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Does Art Divide People?

Gentrification in Tophane, Inner-City Neighbourhood in Istanbul



MSc Thesis Research Master Human Geography and Planning

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Faculty of Geosciences - Utrecht University, The Netherlands

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Abstract

Tophane is a historical neighbourhood of Istanbul where gentrification has recently started. The process is characterised by the implementation of a revitalisation project put forward by the central government and the moving in of entrepreneurs and a new middle class. This study aims to explore the impact of gentrification processes on the social community of Tophane. It focuses on the resisters: the people who remain in the neighbourhood despite the gentrification process going on. Using an in-depth, qualitative semi-structured interview process with local inhabitants and key persons, it has been found that their experiences are multiple, and originate from complex and variegated economic, social and cultural interplays. The inhabitants who resist replacement face substantial physical and social changes in the neighbourhood. Throughout our analysis, we highlight the underexplored relevance of social ties, community and culture. Often the inhabitants embrace the developments and caution surrounding them at the same time. We also underline the often overlooked importance of attachment to and pride for the neighbourhood which clarify this paradox. These explanations have implications for our appreciation of gentrification and urban renewal projects and hold valuable insights for future research on the impact of gentrification and residents' experiences.

Keywords

Gentrification, Urban renewal, Neighbourhood change, Community, Inhabitants' experiences, Tophane, Istanbul.

Özet

Tophane yakın geçmişte kentsel soylulaştırmadanın başladığı İstanbul'un tarihi mahallelerindendir. Bu süreç yerel yönetimin bölgede bir canlandırma projesini uygulamaya koymasıyla ve girişimciler ile yeni bir orta sınıfın bölgeye taşınmasıyla açıklanabilir. Bu çalışma soylulaştırma sürecinin bölgedeki sosyal hayatı olan etkilerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma özellikle direnişçilere, devam eden soylulaştırma sürecine rağmen orada kalmayı sürdürülere odaklanmıştır. Bölgenin sakinleri ve bölge üstüne çalışan kilit mevkideki kişiler ile yapılan niteliksel yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesineröportajlar sonucunda bu kişilerin yaşadığı deneyimlerin farklı olması ile birlikte, çeşitli ve karmaşık ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel etkileşimlerden kaynaklandığı saptanmıştır. Değişime karşı koyan yerel halk, mahalledeki birçok fiziksel ve sosyal değişimle yüz yüze gelmektedir. Analizlerimizle sosyal ilişkilerin, toplum ve kültürün keşfedilmemiş yönleri öne çıkarılmıştır. Bölge sakinleri genellikle yeni gelişmeleri kabullenirken, aynı zamanda kaygıyla da karşılaşmaktadır. Çalışmada, sıkça gözden kaçırılan yaşanan mahalleye hissedilen bağlanma ve iftihar duygularının önemini de vurgulanmıştır ki bu, yaşanan bu ilişkiye açılığa kavuşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmada soylulaştırma ve kentsel dönüşüm projelerini anlamaya yönelik çıkarımlar içermekte ve soylulaştırmadanın etkileri ile bölge sakinlerinin tecrübelerine yönelik yapılacak olan sonraki çalışmalar için değerli görüşler içermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Soylulaştırma, Kentsel dönüşüm, Mahalle değişimi, Toplum, Semt sakinlerinin deneyimleri, Tophane, İstanbul

Preface

*Now it's Istanbul, not Constantinople
Been a long time gone, Constantinople
Now it's Turkish delight on a moonlit night*

*Even old New York was once New Amsterdam
Why they changed it I can't say
People just liked it better that way*

Jimmy Kennedy – Istanbul (Not Constantinople)

This masterthesis is part of the Research Master Human Geography and Planning. During my Bachelor's degree I was fortunate enough to spend six months living in the Turkish city of Ankara where I became fascinated by the various aspects of urban life, city planning and social community. I was sure that I wanted to come back to Turkey for the fieldwork of my master thesis. Istanbul is a fascinating city and very different from Ankara. The latter has a reputation being a bureaucratic and grey city, where as Istanbul is vibrant, modern and at the same time rich of a unique history. While living in Ankara nobody understood why I choose to go to Ankara instead of Istanbul. Apart from the practical reasons for me to come to Ankara, I have never regretted my choice, as I found it a fascinating place to live. I really do not understand the typical question of 'Which city do you like more, Ankara or Istanbul?' For me the two cities are totally different in character and atmosphere, shaped by history, urban planning and the people living in the city.

For my master's thesis I wanted to do fieldwork in Istanbul to learn more about the city contrasts. I am impressed to have learnt about the history of Istanbul, how over time it has been the focus of so many different empires and how it now stands as the modern day metropolitan of Turkey. The population of Istanbul is estimated as sixteen million. That is as much as the total population of the Netherlands. When I went for a weekend to the east of Turkey I noticed that Istanbul is not just the biggest city of Turkey, it is almost like another country. Although I knew, I was surprised that no other city can be compared to Istanbul.

Living and working in Istanbul was a great experience which allowed me to integrate into the local Turkish culture so that I could better understand it. I would like to thank all the people who helped me learn the Turkish language for their patience. I would also like to thank the Netherlands Institute in Turkey for giving me the opportunity to be a fellow and for their support. I am also grateful to the Boğaziçi University rowing team for being my best friends, giving me the opportunity to get away from my work and teaching me everything you can imagine about the Turkish culture. Special thanks go to the inhabitants of Tophane, the respondents of my research who were always willing to answer my questions. Their openness and confidence inspired me. I would also like to thank Gideon Bolt, my supervisor for his advice and constructive feedback.

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This year Turkey and the Netherlands celebrate their 400 years of friendship, remembering the start of the diplomatic relationship between the two countries in 1612. In those times people were drawn to Amsterdam because of both commerce and its reputation for tolerance. The burghers ruled, and they were pragmatic: it was the benefit to trade that mattered, not religious or ideological differences. Nowadays the Dutch economy is less flourishing and also we can ask ourselves what is remaining from our tolerance attitude. Anyhow this year we will reflect on and deepen the existing relation between Turkey and the Netherlands on diplomatic, economic, cultural and social fields. I argue that the Turkish economy is growing fast, the society is changing and the cities are transforming, as this thesis is illustrates.

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1 Introduction

*I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed;
Still giddy from the revelries of the past,
A seaside mansion with dingy boathouses is fast asleep.
Amid the din and drone of southern winds, reposed,
I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed.*

Orhan Veli. Translated by Talat S. Halman

Gentrification in Istanbul

With its historic heritage, cultural diversity and urban vitality Istanbul has always been an attractive city for many people. Within this plurality the city has undergone dynamic processes and is constantly changing. It is a multicultural city where people from different origins have lived together for a long time. Merchants, traders and people looking for employment have always been attracted by the city which has been the capital to many empires. In the end of the 20th century the city encountered a massive population influx. The city experienced a shock by the rapid integration of transnational networks and markets (Keyder 2005). As a response to the uncontrollable population explosion and the dependency of the city on forms of housing that were technically illegal, a new policy with a mixture of planning and laissez faire was introduced. Consequently, squatter housing built on illegally occupied land appeared in the city centre and around it (Enlil et al. 2011). These neighbourhoods are like organic structures; they are not planned in a structured grid, but organised by the inhabitants themselves over time. The houses are built in different stages, expanded with new rooms and new floors, resulting in an organic structure where the houses are all built next to one another. The rents of the houses are low; they are cheap places to live, housing migrants and workers. Since the 1980s many of these inner-city neighbourhoods are undergoing changes by revitalisation projects and the moving in of 'new' social groups. This is called *gentrification* and can be defined as a process in which poor and working class neighbourhoods in the inner city are refurbished by an influx of private capital and middle-class home buyers and renters (Smith 1996). Changing of the social composition of the neighbourhood is also an important feature of gentrification; once the gentrification process starts it rapidly goes on until the original occupiers are displaced and the social character is changed (Glass 1964).

Aims and Relevance

This research aims to contribute to the literature by offering a study of gentrification in a non-Western context; Istanbul, Turkey. It will provide new insights to our understanding of gentrification as most studies focus on gentrification in the United States or West-Europe. The context in where gentrification takes place shapes the form of the process; for example political situations, national regulations and urban government influence the process. Secondly, this research shows how the social context defines the perception of the inhabitants towards gentrification. This research focuses on the resisters: the people who remain in the neighbourhood despite the gentrification process. Most studies focus on the choices of gentrifiers, the new inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Other studies focus on the

experiences of the displaced, the people who are forced to leave because of rising housing prices or who choose to leave because of the economic advantages they get when selling their property. More insight is needed about the viewpoints of the original residents. The original people who resist replacement face a lot of changes. Often they embrace them and caution surrounding them at the same time. This study focuses on the experiences of the inhabitants on the social and physical changes of the neighbourhood. Although housing prices are rising, local services and social contacts might be disappearing, the process of gentrification is not per se a negative process for the residents. This research suggests that gentrification is much more nuanced than often portrayed.

For society, raising awareness about gentrification is important; in Turkish politics there is still an approach of laissez faire and an indifferent attitude towards gentrification. The advantage of understanding gentrification is twofold: at the level of the neighbourhood it can contribute to a more sustainable place where people take care of the physical and social environment by preventing decay and class conflicts. At city level it can be used in strategies and city planning. Cities have been reshaping their image constantly. Globalisation has made the world more homogeneous and more competitive. It has forced cities to introduce new strategies to enhance competitiveness (Harvey 1989, Scott 2000). In order not to stay behind in the competition between global cities, cities need to promote themselves and need to attract industries and people. Image and revitalisation strategies cannot be taken for granted though; this could also have negative consequences like the displacement of original inhabitants and the loss of a social community.

Case Study and Research Questions

Using qualitative methods this research provides a better understanding of the inhabitants' experiences and how they feel about the impacts of the gentrification processes in Tophane, an inner-city neighbourhood in Istanbul. Tophane is one of the most historical neighbourhoods of Istanbul, located alongside the Bosphorus in the European side of the city, at the Northern side of the Golden Horn. Previously, this area was inhabited by mostly Greek and Armenians. Later, immigrants from Eastern Anatolia moved into this neighbourhood. Now, the social composition of the neighbourhood is again changing. There is an influx of entrepreneurs and middle-class home buyers and renters. Neighbourhoods around Tophane such as Galata, Cihangir and Tarlabası have already experienced gentrification processes. The neighbourhoods are all very centrally located in Istanbul and can be an attractive place to live for new middle-class residents. However, the reputation of these neighbourhoods and the degree of spontaneous or state-led gentrification vary; this demonstrates how the municipality, private capital, original inhabitants and new inhabitants influence the process and experience it differently.

Tophane is an interesting case study because it is in one of the first stages of the gentrification process. The central government has revitalisation plans for the neighbourhood and at the same time new entrepreneurs are attracted by the central location and the related businesses in the neighbourhood. This study examines the impact of gentrification by observation and interviewing the municipality and

the inhabitants of the neighbourhood about their experiences. As such, this thesis sheds light on an under-explored urban phenomenon and leads to the following research question: ***What is the impact of gentrification processes on the social community of Tophane, inner-city neighbourhood in Istanbul?*** Inherent to this question is the desire to explore the gentrification processes in Tophane so far, the physical changes, the original inhabitants, the gentrifiers and the interaction between these groups. Consequently the residents' experiences have a central role in this research.

This thesis is organised as follows. The next chapter pays attention to the process of gentrification. In recent history political contexts have led to different stages of gentrification and also academics have focused on different aspects of the process. In order to understand gentrification processes in Istanbul it is crucial to understand how this city rapidly grew in the second half of the 20th century and how its policies changed (section 3.1 and 3.2). In addition, attention is paid to the renewal projects in Istanbul and the role that culture and art now play for the city (section 3.3 and 3.4). Section 3.5 elaborates on the history and characteristics of the neighbourhood Tophane. The methodological approach and the qualitative methods are discussed in chapter 4. The empirical field research unveils the physical and social changes (respectively chapter 5 and 6) in the neighbourhood and the inhabitants' experiences towards gentrification. In the conclusion (chapter 7) all the findings converge to a final broader discussion about the research at hand.

2 Gentrification

This chapter first describes the concept of gentrification and its origins in the academic literature. Research is often focused on the displaced or on the gentrifiers itself, whereas the actual situation is more complex and the people involved have nuanced feelings. Furthermore this chapter discusses the displacement of inhabitants, the gentrifiers and the residents who are able to stay in the neighbourhood.

2.1 Defining Gentrification

2.1.1 Literature Review

Whereas in English the meaning of the word gentrification has expanded and the term is politically loaded, in Turkish there is no direct translation for the word gentrification. Instead, there are two words used to describe this process: *soylulaştırma* and *mutenalaştırma*. Soylu means noble and highborn; and *soylulaştırma* means to make something noble. Mutena means refined and exclusive; *mutenalaştırma* means making something exclusive and refined. This linguistic fact tells us something about how gentrification processes are perceived in Turkey: the focus is on the physical and the cultural change of the neighbourhood, rather than that it is seen as a process of economic expansion (Pehlivan 2011). But before going into details about gentrification in Turkey, first gentrification itself should be defined.

Gentrification is a term which is nowadays widely used and its meaning has been moving beyond its original definitions. Glass, an English sociologist, introduced the term in the sixties to describe the residential movement of middle-class people into low-income areas of London. With the word gentrification he indicated not only the change of population, but also the attachment of a new symbolic to the old buildings and the heightened sensibility of space and time. It also represented a break with the child-centred city life towards more social diversity; from suburbia to a more aesthetic promiscuity of city life (Glass 1964). Gentrifiers were seen as different from other middle-class people.

In the early stages of the research on gentrification much attention has been devoted to literature review; later empirical research has verified the extent of the phenomenon (Zukin 1987). Initially the research was focused on neighbourhood change and speculated on the consequences of gentrification in terms of displacement of the population and trends towards suburbanization and urban decline. This approach was mostly developed by sociologists in the United States who were influenced by positivism. Gradually, scientists influenced by the work of Marxist and left-Weberian urban sociologists and geographers broadened the field by emphasizing underlying dynamics of economic restructuring. They emphasized regional and metropolitan deindustrialization and a concentration of employment in the urban core. Rather than relating gentrification processes to individual choices or demographic structures, they subsumed it under the rubrics of production and consumption. There is disagreement on the underlying structure of gentrification between these different approaches in the sociology. Although empirical research has verified the extent of the phenomenon, it is still problematic to establish a broader analytic framework. Academics disagree about the reasons for the shift from the

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suburbia towards the city and about the question if gentrifiers move ‘back to the city’ or that they come from other urban neighbourhoods and large metropolitan areas. Zukin (1987) defines gentrification as the conversion of socially marginal and working-class areas of the central city to middle-class residential use. It reflects the movement of private-market investment capital into downtown districts of major urban centres. The shift in corporate investment and a corresponding expansion of the urban service economy was seen as related to architectural restoration of deteriorating housing and the clustering of new cultural amenities in the city centre.

Waves of Gentrification

The form the gentrification process takes has changed too, throughout the years. This is due to the changing role of the state. Speaking about gentrification in the USA, Western Europe and Australia, Hackworth and Smith (2001) defined three ‘waves’ of gentrification. The first wave is characterised by sporadic and state-led gentrification mainly going on in isolated small neighbourhoods. Due to the economic recession in the global economy, starting in 1973, inner-city housing became a target for reinvestment. In this period of transition gentrification was often funded by the public sector. The effect of the process was very class specific. Often the situation worsened for the working class. In the second wave the process of gentrification becomes common in smaller, non-global cities during the 1980s. It becomes implanted in disinvested central city neighbourhoods often related to the presence of the art community. A period of transition follows, with also a period of recession in 1990. In this period the gentrification processes slow down. Some people claimed that ‘degenetrification’ or reversal of the process was going on. The third wave is characterised by the return of gentrification. After the recession gentrification seems to be more linked to large-scale capital than ever before. Many neighbourhoods continue to gentrify, while others experience the process for the first time. Large developers are renovating entire neighbourhoods, often with state support. The third-wave gentrification is also characterised by less opposition of the inhabitants to the process (Hackworth & Smith 2001).

Studies can be focused on the property that is gentrified or on gentrifiers itself. In both cases there are supply-side interpretations as well as demand-side interpretations. The former stress the economic and social factors that produce an attractive housing supply in the central city for middle-class individuals, while the latter concern the preferences of the consumer for the area that becomes gentrified, related with demographic or cultural reasons. Also, the political context of the gentrification process is very important; the role of the state defines the economic and social value of an urban area. This is indicated by conflicts over zoning laws, historic district designations, and property tax assessments. In times of inflation, rising fuel costs and rising construction prices, rehabilitation in the city centre is more attractive. During such times rehabilitation processes are strategic shifts in government policies. They are economically attractive for both home owners and real estate developers (Zukin 1987). From the 1970s to the 1975 shifts in policies supported urban renewal, rather than demolition of urban areas. National governments in the United States and Western Europe were giving incentive grants for housing improvement; this facilitated the small-scale building rehabilitation on which gentrification depends.

