

WHAT URBAN POTENTIALS DOES ISTANBUL HAVE?: THE ACTANTS' EFFECTS ON İSTANBUL'S URBAN PROCESSES

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ABSTRACT

The purposes of the research are to explore the actants constructing the urban processes of İstanbul, to trace/reveal their actual effects on the urban processes of İstanbul, and to confront the urban potential of İstanbul. The research establishes an inquiry way based on 'Actor-Network Theory', which is a qualitative research method, in exploring the actants' effects on complicated urban processes of İstanbul. The research decomposes İstanbul's current actants in the urban processes, defines each of them separately and evaluates their actual effects on urban processes. The research separates/decomposes İstanbul's urban processes into four actants named as 'actors', 'practices', 'spaces', and 'vectors', and presents an 'urban potentials map/network of İstanbul', which simplifies to evaluate entirety of İstanbul. Based on the map, the suggestions about different periods and cities are developed. Throughout the history, cities have been transformed by actors taking part in their urban processes. The actors can be human actors as well as non-human actors which act the part in the urban processes; and they accordingly can be described as the 'actants' of the cities. In this context, analysing the effects of the actants on the urban processes of a city can be crucial in terms of defining a way for understanding this city. Moving from this significant point, the research attempts to understand and evaluate İstanbul, which has highly complicated urban processes, by analysing its actants' acts.

Keywords: İstanbul; urban potentials; urban processes; Actor-Network Theory; actants; actors; architectural practices; spaces; vectors

1 INTRODUCTION

Throughout the history, cities have been organized and transformed by actors taking part in their urban processes. In other words, the actors have constructed and affected the cities and their urban processes which constitute the cities. Based on the acknowledgment that the urban processes include each process which affects the formation and transformation of the city, it can be stated that the actors can be human actors as well as non-human actors which act the part in the urban processes; and they accordingly can be described as the 'actants' of the cities. In this context, analysing the effects of the actants on the urban processes of a city can be crucial in terms of defining a way for understanding this city. Moving from this significant point, this research attempts to understand and evaluate İstanbul, which has highly complicated urban processes, by analysing its actants' acts.

Starting from the research question 'How can İstanbul's complicated urban processes be evaluated?', this research aims to explore the actants constructing the urban processes of İstanbul, to trace/reveal their actual effects on the urban processes of İstanbul, and to confront/appraise the urban potential of İstanbul. Based on the acknowledgement that the actants' effects

on İstanbul's urban processes are not only spatial but also social, economical and political, the research is methodologically based on the 'Actor-Network Theory', which is a qualitative research method offering possibilities to understand the simultaneous and heterogeneous construction of society. This theory, which evolved from the works of Michel Callon (1991) and Bruno Latour (1992), consists of not only people and social groups, but also artifacts, devices and entities (Callon, 2012). It describes a progressive network and explores the actants and relationships among the actants in this network. According to this theory, the actants may be both human and non-human actors and they both construct the network of interactions (Bardini, 2003; Latour, 2005). This network is a black box; when this black box is opened, the information concerning the relationships among the actants is revealed (Murdoch, 1998).

The Actor-Network Theory, according to Ole Hanseth (1998), talks about the heterogeneous nature of actor networks. The act which is carried out and all of the influencing factors should be considered together. This research, which adopts this theory in exploring the actants' effects on complicated urban processes of İstanbul, in the body part, decomposes İstanbul's current actants in the urban processes and defines each of them separately while evaluating their actual effects on urban processes. In the conclusion part, all actants and their sub-actants are recomposed in a map/network which displays the relationships among the actants and sub-actants. This map/network is named as 'urban potentials map/network of İstanbul', based on the idea that all actants constitute the urban potential of İstanbul. It also facilitates to comment on the entirety of İstanbul.

Based on the literature review, this research decomposes İstanbul's urban processes into four actants, one of which is the human actor and three of which are non-human actors. Through the research, the human actor is designated as 'actors' who contribute to urban processes, while non-human actors are designated as architectural 'practices' that constitute the city, selected 'spaces' of the city and 'vectors' influencing the city. 'Vectors' are accepted as the other abstract actors which are difficult to decompose into smaller actors.

