

RECONSTRUCTING THE CITY AND THE CITIZEN THROUGH
“THE ISTANBUL COURSES”

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Thesis Abstract

Miray akirođlu, “Reconstructing the City and the Citizen through

‘The İstanbul Courses’”

This study investigates into the imagination of the city, specifically İstanbul and the projection of identity for the İstanbulite urban subject within the context of İstanbul courses. The courses, inspired by an educational project carried out as part of İstanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture, became part of the primary school curriculum for the state schools in İstanbul. A similar course, “City and Culture: İstanbul”, was also designed to be offered as an elective for universities in the city. It is argued that the courses constitute an example of the consumer-capitalist ideology in the urban space and constitute one of the strategies of urban entrepreneurialism. They create and disseminate a normative discourse about the urban space with the help of the reproductive function of education. The thesis analyzes the course books in terms of the three criteria of “the world construct”, “history” and “the urban citizen”. It is argued that within the world construct that the courses project, İstanbul emerges as a postcard-city emptied out of its social and historical context for purposes of place marketing. History functions as a reservoir to contribute to this construct by providing myths concerning the city’s past. In this context, the desirable urban citizen that the courses aim to bring about is imagined as spectator, a tourist and a tourist guide. The courses therefore enable the reproducing of the consumer-capitalist ideology in the urban space and raise the individuals that are properly integrated into it.

Tez Özeti

Miray Çakıroğlu, “‘İstanbul Dersleri’ Yoluyla Şehrin ve Vatandaşın Yeniden Üretimi”

Bu çalışma, İstanbul dersleri bağlamında şehir ve özellikle İstanbul tahayyülü ile İstanbullu kentli vatandaşa yönelik kimlik tasarımıını incelemektedir. İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti kapsamında yürütölmüş bir eğitim projesinden ilhamla yola çıkan dersler, İstanbul’daki devlet ilköğretim okullarında müfredata dâhil edilmiştir. “Şehir ve Kültür: İstanbul” isimli benzer bir ders de, seçmeli ders olarak okutulmak üzere tasarlanıp İstanbul’daki üniversitelere önerilmiştir. Tezde, derslerin, eğitimin yeniden üretici rolünün yardımıyla kent mekânı ve kentli vatandaş hakkında normatif bir söylem oluşturduğu tartışılmaktadır. Çalışma “dünya kurgusu”, “tarih” ve “kentli vatandaş” kriterleri üzerinden İstanbul ders kitaplarını analiz etmektedir. Derslerin tasarladığı dünya kurgusuna göre İstanbul, yer pazarlaması amacı doğrultusunda sosyal ve tarihsel bağlamından koparılmış bir kartpostal-şehir olarak tasarlanmaktadır. Tarih kentin geçmişine dair mitler sağlayarak bu kurguya katkıda bulunacak bir rezervuar olarak işlev görmektedir. Bu bağlamda makbul kentli vatandaş; seyirci, turist ve turist rehberi olarak tasavvur edilmektedir. Dersler bu anlamda tüketici-kapitalist ideolojinin yeniden üretimini sağlamakta ve bu ideolojiye tam anlamıyla uyum sağlamış bireyler yetiştirmektedir.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: PUTTING İSTANBUL IN CONTEXT: AN OVERVIEW OF URBAN STUDIES.....	4
The City is a Representation.....	4
Making Sense of the Postindustrial City.....	17
City as the Place for and an Object of Consumption.....	27
CHAPTER 3: İSTANBUL AS CULTURAL CAPITAL AND THE CAPITAL OF CULTURE.....	36
The Emergence of Culture in the City.....	36
İstanbul as Capital of Culture.....	46
İstanbul as Cultural Capital.....	57
The Role of Education and İstanbul Courses in Context.....	65
CHAPTER 4: THE MAKING OF ISTANBUL AND THE “DESIRABLE” URBAN SUBJECT.....	80
“The Gigantic System That is Called İstanbul”: The World Construct.....	87
“The City That Was Heralded”: History.....	116
“Individual’s Becoming Urbanite”: The Urban Subject.....	132
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....	151
APPENDIX.....	155
REFERENCES.....	156

“Geçen gün babam, ‘Çok güzel bir şehirde yaşıyoruz’ dedi. Şehir kelimesi benim ilgimi çekti. Küçük bir araştırma yaptım. Öğrendim ki şehirde pek çok insan, ev, araba ve fabrika olurmuş. Hafta sonları ailemle eğlenirken yaşadığımız o güzel anları şehrin bize sunduklarına borçluymuşum, babam öyle diyor. Eğer şehir size güzelliklerini sunuyorsa sizin de onları gezip görmeniz gerekmiş. Annem ve babam, yaşadığımız şehri tanımamız için bana ve kardeşime rehberlik ediyor. Siz yaşadığınız çevreyi ve İstanbul’u tanıyor musunuz? İsterseniz siz de bize katılabilirsiniz”.

İlköğretim üçüncü sınıf İstanbul ders kitabından alıntı

“The other day my father said, ‘We are living in a very beautiful city’. I got curious about the word ‘city’ and made a small investigation. I learned that there are many people, houses, cars and factories in the city. We are indebted the beautiful moments we have when we travel around the city at weekends to what the city offers us, my father says so. If the city offers you such beauties you have to travel around to see them. My mom and dad guide me and my siblings in getting to know about the city that we live in. Do you know about your neighborhood and İstanbul? You can join us if you like.”

Extract from the third grade İstanbul course book

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The rising interest in cities is recently quite visible and justified from both an analytical perspective and from practical point of view as they are the powerhouses of most change on the face of earth and as spaces where most of the world's population live. In direction of Lefebvre's proposition that the spatial is socially produced, cities constitute an inevitable issue to deal with in attempts to give meaning to ongoing social processes. This thesis can be regarded as only one of the many attempts of understanding the present day city in the specific case of İstanbul. Starting off from the idea that the city does not only consist of buildings, bridges and roads and that experience and imagination is equally significant and real, the study takes representation of the city as its object of analysis. In the doing that, it is borne in mind the city is an organic entity that is in a dynamic, mutual relation with any other element in the society and accordingly the study attempts to ground İstanbul in its social, economic and political context.

Like all other previous periods and their social conditions have determined and in turn been determined by space, late capitalism which describes today, produces its own space and is produced spatially. The cities of late capitalism are marked with the exchange value that they have taken upon and thus having turned into a meta, coming to the forefront especially in terms of tourism, which constitutes a major field of postindustrial economies. As well as being the backstage to such drastic changes as regeneration, gentrification and dispossession whereby cities are structurally transformed in line with the movements of capital, they also turn into consumable objects that are marketed and advertised to attract flows of capital and of people. In this sense, representations of cities become an issue of branding and

marketing. Despite a discrepancy between the city as imagined and the city as experienced, representations, through creating myths, work towards putting the discrepancy out of sight while inequalities get reproduced and propagated in the urban space.

This study deals with İstanbul, the most densely-populated and as anonymously agreed, the only truly global city in the country. As a norm-making representation which is produced by way of schooling and which therefore, from an Althusserian point of view, ensures an unproblematic reproduction of ideology, the İstanbul courses constitute the study's object of analysis. "The İstanbul courses" are courses that are specifically on İstanbul and they have been part of the curriculum in the public primary schools in the city and offered as an elective at a number of universities. The courses take their source from an educational project carried out as part of İstanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture. The first year when it was taught in the third, fourth and fifth grades of primary schools, the courses had no prescribed teaching materials; it was one year later that the course books and the teacher guides were introduced for teaching and for the university course, a compiled book including separate articles by various authors, titled *İstanbul: Şehir ve Kültür* (İstanbul: City and Culture) was suggested as the primary course book. Taking its inspiration from the İstanbul 2010 project, the İstanbul courses are distinguished as a field in which the reciprocal influence between space and ideology becomes crystallized.

The thesis makes a discursive analysis of these books so as to understand the conception of city and the designation of the desirable urban citizen as suggested in the courses and to interpret them within the context of the ideology they are a part of. The investigation into the course books shows that İstanbul is conceived as a

depthless postcard space, construed of images which altogether turn the city into a spectacle. The postcard analogy is relevant not only because a postcard is suggestive of touristic consumption, which is a highlight for postindustrial economies but also because a postcard embodies privileged images, symbols and mythmaking just it is the case with creating the image of İstanbul as a cool city of festivals, a hub of arts of culture, and a space of nostalgia for the “old İstanbul”. History, in this sense, is instrumentalized and functions as a reservoir from which the desired images and symbols may be drawn. It is also suggested that history is compartmentalized as static time periods that have no connection to the present and within this picture the Ottoman history is particularly underlined. Finally, the desirable urban citizen, who is to be not only a city-dweller but a true urbanite, takes their place in the postcard city as a spectator, tourist and tourist guide. The İstanbul courses therefore are integrated into the consumer-capitalist ideology in its reflection in the urban space and turn out to be one of its strategies in reproducing ideology through education.

CHAPTER 2

PUTTING İSTANBUL IN CONTEXT: AN OVERVIEW OF URBAN STUDIES

The City is a Representation

An undergraduate course titled “Creative Process” in the Performing Arts department, where I work as a research assistant, required the students to do a performance about anything maximum three minutes long as the final assignment. An Erasmus student brought to class a poster-size landscape painting of İstanbul, the like of which are sold by peddlers on busy streets around the city. The painting showed a mosque in the corner, across ran the Bosphorus, there were several boats on the water and in them, people fishing. The landscape was largely blue and green and it conveyed a sense of tranquility. The student flipped the poster, cut the white paper into asymmetrical pieces, scrambled the pieces of paper, brought them together again in a different order this time and taped them. As she flipped the painting over again, the landscape did not at all resemble what it was before. The mosque, the Bosphorus, the boats and the people had changed places and were now scattered randomly in all four corners. The student said that the resulting landscape was what for her was İstanbul. She was not referring to a certain messiness in the city, to the busses which are never on time, a complaint which I often hear from them. She said İstanbul was a patchwork, changing according to the perspective of the viewer.

This study deals with one of the ways the city of İstanbul is imagined, a discourse that has found its way to primary education curriculum and a number of universities in the city. Having its roots in 2010 when İstanbul was entitled one of the European Capitals of Culture of the year, the İstanbul Courses for primary schools was inspired by an educational project actualized by the Educational Volunteers

Foundation of Turkey (TEGV) and redesigned as a course which started to be taught in schools starting from the 2010-2011 educational year. Similarly, a course was developed by the İstanbul Provincial Tourism and Cultural Directorate, and supported by the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), it was offered to the universities in İstanbul. In describing the city and having a claim to define the urban subject, these courses constitute one among the other representations of the city, privileged indeed in comparison to other representations. These courses, complete with their books and curricula, build a discourse about the city and its dwellers, and projecting these within the context of education, make a strong claim to defining the city and its dweller. A representation is also a truth claim as it creates an imagery of the thing it stands for and this is part of what makes the thing it is. How the city is imagined is therefore no less real than what the city is.

Any discussion relating to urban studies is bound to begin with the question of what a city is. The reason why any other urban studies reader includes at least one article on the definition of the city is perhaps that the city is something that should constantly be defined and this is perhaps because, just like the patchwork landscape of the student, it changes. As the most readily available way of defining anything, one could resort to binary opposites and say that a city is what is not a village. The job to be done is to make a list of the differences between a city and a village then. This requires that what a village is already known and if it is also defined by way of its binary opposites, this would lead to the fallacy of begging the question. Another attempt at a definition could be referring to the size of the population in a city. A settlement with a population of a given number can be said to be city, another with lesser population a town, and still lesser a village. But can the distinction really be reduced to the population size? The variety of job opportunities, the multitude of

institutions, and the height of buildings also became parameters that are often mentioned along with the city, however questionable.

The London that Jonathan Raban (1974) describes in the very first pages of his *Soft City* calls to mind Calvino's dreamscapes. A sequence from the city's everyday life in an unceasing activity with people from different nationalities and speaking different languages, a scene that is daily staged in any city these days, he, writing in 1974 finds dizzying. For him, in these moments of dizziness the city goes soft; it is malleable and waits to be given meaning: a Marco Polo to talk about it. Raban wants to put the record straight: "The city as we imagine it, the soft city of illusion, myth, aspiration, nightmare, is as real, maybe more real, than the hard city one can locate on maps, in statistics, in monographs on urban sociology and demography and architecture" (1974, 2).

In Kant's view, space was not empirical but *a priori*, that is, it came before experience. Rather than being something experienced externally, alongside time it was the background in which perceptions which have their source in the outside world were organized. Space underlied experiences and itself was ideal, eternal and fixed (Janiak 2012). A philosophical proposition dating back to the eighteenth century, the idea of space as being fixed and unchanging has its resonance though, in the idea of the city as being the environment where social relations take place independently of where they specifically take place. According to this view, space does not act on people and their doings and the other way around. Space is then something accidental, a setting for the scenes of the play of history. Yet space is often not an objective reality outside standing by itself and the city not the sum of buildings, roads and bridges but instead closely connected with one's experience and this experience is never unmediated. The experience of the city is formed as much

and perhaps to a greater degree through songs, poems, films about the city and the stories they have heard as well as their experience in person. Quoting Deborah Stevenson, “New York is a media construction – the skyline of Manhattan is instantly and globally familiar even though the majority of world’s population has never been there and will never go” (2003, 1).

In “The Other Parises” Lefebvre holds there are three Parises. Providing their locations as well, he points out to them: the political Paris, the Paris of knowledge and the Paris of commerce, production and wealth. He warns as follows: “Whatever the case may be, anyone who passes through one of Paris’s diversified spaces should not forget about the others, if he claims to have a mental ‘image of the city’, however inaccurate” (Elden, Lebas, and Kofman 2003, 155). To put it in Westwood and Williams’ words, “the city is many cities” (1997, 5). The city, due to this multiplicity that it embodies, can be regarded as a “text” with its multi-layered surfaces and can be analyzed to decipher discourses. A text is the product of a certain worldview, which may as well be called a discourse, which is possibly dominant at that certain time and place and for that reason embedded in the values that this view puts forward. To analyze a text means to discover the conditions in which it is produced; therefore it functions as a mirror to reflect the shaping ideology in each case. These texts, as Barthes (1972) calls them, myths, must indeed be analyzed because they serve to naturalize the working of ideology and to make what is in fact a construct look like eternal. In his “Semiology and the Urban”, Barthes states that (1997, 168) “the city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language: the city speaks to us, we speak our city...” and later, going along with Victor Hugo, that the city is a writing. “He who moves about the city, e.g. the user of the city (what we all are, is a kind of reader who, following his obligations and his movements, appropriates

fragments of the utterance in order to actualize them in secret” (170). The readers of the city must recognize the codes in order to know the city but never to fix their reading because the signifieds in this case are historically “vague, dubious and unmanageable” (172). An attempt to pin down a certain reading then amounts to manipulating these historically unmanageable signifieds.

Urban theories are also narratives trying to explain the city and the urban experience. Each theory develops its own discourse and offers a way of thinking about the city. The city is therefore addressed differently in each case, consistent within the framework and also the historical time and the social context. Though not specifically dwelling on the urban question, Engels’ *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* is very much text on the city. In that, Engels takes a gloomy picture of the burgeoning industrial city. He refers specifically to London, which he says became the “commercial capital of the world” (1968, 30) but poverty, indifference, crowd, filth and disease are also true for other cities, which he explicates one by one. Engels regards these cities as the places upon which the daily struggle of the proletariat takes place, where the stark contrast between the holders of capital and workers is most visible. He is talking about an existing situation, namely capitalism and he aims to explain the situation, what gives rise to it and what would be the way out. In doing that he turns to cities because people work, live and suffer there; namely because capitalism is played out in the city. It is a city which underwent the industrial revolution, setting up of factories, migration of people from the country in large scales as wage laborers. The site of exploitation, the city also embodies the revolutionary potential as inhabitants of this city, the laborers working under harsh conditions are the ones to unite and rebel.

Sennett regards Weber's *The City*, published in 1921, as "the first modern effort in urban studies" (1969, 5). The city that Weber dwells upon is not the city that he dwells in; he makes a survey of the premodern cities from a vast geography and argues about the characteristics of the city in history. Sennett interprets this saying that for Weber the city "is a set of social structures that encourage social individuality and innovation, and is thus the instrument of historical change" and the richness that breed this kind of a formation was already present in the cities of the past whereas the present-day city was lacking this quality (6). Jonas, on the other hand, suggests that Weber may have felt a reluctance to deal with the industrial city in the face of its complexity (Parker 2004, 10). The same methodology, namely looking into his subject matter in its historical context is also present in his other works, for instance when he traces the spirit of capitalism. This strategy may be considered as an attempt at making sense of the present in the light of the past, trying to understand what may have caused things to be the way they are. Concerning the city, Weber remarks that a city cannot be told apart by its size, its inhabitants live off trade and commerce rather than agriculture and it possesses the following: fortification, a market, a court, a related form of association and at least partial autonomy.

Simmel (1971), writing his highly influential essay "Metropolis and the Mental Life" in 1903, emphasizes the effect of urban experience on the individual psyche. According to Simmel, the individual who is faced with a multitude of stimuli with every step in the metropolis develops intellectualism as a protective mechanism against being overwhelmed by this intensity. Intellectualism as a response of the people living in the metropolis is connected to money economy, of which the metropolis is the seat. Both are related to the "matter-of-fact attitude", practicality,

punctuality and exactness of life in the metropolis. As things that are unique are bought and sold, they are transformed into each other by money, which is “the most frightful leveler” and money economy is most developed in the metropolis (178). Living in a big city, the metropolitans develop the *blasé* attitude and reserve as they adapt to their environment which is marked by an equivalence of everything to everything by means of money. The metropolis is an impersonal space with no intimate relations between individuals and it is also the space of subjectivity for the very same reason. The same reason that puts a distance between people and makes them treat each other as mere instruments also gives them space for freedom. In his criticism therefore Simmel cannot be said to be simply condemning the life in the metropolis.

A group of Chicago-based scholars writing in the 1920s are referred to as the Chicago School. Robert E. Park, Ernest Burgess and Louis Wirth are the sociologists associated with this school who wrote about the urban experience mostly through the ethnography they conducted in Chicago. The Chicago School understood the city as an organism and introduced the term “urban ecology” as a way to grasp the city. Burgess, notably, conceived of the city as consisting of concentric zones with a center and various other zones such as the transitional zone, residential zone, commuter zone etc. that are formed outside it (Parker 2004, 42). This is not a static model as these zones are in motion and change occurs due to the factors of competition, succession and invasion between the zones. Just like an anomaly in an organism, pathologies in the city can be traced to a kind of disorder in the city’s body. Chicago sociologists therefore turned their attention towards what might be called the urban subcultures and the urban types such as the taxi driver, the hobo, the immigrant.

Henri Lefebvre's seminal book which deals with the notion of space from a very broad perspective is titled *The Production of Space* and was published in 1974. "Production" is a keyword here in many respects as Lefebvre introduces space into the Marxist analysis and puts forward the idea of space as something produced as well as a medium for production in every sense. Whereas it is possible to deduce from a passing comment as to "the idiocy of rural life" in "The Communist Manifesto" that Marx and Engels (2000) has a better opinion of the city than he has of the town, Marx never dwells upon space itself as a subject of inquiry by itself. Lefebvre, on the other hand, gives the central place to space and goes so far as to "substitute spatial/territorial conflict for class conflict as the motivating force behind radical social transformation" (Soja, cited in Shields 1999, 208).

Lefebvre maintains that the spatial is socially produced which means that more than being a mere ground where production and reproduction occurs, space is acted on by the social, political and economic conditions in a society and dialectically, it provides the backdrop for the subsistence of certain social relations. This relation between space and ideology calls to mind the relation between base and superstructure in the Marxist cultural theory. Yet space cannot be unproblematically collected under one heading, belonging to one or the other camp for space not only refers to its physical aspect but to also attitudes, practices and imagination. "For Lefebvre's Marx, social space is simultaneously a means of production as land and part of the social forces of production as space. As real estate property, spatial relations can be considered part of the social relations of production (the economic base). In addition, space is an object of consumption, a political instrument, and an element of social struggle" (Shields 1999, 160).

Lefebvre offers to think of space in a threefold dialectic which consists of spatial practice, representation of space and spaces of representation, all interrelated to each other. Spatial practice refers to the lived space in its everyday sense; buildings, parks, roads, workplaces and any other specific place make up spatial practice. It is therefore directly the material of our experience and it plays a role in ensuring the continuation of ideology, put beautifully by Lefebvre's question: "How could the Church survive without *churches*?" (Shields 1999, 162). Representations of space consists of the discourses on space; it includes the knowledge created around space such as maps, plans and theories. It is thus "conceptualized space, the space of scientists... technocratic subdividers and social engineers... all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (164). Finally, spaces of representation denotes the space as it might be, brought into being by the social imaginary. It is "space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'.... This is the dominated... space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" (164). Lefebvre's trialectics is significant as it reveals the breadth of the scope in which space is to be considered, that space is a product, and that it is not a finished product.

For Lefebvre spatialization has a history. In terms of modes of production, he determines six distinct spaces and places them historically on a rather Eurocentric map. These six spaces that correspond to time periods are: absolute space, sacred space, historical space, abstract space, contradictory space and differential space. Contradictory space among these is worthy of special attention as it is the space of globalized capitalism. This space is increasingly polarized or rather fragmented as the privileged sites where the accumulation of capital shows itself most clearly and the underprivileged ghettos, completely isolated from each other as worlds within

themselves. The worker selling his labor power in exchange for money and creating surplus value that adds to capital does not maintain capitalism alone. The extension of capitalism requires the occupation and administration of the whole social space and this is achieved by “(1) the marginalization of all non-capitalist spaces and activities, (2) the organization of private and public consumption by means of advertising and state bureaucracy, and (3) the extension of capitalist relations to the non-productive, cultural sectors of leisure such as the arts, information and architecture” (Shields 1999, 179). The city, no longer only the factory, plays an essential role by providing the convenient setting for capitalism and itself being a product in capitalist exchange.

In the contradictory space of capitalism space is a product and thus a commodity. Space takes on exchange value not only as real estate that is bought and sold but also in terms of ‘the commodification of experience’ which is increasingly true for cities from all around the world. Frederic Jameson, summing up the principal contradictions of the contemporary space, enumerates use value versus exchange value among the contradictions. As space takes on exchange value, cities as *oeuvres*, that is, works of art, are transformed into spaces for enterprise and when this is not possible they are made into consumable items either by way of direct reproduction or photography (Shields 1999, 180). Cities that are considered primary centers for attraction catering for the needs of global tourism come forth as places whose distinctive qualities that give them their identity are brought down to a consumable size, whereof Disneyland may be considered a leading example.

In many ways the understanding of the city that this thesis embraces draws upon Lefebvre’s conceptualization of space. The city is socially produced, that is, it bears the mark of the politics, economics and history of a society and in that it is not

a passive recipient but shapes it in turn; there is a mutual relationship between the city and the society. This view helps to understand the contemporary fragmented city with its gated communities, large shopping malls and the ghettos subject to gentrification, all of which indicate a city as enterprise. Where the city is not an enterprise, as Jameson suggests, with its reproductions and images, the city is a commodity in consumable size. The city is not only the material space or the space of planners and geographers but also there is an imaginative dimension to it which finds its expression in Lefebvre's final constituent of trialectics: spaces of representation, in other words the discourses of space. The discourses of the city, conceptualizing how the city might be lived, are the products of the prevalent ideology. An inquiry into the representations therefore is likely to enable one to find out about the leading ideologies at the time. As Lefebvre says, the spaces of representation is "the dominated... space which the imagination seeks to change or appropriate" (1991, 39). All discourses about the city have a claim to it and the prevalent ideology that stands out among them to a large extent determines change into what and appropriation by whom.

Shields beautifully puts it that the strange effect of representations is that "...like the snow falling in a souvenir snow-bubble, representations blanket the city, changing the way it appears to us" (1999, 228). Studying representations therefore helps figure out the dominant ideology that they have been shaped in. Ideology is the total of all discourses that surround us which we do not consciously choose but are born into and which constitute the ground in which we live, think and act. It functions as a kind of hardware that sorts our experience in certain ways so that things are meaningful to us; we make sense of our experience from the perspective of the ideology which we live in. In "The German Ideology" Marx refers to ideology as

illusion (1974). According to Marx, ideology operates to distort people's real life circumstances turning reality upside down just as a *camera obscura* does. As cloaked with ideology, the workers continue their lives without rebelling to the mechanism that exploits them, giving rise to what came to be referred as "false consciousnesses". For Althusser it is not the case that real conditions of existence are distorted in ideology but rather the nature of the relations of individuals to their existence is imaginary: "ideology = an imaginary relation to real relations" ("Ideology"). Althusser points out that ideology exists materially (rather than ideally) and it is sustained by apparatuses: the repressive state apparatuses that function mainly through violence such as the police or the ideological state apparatuses that function mainly through ideology such as the educational system, the family, or the media. As a way of describing that ideology is always and everywhere present and that it makes individuals into subjects even before they are born, Althusser makes use of the metaphor of interpellation or hailing, an act usually identified with the police. In just the same way as calling out to someone on the street, ideology calls out to individuals, who are made subject to ideology as they take on its call and turn to respond. Ideology calls to everyone without exception and individuals unfailingly respond to this call.

Althusser ("Ideology") identifies schools as "the number-one... the dominant Ideological State Apparatus" of the bourgeoisie and remarks that the educational system has replaced the role previously played by religion in reproducing the social relations necessary for the continuation of capitalism. "What do children learn at school?" he asks. Besides the know-how of certain areas which help them practically, they also "learn the 'rules' of good behavior, i.e. the attitude that should be observed by every agent in the division of labor, according to the job he is

‘destined’ for”. He pays special attention to schools in making the dominant ideology prevalent as “no other Ideological State Apparatus has the obligatory (and not least, free) audience of the totality of the children in the capitalist social formation, eight hours a day for five or six days out of seven” and yet it often goes unnoticed as the educational system is so built to conceal its function in steeping young people in terms of this established ideology. Althusser speaks of an “ideology of the School” which is part of the ruling ideology and which is universal: “an ideology which represents the School as a neutral environment purged of ideology”. In this sense, Füsün Üstel’s (2009) research on the civic education courses since the second constitutionalist period up (in what was then the Ottoman Empire) until today is remarkable as it displays the role of education in propagating the values that have become prominent with the changing political conjuncture of the successive regimes.

For Marx, workers were unaware of their real circumstances. If that was not the case, they would stand up to change the mechanism that exploited them, which he believed would inevitably follow. In his theory of the reproduction of ideology, Althusser gives an explanation about what preserves the order as it is and prevents capitalism from its downfall. Although this thesis does not agree with the idea that there is an essential truth that is hidden from our sight because we are wrapped up in ideology, it makes sense to conceptualize ideology as ever-present, that it is propagated by certain mechanisms which Althusser calls apparatuses and that it makes itself felt in the instances of everyday life that are usually taken for granted. A course on the city that is incorporated in the primary education curriculum and another aimed for university students is one of these instances which gives an idea about the prevalent ideology and functions as a way to reproduce it by conveying its values to a next generation. The city that is imagined and the urban subject that is

hoped to be raised as an outcome of these courses make sense in the context of brand-cities competing for their place in an increasingly globalized economy of the postindustrial era.

Making Sense of the Postindustrial City

The city, as a product of the political, economic and the social processes taking place in the society, bears the marks of change on these levels and changes accordingly. Ira Katznelson (1992) finds it apt that David Harvey, in his *Social Justice and the City*, describes the city as “a vantage-point from which to capture some ‘salient features in the social processes operating in society as a whole – it becomes as it were, a mirror in which other aspects of society can be reflected’” (7). As this relationship is not one-way and the city is a producer as well as a product, Katznelson is quick to add that “even mirrors have a material existence” and the “concentration and intensification of social processes in urban space may itself become a constitutive element of these larger social processes” (7). In the same vein with this statement, industrialization and urbanization in the West are terms that are often mentioned together. Although Marx concentrated on explaining the dynamics of capitalism rather than its relation to space, changes that have been brought by capitalism are closely knit with changes in cities.

Marx makes it clear that there is a direct link between economic relations and social relations and the former is determinative of the latter in the last instance when he says “The hand-mill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill society with the industrial capitalist” (1999). With a comma, one may very well add to this the nature of space with the annotation that this is a mutual relationship. The feudal

towns of the Middle Ages, as centers of trade and craftsmanship, corresponds to “a fusion of fortress and the market” that Weber tells of, whereas the post-sixteenth century cities, as political capitals and nodes of international mercantile order, are regarded as the forerunners of modern cities (Katznelson 1992, 12). The nineteenth century stands out as a time of great changes in many respects. Advances in technology, travel and telecommunications such as the invention of the internal combustion engine brought about the mechanization in production processes and in company with it, mass consumption. The nineteenth century saw the migration of people from country to city in large numbers as the unqualified labor force that factories required, the separation of residence and workplace, and the increasing inequality between groups, which dramatically and irreversibly left its mark on the urban space as Engels so vehemently portrays in *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1968).

David Harvey and Manuel Castells are two eminent urban scholars who, influenced by Lefebvre suggesting that the “urban moment” has come, produced cornerstone works in urban studies. In line with Lefebvre’s insight that the spatial is socially produced and it is high time that attention is turned towards space itself, both have researched about the implications of the changing capitalism on space and in parallel with that, how space functions as an intermediary for the capitalist order. In his early work *Social Justice and the City*, David Harvey gives a Marxist twist to orthodox geography, which constitutes the agenda for his later studies (1973). In *The Limits to Capital*, he deals with rent as the suggested but underdeveloped part of Marx’s *Capital*, which he says is a central element in accumulation as is capital and labor (1984). As a key element as the place for investment as well as the reproduction of labor, “the city is forever being developed and redeveloped at

quicken rates to keep up with the new tempo and rhythms of accumulation” (Katznelson 1992, 111). Manuel Castells (1977), taking a firm Marxist stand in his early *The Urban Question*, which he later declared was not fully adequate in terms of adjusting the Marxist tools for explaining the changing phenomena, likewise devotes his studies to the consideration of space. “For Castells, each moment of the capitalist mode of production requires a reciprocal organization of urban space in order to facilitate the reproduction and consumption processes appropriate to a given level of production” (Katznelson 1992, 113). These thinkers therefore, in tune with their agenda, regarded the city as the locus where struggle against inequality reproduced in the urban space will begin.

Though it remained the dominant mode of production, capitalism has restructured itself as it became more globalized. This restructuring is marked by the replacement of factory production by the service industry which is very much dependent on technology and a mobile labor force as well as the mobility of capital. The changes that have taken place in the society following the Second World War and the twist in the structure of capitalism that is especially attributed to mid-1970s is mentioned with different terms by different thinkers. The aftermath of the change in the structure of capitalism is often referred to with such terms as “post-Fordist”, “post-industrial”, “post-modern”, “fifth-Kondratiev” and “post-collective” depending where the stress is laid (Amin 1994, 1). Harvey reads this as a transition from Fordism to flexible accumulation. He makes a survey of the difficulties that the capitalist mode of production encountered starting from the mid-1960s and the strategies it developed in order to overcome these. In response to Fordism’s rigidity which proved unable to contain the contradictions of capitalism in the long term, flexible accumulation

rests on flexibility with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products, and patterns of consumption. It is characterized by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, and, above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organizational innovation. (Harvey 1990, 147)

The expansion of the service sector, proliferation in outsourcing, “time-space compression” resulting from the advances in telecommunications, replacement of traditional work patterns by part-time and contracted employment to a large extent are all markers of flexible accumulation, which render workers vulnerable with an ever-present demand to be equally flexible, mobile and competitive.