In this research gentrification is defined as the process of revitalisation of the neighbourhood together with the moving in of people from the new middle class. It includes state-led as well as market driven gentrification: intervention of the state in order to improve the neighbourhood, as well as more spontaneous changes of the neighbourhood, initiated by the inhabitants. Gentrification differs from rehabilitation in the sense that gentrification is far more systematic and widespread. It is interwoven with economic, political and social changes and has become an international process (Zukin 1987, Ilkucan & Sandikci 2005). The next section focuses on the inhabitants of the neighbourhood who are often divided into the 'winners' and the 'losers' of the process.

2.1.2 Winners or Losers

The gentrification process can be approached from the perspective of either the original inhabitants of the neighbourhood or its new inhabitants, the gentrifiers. In the academic literature it is often portrayed in very 'black-and-white' terms (Atkinson 2004). Gentrification is seen as having winners and losers; the ones who profit from the process and the ones displaced. It is also a politically loaded term; associated with saving the neighbourhood from urban decay, or with negative aspects such as displacement and class conflict. From both sides, the word is loaded with strong feelings (Davidson & Lees 2005, Smith 1996). Firstly, studies based on the gentrifiers focus on their choices, preferences and satisfaction. For example, Ley (1980) studied the new middle-class moving into the city centre. With the shift from a manufacturing based economy to a service based economy, the landscape of Vancouver changed in the 70s and 80s. The new middle-class moved to the inner-city, looking for a liveable city and a higher quality of life. Secondly, studies based on the original inhabitants stress that people generally experience a negative impact of gentrification. For example low-income residents are confronted with displacement, community conflicts, loss of affordable housing and homelessness (Atkinson 2004). When rents are increasing and people are not able to pay the prices any more they are forced to move.

The two social groups often differ in terms of daily activities and preferences and they do not interact much. Bourdieu (1984) describes a process of spatial and social differentiation. The residential choices of gentrifiers, the amenities that clustered around them and their general higher educational and occupational status are structured by a distinctive *habitus*. This results in a different class culture and milieu, and separates them from the original inhabitants. Furthermore, Butler and Robson (2003) discussed whether this is a worldwide phenomenon and if this should be seen as a gentrification habitus or a metropolitan habitus. If gentrification is nowadays a global phenomenon, to what extent do similarities between the gentrifiers in different world cities exist? Butler and Robson investigated the impact of globalization on commerce and culture; on the economy and those who are caught up in it. They examined in what way gentrified areas in London reflect the middle-class values, ideologies, life styles, social backgrounds and occupational choices of the inhabitants. Globalization has profound effects on city dwellers; urban space and cultural reproduction are in an inextricably relationship. The authors conclude that indeed there are coherent dynamics which encompasses the differences between gentrifiers but the dispositions of gentrifiers in metropolitan areas and provincial cities are distinct. Therefore they argue that habitus is directly linked to globalisation, and not to gentrification. In line with this, Bridge (2007) argued that the process of gentrification should be considered as separated from a process of class constitution. He investigated the existence of a global gentrifier class in five dimensions:

occupation characteristics, the mix of economic and cultural capital, ideas of cosmopolitan knowledge, gentrification aesthetics and the use of urban space. He concluded that the suggestion for the existence of a global gentrifier class is weak, but instead the middle-class maintains a set of strategies to preserve social distinction from the working class. This reproduction of the middle-class is occurring in urban areas as well in suburban contexts.

2.2 Displacement

One of the hidden costs of state-led gentrification is displacement (Uitermark et al. 2007, Slater 2004). Urban governments promote gentrification as a positive process to make cities attractive for the 'right' people. With urban renewal they try to attract a certain group of people, functions and investments. State-led gentrification brings the socio-spatial make-up of cities in line with capital interests and middle class culture. As a result, gentrification and urban renewal often result in the displacement of the original inhabitants. Marcuse (1986) has defined four types of displacement. Firstly, there is *last-residents displacement*. This happens when the last household in a housing unit gets displaced due to economic and physical reasons such as rent increasing and demolition. Secondly there is *chain displacement*; this is defined as the displacement of a household as a consequence of the displacement of the former household in the same housing unit. Thirdly Marcuse defines *exclusionary displacement* as a housing unit getting unavailable and unaffordable for a similar type of household. The occurring of exclusionary displacement means a decreased housing availability for low-income households as the result of gentrification. And finally, there is *displacement pressure* which makes the neighbourhood less liveable for residents who are not immediately displaced. This is an indirect pressure as a consequence of unfavourable changes taking place in the neighbourhood, such as neighbours and friends moving out, and the change of services in the neighbourhood, for example, the closing of existing stores and the disappearing of public services and facilities.

People experience displacement in very different ways. For example, an absentee landlord's experience is different from the one of a low income tenant. A property owner might gain economic advantages; after the revitalisation of the neighbourhood the value of the property will increase and can be sold for higher price. A low income tenant might face extreme pressures from the municipality and landlords. Sakizlioglu (2012) investigated the experiences of residents who faced displacement in Tarlabasi. In this inner-city neighbourhood in Istanbul the municipality were threatening the residents by signing eviction papers, cutting their electricity water, gas etc. Also landlords put the tenants under pressure by asking for extra rents, double-triple rents if not evictions. Forced relocation can have great impacts. It can be perceived as an interruption of home as continuity in life and violation of the identity of residents. People can suffer from feelings of stress, painful loss, anxiety, inclination to idealise the former situation, unrest, as well as physical problems (Fried 1963, Teijmand 1979, Sakizlioglu 2012). Social ties, which can be very important by the meaning of home and the attachment to the neighbourhood, might also be destroyed. Gentrification processes of urban renovation might not only destroy housing, but also vibrant social cultures (Allen 2000, Couch 1990, Ekström 1994, Kleinhans et al. 2000).

Residents' Reactions

The experiences of the displaced and the variety in the residents' reactions can be allocated to several factors (Kleinhans 2003, Sakizlioglu 2012). Firstly, the residents' meaning of 'home' determines the reaction on relocation of the resident. An Individual's home and the direct living environment are important for a sense of belonging and give meaning to the area. Home represents a continuity in life and can constitute a controlled territory (Ekström 1994). This is even more important if social ties and networks are maintained in the living environment. Demolition does not only destroy housing, but also vibrant social structures (Allen 2000, Ekström 1994). It is difficult to assess the importance of social structures; it implies social ties with other residents as well as a selective use of social interactions like the joint use of neighbourhood facilities and getting on at the level of everyday life (Forrest & Kearns 2001, Wellman & Leighton 1979, Wellman et al. 1988, Kleinhans 2003). Sakizlioglu (2012) found out that a lot of displaced people continue their social ties from their former neighbourhood. When people move to the outer periphery of the city, they often lose their jobs and social networks, but if possible they continue their social ties in the neighbourhood. Some people keep visiting their acquaintances, use their social ties to find work or even do the groceries in their old neighbourhood.

Secondly, the satisfaction of the present housing situation is important for the residents' reaction to displacement. If the resident has already been planning to move, a forced relocation can be an opportunity to realise the intentions. 'Traditional' models which explain residential moving assume that there is an acceptable level or threshold value of the housing satisfaction, and when the satisfaction falls below this level, people will look for another residence (Brown & Moore 1970, Priemus 1986). Popp (1976) has pointed out that also more obligatory causes can be the reason for moving, such as fire, demolition, divorce or sudden income decrease. His model allows the possibility that a notice to quit by the landlord is not always obligatory, for example if the resident has already been planning to move. Thirdly, the way how residents deal with opportunities and constraints influence their reaction to relocation. As most people live close to their work, after moving they have to spend more money and time commuting to their work. If people try to continue the same activities, after moving out of the neighbourhood they are economically worse off. Finally, their support for and understanding of urban revitalisation measures that require their relocation are important. Their understanding also determines the adoption process in the new neighbourhood. If residents agree with moving, if they support and understand relocation, they are more prepared for substantial changes in their new housing situation (Allen 2000, Van Kempen & Priemus 2002). For example, Sakizlioglu (2012) concluded that the residents in Tarlabası do support a revitalisation project for the improvement of a neighbourhood and also the displaced inhabitants do generally support revitalisation. However, they do not support the current renewal project that makes the profits available only to private firms instead of to the inhabitants. The neoliberal urban renewal is based on the redistribution of wealth and resources, upwards from lower classes to upper classes. Most inhabitants want to come back to Tarlabası after the renewal but they think they will not be able to afford the prices anymore. They are dissatisfied with the neoliberal approach of the project and also with the provisions, the guidance and the lack of information provided.

2.3 Gentrifiers

Who are the new inhabitants who are attracted by the renovated neighbourhoods? Urban governments promote gentrification as a positive process, trying to attract the 'right' investments and people. These are the people with a middle class culture and a higher income and more luxurious life style compared with the original inhabitants of the neighbourhood (Sakizlioglu 2012). Florida (2002) emphasizes the importance of especially creative types; he argues that cities that want to succeed must aim to attract the creative types. 'Be creative –or die' is how Dreher (2002) summarized the new urban imperative. Cities are not static but dynamic and constantly in change and creative people are the wave of the future (Florida 2002). Cultural industries are becoming more important for cities for several reasons. Firstly, they can be used as a spatial strategy for development projects which include revitalisation and regeneration of the neighbourhood (Enlil et al. 2008). Secondly, from an economic perspective, they improve the international image of cities and make them attractive for people and capital. They cultivate a creative and innovative environment, demanded by the 'new economy' which occurred after the transition from a manufacturing-based economy to a service-based economy (Hal 1999). The creative industry is the most important sector where a lot of jobs are or will be created (Florida 2006). Thirdly, creative industries provide opportunities for attracting cultural tourism. They help to develop the 'soft' infrastructure which contains various art activities and entertainment spaces necessary for cultural tourism (Kunzmann 2004).

Whether the success of a city is directly related to the existence of a creative class can be argued. There might be a false dualism between production and consumption; does creativity lead to economic growth or is it the economic growth that attracts the creative people? (Peck 2005, Pratt 2008). However, attracting creative people seems to be a popular strategy for city revitalisation. Using a cultural icon or 'landmark buildings' like Mackinstosh in Glasgow, Gaudi in Barcelona, the Guggenheim in Bilbao, the Kiasma in Helsinki or the Opera in Copenhagen, cities attempt to imbue the place with a creative character. By image building and city marketing they try to attract people and investment (Evans 2003, Vanolo 2010). Montgomery (2004) argues cities should not aim to make all their urban areas to be cultural quarters. Not all cultural industries simply lead to revitalising of the neighbourhood. A successful cultural quarter consists of a unique mixture of three elements: activity, built form and meaning. Success factors are, for example, cultural venues, festivals, events, workspaces for artists, art education, urban morphology, quality of public space, active street frontages, meeting spaces and area identity. Montgomery presents a managerial approach, examining the working of a cultural quarter. He uses an organization model to describe the successful cluster, subsequently he analyses the functional character and the role of the stakeholders. This approach differs from Florida's (2002, 2006) approach, which is based on spatial preferences of the creative class; these people require some specific characteristics of a neighbourhood and they in their turn, are also contributing to the city. Analysing the success of cultural quarters, Montgomery (2004) warns for the process of gentrification and its problems; he emphasizes the relevance of protecting living cultural elements of space. When artists and creative businesses are forced to move on, the living cultural elements of space become damaged or even die. A cultural quarter can be a positive force for the city as it stimulates refurbishing decaying buildings, reclaims lost places and creates value and wealth. But it might eventually create so much wealth that low-value uses

are in danger of being pushed out. Rents increase, people are forced to move out and class conflicts occur (Montgomery 2003, Slater 2006).

2.4 Resisting Residents

Gentrification is much more complex than the moving out of the original, low-income inhabitants and the moving in of a new middle-class. Many residents do not fit in either one of these categories. Some residents are not directly forced to move, since they are able to resist displacement. How do these people perceive the changes of the neighbourhood? Their experiences might be nuanced; people can simultaneously positively and negatively experience the changes in the neighbourhood. Positive outcomes of gentrification are service improvement, better access to services and resources and poverty de-concentration. At the same time, people might face loss of services in their neighbourhood, for example, by the disappearing of small markets or groceries, by community conflict and fear for displacement (Freeman & Braconi 2004, Atkinson 2000). Even if people are not displaced themselves, they might suffer from the fear of being displaced. A person does not need to be physically displaced in order to feel negatively towards it. When they witness friends and neighbours leaving, as well as when they receive constant information via media, people's attitudes to the process will be negatively influenced.

Services and Amenities

People might feel that the developments in the neighbourhood are not intended for them nor are they the prime beneficiaries of it. An example is the harbour area of Edinburgh, which been redeveloped and has become a prime location of entertainment and leisure with its pubs, classy restaurants, cafes and wine bars. Doucet (2009) interviewed the local residents of this area. He examined how people experienced the housing, amenities and social interaction in the neighbourhood. Nowadays the neighbourhood is seen as positive and successful and its image has altered. The new amenities bring gentrifiers and people from all over the city to this neighbourhood. The original residents, however, embrace the new developments, but they are also cautious. They like the new image of the neighbourhood, but have a profound sense that the development in the neighbourhood, the new houses and the amenities like bars and restaurants are not intended for them.

Changing retail and amenity structures can have different impacts for the local community. On the one hand, they are seen as having a negative impact on the local poor population. If the new services and shops are built for the newer, high-income inhabitants, this leads to greater polarisation within the community (Doucet 2009). Also a spatial separation can occur: next to the low-income retail stores there may be a separate retail district for the middle-class gentrifiers. By a growing population of the middle class, the low-income retail stores get pushed further away, or disappear entirely (Butler 2003). On the other hand, gentrification can be seen as benefiting to local residents, regardless their socioeconomic background. New shops that open up as result of gentrification can also be appreciated by lower-income residents (Freeman & Braconi 2004). For example, when access to basic shops and services is limited, inhabitants appreciate the developments. Wrigley (2002) outlines the problem of

access to healthy food for people in poor neighbourhoods in British cities, where this became an increasingly important issue in social exclusion debates during the late 1990s. Many low income areas are ‘food deserts’ where inhabitants have access to fewer healthy or fresh food options than people from the same social class in more affluent areas. Freeman (2006) argues that many poor areas in the United States lack basic retail facilities; if they were to gentrify, the arrival of services like drug stores would be a positive development. New amenities can also bring new job opportunities for residents (Vigdor 2002).

Social Distinction

In a gentrified neighbourhood often there is no social integration between the two groups. The gentrifiers have no contact with the original inhabitants; they are not willing to invest in membership in social networks such as relations of the neighbourhood or the workplace. Polarized structures occur and spatial and psychological division between the residents lead to negative perceptions. Atkinson (2000) studied a gentrified area in Kensington, West London and he found that if lower-income residents have the perception that new facilities are not meant for them, this can lead to a sense of resentment towards the gentrifiers. He describes a group of ‘yuppie-haters’ losing their places they used to go because their former pubs went upmarket in the face of the gentrification wave.

Butler (2003) argues that the new middle-class group which transforms an inner-city neighbourhood is not mostly displacing the working class, they are simply blanking out those who are not like themselves: “they do not socialise with them, eat with them or send their children to school with them” (Butler 2003, p. 2484). He analysed in-depth interviews about Barnsbury, a gentrified neighbourhood in London. He warns that gentrification processes in Barnsbury play a rather dangerous game. The gentrifiers value the presence of others but they choose not to interact with them. “They are, as it were, much valued as a kind of social wallpaper, but no more” (Butler 2003, p. 2484). This attitude is an element of the metropolitan habitus formed by the new urban-seeking middle class (see also 1.1.2 Winners or Losers). This new middle class has formed a working-class district into one of the iconic sites of a middle-class district.

Sometimes, experiences of inhabitants seem to be contradicting. The inhabitants of the gentrified neighbourhood in London on the one hand stress how ‘cohesive’ the area is, but at the same time they ‘celebrate’ its diversity (Butler 2003). They feel great affection for, and loyalty to the neighbourhood. They state they enjoy living in a place where there are plenty of ‘people like us’. Also the geographical and architectural aspects are important. With diversity they refer to the supporting cultural and consumption infrastructure: inhabitants appreciate the new amenities, restaurants and the housing stock. Their appreciation of diversity also refers to the fact that they are living in an old place nearby, but not in the city centre. However, empirical studies should be placed in context. Freeman (2006) studied two deprived neighbourhoods in New York City where gentrification lead to more and better retail opportunities for the residents. However, Freeman notes himself that the level of deprivation and disinvestment was quite extreme here. Not all neighbourhoods which are undergoing gentrification processes are to this extent dislocated from mainstream circuits and investment. Therefore, it is not

possible to generalize the outcomes of case studies. New amenities may bring a new character to the area, but when they do not match with the tastes and preferences or the financial possibilities, this can lead to resentment of the low-income residents.

3 Istanbul

This chapter shortly describes Istanbul's massive urban growth and how this together with the political context, has led to different stages of gentrification. Furthermore, it elaborates on urban renewal projects in the neighbourhoods Tarlabaşı, Sulukule, Süleymaniye, Cihangir and Galata. This chapter ends with the introduction of the neighbourhood Tophane, describing its location, history and physical characteristics.