Accepting that 'actors', 'practices', 'spaces' and 'vectors' are the actants which construct the urban processes of İstanbul, the sub-actants are widen as shown in figure 1. At this point, it should be emphasized that İstanbul has numerous actants and sub-actants in its highly complicated urban processes. However, the actants and sub-actants in figure 1 have been selected among the ones which constitute an urban pattern by affecting İstanbul's urban processes. As a result, while each group of 'actors', 'practices' and 'spaces' is accepted to be decomposed into four sub-actants, the group of 'vectors' is accepted to be decomposed into three sub-actants.

2 DECOMPOSING THE ACTANTS' EFFECTS ON URBAN PROCESSES OF İSTANBUL

In this part of the research, it is decomposed İstanbul's current actants in the urban processes and evaluated their actual effects on them. In this context; 'actors', 'practices', 'spaces', 'vectors' and their sub-actants are defined separately.

Decomposing the Effects of 'Actors' on Urban Processes of İstanbul
The 'actors' that partake in urban processes of İstanbul are categorized under four sub-actants:

2.1 *Decision-Makers/Public Authority: Central Administration, Local Authority*

This group produces policies and makes legal regulations regarding the production of space and defines all the steps behind the architectural production in İstanbul. It is the most powerful group of actors who can change the architectural practices in the city (Urban Age, 2009). It is possible to divide 'decision-makers/public authority' into two administrative groups as 'central administration' and 'local authority'. The 'central administration' is the main governmental authority, in which the administrative power is centralized. The 'local authority', which is named as İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM), is not an independent public institution. It is supervised by the 'central administration'.