In his “An Introduction to the Information Age”, Manuel Castells also emphasizes that the world we live in is certainly a capitalist world but it is also something else, which he conceptualizes as “the network society”, which needs again to be analyzed in terms of capitalism (2002, 133). The technological revolution of the 1970s is a constitutive force of the network society but it is not the only one. He explains the network society by outlining its nine essential features. The network society is one that is characterized by an informational and global economy, where productivity depends more than ever on knowledge, information and technology and which spans the whole planet but which is not necessarily inclusive as it leaves out a majority of the population who fail to live up to its demands. It also suggests the network enterprise which refers to the linkages between globally-operating firms. In this society work and employment are also transformed in a way that “flexi-workers” are now in demand and these workers are left to their own devices in an environment of inequality, social polarization and social exclusion. It also refers to the culture of real virtuality, which has its effects on politics that has increasingly come to work through marketing and image-making. The network society experiences a “timeless

time”, which is not sequential as time is understood in the classical sense, but something in which all the tenses exist in the same instance and the ‘space of flows’ which prevails over the “space of places”, marked by the flow of information of electric circuits.

In this environment which is marked by mobility, flexibility and deindustrialization, the city functions as an element which makes such changes possible and takes on new meanings. As Harvey (1990) mentioned, the city is in a constant loop of development and redevelopment whereby the movements of capital in search for profit can be tracked. The constant redevelopment in the city is daily witnessed by urban dwellers in the form of gentrification, in parallel with that, the displacement of the poor, the proliferation of gated communities both in terms of residence and leisure spaces, public spaces leaving their places increasingly to spaces designed for commercial purposes. The policy-makers take a role in intervening in the life flow of cities to make them welcoming environments for investment as well as centers of attraction for tourism. What Harvey calls “the entrepreneurial city” is the competitive city as it is developed and redeveloped to increase its share in the global market (1989, 365). In the competition to attract more investors or tourists, it becomes important for the cities to be as distinctive as they are or at least give the impression that they are unique and in this respect, culture emerges as a key actor. Thus the emergence of cultural industries.

What Harvey mentions as the shift from Fordist to flexible accumulation also embodies a transition in the mode of urban governance –which does not only denote “government”– from managerialism to entrepreneurialism (1989). The economic recession of the mid-1970s which has led the way to the changes described above and referred to with various terms has forced the policy makers to be entrepreneurial.

Entrepreneurialism involves public-private partnership in providing a convenient environment to attract investment, funding and employment sources through four strategies which are not mutually exclusive. Public and private investments in physical and social infrastructure, investments to invite mass consumption which includes but is not restricted to tourism, struggle over the acquisition of key command functions such as finance and media, the redistribution of surpluses by central governments which still has a role in urban prosperity are these four strategies which constitute the ground for inter-urban competition. The New-York and İstanbul based Turkish artist Burak Arıkan's project "Networks of Dispossession"¹ that started out in Taksim Gezi Park during the civil resistance with the participation of several others as data collectors and which was exhibited as part of the thirteenth İstanbul Biennial, maps and shows clearly how interrelated these four strategies are. Through mapping the relations, Networks of Dispossession renders visible the connections between investments, government, corporations and the media. As the map shows clearly the Demirören shopping mall is linked both to Beyoğlu Municipality and to Demirören Group, which is in turn linked to two mass circulation media Vatan and Milliyet and in this sense constitutes an example to the cooperation of public and private investment and how it is also related to the key command functions of media.

Urban entrepreneurialism which then involves attracting "highly flexible production financial and consumption flows into its space" has a number of significant implications for the urban space. "The serial reproduction of science parks, gentrification, world trading centers, cultural and entertainment centers, large

¹ The project which participated in the 2013 İstanbul Biennial with the interactive maps that are prepared through bringing information together on a program titled Graph Commons developed by Burak Arıkan himself so that the relations are graphically demonstrated on the maps, aim to lay bare the various ways capital and power are connected. Detailed information on "Networks of Dispossession" and the maps could be found on mulksuzlestirme.org.

scale interior shopping malls with postmodern accoutrements” are developments that change the face of urban areas (Harvey 1989, 11). Besides the change in the physical infrastructure of cities, such as the conversion of a previous industrial area into a cultural complex, cities are also transformed with spectacular events such as Expos and Olympics, which also often call for infrastructural investment. Such developments in cities are reinforced in the expectation that property values will increase, tax base and local circulation of revenues will be enhanced and there will be growth in employment. Although the realization of these benefits is highly speculative, cities are eager to take the risk as this is how they can take their place in the competition.

Urban entrepreneurialism implies the use value of the city being replaced by its exchange value on a large scale. That is, the idea of the city as an environment for living leaves its place to the idea of the city as an asset bought, sold and transformed in compliance with the requirements of the local or global capital. The transformation from managerialism to entrepreneurialism has also been true for Turkey as is the case with Western countries. The urbanization in Turkey can be analyzed under three phases (Keyder 1999, Şengül, 2001). The first phase, which spans from 1923 to 1950, indicates “urbanization of the nation state”. It is marked with the effort to propagate the new regime over the Ottoman legacy, which corresponds to a spatial struggle as well. The moving of the capital from İstanbul to Ankara is the most radical act in this sense and symbolical of the overall agenda of the fresh Republic. The creation of the idea of a “homeland”, which is Anatolia, makes the gist of it. Besides the moving of the capital from İstanbul to the heart of this homeland, this spatial agenda was also backed by the diffusion of the investments to all corners and the construction of a railroad to interconnect the parts

of the country. The second phase spans from 1950 to 1980 and is called by Şengül “urbanization of the labor power”, which is predominantly marked by the migration from the country to towns. Şengül writes that “The major blow to the effort of the Kemalist project to create a modern spatial pattern came unexpectedly from another place, from the poor masses that had to migrate from the country to towns quickly and in large numbers following the Second World War”² (2001, 76). The masses that Şengül refers to are the labor force that became unemployed after the modernization of agriculture, migrated to cities and built shanty houses in the places that they occupied. The relationship of the shanty dwellers, who now constituted the new urban poor, to the state varied from decade to decade. The external and tense relationship of the 1950s left itself to the efforts of internalization and articulation of the following decade, only to give rise to conflicts and division within the present structure in the 1970s (Şengül 2001, 79). Bedrettin Dalan, the mayor of İstanbul from 1984 to 1989 who put a series of urban regeneration projects including slum clearance and the infrastructural investments in tune with the liberal economy into practice, was soon replaced with a populist social democrat (Keyder 1999, 26).

“Urbanization of capital” marks the third phase which spans from 1980s onwards to this day. Despite the ever-present need to be careful about such phasing, the urbanization of capital can be attributed to 1980 rather safely as it is introduced with the January 24 decisions and the military coup of 1980 as a response to the economic crisis. The January 24 decisions mark a break away from the import-substitution industrialization and the waning of state intervention with regard to markets. The decisions open doors to the local and global capital where they did not have access beforehand. The turn away from the ideal of industrialization towards

² “Kemalist projenin modern bir mekan örüntüsü yaratma çabasına asıl darbe beklenmedik bir biçimde başka bir yerden, İkinci Dünya Savaşının sonunda büyük kitleler halinde hızla kırdan kopup kente göçmek zorunda kalan yoksul kitlelerden geldi.”

sectors that are not based on production that Turkey experienced simultaneously with the West marks the postindustrial phase in Turkey which meant the “hegemony of the capital” in the urban space as well as the first examples of urban entrepreneurialism (Şengül 2001). It is through the bids that were granted to the private sector for the infrastructural investments in the city as well as the direct investments in the built environment such as shopping malls and five-star hotels that cities came to take an active role in the reproduction of capital rather than the reproduction of labor power. Within the inter-urban competition for investments, İstanbul emerged by far the greatest focus of capital.

İstanbul, which has been subject to neglect in parallel with the spatial strategy of the new regime giving precedence to the development of the “motherland”, reemerged as an indisputable center following 1980. The city contained the bulk of command and control functions gaining privilege in the new economic order and began to house management offices of the top transnational companies. Changes in the economy found their counterpart in the lifestyle and the urban space underwent changes so as to respond to the needs of high income professionals who took their place in glaring sectors such as finance, real estate, insurance, media, and advertising. Shopping malls, in Keyder’s terms the “luxury consumption temples”, were in place in the center of the city, restoration and regeneration projects were being implemented in full speed for cultural consumption, the downtown restaurant and cafes offered the same experience as their counterparts in any other global city. Yet, despite the whole change, what has happened in the city was not in the least sufficient in terms of the economy politics of globalization (Keyder 1999, 25). Economic ambiguities, ambivalence in politics as well as the lack of judiciary and

physical infrastructure constituted an impediment to globalization and a full-fledged capitalism.

A decade later Keyder expresses a different opinion with regards to the global state of İstanbul suggesting that during the 1990s the city fully integrated with international markets and that “by the standards of city marketing worldwide, İstanbul was a success story” (2010, 25). He attributes this to a transition from a populist to pro-business governments, which carried out the requirements to make the city eligible for investment, giving full reign to capital which former governments were ambivalent about. The political alliance to the economic trend meant the joint effort to carry out the marketing of the city to put İstanbul on the global map as a party in the inter-urban competition. Keyder identifies that the gist of this marketing was the idea of “an inclusive Ottomanism, a reimagined rubric encompassing the multifarious heritage of which the city could boast” (2010, 27). A renewed interest in Ottoman culture, culminating especially in the conquest of İstanbul, is indeed noticeable in a lot of instances. “Panaroma 1453 History Museum” is one of them. The museum, which was opened with the participation of the Prime Minister in 2009, promises that the visitor would “reexperience” the moments of the conquest by appealing to all senses from hearing janissary marches to touching the cannons in the exact location of the city walls where the siege was successful. The focal point of the museum, however, is the panoramic representation of the conquest, which gives the viewer the feeling that they are in the middle of the battle field.³ Around the same time as the museum was opened, a film about the conquest was also made. “Fetih 1453” (Conquest 1453) was sponsored by the

³ The museum which was opened on 31 January 2009 with the participation of the Prime Minister is dedicated to “keeping the excitement for conquest fresh and being a source of inspiration for tomorrow’s conquerors”. Information about the museum can be reached on its website, panoramikmuze.com.

İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and is a record holder in being the highest budget Turkish film ever.⁴ Soap operas that tell of the life of sultans such as *Muhteşem Yüzyıl* (The Magnificent Century) and *Fatih* (The Conqueror) draw considerable interest from the audience and often become subject to discussions around the authentic representation of history.

City as the Place for and an Object of Consumption

The changes in the economic and political structures, namely service sectors replacing industry in the traditional sense and the adoption of liberal policies by governments allowing the free flow of capital as well changes in the society itself driven especially by technology were attempted to be outlined above. Urban space emerges as an integral part of all these changes in many respects. Besides being subject to constant construction and reconstruction processes as the space where capital is inscribed in, the city itself come to be defined in terms of a project that is developed to be marketed as cities compete in a world scale as required by urban entrepreneurialism. As cities are transformed so as to highlight exchange rather than their use values, the relationship between people living there and towards their city is also transformed. Clearly, the new urban space is one with even more distinct inequalities. Understanding the entrepreneurial city that comes to the forefront with post-industrialism necessitates grasping in what ways it shaped by its peculiar culture which is often referred to as “postmodernism”.

For Jameson (1992), postmodernism designates the cultural dominant of late capitalism. Nevertheless he does not agree with the idea that it is the culture of a

⁴ “Yeni yılı 8 iddialı Türk filmi karşılayacak”. *milliyet.com.tr*. 19 Dec. 2011. Web. 20 July 2014.

wholly new era, the so-called postindustrialism, but rather it might be understood as the natural consequence of the modification of capitalism itself.⁵ Instead, he prefers to call this period “multinational capitalism” or alternatively “consumer capitalism”. He addresses Mandel’s threefold scheme of the stages in capitalist transformation, which are namely market capitalism, the monopoly stage or the stage and imperialism and finally multinational capitalism, as an inspiration and confirmation of his own periodization as he explores the cultural logic of this last moment through video, architecture, economics and film in his seminal book. The last stage in which we are living through constitutes the purest form of capital to have emerged up to now as it involves the expansion of capital into hitherto uncommodified areas (Jameson 1992, 36). Therefore it is no wonder that there is a direct link between postmodernism and consumer culture.

One of the definitive characteristics in Jameson’s account of postmodernism is the transformation of things into their images and the appetite for images on the part of consumers. It is the culture of the simulacrum, as he uses the term as Plato does but which is also not very far from Baudrillard’s conception, the proliferation of exact copies which have no original. The culture of simulacrum emerges “in a society where exchange value has been generalized to the point at which the very memory of use value is effaced” (Jameson 1992, 18). The best case in point to illustrate simulacrum and its close ties to consumerism is perhaps the presence of “canned air” that is being sold as a souvenir (“Original Canned Air”).

⁵ This does not necessarily constitute a conflict with the previous section, which sets out to catch a glimpse of the city in “postindustrialism” because postindustrialism is here understood as also resulting from and reflecting the very restructuring of capitalism with specific emphasis to the fact that these developments occur after the industrial era.



Fig. 1. "Air from Prague", a souvenir on online sale.

The canned air is advertised as “a middle-sized can filled with the spirit of the city, a piece of world heritage” containing air from the most popular sites of the city in certain percentages. The canned air of the city is offered as a part of the city that people could buy themselves and in this way “posses” the whole city. It appeals both to those who want to remember “the marvelous time” spent in the city, a starter for those who are yet to visit the city, a memoir for those who are feeling homesick as well as to those who want to bring back an unusual present for friends. The canned air, as a signifier, operates as many levels. It is a pure simulacrum as it brings out an object as the air of the city which does not originally exist in material form. The canned air of the city is now a commodity item, which embodies the manifest transition of use value as the air available to breathe to exchange value as air packaged and sold in cans. Finally, it has a claim to be a “part” of the city, moreover of world heritage; a replica of the city compressing the whole of it within itself allegedly by virtue of containing air from all four corners of the city. It stands exactly at the junction between city as it is and the culture of consumer capitalism.

This one basic feature of postmodernism identified by Jameson, namely the predominance of images as reality is replaced by them, brings one to *The Society of the Spectacle* by Guy Debord, first published in 1967. At a time when postmodernism was not discussed as widely it came to be, Debord gives an account of the society as a spectacle, which is on the same plane with the playfulness, pastiche and simulation of postmodernism. In his book which is written in the form of theses, Debord defines spectacle and the conditions leading up to it, which sits in the context of Marx's account of commodity fetishism and the form it takes in the contemporary capitalist society. In thesis 24, he defines spectacle as "capital accumulated to the point where it becomes image" (Debord 1995, 24) and asserts in thesis 15 that "the spectacle is the chief product of present-day society" (16). The spectacular is indeed closely connected to the promotion of consumerism in the capitalist economy as when the boom in media and advertising sectors, which are employed in the marketing of goods, giving rise thereby to more consumption and the display of lifestyles rendered as accessible through consumption in certain ways is considered. The conceptualization of society as spectacle may be subject to the same criticism as Marx's "false consciousnesses" as it would be interpreted as portraying people immersed in the illusion of the spectacle that surrounds them and inevitably viewers and consumers of the spectacle. It, nevertheless, remains an appropriate depiction of the society under the dominance of images in all walks of life from politics to education and its relation to consumer culture in late capitalism.

City in the society of the spectacle constitutes one of its aspects and the entrepreneurial city is in many ways spectacular. Any depiction of a city for advertising purposes, perhaps culminating in tourist guides and travelogues, draws attention to those aspects of a city that it is most famous for, be it a natural wonder, a

building, a celebrity or an event and creates a larger-than-life image of this feature in an attempt to create a metonymic relation between the spectacular thing and the city. The diffusion of culture in areas that were previously considered apart from culture is a postindustrial development, which will be discussed in more detail the next part, and culture is also employed in rendering a city spectacular. Borrowing randomly from the entire history, the civilizations that existed in the region before, their religions and cultures are magnified and identified with the city as well as in a different sense of culture, being mentioned as a “cultural hub” with a lively artistic scene is a factor that contributes to the spectacular city. In the same fashion, the competition to be hosting international spectacular events takes place among the cities as these events adds to the reputation of cities. The spectacular, in whatever form it may appear, serves to foster consumption. The contemporary city rich with shopping malls, gentrified areas, theme parks and gated communities with all sorts of attractions are evidence that the society of the spectacle has brought its spectacular city into being. For Debord, the spectacle denotes the infiltrating of the spectacular; the sudden, marvelous and superficial, into the very fabric of society in all its instances. More than a collection of images, the spectacle is “a special relationship between people that is mediated by images” (Debord 1995, 12) as well as “a *weltanschauung* that has been actualized” (13). The city as a spectacle is likewise more than a magnification of its images, though this is a part, and implies its complete transformation into a spectacle.

Simmel observes the connection between the city and the spectacle in the epitome of world fairs of the nineteenth century (1998). In a very short piece titled “The Berlin Trade Exhibition”, he writes that the latest industrial production from all over the world are gathered together for once in one place, which makes Berlin, the

site of this gathering, a world city. The exhibits attract the attention of viewers not only for what they are but how they are presented that promise excitement and amusement. For Simmel, this is just appropriate as otherwise they would fail to catch the attention of the viewers whose nerves are already overstimulated. The experience in the world trade exhibition runs parallel with the experience of the city that Simmel describes in his “Metropolis and Mental Life” (1998). The metropolis, crowded with people and unceasing activity, generate many stimulations of which people could attend to only few and the rather stronger. In order to get past the effect of the metropolis life, which for Simmel leads to the *blasé* attitude, the world trade exhibition maintains the sense of wonder with every step to make sure to engage attention. Simmel interprets the variety, colorfulness and excitement in the world fair with reference to the changing roles of production and consumption: “it appears as though modern man’s one-sided and monotonous role in the division of labor will be compensated for by consumption and enjoyment through the growing pressure of heterogeneous impressions, and the ever faster and more colorful change of excitements” (1998, 256). As one’s role in production decreases, they are encouraged to participate more actively in consumption. What Simmel calls “the shop-window quality of things” that is created in the world fair, reaching its peak in the architecture of the exhibition which strives to create transience rather than permanence, is evidence that the visitors are positioned as consumers as a link is established between the fair and shop windows.

The subject of world exhibitions also finds its place in Benjamin’s “Paris, the Capital of Nineteenth Century” along with arcades, panoramas, the interior, the streets of Baudelaire and barricades, which altogether constitute parts of the essay as well as the city, the capital for the century according to Benjamin, quite like Simmel

mentioning Berlin as a “world city” by virtue of embodying the entire world in its miniature form. “World exhibitions are places of pilgrimage to the commodity fetish” writes Benjamin (1999, 7). They represent the celebration of the exchange value of commodities as use value completely disappears from sight. As the site for showcasing the technical progression where one is expected not to touch but derive pleasure from spectacle alone (Buck-Morss 1999, 85), workers are further alienated from the products of their labor as they now seem to stand on their own, as Benjamin describes commodities as “phantasmagoria”. Benjamin’s phantasmagoria can be interpreted as an upgrade to Marx’s metaphor of *camera obscura* standing for the working of ideology as it distorts reality by turning it upside down. Phantasmagoria, literally a theatre of illusions, comes to describe the fine-tuned reference to ideology which is now discussed in a different word, a world of mechanical reproduction, photography and arcades. “It does not project a reflection of the objective world but rather the objective world’s expression, its representation as it is mediated through imaginative subjective processes” (Cohen 1989, 94). The world fair represents the most radiant unfolding of the phantasmagoria of capitalist culture according to Benjamin (1999, 8). Buck-Morss notes that alongside commodities as phantasmagoria, a certain phantasmagoria of politics was also involved in world fairs as they did not lead to workers organizing, as it was feared, as they came together and found an environment to discuss. It turned out rather that world fairs became places “wherein industry and technology were presented as mythic powers capable of producing out of themselves a future world of peace, class harmony, and abundance” (1999, 86).

Even though world fairs are the culmination of the phantasmagoria, as sites where the most remarkable commodities from distant places come together which

ultimately produces the spectacle, phantasmagoria is also inherent in the everyday life of the nineteenth century Paris, in the arcades, which Benjamin (1999) tracks in his uncompleted *The Arcades Project*. The passages, forerunners of department stores, are the iron structures with glass roofs that housed galleries of various sorts with their inviting displays, which brought out a new character, the *flâneur*. The display windows in the passages, where commodities are arranged so as to please the eye, create a dream world with things promising more than what they are. Described by Benjamin as “the original temple of commodity capitalism” (Buck-Morss 1999, 83), the passages present an early example to the presence of the spectacle in spaces for consumption and as well as characterizing the spirit of the nineteenth-century Paris, they stand on the way to the contemporary forms of spaces for consumption which work with designating an “experiences” to be consumed.

Jameson discusses the expansion of the cultural as central to the logic of late capitalism. The loss of culture’s semi-autonomy in the previous phases of capitalism gives place not to its disappearance but quite the opposite to its explosion: “a prodigious expansion of culture throughout the social realm, to the point at which everything in our social life – from economic value and state power to practices and the very structure of the psyche itself – can be said to have become ‘cultural’ ” (Jameson 1992, 48). Cities are not free from this cultural explosion. Alongside the certain cities which are considered as “works of art” themselves by hosting world’s common cultural heritage or being sites of natural beauty, an alternative source of prestige for cities emerge from accommodating culture industries, which also increasingly designates them as centers of culture (Featherstone 1998, 96). Yet the postmodern city does not come forth with only one of its aspect as a cultural city in its traditional sense, i.e. Paris in terms of housing the Notre-Dame Cathedral, or an in

industrial city, i.e. Manchester of the nineteenth century would. The postmodern city “marks a return to culture, style and decoration, but within the confines of a ‘no-place space’ in which traditional senses of culture are decontextualized, simulated, reduplicated and continually renewed and restyled” (99). The postmodern city both embodies various sites for consumption which are all the more marked by culture and its convertibility to economic value as well as itself being a sign competing for recognition and exchange in a global market. Proliferation of images and conflation of different time periods participate in making this contemporary city of cultural capital, in just the same way as Jameson described postmodernism, the cultural logic of late capitalism.

CHAPTER 3

İSTANBUL AS CULTURAL CAPITAL AND THE CAPITAL OF CULTURE

The Emergence of Culture in the City

It may seem irrelevant to talk about an “emergence” of culture in the city as cities have always existed with their culture. The ancient Greek *polis* has become synonymous with the idea of democracy by virtue of the presence of an *agora*, a very good example of the public space where besides other things political discussions took place, in which case the design of space is directly linked with a society’s culture. Paris is mainly recalled as the city of romance in the popular imagination and it is almost always coded with the presence of the Eiffel Tower⁶ while, specific to the Turkish history, it indicates Europe *per se* for the *Tanzimat* intellectuals. New York, often portrayed with the Manhattan skyline, corresponds to the rise of the US as a world power taking shape in flesh and bones in skyscrapers’ challenge to the skies and the rest of the world. Yet it is relatively recently that a city’s culture is employed as an entrepreneurial strategy.

As Zukin (1995) writes about New York as a case in point, she discusses that our understanding of culture in relation to cities has changed since the 1970s. This is exactly the same period that Harvey (1989) points out as the time that marks the change from managerialism to entrepreneurialism in urban governance. The change in conceptualizing culture as it is associated with the city and the change in the mode of urban governance occurring at around the same time is no coincidence but rather the two phenomena are closely interlinked. Zukin tells that whereas culture was

⁶ Barthes mentions the Eiffel Tower as a sign for Paris, itself taking over all the meanings attached to the city. (see “The Eiffel Tower.” *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*. Neil Leach, ed. London; New York: Routledge, 1997.)

earlier conceived as an amenity and thus something that earns credits to the society from which it springs, that is, something that people would be pleased to have and proud to talk about when occasion serves; it is today more malleable and more ambiguous. The change is that it became incorporated to the struggle that goes on over the definition and consequently the command of the city. In this sense, culture is transformed from being a reflection to being a tool that would be used, speculative as it is, to serve the best interests of the power-holding parties. As a tool, culture in the city serves a double function: First, through activating images accordingly, it contributes to making a commodity of the city which especially becomes visible in tourism, and secondly, it serves to create visions of collective identity and hereby framing the city (Zukin 199, 113).

It has been argued in the previous chapter that postindustrialism gave rise to a new kind of labor market dominated mainly by the service economy and its flexi-workers. Finance, real-estate, tourism, education, media, and advertising can be counted among the fast-developing service-based industries. In these industries, value is mostly created in the one-to-one relationship of service providers with customers, and outcomes are abstract such as information or experience rather than manufactured goods. In terms of employment structures in these sectors contracted, part-time, project-based, and consultancy jobs proliferate if not totally replace full-time jobs with social security benefits. The economic crisis of the early 1970s resulted in the restructuring of the economic patterns; among changes that took place are the cultural sectors moving closer to the center of economic activity as profits decreased in the manufacture-based activity. Besides an increase in demand, production and employment in artistic and cultural sectors on a scale ranging from museums to performing arts, film to music industry, there is also the trend in other

industries towards being “culturalized”, which can be exemplified in the support that private sector companies give to arts and culture in various ways. In this picture, arts and culture take their place in the economy as creative and cultural industries and they are integrated with the development strategies of cities on a global scale.

The term “culture industry” was first used by Horkheimer and Adorno in their essay titled “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception” published in 1944 (2002). Horkheimer and Adorno, two important figures of the Frankfurt School, take a highly critical stance against what they name as the culture industry as the title of their essay suggests. Building on the Marxist tradition of ideology, and in this way very similar to Althusser in talking about apparatuses, they argue that the different sectors of the culture industry; namely film, television, publishing, radio etc. all pave the way to a standardized culture, making their consumers comply with the capitalist world that they live in through reproducing this world in their own ways. The movie-goer’s experience when they leave a film, for instance, is that the street they move out to is perceived as a continuation of the film, that “the whole world is passed through the filter of the culture industry” (99). They associate the cultural sectors with entertainment and consumption, operating in the sphere which is “non-work”, catering to the needs of people in their leisure time. In spite of the promise that the service of the culture industry would make forget the work routine that the capitalist worker is caught in, it in fact follows the rules of the same mechanism in the form of entertainment and, in a way, subtly induces compliance. The culture industry, which therefore creates masses’ deception, works with the same logic as capital and it is no wonder –tell Adorno and Horkheimer– that it first came into being in the liberal industrial countries.

In the age of mechanical reproduction, for Benjamin, the artwork has lost its auratic quality that it once had and drew closer to being a commodity (1936). Horkheimer and Adorno think, that is not something new; “pure works of art, which negated the commodity character of society by simply following their own inherent laws, were at the same time always commodities” (2002, 127). What is new is that they are employed as active ideological agents in creating the standardized culture which culminates in fascism. Since the time that Horkheimer and Adorno wrote about the culture industry, a lot about the way cultural industries has considerably changed such as its scope, its reception, and its status and prevalence as an economic activity. Hesmondhalgh (2003) defines the cultural industry as institutions that are mainly involved in the production of social meaning and thus specifies the core cultural industries as advertising and marketing, broadcasting, film industries, the internet industry, the music industries, print and electronic publishing, and video and computer games, and he refers to theater and art prints industry (paintings, installations, sculptures) as peripheral cultural industries as generating a lot of money but not taking on the industrial forms of production. The cultural industry, a term that Horkheimer and Adorno used as a means of disdain for the contemporary forms cultural production that they compare to an idealized high art, is now used as a handy term for designating the increasingly prevalent areas of creativity- and cultural-based production and consumption.

Even though manufacture industries cannot be said to have disappeared altogether, it cannot either be denied that service industry, and particularly cultural industries have decisively settled in the center of economy. The employment in the entertainment and recreation in the US in the 1990s is said to have grown more than in health care and six times more than the auto industry (Zukin 1995, 8). Similarly

the production has also soared in line with demand as well as creating the demand itself. “If the Japanese motor industry has 72 models in production at any one time, and the American 36, then one British record company, EMI, has about one thousand models in production” (Lash and Urry 1994, 121). Arts and culture also started to be adopted as strategies for development. In the Green Paper titled “Unlocking the Potential of Cultural and Creative Industries” published in 2010, it is stressed that

If Europe wants to remain competitive in this changing global environment, it needs to put in place the right conditions for creativity and innovation to flourish in a new entrepreneurial culture. There is a lot of untapped potential in the cultural and creative industries to create growth and jobs. (Aksoy and Enlil 2011, 18)

In line with this perspective, strategies are developed as to how cultural and creative potentials of cities can be mobilized for development in an environment of global competition and certain cities that have come through a culture-led development – Aksoy and Enlil (2011) refer to Bilbao, Glasgow and Barcelona as such– are often a source of inspiration. Zukin (1995) devotes one chapter to talk about the attempt to turn a rural area, Berkshires, into a cultural center, which did not turn out so well, as one of the many examples that are replicated throughout the world. She makes a list of the commonplace cultural strategies that are employed in cities, which are namely focusing on museums and other large institutions or the preservation of architectural landmarks or the regional center in the city; focusing on the work of artists who have an influence on establishing the city as a cultural center; highlighting the historic imprints on a landscape or natural wonders; creating panoramas for visual contemplation; and establishing living dioramas such as the Disney World. She notes that “cultural strategies are often a worst-case scenario of economic development” (1995, 274).

Making use of and culture as a means of urban development emerges as one of the strategies of the competitive city. A city's competitive position with regard to the spatial division of consumption is among the four alternative strategies for urban government that Harvey (1989) enumerates. Working towards increasing the urban quality of life, and in doing that resorting to gentrification, cultural innovation, physical upgrading of the urban environment, consumer attractions and entertainment become the key points to attract consumer spending and investment. Harvey (1989) dwells on the case of Baltimore, which moved from being a deteriorating industrial city towards being a center of tourist attraction, as an example of urban redevelopment along these lines. It is exactly at this point that "city branding" and "city marketing" trends come into play with arts and culture employed for the significant role of constructing a distinctive image for the city.

In an effort to secure a place in the inter-urban competition cities increasingly feel the need to distinguish themselves from others, which leads to acknowledgement that cities can and should be marketed as any other consumer product. What Kearns and Philo (1993) refers to as "selling places", a collaborative work of both public and private agencies, becomes especially meaningful in the context of tourism, though it is not restricted to it. Selling places is closely connected to image-making as places are "sold" on the basis of how attractive these images are. That urban place is a space of ongoing struggle to be defined by different groups becomes clearly manifested in the instance of place marketing. The city, as the meeting place of different people who have little in common with each other but who nevertheless live, work and spend time together within the same space, comes forth as an area of contestation as the meanings that each group, and even each person attributed to the city is different. In marketing the city, nevertheless, some specific definitions are intended to be

established while disregarding and even forcefully annihilating others, which is not infrequent. Both the history and culture of a city become subject to manipulation as they are put to use as efficient means of establishing definitions to make the city attractive for outsiders for outsiders (i.e. tourists, investors, capital-holders and decision-makers) as well as to convince insiders (i.e. residents) of the merits of stabilizing the city in that way. This is often a source of conflict between spatial practice and spaces of representation in Lefebvre's terms.

