

GENTRIFICATION IN CIHANGIR BY THE FILM INDUSTRY:  
THE ROLE OF ART AND ARTISTS



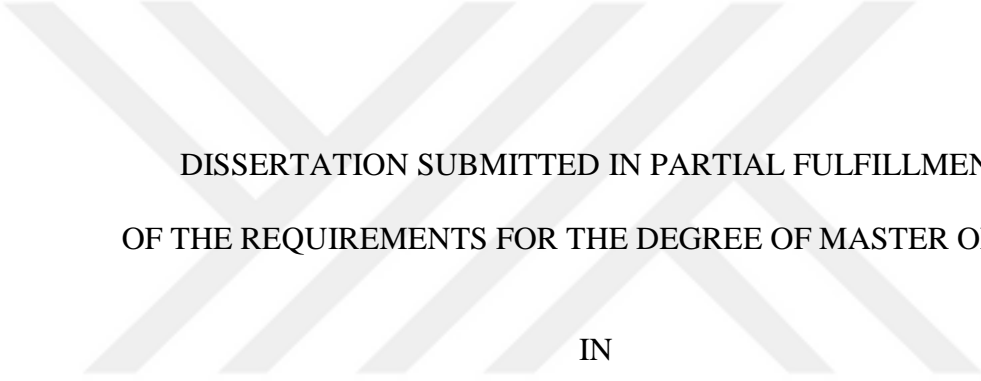
MELİSA KAYSERLİOĞLU

JUNE, 2018

GENTRIFICATION IN CIHANGIR BY FILM INDUSTRY:  
THE ROLE OF ART AND ARTISTS

BY

MELİSA KAYSERLİOĞLU



DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ART

IN

DEPARTMENT OF ART MANAGEMENT

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY JUNE, 2018

Approval of the Institute of Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. M. Fazil GÜLER  
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master



Prof. Ayla Ersoy  
The Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.



Assist. Prof. Barış Baykan  
Supervisor

**Examining Committee Members**

Assist. Prof. Barış Baykan – Yeditepe University



Prof. Ayla Ersoy – Yeditepe University



Assist.Prof.. Sevim Aslan – Marmara University

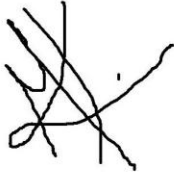


## PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

June, 2018

Melisa Kayserlioğlu

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several overlapping, stylized lines that form a cursive representation of the name Melisa Kayserlioğlu.

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation takes a look at the process of gentrification carried out by the film industry in the neighborhood of Cihangir in Istanbul, Turkey. Furthermore, it focuses on the role the film art and artists have played in there as key gentrifiers. Branded as one of the most cosmopolitan quarters on the European side of Istanbul, Cihangir have remained equal to itself despite gentrification and urban renewal projects began in the 1980s. Although Cihangir faced gentrification, the arrival of the gentrifiers did not visibly impact on its social structure at all. Based on this argument, this study tries to understand motivations and reasons that have led the film industry to sit in Cihangir. It is also explained that gentrification did not occur in Cihangir as a result of a deteriorated area, but rather because of its proximity to *Yeşilçam sokağı* on Beyoğlu district; *Yeşilçam sokağı* which served in the 1970s as headquarter for the Turkish popular cinema.

This essay consists of two major parts. The first part traces the concept of gentrification back to its first apparition. The second part, however, sheds light on gentrification in Cihangir, its identity and reveals factors and effects that have been sparked by the artistic involment. Before conclusion, a summary of investigations and interviews conducted on the ground is given.

*Key Words: Gentrification, Film Industry, Cihangir, Film art, Artists, Gentrifiers, Urban Renewal, social structure, middle class, Yeşilçam sokağı, Beyoğlu.*

## ÖZET

Bu tez, İstanbul'un Cihangir semtinde film endüstrisi tarafından yürütülen soylulaştırma sürecini anlatmaktadır. Ayrıca film sektörünün ve sektörün içinde yer alan farklı mesleğe ait grupların Cihangir’de önemli soylulaştırmacılar olarak oynadığı role odaklanır. İstanbul'un Avrupa yakasında bulunan en kozmopolit mahallelerden biri olarak gösterilen Cihangir 1990’lardan itibaren başlayan soylulaştırma süreciyle birlikte fiziksel özelliklerini koruyarak karakteristik bir değişime neden olur. Fakat bu değişim birdenbire gözle görülür bir şekilde değil, zamanla yıllar sonra etkisini gösterir. Bu çalışma, film endüstrisinin Cihangir'e yerleşmesine neden olan dinamikleri ve sebepleri anlamaya çalışacaktır. Cihangir’in soylulaştırılmasının nedeninin harabe ya da elverişsiz hale gelmiş binalarından dolayı değil geçmişte film endüstrisinin ve popüler sinemanın içerisinde konumlandığı Beyoğlu Yeşilçam Sokağı’nın, Beyoğlu İstiklal Caddesi ve bitişik mahallelere olan alışkanlıklarından ötürü olabileceğini anlatacaktır.

Makale iki ana bölümden oluşur. Birinci bölüm, soylulaştırma ile ilgili önemli terimlere yer verip varolan tanımı ve soylulaştırma teorilerini sunar. İkinci bölüm ise Cihangir'de evrimleşen soylulaştırma tipini izah edip, sanatsal katılımın neden olduğu faktörleri ve etkileri açığa çıkartacaktır. Tez, makale, mahallede yapılan röportaj ve sektörde yer alan önemli gruplarla yapılan mülakatların bir özeti ile sonuçlanacak.

*Anahtar Sözcükler: Mutenalaştırma, Soylulaştırma, film endüstrisi, Cihangir, sanat, sanatçı, soylulaştırıcılar, Yeşilçam sokağı, Beyoğlu, Kentsel Gelişim.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this dissertation has been possible with help and support of many people that include some of my university teachers, family members, friends and acquaintances. Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Assistant Professor Barış Baykan, for his patience, remarks and immense knowledge that I have been granted through the writing of this master thesis.

Besides my supervisor, I would like to thank the rest of the committee: Prof. Ayla Ersoy, and Assistant Prof. Gülsen Bal, for the continuous support and esteem that she has always had to me. My deep thanks also go to Prof. Ferhat Özgür for many of his useful advices, and Assistant Prof. Jeffrey Howison for his guidance at the start of my research.

I will always have a debt of gratitude to my family: my parents Herman and Hripsime Kayserlioğlu for their continued prayers, my aunt Isguhi and her husband Garo Karakelle, and other relatives. I also thank respondents and residents in Cihangir whom I talked with on the ground while investigating.

Last but not the least, I am immensely thankful to my husband Franck Abel Darret and my friend Hamadi Malumbo for the contribution he has made to the editorial aspect. To end with, I dedicate this master thesis to Cihangir where I had been living with my parents for about 25 years.

---

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 1:</b> What is Gentrification.....	14
(15.10.2016 <a href="https://www.slideshare.net/paigekranbuhl/gentrification-27068659">https://www.slideshare.net/paigekranbuhl/gentrification-27068659</a> )	
<b>Figure 2:</b> Duunesbury, Gary Trudeau.....	20
(Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007)	
<b>Figure 3:</b> Gentrification Is The New Colonialism.....	25
(13.12.2016, <a href="http://www.redwedgemagazine.com/feuilleton/issue-two-art-against-global-apartheid">http://www.redwedgemagazine.com/feuilleton/issue-two-art-against-global-apartheid</a> )	
<b>Figure 4:</b> The Positives and Negatives of Gentrification.....	31
(Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007)	
<b>Figure 5:</b> Meritocracy is a massive lie: Race, inheritance and the the truth about the rigged American dream, Dany Doorling.....	34
(21.03.2017, <a href="http://www.blunblog.org/2015/08/class-struggle-for-beginners-part-49.html">http://www.blunblog.org/2015/08/class-struggle-for-beginners-part-49.html</a> )	
<b>Figure 6:</b> 1960's "The South Houston Industrial Area" (image: Thomas Struth 1978 via MOMA).....	42
(13.01.2017, <a href="https://sohomemory.com/2014/06/01/back-to-the-future-a-history-of-soho-from-the-1700s-through-the-present/">https://sohomemory.com/2014/06/01/back-to-the-future-a-history-of-soho-from-the-1700s-through-the-present/</a> )	
<b>Figure 7:</b> Soho New York, Tazi Phillips.....	43
(05.05.2017, <a href="https://www.timeout.com/newyork/manhattan/soho-manhattan-neighborhood-guide">https://www.timeout.com/newyork/manhattan/soho-manhattan-neighborhood-guide</a> )	