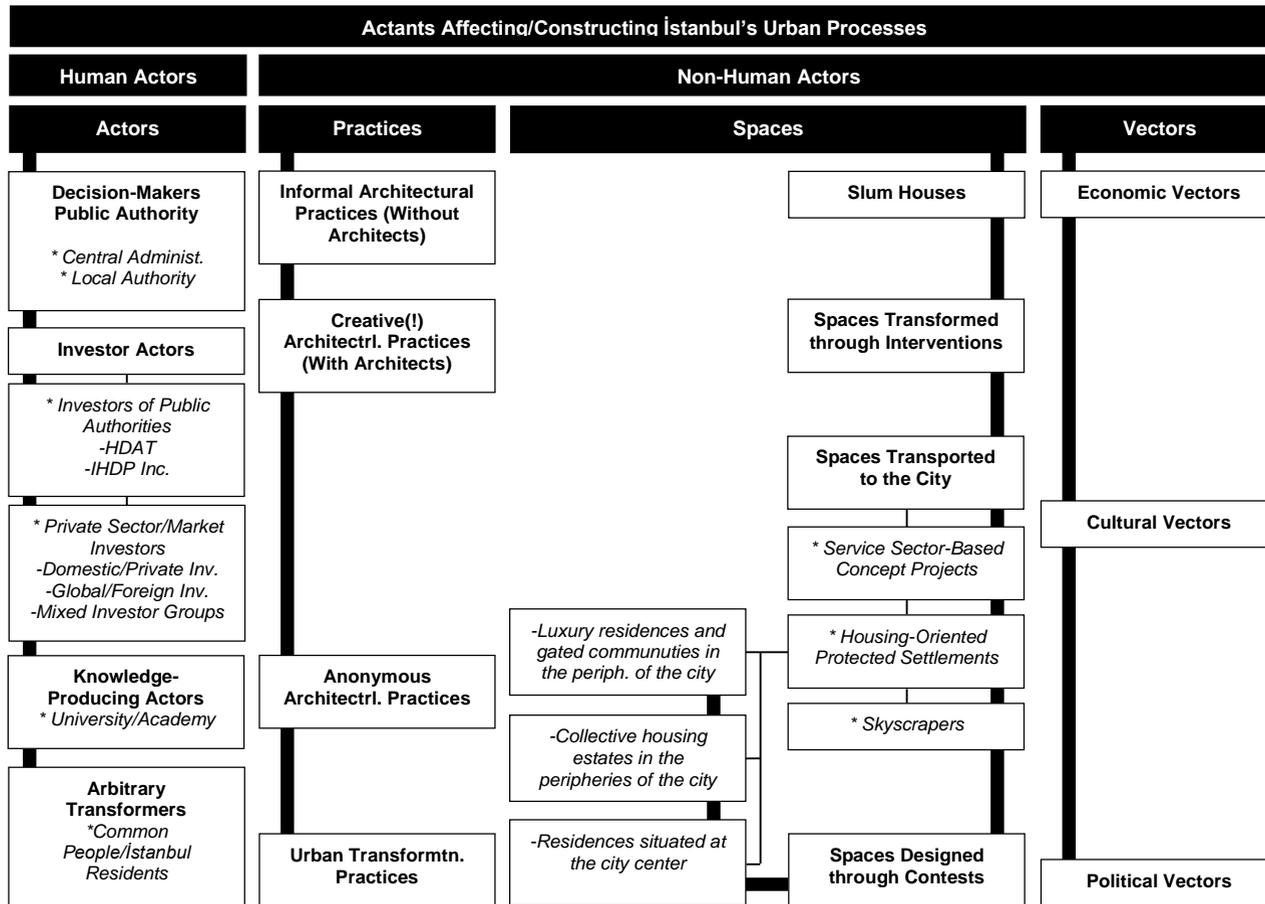


Figure 1. The actants in the urban processes of İstanbul: Actors, practices, spaces, vectors

'Decision-makers' in İstanbul are not an actor group who can direct 'investor actors' for the sake of the public weal. Thus, they are shaped in accordance with only what is offered to them by free market. Accordingly, under the principles of free market there are numerous interventions in

which city lands are transformed into objects of economy. Moreover, these interventions do not meet the need of 'arbitrary transformers' and they cannot collaborate strongly with 'knowledge-producing actors'. As a result, although 'decision-makers' are equipped with power and budget that can

direct, supervise and transform the city, they cannot manage İstanbul's urban processes in a way that they will produce effects in favour of urbanites and spatial texture. Their decisions are not conducted through a consistent common policy; therefore, spatial developments in İstanbul are intermittent. Some 'decision-makers'; on the one hand, develop spatial policies in favour of the people who support them especially during the local elections. On the other hand, some others direct urban processes in favour of the high income group.

2.2 *Investor Actors: Investors of Public Authorities, Private Sector/Market Investors*

Before 1980, projects were generally implemented through the financment of local authorities, private contractor firms and construction cooperatives. In the post-1980 period, these financiers were replaced by capitalist 'investor actors'. The reason for the replacement of actors is that publicly owned lands in İstanbul were opened for investment and speculations on the value of these lands were started to be made (Bilgin, 2006). However, 'investor actors' are composed of many sub-actors and they can mainly be classified into two groups as 'investors of public authorities' and 'private sector/market investors'. There are also certain circumstances in which these two groups embark on project-based partnerships.

'Investors of public authorities' are gathered in two different institutions, 'Housing Development Administration of Turkey (HDAT)', which was established by the central government in 1984 and 'İstanbul Residence Development Plan Industry and Trade Inc. (IHDP Inc.)', which was established by the local authority in 1994. They were established because of the fact that the need for housing increased after 1980 (TOKI, 2013) (KIPTAS, 2013).

'Private sector/market investors' are gathered in three governmental bodies which can be divided as 'domestic/private investors', 'global/foreign investors' and 'mixed investor groups'. On the one hand, 'private sector/market investors' can form project-based associations with 'investors of public authorities'; on the other hand, they can work with architectural firms with domestic, foreign or mixed partnerships. Furthermore, they can also work with 'Real Estates Investment Trusts (REIT)', which are a type of

private company that invests in real estates on project basis. REIT companies can be composed of firms with only domestic partners, with only foreign partners or with domestic-foreign partnerships. REIT companies can also be established by private or public funds (GYODER, 2011).

This variety of investors in İstanbul, on the one hand, can be interpreted as a potential that can positively affect to the city's development because there are multiple investor options in İstanbul that can solve any problems regarding the production of space. On the other hand, these actors consider İstanbul's spaces as profit-generating objects of economy and make profitable investments which create many spatial problems in İstanbul.