3.1 Urban Growth

The history of gentrification processes in Istanbul is related to the urban growth of the city. Gentrification processes started in inner-city neighbourhoods in Istanbul around 1980 (Kuyucu & Ünsal 2010). At the basis lies a massive rural to urban migration from the 1950s onwards: the population grew from one million in 1945 to sixteen million in 2011. To host these people there were ad hoc solutions such as the occupation of vacant state land and the construction of squatter housing. These shanties or shacks are called *gecekondu* in Turkish, meaning 'built overnight'. It refers to low cost apartment buildings or houses which are quickly put up, within 24 hours. When authorities have not noticed the construction before dawn the next day, they are not permitted to tear the building down but instead must begin a legal proceeding in court (Neuwirth 2005). Rural migrants also became homeowners or informal tenants in inner-city historical neighbourhoods, which were left behind due to the fight against non-Muslim minorities. A lot of property was left behind due to discriminatory events against non-Muslims. For example, by the Wealth Tax in 1942, the September 5-6 events in 1955 and the Cyprus Operation in 1974, minorities were forced to leave the country. The state responded in a populist-clientelist nature: politicians represented ordinary people's needs and wishes; they declared building amnesties and provided extra development right (İşik & Pınarçioğlu 2005). A lot of migrants moved into the historical areas of the city. The residential buildings were owned among others by *Vakıfs*, legal entities founded by organizations and/or persons to ensure the continuation of a specific service, for example a religious or a social one. In some cases occupants could legally get the right to obtain abandoned or squatted buildings. These ad hoc solutions served as mechanisms for redistribution of wealth in the absence of an established welfare state. It also was a reason for keeping out many inner-city historical neighbourhoods and *gecekondu*'s of the formal housing and land markets. This hindered their redevelopment (Sakizlioglu 2012).

After the phase of expansion of the city and the populist-clientelism approach of politicians, there was a phase of early neo-liberalization. With the transition to a neoliberal economy, in 1980 Istanbul also adopted an entrepreneurial policy approach to become a 'global city'. The economy shifted gradually towards the tertiary sectors and de-industrialization and influenced also the social and economic structure of the city. Gated communities, as well as prestigious business centres were built and gentrified neighbourhoods appeared. Gentrification started as a sporadic process, initiated by individual gentrifiers. It occurred first in historical neighbourhoods and privileged locations along the Bosphorus.

3.2 Reforming Policies

In the first rounds of gentrification in the 1980s and 1990s, the state had an indirect role by supporting the provision of infrastructure and restoration of public spaces. Gradually this supporting role turned into a more direct role. In the late 1990s gentrification was promoted by national and international organizations. UNESCO, the district municipality and the EU designed a revitalization project in the district Fener Balat. This signified the beginning of a more concerted effort to gentrify historical neighbourhoods of Istanbul (Islam 2005). However, as a result of institutional, legal and economic barriers the recapitalization of historical neighbourhoods was very slow. The heavy bureaucracy and the difficulty to get permission from conservation committees slowed down the processes. Besides, the ad hoc policy solutions and the history of fights on non-Muslim minorities had created a complex structure of ownership. There were many unknown owners and multiple owners (Sakizlioglu 2012). Also the concentration of marginalized groups such as sex-workers, recycling workings and groups involved in drug-dealing, burglary and pick-pocketing constituted a barrier for individual gentrifiers to invest in these areas. The barriers were overcome with a drastic shift in urban policy that embraced gentrification as an urban strategy (Sakizlioglu 2012).

The period of urban transformation in the 2000s is characterised by projects and state-led gentrification. From the 1990s onwards state agencies profited from the market driven demands of the capital sector. They took their advantage with public land and property and shifted their priorities to the urban land and housing market (Keyder 2005). This marked the end of the discourse of urban populism. In the early 2000s the state fully abolished the populist-clientelist approach and embraced a neoliberal approach. In the new discourse the focus was on the (re)capitalization of the built environment (Bartu & Kolluoğlu 2008, Kuyucu & Ünsal 2010, Sakizlioglu 2007). The accumulated problems of the speculative urbanization and the ad hoc solutions, as well as the economic crisis and the political victory of liberal-conservative party AKP (Justice and Development Party) was an impulse for the sharp neoliberal shift in the early 2000s. By attracting capital flows into the real estate sector urban construction became the main growth sector for easing the crisis situation. Alterations were made to form the legal and organizational basis of the urban transformation projects. TOKI, The Mass Housing Administration of Turkey was armed with many authorities in urban transformation and housing market. This housing institution was established in 1984 for the producing of mass housing estates in Turkey. In 2000s they got more power to designate and implement urban transformation projects. At the same time, at the local level, district and metropolitan municipalities were entitled with extended authorities regarding the designation and implementation of transformation projects. And as a consequence of globalisation Istanbul witnessed the emergence of new social groups like young professionals operating in global networks and new bourgeois. These people adopted the lifestyle of 'western' people and reproduced the consumption habits of their transnational counterparts (Keyder 2005, Aksoy 2008).

New Law

In 2005 a new urban renewal law was formulated. This law, numbered 5366 and called *Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties*, forms the basis of the recent urban transformation processes within the old city. Districts and

metropolitan municipalities were given extended power to designate areas for urban renewal and to initiate projects. Municipalities got the right to assemble and expropriate properties within the designated areas. Also renovation and construction were made free from taxes. These instruments made projects more attractive for capital investors. This law provides the local state with additional power but it does not ensure any citizen participation. The tenants are ignored as rightful parties. The law lacks relocation policy and only property owners are treated as right holders (Sakizlioglu 2012).

3.3 Renewal Projects

After the new urban renewal law 5366, three pioneer projects in Istanbul were set up. The authorities dedicated the neighbourhoods Tarlabaşı (Beyoğlu), Sulukule (Fatih) and Süleymaniye (Fatih) as renewal areas (Islam 2010). In these neighbourhoods, as well as in Cihangir (Beyoğlu) and Galata (Beyoğlu) gentrification processes took place (Madra 2008). This section shortly characterises the renewal projects and gentrification processes in the different neighbourhoods in Istanbul.

In the inner-city neighbourhood *Tarlabaşı*, located in the district Beyoğlu, the plans for renewal were made by the municipality and they brought up a lot of protest and resistance. The inhabitants were against the revitalisation projects because in their opinion the real aim of the project was to displace the poor working class (Kuyucu & Ünsal 2010). Tarlabaşı is a mixed zone that is highly stigmatized and associated with crime in the perceptions of the general public. In February 2006 parts of Tarlabaşı were announced as regeneration area. The renewal project is based on a public-private partnership model. The municipality of Beyoğlu designated the project area and opened a bid and the company GAP İnşaat has taken the responsibility for the preparation and implementation of the renewal project (Islam 2010). The second neighbourhood, *Sulukule*, is located along the old Byzantine city walls in the historic peninsula and has always been known for its Roma population. Like Tarlabaşı, Sulukule was also highly stigmatized. The neighbourhood was known as being a place for drug users and traders. Sulukule was a former residential inner-city neighbourhood but then became a dilapidated and abandoned land. In 2005 the land was declared as a renewal area where the municipality of the district Fatih, TOKİ and the City Municipality dedicated the area as renewal area. Thirdly, after the introduction of law no. 5366 a renewal project was set up in the neighbourhood Süleymaniye, also located in the historical peninsula. This neighbourhood is close to one of the major touristic sites: the Süleymaniye mosque. Since the 1950s a young, mainly male population from Eastern Anatolia resides in the dilapidated housing of the neighbourhood. They work in the (informal) waste management of the city, as street vendors or day laborers. Fourth, gentrification took place in *Cihangir*. This neighbourhood has an international character: the settlements date back to the 17th century and during the Ottoman period the area was inhabited mostly by non-Muslim members of the empire and foreigners who dealt with trade. During the 1990s, when the municipality started a project to rehabilitate the area, Cihangir turned into a popular inner-city neighbourhood with increasing rents and renovated buildings and streets (Ilkucan & Sandikci 2005). Finally, and contrasting to these former examples, in the inner-city neighbourhood *Galata*, located in Beyoğlu, spontaneous gentrification took place. In this neighbourhood originally Italian people used to live. Nowadays a lot of artists and musicians live here and have their galleries and studios in this district. Likewise, it is one of the most famous touristic places in Istanbul. Especially Galata

and Cihanghir are transformed from old neighbourhoods to ‘trendy’ areas where foreigners and creative people live.

Sakizlioglu (2012) shows in her research that different groups have different priorities in renewal projects. For example the municipality’s intervention in Tarlabaşı changes the neighbourhood into a place attractive for capital investments. They also promote the inflow of economic and cultural elite. Most inhabitants do support a renewal project, but not the current project which displaces the inhabitants and let only private firms making profits and getting advantages. This is exactly what is happening; the renewal processes put heavy burdens on the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Existing stores and public services are disappearing and people are forced to move out of the neighbourhood. Moving out leads to dispossessing of their assets, their houses, shops and restaurants, as well as it leads to dispossessing of their rights to housing and access to the city.

3.4 Culture and Art

Gentrification processes and the clustering of the creative class are often related. In Beyoğlu there is a spatial clustering of the Turkish film industry, fashion design industry and festivals of arts and culture. These sectors are part of the creative class, as defined by Florida (2002) and O’Connor (2002). The creative class is defined as the people who are active in the sectors that deal with the production, distribution and consumption of products whose economic value is constituted mainly on their cultural value. For the industries it is advantageous to be positioned close to each other. People make each other more productive, inventive and they complement each other’s skills and talents (Florida 2006). A significant proportion of the creative people in Istanbul work, live and recreate in Beyoğlu and its surrounding area (Enlil et al. 2011, Oruc & Giritlioglu 2005). Located in the historical core of the city, right next to the hub of transportation, and having a variety of activities, a lively street culture and social diversity, it has the greatest potential for cultural activities and creative milieu. Enlil et al. (2008) named the spatial clustering in Istanbul the “cultural triangle” (Figure 1). Istanbul wants to use culture and art in general more and more for city promoting. In 2010 the city was nominated as European Capital of Culture. This brought much attention to Istanbul. Activities and events were held. There was attention for all kind of cultural activities: museums, festivals, events etc. For Istanbul it was a good promotion and a boost for the city.

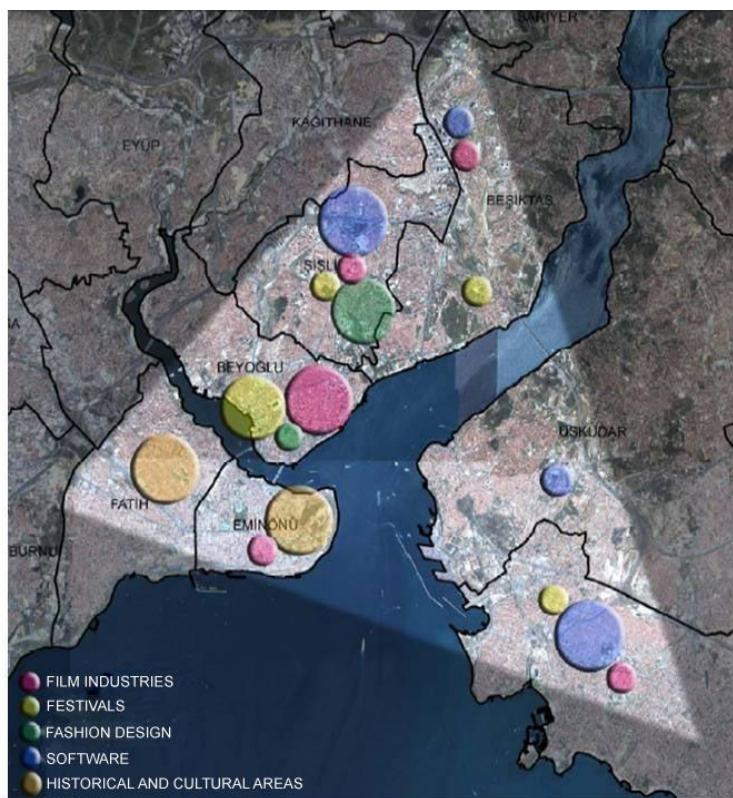


Figure 1 Cultural Triangle of Istanbul (Source: Enlil et al. 2008)

3.5 Tophane

This research is based on a case study of the neighbourhood Tophane, an old inner-city neighbourhood of Istanbul. It is a dynamic neighbourhood where throughout the years a lot has changed. The next sections elaborate on the history, the gentrification processes and the future plans for Tophane.

3.5.1 History

Tophane is one of the most historical neighbourhoods of Istanbul and has always been an important place. It is located in Beyoğlu, at the European side of the city (Figure 2), at the Northern side of the Golden Horn. Because of its location next to the Bosphorus, the neighbourhood had a strategic function. It was an important place in periods of war; other nations were coming from over the sea, sailing to the Bosphorus trying to conquer the city. Later the Tophane became an important place for trade because of its location at the sea. Big ships came and moored in the harbour, their goods were unloaded and stored in the warehouses along the coast. This area was inhabited by for the greater part non-Muslims inhabitants, mostly Greeks and Armenians. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic the area was increasingly populated by immigrants. People from eastern Turkey, looking for employment in the industry, moved to this district (Ilkucan & Sandikci 2005). The neighbourhood was in favour because of the presence of industries, low rents and central location.

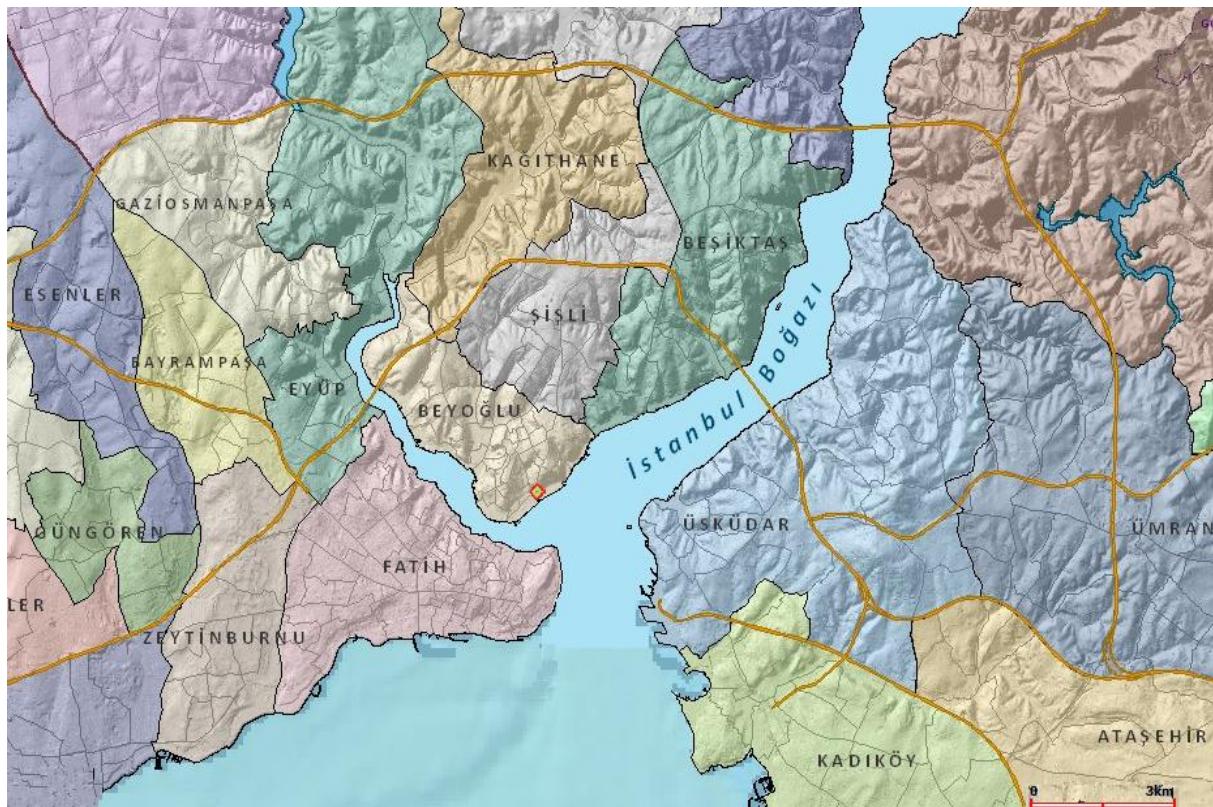


Figure 2 Districts of Istanbul. Tophane located in Beyoğlu (Source: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye, 2011. Edited by author)

The name Tophane is coming from *top* and *hane*. Top means ball, canon or cannonball and hane means place or house. The neighbourhood is named after the place where they produced artillery. Starting in the 15th century, Tophane was the most important canon foundry in the Ottoman Empire. The current building is built in the early 19th century. Nowadays it is used as a culture centre, where art exhibitions are held. It is called Tophane-i Amire (imperial armoury) and owned by Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi (Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University). Tophane-i Amire has always been an important feature of the neighbourhood, literally and physically. The next section describes other important physical characteristics of Tophane.



Figure 3 Tophane interior¹

3.5.2 Physical Characteristics

The street plan of the neighbourhood is not very well-structured, especially the inner part of the neighbourhood. Away from the main roads the streets in the neighbourhood have an organic structure. From the shore of the Bosphorus towards the northwest, the land is slightly going uphill. The main street of the neighbourhood is Boğazkesen Caddesi, also going in this direction, from the Bosphorus going land inwards into the neighbourhood (Figure 4). Other main streets are located parallel to the coastline. However, more inside the neighbourhood the streets are unstructured and the houses are irregularly built (Figure 5 and 6). They are made of wood and stone, next to each other and leaning towards each other. Some houses are old and not well preserved. The contrast is very big; mostly alongside Boğazkesen Caddesi you can see new renovated houses next to old houses which are in an advanced state of decay.