- Figure 8:**Map of ‘Cihangir Neighborhood’ .....47  
(13.01.2017, <http://www.beyoglu.net/default.asp?Beyoglu=Beyoglu-Mahalleler>)
- Figure 9:** Yeşilçam Sokağı Ne Halde, Erhan Işık, 2007.....69  
(15.01.2017, <http://blog.milliyet.com.tr/yesilcam-sokagi-ne-halde/Blog/?BlogNo=54271>)
- Figure 10:**Güneşli Street 1977, Muhammet Yaymaz, 2012.....76  
(01.07.2018, <http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=116899&start=0>)
- Figure 11:**Güneşli Street 2012, Muhammet Yaymaz, 2012.....76  
(01.07.2018, <http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=116899&start=0>)
- Figure 12:**Cihangir Park 1985, Muhammet Yaymaz, 2012.....77  
(01.07.2018, <http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=116899&start=0>)
- Figure 13:**Cihangir Park 2013, Evrim Kepenek, 2013.....77  
(01.07.2018, <http://m.bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/151318-bir-park-mucadelesi-bu-kez-cihangir>)
- Figure 14:** Akarsu Street 2018, Yuvako, 2018.....78  
(01.07.2018, <http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=116899&start=0>)
- Figure 15:**Havyar Street 2016, Cihangir Sokaklarında Yorulmadan Bir Sandalyeden  
Diğerine Geçebileceğiniz 9 Mekan Önerisi, 2016.....78  
(01.07.2018, <https://listelist.com/cihangir-mekanlari/>)

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	III
<b>ÖZET</b> .....	IV
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	V
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b> .....	VI
<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b> .....	1
<b>2. METHODOLOGY AND HYPOTHESIS</b> .....	8
<b>3. BACKGROUND OF THE GENTRIFICATION</b> .....	10
3.1. Historical Background and the Rise of Gentrification.....	10
3.1.1. Definitions of Gentrification.....	16
3.1.2. From Urban Renewal to Gentrification .....	17
3.1.3. Changes in the Gentrification Process.....	18
3.1.3.1. Contemporary Gentrification (after the 1990's).....	21
3.1.4. Gentrifiers as an Art and Artist .....	23
3.1.5. Effects of Gentrification.....	29
3.1.6. Political and Economical Process of Gentrification Regarding Art and Artists.....	34
3.1.6.1. Relation between Gentrification and Neoliberalism .....	35
3.1.7. Social Process of Gentrification: Social Exclusion .....	40
3.1.8. Districts around the World Gentrified through Art.....	41

<b>4.GENTRIFICATION IN CIHANGIR</b>	
4.1.Cihangir’s Location.....	46
4.2. Defining Cihangir’s Identitiy Prior to 1980.....	48
4.3. Defining Cihangir’s Identity after 1980.....	51
4.4. Gentrification Process in Cihangir and Surrounding Districts.....	53
4.5. Factors Leading To the Process of Gentrification in Cihangir.....	54
4.6. The Beginning of Gentrification in Cihangir and Its Players.....	46
4.6.1 The Impact of Cultural Change in Turkey on the Cinema Industry.....	63
4.6.1.1. Yeşilçam Cinema and Yeşilçam Street.....	67
4.6.2. The Relation between Istiklal Street and the Development of the Cinema Industry.....	70
4.7.The Effects of Art and Artistic Creativity on Place and the Environment.....	73
<b>5.RESEARCH AND COMMENTARY.....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>6.CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>83</b>

## I.INTRODUCTION

When well-off people gradually start settling into an area initially occupied by low income groups and their presence outbids the cost of living that is termed as gentrification. Unfortunately, gentrification causes discomfort and leads to the latter group moving away from their homes. According to contemporary use, gentrification is referred to as the transformation of a deteriorated place into a wealthy one for the benefit of richer residents. In some cases gentrification occurs without someone being forced to leave or abandon his or her home.

The term gentrification, as reported in literature, was first introduced by the British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964. Doctor Glass formulated it after she noticed changes occurring in central London neighborhoods that were natively affecting the social structure and housing market. At its primary sense, gentrification was defined as the forced move of the working class from central London by the middle class residents. Since its formulation, the term gentrification has transcended its initial meaning and extended to a broader definition. Over time, it has assumed new forms and spread to many parts of the world. After many years of searching, Neil Smith reported that the phenomenon of gentrification should theoretically be framed so that it reaches the same consensus as that of the formulation by Doctor Glass. His idea reinstates the fact that gentrification is not only the removal of the working class, but should also be seen as “an additional indicator of social status, a socio-demographic, political and economical issue” (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007).

Located in the district of Beyoğlu, Cihangir was once considered an important place during the Ottoman Empire as in the modern Turkey. A series of six fires devastated all the wooden houses in Cihangir between 1765 and 1916. After those incidents, no more wooden houses were allowed to be built. Until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Cihangir was an area mostly occupied by non-Muslim minorities, people working in the entertainment industry, clinics staff, and home to luxury flats, etc. Though majority of its population left the neighborhood due to past political situation, it became popular again among foreign residents, Turkish artists, businessmen, bohemians and so on (Kızıldere, 2007) (Fahri, 2009) (Kayım, 2009).

This thesis is an analysis of gentrification, in the neighborhood of Cihangir which is the only example exposing characteristics of gentrification in Istanbul. It also takes into account how Cihangir was gentrified by the film industry. At its basis, the thesis reveals the dynamics of gentrification in the world, and touches upon how these dynamics differ or have similarities to those seen in Istanbul. Accordingly, gentrification refers to the spatial or regional social displacement process in which long-term effects are being experienced. Usually, the phenomenon occurs when the upper-class groups start to move into the deteriorated, unused and run-down spaces or neighborhood. Consequently, the newcomers change the profile and physical attributes of the area. The first patterns matching this definition were seen in the city of London, later it became more significant and widespread. It also emerged in the neighborhood of Soho in New York City. Soho was a home to many factories and it was seen as the centre of industrial production throughout history. That was true until the emergence of Fordist production systems where horizontal and wide buildings became necessary instead of larger ones. As a result,

existing buildings were evacuated and residents moved to the periphery. That led to the price of rents decreasing making it an ideal location for artists and bohemians who were in quest for cheap working places (Baba, 2015). In the following years, the neighborhood began to draw the attention of the real estate sector. Both the public and private sector's competing policies turned the area into a wealthy quarter. In 1973, Soho began to be labeled as a potential culture and arts hub where all doors were open to artists and workshops of all kinds. That formed the second big wave in the gentrification process. The third wave of gentrification started and evolved with the neoliberal policies along with the privatization of culture after the year 1990. Since then, art has been used as an important cultural policy in the process of gentrification. At the nation level one could consider that art and artists function as the leading gentrifiers. Gentrification in Soho did not cause physical change in its neighborhood itself, unlike other examples that followed it. It is a significant example of characteristic gentrification by arts and culture industry (Tan, 2005). Gentrification began to gain a global identity after the 1980s. It showed various characteristics in several countries and regions. Although it first occurred in industrialized countries, it was also observed in developing countries such as Turkey (Uysal, 2006).

In the northwestern side of Istanbul, the neighborhood overlooking the sea is the home for the historical Istiklal Street. Every change on Istiklal Street affects its surrounding districts. This is the street where the Turkish cinema was born, and it still retains its connection to the local cinema, culture and art industries. The years 1980-90 were controversial times in Turkey where Turkish modernism began to be questioned in terms of culture and art. This wave became stronger in the 90s further to an interpretation

of modernism that rejected different identities, contradictions and expressions. It was then not possible for groups opposing this modernism to express themselves freely. Thus, the district of Beyoğlu and the neighborhood of Cihangir became an asylum for the different identities including (LGBTTIQ - Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transvestite, Transsexual, Intersex, and Queer), prostitutes, etc. Artists did not search far and wide for freedom, moving to Cihangir also meant taking a stand against the conservative establishment. The brute force and policies that the District Municipality applied in order to separate the different identities from traditional family structures caused İstiklal Street to become a neglected area over time (Freely & Freely, 2014). This state of negativity was one of the reasons that brought about the end of the era's mode of cinema, Yeşilçam. The 90s, which was a highly turbulent period in politics, thus Cihangir began to attract artists because of its old high-ceilinged houses, its closeness to the centre but not in the centre itself. A neighborhood where artists could feel safe and away from the political discourse. Thanks to a few pioneering painters and entrepreneurs from the film industry, the neighborhood began to attract widespread attention. Some of these entrepreneurs bought workshops, cafes while some preferred to buy dozens of flats instead, fashioning themselves into landlords, so much so that Cihangir became a backdrop for famous TV shows, a headline in popular satirical magazines, and a place many columnists recommended (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007).

In Turkey, while gentrification first occurred in Kuzguncuk, the most prominent example of gentrification by artists and the arts industry began in Cihangir. Contrary to countless examples, gentrification in Cihangir is that of a characteristic change similar to New York - Soho. The process of gentrification in Cihangir began with intellectuals and

artists and today it has given way to an imaginary film set where screenwriters, directors, producers, actors and other members of the film industry take the lead. Artists in Turkey began to experience postmodernism after the 2000s, this was an era of searching for new ways to express themselves more freely and new locations suited to this freedom.