In *İstanbul 2010 Cultural Economy Compendium*, Aksoy and Enlil (2011) set out to map and measure the cultural and creative industries in İstanbul, discussing the capacities of the city as well as making an analysis of local cultural policies –a first study in this field– at the time when İstanbul was elected the European Capital of Culture and thus the culture of the city was added to the top of the agenda for governors. Under the aegis of cultural economy, they define four main headings (heritage, arts, cultural industries, creative services), each of which have related subsets that altogether constitute this specific area of economy. The study notes that İstanbul, the mostly-populated city and the industrial, commercial and logistics center of the country, displays a shift from industry to services in its economic structure. Whereas 42.3 percent share of industry in İstanbul's economic activity according to 2004 data drops to 37.9 percent by 2009, the share increases from 31.3 percent to 34.8 percent for services between the same years (2011, 181) and as of 2005, 29 percent of the gross national product generated in İstanbul comes from the industrial sector and 70 percent from the services (100). In this picture, where does the cultural economy stand? According to the results of the Annual Industry and Services Statistics conducted by Turk-Stat throughout Turkey, the turnover of the cultural economy in 2008 constitutes 3.3 percent of the total turnover of the

workplaces in Turkey (100). For a comparison, the authors provide the statistics for the share of cultural economy in total turnover for France and England, which are respectively 3 percent and 6 percent. It is estimated that at least a third of the Turkish cultural economy in terms of share in turnover belongs to İstanbul (101).

It is clear that the share of culture in the economic activity in terms of turnover, employment and output is increasingly getting bigger in Turkey and İstanbul may very well be referred to as the leading actor in this respect. The interest in culture as a potential for the city's economic development, becoming a center of attraction for investment and overall creating an impressive image often find its repercussion in the statements of officials. There seems to be anonymous contention that İstanbul, a city so rich in its culture and history, is truly a cultural capital worldwide and it is this image that must be highlighted and invested in. Quoting Mayor Kadir Topbaş "İstanbul needs to shed the industrial city profile it now has. With skilled labor, and a unique outlook on life, it needs to be turned into a city that makes a difference... at this point in time İstanbul needs to become a finance center, a congress tourism center and a city of culture" (Aksoy and Enlil 2011, 64). Similarly, Prof. Ahmet Emre Bilgili, İstanbul Provincial Director of Culture and Tourism, underlines that "Without doubt, İstanbul is the priority, the showcase of the directorate" (Ünsal 2011, 17) and he points that

İstanbul needs to be positioned as the only global cultural capital of our country. Considering the city's potential as a whole, we could easily see that İstanbul deserves this. Having set such a goal for İstanbul, we need to approach culture not as a series of activities but in its broad sense. Culture in its broad sense, as a sector must be seen as one of the strategic sectors of this city.⁷ (21)

⁷ See Appendix for the Turkish original of the text.

In compliance with the vision of Bilgili for İstanbul as a center of attraction thanks to the development of cultural sectors, İstanbul is more than ever mentioned with reference to its metropolitan character, rich history and a thriving arts and cultural scene. Derya Özkan very well captures the apparent transition in perceiving and positioning the city that have been taking place in the recent years (2008). She observes that how the international press now talks about İstanbul do not at all resemble the mainstream discourses that have long been associated with the city. She quotes Observer, Guardian, and Newsweek, which all describe İstanbul as one of the “coolest” cities in the world and give tips to travelers as to what to do and see there while warning that the style that they will get to encounter would be far from what they would have imagined. Özkan comments “Although the famous skyline with minarets is still in place, it is now coupled with the image of a metropolis in pace with global standards, equipped with all that those standards suggest: a booming culture industry, lively entertainment and night life, five star hotels, business districts and shopping malls” (2008, 20). The unanimously embraced discourse with regards to the city seem to be the “cool İstanbul” which, as the preceding quote implies, have direct relation to the marks of postindustrialism in the urban space, namely an aesthetization going hand in hand with consumerism with the latent but definitive goal of marketing and selling the city. Özkan puts forward that though the discourse on the city has thus changed, this indicates continuity rather than discontinuity as İstanbul the cool city is really constituted with the interpretation of the very elements of the older discourse in a new light. What makes İstanbul a crudely urbanized third world city is what makes it hip and cool as well, with the difference that the chaos that used to be condemned is now celebrated. This change in perspective fits nicely into the declared purpose of “selling the city” along these lines.

International arts and culture activities, festivals of different sorts, and notably the International İstanbul Biennial which was first organized in 1987 take place in İstanbul, which is unanimously considered as Turkey's only city that could be truly called a cultural capital. A lively arts and cultural scene contributes to the notion that İstanbul is a "cool" city, as Özkan points out and besides, attracts the attention of international public opinion and is therefore a significant instrument in creating the "city brand" for the ends of urban entrepreneurialism. In *Kentsel Değişim ve Festivalizm: Küreselleşen İstanbul'da Bienal* (Urban Change and Festivalism: Biennial in the Globalizing İstanbul), Yardımcı quotes Beral Madra, the artistic director of Contemporary Art Exhibitions and the Second International İstanbul Biennial: "politicians enter the process of using culture as an intermediary, private sector as a billboard, and media as tabloid material"⁸ (2005, 46). Yardımcı notes that the İstanbul-based international arts events operate with a very developed and professionalized sponsorship system and the wide range of public and non-governmental organizations⁹ giving their support to such organizations "points not only to a general belief in İstanbul's historical and cultural richness but also to the diversity of the sectors that could benefit from such a project"¹⁰ (73). From venue selection to invited artists, the Biennial serves to the marketing of İstanbul in all its aspects. It may be a reductionist perspective to simply condemn marketing and selling the city in its own right and the role of arts and culture in this project.

⁸ "...Beral Madra'nın deyişiyle, 'siyasetçiler kültürü bir aracı gibi, özel sektör bir *billboard* gibi, medyalar bir sansasyon malzemesi gibi kullanma sürecine' girerler."

⁹ Yardımcı uses the term *non-governmental organizations* to refer to organizations that were founded taking the support of large-scale investment groups and that changed into repression groups in some measure, e.g. Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association, Economic Development Foundation, İstanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (2005, 44).

¹⁰ "Bunların arasında... farklı alanlarda çalışan kuruluşların olması, yalnızca İstanbul'un tarihsel ve kültürel zenginliğine duyulan genel bir inanca değil, aynı zamanda böyle bir projeden faydalanabilecek sektörlerin çeşitliliğine de işaret eder."

However, the seeping of culture in every sphere of life in late capitalism as Jameson describes it, takes place in a way that propagates exclusion and social stratification and under the circumstances, the capital instrumentalizes the human face of culture for consumer-capitalist ends.

İstanbul as the Capital of Culture

The positioning of İstanbul as the door of the country that opens up to the world in every sense but especially as a hub of arts and culture reaches a climactic point with the election of the city as the European Capital of Culture for 2010 alongside Ruhr from Germany and Pécs from Hungary. The ECOC project was initiated in 1985 upon the suggestion of the then Greek Minister of Culture Melina Mercouris, with Athens being the first city to bear the title. The 2004 report on the European cities and capitals of culture commissioned by the European Commission quotes Mercouris saying “it was time for our voice to be heard as loud as that of the technocrats. Culture, art and creativity are not less important than technology, commerce and economy” (Palmer-Rae Associates 2004). It was indeed at the heart of the project to give central stage to arts and culture with the sensibility that they would play a key role for the economic development of European cities. The same report, which comprised an in-depth study of 21 cities that held the title of European Capital of Culture between 1995 and 2004, makes it clear that the aims and objectives for nomination were mainly “the need to raise the international profile of the city and its region, to run a programme of cultural activities and arts events, to attract visitors and to enhance pride and self-confidence” (14). An ECOC city draws up its budget

from the national government, city, region, the EU and private sector sponsors.

Standing at the crossroads of shared interests, the ECOC project is one among the many examples of public and private cooperation.

Differently from other cities that held the title before it, the nomination of İstanbul to be a European Capital Culture was not a government but a civil society initiative. It was decided by the Council of Ministers in 2005 that İstanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Initiative Group is established and upon the formal declaration of İstanbul as the 2010 ECOC by the European Commission, the Group handed over its duties to execute the process to the İstanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency in 2007 for an institutional structuring. The expected benefits of İstanbul's being the 2010 ECOC as they are officially declared concentrated on three main axes. Firstly, international recognition and this leading to economic benefits are particularly stressed. It is anticipated that İstanbul would take its place in the center of the world's arts and culture agenda, the city would share its cultural richness with Europe, the European countries would be introduced to the Turkish culture, İstanbul would strengthen its reputation as a world culture capital, and finally besides cultural ties economic relations would also develop with Europe and new work areas would emerge from communications to organization, from education to design. Secondly, it is underlined that the project would help develop the city in terms of its arts infrastructure, that is, the city would have more museums and art spaces. Lastly, it is hoped that people living in İstanbul would be enriched by the project and they would reinforce their sense of belonging to the city. Thanks to the project and its implications, the life quality of İstanbulites would increase; the local artists would gain world-wide recognition; the whole community would produce and contribute to what is taking place; the İstanbulites would develop their sense of belonging to the

city, discover the values it embodies and be proud that they have the opportunity to live there (“İstanbul 2010 için AB’den Resmi Karar”). All the same, all other objectives remain subsidiary to the first one. The official website of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality gives place to the city’s ECOC status within the publicity section among information about the city’s history¹¹, its position with regard to geography, arts and cultural scene, economy, and demographic structure (“İstanbul Tanıtım”). The website mentions İstanbul 2010 project as one among the many international organizations that the city successfully hosted in the recent years. In this rather short info page about 2010, which seems to be made online in 2009 and has not been updated since, the emphasis is put on the exemplary role of the project rather than the project itself. It is made clear that the city has already turned into a capital of tourism, moved up in its rank from forty-nineteenth to seventeenth in congress tourism, gives reference to large-scale international events that have taken place in the city and ends with a note that the biggest target for the city is now hosting the 2020 Olympics, which did not turn out to be the case (“2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti İstanbul”).

In their introductory statements for publicity books about the project, the authorities put forth their projection of the city and activate certain discourses associated with İstanbul while trying to establish links with the city and the project itself. One thing that comes up is the idea of “inspiration”. The reference to İstanbul as an inspiring city operates along very similar lines to conceiving the city as “cool”. It is suggested that İstanbul has always evoked inspiration and attracted people and especially artists through the ages. Şekip Avdagiç, the Chairman of the Board of Directors for the Agency, says they have decided upon a slogan after lengthy

¹¹ It is notable how İstanbul’s history is here parted into sections with a particular emphasis to the conquest. The sections include “İstanbul Before the Conquest”, “The Conquest and İstanbul”, “İstanbul from the Ottoman to the Republic” and “Pre-Conquest History Texts”.

discussions as to how to represent the city: “İstanbul: The World’s Most Inspiring City” (Orhun Gültekin 2009, 5). He ends his prelude by referencing to one of Fellini’s films where two women from Rome talk about another woman who, as one of them says, “is weary of the world. She doesn’t talk to anybody. She only and always wants to go to İstanbul”¹² (6). Another theme that is frequently mentioned is the city’s history, being the capital of three empires and a cradle of great civilizations. This also embodies the idea of multiculturalism and imagination of a city which allows different people and groups to live together peacefully, which is too often symbolized in the image of the bridge –between continents, between cultures. For Hayati Yazıcı, a Minister of State, “An ancient hub, İstanbul does not make discrimination between religions, languages or ethnicities as it never did in any other period. Just as a devoted mother, it nourishes, teaches and brings up”¹³ (Durgut 2010, 11). This beautiful city in all of these respects is therefore the “shop window” of Turkey but it is also stressed that it is yet to be discovered (by İstanbulites) and promoted (to Europe and the world at large). The ECOC 2010 status is therefore cited as an opportunity to give the city its due.

The European Capital of Culture project is a mega-event in the sense of being “a large-scale cultural event, which has a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance” as Roche elaborates with specific reference to expos and Olympics (2000, 1). Roche deals with the significance of mega-events for structural social changes in modernity and their implications for identity formation in the global culture of modernity. As he investigates into mega-events as multi-dimensional social processes, he points out that these events have both national and

¹² “Tamamen dünyaya küstü. Kimseyle konuşmuyor. Sadece ve hep İstanbul’a gitmeyi istiyor.”

¹³ “Kadim bir merkez olan İstanbul her dönemde olduğu gibi din, dil, ırk farkı gözetmiyor. Fedâkar bir anne gibi besliyor, öğretiyor, büyütüyor.”

non-national dimensions. A mega-event is national as it involves the national elites playing the main role in its production, the host-state nationalism and the officially embraced notion of public sphere being carried out through certain “invented traditions” and also populist inclusion strategies that do not always quite work out. The organizing-elites have power over the representation and therefore the defining, framing and meaning-making processes that are naturally involved in any mega-event as well as the short- and longer-term economic gains that there is. The İstanbul 2010 ECOC project, which is taken pride in as being civil society initiative, can be approached in this light. In line with the concerns of this study, however, I would like to draw attention to the aspects of national reproduction, “invented traditions”, public sphere, and inclusion strategies.

İstanbul as an inspiring city, a bridge, a cradle of civilizations, a unique reservoir of culture and history, and an ancient crossroads where differences coexist is basically the picture of the city as it is invoked in the statements of authorities with reference to the quotes above. All of these comprise the invented traditions, which in Barthes’ terms could also be referred to as “myths”. Invented traditions or myths secure certain dispositions towards the world while they hide alternative readings into what is taking place as they present reality in certain ways and not others. They manipulate the real conditions of what they attempt to represent. The image of İstanbul as it is created in the ways mentioned contributes to the marketing and selling of İstanbul as part of ECOC project, which locates the notion of the city at its very center.

Roche (2000) points out that whereas mega-events such as the Olympics are regarded as the bearer of an inclusive, humanitarian, egalitarian, universalist ideology (as it is also put down with a charter in the case of the Olympics), they may

serve and have served the ends of the particular ideology embraced by the host-nation at the time. Despite standing for human rights and democracy independently of political concerns, the Olympics, he notes, held in the environment of fascism in the 1930s, and post-war Cold War period stand out as the most evident cases of violation where the event turns into a symbolic display of ideological superiority (Roche 2000, 203). Even though these events recently do not serve ideologies as visibly as the examples that Roche gives, they still play a role in disseminating values held by the host-nation and take part in the nation-building and enhancing the sense of belonging to that nation. Hosting mega-events give competitive advantage to countries in the symbolic as well as the more concrete, economic sense. In the case of the European Capital of Culture project, it is aimed that the ECOC city will have consequences for its surroundings and regional development will be led by the city that is given the ECOC status. İstanbul, which is unanimously regarded as the “showcase” of the country as it is clear by the statements quoted above, seems to get ahead of the national concerns and stand by itself. It is therefore remarkable to note that the role of the mega-event seems to have shifted from playing a supportive role for nation states to being a card for entrepreneurial cities.

Roche interprets mega-events as empowering individuals as far as they allow individuals to employ their agency as well as drawing attention to their role in reproducing established inequalities. As expos, which are spectacular displays of technology and progress especially significantly for the nineteenth century, become inclusive for the male working class, and they do so while instrumentally working as “class appeasement”. “Effectively, workers were invited, at expos, to join with capitalists in awe at the representation of industrial capitalism’s power and potential” (Roche 2000, 77). Where they give individuals the means to belong to a community,

develop meaningful relationships, and exist as cultural and global citizens in line with the international quality of the event, they might at the same time undermine these with their inherent role of reproducing ideology.

As it has been discussed, the İstanbul 2010 is introduced on the basis of three main purposes that are hoped to be achieved as the outcome of the whole process. Besides promoting İstanbul as a viable place to invest in (in a broad sense from visiting the city as an individual tourist to settling in the city as a multinational company) and making use of the culture of the city as an instrument, another aspect that is attributed to İstanbul's ECOC status is that İstanbulites will develop a sense of belonging as they rediscover their city in this new light. Şekip Avdagiç remarks that in developing the project they as the executive group kept asking themselves "What do the İstanbulites feel about İstanbul? What should they feel?"¹⁴ (Orhun Gültekin 2009, 5). Upon talking about how culturally rich and diverse İstanbul is, it is added that there is much about the city that is yet to be discovered even by the people living there and that it would only be possible to properly introduce the city to foreigners if its values are incorporated by the locals in the first place. The authorities also express their concerns that artistic and cultural events in İstanbul have largely been taking place in a closed circuit and are accessible only to a certain group and suggest that İstanbul 2010 might be seen as an opportunity to make activities and facilities more accessible for everyone. Hüsametdin Kavi, İstanbul 2010 ECOC Head of the Advisory Committee, remarks that "It matters a lot to take arts and culture to the remote parts of our İstanbul and share it, prove that arts and culture is an

¹⁴ "İstanbullular İstanbul'a ilişkin ne hissediyor? Ne hissetmeli?"

indispensable fact of life in every part of İstanbul as well as the city center”¹⁵ (Durgut 2010, 13). Speaking of the execution of the whole process Yılmaz Kurt, İstanbul 2010 ECOC Agency Secretary General, tells that “We thought, believed and carried through for İstanbul, together with İstanbulites”¹⁶ (17). It is clear from these remarks that İstanbul 2010 is imagined as constituted on the basis of cultural inclusion.

Besides the commentaries of authorities, the various projects that were elected and implemented under the aegis of İstanbul 2010 also have a direct claim to make access to and participation in culture available to public, especially to disadvantaged groups and the inhabitants living in the peripheries of the city. “İstanbul 2010 Kadirga Art Production Center”, which hosted such activities as workshops, trainings and exhibitions during 2010, as its name suggests, is itself a space that is appropriated with the 2010 process. “Portable Art”, a visual arts project, aimed to carry modern art exhibitions and performances from their established venues and take it to the relatively peripheral districts of Büyükçekmece, Eyüp, Fatih, Kartal, Kemerburgaz, Tuzla, Ümraniye and Zeytinburnu. Another project titled “Music Stops” is based on staging concerts on ferries and ferry quays so that İstanbulites come across, stop and listen to music in their everyday life as they are going from one place to another. Similarly, “A Thousand İstanbuls in My Binoculars” is about film screenings in coffee houses in an attempt to bring art to public spaces. The activities specific to neighborhoods such as Tarlabası and Sulukule, much disputed urban regeneration areas, intend to incorporate children and young people from the neighborhood, bring them together with art so as to enable

¹⁵ “Kültür ve sanatı İstanbul’umuzun en uç köşelerine kadar götürerek paylaşmak, İstanbul’un merkezi yanında şehrimizin her ilçesinde kültür ve sanatın yaşamın olmazsa olmaz bir gerçeği olduğunu ortaya koymak büyük önem taşıyor.”

¹⁶ “Düşündük, inandık ve İstanbul için, İstanbullular ile bunları gerçekleştirdik.”

them to explain themselves through these art activities such as music and painting. Within the scope of “İstanbul My City”, trainings are given to housewives, the disabled, students, neighborhood mukhtars, boards of alderman and religious officials from Çekmeköy and trips are organized to historic places and museums. Examples can be multiplied and what they point out to is that İstanbul 2010 is built as a widely inclusive project for the all city-dwellers as well as İstanbul’s attempt to introduce itself to Europe.

Füsun Üstel points out that the “right to the culture” which developed following the Second World War and found its place in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, shows a progression towards “cultural rights” in the last fifty years (Ada and İnce 2009, 15). The right to the culture, the common right to take part in the cultural life of the community, enjoy the arts, and share in the scientific advancement, is closely related to the notion of “democratization of culture” and implies the existence of an agreed-upon culture in which socially excluded groups are encouraged to participate. Üstel notes that arguments against the democratization of culture stem from two sources; whether one can talk about a “formal right” to culture or a unique culture that everyone is hoped to draw benefit from. Positing culture in this way pulls it into abstract universality, which conceals exclusion and inequality by affirming homogeneity in the abstract claim of “culture for all”. “Although the right to culture for everyone without discrimination asserts an egalitarian claim (with the emphasis on ‘without discrimination’), it actually conceals the particular inequalities and does not concern itself with the transformation of the formal equality to a true equality in the context” (17). The progression from “right to the culture” to “cultural rights” and from “democratization of culture” to “cultural

democracy” amounts to an attempt to enable true equality in access to and participation in culture for everyone, without the presupposition of an ideal culture.

The national report on the cultural policy in Turkey issued in October 2013 states within the section of developments in the field of culture that under the rule of AKP, milestone democratization steps have been implemented in the sphere of culture (MoCT 2013). The report mentions Nazım Hikmet’s restoration of citizenship, the renovation and distribution of Yılmaz Güney films, determining and taking steps to solving the problems of the Roma people¹⁷, taking steps towards realizing the “Alevi Initiative”, and removing obstacles from using different languages and dialects with particular reference to Kurdish. These points are presented as the steps taken in the direction of the fundamental goals of the cultural policy, which is stated in the beginning of the report as the “the principles of mutual toleration, cultural variety, equality and opposition to discrimination” constituting the core (7). The report makes a brief mention of İstanbul 2010 among the developments and it mostly talks about it in terms of its budget and the number of activities carried out within its scope. The relatively little space given to İstanbul 2010 in the report on Turkey’s cultural policy is interesting to note because as Aksoy says “İstanbul 2010 is Turkey’s first large-scale, global city marketing project based on culture” (Ada and İnce 2009, 204) and is therefore a significant case study to look at. The project embodies all the claims of diversity, equality and non-discrimination that the general cultural policy brings up. “The Review of Cultural Policy in Turkey” carried out by independent experts under the aegis of the Council of Europe presents a more

¹⁷ The report states that “The initiated democratization efforts, by considering the global and national dynamics, in order to resolve the problem of housing of Roma-origin citizens, TOKİ (Housing Development Administration of Turkey) has initiated to build new houses” (86). This is another way of saying that the Roma people were displaced from Sulukule and forced to rent TOKİ houses taking on unaffordable debts, which they found themselves unable to pay and had to leave again. Further information can be obtained on sulukulegunlugu.blogspot.com.

detailed evaluation of İstanbul 2010 (Gordon et al. 2013). The report mainly emphasizes how the project was started as a civil initiative and turned out to be governed with top-bottom approach losing the consensus of the stakeholders. The report also asserts the following:

There were the customary conflicts that tend to surface in individual ‘European Cultural Capitals’ between ‘high’ artistic levels aimed for both the artistic and international marketing aspirations, and local authorities wanting to see a greater focus on local/community/neighborhood level activity. Above all, there has been a general disappointment that despite the ‘City of art and culture’ label, the year’s activities ended up as very heritage-focused. Functions that did not find an easy fit with the municipal authorities’ vision of the tourist economy were marginalized, which meant that the opportunity to bring the different stakeholders together was lost while a fairly standard model of urban improvement and development was imposed from above (with controversial issues like the Sulukule redevelopment damagingly gaining the international press headlines, and the positively attractive contemporary social realities of Beyoğlu etc. being largely ignored. (Gordon et al. 2013, 65)

The quote above raises a bunch of points to be discussed about İstanbul 2010. It makes a connection between the high profile cultural activities and the international marketing aspirations, which is the driving force of the whole project. It touches upon the conflict arising from defining culture as high art and developing projects in this perspective, while at the same time trying to appeal to and incorporate large numbers of people from all corners of the city. Finally, it brings forward the urban regeneration issue which has been transforming the whole city visibly but which is particularly on the international agenda with the districts of Sulukule and Tarlabası – projects which are directed to image-making but which also have an undermining impact on the level of images as well besides economic and social aspects for the dislocated residents. Despite its projection as a big opportunity for social integration,

İstanbul 2010 remains mostly a case of marketing of the city through arts and culture and reproductive of inequalities based on what Bourdieu calls “cultural capital”.

İstanbul as Cultural Capital

In developing the theory of repressive and ideological state apparatuses, Althusser adopts a Marxist worldview that tries to give an explanation as to what perpetuates the capitalist domination while at the same time he moves away from a strictly Marxist understanding by making room for determinants other than economy, such as culture. The superstructural elements, culture and ideology, have a relative autonomy according to Althusser though he still keeps infrastructure and superstructure separate from each other and the former determinative in the last instance. A French sociologist who is also influenced by Marx, Bourdieu rejects this distinction from the start and develops his analysis of society, which is marked with conflict, hierarchy and struggle for valuable resources going on in the fields of production, circulation, and consumption resources. Conflict takes place in a series of “fields” that reside between infrastructure and superstructure. He shares with Marx and Althusser the notion of false consciousness, which he refers to as “misrecognition” of power relations between individuals and groups, most visibly in his emphasis on symbolic practices, which tacitly affirm hierarchy and domination.

A central preoccupation in Bourdieu’s sociology is how hierarchy and domination persist without resistance and even without conscious recognition of those who are affected by it (1977, 1986a, 1998, 2004). In response to the same question, Althusser comes up with the theory of state apparatuses. For an answer,

Bourdieu suggests exploring the cultural resources, processes and institutions that hold individuals within the bounds of established hierarchies and thus perpetuates domination. In the field of power where the struggle is played out, various resources and strategies are made of by individuals and groups. In *State Nobility*, Bourdieu defines the field of power and how different forms of capital operate in it:

The field of power is a field of forces structurally determined by the state of the relations of power among forms of power, or different forms of capital. It is also, and inseparably, a field of power struggles among the holders of different forms of power, a gaming space in which those agents and institutions possessing enough specific capital (economic or cultural capital in particular) to be able to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields confront each other using strategies aimed at preserving or transforming these relations of power. (Bourdieu 1998, 264)

Bourdieu points out that certain things other than merely economic capital confer power and distinction to their possessors and function as power resource. He therefore extends the concept of capital in the Marxist sense, which refers to money and means of production, to other areas and introduces other types of capital that also serve as resources: cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. He holds that culture can also be power source that distinguishes and privileges one group while excluding another. He draws attention that a wide variety of resources, such as verbal facility, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences, scientific knowledge, educational credentials do function as resources that distinguishes individuals that possess them. According to this broad definition, culture includes both an outcome of a certain upbringing and education, both possession of cultural goods and appreciation of them. Having cultural capital may exist in three different forms. It occurs in “objectified state” when it applies to cultural goods such as works of art and in “embodied state” as the understanding and appreciation of these cultural goods requires having internalized attitude towards them. Cultural capital also exists

in “institutionalized state” as it involves educational status as well (Bourdieu 1986b). Economic capital is convertible to cultural capital as might be exemplified in buying works of art or paying to get education in distinguished schools. The vice versa, the conversion of cultural to economic capital, applies especially to artists, academics, and in a broad sense to intellectuals.

Bourdieu thinks that what might be conceived as a disinterested area, such as culture, is actually laden with interest which confers distinction and at times economic capital to individuals and groups who possess it. The transition from the idea of high culture shared by only an exclusive group to cultural industries implies the discovery of culture in this sense as a tool for distinction. Private sector intensely sponsoring cultural and artistic events might also be interpreted in this way, both as a tool for distinction for the sponsoring institution and conversion of cultural capital to economic capital in some cases. Having acknowledged culture thus as a domain that is not free from interest, it follows that it plays a role in perpetuating existing hierarchies between privileged and unprivileged social groups. Regarding culture and its various representations as disinterested, that is, having no direct relation to power relations and politics, is an instance of “misrecognition”. Bourdieu uses the term “misrecognition” in a similar way to Marx’s “false consciousnesses”, the state that individuals have a distorted vision of existing social relations and their own condition in these. As goods and practices gain symbolic power, their underlying economic and political implications tend to go misrecognized. Groups that benefit from this misrecognition is said to have “symbolic capital”, which disguises the underlying interested relations and gives them legitimation. The work of professionals, which Bourdieu refers to as “symbolic labour” and which may as well be designated as the undertakings of cultural and creative industries professionals,

play a significant role in establishing symbolic power. As the interest in symbolic power of culture goes unrecognized, hierarchical relations that it produces are propagated.

Besides resources such as knowledge of arts and sciences, aesthetic preferences and educational credentials, the city both in terms of knowledge about it and belonging to it takes on the meanings associated with cultural capital. Quite in parallel to the kinship between *civis* and *civilization* and also between *Medine* and *medeniyet*, the city represents the triumph of “civilization” over “barbarism” as suggested as early as the initial struggle between Gilgamesh and Enkidu. The same pattern emerges in the medieval times as between what remains inside and outside the city walls, which were built for the purposes of protecting the enclosed space against attacks from outside. From the nineteenth century on, with the advent of industrialization through developments in technology, the city was recognized as the embodiment of human progress and always existed in dichotomy with the rural, from which it drew loads of people as migrants to work in the newly-founded factories. As this brief overview of the ancient dichotomy between the urban and the rural suggests, the urban space has always been symbolically loaded with value of the city and its culture. The disposition that is associated with being a city-dweller is different from and more likely to be affirmed compared to that of a villager or a migrant.

The city, as a meeting ground of different people and in that sense conflict-ridden as to who shall control it and what shall be visible there, stages the struggle of individuals and groups in a symbolic as well as a material sense. What comes to mind when a particular city is in question is telling of how it is coded in the collective imagination and gives clue as to the persistent discourses and their makers

as well. While both city and culture are organic entities that elude definition with their numerous signifieds, it is no less difficult to define the culture of a city. When it comes to İstanbul, whether it is taken positively, negatively or neutrally, what immediately comes to mind is a bygone glory in much the same way that İstanbul 2010 evokes and inhabitants who are witnesses to that glorious time through their ancestors who did not migrate but were born and raised there. Although it is pretty ambivalent what this imagination might include and what it might exclude, the definitive aspect of İstanbul's culture appears to be its supposed "authenticity", being "uncontaminated" by waves of migration; celebratory of the idea of diversity that comes from its imperial heritage but hostile towards rural newcomers from Anatolia.

The struggle that goes on in the urban space is now increasingly marked by the cultural and social capital as, for instance, in the case of the old İstanbulites' claim to be the "true" inhabitants of the city and the nostalgia for the city before the dramatic increase in its population. Ekin Aksan (2011) discusses how the culture of the city, which surfaces in and is experienced through daily practices, has increased in value and become an agent of symbolic violence against those who do not possess and perform the attitudes associated with this culture. Basing her argument on Bourdieu's conceptualization, Ekin Aksan makes the point that the culture of the city has been instrumentalized as one of the tools for maintaining class hierarchies that have developed out of the inegalitarian urbanization in Turkey's modernization process. She researches into the weekly comics as a medium that exposes the power relations that come forward in the day-to-day encounters between the urban dweller and the villager and turns it inside out by means of the shock-effect of humor. The comics, she points out, are one channel through which urban culture's redefinition process occurring in the '90s accompanying the intense migration towards west from

the eastern and south-eastern regions can be followed. Symbolic aspects such as the dress code, aesthetic preferences and life styles function as the determinants of status in the urban space and connote belonging or exclusion, which is captured in the momentary revelations that the comics provide.