2.3 *Knowledge-Producing Actors: University/Academy*

Although this group of actors produces academic and theoretical knowledge that will be able to affect İstanbul's urban processes, they are the least effective actors of all the other 'actors'. Furthermore, there are no actors, architectural practices or spaces with which 'knowledge-producing actors' are strongly interconnected. These actors have a weak relationship with 'decision-makers'. They are not implementing actors and they produce theoretical discourse that cannot be put into practice. In this sense, they have numerous potentials that will be able to contribute to İstanbul's urban processes; however, they cannot be actualized/used in spatial ways.

2.4 *Arbitrary Transformers: Common People/Residents/İstanbul Residents:*

'Arbitrary transformers' is an active actor group which has the potential to transform the environment spontaneously in two different ways: Firstly, 'arbitrary transformers', who are deprived of public opportunities offered to residents by 'decision-makers', intervene the environment in order to benefit from these opportunities. 'Slum houses' and other illegal constructions emerge as a result of these interventions. The problems of mains water, sewerage and electricity systems induced by these interventions are solved by peculiar methods developed by slum dwellers themselves (Esen, 2009) (Güvenç and Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2009) (Korkmaz, 2010).

Secondly, gentrification movement, which emerged in some neighbourhoods in İstanbul after 1980, can also be referred as an example of arbitrary transformation made by the residents of İstanbul. In this case, the existing inhabitants have abandoned their neighbourhoods without any institutional interventions just because of physical and social dilapidation. Hence, a different social class has emerged in those areas in due course. Later, the house prices in these neighbourhoods have increased so much that only the high income and middle income classes can reside there (İslam, 2006).

3 Decomposing the Effects of ‘Practices’ on Urban Processes of İstanbul

The effects, in this part, are read through four architectural ‘practices’ which partake in urban processes of İstanbul.

3.1 Informal Architectural Practices/Without Architects

‘Informal architectural practices’ produce unregistered spaces in İstanbul and emerge within the informal housing production, which is a result of arbitrary construction activities. This informal production is aimed at people who cannot own a house and it is performed by individual efforts without an architect.

‘Slum houses’ in İstanbul can be seen as spaces which have been built through this practice. Since people who live in ‘slum houses’ create their own architectural environment on the basis of their specific needs, this practice contains spatial diversities. The architectural environment created by them is real, lively and flexible so it can also transform according to their needs (Esen, 2009) (Şenyapılı, 1996). On the other hand, ‘slum houses’ become legalized or formal housing over time in accordance with the amnesties enacted by ‘decision-makers’ (Keyder, 2006) (Köksal, 2010) (Tekeli, 2001). Because of the fact that the legalization of these spaces do not propose permanent solutions to the social and spatial problems caused by these spaces, it destroys the spatial diversities inherent in this practice.

3.2 Creative(!) Architectural Practices/Architectural Practices with Architects:

‘Creative(!) architectural practices’ produce spaces in İstanbul with a team of well-educated, innovative and creative architects. This team use information resources efficiently and benefit from the advantages of computer technologies in design, drawing and construction processes. Since their design approaches are far from traditional rules, they develop geometrically more organic forms.

On the one hand, this practice has a potential to generate diverse and creative spaces in the city as it utilizes qualifications of places. Therefore, it improves the quality of city texture and produces liveable spaces for residents. On the other hand, the productions of this practice can also be criticized due to their unsuitability to the scale and silhouette of the environment in which they are situated. Since this practice makes production under political and economic pressures, it can cause spatial and social polarizations. The purpose of using the sign (!) is to remind that creativity refers to a potential that involves problems, as well. Moreover, this practice is criticized that creative architects of this practice work together with ‘investor actors’, whose main goal is gaining more profit while producing space.

3.3 Anonymous Architectural Practices:

‘Anonymous architectural practices’ produce a number of spaces in İstanbul without considering the qualifications of places but they regard these places as emptiness. The spatial authenticity, creativity and diversity offered by this practice in İstanbul are restricted with an anonymous arbitrariness. It also destroys the indigenous spatial diversity in İstanbul. Accordingly, it is possible to see ‘slum houses’, ‘concept projects’, ‘protected settlements’ and ‘skyscrapers’, which are going to be further elucidated in the following sub-headings as the structures built under these architectural practices (Christiaanse et al, 2009) (Köksal, 2010).