İstiklal Caddesi (Some call its just 'Beyoğlu') near Cihangir bears historical aspects. Throughout history it has been the place of residence Levantines, ambassadors, aristocrats, and non-Muslims. It is the home where Turkish Film industry evolved between 1990 and 2000. These years also heralded the collapse of Yeşilçam cinema. Following the 2000s, after the collapse of Yeşilçam, members of that film sector continued to live in Beyoğlu though they did not physically work there. Today there are a handful left. The writers and screenwriters who worked in the evolved film industry were among the first new residents of the neighborhood. They were followed by producers, directors, and actors and other industry workers like designers, electricians, animators and so on (Baba, 2015), (Ergün, 2006), (İslam, 2006).

Cinema is a large industry that houses countless branches. Directors, producers, screenwriters, actors, production crews, designers are the main ones. Each member of the group has to be in a one-to-one relation with another group. Every group strives to maintain its presence in the sector both in terms of artistic and commercial interests. As such, Cihangir gradually became a neighborhood of other artists' groups where actors in the serial-film industry are often located. Today, Cihangir is far from its old, genteel state. It has become a giant film set space favored by film artists, a home to cafe's where all film business and social connections are made and a neighborhood for middle class, bohemian-bourgeois artists.

---

From a sociological point of view, Cihangir is an area that was naturally gentrified by the artists, who changed its character but not its buildings. Effect on Beyoglu by Yeşilçam does not go far beyond the habits of settlement and a symbol marking the end of the Yeşilçam cinema and the rise of the new Turkish cinema. It is seen as the alternative where homes, workshops and business connections can co-exist. As a matter of fact, artists use their houses in Cihangir as workshops and workspaces. The fact that rents are high and cafes are expensive is a condition that must be taken into account as part of the work and/or business, not luxuries. The real estate sector is growing day by day and demanding higher rents. The former tenants of Cihangir have left the area due to high rents, and the remainder are mostly home owners (Baba, 2015), (Ergün, 2006), (İslam, 2006).

Cihangir is a neighborhood where Artists feed their creativity, do business and take commissions. Nowadays business connections are facilitated through networking, those looking for work in the cinema/film industry or looking for people to take on work haunting Cihangir's famous cafes. In the physical sense, almost no buildings were harmed in Cihangir, and their authenticity remains. As estate agents and other business professionals try to make profit from the situation, an unseen battle commenced between them and the seekers of inspiration. Estate agents hold on to the glittering scene by asking for high rents, the artists give it away.

In this study, we would argue that Cihangir is the first example of cultural gentrification in Istanbul from characteristic perspective, thus can be considered as a case-study. Gentrification has become part of an alternative profit plan that the state, municipalities and the private sector are conducting hand in hand everyday throughout

the world. The main actors of the plan are the government, the construction and the real estate. After the 1980s, with the neoliberal policies and the privatization of culture, the art industry itself was dragged into the process. Much of the research done previously for Turkey is about physical gentrification and its effects. Among the gentrification examples created by artists, this thesis is the first work that deals with the gentrification created by the artists of the film-tv serial industry. In this sense, the process is deemed important and crucial requiring for a deeper and clearer assessment (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007).

The aim of this thesis is to show the evolution of the Turkish film industry and what stages it passed through in the process of the gentrification in Cihangir. It also includes the evaluation of the historical Cihangir resident and their habit in terms of sector. As professionals of the real estate world benefit from the arts industry, artists will be able to understand how and where the inspiration and creativity process, which is vital for them, will locate itself in the short term. Hence, in this thesis, evaluation of the current state of Cihangir, the progress of history, sociology, and arts in the last century have been taken into account and attempted to be analyzed. It is unclear where the tide of gentrification in Cihangir, which proceeds as a characteristic change, will set its sights on next. Another eagerly anticipated sociological point of interest is how much outside of Cihangir the next place which will feed the creativity and business connections of artists looking for a place of free expression will be, and whether it will affect the gentrification process at all (Baba, 2015), (Ergün, 2006), (İslam, 2006).

---

## 2. METHODOLOGY AND HYPOTHESES

In this study was used for descriptive research methods. The research was conducted in face-to-face interviews with members of the film industry who have lived in the Cihangir district for at least ten years, and the reasons behind gentrification through artists in Cihangir were explored.

The first part of the study is descriptive, including a literature review which was carried out by using scientific articles, books and electronic and secondary resources on the internet. There was also a face-to-face interview with an art critic. The second part of the study, face-to-face interviews with film industry members living in the district were conducted to measure the effects of creativity, environment and economic influences on Cihangir's gentrification.

The universe of this research is the Cihangir neighborhood. The sample of the research consists of 8 people (2 directors, 2 producers, 2 actors, 1 designer, 1 art critic) from various professional groups who have a role in the film industry living in Cihangir. They were especially chosen from amongst people who have a wide network, are highly recognizable and have lived in the area for a long time. The semi-structured face-to-face interview method used in the qualitative research method was used to collect data in the study. The questions were open-ended and asked in the context of a systematic structure. The questions prepared by the researcher are based on the effects of the members of the film industry who live in the Cihangir region to learn how this process has taken place.

---

The research hypotheses are as follows:

Cihangir was gentrified by changing artistic understanding and film artists' settlement after 90s.

Cihangir has an influence that encourages creativity on artists. That is why artists from other art groups, especially the movie industry, flocked there.

The close connection of Yeşilçam Cinema and Beyoğlu region with the cinema sector has been influential in the gentrification of Cihangir by the cinema sector.

### **3.BACKGROUND OF THE GENTRIFICATION**

#### **3.1.Historical Background and the Rise of Gentrification**

The Word “Gentrification” began to be used in the early 1960’s after British Sociologist Ruth Glass (Glass, 2013) observed changes in the “social structure and housing markets in certain areas of inner London”. There are many descriptions of gentrification. However it started before the term itself was coined. Ruth Glass used this term to describe some new and distinct processes of urban change that were beginning to affect inner London in 1964 (Glass, 2013) and she called this changing as classical gentrification (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007). Ruth Glass was living in Islington neighbor in London. She faced with gentrification this ruined area where were living family workers in Victorian neglected houses. After 1960s, the middle class started to come and settle on Islington neighborhood. Islington’s new guests became together and they started to rebuild Victorian houses. They renew streets, sidewalks and streetlamps. After 1970s they did an important movement. Islington’s new residents closed roadway for cars and they gave new way for them towards the other worker’s neighbors. They called ‘village town’ for their project. After all of these changings, this neighborhood’s rents increased. Owner of those houses did want to sell with high price and they found many ways for selling this old and neglected houses. Ruth Glass saw this situation and she started to use this term for her neighborhood (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007) (Morian, 2007) (Smith, 2002). According to Glass (2007) gentrification was a complex urban process that included the rehabilitation of old housing stock. In addition to this process,

property prices increase, ownership transforms from renting to owning and displacement occurs between working class and middle-upper class (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007:5).

Geographer Neil Smith is an important name about defining term gentrification. He has almost same description with Glass. He gave voice to some changings about gentrification around 1985. He meant to show that the term gentrification should be thought within theoretical frame and this theoretical frame should be expanded (Smith, 1982). Smith outlines some of its significant precursors by giving examples about Haussmann renovation of Paris. Baron Haussmann had annihilated the residential areas in which poor people lived in centre of Paris and finally residences became the most exclusive in the city with strict rules between 1850-1870 (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007:5).

Gentrification is a concept with multiple definitions that can be interpreted according to different perspectives. Judging from the studies of ownership and economy, it may mean 'long-term investment and re-investment process in some areas', but it may also mean renewal and improvement of the housing complex. From a socio-economic point of view, it is usually interpreted as a displacement movement caused by new settlers in the area. Gentrification is not the construction of a luxurious structure in an empty space, or the sale of expensive houses between wealthy people (Ergün, 2006.). Social and spatial renewal is a process that may lead to serious social disruptions, although it seems attractive for the preservation of historic touch (Uzun, 2006).

The origin of the term of gentrification is coming from England but it has started to become an international concept with examples in United States. After the 1950s it's systemized and it emerged new social and cultural transformation. The process of

gentrification started when higher and middle class people began to settle in places designed for lower middle class people living with lesser incomes. This is not only a basic transfer of people, instead it is to reform these areas by new characteristic surroundings (Baba, 2015:31-32). There are many factors that appear in the process of gentrification. According to Beril Sönmez (2014) this process:

... aims to discuss the frameworks in which these projects are to be considered as new forms of gentrification rather than as 'urban regeneration projects'. Offering residential or multi-functional uses for middle or upper-middle classes, these projects often pop up in neighborhoods of low-income inhabitants and mostly involve the demolition of existing social housing or squatter settlements, thus causing severe forms of displacement and dispossession among former inhabitants (Sönmez, 2014: 42).

