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GENTRIFICATION, COMMUNITY AND CONSUMPTION:
CONSTRUCTING, CONQUERING AND CONTESTING
“THE REPUBLIC OF CİHANGİR”

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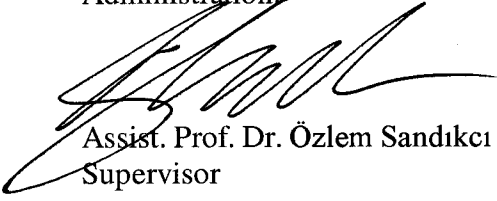
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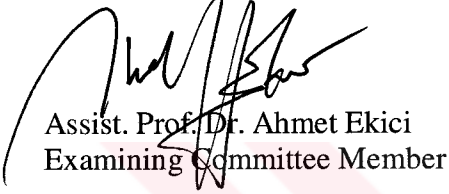
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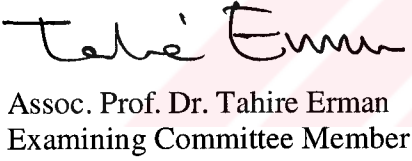
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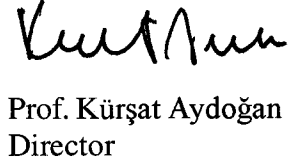
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ABSTRACT

GENTRIFICATION, COMMUNITY AND CONSUMPTION: CONSTRUCTING, CONQUERING AND CONTESTING “THE REPUBLIC OF CİHANGİR”

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Gentrification is the process by which middle-class residents settle inner city neighborhood previously occupied by working-class. Gentrification has long been viewed as a consumption phenomenon, which is triggered by the urge of a certain fraction of a middle class – gentrifiers – to create and maintain distinction. Taking the case of Cihangir, Istanbul; this study is aimed at understanding the relationship between consumption and gentrification.

The research is designed as an ethnographic account to discuss the developments taking place in Cihangir and trace how gentifiers construct, negotiate and experience the meanings of Cihangir. The transformations in the retailscape of Cihangir are also observed in order to gain a further understanding of the relationship between consumption and gentrification. The data are collected through qualitative research methods. These are in-depth interviews and participant observation – a field research of forty-two days over a three-month period.

The findings indicate there emerged a strong sense of community among gentrifiers. This community is defined in opposition to various groups of perceived non-residents. These non-residents are identified as *site* residents, and “*Etiler/Akmerkez* types” of “*Televole Culture*”. As informants draw in- and out-group boundaries in terms of consumption practices, the perceived community of among gentrifiers is regarded as a ‘subculture of consumption’ defined with certain consumption practices and guided by the internal ethos of “*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*”. At the core of the “*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*” construct lie cosmopolitan tendencies and critical social practices of gentrifiers. The study concludes with a discussion of the contributions, limitations, and implications for future research.

Key Words: *Cihangir*, *Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*, Community, Consumption Communities, Consumption of Space, Cosmopolitanism, Critical Social Practice, Extended-self, Gentrification, Inner urban Lifestyle, Modernity, Neighborhood, Subcultures of consumption, “*Televole Culture*”

ÖZET

SOYLULAŞTIRMA, CAMİA VE TÜKETİM:

CİHANGİR CUMHURİYETİNİN OLUŞTURULMASI, KEŞFİ VE

SORGULANMASI

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Soylulaştırma, şehrin çekirdeğinde bulunan ve daha önceden alt sınıflarca kullanılan mahallelere orta sınıfın yerleşmesi sürecine verilen addır. Soylulaştırma uzun zamandan beridir bir tüketim olgusu olarak görülmüştür. Bu tüketime sebep olarak ise orta sınıfın bir bölümünün – soylulaştırıcıların – farklılık yaratma isteği görülmüştür. Bu araştırma, İstanbul Cihangir’de gözlenen soylulaştırma sürecini örnek alarak, tüketim ve soylulaştırma arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamak ve açıklamak amacını gütmektedir.

Çalışma, Cihangir’de gözlenen gelişmeleri, ve Cihangir’in soylulaştırıcılar için anlamının nasıl yaratıldığını, ele alındığını ve yaşandığını anlamak amacıyla etnografik sunumunu yapmak üzere tasarlanmıştır. Aynı süreç içinde dükkan dokusunda gözlenen değişimler, soylulaştırma ve tüketim arasındaki ilişkinin daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi amacıyla araştırma kapsamına dahil edilmiştir. Veriler kalitatif araştırma yöntemleri kullanılarak toplanmıştır. Bu yöntemler derinlemesine mülakat ve katılımcı gözlem teknikleridir. Bu amaçla üç aylık bir zaman zarfına yayılmış toplam kırk iki günlük bir saha çalışması yapılmıştır.

Bulgular soylulaştırıcılar arasında güçlü bir camia duygusu oluştuğunu işaret etmektedir. Bu topluluk, katılımcıların başka alanlara dayanarak isim verdikleri, ve kendi kimliklerine karşıt olduğuna inandıkları grupları temel alarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu gruplar site sakinleri, ve Televole Kültürü’ne mensup olarak gördükleri Etiler/Akmerkez tipolojileridir. Katılımcıların grup-içi ve dışı ayrımını tüketim alışkanlıklarına dayanarak yapmaları, bu topluluğun bir ‘tüketim altkültürü’ olarak görülmesini haklı göstermektedir. Bu ‘tüketim altkültürü’, belli başlı tüketim kalıpları ve “Cihangir Cumhuriyeti” olarak adlandırdığımız ortak bir iç ruhla tanımlanmaktadır. “Cihangir Cumhuriyeti”nin özünde soylulaştırıcıların kozmopolitan eğilimleri ve kritik sosyal davranışları yatmaktadır. Son bölümde araştırmanın akademik bilgiye katkıları, sınırlı kaldığı yönleri ve ileride yapılabilecek araştırmalara yönelik önerileri tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Alan Tüketimi, Cihangir, “Cihangir Cumhuriyeti”, Genişletilmiş Benlik, Kozmopolitanizm, Kritik Sosyal Davranış, Mahalle, Modernite, Şehiriçi Yaşam Tarzı, Soylulaştırma, “Televole Kültürü”, Camia, Tüketim Altkültürü, Tüketim Camiaları

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A neighborhood located on one of the steep hills overlooking the Bosphorus and Golden Horn: Cihangir. Narrow streets with different types of apartment buildings of different forms: *art decos*, *art nouveaux* and many other historical building that were built as early as 1910s. Dilapidated buildings, which were once used by the Levantines¹ of İstanbul, have been restored one by one, piles of garbage were replaced by expensive cars, cafés and restaurants replace the old convenience stores, butchers. The last decade of the 20th century witnessed the gentrification of Cihangir – an old neighborhood at the core of İstanbul which had been frequently associated with crime, and presence of “undesired groups” such as transvestites – which later became one of the most desired neighborhoods in the city.

Although the term gentrification has been a familiar phenomenon for almost half a century, especially in advanced capitalist nations, Cihangir has become the first venue for gentrification to occur in Turkey. The term ‘gentrification’ was first introduced by Ruth Glass in 1964 (Ley, 1986; Schaffer and Smith, 1986; Smith and Defilippis, 1999; Smith, 2002) to refer to the process whereby a new urban ‘gentry’ transformed working-class quarters in London. The process of gentrification is simply defined as “the conversion of socially marginal and working-class areas of the central city to middle class use” (Zukin, 1987: 129).

¹ Levantine refers to the population in the Eastern Mediterranean (*Levant*) with European origins.

Research Objectives

This study, above all, is an attempt to explore the process of gentrification as a consumption phenomenon. The issue of gentrification has long been viewed as a consumption practice that a certain fraction of the new middle class employ to create distinction from the old middle class, especially suburban middle class (Jager, 1986; Warde, 1991; Ley, 1996). Warde (1991: 224) argues that accounts of gentrification depend too much upon *implicit* assumptions about the nature of consumption practices due to “the absence of an acceptable, articulated theory of consumption.” As Caulfield (1994) finds the cause of gentrification in ‘middle class desire’, he explicitly constructs gentrifier as a postmodern folk hero struggling to express his fragmented self in a cruel world” (Smith, 1992). Warde (1991) seeks a consumption oriented explanation of gentrification but not as a simplistic alternative to production-based arguments. This requires a closer investigation of consumption *vis-à-vis* gentrification, however, all the authors mentioned above – Caulfield, Ley, and Warde – fail to construct a comprehensive theory of gentrification based on consumption. For example, Warde (1991) puts emphasis on the relationship between class and class-specific consumption patterns, however, he offers an explanation of gentrification based on the consumption practices of middle-class women. Ley (1996) similarly views gentrification as a strategy by which some members of the ‘new middle class’ try to create and maintain distinction from old middle class, the rest of the ‘new middle class’, and other classes. Caulfield (1994) argues that gentrification is a ‘critical social practice’ – of its own accord – of a fraction of the middle class to contest mainstream practices of housing. Following

the previous literature, this study views gentrification not as a consumption practice in its own right, rather gentrification is viewed as part of a wider strategy of consumption. This strategy not only tries to create distinction from the mainstream but also criticizes the practices related of the mainstream.

Moreover, this study seeks to discover emic meaning of gentrification from the gentrifiers' perspective. Previous studies on gentrifiers have conceptualized them as fictional characters that yearn to create and maintain distinction from the old middle class, and contemporary lower- and upper-classes, however, the emic meanings are rarely sought. In this respect, this study fulfills a need and treats gentrifiers as somewhat more down to earth characters with less generalizable traits, and in-group variations.

Finally, following the "*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*" discourse, as it took place in mass media, I speculate on the possible presence of a 'consumption community' (Boorstin, 1973) around gentrification. If such a community exists, the study needs to focus on the core ideologies and resulting practices in relation with the gentrification of Cihangir. This requires an analysis of how gentrifiers construct, contest and maintain a group identity that nourishes as a function of the place, and negotiations of both in-group and out-group identities.

Trajectory of the Thesis

The next chapter begins with a review of the existing literature on gentrification. After presenting the definition, causes and consequences of gentrification, gentrification's relation to consumption is discussed. As I view gentrifiers as a consumption community, the second part of Chapter II elaborates on the relationship between the community and consumption.

Chapter III deals with the political, social, and historical circumstances under which the gentrification of Cihangir took place. It presents a brief portrayal of the geographical and historical background of Cihangir, Galata and İstanbul. The last section is an introduction to the gentrification of Cihangir, as it was observed prior to the field study.

Chapter IV is a detailed description of the data collection methods. As qualitative research methods are deemed appropriate for the purposes of this research, in-depth interviews and participant observation are employed as major tools for data collection. The data is supported by visual documentation and secondary data sources such as news related to Cihangir and a local newspaper. Interviews are conducted with four groups of informants: gentrifiers (both pioneers and followers), old residents, shopkeepers and retailers, and professionals such as real estate agents and architects. Informants are selected on the basis of purposive sampling in order to create a pool of respondents that vary in terms of age, status,

occupation and the like. The final section is a brief description of the analysis procedures of the interview data.

Chapter V is dedicated to the presentation and analysis of the major findings of this study. I first present the informants' motives for choosing Cihangir. These motives are summarized as (1) proximity of Cihangir to urban core – both in terms of the cultural amenities available in Beyoğlu, and the ease of transportation the city center provides – (2) attractiveness of the physical fabric of the neighborhood and a sense of nostalgia it evokes, (3) and the feelings of freedom and anonymity created by the socially diverse population of the neighborhood. The next section elaborates on the relationship between neighborhood and self-identity as it is exemplified in the case of Cihangir and its residents, following their motives for moving to Cihangir. The depiction of in-group and out-group identities and their prototypical embodiments show that there developed a keen sense of identity of '*New Cihangirli*' by informants. The discourse of *Cihangir Cumhuriyeti* (The Republic of Cihangir) is a mythical reflection of this constructed ideal *Cihangirli*. The elaboration of further relationship between *Cihangirli* and consumption reveals that gentrification is the spatial manifestation of the wider strategy of cosmopolitanism, which is reflected by a rejection of malls and suburbs. In this sense, at a higher level, cosmopolitanism, and hence gentrification, are byproducts of a 'critical social practice' of a fraction of the Turkish middle class, which not only tries to create and maintain distinction with other classes but also criticizes the consumption practices mainstream middle class practices, especially those of the '*Televole*' culture.

Chapter VI deals with the conclusions based on the findings presented in the previous chapter. Limitations of the study, and questions for further research are presented in the next section.



CHAPTER II

GENTRIFICATION, COMMUNITY, AND CONSUMPTION

II.1. Gentrification

The term 'gentrification' was first introduced by Ruth Glass in 1964 (Ley, 1986; Schaffer and Smith, 1986; Smith and Defilippis, 1999; Smith, 2002) to refer to the process whereby a new urban 'gentry' transformed working-class quarters in London. The process of gentrification is defined as "the conversion of socially marginal and working-class areas of the central city to middle class use" (Zukin, 1987: 129). A more encompassing definition characterizes gentrification as a process "by which poor and working-class neighborhoods in the inner city are refurbished by an influx of private capital and middle-class homebuyers and renters" (Smith, 1996: 7).

Today, there exists a voluminous amount of work on gentrification. Since the introduction of the term 'gentrification' the process became vivid as 'a highly local reality', first occurred in a few major advanced capitalist cities such as London, New York, Paris, and Sydney. During these nearly four decades of existence, the process of gentrification has been studied by various disciplines such as urban geography, sociology, urban planning, geography, and political science. While some of the literature focuses on gentrifiers, other studies examine the property that is

gentrified. As the process gained momentum in mid-1970s, the research on the issue started to flourish. The research in United States was based on providing an empirical ground, whereas the researchers in Britain tried to construct a theory for the process (Schaffer and Smith, 1986). As Zukin (1987: 29) points out, the early research on gentrification was focused on documenting its extent as a process of neighborhood change, and “speculating on its consequences for reversing trends of suburbanization and inner-city decline.” The existing literature on gentrification is almost exclusively based on the cases that took place in cities in advanced capitalist countries such as Melbourne (Cole, 1985), Sydney (Bridge and Rowling, 2001; Bridge, 2001), Adelaide (Badcock, 2001) in Australia; Toronto (Ley, 1986; Caulfield, 1994) and Montreal (Cole, 1985) in Canada; New York (Schaffer and Smith, 1986; Mele, 1994), New Orleans (O’Loughlin and Munski, 1979), San Francisco (Robinson, 1995), and Washington D.C. (Lee *et al.*, 1985) in U.S.; Paris (Brun and Fagnani, 1994); Glasgow in Scotland (Bailey and Robertson, 1997) and London (Butler and Robson, 2001) in U.K.. However, the extent and focus of studies has changed as the process took a different shape, as it spread throughout the world, three decades after gentrification’s birth.

Historically, “gentrification emerged on the heels of the urban renewal, slum clearance, and post-war reconstruction programs implemented during the 1950s and 1960s in most advanced capitalist nations” (Schaffer and Smith, 1986: 347). The difference between earlier experiences of rehabilitation and contemporary gentrification is that the latter is far more systematic and widespread. It became an

international process – rather than a national one – being synchronized with larger economic, political, and social changes (Zukin, 1987). Apart from the early urban rehabilitation programs, the gentrification today is quite different from earlier gentrification in 1970s and 1980s. Hackworth (quoted in Smith, 2002) summarizes the evolution of the process and identifies three waves of gentrification through time. The *first wave* was what Ruth Glass observes as a sporadic and quaint process of urban renewal in the 1950s:

“One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lower... Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period – which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation – have been upgraded once again... Once this process of ‘gentrification’ starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed” (Glass in Schaffer and Smith, 1986: 348).

The *second wave* – the *anchoring* phase as Hackworth labels it – became evident in 1970s and 1980s as gentrification became entangled with wider processes of urban and economic restructuring. Gentrification did not remain as a process which is exclusive to the largest cities such as New York and London, it also took place in other cities – such as previously industrial cities (e.g., Cleveland and Glasgow) or smaller cities (e.g., Malmö or Grenada), and even small market towns (e.g., Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Ceske Krumlov in the Czech Republic). At the same time, gentrification became a global phenomenon which is evident in many cities

around throughout the world, “from Tokyo to Tenerife, Sao Paulo to Puebla, Mexico, Cape Town, to the Caribbean, Shanghai to Seoul” (Smith, 2002: 439).

Hackworth identifies the final wave of gentrification, which has been occurring since the 1990s, as ‘*generalized gentrification*’ since it became a generalized process as part of a liberal urban strategy. Today impetus toward gentrification is generalized – that is “its incidence is global, and it is densely connected into the circuits of global capital and cultural circulation” (Smith, 2002: 427).

To sum up, if we want to understand what the term ‘gentrification’ implies, we should emphasize important points with regard to these definitions. Conversion of a squatter neighborhood in the outskirts of the city with the construction of high-rise apartment buildings to a middle-class neighborhood is not regarded as gentrification. First of all, the neighborhoods that are subject to gentrification are usually close to the city center, in the midst of urban amenity. The process is highly concentrated spatially. It especially – but not exclusively – occurs in areas around the Central Business District (CBD). These areas near the CBD are referred as ‘zones of transition’ by the Chicago School and ecological models of urban structure (Gottdiener, 1994). These neighborhoods face an upward transition, rather than the downward one envisioned by the transitional theory (Schaffer and Smith, 1986; Smith, 1996). Thus, the second condition for gentrification is that the gentrifying or gentrified neighborhood should be occupied by working- and under-

class residents prior to gentrification. Often, these neighborhoods were occupied by middle classes prior to the settlement of the under-classes in the area. Especially, in advanced capitalist countries, these neighborhoods were left by the middle-classes after 1950s as a result of the rising suburbanization. The process is said to take place when urban middle-class starts to move to the particular neighborhood, and the old residents of the neighborhood are mostly replaced by the new comers, gentrifiers. In this sense, gentrification connotes displacement of pre-gentrification residents, working- and under-class. And finally, these inner city neighborhoods are usually characterized by the existence of rich historical housing stock with “a distinctive housing style and association with important periods in the city’s history” (O’Loughlin and Minski, 1979: 55).

According to Travis’s empirical model (in O’Loughlin and Minski, 1979), the gentrifying/-fied neighborhoods generally pass through three stages:

1. *Pre-rehabilitation stage*: This stage is characterized by slum-like conditions, with abandoned retail outlets, boarded up buildings, dilapidated multifamily dwellings, and a general air of decay. The end of this stage is marked by the “discovery” of the area by outsiders interested in historic character and renovation possibilities.

2. *Early Rehabilitation*: Presence of preservation societies, legal action by state and local governments to prevent historic structures, the diffusion of knowledge through the local media market on the advantages of the area, and pioneering settlements by young middle-class, predominantly single or

childless couples, characterized by large-scale renovation and its accompanying neighborhood change.

3. *Advanced Rehabilitation*: This stage is identified by skyrocketing prices of both dilapidated and renovated houses, the departure of original renters, and closure of small neighborhood businesses.

However, there are some exceptions to the broad lines suggested by these definitions. First of all, although the process usually refers to the rehabilitation of residential neighborhoods occupied by the working- and under-class, it can also occur in nonresidential areas where the building stock is economically obsolete, rehabilitation is possible, such as New York's SoHo (Schaffer and Smith, 1986). Second, the residents prior to gentrification may not always consist of working- and under-class individuals. Sometimes, there exist remaining residents from relatively upper strata of the society, who did not leave the neighborhood as it moved through later steps in its life cycle.

"Gentrification is not the same everywhere" (Lees, 2000: 397). The process follows different patterns, with the way it is initiated, it proceeds, and it culminates, in many different cities around the world. It is a global phenomenon with local particularities (Uzun, 2001; Smith, 2002). According to Lees (2000), although gentrification has some generalizable features both internationally and within single cities, there are also many important specificities dependent upon the context in

which the process takes place. The gentrification in Mexico City is not as highly capitalized as the one in New York. Or, in Seoul and Sao Paulo, the process is isolated in a very small district in the city center whereas the process in London, New Orleans and Toronto is spread throughout the city. But the common thread always remains the same: the renovation of old inner and central city building stock for new uses, generally associated with the middle class.

Having defined the gentrification as a process of rehabilitation in inner city neighborhood, I will now present the causes and consequences of gentrification to better understand the issue of gentrification.

II.1.1. Causes of Gentrification

There are many motives that lead to gentrification. As Cordova (1991: 27) states, the debates over the causes of gentrification focus on “the shifts in the urban structure (production) versus shifts in the value preferences of the baby boom generation (consumption).” Thus, these possible causes should be grouped under two major categories: supply-side (production-based) explanations and demand-side (consumption-based) explanations.

According to Zukin (1987), ‘demand side’ interpretations point out a consumer preference – for demographic or cultural reasons, or both – for the buildings and neighborhoods that become gentrified. In a more detailed manner,

these factors include the taste for the inner city 'character neighborhoods' characterized by social and cultural diversity, and distinctive architecture of housing stock; attractiveness of the proximity of gentrified neighborhoods to central city – with downtown amenity, leisure and job opportunities –; and changing household structures (Ley, 1986). Especially in the U.S., the process is viewed as a product of demographic changes – such as the maturation of baby-boom generation, higher number of single adults living together, higher female labor participation rate, higher divorce rate and so on – which “lead to altered consumption patterns and preferences, leading to a heightened pattern for housing” (Schaffer and Smith, 1986: 350).

As gentrification became widespread and the research had flourished, the consumption-based explanations are challenged by an alternative set of explanations. Supply-side (production-based) interpretations stress the role of economic and social factors that produce an attractive housing supply in the central city for middle-class individuals, including the efforts of public and private institutions in promoting inner-city resettlement on underutilized land for both public and private objectives, and hence, producing both the potential and the reality of gentrification. These explanations found evidence in the state support for gentrification, such as providing or directing financial assistance, promoting and regulating historical preservation, and sometimes oppressing the resistance against gentrification. The role of capital can be observed in the actions of construction firms, the financial institutions – supplying credit for construction firms and private

individuals –, and other mediating agents such as real estate agents in various scales (Zukin, 1987).

I will first review consumption-based – demand-side – theories of gentrification, and then production-based – supply-side - explanations will follow.

II.1.1.a. Demand-side (Consumption-based) Explanations

Demand-side explanations are based on the assumption that gentrifiers are the most important actors in gentrification. Gentrifiers' characteristics such as demographics – age, education, household size and structure –, tastes, habits, consumption practices and resulting lifestyles are of major importance to explanation of gentrification (Schaffer and Smith, 1986; Ley, 1996).

For Ley (1986) the decrease in the average number of households and increasing female participation rate in the workforce lead to childless families with double wage-earners causing more disposable incomes create the pressure to inner city revitalization. When we look at the demand side of the gentrification, we can see, mostly single, footloose students and artists as the original renovators (O'Loughlin and Minski, 1979; Mele, 1994) who are affluent, highly educated and have few or no children. This group is sometimes referred to as *trendsetters*, who value pluralism, community, ethnic diversity, proximity to workplace and urban living; and they are followed by middle-class, often childless, professional couples – often referred as young urban professionals.

The value of urban amenity for these gentrifiers is an important factor that affects the demand side of the process (Ley, 1986). Gentrifiers, with their distinctive lifestyles are seeking more than affordable housing (O'Loughlin and Minski, 1979). They have larger disposable incomes to spend on recreational and cultural activities which are widely – but not exclusively – available in the urban core. Preferring the social and cultural diversity of inner city neighborhoods to the socially and physically isolated suburbs, as well as being close to CBDs where better jobs with higher wages are available (Zukin, 1987). Moreover, the historic buildings and neighborhoods offer aesthetically pleasing landscapes that attract this new middle class. Often, the source of this demand is their “interest in the preservation of an important part of the nation’s past” (O'Loughlin and Minski, 1979: 55).

In his study of the gentrification in Canada, Ley (1996) identifies a distinctive ‘new middle class’ whose cultural and urbane values are rooted in the youth movements of the 1960s. The new middle class, created and consolidated mainly by post-fordist production, is to be found in those service and white-collar occupations that are concerned with the production of symbolic goods and services (Lury, 1996), such as junior commercial executives, medical and social services employees, cultural intermediaries, art craftsmen and small art dealers (see Bourdieu 1984).

With an urge to stay away from tastes and values associated with old middle class and working class, their distinctive practices are characterized by “tension even in relaxation, constraint in the pursuit of ‘liberated’ life-style, affectation in

simplicity” (Bourdieu, 1984: 362); which become the most significant manifestations of this new middle class ethos. One of the hallmarks of this new middle class has been its ability to exploit the emancipatory potential of the inner city, and indeed to create a new culturally sophisticated, urban class fraction, less conservative than the ‘old’ middle class (Ley, 1996). Gentrification operates as a spatial manifestation of these new cultural values. In his study, Bourdieu (1984) shows how the new petite bourgeoisie is more developed in Paris than in the Provinces. For him, ‘cultural pretension’ brings the explication of the advantages associated with ‘proximity to center of cultural values’ – such as “a more intense supply of cultural goods, the sense of belonging and the incentives given by contact with groups who are also culturally favored” (Bourdieu, 1984: 363).

As a part of this new middle class, gentrifiers are characterized with distinctive practices of consumption – such as residential choices, the amenities that attract them, and “their generally high educational and occupational status were structured by – and in turn expressed – a distinctive *habitus*, a class culture and milieu in Bourdieu’s sense. Thus, gentrification may be described as a process of spatial and social differentiation” (Zukin, 1987: 131).

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984) describes how various types of capital operate in the field of consumption. He argues that social life can be pictured as a multidimensional status game in which people utilize three different types of capital (economic, cultural, and social) to enhance their status (‘symbolic capital’).

Economic capital is simply the financial resources available for an individual, and social capital is vivified as the relationships, organizational affiliations, and other networks maintained by the individual. Cultural capital consists of a set of distinctive tastes, skills, knowledge, and practices. According to Bourdieu (1984) cultural capital exists in three primary forms: in *embodied* form (implicit practical knowledges, skills, and dispositions); (2) *objectified* form (cultural objects, pictures, books, buildings); and (3) *institutionalized* in (educational degrees and diplomas).

For Bridge (2001), the tension between economic capital and social representation arises from the desire of the new middle class to achieve social distinction. They have insufficient economic capital to achieve that distinction so they mark themselves out through a cultural strategy that involves displays of discernment and 'good taste'. This cultural strategy relies on the deployment of cultural capital.

Ley (1996) divides gentrifiers into two groups: pioneers and followers. Pioneers choose inner-city locations because of their cultural values, lifestyle and the historical value of the area. They are viewed as the risk-oblivious segment, however, I think it is unfair to seek rationality behind their choices. It is not because they are so marginal and irrational, but they are generally artists and academicians with low- to moderate-income. Therefore, what they seek is an affordable housing alternative, which can easily be found in a gentrifiable, later gentrified neighborhood. The second group, followers are risk-averse, and the reason behind

their choice is that they see these newly upgrading neighborhoods as investment opportunities. Following Bourdieu's *Distinction*, we can differentiate among these two groups of gentrifiers identified by Ley. Pioneers employ more cultural capital than economic capital, whereas followers' primary capital is their economic capital. Furthermore, economic capital employed by followers is greater than that of pioneers, they are wealthier, however, they usually have less cultural capital than pioneers (Bridge, 2001).

Emancipatory City versus Revanchist City

As Lees (2000) remarks, starting from Marx and Benjamin, the city has long been portrayed as an emancipatory or liberating space. According to Lees, Marx implicitly argues that city life fosters the rise of new middle class consciousness by bringing different people together and enabling them to reflect on their common class positions. Benjamin's (1973) *flaneur* – known as a gentleman of leisure – goes where he wants when he wants and the city is the stage. He is more of an observer than a participator – a participator of the energy and rush of modern society. Similarly, the 'Emancipatory City' thesis implies that the social and cultural diversity of inner city neighborhoods provide a liberating experience for middle class resettlers. Lees (2000) states that emancipatory thesis is implicit in most of the gentrification literature focusing on the gentrifiers and their forms of agency. For example, Caulfield (1994: 18) views the inner-city as an 'emancipatory' space and similarly gentrification as an 'emancipatory' social practice – "efforts by human beings to resist institutionalized patterns of dominance and suppressed possibility."

He argues that by resettling in old inner-city neighborhoods, gentrifiers challenge the reign of dominant culture and create new conditions (i.e., new spaces) for social activities. Moreover, the source of emancipation for Caulfield, is the old city places which offer 'difference' emerging from not only the diversity among gentrifiers, but also the actual encounter with social difference (i.e., class differences) and strangers. He argues these encounters between 'different' people in the city are enjoyable and essentially liberating.

However, the taste for historical housing and neighborhood, and tolerance for the existence of other groups do not come in a package. It is more likely for those who are willing to reside in inner-city to accept those neighborhoods as they are, but this is not always the case. As Zukin (1995) put it, such encounters with strangers create anxieties, rather than relaxation and a sense of freedom, which resulted in the growth of police forces and gated communities. In a similar vein, the inner-city for Smith (1996) is not a liberating space as Caulfield (1994) argues, rather it is a 'combat zone' in which gentrifiers employ their economic capital to retake the city from under- and working-class residents. In other words, gentrification is a revenge, in spatial terms, from those classes who 'stole' the inner-city from upper classes. The revanchist city (*revanché* means revenge in French) metaphor suggests a vicious reaction against minorities, the working- and underclass, the unemployed, gays and lesbians, and immigrants (Smith, 1996). The motivation for revenge is mostly the economic crisis, increasing unemployment rates, the emergence of minority groups – such as immigrants, gays and lesbians, and women –, and the

suffering social services. This reaction was concealed by a defense of the privileged in the name of civic morality, family values and neighborhood security.

II.1.1.b. Supply-Side (Production-Based) Explanations

The production-based explanation focuses on the supply side of the process and stresses the role of state and capital in producing both the potential and reality of gentrification (Schaffer and Smith, 1986). Cordova (1991), similarly, suggests that gentrification is a creation of real estate agents, property developers, and banks who control the “who” and “where” of urban property shifts.

For Smith (1986), gentrification is a leading edge in the wider process of the 'uneven development' of urban space under the capitalist mode of production. His thesis is founded on capital investment and disinvestment in inner-city. He argued that in the nineteenth century, most cities witnessed a rise in the land values, highest at the center, falling gradually towards the periphery. However, in the decades following World War II, as a result of suburbanization and withdrawal of production from the urban core, the disinvestments of capital in the inner-city caused ground rents to fall. This caused a 'devalorization' of land in the inner-city; a fall in the price of inner-city land relative to rising land prices in the suburbs. This forms the basis of the rent-gap in the inner-city - the disparity between "the actual capitalized ground rent (land value) of a plot of land given its present use and the potential ground rent that might be gleaned under a 'higher and better' use" (Smith, 1987: 462). Smith (1987: 165) claimed that the rent-gap is "the necessary

centerpiece to any theory of gentrification." Smith (1996) argues that gentrification takes place in neighborhoods where there is a significant 'rent gap', because when the gap is significant enough, land developers, landlords and 'occupier developers' will realize the potential profits to be made by reinvesting in abandoned inner-city properties and preparing them for new inhabitants, diminishing the rent-gap with the 'higher and better' use of land. As a result, the entire ground rent, is now capitalized; "the neighborhood is thereby 'recycled' and begins a new cycle of use" (Smith, 1996: 68). Thus, the needs of production – and, the need to earn a profit – are "more decisive initiative behind gentrification than consumer preference" (Smith, 1996: 57).

Housing market dynamics and economic base are among the important factors widely studied in the gentrification literature (Ley, 1986; Smith, 1986). Regarding the first factor, it has been argued that the inner city renewal is a consequence of inflation in suburban housing prices. As the suburban housing becomes less affordable, hence less accessible, for middle classes, they settle in inner city neighborhoods which are usually cheaper than suburban homes. The latter, economic base, emphasizes the presence of a post-industrial metropolitan economy, oriented toward advanced services and a white collar employment structure, and the economic shift from production to finance. This shift, often referred as post-fordism, is characterized by the shifts from a manufacturing to service economy, from a national to global organization of production, distribution and services, from a welfare to a post-welfare state, from modern to post-modern

structures (Marcuse, 1996). According to Zukin (1987) since the 1960s, there has been an economic shift, the re-centralization of corporate investment in selected metropolitan cores shapes, actually triggers, the process of gentrification. Manufacturing activity and blue-collar residents are displaced beyond the heart of the city, whereas the white-collar stratum of the workforce is back in town. Gentrification becomes a manifestation of “a white-collar residential style”, (Zukin, 1987: 135) that suggests the agglomeration of large companies and their professional, managerial, and technical staffs and related business services in the urban core.

Smith and Defilippis (2000: 639) argue that explanations of gentrification underestimate the influence of wider economic movements and try to elucidate gentrification “via a narrow focus on the cultural preference for gentrified housing, even where expressed in class terms or via market demand.” Taking the case of Lower East Side in New York City as an example, they argue that investment and disinvestment in a neighborhood is influenced by the overall economic environment of the nation. To put it in another – perhaps simpler – way, when the economy is doing well, the process of gentrification speeds up.

