kıray*. During these interviews, we caught some clues also about other big *çiftlik*s in the area and were able to make some generalisations about the *çiftlik*s of Istanbul.

Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği was situated in an area just out of the city walls; covered some parts of *Bayrampasa* and *Esenler* Districts, *Bayrampasa* Prison, the central bus station of the European side of Istanbul, the main market-places of dry and fresh food suppliers, the garages and main connections of the fast train, the main access road of two highways, and had an area of approximately 7000 *dönüms* (Figure 6). According to the art historians, the materials and handicrafts used in the large pools of the *çiftlik* reveal that the *çiftlik* was a settlement of at least 700 years, but the written sources we could find about the *çiftlik* go back only until the late 16th century.

Until the mid 16th century, the *çiftlik* belonged to *Ferhat Pasha*³⁴. After the death of *Ferhat Pasha* who had no heirs, his *çiftlik* was seized and confiscated by the State

³⁴ *Ferhat Pasha* was one of the two important ministers of that period. The *Çiftlik* was named after its owner, *Ferhat Pasha*. *Sinan Pasha* who was another important officer of the same period and the main rival of *Ferhat Pasha* also had large lands in the same region. There were some deep conflicts on the state politics between *Ferhat Pasha* and *Sinan Pasha*, and there were some rumours about *Ferhat Pasha* to help his relatives in illegal acquisition of some lands. *Hoca Sadrettin Efendi* wrote a letter to commander *Saturcu Mehmet Pasha* in 1598 and reported some problems of the Ottoman Empire. He wrote, *Vezirs* (ministers) and *serdars* (commanders) are illegally supporting their relatives to acquire lands. As all of us know, the relatives of *Ferhat Pasha* have acquired many properties, lands and thousands of golden money by this way". (Naima's History, 1967, 169-236). As a result, the Sultan issued an order for murder of *Ferhat Pasha*, by taking a *fetva* (opinion on legal matters) of to get his life is canonically lawful, but to get his properties is canonically unlawful (*Canı helal, malı haramdır*) from the *Seyhülislam* (minister of religious matters). But *Ferhat Pasha* resisted

and devolved on the Treasury. In the second half of the 19th century, the çiftlik was transferred by *Sultan Abdülhamit* to his daughter *Ayşe Sultan* as a gift of marriage.³⁵

The *Çiftlik* was acquired by the family of the inheritors of today in 1899. The change of ownership is very meaningful, because it confirms the assumptions about the presence of an active land market and the prevalence of private properties in Istanbul at the end of the 19th century. In 1899, *İbrahim Bey* from Larissa (*Yenişehir*) in Mora Peninsula bought the *Çiftlik* from *Ayşe Sultan* with the title deeds of land and water resources on the land, which indicate the status of private property. *İbrahim Bey* was running several large *çiftlik*s in Larissa which accommodated a great number of animals and fields.³⁶ (Figure 6A).

When nationalistic independence revolts in the Balkans became a threat for the property and life of the family by the late 19th century, *İbrahim Bey* sold his two *çiftlik*s there and moved to Istanbul. In order to find a land to buy, he visited six different *çiftlik*s with the size and properties he looked for, near Istanbul. Among them, he chose the *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği* with an area of about 5000 *dönüms*, which was one of the nine *çiftlik*s close to and supplying food to Istanbul. The inheritors do not have any document proves the exact price of the *çiftlik*. But it is speculated in the oral history of the family that the *çiftlik*'s price was 30,000 golden money.³⁷

In the period of *İbrahim Bey*, there were 400 *dönüms* of vegetable gardens in the *çiftlik*, and they were producing vegetables and fruits for Istanbul. Moreover, the

against this order by closing himself to his *Çiftlik* under the protection of his own soldiers. There is a cemetery in the *Çiftlik* for the soldiers of *Ferhat Pasha* who have died in the fights with the soldiers of the Sultan. Though he was protected by his own soldiers, one day *Ferhat Pasha* was caught and killed out of his *Çiftlik* (Encyclopaedia of Istanbul, volume 3, page 292).

³⁵ This gift verifies our findings in the Ottoman Archive Files and *Cevdet Pasha* Palace Classifications that many *çiftlik*s belonged to the women from the Dysentery family. Gifting the *çiftlik*s to the women from the Dynastic family and changing the status to privately owned lands seems to be the most popular way of gifting in the second half of the 19th century.

³⁶ *İbrahim Bey* comes from the family of *Turan Bey* who was renowned as the conqueror of Mora Peninsula during the reign of *Mehmet* the Second, owned a *tımar* and collected tax from the Balkan Peninsula.

³⁷ It is possible to find accurate price of the *çiftlik* only if we have information about land prices in that period. As we do not have such studies, we are to be content with the oral history of the family for the time being

çiftlik had sheep folds and particularly, animal products (such as milk, yoghurt, cheese and butter) were produced in commercial scale. There were houses built for the people working in the *çiftlik* as permanent share-croppers. Besides, seasonal workers were employed too.³⁸

By buying new fields, *İbrahim Bey* extended the *çiftlik* from 5000 *dönüms* in 1899, the year he has bought, to 7000 *dönüms* in 1920, the year he died. During these years, *İbrahim Bey* served in an organisation named *Tefyiz Komisyonu* (Immigrants Commission). This commission was in charge of settling the Moslem immigrants from the Balkans to the *çiftlik*s abandoned by the Greeks.³⁹ The *çiftlik* proprietors, including *İbrahim Bey* himself, were employing some of the Moslem immigrants in their *çiftlik*s as share-croppers.

The war and the political mobility in the Balkans led in one way to a flow of population from the Balkans to the peripheries of Istanbul and in the other way to the discharge of the Greeks living there. Therefore, during the entire late 19th century and early 20th century, the lands in the peripheries of Istanbul were in a process of change of ownership and as a result, the Balkan immigrants who were farmers there became the owners of the *çiftlik*s near Istanbul. It is meaningful to mention about a process of fast change of ownership on the lands, rather than a struggle, in those years.

Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği extended its territory until 1920 under the management of *İbrahim Bey*. The First World War, occupation of Istanbul and the Turkish Independence War didn't effect the *çiftlik*. After death of *İbrahim Bey* in 1920, the *çiftlik* is continued to be managed by the family for some years, under the management of its steward *Lala İbrahim Agha* who had come from *Yenişehir* to

³⁸ Seasonal workers were mostly gypsies coming from the Balkans at harvest time and they lived in tents in the *çiftlik*.

³⁹ How this commission utilised the lands abandoned as a result of Greek migrations and on which legal basis the commission allocated these lands to Moslem population are two important questions to be studied. This may represent an original example for the mechanisms of change of ownership rights. It is an important topic because it coincides with the period of extension of the *çiftlik*s by their proprietors

Istanbul with the family. Upon death of *Lala İbrahim Agha*, the wife and daughters of *İbrahim Bey* hired the *çiftlik* completely first to the *Bakarköy Müftüsü* (official expounder of Islamic Law), then to a Bulgarian farmer named *Kozma* and later in 1930, to *Sakir Süter* against an annual rent of TL 2500. Until the Second World War, no change occurred in the spatial or legal status of the *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği*.

During the years of war, the main buildings and lands of the *çiftlik* were used by the soldiers as headquarters and all of the *çiftlik* properties were damaged. But the main effect of the Second World War on both the *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği* and other *çiftlik*s within the aforementioned corridor was the start of the second process of fast change of ownership.

On this topic, the information collected from the Land Registry and Cadastral Survey Directorates and the data given by the inheritors of the *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği* verify each other. Accordingly, many *çiftlik*s have been sold during this period because of the fear of German occupation. Those who sold their *çiftlik*s bought lands and estates in the Asian side of the city as it was seen as safer. Majority of the owners who sold their *çiftlik*s preferred to buy lands and estates on the Anatolian coast instead of purchasing new *çiftlik*s there, because they forecasted that the price of those lands and estates would increase by expansion of the city. It is told that the land prices have decreased within the above mentioned geographical corridor and people bought large lands here at low prices.

The documents in *Küçük Çekmece* Land Registry and Cadastral Survey Directorate manifest that a family named *Eskinozlugil* has in this period bought a number of *çiftlik*s in this region and sold a portion of these lands to big mass housing co-operatives which became widespread in 1980s. After a fast process of change of ownership in the 19th century, the *çiftlik*s once more entered into a fast process of change of ownership in 1940s.

The fact that the German troops have come very close to the borders of the European coast of Istanbul was the main reason of the change of ownership of the *çiftlik*s, but

this process made much more important effects on the future of the city. As a consequence, the process of transformation of the area in the peripheries of the city from agricultural to urban lands started. People realised that the urban land rents were higher than the agricultural income and that the city would expand over the agricultural lands too. This phenomenon led to the start of a new process of struggle for ownership rights on lands.



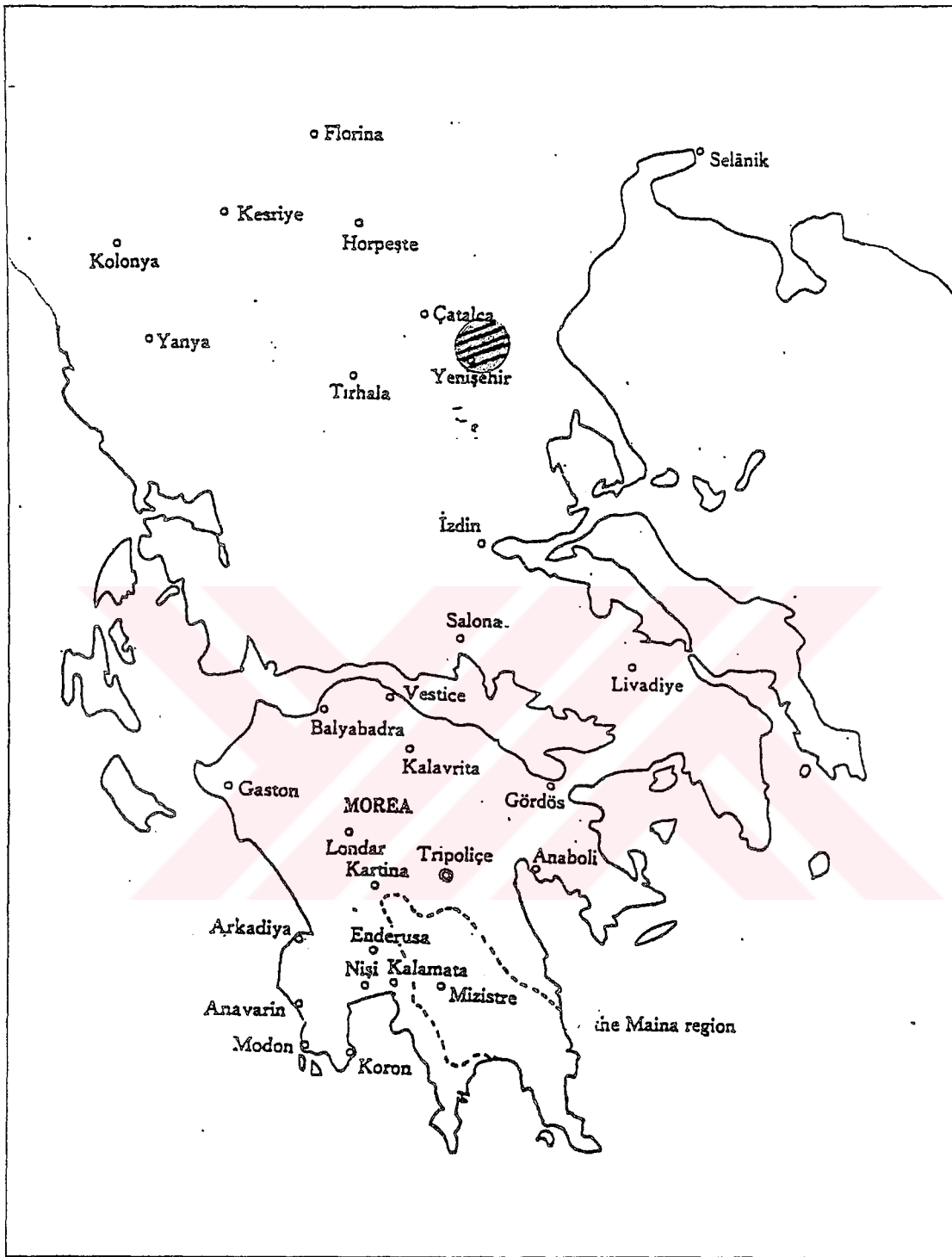


Figure 6A: Location of Çiftlik in Larissa (*Yenişehir*)

4.2.2.2.2. *Resneli(Katoronya) and TatarcıkÇiftlik*

Kataronya Çiftliği, one of the large privately owned *çiftlik*s in the peripheries of Istanbul in the 19th century, was located on the north of the *Küçük Çekmece* Lake and the second highway (*Trakya* highway-TEM) (Figure 8). According to the Land Registry records, the *çiftlik* consisting of 145 parts on a total area of 8553 *dönüms* has been sold in 1870.⁴⁰ *Katoronya* (later renamed as *Resneli*) *Çiftliği* was owned by *Barutçubaşızade Simyon Bey* until 1870. Upon death of *Simyon Bey* in 1870, the *çiftlik* has been devolved on his son *Kirkor Bey*. Later, due to the outstanding debts of *Simyon Bey* to *Taşçıyan Sarkis Efendi* and other creditors, the *çiftlik* has been sold to *Emin Bey*, a member of the Appeal court, by way of public auction, under a writ of the *Beyoglu* Court of First Instances dated 1903.