In the 1950s, gentrification did not have a large sense but over time its meaning has become complex. Formerly, gentrification consisted of removing people from one place to another place and also changing the social character by wealthier classes. Since then, the meaning has expanded and become one of the most attractive ways to feed the growth of housing markets, landlords and investors. Some studies frame gentrification within a process of investment or re-investment, others use this term for a political effects or some consider it to refer to the physical upgrading of newcomers, namely the renovation and upgrading of the housing stock. According to M. Kennedy and P. Leonard (2001) gentrification must have some specific key conditions. These are:

1-Gentrification requires the displacement of lower income residents from their neighborhoods,

2-It has a physical as well as socioeconomic component that results in the upgrading of housing stock in the neighborhood,

3-It results in the changed character (cultural sense) of the neighborhood,

4-While the definition of gentrification is based at the neighborhood level, it has implications for the city and regional levels as well (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001:13,14).

In the 1970's and 1980's gentrification's meaning seemed to summarize all of the 'market failures', 'polarization' and injustice that shaped life in America's inner-city communities. Developers and public officials defended their actions against the 'G' label. According to Newman and Wyly (2005), debates about gentrification involves struggles over definition. For them, gentrification is a process of class transformation and it is the remaking of working-class area to served he needs of middle and upper class people (Newman, And Wyly, 2005). After the World Wars, in both the United States and England, urban renewal's meaning was to destroy old neighborhoods and replace them by modern housing and highways. In the course of time they increase this destruction and people started to rebel. Many American analysts were not happy with this term 'gentrification'. They used different terms in place of gentrification. In New York City, it was refered to as 'brownstoning', in Baltimore 'homesteading', in San Francisco 'red-brick chic' or in Toronto 'whitepainting / whitewalling'. In 1968, in Park Slope, Everett Ortner (Remembering Everett Ortner, 2012) had an important role as a gentrifier. Ortner created the Brownstone Revival Committee. It was pro-gentrification group in New York. This committee published a magazine named 'The Brownstoner'. Its contents were about historical analysis, rehabilitation tips or the politics of gentrification. They published many articles as an example 'Gentrification is not "genocide" but "genesis" in

1984. They tried to change negative senses about term of gentrification versus community by many writings, publicities or arguings. First time, in 1972, the annual Brownstone Conference was established by a Broolyn realtor, second, in 1974, The Back to the City Conference was also established by Everett Ortner. The first conference was sponsored by the Economic Development Council of New York City, the Municipal Art Society of New York, the National Trust for Historic Preservation and Broolyn Union Gas (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007:6-7).

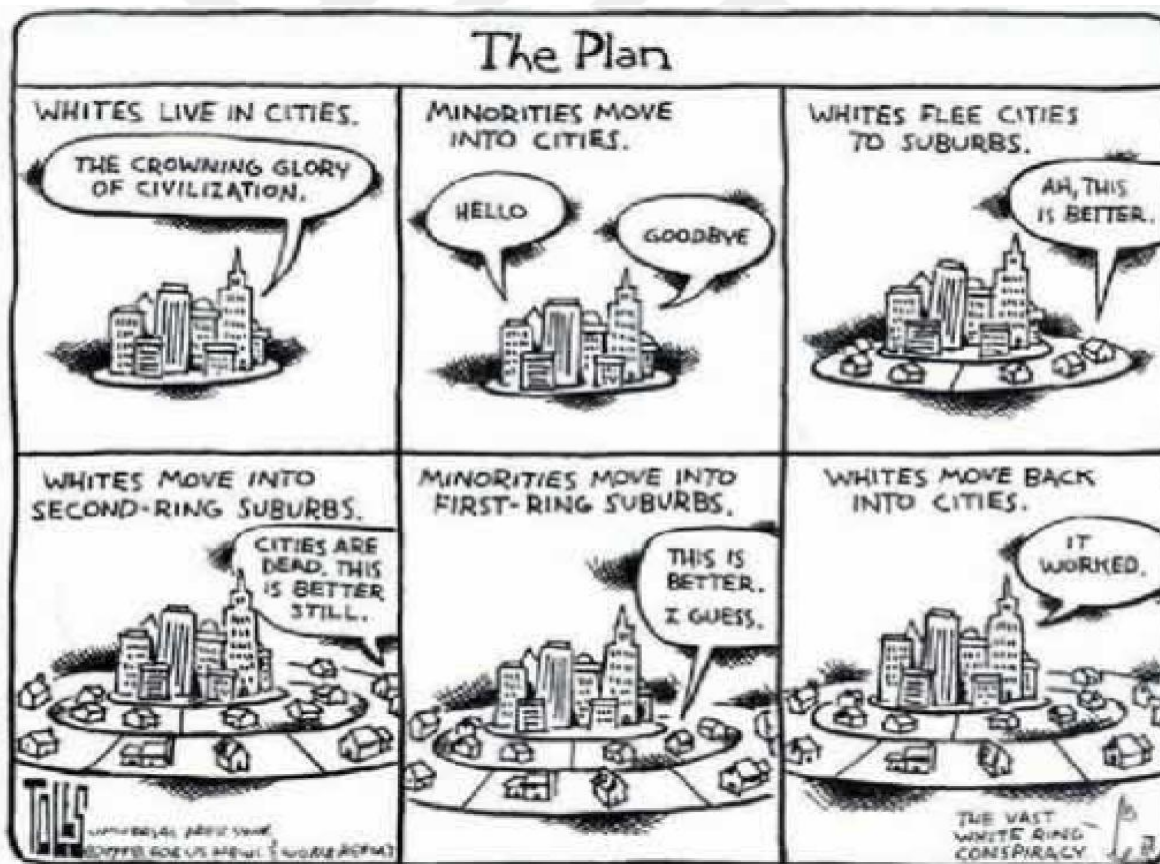


Figure 1: What is Gentrification? 15.10.2016.

Back in the 1980s, a number of authors argued that gentrification was a chaotic concept. Also Damaris Rose (Rose, 2011) was one of the first people to question the way that gentrification was being conceptualized. She generalized descriptions of gentrifiers in 1984. Rose criticized stage models for putting together different processes and effects. She defines gentrification as a “chaotic concept” with different actors, housing tenures and motives. This term has not a single causal process, contrarily it has a multiplicity process that needed disaggregation. She did want to embolden the other researches about starting to search the actual processes through which groups subsumed under the category ‘gentrifiers’ were produced and reproduced. She said that all gentrifiers are not in same class positions as each other and that they are structurally polarized from the displaced. Similarly Robert A. Beauregard (Beauregard, 2017) viewed gentrification as a chaotic concept. He gave examples from Philadelphia’s Society Hill where initiated by an urban renewal project, San Francisco where transformed of a working class neighborhood of Victorian houses by gay men, Baltimore where redeveloped houses and Boston where transformed warehouses near seaport. He said that all of these examples involves different types of individuals, also proceeded differently and had varying consequences and he claimed that the diversity of gentrification must be recognized. Against to Rose and Beauregard, Eric Clark (2005) does not accept description as ‘chaotic process’ about gentrification. He said that they wrongly misunderstand gentrification’s meaning that seeking to identify order and in gentrification is equal to reductionism and simplemindedness and it needs a much broader definition of gentrification than is commonly found in the literature. Following Clark (2005) gentrification’s definition includes the root causes of it which he sees to be commodification of space and polarised

power relations. Also he added that this term needs to be elastic enough to allow new processes of gentrification and at the same time be able to make political statements (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007:159).

### **3.1.1. Definitions of Gentrification**

The British sociologist Ruth Glass first used this term in 1964. This vocabulary's roots come from the word "Gentry" which according to *The American Heritage Dictionary*, its meaning is "People of gentle birth, good breeding or high social position". Additionally the same dictionary defines "Gentry" as "The class of English landowners ranking just below the nobility". The *Online Etymology Dictionary* describes the "Gentry" meaning 'Noble persons, the class of well-born and well-bred people' is from 1520s in English, later often in England referring to the upper middle class, persons of means and leisure but below the nobility".

Although word of "Gentry" was used as a noble-upper class, before it had used for defining important role of social statues about "Glorious Revolution" in England (Uysal, 2006:80).

### 3.1.2. From Urban Renewal To Gentrification

Neil Smith made sign to usage term of gentrification. He saw that gentrifiers wants to use the term of urban renewal instead of use the term of gentrification. If gentrifiers shows the other face of this process to society as renewing, people will not focus to people who suffer for gentriciation process (Smith, 2002) (Morian, 2007).