Bali Akal traces the emergence of the nostalgic feeling for the city's past among the urban elites, as it has once been or as it is imaged to have once been, to the 1984 local elections when Bedrettin Dalan became the Mayor of İstanbul and initiated a series of renovation projects to increase the city's touristic potential (2002, 135). The restoration of Çiçek Pasajı, the founding of the Beyoğlu Beautification Association, and the reintroduction of the Beyoğlu tramcar are developments serving the purpose of recalling and revitalizing the old İstanbul. While the values of the old city is tried to be thus revived, the reverse current involves lamenting the present situation the city is perceived to be in. It goes that İstanbul is undergoing an "invasion" and "ruralization" which is caused by the new-comers who fail to internalize the established urban culture. Bali Akal quotes a statement from Okan Bayülgen, a popular figure from the Turkish media and entertainment industry, who expresses "the love of İstanbul" and "the hate of villagers" in a nutshell:

I hate villagers because I am urban. I love the boons of the city. I was raised in a family who has been İstanbulite for a couple of generations. Those who are ignorant of themselves, that is, who do not know about the gusto of being Turkish and enjoy it to the hilt, I call 'villagers'; I hate them and I look down on them. They are dopes! They came to the city from their villages and they want to compete with me having read a few books. I am not taking it. I love being an İstanbulite; I look down on those who are not; I love those who are living in Paris or London. We are not permitting a kebab-house in Bebek for instance. I want to live together with civilized people.¹⁸
(Bali Akal 2002, 139)

¹⁸ See Appendix for the Turkish original of the text.

This quote lays bare a lot of aspects about the operation of symbolic violence in the case of the values attributed to the urban space. The association of the city with civilization, reference to a set of values that the city is assumed to bring with itself, the similarity of a metropolis to other global metropolises more than the region around them, and obviously the hierarchy between the urban and the rural that arises from the possession/lack of urban social and cultural capital are the points that are all implied by the quote and it is suggestive of a prevalent, wider phenomenon.

In his *İstanbul: Memories and the City*, which is itself a recollection of old İstanbul intertwined with the childhood memories of a writer that is so very İstanbulite, Orhan Pamuk writes that “As a child I had no sense of living in a great world capital but rather a poor provincial city” (2006, 221). Remembering İstanbul is, however, is usually an act of nostalgia mixed with anger for those who credit themselves with having witnessed the past glory of the city. Füsün Akatlı (2000) puts such anger into words. She says that İstanbul before all else is a city, but then a lifestyle. “This lifestyle is surely not one. It has its Pera, Üsküdar, Şişli, Maçka, Yeşilköy, Erenköy, the Islands, Moda, Eyüp, Balat, Edirnekapi. Yet in the plurality of the lifestyles in these different neighborhoods there is a commonality and its name is Istanbul” (2000, 93). She indicates that İstanbul that she is talking about is now lost. “If Istanbul today is having death throes with its physical structure; its modus vivendi (lifestyle) has already disappeared and it does not have even the strength to say – as in colloquial speech ‘I am dead and I have no one to cry behind me’”¹⁹ (93). She resentfully acknowledges that “İstanbul is dying for those who have been İstanbulites. A new İstanbul is born for those who are newly born in İstanbul”²⁰ (94).

¹⁹ “İstanbul fizik yapısıyla bugün can çekişmekteyse; modus vivendi’si ile (yaşam biçimi) çoktan öldü de, - halk deyişinde dile geldiğinde: -‘ölmüşüm, ağlayanım yok’ diyesi bile kalmadı.”

²⁰ “İstanbul’da yeni doğanlar için yeni bir İstanbul doğuyor.”

Throughout her essay, when she mentions the name of the city, she writes “İstanbul” rather than the formal usage “İstanbul” and she associates her preference with the set of values that İstanbulites have and what she calls “the Turkish language being İstanbulite”:

Typesetters rightfully put dots when they come across ‘İstanbul’ in writings. That’s because the name of the city is written as ‘İstanbul’ and not ‘İstanbul’ according to the spelling dictionaries. But I write it as I pronounce it, as the ‘İstanbulites’ write it: with ‘İ’. Let them correct it however they want; I will not put a dot on ‘İ’!²¹ (Akatlı 2000, 94)

Tomris Uyar (2000) attributes the malevolent changes that İstanbul has undergone to migration and the newcomers:

A population that is used to living in villages and towns, but wherever they live, that are used to regarding the human being not as an individual but as flock, that were raised with these manners and traditions are exposing their own habits to İstanbul. That is the real violence.²² (164)

Tomris Uyar’s referring to the lifestyles that she does associate with İstanbul as “the real violence” is exactly how symbolic violence operates. All of the quotes above by different people and at different times revolve around the same phenomenon of the city and its culture turning into a resource that people possess or lack. The İstanbul 2010 projects that were carried out with the purpose of incorporating the excluded to the established construct that is İstanbul stem from the same perspective that acknowledges the city as a resource and cultural capital. Laying stress on the city and belonging to the city as cultural capital through nostalgia as well as restoration and renovation attempts both imaginarily and physically is one of the strategies of the entrepreneurial city.

²¹ See Appendix for the Turkish original of the text.

²² See Appendix for the Turkish original of the text.

The Role of Education and İstanbul Courses in Context

Education fulfills an ideological function. In *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) define a theory of symbolic violence perpetuated in schooling and discuss at length how it fulfills this function with specific reference to the French educational system. Education ensures social and cultural reproduction through inculcating the values and interests of the dominant groups. It fulfills this role more successfully than any other institution would do because besides being the only institution which is given the consent of selecting and training individuals, it hides its reproductive role by its claim to neutrality, which is generally taken for granted just as the consent is given. The educational system conserves and reproduces the hierarchies in the society in general and class relations, but it does not mean that it is only a reflection of the society; it has a relative autonomy from the spheres that it reproduces. By way of transmission of cultural capital which will see through its receivers, who have already been selected on the basis of their possession of it, the educational system plays a very significant role in the conservation of the values, norms and relations in the best interest of the dominant groups and the legitimation of the present state of affairs.

Discussing Bourdieu's *The State Nobility*, which he sees as the work in which Bourdieu's central concepts and concerns are exemplified, Wacquant, too, mentions the role of educational institutions in propagating the hierarchy existent in the society through its transmission of cultural capital, on whose basis students are already preselected (i.e. the probability of a person of bourgeois descent having knowledge of Greek and Latin vs. a person of working class origin). Cultural capital, which is symbolic in origin, is closely connected to the possession of economic capital as the

two kinds of capital are convertible to one another and the transfer of the former by the educational system, just as in the function of “hegemony” in the sense that Gramsci employs the term, operates latently in its reproductive and legitimating role.

As Weber (1946, p. 157) noted well, in every structure of domination, those ‘privileged through existing political, social and economic orders’ are never content to wield their power unvarnished and to impose their prerogatives naked. Rather, they ‘wish to see their positions transformed from purely factual power relations into a cosmos of acquired rights, and to know that they are thus sanctified.’ In feudal society, to simplify, the Church was the institution entrusted with transmitting the lord’s might, founded as it was upon control of weaponry, land, and riches, into divine right; ecclesiastical authority was deployed to justify and thereby solidify the rule of the new warrior class. In the complex societies spawned by late capitalism, Bourdieu maintains, the school has taken over this work of sanctification of social divisions. So that *not one but two species of capital* now give access to positions of power, define the structure of social space, and govern the life chances of and trajectories of groups and individuals: economic capital and cultural capital. (Wacquant 1996, 153)

In carrying out its reproductive and legitimating role, school provides channels that lend themselves to making sense of the world, that is, it gives individuals a base whereby they could perceive, know and interpret phenomena. By making it into a construct, school renders the world knowable. Everything that makes up the social world continuously makes statements as to what the world is and what is taking place there. In this sense, school is one of the sources that make statements and transmit messages as to the proper modes of conduct in the face of situations just as family and media do. Differently from family or media, school is bestowed with partial autonomy, which enables it to conceal reproductive and legitimating role. The world as school describes it is normative as the success of individuals is frequently tested on how successfully they have internalized the world construct that they are provided

with. As a human right, often a prerequisite for all kinds of positions in a society, and a status marker, schooling is common and consented ideological mechanism.

The normative, world-making role of education has been discussed in different contexts in a number of studies. Project for Promoting Human Rights in Primary and Secondary School Textbooks I-II, which was started in 2002 and resumed in 2007 with a follow-up to evaluate the recent changes in the curriculum, depends on the survey and analysis of textbooks in from a number of human rights concerns such as militarism, nationalism and gender and to formulate recommendations for the official bodies (Tüzün 2009). Building on these studies, SEÇBİR (Sociology and Education Studies Unit) scrutinizes the textbooks from the 2011-2012 school year with a specific interest in the representation of gender roles (Çayır et al. 2012). Firdevs Gümüsoğlu (2013) also dwells upon the subject of gender in textbooks covering a time period as wide as between 1928 and 2013. Neşe Özgen (2013) discusses how textbooks on geography taught in high schools between 1928 and 2009 imagine the idea of “nativeland”. Füsün Üstel (2009) deals with the textbooks on citizenship education and investigates how “the citizen” is defined in these books throughout periods, which directly reflects the societal paradigm shifts as well as being a constitutive element of these shifts. Including a course that is specifically designed about a city and its culture in the curriculum for public education is an act which designates the knowledge of city, which is turned into a type of cultural capital, as part of the ideology transmitted by way of education.

The course for İstanbul’s primary school students has evolved from “Evimiz İstanbul” (İstanbul, Our Home)²³ project which was created and carried out as part of

²³ Many web resources about İstanbul 2010 including the official website of İstanbul 2010 Agency istanbul2010.org.tr have been inaccessible following the end of 2010. The website of “Evimiz İstanbul” however is still accessible on evimizistanbul.org.

İstanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture by TEGV and then adopted and redesigned by the İstanbul Provincial Directorate for National Education to be taught at primary schools in İstanbul. The aim of the project is described as “raising awareness from a number of different aspects about the city in thousands of children who live in İstanbul but have not found a chance to discover the city that they live in”²⁴ (Durgut 2010, 418). Consisting of five modules, the project has developed learning materials that aimed to introduce the city, made exhibitions of the İstanbul-themed works of children at different locations in the city as one of the outcomes, mobilized a “culture truck” that travelled different parts of İstanbul throughout 2010 carrying the activities there for the easier access of children, and provided training to teachers for the dissemination of the project in the schools as well. In that sense, the project is compliant with İstanbul 2010 in general in trying to incorporate inhabitants from socially disadvantaged districts to the city and its culture as given.

İstanbul courses for primary schools in İstanbul were started off in the 2010-2011 school year with the motto idea that “If a child gets to know their city, they will love it and if they love it, they will protect it”²⁵ (Yıldız 2012). Revolving around this central theme of affection and belonging towards the city, the course establishes its mission as raising individuals who “are willing to learn about İstanbul; know, love and protect the city; experience and share İstanbul’s culture; desire to discover the city; take part in the arts events taking place there; approach differences with tolerance; have strong feelings towards İstanbul”²⁶ (Yıldız 2012). In the first year

²⁴ “...İstanbul’da yaşayan ama yaşadığı kenti tanıma fırsatı bulamamış binlerce çocuğa İstanbul şehri hakkında birçok farklı alanda farkındalık yaratmayı amaçlıyor.”

²⁵ “Çocuk, yaşadığı kenti tanır ise; sever ise korur.”

²⁶ “İstanbul dersi, İstanbul’u öğrenme arzusu duyan; İstanbul’u tanıyan, seven, koruyan; İstanbul kültürünü yaşayan ve yaşatan; İstanbul’u keşfetmek isteyen; İstanbul’daki sanatsal etkinliklere katılan; farklılıklara hoşgörü ile yaklaşan; İstanbul’a ilişkin duyguları güçlü bireyler yetiştirmek amacıyla İstanbul Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü tarafından gerçekleştirilen bir projedir.”

that the course was included in the primary school curriculum, there were no course materials present and the teachers were encouraged to teach the course based on their own experience of the city. The next year a commission that carried out a needs analysis with a sample of primary school teachers and students developed course books and instructor manuals for the third, fourth and fifth graders.

Another mass educational project which was inspired by İstanbul 2010 is the university course that was initiated with *City and Culture: İstanbul* project which is carried out by the Ministry and Culture and Tourism. The course is suggested as a semester-long elective course to universities, who would decide on the methodology and the content of the course themselves. A compilation, whose editor was the Director Ahmet Emre Bilgili himself, was prepared and published in 2010 as the course book carrying the same title as the project: *City and Culture: İstanbul*. The İstanbul course for university students is planned with the same purpose of the primary school course, which is enabling students to discover the city and raise a sense of belonging. Bilgili states that “It is very functional that this course is offered to freshmen because the student has just come to the city and will spend four years here. You are offering a key for her; you are saying ‘Discover the city’. How do you discover the city? We are going to share its details with our students”²⁷ (“İstanbul Ders Olarak Okutulacak”). From 2010 on, this course was adopted for more than twenty universities in İstanbul including İstanbul University, İstanbul Commerce University, Mimar Sinan University of Fine Arts and Galatasaray University.

The inclusion of a city, namely İstanbul, in the primary school curriculum and the designation of elective İstanbul courses for universities suggest that the city is a resource for cultural capital and its knowledge should therefore be regulated in

²⁷ See Appendix for the Turkish original of the text.

accordance with the reproductive function of the school system. The special status of İstanbul among the cities of Turkey which is highlighted by officials on every occasion reveals the importance accorded to the place of İstanbul, given the policy of the government on a national and international basis. It must be borne in mind that the initiative for the İstanbul course on the primary education level was taken by the İstanbul Provincial Directorate of National Education (though it has its roots in İstanbul 2010 educational activities) and the İstanbul course on the university level was designed by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. While the initiation of these courses has a reciprocal meaning, namely taking their source from the special status of İstanbul and in turn adding to its special status by means of their presence, the courses stand upon the idea that a certain knowledge of the city must be internalized by all its residents. The departure point for both courses is that, despite the indubitable uniqueness of the city in many respects, the core of İstanbul, what makes it what it is, remains underrecognized and therefore underappreciated by its inhabitants. Putting it in Director of National Education Yıldız's words, "the more the primary school students learn about their city, the more they will love it, and the more they love it the more willing they will be to protect it" (2012). In a similar fashion, Director of Culture and Tourism Prof. Ahmet Bilgili declares that the İstanbul course for university students aims to provide a key for discovering the city to the freshmen who have just arrived in the city for their studies and will stay a minimum of four years ("İstanbul Ders Olarak Okutulacak"). The courses have the common ground of raising awareness as to the culture of the city and inculcating the life style and values that are deemed intrinsic to the city in the inhabitants.

Having thus set their mission to provide İstanbul inhabitants with a certain knowledge of and outlook on their city, the İstanbul courses define the city, specify

the modes of conduct in it, and provide pre-given identities to the urban subjects, in an attempt to turn them from being İstanbul-dwellers to “true” İstanbulites. In compliance with the declared objectives of putting courses on İstanbul into practice, which is to inculcate urban citizens with a favorable grasp of the city, the world that is İstanbul as it is established by the courses stands as a ready-made package. The relation between the content of the course and its audience is one of transfer. Thus making a projection of the city, which assumes neutrality but is certainly discursive, the courses mark the culture of the city in a one-way relation to the city-dwellers and as a result the city that the courses recount do not materialize as “spatial practice” but rather remains a “representation of space”. Although the courses lay claim to making clear what is already there and creating awareness in İstanbulites through reminding them what they are only skipping, they in fact fashion what is to be understood from the city in a new, distinct way which is determined ideologically.

The ideology that is manifested and reproduced in the İstanbul courses can best be read through the course books. Bourdieu and Passeron argue that

The teaching tools which the ES [educational system] makes available to its agents (manuals, commentaries, abstracts, teachers’ texts, syllabuses, set books, teaching instructions etc.) must be seen not simply as aids to inculcation but also as instruments of control tending to safeguard the orthodoxy of SW against individual heresies. (1977, 58)

In 2011, the first year when İstanbul course was included in the primary school curriculum, there were no course materials present and the teachers were encouraged to teach the course based on their own experience of the city. The next year, however, course books were developed for the three grades and teachers had a certain curriculum to follow throughout the school year. The course book to be taught at universities was prepared as a compilation of articles encompassing various

aspects of the culture of the city, of which the Director of Culture and Tourism Ahmet Emre Bilgili was the editor and a contributor. The book was introduced to instructors by way of a series of seminars given by the authors of the book, consisting of well-known figures from the intellectual life of Turkey.

In his foreword for the teacher's guide to the primary school textbook, Governor Hüseyin Avni Mutlu notes that

...bazı mekanların çekim gücünün olduğunu görüyoruz. Adetleri, dili, yaşama tarzı ile devletlerin yegâne, örnek ve gözde şehirleri olan bu merkezler aynı zamanda çok yönlü temsil görevini de yüklenirler. İnsanların hayatlarında dönemeçlerdeki köşe taşları konumuyla etkin rol alırlar. Hayatın farklı alanlarında çok yönlü uğrak noktaları oluştururlar. Bir şekilde buraların havasını soluyan insanlar buralardan ayrıldıktan sonra edindikleri değerleri ve özellikleri gittikleri yerdeki ahaliye de taşırlar. (Ertuğrul, *3.Sınıf Öğretmen*, 6)

... we see that particular cities stand out as centers of attraction. While they are unique, exemplary and popular cities of states with their customs, language and lifestyle, they also undertake the duty of an all-round representation. They play an active role in people's lives as they become cornerstones. They make the multifaceted stamping grounds in different walks of life. Those who once breathed their air carry the values and characteristics they adopted here to the community that they go after leaving these cities.

For him, İstanbul is one such city in that it has an influence far beyond its boundaries and therefore "has always seriously busied the forces in power". In his introductory statement for the students' book he dwells upon a list of features that he thinks makes İstanbul unique. The fact that the city dates 8500 years back, that it was the capital of empires and embodies Roman, Hellenic and Turco-Islamic relics refers to İstanbul's value from a historical perspective whereas mention of the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn and the seven hills involves İstanbul's natural and physical attractions. He makes his point with the help of quotations. Firstly he refers to Muhammad's saying,

Peygamber Efendimiz “Konstantiye (İstanbul) muhakkak fethedilecektir. Onu fetheden emir ne güzel emir; onu fetheden ordu ne güzel ordudur.” buyurduğu üzere Fatih Sultan Mehmet tarafından fethedilerek; Bursa ve Edirne’den sonra Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun üçüncü başkenti olan İstanbul, Cumhuriyet’in ilanına kadar Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na 467 yıl başkentlik yapmıştır. (Ertuğrul, *3.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 6)

Upon the order of our Prophet Mohammad, “Verily you shall conquer Constantinople. What a wonderful leader will he be, and what a wonderful army will that army be.” Konstantiniyye (İstanbul) was conquered by Mehmet the Conqueror. İstanbul, which was the third capital of the Ottoman Empire after Bursa and Edirne, served as the capital of the Ottoman Empire for 467 years.

He then turns to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who said “İstanbul is the sum of our history and our civilization”²⁸ and to Napoleon who said, “If the world was a single country, İstanbul would be its capital”²⁹ (Ertuğrul, *3.Sınıf Öğretmen*, 6). Leaning on these leading figures in history he concludes that İstanbul has been one of the most beautiful and important centers of the world. At the very end of his foreword, he gets to the İstanbul course and addresses the students that as they get to know this important city they will “awaken to” the beauties of it and contribute to these beauties with the things they will produce about İstanbul in this class.

İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Kadir Topbaş refers to the archeological excavations and restoration works, which he says, unearthed İstanbul’s history and it will be with the help of teachers to convey the newly-found information about İstanbul to children. He expresses that the only way of making a claim to the lifestyle and culture of İstanbul and transferring it to next generations is that young people receive education about the city. The keyword here also is “to transfer” and the course books, altogether, will tell what is the life style and culture that are intrinsic to İstanbul. He tells how: “In these course books that we have

²⁸ “İstanbul, bizim tarihimizin ve medeniyetimizin bir hülâsasıdır.”

²⁹ “Yeryüzünde yalnız bir devlet olsaydı, başşehri İstanbul olurdu.”

prepared for you, İstanbul recounts itself by way of the symbols belonging to İstanbul starting to talk”³⁰ (Ertuğrul, *3.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 7). İstanbul, its lifestyle and culture, which it is hoped will be transferred to students so that it will be protected, unfolds itself quite naturally without any mediation accordingly. What these symbols are, what they tell and what they leave out however, are critical indicators which also constitute the İstanbul of the İstanbul courses. This course, he says, will teach students the characteristics that belong to the history and present of this city they were born and live in but have not known before and he adds the Bosphorus, Sultanahmet and the Galata Tower will move in to classes.

As he introduces the book to students, İstanbul Provincial Director of National Education Muammer Yıldız presents İstanbul as among the cities which has changed the world history and been a source of inspiration for artists. He regards it as a duty to comprehend, evaluate, protect and transfer İstanbul’s rich cultural and historical heritage. He states that the course book is a guide which helps the student touch the city and perhaps rediscover it. He says,

İstanbul’u keşfetme yolculuğuna çıkaracak elinizdeki “İstanbul Dersi” kitabı sayesinde İstanbul’un değerlerini eğlenerek öğreneceksiniz. İstanbul Dersi’nde, sınıflarınızdan çıkacak, İstanbul’un sokak seslerini duyacak, Kanlıca’ya özgü şekerli yoğurdu tadacak, Mısır Çarşısı’nda farklı baharatları koklayacak, vapur yolculuğu yaparken boğazın güzelliklerine şahit olacaksınız. (Ertuğrul, *3.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 8)

Thanks to the “İstanbul Course” book that will take you on an İstanbul tour, you will get to know the values of İstanbul in an entertaining way. You will go out of your classes, hear the voices from İstanbul streets, taste the sweet yoghurt peculiar to Kanlıca, smell different spices in the Spice Bazaar, and witness the beauty of the Bosphorus as you take a ferry ride.

³⁰ “Sizler için hazırladığımız bu ders kitaplarında İstanbul yine İstanbul’a ait simgelerin dile gelmesi yoluyla kendini anlatıyor.”

In Mutlu's words, the culture of İstanbul, which he says is unique backing up his argument with quotes by historical figures, it is implied that the people who are expected to be shaped by the culture intrinsic to this city are not city-dwellers but a mobile group which will be influenced by the city and then carry these values somewhere else. He may be referring to the increasing mobility that is a characteristic of the present times but his words also capture İstanbul as the destination of internal migration, which brings the people who are strangers to the unique İstanbul culture to İstanbul. The İstanbul courses, it is suggested, comes into play at this point to integrate the new-comers to the unfamiliar culture of the city. The point is that "Loving one's city, learning everything about it and getting to know it better will make the city more beautiful and meaningful" and therefore will lead the individual to protect it. This activity seems to be working in one direction as inhabitants are regarded as the receivers of culture rather than having a role in constructing the city in which they are now living. The highlight seems to be the preservation of a given value rather than a natural change resulting from the interaction between inhabitants and the city. Topbaş, the Metropolitan Municipality Mayor, also regards the city as already given and something to be transferred. In his words, the city is even more static. He suggests that now that there are new archeological discoveries, there is new information to be learned about the city. In a way, he equates and therefore reduces the knowledge of the city to shedding light upon the distant past. The idea of unearthing the history of the city contributes to the imagery that the city is a static entity waiting to be discovered. According to the İstanbul Provincial Director of National Education Yıldız's exposition, however, the courses do not simply transfer information to the students but take them out in the İstanbul streets. This journey through İstanbul streets that Yıldız describes the

courses to be bears the risk of inviting the students to experience the city in much the same way as a tourist would be advised to by the travel guides.

The teacher's guide to the primary school course book defines the kind of İstanbulite the course aims to raise.

İstanbul Dersi Öğretim Programı'nın amacı İstanbul'u öğrenme arzusu duyan, İstanbul'u tanıyan, seven, koruyan, İstanbul kültürünü yaşayan ve yaşatan, İstanbul'u keşfetmek isteyen, İstanbul'daki sanatsal etkinliklere katılan, İstanbul'a ilişkin duyguları güçlü, kendisine, çevresine ve insan haklarına saygılı, farklılıklara hoşgörü ile yaklaşan, değişime ve yeniliklere uyum sağlayabilen, eleştirel düşünen, etkin, üretken, yaratıcı bireyler yetiştirmektir. (Ertuğrul, 3.Sınıf Öğretmen, 7)

The objective of the İstanbul Course Education Program is to raise individuals who desire to learn about İstanbul; know, love and protect it; experience and maintain the İstanbul culture; want to explore the city; participate in the artistic activities in the city; have strong feelings for İstanbul; are respectful towards themselves, their environment and human rights; tolerant of differences; adaptable to changes and developments; critical, active and creative.

The course intends to equip the students with the cultural capital of knowing about and being part of the city. Students, who will learn about the city and its culture, which cannot simply be regarded as a neutral narrative, will be willing to protect and maintain them, which points out to the preserving role that education plays. As they participate in the activities as part of the course and as they learn more and more about their city, the book aims that students will become aware of their position within the city, therefore will be at peace with İstanbul and be more willing to protect its culture. The course books points out that the city they are now exploring are theirs, that they are a part of it. So, what is this city that is rich in every sense that its inhabitants must love and be proud of?

Asu Aksoy points out that under the Justice and Development Party (AKP) rule, which has been in power for almost a decade now, İstanbul has entered “a new

round of urban globalization” (2009). This new round is characterized with the overall opening up of the whole city for international investment with the central government and local municipalities playing a facilitating role. This statement is in tune with what Çağlar Keyder says evaluating the globalization efforts for İstanbul: that “informal globalization” left its place to successful globalization, which can mostly be attributed to the coincidence of economic and political expectations from the city and hence the resulting urban coalitions (2010). The urbanization of capital, which is regarded as the third phase of Turkey’s urbanization and which spans the period starting from 1980s up until now, may be said to be fully realized with the urban policy of the AKP government, which is known for its neoliberal standing. As a journal neatly captures the phenomenon by putting its dossier title “Construction, O Prophet of God”³¹, İstanbul is going through an incessant process of construction which can be epitomized in the much disputed TOKİ (Housing Development Administration of Turkey) acts, mushrooming trendy housing estates, increase in shopping malls in their number and extent, enactment for the building of the third bridge and the third airport, and drastic infrastructural projects for the city such as *Kanal İstanbul* (Channel İstanbul) which received publicity as the current President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s “crazy project”. As a way of including the inhabitants in the changing İstanbul and making them share the vision of the competitive city, culture plays role as an instrument to contribute to the corresponding ideology. The İstanbul courses can be read in this light, working towards raising citizens that are comfortable with their roles as a spectator, a tourist and a guide in the commodified urban space as depoliticized subjects.

³¹ “İnşaat ya Resulullah”. *Birikim* October 2011.

The motto for the primary school İstanbul courses, “If a child gets to know their city, they will love it and if they love it, they will protect it”, as it is put into words by the Provincial Director of National Education Muammer Yıldız, besides having a number of meanings from the preservation of the city’s cultural heritage to simply keeping the environment clean, also points at the propagation of ideology through the medium of urban space with the help of the courses. The Ministry of Education official website makes news of the briefing held for the courses and reports that making the city into a course taught at schools is a first in the world and the course will contribute substantially to the national and global brand value of İstanbul (“Dersimiz İstanbul”). The primary school course books often give reference to the articles in the university course book, which indicates the thematic continuity between the two projects as well as the declared starting point they both share. The İstanbul Director of Culture and Tourism Ahmet Emre Bilgili, who is also the editor of the university course book, puts it clearly that this course on the city can be regarded as one of the ways to integrate the experience of the city with the city’s culture, which would help strengthen the sectoral choice that is made for the future of the city (2011). The choice of the authors that contribute to the book with their articles is itself significant because as well as the content of their writing, who they are is constitutive of the discourse. In this sense, for a few examples, İskender Pala, who is a conservative writer famous for his books on the Divan literature; Doğan Hızlan, an established critic well known as with his newspaper columns where he wrote about culture, art and lifestyle; İlber Ortaylı, professor of history and a very popular figure whose opinion is sought when it comes to the discussions on İstanbul’s history and heritage; Murat Belge, who, besides his many other affiliations, is known for the books and guides he’s written on İstanbul and the

culture tours that he organized along the Bosphorus are figures that fit in the framework of projecting the city as a nostalgic delicacy to be looked at, travel around and consumed in a number of ways.

CHAPTER 4

THE MAKING OF İSTANBUL AND THE “DESIRABLE” URBAN SUBJECT

In “*Makbul Vatandaş’ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi* (In Search of the “Desirable Citizen”: The Citizenship Education since the Second Constitutional Period), Üstel (2009) dwells on the role of citizenship courses at schools in raising generations with the political ideals in question and traces the changes in discourse pursuant to the changes in the political climate over a period of a hundred years. The understanding of the “desirable citizen” varies with the changing agendas of establishing and consolidating political regimes. This study borrows the term “desirable citizen” from Üstel and puts it to use in the context of describing the İstanbulite that constitute the objective of İstanbul courses. The “desirable urban citizen” attribution gains its meaning in being part of the general education. With İstanbul courses, the knowledge about the city is specified and rendered transferrable. What is pointed out to as İstanbul within the courses and where İstanbul’s inhabitants take their place in this narrative give out the role that is ascribed to the desirable urban citizen. The construct of the desirable urban citizen that is fleshed out is certainly inseparable from the imagination of the urban space put forward in the courses and the ideological context in which this is shaped.

The desirable citizen, who comes up as a political construct that is expected to ensure the consolidation and preservation of the regime in Üstel’s research on citizenship education is someone who is expected to be integrated to and help maintain the requirements of urban entrepreneurialism. Like the desirable citizen of citizenship courses, the desirable urban citizen is regarded as the warranty for the continuation of the settled ideology; unlike the former, however, the desirable urban

citizen is conceived of as a subject in the postindustrial economy which appears in the urban space in the form of urban entrepreneurialism, that is, in economic rather than political terms. The İstanbulite citizen that the courses intend to bring about is therefore the outcome of the prevalent ideology. In order to understand what constitutes the desirable urban citizen, one must turn to the making of İstanbul in the narrative of the course books in light of the conceptual tools that were offered in the previous chapters.

What is underlined and what is hidden from sight in the urban space explicitly states the dominant ideology and its actors for a given period. It is interesting to note that a recycling worker, upon the question why he thinks the police intervene in his rag-picking on the İstiklal Street, gives the same answer that the authorities give to the question about İstanbul's place, which is that the İstiklal Street or alternatively İstanbul is a "shop window". While the previous section has elaborated on the authorities' stand on the matter, the recycling worker completes his words saying that "They are intolerant to seeing those who are not like themselves in this shop window. Anything is acceptable but poverty"³². This unity in the statements points out to the presence of a dominant ideology of which the two statements point to different aspects.

Urban space is the stage to the everyday drama of individuals and consequently it is also the space for power relations; as it has been noted, it is the space that every individual and group want to claim as their own no less symbolically than materially. It has been argued how in the postindustrial era the city was stripped off from its industry and manufacture and new economic sectors have emerged. The cultural and creative industries are one of the sectors that have come

³² The quote is taken from an interview that I made in 2011 with a recycling worker who is also an activist in the Recycling Workers' Association.

into prominence. As both the backdrop and the theme of the cultural industries, the city has been interpreted for in different instances. Standing out with arts and culture, the city has gained in “coolness”, which opened up a new way for the selling of the city. In highlighting the “desirable” city, arts and culture are used as an instrument in image-making of the capitalist urban space.