3.4 Urban Transformation Practices

Even though the basic purpose of ‘urban transformation practices’ is to enhance problematical districts in the city and maintain spatial, social and economic sustainability, the productions of this practice can be found in ‘transformation areas’, which are publicized by ‘decision-makers’ as irregular and top-down public/institutional interventions that are subject to economic and political effects (Türkün, 2010) (Çavuşoğlu and Yalçınan, 2010).

‘Decision-makers’ are one of the leading actors who shape the ‘urban transformation practices’. Türkün (2010) criticizes these actors because they have strong political authority functioning behind transformational practices yet they make laws for İstanbul referring not to spatial reasons but to economic excuses and they remove the obstacles in front of the goals that they want to achieve. For example, the low-level social group is forced to abandon their spaces by the interventions of ‘decision-makers’ so as to make room for the high-level social group. As a result, the current dwellers leave their houses and are sent to new spaces in uptown while new dwellers move into the formers’ spaces (Akin, 2010). This situation causes social tensions in İstanbul.

‘Urban transformation practices’ are applied in İstanbul by establishing partnerships with ‘investor actors’. On the one hand, it is economically easy to perform this practice with the support of these actors in a short period of time. On the other hand, this practice is shaped in accordance with rent and profit expectations of neoliberal policies.

4 Decomposing the Effects of ‘Spaces’ on Urban Processes of İstanbul

This part attempts to evaluate their effects on urban processes by investigating four groups of ‘spaces’ in İstanbul.

4.1 Slum Houses

According to Bilgin (2006), because of insufficient public resources to meet the need for housing in İstanbul, which increased due to the migration waves

after 1950, ‘slum houses’ became widespread. Both low income families who migrated from Anatolia to İstanbul and poor families who live in İstanbul started to build informal ‘slum houses’. Although they were built in uninhabited areas in the first years, today ‘slum houses’ have begun to be visible next to the residential areas of the high income group in İstanbul and over time have become a type of legal housing in accordance with amnesties enacted by ‘decision-makers’ (Keyder, 2006).

It is possible to consider ‘slum houses’ as a space group that can transform its own environment with an arbitrary creativity based on the specific conditions of its dwellers. In other words, they have potentials in terms of creating special types of housing and settlement typologies. Yet, this is a group of space, in which income inequality, social polarization, spatial separation and tension are brought about.

4.2 Spaces Transformed through Interventions

These spaces are produced through institutional interventions as a result of ‘urban transformation practices’ in İstanbul (Çavuşoğlu and Yalçınan, 2010). They are formed by temporary decisions and interventions of ‘decision-makers’ focusing only on physical problems instead of a holistic understanding of design concentrating on problems as a whole. Although these spaces are produced for the purpose of transformation, they cannot transform the city because they cannot establish a relationship with the entire city. Moreover, they destroy the spatial and social unity and bring about tensions as well as conflicts in İstanbul as they are produced by public and top-down interventions to make room for the high income group by driving away the low income group. In addition to this, these spaces are sometimes exposed to ‘confiscation/expropriation’ by ‘decision-makers’ and private properties are turned into public properties.

4.3 Spaces Transported to the City

‘Spaces transported to the city’ started to be produced in İstanbul in parallel with the emergence of a new real estate-oriented capital regime after 1980’s (Bilgin, 2006). These spaces can be divided into three sub-titles as ‘service sector-based concept projects’, ‘housing-oriented protected settlements’ and ‘skyscrapers’. In order to accelerate the return of investment capital and make profit, mixed-used spaces are used in all of these groups.

After 1980, real estate investments of the new regime, which led urbanites to spend consumption-oriented time outside of house, improved the service sector in İstanbul. Real estate productions of this sector are ‘service sector-based concept projects’, in which trade, housing and work functions are altogether, whereas trade function is dominant. The dominant actor of these projects is ‘private sector’ and it functions in such a spatial configuration that it is often used by the high income group (Bilgin, 2006).