Gentrification is an effect of urban renewal. The aim of urban renewal is to remove unplanned urbanisation and at the same time to develop and improve communities' living conditions and to renovate some areas where there is an urban problem. Urban renewal seems helpful for people or places within this framework but today its content has changed because of socioeconomic reasons and new government politics (Engür & Üreten, 2013). Gentrification should be understood as just one of the forms of urban renewal but today gentrification and urban renewal / urban transformation are perceived as having the same meaning because of all political and economic reasons. Gentrification has been used and has spread strategically and it takes its new name: 'Urban Renewal' (Neil, 2006:23) The recent academic debates are mostly about the relation between gentrification and urban renewal. Particulary they have focused on urban regeneration which is labelled 'urban renaissance'. This renaissance has been concerned with creating a new environment of cities that are more inviting in order to counter movement of people from cities and attract to investment (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005:51).

### 3.1.3.Changes in the Gentrification Process

Over time gentrification's meaning has changed and mutated. High residents, high apartment blocks and luxury houses, have been presented to the community by huge real estate companies have become a part of gentrification. There are some differences between different periods.

Even if the origins of gentrification are unclear, Glass's definition of classical gentrification has been accepted as the first wave of gentrification. After Glass the meaning, situation and profile of gentrification has changed. Many new varieties like rural gentrification, new-build gentrification, super gentrification have emerged (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007:160).

Jason Hackworth wrote an article in 2002, "Post recession Gentrification in New York" in which he explained three waves about this process. Even if he focused on New York, his writing can give information about the evolution of gentrification. According to Hackworth (2002) the first wave started in 1950 and it has finished in 1973. In this period, the governments played a leading role. In these first years it was concerned with dispersed areas, particularly in towncenters. Government supported urban transformation but at the same time it put new protecting laws against to dramatic high rent's increments. Thus, government tried to balance both situations about urban transformation and people's laws on public (Sönmez, 2014:44). This period was after the global economic recession and these works about gentrification were often funded by the public sector because gentrification was thought to be too risky for the private sector. Even governments were aggressive because of this risk (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007:175).

The second wave started between 1970 and 1980 and it continued up to 1988. Hackworth called the period 'expansion and resistance' in which period the people knew clearly about the term gentrification, thus this term stabilized. This term started to spread to different places and new geographies. The private sector and capital started to capture this 'new toy'. According to Kevin F. Gotham (2005) the second wave has two specific characteristics. The first one is unification of gentrification with new cultural strategies of economic redevelopment, meaning new investments in museums and art galleries. For example, the Guggenheim Museum used their best projects as central ingredients in its urban regeneration. Its urban regeneration was based on some key elements. They focused on physical changes, the city's image or symbols on exhibition centers, concert halls etc. (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007:177). The linkage of art and gentrification involves both art and culture, and gentrification has been used in public policy as instruments of physical and economic regeneration of declining cities and both has strong relation. This linkage between art and gentrification caused further evolution. The most important example is the experience of Bilbao and the impact of the Guggenheim Museum, generating what has been referred to as the 'Bilbao bounce' for a declining industrial city. These examples has been massive critical assessment of the 'Guggenheim effect' including critical assessment of the potentially segregated nature of its gentrification effects (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005). The second characteristic is a connection between gentrification, real estate and banking finance, which had been developed in neighborhoods such as Baltimore's Inner Harbor, New York City's South Street Seaport and the art-led gentrification of the Lower East Side. In this term,

globalization was in part responsible for the rise of a ‘new urban politics’ (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007).

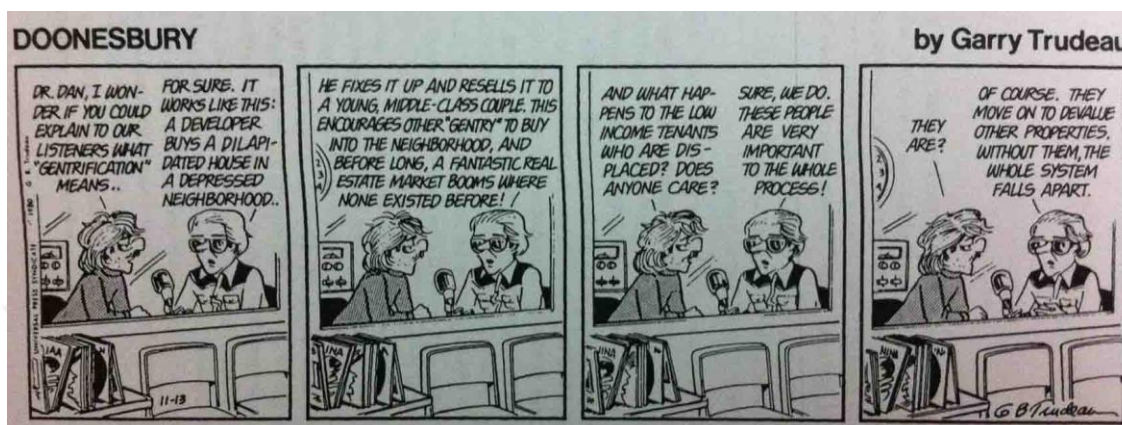


Figure 2: Duunesbury, Gary Trudeau.

After 1988 through the 1990s, the “transition term” started and the last wave of gentrification began in the mid-1990s. According to Kate Shaw (2005), the last wave of gentrification was shaped by interventionist governments working with the private sector. Large-scale capital became important more than ever. Hackworth argues that there are four specific characters in the third wave. First, corporate developers became the leading agents of gentrification, second, federal and local governments facilitated this process, third, anti-gentrification movements became more marginalized. And finally gentrification has spread throughout many far neighborhoods. Briefly in this wave, Hackworth said that gentrification became more corporate, more state facilitated and less resisted than ever before (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007:178). In this process the main concept is to gentrify by government and its compelling encouragements.

### *3.1.3.1. Contemporary Gentrification after the 1990s*

The contemporary term has been called another wave of gentrification. In this period, neoliberalism and globalisation has strong role. Gentrification has gone global. It is both a global phenomenon and there is an increasing amount of conceptual and empirical work on the links between globalization and gentrification. In the contemporary period there are complexities between local and global, old versus new and cultural versus economic. There are two perspective, production and consumption. We must define, explain and try to understand carefully both of them. For many analysts there is no substantive differences between them but for many others this dichotomy has been set aside for very different reasons. Even if the differences between production and consumption exaggerate after the 1980s, there is fundamental incommensurability in the abstract concepts of the rent gap, cultural-lifestyle and postindustrial economic base explanations (Lees, Slater, And Wyly, 2007).

Contemporary gentrification has many variations and it defies many definitions because gentrification now occurs in a variety of sites and takes a myriad of forms. This postrecession resurgence of gentrification asks many important questions between current and previous gentrification processes with changes in the neighborhood. Thus, researchers started to question and to criticise earlier assumptions. Neil Smith argues that a gentrification is being mass-produced, mass-marketed and mass-consumed around the world. According to him, the studies of gentrification have failed to 'problematize the locations of gentrification'. It must widen the 'spatial lens' of gentrification studies (Davidson and Lees, 2005:1167).

Hackworth and Smith date the emergence of third-wave or postrecession gentrification from approximately 1993. Davidson and Lees also claimed a new third notion about the gentrification process, called “New-Build Gentrification”. According to Davidson and Lees (2005), gentrification is shaped by global capital and government intervention. It has also mutated geographically and this relates to the actors involved. Geographically gentrification has spreaded to different continents, out of the cities and the rural areas. Even rural areas have experienced ‘rural gentrification’. ‘Rural’ is just a term for separating between city and villages if not there is no differences in context. Also in terms of actors, gentrification has been converted to many different new roles and it took many new titles like ‘gentrification by state’, ‘commercial gentrification’, super / repetitive gentrification or traditional gentrification. In ‘gentrification by state central and local governments implement new politics about gentrification and its prevalence. In this process one important point is the government’s associaton with private companies and producers. In commercial gentrification, an area has transformed for non-residents with government or individual super-projects like touristic areas. In super / repetitive gentrification process, they destroy not only old, poor areas also the same neighborhoods where gentrification occured for middle class. Thus this process has concluded with removing more people. Traditional / classical gentrification has still continued today which started around 1960s. Simply bad neighborhoods become luxury places after the middle class moves there (Sönmez, 2014:45).

### 3.1.4. Gentrifiers as an Art and Artist

There are different points of view about actors in the gentrification process. Each different view shows different second courses and each courses have different actors. Marxist approaches completely evaluate gentrification within neoliberal globalism and global capital, while liberal theorists focus on individual actors. (Uysal, 2006).

Although over the years, types of actor has transformed and increased, artists has known as a Pioneer gentrifiers. Artists are well suited to this role with their uncommon revenues and bohemian lifestyles. Artists can adapt easier with low income or low culture people than high income people (Kavrakoğlu, 2015).