¹ All pictures are taken by author, otherwise indicated



Figure 4 Boğazkesen Caddesi facing south-ward. At the horizon the historical peninsula behind the Golden Horn.



Figure 5 and 6 Housing in Tophane

Gentrification in Tophane, Inner-city neighbourhood in Istanbul

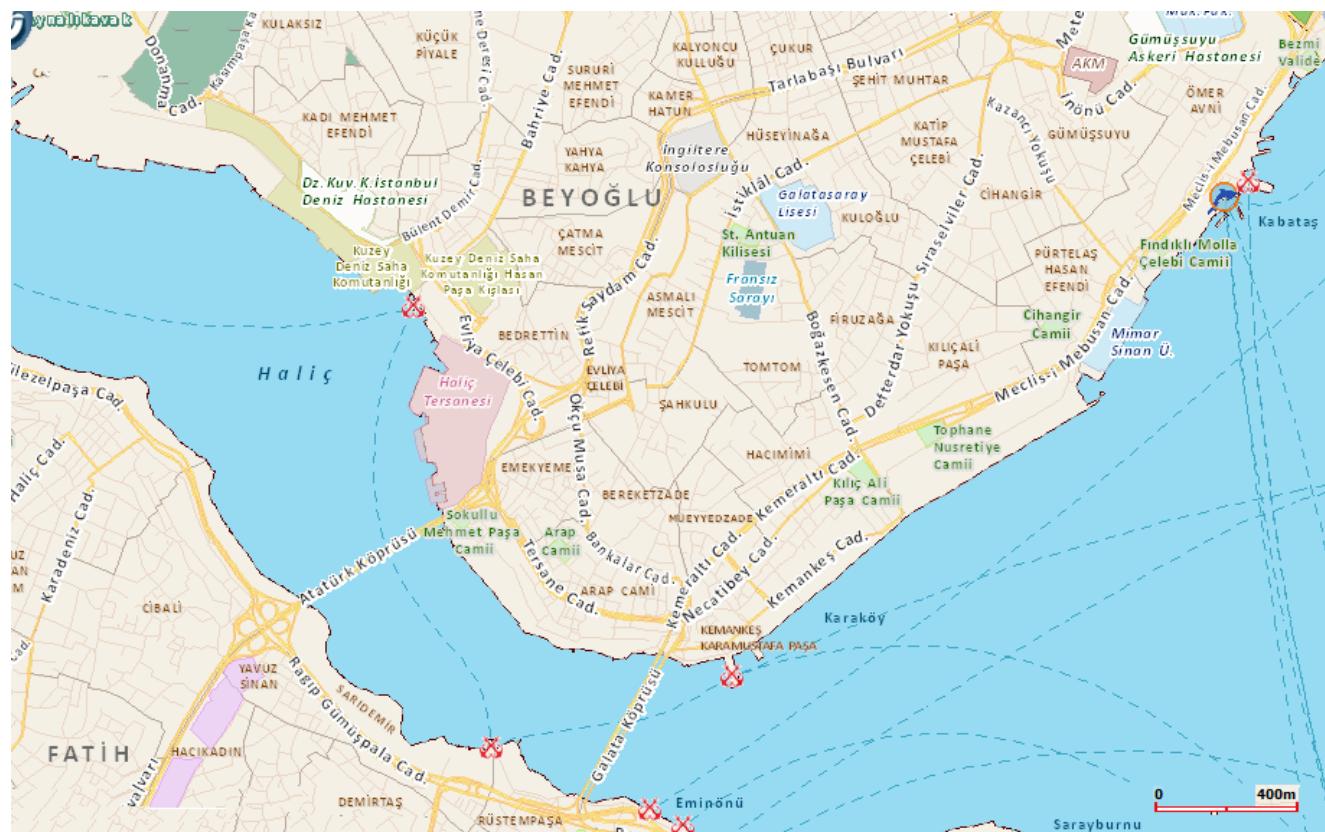


Figure 7 Tophane, Beyoğlu (Source: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye 2011. Edited by author)

Following Boğazkesen Caddesi, at the border of Tophane you will enter İstiklal Caddesi (Figure 7), which has been one of the most important and luxurious streets of Istanbul since a long time. Sometimes this street is called the Champs-Élysées of Istanbul. İstiklal Caddesi has always been an important and international part of the city. Foreign embassies have been located here since history. Contrary to other cities in the world, all embassies are located in the same street. This is very unique and is related to the fact that this was the international and non-Muslim part of the city. At present also all kind of ‘western’ shops and brands can be found at İstiklal Caddesi. Locals and tourists are walking up and down this street, strolling like ‘urban flaneurs’; being seen and entertainment are their aims.

Apart from Tophane-i Amire, where artillery was made and where after the neighbourhood is named, the neighbourhood is characterised by a historical mosque, the famous hookah² cafes and the international oriented museum Istanbul Modern. The view on Tophane is dominated by two mosques. There are –of course– several mosques in the neighbourhood but two are very imposing; the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque and the Nusretiye Mosque. The first is designed by architect Mimar Sinan and completed in 1580. Besides the mosque the complex also includes a mausoleum, a madrasa, a bathhouse and next

² A hookah, also known as water pipe, narghile or shisha, is an instrument for smoking flavored tobacco whereby the smoke is passed through a water basin before inhalation. In the middle east people smoke it as part of their culture and tradition; it is a very social activity.

to it is a public fountain. The mosque is a copy of the Ayasofya Mosque and is decorated with tiles from Iznik. The Nusretiye Mosque (Figure 9) was built by Sultan Mahmut II, designed by Krikor Balyan and completed in 1826. The architecture is influenced by Islamic elements and also retains a Baroque style which makes it unique to the city. However, most people in Istanbul characterise Tophane as the neighbourhood with the hookah cafes. They are located near the shore of the Bosphorus and have been there since a long time. They have a good reputation; for all *Istanbullu* (people in Istanbul) Tophane is equivalent to hookah cafes and hookah cafes are equivalent to Tophane. Finally, there is Istanbul Modern, one of the flagship museums in Istanbul and trying to reach a big audience from Turkey and abroad (see also section 5.3).



Figure 8 Tophane Fountain in ca. 1890-1900. Print no. 18463 (Source: Library of Congress)

Gentrification in Tophane, Inner-city neighbourhood in Istanbul



Figure 9 Nusretiye Mosque in ca. 1880-1900. Place de Tophane, Constantinople. Print no. 18459 (Source: Library of Congress)



Figure 10 Old fountain. In the background Tophane-i Amire



Figure 11 Tophane. South-wards facing. The background shows both the point where the Golden Horn meets the sea of Marmara and the historical city at the Peninsula

3.5.3 Change of the Neighbourhood

Because of Tophane's location close to the cultural hotspots in Beyoğlu and next to areas where gentrification processes already have been finished, Tophane has the potential to experience the same processes and to become as well an important place for culture. The first indication of this process is the move in of the museum Istanbul Modern, since 2004 located in old warehouses that were once used for storage of shipped goods. Istanbul Modern is used as a strategy to put Tophane on the map; it is an example of a flagship museum, together with exhibitions and festivals one of the most common examples of image creation and city promoting (Kurtarir & Cengiz 2005). It is also a must see for the tourist gaze. Urry (2002) discusses how tourist-related services are of particular significance in contemporary society. He discusses the relationship between tourism and embodiment, identifying what is real/fake, authentic/not authentic and valid/invalid. The tourist is looking for the 'other' and the 'out-of-ordinary'. Creative industries can be used as tools for revitalization of the neighbourhood; at the same time they might start changing the social character of the neighbourhood. As a result of gentrification, rents might increase, people are forced to move out and class conflicts can occur (Montgomery 2004, Slater 2006).

Secondly, alongside Boğazkesen Caddesi we can see signs of gentrification in the sense of restored buildings, apartments which are renovated and rented for higher prices. They attract another target group, people who are looking for a place down-town but with more money and a more luxurious life-style than the original inhabitants. Also galleries, hotels, hostels and vintage shops are opening up in this Boğazkesen Caddesi. It is a location with potential; more and more people are visiting Tophane. For example, tourists visiting Istanbul Modern are using this route. They come from İstiklal Caddesi, going downwards towards the Bosphorus, using this route and passing the galleries, shops etc. Tophane can be

Gentrification in Tophane, Inner-city neighbourhood in Istanbul

seen as a combination of state-led and private gentrification. The government in Ankara has defined this area for a new project: the Galata Port project (section 5.2). Besides that, there are the museums and galleries which are moving to Tophane, and the original or new residents who are renovating houses and selling them with profit. Likewise, housing prices are increasing and this is a reinforcing process.

4 Methodology

This research tries to uncover the experiences of inhabitants in a neighbourhood undergoing gentrification processes. It suggests that gentrification is a complex process and that experiences of residents are not just positive or negative but much more nuanced. Literature has provided a theoretical framework for this research. Furthermore, the research is based on a case study in Tophane, an inner-city neighbourhood of Istanbul. Through direct observation and in-depth interviews with residents of the neighbourhood, with both the original inhabitants and the new gentrifiers, the research provides insights into the gentrification process and changing social composition of the neighbourhood.

4.1 Research Strategy

We are interested in the developments in the neighbourhood Tophane, the process of gentrification and the social consequences. Qualitative research methods are the best way to extensively study human behaviour and study the phenomenon from inside out (Dwyer & Limb 2001). The researcher using qualitative methods is interested in the subjective meaning of the phenomenon. The results of the thesis do not lend themselves to generalisation. As Bryman (2008) points out, the research has limited external validity. The specificity of the study is embraced; underlining what makes Tophane unique compared with other cases of gentrification. Emphasis is put on the local, the temporal, the verbal and the spatial. No single truth exists, but rather multiple truths and realities should be taken into account (Dwyer & Limb 2001). Important is also the circular character of the process; the researcher is constant in self-reflection about the study at hand. This has an impact on the interpretation of the results. The researchers own actions, observations, impressions, feelings and so forth are influencing the research. In contrast to the quantitative approach, the qualitative approach does not strive for reduction but for complexity and condensation (Bryman 2008).

How is it possible for the research to understand the plural realities? The empirical materials are interview transcripts, notes and visual documents. In the translation from reality into these kinds of form of 'text' the researcher is already in the process of interpretation. Transcriptions are already a first interpretation of what is being said. The translation from reality to text can be understood as an active and creative process. It is also a circular process. This is one of the important characteristics of qualitative research; there is a reciprocal dependence of the different aspects of the research methods. Data collection, analysis and theory are in constant interrelation. By constantly reflecting on the research questions, the data collection and the analysis, the research approaches the results in a circular way. This circular process aims at a densification of complexity, not at its reduction (Flick et al. 2004).

4.2 Interviews and Respondents

The research is based on semi-structured interviews. The aim is to have a natural conversation and at the same time to get as much as possible information from the respondents. The interviews contain relatively open questions which are in the field of inquiry, but which at the same time let the

interviewee respond freely. The questions are designed to get inside in the ‘why’ and ‘how’ of a phenomenon. Conducting of the interview is flexible in the sense that the interviewee influences the research. The task of the research is only to lead to conversation. According to the situation the order of the questions can be changed, some questions can be omitted, for example if they are already answered, and new questions may be added. Doing cross-cultural research is full of contradictions and complexities. For example, it is never sure if an interviewee gives his personal opinion or if the statement reflects the viewpoint of the general public. Interviewing in a different cultural context requires a high sensitivity to the entangled power relations which may be present between the interviewee and the researcher, and the local codes of behaviour (Townsend 1995). Building confidence between the interviewee and researcher is one of the important conditions.

Interviews were held with new entrepreneurs in Tophane, original inhabitants and experts in order to get insight in their view on the changes of the neighbourhood, their connection with the neighbourhood and their social and business networks. In total 28 people were interviewed, eight of them being ‘new entrepreneurs’ or ‘gentrifiers’: they are working in the new galleries or hostels. Seventeen ‘original inhabitants’ were interviewed: people living and/or working in Tophane since a long time. Often they were met in the local restaurants: the owners, workers or guests. These original inhabitants were selected by a convenience sampling strategy; all people available to the researcher were interviewed. A sample obtained by this method is almost certainly not representative for the population, data cannot be generalized, but allow links to be forged with existing findings in the area (Bryman 2008). Furthermore three experts in gentrification were interviewed: Assistant Professor Dr Ünsal Bal from Istanbul Bilgi University was asked to exemplify the gentrification processes in Istanbul in relation with the political situation and cultural strategies. She is specialized in cultural policies and citizenship and has worked for the 9th International Istanbul Biennial. Ms Aşkun and Mr Baloğlu, working at the municipality of Beyoğlu, were asked to illustrate and interpret the future plans for Tophane.

All the interviewees were very welcoming and there was a satisfying response rate of 100%. However, it is important always to bear in mind the impact of the researcher in potentially shaping the answers of interviewees. Do interviewees give a reply that truly reflects their thoughts or do they reply with a more favourable answer? It is understandable that pride has its place in these topics; at the same time it is undesirable that people sketch an ideal answer, instead of speaking honestly about their ideas. The interviewees seemed to be very open and frank about their personal lives and their experiences in the neighbourhood. Being an outsider can also be an advantage. Interviewees can speak freely to the researcher being not one of the persons belonging to the close community.

Aiming to understand the daily life of the people, an informal setting is desired. People were interviewed in their daily environment, in a restaurant or café. The advantage of this method is that firstly a casual conversation can be held. Then, after having established some confidence from both sides, the researcher can ask more direct questions, going into depth and asking about the reasons and feelings of interviewee. Most people were interviewed more than once. Getting to know each other is very important. Most useful information was obtained the second or third time spoken with the interviewee. Apart from the answers people give, it is also very important *how* people respond and what

they do *not* say. Directly after the interviews the recorded data and field notes were translated and transcribed. After the interview process was completed the data was codified in line with the methods put forward by Corbin and Strauss (2008). Codifying interviews and organizing the data into categories helps by the process of theorising, modelling and prediction. However, it also means an overlooked filtering and loss of detailed information. Therefore is it necessary to find a balance between categorization of data and rather descriptive analyses. However, several concepts were derived from the interviews, presented in the chapters 5 and 6. Next to that, quotes illustrate important statements.

4.3 Reflection Own Position

In any research it is essential to consider the own positionality, being mindful of how the people working with, the interviewees, perceive the researcher. Gender, race, intellectual tradition, age, class etc. have substantial influence on the study. Walking in Tophane, being a blond, white skinned young woman, it is obvious that I am a foreigner. People will know that when they see me, and they might act differently towards me than towards native Turkish people. My personality may bear potential difficulties, but possibly also advantages. At least there are aspects which have to be taken into consideration for the contextual understanding. What follows is a critical reflection about my own position.

Being born and grown up in the Netherlands, I am shaped by a 'Western culture'. I am light-skinned, wearing western clothes and my hair is uncovered. I am a 23 years old woman. Women in Islamic countries have a different role than in Western countries. There exist unspoken rules of behaviour which I am not aware of. There is a language barrier, the residents of Tophane do not speak English; therefore interviews are conducted in Turkish. Since Turkish is not the native language of the researcher, this means that there is some loss of information. Also, there is a potential contrast between academia and working class. Most of the people in the neighbourhood never went to school. They are working since they were very young. I am a student; their understanding and acceptance of my research is uncertain. People always asked where I am from and what I am doing. I got the feeling that they well-estimate people who study at the university and people from the Netherlands or Europe in general.

Beforehand I thought that people also might react negatively towards me, but the opposite was the case. I expected that they would not fully understand me, because of the contrast of social class, and their totally different living conditions. They might have thought a young woman coming from a university in the Netherlands, doing research for just a few months, would not be able to understand the situation. I was aware of the fact that those people have lived in the neighbourhoods for a long time. Most of them were born and rose up here and have never been abroad. However, I never experienced any negative attitude. On the contrary, they reacted always very positive and friendly. At the same time they were surprised that I had come all the way from the Netherlands for a case study in Turkey. Why Tophane? Is there nothing in the Netherlands to do research about?

4.4 Confidence

Building confidence between the interviewee and researcher is very important; especially in a neighbourhood where there is such a close community. I was entering the daily routine of the people in a neighbourhood where everybody knows each other. Life seems to be rather uneventful for them. Every day they see the same people and they talk with the same people. On the other hand, people are very happy to talk to foreigners and explain about the neighbourhood, the history etc. Tophane was unfamiliar to me when I first come to the neighbourhood, but soon I became really familiar with the place and after five months I really felt at home. Remarkable is also that the people treated me very respectful and that they took me completely serious, although I made mistakes in the grammar by formulation my questions. Sometimes I did not completely understand what they were saying or they did not fully understand the aim of the research. Despite of these little barriers, they always answered my questions patiently and they were always willing to talk. I did not receive any non-response in the data collection process. It has to be said that the willingness to talk to me differed from person to person. In general, the original inhabitants were always very enthusiastic and always made time for me. For example, the owners of a restaurant always made time for me, also when they were busy with helping other clients etc. Some of the ‘new’ inhabitants showed less willingness. Some of the people working in a gallery told me to send them an e-mail with the questions. They said they did not have time or they thought the owner of the gallery would be better in answering the questions. Although I explained that face to face interviewing is more preferable and that I also appreciate their opinions I got the feeling they tried to send me away. They were less hospitable and less willing to answer my questions.