These competing theories of gentrification are now viewed as complementary to each other. Gentrification was a process that could not be explained solely by economics or solely by culture (Schaffer and Smith, 1986). In his proposal for an integrated explanation of gentrification, Hamnett (1991: 175)

argues that two theoretical perspectives are complementary rather than competing. According to Hamnett, both supply-side and demand-side explanations are “partial abstractions from the totality of the phenomenon” which focused on different aspects to the neglect of other, equally crucial elements. Hamnett suggests, since gentrification involves both a change in the social composition of an area and its residents, and a change in the nature of the housing stock (tenure, price, condition etc.), a comprehensive explanation of gentrification should cover both aspects of the process: the housing and the residents. This integrated explanation must address the questions of where (which areas), who, when, and why. Put it another way, it was becoming increasingly invalid to claim that either production or consumption was 'more important' in the explanation of gentrification. The demand of potential gentrifiers could not be excluded from the rent-gap theory, and changes in the economy could not be excluded from the formation of the new middle-class gentrifier. Two divergent perspectives could be reconciled and used in a way which could make us rethink the ways in which gentrification occurs.

II.1.2. Consequences of Gentrification

Although the process initially referred to residential restructuring, exemplars of gentrification demonstrated that it implied a broader change in the gentrifying neighborhood. Along with residential restructuring, the process usually involves commercial redevelopment – changes in the retailscape (Bridge and Dowling, 2001) – and a new development of recreational facilities (Schaffer and Smith, 1986).

Broadly, gentrification results in “the changes in the face, composition, and ambiance of many older neighborhoods; improvement on the housing quality and social service levels; a reduction in the low-rent housing stock and displacement of hundreds of residents” (Bourne, 1993: 185).

The dominant view on the issue is that as a result of gentrification, historical housing stock is renovated, inner-city neighborhoods are renovated, and higher tax revenues are generated. Thus, gentrification is seen as a tool for reversing the economic and social decline in inner city (Smith, 2002). Therefore, the benefits of gentrification exceed the costs of the process, namely the displacement of working- and under-class residents of gentrifying neighborhoods. On the other hand, some opponents of this view argue that displacement is an important negative consequence of the process, and evaluating benefits as exceeding the costs cause political leaders to underestimate, or even neglect the displaced. However, displacement is not negative in every incident. Usually, displaced residents end up living in better housing and social conditions. Nevertheless, once a neighborhood is seen as a target for gentrification, the fear of displacement is evident among pre-gentrification tenant population (Schaffer and Smith, 1986).

Gentrification’s contribution to homelessness and displacement is worth emphasizing. According to Schwirian (1983) displacement is ‘a central topic’ in gentrification. Displacement has always been a major consequence of gentrification, as well as those with positively evaluated outcomes of gentrification, such as

restoration of historic housing stock and rehabilitation of dilapidated neighborhoods. Rising rents and higher sale prices for homes in gentrifying neighborhoods, and the efforts of non-working class landlords to earn a higher return from their real-estate investments make it impossible for the working-class population to afford the housing in these neighborhoods. Moreover, gentrifying neighborhoods produce higher tax yield than their pre-gentrification period yields. This makes local politicians support gentrification and ignore the displaced working class residents' interests (Zukin, 1987). Smith (2002) argues that once sporadic, quaint process of gentrification has become a major tool of urban policy. Reinvented as 'urban regeneration', gentrification is highly supported by corporate and state powers in Europe and North America, and aimed at 'bringing people back into the cities'. In this last wave of gentrification, in what Hackworth refers to as 'generalized gentrification', cooperation of state and corporate powers to suppress community efforts against gentrification.

On the other hand, in some cities in the U.S. and U.K., the displacement of pre-gentrification population usually has some racial connotations as well as those related to class. In American cities, where the majority of the inner-urban population is composed of minorities such as Hispanics, Asians, and blacks, gentrification suggests a 're-conquest of the city' by white population (Schaffer and Smith, 1986).

II.2. Gentrification as Consumption

The issue of gentrification has long been viewed as a consumption practice that a certain fraction of the new middle class employ to create distinction from the old middle class, especially suburban middle class (Jager, 1986; Warde, 1991; Ley, 1996). Therefore, gentrification's relation to consumer behavior is more than a tangency around several points. First of all, gentrification involves consumption in the purest sense. The most visible elements of this consumption are home and neighborhood (Mills, 1988; Ley, 1996), which are viewed as strong sources of identity (Rivlin, 1987; Belk, 1988). Gentrification related consumption also includes other practices than housing, such as home decoration, shopping, and attendance in cultural and social amenities, which are expressive of a distinctive lifestyle. Thus, in this study, I view 'gentrifiers' as a consumption community that gathered around a 'lifestyle', rather than a geographical community.

II.2.1. Communities, Subcultures, and Neighborhoods

"One of the functions of any science, "natural" or "social," is admittedly to discover and isolate increasingly smaller units of its subject matter. This process leads to more extensive control of variables in experiment and analysis. There are times, however, when the scientist must put some of these blocks back together again in an integrated pattern. This is especially true where the patterning reveals itself as a logical necessity, with intrinsic connections which create some more, so to speak, than the mere sum of the parts" (Gordon, 1947: 40).

The term community suggests a more permanent, usually geographically-bound, group of individuals, the family being the key constituent (Thornton, 1996; Sutton and Kolaja in Bell and Newby, 1975). Apart from alignment to a geographical area, for Bell and Newby (1975: 19), community consists of “a set of interrelationships among social institutions in a locality.” In other words, community is created by its members and their relationships with each other. These relationships are both functional – for they are aimed to achieve group and individual goals (Sussman in Bell and Newby, 1975), and solve problems arising from sharing a locality (Sutton and Kolaja in Bell and Newby, 1975) – and symbolic in the sense that there develops a sense of collective identity and belonging (Hale, 1990).

In *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (translated as Community and Society), Tonnies ([1887] 1988) makes a distinction between two basic forms of human groups, those formed around ‘natural will’ and those created as a result of ‘rational will.’ The former, *Gemeinschaft*, is the traditional community such as families and neighborhoods. *Gemeinschaft* is a homogeneous group of geographically isolated individuals, dominated by tradition and the sacred. In *Gemeinschaft* relationships are based on kinship, and there is minimal division of labor among members. The latter, *Gesellschaft*, is the modern society, cities and states being the best examples. It is mechanical and rational. Divisions of labor and goal-oriented behavior characterize the *Gesellschaft* world, in which individualism is encouraged. For

Tonnies, modernity is associated with a loss of community, passage from traditional to the modern community, from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*.

Neighborhoods, as major exemplars of traditional communities (*Gemeinschaft*), are understood as geographical communities composed of closely knit groups of residents who are dependent on each other for survival (Rivlin, 1987). In traditional neighborhoods, residents can and must satisfy a wide range of needs within the neighborhood, as a result of obstacles created by transportation deficiencies within the city. Contemporary neighborhoods, on the other hand, are characterized as providing only shelter and several essential commodities for residents. Janowitz (1952) views neighborhoods as 'communities of limited liability' where members share few ties with each other beyond their common interests such as security, and infrastructural services. These communities are intentional, voluntary, and partial in the level of involvement they engender.

Warren (quoted in Rivlin, 1987) proposes six different types of neighborhoods, based on three dimensions of social organization of residents: interaction, identity, and connections. The integral neighborhood is characterized by high levels of face-to-face contacts, shaped by norms and values supportive of the larger community. It is viewed as both 'local' and 'cosmopolitan'. In a parochial neighborhood, within-community interaction is excessive but ties with the larger society are weak. The diffuse neighborhoods lack informal social participation, and even if local organizations exist, it does not represent the interests and values of

residents. In a stepping-stone neighborhood, residents do not have strong commitment to the area, and they have ties with outside groups rather than local ones. The transitory neighborhood is characterized with high population turnover, and it is a source for urban anonymity. The anomic neighborhood is a completely disorganized residential area which lacks ties both within and outside the community. It is important to remark that these categories are not mutually exclusive.

However *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* are defined in opposition to each other, in reality, they work together to form levels of developing societies. No modern society is completely without some aspects of traditional community, such as family ties and oral traditions. Moreover, Keller (1968) remarks that there is a shift from neighboring of place to neighboring of taste, as individuals began to develop social networks beyond their local environment. The changes in technology, communication, transportation and lifestyles have made the city smaller, lessening the importance of neighborhoods for their residents (Wellman and Leighton, 1979). Contemporaneously, a new kind of centralized shopping site, the mall, attracted urbanites who are capable of reaching areas beyond immediate areas with the diffusion of automobiles and other transportation vehicles, diminishing the role of neighborhood and its marketplace as the source of commodities which are crucial for sustaining of life in the urban settlement. On the other hand, communities, now, are freed from geographical restrictions. They may even exist in the Internet (Tambyah, 1996; Kozinets, 1997). The notion of

community became more than a place, it became “a common understanding of shared identity” (Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001: 413), whether it be a neighborhood, an occupation, a leisure pursuit, or devotion to a brand. People share cognitive, emotional, or material resources through communities. According to McAlexander et al. (2002: 38), “among all the things that may or may not be shared within any given community – things such as food and drink, useful information, and moral support – one thing seems always to be shared: the creation and negotiation of meaning.”

Traditionally, subculture has been a concept used to refer to a subset of a national or larger culture, composed of a combination of factorable traits such as class status, ethnic background, regional residence (e.g. rural or urban), and religious affiliation. These subsets form a “functioning unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual” (Gordon, 1947: 40). Gordon (1947) views subcultures as a combination of demographic factors such as age, gender, class, occupation etc. and questions whether the change in one of these variables is a sufficient marker of subculture. For Clarke et al. (1975: 100), subcultures must be “focused on certain activities, values, certain material artifacts, territorial spaces” which draws the distinction between the subculture and its wider, ‘parent’ culture. Moreover, subcultures should be bound and articulated with the parent culture on the basis of shared characteristics such as class, ethnic background or religion. For example, youth subcultures exhibit similarities with their parent culture – parents – as they belong to the same social stratum (e.g.,

working class) but demonstrate differences in terms of lifestyle, clothing, or leisure, as well as age.

For its members, subcultural ideologies and practices draw the boundaries between the mainstream and the subculture (Thornton, 1995). It serves as a means of exclusion of nonmembers and inclusion of members. Through subcultures, members express their distinctiveness from the undifferentiated mass.

As Hebdige (1979) underlines, for the member of the wider, parent culture, members of the subculture, the Other, are sometimes seen as the Enemy. Often, the subculture is brought back in the line, to the 'common sense.' In this case, a process of recuperation takes place, in commodity form and ideological form. In commodity form, subcultural signs – such as dress, music etc. – is converted into mass-produced objects. As these subcultural signs are adapted by the parent culture, they lose their initial meanings for subculturally produced and maintained. In ideological form, following Barthes (1972), Hebdige states that petit-bourgeois views the Other as a threat to his existence and, to overcome this threat, he can employ one of two basic strategies. First, the Other can be trivialized, naturalized, and domesticated in way that the Other is not Other anymore; otherness is converted to sameness. Second, the Other can be alienated, freed from any meanings, and become a pure objects, a spectacle, or a clown in Barthes' terms.

Following Bourdieu's (1984) line of thinking on the forms of capital, Thornton (1995: 202) proposes what she calls 'subcultural capital' which "confers status on its owner in the eyes of the relevant beholder." Like other forms of capital, subcultural capital can also be found in objectified and embodied forms. It is "objectified in the form of fashionable haircuts and well-assembled record collections (full of well-chosen, limited edition "white label" twelve-inches and the like). It is embodied in the form of being 'in the know', such using (but not overusing) subcultural jargon, and performing certain rituals and traditions. The most significant difference between Thornton's 'subcultural capital' and Bourdieu's 'cultural capital' is the importance of the media in the circulation of subcultural capital (Thornton, 1995). Media coverage, creation and coverage dominates what is fashionable, and the boundaries between 'high' and 'low' subcultural capital. Moreover, subcultural capital is not class-bound as cultural capital, since subcultural distinction blurs the class boundaries.

The distinction between subcultures and contra/counter cultures should be clarified at this point. The use of the term contraculture, Yinger (1960: 629) suggests, is appropriate "wherever the normative system of a group contains, as a primary element, a theme of conflict with the values of the total society, where personality variables are directly involved in the development and maintenance of the group's values, and wherever its norms can be understood only by reference to the relationships of the group to the surrounding dominant culture." However the difference between a subculture – or subsociety – and a contraculture requires more

elaboration since each of these criteria is a continuum. First, the values of most subcultures are – more or less – in conflict with those of the larger culture. However, in a contraculture, “the conflict element is central” (Yinger, 1960: 629) in creating and maintaining the group. Many of the values of the contraculture are in contradiction with the values of the larger culture.

Despite the reduced role attributed by the researchers, neighborhood still serves as an important source of social activity and, thus, an important component of individual’s identity (Rivlin, 1987). Beyond the importance of neighborhood in the course of growth of the children, Proshansky et al. (quoted in Rivlin, 1987) argue that ‘place-identity’ is seen as a substructure of self-identity consisting of the understanding of the physical world around the individual. Place-identity is both enduring and changing over time. Moreover, the selection of neighborhood in adulthood is itself a statement of one’s status or values, or both (Rivlin, 1987). No matter how little the time spent in home or the neighborhood, the setting and the structure of the neighborhood contributes to the person’s sense of self. According to Winters (quoted in Cole, 1985) the character of a neighborhood represents the values and lifestyle of its residents. The achieved social character of the neighborhood, then, attracts more residents who think that the character of the neighborhood fits, and reflects their own character. The mutual interaction of the identity of residents and social character of the neighborhood bolsters the reputation of the neighborhood, even to the point a type of self-identity formed by residents because of the distinctive social character of the neighborhood (Cole, 1985). Often,

as a result of this perceived social/local identity residents may feel a sense of connection to their neighborhood. Attachment to place, according to Shumaker and Taylor (1983), is function of five factors: local social ties, physical amenities, individual/household characteristics, perceived choice of location of residence, and perceived judgment of the costs versus rewards of living in that neighborhood as opposed to living elsewhere.

Rivlin (1987: 13) states that attachment to places entails the development of roots, “connections that stabilize and create a feeling of comfort and security.” According to Tuan (1980: 6), rootedness is “an unreflective state of being in which the human personality merges with the milieu”. Since this merging involves development of social ties with other members, the availability of local public spaces (i.e., parks) becomes an important element in the neighborhood life. According to Rivlin (1987), the roots in a neighborhood is deep if it serves a wide range of needs (including shopping, socializing, work, recreation, community work etc.), if those needs are concentrated within an area (i.e., in the particular neighborhood), and if the satisfaction of needs are anchored by both group affiliations and time – that is, if these satisfaction of needs are diffused over time, there emerges shared memories, habits, and relationships. Moreover, physical landmarks – such as buildings, monuments, streets, landscape – also contribute the identity of the neighborhood.

II.2.2. Communities and Consumption

The scholarly interest in subcultures and communities is not negligible in consumer research. Apart from the cultural theorists' studies on subcultures – such as ravegoers (Thornton, 1997) and punks (Hebdige, 1979) – the early studies on subcultures focused on subcultures and their subculture-related consumption (e.g. Wallendorf and Reilly, 1983); whereas the later studies focus on the consumption objects or practices, and the 'subcultures' or 'communities' that are said to be created by those particular consumption practices and objects.

The term 'consumption community' was first introduced by Daniel Boorstin (1973), to refer to informal groups expressing shared needs, values, or lifestyles through distinctive consumption patterns. These new communities are invisible, quick, non-ideological, democratic, public and vague, and rapidly shifting. For Boorstin (1973: 89), the act of acquiring and using has a new meaning. The nature of things has changed from "objects of possession and envy into vehicles of community." These communities replace local, ethnic, and religious connections with a consumer-oriented lifestyle.

The studies in consumer research can be classified under four headings: Subcultures of consumption (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Kozinets, 1997; Kates, 2002), consumption micro-cultures (Thompson and Troester, 2002), cultures of consumption (Kozinets, 2001), and brand communities (Muniz and O'Guinn, 1995; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2002; McAlexander, Schouten and Koenig, 2002).

Whatever we call these communities, examples are numerous. As Schouten and McAlexander (1995) remarks, consumption communities are very prevalent in society. That is, we can label any collectivity united by a consumption object, practice, or pattern as a consumption community. For example, vegetarians – with their non-meat diets –, supporters of a football team – attending games, purchasing team-related merchandise etc. –, devotees of a particular brand, and performers of a particular leisure activity; all form consumption collectivities.

As Schouten and McAlexander (1995: 43) define, a subculture of consumption is “a distinctive subgroup of society that self-selects on the basis of a shared commitment to a particular product class, brand or consumption activity.” Past studies on subcultures of consumption focused on different types of subcultures, the examples include skydivers (Celsi, Rose, and Leigh, 1993), rafters (Arnould and Price, 1993), bikers (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995), mountain men (Belk and Casta, 1998), fan clubs (Kozinets, 1997; 2001), users of natural health products (Thompson and Troester, 2002), and gay subcultures (Kates, 2002).

Another form of consumption community is the brand community. Muniz and O’Guinn (2001: 412) define brand community as “a specialized non-geographically bound community, based on a structured set of social relations among admirers of a brand. It is specialized because at its center is a branded good or service.” There are various studies in recent consumer research regarding communities around brands such as Ford Bronco, Macintosh and Saab (Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001), and Harley-Davidson and Jeep (McAlexander and Schouten, 1998; McAlexander et al., 2002),

which are often aimed at understanding every marketer's dream, brand loyalty. Brand communities share similar characteristics with subcultures of consumption, as well as traditional communities. These characteristics include "an identifiable, hierarchical social structure; a unique ethos, or set of shared beliefs and values; and unique jargons, rituals, and modes of symbolic expression" (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; 43). These structures of subcultures of consumption may include status differences among members within the community. Members with more experience (i.e., skydivers with a larger number of dives), or commitment (i.e., bikers with Harley-Davidson tattoos) may be respected and admired by new members. Hard-core members may serve as opinion leaders within the group, and sometimes outside the group depending on the outsiders' stance toward the subculture. Moreover, there develops a 'consciousness of kind' (Gusfield quoted in Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001) within these communities that defines – also, is defined by – perceptions of members and non-members. The identification of non-members, and communities (or brands) which members do not belong, also serves to define membership in one's own community.

The internal ethos – a set of core values that are accepted to varying degrees by all its adherents (Schouten and McAlexander 1995, 55) – of the subcultures. These values not only define acceptable and unacceptable behaviors within the community, but also draw the boundaries between the subculture and the larger culture. Similarly, Muniz and O'Guinn (2002) remark that, like traditional

communities, members of brand communities feel a sense of duty, a moral responsibility to the community, and other members of community.

Finally, the existence of rituals and traditions are important markers of these communities. These rituals and traditions may appear as periodical meetings or rallies (i.e. HOG Rally, Camp Jeep, Fur Trade Rendezvous), in other cases performances related to the product or activity itself (e.g., maintenance of the bike or skydiving equipment), as well as celebrating brand (or community) related stories and histories.

Scholars of consumer research studied different types of consumption communities and theorized different aspects of the phenomenon. McAlexander et al. (2002) grouped previous research on consumption communities with respect to four dimensions: Geography, social context, temporality, and basis of identification. Geographically, consumption communities may be concentrated in a particular location – such as gentrifiers – or scattered throughout the country – such as bikers (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995), and brand communities (Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001; McAlexander et al., 2002). These collectivities may occasionally meet and then disperse in several locations – e.g., Jeep drivers at Camp Jeep (McAlexander and Schouten, 1998); HOG (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; McAlexander and Schouten, 1998); skydivers (Celsi et al., 1993); rafters (Arnould and Price, 1993); and baseball spectators in a game (Holt, 1995) – or in a particular location such as mountain men at Rendezvous at Rocky Mountains (Belk and

Costa, 1998). They may not even meet, and continue their existence on virtual space (Kozinets, 1997; Tambyah, 1996). The social context may be rich in terms of personal interactions among members (e.g., mountain men), and members share information about themselves. On the contrary, members may use pseudonyms, or there are few personal interactions other than the activity requires – e.g., in the case of skydivers and rafters. In terms of temporality some communities may be stable or enduring (e.g., HOG) while others are temporary or periodic (e.g., rafters, baseball game spectators, and skydivers). Finally, the basis of identification may range from leisure pursuits (e.g., rafters and skydivers) to particular brands (e.g., Harley-Davidson, Jeep, Mac), or commonalities that are more prevailing in the members' lives such as gay subcultures. "The majority of ravegoers, bikers, mountain men, and Star Trek fans step into costume (literally and figuratively) during weekends or special ritualistic occasions." Yet, for the gay subculture, "affiliation with the subculture and the associated social identity issues are more consequential for consumption" (Kates, 2002: 383-84).

Another dimension would be the relationship between the subculture and its consumption. In some cases the consumption object or practice becomes the locus of the subculture, as in the case of brand communities and leisure subcultures. In the former case, brand of a good or service becomes the catalyst of the subculture. In this case, there appears to be both a functional and a symbolic component of the good or service. In the latter case, the consumption activity is sometimes autotelic –

the activity is an end in itself – or a means to achieve further ends (e.g., creating social relationships rather than merely participating in the activity for fun.

The effect of the mass media in the creation of these communities is also an important point. Celsi et al. (1993) argue that mass media is one of the macroenvironmental factors that enculturate and motivate individuals to high risk consumption. In the case of HDSC, the mass-mediated images of riders – often as outlaws – is key to the foundation of the subculture (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995). Belk and Costa (1998) observed that mass-mediated representations of historic mountain men provide the foundations of the ‘fantasy construction’ in the Fur Trade Rendezvous. Kozinets (2001), in order to theorize the relationship between mass media-influenced consumption meanings and practices between subculture and macroculture, examines the construction of consumption meaning as they are negotiated from mass media images and objects. Moreover, Thornton argues that mass-media are not oppositional to the subcultural activity, rather they are help formation and maintenance of subcultures (Thornton, 1996).

However, the concept of subculture of consumption is not clear at all. Apart from the confusion created for the term ‘subculture’ by the ‘sub’ prefix – whether it assigns the subculture an inferior position than the larger culture (Thornton, 1995) – the very definition of the subculture of consumption is problematic. As Kozinets (2001: 68) states, the subcultures of leisure activities (e.g., rafting, skydiving) do not have the sufficient “depth and coherence of a way of life,” of a subculture – i.e. gay

subculture. These leisure 'subcultures' are usually brought together by an activity, which at most reflect the values of the attendants – not members – toward particular activities – such as extreme sports. Therefore, the argument that the concept of subculture of consumption is "robust enough to encompass virtually any group of people united by common consumption values and behaviors" (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995: 59) may be misleading. If the concept is that encompassing, a tourist group on a sea cruise may also well accounted as a subculture of consumption. Moreover, following Kozinets, "the notion that consumption-based subcultures are often associated with deviant behavior is often valuable because it helps clarify the moral order that is being resisted and negotiated" (Kozinets, 2001: 68). Finally, regarding Holt's (1997) criticism of the concept of 'subcultures of consumption' – as theorized by Schouten and McAlexander (1995) – that this conceptualization is based on the container metaphor – like VALS and object/signification approaches do. This conceptualization leads to treatment of consumers as "expressing a common identity to the extent that they share in the consumption of the same object" (Holt, 1997: 346).

Thompson and Troester (2002: 553) argue that the difference in conceptualizations is a result of the "socio-cultural facets of these consumer-based affiliations being highlighted." For them, studies of "tribes and subcultures of consumption focus on the social rituals, interpersonal dynamics, and collectively shared experiences whereas analyses of brand communities investigate the socially

shared meanings through which individuals relate to a brand and construct a social tie around the brand” (Thompson and Troester, 2002: 553).

Kozinets (2001) proposes the term ‘culture of consumption’ “to conceptualize a particular interconnected system of commercially produced images, texts, and objects that particular groups use – through construction of overlapping and even conflicting practices, identities, and meanings – to make collective sense of their environments and to reorient their members’ experiences and lives” (Kozinets, 2001: 68). This definition is the heart of the phenomenon of brand communities and subcultures of consumption – such as HDSC, which is later called a brand community as well by the same researchers (McAlexander et al. 2002). As Schouten and McAlexander (1995: 44) stated, “look[ing] at the phenomenon of subculture from a of consumer behavior perspective, rather than vice versa, as traditionally has been done” reveals the phenomenon of brand communities. On the other hand, investigating consumption practices of subcultures (e.g., Wallendorf and Reilly, 1983; Kates, 2002) is a product of the traditional method mentioned by Schouten and McAlexander (1995). Another term microculture, as introduced by Thompson and Troester (2002: 553), refers to a collectivity of people that “draws together in a contextually particular way, a distinct subset of cultural meanings that are generally available in American popular culture.” These collectivities may choose to take these meanings for granted, and adopt them in ways that create different meanings, or conversely, contest these meanings and define themselves in opposition to the meanings created by the mainstream culture.

Thompson and Troester (2002) argue that each of these theoretical categories – i.e., subcultures of consumption and the consumption-oriented social affiliations such as fan communities, brand communities, consumption worlds, consumption tribes, localized interpretive communities, cultures of consumption, and consumer microcultures – are products of the postmodern fragmentation of consumer culture (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995) and “how its variegated subsystems of meaning cut across the master sociological categories such as gender, class, ethnicity, and age cohort” (Thompson and Troester, 2002: 553).

According to Firat and Venkatesh (1995) postmodern conditions are hyperreality, fragmentation, reversal of production and consumption, decentered subject, and juxtaposition of the opposites. Among these conditions decenteredness and fragmentation are the ones that best define postmodern consumer. In postmodernity, individual is freed from having to have control over his/her life, and the object takes the control of his/her life. “[T]he object (the product) consumed can set the parameters and the rules of the consumption process” (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995: 254). Fragmentation, on the other hand, allows the individual from confirming to a sense of wholeness, “the disenchantment from having to find consistent reason in every act, in every moment, is transcended, and the liberty to live each moment to its fullest emotional peak, for the experience for the excitement of senses for the pleasure is regained, even when each moment, each spectacle, does not connect to a logical, centered, unified meaning” (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995: 153). The fragmented subject has no single project, no single lifestyle. He/she is

free to choose any of the alternatives available, and can commit any one of those alternatives even if these commitments do not constitute a whole.

In this sense, the rise of communities is viewed as a result of postmodern condition. As Firat and Venkatesh (1993) point out with postmodernity, social relations and self-identity are centered on consumption rather than production; and consumption increasingly provides a locus of community relationships. Moreover, Cova (1995) suggests that 'linking value' of a good or service may throw light on postmodern consumption. Founded in the works of Maffesoli, Cova argues that postmodernity is the 'time of tribalism' (Maffesoli, 1996) rather than individualism. These tribes are heterogeneous fragments, the remainders of mass consumption society, groups distinguished by their members' shared lifestyles and tastes. "Tribus are thus not 'tribes' in the traditional anthropological sense, for they do not have the fixity and longevity of tribes. Nor they are neo-tribes; they are better understood as 'postmodern tribes', or even pseudo-tribes" (Shields, 1996: x). For Cova, modernity cut individuals off from their environments and isolated them in the midst of its productions, in order to liberate them from their daily tasks. However, with postmodernity, tribalist individual started "looking less in consumption for a direct means of giving meaning to life than for a means to form links with others in the context of one or several communities of reference which will give meaning to their life" (Cova, 1997: 307). In other words, 'linking value' of products and services undermined their exchange values, and become more important than the product (or service) itself.

Neighborhood and Consumption

The preceding section has demonstrated how consumption can create communities, and how these new communities are said to disintegrate and replace traditional communities such as neighborhoods (Boorstin, 1973). On the other hand, neighborhoods still serve as a source of identity (Cole, 1985), as much as it provides shelter and satisfies some basic needs. The choice of neighborhood and residence is itself a consumption practice, and to the extent that neighborhoods are part of individual's extended-self, this choice is a statement regarding one's identity. As other consumption practices, the choice of dwelling and the residential area expresses one's values, habits, and lifestyles. For example, inner city residents resemble tolerance towards social diversity of the urban core and extrovert lifestyles attracted by the availability of cultural and entertainment services, whereas suburbanites are regarded to seek security and isolation from undesired and feared 'Other', as well as suburbia's perceived advantages for child-rearing. As other communities, neighborhoods are also defined in terms of what it is as well as what it is not. The neighborhoods are defined in relation to other neighborhoods and their residents, which are also socially constructed. This construction creates a sense of belonging to a community which is composed of others with perceived similarities. These perceptions create norms and rules with which the relationships within the community are shaped and mediated. Moreover, similar to the 'sense of community' emerged in the traditional neighborhood, the contemporary neighborhood still has a 'linking value' (Cova, 1996) that gathers people around a perceived common identity, which is socially constructed by residents and

nonresidents. Apart from the symbolic level, residential choices, especially in contemporary large metropolises, reflect an inclination toward avoiding problems created by large city such as air and noise pollution, traffic, crowding, and crime.

Particularly, in the case of gentrification, the relationship between community and consumption is vivified in following ways. Treating gentrifiers as forming a community based on a locality undermines the mutual relationship between gentrification and consumption. On the one hand, gentrification occurs as a result of consumer preferences shaped by shared consumption patterns of gentrifiers. These consumption patterns are products of shared attributes of new middle class gentrifiers, and their urge to create distinction through consumption. Gentrification becomes a strategy of gentrifiers to create this distinction. Apart from a common residential choice, and a shared geographical area, a sense of community is created and reinforced as the neighborhood is gentrified. The image of a gentrified neighborhood is socially constructed, and as a construct a gentrified neighborhood resembles brands in the sense that it is commodified both by residents and non-residents. Often, this construction is supported by mass-media with the way the neighborhood and its residents are presented. In this sense, gentrified neighborhood attracts more newcomers, and a sense of community starts to flourish. This sense of community involves markers of traditional communities – such as consciousness of kind, shared ethos and beliefs, and traditions. On the other hand, this shared consciousness is reflected in consumption practices of gentrifiers in a way that defines what is ‘appropriate consumption’ and what is not, in a

community. These constructions of ‘appropriate’ consumption patterns are in line with the so-called shared characteristics of gentrifiers.



CHAPTER III

CONTEXT: GENTRIFICATION IN CİHANGİR

III.1. İstanbul: “Let’s Meet Where the Continents Meet¹”

İstanbul, as the largest city in Turkey, hosts more than 11 million citizens at the beginning of 21st century. For centuries, it has been one of the most cosmopolitan centers as it lies in the intersection point of two continents: Europe and Asia. As the former capital of two long-lasting empires – Byzantine and Ottoman Empire – it hosted a composition of people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Geographically, İstanbul is divided into three separate areas. Anatolian side is one part, and the European side is divided into two by Golden Horn which separates the old city of Stamboul (Stambul) and Pera². Because Cihangir is located on the Pera district, next section will be a brief presentation of the history of Pera.

III.2. Pera and Galata

Galata is located on the western part of the Golden Horn, opposite to the historical peninsula of İstanbul. Until the early seventeenth century, names Pera and Galata had been used interchangeably. Actually, Galata and Pera were different districts. Galata was the area surrounded by walls built in the early Genoese Era,

¹ The official slogan used for the candidacy campaign of Turkey for 2000 World Olympics.

² Pera means ‘other side’ as Byzantines used to refer to the other side of Golden Horn.

whereas the quarter of Pera was standing on the hill behind Galata, which is later come to be known as Beyoğlu³.

III.2.1. Pera and Galata in the Ottoman Era

Initially, Galata district was a harbor surrounded by residential structures. However, towards the 17th century, the expansion of commerce led to the expansion of commercial district. As the steep hills obstruct transportation of merchandise, the coast district developed as a pure commercial district, which pushed residential development to the top of the hill, to where we call Beyoğlu today.

At the time of the conquest of Constantinople, Galata was a Genoese colony and an important center of overseas trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. During the siege of Constantinople, the merchants surrendered the colony to the Turks and obtained a treaty granting all the rights and privileges formerly enjoyed under Byzantine rule. *Magnifica Communita di Pera* (or *Peyra*) was the name given to this self-governed minority in Byzantine period, and it was also used in the Ottoman Era until the era of Tanzimat.

Starting from the fifteenth century, migration directed by Mehmet II, decreased the proportion of the Genoese population in the area, and thereby weakened the effect of Genoese in Galata. According to 1455 Ottoman survey (İnalçık, 1977), the population of Galata prior to Ottoman occupation was

³ Beyoğlu means son of the gentleman. Pera has been given this name by Turks because Luigi Gritti – the son of the Venetian Bailo (minister), Aluigi Gritti – had a palace there.

composed of four main groups: Genoese, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. At the time of the survey there were only twenty Muslims living in Galata. By the early sixteenth century, the Muslim population of Galata has grown considerably. During the late period of Mehmet II's reign, there recorded 531 Muslim homes, versus 592 Christian (Greek) homes and 332 Frank homes. And in the sixteenth century, population was composed of 35% Turks, 39% Greeks, 22% Levantines, and 4% Armenians. (Akin, 1998) Finally, towards the end of nineteenth century, the number of Muslims in the area was clearly higher than that was observed after the conquest. However, the Muslims still composed the minority of the population in Galata. According to 1882 census conducted by the Ottoman government, the population of Galata was 237,293, whereas the total population of İstanbul was 875,000. This population was composed of 17,589 Greeks, 26,559 Armenians, and 22,865 Jews. Another 111,545 residents were listed as foreign subjects, most of whom were not European expatriates but native Ottomans who had obtained embassy protection. The Muslim population counted as much as only one-fifth to one-fourth of this total population (Rosenthal, 1980).