There are many debates about gentrifiers. Some theoriticians who have commented on gentrification said that it has been debated that this process has started with individual movements like marginals, ‘yuppies’, artists or students (Uysal, 2006). For instance, new urbanist architect Andres Duany (2002) argues that rich professionals are not important as a first gentrifier. A study by the *National Endovment for the Arts* has shown that downtown gentrification all over the USA increases in proportion to the number of artists in the area (Knauss, 2002). In Andres Duany’s article, *Three Cheers For Gentrification*, he says that first time when poor but kind pioneers discovers new areas, that time gentrification started stealthily. In this first group mostly there was students, gays and other self-marginalized social groups. They did this unconsciously and the sociologists called this situation as “risk-oblivious” (Duany, 1996). Carpenter Nick Mottern from Peekskill talked to *New York Times* and he said that they try to create integrity between artist and African Americans. For this, they encouraged artists for

settling “blighted” areas with a large group of African Americans. Although common sense is unworthy with bohemian life style and consumption habits, all groups favours a local economy centered around things that are widely perceived as non-essential ‘speciality’ items: arts and crafts, health, food, etc. But except all of these helpful changings about bohemians and artists, it would seem they have to accept their role alongside ‘yuppies’ in the gentrification process and look for different ways to make it less disruptive as an endless cycle of displacement (Knauss, 2002).



*Figure 3: Gentrification Is The New Colonialism, 13.12.2016.*

All the time, the artists have been praised as a creative, innovative professional. They like their unique perspectives and ability to portray life. The artists are always savior for them and their situations, behaviors or works can help them in case of emergency (O’Sullivan, 2013). Although artists has not high income, mostly they have food and high education and have active social and cultural life. Due to artist’s low

income, they live low cost neighborhoods, derelict workshops. Generally, the community who lives in low cost areas has low education and culture. Compared to the other gentrifiers who has high incomes, artist adapt easier with community in non-gentrified areas. In this way, it has taken shape an identity of artist as a pioneer gentrifier (Baba, 2015). Artist always became focal point for critics and their artworks open for critic. They try to catch graffiti artists but they work with artist for creating new buildings. In some countries government use artworks just for their benefit. As an example from Turkey, the artists are not free when they want to show to public society their artworks. Local artists can not show their works which has political content or message but gentrifiers who works with government can place huge artworks with working foreign artists.

Many scholars and urban planners consider artists as a pioneer of gentrification. They claim that artists and artists population have strong impression on gentrification and quite facilitate it. There are some theories that are more important than the others. First, the artist from a working class community brings recognition and therefore increases tourism to the working class community, the other, the artists prefer to live in communities where other artists live as last the artist are always inspirer for urban planners who wants to create marvelous areas (O'Sullivan, 2013).

Some scholars have referred to artists as actors of gentrification. For them, before the middle and business class arrives, pregentrification started with artists because such areas provided low-cost housing and work spaces. Thus they came to these cheap areas and they have started this process. Particularly the artist's allure increased with these areas by aid of the society and culture of a working class neighborhood, especially ethnic

diversity that attracted the artist as it repelled the conventional middle classes. For example Brooklyn and Williamsburg are important examples of an area where there is a gentrification because of artists' presence. With the construction of the *Brooklyn Queens Expressway* and the increased presence of sewage treatment facilities in the 1960's and 1970's, many businesses and residents left their neighborhood. At that period, many artists who were looking for affordable alternative live or work spaces came and moved Williamsburg. As a result, the Williamsburg community expanded, opening galleries, shops and restaurants giving the neighborhood a bohemian feel. Despite artists presence helping to revitalize the Williamsburg area, many former residents were no longer able to afford to live there (O'Sullivan, 2013).

Mary T. O'Sullivan (2013) emphasizes another point. She says that artists' presence helps to revitalize an area but after the revitalization there is a risk that the increased value of the city will one day force them to leave from there. Thus, while Williamsburg appeared to be an ideal and cost-effective place for artists to relocate, artists found themselves no longer able to afford to remain in their respective cities (O'Sullivan, 2013). Not only countries, municipalities and governments try to develop their space by artists' presence, also non-profit organisations, particular types of arts activities seek to provide artists with affordable live or work spaces. These activities (e.g. visual and performing arts companies, fine art schools) which are more likely to be associated with commercial arts industries (e.g. film, music and design-based industries) are strongly associated with gentrification. Over the last decade many arts activities increased, high profile policy targets did want to expand development in central cities around the world (Grodach, Forster, and Murdoch, 2014). Some examples can be seen in

Cleveland. Some organisations has a mission to ‘create, foster and preserve affordable space for artists and arts organisations’. They allow artists about development projects, asset management activities, consulting service for community building activities that serve artists and arts organizations of all disciplines, cultures and economic circumstances. It became clear that artspace helped to provide affordable live/work and commercial artist spaces in some locations (O’Sullivan, 2013). Following O’Sullivan (2013), in the future of artists’ housing, artists have become the loser. Despite artists’ benefits and innovations, encouraging other artists to relocate, and non-profit organisation’s incentive programs many artists are pushed out of areas because after providing the cultural capital necessary to revitalize a community, they often find themselves ‘priced out’ of that community. While artists spread cultural awareness and bring capital to struggling areas in their neighborhoods they face high rents and expenses. Thus their situation changed and artists are used as a medium to refurbish the community (O’Sullivan, 2013). All these situations show that individual artists, artistic businesses, and artistic spaces (e.g. small galleries, theaters, music venues, and art studios) create convenient conditions for gentrification. According to Sharon Zukin (Zukin, 2007) this is accomplished through the artists’ symbolic appropriation of space, which is in turn seized by investors to attract capital reinvestment in the built environment. Using their fairness identity, artists aesthetically revalue places by transforming dilapidated, impoverished and often ethnically segregated areas into a “neo-bohemia” filled with galleries, art studios, bars or restaurants. Nonprofit arts institutions and organizations join with more traditional growth regimes to promote downtown development. Local governments have provided important fundings for the opening and expansion of big museums, theaters and

performing arts complexes. Thus they planned that new neighborhoods will modify –for the better- future development in or around downtowns and central city neighborhoods. After the late of 1990s, public investments in cultural facilities have expanded. The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao is one of the best examples. It has succeeded in highly publicizing which is attributed with transforming the mid-sized Spanish city into a global destination. The case study literature on the arts and gentrification does not distinguish between types of arts activity, but focuses more generally on an artistic presence. The arts enclose some activities and artists can work with different fields like film, design, symphonies, museums or art schools (Grodach, Forster, and Murdoch, 2014).

Soho is the classic case of artist-led gentrification. Urban policy analyst Jenny Schuetz has the opposite view to ‘gentrifiers as an artist’. Schuetz wrote an article in a book: “Creative Communities: Art Works in Economic Development”. She claims that the transformation on Soho did not start with artist and galleries. She looks at every blocks of city in Manhattan to see if there is evidence of accelerated development in the years after an art gallery moved into a neighborhood. Finally Schuetz saw that that galleries are not really the major “causal agent” that they get made out to be; they tend to arrive in neighborhoods already marked out for change. In the end of this research Schuetz decided that galleries are not effective or efficient target for economic development. Likewise Jefferson Mao (Mao, 2013) from her article titled as “On Gentrification In An Unhip Place”, in the often-bitter narrative of neighborhood ‘revitalization’, much more depends on big forces like average area incomes, social stratification, real-estate speculation and rent policy than on the magic of the art. She thinks that artist can not have important role as a gentrifier in New York because to

control will be very difficult where have impassioned charged real-estate market. Miguel Robles-Duran (Robles-Duran, 2017) who is the director of the graduate program in urban Ecologies at *New School*, said that developers seized on the presence of artists as a marketing tool, but mainly to do what they are doing anyway, which is developing. Also researcher Anne Gadwa Nicodemus (2013) claims that it is also possible for artists to move into a neighborhood and not completely uproot the existing community. She does not accept the assumption that the artist who has a main role on gentrification process. According to Nicodemus, the neighborhood is more racially and ethnically diverse than before the artist spaces and, for better or worse, still has quite high poverty levels (Davis, 2013).

### **3.1.5. Effects of Gentrification**

The gentrification has both positive and negative effects. Loretta Lees (2005) have two main discourses about both situation. She plays off of the positive and negative aspects of gentrification. She calls the “Emancipatory city thesis” versus the “Revanchist city thesis”. The emancipatory city thesis is implicit in much of the gentrification literature that focuses on the gentrifiers themselves but on the contrary, one of the Canadian sociologist Jon Caulfield says that this thesis is mostly explicit. According to Caulfield gentrification shows itself connectively between low-income and high income people. It creates many opportunities for social interaction, tolerance and cultural diversity. Caulfield focuses on the inner city as an emancipatory space and he says that

gentrifiers removed the power of hegemonic culture and create new conditions for social activities, leading the way for developers who follow. According to Lees (2005), many researches about gender, sexuality and gentrification can also be grouped under the emancipatory city thesis. The central cities are emancipatory spaces for both women and gays. The inner city permits more flexible family formes for middle-class women, as well as men. (Davidson & Lees, 2005: 210-212).