In 1919, *Emin Bey*⁴¹, presiding judge of the Court, has sold *Kataronya Çiftliği* with its land and appurtenances to *Hatice* and *Osman Fehmi Resneli*.⁴² In 1939, the *çiftlik* has been divided among the spouses and registered in the Land Registry with two equal shares. In 1945, the *çiftlik* has been divided into four shares and sold by *Osman Fehmi Resneli* to his daughter *İnci Kutular* at a price of TL 10,300, and in 1949, his daughter has sold half of her shares to *Ahmet Cemal Kurtulan*.

Starting from the first years of the metropolitan expansion process and the urban land income, the lands of the *çiftlik* have been sub-divided and sold by the co-owners and transformed into urban lands. However, the main big transformation has occurred at the end of 1980s and in 1990s when the northern parts of the city were also opened to settlement rapidly upon construction of the Second Bosphorous Bridge and its highways.

⁴⁰ Records about *Kataronya (Resneli) Çiftliği* are included in the following logs in the archives of the Istanbul Land Registry and Cadastral Survey Area Directorate : reg. 195 in the log 319; reg. 15/59 page 139/113 in the log 64; reg. 7/9 page 119/120 in the log 86.

⁴¹ *Emin Bey* is named in the land registry as *Teba-i devleti aliyeden Emin Beyefendi Hazretleri*.

⁴² *Osman Fehmi Resneli* was a leading officer in the *İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti* (Committee of Union and Progress) and is a brother of *Resneli Niyazi Bey*, renown as a hero in the guerrilla war fares in the Balkans

Tatarcık Çiftliği was also owned by *Simyon Bey*, owner of *Katoronya Çiftliği*, until the end of 19th century, and was located on an area of about 4000 *dönims* consisting of 53 parts on the left side of *Katoronya Çiftliği*.⁴³ Upon death of *Simyon Bey* in 1870, the çiftlik has been sold by way of public auction together with the *Kataronya Çiftliği*, in order to settle the outstanding debts of the deceased *Simyon Bey*. In the public auction, like *Kataronya Çiftliği*, *Tatarcık çiftliği* has also been bought by *Emin Bey*. In 1903, this *Çiftlik* has been sold by *Emin Bey* to *Resneli Osman Fehmi Bey* and his wife *Hatice Meliha Hanım*.

In 1921, the *çiftlik* has been fully sold to three non- Moslems at a total price of 850,000 *kurus*, two shares to *Apostolaki*, one share to *Traki* and one share to *Yorgi*. The land registry records reveal that the *çiftlik* has been abandoned between 1921 and 1927 and in 1927, it has been sold by *Tefyiz Komisyonu* (Immigrants Commission) to *İbrahim Bey* with a title deed at a total price of 56,000 *kurush* during the process of resettlement of the Moslem immigrants from the Balkans to the *çiftlik*s abandoned by the Greeks. In 1929, upon death of *İbrahim Bey*, the *çiftlik* was inherited to his wife and 8 children, and its lands of various different sizes have not been exposed to any development pressure until 1990s, but a significant development pressure has started after 1990s .

The changes of ownership of both *Ferhat Pasha* and *Resneli* and *Tatarcık çiftlik*s at the end of 19th century and beginning of 20th century constitute meaningful examples of the mechanisms of the change of ownership of the çiftlik in the peripheries of Istanbul prior to the metropolitan expansion process. The private ownership status of all three *çiftlik*s is very clear, but the types of acquisition of the ownership right show differences. These differences indicate the variety in the ownership rights as well.

⁴³ Records about *Tatarcık Çiftliği* are included in the following logs in the archives of the Istanbul Land Registry and Cadastral Survey Area Directorate : reg. 86 page 141 in the log 335; reg. 23 page 5-56 in the log 337; reg. 130 page 153-206 in the log 44.

For instance, in the 16th century, *Ferhat Pasha*, a statesman in the status of *Sadrizam* (Grand Vizier), has been killed and his *çiftlik* has been confiscated by the state, and the *çiftlik* has been devolved on the Ottoman Treasury. Later on, as a result of the trend of land acquisition by the Sultans in the 19th century and particularly in the reign of Sultan *Abdülhamit*, the *çiftlik* has been privately owned by *Sultan Abdülhamit* and later gifted to his daughter *Ayşe Sultan*.⁴⁴

At the end of the 19th century, some members of the Dynastic Family have become indebted due to their high consumption standards and the allowances reduced by the Palace which itself was in an economic crisis. In order to pay their debts, they have sold some privately owned estates and *çiftliks*.⁴⁵ This fact reveals that the *çiftliks* transferred from the state treasury to the members of the Dynastic family have been freely sold in the land market of that period.

Resneli and *Tatarcık çiftliks* are examples of another mechanism of the change of ownership. Upon death of *Simyon Bey*, owner of *Kataronya* and *Tatarcık çiftliks* with a fairly wide territory, the *çiftliks* have been sold by way of public auction in order to pay the outstanding debts of *Simyon Bey*, and *Emin Bey* (presiding judge of the Court, i.e. an important bureaucrat of the period) has bought both *çiftliks*, and later, the *çiftliks* have been sold to *Resneli Osman Fehmi Bey*, fighting against the independence revolts in the Balkans, and his wife. Limited information available about the *Cicoz çiftliği* adjacent to and almost at the same size with the *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği* shows that *Cicoz çiftliği* has been purchased by *Razi Trak* coming from the Balkans and has remained in the possession of his family without any important transformation until the metropolitan expansion process of the city.

The process of the change of ownership of these four *çiftliks* at the end of 19th century and beginning of 20th century points out to an important phenomenon of that period. The independence revolts in the Balkans have caused the Ottoman rulers

⁴⁴ Explain the land acquisition trend of *Abdülhamit* with reference to Bardakçı

⁴⁵ Information about the debts of the Dynastic family members and the estates sold for repayment of their debts is available in the Cevdet Palace Classifications in the Archives of the Prime Ministry

holding the possession of vast lands in that region and the Moslem population to abandon the Balkans and move to Istanbul and Anatolia. The ownership of large lands and large-size agricultural enterprises, spread over in the Balkans, as Stoinovich and Gandev expose in their studies, was relocated at the peripheries of Istanbul under the influences of the independence revolts in the Balkans. The kinship between the family of İbrahim Bey (owner of the *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği*) and the *Karamanoğlu* family owning about 50 *çiftlik*s near Manisa before *Tanzimat* Period gives us some clues about the fact that the events in the Balkans effected not only Istanbul, but the whole West Anatolia (Nagata, Y., 1995, 119-125). These families who were running big farms in the Balkans have purchased and revived the agricultural production in the privately owned *çiftlik*s with vast areas in the peripheries of Istanbul.

As will be widely discussed in the following section, due to their big size and the openness of their ownership status, these *çiftlik*s have been transformed in the metropolitan expansion process of the city, differently from the *has çiftlik*s and the *çiftlik*s owned by *vakıf*s which have been devolved on the National Treasury upon foundation of the Republic.

While the treasury and *vakıf çiftlik*s were opened to construction activities by *Milli Emlak* (National Properties) and *Arsa Ofisi* (Land Office) (in consultation with the central and local administrations) on one hand and were more efficiently exposed to development pressure with illegal construction activities, some of the lands of the privately owned *çiftlik*s have been sold to the sub-developers, some of them have been sub-divided and sold directly by their owners, and some of them have been protected against development pressures until the city plans and maps are duly made and construction activities are allowed legally.

4.2.3. Relation Between Changes in the Fringe of Istanbul and Transformation of *Çiftlik*s From Late 19th Century to 1950's

4.2.3.1. Transformations in the Fringe of Istanbul in the Late Ottoman Period

The transformation process of Istanbul in the second part of 19th century was not isochronal with the general socio-economic growth rate of the country. Although there was no major transformation in the economic structure and regime, the modernisation process of Istanbul was a result of her relations with the Western world, rather than Anatolia, and her becoming an Eastern port of the industries developing in the West. Therefore, the population increase, modernisation of public and state buildings, central planning efforts and modern house and business centres in certain parts of Istanbul in the 19th century have taken place in the capital city of an Empire 82% of the population of which was engaged in agriculture.

Although Istanbul and her surroundings were among the major industrial centres according to the 1913-1915 Industry Census Certificate, the resulting figures are too low for the scope of modernisation of Istanbul. Furthermore, the biggest consumer of the industrial goods imported in the same period was also Istanbul. The existing local industries consisted of the weapon factories in *Tophane* and *Zeytinburnu*, gunpowder factory in *Bakırköy* and plug factory in *Karaağaç*, all manufacturing for military purposes (Ökçün, 1971).

Although the modernisation of Istanbul between the second half of the 19th century and World War I was related to the requirements of being an intermediary city within the world trade, it must also be noted that the westernisation policies of the Ottoman intellectuals and the ruler class as a result of their close relationship with the Western countries had an important effect on this process. These two dynamics led to substantial transformations in the spatial structure of Istanbul after the second half of the 19th century. As mentioned in the previous sections, the transformations experienced in the city had two dimensions. The first one is experienced as the

restructuring of the central districts according to the new division of labor and the exclusion of the former functions from these areas. This meant to be a transformation in the central business district and the housing areas. The second dimension is related to the transformation in the agricultural land around the city. As the housing and business centres moved outwards, land ownership and land-use patterns also changed in those areas; in addition, the increase in the food demand of the city make the agricultural land around the city more attractive.

The new division of labor in Istanbul separated the city as modern and traditional and the modern part necessitated spatial regulations parallel to the new working and living conditions. In addition, the transportation and carrying capacity corresponding to the new functions of the city was developed, enabling the expansion of the city out of the former housing and business areas. On the other hand, the structuring experienced at the fringe was determined by the former land ownership and land-use patterns.

It is known that the classical Ottoman cities house the control functions required for the control of the surplus-product as well as non-agricultural economic activities, such as trade and handicrafts. Village type settlement areas which constituted agricultural lands surrounded the cities. Agricultural production was accomplished on *miri* lands belonging to the Sultan. Although ownership patterns different from *miri* land order, such as *vakıf* and private ownership could be seen especially around big cities, there is still no certain data on the frequency of this pattern.

However, in the 19th century, it is known that these types of ownership patterns were commonly seen in the agricultural area around Istanbul. At the end of the 19th century, the fringe of the city had a structure composed of vegetable gardens close to the housing areas, *çiftlik*s with various sizes and ownership statuses outside the city walls, village settlements and vacant land that cannot be used for agriculture due to the physical qualities. In this period, the modernisation process and the high migration rates created land demand, which transformed the urban fringe to some extent. As some vegetable gardens and village settlements were exposed to land-use

changes and changed into urban land owing to developments in transportation, there was also land ownership transfers in the agricultural land *çiftlik* lands which were farther away from the city. In addition, the attempts to organise the modern city resulted in the movement of various functions in the city to the fringe.