During the Ottoman period, Galata and its extension Pera had been quarters in which the Europeans and Levantines constitute the majority of the population. Levantines were mostly Italian and French, who had come to İstanbul and sometimes resided in the city for generations. They were usually married to other foreigners or members of local minority communities. From these marriages a new type of Westerners was born. With their languages, outlooks, tastes and habits, they

were quite different from the population in other parts of the city. Their distinctive lifestyles and tastes echoed especially in their architecture, and with the physical environment they created, Galata and Pera districts had become a European city. Beginning from the sixteenth century, European states appointed ambassadors in the Ottoman Empire. During the mid-sixteenth century, stimulated by outbreaks of plague, most of the embassies – except for the Iranian embassy – moved from either Stambul or Galata to Pera. From 18th century onwards Pera started to become an important extension of Galata. As the number of embassies in the area increased, especially in the 19th century, Pera had become the heart of the Levantine settlement in İstanbul. There were very few Muslims among this population, with their ever-decreasing population in the area. Moreover, the majority of the Muslims in the area were the minorities who converted to Islam. They have chosen this area on the basis of the European lifestyle it promotes, rather than its religious composition. Consequently, with the embassies, churches, synagogues; the Levantines, Greek, Armenian, and Jew minorities formed the first bourgeois population- in Western sense – of the town, and recreated all the features of the European lifestyle of the era (Akin, 1998).

As a result of the lack of interest of Muslim population in commerce, and problems caused by their lack of lingual skills, the foreign trade of the empire had been run by Greeks, Armenians and Jews. The native Europeans who resided within Galata were protected by the Capitulations, granted by Suleyman in the 17th century. Capitulations were the privileges – known as extraterritoriality – which

rendered those minorities immune to the Ottoman government and subject to their own countries' laws as interpreted by their local embassy. Capitulations were conferred on native Greeks, Armenians, and Jews who had some commercial connection with the embassy or who had been able to purchase such protection (Rosenthal, 1980). As a result of these privileges, Galata had become one of the most important trade centers in Mediterranean. In this century, many French merchants moved their businesses to Galata because they perceive Galata to be safer than Marseilles. In the Ottoman era, "Galata continued to live a life of its own with a culture, architecture, commerce, language, and religion distinct from those of the Ottoman world surrounding it," (Mitler, 1979: 90) in other words, Galata had become a distinct town within a town. Embassies being the nucleus, minorities formed several communities in the Galata district.

However, after the French revolution in 18th century, this situation had changed, and the harbor of Galata lost its significance. "After the seventeenth century, the hill of Pera became the more fashionable district and the fortunes of Galata began to decline. Until recent times Galata continued to serve as the chief emporium and clearinghouse for foreign goods and was the Ottoman Empire's principal window to the West" (Mitler, 1979: 72). On the other hand, the Pera district had become a residential area, with frontiers expanding first to Taksim, than Pangaltı, Kurtuluş and Nişantaşı, while transforming into a center of European lifestyle and entertainment.

Especially by the mid-nineteenth century, Levantines, Greeks, Armenians, Jews and foreigners who usually dealt with trade had their workplaces in Galata and residents in Pera. In the same era, Galata had been accessible not only to non-Muslims but also the Westernized Turks. Nevertheless, the wealth was in the hands of Levantines and other minority population who were protected by the privileges resulting from capitulations.

In the nineteenth century, the scene of Galata was very different from that of Pera. Pera's elegant physical and social environment, in Galata, translates to narrow streets surrounded by taverns and nightclubs that are filled with people of different nationalities. The maritime businesses, activities related to shipping or businesses that are unsafe for the health – or simply dangerous – were concentrated near the harbor of Galata. Old Galata houses were demolished in order to open new roads or widen the existing roads in the area. Whereas, in Pera, shops, residences, embassies, and educational facilities represented the 'aristocrat' pretense of the wealthy Levantines (Akin, 1998).

III.2.2. Pera in the Republican Era

The fate of the area changed in the 20th century. First, with the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, these minorities had lost their privileges (capitulations) as a result of Lausanne Treaty in 1923. With the transfer of embassies to Ankara between 1927 and 1929 the district lost its major source of motivation for being a unique urban form. Another

important outcome of Lausanne Treaty was the agreement between Greece and Turkey on the exchange of the Greek population in Turkey with the Turkish population in Greece. As the agreement excluded the Greeks in İstanbul, the agreement had little insignificant on the decrease of the Greek population. Moreover, in 1942, a long debated regulation of the state, namely the Wealth Tax (*Varlık Vergisi*) was another impact on those minorities who had chosen to stay even after they lost their privileges in the republican period. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, many Jewish residents left Turkey to move to their new country. However, the zenith of the events that marked the end of the period of minorities took place in September 1955. A riot that ruled the area for two days, against the Greeks in İstanbul, threatened not only their properties, but also their lives. After this massive movement against the Greeks, many of them left İstanbul and moved to Greece. In 1964, as a result of the rising tension between Greece and Turkey regarding Cyprus, Turkey terminated the agreement on residence, commerce and travel between two governments. Within two years, 30,000 people – mostly Greeks and their relatives residing in Beyoğlu – had to leave the country. And in 1974, the final blow came as a result of the increased tension between Greece and Turkey following the conflict in Cyprus which led to Turkey's sending troops to the island. Many Greek residents left the country in worrying about their security.

On the other hand, the republican era was also characterized by the implementation of the modernization project that has its roots in the late Ottoman

Era. This modernization project – described as *top-down modernity* or *modernization from above* (Keyder, 1997) since it was driven by the Kemalist elite – intended to erase and nullify the historical legacy of the Ottoman Empire. Following Heller's idea that the modernity defined itself against the 'other', the pre-modern, Robins (1996: 70) argues that the real Turkey had become "the 'other' against which this official nation was constituting its identity." The 'Other' symbolized whatever was alien to western modernity and its project of development" (*ibid.*; 62). In 'modern' Turkey, the Other was embodied in its pre-modern state, its Ottoman past characterized by religious orientation and cosmopolitan society, therefore the new nation should be defined "in opposition to the Islamic past" – it would be a secular and rational nation – and "in opposition to the cosmopolitanism of the Ottoman Empire, it would have a strictly national identity" (Robins, 1996: 70). The authoritarian state "has continuously denied the real diversity of civil society, which it can only comprehend in terms of social fragmentation, and against which it has mobilized the idealized fantasy of the Turkish People-as-One" (Robins, 1996: 71). However, contrary to what had been idealized by the new government, the Ottoman Empire had been characterized by "a spirit of cosmopolitanism; by ethnic, linguistic and religious mixture and interchange" (Robins, 1996; 68). As the new Turkish state was fundamentally opposed to such pluralism of identity, Robins argues, it resolved to build a nation without minorities. The implementation of such an objective required a policy of exclusion of minorities, which resulted in 'forceful' nationalization of the "Turkish" middle class during the first half of the twentieth century (Kasaba, 1997). According

to Kasaba (1997), to achieve this objective, state undertook harsh policies, that were sometimes covertly deployed. The exchange of populations (*Mübadele*⁴) with Greece between 1923 and 1930, then came the imposition of a special wealth tax (*Varlık Vergisi*⁵) of up to 75 percent on the properties of non-Muslim businessmen in 1942. The culmination of the process was the riots of September 6–7, 1955⁶, which led to 3 casualties and 30 injured among non-Muslim population (Kasaba, 1997).

⁴ As a result of the Lausanne Treaty, signed on July 24, 1923, Greece and Turkey agreed on an exchange of population. According to the agreement, all the Greek population in Turkey – except for those in Istanbul – would be exchanged with the Turkish population in Greece – except for those in Western Thrace. The exchange took place between 1923 and 1927, and 400,000 Turks were replaced by over one-and-a-half million Greeks. However, about 150,000 Greeks left the city between 1922–24.

⁵ The Wealth tax (*Varlık Vergisi*) was to be effective as of November 15, 1942. Actually, the law includes not only the minorities but also Turkish citizens, and the underlying reason was stated as to cover the losses related to World War II. The law itself does not call for such injustice however its application the unfair practices of some government officials created injustice between Muslim and non-Muslim citizens. For example, tax rate for Muslim citizens were set at 5% whereas the rates for non-Muslim citizens sometimes exceeded 200% in practice. The difference between these rates were explained by the fact that non-Muslim businessmen were able to continue trade during the war, whereas the Muslim businessmen were forced to join the military. Moreover, minorities were ordered to pay their taxes within 15 days. In practice, the law had become the legitimate basis for lessening – even seizing – the wealth of non-Muslim middle- and upper-classes, and led to the bankruptcy of many. Those who failed to pay the taxes were obliged to work in road construction in Aşkale, Erzurum (a city in Eastern Anatolia), and unfortunately, 25 of them lost their lives in Aşkale. Finally, the law was annulled on September 17, 1943.

⁶ These riots were originated on the basis of news that the Atatürk House in Selanik was bombed by Greeks. First, it was a protest of university students in Taksim on September 6th, however, towards the evening it had become a riot attended by thousands of citizens. Later that night, it became a hunt for non-muslim minorities, especially Greeks. Their houses and businesses were plundered or burned down throughout the night. Finally, in the morning army had to come to command in order to take the incidents under control. The outcome of the events was tragic: there were 3 dead and 30 injured, with the material damages in 73 churches, 2 monasteries, 1 factory, and 5,538 houses and stores, 3,584 of which belonged to Greeks. The organized nature of events (such the crowds with identical sticks in their hands who were said to be brought from cities near Istanbul, the rumors that the event that triggered the protests was itself a plot arranged by Turkish national security (M.I.T), and the such wide and rapid diffusion of the news regarding the bombing incident) created suspicion that the events were actually a government action. Following the military coup in May 27, 1960, eleven government members –including the president Bayar and prime minister Menderes – prosecuted with charges regarding the events. (Birand, 1991)

As the capital of the Ottoman Empire, İstanbul was the center of the cosmopolitan identity which was viewed as threat to idealized homogenous Turkish identity. According to Mansel (1996), İstanbul symbolized corruption, insidious traditions, intrigue and cosmopolitanism for the republican elite, thus, it should be reduced to being the second city of the new republic. The elimination of European capital and the diminishing of the minority groups transformed İstanbul into a much more homogeneous city.

A concurrent wave of internal migration – starting from 1950s – changed the character of these neighborhoods. Migrants from the rural parts of Turkey, mostly from Eastern Anatolia, settled in these apartment buildings evacuated by wealthy minorities. Cihangir, Tarlabası, and Çukurcuma, being very close to the entertainment center of the city, Beyoğlu, were filled with those migrants who worked in the district – mostly in taverns, restaurants, bars and such – became the new residents of the European İstanbul.

After the 1960s, socially mobile households moved to the suburbs for the sake of a modern life and amenities and were replaced by lower-class residents or rural migrants. Thus, the neighborhoods in the historic core – Beyoğlu and Eminönü – that once hosted upper- and middle-class households and top level facilities deteriorated and rents declined, as they lost their residential attractiveness. Until 1980s, Beyoğlu was neglected, condemned for the social and cultural pollution of the city, and left to decay. Those once glamorous neighborhoods were, at least in

the people's mind came to be associated with crime, pollution, and poverty. The chaotic environment of the area was strengthened by the existence of prostitutes, drug dealers, smugglers, and gay – and transsexual – communities.

Globalization and İstanbul

Turkey has been pursuing a market-oriented and outward-looking growth economy since the beginning of the 1980s. After the military coup in 1980, Özal government introduced liberal economic policies that replace 'protectionist and important-substitution' growth strategies. This new era was characterized by a more positive approach to foreign capital, growth and variety of consumer goods, and restructuring of domestic retail industry (Erkip, 2000: 408). This shift in the economic visions of the new government led to an influx of foreign investment. Moreover, service sector replaced manufacturing sector as the dominant form of foreign investment in the country. In economic terms, this shift led to an integration of the national economy with the world economy. On the other hand, the expansion of service sector created a new high-income wage earner group employed mostly in this sector (Güvenç and Işık, 2001; Erkip, 2000). For Güvenç and Işık (2001) the emergence of this new high-income group increased the polarization between high-income and low-income strata.

Globalization, accompanied by the collapse of the Soviet Union at the beginning of the last decade of the 20th century, shaped İstanbul rapidly. As Aksoy and Robins (1994) observe, İstanbul went under a substantial transformation in the

1990s. Until the 1970s, CBD functions were mainly concentrated in two major districts: Eminönü and Beyoğlu. In the early 1970s, parking problems and inadequacies of the public transportation hindered accessibility of the CBD in the urban core. Furthermore, increasing demand for office space obstructed by the strict building regulations to preserve the fabric of the urban core led firms to seek new areas (Özdemir, 2002). In the early 1980s, new office buildings started to be constructed in Şişli, Mecidiyeköy, Gayrettepe and Zincirlikuyu along Büyükdere Boulevard. With the construction of the second bridge over Bosphorus, the early 1990s witnessed the profusion of high-rise office buildings and towers along the northern part of the Büyükdere Boulevard, toward the Maslak area.

By the end of the 1990s, the effects of globalization on İstanbul is vivified in three ways. First, there is a separation of residential and business areas. Hacısalıhoğlu (2000) explains this spatial concentration of manufacturing businesses as a result of the tendency for the decentralization of the manufacturing plants, and the separation of manufacturing and management function enabled by the technological improvements in communication and transportation. As these facilities try to maintain increasing production capacities in a limited inner-city location – with little room for expansion – which creates significant opportunity costs for different – perhaps better – uses. For example, İkitelli has become the heart of manufacturing businesses formerly located in Eminönü, Fatih, and Beyoğlu whereas service sector has been concentrated in Levent and Maslak areas. Büyükdere Boulevard in Levent began to host large multinational companies as

well as local corporations especially in service sector - finance, banking, insurance, and consultancy etc. – and dubbed as Manhattan of Turkey. On the other hand, Kemerburgaz, Bahçeşehir, and Zekeriyaköy appeared as residential districts (Hacısalıhoğlu, 2000). These new residential districts will receive more attention in Chapter V.

Second, as observed by Aksoy and Robins (1994), the development of shopping malls and centers is another sign of İstanbul's transformation into a global city. Unlike the previously dominant inner city bazaars and retail areas, which are heterogeneous in nature – in terms of the activities and products available –, new shopping malls provided a homogeneous mix of products and activities targeting a homogeneous clientele. These shopping malls started to flourish since the beginning of the 1990s, Galleria, Akmerkez, Profilo being the most popular examples. This spatial concentration of retail industry is vivified, as *hipermarkets*, such as Metro, Continent, Carrefour, Bauhaus, – large supermarkets which occupy more than 2500m² of space and has at least 8 counters – offer food, apparel, furniture etc. to customers in a single location.

Finally, culture and entertainment industries also started to concentrate in specific locations. Culture and congress centers are accompanied by leisure and entertainment facilities that offer recreational activities.

This spatial concentration and separation of different function in the outskirts of the city brought an important problem: transportation. The distances between these diverse functions lead to the loss of considerable time and money being spent on transportation, which is unfortunately solved by more reliance on cars. To ease the burden of transportation local government did not initiate public transportation projects – except for the subway that operates on a limited area –, instead municipality encouraged inefficient ‘private’ transportation at the expense of the construction of new motorways that cuts across the urban core. One of these routes, Tarlabası Boulevard, had been a focus of a wide debate as it necessitated demolition of many historical buildings in the Beyoğlu district. I will focus on this project in more detail in the following section as it deserves more attention.

Beyoğlu Project

In 1980s, a massive project was undertaken to rehabilitate the district. In 1980s, mayor Dalan initiated an urban restructuring project in İstanbul to turn the city to a spectacle of consumption. Beyoğlu played a major role in this restructuring project. The plan was as follows: One of the most important arteries of the area, *İstiklal* Street – formerly known as Grand Rue De Pera – was to be closed to vehicles, and opened as a pedestrian walkway. A few hundred meters away, a new road was to be constructed passing from the northern part of the area, in order to handle the vehicle traffic. This new road was constructed in Tarlabası, and street is also named after that area, demolishing many historical buildings which were built in late 1800s and early 1900s.

The debate over this project – and the massive demolishment it entailed – mainly focused on the identity of the district. For Dalan, Beyoğlu was a place that needed to be cleaned, rehabilitated, and –in part – demolished. The proposed road in Tarlabası would solve the problem of heavy traffic and save the district from troubles of prostitution and drug-dealers. Dalan condemned any opposition against demolishment of buildings and constructing the road as an opposition to İstanbul's development, and thereby its becoming a 'world city'.

The opposition to the demolishment undertaken in the area was articulated by a nongovernmental organization, 'the Chamber of Architects and Engineers'. Their argument was that the city was being parceled and sold to multinational corporations. The valuable land in inner-city was prepared for the use of capital. Moreover, they were concerned by the racism that was indicated by the discourse of Dalan and municipality employees. The buildings that were torn down had been built and used by Greeks and Armenians who were once resided in the area. In the demolishment, bulldozers carried Turkish flags, and one of the city officials gave a speech on one of the bulldozers. Furthermore, some of the architects were concerned about the historical and architectural value of the buildings. As one architect remarked, "this is neither European architecture nor Ottoman. It's Levantine architecture" (Bartu, 2000: 48). Another proponent of the demolishment was the leftist community. In their view, the area represented the heritage of the colonists in the Ottoman period. In fact, Ottoman Empire had never become a colony however, with the capitulations appointed for them, the minorities enjoyed

their privileges and made a fortune with commerce. Galata and Pera, being the residential districts of those who dealt with finance and commerce, have come to symbolize the capitulations and its cost to the Empire, and its people.

1994 Local Elections

An important point in the reversal of the fate of the district was the Islamist Refah Party's victory in the 1994 local elections. The result of the local elections in 1994 was an unpleasant surprise for the secularists. Islamist *Refah* (Welfare) Party had won the elections in many municipalities across the country. İstanbul and Beyoğlu municipalities were among them. Especially Beyoğlu's takeover was very devastating for the secularists; Beyoğlu was the entertainment center of the city, with its bars, nightclubs, and restaurants. The governance of Beyoğlu by conservatist Refah Party might endanger Beyoğlu's cosmopolitan identity. However, the practices of the new municipal government – and its head Nusret Bayraktar – had proved to be a surprise as well. At first, as expected, Bayraktar banned the bars, and restaurants from putting tables near streets. The aim was to cover this undesired view from the public eye. Moreover, he restricted the sale of alcohol within the district. On the other hand, Bayraktar viewed the governance of such a district as a chance to demonstrate how Refah Party would handle the problems and complexities of such a turbulent environment. It was an opportunity to recall the tolerance of Ottoman period against the cosmopolitan population. One of the practices carried out by the new government was to clean the front of an Armenian church from garbage. In the election campaigns, Bayraktar had visited

the churches and synagogues in the area, signaling that Refah Party was not only the representative of Islam, but also other religions.

Another hot debate of that period was the mosque to be built in the Taksim Square. It was proposed as a part of a complex which included an Islamic culture center. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the new mayor, declared that the aim of this new mosque was to remind the tourists that they were in a Muslim Country (Çınar, 1997). This debate was concurrent with another discussion regarding the demolition of Byzantine Walls that surrounded the old city center. The aim was clear, to set İstanbul free from its non-Islamic past, and emphasize its Islamic identity. The opposition against both intentions proved fruitful and Mayor Erdoğan did not insist on building the mosque and demolishing the walls.

Beyoğlu Today

As a result of the Beyoğlu project, the main street of the area – *İstiklal* Street (Grande Rue de Pera) – is only reserved for pedestrian traffic, and – with the streets opening to it – has become the cultural and entertainment center of the city. Narlı (2000) calls this as a ‘cultural renaissance’, İstanbul Film Festival⁷ being the driving force behind this movement. Today, Beyoğlu hosts more than fifteen movie theaters and play theaters – Fitaş Alkazar, Sinepop, Atlas, Dostlar, A.K.M., Muammer Karaca, Ortaoyuncular – and cultural and art centers – Aksanat, Tarık Zafer

⁷ Organized by the İstanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (IKSV) the festival celebrates its 23th birthday in 2004. In Beyoğlu district, four theaters participate in the festival (Atlas, Beyoğlu, Emek, and Sinepop). Since the beginning of the Festival, a total of 2.065.000 spectators attended the screenings of 2.330 films from 72 different countries.

Tunaya K lt r Merkezi, Yapı Kredi K lt r Merkezi. In addition to these, there are many restaurants, caf s, and bars operating in the area.

III.3. Gentrification in Cihangir

In its history, Cihangir has always passed through the same phases as Beyo lu. Starting from 1930s Cihangir also faced a similar decline and, between 1930s and 1940s, Cihangir began to lose its cosmopolitan identity as minorities started to move out, and replaced by Muslim households. 1950s' liberal government policies and resulting urban rehabilitation programs was a brutal impact on Cihangir's historical housing stock. Roughly, the decade between 1955 and 1965 was Cihangir's golden era, as it reached its zenith in terms of the income level of its residents. However, the course of events within this period, especially the displacement of Greek minorities starting from 1964 accompanied by the changing urban structure and internal migration resulted in the rapid decline of Cihangir in the urban hierarchy. With the displacement of Greeks, Muslim middle-class households of Cihangir also migrated within İstanbul. As the urban core became a locale of problems faced by the rapid expansion of population and the resulting problems of social and environmental pollution, middle class residents left Cihangir for newly emerging suburban developments – such as Atak y and Levent – in the European side or the Anatolian side neighborhoods as *Bo az K pr s *⁸ facilitated the commutation of İstanbulites between the two sides of the Bosphorus.

⁸ The first bridge built on the Bosphorus in 1973, which connects the Anatolian side and the European side.

During 1970s, the social structure of Cihangir was characterized by the existence of internal migrants from Eastern Anatolia, and 'bohemian bourgeoisie' and intellectual households. However, this era was more significantly characterized by the expansion of illegal prostitution in Cihangir. With the decline of Beyoğlu, surrounding districts such as Cihangir, Tarlabası, and Dolapdere became a locale for small-scale manufacturing businesses as well as the residence for those employed in this sector and the entertainment sector in Beyoğlu. At this period and afterwards – until late 1980s – Cihangir, especially *Sıraselviler* Street, was famous for the underground prostitution businesses. Internal migration continued to affect Cihangir in this decade. However, towards the end of 1980s Cihangir was introduced to a new group of minority, black population from Africa – especially Nigeria. This group was composed of young Africans, who came to Turkey for their university education, but somehow 'found' themselves carrying out illegal businesses, such as smuggling and drug sale. Especially, *Güneşi* Street hosted many households from this population.

Finally, the beginning of 1990s was a new era for Cihangir. Mayor Dalan's Beyoğlu project carried out in 1980s was accompanied by a legal – and massive – action against these illegal businesses and households. For example, in 1993, transvestite population that resided in northern Cihangir – especially *Pürtelaş* and *Başkurt* Streets – was driven towards the periphery of the neighborhood (Selek, 2001).

The new municipal government, that came into office in 1994, helped the rehabilitation of Cihangir with its practices. It supported the residents who were against the presence of the transvestite community in Cihangir, mainly *Ülker Sokak*. The landlords, and other residents regarded transvestites as a threat to their well being. These transvestites were accused of engaging in prostitution and their visitors – or customers – were condemned for creating danger in the social environment of the neighborhood. So they cooperated to drive them out of the neighborhood, sometimes with vulgar action. Both these transvestites and their visitors were beaten, their cars were damaged, sometimes with the help of police officers. The municipality banned local convenience stores from selling goods to these transvestites. Two of the stores were closed by the municipality for their owners did not obey this new directive. As a result, the transvestite population in the neighborhood was driven out, today only six or seven transvestites reside in the neighborhood. This ‘victory’ over the transvestite population was the destruction of the last barrier to the gentrification process that started in early 1990s.

***Cihangir Güzelleştirme Derneği*⁹ (CGD)**

The role of a local foundation in shaping the process is worth emphasizing. Founded in 1995, its members are mostly architects and professionals, but also some of the old residents of the neighborhood. Its aim is to organize the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cihangir. It promotes community participation in efforts to improve the living environment. CGD organizes cultural activities, such as concerts and plays; publishes a monthly bulletin regarding the developments,

⁹ The Association for Improvement of Cihangir

activities and achievements regarding the neighborhood. CGD sets lawsuits to every action that is seen as a potential threat to the quality of physical and social environment. These issues include the presence of a gas station near an apartment building, continuing service of a pharmacy on the ground floor of a damaged building, and the illegal or inconvenient construction activities in the neighborhood. Moreover, CGD organizes periodical meetings to inform members and other residents about the recent issues concerning the environment, the effects of an anticipated earthquake in İstanbul, and so forth. In cooperation with local government and municipality CGD tries to provide safer and cleaner social and physical environment. A recent achievement of CGD is to order all the buildings to renovate, or at least paint, the facades of all the buildings in the district.

To summarize, the production side of the gentrification in Cihangir is a result of several factors. First, the governmental institutions efforts to 'clean' the district from 'undesired' population has been a crucial point in Cihangir's and Beyoğlu's history. The rehabilitation of Beyoğlu made the urban core desirable for a portion of the population, mostly intellectuals that value urban amenity over the problems caused by the urban core. Second, the neighborhood society helped Cihangir to (re)-gain a positive reputation within the public – both residents and nonresidents – not only for its physical characteristics but also its social composition. For those who value the entertainment and cultural amenities available in Beyoğlu, Cihangir has become the first preference of residence.

Now the neighborhood is a popular inner-city neighborhood with increasing rents and housing prices, renovated buildings and rehabilitated streets. In other words, Cihangir has been gentrified since the last decade.

III.4. Physical Environment

Galata and Pera are composed of a major road and narrow streets opening into this artery. By the mid-nineteenth century, wooden houses were replaced by three or four-story apartment buildings, built of stone after the numerous huge fires in the district. As the wealthiest portion of the population of İstanbul, minorities – Jews, Greeks, Armenians and Levantines – built glamorous apartment buildings. As Akin (1998) suggests, the dichotomy of Muslim and Non-Muslim population was echoed in the architectural forms of their buildings by state regulations. These regulations included restrictions on the material and colors used in the buildings, and the number of floors permitted in order to differentiate between the two groups. Especially after the huge fire in 1870, most of the housing stock in the area was replaced by new buildings. The new houses of this period were designed by local architects as well as Parisian architects invited to İstanbul. These new designs – with their gates directly opening into the street, ground floors sharing the same plan with the upper floors, usually built on a narrow parcel - represented a radical break from the traditional wooden Ottoman houses with two-stories, and their introvert plans designed as a single-family dwelling. Reflecting a historicist understanding, these new apartment buildings with their stone facades, sometimes paved with bricks, accompanied by balconies. During the late 19th century, wealthy Levantine

and non-Muslim families built monumental apartment buildings, usually named after their families, as a sign of their affluence. Many of these buildings still exist even today, after the massive reconstruction waves in the 1960s and 70s, led by small-scale constructors from the Black Sea Region.

Cihangir is located on the slope of a hill near Bosphorus. It is a dense residential neighborhood where the settlement dates back to 17th century – with many historical apartment buildings, sometimes with a view of sea – where the minorities inhabited widely prior to 1950s. The neighborhood looks nearly the same as the other neighborhoods in the Beyoğlu area. The physical environment is characterized by narrow streets, and 4-6 storey buildings with extravagant facades. The major difference of Cihangir from the surrounding neighborhoods is its excellent sea view. Upper parts of Cihangir has a panoramic view that covers the historical peninsula (Stamboul) and Golden Horn on the right, Prince Islands in the middle, and Anatolian side (Üsküdar) and Bosphorus to the left.

III.5. Resident Typology:

As gentrification proceeded from the beginning of the 1990s in Cihangir, its social composition has changed dramatically from its past state. Today, a roughly portrayed social structure of Cihangir includes (1) *old residents* – middle- and working-class households, and (2) middle-class *gentrifiers* – as urban *pioneers* and *followers*.

III.5.1. Old Residents

Since Cihangir used to be a middle class neighborhood before 1970s, there are still leftovers from the middle class population of that period. On the other hand, as gentrification faced a social decay starting from the middle of 1960s, internal immigrants from Anatolia replaced middle class residents who left the neighborhood.

III.5.1.a. Middle Class Residents

Some of the old middle class households had not left the neighborhood as it lost its status as a middle class settlement. Most of these residents have been residing in Cihangir for at least two generations, as for many, Cihangir is their birthplace. They, almost exclusively, can be classified as owner occupiers. Many of these households reside in apartments with a sea view, usually in apartment buildings – carrying their family name – they share with other members of the family. Some of them kept residing in the neighborhood for economic reasons; to avoid the costs of moving. They are spatially concentrated on the southern parts of Cihangir, especially *Susam*, *Yeni Yuva*, *Bakraç*, and *Cihangir* Streets. Often, those who left the neighborhood but kept their real estates returned to the neighborhood as it has regained its middle class status.

III.5.1.b. Working- and Lower-Class Residents

On the other hand, those who sold their properties in the neighborhood before gentrification are usually replaced by lower- and working-class residents,

usually immigrants from Anatolia. The settlement of immigrants dates back to 1970s, as Cihangir began to lose status after the minorities were forced to leave in the second half of the 1960s. Many of these immigrants still reside in the neighborhood even after gentrification, usually in the lower part near the Bosphorus, in the apartments without a sea view. Çukurcuma, an adjacent neighborhood, still hosts many working- and lower-class households as well as many middle class newcomers as it provides ample supply of gentrifiable property. Immigrants are usually owner occupiers who could afford to buy their apartments when the rents were very low in the pre-gentrification era. Often, some immigrants managed to buy many apartments in the neighborhood and become important landlords in the neighborhood. Stories about janitors who sold their property in the rural part to buy apartments in the neighborhood are very common. Interestingly, some of these residents are still working as janitors even if they made a fortune on their investment in real estate. For example, the janitor of one of the apartments on the *Susam* Street has become famous for owning several apartments in the neighborhood and using one of them as a 'summer house' while spending the winter in the janitors apartment reserved for him. As the urban-legend-like stories became widespread among residents, there are also those residents who own their small retailstores and happen to buy an apartment in the neighborhood.

Despite the skyrocketed rents as a result of the gentrification, there are still working-class tenants in the backstreets trying to survive in the neighborhood. Some of them used to reside in the better parts of the neighborhood, and as

gentrification proceeded they are pushed from upper parts to backstreets, from upper floors to ground floors, even below that. They are usually characterized as having larger household sizes, poorer educational backgrounds, rural – Eastern Anatolian – roots, and lower incomes.

III.5.2. Gentrifiers

Besides these two groups of old residents, gentrifiers constitute an important part of the population in Cihangir. Their demographic characteristics – small household sizes (i.e., single or childless couples), age (i.e., between 25 and 40), educational (i.e., university or higher) and occupational (i.e., white collar, or creative jobs) background – satisfy the findings of the previous literature on gentrification (Schaffer and Smith, 1986; Ley, 1996). Following Ley's (1996) classification, gentrifiers can be divided into two groups: *pioneers* and *followers*. Pioneers are usually university students, artists, and academicians with low incomes, who view the neighborhood as an affordable housing alternative in the urban core. The proximity to cultural amenities and the availability of a wide range of affordable entertainment alternatives attract those 'footloose' households. Once pioneers set the stage for gentrification, as they contribute to the quality of the neighborhood's social environment, followers are ready to enter the stage. Followers are regarded as more risk averse in their residential choices. At this point, followers find the neighborhood as a livable residential alternative, as well as an investment opportunity. As followers begin to move to neighborhood, the real estate prices and rents face a dramatic increase.

III.5.2.a. Pioneers

Cihangir is very close to Mimar Sinan University (MSÜ), which is regarded as one of the best art schools in Turkey. Students of MSÜ, who are also employed in arts-related occupations during and after their education, usually remain in the neighborhood as they grew older. Especially those employed in the entertainment and cultural businesses play an important role in the gentrification of the area. For example, many authors of *Leman*, a Turkish comic magazine, had resided – and has still been residing – in Cihangir, which has been a source of inspiration for their work. One of the character's, *Kötü Kedi Şrafettin's* (Şrafettin the Bad Cat) adventures usually took place in Cihangir, where its author – Bülent Üstün – reside, and eventually it created an awareness for the amazing sea view of the neighborhood, as well as the crime incidents that take place almost every night. Later, one of the streets in the neighborhood was unofficially named after this very popular comic character. Another author – Mehmet Coşkun – in *L-Manyak* (another magazine from the same group of authors) emphasized the existence of transvestites and homosexuals in the area, and narrated his close relationships with those marginal groups. Finally, one of the TV programmers who has been residing in Cihangir aired news reports and forums on one of the national channels regarding the how local residents were restless because of the existence of transvestites and their cleansing efforts towards such groups. Such reports were aired on a regular basis, which helped outsiders to grow negative attitudes toward the neighborhood. On the other hand, towards the end of 1990s, these broadcasts and news took a

different shape and Cihangir is represented more positively. This representation of Cihangir in mass media attracted more newcomers.