One of essays of J.P.Byrne (2003) which titled 'Two Cheers for Gentrification' takes point with negative judgement about gentrification. He claims that many affluent and well-educated residents is good for cities. All of that residents's meaning is somebody can pay taxes, purchase local goods and services and support the city in state and federal political process (Byrne, 2003). Also according to Freeman and Braconi supported the idea that gentrification is a positive process. In 1990, Freeman and Braconi looked at surveys. They reached many results. The results say that 5.47 percent of survey could be considered as displaced. Second they found that poor households were less likely to move from gentrifying neighborhoods rather than non-gentrifying neighborhoods. Considering to likelihood of moving out, increases in rents were associated with a lower rather than higher (Davidson & Lees, 2005).

The Positives and Negatives of Gentrification	
Positive	Negative
	Displacement through rent/price increases
	Secondary psychological costs of displacement
Stabilization of declining areas	Community resentment and conflict
Increased property values	Loss of affordable housing
	Unsustainable speculative property price increases
Reduced vacancy rates	Homelessness
Increased local fiscal revenues	Greater take of local spending through lobbying/articulacy
Encouragement and increased viability of further development	Commercial/industrial displacement
	Increased cost and changes to local services
Reduction of suburban sprawl	Displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas
Increased social mix	Loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to rich ghettos)
Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship	Under occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas

*Figure 4: The Positives and Negatives of Gentrification.*

Byrne also argues that gentrification can improve the economic opportunities for the urban poor. For example some studies say that poor people can find better employment in the suburbs than in the city. Other, gentrification may also helps to enhancement of employment for low-income residents around city. Byrne also argues that gentrification creates a new political system. In this system affluent and poor citizens must behave each other's priorities in a democratic process. Thus within this idea

gentrification helps the social isolation of the poor, reduces crime and increases the educational acquisitions of the poor (Byrne, 2003).

The birth of gentrification had same meaning with social mixing and first gentrification is associated with the same appeals to diversity, difference and social mixing. First gentrifiers were part of a left-liberal new middle class in Islington, London and Barnsbury. This places are very famous with their comprehensive school revolution. Margaret Malden's *Islington Green* was a prototype and Mary Hall was the other gentrifier in Barnsbury. Hall said that (1977) (Lees, 2008) -to *TheTimes*- how socialists are determined that they should sit side by side to be educated, also liberals should live side by side, like same way. Also one of the architect Ken Pring (1977) said that a rising proportion of the middle class will help create a better social balance in the structure of the community (Davidson & Lees, 2005:207).

In contrast to the positive effects, John Betancur (2002) who in a study of gentrification in West Town, Chicago thinks that gentrification is really a struggle between community and accumulation. He said that there is an aspect of gentrification that main definitions ignore. According to Betancur descriptions of gentrification as a market process divides land to its best or a process of replacing a lower for a higher income group, do not show the highly destructive processes of class, race or ethnic. Betancur is doing his analysis about racial injustice of gentrification is especially helpful to Powell and Spencer (2003). In contrast to Byrne they claim that the process is not good for poor and ethnic minorities. Following Betancur, gentrification has no connection with social mixing, creativity, tolerance or emancipation, it is only about abandonment,

displacement, 'speculation and abuse', ethnic minority tenant hardships and class conflict. (Davidson & Lees, 2005:215).



*Figure 5: Meritocracy is a massive lie: Race, inheritance and the the truth about the rigged American dream, Dany Doorling, 21.03.2017.*

Gentrification homogenizes to centers and it creates a decomposition. During this decomposition, the process of “displacement” emerges (Sönmez, 2014). Some theoreticians think that displacement is just an effect of gentrification, also some says that gentrification can not exist without thinking displacement.

The displacement is anessence to gentrification, it is not an undesired repercussion. According to Chester Hartman (1982) displacement exists when there is a

dangerous and impossible situation about continuing their life in a neighborhood and there is economical difficulties of paying. For example in 2008, there was an Olympic Games in Beijing. During the preparatory stage, 1.25 million people has been displaced (Sönmez, 2014).

### **3.1.6. Political and Economical Process of Gentrification regarding Art and Artists**

In today's world it is not enough to keep urbans with equality, liberty or better life standarts. Nowadays, the important thing for urban cities, is marketing urbans within art and cultural politics. After the late of 20th century, most of the cities adopted policies in the field of art and culture. Rivalry between urban transformation, constructional activities and population growth exhausts cities. (Özkan, 2011:1)

According to Hito Steyerl (2010), art is not far from politics but politics resides within its production, its distribution and its reception. The art field is a space of wild contradiction. Contemporary art is squarely placed in the neoliberal thick of the things. It is one of the shock policies which used to cure slowing economies. Contemporary art has become 'brand' and ready to be slapped onto almost anything. Following Steyerl (2010), contemporary art is not only about beauty also it is functional. Nowadays, important hubs of the art are no longer only located in the Western metropolis like "global Guggenheim brands" or also international uncountable biennals. Contemporary art actively intervenes in transition towards a new post-Cold War world order. It may be seen on mobile-phones

advertisements or also it may associate for raw materials for dual-core processors. It may have a role on pollution, extortion and gentrification. Contemporary art is becoming attractive for hyper-capitalism (Steyerl, 2010).

### ***3.1.6.1.Relation between Gentrification and Neoliberalism.***

The gentrification process in regards to neoliberal urban politics has complex relations between the renovation and the regeneration projects by state-led (Can, 2013). Urban politics changes itself because of liberalising the economic structure. Cities has shown as a ‘brand’ with post-fordist consumptive society and they have exposed to the urban renewal and the process of gentrification intended to acquire investment (Özkan, 2011:1).

The 1990s was a decade in which the term “neoliberalism” became important point for a wide range of anticapitalist popular struggles such as the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas, mass strikes in France to the mass protests against the WTO (World Trade Organisation), the IMF (International Monetary Fund), the World Bank or the World Economic Forum in locations such as Davos, Nice, Prague, Sydney, London or Washington DC. All of these struggles will continue to increase and anticapitalist forces have come to identify neoliberalism as a bit target for oppositional mobilization. There is considerable agreement regarding the basic elements of neoliberalism as an ideological project. For example, K. Moody (1997) describes neoliberalism in a way that it is a mixture of neoclassical economic fundamentalism and a market regulation in place of

state guidance. Moody and the others have the same view about neoliberalism that there is a separation between the ideology of neoliberalism and its everyday political operations and societal effects. In one hand neoliberalism wishes to create an 'utopia' of free markets and the other hand it has generated common market failures. As Gill say that the neoliberal shift in government policies tends to subject the big part of the population to the power of market forces whilst preserving social protection for the strong. During some decades, the dysfunctional effects of neoliberal approaches have been manifested in diverse institutional arenas (Brenner & Theodore, 2002).

Neoliberalism is economical and political approach. This was theorized first by the School of Chicago. It has all system of relations. It is creating hegemonic discourse on people's behaviours, comprehension and perception. In this case the role of government must be protected and create appropriate institutional frame for actualizing some politic and economic practices. In the process of neoliberalisation, the government has a regulatory role on the spatial development. Neoliberalism signalizes to creative demolition process and in this process government has to balance problems between polarizations which have been created by neoliberalism. Post-Industrial century, instead of industrial complexes, it took place as residents, luxury settlements, thematic structure and shopping malls. Likewise, before starting renewal term, in the beginning of industrialization period, urban centers became empty because of informal economic strategies, migration of workers and etc. Municipalities has a role for organizing of this transformation. Because of this role also municipalities became entrepreneur or corporation. Also labor force has changed in the industrialization period. Particularly service industry and cultural industry took place in urban economies. In this process,

sectors markets themselves for taking their part from culture tourism and investment's movements. In this point, urban politics which focus on art and culture has a main role. The effect of unstable capital movements cause extensive poverty or luxury life style. Economic mobility creates unstable forms to area. People start to move between different residential areas as a communal group. Also gentrification is one of the most important mobility in this changings (Özkan, 2011).

According to Artun (2014), art and real estate's common concept is 'luxurious lifestyle'. This type of lifestyle is not beneficial and is subject to lots of "fantasy". Also "luxury lifestyle" has no function. In this context, art is a product of 'ultimate consumption' because art has not any purpose except itself. Thus "Art is maximum ideal of luxury lifestyle and it is a object of maximum consumption". Both art and real estate lost their authenticity and reason of their presence. Because both of them are transform to money and investment. It has used as money and they lost their value of utilization. Art was transformed into a tool of stock market. The construction sector has a motor role of neoliberal economy (Artun, 2014).