In the 19th century, the settlement pattern which was mainly based on ethnic divisions gave way to settlements based on income differences. As a result, as the neighbourhoods inhabited by non-Moslems in the former period changed into transition areas where low-income groups and migrants settled, high-income groups moved to newly developing modern housing areas in the city. These modern areas started to locate at the fringe owing to developments in transportation possibilities. However, the effects of this restructuring process were not felt at the fringe as much as in the central areas.

4.2.3.2. Transformations in the Fringe and Ownership Status of the *Çiftlik*s in Istanbul During the Republican Era

The First World War, the occupation years and the foundation of the Republic of Turkey have caused the city to lose its capital city status as well.⁴⁶ This has caused an interruption in the 19th century transformation process of Istanbul until 1950s.

The city has lost a substantial population during and after the World War. According to various different sources, the population of Istanbul has reduced from 1.1 million

⁴⁶ It is not realistic to attribute the preference of Ankara as the capital city of the new Republic and the choice of other cities for location of the new industries to an antipathy to the Ottomans. The reasons of this preference may be clarified as follows :

1. The ownership status of the urban lands and the surrounding lands of Istanbul could not be easily resolved immediately after dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.
2. It was logical for Ankara to prefer the Anatolian cities ready to integrate with the domestic market to Istanbul being an extroverted city, in its efforts to locate its industrialisation policies for substitution of import goods in cities where the economically and socially introverted policies might overlay a spatial introvertedness.

Preference of Ankara to Istanbul as the capital city within the borders of *Misak-ı Milli* (National Pact of 1920) was meaningful also for the new production and spatial organisation of the Turkish community. As a matter of fact, the private sector protectionist measures brought by the "Industrial Incentives Code" of 1927, including "free allocation of state-owned lands up to 10 hectares, and furthermore, facilities in the infrastructure investments needed for industrial enterprises" indicate that the industries are preferred to be built on the lands owned by and registered in the name of the state.

in 1897 population census to 909,978 in 1914 population census. If the foreign nationals of about 12% who were not included in 1914 population census are added, the city population was about 1 million (Tekeli, 1992, 21; Mc Carthy, J., 1983). According to Kemal Karpaz, the city population has increased to 1.6 million between 1914 and 1916. But the city population was 1,203,000 according to the formal registers of those years (Tekeli, 1992, 21). The 1927 population census has shown the city population as 690,857.

The city has lost a substantial population from the war years to 1927 and has come to 1950s with almost fixed population. This population loss was mostly due to the migration of the foreign merchants and bankers and the non-Moslem population of Istanbul. In line with the fall in the population, the trading activities have also declined in Istanbul, and only one industrial enterprise (*Pasabahçe* Glassware Factory) has been built in Istanbul during the industrialisation policies of Ankara. According to Ökçün, in 1915, 55% of all industries was located in Istanbul and its peripheral areas (1971).

Although the city planning and reconstruction activities have mainly intensified in Ankara upon preference of Ankara as the capital city of the new Republic and no important transformation has occurred in either the socio-economic structure or the spatial structure of Istanbul until 1950s, some important planning efforts have been made for planning the spatial structure of the city. Included among these plans was the Prost Plan which has been made in 1930s when the urban population increase was very low and which has therefore not taken into account the rapid population increase of 1950s.

The Prost Plan has aimed to regulate the existing functions in a manner fit to a modern city organisation. rather than making futuristic forecasts for a big city. In this frame, the Plan suggested to move the industrial enterprises along the Bosphorous to the Golden Horn, planned as a new industrial zone, and to evacuate entirely the houses on the left coasts of the Golden Horn. The new housing areas are suggested to be developed between *Taksim* and *Maçka*, inside the *Maçka-Besiktas-*

Mecidiyeköy triangle, on the ridges of *Kurtulus*, and on the coasts of *Moda* and *Marmara* in the Anatolian side.

As will be seen in this plan, since there was no important amount of land demand requiring new settlements on the lands surrounding the city during that period, the plan tried to regulate the trends which started in the 19th century, rather than planning also the lands surrounding the city.

In this period, various changes were encountered in the structure of the fringe. However, this change did not result from the pressure related to the expansion of the city. This change was related to two factors. The first one is related to the modernisation attempts which started in the 19th century and continued to a certain extent in this period. As a result of this, new prestigious areas are formed in the city parallel to the developments in transportation and the existing and the newly establishing industries were planned to locate at the fringe (Tekeli, 1994).

The second reason of the transformation at the fringe was related to the war in Europe. In the western parts of the city, large amount of land exchanged had because of the fear of the war. These lands were mainly bought by the local notables who wanted to secure their capital in the face of increasing levels of inflation. The ones who sold their land started to purchase land and move to the eastern side of the city or the prestigious housing areas forming at the fringe. In addition, the government started to sell some of the formerly transferred land in order to cope with the increasing budget deficits (Güvenç, 1998). It is possible to claim that land speculation started in this period due to land transfers at the fringe. These lands were bought not because of agricultural rent expectation, but due to their potential of being transformed into urban land.

Among these lands *çifliks* played a leading role on the reorganisation of the fringe in the process of formation of the metropolitan area of Istanbul. One of the most important factors determining this leading role was the transformation in the ownership status of these *çifliks* during the Republic era and Second World War

years. The effects of this transformation will be frequently discussed in the following section which deals with the metropolitan expansion period. Briefly, we may summarise that great amount of land had been accumulated in the hands of the state as of the time of the Republic.

This bears a very special meaning for the fringe of Istanbul, because the economic growth process of Istanbul as from the second half of 19th century caused an increase of the value of the large *çiftlik* lands known to exist around the city since the 16th century. This process had three dimensions: First, the increasing food demand of the city and the land demands of the *çiftlik* owners coming from the Balkans. Secondly, the trend of acquisition of privately owned lands and estates by the Sultans for both the *Hassa* Treasury and themselves influenced all Dynastic family members. Thirdly, the trend of the military bureaucrat elite and notables to acquire privately owned *çiftlik*s. Upon dissolution of the Ottoman regime, important changes occurred in the ownership status of *çiftlik* lands (Table IV.5).

The *Hassa* Treasury and all *çiftlik*s owned by the Sultans and their *vakıfs* were transferred to the National Treasury of the Republic of Turkey. Some of the *çiftlik*s owned by the non-Moslem population were transferred to the National Treasury of the Republic of Turkey (upon abandonment and exchange) and hence to National Real Estate Administration (*Milli Emlak İdaresi*). Military *çiftlik*s owned by the treasury or sultan *vakıfs* and allocated for military purposes during the Ottoman era were also transferred to the National Treasury of the Republic of Turkey. The free privately owned properties of the Ottoman era remained as private properties under the Civil Code of the new Republic.

As seen, upon such transfers of ownership rights in a period of stagnation trend of the city, the city was surrounded by vast and vacant lands. As known, the *çift-hane* system on *miri* lands continued as small peasantry production in the Republic era. However, the aforementioned lands and fields, not covered by the *miri* lands, were also transformed into vacant Treasury-owned lands if no small peasantry existed thereon. Although some of the private *çiftlik*s had been sold in the period of war many

of them survived by their private status until 1950s with a lower productivity under the effects of the substantial loss in the population and economic activities of the city.

In this period, the transformation encountered in *çiftlik* lands were mainly seen to be the transfer of land ownership. Although planned, import-substitution industries could not locate on the large pieces of land at the fringe because of the concentration of the labor power in the old housing areas in the city. Another reason for this failure was that the energy supply for the industry could not be decentralised yet. Consequently, as area in the close vicinity of the city was opened to housing units to a certain extent, some part of the *çiftlik* land at the outer ring changed hands with speculative purposes; however, a considerable number of *çiftlik*s retained their original status without much change until 1950s and even 1980s.



4.3. THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE METROPOLITAN FRINGE DURING THE FORMATION OF ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN AREA:

LAND DEMAND AND THE ROLE OF *ÇİFTLİK* IN THE PROCESS

4.3.1. Interrelations Between the City Growth Pattern and the Changing Structure of the Fringe

The stagnation process which has started in Istanbul at the beginning of the 20th century ended with the rapid urbanisation process in 1950s. The rapid social transformation process has caused major changes also in the urbanisation dynamics of Istanbul, and has really started the unique metropolitan development process of the city, of which first formal indications have been seen in the 19th century.

As mostly discussed, the existing economic and spatial capacities of the city in 1950s were far from satisfying the house and economic demands of the population immigrating from rural areas. These demands have paved the way for a rapid structural transformation process in the city and its fringe. On one hand, the rapid population increase and the house demand, and on the other hand, return of the industrial enterprises which have moved to other cities during the state-managed industrialisation period have led Istanbul to a rapid growth and expansion also covering the lands in the fringe.

The vegetable gardens, vineyards and orchards and the Treasury-owned, *vakıf*-owned and rural lands surrounding the city have on one hand allowed settlement of *gecekondu* and sub-division of lands by the real estate agencies, and on the other hand allowed the newly developing industries to make site selection without a bidding by any criteria specified in the city plans. In that period, the city planning and reconstruction activities have lagged the rapid growth of the city. The political authorities have preferred to implement micro-scale plans of striking appearance, easy to finance and capable of serving to short-term political advantages due to the

short terms of implementation, rather than macro-scale plans for controlling the growth rate of the city.

The population of Istanbul accounted for about 5.5% of the total population of Turkey between 1927 and 1955, and rose to 6.5 in the 1955 population census, and to 13% in 1990 with the same pace of increase trend (SIS). The insufficient house stocks of the city during the years of intensive immigrations to Istanbul have caused two trends in accommodation : First, single men coming alone from their villages have settled in the old quarters of minorities which have become the shantytowns of the city, like the migrations in the 19th century, or in the quarters vacated by the population escaping from the environmental problems caused by the industries and manufacturing workshops which chose sites without abiding by any city plan, or in the old hotel rooms located in the central business areas of the city. Secondly, the immigrant families started to establish the first *gecekondu*s around the industrial enterprises, starting from *Zeytinburnu*.

The interactions between the population increase and the existing spatial structure of Istanbul have caused the *gecekondu* phenomenon. The housing needs have caused an increase in the population density in the planned districts and quarters of the city. This increase has in turn caused a fast process of building new apartments on the vacant lands and replacing the old wooden houses with new apartments by the *yap-satçı* (build and sell) contractors in those quarters and districts of the city. The legal grounds of this population density increase in the planned parts of the city were the enactment of Expropriation and Condominium Rights laws by the political authorities which have failed to produce macro-scale solutions (Tekeli, 1992).

In the years 1952-1956, an ad hoc *Committee of Advisors* formed for preparation of a city plan based on realistic forecasts and researches on the macro-scale forms of the city has tried to prepare a 1/10000 scale plan covering a territory from *Küçük Çekmece* to *Tuzla*, but failed to do that. Rather, the Committee has tried to respond to the daily demands with 1/5000 scale *Beyoğlu* Development Plan and 1/10000 scale Industrial Development Plan with a view to solving the rapidly increasing

problems of the city (Tekeli, 1992). During the same years, the party in power has started a conspicuous reconstruction movement with big demolitions inside the city, and has demolished 7289 buildings and built wide boulevards and monumental squares on expropriated lands, and as a result, an illegal and spontaneous housing type named as *gecekondu* has started to emerge in the fringe of the city.

In the years 1958-1960, Istanbul Reconstruction and Planning Department of *İller Bankası* has prepared Istanbul Metropolitan Master Plan, but this plan has not been approved by the Ministry of Reconstruction and settlement. This plan aimed to ensure expansion of the city within decentralised, open and linear scheme in the frame of regional settlement and housing plans, rather than intensifying within itself. The plan authors believed that *Beyoğlu* and Istanbul sides of the city have already been saturated in terms of both houses and industries and could not bear a heavier load. They suggested that all new and decentralised settlement and housing areas be located along a road system constitutes the backbone of the whole city. This backbone would start from the *Londra* Asphalt, pass from outside the city walls, overpass the Golden Horn with a third bridge in *Ayvansaray*, be connected to the Bosphorous upper cornice, overpass the Bosphorous between *Ortaköy* and *Beylerbeyi*, and be connected to the Ankara Highway (Tekeli, 1992).