However, as gentrification proceeded, many of the pioneers were displaced as a result of increasing rents. Owner occupiers usually remained in the neighborhood, despite the opportunity cost of making capital gains from selling their property or moving to another neighborhood where the rents are lower. On the other hand, tenant population was driven to apartments in the backstreets and lower floors, usually towards the northern part of the neighborhood nearby Taksim. This part of the neighborhood is famous for the transvestite population it used to host, and the frequent incidents of crime. Many young pioneers – usually students – were able to afford to stay in the neighborhood as their income increased after they found jobs during and after their education.

III.5.2.b. Followers

Followers usually have more income and hold positions in creative sectors, such as advertising and design, as well as white-collar jobs in service-related businesses. They have a taste for historical buildings, and usually seek dilapidated apartments, which provide an opportunity for large-scale restoration. They consider the neighborhood as a livable residential alternative, as well as an investment opportunity. As expected, with the movement of followers to the area, the real estate prices and rents faced a dramatic increase. Today, the price of renovated apartments with sea view can go up to \$4 million. In some cases, flats on the upper floors with

sea view can be valued four times higher than the flats in the lower floors of the same building. Due to this huge gap between real estate prices, it is common to observe enormous income differences among households who occupy the same building. As gentrification intensified, many of the pioneers were displaced due to increasing rents or driven to apartments in the back streets and lower floors, usually towards the northern part of the neighborhood. Owner-occupiers, on the other hand, usually remained in the neighborhood, despite the opportunity of making capital gains from selling their property or moving to another neighborhood where the rents are lower.



CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

This study aims at understanding the process of gentrification from the gentrifiers' perspective. In this regard, I try to explicate the meaning of residing in the urban core for the informants. This requires an understanding of the experienced meaning of Cihangir, as well as the meaning of Cihangir as constructed by the residents. Furthermore, the study aims to explore how these meanings are shaped by the circumstances under which it takes place.

Given the exploratory nature of the study, qualitative research methods were employed. The data were collected in a field study lasting for forty-two days during a three-month period between April and June 2003. In-depth interviews and participant observation were the main data collection methods. A bimonthly local newspaper named Cihangir Postası (see the previous chapter for more details) is also included in the data as an artifact of the culture of the neighborhood. The data were supported by video and photographic documentation.

This chapter begins with the justification of the qualitative research methods employed to collect data in this study. The chapter continues with the details of data collection methods such as sampling decisions and other considerations. The concerns for validity and reliability are addressed in the next section. The final

section is a brief description of data analysis methods employed in the evaluation of the data gathered in the field study.

IV.1. Qualitative Research

In this study, qualitative research methods are employed given the nature of the topic. As Patton (1990: 13) argues qualitative methods allow the evaluator “to study selected issues in depth and detail.” Qualitative research is deemed more suitable for the purposes of this study, following the strengths of qualitative methods (Maxwell, 1996). First of all, qualitative research helps to understand the meaning for participants of events, situations, actions they are involved, as well as of the accounts that they give regarding their lives and experiences. Second, it helps to understand the particular context within which the participants act, and the influence of this context on their actions. As qualitative researchers usually study a small number of individuals or situations, they are able to preserve the individuality of each of these situations. This gives the opportunity to grasp how events, actions and meanings are shaped by the unique circumstances under which they occur. Third, qualitative research offers the flexibility of incorporating *unanticipated* phenomena and influences into the theory. This flexibility enables the researchers to generate new grounded theories on the influences of these phenomena, on the basis of a ‘constant comparative analysis’ (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), which requires not only going back and forth between the theory and the data, and a continuous alteration of the theory on the basis of the latter, but also a modification of the incoming data depending on the theory. In this sense, grounded theory methodology

views generating theory and doing social research as two interrelated parts of the inquiry (Strauss and Corbin, 1994). Fourth, qualitative inquiry is more suitable for understanding the *process* by which events and actions take place, rather than the *outcomes*. Finally, qualitative research is also capable of explicating causal explanations. The foremost difference between quantitative and qualitative research in this respect, is in the type of causal questions that both researchers ask. Unlike quantitative researchers, who ask to what extent the variance of *y* is explained by the variance in *x*, qualitative researchers can ask how *x* plays a role in causing *y*, and explain the process by which *x* causes *y* (Maxwell, 1996).

Following this line of reasoning, I viewed qualitative research methods to fit the purposes of this study. In this study, I first sought to understand the phenomenon of gentrification as a result of the consumption preferences and ideologies of the gentrifiers. In this sense, I viewed gentrification as an *outcome* of wider consumption practices and strategies, locating the primary focus of the study on these practices and strategies by which a certain fraction of the middle class claim distinction from others. To serve this purpose, I focused on the meaning of Cihangir for the participants (residents, specifically gentrifiers). I sought to explicate the meaning as constructed by the informants, thus tried to unfold and depict ‘participants’ perspectives’ (Maxwell, 1996), in other words, I pursued to illuminate *emic* meanings (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Besides these *emic* meanings, I tried to explore the circumstances under which such strategies are constructed and employed. One of the major principles of this study is its flexible

design in order to allow construction of a grounded theory. As one of the basic tenets of the qualitative inquiry has been its potential to offer a wide playground for the theory construction, it requires the researcher to be open-minded, and receptive to the unanticipated phenomena.

As the principles for data collection are laid out, the choice of data collection methods are made in the light of two basic premises: (1) the fit between the method and the research questions, and (2) the feasibility of the method given the budget and time limitations. In this regard, I selected open-ended, in-depth interview as the major data collection method. As the study required the explication of the *emic* meanings as experienced and constructed by the informants, participant observation – being a resident of Cihangir – has become a vital element of data collection. Moreover, a bimonthly local newspaper named Cihangir Postası served as another form of data, since it became the voice of residents and an important artifact of the neighborhood culture. Finally, visual data – photographic and video documentation – are also gathered to support the data gathered through interviews and participant observation.

Multiple data collection techniques secured the theoretical validity of the findings (Kirk and Miller, 1986). As Berg (1998: 4) emphasizes “every method is a different line of sight directed toward the same point, observing social and symbolic reality.” Following this line of reasoning, in-depth interviews served as the major data collection method, whereas participant observation data helped to contest and

confirm the findings of the interview data. Secondary data served two purposes: First, the analysis of secondary data sources provided guidance and a basis for interviews and participant observation. In other words, it helped me to decide what to look for, and where to look for. Second, data from newspapers and other sources provided a basis to challenge the validity of the findings from other data sources, and laid the underpinnings of the analysis as it helped to conceptualize, categorize the data.

IV.2. Data Collection Methods

IV.2.1. In-depth interviews

In order to explore the *emic* meanings of Cihangir for the residents, I employed in-depth interview as the major tool for data collection. The interviews consist of a set open-ended questions, since the responses to open-ended questions are longer, more detailed, and variable in content when compared to close-ended questions. In this way, they permit the researcher to see the world as seen by the respondents, without predetermining any categories that will push the informants to make a limited selection – and statements (McCracken, 1988; Patton, 1990; Silverman, 1993). It allows informants to express their own world – with the experiences and meanings – in their own terms (McCracken, 1988; Patton, 1990). To achieve this, qualitative researcher presents a framework within which the informants are free to express their feelings, thoughts, perceptions, and ideas in their own terms.

Informants

In this study, the informants are divided into four groups:

1. Gentrifiers
Pioneers and followers
2. Old Residents
3. Shopkeepers and retailers
4. Professionals – such as architects and real estate agents

As the primary focus of this study has been the gentrifiers – since they constitute the consumers in this process – they are the major informants. The other three groups are studied in order to present a complete picture of the phenomenon. They are expected to provide valuable insight as they have been close eyewitnesses of the process as it took place in Cihangir.

At the first phase of the study, I interviewed non-gentrifier groups and formed the interview guides for gentrifiers based on the insight provided by these interviews.

I prepared separate interview guides (See Appendix) for all the participants – gentrifiers, old residents, and real estate agents in the process. The interview guides covered all the aspects of the phenomenon. In most of the interviews, I did not strictly followed the interview guides – at least the order of questions – in order to relax the informants and tried to conduct the interviews in a chat-like, warm and friendly manner. Sometimes I interrupted the informants when they were obviously driven out of the topic. This way, I managed to maintain a continuous and

uninterrupted flow of narrative. In an ‘unobtrusive and non-manipulative’ manner (Patton, 1990: 40), I tried to conduct a ‘naturalistic inquiry’ (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

None of the informants were informed on the real focus of this study – gentrification – considering the possibility that gentrification might have negative connotations (such as displacement) for those who are familiar with the process. Rather they were told that the study is on ‘consumption of space and dwelling’.

Interviewees were allowed to choose the setting in which the interviews would take place, as well as time and date. Informants equally chose public spaces such as restaurants – especially *Smyrna*¹ - or coffeehouses – *Asmalı Kahve* – and their homes. Interviewees were not given any premium for participating in the study, only in some cases I bought drinks or meals for their participation. In some cases, informants themselves offered meals or drinks to me.

Basically, the sample selection for the interviews is based on the statistical data provided by the neighborhood principal - *muhtarlık*. The data included age, education, gender, marital status, occupation, religion, and address of 4,662 Cihangir residents. However, as the data also had some pitfalls – for example, children were also recorded as singles – I avoid constituting a sample that completely represents the population. Moreover, despite McCracken (1988)

¹ A small restaurant in the neighborhood. For more information on *Smyrna*, see the last section of Chapter V.

suggests the term respondents instead of 'sample', and the rules of sampling should not be used in choosing respondents. I employed 'purposive sampling' (Patton, 1990; Berg, 1995) strategy, if I have to name a strategy, in order to study a diverse array of informants in terms of backgrounds. Following McCracken's (1988) caveats I tried to choose my respondents from total strangers. I decided the 'sample' size to be from 8 to 10 informants for each of the pioneer- and follower-gentrifier groups, which comprises a respondent pool based on contrast of age, gender, status, education and occupation (McCracken, 1988). In the following section, the sampling procedure I followed will be discussed in detail for the respective groups (see appendix for a complete list of informants).

1. Gentrifiers

The primary focus of the research is gentrifiers. Ley (1996) divides gentrifiers into two groups: pioneers and followers. The pioneers choose the inner-city locations because of their cultural amenities, lifestyle and historical value. They are viewed as the risk-oblivious segment. The second group, followers are risk-averse, and they move to the newly upgrading neighborhoods not only because they appreciate urban core lifestyle but also they perceive these areas as investment opportunities (see chapters II and III for a more detailed explanation of these categories). As the sample includes both pioneers and followers, in order to differentiate between these categories, I used date of moving to neighborhood as a key determinant. Moreover, interviews with real estate agents and other professionals interested in the neighborhood – such as architects – were conducted

in order to identify a timeline of the process – three stages of gentrification as outlined in Travis’s empirical model (in O’Loughlin and Munski, 1979): (1) *Pre-rehabilitation*, (2) *Early rehabilitation*, and (3) *Advanced rehabilitation* stages. The analysis suggested that gentrification of Cihangir had become visible in the beginning of 1990s, and has reached its zenith between 1997 and 1999. Based on this data, prior to 1990s being the pre-rehabilitation stage, the period between 1990 and 1997 is labeled as early rehabilitation stage, and 1997 and onwards is viewed as advanced rehabilitation stage. Thus, those who moved between 1990 and 1997 were categorized as pioneers, and those who moved later as followers.

For the study, 18 gentrifiers – 9 pioneers and 9 followers – were interviewed. The interviews with gentrifiers lasted 61 minutes on average, ranging from 30 to 100 minutes. Nearly all of the interviews – except one of them – were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. As one of the gentrifier-informants expressed his disturbance with the recording, I did not insist in order to make him comfortable. I only took notes and tried to write down as verbatim as possible.

The interview guide for gentrifiers is prepared based on the review of the previous literature and the insights gathered in the first visit to research site, and the interviews with other parties such as real estate agents. Both pioneers and followers were asked the same group of questions. The interviews began with grand tour questions on their occupational backgrounds, family-related information and, of course, questions regarding their dwellings and neighborhood choice. They were

also asked questions regarding Cihangir and the wider environment. The interviews ended with questions regarding the lifestyles of the informants – such as their eating and entertainment habits, leisure activities etc.

As I employed ‘purposive sampling’ (Patton, 1990; Berg, 1995) strategy, I interviewed informants from diverse backgrounds. Both pioneers and followers were divided into subgroups such as artists/non-artists, owner occupiers/tenants, married/single etc. Moreover, informants were also varied in order to include all age groups, and households who had moved to neighborhood at different points in time.

The interviews were done without follow-ups, however, I spent time with many informants both before and after the interviews so that I gathered additional data that either supports or contradicts with their accounts in the interviews.

2. Old residents (both from lower- and middle-class)

Old residents were interviewed to elucidate their reactions toward gentrification and newcomers – namely gentrifiers. They were also expected to provide insight for the process, as well as to portray the temporal dimension of gentrification.

Old residents were asked a different set of question than gentrifiers. The interviews began with grand tour question, followed by questions aimed to understand their views and observations on gentrification and gentrifiers. The interviews with old residents lasted 35 minutes on average, as they were asked a

smaller number of questions than gentrifiers. Most of the informants did not authorize me for tape recording, so I accepted. The tape recorded interviews with old residents were not transcribed, since their accounts were not included in the analysis.

There were 5 old residents interviewed in this study. The sample included old residents who have been residing in Cihangir for at least two generations, varied in terms of age, social class, and income.

3. Shopkeepers and retailers

Interviews with retailers and shopkeepers were conducted to acquire further insight on the gentrification process, to which many of them were close witnesses. Moreover, as transformation in the retailscape has been an important dimension in the analysis of gentrification, case studies of several stores had to be included in the scope of this study.

In the interviews with shopkeepers and retailers I did not follow an interview guide, since each case required different questions. Mainly, the interviews included questions regarding the type of business, the years in business, previous business(es), the reasons for choosing Cihangir, and the type of business, as well as personal questions. As the interviews were usually conducted in a spontaneous manner, some of them were completed in multiple visits.

4. Professionals – such as architects and real estate agents

The interviews with real estate agents were conducted in order to understand the production side dynamics and to trace the temporal dimension of the gentrification process. As I mentioned above, interviews with professionals helped to identify the stages of gentrification which is essential for differentiating between pioneers and followers.

Real estate agents are interviewed for acquiring insight regarding the production side of the process, such as the supply of housing, rents, and preferences of both landlords and tenants. Real estate agents interviewed were also chosen in terms of the years in the business, the scale and scope of business.

For real estate agents, a separate interview guide was followed whereas interview with other professionals – such as architects and city planners – were conducted more spontaneously. Usually, the interview questions were prepared beforehand and customized for each of the informants. All interviews were tape-recorded unless the informants requested otherwise.

IV.2.2. Participant Observation

As interview is an important tool for data collection, it also has some limitations. Interviews reveal only what informants say, however, informants often do not do as they say (Patton, 1990). Moreover, there are also limitations to how much can be learned from what people say. In this sense, participant observation –

either as direct participation or the observation of the phenomenon in question – may serve as an important tool for overcoming the complexities of achieving a full understanding of the phenomenon in question. (Patton, 1990). Observational data is capable of extricating rich data, though it is hard to employ. First, it is labor intensive, it requires the researcher to immerse in the setting. Getting into the setting, establishing rapport with other participants, getting along with others without ‘going native’ are important considerations during the field study. On the other hand, observational data should have sufficient depth and detail. The data must be descriptive enough to present the audience a complete picture of the phenomenon in question and the setting in which the phenomenon takes place. The description must be factual, accurate and thorough (Patton, 1990). This requires extensive field notes as well as visual documentation to present a complete picture of the phenomenon.

Participant observation included a residence of forty-two days – over a three month period between April and June 2003 – in the neighborhood, as well as participation in meetings – such as protests and regular meetings of the neighborhood association. During the field study, observations were made in public places, such as cafés, restaurants, parks, and streets. Extensive field notes and visual data – both photographs and videotapes – supported in-depth interviews. The aim of the participant observation in this study was first to discover new themes and categories as well as naming or justifying those emerged from the interview data.

Second, it served to contest the narrative of Cihangir as presented by the informants. In other words, it helped to uncover whether ‘the informants do as they say’.

IV.2.3. Secondary-data Sources (Newspapers, Websites and Cihangir Postası)

In this study, the available secondary data sources – such as newspapers, websites, and a local newspaper – are also included in the analysis in order to check the authenticity of the findings. These secondary data sources are also helped to label categories and themes emerged in the interviews with gentrifiers.

As many known journalists and columnists – such as Mine Kırıkkanat, Ece Temelkuran, Ali Sirmen –, and writers – Orhan Pamuk, Erdal Öz – reside in Cihangir, there exists a voluminous amount of written material on both old and contemporary Cihangir. Such material is not only included in the analysis, but also provided insight of to the findings and narratives.

The issues of a bimonthly local newspaper – Cihangir Postası – are also included in the data since it has become a manifestation of the culture experienced and constructed in the neighborhood. Since many informants are regular readers of Cihangir Postası, it is also important to trace their accounts to the essays and news printed in the newspaper.

IV.2.4. Visual Documentation

Visual data collection is employed to the extent of documentation of the material artifacts in this study. Visual material is only aimed at providing visual representation of the material world, in other words, the site of research. The use of photographs and video recordings is to provide information about the neighborhood, and its physical fabric – the retailscape, and restored buildings etc. Moreover, surrounding environment and the landscape is also photographed and video-taped in order to provide detail to the audience. In some cases visual data is produced in order to serve as reminders. Furthermore, as future research is possible foreseeable feature, visual data also enable the researcher to make before and after comparisons.

During the research, as constrained by budget and time considerations, nearly two hundred photographs and 450 minutes of video recordings are produced.

IV.3. Data Analysis

As the major source of data the interviews with gentrifiers form the backbone of theory in this study. The interviews are tape-recorded and transcribed. The transcribed material is coded following the procedures described by Strauss and Corbin (1990). The coding procedure begins with *open coding*, “the process of breaking down examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 61) where concepts are conceptual labels placed on separate events, and happenings, and categories are groups of interrelated concepts. The naming of concepts and categories are based on informants own names and

labels if possible. In some instances, I preferred to name categories and concepts by myself, however, trying to be loyal to informants' expressions as much as possible. In other instances, the labels came out of secondary data sources, such as Cihangir Postası.

As the open coding only reveals the interrelationships between a category and its subcategories, the next step would be to present concrete relationships between different categories and construct several higher level, main categories. This stage is referred as *axial coding*, which is focused on “specifying a category (phenomenon) in terms of the conditions that gave rise to it; the context (its specific set of properties) in which it is embedded; the action/interactional strategies by which it is handled, managed, carried out; and the consequences of these strategies” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; 97).

The next step is called *selective coding*, which entails selecting a core category and systematically relating it to other categories. These relationships have to be validated, and categories should be filled in if further refinement and development needed.

For example, take the case of a pioneer, Bertan. The open coding revealed that there his reasons for moving to Cihangir: Proximity to city center and availability of cultural amenities. As he was asked to identify the advantages of living in İstanbul, he mentioned his growing up in Sultanahmet – a historical

neighborhood – and he testified that the historical areas are usually shabby however, they have a ‘culture’ whereas Etiler or Ulus have not. He said his friends from Ankara choose to live in Etiler, Ulus or Nişantaşı when they move to İstanbul, because they come from a modernist city. These neighborhoods, he said, are more ‘sterile’ than the historical urban core. On the other hand, he said that historical core is more *kozmpolit* than such sterile neighborhoods, where as those neighborhoods are host a homogeneous population. The residents of those neighborhoods, for him, lack the culture to live in the urban core

At the second level, the axial coding, these separate categories are related to each other. As he defined neighborhoods – Etiler, Ulus and Nişantaşı – in total opposition to Cihangir, at the same time he had defined a prototypical resident of such neighborhoods who lacks the cultural capital, and fears the social diversity. In this sense, he has defined what a *Cihangirli* is like even if he does not define what a *Cihangirli* is. As a result of the axial coding, several categories had emerged: (1) motives for moving to Cihangir, (2) a typical non resident and an (3) oppositional space which is sterile (4) hosting a homogeneous population, (5) non-residents (6) afraid to immerse in the social diversity. Simply, the story is as follows: The *Cihangirli* identity being the core category, the *Cihangirli* resides in Cihangir, which is not sterile – unlike Etiler, Ulus and Nişantaşı -, socially diverse, and has a culture. This culture is appreciated by a population – *Cihangirli* – who possesses a cultural capital – which makes him/her to attend in cultural amenities in the urban

core. Non resident, on the other hand, lacks the cultural capital, hence does not need to reside in the urban core as he/she rarely attends to cultural activities.

The analysis is conducted at three levels. First, each interview is coded and analyzed individually. Categories and themes emerged in each individual interview is compared with other interviews, first within their respective groups (i.e., pioneer and follower), then with other groups. For example, a pioneer-gentrifier's account is analyzed and then compared with those of other pioneers. Then the analysis extended beyond the pioneer data and compared with follower-gentrifier data.



CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

In this chapter, I will first present the main factors that lead to gentrification as a consumer-driven phenomenon. That is, I will underline the motives for moving to Cihangir as derived from the informants' accounts and as a result of participant observation. These motives are (1) the proximity of Cihangir to urban core – both in terms of the cultural amenities available in Beyoğlu, and the ease of transportation the city center provides – (2) attractiveness of the physical fabric of the neighborhood and a sense of nostalgia it evokes, (3) and the feelings of freedom and anonymity created by the socially diverse population of the neighborhood. The next section elaborates on the relationship between neighborhood and self-identity as it is exemplified in the case of Cihangir and its residents, following their motives for moving to Cihangir. The depiction of in-group and out-group identities and their prototypical embodiments show that there developed a keen sense of identity of 'New Cihangirli' by informants. The discourse of *Cihangir Cumhuriyeti* (The Republic of Cihangir) is a mythical reflection of this constructed ideal *Cihangirli*. The transformations in the retailscape during gentrification will be analyzed in order to present further implications of gentrification for consumption. The elaboration of further relationship between *Cihangirli* and consumption reveals that gentrification is the spatial manifestation of the wider strategy of cosmopolitanism, which is reflected by a rejection of malls and suburbs. In this sense, at a higher level, cosmopolitanism, and hence gentrification, are byproducts of a 'critical social

practice' of a fraction of the Turkish middle class, which not only tries to create and maintain distinction with other classes but also criticizes the mainstream consumption practices, especially those of '*Televole*' culture.

V.1. Motives for Moving to Cihangir

For Smith (1992: 113), "an explanation of why people choose to live in city is synonymous with an explanation of gentrification". In line with the findings of the previous literature (Ley, 1986; Brun and Fagnani, 1994; Zukin, 1998), Cihangir's gentrification can also be explained by consumer motives that value proximity of inner urban neighborhoods to cultural amenities, the ease of transportation, attractiveness of historical buildings and cityscape.

Regardless of their date of moving, informants state proximity of Cihangir to city center as their most important motive for moving to Cihangir. Being close to the city center means proximity to their workplace, and other areas in the urban core such as Eminönü, Beşiktaş, Nişantaşı, Taksim, Kadıköy and especially Beyoğlu.

Taksim and Kadıköy's proximity to Cihangir are valued by the informants since this area is the heart of the public transportation in İstanbul. These alternatives include subway, searines, public buses and *dolmuş*. On the other hand, Cihangir's proximity to Beyoğlu, especially *İstiklal* Street – the main street of Beyoğlu which provides a wide variety of entertainment services and shopping alternatives – is expressed as an important factor for choosing Cihangir by many informants.

Beyoğlu is viewed as the cultural core of not only İstanbul, but also Turkey; as it hosts the most important entertainment alternatives – such as theaters, concert halls, cinemas, and music clubs – in the city, as well as a large number of music and bookstores, and publishing houses. Beyoğlu attracts people from different educational and occupational backgrounds regardless of their age and income levels, especially on weekends.

Besides Cihangir's location at the urban core, its aesthetically pleasing landscape – with an amazing view of the Bosphorus – and historical character of the neighborhood attracts many informants. Narrow streets with historical buildings as well as many exemplars of later architectural styles – such as Art Deco and Art Nouveau – still maintain a historical atmosphere in the neighborhood.

Finally, informants express a tolerance – even an enthusiasm – towards the social diversity available in the urban core. Many informants state that they preferred Cihangir over other alternatives – especially suburbs or similar residential developments, and other urban neighborhoods – for the social diversity both Cihangir and its surrounding areas host.

The rest of this chapter elaborates on the analysis of the findings that I underlined above.

V.1.1. Proximity to the City Center

Nearly all of the informants – both pioneers and followers – state the neighborhood's *proximity to city center* as the most important factor for their preference for Cihangir. Without being asked to elaborate on their answers, they testified that being close to city center offers an ease of transportation, and facilitates their attendance in cultural amenities available in Taksim and Beyoğlu.

V.1.1.a. Ease of Transportation

The ease of transportation is the most frequently stated reason for moving to Cihangir. Cihangir lies in the urban core where most of the central neighborhoods are at walking distance to Cihangir. Most informants stated they did not need to use their cars anymore.

“I view it (Cihangir) as the belly, even belly button of İstanbul... In Cihangir... you don't need to have a car, because it is close to everywhere” (Kaan, business man, pioneer)
 (“İstanbul'un göbeği hatta göbek deliği olarak görüyorum ben... Cihangir'de ... arabaya da gerek yok çünkü heryere yakın”)

Taksim is the center of the public transportation in İstanbul where public transportation alternatives such as subway, buses, and *dolmuş*, offers an opportunity to reach almost every corner of İstanbul. Kadıköy is an important point for sea transportation, where crafts frequently set off for either Anatolian or European coast of the Bosphorus.

For İclal, who runs her own restaurant in Cihangir, being in the city center reduces the burden of transportation in such a metropolitan city:

“Cihangir is proximate to everywhere I mean it is close to Akmerkez, it is already close to Beyoğlu and it is close to Akmerkez and close to the Bosphorus, close to everrwhere, it you look at the map, map of the European Coast we are settled right in the middle... It is the heart of İstanbul... If you want to go to the other (Anatolian) coast, it is very easy to do it here, if you don't own a car or you don't want to drive, you take a dolmus over there or there is no other place as central as Cihangir in İstanbul” (İclal, restaurant owner, follower)
 (“Cihangir her yere yakın yani Akmerkez’e de yakın işte Beyoğlu’na zaten yakın da Akmerkez’e de yakın Boğaz’a da yakın her yere yakın burası tam ortada zaten haritaya da bakarsan Avrupa yakası haritasına tam ortada oturuyoruz... İstanbul’un tam kalbi... karşı tarafa gitmek için de burası çok kolay hemen şurdan dolmuşa binip geçiyorsun araba kullanmak istemiyorsan ya da araban yoksa Cihangir kadar merkezi bi yer yok İstanbul’da”)

Similarly Betül, an artist and a professor in Mimar Sinan University, who has been living in Cihangir since 1993, underlines the benefits of reduced transportation time within the city. She and her husband are both professors in Mimar Sinan University, and they decided to move to Cihangir in order to get closer to their work.

“It’s proximity to center, and it’s being close to the university... you can live without being distressed (by traffic), transportation, you know, is a big problem in İstanbul. When we first moved here, it was like we’re on a vacation because when we were living on the other side, transportation was not such a big deal. It gradually became such a huge problem that we were spending one, one-and-a-half hour on the road” (Betül, artist/academician, pioneer)
 (“bu merkeze yakın olması bi de tabi bizim için üniversiteye yakın olması... hiç rahatsız olmadan yaşantınızı sürdürebiliyorsunuz ki İstanbul’da biliyorsunuz ulaşım sorun, ilk geldiğimiz zaman zaten böyle bi tatile çıkmış gibi oldu çünkü karşı tarafta otururken ilk zamanları ulaşım o kadar büyük sorun değildi, gitgide gitgide o kadar büyük sorun oldu ki, yolda böyle 1 saat 1,5 saat geçiyodu...”)

Bertan, in a similar vein, complains about the transportation problems of the city, and has moved from Ortaköy to Cihangir, to the apartment house which he previously used as his workshop:

“your life starts to be wasted on the road, since there is no public transportation, eventually we were spending two hours a day, two hours a day is an important part in ones life, it ended up being awful to spend a considerable time of a week, so we moved here... We preferred Cihangir because it is very close to Taksim and a residential area with a neat housing stock” (Bertan, architect/caricaturist, pioneer)
 (“...giderek hayatınız yollarda geçmeye başlıyor toplu ulaşım aracı da olmadığı için yani sonuçta her gün iki saat İstanbul’un dibinde oturup her gün iki saati yolda geçen bir insan için yani haftada çok önemli bi vaktini yolda harcamış oluyor bu tabi tatsız bişey haline

geldiği için biraz da o yüzden taşındık... Cihangir Taksim'e yakın ve konut bölgesi ve işte düzgün konutların da olduğu biyer onun için tercih ettik.”)

Informants' accounts showed that being proximate to city center helped to save time – which is rather to be spent with family, for work, and leisure – and money – for many quit driving in the city traffic, as some even sold their cars. For example, for Neşe – who used to be a ballet dancer at the time she moved to Cihangir – city center meant closeness to her workplace in Taksim, AKM (Atatürk Cultural Center) and her spouse's work:

“Both for me and for my spouse, the time we were going to spend with our family was very important. Because he was working here, my second spouse, I'd rather spend the time, the time I spent on road, with my kids, so we came to Cihangir” (Neşe, retired ballet dancer, pioneer)

(“Benim için de eşim için de ailemize ayıracağımız zaman çok önemliydi. Çünkü eşim de bu tarafta çalışıyordu, ikinci eşim, işe gidip geleceğim zamanı çocuklarıma ayırırım falan filan Cihangir'e geldik.”)

Ercan, who used to live in Kadıköy, similarly, points proximity to workplace as the most important reason for moving to city center:

“We considered moving because it (the former residence) was very far from where we were working, by the way my spouse also changed her job, she started working in Taksim” (Ercan, instructor, follower)

“Taşınmayı düşündük çünkü çok uzaktı bizim çalıştığımız yere, eşim de bu arada iş değiştirdi, Tünel'de Taksim'de bir işe geçti”

Nearly half of the informants have their own cars. Many of them, such as Ziya (academician, follower) who had a second house in İstinye (a neighborhood alongside the Bosphorus) and Bertan (architect, pioneer) who used to reside in Arnavutköy (another neighborhood alongside the Bosphorus) mention that living in Cihangir reduced their fuel expenses. They usually emphasize that they did not use their automobiles as frequently as they used to do. Similarly, Nimet (journalist,

follower), Orhan (artist/academician, pioneer), and Tarcan (leasing expert, follower) underlined that they drive less after their move to Cihangir. Nearly all the informants testified that they prefer public transportation (subway, bus etc.) over driving themselves. Ercan (instructor, follower) told that he sold his car after he moved to Cihangir, due to parking problems and his diminished need for a car.

Most of those who did not own a car underlined that they solved their commuting needs with public transportation and, sometimes, walking. Emine (journalist/writer, pioneer) told that she whenever she needed to go somewhere, she walked in every instance possible. Yetkin (industrial products designer, follower) takes subway to get to work everyday. When I asked, he said he did not plan to buy a car – as he could afford one – as long as he resided in Cihangir.

However, for many informants, proximity to city center or their jobs at the city center is only one of the reasons for moving to Cihangir. For example, Betül and Orhan (artist/academicians, pioneers) stated that they used to live on the Anatolian side, in an apartment, which had no room for their ateliers (Orhan is a painter and Betül is a ceramic artist) and a dog. They decided to move to a single family dwelling and chose Cihangir both for its proximity to the university and because it hosts plenty of such houses in good shape. Such a house was attractive to them because it enabled them to have their ateliers and home under the same roof.

V.1.1.b. Availability of Cultural Amenities

Besides the ease of transportation, proximity to city center means proximity to Beyoğlu, with a wide range of entertainment and cultural opportunities it provides. For Necla, proximity to city center means closeness to cultural activities:

“it’s proximity to center, proximity to cultural environment” (Necla, retired teacher, pioneer)
 (“Merkeze çok yakın olması, kültürel ortama çok yakın olması”)

İclal, who rarely attends cultural activities, observes that cultural amenities attract many people to Cihangir:

“Actually those who decide to move here, I think, do so because “it is so central, very close to *İstiklal* Street, we can go there very easily, the places we want to go are all there” (İclal, restaurant owner, follower)
 (“Aslında buraya taşınmaya karar verenler bence şey diye karar veriyolar işte çok merkezi, *İstiklal* caddesine çok yakın iki adımda yürü çıkarız gitmek istediğimiz yerler hep orda...”)

For Bertan, who previously resided in Arnavutköy, a neighborhood near the Bosphorus, Cihangir facilitates his attendance in cultural amenities.

“Having AKM nearby home, or you can easily go out and watch four movies in a day in İstanbul Film Festival, it is very pleasing. This year, I watched all the movies in İstanbul Film Festival, I watched three or so documentary films in a day, for example, in Arnavutkoy, it would be very difficult for me to do that.” (Bertan, architect/caricaturist, pioneer)
 (“evin çok yakınında AKM’nin olması veya evinizden çıkıp İstanbul film festivalinde bir günde dört tane film görebiliyor olmanız filan bütün bunlar çok hoş şeyler. Ben bu sene film festivalindeki bütün filmleri seyrettim günde üç tane falan belgesel seyrettim mesela Arnavutköy’de yaşısam bunları yapıp eve dönmem hayli zor olurdu...”)