Handed down from İstanbul 2010 to the public education, the İstanbul courses, whose presence by itself indicates that the city has turned into as resource of cultural capital, are one of the attempts at describing and constructing the “desirable city” and the “desirable citizen” as well as producing consent in this regard. It has been mentioned that Althusser (“Ideology”) gives education a special place among the other ideological state apparatuses as school is where individuals acquire the acceptable rules of conduct in a given society, being exposed to norms and values through schooling starting from an early age and rather intensely when the time they spend at school is considered. Likewise Bourdieu (1977) discusses how educational credentials is itself cultural capital, which is convertible to economic capital and besides its reproductive function of the dominant ideology in the society, it also reproduces itself as an ideological tool. The city that is narrated in the course books is situated in the postindustrial era, the society of the spectacle, and consumer capitalism, which is unfailingly embedded in culture, “a prodigious expansion of culture throughout the social realm” (Jameson 1992, 48). Urban space that the course books point to is much like a post-card and the relation of the urban citizen to the city is specified accordingly as postcard-experience.

Explaining how the course books conceive urban space by means of postcard experience can be considered a relevant analogy for a number of reasons. It is a common practice that someone who visits a place sends a postcard to relatives or

friends in which act the postcard is symbolically attributed with the all of the elements that constitute the place. A postcard is a representation complete in itself and does not exhaustively capture what is out there. A postcard is first of all about images. Presenting a landscape or focusing on symbols, a postcard conveys an intended message. It offers a perspective; it is mediated and it mediates perception of the viewer. The images on the postcard are often manipulated rather than presenting things as they really are. Furthermore, a postcard is a flat surface and it is deprived of depth. The imagination of urban space in a postindustrial, late-capitalist and culturally postmodern world corresponds to a postcard-experience in these respects as the points made about a postcard could as well be done about representation of the city.

Thinking about the postcard experience together with other concepts that were offered for understanding the representation of urban space, the postcard-experience can most readily be associated with “the society of the spectacle”. Where aspects of capital present themselves in the form of spectacles, the city can also be expected to turn into a spectacle. While Las Vegas for instance can be cited as a prime example in this respect as a spectacular city, the cool İstanbul discourse indicates that İstanbul is also translatable into spectacle. Aiming for teaching students their city, the courses set out from the idea that İstanbul is a city with certain qualities that makes it the place it is. The symbols that are chosen to represent the city in the course books function to create an image that is İstanbul. In tune with the overall reason for being of the courses, which is part of a larger agenda of promoting the city, the courses constitute the city of the spectacle. The resulting image which is a coming together of various symbols associated with the city resembles a postcard representation and it is by definition a spectacle, as would be expected of a postcard.

It will be discussed in the next chapter that the festivals taking place in the city is one of the subjects that the course books dwell upon. Students are encouraged to learn about a number of these festivals and attend them. Besides, the whole idea of the course itself comes from the mega-event of İstanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture, which can be regarded as a year-long festival focusing on the culture of the city. Apart from this highlight on festivals and the course itself having its source in a big festival event, festivalization is a significant element that makes the postcard-experience and it has an intrinsic relation to the spectacle as well. The city as postcard turns the lived space into a festival space. According to this, the city is understood and given as a place where interesting and entertaining activities take place and the urban citizen is expected to acknowledge, contribute and be part of this construct by attending festivals. While it is desirable for the city to come forth with its festivals, the urban citizen is expected to take upon the role of the spectator. The postcard-city embodies marks of festivalization, which adopts arts and culture as a strategy to promote consumption in and of the urban space. The urban subject who experiences the city as a festival is first of all a consumer of images.

The city in the course books which is manifested through images which are deemed to be its unique symbolic attributes and which therefore corresponds to the postcard-experience is mainly an act for the “tourist gaze”. As an attribute of postmodernism, it is possible to mention tourism as a mode of being in the world rather than an activity in its traditional sense that people carry out by visiting certain places at certain times. The narrative of the city presented in the courses is one of the instances where such a generalization of tourism so as to include all walks of life can be seen. The course books construe an urban space that is intentionally oriented towards the tourist gaze. Just like a postcard is intended as a souvenir, a spectacular

depiction of a really flat and one-dimensional image that is believed to stand for an authentic substance and invites the viewer to remember the place in the way as depicted, the course books directs the attention of students to symbolic and spectacular spots of the city and explain their relation to the city in terms of a touristic experience.

Imagining the city in terms of a postcard image is indicative of the transformation that the cities undergo in the age of consumer capitalism. Highlighting the city as a space of festivals and spectacle in a way that is appealing to the tourist gaze and leaving out the social, economic and political issues that determine the everyday life of city-dwellers supports the idea that in the current phase of capitalism urban space is itself consumable besides providing the place where consumption takes place. The course books, which introduce the city as postcard and encourage students to take upon the role of a detached spectator in view of the city as spectacle, therefore carry out the preservation of the consumer-capitalist ideology, which is in this instance traced in the representation of urban space. It is possible to comment that the city loses its use value as the city representation moves away from lived experience of the urban subject and gains in exchange value as its representation consists fully of images that invite touristized urban subject to consume the city. To consume the city, which makes sense in the light of recent developments such as urban regeneration, gentrification, sharpening inequality in the urban space with hip and cool and places on the one hand and dispossession on the other, relies mainly on the city being cultural capital as well as the stirring arts and cultural scene.

The postcard experience of the city that the İstanbul courses give rise is compatible with urban entrepreneurialism and in this sense the courses may as well

be interpreted as an agent to establish the reception of the city as a product in exchange in the consumer-capitalist economy. Putting forward the city as a spectacle, festivalizing the city and designing it specifically for the tourist gaze indicate conceiving the city as a brand that takes part in the competition with other brand cities in selling places. Through reproducing images designated to stand for the city, the course books constitute a pillar for city marketing while at the same time they naturalize the consumer-capitalist ideology and raise the desirable urban citizen that internalizes and carries this discourse further.

An investigation into the İstanbul course books, which constitutes the centre of this thesis, suggests that the city is imagined as a postcard and the relation of the desirable urban citizen to their city is one of postcard-experience. The following sections, which split into three categories of analysis, aim to lay bare how the city as postcard is construed by the course books along their outline and how the desirable way of living in İstanbul is described and transferred to students. These categories are subsequently world construct, history and urban citizen. The first category, world construct, aims to describe the context in which the courses are shaped and to explain the world that they themselves construe. It is suggested that the course books represent the city as a postcard; in this first category it is discussed how the world that the course books design function ideologically as a representation. History, which constitutes the second category of analysis, is regarded as a contributing element in creating the world construct. It is discussed how as decontextualized history, history turns into an agent of the postcard-experience while in itself quite the opposite would be expected of history. The final category of analysis aims to shed light on the characteristics of the desirable urban citizen who takes their place within this whole system that the courses define. Analyzing the course books in terms of

these categories of world construct, history and urban citizen will show how city becomes integrated into the consumer-capitalist ideology as it turns into an agent in carrying forward urban entrepreneurialism and what is the role that is given to city-dwellers in this respect.

“The Gigantic System That is Called İstanbul”: The World Construct

Korkut Tuna, one of the authors of *İstanbul: City and Culture*, the İstanbul course book for university students, dwells upon the changes in the city and the related phenomena in his article titled “The Sociological Transformation of İstanbul” (Bilgili 2011). The emergence of the slums, which cater to the housing needs of immigrants, constitutes one aspect of the transformation of the city. Discussing the urbanization phases and their consequences, Tuna states that after the 1950s, the settlement in the city was drastically changed due to the waves of migration and the people who populated the new settlements have no connection whatsoever to what could be called İstanbul:

Nüfus yapıları ve şehirle ilişkileri eski gecekonduyla mukayese kabul etmeyecek bir özellik taşıyan bu yerleşmelerin [varoşların] İstanbul olarak tanımlanabilecek bölgelerle hiçbir bağlantıları yoktu. Hele tarihî yarımada ile. Yapılan araştırmalarda bu bölgelerde yaşayanların ve bilhassa çocuklarının İstanbul’u İstanbul yapan önemli tarihî yapılar, alanlar bir yana, denizi bile görmedikleri ortaya çıkacaktır. Bu bölgelerde yaşayanlar İstanbul denilen devasa bir sistemin kenarında yaşayarak varlıklarını sürdürme çabası içinde olacaklardır. (Tuna 2011, 412)

These new settlements [suburbs] which are incomparable to old *gecekondu*s in terms of their population structure and relation to cities had no connection whatsoever to those areas that could be defined as İstanbul. Especially the historical peninsula. Studies would reveal that the people living in these areas and particularly their children have not even seen the sea, let alone the significant historical structures and squares that make İstanbul, İstanbul. Living in these areas, these

people would strive to make a living on the margin of the gigantic system that is called İstanbul.

The point that he is making is really the central motivation of İstanbul courses: teaching how to be an İstanbulite to those who are on the margins of the city culture, which seems to be taken for granted in every aspect. The course books cover the various aspects of the “essential” İstanbul culture, which altogether constitute the world construct that they advocate, “the gigantic system that is called İstanbul”.

“World construct” denotes the acknowledgment about what kind of a place the world is, the rules that operate there and the context in which this world is meaningful. The total of the explicit and implicit claims that are asserted by the course books as to what kind of a place İstanbul is, what it is associated with and what is contrasted with it make up the world construct about İstanbul. The depiction of the city as it occurs in the course books constitutes and helps reproduce discourses on this world construct. Discourses naturalize the contingent rules that operate and conceal the constructed nature of things. The İstanbul discourse that is disseminated through the far-reaching educational system enable the ideology, of which the city constitutes a part, to continue unproblematically. In his editorial introduction to the university course book, Bilgili states that the most radical solution to the problem, which is the indifference towards acquiring the city culture, is available only by means of education. For him, the essential institutions that will make change happen are the universities and their students (Bilgili 2011, 7). The world construct is best internalized through schooling, the most effective of the state’s ideological apparatuses.

The first subject of the third grade course book, which aims to make students aware of what they know about the city through reviewing the things that reminds them of İstanbul, opens with a short reading text that makes a definition of what a

city is, described with the words of a child. Upon hearing from their father say that they live in a very beautiful city, the child gets curious about the word “city”, makes a small investigation and learns that

...şehirde pek çok insan, ev, araba ve fabrika olurmuş. Hafta sonları ailemle eğlenirken yaşadığımız o güzel anları şehrin bize sunduklarına borçluymuşum, babam öyle diyor. Eğer şehir size güzelliklerini sunuyorsa sizin de onları gezip görmeniz gerekirmiş. (Ertuğrul, *3.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 15)

...there are many people, houses, cars and factories in the city. We are indebted the beautiful moments we have when we travel around the city at weekends to what the city offers us, my father says so. If the city offers you such beauties you have to travel around to see them.

This definition of the city is also an illustration that the İstanbul of the course books sits in the post-industrial context. In this very elementary definition of the city, factories take a part even though there is merely any reference to industrial activity throughout the course books. Travelling around the city to appreciate the beauties it has to offer implies the importance given to touristic activity, which is one of the main sectors in a postindustrial economy.

The need to conceive of and contribute to the transforming the city from an industrial center to a hub of sectors that are mainly associated with postindustrialism echoes in the writings in the course books. In his article “City and Culture, The Culminating Point of Matchlessness: İstanbul”, Bilgili (2011) argues that cities are now taking over their countries and İstanbul, the only truly global city in Turkey, can make the best of its potential if it transforms its unique historical and cultural richness to commercial advantage. In this sense, it becomes important to “position” the city in the right way and the first step to doing this is establishing a demographic balance in the city and the second step is making a sectoral choice for the future of

the city. He suggests that one should think carefully which sectors can be influential on a local and global scale and illustrates his argument with an example:

Sözelimi; İstanbul'un bir tekstil ve konfeksiyon merkezi olmaktan derhal çıkarılarak hızlı bir şekilde moda ve tasarım merkezi haline dönüştürülmesi gerektiği ifade edilebilir. (Bilgili 2011, 381)

It can be stated that İstanbul needs to be immediately stripped off from being a textile and clothing center and turned into a fashion and design center at once.

His example makes an explicit reference to the postindustrial switch, from manufacture to experience economy. His stance is obviously that of city branding and his article is abundant in terms such as “master plan”, “positioning”, “maximization” and “product” as well.

In the third grade primary school course book, as part of a theme on the arts and culture in the city, İstanbul's old toys especially in reference to Eyüp are given attention. In a “Did you know?” section it is written that

Oyuncakların yapımında Tahtakale'nin tahta atıklarından, sobacıların atık tenekelerinden, Sötlüce mezbahasından atılan deri parçalardan, Kağıthane ve Alibeyköy derelerinin biriktirdiği kilden yararlanılırdı. ... Zamanla yeni oyuncak türlerinin çıkışıyla bu oyuncakları yapan dükkânlar birer birer kapandı. (Ertuğrul, 3.Sınıf Öğrenci, 85)

Waste wood from Tahtakale, tin plates thrown away by stovers, leather pieces thrown away from Sötlüce Slaughterhouse, the clay that Kağıthane and Alibeyköy streams accumulate are used in the making of Eyüp toys ... In time, with the introduction of new kinds of toys, the workshops that manufactured these toys were closed down one after another.

It is in one of the themes which is titled “Shopping in İstanbul” of fifth grade course book that İstanbul's industry is made a subject matter, which is discussed in two parts, namely, the historical development of industry in İstanbul and its contribution to the national economy. In the first part an abbreviated reading text from *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul Encyclopedia From Yesterday to Today)

points out that there was no industrial development in İstanbul until 1750s; the small industrial activities that started in the Republican era gained momentum in the 1950s, making İstanbul the national center of industry and investment (Ertuğrul, 5. *Sınıf Öğrenci*, 77). In the second part, it is suggested that the concentration of industrial organizations in the city has influence over İstanbul's being the most densely populated city in Turkey. Industry is counted among one of the areas of activity that contributes to the national economy besides trade, transportation, and tourism and it is put forward that forty percent of İstanbul's income is obtained from industry. In this way, the students are told that İstanbul is an industrial center and that mechanized manufacture constitutes one of the aspects of their city whereas the stress is laid on a world construct where economy is mainly fueled by postindustrial activities.

Murat Belge points out to the changing nature of the city's economy in his article "İstanbul: Past and Future" that appears in the university course book (2011). He remarks that the major big cities are quickly shifting away from being industrial centers and İstanbul is no exception. He points out that finance chooses İstanbul to be a local center and accordingly, representatives of international capital are moving into the city. He interprets that as a positive development and finds it helpful to create the suitable environment for their stay.

Bana daha "soyut" gelen ekonomi, yani finans konuları, İstanbul'un bu tür bir bölgesel merkez olarak seçilmesi ve bu nedenle buraya yerleşen uluslararası sermaye temsilcileri bu çerçevede bir olumsuzluk gibi görünmüyor. Hatta daha kalıcı bir şekilde yerleşebilmeleri için gerekli yasal (mevzuata ilişkin) değişikliklerin yapılmasında da yarar var. Ancak böyle bir ekonomik-finansal merkez olmak, bana, İstanbul'un bütün potansiyelleri göz önüne alındığında pek fazla doyurucu görünmüyor. Bunun getirisi de sınırlı, daha doğrusu, "tek kanallı". Onun için İstanbul'un coğrafyasından çok tarihinden ileri gelen özelliklerini öne çıkarması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. (Belge 2011, 367)

Economy, that is, finance matters, which are for me more “abstract”, İstanbul being chosen as this kind of a regional center and the representatives of international capital who have settled here for that matter do not seem to me as something negative in this context. It is even good to make the necessary legal (regulatory) adjustments for their permanent stay. Yet, being such an economic-financial center does not seem satisfactory to me when all the potentials of İstanbul are taken into consideration. The profit this would yield is limited, more accurately, “one-directional”. Therefore I think that İstanbul should put forward the features that it carries along from its history rather than geography.

On the shift from industrial to postindustrial economies such as in the cases of Paris and London, he warns that the trend has been to sweep away poverty and everything that does not agree with wealth. Deindustrializing cities are thus remade as the “earthly paradises of the bourgeoisie” where the poor only exist for the purpose of serving the rich. Rendering poverty invisible in this way without taking the pains to put an end to it starts “gnawing on the liveliness of cities” (362). Nevertheless, he believes in the necessity of turning İstanbul into an intellectual, artistic and cultural production center, and turning it away from being an industrial center without dispersing (sweeping away) industry to other areas, which is actually experienced in the city as the invisibility of poverty right next to the hubs of international capital, quite similarly to the unwanted consequences that he mentions.

A definitive sector of postindustrial economies, tourism is undoubtedly the most highlighted area of activity throughout the course books. The books themselves, which are aimed for reinforcing the bond between the city and the city dweller, are read as tourist guides at times. Tourism does not appear as a dimension to the city in the course books but rather the whole city is constructed as a postcard, as a gesture to capture the attention of the tourist gaze. That the course is designed as a touristic journey is clear from the very beginning of the third grade course book where the mascot of the book, a ferry, addresses the students and tells them that

Elinizdeki kitapta da sizlerle bir yolculuğa çıkacağız. Ama yolculuğumuz diğerlerine pek benzemeyecek. Siz İstanbul parklarını, kulelerini gezerken, Eminönü’nde alışveriş yaparken, İstanbul’un doğasını, yemeklerini tanırken ben hep yanınızda olacağım. Eminim hem çok eğleneceğiz. Hadi yola çıkalım. (Ertuğrul, 3.*Sınıf Öğrenci*, 12)

We are going to embark on a journey in the book that you are holding in your hands. But this will not be like other journeys. While you go about the parks and towers of İstanbul, shop in Eminönü, learn about the nature and dishes in İstanbul, I will accompany you. I am sure that we will both have a lot of fun and once again discern the beauties of İstanbul. Let’s set off.

When the theme of tourism is explored throughout the course books, it becomes apparent that tourism is no longer one of the sectors in the city but it expands to define the city by itself. The first subject that is discussed as part of seventh theme centering on arts and culture in the fifth grade course book is titled “İstanbul’s Visitors” and its teaching objective is to make students perceive that İstanbul is a center of tourism (Ertuğrul, 5.*Sınıf Öğrenci*, 85). It is pointed out that one out of every four tourists that come to Turkey visits İstanbul and students are presented with the statistics of tourists visiting İstanbul in 2010 in a seasonal distribution and they are then asked in which season foreign tourists visit İstanbul mostly. In another activity a world map shows the directions of tourist flows to İstanbul according to which countries tourists mostly come from and then the students are asked what might be the reasons for tourists to come to İstanbul and what might be done to increase the number of tourists.

1. ETKİNLİK



Türkiye'ye gelen her dört yabancı turistten biri İstanbul'u ziyaret ediyor.

2010 yılında mevsimlere göre İstanbul'u ziyaret eden yabancı turist sayısını gösteren tablo verilmiştir. Tabloyu inceleyerek bu verilerle İstanbul için bir sütun grafiği oluşturunuz.

2010 Yılı Mevsimlere Göre İstanbul'u Ziyaret Eden Yabancı Turist Sayıları

Mevsimler	Sayılar
Kış	1.139.033
İlkbahar	1.767.306
Yaz	2.109.173
Sonbahar	1.945.468

Fig. 2. An activity from the fifth grade course book, involving the seasonal tourist flow to the city from abroad.

A theme that is common to books of all grades, which is called “İstanbul Step by Step”, focuses on the historical and touristic sites in İstanbul. In the third grade, certain towers and parks are introduced; in the fourth grade it is the palaces and places of worship, and in the fifth grade, the city walls, fortresses and bridges. The towers are represented by their cartoonized icons and each speaks for itself to make an introduction. The maiden’s tower says that after its many functions throughout its history it is now “restored and turned into a place for people to have a good time”; the Galata Tower tells that its visitors think “it is priceless to watch İstanbul from the balcony on the top floor” of the tower; the Dolmabahçe Clock Tower says that besides telling the time, it is “an attractive tower for both local and foreign tourists” (Ertuğrul, *3.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 35). In the fourth grade, students are expected to role-play as tourist guides to palaces and in the fifth grade, reading the short statements by visitors to İstanbul as to what they are most interested in seeing, the students are asked to direct these visitors to the proper sites in the city. The highlights about the city are brought to the forefront with their touristic appeal.

ETKİNLİK

Kulelerin kendileri hakkında söylediklerine kulak verelim.



Verilen metinleri okuyarak soruları cevaplayınız.



KIZ KULESİ: Merhaba! Beni hemen tanımış olmalısınız. Laf aramızda tüm kuleler arasında en ünlüsüyümdür. Çoooooook uzun yıllardır Üsküdar sahiline yakın bir ada üzerindeyim. Daha önce fener oldum, Boğaz'dan geçen gemilerin yollarını aydınlattım. Hastane ve radyo istasyonu olarak da kullanıldım. Şimdi ise yenilenerek insanların hoşça vakit geçirecekleri bir yer oldum. Buraya gelenler ve sahilten beni izleyenler birbirlerine benimle ilgili efsaneleri anlatırken mutlu oluyorum. Ben de martılar, yunuslar ve vapurlardan el sallayan çocuklara göz kırpyorum.

Fig. 3. Activity from the third grade course book, including the towers of the city introducing themselves.

The ferry: "Let's give an ear to what the towers have to say about themselves."

The Maiden's Tower: "Hello! You must have recognized me at once. Between you and me, I am the most famous among the towers. I am on an island by the Üsküdar coast for looong looong years. I was a lighthouse before. I illuminated the road of the ships passing through the Bosphorus. I was used as an hospital and a radio station. Now I am restored and turned into a place for people to have a good time. I get happy when people coming here or watching me from the coast tell each other legends about me. I wink at the seagulls, dolphins and children waving at me from ferries."

As part of the journey that course books suggest, the urban subjects are both construed as tourists and tourist guides at times as it will be discussed later in more detail. For the present concerns, in an attempt to understand the nature of the world construct, it seems proper to point out that the city is projected as a spectacle for touristic consumption and all the aspects that are introduced as part of the city adds to this image in some way. The city, then, turns into a postcard, a burst of images and a collage of emptied signifiers, the city comes up in the course books as the space of the spectacle rather than a lived space for its dwellers. In *The New Cultural Climate in Turkey: Living in a Shop Window*, Gürbilek (1992) remarks that Bedrettin Dalan, the Mayor of İstanbul during the '80s, apparently regarded İstanbul as a "spectacle space". Dalan uses the construct of a show to make it seem convincing that he is really bringing solutions to the problems of the metropolis, as in the case of the Golden Horn "as blue as his blue eyes", which turn into a metaphor for the thing that

is viewed rather than the viewer, in conformity with the spectacle value that things have put on:

For in those years not only foreigners but İstanbul's own residents began to look upon their city as a site of spectacle, reducing the neighborhoods where they lived, the ground on which they walked, to a point of view accidentally theirs, and realized their lives had value only to the extent they were viewed. The people of İstanbul were now expected to look upon their city from outside, with the eyes of a foreigner, and wait for others to discover their value in this great city which more and more resembled a shop window with every passing day. (Gürbilek 2011, 22)

Space which has turned into a spectacle, which Gürbilek regards as one phenomenon that sprung within the cultural climate of the 80s, is strictly how İstanbul is imagined throughout the course books. Debord's definition of spectacle as "capital accumulated to the point where it becomes image" (1995, 24) is suggestive of the relation between the sway of late capitalism and the phenomenon of spectacle. A concept that helps make sense of one's experience in a world determined by consumer capitalism, spectacle refers to a proliferation of images and their becoming the main meta in exchange. The city, which cannot be conceived independently of changes in society, comes up as a spectacle itself. The sum of the images that constitute the postcard city of the course books is a space of spectacle and in tune with the principle of spectacle in late capitalism, the spectacular city is both a place and an object of consumption. On the one hand it is a huge billboard for multinational capital and on the other; it is a consumable item as a product for place marketing. Quite certainly, gentrification is intrinsic to the spectacularization of the city as the city comes to be mentioned and thus equated with its hip-and-cool-places to dwell, work, spend time and be, which is at the same time directly related to the notion of symbolic capital.

It has been discussed before that within the urbanization process in İstanbul, what was traditionally referred as crude urbanization and the phenomena that this is associated with it came to be regarded as interesting and exciting as a recent development, which Derya Özkan (2008) conceptualized as “cool İstanbul”. In “cool İstanbul” the aspects of the city that were formerly viewed negatively take on a new meaning and get embraced as characteristics that make the city what it is. Özkan formulates “cool İstanbul” based on the designation of İstanbul a cool place to visit by some international life style magazines at the start of 2000s and traces it throughout the city. It is also possible to argue that coolness is not only a phenomenon originating from outside opinion but it is also embraced as a strategy of place marketing. Director of Culture and Tourism Bilgili does not specifically mention İstanbul as a “cool city”; the wording he uses underline İstanbul’s being a global city and its rich cultural heritage. Yet he gives reference to a journal which points out to İstanbul as a “rising value” which shows that his perspective is that of promoting the cool İstanbul (2011, 379). In this direction he lists some of his suggestions. Dwelling on the potentials of the city, besides all else he points out to spectacle value, which constitutes an example to conceiving of space as a postcard. The places that are used in the displaying arts and culture for consumption, he says, are richness that is specific to İstanbul and the city embodies many places of enormous visual resource. The space that he underlines is a consumable image:

Sözelimi; Kız Kulesi’nde bir şiir etkinliği düzenliyorsanız etkinliğinize değer katacak ve bir başka benzeri olmayan, kuleyi, boğazı ve İstanbul silüetini görerek kullanmış olmakla etkinliğiniz olağanüstü değerli hale gelebilmektedir. Bir başka örnek; Aya İrini anıtında bir klasik müzik konseri dinlemenin mekân-etkinlik ilişkisinin [sic] kattığı değer tartışılmaz. Rumeli Hisarı içerisinde tarihsel bir gösteri izlemenin keyfi de değeri kat be kat artar. Topkapı Sarayı içerisinde bir Mehter konseri dinlemek veya bir sergiyi gezmek apayrı bir değeri [sic] haizdir. (Bilgili 2011, 384)

For instance, if you are organizing a poetry activity in the Maiden's Tower, your activity will gain in exceptional value having taken place there overlooking the unique tower, the Bosphorus and the İstanbul silhouette. As another example; it is indisputable how much value the venue-activity relation adds to a classical music concert in Hagia Irene. A historical play is so much more pleasurable and valuable if watched in the Rumelian Fortress. Listening to a janissary band concert or attending an exhibition in Topkapı Palace possesses a quite different significance.

Another suggestion that Bilgili brings is organizing “themed destinations” for İstanbul. Zukin writes in a chapter that is titled “Learning from the Disney World” that “Disney has its own rules, its own vocabulary, even its own script or currency. Not only do these norms emphasize a surrender of consumers’ identity to the corporate giant, they also establish a public culture of consumership. This is the model of urban space driving the public-private business improvement districts” (1995: 54). We “learn” from the Disney world that the urban space is increasingly structured like a theme park. This space is organized as a spectacle that is exclusively canalized to the tourist gaze for the ultimate aim of branding and selling spaces. Director Bilgili states that themed destinations are one of the world tourism trends and they offer trips into history, which is an entertaining way of getting to know the city.

Örneğin dünya mimarlık örnekleri teması, bir destinasyon olabileceği gibi bunun içerisinde sadece Mimar Sinan’ın eserleri özel bir ürüne dönüştürülebilir. Bu tür destinasyonların sayısı ve çeşitliliği ne kadar artırılabilirse İstanbul o ölçüde *alternatıfsız* bir ana destinasyon haline gelecektir. (Bilgili 2011, 385)

For instance, while samples from world architecture could be a theme, the works of Mimar Sinan are could be turned into a special product under that. The more the number and variety of such themed destinations are increased, the more İstanbul will become a chief destination without any alternatives.

He also accounts for some of the myths about İstanbul, which could provide material for developing other themed destinations. Just like approaching the city as a setting for activities, the idea of themed destinations also amounts to relating to the city on a surface level.

In the attempt to make the spectacular city, creating and sustaining images that correspond to relevant discourses play a significant role in bringing about the city as spectacle. A very secure way of establishing these images is referring to symbols and drawing on their “naturalness”. As symbols are the compact signifiers of internalized discourses, reviving them as part of the discourse of the city that is being created through the courses contributes to its reception as natural as well. Accordingly, symbols that are chosen to stand for the city are spread throughout the course books. Each of the primary school course books has a certain mascot that appears in almost every page. It is a ferry for the third grade, a seagull for the fourth and Hazerfen Ahmet Çelebi, a historical figure who is famous for having flown from Galata Tower to Üsküdar with the wings he made himself for the fifth. These mascots introduce themselves in the very first pages. The ferry says that it is “one of the symbols of İstanbul” and proceeds to tell how it is an integral part of the life in İstanbul and how ferry ride is an established and pleasurable activity for İstanbulites (Ertuğrul, 3.*Sınıf Öğrenci*, 12). The seagull says that “I’ll tell you about the city and I’ll say that this book which tells of İstanbul could not have been without me”³³ (Ertuğrul, 4.*Sınıf Öğrenci*, 12). As he introduces himself Hazerfen Ahmet Çelebi says that “Flying was my only dream. Flying freely in the skies of İstanbul”³⁴ (Ertuğrul, 5.*Sınıf Öğrenci*, 12).

³³ ... ‘İstanbul’u anlatan bu kitap bensiz olmazdı.’ deyip size şehri anlatacağım.

³⁴ “Uçmak benim tek hayalimdi. İstanbul’un semalarında martılar kadar özgürce uçabilmek.”



Fig. 4. Mascots of the primary school course books: A ferry, a seagull and Hezarfen Ahmet Çelebi.

Besides these figures, “The Symbols of İstanbul” is a subject that is dealt with as part of “I’m Getting to Know İstanbul” in the third grade. As the first activity, the students are encouraged to watch the promotional video for İstanbul which is found on the website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Having watched the video, an ultimate agent of branding and spectacle per se, the students are asked which images in the video they have already seen before, which they have seen for the first time in the video, and which of them attracted their attention.

The city’s multiculturalism constitutes one of the myths that make the city spectacular. The multicultural atmosphere of the city is part of the image and contributes to the marketing of the city. The teaching objectives for the subject “Different Cultures Living in İstanbul” are stated as getting to know about the different cultures living together in İstanbul, recognizing cultural differences as richness, and respecting differences (Ertuğrul, *5.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 88). In a short, introductory reading text it is noted that

Çok eski bir yerleşim bölgesi olan İstanbul’da tarih boyunca farklı medeniyetler yaşamıştır. Medeniyetler birbirlerinden beslenerek kendisinden öncekilerin de izlerini taşımıştır. Aynı zamanda İstanbul’da yaşayan kültürler kendisinden öncekilere saygı duyarak diğer kültürlerin özgürce yaşamalarına imkân sağlamıştır. Günümüzde de devam eden özgür ortamda farklı kültürler İstanbul’da halen varlıklarını sürdürmektedirler. (Ertuğrul, *5.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 88)

Throughout the history various civilizations have lived in İstanbul, which is an ancient residential area. The civilizations have fed on each other and carried marks from the previous ones. At the same time, the cultures existing in İstanbul have respected the former ones and enabled them to exist freely. Different cultures still continue to exist in İstanbul within the free environment that is present to this day.