So, the failure in planned decentralisation in line with the increasing population and developing industries of the city has caused the city, saturated to such extent, to spread over her surroundings without any plan. The factor causing the expansion of the city by spreading over her surroundings was the land demand and the types of land supply. The harmony between the land demand and the land ownership has been established by various different mechanisms.

The urban infrastructure investments and mainly the projects of highways, Bosphorous bridges and access roads, have played an important role in selection of lands opened to settlement through various different mechanisms establishing the harmony between the land demand and the land ownership. Lands along both sides of the *Londra* Asphalt were the main attraction centre from 1950s to the beginning of

1970s, and after 1970s, upon construction of the 1st Bosphorous Bridge and its access roads, the lands along both coasts of the Bosphorous and close to E5 Highway have become the focal points for land demand of the land developers, and after 1980s, the construction of the 2nd Bosphorous Bridge and its access roads passing through the northern parts of the city has led the metropolitan expansion route to the northern part of the city.

Effects of the Bosphorous bridges and access roads on the metropolitan forms are explained by Tekeli as follows :

The most important problem related to urban form was the question of adaptation to the new time-distance matrix presented by the Bosphorous Bridge and its belt-ways. This initiated a new restructuring process in the urban space of the city. This restructuring changed the hierarchy of prestige areas in the urban context, opened new areas up to speculative activities and created a new hierarchy of business centres. (1994, 167-168).

The effects of this new time-distance matrix on the settlements on the *çiftlik* lands will be discussed in the following sections.

The efforts of the city administration to adapt itself to the metropolitan expansion process of Istanbul could not play an effective role on the spontaneous macro-scale form of the city, but to the contrary, has legitimated the actual situation (Tekeli, 1994, 267-290). In this frame, among the variables determining the metropolitan area form of Istanbul, the infrastructure investments planned by the central authorities have been effective, rather than the restructuring/adaptation efforts of the city administration. However, the spontaneous and uncontrolled free land market and its mechanisms play without doubt the most important role on the formation of the metropolitan area of the city.

4.3.2. The First Stage of the Formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area : Land Demand and The Roles of *Çiftlik*s on Restructuring Fringe

4.3.2.1. The Role of Treasury-Owned *Çiftlik*s on Responding to Demand of *Gecekondu*s

In this study, during the period from 1950s to 1980s, classified as the first stage of formation of the Istanbul metropolitan area, the city expanded on the vacant lands inside and close to the city. The expansion of this stage consists of both an illegal settlement type (settlement in *gecekondu*) and to some extent, settlement on the legally created urban lands (such as *Levent Houses Project*). In order to understand the land demand of this period, the subjects of the land demand, and the mechanisms of harmony between the demand and the ownership of lands responding to the demand must be examined.

At the first stage of the *gecekondu* settlements, the lands used mainly for accommodation purpose and illegally opened to settlement directly by the users were the vacant Treasury-owned lands, *vakıf*-owned lands and to some extent, abandoned privately-owned lands at the fringe of the city and immediately outside the boundaries of the existing central settlement areas of the city.

In this period, mainly the lands in the old urban settlement areas on the Anatolian and European sides of the city, namely *Eminönü*, *Fatih*, *Beyoğlu*, *Şişli*, *Beşiktaş* and *Bakırköy* on one side and *Üsküdar*, *Kadıköy*, central *Kartal* and central *Beykoz* on the other side, were opened to settlement by way of occupation, and the *gecekondu*s which have previously scattered around the city and have not yet come together in shantytowns began to form quarters around the industrial enterprises and zones projected by the *Istanbul Sanayi Bölgelerine ait Talimatname* (Directives for Istanbul Industrial Zones) adopted by the Reconstruction Department of the Municipality in 1947, namely the farther part of *Eyüp*, left side of *Edirne-Rami road*, vicinity of *Maltepe*, *Davutpaşa road*, *Kazlıçeşme*, outer quarters of *Bakırköy*, vicinity

of *Yesilköy*, *Çekmece* and *Zeytinburnu* on the European side, and quarters between *Maltepe* and *Kartal*, vicinity of *Pendik* and vicinity of *Kadıköy Gazhane* on the Anatolian side of the city (Şenyapılı, 1978).

These quarters became the parts of an urban settlement form gradually expanding like an oil stain, and were situated on vacant Treasury-owned and *vakıf*-owned lands not allocated for any public service, or vast and vacant one-piece lands under co-ownership. In this period, the city expanded toward the vegetable gardens located in the near peripheries of the city and opened to settlement as from the late 19th century, and the Treasury-owned and *vakıf*-owned lands relatively closer to the city. The *çiftlik*s which were along the initial expansion direction of the city have been adapted to the land demand for *gecekondu*s through the mechanism of squatting. *Zeytinburnu* quarter, the first *gecekondu* settlement of Istanbul, and *Ümraniye* which was developed later have been located on this type of *çiftlik* lands.

Again in the first stage of the metropolitan expansion process, the government produced urban lands with the aim of supplying cheap houses to the people, and accordingly, the *Levent* project of *Emlak Kredi Bankası* (Real Estate Credits Bank) was realised on a part of the lands of *Levent Çiftlik*, one of the *çiftlik*s of *Sultan Beyazıt Vakfı*, between 1952 and 1954. In both types of settlement of this first stage, the status of land ownership is the same. Both the *gecekondu* settlements and the legal and planned housing sites produced by the government to a limited extent through *Emlak Kredi Bankası* were situated on the state-owned lands under control of the Treasury.

As mentioned in the previous section, as from the second half of the 19th century, a trend of acquisition of private properties by the Sultans emerged, and the *Hassa* Treasury owned a great number of *çiftlik*s, meadows and vegetable gardens (Bardakçı, 1991, 170-186). On the other hand, some of the vast *çiftlik*s in the near vicinity of Istanbul were owned by the Sultan's pious endowments and particularly, *Sultan Beyazıt Vakfı*. Upon foundation of the Republic of Turkey, together with the *miri* lands, these *çiftlik*s owned by the Sultan and the *Hassa* Treasury were also

devolved on the National Treasury of the Republic of Turkey. Differently from the lands owned by private *vakıfs*, the *çiftlik* lands of the Sultan's *vakıfs* have been transformed into state-owned properties, though they have been taken under control of the General Directorate of Pious Endowments. These *çiftlik*s transformed into state-owned lands were the most favourite *çiftlik*s of the 19th century in terms of their accessibility and proximity to the city, and therefore, they were under possession of the *Hassa* treasury and the Sultan's *vakıfs*. In the 19th century, privately-owned *çiftlik*s in the fringe of Istanbul were farther to the city centre than the *çiftlik*s owned by the Sultans and the *Hassa* treasury.

In these *çiftlik*s devolved on the National Treasury, the agricultural activities have almost been stopped. The reasons thereof may be briefed as follows : Peasant families exploiting the fields under *çift-hane* system on the *miri* lands in the Ottoman land use regime have been transformed into free-lance small peasantry enterprises holding a land of 60 to 150 *dönüms*, after transfer of the *miri* lands to the National Treasury of the Republic of Turkey.

In Anatolia, owners of vast lands have survived as big agricultural enterprises. However, in the vicinity of Istanbul, the vacant *çiftlik*s and meadows owned by the Sultans, the *Hassa* treasury and the Sultan's *vakıfs* were devolved on the National Treasury. They remained as vacant and abandoned lands until the start of metropolitan expansion process of the city. Given the fact that Istanbul has lost a substantial population between the two world wars, allocation of only a very small part of said lands to the public administrations for certain purposes is understandable.

Starting from the end of 1950s when intensive migrations to Istanbul have begun, the immigrants found vacant and "ownerless" lands with no infrastructure, where they could easily settle in contradiction with the reconstruction laws, and this led to the settlement patterns in the first stage of the urban expansion. The main source of these lands was the *çiftlik*s of the 19th century devolved on the National Treasury upon foundation of the Republic.

We may make a speculation in order to understand better the role of this source of lands on the settlement patterns of the first stage of formation of the metropolitan area in Istanbul. Had the agricultural lands in the fringe of Istanbul still been fields exploited under the *çift-hane* system in the frame of the classical *miri* land use regime or had they fully been privately-owned *çifliks*, the immigrants to Istanbul would not be able to settle illegally on such “owned” and exploited fields.

It seems difficult to look behind and estimate what the rapid increasing of population in a city with inadequate house stocks would do for settlement, if an ownership status fit for such settlement attitudes did not exist. On the other hand, these lands have relieved the political authorities which have failed to produce legal urban lands for settlement in a period of fall in agriculture and increase in urban populations. Had there been no such lands, the failure to satisfy the land demand of the urban immigrants who were migrating mandatory, not arbitrarily, might cause civil mutinies. The settlement on such lands has functioned as a buffer mechanism preventing such civil mutinies (Kıray, 1964). However, this buffer mechanism would not be available if at least some of the lands in the fringe of Istanbul had not such an ownership status paving the way for this type of settlement.

Great majority of the lands in *Zeytinburnu* where *gecekondus* started to appear after the end of 1940s and which was transformed into a district composed of *gecekondu* quarters by time consists of the lands of an old Sultan *Vakıf* under the control of the *Vakıflar Genel İdaresi* (General Directorate of Pious Endowments) (Şenyapılı, T., 1992, 186). Likewise, most of the lands of *Ümraniye* *gecekondu* quarters are owned by *Hekimbaşı Çiftliği* (Erder, S., 1996, 31-32). *Hekimbaşı Çiftliği* is shown as a *çiftlik* of the Sultan in the list of private properties of *Sultan Abdülhamit*, dated 1884 (Bardakçı, M., 1991, 174). In a study conducted about *Ümraniye* through interviews with the old settlers of the district, it is emphasised that the conflicts on ownership rights are still pending on some of the *çifliks* of the area, which were owned by the Sultans in the past (Erder, S., 1996, 31-32).

At the first stage of the metropolitan expansion, in order to supply cheap houses to the people, the government has also used the lands of *çiftlik*s owned by the old Sultan *wakfs* for some very few housing projects. An example of this is the *Levent Çiftliği* with a vast territory owned by the *Sultan Beyazıt Vakfı*. The *Levent Houses Project* was realised through *Emlak Kredi Bankası* on the lands of this *çiftlik*. The *gecekondu* settlements of that district have also been settled on the lands of the same *wakaf*.

4.3.2.2. The Role of Private-Owned and Non-Moslem *Çiftlik*s on Responding to Land Demand of Middle Classes

In the first stage of formation of the metropolitan area of Istanbul, beside the land demand satisfied by *gecekondu* settlement type, another type of land demand has led to one of the settlement patterns in the metropolitan fringe. This type was the land demand of middle classes for legal houses. As the old housing areas of the city with inadequate public infrastructure utilities have already been saturated and the land prices have soared, and the middle classes could no more afford such prices, a significant demand emerged for relatively cheaper and legal lands.

This demand has soon created its own adaptation mechanisms and adapted the ownership status of some lands to itself. One of these adaptation mechanisms was the *yap-satçı* (build and sell) type construction which replaced the old houses with multi-storey apartment blocks and reduced the land share to a level affordable by middle classes, and another mechanism was the subdivision which purchased low-value fields in the fringe of the city, divided them into parcels and sold at cheap prices.

The subdivision mechanism played one of the leading roles in reconstruction in the metropolitan fringe during the first stage of formation of the metropolitan area in Istanbul. Having reviewed the newspaper ads published from 1953 to 1956, Şenyapılı mentions about the ads of gradually increasing construction companies for sale of house lands with infrastructure utilities. These lands were mostly close to the

new highways built and along the *Sirkeci-Halkalı* railway line opened to settlement in the same years (1978, 57-59).