Besides the advantages of proximity of his and his spouse’s work place – MSU – Orhan underlines the advantages of being close to Beyoğlu, where they frequently attend expositions, and artistic performances:

“It is of greatest importance to be engaged art activities very easily” (Orhan, painter/academician, pioneer)
 (“en önemlisi sanatsal aktivitenin içinde çok kolay olabilmek...”)

Some of the informants – especially artists, writers, journalists and the like – call Beyoğlu as their workplace; or a work related space. For them, being close to Beyoğlu, beyond the cultural amenities available, is a must. For example, Emine, who has moved to Cihangir after she married Baha (a caricaturist who has long been living in Cihangir) moving to Cihangir was not a consciously made decision, however:

“even if it wasn’t so, I would explore and choose Cihangir because it is very close to everywhere, very central, and it is very handy for me... I work independently but the workplaces I contact with are usually located around Beyoğlu” (Emine, journalist/writer, pioneer)

(“öyle olmasa da keşfeder seçerdim çünkü her yere çok yakın çok merkezi bi yer bu benim için çok avantajlı bişey – serbest çalışıyorum ama genelde ilişki kurduğum işyerleri Beyoğlu çevresinde oluyor.”)

Apart from the factors mentioned above, Ziya underlines the utility of Beyoğlu for his profession, emphasizing the presence of publishing houses, and bookstores in Beyoğlu. As he mentions his relationship with Beyoğlu, he also justifies his reasons for moving to Cihangir:

“I’m in the publishing business, I organize exhibitions – I’m a curator ... here is also – in quotation marks – my working site besides the university, to a large extent, to be close to cultural activities has an important role the publishing business because the distances are very long in İstanbul... It helps to save time, I mean, after I moved here my fuel expenses were diminished to one fourth... It means that my business is all here, it means I used to come here very often... time saving because it sometimes takes two-and-a-half hour to go to İstinye, especially in rush hours... Normally you can do that within 25 or 30 minutes... all these are savings, saving time” (Zafer, academician, follower)

(“ben yayın dünyasındayım işte sergiler yapıyorum, küratörlük yapıyorum (...) yani burası benim aynı zamanda tırnak içinde iş muhitim, yani üniversite ötesinde büyük ölçüde işte yani yayın dünyasında, sanat dünyasında kültürel etkinliklere yakınlığın önemli bir rolü var, çünkü İstanbul’da mesafeler uzak... zamandan bi tasarruf sağlıyor yani buraya geldikten sonra benim benzin masraflarım dörtte bire düştü. Yani bu hakikaten benim bütün işim buradaymış demek ki, geçmişte devamlı buraya geliyormuşum yani... Zamandan tasarruf hele bazı zamanlarda eskiden mesela buradan İstinye’ye rush hour trafğinde gitmek 1,5

saat falan sürüyordu. Normalde 20-25 dakikada bilemedin 30 dakikada gidebileceğin mesafe... şimdi bunlar tasarruf dediğim gibi zamandan tasarruf.”)

Ercan, who has been living in İstanbul for three years, identifies proximity to workplace as the most important factor for their choice of neighborhood. But when I asked about his interest in cultural activities in Beyoğlu, he advocated that proximity to cultural amenities such as concerts and exhibitions was the most important factor:

“Because of our personal characteristics here is an attraction point for us... it was very hard to attend to the concerts when we were living in Kadıköy... Kadıköy has cinemas but no concert halls, except for one... It was very difficult to come to Cemal Reşit Rey or AKM... I probably forgot to tell that at the beginning but it was mostly this (that led us to Cihangir)” (Ercan, instructor, follower)

(“Bizim kendi kişisel özelliklerimizden dolayı da burası bizim için cazibe merkezi oluyor yani... çünkü önceden Kadıköy’de konserleri sinemaları takip etmek biraz zordu... sinema bakımından yoğun Kadıköy ama konser salonu bi tane halk eğitim merkezi var... Cemal Reşit Rey’e ya da AKM’ye gelmek biraz zor oluyordu... Belki de unuttum baştan söylemeyi ama en önemli etken buydu...”)

Necle, in addition to other factors – such as Cihangir’s being an appropriate place for single women, and the view of the Bosphorus – equates city center with cultural amenities:

“even in the worst weather, you can walk to AKM in five minutes... If you are residing in Göztepe, you gave up the ticket and you wouldn’t go” (Necile, retired teacher, pioneer)
“en kötü havada bile, fırtınada bile AKM’ye gidip beş dakkada yürüyerek gidiyorsunuz geliyorsunuz, bazen arkadaşlar koşura koşura giderken bu bilet dünyanın parası da olsa Göztepe’de oturuyor olsan böyle havada bileti yakarsın gitmezsin.”

As seen in above accounts, the functionality of being proximate to the city center is underlined by informants in the first place. However, the distinction between symbolic and utilitarian motives is not clearcut, since some motives that appear to be functional contain meanings that are symbolic as well. For example,

proximity to city center is a utilitarian motive for it eases the transportation. It is also symbolic because, first, it reflects that informants have a desire to be close to the cultural amenities available in Taksim and Beyoğlu; second, they have an interest in the urban fabric; and finally, they show a tolerance towards social diversity of the urban core.

V.1.2. Physical Characteristics

Another important motive cited by the informants is the attractiveness of the landscape and the physical fabric of the neighborhood. As Cihangir is located on the seaside of a hill near the Bosphorus, it offers an amazing panoramic view which covers the Bosphorus on the left, Maiden's Tower (*Kız Kulesi*), Prince Islands and Marmara Sea in the middle, and historical peninsula and Golden Horn to the left.

Nadide (Caricaturist, Pioneer) who has been living in Cihangir for 15 years states that seaview was the most important factor for her choice of dwelling, although her preference for Cihangir was mainly based on factors such as its location (proximity to her school and Beyoğlu), and affordability of housing in Cihangir prior to gentrification.

"The view of the Bosphorus from Cihangir... that impressed me the most... because I saw the apartment at night when all the lights were off, the Bosphorus and the lights of the ships were very impressing" (Nadide, caricaturist, pioneer)
("Cihangir'den görülen Boğaz manzarasını...Beni en çok sarsan oydu... Çünkü gece gittim eve görmeye ışıklar kapalıydı böyle bütün Boğaz, ışıklı gemiler falan çok etkileyiciydi.")

Tarcan pointed out landscape as the most important factor for his preference for Cihangir, and the proximity to center being another advantage:

“Honestly, I did not have an idea of Cihangir... One day, I came to a friend’s apartment for dinner, not a real friend, a guy that we had business with, I came to his apartment on Susam Street, there you have a marvelous view, as I came I fell in love with it, I even dreamed of it, seriously... I decided to have an apartment with that view... I thought it was very close to Taksim, I would go to theater or cinema more frequently if I move here, plus the subway was in construction at that time...” (Tarcan, leasing expert, follower)

(“Yani Cihangirle ilgili çok bi fikrim yoktu açıkçası... bi gün bi arkadaşla geldim akşam yemeğine yani tam arkadaş diil iş yaptığımız bi adamdı, Susam sokakta evi vardı oranın manzara şahane ya geldim aşk oldum, muazzam bi manzara rüyama falan girdi ciddi söylüyorum... o gün kafama koydum böyle bi manzaram olsun dedim... yani işte baktım Taksim’e de yakın dedim ben buraya taşınırsam tiyatroya sinemaya falan daha sık giderim, bi de metro yapılıyordu o zaman...”)

Since not all the apartments have a sea view, those with such a view are significantly more expensive than others. Especially, as apartments on *Susam* Street (and the parallel streets down the hillside) are regarded as having best view of the sea from Cihangir, they are very expensive. Often there emerge huge price differences between apartments in the same building, those with a sea view may well exceed four times the price of other apartments who lack, or have a partial view of the sea. Evidently, although landscape plays an important role in preferences, few can afford to rent or purchase an apartment with a sea view. Nearly all informants mentioned a liking for the landscape even if few lived in such an apartment, since they can also enjoy the sea view just by walking on the streets.

In addition, Cihangir, as a part of Beyoğlu, has a historical character with many historical buildings and narrow streets. Informants express an enthusiasm for this physical character of the neighborhood, and its surrounding areas:

“I love taking the tramcar in Beyoğlu when it’s not crowded, because the old buildings, the life and the old buildings gives me pleasure, sometimes I go there just because of this but I usually take the tramcar because it is not possible to see the buildings while walking” (Neşe, retired ballet dancer, 45, pioneer)

“Beyoğlu’nda tramvay ile gezmeyi çok seviyorum kalabalık olmadığı saatlerde tramvayı çünkü eski binalar ordaki yaşamla birlikte eski binalar bana keyif veriyor bazen sırf onun için oralara çıkıyorum ama tramvayla genelde çünkü yürürken pek mümkün olmuyor binaları falan görmek”)

“Cihangir is, above all, a nostalgia, that is, it has a historical side, everywhere, every step I take, it is pleasing for me” (Mehmet, Vet, 33, follower)
 (“Cihangir neresinden bakarsan bak hep bir nostaljidir, yani bir tarih ögesi içerir, her yerinde her adımında bu benim için keyif veren bi olaydır.”)

“Walking through *İstiklal* (Street) is like, it is like a song you like, you listen in over and over, but it also has a certain section that you listen and rewind and listen again and again... a section in which the singer screams adorably, or the guitarist has given a wonderful tune... some streets, some buildings, they are just like that section, for instance there as building with o tower, I really adore that.” (Tarkan, leasing expert, follower)
 (“*İstiklal*’de yürümek benim için şey gibi hani sevdiğin bi şarkı olur tekrar tekrar dinlersin ama hani bi yeri de vardır tekrar tekrar başa alır orayı dinlersin... adam mesela güzel bağırması ya da gitarist güzel bi tını attırmıştır oraya yani öyle işte bazı sokaklar bazı binalar öyle benim için mesela hani caminin yanında bi apartman var tepesinde kulesi var ona bayılıyorum”)

However, it rarely influences neighborhood choice as none of the informants state it as a reason for moving to Cihangir. Rather, it seems like an interest that is cultivated as informants resided in the urban core.

As O’Loughlin and Minski (1979: 55) observes gentrification “most often occurs in areas having a strong historic heritage, based on a distinctive housing style and association with important periods in the city’s history.” The taste for historical buildings suggest an interest for the past eras, in other words, a sense of nostalgia.

Nostalgia is simply explained as ‘a painful yearning to return home’ (Holak and Havlena, 1992). However, the sense of nostalgia is more complicated than a simple homesickness. For Davis (1979), nostalgia is a longing for the past or a "yearning for yesterday." Davis views nostalgia as a mechanism that people employ

to maintain their identity when they face of major identity transitions that create discontinuities in a person's life cycle (e.g., from childhood to adolescence, from single to married life, etc. it is important to note that nostalgia grows stronger for adolescence and early adulthood than for any other period.). This narrow definition of nostalgia suggests that an individual cannot experience true nostalgia for a period or event through which he or she has not lived (Holak and Havlena, 1992). Holbrook and Schindler (1991: 330) define nostalgia more broadly as "a preference (general liking, positive attitude, or favorable affect) toward objects (people, places, or things) that were more common (popular, fashionable, or widely circulated) when one was younger (in early adulthood, in adolescence, in childhood, or even before birth)." For Baker and Kennedy (1994), while *real* nostalgia is experienced by the individual, *simulated* nostalgia occurs when the 'real thing' is not available (Baker and Kennedy, 1994). Simulated – intergenerational nostalgia in Davis's (1979) terms – refers to memories of an 'unexperienced' past created through interaction with others who have lived in earlier periods and events. Especially the proliferation of images with the diffusion of mass media facilitated the creation of a sense of past which is never lived by those who yearn for it.

Real nostalgia is simply explained by the a yearning for 'good old days', as 'then' was viewed better than 'now'. For Orhan and Betül (artist/academicians, pioneers), who had lived in Cihangir for several months in late 1960s, Cihangir evokes 'real' nostalgic feelings:

"The old Cihangir, it's not the time we reached, for those before us it was like what Nisantasi is today... one day, I took a can and the driver asked me "whereto", I said "to

Cihangir", the driver was an old İstanbullu – which is very rare – he said that it was a privilege to reside in Cihangir... Of course, at that time, especially before the 6-7 September incidents, there were many foreigners (minorities) in Cihangir, as the old folks say "ekalliyet"¹... when they left Anatolian migrants came here and it became *ıgğaliye*², many places had been invaded and it is still going on today. Of course, later its face had changed." (Orhan and Betül, artists/academicians, pioneers)

("eski Cihangir bizim ını yetiştığımız devir değil, bizden öncekilerin söyledikleri Nişantaşı neyse bugün için ını hatta bana bir şoför söyledi bir gün taksiye bindim Nereye dedi Cihangir, eski İstanbullu imiş ki, pek ender şimdi şoförlerin, a dedi Cihangir'de oturmak ayrıcalık dedi..tabi o zaman için Cihangir çok, özellikle bu 6-7 Eylül hadiselerinden evvel burada çok yabancı oturmuşyani bizim eskilerin tabiriyle ekalliyet, onlar gidince tabi Anadolu'dan çok büyük göç alıp, hatta ıgğaliye olmuş birçok yer ıgğal edilmiş hala bile ıgğaller var Cihangir'de. Ondan sonra tabi yüzü değişmiş..")

On the other hand, Kaan (Businessman, pioneer), an enthusiast of history books, expresses a nostalgia for a period he never witnessed:

"Once upon a time, minorities used to live in Cihangir, I regret that I missed that era... it is vivid in Oba street, on side of the street is an elegant architecture... the other side is by architects from the Black Sea region... at that side the facades are dull, the other side is facades with baywindows and stuff... I wanted to see that era, before architects from Black Sea came... Cihangir, in a way, gives me a sense of history and I frequently read about those periods, and live that periods..." (Kaan, business man, pioneer)

("Cihangir'de eskiden işte azınlıklar oturuyormuş daha çok ona yetişemediğime üzülyorum çünkü Oba Sokak'ta görülür ya bi tarafı böyle çok güzel bi mimaridir... öbür taraf Karadenizli mimarlardır... o taraf dümdüzdür öbür taraf cumbalı evler filandır... ben o döneme yetişmek isterdim, Karadenizli mimarların gelmediği döneme... (...) Cihangir nedense bana geçmiş havasını da veriyor ben biraz o dönemleri de çok okuyorum çok yaşıyorum")

When asked, most of the informants testified that they wanted to move to a historical building – which are labeled as *yüksek tavanlı* (with high ceiling) or *nostaljik* (nostalgic) by real estate agents, if they are not already residing in one:

"Absolutely an old one... with high ceiling... hardwood floors... with old fashioned bathroom and kitchen" (Sibel, restaurant owner, follower)

("Kesinlikle eski evlerden... işte yüksek tavanlı... yerler ahşap... banyosu mutfağı eski moda...")

¹ *Ekalliyet* comes from the word equality, to show that those minorities have equal rights with the Muslims.

² By *ıgğaliye*, she is referring to migrants as invaders.

“What kind of dwelling do I want? I want it to have a seaview but those are very expensive and of course one with a high ceiling” (Nevin, journalist, follower)
(“nasıl bi ev istiyorum... işte deniz görsün isterim ama o evler çok pahalı tabi ki böyle yüksek tavanlı...”)

In terms of price, historical apartments do not cost more than newer ones – those built in last three or four decades – since they have the potential to create many problems – for their installations are usually worn out. However, since only 30-percent of the buildings in Cihangir qualify as historical, historical buildings are always short in supply. Those new comers who insist on residing in a historical building trade ‘security’ and sea view for this, and choose Çukurcuma, Galata or Tünel – other neighborhoods adjacent to Beyoğlu.

V.1.3. Social Diversity:

Finally, informants express tolerance – even enthusiasm – towards the social diversity available in the urban core. The historical urban structure is not exclusive to Cihangir, as informants are well aware of. Tarlabası, Dolapdere, Pangaltı, Nişantaşı, and Galata, all carry similar characteristics in terms of the physical appearance of streets and buildings:

“In terms of its streets, the buildings, and its history, I don’t think Cihangir is very different from Tarlabası... however, the *lifestyles* are very different, Cihangir has a different lifestyle, Tarlabası has a different lifestyle, Galata has a different lifestyle.” (Teoman, vet, follower)

(“Cihangir’in sokakları, ve binaları ve tarihiyle geçmiş anlamında Tarlabası’ndan çok büyük bi farkı olduğunu düşünmüyorum (...) ama *yaşam biçimleri* çok daha farklı, Cihangir’in yaşam biçimi farklı, Beyoğlu’nun farklı, Tarlabası’nın farklı, Galata’nın farklı...”)

Many informants state that they preferred Cihangir over other alternatives – other urban neighborhoods, especially suburbs or similar residential developments – for the social diversity both Cihangir and its surrounding areas host. For example,

the buildings in Cihangir were built in the same era, and share the same architectural forms with those in Nişantaşı, a neighborhood which is frequently cited as a substitute for Cihangir in terms of physical appearance. However, similar to Teoman, Nimet points out that it is the social structure that makes the difference in Cihangir.

“This kind of cityscape is very rare in İstanbul, I do not consider the other side it is quite different there... Maybe there is Nişantaşı, but Nişantaşı has a different thing, a different social composition” (Nimet, journalist, follower)

(“bu tür bir yapılanma İstanbul’un çok az yerinde var karşı tarafı saymıyorum orda daha farklı bir yapı var... Nişantaşı var belki ama Nişantaşı’nın da şeyi farklı yani daha *insan çeşitliliği* farklı”)

Along similar lines, Timur emphasizes the difference between Cihangir and Teşvikiye – an adjacent neighborhood to Nişantaşı:

“I used to reside in Teşvikiye... it is not a bad neighborhood but it is a little... more elite, it has such a thing... not exactly the upper crust but seems more elite... here is not like that, here is very liberating, very relaxed I mean all kinds of people can be found in here” (Timur, graphic designer, follower) (“daha önceden Teşvikiye’de oturmuştum... orası da fena bi semt diil ama orası biraz şey, daha elit bi semt öyle bişeyi var onun biraz... tam sosyetik diilse bile yani daha elit öyle bi yaklaşımı var... burası öyle diil burası çok serbest, çok daha rahat yani burda *her tür insan* bulunuyor...”)

As shown, informants’ accounts outline a distinction between Cihangir and other neighborhoods in terms of social composition. The word *kozmopolit* (cosmopolitan in Turkish) is commonly used by informants to explain the social structure of Cihangir:

Bertan: Cihangir is a very kozmopolit place

Altan: What do you mean by kozmopolit?

Bertan: people from different cultural backgrounds, different ethnical backgrounds, even different classes, they are living together... people of different statuses, different classes, not like that, at first sight it seems like there is only journalists, advertisers, writers, models and stuff, but it’s not like that (Bertan, architect, follower)

(Bertan: çok *kozmopolit* bi yer Cihangir

Altan: Tam olarak kozmopolitten kastınız ne?

Bertan: Farklı kültürel gruplar ve farklı etnik yapılar bir arada yaşıyorlar ve hatta farklı sınıflar da var... farklı statüden, farklı sınıftan insanlar yani böyle şey gibi diil, ilk bakışa

herkes gazeteci, herkes reklamcı, herkes yazar, herkes manken, falan diil yani Cihangir’de kalan...)

“I am talking of those groups of higher status in terms of educational backgrounds, and incomes, but also there are those lower classes like janitors, *kozmpolit* groups I mean, in this mess everybody has found his own place, his own shelf, it’s like everybody is living without disturbing each other, or it is my way of perceiving Cihangir.” (Nimet, journalist, follower)

(“Eğitim, gelir düzeyi olarak daha üst gruplardan bahsediyorum yani apartman kapıcıları falan gibi şeyler de var *kozmpolit* gruplar da var yani o karmaşada herkes kendi yerini bulmuş kendi kabuğunu bulmuş orda işte kimseyi rahatsız etmeden yaşıyormuş gibi geliyor bana ya da algılayış biçimim Cihangir’i bu.”)

Cihangir is *kozmpolit* in the sense that it hosts a diversity of people in terms of income, age, social class, nationality, rural and urban roots, and sexual stances. It hosts the leftovers of the previous periods – gays, transvestites, criminals, students, artists, a small number of Greeks and Jews – plus new comers, new middle class ‘gentrifiers’ – artists, advertisers, designers, white-collar employees (i.e., yuppies), journalists, and more students:

“there are artists, writers, and also academicians like me, and a place that you can find such people... a place that hosts all types of people, from homosexuals to heterosexuals, and a pluralist understanding”

(Ziya, academician, follower)

(“işte sanatçısı boldur, yazarı boldur, işte benim gibi üniversite hocası gibi insanların bulunduğu bir yer ıı işte homoseksüelinden heteroseksüeline her türlü insanın bulunduğu, bir çoğulcu anlayışın bulunduğu bir yer.”)

“For instance, when you go to Cihangir Park, you can see that... it has a way that calms me down, a janitor lady and her grandson, a French lady and her kid, I mean people of different ages, a kid, a young boy with a beer in his hand, Cihangir Parki is a space where you can see all of these”

(Nadide, caricaturist, pioneer)

(“mesela Cihangir parkına gittiğinizde şey görebiliyorsunuz, beni rahatlatan bir yanı da var, bir kapıcı kadınla torunu, Fransız bir kadın, onun çocuğu, bir de yani her kesimden her yaştan insan, böyle bir çocuk, birası elinde genç bir oğlan, onların hepsini bir yerde görebileceğiniz bir alan Cihangir parkı.”)

“Here lives a people of a wide scale... it is wide but there are those not included, it does not include the upper class economically... there are riches and also university students... there are artists and gays, there are some transvestites who had not left *Ülker* Street yet... the customer profile is like this... people of different segments, painters, poets, writers and sportspeople, quite a variety” (Yetkin, industrial products designer, follower)

(“Burada çok geniş skaladan insanlar yaşıyo... ama geniş derken kapsamadığı bi kesim de var üst sınıfı kapsamıyo ekonomik olarak... burada zenginler de var öğrenciler de...”)

sanatçısı var eşcinseli var, Ülker sokağı hala terk etmeyen travestiler de var... müşteri profili bu yani... her kesimden insan var ressam, şair, yazar, sporcu çok karışık...”)

“There are different types of people living in Cihangir, for example I used to reside in Altın Bilezik Street which was a street which hosts painters and artists, when you turn right from the crossroads, there are those mothers with their head’s covered, wearing a *şalvar* yelling to her kid “I kill you”... there are also foreigners when you turn left... there are very different types of people... I, more or less, know, I guess everybody knows that down that convenience store there lives the kid who sells drugs. When you asked my local employees they can tell you who steals car stereos, who uses drugs, they all know that” (Neşe, ballet dancer, pioneer)

(“Cihangir’de çok farklı farklı insanlar var yani mesela Altın Bilezik Sokak’ta oturdum orda ressamların sanatçıların falan oturduğu bi sokaktı dörtyolağzından sağa doğru döndüğünüzde başörtülü altında şalvar çekirdek çitleyen sokakta çocuğuna gel buraya ‘gebertirim’ diye bağırان anneler vardır eee o dörtyolağzından sola doğru dönün devam edin sağlı sollu yabancılar oturur, gidin sağa döndüğünüzde vakıf evleri vardır çok farklı insan tipleri var. Ben az çok biliyorum sanırım herkes de biliyodur şu bakkaldan biraz daha aşağıda bu civarda esrar satan çocuk oturuyor, yani çok enteresandır Cihangir... Benim burda çalışan Cihangirli çocuklara sorduğum zaman burda kimin araba teybi çaldığını hangisinin uyuşturucu kullandığını hepsi biliyor...”)

Cosmopolitanism has always been a familiar concept, though its meanings vary in the academic discourse. The word ‘cosmopolitan’ derives from the Greek word *kosmopolitês* (‘citizen of the world’) (Kleingeld and Brown, 2002). As the word *kosmopolitês*, the term cosmopolitan is rooted in the Greek and Roman civilizations. Cosmopolitanism called for unity among city-states, which are often at war with each other, and a political project that promotes tolerance toward diversity (Calhoun, 2002). During the Enlightenment, cosmopolitanism took a different shape as individual was freed from its traditional bounds, such as religion. Tolerance was still a foundation of cosmopolitanism, as the rise of capitalism and world-wide trade made it possible to contact with other cultures.

Cosmopolitanism is a biased term in itself. As Calhoun (2002: 874) emphasizes, it “reflects an elite perspective on the world.” It requires tolerance

toward diversity (Lu, 2000), the subject of this tolerance is sometimes the ruling elite, or the Westerner (Abbas, 2000; Calhoun, 2002); while the object of tolerance is the Other - whether it be the lower-classes or the Easterner. It requires liberation of the individual from his/her ethnocentric biases, loyalty to his/her parochial culture – a ‘privileged’ stand point. For Lu (2000), cosmopolitanism is not rootlessness, rather it is a rootedness – of multiple roots, each of which requires loyalty, affinity and difference. This rootedness embodies an individual with a divided but single identity.

In his seminal piece on cosmopolitanism, Hannerz (1990: 249) argues that since many of the local settings – such as cities – are increasingly characterized by cultural diversity in the contemporary world, individuals with “cosmopolitan inclinations may make selective use of their habitats to maintain their expansive orientation toward the wider world.” Similarly, Abbas (2000: 786) remarks that “the cosmopolitan today” has to “include at least some of the less privileged men and women placed or displaced in the transnational space of the city and who are trying to make sense of its spatial and temporal contradictions.” Thus, he views the cosmopolitan as an arbitrageur/arbitrageuse rather than as a universalist arbiter of value. However, in this case, arbitrage does not refer to the use of technologies and opportunities to maximize profits in a global world, rather it refers to “everyday strategies for negotiating the disequilibria and dislocations that globalism has created” (Abbas, 2000: 786).

In his 'emancipatory city' thesis, Caulfield (1994) provided a view of gentrification as a process which unites different people in the central city, creating opportunities for social interaction and tolerance. In this sense cosmopolitanism is the foundation of gentrification since it is a manifestation of a fraction of middle class to mingle with, or at least tolerate, the social diversity inherent in the urban core. In the case of gentrification, cosmopolitanism takes the form of a tolerance to, and acceptance of the less privileged, lower-class urban population, which is to be found in the immediate environment of the 'privileged' – the middle class. In this sense, this cosmopolitanism is appreciation of the differences of income, social status, ethnicity, background (rural versus urban), and sexual preferences located in the urban core.

Both pioneers and followers emphasize that they tolerate such diversity. Especially gays, as they are stigmatized in Turkish culture, are the most commonly referred group for being a subject of such diversity and an object of tolerance. The transvestite subculture is driven out of Cihangir, whereas gays still can find their place in the neighborhood. The presence of gay subculture is tolerated by other residents, which lead many gays to choose Cihangir as residence. They do not need to hide their sexual stances, even they manifest their homosexuality through symbols. In one apartment building in *Matara* Street, a rainbow flag is hung on one of the balconies, where almost everyone I talked to acknowledges that there lives two homosexual brothers. During one of the interviews, the manager of a local bank

branch jumped into our conversation when she overheard that we were talking about gays and transvestites. She said:

“Our gays have dignity, they are not prostitutes, they sit quiet.”

(“Bizim eşcinselimiz namusludur, öyle fuhuş falan yapmazlar, uslu uslu otururlar.”)

“When you take a look you can’t see a single transvestite in Cihangir, but it was a thing... a beauty of Cihangir... There are still few transvestites, those old transvestites over 50s. They call them ‘mother’. They are not working, not working as prostitutes anymore, there are still few of those in Ülker Street” (İsmail, poet, pioneer)

(“Şöyle bir dönüp baktığınız zaman sokakta travesti göremiyorsunuz Cihangir’de ama o da bir şeydi, güzelliği Cihangir’in onun için. Yine de tek tük var, onları çok fazla atmadılar, onlarda daha çok yaşlı travestiler, 50’sinin üstünde. Zaten onlara da artık anne diyorlar. Çalışan, yani fuhuş sektöründe çalışan insanlar değil, onları atmadılar, onlardan yine bir-iki tane kırıntı şeklinde Ülker Sokak’ta var.”)

Transvestites are driven out of the area in the second half of the 1990s, and their ‘enforced’ departure is mainly related to their involvement in prostitution. Many informants expressed their negative feelings for prostitution, however, they underlined that they would still welcome the presence of transvestites as long as they were not involved in prostitution.

Apart from the tolerance for transvestites and gays, informants never view this social diversity as a threat, rather they emphasize how different groups tolerate each other, without any conflict:

“Nobody disturbs anyone, nobody renounces anyone, there is such an acceptance among the, nobody denies anyone.” (Nadide, caricaturist, pioneer)

(“kimse kimseyi rahatsız etmiyor, kimse kimseyi yadırgamıyor, böyle bir kabul ediş var aralarında, kimse kimseyi reddetmiyor.”)

“There are no class conflicts here, different economic classes live together... however, it is an individualistic living together... this is possible because the people here, especially the middle class has a way of not showing their class to others.” (*Yetkin, industrial products designer, follower*)

(“Burada sınıf çatışmaları olmuyo farklı ekonomik sınıflar bir arada yaşıyorlar... ama bireysel bi ‘bir arada yaşama’ bu... biraz da buradaki kitlenin özellikle orta sınıfın sınıfını belli etmeye çalışmama gibi bi görgüsü var biraz da öyle mümkün oluyo bu”)

“The people here, even if they do not think the same way with each other, they are those who are seeking a shelter in the city, Cihangir has an order in its own way, I mean everybody can live here and noone shows disrespect for the others, I think...” (Nimet, journalist, follower)

(“burdakiler çok aynı tarzda aynı şekilde düşünen insanlar olmasa bile kendilerine bu şehir içerisinde sığınak arayan insanlar burada bir araya geliyor, burada kendine has bir düzeni var Cihangirin yani herkes burada bir arada yaşayabilir ve o anlamda kimse kimseye saygısızlık etmez diye düşünüyorum yani öyle bir ortam”)

“For me... this kozmopolit atmosphere of attracts me the most about Cihangir, I like that... I mean you are living with *tinercis*³, drug addicts, and also transvestites. Even if it is not like the way it used to be, it still has that *kozmopolit* atmosphere... I mean, I love this.” (Emine, journalist, pioneer)

(“Benim için... bu kozmopolit hava en hoşuma giden şey zaten Cihangir’de de genel olarak bunu seviyorum. Yani tinercisiyle de birlikte yaşıyorsunuz, hapçısıyla da işte travestisiyle de... bu eskisi kadar çok olmasa da kozmopolit bi yapısı dikkat çekecek kadar var hala... ben bunu seviyorum yani...”)

Moreover, some informants from both pioneers and followers state that existence of such diversity creates a feeling of anonymity for them in the urban core. As this anonymity is inherently found liberating by the informants, Caulfield’s (1994) thesis that gentrification is an ‘emancipatory’ practice for gentrifiers, where inner city is an emancipatory space finds evidence in the case of Cihangir. The encounters with a wide variety of residents – from different social classes and income groups –, witnessing incidents of crime or other inner city problems, and expressing tolerance toward this diversity and resulting social world reflects a quest for a distinctive lifestyle, in a totally different life world from modernist suburbs and malls.

“People are free here, because they are anonymous and nobody controls anyone, everybody lives as he feels like. Some typologies you come across in *İstiklal* Street, cannot find a place to exist other than *İstiklal* Street, they would be teased verbally... Do you know what I mean? Here is freedom, here is a liberating environment” (Ziya, academician, follower)

(“burada insanlar özgürdür, çünkü anonimdir ve kimse kimseyi de kontrol etmez, isteyen istediği gibi yaşar, şurada şimdi gelirken *İstiklal* Caddesine çıktığın vakit gördüğün bir takım

³ *Tinerci* is usually young, homeless people who are viewed as a threat by the others. The name comes from *tiner* (paint thinner) they inhale.

insan tipolojileri *İstiklal* Caddesi dışında yaşam alanı bulamazlar, yani kendilerine laf atılır böyle... anlatabiliyor muyum yani burası bir özgürlük bana sorarsan özgür bi ortam...”)

For Caulfield (1994: 125) gentrifiers are “individuals who, not for reasons of exogeneous style but of *desire*, find suburbs and modernist spaces unlivable.” In Turkey, suburban housing finds body in *Site*⁴ – a gated, suburban housing complex located in the outskirts of the city. *Sites* are viewed as socially homogeneous and homogenizing, conformist, controlling, sterile, and artificial. For many informants, Cihangir is seen as completely antithetical to ‘artificially constructed’ *sites* where a homogeneous social composition is evident, where ‘everybody is alike’:

“A homogenous population lives in those sterile, *site*-like artificial environments, I found that places more monotonous than here, maybe there are less conflicts, I don’t know what kind of a life is that, but I think there are more conflicts in here” (Necla, retired teacher, pioneer)

(“Steril bi sonradan oluşturulmuş sitemsi şeylerde daha şey homojen insan grupları yaşıyor, oraları bizden daha monoton buluyorum belki daha az sürtüşmeler oluyor, bilmiyorum nasıl bi yaşamdır ama burada mesela sürtüşmelerin daha fazla olduğunu düşünüyorum.”)