5 Tophane: Physical Changes

The present chapter and chapter 6 discuss the case study Tophane. An analysis of the gentrification processes and the outcome of the field study are presented. Quotes from the interviews are used to illustrate the situation in Tophane. This chapter discusses the physical changes in the neighbourhood and the next chapter discusses the social structures and how these are changing. The aim of this separation is not to give the impression that the physical and social changes are not connected: instead they are much intertwined. However, this approach gives the opportunity to pay more attention to the differences and interaction between the two social groups in the neighbourhood (chapter 6). The following sections start with paying attention to the future plans of the area, the revitalisation of the port, the development of the art scene and the increasing value of real estate in Tophane.

5.1 Zoning Plan

Every five year a zoning plan for the neighbourhood is made, including a report and a map of the neighbourhood. It does not include detailed information about future plans but instead, it shows the permitted land uses on mapped zones and for example regulations for building height. In the most recent zoning plan from 2010 Boğazkesen Caddesi and the other main streets are indicated with the function of “tourism” and “commerce” (Figure 12 dark red). This allows people to open up all kind of businesses in tourism, shops etc. The streets behind the main street, more inside the neighbourhood only allow the function of “housing” (Figure 12 yellow). Furthermore the municipality of Beyoğlu determined Tophane as renovation area, even as Tarlabası and Galata. Since 2006 the regulations in these areas are valid under law 5366 *Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties* (see also 3.2 Reforming Policies). This means that “renewal projects will be made according the relevant legislation and should preliminary be approved by the Council” (Beyoğlu Kentsel 2011, p.243). In the case of Tarlabası we have seen that this law gave the local state additional power but that tenants are ignored as rightful parties and citizen participation is not ensured (Sakizlioglu 2012).

In the zoning plan Tophane-i Amire is stated as a protected building. Just like the Galata Tower and the remaining Galata Walls, these buildings are “examples of old stylistic structures with their many ancient and mythological motifs symbolizing the architectural elements of the periods in the past [...] The authenticity of the building has to be protected from any other loss” (Beyoğlu Kentsel 2011, p.178). Tophane Park, the green area at the North-West of the armoury is a protected area. It is an archaeological site and the present ruins will be used as green space. The harbour area is not included in the zoning plan (Figure 12 area left blank), Ms Aşkun, working at the municipality of Beyoğlu explains that the harbour project is coordinated by the national government.

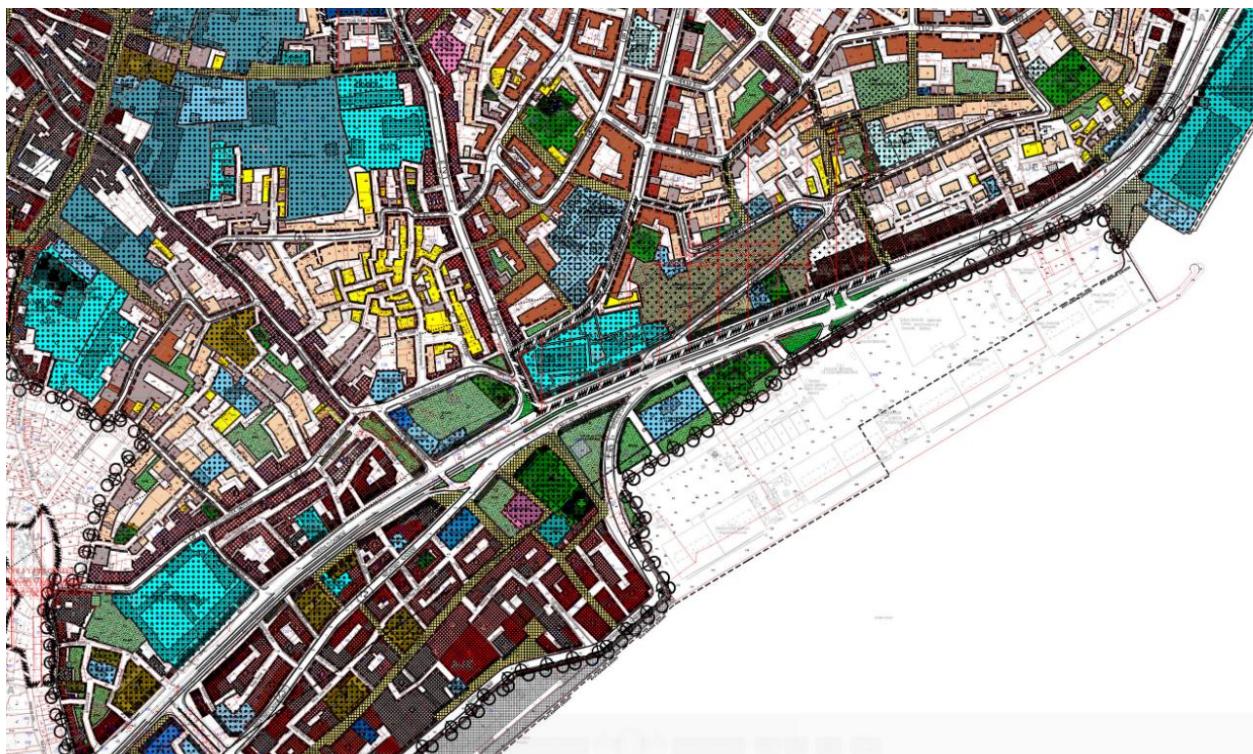


Figure 12 Zoning plan Tophane (Source: Beyoğlu Belediyesi 2011, Kentsel Sit Anlani, scale 1:1000. Edited by author)

5.2 Galata Port Project

A big construction project, the Galata Port Project, is planned alongside the coast of Tophane. The project is meant to upgrade the harbour area. This section elaborates on the details of this planned project, the coordination of the plan and the influence on the neighbourhood.

Currently old warehouses which are not in use anymore are located alongside the Bosphorus, the location where a luxurious complex for tourists will rise. Temporarily the Istanbul Modern, museum of modern art is located in one of the old warehouses, the others are empty. With the redevelopment of the area the old warehouses will be removed and a new port will be built. This port will serve cruise ships. The old harbour for cruise ships is not adequate any more, nowadays cruise ships are bigger than before and the harbour cannot serve to those big ships. Tophane has potential to become a good harbour for cruise ships; from here tourists can reach easily most of the touristic attractions in Istanbul. In the future big cruise ships will moor here. An entertainment centre with shops, cinemas, hotels etc. will be built. This will become a very touristic place, modern and luxurious (Sol Haber Merkezi 2012).

The project is set up by the central government in Ankara and the responsibility is given to the Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri AŞ (Turkey Maritime Organization Inc.). Neither the municipality of Beyoğlu, the district where Tophane is located, nor the municipality of Istanbul do have influence on the project. Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri AŞ is responsible for the area; their mission is “to ensure the safe

navigation of Turkish and foreign ships through the Turkish Straits (Istanbul and Çanakkale) and the Marmara Sea; to ensure safe arrival and departure of the ships to and from the ports within the scope of authority and to ensure customer satisfaction as a primary condition in respect of services provided within the field of activities" (Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri 2010). For the development of a plan for the new harbour a competition is being held. Private construction companies have been giving the chance to develop a plan and the best plan will be selected, this company will be given the right to construct the new port.

Transparency and Participation

The decision process is not very transparent; it is not clear in which stage of the process the Galata Port Project currently is, whether a real estate firm has definitely given the right to construct the port and if so, which firm. The information in newspapers is limited and Ms Aşkun from the municipality of Beyoğlu explains that they do not know the details of the project either, since it is coordinated in Ankara. This situation is typical for construction projects in Turkey, where the transparency and citizen participation are very limited. Joost Lagendijk, living in Istanbul and working as a Senior Advisor at the Istanbul Policy Centre of Sabancı University, compares the situation in Turkey with the one in Netherlands. As part of the Architecture Biennial Rotterdam (2012) he explains in an interview about the economic growth and population growth in Istanbul the procedure of urban projects:

"To be honest, it hurts me to see things here which when I started in the politics in the Netherlands I was fighting for. There is no citizen participation, no consolation with inhabitants. They just plan something and when the inhabitants get informed, at the end, they have to leave immediately. In most of the cases they don't contact the citizens. Sometimes you see an enormous building arising, or a shopping mall, then I ask myself what would the inhabitants think about that? Would they have been asked about their opinion? No!"

Benoit Chamuleau, architect in Istanbul reacts on this:

"As an architect bureau we don't have to do anything with this [citizen participation]. Of course it hurts me too. But there is a plan, and when it is economically profitable, everything has to give way for that. Also cultural history and heritage. Even zoning plans can be adapted to urban projects, only to get the profits."

Gentrification in Tophane, Inner-city neighbourhood in Istanbul



Figure 13 Impression of a possible new Galata Port. Design by Studios Architecture, 2006

The Galata Port project will probably have a huge influence on the neighbourhood; not only the area at the coast will be redeveloped, but the project might also function as a catalyst for private investment and might attract tourist-oriented businesses. At the same time the project will also have an influence on the social composition of the neighbourhood. Much more visitors will come to the neighbourhood, most of them being foreign tourists. These people, together with the new inhabitants and the new entrepreneurs, differ in social status and culture from the original inhabitants (see also chapter 6). Generally, the inhabitants of Tophane have heard about the project, but they do not seem to be much involved with the plans. On the internet a website (www.galataport.org) can be found which is arguing against the start of the project. In 2005 these people came in action against the new harbour. They are worried about losing the view of Tophane. The new complex will be modern and luxurious and typical, historical buildings will not be preserved. The landscape will be destroyed when cruise ships moor in the harbour; the typical view from the Bosphorus will change as well as the view from Tophane towards the Bosphorus will be blocked. The inhabitants of Tophane as well as the experts on urban geography share the point of view that the project is set up only to earn money. As Sakizlioglu (2012) showed in her research about the renewal project in Tarlabaşı and the experiences of the inhabitants, the aim of the project seems to be the profit for the municipality and the private firms. Private firms get the only priority; the residents in the neighbourhood do not get a voice. Deniz Ünsal Bal, professor at the Istanbul Bilgi University, explains:

“Money-making is everything in Turkey. It is like the new channel in Istanbul [project of the state to dig a ‘second Bosphorus’]. It is all about land development, profit and property prices. The prices are rising when the state decides about a project. They decide everything from their own point of view. They don’t look at the daily life of the people. They only see profit in the construction works”

The inhabitants are not much involved in the project; they do not know exactly what will happen or when the constructions will start. People seem just to accept the changing of the neighbourhood. Although they are not always happy with the redevelopments and the consequences, they do not come

in action. More about this attitude and about the interaction between the different groups of inhabitants can be found in chapter 6.

5.3 Art

"To be successful a museum needs to be relevant, and to be relevant it needs to be specific. Because people do not go to a museum which just provides a repetition, they go because it provides unique experiences" Juan Ignacio Vidarte, Director Guggenheim Museum Bilbao.

With the museums and galleries in Tophane art is a central element in the neighbourhood. A considerable part of the gentrifiers of Tophane work in the art industry and the municipality of Istanbul tries to stimulate the creative industry. This section describes the art scene in Tophane and elaborates on the location choice of the gallery owners.

One of the flagship museums of Istanbul is Istanbul Modern, located along the shores of the Bosphorus in Tophane. Istanbul Modern presents a collection of modern and contemporary art collection and it also hosts exhibitions. It is the first private museum in Turkey presenting this art style. In 2004 it was established in one of the old warehouses along the Bosphorus. It is located in an area of 8.000 square meters. There are also a cinema, where art movies and documentaries are shown, an education area, a library, a restaurant and a café in the museum. There is a permanent collection as well as temporary exhibitions. Besides showing art and being a platform for art, one of the aims of the museum is educating children. Therefore there are programs for children about visual art. Although it is a private museum, it is supported by the state as well. With this museum Istanbul tries to reach public from all over the world. The New York Times stated that Istanbul Modern shows "The changing face of Turkey". Also Istanbul Modern is very proud of this: "becoming recognized as a global brand that expresses life" as Ms. Eczacıbaşı (2012), the chair of the board of directors says.

Besides Istanbul Modern, the Istanbul Biennial is also located in Tophane. This is a contemporary art event, held every two years since 1987. It is organized by the İstanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı (Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts), aiming to create a meeting point for artists from different cultures and their audience. It is an international event; there is an international advisory board which develops the framework for the exhibition and a variety of artists and projects are invited. It is one of the most prestigious biennials together with the biennials in Venice, São Paulo and Sydney. The 12th and most recent biennial was from 17 September to 13 November 2011. It was called "Untitled" and explored the relationship between art and politics. Artworks which are innovative and politically outspoken were exposed. Visitors were encouraged to become active readers, not just silent recipients. This Biennial was sponsored by the Koç Holding. Their intention is to enlighten and intrigue people who are unfamiliar with this genre: "many people in Turkey perceive modern art as irrelevant, incomprehensible and rather cold". Koç has undertaken the sponsorship for the Istanbul Biennale for ten years, from 2007 to 2016 (IKSV Bienal 2012).



Figure 14 Biennial in one of the old warehouses



Figure 15 Tophane-i Amire in use as exposition centre

Thirdly, Tophane-i Amire is located in the neighbourhood; in the former canon foundry temporary art exhibitions are presented. In the times of the Ottoman Empire this *Tophane* was built by Fatih Sultan Mehmet. The neighbourhood is called after this building and the function of producing artillery. The area has always been an important and strategic place. In 1743 the building was destroyed completely, and rebuilt by Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. This is how it resists in the present state and now it is owned by the Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi (MSGSU 2012). From 23 December until 26 February 2012 there was an exposition of Dali where 121 works of Dali from the collection of René Magritte and Andy Warhol were exposed. You could find advertisements for this exhibition all around in Istanbul; there has been much promotion for this exhibition.

Location Advantages

The museums in Tophane attract a lot of tourists who can reach the place easily by tram or by foot coming from İstiklal Caddesi downwards to the Bosphorus via Bogazkesen Caddesi. This is a popular route and because of that, galleries, hostels and shops are opening up in this street. When they are asked why they are located in this neighbourhood they always mention the good location; the fact that this neighbourhood is easy to reach. It is close to Taksim which is the centre of Istanbul, it is relatively good accessible by car (for Istanbul terms), there is a bus connection and also a tram stop. From the Asian side this neighbourhood is easy to reach by boat. The galleries are oriented mostly towards tourists. Fatma, working at a gallery explained that because of the location, close to Dolmabahçe and close to Taksim, the place attracts a lot of people:

"More people are coming here, a lot of tourists are coming here. Here there are more people coming than in Nişantaşı [former location of the gallery]. In Nişantaşı there didn't come many people; about two people a day, here there are fifteen people every day..."

Apart from the good accessibility also the presence of other art or culture related attractions is important. A 'creative cluster' will increase the number of visitors to the neighbourhood meaning that also the number of potential visitors increases. More people interested in art will visit the neighbourhood. When asked why, an interviewee moved from Örtaköy to Tophane, he explained:

"Because, in Örtaköy there are not too many artistic things. Firstly, here, in 2005 the Istanbul Modern museum came. Then some galleries opened. Now they closed again by the way. I came here, here there are more galleries. And the centre is close, Beyoğlu, there are more advantages. Also people come more easily here" (Mehmet, working at a gallery)

In general, the galleries are temporary located here and they have no strong ties with the neighbourhood. They seem to be quite 'footloose'. Some of them moved from other places such as Nişantaşı in Şişli, or Örtaköy in Beşiktaş to this neighbourhood and some of them have plans to move to another location in Taksim. The gallery owners do not feel any connection to the neighbourhood, they tell that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood almost never enter the gallery, nor they do have contact with them outside the gallery. For them the social contacts in the neighbourhood are not important. About the location choice and the difference in life style with the original inhabitants an interviewee who newly established a hostel in Tophane says:

"The rents are cheap here. That's why. And we didn't know [the situation] before coming here. We didn't do a research about the neighbourhood. We didn't know the people were like this. After, we learned that" (Ali, owner of a hostel)

The location of their gallery is only important in terms of cheap rents and accessibility. The place should be easy to reach for customers; even better is a place alongside a busy street where there are a lot of people walking by and therefore a lot of spontaneous visitors. The gallery holders did not choose the location because of the social composition in the neighbourhood or because of their connections in the neighbourhood. At the other side they appreciate it that there are more galleries in this neighbourhood, as explained above, but on the other hand, too many galleries in the same neighbourhood is not a good thing. There should be a balance. One of the interviewees said that they moved from Nişantaşı where there were too many galleries. Another owner explained that the gallery is very successful and that they wish to move to a place which provides more space and attracts even more people; they planned to move to İstiklal Caddesi. The owners of another gallery did not tell anything about moving, but a week later the gallery in Tophane was closed and they had also moved to İstiklal Caddesi. The relative fast changing of places indicates that the galleries do not have strong ties with the neighbourhood but instead are flexible in their location decisions.