After 1980, the need for collective housing production emerged as a result of rapid growth in İstanbul. Accordingly, ‘housing-oriented protected settlements’ started to be produced in order to fulfil this need (Bilgin, 2006). ‘Protected settlements’ in İstanbul are observed in three patterns: The first pattern is ‘luxury residences and gated communities’. They are implemented by ‘private sector’ and appeal to the high income group. These settlements are situated in the peripheries of İstanbul because the city centre does not have enough uninhabited areas, in which large-scale projects can be implemented (Görgülü, 2011). The second pattern is ‘collective housing estates’ situated in the peripheries of the city. They are implemented by ‘investors of public authorities’ and appeal to the middle income group. They are highly criticized because they are built by using similar project types. The third pattern is ‘residences’, which appeal to the high income group. They are built as multi-storey buildings on smaller parcels at the city centre by ‘private sector’. The basic design criteria for these settlements are protection against and isolation from the outer world (Görgülü, 2011). ‘Skyscrapers’ in İstanbul are built by ‘private sector’ and designed in accordance with international typologies of ‘anonymous architectural practices’. They are produced by adopting common forms and structural techniques used in the world. Moreover, no planned zones exist in İstanbul where high-rise buildings are gathered. They are dispersed around the uninhabited areas in İstanbul so widely that they destroy the unity and silhouette of the city. ‘Skyscrapers’ are also surrounded by highways and uninhabited spaces. Apart from this, their basements do not have spatial diversity.

All the facilities of the ‘transported spaces’ in İstanbul are designed to meet the needs of a limited group of dwellers. Because they involve a socially and economically homogeneous class, it is clear that they give rise to class discrimination between those who benefit from these projects and those who cannot reside there due to their social and economic status. Furthermore, these residential projects are not concerned with establishing spatial and social relationships with neither the city nor the part of the city in which they are situated. Moreover, they are sometimes located very close to ‘slum houses’. Hence, they raise the question ‘How do these different groups live side by side?’. Because the high income group includes individuals, who are well-educated and who live in ‘transported spaces’ while the low income group is composed of individuals, who are relatively less educated and who live in ‘slum houses’.

As a result, ‘spaces transported to the city’ can be criticized because they form vast settlements by creating big gaps between the aforementioned groups which leads to social and spatial fragmentations and disintegrations in İstanbul (Korkmaz, 2010).

4.4 Spaces Designed through Contests

Even though a number of urban and architectural design contests have been organized in İstanbul in recent years, this part of the study discusses only the results of two contests organized in 2005 by İstanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Centre, which is an affiliate of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM). Because the results of these contests may affect major parts of İstanbul by proposing transformations that can alter the urban texture. The contests were organized for two developing districts of İstanbul: Kartal and Küçükçekmece. Six foreign architects were invited to these two contests. Zaha Hadid, Massimiliano Fuksas and Kisho Kurakawa made proposals for the contest themed ‘Kartal Industrial Zone Centre Business Area Planning’. Hadid’s proposal won the contest and it was aimed to design a new urban centre for İstanbul out of a desolate industrial area. The concept of the project was defined as the creation of a hybrid system that is linked with buildings and meets different needs of each area (Zaha Hadid Architects, 2011). Although it is predicted that the project will be finished

within ten years' time, it has not started yet. Because a member of the city council from Kartal Municipality proceeded against the project. As a result of this lawcase, the execution of the project was brought to a halt. According to the verdict of the court for this lawsuit, the project is not based on scientific and technical insight and it is not in compliance with the principles of urban planning (Arkitera, 2011).

Ken Yeang, Kengo Kuma and MVRDV offered projects for the contest themed 'Küçükçekmece Coast In-Out Beach Recreation Areas Planning'. Yeang's proposal won the contest and it offered a two-kilometer long urban park, which is linked with eco-bridges that support the increase in biological variety (Llewelyn Davies Yeang, 2011). This very project in Küçükçekmece is still in progress.

It is expected that these projects, which paved the way for proposals in order to create new centres in the east and west sides of the city, will initiate a rapid innovation and transformational process in the targeted areas. Moreover, these proposals will contribute to architectural practices in İstanbul by benefiting from the advantages of computer technologies in design, drawing and construction processes. They are also the products of a geometrically independent and creative design process and full of potentials in terms of bringing different architectural perspectives on urban planning. On the other hand, since 'spaces designed through contests' are not a group of spaces which are produced and designed for the public interest of İstanbulians, these proposals carry the risk of causing economic and social disintegration as well as tensions in their related areas.

5 Decomposing the Effects of 'Vectors' on İstanbul's Urban Processes

In this research, 'vectors' are accepted as the other abstract actors which are difficult to be decomposed into smaller actors. They affect 'actors', 'practices' and 'spaces'; however, they are not one of them. They are

grouped under three sub-headings as 'economic vectors', 'cultural vectors' and 'political vectors'.