For Kaan *site* lacks the spirit that inner city neighborhoods possess as he mentions Ataköy, a *site* where he spent his childhood:

“There were more trees in there, I have in my street now but it was the middle of concrete, it was artificial, it lacked an atmosphere, a spirit... An area, which was a swampy place twenty years ago, was filled in and made a huge city, I was residing in such a place... it was bad... i cannot live there again... the place I am going to reside in, should have a past of at least sixty years” (Kaan, business man, pioneer)

orda şı anda benim sokağımda olduğundan daha fazla ağaç vardı ama betonun içiydi, sonradan yapılmıştı, bir havası, bir ruhu yoktu... yaa yirmi yıl önce sazlık olan bir yerin üstünün kapatılıp kocaman şehir yapılması, öyle bir yerde yaşıyordum... kötüydü... oralarda bir daha yaşayamam mümkün diil... en azından bir altmışyıllık geçmiş olması lazım yaşadığım yerin...

⁴ For a detailed analysis of *site*, see Öncü, 1997

Sometimes informants articulate the meaning of Cihangir in opposition to *sites*, in terms of social composition. Ziya claims that residents of Cihangir are far from customary typologies, and when asked to define this typology he gives *site* as an example:

Ziya: Each resident in Cihangir has a different form, it is hard to find a conventional typology in Cihangir, I mean everybody has built a space in of his own life.

Altan: What is this conventional typology?

Ziya: More conformist, like those people who live in *sites*, actually *sites* homogenize people. They are mostly those who escape from other people, especially in such societies in which the income polarization is vivid. In a sense, they are those who try to construct their own spaces, to achieve their own securities. Of course, my attitude is a reaction at the same time. In contrast, you should not escape, you should be integrated to the society, that drives me here. *Site* is an environment that extremely cuts the individual from life. Only in the spaces that you are incorporated to the society, and you live with the society, you can construct a city culture. Sites are outside the city culture, even they are against that urban culture. Their urge to live in *sites* is analogous to those people living in old castles with an instinct to secure themselves, they can only live with their identical types. However, the contemporary societies are not homogeneous rather they are extremely heterogeneous, and those societies consist of diverse elements. However, *sites* homogenize these elements and people even if they are not homogenous. In *sites* there develops strict control mechanisms, people began to control each other, and they creative a collective identity (Ziya, pioneer, academician)

(Ziya: Cihangir'deki insanların her birinin ayrı bi yapısı vardır yani öyle bir *alışlagelmiş* bir insan tipolojisini yakalaman da zordur yani herkes kendi yaşamına göre bir kurgu içersinde bir mekan oluşturmuştur.

Altan: Kimdir bu *alışlagelmiş* tipoloji?

Ziya: Daha böyle *konformist* hani böyle şeyler vardır ya yani birtakım *sitelerde* yaşayan insanlar, aslında siteler insanları birbirine benzetir... Onlar daha çok insanlar toplumdan özellikle de gelir dağılımının çarpıldığı ortamlarda genelde insanlar kaçan insanlardır, bi ölçüde kendi mekanlarını yaratmaya kendi güvenliklerini sağlamaya yönelik insanlardır, benim tabi tavrım bi tepki aynı zamanda bilakis kaçmamak gerekir, topluma entegre olmak gerekir, o etkiyle buraya geliyorum bi ölçüde – site yaşamının son derece insanı yaşamdan kopardığı bi mekan olarak görüyorum, toplumla iç içe olduğun, toplumu yaşadığın alanda kent kültürü oluşabilir, siteler kent kültürünün dışında mekanlardır, bilakis kente karşıdır siteler, o eski şatolarda insanların kendini güvencede hissetme güdülerine benzer bir kaygıyla sitede yaşıyorlar, ancak benzerleriyle yaşıyor insanlar o ortamlarda oysa homojen diil çağdaş toplum son derece heterojendir, heterojen toplum son derece farklı unsurları bi arada bulunduran toplumlardır. Oysa siteler benzer unsurları veya benzer olmasa bile benzerleşiren ortamlardır, yani insanları birbirine benzetir, sitelerde çok yakın kontrol mekanizmaları oluşur yani insanlar birbirlerini kontrol etmeye başlarlar böyle bi tür kolektif kimlik oluştururlar, gelenekselcilikle de bağdaşmaz işte...)

Ziya also remarks that site residents ask for security and try to stay away from masses in a world of huge income differences among people. While he regards *sites* as against the city culture, he views site as a homogenizing environment. On the other hand, for Ziya the distinction between *site* and inner city is the difference between its cultures; inner city fosters and reflects an individualistic stance by its residents whereas the *sites* are associated with a collectivist life world:

Altan: Can we talk about a collective identity in Cihangir?

Ziya: Of Course, Cihangir has a collective identity ut as I say this collective identity is founded upon the liberties, actually Cihangir is place dominated by tolerance... this identity never calls for a control mechanism, this control mechanism only used when there is something against the environment, and this is because the people here had achieved a certain level of sophistication, that is it is because there are the norms of the civic society (Altan: Cihangir'de kolektif bi kimlikten bahsedebilir miyiz?

Ziya: Tabi Cihangir'in kolektif bi kimliği var ama bu dediğim gibi 'özgürlükler üzerine kurulu' bi kolektif kimlik yani Cihangir aslında bi hoşgörünün egemen olduğu ... ama bu hiçbir şekilde kontrol mekanizmasını beraberinde getiren bi kimlik diil veya bu kontrol mekanizması ancak temel yani çevreciliğe falan ters düştüğü zaman gündeme gelen bi kontrol mekanizması burada insanların belli bi sofistikasyona varmasından kaynaklanıyor diye düşünüyorum yani bir sivil toplum normunun oluşmasından kaynaklanıyor...)

Informants also express their sympathy for the social diversity of İstanbul, and view Cihangir as a place where they can enjoy this diversity the most. For example, Bertan (architect, pioneer) testifies that the most important advantage İstanbul offers is its socially diverse population, in other words, its historical 'hybridity'. For him, this 'hybridity' is most accessible in the urban core, which he views as unclean:

"The best characteristic of İstanbul is its hybridity, that is people from different regions live together, for its whole history. I live feeling this characteristic. Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Afghans, it is a city where very different groups, people live together and you can feel this when you live in this city, especially if you live close to the historical center, and you have a way of sensing based on this. If this makes you happy, you are happy with living in İstanbul. That is, the best places in İstanbul are those places which are not sterile" (Bertan, architect, pioneer)

("İstanbul'un en güzel yanı melez olması yani çok farklı coğrafyadan insanın birarada olması, yani eskiden beri bütün tarihinin özelliği o ve onu hissederek yaşamım. İşte Rumu, Ermenisi, Yahudisi, Afganı, yani çok farklı gruplardan insanların birarada yaşadığı bir şehir ve bu şehirde yaşadığınız zaman, özellikle tarihi merkeze yakın yaşarsanız bunları hissediyorsunuz bu şehrin içinde ve ona göre bir algılama biçiminiz oluyor, yani o eğer sizi mutlu ediyorsa İstanbul'da yaşamaktan mutlu oluyorsunuz, yani İstanbul'un en güzel yerleri aslında steril olmayan yerleri...")

Similarly, when asked to talk about the advantages of living in İstanbul, İsmail (poet, pioneer) pictures İstanbul as a 'spice store' (*baharatçı dükkânı*) to explain its *kozmopolit*ness:

"As a result of its *kozmopolit*ness, it has way of inspiring the artist, there is no single type of people... Because a migration had taken place, and it is still taking place you can meet very different people everyday, people from different towns, different cultures... people of very different moral values. For me, it bring richness for one thing. That is the most pleasing aspect of İstanbul. If we say what can we use to symbolize İstanbul, Grand Bazaar comes to my mind, a spice store in Grand Bazaar, when you enter a spice store you see hundreds, thousands of different spices, but the store carries a single scent, scent of spice... not scent of a specific spice but a mixed scent of many spices." (İsmail, poet, pioneer)

("kozmopolit olmasının getirdiği sanatçıyı besleyen bir yanı var, tek tip insan yok... Bir göç yaşanmış hala da yaşandığı için her gün çok farklı insanlarla karşılaşabiliyorsun, farklı kentlerden veya farklı kültürlerden... çok çeşitli ahlaki değerleri olan insanlarla tanışabiliyorsun. Ve bu zenginliği getiriyor bana bir kere. Zaten İstanbul'un da belki de keyifle yanı o... İstanbul'u neyle simgeleriz dersek bana göre Kapalıçarşı geliyor benim gözümün önüne, Kapalıçarşı'da bir baharatçı dükkânı gelir, baharatçı dükkânına girdiğiniz zaman binlerce, yüzlerce diyeyim binlerce değil, yüzlerce baharat çeşidi görürsünüz her biri birbirinden farklıdır, fakat o baharatçı dükkânı tek bir kokuyu taşır: Baharat kokusu... falanca baharatın kokusu değil ama bir araya gelmiş bir baharat kokusu.")

As he continues, İsmail claims that Cihangir is a gateway for those who desire to immerse in the urban social fabric:

"It's like passage, a gateway... a gateway that gives the opportunity to immerse in other places from Beyoğlu. For those who live in Cihangir it also gives the opportunity to immerse in Beyoğlu immediately. For me, there are those who have problems with time live in Cihangir... And those who want to immerse in the urban fabric." (İsmail, poet, pioneer)

("Tam bir geçit gibi, tam bir köprü... Köprü Beyoğlu'ndan diğer yerlere yayılma şansı veriyor. Ama Cihangir'de yaşayanlar için de çok çabuk Beyoğlu'na karışma şansı veriyor. Zamanla ilgili problemleri olanlar yaşıyor bana göre Cihangir'de... Biraz da şehrin dokusuna karışmak isteyenler Cihangir'i tercih ediyor.")

Especially Beyoğlu appears as the place to immerse into masses from other social classes, income groups, and different backgrounds. This immersion is sometimes an emancipatory practice. Orhan and Betül view Beyoğlu as their ‘backyard’ as they emphasize the emancipation that this immersion brings:

I: Do you go out to Beyoğlu?

B: it’s our backyard

O: Of course, sometimes one wants to be in the middle of that action

B: sometimes when I’m too tired I take walk, it is an amazing recreation for me, it’s too crowded, I mean you don’t think anything in the middle of that crowd. (Orhan and Betül – artists/ academicians, pioneers)

(I: Peki Beyoğlu’na çıkıyo musunuz?

B: arka bahçemiz bizim.

O: tabi canım Beyoğlu o hareketin içinde bazen istiyor insan olmak.

B: hem mesela bazen çok yorgun olunca yürüyorum bi kere müthiş bir dinlenme oluyor benim için, çok kalabalık, yani hiç birşey düşünmüyorsunuz o kalabalığın içinde)

In a similar vein, Tarcan underlines the social plurality in Beyoğlu:

“There is a wide variety of people, some are useless crowd, some others are real intellectuals... I mean take a look, see what you will hear from worse conversations to those discussing philosophy, existentialism... The best part is that these groups can live in Beyoğlu without any conflict... I love that, Beyoğlu has diversity and a harmony but this diversity is harmony is like a unharmonious harmony, and ordered chaos, Beyoğlu is anarchic place in that sense” (Tarcan, manager in a leasing firm, follower)

(“Çok çeşitli insan var bi kısmı vasıfsız yığın, bi kısmı da harbiden entellektüel... yani çık bi dolaş ne muhabbetler duyarsın en adisinden karı kız muhabbeti de var şey felsefe... egzistanyalizm tartışanı da... İşin güzel yanı bunlar bi arada pek te sürtüşmeden yaşıyor Beyoğlu’nda... Onu seviyorum bak çok çeşitli ve harmonisi var bu çeşitliliğin ama bu da öyle bi harmoni şey uyum ki uyumsuz bi uyum karışık ama düzenli bi karışıklık, anarşik bi yer Beyoğlu...”)

On the other hand as Zukin (1996) argues these encounters create anxieties in gentrifiers, as they view this social diversity as a threat for their well being. For informants, sometimes this tolerance toward diversity has limits, when masses start to become a threat (i.e., potential for crime) to residents, or at least, a hazard for the urban culture:

“unfortunately, people from squatter neighborhoods flood to Beyoğlu every weekend... and they bring their own culture here, including elements of crime... they are the concepts that can be evaluated within the boundaries of subculture. Middle or upper-classes come to Beyoğlu just for entertainment and then they leave... but for me it is a strange cultural texture... one sells *lahmacun* and the other opens a New Yorker Club, this is not a charm, this is malformed-malformation because the texture of Beyoğlu includes beer houses, little rock bars maybe... cinemas, theaters, patisseries and delis... basically it has such a culture... anything you load above this cracks the faultline under Beyoğlu. If this faultline breaks down all would be torn down, by torn down I mean it will sink, ‘cause Beyoğlu cannot handle all that” (İsmail, poet, pioneer)

(“varoş yapısı da maalesef her haftasonu olduğu gibi Beyoğlu’na akıyor. Ve kendi kültürlerini getiriyorlar buraya, bunun içinde herşeyden önce... çalma, çırpma, gasp gibi kavramlar da var. Onlar da alt kültürün içerisinde değerlendirilebilecek kavramlar. Orta sınıf veya üst sınıf insanlar Beyoğlu’na sadece eğlenmeye gelip belirli bir saatten sonra ortadan kayboluyorlar... Ama bana yabancı gelen bir kültürel doku... lahmancunun yanına New Yorker bir clubın açılması güzellik değil bir çarpık-çarpıklıktır yani çünkü buranın dokusunda birahaneler vardır, belki küçük salaş rock barlar vardır, sinemalar vardır, tiyatrolar vardır, pastaneler ve büfeler vardır. Yani kendi kültürü temelde budur. Ama bunun üstüne yükleyeceğiniz herşey Beyoğlu’nun altındaki fayı kırar. Bu fay kırılırsa hepsi olduğu gibi çökecektir. Yani batacaktır anlamında diyorum, çökmek bu anlamda. Çünkü kaldıramaz Beyoğlu bu kadar fazlasını”)

Similarly, Neşe expresses her negative attitude towards this diversity:

“I see an interesting disorder, a chaos in Beyoğlu, I see people with no ideas, no education and this disturbs me. I love Beyoğlu, its streets and buildings but I don’t like the people in Beyoğlu” (Neşe, retired ballet dancer, pioneer)

(“Beyoğlu’nda enteresan bi baş kopukluk başbozukluk var, hiçbir fikri olmayan hiçbir eğitimi olmayan insanlar görüyorum bu da beni çok rahatsız ediyor. Beyoğlu’nu seviyorum binaları sokakları ama insanları sevmiyorum.”)

However, these negative attitudes are overshadowed by the positive ones as residents construct a neighborhood culture that appreciates this social diversity. This appreciation is embodied in (1) ‘discursive form’ as it is constructed in Cihangir Postası – a local newspaper – and (2) ‘spatial form’ as it is vivified in a coffeehouse called *Firuzaga*.

V.1.3.a. Discursive embodiment: Cihangir Postası

For the amalgamation of diffuse social actors in Cihangir is the local newspaper, Cihangir Postası which is published by *Cihangir Güzelleştirme Derneği* since February 2001. Cihangir Postası depends on the voluntary contribution by the residents from different groups. Among the topics covered in Cihangir Postası are environmental issues – such as GSM station installments, illegal building constructions, garbage collection –, reports on celebrities who reside in Cihangir, new establishments in the neighborhood – restaurants, cafés, art galleries etc. –, and events, organizations, celebrations, and meeting in the neighborhood. Apart from regular writers, who usually hold positions in CIS, volunteers from any occupation – even the mayor –, class, or income group are welcome to post their writings in Cihangir Postası. Interviews with celebrities, experts, or proprietors in the neighborhood, complaints, celebrations, informative reports on widely debated issues – e.g., precautions for a possible destructive earthquake – as well as food receipts, book or place recommendations and death notices of residents are among the contents of a typical issue of Cihangir Postası. Essays are usually intended to increase readers' sensitivity to environmental problems, as well as to evoke a consciousness of unity, a sense of community among residents, and business owners.

The editor of Cihangir Postası, a young but experienced freelance journalist Mine Söğüt explains her vision of a local newspaper in the following words:

“Cihangir Postası has such a thing, a mission that i insisted so much to create, a mission to unify... something against the big city tale in which people live departed lives, that is a professor writes something, a famous writer writes something, even an illiterate child have

something written for him, a tinerçi, a street-sweeper can write something, it has such a mission... in this sense, I have many different acquaintances in the neighborhood which pleases me.” (Mine, journalist)

(“Cihangir Postası’nın böyle bir şeyi var zaten, benim yaratmak için çok ısrar ettiğim bi misyonu var, birleştirici olmak. Herkesin çok kopuk hayatlar yaşadığı büyük şehir masalına aykırı bişey olsun ve işte ne bileyim oraya bi profesör de yazsın, çok ünlü bi yazar da yazsın, okuma bilmeyen bi çocuk da yazdırsın, bi tinerçi de yazsın, çöpçü de yazsın öyle bi misyonu var... Bu çerçevede zaten benim de çok değişik tanıdıklarım var mahallede, çevrem var beni hoşnut eden...”)

Cihangir Postası, for many informants, is a tool for uniting residents from different social groups. For the first anniversary of the newspaper some residents wrote their opinions for Cihangir Postası:

“Cihangir Postası is a positive exemplar of the civil local culture. The major difference of Cihangir Postası from other examples is, apart from being a sketch of the neighborhood, it is focuses on neighborhood culture and protectionism. I enjoy this positive effort that minimizes the distance within the neighborhood.” (Orhan Alkaya/Poet)

(“Cihangir postası sivil yerel kültürün çok olumlu bir örneği. Cihangir Postasını benzerlerinden ayıran en önemli nokta ise, bir semt sinopsisinden farklı olarak, semt kültürüne ve korumacılığa yönelik bir yayın faaliyeti içinde bulunmasıdır. Semt mesafelerini yakınlaştıran bu çok pozitif çabayı sevgiyle izliyorum.”)

“Best aspect of Cihangir postası is its inclusion of every resident, from intellectuals to retail sellers” (Behiç Ak, architect, caricaturist)

(“En güzel yanı da entelektüeliyle, esnafıyla herkesi kapsıyor olması”)

“Cihangir has a very different structure from most of the neighborhoods in Turkey. Here, people of different thoughts can live within the boundaries of mutual respect and live a democratic life together. I think Cihangir Postası, as a sign of this structure, plays a crucial role”

(Şafak Kabaş/ lawyer – owner of Kahvedan)

(“Cihangir Türkiye’deki pek çok mahalleden farklı bir yapıya sahiptir. Burada farklı düşünceden insanlar karşılıklı saygı çerçevesi içerisinde özgürce varolabilir ve bir arada demokratik bir yaşam sürerler. Cihangir Postası’nın da bu yapının bir göstergesi olarak çok güzel ve önemli bir işlev üstlendiğini düşünüyorum.”)

In one of her articles in Cihangir Postası, Nilufer Narlı⁵ - an academician who frequently writes for the local newspaper, and also a resident in Cihangir – calls for social projects that integrate various classes that reside in the

⁵ “Merkez, Arka Sokaklar, Gettolar ve Kente Entegrasyon Projeleri” (November-December 2001)

neighborhood. She proposes a project which will bring together those who live in the backstreets with those who have higher incomes, residents from different occupations, and age groups.

“It may be an activity... that brings together those live in the backstreets and upper income groups, different occupational groups, and kids and the youth . This meetings can bring the periphery (or the ghettos at the backstreets) to organizations and cultivations beyond family ties, kinship. And help to meet the ‘Other’, releasing from alienation, unidimensional cultivation and deprivation”

(Arka sokaklardakilerle üst gelir grubu mensupların, farklı meslek gruplarını çocuklar ile gençleri buluşturan ... bir aktivite olabilir. Bu tür buluşmalar periferi veya arka sokaklardaki gettoların, akrabalık ve hemşerilik bağlarına dayalı örgütlenme ve kültürlenmenin ötesine, yeni ufuklara götürebilir. Dışlanmışlık, tek boyutlu bir kültürlenme ve yoksunluk duygusundan kurtararak, ‘diğeri’ olarak algıladığı ile buluşturabilir.)

The discursive embodiment of social diversity, on the other hand, is realized and vivified in spatial form in *Firuzaga (Asmalı Kahve)*, a coffeehouse where residents of different social backgrounds socialize and mingle together.

V.1.3.b. Spatial embodiment: *Asmalı Kahve*

Firuzaga, or *Asmalı Kahve*, is the most vivid example of this social diversity within the neighborhood. *Firuzaga* is placed on the border of gentrified Cihangir and non-gentrified Cihangir, Çukurcuma where lower- and working-classes still reside and work. It is actually a traditional coffeehouse – *mahalle kahvesi*- in Cihangir. However, it serves as the most important socialization point within the neighborhood. For one thing, residents may drink tea or coffee at relatively low prices, and it long served as the sole open air social space within the neighborhood.

“Actually, *Asmalı Kahve* had been a place for the elderly, retired, or the unemployed to stop by, have company, and gaze around like other classic İstanbul coffeehouses. [...] But here is Cihangir, the republic of those who are not doing well with the boundaries... the classic identity of this place is rapidly degenerated and the artists, writers, actors/actresses,

students, youth, women, girls and even old ladies soon joined the elderly, retired, or the unemployed clientele.” (Mine Söğüt in Cihangir Postası)

(“Asmalı Kahve aslında klasik İstanbul kahveleri gibi önceleri mahallenin özellikle yaşı, emekli, ya da işsiz güçsüz erkeklerinin uğrak, sohbet ve etraf kesme yeri idi. [...] Ama Burası Cihangir! Sınırlarla arası iyi olmayanların cumhuriyeti. ... bu mekanın klasik kimliği hızla dejenere edildi. Ve yaşlıların, emeklilerin, işsiz güçsüz erkeklerin arasına mahallenin sanatçıları, yazar çizer takım, oyuncular, öğrencileri, delikanlıları, kadınları, kızları hatta yaşı teyzeleri karışverdi.”)

The myth of *Firuzaga* is constructed by the residents as a place where you can see Deniz Pulaş (a famous model) sitting at one table, and Orhan Pamuk (world famous Turkish writer) at another. The socialization in *Firuzaga* is both horizontal and vertical; members of different classes share same tables, and have conversation with each other.

“this is *Firuzaga*, everybody can talk to each other, that’s the thing about *Firuzaga*” (an overheard conversation of youth in *Firuzaga*)

(“Burası *Firuzaga*, burada herkes herkesle konuşabilir, zaten *Firuzaga*’nın olayı bu...)

“Here everybody can communicate with each other... for me... I do communicate and so do my friends... everybody does it... from my point of view it (the communication) is not detached. But I don’t know their thoughts” (Emine, journalist, pioneer)

(“herkes burada (*Firuzaga*) birbiriyle iletişim kurar... yani benim için... ben kurarım, arkadaşlarım da kurarlar... herkes birbiriyle kurar. Kopuk bişey, benim açımdan, diil. Onların açısından bilmiyorum ama...”)

It is very common to witness white collar workers having their breakfasts before they start a work day, with artists, journalists, cab drivers, street sellers, and students on other tables. People barely know each other, but they recognize frequent attendants, even they develop acquaintances and friendships over time. Some events help people to socialize and merge together. In one of these mornings, municipality workers drew borders to shrink the space in front of the coffeehouse, which was already viewed insufficient by the customers. Students led the way to a protest for the action and started to collect signatures. As I took a glance of the list I saw as

many as hundreds of names which include famous artists, lawyers, architects, medical doctors, as well as old residents from working-class.

Especially on weekends it is hard to find an empty table to sit, as not only residents but also nonresidents from other parts of the city raid to this little coffeehouse. Informants mention how this coffeehouse is popularized in newspaper columns for being a gathering point of many celebrities. *Firuzaga* also serves as the gathering point of nearly all of the social events, be it a protest or a celebration, or just a meeting of CIS.

For Caulfield (1994), this immersion in social diversity is not just a *flaneurism* or a 'simulacrum of cosmopolitanism.' As gentrified neighborhoods become "spaces of simulated insideness in the traditional social life of the historical city," it is evident that gentrifiers seek more than encounters with a socially diverse population. These encounters are not autotelic – not ends in themselves – but expressive of certain values that this fraction of new middle class try to manifest by their residential choices. These choices are accompanied by certain consumption practices, rooted in the same values and preferences, which in the end constitute a lifestyle that is expressive of a common identity for gentrifiers. This identity is based on a distinction of this fraction of new middle class from both lower-classes and remainders of this new middle class. Their desire to create and maintain such a differentiation is vivified in ways that they draw the boundaries of this distinctive lifestyle. As a result of these manifested preferences and attitudes, gentrifiers in

Cihangir develop a common identity, which is reinforced by a constructed sense of community among residents. The following section puts forward how informants express a *Cihangirli* identity, vis-à-vis perceived differences between residents of other neighborhoods and themselves.

V.2. Community, Identity, and Consumption

This section begins with the place-identity relationship, and shows how neighborhood serves as an important source of identity. Then, following informants' accounts on their motives for moving to Cihangir, I will elucidate the meaning of Cihangir for informants and elaborate on how they depict Cihangir as a socially constructed space with in-group identities and, boundaries with excluded groups and their perceived identities. This elaboration puts forward the '*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*' (Republic of Cihangir), a term widely used to refer to '*New Cihangirli*' identity by both residents and non-residents. Finally, I aim to further the understanding of gentrification as a part of a distinctive and critical consumption strategy.

V.2.1. Neighborhood and Identity

Neighborhood and city of residence provides an important part of self identity for the individual. Place-identity (Proshansky et al. in Rivlin, 1987; Pellow, 1992) is a substructure of self identity which contains "memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behavior and experience which relate to the variety and complexity of physical settings that

define the day-to-day existence of every human being” (quoted in Pellow, 1992: 188). Although, the relationship between place and identity seems to be a one way relationship, it is more complex in the sense that there is a constant and dialectical interaction between identity and place. In other words, individuals construct the place with their narratives, behaviors, and even their mere existence. In turn, place serves as a source of identity for the individuals it hosts. In case of neighborhoods, this relationship is more evident, as neighborhoods become a locale of community and communities already have their borders, norms and values as constructed socially.

Cihangir provides an example of this situation. As a gentrified neighborhood, Cihangir becomes a construct of its residents – mostly gentrifiers – as they negotiate their identities in an ongoing process of creation. This process of creation of meaning ends up in creating norms, and values as well as developing in-group and out-group borders based on these norms and values. Informants’ accounts of their motives to move to and reside in Cihangir construct a prototypical ‘*New Cihangirli*’ identity that is distinct from the residents of other neighborhoods.

V.2.2. Resident (‘*New Cihangirli*’) versus non-Resident Typologies

Informants’ accounts point out perceived typologies of residents and non-residents with clear demarcations based on certain values and attitudes. The basic point of this differentiation is at the neighborhood level. As place-identity approach emphasizes, neighborhoods become signifiers of their residents’ values, attitudes,

and resulting lifestyles. In this sense, '*New Cihangirli*' identity entails a set of values that appreciates inner urban living and a distinctive lifestyle, and excludes certain values that are evaluated negatively by the informants. At the same time, these accounts reveal a prototypical non-resident who is said to live in other neighborhoods – especially *Etiler* – or other residential developments such as *site*– that is regarded as just the opposite of inner city neighborhoods.

V.2.2.a. '*New Cihangirli*'

Informants depict a prototypical resident, the '*New Cihangirli*'⁶ who 1) is a frequent attendant of cultural amenities in Beyoğlu; 2) is interested in the historical character of the neighborhood; and 3) tolerates and appreciates social diversity.

In the first place, perceived identity of '*New Cihangirli*' is based on Bourdieu's (1984) forms of capital: especially cultural and economic capital (Recall that *economic capital* is simply the financial resources available for an individual, whereas *cultural capital* consists of a set of distinctive tastes, skills, knowledge, and practices.) The classification of '*New Cihangirli*' depends on a proper mixture of these two forms of capital. '*New Cihangirli*' possesses a proper mixture of cultural and economic capitals – the former is emphasized more frequently and strongly than economic capital, which is only a necessary but not sufficient condition to be a '*New Cihangirli*'. Since many informants stated proximity to cultural amenities – that are available in the urban core, especially Beyoğlu – as an important motive for

⁶ I prefer to call this ideal type as '*New Cihangirli*' rather than '*Cihangirli*' because it is a depiction of a prototypical gentrifier. This description excludes the older residents because the motives for moving to Cihangir, as elucidated in the previous section, is applicable to gentrifiers.

moving to Cihangir, '*New Cihangirli*' is depicted as a frequent attendant of cultural events such as plays, concerts and exhibitions. Moreover, many informants claimed a taste in high culture, or at least a dislike for "Americanized" popular culture such as music and movies. For example, Erdoğan (columnist/poet, pioneer) told about his extensive classical music archive. Ziya (academician, follower) holds an extensive classical and jazz CD collection, and as many as 120,000 books, and tells about his attendance to classical music concerts and plays. Emine (journalist/writer, pioneer) expresses a dislike towards 'Hollywood movies' and mentions her frequent attendance in European movies and play festivals. Kaan (business man, pioneer) and Yetkin (industrial products designer, follower) express their tastes for European films, which, they believe, target an audience with higher cultural capital.

As informants' accounts revealed, one of the motives of the gentrifiers is an interest in a period of the nation's past and its artifacts. The historical character of the neighborhood evokes a sense of nostalgia for a period that is not witnessed by many informants.

Finally, '*New Cihangirli*' is tolerant of the social diversity inherent in the urban core. In this sense, the '*New Cihangirli*' identity stands in opposition to several other residential typologies present in contemporary İstanbul.

V.2.2.b. Non Residents: *Sites*, *Etiler* type and the ‘*Televole* Culture’

(1) *Site* Residents

First, informants believe that there are those who stay away from Cihangir because they view the urban core as “unclean” – characterized by security problems, threats of social diversity, congestion, etc. They are, according to the informants, *site* people. *Site*⁷, a form of suburban housing complex, is viewed as socially homogeneous and homogenizing, conformist, controlling, sterile, and artificial. In concurrence with Caulfield’s observation that gentrifiers “find suburbs and modernist spaces unlivable” (1994, p.124), most of our informants explain their choice of living in Cihangir as a reaction to the sterile urban life of *sites*. In a “sterile” environment everybody looks similarly, thinks similarly, and behaves similarly:

“There wasn’t such a big awareness at that time, but within a short period of time the awareness increased and the rents went so high but it suddenly halted because those who can afford more asked for private parking spaces, garages, and Cihangir remained as a place appealing solely to the middle class (...) of course, the rents increased too much but a rich segment didn’t come to Cihangir because famous people came to Cihangir, it earned a reputation but only to a certain extent, the matters of security, and parking, they (rich people) usually live in private (gated) *sites*” (Bertan, architect, pioneer)
 (“Bu kadar yoğun bi ilgi yoktu o zaman çok kısa zamanda yoğun bir ilgi olmaya başladı ve fiyatlar çok yükseldi ama sonra da birdenbire durdu çünkü daha yüksek parayı verebilecek insanların işe otopark, özel garaj falan istedikleri için Cihangir orta sınıfa hitabeden bi yer olarak kaldı (...) bi de tabi daha fiyatlar çok arttı fakat zengin bir kısım gelmedi Cihangir’e çünkü meşhur insanlar geldi çok ismi duyuldu ama sonuçta ııı bi yere kadar otopark meselesi, güvenlik meselesi onlar böyle çok daha çok özel *siteler*de yaşarlar.”)

Korhan Gümüş, an architect – also a pioneer-gentrifier – and the president of *İnsan Yerleşimleri Derneği* (Human Settlements Foundation) thinks in a similar way. He argues that Cihangir is attractive for only middle and upper-middle classes

⁷ For a detailed analysis of *site*, see Öncü 1997

because people who have plentiful financial resources choose to live in suburb-type settlements such as Kemer Country⁸ to avoid the problems inherent in inner urban life. However, there are apartments in Cihangir that cost up to 4 million dollars, which is twice the price of an average house in Kemer Country. Similarly, rents may well exceed two-thousand dollars in Cihangir, which is barely affordable by middle-class members.

“And there are those who really have money... but they are also different... not the types to live in *sites* rather they are the types who live in the middle of public, in the middle of the crowd.” (Yetkin, industrial products designer, follower)
 (“bi de gerçekten parası olan insanlar var... ama onlar da farklı insanlar... yani sitede oturacak tipler dilde biraz halkın içinde kalabalığın ortasında yaşamak isteyen adamlar...”)

(2) *Etiler* type and ‘*Televole* Culture’

Another group that ‘*New Cihangirli*’ identity stands in opposition to is the *Etiler* or *Televole* type. This group requires closer attention because informants define themselves, and hence the ‘*New Cihangirli*’, as complete opposite of this group.