5.4 Revitalisation

After Galata and Cihangir, neighbourhoods next to Tophane, the first signs of gentrification processes are visible in Tophane. This section illustrates what revitalisation and gentrification processes in these three areas look like.

Galata and Cihangir are also located in Beyoğlu; Galata is one of the most touristic neighbourhoods of Istanbul these days. The neighbourhood of Sultan Ahmet, where the Sultan Ahmet Mosque/Blue Mosque and the Hagia Sophia are located, is probably the neighbourhood that tourist visit most. Secondly, they visit the district of Beyoğlu with İstiklal Caddesi and Galata. The Galata Tower is one of the touristic attractions and also some museums that are located here. Typical is the concentration of shops specialized in music and instruments. After the gentrification processes this neighbourhood is now ‘hip’ and ‘trendy’, being a cluster of the creative industry. Cihangir is a multi-cultural neighbourhood where a lot of foreign people live. This neighbourhood is a typical example of gentrification in the sense that the rents of the houses have increased considerably and it became a popular neighbourhood for foreign people and people with higher incomes. After the revitalisation the original inhabitants had to move out, they could not afford the prices anymore. Compared with the surrounding neighbourhoods it is remarkable that the streets are relatively nice and clean. Also you can find a lot of ‘modern’ and ‘fancy’ coffee bars and shops. They are orientated towards foreigners and sell luxurious products such as organic food or vintage.

It is expected that after Galata and Cihangir gentrification processes will take place in Tophane, because of its positive feature in terms of location and accessibility for tourists and the upcoming art industry.

“Before, here, houses were very cheap here. But now, they are very expensive. For example, houses cost a million dollar. [...] There will be prices like in Washington, New York, London, prices like Paris” (Hasan, living in Tophane)

One of the first signs of gentrification in Tophane is the opening up of apartments of NOA; this is an organization which owns different buildings in the neighbourhood Tophane as well in Galata. NOA renovated old buildings and now rents them as apartments. Their target groups are Turkish people as well as foreigners. The prices of the apartments are relatively high for this neighbourhood. NOA claims that their buildings can resist an earthquake, are equipped with professional security systems and offer good quality. They own seven buildings, each of them containing several apartments, and they also opened up a gym in the neighbourhood. These buildings are contrasting with the other buildings in the same street; they are nicely renovated and the inside is prepared for a luxurious lifestyle. Remarkable is also that you have to walk through a kind of ‘disinfection floor mat’ when you enter the gym. NOA is not aiming at the original inhabitants of Tophane but a totally different target group. Ömer, living in Tophane since he was born and now owning a restaurant here, explains how the neighbourhood is changing:

“10 years later, nobody will still be here, they will be all foreigners. They will all be foreigners. The people will all go to other place” (Ömer, owner of a restaurant)

The section 6.1 elaborates on the people living in Tophane since a long time, who have seen the neighbourhood changing and have faced the differences.



Figure 16 Renovated apartment at Boğazkesen Caddesi and the facing building a the other side of the street

6 Tophane: Social Structures

This chapter describes the social character of the neighbourhood. First, the group of original inhabitants and the group of gentrifiers are described (section 6.1 and 6.2), followed by an analysis of four themes which are derived from the fieldwork. While doing the interviews, the first observation is the presence of a strong community, described in section 6.3. Understanding of the importance of the community for the people is essential because it influences the daily life of the inhabitants and their attitude towards gentrification. Section 6.4 describes the inhabitants' experiences towards the physical and social changes in the neighbourhood. These appear to be nuanced and have to do with feelings of pride, rising prices of property and loosening of social ties in the neighbourhood. The differences between the original inhabitants and the gentrifiers are illustrated in section 6.5 and, finally, the participation in gentrification processes and organisation of events in the neighbourhood are described in section 6.6.

Characterising the neighbourhood, we can say there are the traditional men-only tea houses and the trendy designer boutiques located next to each other. Once this was a neighbourhood with only migrants from eastern Anatolia, but now Tophane has become a mixed zone. Without the intention to judge, the two groups of people are described in this thesis as the 'original' inhabitants and the 'new' inhabitants. The word 'original' is used because these people are used to live here, although it should be noted that Tophane is a neighbourhood of immigrants; once their grandfathers came from other places. In contrast with the original inhabitants there are the 'new' inhabitants who entered this neighbourhood only a few years ago. The two groups do have different life styles and do not interact much.

6.1 Original Inhabitants

The first group is that of the 'original' inhabitants, who are living here since generations and who have a strong feeling of community. Originally they came from villages and small towns in the east, but most of them are born and grown up in Tophane. They feel connected to the neighbourhood and they are very positive about it. When they are asked to describe the neighbourhood they talk about two things: the flourishing history of Tophane in Ottoman times, and the close relationships with their neighbours and friends in the neighbourhood. They call this a very safe neighbourhood due to the strong social ties. They all agree on the fact that the best thing about the neighbourhood is this feeling of community; they are all friends and always willing to help each other.

"The best thing is that everybody knows everybody. For example it is not like in Tarlabasi. Everybody knows each other, so bad things don't happen. Everybody looks after each other. Everybody knows everybody. There are no people from outside. I am born and grew up here. What should I do, if I move I will become a foreigner. My job is here. I see everybody" (Sinan, working in a restaurant)

"All the people here are like family for me" (Numan, owner/worker at a restaurant)

This close community also results in a high level of social control and social security, for example poor or disabled people are supported. Some mentally disabled and some homeless persons are living in Tophane, everybody knows them, and they are well respected and supported. People without money are given food for free in the little local restaurants. At the same time they explain that some years ago it was even better in the neighbourhood, social ties were even stronger. Since then, people started leaving the neighbourhood and other people, with different life styles, moved in.

6.2 Gentrifiers

The second group, the 'new' people in the neighbourhood have a different life style and a different perspective on the neighbourhood. This section first introduces these people, and then two examples are given of the 'clash' and differences between them and the original inhabitants.

The gentrifiers are the people who on average have had a better education and a higher salary than the original inhabitants and who moved recently to Tophane. A proportional group of these people are entrepreneurs who came to Tophane to open galleries, hostels or restaurants. They are not living in this neighbourhood but coming here on a daily basis for their work. They do not know Tophane very well because they do not live in the neighbourhood and most of them have been coming here only since a few years. Mehmet, living in another neighbourhood in Istanbul and since 2005 working in the new gallery in Tophane, explains that entrepreneurs are attracted by the location advantages, see also section 5.3.

"The best place to be is here. Why? Because the rent is low. It is an easy place to reach other places, Taksim, if you like, Beşiktaş. It is very relaxed. You can easily park here. People can park their car at the museum, walk around, come here, and go. Very easy. Therefore it is very comfortable. There are some museums around. That is what I think" (Mehmet, working in a gallery)

When they are asked to describe the neighbourhood they are less positive, compared with the original inhabitants. They say that the neighbourhood is not safe; that you should not walk here alone in the evening and that you should avoid the streets behind the main street. For example, Esengül, working at a gallery, characterises Tophane as the original inhabitants do: as a neighbourhood where social ties are very strong. However, she directly links these feelings of community to the fact that the original people are conservative. Fatma, working at another gallery gives the impression that there is a social distinction between the two groups of people in the neighbourhood. When asking if the original inhabitants ever visit her gallery she explains that they are not interested:

"No, they don't come. We don't know them. [...]Do not enter all places. Do not enter all shops. They might not understand you. They do not want the artists and the galleries here. They might look at you badly. Be careful (Fatma, working in a gallery)

The difference between the two social groups is also illustrated by the availability of time; whereas the original inhabitants were very hospitable, the gentrifiers did not always have time. The original inhabitants, for example, the people working in the restaurants, always welcomed me. Even if there

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were a lot of clients in the restaurant, they always took their time to talk with me, they immediately offered me tea, sometimes food and they always asked me to come back. The people working in the galleries more often asked me to come back later or to send them an email. Generally they were less available. This might be due to the fact that they have a more 'modern' and individualistic life style. As explained in section 6.1, traditionally the community has always been very important. The division between the private and the shared life of the gentrifiers is different. They live a more individualistic life. The division between the community based society and the individualistic life can be found everywhere in the daily life in Istanbul. The Turkish economy is growing, the division between rich and poor people is becoming bigger, as well as the division between traditional and modern people. People who have the opportunity want to be like the people in Western-Europe or the United States. They dress like them, they behave like them. They go on holiday to these places. The Turkish culture gets more intertwined with the cultures of Europe and the United States; nowadays the contact is easier, closer and faster. With the modern technologies of internet, communication, cheaper travelling etc., cultures are exchanging. The balance of a community based society and more individualistic society is changing and this can be recognized even by small things as the availability of time or the willingness to help.



Figure 17 Galleries in Tophane

Riots

In September 2010 there were some ‘riots’ in the neighbourhood: the celebration of the opening of a gallery provoked a clash between two groups of people. A group of 20 people disturbed the order; they attacked the galleries violently. They got into a fight, using knifes, metal sticks and pepper spray and 15 people were injured, five people were carried to the hospital and seven people were arrested. It was big news; it was broadcasted on television and published in the newspapers and people were speculating about the reasons and the problems behind this fight. Two days after the attack the Turkish minister of culture and tourism, Eruğrul Günay, came to Tophane. He stressed the importance of tolerance by all involved people. Some people speculated that the consumption of alcohol was the problem causing the riots. With the opening of the gallery people were drinking alcohol on the streets and the original inhabitants did not appreciate that, because they are strict Muslims and do not drink alcohol. Other people said that this attack shows an underlying social clash. They said that the original inhabitants of this neighbourhood do not want the newcomers and that they used this event, the opening of the galleries and the alcohol consumption, as an opportunity to show their dissatisfaction. The alcohol might not have been the reason for the violence, it only provided an occasion. It was the motive to start the riots and show their dissatisfaction.

6.3 Community

The two groups have different ideas about the social cohesion in the neighbourhood. This section elaborates on the close community in the neighbourhood and feelings of (un)safety. The existence of a close community is a typical characteristic of Tophane. Asking about the neighbourhood, the original inhabitants emphasize that everybody knows each other and they are all friends. As a result of these strong social ties this is the best neighbourhood of Istanbul and it is very safe, they say. Mert, working in a pastry shop, knows many people in the neighbourhood. According to him Tophane is different from other places in Istanbul. Whereas in other neighbourhoods in a big city as Istanbul people do not know each other, in Tophane it is like a village:

“You don’t stop greeting the people. Everybody knows everybody. But in old neighbourhoods like this it is the same. They are all relatives”

The importance of friends and relatives is cultural related. Traditionally, the Muslim people live in a very strong community and this sense of community can be found everywhere in daily life. For example the willingness to help each other is one of the five pillars of the Islam. One of the interviewees; Hasan, a retired teacher, living in Tophane and also owning and renting property here, kept explaining about the Turkish culture and the fact that ‘katki’ (contribution) is very important. He relates the culture to the economy and says that Turkey would never happen to be in a crisis like the ‘western’ world since the people always help each other, for example, by creating jobs for each other, giving money to poor people and sharing food.

“Close friends, because we are Muslims. We give alms. We help each other. Allah said us, if you earn 40 lira, you have to share it, 1 is for the others [...] In the world, in Europe, a crisis like that wouldn’t come [here]. Why? Because we always lived like this. Even if we are poor [...] Turkey will

never change too much. Nothing will happen. Rich people will come, but nothing will happen. The situation will be the same. After one year we are mixed" (Hasan, living in Tophane)

He explains that even now, when the society is changing and Turkey is becoming more ‘modern’ and ‘western’ the culture remains important. The culture of helping each other and taking care of the less wealthy will always remain according to Hasan who is a strict Muslim. There is a considerable difference between poor and rich people in Turkey. The income differences are large and also their life styles differ. Though, Hasan sees positive developments. He says that the middle class is growing instead of a growing division between the classes, and also he explains that the culture is deep-rooted in society and that therefore the attitudes and behaviour will not change. He seemed to be very happy in this neighbourhood. Although he recognized the changing society in Turkey, and at smaller scale the developments in Tophane, he emphasizes that nothing will change and that nothing can make them move out of the neighbourhood. He tells about the moving out of the original inhabitants, the moving in of new people and the rising housing prizes. However, Tophane will maintain its character according to Hasan. He seems to feel very connected to the neighbourhood.

"No we will never go. [...] In this neighbourhood, we are very happy" (Hasan, living in Tophane)

Compared with the original inhabitants, the gallery owners have a more individual life style. They do not have close contacts in the neighbourhood. They also live in other neighbourhoods and come only at a daily basis to Tophane. Most of the people working in the galleries at least know the other people in the art scene in Tophane but they are not inside the close community of the original inhabitants. Again this shows how they think and act from the perspective from an entrepreneur. There is the Tophane Art Walk, an event in which some of the galleries join their forces to attract more clients. They all have profit from this marketing and promotion, but on the other hand, it is important not to share too much with the other galleries, because they can also be your concurrent:

"No, everybody works for themselves. We don't want to work together. All galleries have their own artists and their own projects. Sometimes there is money, sometimes there is not. We do not want to share each other projects" (Fatma, working in a gallery)

Safety

Feelings of safety are related to the community-feelings. Feelings of unsafety can be an indication of a more individualistic life style. Where the original inhabitants stressed the strong social ties and the safety of the neighbourhood, the new people warned for the unsafe streets behind the main street and the danger of walking alone in the evening. It shows how the gentrifiers do live separate from the original inhabitants although they share the same space. We might say they live next to each other instead of with each other. It is questionable to what extend it is dangerous to walk inside the neighbourhood. It might be that the unknown or unfamiliar scares the people.

"For example if you walk here, there wouldn't happen anything. This is a good place. Nothing happens" (Deniz, working at a pastry)

"But the streets behind here are not good. You should not walk there at night, for example"
(Fatma, working in a gallery)

The narratives of people evaluating the degree of danger in the neighbourhood tell you more about themselves than about the neighbourhood. The experience of safety in the neighbourhood does not only depend on being either one of the original inhabitants or one of the gentrifiers. For example Fatma and Mehmet, both working in a gallery and having only recently been coming to Tophane, have different perceptions. Fatma, who has no contact with any of the original inhabitants, tells that she understands and likes the plans of the neighbourhood, whereas Mehmet feels more sympathy with the original inhabitants and sees the negative effects for them.

"The municipality do not want them there [the original inhabitants]. Because if tourists come here, they see this street, they think all streets are like this. For example if you like the place you think other places are nice too. But if you do not like the place you think that whole Istanbul is like that" (Fatma, working at a gallery)

"I think it is bad. Let's say, look in this way, because the old houses, the culture of the people, is removed. People sell their houses. They have to leave. They cannot live in their own culture. In their own apartment" (Mehmet, working in a gallery)

The original inhabitants and the gentrifiers are giving very contrasting impressions about the safety of the neighbourhood. The gentrifiers probably feel unsafe because they are not part of the close community in the neighbourhood. They do not have strong social ties in the neighbourhood and, since their life style differs from the original inhabitants, they might feel different and uncomfortable. Besides the fact that gentrifiers explicitly say that it is unsafe, there are also signs of their feelings. For example an owner of one of the galleries always locks the door of the building, also during the day. When someone comes to visit the gallery the assistant has to come and open the door. After the entering of the visitor the door will directly be closed again. This is contradicting the idea that a gallery should be open and freely to visit for anybody. Apparently the owners are afraid of people with bad intentions coming in.

6.4 Mixed Feelings

The previous sections have illustrated the different attitudes between the original inhabitants and the gentrifiers. This section tries to uncover the nuanced feelings within the groups. For example the entrepreneurs, who newly came to Tophane, see the changes mostly as a positive process. They expect more galleries to open and more tourists to come, which will both be good for their own business. However, for the original inhabitants of Tophane the situation is different. They have more nuanced feelings: on the one hand they are sad about people moving out of the neighbourhood and losing the community. On the other hand, they are happy that the neighbourhood is increasing in value, that a prestigious project as the Galata Port project will be developed here. Firstly, the view of the original inhabitants towards the neighbourhood will be discussed. They are very proud on the history and at the same time look forward to become more 'modern'. Secondly, the shift in function and the rise of real

estate prices will be discussed. Thirdly, this section tries to get inside in the remarkable statement of some residents that nothing changes in their neighbourhood. Both between the two social groups and within each group, contrasting views exists.

6.4.1 Pride

Compared with the gentrifiers, the original inhabitants do have more nuanced feelings about the future. On the one hand they see the negative drawbacks of the changing neighbourhood like losing strong social ties as a result of rising prices and a changing neighbourhood population. However, the rising prices might be a positive development for the property owners and some of the inhabitants are very positive about the growing number of tourists which are coming to the neighbourhood. Firstly, because tourists will spend money in the neighbourhood; restaurant owners hope for an increasing turnover. A growing number of visitors means that there are more potential clients. It is doubtful whether tourists indeed will visit the small restaurants but the inhabitants think that more people visiting the neighbourhood in any case will have a good influence on the local economy. Secondly, the inhabitants also seem to be proud on the fact that foreigners enjoy visiting ‘their’ neighbourhood. They like to see that Tophane has a good reputation. As in the study of Doucet (2009) about a revitalised neighbourhood, many residents speak with pride about the changes in the neighbourhood, even if they feel that the developments are not intended for them nor are they the prime beneficiaries of it. Tophane is already famous for the hookah cafes alongside the Bosphorus; in addition to that, with the Galata Port project an impressive luxurious complex will be built.