5.1 Economic Vectors

'Economic vectors' are the other abstract actors which act implicitly behind economy-based space production, which is not in favour of the city residents, in İstanbul's urban processes. They affect 'actors', 'practices' and 'spaces' directly or indirectly in such ways that they attract the capital towards the city and make speculative productions on the city lands. Therefore, they cause a number of spatial and social problems to appear, to transform İstanbul's spaces into profit-generating economic commodities and indigeneous civic identities to disappear.

5.2 Cultural Vectors

'Cultural vectors' in İstanbul are interpreted as a result of the urban processes that trigger social conflicts. In other words, they are the other abstract actors that encompass İstanbul with spaces that cause cultural tension. Certain 'actors', 'practices' and 'spaces' are directly affected by 'cultural vectors', whereas others are indirectly affected by them. They instigate cultural disintegrations and cause different social and economic residents to appear who can barely establish dialogues with each other. Therefore, they bring about the question 'How will these different residents, who cannot interact with each other, live side by side without a tense relationship?'.

5.3 Political Vectors

'Political vectors' in İstanbul are basically shaped by political decisions that are not carried out through a consistent common spatial policy. These vectors are not for the sake of the public weal and create many spatial and social problems for the city and its dwellers. Moreover, they depend on the decisions which transform city lands into objects of economy for speculative purposes.

6 CONCLUSION: 'THE URBAN POTENTIALS MAP/NETWORK OF İSTANBUL' AND ITS SUGGESTIONS ABOUT DIFFERENT PERIODS AND CITIES

With the purpose of answering the question 'How can İstanbul's urban processes be evaluated through four actants?', an 'urban potentials map/network of İstanbul' was drawn in the conclusion part of the research. This map/network presented in figure 2 recomposes the actants and sub-actants in İstanbul's urban processes; and represents the information regarding İstanbul's urban potential. While the relationships among the 'actors', 'practices' and 'spaces' are shown in this map/network, the effects of 'vectors' on 'actors', 'practices' and 'spaces' are marked on this map/network. The legend shown in figure 3 is a guide to read the effects of 'vectors' on the map/network and the order of the effects is marked with different colours on the map/network. Consequently, 'urban potentials map/network of İstanbul' reveals which actor produces which space in the city through which practice and to what extent it is affected by which vectors.

According to the map/network, 'decision-makers', 'investor actors', 'urban transformation practices', 'spaces transformed through interventions', 'spaces transported to the city' and 'spaces designed through contests' are considered to be among the actants that are directly affected by 'economic vectors', while the other actants are secondarily or indirectly affected by them. Also, 'decision-makers', 'investor actors', 'arbitrary transformers', 'informal architectural practices', 'urban transformation practices', 'slum houses', 'spaces transformed through interventions' and 'spaces transported to the city' are regarded as the actants affected by 'cultural vectors' because they encompass İstanbul with spaces that cause social tensions. On the other hand, 'decision-makers', 'investor actors', 'arbitrary transformers',

'informal architectural practices', 'urban transformation practices', 'slum houses', 'spaces transformed through interventions', 'spaces transported to the city' and 'spaces designed through contests' are considered as the actants affected by 'political vectors' shaped by political decisions.

This map/network defines a way for evaluating the İstanbul's urban potentials which are generated not only by human actors but also by non-human actors. Under the light of the above results, it can be emphasized that İstanbul cannot reveal its original potentials in urban processes since it involves a tense, debatable and contradictory structure. However, it is crucial to highlight that this research is an evaluation which is performed through the current actants and sub-actants in the urban processes as well as a confrontation with their actual effects only in İstanbul. Even after this confrontation; new actors, practices, spaces or vectors will either emerge or disappear in İstanbul's urban processes. The development will doubtlessly continue from now on. However, it is believed that when new actors, practices, spaces or vectors are added to the framework defined by the 'urban potentials map/network' and re-evaluated, new significant results will be obtained once more. In other words, this map/network employs a research method/way in terms of evaluating new relations in different periods. In addition to this, this map/network, which is created by being inspired from the Actor-Network Theory in de/re-composing the actants' effects on İstanbul, establishes a basis for similar studies that will be conducted in different cities with different actors, practices, spaces or vectors. It is thought that similar reapplications of this research to different cities will also produce significant results. This is because the 'urban potentials map/network', which was created for İstanbul, is flexible enough to apply to all cities. It is assumed that unique actors, practices, spaces and vectors of all cities are evaluated through this map/network. That is, this map/network provides a way/method for further evaluations that can be made for different cities.