Etiler type also represents an intolerance to social diversity, and an appreciation of materialist values. *Etiler* is a neighborhood developed in the 1970s, away from the historical urban core. For example, Bertan argues that its social diversity makes the urban core ‘unclean’ for this nonresident typology. There appears a dichotomy of ‘sterile’ versus ‘not sterile’, dirty, or filthy areas within the

⁸ Kemer Country is an upscale, villa-type suburban development built in the last half 1990s.

urban area, historical urban core being filthy whereas *Etiler* is clean but culture-proof:

Bertan: The best places of İstanbul, are actually the places that are not sterile. Those who come to İstanbul from other places prefer sterile places more. For instance, my father, because he's an İstanbulian, he's from Sultanahmet, I spent my life within the historical texture of İstanbul, close to the historical area. As a result, I like İstanbul in that way... however, those places are actually the most shabby places of İstanbul. Those who come from Ankara, I had many such friends, they live in Nişantaşı, Ulus or Etiler, they cannot enter to the historical texture of İstanbul, they can not dare to live there, or it has nothing to do with courage, culturally, there is a cultural difference since they come from a modernist city... the 'culture' can be found where the dirt is, and the dirty places of İstanbul really has 'culture' sterile places do not have 'culture', do not have a depth, they are just like Ankara, they are established later...

A: Where exactly are those sterile places?

B: The places I have mentioned, Etiler, Ulus, Nişantaşı, places that are built, established later, they are, a little, 'culture-proof' (Bertan, architect, pioneer)

(B: ...İstanbul'un en güzel yerleri aslında steril olmayan yerleri, İstanbul'a dışarıdan gelen insanlar daha çok steril yerlerde otururlar mesela benim babam İstanbullu olduğu için, Sultanahmetli benim hep İstanbul'un tarihi dokularında geçti, tarihi bölge yakınında geçti hayatım o yüzden İstanbul'u öyle sevdim, ama oraları da İstanbul'un en salaş yerleridir aslında en döküntü yerleri mesela Ankara'dan gelen birisi benim çok arkadaşım vardı mesela onlar Nişantaşı'nda yaşarlar veya Ulus'ta yaşarlar Etiler'de yaşarlar İstanbul'un tarihi dokusu içine bir türlü giremezler orda yaşamaya cesaret edemezler ya da kültürel olarak sadece cesaretle ilgili diil de kültürel olarak bi farklılaşma vardır daha modernist bi şehirden geldikleri için onun içindeki kültür aslında kirlle birlikte bulunuyor biraz, kirli yerleri İstanbul'un kültürlüdür yani gerçekten steril yerlerindeyse kültür yoktur bi derinliği yoktur Ankara gibidir sonradan kurulmuş yerlerdir...)

A: Tam olarak neresidir bu steril yerler?

B: İşte söylediğim yerler Etiler, Ulus, Nişantaşı daha sonradan olma sonradan kurulma yerlerin, biraz böyle kültür geçirmez kültür-proof yerler)

Etiler type is intolerant to social diversity inherent in the urban core, and this intolerance is not only their residential choices but also their lifestyles. They are defined as *nouveaux riches* who revere materialist values:

"Materialist people... I don't want (Cihangir) to become *Etiler*, and *nouveaux riches* to get drunk and fight... or (I don't want them) to disturb the order of this café... or to stare around like a radar" (Kaan, business man, pioneer)

("Materyalist insanlar... bir *Etiler* olmasını istemem buranın yani sonradan para görmüş insanların içki içip sarhoş olarak kavga etmesini istemem yani... ya da gelip bu kafenin düzenini bozmalarını... gelip burada radar gibi çevreye bakınmalarını istemem...")

Today, the area is mostly associated with the mainstream popular culture – *Televole* Culture – which is named after a magazine show named *Televole*. Kaan

condemns the ‘members’ of ‘*Televole Culture*’ for being a ‘homogeneous’ population. Kaan blames ‘*Televole Culture*’ for ‘invading’ Nişantaşı when he is comparing Nişantaşı with Cihangir:

“Nişantaşı is cleaner (but) it has become a place invaded by the *Televole Culture*... after that Armani Café was opened we lost that street... when you go there everybody looks the same...hairs dyed in yellow, and fresh make up... a random jeans and Puma shoes under that... when you take a look they are all the identical, are they mass produced, only the faces are different and the bodies are different, the rest is identical... Nişantaşı is like that... take here, there is no one like that... you can’t find them they can’t come here easily”
(Kaan, business man, pioneer)

(“Nişantaşı daha temiz (ama) *Televole Kültürünün* girdiği bi yer oldu artık orası... yaa şu Armani Cafe falan açıldıktan sonra o caddeyi kaybettik... o cadde böyle bi gidiyorsun *herkes aynı*... sarı boyanmış saçlar, yeni yapılmış makyaj... herhangi bir kot altında Puma ayakkabılar... bi bakıyosun *hepsi aynı*, bunların hepsi fabrikasyon mu bi tek suratlar değişik bi de vücut yapıları değişik, geri kalan her şey aynı...orası öyle oldu... mesela burada bak bi tane yok... göremezsın kolay kolay *onlar* buraya gelmez...”)

Televole has been broadcasted since 1995, which first appeared as a football program then turned to a magazine show which presents the lives of football players, models, pop singers, actors and actresses, and the like. For many, it has become a celebration of materialist values that are introduced to the nation with the liberalist economic politics of the 1980s as governed by Turgut Özal (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2001). *Televole* is condemned for misleading the youth in a way that nurtures materialistic moral values, negating the traditional structure of the Turkish society. As the spectacle of *nouveaux riches*, and celebrities, *Televole* has become one of the

most important symbols of degeneration of moral values within the society, *Laila* and *Reina* – two upscale nightclubs alongside the Bosphorus – being the spatial manifestation of that ‘culture’. This culture is expressed as a lifestyle that includes certain consumption patterns – mainly of conspicuous consumption aimed to show off – especially concerning entertainment and leisure. Especially during the economic crisis in 2001, ‘*Televole* culture’ has become the scapegoat for the ever-increasing income polarization within the society. The head of MİT (Turkish National Intelligence Organization) warned the government that the broadcasts of *Televole* and other similar programs might trigger a ‘social explosion’⁹ among the have-nots in a country where there is a huge income gap¹⁰ between upper and lower social classes. The debates gained pace during the public outrage in Argentina – which was viewed as sharing a similar fate with Turkey because of its pursuit of IMF-directed economic policies that later led to the bankruptcy of Argentinean economy.

⁹ The idea of social explosion is not novel to public. On May 1st, 1996, during the celebration of ‘Workers Day’ in Istanbul, the activities suddenly turned to an organized protest in the middle of the city. The leftist youth in uniforms, shouting their slogans, began to destruct cars, stores, street lights, and even flowers. During the aftermath of the action, mass media came up with a new term: *varoş* – a term used to refer to squatter neighborhoods, or shanty towns – which was commonly used in March 13th incidents in Istanbul a year ago. On December 31st, 2000, The Marmara – a five star hotel on Taksim Square – was attacked by the youth celebrating the New Year in Taksim Square. It was also viewed as an outrage of the low-income *varoş* youth who are resentful to those riches celebrating the New Year in a five-star hotel. During the economic crisis of 2001, the idea of ‘social explosion’ is not that far from a nation characterized by enormous income polarization between lower- and upper-classes, where people have lost their jobs, and many had to dig the garbage in the streets in order to make a living.

¹⁰ In Turkey, according to UNDP data regarding the year 2000, the richest 10% of the population claims 30.7% of GNP whereas the poorest 10% has a share of 2.3%. For the same year, World Bank reports that 2.5% of the population’s daily income is below \$1, 18% is below \$2. Ten-percent of the population cannot afford basic food expenditure, whereas an upper strata depends on minimum wage of 225 million Turkish liras (equals \$160). On the other hand, an ordinary Saturday night’s revenue of *Laila* is equal to 657 times the minimum wage.

For informants the preference for social diversity is the most important demarcation between '*New Cihangirli*' and not '*New Cihangirli*'. For Yetkin (Industrial products designer, follower), this tolerance/intolerance is evident not only in residential choices of people, but also in their lifestyles, such as entertainment and leisure practices, as he distinguishes between 'Etiler' and 'Taksim' sorts of entertainment:

"There are no class conflicts here, different economic classes live together... however, it is an individualistic living together... this is possible because the people here, especially the middle class has a way of not showing their class to others.... It is like the difference between Etiler sort of entertainment and Taksim sort of entertainment... people create their classes in their minds... like 'I'm upper class'.. and he wants no one to get on his way and disturb him when he's going to his work or going out at night... who can disturb, of course the lower-class can disturb... he wants to get in his car inside the site and give the car to valet in front of the club, and then return home in a secure way... if I park my car somewhere near Taksim and walk in the middle of a kozmopolit, mosaic group of people and having entertained there that means I'm not afraid of those people or it means that if there is a danger I can handle that... those who live in Etiler and go to Laila can't do this" (Yetkin, industrial products designer, follower)

("Burada sınıf çatışmaları olmuyo farklı ekonomik sınıflar bir arada yaşıyorlar... ama bireysel bi 'bir arada yaşama' bu... biraz da buradaki kitlenin özellikle orta sınıfın sınıfını belli etmeye çalışınama gibi bi görgüsü var biraz da öyle mümkün oluyo bu... şey gibi bu Taksim eğlencesiyle Etiler eğlencesi farklı mesela... insanlar sınıfı kendi kafasında yaratıyo ben üst sınıfım gibi... ve istiyi ki benim karşıma ben eğlenceme işime falan giderken beni rahatsız edebilecek hiç kimse çıkmasın... yani kim rahatsız edebilir alt sınıf rahatsız edebilir... ben kapımın önünde sitenin içinde arabama bineyim mekanın önünde arabamı vereyim içeri gireyim sonra o tribe tekrar gireyim ve savunmalı bi şekilde evime gireyim... yani ben arabamı Taksimde bi yere parkedip kozmopolit mozaik insanların olduğu yerde yürüyüp orda bi yerde eğleniyorsam o insanlardan çekinmiyorumdur orda bi tehlike de varsa onunla da baş edebilirim demektir... Etilerden gelip Laila'ya giden insan bunu yapamaz...")

In this sense, informants regard '*Etiler type*' as the '*Other*', not the socially marginal Others or lower-classes. Following gentrifiers' practices and strategies to create distinction between themselves and others, the demarcation between gentrifiers and other fractions of the '*new middle class*' overshadows the demarcation between themselves and lower-classes as they demonstrate a sympathy

for the lower-classes. Similarly, Smith's (1996) metaphor of 'urban frontier' takes a different shape as it represents a frontier between the pluralist 'Cihangir culture' characterized by the possession of cultural capital and the materialist, shallow, and degenerated '*Televole* culture'.

Interviews with real estate agents, who are also Cihangir residents, revealed that they, too, have ideal types of '*New Cihangirli*'. For example, Şakir (Şakir Emlak) tells that he does not let those people – who cannot appreciate living in Cihangir (Cihangir'de yaşamının hakkını veremeyecek) – rent or buy apartments in the neighborhood. He argues that he gives a price higher than the actual price of the apartment if he does not like the client. Often, these boundaries of exclusion takes the shape of myths regarding how some celebrities who tried to buy an apartment in the neighborhood were refused by owners or real estate agents. For example, Yetkin (industrial products designer, follower) argues that İbrahim Tatlıses – a famous Turkish singer who has become a frequent subject of *Televole*, and is viewed as one of the leading figures of 'low culture' in Turkey – has once tried to buy an apartment in Cihangir but he could not manage to do so because of real estate agents or home owners.

However these perceived boundaries typify '*New Cihangirli*' in opposition to 'others', these 'excluded' groups still can find a place in Cihangir. Since rents may well exceed 3,000 USD for apartments with a fabulous sea view, economic capital still serves as the basic key for entrance to Cihangir. Kaan (business man,

pioneer) admits that individuals of what he labels as ‘*Etiler* type’ also reside in Cihangir but they add up to only a tiny minority in the neighborhood. Similarly, Yetkin (industrial products designer, follower) argues that the rich in Cihangir is different from the rich of *Etiler*, or ‘*Akmerkez*¹¹ type’. He argues that ‘*Akmerkez* type’ is superficial, materialist – who worships money (*paraya tapan*) – and the rich of Cihangir, unlike ‘others’, is not so concerned with the money and materialist symbols such as cars.

These myths also produce a demarcation between celebrities, that is, celebrities in Cihangir are viewed as superior to other celebrities. For example, Orhan Pamuk – a world-famous Turkish writer residing in Cihangir – is referred by almost all of the informants when they are asked to describe the population in Cihangir. Similarly, Yılmaz Erdoğan – an actor/ scenarist/writer – is frequently addressed by the informants regarding their type of celebrities. Erdoğan, despite his rural background – which is still evident in his dialect¹², he is widely accepted by many residents. Even if he had a villa in an upscale suburban residence, he took most of his time in Cihangir, and he was frequently presented by the mass-media as one of the ‘*New Cihangirli*’ celebrities. During the course of research, the rumors that he moved from the neighborhood kept going, as many residents expressed resentment regarding his moving out.

¹¹ Akmerkez is a mall in Etiler which was opened in 1993. For a detailed analysis of Akmerkez see Tokman, 2001.

¹² He claims that his dialect prevented his acceptance to state conservatory when he was young, so he had to dig his own way to become an actor. He has first become famous with a sitcom in one of the national TV channels, then he wrote and directed three plays and two successful motion pictures, in which he played the leading roles.

Similarly, Ahmet Tulgar – a young journalist in a national newspaper, and also a resident of Cihangir for many years – argued that Cihangir has become a tool for the celebrities – including pop singers, TV stars, journalists - who possess high economic capital and seek to acquire cultural legitimacy. These people – typically of rural origin – come to İstanbul and become a celebrity, as they accumulate wealth quickly, they cannot get rid of their Anatolian identities that easily. Moving into the “Republic of Cihangir”, a space that embodies “authentic” cosmopolitan and liberal İstanbul, represents a strategic move, a means for becoming a “true” İstanbulian (Tulgar, 2003).

V.2.2.c. ‘*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*’ (The Republic of Cihangir)

‘*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*’ was first used by residents to claim a distinctive, and predominantly superior, position in the social hierarchy of İstanbulians. It was once very common to refer Cihangir as a republic in every instance possible. Especially, the first issue of Cihangir Postasi widely represents this view. In an article on titled “Cihangir: Özgürlükler Cumhuriyeti” (Cihangir: The Republic of Freedom), author cites Yılmaz Erdoğan’s thoughts regarding Cihangir:

“Nobody is bothered by anyone in here... but those who live here is concerned about everything and everyone, I can say that, since many writers and thinkers live in Cihangir” (“Burada kimse kimseye karışmaz. Ama burada yaşayan insan her şeye ve herkese karışır diyebiliriz. Bu kadar çok yazar, fikir adamı Cihangir’de oturduğuna göre..!”)

The foremost foundation of *Cihangir Cumhuriyeti* is tolerance toward the social diversity. Few pages later, Deniz Türkali – an actress who has been living in

Cihangir since 1979 – emphasizes the existence of this diversity, and tolerance towards it, as a key to Cihangir identity:

“I love (Cihangir) because it is *kozmpolit* in the first place. I love it because there are no monotonous houses, and no identical people and lifestyles
((“Cihangir’i) başta kozmpolit olduğu için seviyorum. Tekdüze evler, aynı insanlar, aynı hayat biçimleri olmadığı için seviyorum.”)

As she continues, she complains about increasing rents in Cihangir. She views this increase as a problem of İstanbul, not solely Cihangir. She argues that it would be easier to solve such problems, if Cihangir were a republic in its own right.

Finally, the same issue of Cihangir Postasi ends with an article – by Mine Söğüt – about *Asmalı Kahve*. As she explains how a traditional coffeehouse was transformed into a meeting point of Cihangir intelligentsia, she defines Cihangir as the republic of those against the boundaries:

“But here is Cihangir, the republic of those who are not doing well with the boundaries”
((“Ama burası Cihangir! Sınırlarla arası pek iyi olmayanların Cumhuriyeti.”)

The term *Cihangir Cumhuriyeti* (the Republic of Cihangir) is, of course a mythical and discursive construct. However, once the term has been appropriated by the mass media, it turned into a pejorative phrase, connoting a snobbish lifestyle. For example, Bertan (architect, pioneer) views the term *Cihangir Cumhuriyeti* as made out by the mass media. Similarly, Erdoğan (columnist/poet, pioneer) finds this construct idiotic (*dangalakça*). Ercan (instructor, follower) argues that *Cihangir Cumhuriyeti* is just an outcome of exaggeration tradition evident in the Turkish popular discourse. For him, the emergence of *Cihangir Cumhuriyeti* resembles *Fenerbahçe Cumhuriyeti* – a term used to refer to the supporters of an İstanbul-

based football team, to (over)emphasize the number of supporters and their importance. Informants' accounts reveal that the residents still claim a superior position relative to other neighborhoods, yet they avoid using the term. Emine (journalist, pioneer) insists on the distinctiveness of the neighborhood in terms of its residents, however she finds the label *Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*, and its representation in the mass-media as spoiled (*şmarıkça*) and snobbish. She even mocks her friends – who can be labeled as pioneers in following our categorization – leaving the neighborhood for the spoilt reputation it has gained recently (and of course, the skyrocketed rents). She says they were leaving Cihangir for Kurtuluş – another (not-yet gentrified) neighborhood with a historical character – to establish the '*Kurtuluş Cumhuriyeti*' (the republic of Kurtuluş).

Nonetheless, *Cihangir Cumhuriyeti* embodies a narrative that serves as a “guide” for how to be a '*New Cihangirli*'. Apart from tolerance to social diversity, residing in the urban core being the basic condition, *New Cihangirli* is characterized by certain consumption patterns what we can label as 'inner urban lifestyle'.

V.2.2.d. '*New Cihangirli*' and Consumption

For Zukin (1998), during the past 30 years, the meaning of urban lifestyles has shifted from a social status marker to an aggressive pursuit of cultural capital, in Bourdieu's (1984) terms. Zukin relates this shift to the rise of postmodernism – as an art form, a post industrial mode of production and a concern with identity markers. The symbolic economy produces these identity markers as the cultural

symbols – such as art, food, fashion, music, and tourism – and the spaces in which they are created and consumed – including offices, housing, restaurants, museums and even the streets (Zukin, 1995). Thus urban spaces, even the street and the neighborhoods, become spaces of consumption as symbolic economy grows. Zukin (1995) observes that attention to lifestyles has given rise to new, highly visible consumption spaces, such as *nouvelle cuisine* restaurants, boutiques, art galleries and coffee bars (Zukin, 1998). Hence, urban lifestyles are not only the result, but also the raw materials, of the symbolic economy's growth.

Inner urban lifestyles are extrovert in nature. For example, inner urban dwellers in case of gentrification usually testify for their consumption patterns that include frequent meals outside home, attendance to cultural amenities provided by the urban core, and a preference of inner city retail area instead of the malls. As modern consumer's life is trapped between the triangle of work, home and the mall – as it provides many alternatives such as socialization, entertainment, and shopping in a concentrated space – gentrification translates into a 're-conquest of the inner city' by the certain fractions of the new middle class. Beyond *flaneurism*, this urban lifestyle – reinforced by a tolerance towards the social diversity of the urban core – is expressive of a reaction and an urge to stay away from the mainstream culture of the new middle class.

We noted that apart from the choice of dwellings and neighborhoods – a rejection of sterile and alienating suburbs – gentrifiers express distinction through

their close relationship with the urban core – as frequent attendants of cultural amenities, and entertainment alternatives in Beyoğlu – and a rejection of malls as a ‘mainstream’ consumption practice. In line with Caulfield’s (1994) observation, they prefer inner city shopping districts, especially Beyoğlu in case of Cihangir, over malls. They all express negative attitudes towards malls for they provide an artificial environment. Especially Akmerkez, a mall in Etiler, is associated with Etiler type I depicted above. They all emphasize how they first – and sometimes last – visited Akmerkez several years after its opening.

İsmail (poet, pioneer) says he does his shopping – especially for apparel, books, and music – exclusively in Beyoğlu. When asked, he expresses negative opinions for malls:

A: Where do you do your shopping?

İ: only Beyoğlu, nowhere else. Either Beyoğlu or Beşiktaş I can’t say that I do my shopping anywhere else

A: Do you go malls?

İ: No, very rare... and that is not by my choice... only if I’m going to meet someone... I rarely go (to malls), I’m not interested... frankly, I don’t like (malls) (İsmail, poet, Pioneer)

(A: Peki alışveriş nereden yaparsın?)

İ: Alışveriş bir Beyoğlu, başka hiçbir yerde yapmıyorum. Ya Beyoğlu, ya Beşiktaş onun dışında çok fazla bir yerden alışveriş yaptığım söylenemez.

A: Hiç alışveriş merkezlerine gider misin?

İ: Hayır, çok ender. O da yani kendi isteğimle değil, ya mutlaka biriyle buluşacağımdır, o şekilde giderim. Çok nadir giderim, çok da ilgimi çekmiyor. Sevmiyorum yani açıkçası...)

Similarly, Nimet (journalist, follower) testifies that she does not visit Akmerkez for it is unattractive for functional reasons:

I: Do you go to malls?

N: I often go to malls, there is one nearby my work I sometimes go there. And Carrefour and Bauhaus.

I: To Akmerkez?

A: No, I haven't been to Akmerkez for a long time... it is very... very unattractive to me and it is not close to where I take my time... I do not happen to go there to often (Nimet, journalist, follower)

(I: Alışveriş merkezlerine gidiyor musunuz?)

N: Arada sırada gidiyorum işe yakın bi tane var ona gidiyorum. Carrefour ya da Bauhaus

I: Akmerkeze?

N: Akmerkez yok, epeydir gitmiyorum Akmerkeze... çok şey geliyo yani itici geliyo bana çok fazla hayatın ya da hayatımı geçirdiğim yerlere uzak geliyor... o yüzden pek yolum düşünüyör...)

Nadide (caricaturist, pioneer) states her reasons for not going to Akmerkez:

A: Where do you do your shopping? Where do you go to buy some clothes?

N: I do my shopping around here, there are very places that sells inexpensive clothes, I go there.. I go to Nişantaşı as well.

A: Do you go to malls?

N: Sometimes... my son loves malls, there are very nice toy stores, he saw them once and he likes Akmerkez very much.

A: What do you think about malls?

N: I don't like them because my head aches (when I go there)... the feeling disturbs me, covered-space, lights... they are not the kind of places in which I can take time, however, if there is something that I'm looking for, I can find those very easily in malls (Nadide, caricaturist, pioneer)

(A: Alışverişlerinizi nereden yaparsınız? Mesela üstünüze başınıza bir şeyler almak için nerelere gidersiniz?)

N: Alışverişimi gene bu çevreden, çok ucuz yerler de var, oralara gitmekte tercihim...Nişantaşı'na da gidiyorum.

A: Alışveriş merkezlerine gider misiniz?

N: Bazen... oğlum çok seviyor alışveriş merkezlerini, çok güzel oyuncakçılar var, bir kere gördü onları, o çok seviyor Akmerkezi...

A: Alışveriş merkezleri hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

N: Ben sevmiyorum, başım ağrıyor çünkü... Sonuçta o duygu beni rahatsız ediyor, kapalı mekan, ışıklar, eee, çok fazla durabildiğim yerler değil ama bazen aradığım bir şeyler varsa çok kolay bulabileceğim yerlerden biri oluyor alışveriş merkezleri.)

Recall how Yetkin associates Akmerkez with 'Etiler type', and

conceptualizes this type as follows:

("Superficial types, materialist, worshipper of money... highly concerned with their outlooks... there are riches here but they are not like them.") (Yetkin, follower, Industrial products designer)

Yüzeysel tipler materyalist paraya tapan... dış görünüşe fazlasıyla önem veren... yani burada da zenginler var ama öyle diiller...

Informants testified that they prefer not to do their shopping in malls, however, they still do their shopping – especially home-related goods such as laundry products – in department stores.

V.2.2.e. Transformations in the Retailscape

For Bridge and Dowling (2001: 94), “a central component of the gentrification landscape is its retailscape.” As gentrifiers seek distinctiveness through consumption, Zukin (1990: 40) states that “gentrification’s consumption markers are explicitly identified with a specific type and use of space.” According to Jager (1986), the most visible tool for distinctiveness is the residential environment of gentrifiers, especially their historical houses and neighborhoods. However, Zukin extends this spatial form to main streets of such neighborhoods, as they are obvious spheres of consumption. The retailscapes of gentrified neighborhoods provide clues about the consumption practices and symbolic attributes of gentrifiers.

However, in the previous literature, the forms of retail change coincident with, and related to, gentrification are rarely observed and analyzed. Since gentrification itself is a consumption practice, it should not be separated from the wider consumption practices of gentrifiers. One way to do this is to observe and analyze the immediate retail environments of the gentrifiers. Researchers observe that the consumption style of new middle class forms new consumption spaces outside of the home, which shapes the composition of retail stores providing goods

and services. These are primarily restaurants, cinemas, nightclubs (Beauregard, 1986), gyms and other recreational services (McDowell, 1997), which attract people to, and surround the lifestyles of gentrifiers in and around gentrified neighborhoods.

This section begins with a brief description of the retailscape in Cihangir. After this description, several retail stores will be analyzed in detail, and their relation to gentrification will be explicated. However, before going any further one important remark should be made. As Cihangir is very close to Beyoğlu, the immediate environment of gentrifiers – that is, Cihangir – being of primary importance, the retailscape of Beyoğlu also requires closer attention. First of all, as I underlined earlier in this chapter, Beyoğlu hosts a wide range of entertainment and cultural amenities – music and dance clubs, bars, restaurants and theaters, as well as bookstores and publishing houses. In this sense, while Beyoğlu invites gentrifiers to Cihangir, gentrifiers shape the retailscape in their immediate environment. Second, gentrifiers not only seek distinctiveness but also try to establish interpersonal relationships and networks through consumption. Their extrovert lifestyles characterized by frequent attendance to restaurants and cafés in the neighborhood show that they have an urge to socialize with other residents of their own social class, and, (often, of lower social classes).

At first glance, one can see that the retailscape of Cihangir has some common elements. The abundance of food stores – such as groceries, convenience stores, butchers, cafés, restaurants, specialized food sellers (e.g. wine, cheese,

organic foods, gourmet foods) –, small real estate agents, pet shops and vet clinics, and hair dressers are accompanied by several small-scale branches of nationwide supermarket chains, bank branches, pharmacies, installation and equipment stores. Beyond Cihangir, the analysis of retail identity and gentrification should include the wider environment of Beyoğlu and Taksim, especially Çukurcuma where early traces of gentrification is observed. Beyoğlu and Taksim, I argue, constitute the driving force behind gentrification in Cihangir. Especially the retailscape of *İstiklal* Street, and later the backstreets of Beyoğlu such as Asmalı Mescit and Nevizade – with a wide variety and large number of entertainment and cultural services – has been an attraction point for new middle class. On the other hand, the inclusion of Çukurcuma into my analysis helps me to identify gentrification related businesses such as second-hand furniture stores – mostly viewed as antique sellers – as well as service-related retail stores such as restaurants and cafés. Especially the latter type of retail business grows in number as gentrification proceeds in a neighborhood.

In Cihangir, the most common type of stores is real estate agents. Prior to gentrification there were less than 10 real estate agents in the area, whereas currently there are almost 100 real estate agents in the neighborhood. Moreover, there are also branches of large real estate companies such as TURKAP. As one of the oldest real estate agents in the area puts it, there are more than 250 real estate agencies that are interested in the Cihangir area. This profusion of real estate agents leads to some problems among real estate agents and their customers. Stories about

real estate agents who sell apartments previously sold by another real estate agent are not rare.

Pet shops and vet clinics are also abundant in Cihangir. A large portion of residents have pets in their homes, especially cats and dogs. This is parallel to the fact that Cihangir is viewed as 'colony of the singles' by informants. Three informants mentioned having pets at their homes. Especially one of the informants, who operates a vet clinic in the neighborhood, mentioned that a significant portion of the population in Cihangir had pets in their homes. Another informant, a pet shop owner, told how she decided to move her store in Bakirkoy to Cihangir, as she had foreseen a 'great potential' in Cihangir. Eight months after her move to Cihangir she was very satisfied by the outcomes of her decision, as her sales doubled in Cihangir.

Restaurants and cafés are also evident in Cihangir. Most informants remarked that the number of cafés and restaurants is increasing day by day. Many informants testify how they witness this recent increase in the number of cafés and restaurants. The demand for restaurants is caused by residents urge for socialization within the neighborhood and their reluctance for home cooking. Common characteristics of these stores are that they provide meals with reasonable prices, and hospitable service. These characteristics point out that restaurants serve as places of socialization for residents. Many informants express their need for social spaces in Cihangir and demonstrate satisfaction as these places – especially open air – spaces increase in number.

Most of the restaurants are run by residents of Cihangir, which modifies the buyer-seller relationship into one of neighborhood. For example, *Kahvedan* is owned by a lawyer who has been living in Cihangir for more than 20 years. She recently opened *Kahvedan* on *Akarsu* Street, as she hosts her friends and even makes new friends out of her customers. *Pan Café*, a small and cozy café on *Coşkun* Street was opened by two residents in February 2003. Owners first hired a food stand in last year's neighborhood festival, after the appreciation of the visitors they chose this as a full-time business.

Another recently opened café, *Smyrna* started business on November 2002 by an architect, whose spouse and brother are also in restaurant business. She decorated the place herself, with her antiques and souvenirs. Among all these places, *Smyrna* deserves special attention. *Smyrna* is especially popular among white collar residents as well as many celebrities who reside in Cihangir. *Smyrna* offers a somewhat more sterile environment with its relatively higher prices. It is also popular among non-residents as it is suggested by lifestyle magazines. Many informants expressed their liking for *Smyrna*, even some of them wanted to conduct the interview there. On the other hand, some residents express negative attitudes towards *Smyrna* for being a 'replica' of Manhattan cafés, and condemn its customers for being snobbish. It is also condemned for being against the culture of the neighborhood as the culture suggests appreciation of social diversity. However, as *Asmalı Kahve* has become the symbol of this mingling of different social classes in Cihangir, I observed that both places have a common group of clientele, many

informants and other residents attend to both *Smyrna* and *Asmalı Kahve*. The preference of one over the other usually depends on the time of the day, weather condition – since *Asmalı Kahve* is a small, open air coffeehouse with a capacity to host as many as 50 people – and their mood. As Nimet (follower, journalist) emphasizes, especially on weekends, *Asmalı Kahve* gets too crowded that one barely finds a seat. Similarly, Nadide (pioneer, caricaturist) complains about *Asmalı Kahve*'s becoming too popular even for the non-residents. Moreover, *Asmalı Kahve* serves only coffee, tea and a limited variety of soft drinks whereas *Smyrna* has a rich menu including breakfasts, salads, soups etc. Both informants testified that they prefer more secure places – such as *Smyrna* and *Kahvedan* – that are owned by their friends to avoid that crowd. However, *Smyrna* and *Asmalı Kahve* is viewed in opposition with each other they still serve the same purpose: they are the locales of socialization, making new friends, and to be seen.

Apart from cafes and restaurants there are also food specialty stores in the neighborhood such as wine and gourmet food sellers. For example, Antré is a gourmet shop on *Akarsu* Street which was founded by two women to serve a wide range of exotic and traditional foods. It offers especially a wide range of dairy products from both Turkey and other countries. One of the owners is a pioneer-gentrifier who is has been working in the publishing business. She proudly tells how they sell cheese to five-star hotels in İstanbul and their customers from other cities – even other countries.

There are three large wine shops within the Cihangir district, one of which – *La Cave*¹³ – deserves special attention. The shop was formerly known as *Çağdaş Market*¹⁴ – as the sign still says *Çağdaş Market/La Cave* – that operated as a convenience store on *Sıraselviler* Street for more than 20 years. Esat Ayhan – the owner of the store – mentions how he gradually transformed the convenience store to a wine cave. As he witnessed the demand for wines, he first dedicated the upper floor to wines, then he decided to convert his entire store to a wine store in 2001. The demand for wine, he says, was first vocalized by the French residents of the neighborhood. As he tried to serve them, he presented a wider variety of wines, as well as special baskets – which included imported wine and chocolate – for Christmas and Easter. Later, as gentrification had reached its zenith towards the end of the 1990s he decided to dedicate his store solely to wines and other gourmet foods. Today he sells a wide range of wines – in terms of price and quality –, as well as other gourmet foods such as cheese and flavored coffee. He claims to hold one of the best variety of wine in Turkey. He describes his customer profile as ranging from low-income students and artists, to bankers and business people.

As wine and other gourmet foods recently appear as status markers (Bali, 2002) in Turkey, the profusion of specialized wine stores is not only vivid in Cihangir. Many upper-middle and upper-class neighborhoods in large cities such as İstanbul and Ankara host at least one wine/gourmet foods store. However, the abundance of wine and gourmet food sellers in Cihangir also marks a similarity

¹³ *La Cave* means Cave in French.