“There is the Galata Port project, you know. There will be hotels, tourists. It will be good!” (Özen, working at a pastry)

In general, Turkish people are very proud of their culture and their country and they like to show it and share it with foreigners. This is also related to their hospitality. Since Tophane is a very old neighbourhood, which has been important in the Ottoman Empire and in times of war, the inhabitants are always stressing the history of the neighbourhood. It is interesting to see how the people at the same time appreciate the old times and also look forward to the ‘modernization’ of the neighbourhood. For example Selami, born and grown up in Tophane and working at a restaurant, tells melancholically about the time when he was younger and knew everybody in the neighbourhood and social ties were stronger. At the same time, he is very happy about the Galata Project. According to him the coming of more foreign visitors is very positive. Reputation and internationally being recognized seem to be very important. For example, he also tells that Obama visited the neighbourhood. In 2009 Obama came to Tophane for a meeting with students in Tophane-i Amire. He held a speech and addressed some of the issues between the United States and the Muslim world over the past several years and the future.

Thirdly, the inhabitants are also positive about some smaller projects that have recently been realized. For example a few years ago the municipality renewed the streets and they made a small park with a playground for children. According to one of the original inhabitants, Yunus, they ‘cleaned’ the neighbourhood. People’s evaluation of Tophane during the past few years is very subjective. Whereas most of the original inhabitants stress that the community of the neighbourhood was better some years

before, Yunus explains that before there was some criminality and he appreciate the newcomers in the neighbourhood.

"It changed a lot. In a very good way. Before there was the mafia. Now, everything is good. [...] Different people came, new people came the last two, three years [...] It is very good. They are from another milieu. They rent a house here" (Yunus, working in a restaurant)

6.4.2 Rising Housing Prices

Besides the change of the population, it is expected that housing prices will rise in Tophane. When the inhabitants of Tophane are asked about the future of the neighbourhood, the gentrifiers emphasize the shift in function. They expect that in a few years more galleries, shops and hostels will open. These new business will all be oriented towards tourists instead of the original inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

"Ten years later, there is a big change –these are my own thoughts. Tophane wil be a... There will be more cafes, more people living here, more foreigners. People from other countries. Here it is more relaxed. It can become like Nişantaşı" (Mehmet, working in a gallery)

The gentrifiers do not have a good insight into how the neighbourhood has been changed because they newly established their business here. Since that time –up to eight years with the oldest gallery being in Tophane since 2003 –nothing much changed, they say. Asking about the future however, they all assumed that within a few years more businesses related to them will start up. They also expect situations as happened in other gentrified neighbourhoods: the increasing of rents and the moving out of the original residents of the neighbourhood. In general they agree on the fact that these developments are positive. They say that the neighbourhood will change in a positive way, at the same time they can imagine that for the original residents the situation might not be optimal.

"Actually this is a spontaneous process. As a natural consequence of development, the neighbourhood is increasing in value. On the other hand, looking at the inhabitants, of course the increasing rent and the coming of the new businesses, including galleries, the living conditions will become more difficult" (Gülşah, director of a gallery)

"They don't want to move. But they have to move. [...] The Municipality is right. They want to make this a nice and good neighbourhood" (Fatma, working in a gallery)

The original inhabitants do also see both the positive and the negative sides of the changes going on in Tophane, but they are more emotional about the social change than the gentrifiers. They realize that the physical and social change of the neighbourhood will also have implications such as the loosening of social ties and increasing rents. The moving out of original inhabitants is seen as a negative aspect, the increasing rents can be good or bad. For the tenants who cannot afford the increasing prices the situation is not desirable. They are forced to move out of the neighbourhood. For the people who have their own property the situation is different. Economically they profit from the increasing prices but they do not always appreciate the changing social composition of the neighbourhood.

"It is a good project. For example when the project will be there, now the rent of a building is 1000, then it will be 3000. There will be tourists. It will be like in Sultan Ahmet [most touristic neighbourhood of Istanbul] [...] There will be foreigners. We are born and grown up here, maybe

"we will be foreigners here. I know everybody here, maybe ten years later I won't know anybody"
(Numan, working in a restaurant)

Hasan, one of the original inhabitants of Tophane, explained how the rising of housing prices is related to the coming of foreign people. By making a deal bargaining is a normal activity but foreign people are not used to this phenomenon or they just do not care. They are willing to pay much money for a house and when other people see how much they can earn with selling their houses, they do the same. A chain process is starting leading to increasing prices.

R: "We will not be here anymore!" [laughs] [after ten years]

I: "Why?"

R: "There is the Galata project. There will be too many tourists. We, ourselves, we won't be here anymore. The rents are rising. It will become a touristic place" (Yunus, working in a restaurant)

Some of the original inhabitants are afraid that they will be forced to move out in the future, some people already did move out. People who could get good money for their houses sold them and moved out. A lot of them moved to Kasımpaşa, a neighbourhood located also in Beyoğlu. The remaining inhabitants have the opinion that it is logical that people sell their houses if they can get good money for them. They would have done the same and they will do the same if they get the opportunity. They do not judge the people who are leaving. At the same time they—again—feel sorry about the fact that social ties are becoming looser.

"Now, for example, I have a house here. If the prices are rising, I will sell the house, I am going, going to another place in Istanbul. My place will be sold, other people will come. It is changing"
(Hasan, living in Tophane)

6.4.3 Changes

This section elaborates on the social and physical change of the neighbourhood, which are highly related. First, it discusses the social changes and the acceptance of these changes by the original inhabitants. Their feelings appear to be highly related to their attachment to the neighbourhood. Secondly, this section sheds light on the view of some of the inhabitants that nothing is changing. Or do they just want nothing to change? At last, the entrepreneurial approach of the gentrifiers towards the change of the neighbourhood is discussed.

When the people were asked how this neighbourhood looked like some years ago and how it might look like in ten years, firstly, they talk mostly about the change of the social composition of the neighbourhood. The original inhabitants say that some years ago it was even better here. They knew even more people and the social ties were even stronger. Most of them think that this neighbourhood will change a lot. They all agree that more 'new' people will move to this neighbourhood and that gentrification processes will go on, although they did not use these words. They feel sorry that others are leaving and social ties are becoming looser.

"Five years ago it was like a village. Everybody knew each other" (Ridvan, owner/worker at a restaurant)

Numan, working in a restaurant, explains how the social composition of the neighbourhood is changing. Before, more noble people lived in Tophane. He sees the moving out of the original inhabitants as a loss of culture:

"The old Tophane was better. It was better, there were nicer people, more beyefendi³, people with more culture. Now it is becoming empty. [...] Before it was better. It is like that, before it was more quiet, now it is more crowded. Istanbul is too crowded. For example, people earned more money. Now everybody is more separated. But still good. It is still nice" (Numan, working in a restaurant)

Like the original inhabitants, the gentrifiers also talk about the changing social composition of the neighbourhood, but from the perspective of an entrepreneur. They expect more galleries, shops and hostels to open, which will bring more tourists and potential clients to visit the neighbourhood.

Alcohol

Not all the original residents are happy with the gentrifiers in 'their' neighbourhood. The opinions are nuanced; there is a part of the group of original inhabitants that does not tolerate the behaviour of the gentrifiers. For example, drinking alcohol is normal at İstiklal Caddesi, a touristic street close to Tophane, but in their own neighbourhood the original inhabitants do not want to see this. The riots after the opening up of a gallery as described in section 6.2 can be interpreted as a situation in which people do not accept behaviour that differs too much from their own behaviour. Another example is the owner of a newly opened hostel who is telling about the different perspective of the neighbours. The façade of the hostels is totally made out of glass. Instead of being able to have a view on the street, the whole glass is covered with un-transparent foil. After asking why they blocked the view, the owner explained that the neighbours at the other side of the street did not want to see people drinking alcohol. A lot of tourists are coming to the hostel and they like to have a beer in the evening. As a solution the owner has stuck this foil to the windows. Interesting is that that the neighbours do know that the people drink alcohol but they just do not want to see it.

"Umm how should I explain you... Let's say, the neighbours don't like to see people drinking beer, that's why" (Ali, working at a hostel)

Next to this, how come that the original inhabitants do not care about people drinking alcohol at İstiklal Caddesi, but they do not like to see people drinking alcohol in their own neighbourhood? A little more inwards the neighbourhood, following Boğazkesen Caddesi, you will end up in İstiklal Caddesi. It is only a few streets away where people are drinking alcohol in many places: bars, restaurants, on the street, etc.

³ Beyefendi: gentlemen, mister, lord; in this context well-educated people with a certain status.

The existence of a close community in the neighbourhood might again be a reason of not accepting 'other' behaviour in their own neighbourhood.

"It is very strange. 100 meters away, there is Taksim, you know. There have been bars for a long time. They don't say anything. But at this side, they stick their nose into it. They make a problem of it. At the other side, they don't say anything about that" (Ali, working at a hostel)

The original inhabitants might feel that this is 'their' neighbourhood and therefore everybody should behave according to their norms and values. Istiklal Caddesi, at the other side, has always been a separated part of the city. It belongs to another neighbourhood; it also has a much more international character. Embassies are located here, foreign people are coming here; this street has always been a street where a mix of cultures could be found. This might be a reason for the original people in Tophane to accept people to do whatever they want at Istiklal Caddesi, but in their neighbourhood, where they are not used to drink alcohol, they do not want these norms to change. Maybe they want to 'preserve' Tophane with their own people and behaviour.

Nothing Changes?

The original inhabitants keep stressing the friendship and social network in the neighbourhood. Whatever you ask them, they always come back to the topic of the social community. When they talk about the change of the neighbourhood in physical or social terms, they sometimes directly after that emphasize that nothing will change. Some people also seem to be not much impressed by the projects in the neighbourhood or do not feel any reason to worry or to be happy. When asked how the neighbourhood has changed Cengiz, who works as a security guard, says:

R: "The same, the same. Nothing changes here. Look, this is a very old building. Everything is the same"

I: "I mean the neighbourhood. Did the neighbourhood change?"

R: "No, no everything is the same. Nothing changes here. It is the same. They people are warm here. They are good people. Everybody knows each other. They neighbourhood is good if the people are good, right?" (Cengiz, security guard)

This attitude might also be related to the culture, a culture of accepting whatever you are experiencing in life. Some people, like Cengiz, seem to be very satisfied. Also Yunus, working in a restaurant, does not get excited by the change of the neighbourhood. He does see that with the coming of the gentrifiers two different social groups are occurring in the neighbourhood. Those groups do not interact, but he does not give an opinion about this being good or bad.

I: "Did the neighbourhood change after that [opening up of galleries]?"

R: "No. Actually not that much. They are living by themselves. We know them, we see them. They are coming and going. They work here. They are all foreign people. That is what I think" (Yunus, working in a restaurant)

Developing Art Scene

The gentrifiers look from their business perspective to the changes in the neighbourhood. They think about their potential clients, the image of the neighbourhood and maybe even international recognizing.

"With the arrival of the galleries from outside the region a transformation of the urban context began. The old neighbourhood has reached a more prominent position" (Gülşah director of a gallery)

The gallery owners are very positive about the developing art scene in Tophane. Some of the galleries moved from another neighbourhood to Tophane. For example the gallery, where Fatma and Beyza are working, was established in Nişantaşı but moved to Tophane because this neighbourhood has more potential. In Nişantaşı there are already a lot of galleries, which makes it more difficult to be unique and to attract the audience especially to your gallery. The gallery where Mehmet is working was located in Örtaköy before and they moved to Tophane because in Örtaköy the art scene is really small. They were looking for a more prominent location in the city. And because of the location advantages in Tophane they choose this location to move to. Because of the developing art scene there are more people walking by who are already interested in art. For example, when walking to the Istanbul Modern museum, they will see the galleries and might spontaneous visit them.

"In Boğazkesen Caddesi an important area of contemporary art is developing. The street coming from Galatasaray to Istanbul Modern will be visited by a lot of art lovers. In short, Tophane is moving, a dynamic region is further developing, with each passing day" (Gülşah, director of a gallery).

The developments in the neighbourhood might go that far that after a certain period even the galleries cannot afford the prices any more. The smaller galleries might be forced to move out of the neighbourhood as well, like the original inhabitants. This is not sure but, these ideas are only speculations. However, in general the entrepreneurs in the neighbourhood seem to be more aware of the developments in Tophane, compared with the original inhabitants.

"The art scene is expanding and people from different cultures are more and more moving in" (Esengül, owner of a gallery)

"There is Istanbul Modern, it opened up. Then there are the Antropo buildings [Istanbul Biennial]. They are buildings hotels now. They want rich people and culture to come here. Maybe we can stay, maybe we have to go. It is like in Cihanghir. For example in Cihanghir, five years ago you could afford a house, now it is impossible" (Mehmet, working in a gallery)

6.5 Different Social Culture

All the examples show that the two groups of people, the gentrifiers and the original inhabitants do not form a harmonic social group. They live separated. This is a typical aspect of a gentrified neighbourhood and this situation is now occurring in Tophane. People from different social groups live in the same neighbourhood, next to each other but they do not interact and sometimes this leads to problems.

Gentrification in Tophane, Inner-city neighbourhood in Istanbul

Beyza explains the case in Tophane, which is the same as in other places in Istanbul, for example in Cihangir or Etiler. A lot of rich people live here, close to low-income residents.

"More upwards at the other side, it is a very fancy and rich neighbourhood. All famous people in Turkey are living there, in Cihangir. Then here is Tophane. In Cihangir there are very chic places, and then there is Tophane, and then there are the bad streets, behind here (Beyza, working in a gallery)

The situation is not negative per se though. It seems that the situation is changing. Some years ago, when the gentrifiers newly came to the neighbourhood the original inhabitants did not tolerate them, but now they seem to get more used to them. Mehmet explains that they are not bad-willing, they just had to get used to them.

"They try to understand. And they accept: "they [gentrifiers] are working here, they are earning money". This is a new period. There are new residents here, new people. They live here. They are the new owners. They pay more rent. Therefore they [original inhabitants] are happy" (Mehmet, working in a gallery)

The riots in the neighbourhood in 2010 made the gallery owners scared. The gallery owner who consistency locks the door of his gallery, tells that they even had a security guard in the past. Another woman, working in a gallery, tells that she would be happy if there were more understanding from the original people towards the gentrifiers.

"If the inhabitants of the neighbourhood wouldn't disdain the social behaviour, the beliefs etc. not overlapping with their own culture, that would make us happy" (Esengül, working in a gallery)

"Compared to now the region was more conservative, even the civil police accompanied us for a while when we opened. Now we do not need it anymore, but there are not much improvements, we can say" (Gülşah, director of a gallery)

However, it seems that it is already changing. With the years the people do get used to the gentrifiers and the art scene in where they are working. It is new for them. Art is not a sector where they do get in contact with normally. Bora, working in a gallery tells how the people bit by bit do get used to them and how they open up. It makes the people tolerate the 'others' so that a conversation between them becomes possible.

"For example, the people stop and look to the window. They see something new. They are not coming into contact with art normally. Now they stop and look, that could be good" (Bora, working in a gallery)

6.6 Participation

There is little participation in the projects in the neighbourhood by the inhabitants. Neither the original inhabitants nor the new people are involved into the revitalisation plans for Tophane. The original inhabitants seem to be more involved, however, in the sense that they do care about the change of the neighbourhood. The gallery owners have set up an organization to promote their galleries by tourists

and other visitors. This section first elaborates on this collaboration between gallery owners; secondly, the attitude towards the change of the neighbourhood of both groups is described, ending with how this is related to culture.

The gallery owners are joining their forces organising an event to inform the audience of Istanbul about the latest news of contemporary art twice a month. This event is called Tophane Art Walk and is organized by different galleries, museums and art institutions located in Tophane, Galatasaray and Karaköy. However, not all galleries in Tophane participate. For example a gallery located in Tophane wanted to join but they are not allowed by the organization. The organisation says this gallery does not fit in the style they aim to represent. Tophane Art Walk is based on contemporary art, and the art in this gallery is more classic art. The owners of this gallery were disappointed because joining the event means increasing the potential audience. The participating galleries are listed in some catalogues and the owners of this excluded gallery told that their clients tell them that they do not understand why they are not listed in the catalogues and that they are difficult to find.

"Yes of course we would like to be in there. We are not in the catalogue. Sometimes people cannot find us. We applied twice. But they do not want us. Whatever, the people will find us. We are on our own" (Fatma, working at a gallery)

Apart from this business related collaboration of the gallery owners, none of the people in Tophane seems to be much involved with projects in the neighbourhood and they are not well informed about future plans. They can tell you that the Galata Port project will be realised here, but nobody knows what they will exactly construct and when the project is going to start. Generally, the original inhabitants seem to care a little more about the changing neighbourhood. This might be due to the fact that they feel more related to the neighbourhood and have closer ties with it.

I: "What do you think about it?"

R: "What do you mean?"

I: "I mean do you think it is good or bad?"