The subdivision mechanism which emerged in the first stage of the metropolitan expansion has created a spontaneous housing like the *gecekondu* mechanism of the same period, but had a basic difference. The prices of the lands opened to settlement as a result of this subdivision mechanism were based on an “exchange value”, unlike the lands opened to settlement of *gecekondus* in the same period on the basis of “use value”. Unlike the *gecekondus* which occupied and settled on the lands owned by the National Treasury or the *vakıfs* as a result of the housing demands, the subdivision mechanism created an “exchange value” through purchase of fields and resale as subdivided urban lands. This “exchange value” of the lands led to an illegal and unique land market (urban land market mechanism) as a means of capital investments.

This market where the lands in the fringe of the city were traded as a commodity under the free market conditions without being subject to any urban law regime was working with unique mechanisms and players. In the initial stages of the metropolitan expansion of Istanbul, the subdivision mechanism was managed by small and medium-scale real estate offices, construction companies and individuals, but in the subsequent stages, the subdivision mechanism was handled by big-scale players on one hand, and on the other hand, the sub-developers began to use the decisions of the local and central authorities to their own benefits by using patronage mechanisms.

This small-scale mechanism of the first stage of the metropolitan expansion process of Istanbul has been used also in other cities of Turkey that became metropolitan cities through urban migrations and in some other third world countries, but had some differences arising out of the specific land use types of Istanbul existing in the fringe of Istanbul in the periods prior to the metropolitan expansion process.

While in other metropolitan cities of Turkey and in the metropolitan cities of peripheral capitalist countries, such as Cairo and Tunis, the subdivision mechanism was in the form of purchase and resale of the lands owned by small peasantry, the mechanism was in the form of purchase and resale of the fields of the *çiftlik*s in the fringe of Istanbul, because the free holding and private ownership status was widespread on the lands in the fringe of Istanbul, other than the *miri* lands allocated to the peasantry under the *çift-hane* system since the 16th century. That is why there were not small peasant enterprises, but small and large *çiftlik*s in different ownership status in the fringe of Istanbul, as of the time of foundation of the Republic.

In this period, the change of ownership was realised in two types in the process of transformation of the lands in the fringe of Istanbul into urban lands by way of subdivision mechanism. On one hand, the treasury-owned lands were transferred to private ownership through sales by *Milli Emlak İdaresi* (National Real Estate Adm.), and on the other hand, the privately-owned one-piece meadows, vegetable gardens and fields were subdivided and resold in parcels, thereby being transferred to private ownership.

During the first period of formation of the metropolitan area in Istanbul, the city expanded by way of occupation of the *çiftlik* lands devolved on the National Treasury as outlined here above on one hand, and by way of resale of the lands devolved on the National Treasury and kept under the control of *Milli Emlak İdaresi*, on the other hand. The old *çiftlik*s played an important role in this process as well.

During the First World War, Independence War of Turkey and the post-war years, some *çiftlik*s and lands in the fringe of Istanbul have been abandoned by their non-Moslem owners and transferred to the custody of the *Milli Emlak İdaresi* (Communiqués of *Milli Emlak İdaresi*, 1920-1943, vol : I, log 1, 3, 6, etc.). As for the real estates sold by the non-Moslems to the Moslem individuals with a certificate signed before a notary public during the same years, *Milli Emlak İdaresi* has issued a communiqué stipulating that such real estates would be registered in the Land Registry only if such sales are proven to be true (Ibid., Vol. I, log 58).

After the 1920s, the *Milli Emlak İdaresi* supplied lands to the municipalities pursuant to and under the reconstruction laws on one hand, and sold lands to individuals and entities through public auctions and against payment in instalments on the other hand (Ibid., Vol. I, log 75-76). In such sales against payment in instalments, the maturity was up to three years. In general, the lands of non-Moslems who have abandoned the country, devolved on the National Treasury, were sold in this way (Ibid). Majority of the lands opened to settlement through subdivision mechanism in the 1950s and 1960s, i.e. the first stage of formation of the Istanbul metropolitan area, consisted of such lands purchased from the *Milli Emlak İdaresi*. Included among these lands were some *çiftlik*s of different sizes abandoned by non-Moslems and sold by *the Milli Emlak* to real estate agencies, construction companies and individuals.

The Communiqués issued by the *Milli Emlak İdaresi* reveal that this Administration has taken under custody the vacant lands and *çiftlik*s of which ownership status has not yet been finally determined. In addition, this Administration was entitled to take decisions as to allocation, transfer and sale of the lands devolved on and registered in the name of the National Treasury to various public administrations or as to sale of them to natural persons (Ibid,1944, 1964, vol.: II, log 806, 810, 819, 840, etc.).

Sub-dividers satisfying the land demand of the middle classes through subdivision mechanism have opened the vacant fields of the *çiftlik*s in the fringe of Istanbul to settlement in this way. And sales of the *Milli Emlak İdaresi* have also supported this mechanism. The *çiftlik*s owned by non-Moslems and shown in the maps drawn in the beginning of 1900s have been exposed to a fast subdivision process after 1950s. These lands were the source of at least some of the parcels offered for sale along the *Londra Asphalt* as shown in the newspaper ads of the real estate agencies and construction companies in the 1950s and 1960s.

In the same period, it is known that many privately-owned *çiftlik* lands in the same area have also been subdivided by their owners and sold to the real estate agencies or construction companies. However, the sales of the *Milli Emlak İdaresi* through public auctions and against payment in instalments in three years were more

advantageous for the sub-dividers than the privately- owned lands. *Ayastafanos Çiftliği* covering *Yesilköy* and a part of *Yesilyurt*, and *Eloria Çiftliği* in *Florya*, and *Papaz Çiftliği* covering a part of *Zeytinburnu* of today, are examples of the *çiftlik*s which were devolved on the *Milli Emlak İdaresi* upon abandonment by their non-Moslem owners and were later disposed of through sales (Figure 2). *Cicoz Çiftliği*, *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği*, *Haznedar Çiftliği*, *İncirli Çiftliği* and *ResneliÇiftliği* are also included among many *çiftlik*s which subdivided and sold their fields along the expansion axes of the city in that period (Figure 2).

Another source of the *çiftlik* lands subdivided and offered for sale in that period was the *çiftlik*s sold at very low prices due to the fear of German occupation during the Second World War. They were generally the *çiftlik*s located in the area covering also the *Küçük Çekmece* Lake considered to be close to the west border of the city. Majority of the *çiftlik* owners who sold their *çiftlik*s preferred to buy new lands and estates on the Anatolian coast, rather than purchasing new *çiftlik*s here, because they forecasted that the lands and estates on the Anatolian coast would gain value by the expansion of the city.

It is argued that the land prices have decreased in the aforementioned geographical corridor and that some people have bought large lands here at very low prices. The documents in the *Küçük Çekmece* Land Registry and Cadastral Survey Directorate manifest that a local family named *Eskinozlugil* has in that period bought a number of *çiftlik*s in this region and subdivided and resold these lands for different types of construction activities. This family sold a big portion of its lands to big housing co-operatives which have become widespread in the 1980s.

During the last years of the Second World War, while some land owners sold their low-income yielding *çiftlik*s within the south-west corridor of Istanbul and purchased lands and estates on the Anatolian coast, due to the fear of the approaching German troops, a very different trend also emerged. This trend was the land speculation which has later played a determining role on the metropolitan form of Istanbul. While some owners sold their *çiftlik*s, some people purchased them at very low

prices. They have perceived the growth and expansion dynamics of Istanbul and received the signals of transformation of the agricultural lands to urban lands, because after the 1945s, the land market has been activated in Istanbul, and the fear of expropriation has emerged for the lands located along the expansion axes of the city. The speculators who invested on lands by making use of this market activation and fear subdivided the lands and waited for increase of their value in the expansion process of the city. This speculative approach has caused substitution of the “use value” of lands by their “exchange value”.

4.3.2.3.. The Role of *Çiftlik*s Satisfying the Land Demand for Public Services and Utilities Through Expropriation Mechanism : The Case of *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği*

The privately-owned large *çiftlik*s located in the first circle in the peripheries of Istanbul have not been exposed to *gecekond* and subdivision pressures, unlike the Treasury-owned lands, as from the end of 1940s, but have begun to lose their lands transformed into urban lands through expropriation mechanisms. For instance, *Cicoz* and *Ferhat Pasha çiftlik*s with wide territories and fields located in the first circle in the peripheries of Istanbul and supplying fresh vegetables and animal foods to Istanbul have remained without any major change during the period from 1920s to 1940s.

The main change has occurred in the management of these *çiftlik*s. Being the common land-use type in the fringe of Istanbul in the 19th century, these *çiftlik*s were supplying fresh vegetables, animal foods and grains needed for the city population of about 1,200,000 at the beginning of the 20th century. In the 1920s, due to Istanbul no more being the capital city, dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, and the fall of city population to about 600,000, these *çiftlik*s have lost their significance.

Furthermore, children of the Ottoman rulers who have come from the Balkans and the military bureaucrat elite, i.e. owners of these *çiftlik*s, have preferred to graduate from universities and work in different jobs, rather than managing their *çiftlik*s. As the urban income yielding capacity and high exchange value of the lands in Istanbul

have not yet emerged obviously until the second half of the 1940s, the fields and vegetable gardens of these *çiftlik*s of which agricultural income has gradually declined were being rented to tenants or share-croppers.

In our interviews with the inheritors of the *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği*, we are told that the *Ferhat Pasha* and the neighbouring *çiftlik*s (like *Cicoz* and *Çıftburgaz*) were managed as above after the 1920s. It is also stressed that these families mainly subsisted on their professional income and wages of bureaucrat family members, and the *çiftlik* rents did not make a significant contribution to their subsistence. Especially after 1930s, some of the vast fields of these *çiftlik*s were used as barley fields, but a great part of them were left vacant.

Starting from the second half of the 1940s, transformation of these *çiftlik* lands began. At the first stage of the urban metropolitan expansion, the way of such transformation was not illegal *gecekondu* settlements like the *çiftlik*s devolved on the National Treasury, but settlements by way of expropriations and fraudulent sales. Transformation of the *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği* located in the first circle of the peripheries of Istanbul may be used as a reference point of that period. The years of lose of lands by the *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği* are full of different examples of these mechanisms.

Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği did not lose any land until 1940s was exposed to the first expropriation decision taken in 1946 for enlargement of the *Edirnekapi Martyrdom*. Some fields of the *çiftlik* at the back of the *Martyrdom* were expropriated and the remaining part of about 60 *dönüms* was sold by the family itself due to the fear of a new expropriation. In the same year, a piece of land within the borders of the *çiftlik* was sold by a person claiming to be the owner of that portion to another person who later built a chocolate factory thereon.

The family instituted its first legal action against unlawful seizure of its ownership rights and won the case in 1952. At the end of the legal case, it was found out that the Land Register of the area has prepared a false document which showed that the

land had been bought by him and sold to a third person. But the inheritors of the *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği* also possessed title deeds and maps proving their ownership rights on the concerned lands. The legal case lasted for approximately six years. At the end of the case, the family divided the land composed of 3 fields with a total area of about 500 *dönüms* among the family members who later sold their lands.

According to the inheritors, this opportunity of accumulation that started production in the *çiftlik*s of the area has declined because of two main reasons : First reason was the fast expansion of the city and the second reason was the fall in the prices of agricultural commodities (especially fresh vegetables and fruits) due to the development of overland transportation facilities which caused a boom in the quantity of non-durable foods brought to the city from far regions. These lands have been occupied many times because of weakening of the control and protection of lands as a result of vacation and abandonment of the lands by the *çiftlik* owners. During that period, the *çiftlik* owners holding ownership rights have brought many suits for proof of their ownership rights on the *çiftlik* lands.

The *çiftlik*s in this circle confronted with the second expropriation in the early 1950s. A land of 100 *dönüms* of *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği* was expropriated at a very low price for the construction of *Bayrampaşa Prison* by the order of the prime minister, *Adnan Menderes*. Owners of the expropriated lands intended to go to the court in order to increase the expropriation price. But during this period between the years 1950 and 1959, within the *Istanbul Reconstruction Project* which was a part of the populist policies of the Democrat Party, many buildings in different districts of Istanbul have been demolished unlawfully under the pretext of expropriation, and many large roads have been built on the privately-owned fields and lands (Tekeli, 1992, 1-111, and Boysan, 1993, 84-89).