The book gives some short information about certain special days as Easter, Nawruz, Rosh Hashanah, Ramadan, Christmas, and Hıdrellez, which belong to specific cultures existing in İstanbul. In another reading passage, it is noted that İstanbul is the city that receives the most migration in the country due to its economic and geographical location. Migration means difference; people coming to İstanbul from different cities and countries continue to perform their cultures and that each cultural element is richness that adds difference and color to İstanbul (Ertuğrul, 5. Sınıf Öğrenci, 90). To conclude the “Did You Know?” section at the end elaborates on how Ramadan was celebrated in İstanbul in the old days. In an attempt to revive the picture of this festivity which belongs to the city’s past, the text creates myths about İstanbul, which look very much like acts, and people actors from a play. In the old İstanbul that the reading passage presents, people go to the mosques with glass or felt lanterns, watch *Direklerarası* festivities after breaking the fast, spend time listening to the storyteller or *saz* performances until the drums are beaten for the sahoor (90).



Fig. 5. Fifth grade course book enumerating various traditional festivities belonging to different ethnic groups present in İstanbul.

It has so far been clarified how the city turns into a consumable spectacle that is construed of images, symbols and myths. As is, city is an object of consumption. The city described in the course books has the aspect of being the place where consumption takes place as well. “Shopping in İstanbul” by itself constitutes one of the themes in primary school course books. This theme focuses on shopping places in İstanbul, trade in İstanbul, and industry in İstanbul in the third, fourth and fifth grades respectively. The third grade book starts discussing the shopping places in İstanbul by making reference to the great bazaars in the city. The Grand Bazaar, which is introduced as one of the oldest and the biggest covered bazaars in the world, is presented as “a unique shopping mall that is worth seeing”³⁵ (Ertuğrul, 3. Sınıf Öğrenci, 68). This prototype of a shopping mall also takes part in the making of the spectacle as well as city marketing: the bazaar which in the past hosted quilt-makers, sandal-makers and fez-makers and which now remain only as the name of the streets “welcomes its visitors from different languages and cultures” and “is busy and crowded at any time of the day”³⁶ (68). The students are presented with one old and a new picture of the Grand Bazaar and asked to compare them to say what remains the same and what seems to have changed. Following the Grand Bazaar, the book also introduces the Spice Bazaar. As part of an activity, the students bring to class various spices, pieces of cloth, scarves, Turkish delight, dried nuts, dried herbs, necklaces, earrings and turning their classroom into a simulacrum of the Spice Bazaar, they act out their roles as shop owners, tourists, visitors, apprentices, tea-sellers, and porters. The book gives directions as to their roles such that the shop owner knows what kind of fabric their customers like; another shop owner shouts out loud to attract the

³⁵ “Kapalıçarşı, İstanbul’un görülmesi gereken benzersiz bir alışveriş merkezidir.”

³⁶ “Farklı dil ve kültürlerden ziyaretçilerini ağırlayan Kapalıçarşı günün her saatinde hareketli ve kalabalıktır.”

attention of customers; a tourist tries to communicate with jests as they don't speak the language; a pedlar becomes too insistent; another shop owner wades into conversation with friends and misses customers; a little girl is very curious about the colors of spices; an apprentice tries to learn the recipe for a herb syrup that their master tells nobody. The experience in the Spice Bazaar is very specifically designed as a spectacle.

The theme on shopping places in İstanbul continues with the comparison of the present day AVMs (shopping malls) to these bazaars they have just studied. Firstly, the book asks the students what the abbreviation AVM might be standing for, whether there is an AVM where they live, if they have ever been to an AVM and what is sold there. Then they are presented with an old picture of the Spice Bazaar along with three pictures of the present day shopping malls and asked to write down their similar and different aspects. The place that is given to shopping as one of the nine themes in the primary school course books is suggestive of the part it constitutes in the courses' world construct. In this context, dwelling upon the shopping malls, the book chooses to tell about them by drawing a parallel with the Grand Bazaar and the Spice Bazaar. The "Did You Know?" section at the very end recounts that "The oldest shopping malls in İstanbul are the Grand Bazaar and Eminönü Sultan Hamam while nowadays there are big and small shopping malls in every district"³⁷ (Ertuğrul, *3.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 73). As centers of attraction in terms of tourism, these places are thus connected to a consumerist discourse at the same time. In a concluding activity for the theme, the students are made to complete the sentence "I have learned that shopping malls are used for purposes such as...", which suggests that shopping malls

³⁷ "Eski İstanbul'un alışveriş merkezi Kapalıçarşı ve Eminönü Sultan Hamam'dır. Günümüzde ise her ilçede büyük ve küçük alışveriş merkezi yer almaktadır."

play a more important part within the city than only being places where one can shop (73).

2. ETKİNLİK

Sıra arkadaşınızla birlikte Mısır Çarşısı ile yeni alışveriş merkezi görsellerini karşılaştırarak benzer ve farklı yönlerini yazınız.

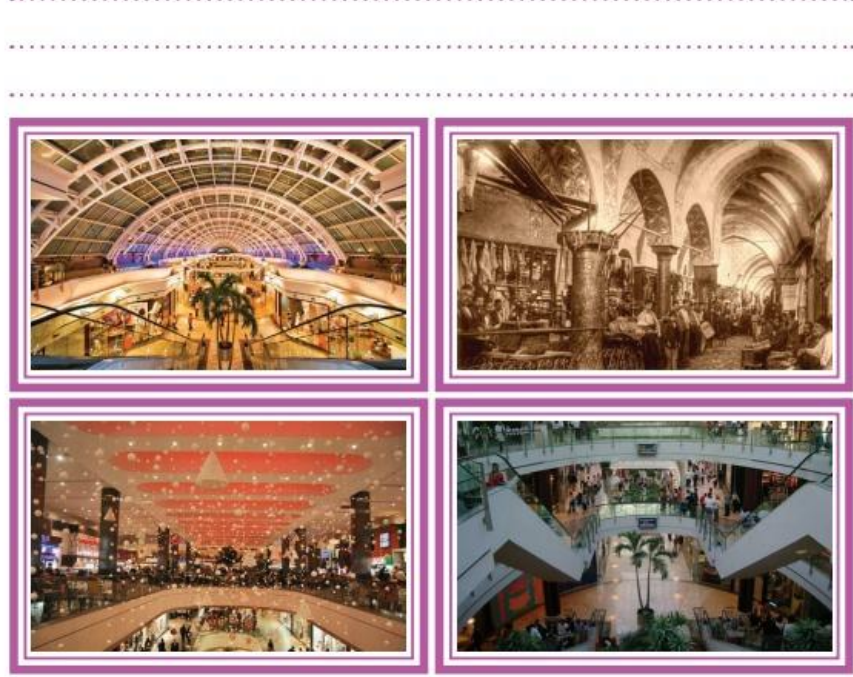


Fig. 6. An activity from the third grade course book that makes students compare the Spice Bazaar and the new shopping malls.

Acquiring the culture of the city is referred to as the starting point for the İstanbul courses and it has been argued that culture becomes the instrument for place marketing, of which both İstanbul 2010 and the courses as one of the outcomes constitute a part. In Chapter 2, it has been discussed that the European Capital of Culture programme comes up as a notable example in which the social and economic development of cities and regions is aimed through arts and culture. According to the Generic ECOC Intervention Logic, one of the three sub-objectives, namely supporting the social and economic development of the city through cultures, includes improving access to culture, improving capacity for governance in cultural

sector, promoting the city as a cultural destination, improve the image of the city, undertaking capital improvements, and providing training and business support (Rampton et al. 2011, 7). When the implementation of the ECOC programme in İstanbul is considered, it is possible to comment that the project dwells more on improving the image of the city and hence city branding and marketing than on another stated objective of the programme, which is improving access to culture. It has been discussed in (2.2) that the project embraces the democratization of culture as an ideal yet this means that culture is described as a given and the citizens are expected to participate in this pre-defined culture. As an indirect outcome of İstanbul 2010, İstanbul courses in primary schools and at universities bear the same burden with the overall project of regarding culture as a static and normatively defined resource. Within the scope of the courses, the culture of the city is built up as a form of capital and it is expected that the students will have the cultural capital of knowing about and belonging to the city as a result of their experience in the courses. Considering their overall objective, the courses appear to be a result of an inclusive cultural strategy and just as İstanbul 2010 project, the İstanbul courses give greater place to branding/marketing the city than helping students make sense of their identity as İstanbulites in their lived space. The course books, which are shaped in light of the dominant ideology, imagine the urban space a consumable product and suggest postcard-experience as a state of being an urban-dweller.

In the course books as well as in İstanbul 2010, arts and culture become the strategy for the competitive city. The course books pay specific attention to the 2010 European Capital of Culture project. “İstanbul, the Capital of Arts and Culture” is one of the nine themes common to the course books in all three grades. In the subject “The Symbols of İstanbul” of the “I’m Getting to Know İstanbul” theme in the third

grade course book, the ferry mascot informs the students in a speech bubble that “İstanbul was elected as the European Capital of Culture and the city was promoted with various activities throughout the year”³⁸ (Ertuğrul, 3. *Sınıf Öğrenci*, 18). Later, in a “Did You Know?” section, it is further elaborated that

Avrupa Kültür Başkenti, Avrupa Birliği tarafından düzenli olarak her yıl belirlenen kent veya kentlere verilen unvandır. Seçilen kentin kültürel gelişimini sergilemesi için oldukça iyi bir fırsattır. Bu kentler, kendi kültürlerine ait özellikleri sergilemeleri için birtakım değişimler yaşamaktadırlar. (Ertuğrul, 3. *Sınıf Öğrenci*, 20)

The European Capital of Culture is a status that is given to a city or cities specified by the European Union every year on a regular basis. This is a pretty good opportunity for the chosen city to display its cultural life and cultural development. These cities undergo some changes to display the aspects specific to their cultures.

That symbols, rituals and figures from the cultural history of the city are revived and assembled together in a festival environment for the purpose of marketing the city is suggested by the reference here to the changes that the city as the European Capital of Culture might see. Immediately after, “The İstanbul Readings” section makes reference to the city’s European Capital of Culture status with its subtitle “Why was İstanbul Elected the European Capital of Culture?” The reading notes that İstanbul is an attraction center, it is important to promote the city, and in this respect ECOC is an opportunity. It is stressed that

İstanbul, her geçen gün, yalnız İstanbullular için değil, tüm dünya için bir çekim alanıdır. Bu İstanbul’un sadece tarihi birikimi ile değil, kültür sanat etkinlikleri ile de uluslararası alanda etkin tanıtımın yapılması sayesinde olmuştur. Ziyaretçilerin İstanbul’a yönlendirilmesi ve ziyaretçilerin kentteki ortalama kalış sürelerinin uzatılması, hem İstanbul’un tanıtımına katkıda bulunacak hem de çeşitli ticari faaliyet kollarında daha fazla gelir elde edilmesini sağlayacaktır. Bu durumun sonucu olarak da İstanbul, ekonomik anlamda turizm hareketliliğinden daha fazla yararlanabilecektir. (Ertuğrul, 3. *Sınıf Öğrenci*, 21)

³⁸ “İstanbul 2010 (iki bin on) yılında Avrupa Kültür Başkenti seçilmiş ve yıl boyunca düzenlenen çeşitli etkinliklerle İstanbul’un tanıtımı gerçekleştirilmiştir.”

İstanbul is, day by day, a center attraction for not only the İstanbulites but the whole world. This has been possible thanks not only to its historical reservoir but also an effective promotion of the city in the international arena through arts and cultural activities. Directing visitors to İstanbul and prolonging their average duration of stay in the city will both contribute to the city's promotion and make it possible that more income is generated in various areas of commercial activity. As a result, İstanbul will be able benefit more from tourism mobility in an economic sense.

The quote from the course book shows that İstanbul 2010 is primarily regarded as a touristic mega-event and students are also expected to embrace it in this way.

Arts and culture is evidently an integral part of the image of the city that comes up in the course books. The third grade course book dwells upon the place of İstanbul in the visual arts with the teaching objective of informing the students of the works of art in different visual arts featuring İstanbul and the branches of art that continue to exist in the city. As the first activity, the students are presented with an example from six distinct branches of art and asked what they think about these images. Photography is represented with a black-and-white İstanbul shot from Ara Güler. Hoca Ali Rıza's work depicting an imperial caique passing by the Maiden's Tower stands for painting. There are then examples from miniature craft, marbling art, calligraphy and bookbinding. The book makes it clear that İstanbul has been a source of inspiration and a theme in arts: "Many local and foreign artists have been impressed by İstanbul and included it in their works"³⁹ (Ertuğrul, *3.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 79). Other fields of art that the book mentions alongside the ones above are glass decoration, sculpture, chinaware and ceramics.

³⁹ "Yerli ve yabancı pek çok sanatçı İstanbul'dan etkilenerek eserlerinde İstanbul'a yer vermiştir."



Fig. 7. An activity from the third grade course book that asks students what they think about different branches of art that are related with İstanbul.

The focus for the primary course as well as the university course is the traditional arts. The university course book includes an article by Hikmet Barutçugil which is titled “The City That Has Witnessed the Zenith of Islamic Arts and Paper Ornamenting”. Barutçugil dwells upon the history and the techniques of the traditional arts and as a conclusive statement he writes about “the necessity of tradition in the classical arts” (Barutçugil 2011). He points out that the classical arts such as marbling and calligraphy has an intrinsic connection with space and society:

Bir Japon horontepense ve ya [sic] bir Norveçli sıra gecelerinde gazel okumaya kalkarsa ne olur? Komik olur. İşte biz de yaradılış olarak taşımadığımız meziyetlerle bizden olmayan sanatlar yapmaya kalkarsak aynı akıbete uğrarız. Jazz [sic] müziği New Orleans’a, ikebana ile Japonya’ya, klasik Batı müziği ile Viyana ya [sic] gidersek ne duruma düşeriz, komik ve alay konusu oluruz. Yapacak hiçbir sanatları ve kültürleri kalmamış da bizim taklidimizi yapıyor demezler mi? (Barutçugil 2011, 490)

What happens if a Japanese person sets off to play horon⁴⁰ or a Norwegian sing a gazelle⁴¹ in sira nights⁴²? That would be ridiculous. You see, we would end up the same way if we attempt to perform arts that are not ours with the merits that we do not innately possess. What would be getting into if we go to New Orleans with jazz, to Japan with ikebana, to Wien with the western classical music? We would be a laughing stock. Would they not say that they do not have their own arts and culture and are merely imitating us?

The third grade course book also introduces the traditional Eyüp toys, which, in the reading text, come out of a grandmother's trunk alongside black and white photographs (Ertuğrul, *3.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 83). It is remarked that these wooden toys were manufactured and sold in stores in Eyüp and they included various kinds of toys such as the whistle jug, the bobo doll, the imperial caique, the spinning top etc. In a consequent activity, the students are expected to make a bobo doll themselves bringing the required material and following the instructions in the book.

The fourth grade course book aims to introduce the students to the arts scene and festivals in İstanbul and encourage them to take their part in this scene. The first subject of the theme, which focuses on raising awareness about the arts activity taking place in their neighborhoods, directs students questions as whether there is a cultural center in their district, what kind of arts activities are held there and if they have attended one of these (Ertuğrul, *4.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 79). The book presents the students with an exemplary weekly schedule belonging to a cultural center and asks them to decide on which activities they would like to attend. Then it raises the question what they took into consideration choosing the activities and what they think would be done to promote arts and cultural activities. İstanbul's festivals

⁴⁰ A folk dance in the Black Sea region.

⁴¹ A type of song in the classical Turkish music.

⁴² A festivity that involves playing and singing which is usually organized in a person's home, common especially in the southeastern Anatolia.

constitute another subject within the theme. Remarking that İstanbul is home to arts and culture festivals in a number of topics and asking the students if they have attended a festival before, the book presents posters belonging to various festivals: Puppet Festival, Tulip Festival, Film Festival, Kite Festival, Theater Festival and Music Festival. The students are asked what attracts their attention in these posters, which ones they liked and why, and which one of these festivals they would like to attend (Ertuğrul, 4.Sınıf Öğrenci, 83). The book then wants the students to imagine that they are organizing a festival. It leads them to choose a theme and prepare a poster for their festival and suggests that they would later prepare it in a larger size to display it during the “İstanbul Festival” which takes place in the curriculum for the last four weeks of a semester in which materials that the students have produced through the term, such as paintings, brochures, posters, photographs and plays, will be presented.



Fig. 8. Examples from the posters of festivals that have taken place in İstanbul, the fourth grade course book.

The books integrate students to the consumer-capitalist ideology and enable them to contribute to the idea of space as spectacle and city branding through the emphasis on designing for the city. The students are made to “design” the city in various ways throughout the activities, encouraged to create a spectacle whereby participating in the spectacle that is being created of the city, starting off from the symbols that are given and in the last instance contributing to the reception of this established image by others as they are also encouraged to distribute the images through their designs. In the fourth grade course book, the first subject (“İstanbul in Different Styles of Writing”) of the first theme (“I’m Getting to Know İstanbul”) urges the students to “design” the name of the city in different fonts and colors and apply their design on a paper cup. It is also noted that “The design of the word ‘İstanbul’ is used in products such as textile, accessories, household goods and souvenirs”⁴³ (Ertuğrul, 4. Sınıf Öğrenci, 15). “The Promotion of İstanbul” is another subject that is addressed as part of the theme “I’m Getting to Know İstanbul”. Here the students are asked to prepare a three-minute film that promotes İstanbul. Preparing the script for this short film, they are expected to emphasize why İstanbul is a sight for seeing and perform it in a group. Later the book directs them to watch the promotional video on the website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The same book, when discussing trade within “Shopping in İstanbul” dwells upon the significance of money in terms of trade. The book encourages the students to design their own “İstanbul money” by drawing in the space that they are given on their course books what their money would look like in the front and back. The students are given the hint that “Coins had symbols on them that were important for that society”⁴⁴ (Ertuğrul, 4. Sınıf Öğrenci, 67).

⁴³ “ ‘İstanbul’ kelimesinin farklı yazı biçimlerinde tasarımı tekstil, takı, ev ve hediyelik eşya gibi ürünlerde kullanılmaktadır.”

⁴⁴ “Paranın üzerinde toplum için önemli semboller yer alırdı.”

Similarly, in the fifth grade course book, the same theme “I’m Getting to Know İstanbul” starts with introducing what a logo is. The book presents the students with the logos of the Governorship of İstanbul and İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. The students are asked whether they have seen these logos before and what they would be standing for. Then they are asked to design a logo for İstanbul themselves. All of these activities –promotional video, paper cup, coin, and logo– suggest that the students are aimed to be integrated into the a world construct of the city as a consumable image and its practical projection as selling places.



Fig. 9. An activity from the fourth grade course book that makes students design the word İstanbul in different fonts and colors and apply their design on a paper cup.

In an activity within the theme “I’m Getting to Know İstanbul” in the third grade course book, the students are asked to bring postcards of İstanbul (Ertuğrul, 3. Sınıf Öğrenci, 19). Firstly they tell what they see on their postcards and then they have a look at the postcard sample depicted in the book. The front face of the postcard contains a collage of images, mainly structures of the city such as the Republic

Monument, the Maiden's Tower, the Haydarpaşa Train Station, and several mosques, as well as other symbols such as tulips, carnations, and seagulls as sepia, black-and-white and colored images. The postcard is a metaphor for the courses themselves. Just as this postcard freely brings together different images together without establishing the ties that would make them coherent, so does the whole course and it brings together people, events and things that are taken to be in an intrinsic relationship with the culture of the city and fixates them on a depthless surface.

3. ETKİNLİK

Ayça'nın dedesine gönderdiği kartpostalı inceleyiniz. Siz de yanınızda getirdiğiniz veya tasarladığınız kartpostalda İstanbul'u tanıtırak kartpostalı bir yakınınıza gönderiniz.



Fig. 10. An activity from the third grade course book that instructs the students to “examine the postcard that Ayça sends to her grandfather, you yourself introduce İstanbul on the postcards that you have brought or designed and send it to a relative of yours.”

The subject “The Symbols of İstanbul” in the third grade course book clearly sets its learning objective as “advertising the city that I’m living in”⁴⁵ (Ertuğrul, *3.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 18). On the back of the postcards that the students bring with them, they are expected to write down something to advertise the city and send the postcards to their relatives (19). This intersection of tourism, spectacle, and the city is once again reminiscent of the Disneyworld experience. As Zukin points out “As every critical

⁴⁵ “Neler öğreneceğim? : Yaşadığım şehri tanıtmayı...”

visitor points out, moreover, Disney World teaches that site is sight. Space is experienced in postcards, photographs, and videos” (1995, 57). That this two-dimensional spectacle which is mainly intended for touristic purposes and which hides things through highlighting others might be contrary to the space as it lived is a concern that is mentioned by Belge in his article. He says that,

Dünyanın birçok kenti, çok zaman da bu gibi restorasyon işlerine girişerek kendilerini turistlerin ilgisini çekecek bir kılığa sokuyorlar. Ne var ki bu olurken kentin o kısımları kentlilerin ilgisini çekmez hale gelebiliyor. Örneğin gündüz nüfusuyla gece nüfusu arasındaki [sic] uçurumlar olan Eminönü İlçesi, artık o da Fatih’e bağlı, böyleydi. İstanbullular burada genellikle turistlere hizmet sunmak için bulunuyordu. (Tabii işyeri de çoktu.) Bu anlamda “turistikleşme” de bir kent için uzun vadede öldürücü bir şey. Venedik, Bruges gibi yerlerde kentin kendi dinamiğinin yavaş yavaş köreldiğini görüyoruz. (Belge 2011, 369)

Many cities in the world are changing their appearances in a way that attracts the attention of tourists, most of the time by launching restoration works. Nevertheless, while this happens, these areas of the city might be turning into uninteresting areas for the city-dwellers. For instance, it was the case in Eminönü district –it is now also connected to Fatih– which had yawning gaps between its daytime and nighttime population. İstanbulites were usually there for the purpose of serving tourists. (There were also many workplaces.) In this sense, “touristization” is also something fatal for the city in the long run. We have been witnessing that the internal dynamic of a city is slowly disappearing in cities like Venice and Bruges.

Belge’s warning point out to the ongoing process of gentrification which results in the invisibility and displacement that the very residents of the city come face to face as the Eminönü example very well illustrates. The residents, which constitute the service economy in Eminönü, play their part in creating the spectacle for touristic consumption and disappear by the nighttime moving to their living spaces, which is probably far from the attraction centers where they are working.

As it was stressed earlier, Belge believes that it is essential and useful for İstanbul to be “a center of intellectual, artistic and cultural production. And in fact it

is about time too”⁴⁶ (2011, 362). İlber Ortaylı, author of another article in the university course book, writes that

Bir ara iktisadi krizlerin, fakirleşmenin, iki dünya harbinin getirdiği yıkıntıların etkisiyle bir kenarda kalan İstanbul; şimdi tekrar bir kültür başkenti olma yolundadır. Öyle ki bazı günler sanatseverler aynı anda icra edilen iki üç konserin hangisine yetişeceklerini bilemiyorlar. (Ortaylı 2011, 71)

İstanbul, which once dropped behind due to the financial crisis, impoverishment, the ruins that the two world wars brought is now again on the way to becoming a cultural capital. So much so that some days art-lovers are confused about which one of the two or three concerts, which are happening at the same time, to attend.

Yet another author, Doğan Hızlan, tracking the social changes happening in the city through literature in his article, notes that “Even though Ankara becomes the official capital [with the Republican era] İstanbul regains its identity as the cultural capital in a short time”⁴⁷ (265). As it has already been noted before, for Bilgili culture constitutes a strategic element for the future of the city: “The key point here is that İstanbul, as a city where civilizations are blended and which has unique cultural heritage, is able to transform its uniqueness to a global tourism strategy”⁴⁸ (386).

The world construct in the course books point to urban space turning into a meta, a consumable item itself besides being the place of consumption. The image of the city is designed, as is often stressed by the authors it must indeed be designed, in the direction of the marketing of this meta. The image of the city, which is based on symbols and myths, epitomizes the participation of culture, previously an autonomous area, into capital and turning into an instrument for capital. The courses

⁴⁶ “Entelektüel, sanatsal ve kültürel üretim merkezi olması ise gerekli ve yararlı görünüyor.”

⁴⁷ “Her ne kadar resmi başkent Ankara olsa da, İstanbul kültür başkenti kimliğine kısa sürede kavuşmuştur.”

⁴⁸ “Ancak burada en önemli nokta; İstanbul’un medeniyetlerin harmanlandığı ve eşsiz kültürel mirasa sahip bir şehir olarak bu *eşsizliğini* küresel bir turizm stratejisine dönüştürebilmesidir.”

carry out the function of normalizing and reproducing the consumer-capitalist world construct. While the knowledge of the city and being urbanite maintains the established inequalities, the content of this cultural capital is based on conceiving the city as two-dimensional and depthless image.

“The City That Was Heralded”: History

The notion of history and the city’s past will be examined here under a separate section between the analysis of the world construct and the analysis of the urban citizen as the notion of history occupies a central space in establishing the narrative that creates both. It is embedded in the whole structure of the course books, running along through all the themes no matter what specific subject is taken into consideration; both in the university course book and the primary school course books authors begin their discussion in reference to İstanbul’s history; and history constitutes one of the nine themes in the primary school course books all by itself with the title “İstanbul’s Past, Present and Future”. In the courses, history functions as an agent for creating the city as spectacle and therefore contributing to its status in consumer capitalism through acting as a resource to draw events, people, and images from and establish a narrative to ground, naturalize and justify the construct of the desirable city and urban citizen in the courses. As Jameson writes,

The new spatial logic of the simulacrum can now be expected to have a momentous effect on what used to be historical time. The past is thereby itself modified: what was once, in the historical novel as Lukács defines it, the organic genealogy of the bourgeois collective project – what is still, for the redemptive historiography of an E.P. Thompson or of American “oral history,” for the resurrection of the dead of anonymous and silenced generations, the retrospective dimension indispensable to any vital

reorientation of our collective future – has meanwhile itself become a vast collection of images, a multitudinous photographic simulacrum”. (1992, 18)

The city’s past which is narrated in a collage with elements taken from their contexts and haphazardly brought together is certainly devoid of historicity and therefore only serves in creating a spectacle out of the city: to make a story of history which is cleansed of all conflicts and offered to the smooth consumption of the tourist gaze. It has turned into a resource which provides content for the postcard and which the courses return to now and again at will. In underlining İstanbul as an imperial capital that embodies numerous layers dating back to different civilizations and suggesting the present-day city is determined with this historic fabric, history (read: a showcase narrative) is employed as an instrument in construing the overall image for the ultimate objective of selling places.

It was noted before that neo-Ottomanism has become a quite noticeable phenomenon in everyday life over some time and it has found its reflection in the urban space as well, even embraced as a strategy by authorities. Tanıl Bora, in his article “İstanbul of the Conqueror: The ‘Alternative Global City’ Dreams of Political Islam” (1999) discusses how a reconquest of İstanbul culturally becomes an ideal in terms of the relation of Islamic ideology to the urban space. He underlines how İstanbul is regarded as a trial ground for political ideologies; if a government is successful in İstanbul it means it has power over the whole country and therefore the city turns into a showcase for the potency regimes as well. Bora writes at the time of the The Welfare Party (RP) rule, in which Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Turkey’s current President, took office as the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor. Bora’s article shows at the same time how the issues concerning the political Islam’s strategies in the urban space has continuities over years and governments, and how

the issues that constitute hot debates today have been inherited from preceding discourses. Though Tanıl Bora does not mention “neo-Ottomanism” as the conceptual tool of his discussion, in the direction of Keyder’s designation of neo-Ottomanism a strategy, this thesis refers to the nostalgic gaze to the Islamic, imperial capital as “neo-Ottomanism”, which finds its place in the İstanbul courses quite visibly.

Certainly the Ottoman past occupies a privileged position in the narrative of the course books. When İstanbul’s history is in question, the past is almost always or would rather be identified with the glorious Ottoman heritage. Doğan Hızlan gives the subtitle “The City That Was Heralded” in his article in the university course book where he discusses how İstanbul is addressed in the Divan literature. Hızlan points out that the Divan literature poets, including Fatih the Conqueror who wrote under the pseudonym Avni, approached the city very much in terms of the Islamic religion. Like other poets of the Divan literature at the time, Avni or Fatih the Conqueror mentions İstanbul before all else in association with the prophet’s saying about the conquest of İstanbul. “İstanbul, despite the whole Byzantium and its former sinful aspects, is a heralded city. Thus and so will we encounter its first reflections in literature”⁴⁹ (Hızlan 2011, 258). As it was noted before, Hüseyin Avni Mutlu also quotes the same hadith in his introductory statement for the primary school course books as he talks about the historic importance of the city from a number of perspectives.

The authors often glorify the Ottoman era, especially the conquest and encourage students to identify themselves with this history and be proud. Beşir Ayvazoğlu writes in his “İstanbul Culture and Aesthetics” in the university book that,

⁴⁹ “İstanbul, bütün Bizans ve eski günahkâr yönlerine rağmen müjdelenmiş bir şehirdir. Edebiyattaki ilk yansıması bu şekilde karşımıza çıkacaktır.”

Genç Fatih, fethin ilk günlerinde şehri Ayasofya'nın kubbesinden de incelemişti. Gördüğü, devasa bir harabeden ibaretti; evet, kendi askerleri de etrafa bir hayli zarar vermişlerdi fakat bu tahribat öyle üç günlük yağma sırasında yapılacak cinsten değildi, her taraftan asırların köhnemişliği akıyordu. ... Fetih, doğrusu; çürüyen, insafsızlaşan İstanbul için bir kurtuluştı. (Ayvazoğlu 2011, 15)

During the first days of the conquest, the young Conqueror observed the city from the dome of Hagia Sophia as well. What he saw consisted only of gigantic ruins; yes, his own soldiers did a good bit of damage around yet this distortion was not the kind of damage that could be done in a few days' looting. Decrepitude of ages was written all over İstanbul. ... The conquest, to be honest, was salvation for the decaying, depopulating İstanbul.

He goes on to remark that without ignoring the cultural accumulation of the former civilizations, "our ancestors" carried out a reconstruction of the city in line with an Islamic understanding and built "a much more humane city compared to the İstanbul of the Roman period"⁵⁰ (22). He is confident that

Gezinleri güzelliğiyle dilsizleştiren İstanbul, hiç şüphesiz, Levantenlerin Galata'sı değil, abidevî camileri kucaklayan ahşap şehir dokusu ve bu dokuyu sarıp sarmalayan yeşil örtüsüyle Türk ve Müslüman İstanbul'dur. Boğaziçi'dir, Süleymaniye'dir, Eyüp'tür, Üsküdar'dır. (Ayvazoğlu 2011, 28)

İstanbul which left the travelers in awe was certainly not the Galata of the Levantine; with the timber city texture embracing monumental mosques and the green cloth wrapping up this texture, it was the Turk and Muslim İstanbul. It was the Bosphorus, Süleymaniye, Eyüp, Üsküdar.