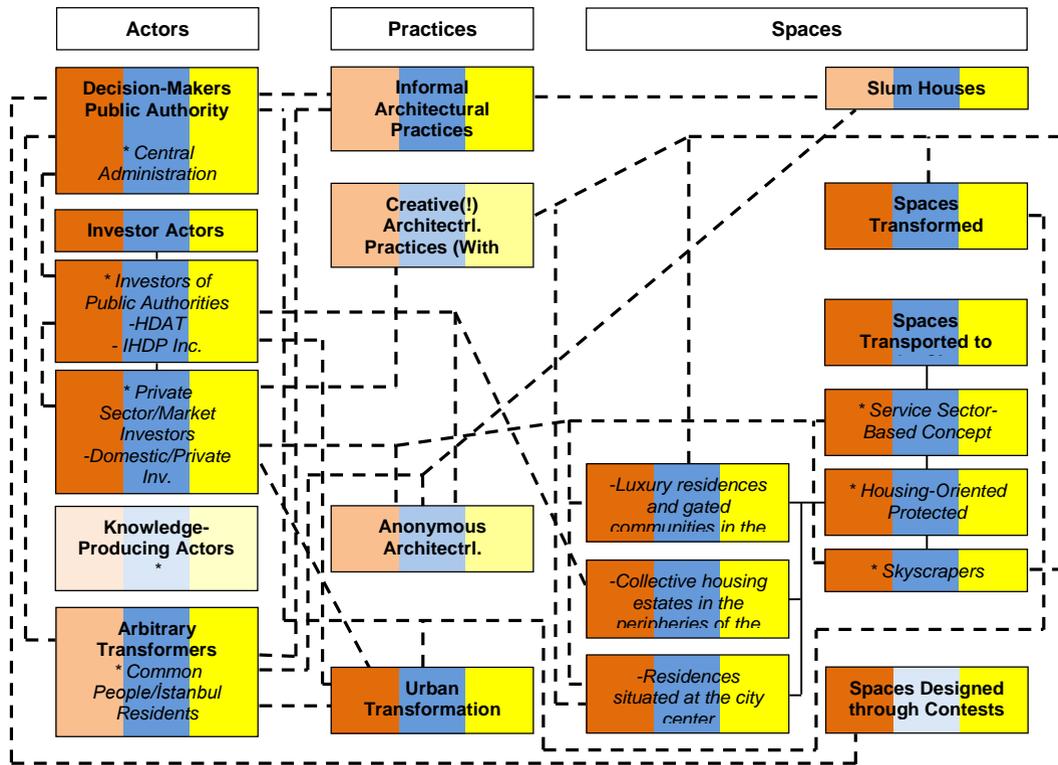


Figure 2. The urban potentials map/network of the city (Guideline: Legend 1)

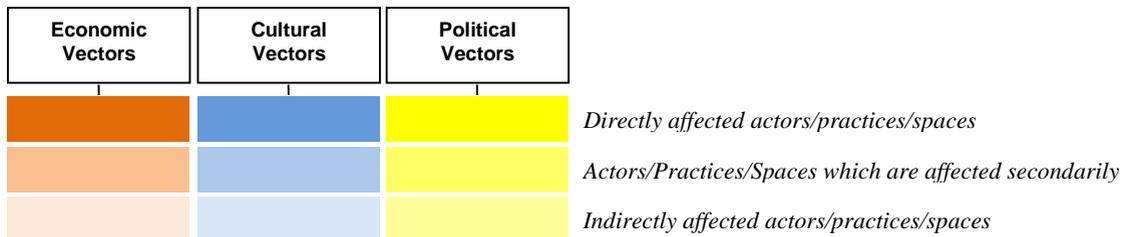


Figure 3. Legend 1: Vectors' effects on the urban potentials map/network of Istanbul

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