All such lands were expropriated at very low prices and the political party in power made use of the legal gaps in order to implement its populist preferences. These facts represent a kind of occupation of the lands and estates by the government itself in contradiction with the private ownership rights of individuals. Therefore, the

çiftlik owners decided that bringing law suits against the policies of the central government implemented in many regions of the city would be useless and did not attempt to bring law suits.

In 1960s when the central city came very close to the area of *çiftlik*s and when some *çiftlik* lands were transformed into urban lands opened to settlement under city *development* plans, the owners of such *çiftlik*s subdivided and sold some fields in *Atışalam* and *Bayrampaşa*. These sales were indications of the transformation of the *çiftlik* lands from agricultural to urban lands and the fact that the *çiftlik* owners have started to recognise that the sale proceeds of the *çiftlik* lands were higher than their agricultural income. During this period, south parts of these *çiftlik*s lost a portion of the lands either through sale of fields opened to settlement under city *development* plans or through expropriations for public utility constructions (such as roads, energy lines, etc.) in the process of expansion of the central city.

In the earlier sections we have mentioned about the restructuring of the metropolitan fringe of the city from the end of 1940s to the end of 1970s, and two main land demands determining the metropolitan form of the city (land demand of urban immigrants for *gecekondu* and land demand of the middle classes for cheap and legal houses), and the different ownership status effective on the site selection for these demands.

However, in the same period, the owners of the privately-owned *çiftlik*s close to the city have faced a new land demand different from the aforementioned two types of land demand. This land demand was in the form of expropriation of privately-owned lands of the needed sizes, as the lands needed for public utility constructions (such as prison, cemetery, etc.) could not be satisfied by the occupied and divided lands of the National Treasury. As seen in the above examples, this land demand was satisfied with the lands of the privately-owned *çiftlik*s.

4.3.2.4. The Role of *Çiftlik*s on Metropolitan Fringe Within New Time-Distance Matrix and Land Demand

At the early stages of the metropolitan expansion, the city expansion model in the form of an oil stain without leaving any gap in between has been realised on the lands in the fringe of the city, mostly owned by the National Treasury and the *vakıfs*. As after the 1970s, the city entered into a leaping expansion model in the form of an oil stain. This model has emerged under the effects of two determining factors.

During those years, in line with the expansion in the form of an oil stain, the policies for decentralisation of the industrial enterprises which remained inside the city have been formulated. On the other hand, construction of the First Bosphorous Bridge and its access roads which have later given a new direction to the metropolitan formation of the city with a new time-distance matrix has started. In this process, the mechanisms and entities which harmonised the land demand and the land ownership relations and played a role on the restructuring pattern of the metropolitan fringe have been legitimated and the land “exchange value” has been recognised as a means of capital accumulation for all sectors.

At this stage, a great transformation directed by the exchange value started on the lands in the fringe of the city and on the low populated urban lands inside the city. On one hand, expansion of the urban lands by leaping outwards, and on the other hand, increase of population density in the old urban areas have led to a new sector creating the capital accumulation possibilities.

This sector is the urban development sector working in the land market through unique and specific mechanisms. In the 1970s, this sector has not been obviously supported by the political authorities, but has not been prevented either, and after the mid-1980s, the sector has been obviously supported by the political authorities. In this period, from the new *gecekondu* areas to the old *gecekondu* quarters legalised by means of “acts of pardon for illegal reconstruction” and title deeds, and from the lands in old urban districts where apartments are built by *yap-sat* (build and sell)

mechanisms to the lands opened to settlement in the fringe of the city through various legal or illegal mechanisms, the urban land is a type of commodity with an “exchange value” and the capitalists of various sizes are trying to seize this exchange value through various ways and mechanisms.

In the 1970s, the World Bank has pronounced that the ways of urbanisation in the less developed countries prevent the national growth and development by on one hand causing an imbalance between the population and industrial settlements and on the other hand causing substantial wastes in the investment and operating costs of the cities, and has included Istanbul in a program aimed at assisting 10 cities of the world for economic, social and physical development. Under the agreements signed in the frame of said program, works for development of an Istanbul metropolitan city plan have started. Included among the basic projects of this plan were:

The improvement of *gecekondu* areas; The Istanbul houses and new settlement areas between *Halkalı* and *İkitelli*; The displacement of the fresh vegetable and fruit market-place in the Golden Horn; The displacement of industrial enterprises from the central quarters to the areas in the fringe of Istanbul with adequate infrastructure utilities; The displacement of leather industries to the fringe of Istanbul; The traffic engineering and the sewerage projects. But these projects could not be realised due to the spontaneous development dynamics of the city (Tekeli, 1992)..

The failure in intervention with the spontaneous restructuring of the metropolitan areas in the free land market in spite of the aforementioned international support proves the power of the mechanisms created by the combination of the universal rules of capital accumulation over urban lands and the unique and specific dynamics of Istanbul metropolitan area

Although such plans could not be realised, the construction of the 1st Bosphorous Bridge and its access roads let for contract in 1970 has been completed in a very short period of time of three years, and played a very important role on the

metropolitan development dynamics of the city.⁴⁷ Purpose of the Bosphorous Bridge and its access roads was to create an open and flexible structure for the city. It was thought that the pressure on the highly populated urban areas and coasts would be relieved by creating a second axis from the coast to the inner areas through these access roads. This internal axis departs from the coast axis in *Silivri* on the west, and is reconnected in the east of *Gebze* on the east (Tekeli, 1992).

The risks encountered by the industrial investors due to the demand fluctuations caused by the economic policies for substitution of imports have been realised not to exist in the land investments, and the lands surrounding the access roads of the Bosphorous Bridge forming a second axis inside the city have been the new focal points of the land demand arising out of the still low house supply in the city. This new axis has imposed a development pressure not only in the east-west axis, but also in the north axis of development of the city.

While the Bosphorous Bridge and its belt-ways were still at the design stage, the change of ownership has begun on the lands surrounding the roads. When the construction of the Bridge and its belt-ways was completed, the lands surrounding them have already been subdivided and/or occupied and opened to construction. Owing to the Bosphorous Bridge and its belt ways, time of travel from a far land to the city centre has shortened, and owing to this new time-distance matrix, the city has established organic ties and relations with its farther environment. In this period, *çiftlik*s with vast territories at far regions have been opened to settlement. The land

⁴⁷ In the 1970s, the 1st Bosphorous Bridge and its highways which were realized entirely in the initiative of the central political authorities and which determined the growth dynamics and directions of the city in the development of Istanbul constitute the most striking example of the unlawful, unfair and of course, anti-democratic development of the city. In spite of all reasoned and realistic objections of the civilian social organizations, professional chambers and scientists of the period, the bridge and the highways have been built also due to the lack of a civilian opposition rising from the urban community itself. An usual speculation has started on the lands surrounding the highways and access roads. Such lands have been bought and sold even before publication of the data about highway planning. And certain capitalist groups and individuals have seized this speculative increase in the land value caused by this event to the disadvantage and cost of not only Istanbul, but also the whole people of the country. (Kurtuluş, H., 1997, paper presented in the 5th National Social Sciences Congress).

demand has focused on one hand on the lands of the Treasury-owned *çiftlik*s close to this new transport network and on the other hand on the lands of the privately-owned *çiftlik*s subdivided by means of development plans.

The land demand in the metropolitan fringe of that period must be considered in two dimensions :

First is the displacement of industrial enterprises which have remained inside the metropolitan area in the development process of the city and the high land demand in the vicinity of such industrial production zones; Second is the increasing land prices in the urban areas developing like an oil stain. These two events have directed the land demand to rural lands far to the city and outside the city development plans, also with the contributions of the new transport facilities and means. The privately-owned *çiftlik*s widespread in such areas have caused this land demand to intensify in certain areas, thereby playing a role in leaping expansion of the city.

The landowners which refused to sell their *çiftlik* lands at low prices and waited for inclusion of their lands in the city development plans caused the land demand to leap over their lands and to focus on other areas. The leaping metropolitan expansion model is generally explained as a result of the attempt to avoid the increasing land prices. In addition, this model is effected also by the objective of the landowners, acting as active speculators, to maximise their benefits.

On the other hand, the vast lands of the privately-owned *çiftlik*s which were the focal points of the land demand caused reconstruction of certain areas in the fringe. Included among the *çiftlik* lands opened to settlement in that period were also *Çiftburgaz Çiftliği*, *Haznedar Çiftliği*, *Ayasma Çiftliği*, *İncirli Çiftliği* and *Çavuşbaşı Çiftliği* located on the north of the E5 Highway (Figure 7)

4.3.3. The Second Stage of Formation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area : New Land Demand and the Roles of *Çiftlik*s on Different Restructuring Pattern in the Metropolitan Fringe

4.3.3.1. Changing Urbanisation Patterns of Istanbul Metropolitan Area Since 1980s

Starting from the 1980s, Istanbul metropolitan area has entered into a new development model. This model will reactivate also a part of the urban development projects prepared with the support of the World Bank, but failed in practise in the mid-1970s. Dynamics of this model may be listed as follows :

1. Replacement of the introverted economic policies based on substitution of imports with extroverted and neo-liberal growth strategy, as an economic development strategy and an indication of the changing nation-wide political structure. Thus, with termination of the advantages of the economic policies based on substitution of imports, other sectors of the national economy have gained importance, and the metropolitan expansion has been supported as an urban development sector creating the capital accumulation possibilities. Effects of these neo-liberal economic policies of the governments in power after the 1980 military coup have been rapidly reflected on the metropolitan urban areas.

As mentioned above, until the end of the 1970s, although the land rents arising out of formation of the metropolitan area has not been defined as a means of capital accumulation, the political authorities have not intervened with the seizure of this land rents arising as a result of the socially produced profit by the players of the unique and uncontrolled free land market. Starting from the beginning of the 1980s, the urban development and the capital accumulation arising out of this development have been obviously supported by the political authorities.

For the mathematical growth models working with a limited variable, of the liberal economy policies that do not see the city as a place created by the socially produced

profit, the lands along the metropolitan expansion axes are considered as a main source of capital accumulation for the investors. Here, the point to be taken into consideration is the fact that the capital accumulating by means of the urban development sector has not been omitted as in the period until the end of the 1970s, but to the contrary, has been obviously supported to the advantage of certain players of that market.

2. Planning of structural transformations for making Istanbul an attraction centre for the international capital on the ground that Istanbul has the potential of becoming a regional world city. However, in the beginning of the 1980s, the Istanbul metropolitan area reflects a macro form determined by the land demand and the mechanisms leading to intensification of the land demand in certain areas in harmony with the land ownership status, rather than by planning efforts. This form does not fit to the role assigned by the changing economic policies to Istanbul. Therefore, the new restructuring efforts have planned to create a new city form. The restructuring efforts dependent on the above listed two dynamics may be outlined under the following headings :

A. The increase in the resources transferred and allocated by the central government to the urban development and expansion, and the Mass Housing Fund and the Mass Housing Administration formed for creating and managing such resources and generating solutions for inadequate house supply.

B. Increases in the income of municipalities, as a result of increases in various taxes levied by municipalities, and creation of new tax sources such as collection of real estate taxes by municipalities.

C. Reorganisation of local administrations in the form of a dual structure by the Local Administrations Reform. This dual structure is composed of the district municipalities and a metropolitan municipality in charge of co-ordination between the independent district municipalities and realisation of the metropolitan scale projects. This dual structure has reflected on the planning as follows : the district municipalities have their own planning departments, while the metropolitan area development plan is prepared and managed by the metropolitan municipality. In this

hierarchy, the plans of district municipalities are subject to approval of the metropolitan municipality.

D. Decentralisation of the industrial enterprises and utilities (main transport terminals, fresh and dried food market-places, etc.) which have remained inside the metropolitan area in the process of the metropolitan expansion.