Not only specifying a golden era in the city's history but also determining the desirable neighborhoods within the city in this way, the author sets out to describe the hallmarks of this distinctive culture that developed in the city. The urban lifestyle that will be discussed below in more detail seems to belong to the time period

⁵⁰ "Ancak yeniden inşaa [sic] sürecinde, dedelerimizin İslamî anlayışa uygun olarak insan ölçeğini esas aldıkları ve Roma devri İstanbul'una göre çok daha insanî bir şehir meydana getirdikleri muhakkaktır."

between the conquest and the proclamation of the republic. In parallel with Ayvazoğlu's discussion, among the extracts for reading the university book includes Yahya Kemal Beyatlı's "The Turkish İstanbul" where he says:

Evet, on beşinci asır Türkleri, İstanbul'u bir vîrâne olarak tevarüs ettiler, derhal îmar etmeğe koyuldular, bir asır sonra, o zamanki Avrupa'nın hem en büyük, hem en ihtişamlı, hem en güzel şehri hâline getirdiler. Bu hükümde zerre kadar mübalağa yoktur. (Beyatlı 2011, 425)

The Turks of the fifteenth century inherited İstanbul as a wreck, immediately set out to reconstruct it, and turned it into both the biggest and the most magnificent and the most beautiful city of Europe then after a century. There is not even a slightest exaggeration in my judgment.

The primary school courses adopt a similar attitude with regard to the narration of the Ottoman past. The fifth grade course book notes that

İstanbul 1453 senesine kadar çeşitli milletler tarafından yirmi sekiz kez kuşatılmıştır. Şehrin alınamamasının en önemli sebebi, üç tarafının surlarla çevrili olması, kara tarafının da çok yüksek surlarla çevrili olmasıydı. Fatih Sultan Mehmet bu surları yıkacak büyüklükteki topları kendi tasarlamıştır. (Ertuğrul, 5.Sınıf Öğrenci, 32)

İstanbul had been besieged twenty eight times by various peoples until 1453. The most important reason why the city could not be taken is that it is surrounded by water on three sides and encircled by city walls on one side. Mehmet the Conqueror himself designed the cannons big enough to demolish the city walls.

Following this anecdote, the book gives a more extended description about how the city was conquered including the oft-quoted detail that the ships were transported overland in a reading passage that concludes the theme on İstanbul's history.

İstanbul, o dönemde de önemli bir şehirdi. Şehir üç tarafının sularla çevrili olması, kara tarafının da çok yüksek surlarla çevrili olması nedeniyle çok çeşitli milletler tarafından kuşatılıp alınamadı. Şehri korumak için yapılan Anadolu Hisarı aynı zamanda boğazın güvenliğini sağlıyordu. Fatih, surların karşısına Boğaziçi deniz yolunu kapatarak Bizans'a Karadeniz'den gelebilecek yardımı önlemek için üç ayda tamamlattığı Rumeli Hisarlarını yaptırdı. Şehrin surlarını yıkmak için Fatih topları kendi tasarladı. Şehir hem karadan hem de



denizden kuşatıldı. Surlara yoğun top atışı devam etmekteydi. Bunun üzerine Bizanslar Haliç'i zincir ile kapattılar. Denizde Türk donanması vardı. 50 gemi karadan Tophane'den Kasımpaşa'ya tahta kızaklar üzerinde gece yürütüldü. Böylece gemiler Haliç'e girebildiler. 53 gün süren kuşatma neticesinde şehir 29 Mayıs 1453'te fethedildi.

(Düzenlenmiştir.)

Ali Osman Atak

İstanbul'un Fethi

Fig. 11. Excerpt from the reading passage on the conquest of İstanbul, fifth grade course book.

"İstanbul was an important city back then as well. The city was besieged by many various nations but could not be taken for the city was surrounded by the sea from three sides and encircled in high walls. The Anatolian Fortress, which was built to protect the city, ensured the security of the Bosphorus as well. Fatih had the Rumelian Fortress built against the walls in three months to block the Bosphorus seaway and prevent Byzantium from receiving any help that might come through the Black Sea. Fatih designed the balls to demolish the city walls himself. The city was besieged by both land and sea. Intense artillery shooting on the walls continued. Upon this, the Byzantines closed the entrance of the Golden Horn with chains. There was the Turkish fleet on the sea. Fifty ships were slid over slipways from Tophane to Kasımpaşa at night. Thus the ships could enter the Golden Horn. As a result of the fifty three days of siege, the city was conquered on 29 May 1453."

Clearly, when the notion of history in the course books is in question, it is possible to determine that İstanbul is often credited with a long history, with its status as the capital of empires and the as the cradle of civilizations, the privileged discourse belong to a constructed Ottoman identity. Another pattern that deserves attention about the city in relation to history is that when the course books are referring to the past it is really a distant past. The third grade course book starts by defining what archeology means:

Bizden önce yaşayan insanların hayatları nasıldı? Ne tür eşyalar kullanıyorlardı? Bu sorularımızın cevaplarını bulmak için araştırmalar yaparız. Arkeoloji bilimi, eski kültür ve uygarlıklarda yaşamış olan insanların alet, malzeme, ev eşyaları ve sanat eserlerini incelemede, bu kalıntıların yer ve zamanını bulmada bize yol gösterir. Arkeoloji günümüz insanına geçmişini ve köklerini öğretir. (Ertuğrul, 3.Sınıf Öğrenci, 25)

How was the life of the people that lived before us? What kind of objects did they use? We do researches to find answers to these questions. Archeology guides us in investigating the tools, materials, household goods and pieces of art belonging to ancient cultures and civilizations and in identifying the date and place of these relics. Archeology teaches the modern-day people their past and their roots.

In a drawing activity following this introduction, three layers representing the past, present and future of the city is illustrated. The bottom layer standing for the city's past contains human and animal bones and skeletons, spears, jugs and shipwrecks. The middle, more colorful and crowded layer includes buildings, bridges, mosques, towers, metros and busses and symbolizes the present. Right between the layers, a boy and a girl are seen clearing findings that have been unearthed. The students are asked to draw about how they conceptualize the future of the city on the top that is left empty. The introduction and the consequent activity imply the past is conceived as the distant unknown, decipherable by archeology. History, which therefore turns into narrative of what happened long ago, loses its organic connection to the present with the consequence of courses undermining the ties connecting the past, present and future that they purport to establish.



Fig. 12. An activity included in the theme "Istanbul's Past, Present, Future", third grade course book.

Closely related to the understanding of history as archeology, dwelling upon myths of origin about how the city was founded is one of tactics about history that the course books employ. Including myths of origin about the founding of İstanbul, though not specifically within the subjects on history, besides adding a charming note to the city's presentation, also contributes to the image of the city dating far back and giving the city dwellers one more reason to be proud that they are living there. In the third grade course book includes the founding of the city by Byzas as a reading text. According to the legend, Byzas of Megara, son of Koressa, sets out to found a new city with his friends. In order to learn where this city should be founded, he consults the Oracle at Delphi for advice. The Oracle at Delphi says that their city shall be right opposite the land of the blind. Searching and failing to find the land of the blind, they give a break to their quest but then Byzas shouts out whether the people who are settled on the opposite shore are blind as they are settled there in the presence of the shore Byzas and their friends are now standing. Remembering the

words of the Oracle, Byzas settles in what is now Sarayburnu, right opposite to Kadıköy, the land of the blind. The fact that there are legends about the origin of the city implies that the history of the city goes as far back as the mythic era. The book informs the students that “In the past the name of the city was Estambol, which meant ‘towards the city’ ”⁵¹, which again implies the importance symbolically attributed to the city (Ertuğrul, *3.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 17). The book points out that “There are many legends regarding the founding of İstanbul apart from ‘The Land of the Blind’ and if you were interested in this legend you would also look up the legends concerning the Maiden’s Tower, Hagia Sophia, and the Bosphorus”⁵² (Ertuğrul, *4.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 58). As narratives of an alleged distant past, the myths of founding contribute to the postcard through providing content.

Having dwelled upon the privileged Ottoman past, archeology and myths of founding, one other pattern to emphasize is the categorization of history. The primary school course books divide the history of the city into five periods, which are represented by their basic characteristics which are used as signifiers in all the three grade course books. These five periods are specified as the prehistoric, the Byzantion, the Byzantine Empire, the Ottomon Empire and the Republican. The prehistoric period is recounted as the oldest known period dating 8000 years back and known through the simple tools for cutting and smashing found in the Yarımburgaz Cave. The Byzantion period is attributed to the settling in the leadership of Byzas around Sarayburnu, where they built palaces and temples. The Byzantine Empire, which makes the third period, is accounted as the continuation of the Eastern Roman Empire after the fall of the Western Roman – which therefore

⁵¹ “Eskiden İstanbul için ‘Estambol’ adı kullanılırdı. Bu sözcük ‘kente doğru’ anlamına gelmektedir.”

⁵² “ ‘Körler Ülkesi’ dışında, İstanbul’un kuruluşuyla ilgili çok sayıda efsane bulunmaktadır. Bu efsane ilginizi [sic] çektiyse Kız Kulesi, Ayasofya, İstanbul Boğazı ile ilgili efsaneleri de araştırabilirsin.”

proves calling İstanbul the capital of three empires wrong as M. Sinan Genim points out in his article in the university course book (2011, 310). In the primary school course books this period is mainly referred to with the hippodrome and it is also noted that Hagia Sophia, Basilica Cistern and Galata Tower belong to this period. The period of the Ottoman Empire, which starts with the conquest of Constantinopolis by Fatih, is clearly given the most attention within the scope of the İstanbul courses. After this period, which is mentioned with Topkapı and Dolmabahçe palaces, the Grand Bazaar and the Spice Bazaar, Süleymaniye and the Blue Mosque, the Republican period starts with the proclamation of the republic. This last period, which continues today, is referred to with the Taksim Square and the Bosphorus and Fatih Sultan Mehmet bridges (Ertuğrul, 5. *Sınıf Öğrenci*, 27).

Besides their landmarks, these five time periods are also matched and encouraged to be remembered with certain symbols throughout. A third grade course activity wants the students to put the images “that tells of life in İstanbul”⁵³ in a chronological order from the past to the present (Ertuğrul, 3. *Sınıf Öğrenci*, 28). In terms of types of dress, the periods are represented with three figures wearing a caveman costume, a traditional Ottoman outfit with fez and a modern-looking outfit with jean and cap; the types of residence with a rock cave, a mansion and a high-rise building; and the types of means of transport with a raft, an imperial caique, and a liner. Similarly, in an activity in the fourth grade, a saurel, which is still another symbol for İstanbul as quite clear from how it is introduced –“You must have already heard about me. I am one of İstanbul’s most famous fish. I and my relatives were here thousands of years ago and so are we now”⁵⁴ (Ertuğrul, 4. *Sınıf Öğrenci*, 23)–

⁵³ “Ekler bölümünde verilen İstanbul’daki yaşamı anlatan görselleri inceleyiniz.”

⁵⁴ “Benim adımlı daha önce duymuşsundur. İstanbul’un en ünlü balıklarından biriyim. Ben ve akrabalarım binlerce yıl öncesinde de bu denizdeydik şimdi de buradayız.”

tells the students about its dreams and asks them to guess in which period these dreams take place. The students will know that the people in animal hides trying to hunt the saurel refers to the prehistoric period; people offering gifts to their gods in temples belong to the Byzantion period; churches, squares, wide roads but especially the hippodrome stand for the Byzantine Empire period; an imperial caique, Topkapı Palace, mosques and madrasas will evoke the Ottoman Empire period; trams, cars, people in a hurry to be on time for work and high-rise buildings of a very big and busy city describes the Republican period. Another activity in the third grade course book presents an image of İstanbul, crowded with symbols that were brought side by side. The image includes the Galata Tower, the Maiden's Tower, a ferry, a mosque, a mansion, a tram, a fountain and a fortress. The students are expected to determine which of these belong to the past and color them. The periods are once again made up of the certain images that stand for them and are separated from each other with sharp boundaries.

2. Tema - 2. Konu - 1. Etkinlik



Fig. 13. Activity from the fifth grade course book where students are asked to match the images with the historical periods that they correspond to.

History cooperates with the tourism through landmarks and symbols to bring about the postcard city of the course books. The theme titled “İstanbul Step by Step” included in the primary school course books illustrates the convergence of history

with service to the tourist gaze. The theme focuses on introducing the historical and touristic places in İstanbul. In the third grade the students are presented with information about the principal towers and parks in the city and asked if they have seen/would like to see any of them. They learn about the palaces, religious houses of prayer as well as fountains, arches and cisterns. City walls, museums and bridges of the city constitute the subjects in the fifth grade. They are all included as symbolic places that have come to this day from the past and are now regarded as sites of cultural heritage. The books make sure that the students learn about when these structures were build, to what ends they were used and what is special about them. Not only the primary school course books but also the university course book, for instance, A. Halûk Dursun's "History, Space and Culture: İstanbul", makes an inventory of notable sites of the city with their basic characteristics (2011). Though it is intended that in this way the cultural and historical richness of the city will become apparent, these historical sites become singled out from their historical context and presented in the way of a travel guide.

Belge makes note of the recent neo-Ottomanist attitude in perceiving the city and says that its long history must be displayed as a whole: "We like to boast that İstanbul is 'the capital of three empires' but firmly hide some of the remainders belonging to the other two"⁵⁵ (2011, 367). Thinking about İstanbul's history, if the predominant idea is its richness, then the other side of the coin is the lamentation that this historic texture of the city is being destroyed. The debates on preservation bring along questions as to what it is that must be preserved, what is and what is not worthy of preservation, whose projection and therefore whose city it is. The myth that is created around "the old İstanbul" is in this way the result of a retrospective

⁵⁵ "İstanbul'un 'üç imparatorluğun başkenti' olduğunu söyleyerek övünmekten hoşlanırsınız, ama bunların ikisiyle ilgili kalıntıların bazılarını sıkı sıkı saklarsınız."

gaze filled with nostalgia, which reconstructs İstanbul in line with the whole of favored projection. This narrative of the old İstanbul invokes a golden past that is simultaneously taken as a definitive point in time that is now lost and a point starting from which one could reconstruct it in imagination.

M. Sinan Genim, the author of “İstanbul and Architecture”, writes that

Cumhuriyet’in İstanbul’u yeni oluşmaya başlamaktadır; Roma’nın sütunları, Osmanlı’nın minare ve kubbeleri yerine şehre gökdelenler hakim olmaya başlamaktadır. Yeni bir anlayışın ürünü olan bu yapılar hepimizi ürkütmekte, şehrin yeni görünümü pek çoğumuza itici gelmektedir. Eski şehir dokusu ve ona fon teşkil eden alanlarda yapılan bu ve benzeri girişimlerin kente zarar verdiği, onun bin yıllar boyunca oluşan silüetini [sic] olumsuz etkilediği bir gerçektir. (Genim 2011, 337)

The İstanbul of the Republic has just started to take shape; skyscrapers started to take the place of the columns of Rome, the minarets and domes of the Ottoman. These structures, the products of a new understanding, frighten all of us and most of us find the new appearance of the city ugly. It is a fact that such initiatives in the old city texture and the areas that constitute a background to it do harm to the city and adversely affect its silhouette that has formed in thousands of years.

From an urban design perspective, he refers to the inability of preserving architectural heritage, material marks from the civilizations associated with the city, as the loss of old İstanbul. As he also states, in material terms, the city will naturally keep changing and will resemble neither Constantinopolis nor Konstantiniyye. Yet what is referred to as the culture and aesthetics of the old İstanbul is not only limited to tangible characteristics that the city brings from its past; the loss is spoken about in terms of a unique style of life associated with the city, which therefore designates the city as a form of cultural capital. The course books, which attempt to introduce the desirable style of life in the city and thus encourage students to adopt it, only sustain exclusionist discourses and existing inequalities.

Language and literature constitutes one aspect of the unique İstanbul culture, which is referred to as “disappearing” at times and “already gone” at others. The dialect of Turkish that was spoken in İstanbul is attributed considerable significance. Ayvazoğlu writes, “The İstanbul Turkish, which has hardly any speakers today, had music, pronunciation, special stresses, idioms and proverbs of its own”⁵⁶ (2011, 19). This specific language intrinsic to the city is also credited with having created its own literature: “The old poetry, though widespread across the empire, was essentially the voice and poetry of İstanbul”⁵⁷ (19). İskender Pala enthusiastically agrees:

Ama İstanbul!.. Ama İstanbul!.. İstanbul yazarlar için bir ilhamdır, aşktır. Akışkan tarihin epik ve lirik sayfaları okunur onun çehresinden... İstanbul, sakinleriyle konuşur, sakinler konuşurken İstanbul'u. Güzellemeden ziyade mersiye yazılmıştır alınına ve her burcuna bir tarih düşürülmüştür eski sevdalardan... Tanrı sanatıyla işlenip fâtilhlerce tezhiplenmiştir. (Pala 2011, 194)

Yet İstanbul!.. Yet İstanbul!.. İstanbul is inspiration, love for writers. The epic and lyric pages of the fluid history are read from its face... It speaks to its inhabitants while the inhabitants speak about it. Elegy rather than praise is written on its forehead and a history is dropped to its every tower from old loves... It was engraved with heavenly art and illuminated by conquerors.

Doğan Hızlan likewise adds that “İstanbul/the İstanbulite has created a literature out of their lifestyle”⁵⁸ (256). In the same fashion, the natural beauty of İstanbul is another essential constituent of the nostalgic gaze towards the “old İstanbul”.

Quoting Ayvazoğlu, “vineyards and orchards, cypresses, sycamores, tulips, roses, daffodils, hyacinths that adorn the poetry of poets reflect İstanbul’s urban aesthetics,

⁵⁶ “Bugün neredeyse konuşanı kalmamış olan İstanbul Türkçesinin kendine has bir musikisi, telâffuzu, özel vurguları, deyimleri ve atasözleri vardı.”

⁵⁷ “Eski şiir, İmparatorluk çapında yaygın olmakla beraber, esas itibarıyla İstanbul’un sesi ve şiiriydi.”

⁵⁸ “İstanbul/İstanbullu yaşama biçimi ile de bir edebiyat yaratmıştır.”

climate and nature”⁵⁹ (20). It is reminded that a lot of neighborhoods of İstanbul take their names from fruits and vegetables that were grown there. The trees are said to have had a deep significance for İstanbul.

Her biri başlı başına belirleyici olan bu ağaçlar, çevrelerinde yaşayanlar için apayrı anlam taşır ve âdeta bir yaşam üslûbu yaratır. İstanbul’un hatıralarına da sahip olan asıl nüfusu, yaşadıkları çevredeki ağaçları korumuş, koruyamadıkları ağaçlar için de en yakınlarını kaybetmişçesine üzülmüşlerdir. (Ayvazoğlu 2011, 30)

These trees, each of which are determinative by themselves, carry a completely different meaning for those living around them and almost create a style of living. The true population of İstanbul, which also posses the memories of the city, have strived to protect the trees in their neighborhood and when they could not, they were as sorry as when they lost a relative.

Giving reference to Ayvazoğlu, the third grade course book also informs that “The people of Şehremini blocked the road for three months to prevent a five hundred year-old sycamore from being cut down in the opening of Millet Avenue”⁶⁰ (Ertuğrul, *3.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 107). It is also put forward that the close relation of the city to water is one of İstanbul’s determinative characteristics and that the city shall even called “the city of water” (94). Fountains, arches, and cisterns, which are also symbolic structures that invest space with meaning through their presence, are brought into attention to ascertain the validity of the claim. The city neighborhoods and the rules that operate there are also cited as shaping the culture of the old İstanbul.

...yamaçlara inşa edilen evlerin ilk bakışta fark edilen özelliği, birbirini kapatmaması ve genellikle denize veya yeşil bir alana bakan manzaranın âdilâne bölüşülmesiydi. Bu konuda yazılı olmayan,

⁵⁹ “...şairlerin şiirlerini bezeyen bağlar, bahçeler, serviler, çınarlar, lâleler, güller, nergisler, sümbüller İstanbul’un şehir estetiğini, iklimini ve tabiatını yansıtır.”

⁶⁰ “Şehremini halkı ise Millet Caddesi açılırken beş yüz yaşındaki bir çınarın kesilmesini önlemek amacıyla yolu kapatmış ve tam üç ay açmamıştır.”

herkesin uyduđu, uymak zorunda olduđu kurallar vardı. Bir ev boyanırken bile, o civardaki evlerin renkleriyle hemâhenk olması, uyum sağlaması gözetilirdi. Daha da önemlisi, bu şekilde teşekkül eden mahallelerde herkes oturabilirdi; zengin bir tüccarın veya bir devletlinin konağıyla fakir bir bekçinin, sıradan bir memurun evi yan yana olabilirdi. Zenginler, mahallenin fakirlerini kollar, camisinin, mescidinin ihtiyaçlarını karşılardı. (Ayvazoğlu 2011, 43)

The foremost characteristic of the houses built on hills was that they did not block each other and justly shared the seascape or the green scenery. There were rules that everybody stood by, had to stand by in this matter. Even when a house was being painted, its harmony with its environment would be taken into consideration. More importantly, everyone could reside in these neighborhoods that were thus formed; the mansion of a rich merchant or a statesman could be side by side with the house of a poor watchman or an ordinary officer. The rich would favor the poor and provide the needs of the mosque in the neighborhood.

Quoting Gülersoy, “What put houses in the order of such love and respect was the mentality, inner world and perspective on life of the old İstanbulite”⁶¹ (2011, 60).

The old İstanbul is an image that is made up of all of these elements that are referred above and it takes a role in bringing about the postcard experience of the city. The myth of the old İstanbul contributes to fleshing out the flat surface of the postcard by way of providing the stories that will comply with images and present a representation of the city complete in itself. In this sense, history, decontextualized and disconnected from its ties from the present, turns into an instrument among others to represent the city as a spectacle for consumption of sorts. As Gürbilek makes the observation about the 1980s’ Turkey, “There was more interest in the past than ever before; but the past became a pop history cleansed of its historical-political burden” (1992, 12). The past that is evoked by İstanbul courses is similarly is customized so as to serve the needs of city marketing in the context of urban entrepreneurialism.

⁶¹ “Evleri de böylesine bir saygı ve sevgi düzeninin içerisinde soku, eski İstanbullunun zihin yapısı, manevî dünyası, yaşama bakış açısı idi.”

History constitutes one of the criteria of analysis because it is a main element that contributes to the making of the city as a spectacle space. It does this through functioning as a resource, as “a vast collection of images” as Jameson puts it; the course books make use of history in order to bring back and revitalize images from the past in their construct of the desirable city. The history in question has lost its organic ties with the present; it is perceived as static and complete. The past is knowable through archeology and the time periods with their clear boundaries split up a distant past with the help of signifiers. The most cited time period belong to the Ottoman past, justifying the presence of a neo-Ottomanist attitude embraced as a strategy. Historic landmarks, symbols, myths of founding the nostalgia for the “old İstanbul” are all elements related to the city’s history that contribute to the city as spectacle, which is employed as a strategy of urban entrepreneurialism.

“Individual’s Becoming Urbanite”: The Urban Subject

The world construct for the city as postcard space and history as its major constituent have been explored in the previous sections. The main objective of the İstanbul courses, which is to raise the desirable urban citizen, will now be discussed in light of both the nature of the city and the narrative of history. Before all else it should be clarified that the notion of urban citizenship that is described here is one that relies on culture. The courses start off with the idea that failing to adapt to the city culture is the main reason why city-dwellers do not become urbanites, which is regarded as a drawback for cities. In reference to Kroeber and Kluckhohn’s *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, Üstel (in Ada and İnce 2009) remarks that culture has 164 different definitions. In *The Cultures of Cities* Zukin (1995) discusses

the meanings of culture. She points out that while it refers first of all to “ethnicity” in common American usage and then as “collective lifestyle”, it also refers to a set of marketable images, in that sense “culture is something that *sells*, something that is *seen*” (1995, 263). From the perspective of urban entrepreneurialism, turning the city into a rich cultural product positioning it in the web cultural and creative industries seem to be the direction that the İstanbul courses, which design the city as postcard, take as well as being the logic of the İstanbul 2010 mega-event that the courses take their source from and the whole consumer-capitalist ideology that both are situated in. The desirable urban citizen emerges accordingly as someone who does not find the transformation of the lived space into a postcard odd.

Ahmet Emre Bilgili, the Director of Culture and Tourism, associates being an urban citizen with the extent that the individuals have their share of the city’s culture and actively participate in it. He remarks that,

Şehir yaşamında toplumsal bir üretim ve tüketim unsuru olarak *kültür*, bireyin *şehirli* hale gelmesinde çok önemli bir fonksiyon icra eder. Bu da birey açısından kültürün bir ihtiyaç olarak algılanıp algılanmamasında yatar. Şehir yaşamı, kültürün bireyler açısından diğer gereksinimler gibi bir ihtiyaç olduğu kurgusuna dayanır. Bu kurgunun gerçeğe dönüşmesi bireyi şehirli hale getirir. Bunun tersi, bireyin şehirde yaşadığı halde şehirli olamaması gibi kent açısından negatif bir durumu ortaya çıkarır. Zira bir bütün olarak şehirli hale gelmek; ancak şehrin kültürel ve sosyal imkânlarından yeterince yararlanmakla mümkün olabilir. (Bilgili 2011, 387)

Culture as an element of social production and consumption in urban life performs a very important function in individual’s becoming *urbanite*. And this lies in whether or not the individual perceives culture as a need. Urban life is based on the construct that culture is a need like other needs for individuals. The realization of this construct makes the individual an urbanite. The reverse situation would mean that an individual is not an urbanite despite living in the urban space, which is negative for the city. Becoming urbanite as a whole is possible only through benefiting adequately from the cultural and social facilities of the city.

In Bilgili's account, internalizing the culture of the city is the defining characteristic of the urban subject. The knowledge about what this culture is and the initiative to make oneself part of the cultural life in the city, according to Bilgili, transforms an individual from a city-dweller to an urban citizen. Acquiring the cultural capital that comes from the knowledge about the city and getting involved in the common myth-making, which also constitutes the departure point for the İstanbul courses, are the attributes that are aimed to be provided for the desirable urban subject, who does not only reside in the city but actually belongs there.

Bir şehrin tanınması ve hakkında bilgi sahibi olunması o şehrin sosyal ve kültürel imkânlarından yararlanmanın en temel altyapısıdır. Aynı zamanda bireyin şehre aidiyetini de güçlendirir. Bireyler şehrin kültürel mekânlarını, tarihi mekânlarını, kültürel kimliğini kaybetmemiş semtlerini, simgesel ve anıt yapılarını, müzelerini, sanat galerilerini, yemek kültürünü, doğal güzelliklerini gerçek anlamda tanıyabilirlerse, buralardan kültürel olarak yararlanabilirlerse şehirlileşme süreçlerini hızlandırmış olurlar. (Bilgili 2011, 389)

Knowing about a city is the most basic foundation of benefitting from that city's social and cultural facilities. It also strengthens one's belonging to the city. If individuals learn about the cultural venues, historical places, districts that have not lost their cultural identity, symbolical and monumental structures, museums, art galleries, cuisine culture, natural beauties in real terms, if they benefit from them culturally, they accelerate the process of becoming urbanite.

Bilgili believes that treating museum visiting as an educational concern and making it common and sustainable practice constitutes one of the ways that city-dwellers will develop a relation to their city. Museums are regarded as the reservoirs of history which will teach visitors the necessary historical information that they can take in with their visit. Establishing the custom of museum visiting from early ages on, adding the İstanbul course to university curricula, and organizing culture tours for adults are steps to be taken proposed by Bilgili in an attempt to turn İstanbul-

dwellers into İstanbulites. Adopting the culture of the city therefore means agreeing to define it as a spectacle with its symbols, myths and landmarks.

Although it is not specifically stressed, the group that the courses address as the binary opposite of the urbanite and aim to provide with the culture of the city are the migrants. Despite that the boundaries between the urban and the rural are increasingly blurred and İstanbul has long stopped being the emerging metropolis that was shocked by the first waves of migration, the courses take their point of reference from this old discourse of the antinomy between settled İstanbulites and others. According to this, the late-comers are deprived of the urban cultural capital and consequently have a degenerative effect on the urban culture that they do not embrace. The İstanbul courses take over the mission of transferring the culture of the city and raising the desirable urban citizen taking support from the reproductive role of education. Bilgili points out to migration as one of the defining factors of the urbanization processes in Turkey and remarks that rapid urbanization propelled in this way gives rise to a series of problems.

Geldikleri yerlerden kopamama, kentin imkânlarından yararlanamama ve diğer sorunlar, onları [sic] [göç edenleri] kentle kır arasında bir çelişki yaşamalarına sebep olmuştur. Tüm bunların toplamı olarak kentlileşme; göçle belirlenmiş bir fiziki mekân değişikliği sonucunda bir toplumsal değişme süreci ve kentle birçok bakımdan uyum sorunu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. (Bilgili 2011, 388)

Being unable to break off from where they come from, being unable to make use of the city's potentials and other problems cause them to experience conflict between the country and the city. As the sum of all these, being urbanite has come up as a process of social change due to a change of physical structure determined by migration and an adaptation problem to the city in many respects.

As the newly-arrived population fail to develop social and cultural ties to the city, in other words, as they fail to get urbanized, they do also fail to form belonging to the

city. As part of defining the urban space, making the urban subject who will comply with this construct forms an important part of having the upper hand in the competition for the urban space. The desirable urban citizen is definitely not someone who would primarily be defined by being a migrant but who have already internalized the culture of the city and become an urbanite, which “connotes lifestyle and patterns”⁶² (2011, 388).

Belge also points out that İstanbul is a city that is determined by the intense migration it has received over the years and the sharing of the urban space has to a large extent been determined by *hemşehrilik* (fellow-countrymanship) ties.

Kent mekânının yeni gelenlerle paylaşımında bu yapı belirleyiciydi. Onun için İstanbul’da karşılaşan iki kişi arasında “Hemşerim, memleket nere?” gibi bir soru ve “Kastamonu, ya seninki?” gibi bir cevap başka yerlerde olması gerektiği gibi “absürd” bir izlenim yaratmazdı. (Belge 2011, 359)

In sharing the urban space with the new-comers this structure was determinative. In a conversation between two people, one’s asking “Where are you from, my hometown buddy?” and the other’s answering “Kastamonu, and you?” would not create an “absurd” impression in İstanbul as it would in someplace else.

According to Bilgili, people who migrate to İstanbul continue to identify themselves with their hometown, which prevents them from developing an urbanite identity and feeling themselves as part of the urban culture. For Belge, the fellow-countrymanship ties which were determinative for the ties between migrants and the city have pretty much disappeared and there seems to be no other kind of alternative ties. Both agree that action needs to be taken towards developing urban consciousness. Belge draws attention to the severity of the problem:

⁶² “Kentlilik, kavram olarak, yaşam tarzını ve kalıplarını ifade eder.”

Bu konuda bazı incelemeler, anketler yapıldı. Bunlar, İstanbul'da yaşayan pek çok insanın kendini hala buralı saymadığını ve burayı pek fazla sevmediğini gösteriyor. Ama, bir kere buraya gelmişken, yeniden "memlekete dönme" alternatifinin de düşünülmediğini görüyoruz. Bu aslında bayağı korkunç bir durum: bir yerdesin, sevmiyorsun, kendini oralı gibi görmüyorsun, ama orada yaşamak sorundasın. Kâbus gibi bir şey. (Belge 2011, 359)

There have been a number of investigations, questionnaires on this subject. They show that many people living in İstanbul do not regard themselves as natives of the city and do not like it at all. Yet, once one is here, we see that the alternative of "returning to hometown" is not considered either. It is quite a horrible situation: you are somewhere; you do not like the place; you do not think you belong there; yet you have to live there. Quite a nightmare.