¹⁴ In Turkey, the term market is used to refer to large convenience stores usually serve to a clientele from a single neighborhood or a *site*.

between other gentrified neighborhoods in the North America or Europe. For example, taking the case of Vancouver's Kitsilano, Ley (1996) argues that retail districts that are close to gentrified neighborhoods serve as external markers of cultural identity sought by gentrifiers. He observed that 'hippy retailing' and the rejection of mass merchandise was very significant. Ley (1996: 185) remarked that the old and the recycled – in second-hand stores – were valued as well as the new and the fashionable, the hand-produced and organic – in organic food and craft shops – were presented in place of the standardized and machine produced; where “a personalized transaction between buyer and seller sought to rehabilitate from the impersonality of corporate marketing.” Moreover, in case of Sydney, Bridge and Dowling's (2001) analysis showed that restaurants and cafes in gentrified areas, are rarely owned by nation-wide or global chains such as McDonald's and Starbucks. Apart from rebuttal of mass merchandising, gentrification usually takes place in or near areas that are viewed as places to eat, shop, and be seen. As Ley (1996) suggests eating is a key marker of new middle class identities. For example, through eating ethnic foods gentrifiers express tolerance for diversity (May, 1996). Moreover, Bridge and Dowling (2001) observed that homemade, gourmet, and organic food stores are key themes in food related retailscape. Coffeehouses and cafés, as informal and relaxed settings open to the street, are also common in gentrified areas.

Similarly, wine serves as a consumption object with which middle class gentrifiers extend their distinctive practices. In this sense, the knowledge on wine is

also an asset in the quest for distinction. Interestingly, Esat Ayhan of La Cave remarks that there are those who have a taste and knowledge of wine, and there are those who purchase wine in order to claim status. Another wine seller in the area told that such consumers judge the wine for its price, and ordinary wines sold at premium prices are sold more than ordinary wines with ordinary prices.

V.3. '*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*': A Critical Consumption Community?

In this sense, we prefer to treat Cihangir community as a consumption community, in Boorstin's (1973) terms. This consumption community is defined by the consumption practices of a fraction of middle class – namely gentrifiers – as they try to achieve and maintain distinction through consumption. This is not to claim that gentrification is itself the locus of this community, rather gentrification is a by product – hence another vivid consumption practice – of a more general behavior which can be vaguely labeled as “urban lifestyle” (Ley, 1986; Zukin, 1998). At the heart of this consumption community is the refusal of mainstream consumption practices.

The condemnation of suburbs and malls, and their frequent association with the mainstream 'Televised Culture' proves that such practices of gentrifiers is a reaction to the institutions, forms and practices of the dominant culture. This line of reasoning points out that we can label this consumption community as a subculture of consumption. As I mentioned in Chapter II, scholars of consumption communities propose many categories – brand communities, cultures of

consumption, subcultures of consumption, consumption microcultures etc. – each of which propose a different basis for studying the relationship between the community and its consumption. I prefer to call gentrifier community as a subculture of consumption for several reasons. First of all, informants expressed a departure from the mainstream culture in their consumption practices. Moreover, this departure is based on a criticism and a rejection of the consumption practices of the mainstream, especially the ‘*Televole* culture’. For the members of the subculture, subcultural ideologies and practices draw the boundaries between the mainstream and the subculture (Thornton, 1995). It serves as a means of exclusion of nonmembers and inclusion of members. Through subcultures, members express their distinctiveness from the undifferentiated mass. Recalling from Chapter II, a subculture of consumption, as Schouten and McAlexander (1995: 43) define, is “a distinctive subgroup of society that self-selects on the basis of a shared commitment to a particular product class, brand or consumption activity.” In our case, gentrifiers form a subculture of consumption through the rejection of mainstream consumption practices and ideologies, and a construction of an alternative lifeworld through shared commitment to a territory: Cihangir. Furthermore, gentrifiers socially construct this lifeworld as a network of ideologies and related consumption practices as an ongoing process of creation through constant contestation of the mainstream and subcultural practices. In this sense, we can observe an ‘internal ethos’ in Cihangir as gentrifiers construct a narrative of – later rejected – ‘*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*’ which serves as a guide for how to be a *Cihangirli*, how he/she thinks, how he/she behaves, what he/she consumes etc. As these values not only define

acceptable and unacceptable behaviors within the community, but also draw the boundaries between the subculture and the larger culture; gentrifiers define who they are, who belongs to their community and who is excluded from this community. At the heart of this rejection of the mainstream and the construction of an alternative lifeworld, and foundational to this subculture of consumption is the 'critical social practice' in Caulfield's (1994) terms.

Caulfield (1994) explains the gentrification in Toronto as a reaction of some members of the middle class to the repressive institutions of the suburban life. In this sense, according to Caulfield, gentrification is a 'critical social practice', a response to post-war modernist development and growth-boosterism in the 1970s, what is known as the 'reform' era. This involves "in part, a rupture in dominant canons of urban meaning, and a cluster of social practices, carried out in the context of urban life, oriented towards ... an alternative urban future" (Caulfield, 1994: 109). As Caulfield's both 'emancipatory city' and 'critical social practice' arguments are rooted in the Canadian context, gentrification becomes a resistance to the dominant ideals of suburbia, especially a reaction to the policies of the municipal government of Toronto that target suburban expansion at the expense of inner city areas in 1950s and 1960s.

In case of Cihangir, such critical social practice takes the form of a rejection of modernist institutions and city forms – suburbs and malls – as well as a rejection of the social homogenization targeted by the modernist ideology. In this sense, not

only the gentrification of Cihangir, but also the social construction of the '*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*' and an alternative identity labeled *Cihangirli* is the criticism of mainstream culture which is a product of the global flow of goods and culture – mainly from United States – as well as the Turkish project of modernism which sought to create a nation without minorities (Kasaba, 1997).

As many scholars observe, the last few decades witnessed extensive discussions and criticism of Turkish modernity, targeting a single national identity constructed upon Western values. (Robins, 1996; Göle, 1998; Keyder, 1998). Multiple groups – Islamists, women, and ethnic groups – try to construct their own identities without any intervention from the state and/or other dominating power. Those who were repressed by and excluded from the state-laden culture declared their independence and difference, as a culture autonomous from that of state. Starting from 1980s: "The proliferation of Islamic publications, the growing recognition of ethnic heterogeneity, the increasing references to the Ottoman past, are all about the real Turkey reasserting itself against official and state culture." While realizing the ethnical diversity inherent in its origins, the nation of Turks apprehended that it contained not only Turks, but also Azeris, Bosnians, Laz, Albanians, Kurds, Turkmen, Tatars and etc.). In other words, the nation ceased to define the Turkish identity, instead multiple identities – identities across borders – began to define the nation. Apart from ethnic diversity, social and cultural diversity had also become apparent in Turkish social life (Robins, 1996). The wave of internal migration that began in 1950s transformed the urban scene as the hardly

modernized rural population ‘invaded’ the cities. İstanbul has now become a global city, a melting pot in which the diverse cultures of Turkey are juxtaposed, and the mixed further with the diversity world cultures (Aksoy and Robins,1994) which injected a ‘new cosmopolitan spirit’ in the culture (Robins, 1996).

One of the spatial manifestations of this heightened interest in the multiple identities of the *past*, and the representation of the multiple identities of the *present* is the case of malls. For Erkip (2003), based on her analysis of a mall in Ankara, malls have become increasingly significant in the Turkish urban life. As spaces for democratic consumption practices where everyone has equal access – as malls invite and attract all age and income groups – malls emerge as one of the most important sites for the transformation of Turkish urban life. Following Erkip’s (2003) view that the use of the malls as a site for the new Turkish modernity, rejection of malls and suburbs appears to be an alternative strategy which is critical of the mainstream practices. Moreover, as Belge (2003) argues Televole has become the impetus behind Turkish modernity, and it fulfills the need for an ideology in the vacuum created as a result of the depoliticization of the social life after the successive military coups in 1971 and 1980. In this sense, inner urban lifestyles and resulting gentrification is a spatial manifestation of a consumption strategy, a critical social practice which is rooted in the questioning and the contestation of the ‘modern’ Turkish identity sought to be created in the republican era. This contestation of the mainstream and the associated homogeneous identity is manifested in a consumption strategy shaped by cosmopolitanism.

An analysis of the cosmopolitan consumer behavior reveals two separate lines of reasoning. First, establishing their analysis on the original work of Merton (1957) on cosmopolitanism, Cannon and Yaprak (2002: 32) view cosmopolitanism “as a set of acquired cultural orientations” – a kind of “‘tool set’ of habits, skills, and styles from which people construct strategies of action” (Tse, Belk, and Zhou; 1989: 459). As Merton (1957) differentiates between ‘locals’ and ‘cosmopolitans’, in which locals tend to develop and maintain their habits (and consumption practices) based on their parochial culture, whereas cosmopolitans are inspired by the wider environment – as a result of the ever increasing communication, and globalization this wider environment becomes the world. Similarly, for Holt (1998), consumers with high[er] cultural capital (cosmopolitans in Holt’s analysis) tend to avoid the parochial culture of their local surroundings in favor of new and exciting experiences, such as exotic foods and music, as they construct their reference groups on a national or international basis. On the other hand, as Thompson and Tambyah (1999) argue – based on their study on ‘cosmopolitan’ expatriates in Bangkok – consumers seek social status, or cultural capital, by acquiring cosmopolitan characteristics. In either case, cosmopolitanism becomes a goal to achieve distinctiveness through consumption. In the first case, cosmopolitans are located in their parent culture and inspired by other cultures (both those they perceive as ‘superior’ and ‘inferior’). In the latter case, cosmopolitans are situated in the host culture and try to acquire cosmopolitan characteristic to immerse with the

host culture, freed from the biases of their parent cultures. They try to obtain a collection of experiences and material objects as souvenirs from the host culture.

The valorization of social diversity in the urban core – including the lower classes of rural background, and those with different sexual stances – and the celebration of the cosmopolitan history of the city and the nation demonstrate that the reaction to dominant culture takes the shape of a ‘hybrid’ cosmopolitanism that blends the today’s cosmopolitanism – defined as tolerance and sympathy for the less privileged people in the transnational space of the city (Abbas, 2000) – and the imperial cosmopolitanism of the past – tolerance toward the diversity of cultures and religions (Calhoun, 2002). This ‘hybrid cosmopolitanism’, as observed in contemporary Cihangir, has both temporal and spatial elements. It is temporal in the sense that it is a celebration of the nation and the city’s cosmopolitan past. It is spatial, because it requires a mingling with – from the ‘privileged’ middle-class point of view – the socially marginal, undesired others in the immediate environment. This hybrid cosmopolitanism is the foundational ideology of contestation of the mainstream and subcultural identity, gentrification being the spatial, and hence the most visible, manifestation of this consumption strategy.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

As I mentioned in the previous chapters, although the issue of gentrification has been viewed as a consumption phenomenon, it has not been fully studied from the consumption perspective – including the emic meanings of gentrification for the gentrifiers who create it – so far. In this sense, this study aims to contribute to the existing literature in two veins. First, as students of gentrification (e.g., Hamnett, 1991; Smith, 1992) called for a hybrid explanation of gentrification – that incorporates both production- and consumption-side explanations – the consumption-side explanations are still immature. The existing studies on consumption-side theories are patchy in the sense that they offer simplistic accounts of gentrification in terms of consumption, but they only explain the phenomenon in terms of shallow interpretations of the observed consumption patterns or – even worse – perceived attributes of gentrifiers. This is partly because many students of gentrification fail to capture the emic meanings of gentrification for the participants – gentrifiers –, rather they conceptualize gentrifiers as fictional characters that yearn to create and maintain distinction from the old middle class, and contemporary lower- and upper-classes. Moreover, the existing studies of ‘gentrification-as-consumption’ try to explain gentrification in terms of consumption, however, a full understanding of the relationship between gentrification and consumption requires an explanation of ‘consumption’ based on the case of gentrification. As

gentrification is only a spatial manifestation of wider consumption ideologies and practices, it can be viewed as the tip of the iceberg.

On the other hand, it is this reversed relationship between consumption and gentrification that makes gentrification worth studying within the boundaries of consumer behavior discipline. In this sense, this study is based on the premise that the case of gentrification would be helpful in exploring wider consumption ideologies and practices. In other words, uncovering gentrification-consumption relationship helps to explore the unseen part of the iceberg. Hence, if gentrification is an indication of such ideologies – cosmopolitanism and critical social practices – the exploration of gentrification will definitely help to understand how these ideologies are reflected in consumption strategies other than gentrification. The influence of these ideologies on tourism, the creation and diffusion of cultural products – e.g., movies, music, books etc. – and food consumption are only entrances to the avenues opened by the exploration of such ideologies.

Finally, although the process of gentrification has been widely studied in advanced capitalist nations such as United States, United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada, the process remains unexplained by accounts of countries other than those we have mentioned above. The motives of a fraction of a middle class that result in gentrification in advanced capitalist nations should be compared with those of their counterparts in developing countries such as Turkey would be helpful in analyzing the universality of such values in today's ever-globalizing world.

The analysis of the case of Cihangir revealed that the basic motives of gentrifiers are in line with the existing literature on the consumption-based causes of gentrification. Regardless of their categories (pioneer versus follower), the informants stated that they preferred Cihangir because of (1) the proximity of Cihangir to urban core – both in terms of the cultural amenities available in Beyoğlu, and the ease of transportation the city center provides – (2) attractiveness of the physical fabric of the neighborhood and a sense of nostalgia it evokes, (3) and the feelings of freedom and anonymity created by the socially diverse population of the neighborhood. The first two motives are in line with Ley's (1986) findings concerning the Canadian cases of gentrification and with those of Brun and Fagnani (1994) regarding the case in Paris. The last motive is in line with Caulfield's (1994: 169) argument that gentrification results in a "closely grained mix of ... community and ... the city as 'a world of strangers'." Apart from the feelings of anonymity and freedom resulting from such an immersion in a socially diverse environment, gentrifiers also establish a sense of community. This community not only includes family members, friends and neighbors that reside in the same neighborhood, but also other gentrifiers who are perceived as sharing the same values and beliefs, as well as attitudes towards the inner-city and the diversity it hosts. The term "*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*" - as socially constructed by residents – is the manifestation of this 'sense of community', and hence the label members once used to refer to their community. "*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*" becomes a community homogeneous on the inside and cosmopolitan on the outside. Although informants condemn non-resident typologies – *Etiler/Akmerkez* types, *Televole* Culture, *site* residents – for being homogeneous, they clearly set strict boundaries – even more strict boundaries than they draw for non-resident

typologies – for their ‘ideal’ type of *Cihangirli*. As “*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*” celebrates cosmopolitanism, the very definition of “new *Cihangirli*” is prototypical – that is “new *Cihangirli*” is middle class, well educated, claims a taste in high culture or away from popular culture and mainstream. This is definition is not meant to cover all the residents in Cihangir, as the sense of community nourishes only among – and for – those who think the same, and act the same. Moreover, the usage of the term *kozmpolit* shows, there is still a power relationship, a status hierarchy among residents since the term cosmopolitan is a biased term that “reflects an elite perspective on the world” (Calhoun, 2002: 874).

Consistent with the existing literature that views gentrification as strategy a certain fraction of the middle class employs to create distinction from the other classes and other fractions of the middle class, this study views the gentrifiers as a consumption community that try to create and maintain distinction from not only old middle class, lower- and upper-classes, but also other fractions of the new middle class. Among many of the definitions used to label the consumption communities – ‘subcultures of consumption’ by Schouten and McAlexander, (1995) and Kates (2002), ‘consumption micro-cultures’ by Thompson and Troester (2002), and ‘cultures of consumption’ by Kozinets (2001) – I prefer to use the term ‘subculture of consumption’, defined as “a distinctive subgroup of society that self-selects on the basis of a shared commitment to a particular product class, brand or consumption activity.” The inner urban lifestyle – depicted by inner urban residence as well as frequent attendance to cultural amenities provided in the urban core – being the visible foundation of this subculture, gentrification appears as the byproduct of this lifestyle. At a higher level, these lifestyles are shaped by

cosmopolitanism – both local and nostalgic – and a criticism of the visible consumption practices and attributed-ideologies of the mainstream middle class. This mainstream is labeled as the *Televole*, *Etiler* or *Akmerkez* Culture, and characterized as conspicuous consumption patterns shaped by materialist values, as well as an urge to stay away from the ‘real’ social diversity within the society. The mainstream consumption patterns and values are viewed as those imported from the West – especially America – as a result of the global flows of culture, as suburbs and malls are urban forms developed in United States. Gentrification of Cihangir and construction of a *Cihangirli* identity shows that there developed a ‘subculture of consumption’ which derives its meaning from the rejection of mainstream values and practices – such as malls, *site*, and *Televole* Culture. The construction and diffusion of *Cihangir Cumhuriyeti* as a subcultural discourse in opposition to mainstream culture and the abandonment of the same discourse as it was appropriated by the mass-media is one of the most vivid examples of how meanings are created and negotiated within this ‘subculture of consumption’.

Moreover, the object of such subcultural criticism is not only the mainstream society and their consumption practices. This criticism also involves a resistance to the homogenizing policies of the Turkish Republic that defines itself around a single and unifying Turkish identity, as the past and the pluralism it represents are celebrated in the subcultural discourse. However, it requires further investigation to explicate to what extent this criticism plays a role in the construction of “*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*”. As informants are critical of the homogeneous identity envisioned by the Turkish modernization, the project of modernity and its establishments are not criticized or

rejected altogether. Certain tenets of the modernization project – especially secularism and republicism – are expected to be embraced by the informants as the term “*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*” suggests: “The **Republic** of Cihangir”. Although the tolerance for other social groups is frequently mentioned by informants, the boundaries of such tolerance has not been depicted wide enough to cover Islamists. Even though the mythical construct of “*Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*” suggests a tolerance toward the presence of the ‘Other’, the ‘Other’ has rarely been pictured as an antiseccularist. Consequently, I hold the position that the Turkish modernization project is criticized in the sense that it targeted the West as the role model, however, it left out the local and the traditional to become just an imitation of the West.

Contributions and Limitations

First of all, this study contributes to the existing body of literature on gentrification as an attempt to explain the issue from the consumption perspective. The emic meanings of gentrification for gentrifiers demonstrates who these gentrifiers are, how they define themselves, as well as their urge to create distinction from the ‘others’, their strategies and underlying ideologies for creating and maintaining this distinction, and – more importantly – who the ‘others’ are according to gentrifiers.

Moreover, as Zukin (1990) suggests the immediate environment of gentrifiers also provides clues regarding their consumption practices. This study aims to explore how the changes in the retailscape of Cihangir can be analyzed in relation to gentrification. The most common elements of the gentrified retailscape in Cihangir are

cafés, restaurants and specialty food stores. Cafés and restaurants serve as the locales for socialization which is vital to the establishment of intra-community ties, and hence the construction of meaning and identity among gentrifiers/residents. The existence of second type of stores – wine stores, gourmet food stores etc. – point out the importance of food – especially wine – as a status marker. As Bridge and Dowling (2001) emphasize, the meaning of retailscape for gentrifiers has not been previously analyzed. However, as the primary focus of this study has been to explore the emic meaning of gentrification for gentrifiers, this topic has not been given full attention during the course of research. In this sense, the meanings of retailscape for gentrifiers, and the relationships among gentrification, gentrifiers, and retailscape still need further elaboration.

Apart from the contributions of this study to gentrification literature, there are also contributions of to the consumption literature. First of all, this study is not ‘yet another study’ of the subcultures of consumption. The ‘subculture of consumption’ in question is a traditional community in the sense that it is geographically bound. In this sense, this study explores the place-identity relationship and the contribution of place to extended-self (Belk, 1988) which is not empirically studied so far. The importance of this relationship is vivified, first, in terms of the self defining role of place with its physical (i.e., physical fabric and landscape) and symbolic (i.e., history and social composition) attributes, and second, how this relationship helps to create and maintain self-identities and it’s role in social construction of a narrative that defines the in- and out-group boundaries as well as appropriate codes of conduct within the community. Regarding the first point, *Cihangirli* identity is constructed based on the appreciation of the historical

fabric of the urban core and a tolerance to the social diversity embedded in the urban core. This narrative of identity nourishes from the past of the neighborhood as it is celebrated by many residents. For the latter point, *Cihangir Cumhuriyeti* discourse and the constructed *Cihangirli* identity serves as a guide to how to be a real *Cihangirli* in terms of values and resulting consumption practices. Moreover, the place-identity relationship is not only vivified in the way the informants construct a relationship between themselves and their own environment – that is, Cihangir – but also in the way they portray non-resident typologies. As Cihangir signifies who they are, *Etiler* and *Akmerkez* are also utilized to depict who they are not and who does not belong to Cihangir and their community.

A second contribution of this study is in terms exploring a different form of cosmopolitan consumer behavior. Recalling from the previous chapter, cosmopolitanism in consumer behavior is studied in two different veins. One relates to how some consumers ‘cosmopolitans’ tend to avoid the parochial culture of their local surroundings in favor of new and exciting experiences, such as exotic foods and music, as they construct their reference groups on a national or international basis (Holt, 1998; Cannon and Yaprak, 2002). Thompson and Tambyah (1999) study how expatriates employ consumption as a strategy to acquire status, and cultural capital, by cosmopolitan behavior, which requires a mingling with and an appreciation of local tastes, meanings, and habits. This study contributes to the existing literature by offering a ‘local-cosmopolitan’ perspective – based on the Hannerz’s (1990) and Abbas’s (2000) contention that today’s cosmopolitanism has become an appreciation of social diversity

in the local settings – in which the local-cosmopolitans, again employ cosmopolitanism as a strategy to achieve distinctiveness, through the valuation of inner urban living and an appreciation of the social diversity of the urban core. In this sense, I view cosmopolitanism as an extension of the ‘critical social practice’ of a fraction of the middle class utilize in order to create and maintain distinction with mainstream ideologies and practices.

The major limitation of this study is in terms of the field study. The inconvenience of studying a site which is 600 kilometers away from the university created both time and financial restrictions on the researcher. Moreover, since gentrification is a process that starts and cultivates in years – a decade in case of Cihangir – a longitudinal study seems more appropriate if we are to fully uncover the motives and meanings for gentrifiers. As a novice researcher, I was aware of the possibility that some original meanings are altered – if not totally faded away – by the social construction and maintenance of the popular discourse in Cihangir. The case of another neighborhood where gentrification is in its initial phase – such as Fener in İstanbul – may provide valuable insights on how these meanings are constructed, altered, and lost through time.

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Appendix A: Table of Informants

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Group (Years in the neighborhood)</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Type of Dwelling</i>	<i>Education</i>
ismail	Pioneer (7)	39	Poet	A	Bachelor's
Ziya	Follower (4)	57	Academician	B	Ph. D.
Bertan	Pioneer (8)	47	Architect	A	M.S.
Nimet	Follower (1)	33	Journalist	A	Bachelor's
Emine	Pioneer (10)	35	Writer/Journalist	A	Bachelor's
Orhan	Pioneer (10)	64	Artist/academician	C	Ph. D.
Betül	Pioneer (10)	61	Artist/academician	C	Ph. D.
Ercan	Follower (1)	33	Instructor	C	Bachelor's
Kaan	Pioneer (9)	30	Business Man	A	Bachelor's
Timur	Follower (3)	27	Graphic Designer	A	Bachelor's
Tarcan	Follower (3)	32	Leasing Manager	A	M.S.
Yetkin	Follower (4)	26	Industrial Products Designer	A	Bachelor's
Erdoğan	Pioneer (7)	67	Poet/ Journalist	A	Bachelor's
Necla	Pioneer (9)	55	Retired Teacher	A	Bachelor's
İclal	Follower (3)	42	Restaurant Owner	B	Bachelor's
Neşe	Pioneer (11)	41	Sports Center Owner	A	Bachelor's
Teoman	Follower (2)	38	Vet	A	Bachelor's
Nadide	Pioneer (13)	42	Caricaturist	A	Bachelor's

A: Apartment

B: Apartment-Historical

C: Multi-storey Dwelling

Appendix B: Interview Guides

B.I. Gentrifiers

1. Kaç yıldır İstanbul'da yaşıyorsunuz? İstanbul'da yaşamak denince aklınıza neler geliyor? İstanbul sizin için neler ifade ediyor?
2. İstanbul'da yaşamının en iyi/en kötü tarafları neler?
3. Cihangir'e taşınmanızda rolü olan etkenler neler? (Aile, arkadaş sanatçılar, mahalle hakkında basında çıkan haberler, yeri, binalar, atmosfer.)
4. Daha önceden Cihangir'de yaşamayı düşünmüş müydünüz?
5. Cihangir'e ne zaman taşındınız? Daha önceden nerede yaşıyordunuz? (İstanbul dış-ıçı)
6. Cihangir'de yaşamının en iyi/en kötü tarafları neler?
7. Akrabalarınızın, arkadaşlarınızın Cihangir'e taşınmasını ister miydiniz? Bu konuda tavsiyede bulunur muydunuz?
8. Sizce Cihangir'de nasıl insanlar yaşıyor? İstisnalar var mı? (Projective #1- Faces)
9. İşiniz hangi semtte?
10. Cihangir'in geleceğini nasıl görüyorsunuz?
11. Cihangir'den sonra nerede yaşamayı uygun görüyorsunuz?
12. İşten arta kalan zamanlarda neler yaparsınız? Hobileriniz var mı? Neler? Koleksiyon yapar mısınız? Ne koleksiyonu?
13. Dışarıya çıktığınızda neler yaparsınız? Nerelere gidersiniz? Cihangir'e taşındıktan sonra bu alışkanlıklarınızda herhangi bir değişiklik oldu mu?
14. Haftada kaç gece dışarı çıkıyorsunuz? Nerelere gidiyorsunuz? (Arkadaş aile, tiyatro, sinema, sergi, yemek... Kaç kez?)
15. Yemeğe gittiğinizde nereleri tercih edersiniz? Ne tarz mekanlar, yemekler?
16. Yürüyüşe çıkar mısınız? Nerelere yürürsünüz?
17. Alışveriş merkezlerine gidiyor musunuz? Hangilerine? (Akmerkez, Capitol, Carrefour, Carousel vb.)
18. Tatillerde nereye gidersiniz? (Yurt içi / yurt dışı, deniz kıyısına, dağa, başka şehirlere...)
19. Evde nasıl vakit geçirirsiniz? (Kitap okumak, TV izlemek, Müzik dinlemek)
20. Şehrin merkezine yakın yaşamının iyi/kötü yanları nelerdir?
21. Bu evi seçerken nelere dikkat ettiniz? Başka alternatifler var mıydı? Hangi semtleri düşündünüz? Neden diğerlerini seçmediniz? Emlakçının/ mal sahibinin karar vermenizde etkisi oldu mu?
22. İdeal ev tanımınız nedir?
23. Arkadaşlarınız, akrabalarınız misafirleriniz evinizi nasıl buluyorlar? Neler diyorlar? Evinizin en beğendiğiniz yanı nedir? En çok beğendiğiniz özelliği/yeri?
24. Cihangir'e taşındıktan sonra Cihangir'le ilgili düşünceleriniz değişti mi?
25. Cihangir'in geleceğini nasıl görüyorsunuz?
26. Cihangir'den sonra nerede yaşamayı uygun görüyorsunuz?

B.II. Old Residents

1. Kaç yıldır İstanbul'da yaşıyorsunuz? İstanbul'da yaşamak denince aklınıza neler geliyor? İstanbul sizin için neler ifade ediyor?
2. İlk geldiğiniz İstanbul/ *Çocukluğunuzun İstanbul'u* ile bugünkü İstanbul arasında ne gibi farklar gözlemliyorsunuz?
3. Kaç yıldır Cihangir'de yaşıyorsunuz?
4. İstanbul'da yaşamının en iyi/en kötü tarafları neler?
5. Eski Cihangir ile bugünkü Cihangir arasında ne gibi farklar var? Cihangir'in şimdiki halini nasıl buluyorsunuz?
6. Cihangir'de yaşamının en iyi/en kötü tarafları neler?
7. Sizce Cihangir'de nasıl insanlar yaşıyor? İstisnalar var mı?
8. Şhrin merkezine yakın yaşamının iyi/kötü yanları nelerdir?
9. Hiç Cihangir'i terk etmeyi düşündünüz mü? Sebepler? Eğer Cihangir'i terkedecek olsaydınız nereye yerleştirdiniz?
10. Cihangir'in geleceğini nasıl görüyorsunuz?
11. Eski Cihangir'le ilgili anlatmak istediğiniz anılarınız var mı?

B.III. Real Estate Agents

1. Kaç yıldan beri Cihangir'de emlakçılık yapıyorsunuz?
2. Son yıllarda Cihangir emlak piyasasında ne gibi değişiklikler gözlemlediniz? (Fiyatlarda, gelen müşterilerde, piyasaya çıkan konutlarda – nitelik ve nicelik olarak.)
3. Daha çok kiralamak için mi yoksa satın almak için mi ev arıyorlar?
4. Ev sahipleri sizden ne gibi taleplerde bulunuyorlar? (Satarken, kiraya verirken) Akıllarında özel bir kiracı-alıcı tipi belirliyorlar mı?
5. Ev sahipleri daireleri satışa çıkarmada veya kiraya vermeden mülklerde tadilat yapıyorlar mı?
6. Ev alanlar ne gibi nitelikler arıyorlar? (Alan, deniz manzarası, tarihi bina, bakımlılık...)
7. Ne tip evler daha çok rağbet görüyor? (Büyük, küçük, masraf gerektiren/gerektirmeyen, tarihi/yeni...)
8. Daire alanlar tadilat yapıyorlar mı?
9. Evini satılığa çıkaranlara/ kiraya verenlere ne gibi tavsiyelerde bulunuyorsunuz?
10. Cihangir'e artan ilgiyi neye bağlıyorsunuz? Deprem öncesi ve sonrası arasında talep, kira ve daire bedelleri açısından farklılıklar gözlediniz mi?
11. Başka semtlerde buna benzer gelişmeler gözlemliyor musunuz?

Four Apartment Buildings in Cihangir



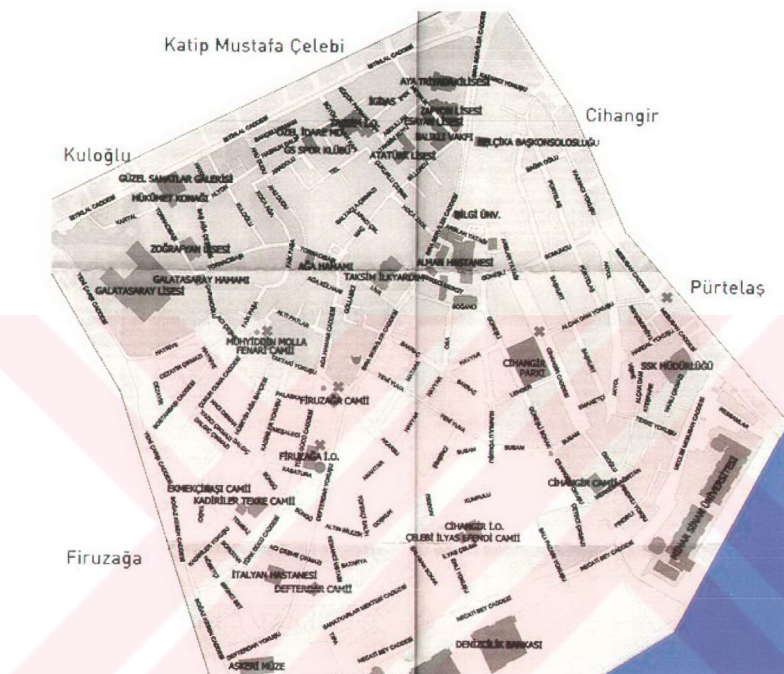


A view of Cihangir Street

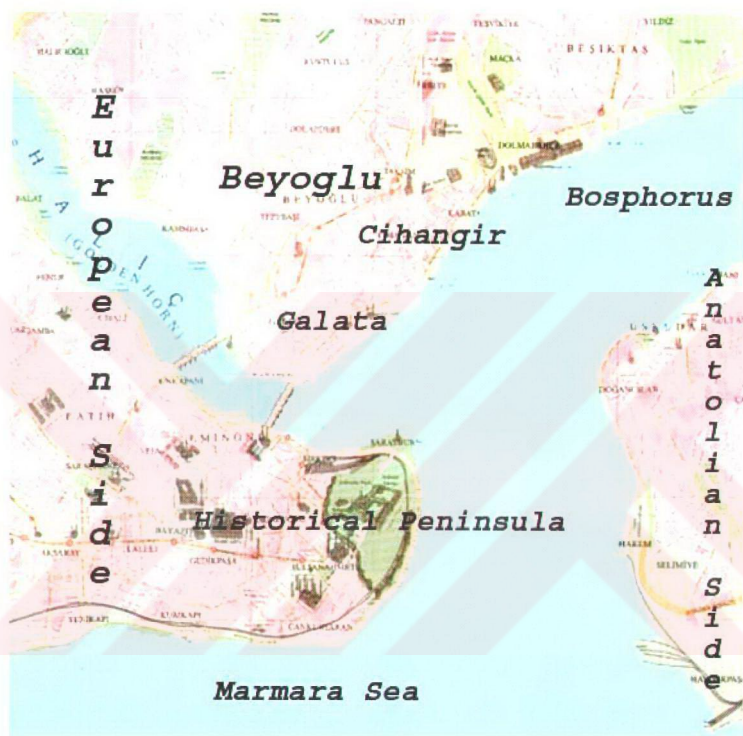


A view of Cihangir Park

The Map of Cihangir



Istanbul Map



Asmalı Kahve



Symrna



A view Bosphorus of from Cihangir



Another view from Cihangir