E. New transport planning : This planning covers completion of the highways of the 2nd Bosphorous Bridge and commencement of constructions of the semi-open rail transport system and underground network. In this new transport planning, especially the 2nd Bosphorous passage has created a new development axis on the north of the city, and the region between these two axes and the northern part of the new highways are converted into a new means of capital accumulation for the urban development sector.

4.3.3.2. Correspondence Between Land Demands and Land Ownership Patterns in Metropolitan Fringe

Among the reforms above, two attempts and two harmonisation mechanisms are effective on the nature and direction of the land demand of the city. First is the creation of district municipalities in the dual structure of the urban administration by the administration reform. A fast reconstruction movement without any infrastructure utilities has started in the districts equipped with the power to make their own development plans independently from the metropolitan municipality (particularly in the districts outside the central areas)⁴⁸. The powers vested to the district municipalities by this reform and especially, the power to prepare revised *development* plans have led to a mechanism responding to certain urban land

⁴⁸ This reform based on the rationale of planning the urban development has in a very short period of time become a means of seizure of the value created by the urban land and utilisation of this value for individual and political benefits by the metropolitan and district municipalities. The district municipalities may use the revised development plans to open the areas that have not yet exposed to *gecekondus* and illegal buildings or where this trend has started recently, to settlement and reconstruction. In many cases in respect of such revised development plans which do not comply with the bigger-scale development plans, the administration court has ordered "stay of execution" (2nd Administration Court, case file no. 1992/421). The fact that about 70% of the decisions of the Municipal Assemblies were about reconstruction in the mid-1980s gives us clues about the reconstruction activities of both the district municipalities and the metropolitan municipalities in that period (Kaska, 1989).

demands by starting reconstruction activities in the rural areas surrounding the districts. Second is the mass housing projects supported by the Mass Housing Administration organised for resolution of the inadequate house supply problem ongoing since 1950s.

These projects aimed at producing the houses of different types demanded by various different income groups of the city. The land demand triggered by these projects has differed from the past periods. The land demand arising out of the new house supply types has also been effective on site selection for these projects. Lands of certain size and ownership status are needed for realisation of these projects, and such lands are generally located on the *çiftlik* lands around the *Küçük Çekmece* and *Büyük Çekmece* Lakes and along the north development axis of the city.

In the following sections, we shall try to explain the process by giving examples of the *çiftlik* lands opened to settlement in this way and by outlining the mechanisms of harmonisation of the land ownership status with the aforementioned two types of land demand which constitute a determining factor in structuring of the metropolitan fringe since the 1980s.

4.3.4. Three Types of Land Demand and the Roles of *Çiftlik*s on Restructuring Patterns of Metropolitan Fringe Since 1980s

4.3.4.1. Land Demand Created by Decentralization Projects and the Privately-Owned *Çiftlik*s : *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği* and *Cicoz Çiftliği*

As stressed here above, as of 1980, the lands in the close periphery of the city have already been opened to settlement through various different mechanisms and the city has been shaped in the form of an oil stain which does not leave any gap in between. These areas serve both as an area for decentralisation of the small-scale industries located in scattered heaps inside the city and preventing restructuring of the metropolitan city centre, and as an area for decentralisation of some urban utilities such as main transport terminals and wholesale fresh and dried foods market-places.

First, the small-scale industries inside the city centre tend not to locate at places far to the city centre due to the cheap labour therein. Secondly, the public services for satisfaction of two major requirements of the city, namely inter-city transport and food supply, need to be located along main access roads not far from the city centre. These two factors have led to selection of the *Ferhat Pasha* and *Cicoz çiftlik*s for such decentralisation projects in the 1980s, because only these two *çiftlik*s had vacant lands of sufficient size within the metropolitan area expanding in the form of an oil stain (Figure 6B)

Total area of 5000-7000 *dönüms* of *Ferhat Pasha* and *Cicoz Çiftlik*s as of the beginning of the 20th century has reduced to about 2000 *dönüms* each in the 1980s because of various expropriations since 1950s, and subdivision and sales under two subdivision plans of *Esenler* area in 1960s. Even this area represents an important gap in the relevant regions. This gap that remained in the form of oil stain has naturally been an attraction centre for the urban land demand. In the 1980s, the mechanism which adapts the lands of these two *çiftlik*s to the urban land demand works as follows. First, the lands are expropriated by *Arsa Ofisi* (Land Office) or the

Municipality. The expropriation is realised in the status of green areas, parks, etc. Some time after, the status of the land is changed again by an amendment in the *development* plan, and the land is opened to reconstruction and resold to private persons. For the lands lost due to this mechanism, the *çiftlik* owners have brought 156 law suits between 1980 and 1995. Though these law suits are generally won by the *çiftlik* owners, the sides sometimes tend to settle the dispute out of court as the law suits take a very long time. Such settlement is made with the expropriating administration (the Land Office or the Municipalities).

In the 1980s, not only the big size of the lands, but also their proximity to the city and location along the access roads connecting the highways of two bridges have been effective on these two privately-owned *çiftliks* becoming attraction centres for the land demand. Total area of lands lost by these two *çiftliks* since 1984 is about 1500 *dönüms*.

During this period, a land of 220 *dekar*s (0.246 acres) has been expropriated for the New Thrace Bus Terminal and Fast Tramway Station, and a land of 750 *dönüms* has been expropriated for the fresh foods market-place, from the *Ferhat Pasha* and *Cicoz çiftliks*. In addition to these expropriations, a land of 400 *dönüms* from the *çiftliks* of this region has also been included in the *development* plan, upon a mutual agreement with the *çiftlik* owner family. As of 1997, *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği* possessed a land of 500 *dönüms* and *Cicoz Çiftliği* possessed a land of 800 *dönüms*. As of the date of this study, the lands of these two *çiftliks* were still attraction centres for certain land demands, such as the land demand of *Carrefour*, an international chain of gross markets, and the land demand of various small and medium-scale building societies.

4.3.4.2. Land Demand Created by Big-Scale Mass Housing Projects and the Privately-Owned Çiftlik : *Tatarcık, Dereköy, Ada and Yeniburgaz Çiftlik*

In the earlier sections, we have mentioned about the conditions of transformation process of the Istanbul metropolitan area starting from the 1980s and the changes in the urban administration policies and their effects on formation of the metropolitan form. One of these policies which will be mostly effective on structuring of the metropolitan fringe is the Mass Housing Fund and the Mass Housing Administration organised for resolution of the inadequate house supply problem by generating new housing sites with infrastructure utilities. Thus, the mass housing alternative which has been only slightly effective as a house supply type from 1950s to 1980s has started to rise rapidly.

During the period from 1984 to 1991, out of a total of 756,710 mass housing projects backed by the state credits all over Turkey, 113,259 projects were located in Istanbul, and this corresponds to a share of more than 7% (Keyder, Öncü, 1993, 24). Land demands for the projects of *Emlak Bank* and the private mass housing projects of big construction companies are similar to each other, but the site selections are effected by different factors and variables.

The land ownership status and the land size factors fall to the second rank due to the expropriation power of the Mass Housing Administration and *Emlak Bankası*. They are able to solve the problems caused by different ownership status and subdivided ownership rights on the lands of appropriate size for their projects, by way of expropriation, and to let them for contract for mass housing projects. Therefore, the site selection for these projects is mainly based on the physical conformity of the land and the compliance of the mass housing site with the urban development plans. However, not only the land size, but also the ownership status is taken into consideration in site selection for the private mass housing projects. Therefore, the land demand of these companies which do not have a power such as expropriation is determined by the ownership status which is preferred to be less divided.

Significance of the distance to the city is dependent on the income group targets of the houses built by the big construction companies.

In the mass housing projects of different characteristics offered to different income groups, the land utilisation density is also determined by the income group targets of the project houses. The lands demanded by both the mass housing projects consisting of multi-storey high apartment blocks, and the projects consisting of separate low houses, are in the privately-owned *çiftlik*s.

Being relatively far to the city, the old privately-owned *çiftlik*s have remained intact without any development pressure until the 1980s. After the 1980s, these lands have been rapidly transferred to land speculators. Particularly after construction of the 2nd Bridge and its highways, many *çiftlik* lands along the north development axis of the city have entered into a process of change of ownership. For instance, *Tatarcık çiftliği* which has been sold in pieces by its owners since 1950, but had a land of 4000 *dönüms*, was purchased by a land speculator and offered for resale at a price of 25 USD Per square meter in 1996 (Figure 8).

Another privately-owned *çiftlik* sold in the same period was *Dereköy Çiftliği* on which the *Bahçesehir* Mass Housing Project was realised. Owners of this *çiftlik* were also active speculators. *Eskiinozlugil* family from the notables of *Eskinoz Region* on the left coast of the *Küçük Çekmece* Lake has purchased many *çiftlik*s of this area from the families who moved to the Anatolian coast of the city due to the fear of German occupation during the Second World War years. Included among these *çiftlik*s were *Sırtköy Çiftliği*, *Akçaburgaz Çiftliği* and *Nakkaş Çiftliği*. The same family has purchased also *Dereköy Çiftliği* in the same years. *Süzer* construction company, realising big mass housing projects, purchased this *çiftlik* from the family at a total price of 400 million TL in 1984, and realised the *Bahçesehir* Mass Housing Project on its land (Figure 9). *Yarumburgaz (Yeniburgaz) Çiftliği* in the same area has been used for the *Altınsehir* Mass Housing Project composed of 10,000 houses (Figure 9). *Ispartakule* and *Tahtakale çiftlik*s in this area were also subject to land demands of mass housing companies as of the date of this study (Figure 4-9).

Due to the increase of mass housing projects and demand of lands of certain characteristics, the prices of such *çiftlik* lands have risen up rapidly. This price rise has been focused mostly on the region between two lakes, covering the above mentioned *çiftlik*s and other lands of appropriate size for the mass housing projects (Figure 4-9). The cost increase caused by the rise of the *çiftlik* land prices has forced the building societies organised for producing cheap houses for the middle classes to look for new lands in farther areas of the city. For instance, the Metropolitan Municipality Building Society has started to build its mass housing project on the land of *Ada Çiftliği* in *Beylikdüzü*. (Figure 9)



4.3.4.3. Land Demand Created by Industrial Decentralization Projects and Big Manufacturing Zone Projects and the *Çiftlik* Lands : *İkitelli* and *Çatalca Çiftlik*s

The industrial investments have been again focused on Istanbul after 1950s, and have first settled on the urban areas close to the cheap labour market, and upon reaching to a certain development level and strength, have moved to the industrial zones and estates outside the city (Tümertekin, 1978; Güvenç, 1992).

The manufacturing zones within the metropolitan area of Istanbul until 1980s had the following appearance in general. While regular and wide industrial complexes are located generally in the regular industrial zones outside the city, small and medium-scale manufacturers prefer the residential areas where population density is higher and labour is cheaper. In 1980s, many small and medium-scale industries were inside the city. As the urban restructuring model projected to make Istanbul a centre of international finance and trade, it became necessary to displace the industries and manufacturers to the fringe of the city. For this purpose, small industrial estates and large-scale and regular industrial zones with infrastructure utilities (organised industrial zones) are built in the metropolitan fringe.

As the small industrial estates cannot generally go away from the cheap labour market of the city, they demand lands in the areas of cheap labour market in the new districts located at the outskirts of the city. These areas are *Güngören*, *Esenler*, *Kocasinan*, *Yenibosna*, *Bağcılar*, *Avcılar*, *Esenyurt* and *Firuzköy* which are the fastest growing districts of Istanbul (SIS,1997). In this site selection of the small industries, the harmony with the land ownership is established by the expropriation mechanism. Included among the *çiftlik*s supplying lands for small industrial estates in this period were again *Ferhat Pasha Çiftliği*, *Cicöz Çiftliği* and *Çiftburgaz Çiftliği*.