Attempting to account for the sociological transformation of İstanbul, another author of the university course book, Tuna goes through concepts that became determinative for the city over the year. The phenomena that the concepts refer make a web where all are related and which altogether have play a critical role in constituting the city and they are again related to the migration to the city. In this, the increase in population occupies a central position and other phenomena associated with the city seem to have some sort of connection with it. *Apartmanlaşma* (Apartmentization), which arises dependently on the increase in population, puts neighborhoodliness out of sight and distances children from streets. In an environment where grandparents play less and less role and where neighborhood consciousness has disappeared, cultural erosion becoming widespread is but a natural consequence. Still another related phenomenon is squatting and as Tuna writes, "Despite its many exclusive and unique subjects, İstanbul has been recognized and defined by this particular aspect"⁶³ (2011, 410). Tuna points out that *gecekondulaşma* (squatting) has created a lifestyle of its own and the new-comers, whether they are living in squatter houses or in

⁶³ "İstanbul sahip olduğu ayrıcalıklı veya benzersiz birçok konusuna rağmen bu özelliği ile tanındı, tanımlandı."

apartments, had a hard time adapting to the cultural life of the city properly as “the new İstanbulites have been unable to break off their ties with Anatolia. Their points of origin in Anatolia supported them in every sense”⁶⁴ (411). Tuna points out to the diversity that comes from the lifestyles created by people who are foreign to the culture of the city and who are therefore lacking in the cultural capital associated with the city. This diversity, though, does not refer to the same signified as in the case of diversity from multiculturalism represented by the festivities belonging to different religious communities; in this case it lays stress on the lack of cultural capital.

In his article on İstanbul’s restaurants from the past to the present, Artun Ünsal draws attention to the change in the habits concerning eating in the İstiklal Street and how this symbolic place has come to harbor diversity in terms of eateries and dishes appealing to different people from separate classes. He tells that,

Eskinin İstiklal Caddesi’nde dolaşmak, yiyip içmek her kesimden insanın harcı değildi. Şimdiki İstiklal Caddesi ise toplumsal mozaiği barındırıyor. Kentin varoşlarından olsun, varlıklı kesimlerin yaşadığı semtlerden gelenler olsun, herkes, kendini kaotik bir dinamizmin yaşadığı bu caddede rahat hissedebiliyor. Herkes “öteki” ile karşılaşılıyor, ama toplumsal açıdan karışmıyor, sosyalleşmiyor. Herkes, farklılığının bilincinde, “kendi mekânına” yöneliyor. (Ünsal 2011, 465)

It was not within everyone’s means to spend time, eat and drink in the İstiklal Street of the past; today’s İstiklal Street embodies a social mosaic. Be it someone from the slums of the city or people coming from the districts of the city where the wealthy classes live, everybody can feel themselves comfortable on this street where a chaotic dynamism is present. Everybody faces “the other” yet does not mingle in culturally nor socialize. Aware of one’s difference, everybody heads for “their own place”.

The old Beyoğlu district and its elite restaurants, which are now mentioned with a feeling of nostalgia, are spaces that have come to be associated with the culture of

⁶⁴ “İster gecekonduvarlarda olsun ister apartmanlarda olsun yeni İstanbullular Anadolu ile bağlarını koparamadılar. Anadolu’daki çıkış merkezleri onları her bakımdan destekledi.”

the city and in that sense they exemplify the convertibility between Bourdieu's concepts, economic capital and cultural capital. Talking about the eating habits of the city-dwellers, Ünsal introduces the concept *orta halli yurdum insanı* (the middle class person of my country), which brings to mind the cliché description of a migrant to İstanbul:

Amma velâkin, yazın deniz ya da bir su kenarını, bir ulu ağaç altını, kışınsa tercihan deniz manzaralı bir ortamı ve de et ağırlıklı yemek yemeyi pek sever yurdumun orta halli insanı. Cebinde parası varsa, deniz gören ya da açık havada oturabileceği bir lokantaya gider. Yeni bir yemeği tatmaktan çok, bildiklerinden sipariş verir. Yemek kalitesini sorgulamayı pek istemez, kolay beğenir. Üstelik garsona bol da bahşiş bırakır... Ailesi kalabalık ve bütçesi sınırlıysa, güzel manzaralı ya da bol ağaçlı bir parka girer, çimenlerin üzerine yayılır ve hemen “mangalda et” sefasına girer. Varsın çevre kirlensin, etraf duman ve kokudan geçilmesin, ne gam. Gerisi, teferruattır efendim. (Ünsal 2011, 465)

The middle class person of my country is very fond of eating at a seaside or waterside, or beneath the shadow of a big, green tree in the summer and preferably eating meat at a place with a sea view in the winter. If they have money in their pockets, they go to a restaurant overlooking the sea or someplace where they can sit in the open air. They order the dish that they are familiar with rather than tasting something new. They are not into questioning the quality of the dish; they simply like what they eat. What is more, they tip waiters well. If their family is crowded and their budget limited, they go to a park with a nice view or with lots of trees, sprawl about the grass, and immediately set out to enjoy their barbecue. Let the environment get polluted, let all be smoke and odor, what's the odds. The rest is details, you see.

Though he does not specifically point to the migrant as “the middle class person of my country” in the extract above, in the social conscious of the city having barbecue in the open air is associated with the city's degeneration with the impact of the newcomers. The rather sarcastic description about the preferences of an average İstanbul inhabitant, who is surely not “the İstanbulite”, participates in the existing value system

that depends on the exclusion of the migrant and takes its part in continuation of symbolic violence.

The *raison d'être* of the İstanbul courses is the very idea that the inhabitants of the city fail to adopt the urban culture intrinsic to İstanbul, which in turn would undermine the discourses in which the city is conceived. The naturalization effect of the myth –in that case the myth of multiculturalism, of unproblematic globalization, of an intact history, of a stirring arts and cultural scene, in short, of anything that could be displayed on a postcard just as in the same way a postcard displays something– functions by means of appealing to a great majority of people and establishing the imagery that the myth points to as legitimate. If myths do not appeal to a group – in that case, people living in İstanbul – then they are not effective because it is this group that will play role in the dissemination and persistence of myths. The İstanbul courses take the support of the reproductive function of public education and include İstanbul's inhabitants in making the desirable İstanbul. The construct that is the desirable urban subject that will enable the realization of the desirable urban space, is certainly not the migrant. The mythologized culture of the city, which is set out to be transferred to the migrant, which is problematical in itself with its essentialist postulates, in the courses functions as the instrument for the ends of urban entrepreneurialism, with culture regarded as an ornament that makes the postcard city appealing.

It has been discussed that the world construct that the courses define is that of postcard, a frozen image printed on a flat surface that hints at a spectacle, mainly aiming the gaze of a tourist-consumer. Urry and Larsen (2011) develop the concept “the tourist gaze”, inspired from Foucault's “medical gaze” that was institutionalized with the clinic. Tourism as a sector takes its root from the division of work and

leisure time and emerges as one of the dominant sectors of post-industrial economies. As technology has enabled people to travel greater distances and the idea of globalization ensured people that they could be anywhere that they want, tourism has become a key sector that occupies and organizes the time allocated for leisure. Tourism, which is closely related to the competition of cities, creates an experience economy which is based on the satisfaction of the tourist gaze. In order to appeal to the tourist gaze, among other things, space undergoes change and comes to the forefront predominantly with its idealized representations. Urry and Larsen remark that

Much of what is appreciated is not directly experienced reality but representations, particularly through the medium of photography (Taylor, 1994). What people “gaze upon” are ideal representations of the view in question which they internalize from various mobile representations. And when they cannot in fact “see” the natural wonder in question, they can still sense it, see it in their mind. And even when the object fails to live up to its representation, it is the latter which will stay in people’s minds, as what they have really “seen”. (Urry and Larsen 2011, 101)

It therefore makes sense that however different the experience of the city might be from its representations, İstanbul still calls to mind wooden houses, Ramadan festivities, neighborhoodliness, which all in all constitute the myth of old İstanbul, as it was put forward in the previous section.

History, in compliance with the world construct, turns into an instrument that only highlights points in the past that will work towards establishing that this spectacular world is truthful and legitimate. Urry and Larsen refers to Hewison on the development of an industrial museum coinciding with the devastation of steel works in a British district:

The protection of the past conceals the destruction of the present. There is a distinction between authentic history (continuing and therefore dangerous and heritage (past, dead and safe). The latter, in short, conceals social and spatial inequalities, masks a shallow commercialism and consumerism, and may in part at least destroy elements of the buildings or artefacts supposedly being conserved. (Urry and Larsen 2011, 140)

The sites that the courses dwell upon are reinvested with meaning and transformed into the flat surface of a postcard. They now only exist with their display value, to the extent that they appeal to the tourist gaze. In this picture, it is not quite unexpected that the urban subject that the courses define is a tourist and a consumer who is wholly engaged in the city's imagery created around the myths and who takes on the role of a tourist guide and a promoter at times. The smooth transitions between tourist and tourist guide identity reveal the propagative role of the urban subject who is constituted in a certain discourse and who in turn reproduces it. The desirable urban subject that the courses aim to raise is the person who, in Yıldız's (2011) words, "has become aware of the beauties of the city and is willing to protect it", in other words, who has been "interpellated" by the consumerist and entrepreneurial ideology on urban space, which stands with the help of from a variety of myths.

The course books construe the urban subject as a spectator before all else. In the fifth grade primary school course book one of the learning objectives for the theme "I'm Getting to Know İstanbul" is to learn that İstanbul is a city on seven hills. The students learn about the seven hills with the help of a reading text that presents the travels of boy named Fatih (literally, "the conqueror") with his grandfather. Fatih and his grandfather visits one of the hills of the city along seven days. As the grandfather takes the boy to different places each day, Fatih responds with asking questions about what he is seeing with a sense of wonder, fascination and excitement

just like one would expect from a tourist seeing a foreign sight. “Touring the Nuri Osmanîye Mosque,” Fatih thinks that “the marks from different civilizations makes İstanbul different and turns it into the most magical city in the world”⁶⁵ (Ertuğrul, 5.Sınıf Öğrenci, 21). After his grandfather tells that the Beyazıt Tower was used for fire surveillance, Fatih is “impressed that there was a fire tower in those ages”⁶⁶ (21). “Looking on the Haliç coastline, Fatih was thinking what a beautiful city İstanbul is”⁶⁷ (22).



Fig. 14. Illustration showing the route of Fatih and his grandfather discovering the seven hills of İstanbul, fifth grade course book.

Similarly, another reading text that takes place at the end of the fifth grade theme “İstanbul Step by Step” is titled “Mary is in İstanbul”. This time, rather than a domestic tourist as Fatih was, the reading text focuses on Mary, a foreign tourist to

⁶⁵ “Nuri Osmanîye Camii’ni gezerken farklı medeniyetlerden izler taşımasının İstanbul’u farklılaştırdığını ve dünyanın en büyüğü kenti haline getirdiğini düşündü.”

⁶⁶ “Fatih, o devirlerde yangın kulesinin olmasından etkilenmişti.”

⁶⁷ “Haliç kıyılarını seyrederken İstanbul’un ne kadar güzel bir şehir olduğunu düşünüyordu Fatih.”

İstanbul, who is having her first experience abroad with her family. Mary remembers watching a DVD about İstanbul before and wonders whether it is an enjoyable city. The first comment that she makes upon landing at the airport is “Turkey is more modern than I expected”⁶⁸ (Ertuğrul, *5.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 47). Then it is told that Mary “does not feel herself a stranger at all and starts running hither and thither with the desire to discover”⁶⁹. As they got on a taxi, Mary “who watches the captivating scenery of İstanbul from the taxi window, is now sure that this holiday will be fun”⁷⁰. The taxi stops in front of Pera Palace, where the family would stay and Mary, who now looks out from the hotel window says “Gosh! I can’t believe what I’m seeing. This tower looks even more spectacular than it did in the DVD we watched”⁷¹. As they climb on the Galata Tower the next day, it is narrated that Mary meets a man with wings, Hezarfen Ahmet Çelebi, and they start flying and travelling together around İstanbul, which in the end turns out to be Mary’s dream. During this dream-travel, Hezarfen shows Mary the Maiden’s Tower, Hagia Sophia, the Blue Mosque, the Haydarpaşa Train Station, the bridge and lastly Atatürk who watches over İstanbul “among the clouds in the sky with his shining blue eyes”⁷² (51).

It has already been pointed out that the course books are construed as a journey that takes place in İstanbul. The urban citizen that students are expected to become are therefore given the role of a tourist. The course books present

⁶⁸ “ ‘Umduğumdan da modern bir ülkeymiş Türkiye.’ dedi.”

⁶⁹ “Mary de hiç yabancılık çekmemiş, keşfetmek arzusuyla bir o yana bir bu yana koşturmaya başlamıştı.”

⁷⁰ “Yol boyunca taksinin camından İstanbul’un büyüleyici manzarasını seyreden Mary, bu tatilin eğlenceli geçeceğine artık emindi.”

⁷¹ “ ‘Vay canına! Gördüklerime inanamıyorum. Seyrettiğimiz DVD’dekiinden daha muhteşem görünüyor bu kule Bobi.’ dedi.”

⁷² “Hezarfen bunları anlatırken Mary gökyüzünde ıslıl ıslıl mavi gözleriyle bulutların arasından İstanbul’u izleyen birini gördü. Şaşkınlıkla Hezarfen’e gökyüzünü işaret etti.”

information about the historical and touristic sites in the city much like a tourist guide would do and the students are invited to embrace this information and appreciate the city with the wonder of a tourist. Sites that are now turned into sights never exist with authentic links to the past or situated within social circumstances but displayed for the gaze with highlights and anecdotes. The towers, parks, palaces, places of worship, city walls, fortresses and museums are displayed with their images and certain basic facts about where they are located, when they were made and what purpose they have served. The touristic and historical places in İstanbul that are thus presented make up the theme “İstanbul Step by Step” in the primary school course books. The university book, which includes Dursun’s article that presents a catalogue of İstanbul’s historical places in İstanbul with short glimpses –islands, mosques, churches, baths, lighthouses, shrines, museums, libraries, old neighborhoods etc – which is not at all different from and even completes the primary school course books. These sites which are chosen to brought to the forefront and which are invested with being of historical significance become decontextualized and ironically, deployed of history.

The course books suggest that the only meaningful relationship that the inhabitant would develop to the city is that of a spectator who discovers the city with a constant sense of wonder. The more somebody learns about the city (and it has already become clear “learning” implies learning catchy anecdotes from a collage-like past), the more they appreciate it, in the sense of appreciating a shop-window product for its appearance rather than a lived space. The theme “I’m Living in İstanbul” in the fourth grade course book includes a subject which is titled “I’m Having Fun and Relaxing in the City”. It is suggestive and remarkable as living in İstanbul is therefore partly associated with recreating. The subject on recreation in

İstanbul comes after the course book dwells on İstanbul's old streets and different house types, which is again mostly intended to make up a postcard image. In this part the first course book activity presents the students with short promotional texts about certain recreation places in the city with must-see and must-do advices. An extract that is titled "Ferry Fun in Bosphorus" remarks that

İstanbul Boğazı'nın keyfini çıkarmanın en iyi yolu şehir hatları vapuruyla boğaz turu yapmaktır. Bir yandan vapurla birlikte uçan martılara simit atabilir, bir yandan da Boğaz kıyılarını süsleyen yalıları izleyebilirsiniz. (Ertuğrul, *4.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 96)

The best way to enjoy Bosphorus is to take a Bosphorus tour with the cityline ferry. You may throw simit for the seagulls who fly alongside the ferry while you are watching the mansions that ornament the Bosphorus coastline.

One text describes spending time by Haliç as the "İstanbul joy on the Haliç coastline" while another urges the reader to go for a walk in the Belgrad forest, where one can "walk in the company of running water and bird calls"⁷³ (97). It is told that "you will see phaetons and bicycles instead of automobiles"⁷⁴ in "The Islands That Color İstanbul" where one may as well swim in the summer (97). "Watch İstanbul from over the Great Çamlıca Hill" and "Walk Around the Küçükçekmece Lake" are some other advices while it is also noted that "You can go about the Göksu stream with boats" and "If you look closely enough, you may see squirrels and parrots among the trees as you are taking a walk in the Yıldız park"⁷⁵ (99).

⁷³ "Akan suların ve cıvıldaayan kuş seslerinin eşliğinde yürüyüş yapabilirsiniz."

⁷⁴ "Adalarda dolaşırken otomobiller yerine faytonları ve bisikletleri göreceksiniz."

⁷⁵ "Koruyu gezerken dikkatli baktığınızda ağaçların arasından sincapları ve papağanları görebilirsiniz."

İstanbul Boğazı'nda Vapur Keyfi



Çamlıca Tepesi'nden İstanbul'u Seyredin



Üsküdar ilçesi sınırları i
lıca Tepesi temiz havas
muyla şairlere, müzisyer
nağı olmuştur. Büyük Ç
manzarasını seyrederek
kalacaksınız. Ancak ke
şşirmayın.

Haliç Kıyısında İstanbul Sefası



A
ma
ne
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Ey
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İstanbul'u Renklendiren Adalar



Fig. 15. Examples from the introductory texts about the recreational places in İstanbul, forth grade course book. "Ferry Fun in Bosphorus", "Watch İstanbul from over the Great Çamlıca Hill", "İstanbul Joy on the Haliç Coastline", "The Islands That Color İstanbul".

A reading text from the fifth grade course book also gives “do not return without seeing” and “do not return without doing” tips much like one would expect from a tourist guide:

Bağcılar-Kabataş tramvay hattını kullandığınız bir gün Gülhane Parkı'nda inin. Tramvay durağından Gülhane Parkı'na doğru yürüyün. İstanbul'u yakından tanımak için neler yapabilirsiniz? İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi'ne doğru yürüyün. Yolun sonundaki iki bilgi hazinesi karşılıklı yer alıyor. Önce nereden başlayacağınıza siz karar verin. Ama unutmayın. Darphane'nin anlatacağı çok şey var... (Ertuğrul, *5.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 82)

Get off at Gülhane Park as you are on the Bağcılar-Kabataş tramline one day. Walk towards the Gülhane Park from the tram stop. What can you do to know İstanbul well? Walk towards the İstanbul Archeology Museum. There are two mines of information at the end of the street, facing each other. You decide where you start. But don't forget that Darphane has much to tell.

And also,

Topkapı Sarayı, Aya İrini Kilisesi, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Ayasofya Müzesi, Sultanahmet Meydanı... Tarihin merkezine yolculuk edin! (Ertuğrul, *5.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 82)

Topkapı Palace, Hagia Irene Church, İstanbul Archeological Museum, Hagia Sophia Museum, Sultanahmet Square... Take a trip to the heart of history!

The İstanbulite is therefore fashioned as someone who internalizes the myth of old İstanbul and looks upon the city, which is presented as decontextualized images, with the momentary wonder of a tourist. Yet, it is clear that the course books designate another related identity position for the urban subject, which is that of a tourist guide and promoter. “İstanbul’s Visitors” is constitutes one of the subjects in the fifth grade course book and its teaching objective is that students will learn İstanbul is a center of tourism (Ertuğrul, *5.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 85). In this part, the students get involved in an activity where they learn how many tourists visited İstanbul 2010 on a seasonal basis. The students are asked to reason about what may the reasons for tourists to come to the city and what could be done to contribute to the city’s tourism. It has also already been mentioned that the course books ask students to design a logo and shoot a promotional video for the city, which is to actively involve the students (and also the desirable urban subject) in city marketing.

The fourth grade teacher’s handbook points out that “the students will be asked to prepare a list of sites to be seen in İstanbul for someone who has never been to İstanbul”⁷⁶ (Ertuğrul, *4.Sınıf Öğretmen*, 23).

Film senaryosunu hazırlarken öğrencilerden; İstanbul’un neden gezilip görülmesi gereken bir şehir olduğunu vurgulamaları; İstanbul’un tarihî, kültürel, doğal güzellikler kapsamında hangi özelliklerini ele almaları gerektiğini düşünmeleri... istenir. (Ertuğrul, *4.Sınıf Öğretmen*, 23)

As they prepare the script for the film, they are asked to stress why İstanbul is a city one must travel to see and think about which of its aspects to take into consideration in terms of historical, cultural and natural beauty.

In that sense, they themselves are expected to multiply and spread images about İstanbul as tourism volunteers. In another theme, “İstanbul Step by Step”, in the

⁷⁶ “1. Etkinlik’te öğrencilerden İstanbul’u tanımayan birine şehri gezdirmek için İstanbul’da görülecek mekânlar listesi oluşturmaları istenir.”

fourth grade, the students are asked to think of themselves as guides to İstanbul' palaces, show their group friends around, inform them and remark that they would leave their comments in guest books (Ertuğrul, *4.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 31). As part of a similar activity in the fifth grade course book, the students are presented with quotes from tourists that tell what they are interested in so that the students would direct them to whichever museum they would enjoy seeing (Ertuğrul, *5.Sınıf Öğrenci*, 37). They are also asked to prepare advertisement brochures for these museums.

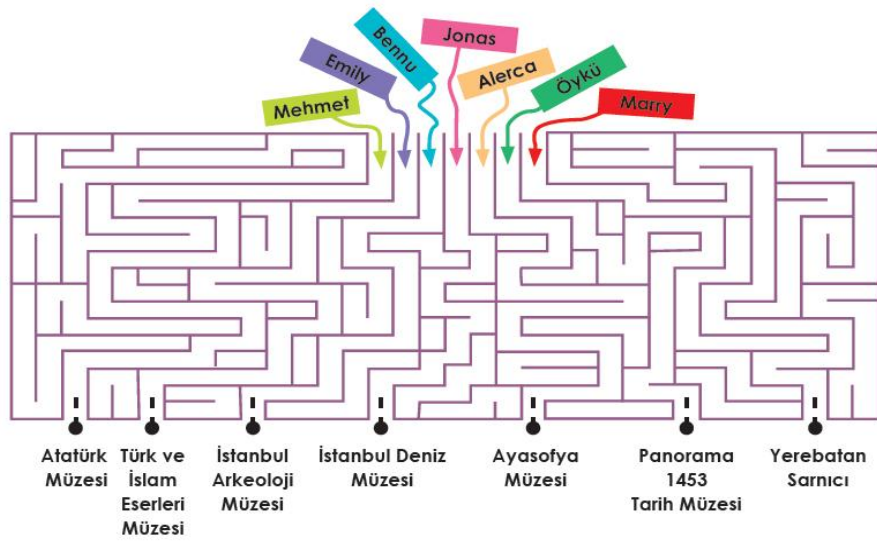


Fig. 16. Activity from the fifth grade course book which is about directing visitors to the places they would be interested in.

It has been discussed with reference to the world construct of the course books that the city is represented as a depthless spectacle space, as a postcard and that the decontextualized history becomes an instrument to serve as a reservoir to bring about the postcard city. In this context, who is the desirable urban citizen that the course books aim to raise by means of the overarching public education? The answer must firstly be put forward negatively, that is, by saying who the desirable urban citizen is not. It is not someone who has not given up the habits, practices and lifestyle they carry from their hometown; who have not succeeded in adapting the culture intrinsic to İstanbul, who have been deprived of the cultural capital that comes with belonging

to the city and in other words, when the relation between city and civilization is brought to mind, who have remained uncivilized. Clearly, the undesirable urban citizen is the migrant. Starting off with the idea of bringing the culture of the city together with large numbers of the population, the courses, just like the İstanbul 2010 mega-event in which they are rooted, move away from the ideals of democratic participation and closer to being a projection for urban entrepreneurialism. The desirable urban citizen that they reconstruct therefore comes up as someone who has internalized the principles of the consumer-capitalist ideology and takes upon to propagate them. This citizen is a spectator, a tourist and a tourist guide in the city that has adopted the city altogether as a meta.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Economic, political and social changes worldwide cannot be considered independently of a consideration of the urban space alongside. The city is both the space where transformations are reflected and also a part, and at times even an instrument of changes. It is apparent that urban space is an integral part of any discussion which attempts to make sense of the world order from the increasing emphasis of theoreticians on the need to understand the ever-changing dynamics in the city as well as the increasing presence of the urban issues on everyone's agenda directly as a matter of everyday existence. It is possible to read from the urban space the transformations in late-capitalism that permeates all walks of life today. In the new world order, strictly speaking after the 1970s, the postindustrial were no longer centered on production and had replaced their base to service sectors. The principal fields of postindustrial economies were positioned in key cities and created the new society, the new city and the new city-dwellers as well as the new economy. In this picture, arts and culture ceased to be a value in themselves or in Featherstone's words, ornament to cities, and turned into distinct industries, often in collaboration with tourism, which is one of the main postindustrial sector.

In high capitalism, which places consumption at the center, urban space turns into a consumable meta as well as being the space where consumption takes place. Putting cities forward as brands, determining cities as global centers of attraction for tourist destinations, the competition among cities in order to host mega-events are indicators of the exchange value that cities have taken upon. Holders of exchange value, cities' becoming spectacle space, and what is more, the adoption of bringing

about the spectacular city as a strategy, indicates that representations of cities serve their ideological function, as the image of the city constructed in the İstanbul course books exemplifies. The İstanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture project which was a resource for the designation of the İstanbul courses and the emphasis on arts and culture throughout the course books points out to how they take part in the marketing of cities, the representation and therefore in the real sense the creation of the cities to be marketed. İstanbul 2010 had various objectives such as positioning İstanbul as an international hub of arts and culture, carrying out a publicity campaign for the city as such and introducing it to more people worldwide, supporting and increasing participation to arts and culture in the city, and creating consciousness about and belonging to the city in the city's dwellers, whose outcomes may not be put forth with quantitative precision as of the nature of the subject itself but whose shortcomings were drawn attention in the final report for the European Commission. The İstanbul courses, which took over the legacy of İstanbul 2010, set their objectives as raising individuals who have internalized the culture of the city on the level of primary education and as passing the culture of the city on to individuals who have just arrived in the city for higher education on the university level. In this sense, the courses which presents a narrative about the city, making use of history as a reservoir, more than making floor for the participation to the culture of the city, stand out as part of a strategy in the context of consumer-capitalist ideology and in line with its turning into a meta, design the city as a postcard.

Explaining the urban space that the courses describe with the postcard analogy draws attention to the understanding of city as spectacle, which consists of images that were fetched from history. Just as it would be expected of a postcard, the city is reduced to a sum of certain symbols, images and displays and their larger-

than-life depiction under the spotlight. The resulting total image which is directed towards to the tourist gaze define the desirable space, the desirable memories and the desirable city culture of the consumer-capitalist ideology and leaves urban poverty, modes of exclusion from the urban space and dispossession, which constitute the back face of this ideology, outside the picture.

That İstanbul as a course is included in the public education curriculum and offered to be taught at universities is an expression that, inspired by Füsün Üstel's term "desirable citizen" that she introduces in her analysis of citizenship education course books, the desirable urban citizen is attempted to be constructed. The city image and the city culture that the courses put forward under the reproductive role and the objective attribute that education possesses is certainly mainly about who the people that dwell in this city will be, how they will behave and how they will relate to the city. Introducing the city to those who do not know about it and helping them adapt to the culture of the city, which constitute the preliminary statement for the courses reveal that, the desirable citizen is defined through the courses, it is confirmed that there is certain culture intrinsic to the city, and having a command of the culture of the city becomes a form of cultural capital. The mission of including the people who dwell in the city but do not embrace its culture and do not behave accordingly tacitly points to the migrants to İstanbul, who have been regarded as having a degenerative effect on the city, which is assumed homogenous otherwise but also fancily multicultural when the occasion arises. The desirable urban citizen conceived in the course books is expected to develop a spectator relationship to the urban space which is described as a depthless postcard-space, consume the spectacle in the city which has already gained exchange value and turned into a meta, take

upon the tourist role described for them in accordance with the glamorous space that directs itself to the tourist gaze, and guide others in consuming the city.

To put aside the essentialist character of the objective of describing and constructing the desirable city and the desirable citizen, the courses which aim to strengthen the bonds between the city and its dwellers miss the mark in terms of the city as a lived space and the everyday existence of the dwellers in the city, and instead construct the desirable city and the desirable citizen in line with the consumer-capitalist ideology and with the consequence of propagating it. The analysis of the İstanbul course books suggest that the courses stand out as part of a consumer-capitalist ideology and this thesis investigated into the courses at the level of their discourse. A further investigation into the teaching of the courses in the classroom environment, the attitude of teachers and the experience of students would no doubt enhance the understanding of the courses' effect and consequences. Understanding how the courses as a representation of İstanbul received and interpreted by teachers and students, how they relate to their city and in this sense how they make sense of the mode of the relation that the courses suggest and to what extent they reflect the effects of this representation to their everyday experience is equally important and constitutes further ground for analysis.

APPENDIX

Turkish Texts

- P. 40 Burada, İstanbul'u ülkemizin tek küresel kültür başkenti olarak konumlandırmak gerekiyor. Çünkü İstanbul'un bir bütün olarak potansiyeli göz önüne alındığında, bunu rahatlıkla hak ettiğini söyleyebiliriz. İstanbul'un önüne bu şekilde bir hedef koyunca kültürü de birtakım etkinlikler dizisi değil, geniş anlamıyla ele almak gerekir. Geniş ve endüstri anlamıyla kültür, bu şehrin stratejik sektörlerinden biri olarak görülebilir.
- P. 57 Köylülerden nefret ediyorum, çünkü şehirliyim. Şehrin nimetlerini seviyorum. Ben kaç kuşaktır İstanbullu olan bir ailenin içinde büyüdüm. Kendinden haberi olmayanlara, yani Türk olmanın gustosunu, zevkini bilmeyenlere, çıkarmayanlara köylü diyorum; onlardan nefret ediyorum ve onları küçümsüyorum. Onlar salak! Köyden şehre geldiler, iki kitap okuyup benimle yarılmak istiyorlar. Bunu yemem. Ben İstanbullu olmayı seviyorum, olmayanları küçümsüyorum. Paris'te ya da Londra'da yaşayanları seviyorum. Bebek'te kebabçı açmalarına izin vermiyoruz mesela. Medeni insanlarla yaşamak istiyorum.
- P.58 Bir yazıda "İstanbul" sözcüğünün geçtiği her yerde, dizgiciler haklı olarak "I"ları noktaladılar. Bu şehrin adı yazım kılavuzlarına göre "İstanbul" diye değil, "İstanbul" diye yazılıyor da ondan. Oysa ben, söylediğim gibi, yazarım "İstanbul"u: "I" ile. İsteyen istediği gibi "düzeltsin", ben "I"ya nokta koymayacağım!
- P.59 Köylerde, kasabalarda yaşamaya alışmış, ama nerede yaşarlarsa yaşasınlar insanı birey değil sürü gibi görme alışkanlığıyla, o töreyle, o geleneklerle yetişmiş bir nüfus, kendi alışkanlıklarını dayatıyor İstanbul'a. Asıl şiddet bu.
- P.63 Bu dersin yeni gelen öğrencilere verilmesi çok fonksiyonel. Çünkü öğrenci, İstanbul'a yeni gelmiş ve 4 yılını burada geçirecek. Siz onun önüne bir anahtar sunuyorsunuz, "Şehri keşfedin" diyorsunuz. Biz de, "Bu şehir nasıl keşfedilir?" bunun ayrıntılarını öğrencilerimizle paylaşacağız.

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