R: "I don't know, Vallah.⁴ The time will show it. It could be good. But for us it is bad, we have to leave" (Ridvan, owner of a restaurant)

The details of the project are not known; inhabitants do not know the state of the decision process or who are the leading actors in the project. It could be that they do not know much about it because they do not get the opportunity to get informed. The municipality of Istanbul does not provide any information for the inhabitants of Tophane. It could also be that they do not take any effort to get information. The people seem to accept the on-going changes and see it as a kind of 'destiny'. To

⁴ 'Vallah' is a derivative from 'Allah': God. Depending on the situation and intonation showing astonishment, indifference, irritation or compassion. Can also be used as a blank word.

indicate this, they use the word ‘kismet’. It means something like ‘we will see’ and is often used. Unlike the English ‘we will see’, kismet has also a meaning of fate, predestination or luck. Also, when asked what they wish to see changed in the neighbourhood, either they say I wish it was like before –which is of course impossible– or they cannot come up with anything. This again shows the acceptance of the ongoing changes without participating in the process.

“Would you like to see something changed in Tophane?”

“Everything changes here. The times goes by, things are changing. We will see, the time will show it” (Rıdvan, owner of a restaurant)

There was only one man, an owner of a restaurant, who was really unsatisfied with the change of the neighbourhood and also with the revitalisation policy of the municipality. He explained about renovation projects in Tarlabası, Fener and Balat, other districts in Istanbul. According to him, the municipality only wants to earn money; they only have their priorities at the economic side of the project without attention for preserving the history of the city. He was very worried and asked for help, thinking that the researcher had connections in the field of urban planning. He wanted to raise awareness for preserving the city; this was the only person who was very upset and wanted to fight for the rights of the people forced to move.

Overall, the people did not seem to care, even if they did not agree on the plans. This is remarkable; seen from my (western?) perspective I found this very interesting, expecting that there is always something you wish to change. These people seem to accept everything the way it comes. They do not actively try to organize something, to reach something or to stop the process. The approach of just accepting things instead of fighting for it might be culturally related. It might be related firstly to the fact that there are other, more important, things to worry about. For example if they have difficulties earning enough money to feed their family, they would not waste energy preserving the historical or cultural value of the neighbourhood. Secondly, the bureaucratic system in Turkey might be a reason for their attitude of acceptance. As an individual you do not have that many rights in Turkey or at least you cannot claim them. Most of the time when you claim your rights it will be without any result. Examples of this can be found everywhere in daily life. As a result, people just accept what happens to them, instead of wasting energy on fighting for something.

I: “After 10 years, will you still be here?”

R: “It is not sure. God knows. But we are like a fish in the sea here. If we go out, we will blow up. How would it be if we leave this place? We are used to this place” (Ömer, owner of a restaurant)

7 Conclusion

"And just as we learn about our lives from others, so too, do we let others shape our understanding of the city in which we live" (Pamuk 2005, p.17)

Gentrification is a world-wide phenomenon. Although the process takes place in cities all around the world, each case is unique. This study began with the premise that it contributes to the literature by offering a study in a non-Western context and by investigating the experiences of the people remaining in the neighbourhood despite the gentrification processes. The physical and social changes in Tophane, inner-city neighbourhood in Istanbul, are examined. Especially the impact of the gentrification process on the social community is evaluated. Gentrifiers experience the changing of the neighbourhood as a positive process, they have "nothing to lose" since they came newly to the neighbourhood. The original inhabitants have more negative feelings; they experience the loss of the character of the neighbourhood. However, it is not just a story of winners and losers. Inhabitants often embrace the developments and caution surrounding them at the same time. Their feelings derive from social attachment, pride, and financial aspects. The present chapter discusses the link between the presented literature and the results, the scientific and policy implications and suggestions for further research.

Gentrification in Tophane

From the 1980s onwards, gentrification in Istanbul was firstly influenced by the facilitating role of the state and later the ad-hoc solutions for the massive population growth, the change towards neo-liberal politics and the growing authority of the metropolitan municipalities. Apart from the history of a city and the political context, gentrification processes are influenced by the people in the neighbourhood. In the historical neighbourhood Tophane gentrification recently started; the state has defined the harbour area at the shore of the Bosphorus as a renewal area. At the same time the developing art scene, the opening up of museums and galleries, attracts a new urban middle class. These people, the *gentrifiers* differ from the original inhabitants of the neighbourhood in terms of life style and how they experience the change of the neighbourhood. For gentrifiers the change of the neighbourhood is merely positive, whereas the original inhabitants have more negative experiences. Gentrifiers profit from urban revitalisation in Tophane; it makes the neighbourhood more attractive for both entrepreneurs and visitors. The art scene is developing and the renewal plans of the central government for a new cruise port will attract more tourists. The original inhabitants have negative feelings about the changes. The existence of a close community is one of the most important factors determining their experiences. The strong social ties characterise the original inhabitants. Most of them are born and grown up in this neighbourhood; they all know each other but now the old character of the neighbourhood might disappear. Physical changes in the neighbourhood lead to increasing property value and, as a consequence, some inhabitants move out of the neighbourhood. The population of the neighbourhood is changing and social ties are loosening.

Explaining the Nuances

However, gentrification is not just a story of winners and losers; the situation is more complicated. This study has uncovered several important factors that are associated with the experiences of gentrification for the original inhabitants. Often they have both positive and negative feelings about the changing of the neighbourhood, also illustrated by the study of Doucet (2009) about inhabitants in a neighbourhood in Edinburgh which has been redeveloped. In Edinburgh, inhabitants like the new image of the neighbourhood, but have a profound sense that the developments are not intended for them. In Tophane, feelings towards the changes in the neighbourhood are affected by the inhabitants' relative appreciation of a close community, economic advantages, the history of the neighbourhood and its attractiveness for tourists. The original inhabitants are proud that their neighbourhood will host a prestigious harbour project; at the same time they feel sad about losing social ties as a consequence of the displacement of friends and relatives. Their attachment to the neighbourhood might explain this contradiction. The original inhabitants feel socially attached to the neighbourhood: they live in a close community. As Butler (2003) described a gentrified neighbourhood in London, also in Tophane people stress how 'cohesive' the area is, and at the same time they 'celebrate' its diversity. In Tophane, this diversity is embodied by the combination of historical buildings, museums and galleries and, new urban projects, the original inhabitants and the new population and visiting tourists. Again, feelings of pride can explain this positive attitude towards diversity. At the same time, the original inhabitants for example never visit a gallery; people might have the perception that new facilities are not meant for them, as Atkinson (2000) and Butler (2003) illustrated in their research. A social distinction between the group of original inhabitants and the new gentrifiers occurs. There is little social interaction between them and the gentrifiers live a more individual lifestyle. Whereas the original inhabitants live *with* each other, the gentrifiers live just *next to* each other. However, original inhabitants who own for example a restaurant or property are positive. They face economic advantages of respectively the visit of tourists and the rising value of real estate.

The nuanced feelings of the inhabitants are not only characterised in their feelings towards the gentrification process, but also in their participation in the neighbourhood. Although the original inhabitants are feeling attached to the neighbourhood, they are not involved with the changes. They are neither active in any form of renewal projects nor are they informed about the changes. They have a more passive attitude: they wait, see what will happen and accept the situation. This attitude is visible in a lot of situations in daily life. For example, people use often the words 'inşallah' or 'kismet' which mean respectively 'if god lets/I hope so' and 'destiny/luck'. This attitude might be culturally rooted in society, also it might be related to the facts that (renewal) policies are not transparent and that citizen participation is not common.

In conclusion, the gentrifiers live quite separated from the close community of original inhabitants. The gentrifiers have different daily activities, different social networks and also a different place to live. The interviewees working in the galleries do not live in Tophane; they live in other districts of Istanbul but are coming to Tophane on a daily basis. They seem to be not socially attached to the neighbourhood and their perspective is business oriented. The galleries are mostly located in Tophane because of low costs,

good location and the existence of the art scene, which attracts potential clients. As soon as another location appears to be more attractive, they leave and move on. The difference between the gentrifiers and the original inhabitants is also illustrated by the perception of safety in the neighbourhood. The original inhabitants are far more positive about safety in the neighbourhood; this again might be a result of their friendships and strong social ties in the neighbourhood.

Implications and Further Research

Coming back to the implications of this research, the process of gentrification is much more complex than often portrayed. The evaluation of research results is determined by the perspective where we are looking from. Firstly, revitalisation of the neighbourhood might be profitable for private and public parties. Developing urban renewal projects and attracting new investments, such as the cruise harbour in Tophane, will generate money. Secondly, the rising value of real estate will change the neighbourhood population. In Tophane, the new attracted population sees the changing of the neighbourhood as a positive development. The original inhabitants, in literature often seen as losers, are indeed more negative. However, their feelings are nuanced and seem to be contradicting. They feel attached to the neighbourhood and therefore see the changing character of the neighbourhood as a loss and at the same time might have feelings of pride.

This study cannot of course be viewed as conclusive; a challenging task is to follow the original inhabitants while the gentrification process is continuing. Research that questions what will happen to the original inhabitants, whether they get forced to move, choose to move or resist moving, can deepen our understanding of the implications of gentrification. If this interest and effort continue we may get a better understanding of the consequences of gentrification for the social community in the neighbourhood. It is true that in this case study a distinction between tenants and house owners is not made. Further research with specification between the kinds of ownership will provide evidence for the nuanced feelings of the inhabitants present in this study. It will clarify until what extent emotional factors such as the social attachment to the neighbourhood, and financial factors explain the (dis)satisfaction of gentrification processes. Another promising line of research would be to carry out analysis on the existence of a creative class in Tophane. Following the theory of Florida (2002, 2006), which states that a creative class is crucial for a city to be successful, additional research might firstly investigate to what extent a creative class in Tophane exists or is arising. Secondly, investigation into the economic and social influence of a creative class will specify the added value of a social class for the city. We have seen that through time the relationships in the community have changed. In the beginning the groups of new and original inhabitants were totally separated, whereas we can now see better understanding and acceptance from both sides.

It is hoped that this trend will continue: that Tophane will become a mixed neighbourhood with both historical buildings and modern architecture; populated by a community of people who understand and accept each other.

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Appendix

A. Interview Guide (translated from Turkish)

INTERVIEW GUIDE 1. Residents Tophane

Introduction

1. Since when do you live here?
Probe: Born here, moved in neighbourhood, moved from other neighbourhood, why
2. With whom are you living?
Probe: Family situation
3. How do you like this neighbourhood?
Probe: Positive, negative characteristics, social atmosphere

Neighbourhood

4. How would you describe the neighbourhood?
Probe: Condition of buildings, social contacts, safety, changing of population, revitalisation, gentrification
5. What are the characteristic elements of the neighbourhood?
Probe: Old industries, art, galleries, tourists, revitalisation processes
6. What do you like most in the neighbourhood?
7. What would you like to see changed?
Probe: Character of neighbourhood, social contacts, revitalisation
8. What initiatives does the municipality employ to improve the neighbourhood?
Probe: Nothing, supporting local initiatives, revitalisation plans
9. How do the inhabitants preserve the condition of their houses?
Probe: Maintenance, construction work, money for it? People care about it?

Galleries and Artists

10. Do you know any galleries or artists here?
Probe: Which galleries, how good is the contact, do they talk often

11. Since when have they been here?

Probe: What year did they move, trend/invitation

12. Did anything change since they came?

Probe: Social cohesion, atmosphere, physical structure

13. Do you do something for the neighbourhood?

Probe: Contribution, commit to, active in organisations

14. Do gallery holders/artists/creative people in general contribute to the neighbourhood?

15. In what way do they contribute to the neighbourhood?

Probe: Social interaction, physical structure, revitalisation

Changing of Neighbourhood

16. Does the neighbourhood differ from previous times? How?

Probe: Physical structures, social composition neighbourhood, galleries, tourists

17. Why did the neighbourhood change?

Probe: Changing of people, physical intervention of municipality, residents, initiative

18. How do you think it will be in 10 years?

Probe: Physical structures, social composition neighbourhood, galleries, tourists

Closure

19. Would you like to summarize your opinion on the changes of the neighbourhood?

Probe: Physical structures, social composition neighbourhood, galleries, tourists

20. Do you see yourself ever moving out of this neighbourhood?

Probe: Preferences, money, family changes, changing neighbourhood

21. Do you wish to add anything?

Personal information interviewee

22. Profession

23. Age

24. Sex

No. interview:

Location and time of interview:

Duration:

INTERVIEW GUIDE 2. Gallery owners

Introduction

1. What kind of art do we find here, what kind of gallery is this?
Probe: Gallery, atelier, shop, modern art, paintings, statues, objects
2. Who produces these arts?
Probe: Owner, colleagues, friends, family
3. Who are your clients?
Probe: Living in Istanbul or outside, this neighbourhood? Nationality

Reason of Location

4. Since when are you located here?
Probe: Since start, other location before
5. Why did you choose this neighbourhood?
Probe: Near to Galata, Taksim, friends, family, cheap rent
6. Where do you live?
Probe: Same neighbourhood, different

Neighbourhood

7. How would you describe the neighbourhood?
Probe: State of decay, revitalisation, gentrification, social contacts, social control, safety, changing of population
8. What are the characteristic elements of the neighbourhood?
Probe: Old industries, art, galleries, tourists, revitalisation processes.
9. What do you like most in the neighbourhood?
10. What would you like to see changed?
Probe: Character of neighbourhood, social contacts, revitalisation
11. Do you do something for the neighbourhood?
Probe: Contribution, commit to, active in organisations

12. Do gallery holders/artists/creative people in general contribute to the neighbourhood?

13. In what way do they contribute to the neighbourhood?

Probe: Connections, social interaction, physical structure, revitalisation

14. What initiatives does the municipality employ to improve the neighbourhood?

Probe: Nothing, supporting local initiatives, revitalisation plans

Network

15. Which other galleries/artists/people in your profession do you know here?

Probe: Galleries, colleagues, working together, organising activities related to work, non-work related.

16. With whom of those people are you working together?

Probe: Having a close relationship

17. Did you know people in this neighbourhood before moving here?

Probe: Artists, friends, family

History of neighbourhood

18. How did the neighbourhood look like when you moved here?

Probe: Social composition neighbourhood, physical structures, number of galleries

19. Did the neighbourhood change? How?

Probe: Social composition neighbourhood, physical structures, number of galleries, changing of atmosphere

20. How do you think it will be in 10 years?

Probe: Social composition neighbourhood, physical structures, number of galleries

Closure

21. How do you see yourself and your job in 10 years?

Probe: Same neighbourhood, moved, new sort of arts, other job

22. Would you like to summarize your opinion on the changes of the neighbourhood?

Probe: Social composition neighbourhood, physical structures, number of galleries

23. Do you wish to add anything?

Personal information interviewee

24. Profession

25. Age

26. Sex

No. interview:

Location and time of interview:

Duration:

B. Interviewees Biographies

Names are fictional.

People living or working in Tophane

Yunus (mid-30s): working in a restaurant, born and living in Tophane, interviewed and visited several times in the restaurant in December 2011.

Mehmet (mid-20s): art historian, working in a gallery. Not living in Tophane. Interviewed in the gallery in December 2011.

Hasan, Rasih and Ahmet (both late 30s and late 50s): working at one of the hookah café's and two daily visitors. Hookah café is since about 14 years located in Tophane. Interviewed in the café in December 2011.

Numan and Sinan (both 30s): working at a restaurant which is located there since 3 years. Both born and living in Tophane. Interviewed and visited several times in the restaurant in December 2011.

Selami and Süleyman (late 20s and mid-50s): working at a restaurant. Both born and living in Tophane. Interviewed and visited several times in the restaurant in December 2011/January 2012.

Ali Can and Ali (both late-20s): working at a hostel which opened a few months ago. Both not living in Tophane. Interviewed and visited several times in the hostel in December 2011/Januray2012.

Ömen (mid-30s): worker/owner of a restaurant. Born and grown up in Tophane. Interviewed in the restaurant in December 2011.

Cengiz, Koray and Demir (both late-20s and late-30s): Security guards at a museum. Not living in Tophane. Interviewed outside, in front of the museum in December 2011.

Deniz and Mert (both late-40s): working at a pastry shop/restaurant which opened 25 years ago. Both not living in Tophane. Interviewed in the restaurant in December 2011.

Batuhan and Yiğit (late-40s and mid-20s): working at a restaurant which opened 3 years ago. Both not living in the neighbourhood. Interviewed and visited several times in the restaurant in December 2011/January 2012.

Rıdvan (late-20s): working at a restaurant which opened 3 years ago. Born and living in this neighbourhood. Interviewd in the restaurant in December 2011.

Bora (mid-20s): student painting, working in a gallery which moved to İstiklal Caddesi in January. Not living in this neighbourhood. Interviewed in the gallery in December 2011.

Fatma and Beyza (both mid-20s): working in a gallery which moved 3 years ago from Nişantaşı to Tophane. Both not living in this neighbourhood. Interviewed in the gallery in January 2012.

Esengül (mid-40s): working in a gallery which moved 2 years ago to Tophane. Not living in this neighbourhood. Visited several times. Interviewed by questionnaire due to personal preferences.

Gülşah (mid-20s): director of a gallery. Not living in this neighbourhood. Interviewed by questionnaire due to personal preferences.

Experts

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