Organised zones for large-scale industries generally need vast lands in the outer circle of the metropolitan fringe. Included among them is *İkitelli Çiftliği* expropriated

for the *İkitelli* Organised Industrial Zone (Figure 5-10). Currently, another organised industrial zone is being built in *Çatalca*. It is known that there were many privately-owned *çiftlik*s in *Çatalca-Silivri-Ereğli* area as of the end of the 19th century (Figure 3). In this study, we have not studied whether these *çiftlik* lands were the lands responding to the land demand of the *Çatalca* Organised Industrial Zone.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

AN OVERVIEW ON THE FORMATION OF METROPOLITAN FRINGE OF GREATER ISTANBUL:

EVOLUTION OF LAND OWNERSHIP AND LAND USE PATTERNS

Uncontrolled urban growth in and around Istanbul could not be contained in 1990's and this in spite of the considerable decrease in its population growth rate. The case of Istanbul is course not unique as it has counterparts elsewhere in the third world. Lack of development land, uncontrolled urban growth and sprawl stem from inadequate formal administrative and mechanisms.

More often than not planning authorities were not able to steer metropolitan growth or monitor and prevent irregular subdivisions. This helped the consolidation of the dualistic city where formal and irregular land supply mechanisms operate simultaneously. This of course would not be possible if concerned parties, including the silent majority (citizens loyal to the establishment) were dissatisfied with the social and economic outcome of these processes.

It is therefore not surprising that a major part of squatter housing development, and irregular subdivisions are realised under strict controls of (Mafiosi type) criminal organisation while large sectors of former *gecekondu* areas are transformed into dense districts made of apartment blocks.

Regularisation of former *gecekondü* sectors articulated to small and medium scale industrial production complexes., realisation of large scale mass housing projects, decentralisation of vertically integrated plants, intensify the social and physical contrast between inner city and its periphery.

A major part of these land-use transformations are observed on the metropolitan fringe through the dissolution of former land tenure types. Analyses revealed that such transformations would not be possible at all, if land supply through the dissolution of former tenure types on *çiftlik* lands did not go hand in hand, with the demand for development land. Had this been the case, observed processes of metropolitan growth would face obstacles, unfold at a new pace and eventually generate a new metropolitan form.

Hence the actual settlement pattern and characteristics of urban macro-form should not be conceived of as unavoidable consequences, or an inescapable outcomes of universally applicable (a-historical) processes of metropolitan development. On the contrary the actual form should be considered as a spatial manifestation contingent upon a plethora of local dynamics, actors and factor. In other words the actual metropolitan landscape is but one out of a multitude of possible realisations that could be obtained under interacting local of agencies. It would be convenient to recapitulate major conclusions arrived at.

There had been important reforms in urban administration and planning institutions since 1850's, unfortunately this process was slow and retroactive. Interventions and administrative reforms were generally restricted in scope if not too late in time. Hence in no point in time, established institutions were -since the second half of 19th century metropolitan growth was shaped by the interaction local factors and contingencies.

This spontaneous form of metropolitan growth was encouraged and supported by a particular regime of capital accumulation spurred by a high population growth rate. Concentration of migrants in child bearing age groups and increased population

growth rate, housing demand, and led to the proliferation of irregular settlements. processes of metropolitan growth observed since 1950's are of course a multi-faceted and. Structured through the interaction of several components and mechanisms.

Administrative institutions were neither able to meet the challenges of, intervene and steer this unprecedented urban growth nor ensure an adequate supply of development land. Planning authorities, formal agents of land supply, had at their disposal several legal instruments and the right of expropriation. They could affect land-uses on adjacent agricultural parcels through local or comprehensive development plans or squatter zone improvement plans or through expropriations. This form of supply of development land would create but differential rent if it unfolds freely without any bureaucratic obstacles. On the contrary if planning authorities (or land owners) are capable to delay or distort this process, they would (willingly or unwillingly) provide landowners with absolute rents resulting from the scarcity of land supply, hence have an impact on capital accumulation.

The supply of development land depends on investments in urban services and planning decisions. Any deficiency in the supply of development land would swiftly transform it into a scarce commodity, a means of accumulation and produce scarcity rents. While monopoly rents would accrue to all those endowed with ownership rights on land, absolute rents that speeds up capital accumulation depend on land-owners active interventions. Hence the presence of scarcity rents emerge as a consequence of the performance of land supply mechanisms. The latter are contingent upon a plethora of factors, such as legal code pertaining to land property ownership, investments in urban infra-structure, the style of urban planning, administrative efficiency.

Any significant deficiency in land-supply would lead to rapid increases in land value, which would eventually constitute a form of accumulation. Historical analysis reveals that land-owners taking advantage of the exiting land-ownership pattern, could in certain circumstances block or delay the supply of development land and

affect land rents. Hence lack or inadequate investment funds in urban public services, encourage not only contiguous growth and density increases, helps consolidate irregular mechanisms of land supply, but acts as an income distribution mechanism favouring some groups at the expense of others. It has therefore important social and economic consequences.

These ad-hoc mechanisms of land supply provided those who would like to avoid high land-prices at the city centre with adequate supply of development land and ensure an over-all correspondence between the supply and demand for development land on fringe lands. The transition from a predominantly agricultural land use pattern into urban land-use pattern took place under these circumstances.

It is however questionable whether such ad-hoc land-supply mechanisms would reach comparable level of performance in the absence of large amounts of vacant *çiftlik* adjacent to city boundaries. Our historical analyses however reveal that the performance of this new form of supply vary with respect to tenure types, distance to the city center, type of land-use assignment on development plans. The efficiency of these mechanisms varied with respect to characteristics of land demand size and distribution of properties and the level of ownership fragmentation. *Çiftlik* lands were in most cases, suitable to meet these various kinds of land demand. Transformation of these *çiftlik*s assumed several forms, it varied with respect to distance to the city centre, type of land-use plan, ownership fragmentation and the characteristics of land demand. and characteristics of subdivision.

While squatter housing proliferated on treasury owned or *vakıf çiftlik* lands generally committed to non-residential land-uses development land suitable for middle class housing was supplied through regular or irregular subdivision of privately owned *çiftlik*, or *çiftlik* held by *Milli Emlak Idaresi* (National Real Estate Administration) with little or no ownership fragmentation. Notice that in early stages of development *çiftlik*s at remote locations were, (thanks to their distance to the city) practically set aside from development pressure and did not experience ownership fragmentation. Latter proved particularly suitable to meet middle class demands for large parcels of

required for mass housing at decentralised locations. Hence several local factors were influential in the structuration of Istanbul metropolitan area and gradual land-use transformation development of the metropolitan fringe in Istanbul. The need for intra-metropolitan transformation and high rents that gradually increased the demand for urban land, and in this context subdivision of *çiftlik* constituted a reliable land stock and supply.

Land-use transformations observed on the metropolitan fringe depend upon the way requirements for development land are met at various stages of metropolitan growth. Notice however that this requirement sub-divisions could not, in most cases ensure a continuous supply of development land. The process did not unfold on an isotropic space, but through ownership transformations in concrete geographic space. It involves the dissolution of previous ownership structures and the speed with which it unfolds, is contingent upon adequacy of institutional arrangements and legal instruments.

This study on the transformation historical *çiftlik* indicate that the latter constitutes a crucial element in understanding land use transformations on metropolitan fringes, and an important land stock to meet various types of demand for development land.

Since the second half of 19th century *çiftlik* lands held under various tenure types experienced ownership and land-use transformations. However in early phases transactions were subject to limitations and constraints and reservations of *Ottoman Land Code and Civil Law*. However as land market developed transactions on *çiftlik* lands increased with the private property generalised. In early phases of urban development transformation did not so much affect land-uses as much as they influenced the pattern of agricultural production, production technology, area under cultivation and markets (outlets)

The period between the two World Wars and World War II years, is not characterized with rapid urban growth thus requirements for development land were not sufficiently high to trigger widespread land-use and ownership transformations

on fringe lands to generate pressures on *çiftlik* lands. Early examples of residential decentralization were a consequence of increasing private car ownership or improvement of urban transport systems but they prepared the ground for future developments that affected *çiftlik* in two different ways. First the population transfer of 1920's was followed by important transfer of properties to treasury. Secondly the thread of an eventual German occupation of Thrace ushered several land owners to liquidate their property. Local notables took advantage of the situation, not only to increase their land stock but also to protect their wealth against the high inflation of the war years.

This process of ownership polarization, in our view, prepared the ground and set the scene for post-war speculation on fringe lands. Metropolitan growth led to a proliferation of squatter settlements on old *çiftlik* properties transferred to the treasury. This constitutes a second and a distinctive aspect of metropolitan growth during which Treasury owned near-by vacant *çiftlik* were relatively easy targets for squatter housing.

Acceleration of the process of metropolitan growth fed fuel to the proliferation of squatter settlements on old *çiftlik* properties. This constitutes a second and a distinctive aspect of metropolitan growth. Treasury owned near-by vacant *çiftlik* properties were particularly suitable and easy targets for squatter housing. It is therefore not surprising to see that a major part of squatting took place on former vacant *çiftlik* lands.

Introduction, consolidation and swift institutionalisation of innovative instruments such as *shared title deeds*, to regularise the subdivision of agricultural properties outside plan boundaries was particularly relevant for middle income groups demand for urban development land. Again *çiftlik* lands proved once more especially fit for the implementation and institutionalisation of this quasi-regular practice. This form of land supply sustained and was spurred by industrial decentralisation, land requirements for low-income groups, and strip-line developments at the metropolitan level '*saçaklanma*'.

Ensuring a continuous supply of development land was a crucial factor in this process. the most important factor which enables this expansion was the suitability of the pattern which responded to the different types of newly emerging demand. During this phase of metropolitan expansion fringe lands are transformed into urban land uses, agricultural lands are subdivided thanks to developments in transport systems, and new legal and institutional mechanisms devised to ensure the supply of adequate amounts of development land. These mechanisms facilitated the process of subdivision of privately owned *çiftlik*s transferred to treasury.

In this phase, *çiftlik*s owned by or transferred to treasury were able to meet certain types of land requirement. This diversified Metropolitan growth patterns. But contiguous regained its importance through the subdivision of agricultural land into urban land-uses. This generates an urban macro form is more or less in line with the theoretical expectations of the classical rent and neo-classical land-use theories. However as these two forms are generated by totally different mechanisms similarities are superficial. This sheds light to inadequacies of existing theoretical approaches in explaining the emergence of this settlement pattern. The emergence of the observed pattern can not be explained without reference to adjacent *çiftlik* lands. Institutional or legal barriers to subdivision paved the way for leap-frogging urban developments indicating once more the importance of land-tenure.

During the first phase of metropolitan growth up to 1980's irregular settlements grew on *Papaz Çiftligi*, *Sultan Beyazıt Vakfı Çiftligi* on the Istanbul side and on *Hekimbasi Çiftligi* on the Anatolian side. This enabled *Zeytinburnu* and *Ümraniye*; which previously were but minor peripheral settlements to gain district status. In this process, high and rising rent levels at the city centre led middle income groups to evacuate central sectors. Their land demand was met through regular subdivisions or through early initiatives for mass housing such as *Levent* Housing project or through subdivisions realised through shared title deeds. This process is observed mostly on the European side.

Throughout the second stage of metropolitan growth, during 1980's, *çiftlik*s played important roles in meeting land requirements for metropolitan growth and residential decentralisation. Our study revealed that the *Ferhatpaşa, Cicoz, Tatarcık and Dereköy Çiftlik*s; situated on the Istanbul side constituted large land stocks for regular subdivisions. This was made possible thanks to their size and relatively indivisible ownership. On the other hand, several private *çiftlik* experienced land use transformations and so as to support the decentralisation of urban services and housing projects. On the other hand, high inflation fed fuel to high rampant land speculation and prepared the ground for various political patronage. Field surveys suggest that all these sociological phenomena have direct or indirect links with and land market, speculation and affect the pace and pattern of irregular subdivisions.

These observations pertaining to the diversification of requirements for development land and mechanisms of land supply corroborate with major hypothesis of this study. Which considers the evolution and the observed properties of Greater Istanbul macro-form and its predominantly contiguous growth dynamics as being contingent upon land ownership pattern and the characteristics land stock on urban fringe lands. These observations pertaining to the diversification of requirements for development land and mechanisms of land supply corroborate with major hypothesis of this study. In this regard *çiftlik* emerge as an inexhaustible land stock capable to meet to meet different types of land demands associated with urban growth.

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