Poor or unpopular areas around the world became famous and 'star'. Investors think that to renew or transfer an unpopular terrain is a best way to escape from critics about gentrification. Because they create a new world, wonderland from nothing and they will create new market and money will turn around your new land and nobody criticise. It seems innocent. For instance, Bilbao is the best example for explaining connection between art and urban transformation. It has been changed from poor urban to center of tourism, culture and labor-intensive town. Bilbao started with 10-15 projects which have been designed by Kalatrava, Zaha Hadid, Norman Foster, Philippe Starck, Isozaki and

Daniel Buren. Bilbao rised with large architectural projects. It became the symbol of the branding as a global metropol by using art. The effect of art on urban transformation is called 'museum urbanism'. Bilbao's destiny changed after 1990s. Guggenheim Museum was created in 1997 by Franc Gehry. They used titanium for his building exterior. People can see color differences throughout the day according to sunshine changings. They thought all of details for affecting people... Architecture, lights, artworks! Also artworks is a best way to attract people because of this they choose effective artworks (Artun, 2014).

Another example about the relation of real-estate and art is Dubai and Abu-Dhabi. Some of Dubai's islands are fill-structure, some of them has palm shape and everything is simulative. Big houses, manors are also are not real on these islands. Famous artist buy manors from there just to show their identity. Also in Abu-Dhabi has built an art city in a large area which is called 'Island of Hapiness'. Architectures designed them according to Sheikh's pleasure. Museums show itself not with their art task, contrarily with their architectural image. Real-estate markets are growing with urban renewals and urban transformations. They do not renewal or transfer urbans for needings, requisiton or shelter (Artun, 2014). Dubai's Islands seems like an animation. They designed colors, views, shapes or forms for catching more and more people. They built an art center by using the old houses and they donated their revenue from artworks sells to construction workers who work with difficult conditions without life insurance and earning less money in Dubai.

Today art and real-estate have important role in private banking systems. Private banking offer not only special portfolios or stocks, they also offer artworks and real-

estate as a speculative value. This new speculative asset loses its reality. Many artworks change hands before being on a display. For example, art speculators choose an artist, they buy their all of artworks. After this haggling, these speculators sell to auction houses or to the other people. Eventually nobody see that artworks because they are not shown or not exhibit somewhere. There are numerous artworks which people can not see somewhere and professional art speculators hide them in their private collections just as an object (Artun, 2014).

According to Hito Steyerl (2015), contemporary art is made possible by neoliberal capital plus the internet, biennials, art fairs, parallel pop-up histories, growing income inequality. Contemporary art works by way of major real estate operations transforming the cities worldwide as they reorganize urban space. Freeport art storages will be a good example about these operations. In this point, Geneva is an important pattern because it is a center of free-port art storages. Tax-free zone area was an old freight station and an industrial storage. A new art storage space was opened in 2014. Freeport art storage spaces are somewhat extraterritorial and some are located in the transit zones of airports or in tax-free zones. In this free zones goods in freeports are technically in transit, corporations are privileged at the expense of common citizens and “investors” replace taxpayers. According to Steyerl it is also a rogue sector carefully settled for financial profitability and Freeport art storage facilities are secret museums (Steyerl, 2015).

### **3.1.7.Social Process of Gentrification: Social Exclusion**

Generally the folks who lived an area in previous, comes from low social class before gentrifying an area. They have different ethnic identities and most of them are old. When the gentrifiers want to remove them from that area, all of these differences show itself with violence, protest and negative reactions. Additionally their different ethnic identities create a racist discourse. In the meantime there is a “class decomposition” among European countries, in the USA, there is an “ethnic decomposition”. After gentrifying an area, working class people and the poor deport to another areas (Baba, 2015).

According to Tom Wetzel (2004), capitalism creates a division between classes. There are three steps on this social pyramid. At the top of this graphic there is a small group who lives in richness. In the second step there is a middle class who manages, plans and advises. Both high and middle class want to control labor class. The third class is mass of workers who are forced to work under the control of first and second class’ hierarchy. These three different rankings create great inequality in wealth and income. Housing markets likes to sort the people by income and race into different areas. If lower income residents move from gentrified area, the people with higer incomes who can pay high rents will not be willing to live in that area without renewing. Thus, property owners start to renew this neighborhood and they can save money to buy other buildings elsewhere by putting off repair (Wetzel, 2004). In this situation, landlord’s attempts will be inevitable. It is not difficult to persuade the process of affection to the owners. The owners have always been ready for earning more money. They easily accept bids and the

process of removing. To remove the helpless people who has low purchasing power, blacks, disabled and minorities are easiest part of this way for persuading from their houses and neighborhoods. Most of these 'undesirable' people answer with violence or protests.

### **3.1.8 Districts around the World Gentrified through Art**

The closest examples of gentrification in Cihangir in the world are seen in New York and London. Especially on the south-west coast of Manhattan, Soho is the clearest example of gentrification through artists. Non-physical gentrification in Cihangir also manifests itself in New York. The warehouse and industrial buildings built in the city center after the Industrial Revolution in New York were evacuated due to the changing production conditions after Fordist production. The process of leaving the cheap labor force and manufacturing sector to the Far East countries in lieu of the service sector accelerated this process. After 1950 New York began to decline economically, socially and physically. There was a great loss of jobs, and population dwindled. High unemployment, crime and ethnic tension were experienced. It became a large scale area of urban decay, while in the past it had been an important trade and production centre. The disenfranchised workers, migrants and the unemployed who lived there were forced to move away from the region. New York, on the other hand, also created areas of high welfare. Then, a large mass of artists settled in the existing buildings in New York and gentrified these regions with art and bohemian lifestyles. In the 1940s and '50s, New York overtook Paris as the 'arts capital of the world'. Over time, as the artist population grew in New York, the quality of the artist population gained importance. Empty

warehouses built after the industrial revolution turned into lofts at the hands of artists and bohemians. In the 19th century, Soho was a region of buildings and warehouses intended only for manufacturing. Between 1950 and 1960, a pioneer class of artists and academics began to settle in SoHo. Painters, sculptors, dancers and writers in need of large work areas also settled in this area. Large industrial buildings turned into lofts. First the buildings, then the character of the region changed, gaining a new, gentrified identity. The buildings in the district were used entirely as workshops and dwellings (Baba, 2015). In 1973 Soho began to be marketed as a 'cultural center'. Financial support was provided by the state and municipalities for artists' work areas. Similar strategies concerning artists and artistic production were employed so that artists could take up residence in the city. (Tan, 2006).



*Figure 6: 1960's "The South Houston Industrial Area" (image: Thomas Struth 1978 via MOMA), 13.01.2017.*



*Figure 7: Soho New York, Tazi Phillips, 05.05.2017.*

If we look at Europe, the role of artists on gentrification is on a slightly different level. Artists work together with planners in projects intended to transform the city. For example, after the communist era in Germany, there has been intensive migration from East German cities to West German cities. Planners, architects, theoreticians and artists took part in a project dealing the economic and social problems that living in East German cities brought about. In projects such as the project of transforming an empty train station, which used to be used extensively by workers, into an arts center, the aim is to gentrify the city through art and artists (Tan, 2005). On the other hand, artists' workshops and workspaces gradually settled in East Berlin and caused gentrification in many districts. But over time, the artists who gentrified the neighborhoods were also

gentrified and forced to move out because of the high prices. After 2000, many artists' initiative venues have been closed because of this (Tan, 2006). The film and television industry is clustered around Berlin. Although not as much Munich and Hamburg, Berlin both creates and supports film and video, production, independent artists and artisan communities. As of 2000, 1,500 people were working in the media sector and 152 firms were registered. Financial support for filmmaking from public and private sources continues (Yilmaz, 2006).

The role of artists can be based on 'object' production, but also on projects that can be beneficial to society. While these attractive projects contribute to the gentrification process and create a danger to the city, there are also conscious actors who act in another manner. While many 'art venues' in Rotterdam in the Netherlands play an important role in the transformation of the community, some projects work to resist public policy. For example, Foundation B.a.d. is a venue run by artists. In 2003, the artists along with those living in the Charlois neighborhood developed a joint project on the design and identity of the community. They benefited from the fund that the municipality reserved for arts, and they also developed participatory practices of real identity (Tan, 2006).

In Barcelona, the city centre is one of the gentrified regions. After the 1990s, cleaning and renovation work in Barcelona has become noticeable. The development of the creative industry sector is the primary objective of the local government's cultural plans. For this reason, it was aimed to develop architecture, media, modern art and film sectors, especially the press and publishing sector. Barcelona contains 60% of this market (Yilmaz, 2006).

In London, the situation is no different. London is a city with high land premiums. Since 1975, artists have settled their workshops in areas of high historic value but with low income and low price. But over time, these new settlements have revived the region. As a result, gentrification has become problematic, the value of the area has increased, and creative producers have been displaced. In London, film, art, antique trade, architecture, photography and advertising enjoy above-average growth rates. While the productivity of creative industries was 4% between 1995 and 2000, the video / film, photography and arts sector increased more than 12% in the same period. However, fashion, publishing, music and visual arts remained below the UK average (Yılmaz, 2006).

## 4.GENTRIFICATION IN CIHANGIR

### 4.1 Cihangir's Location

Cihangir is one of the districts of the Beyoğlu district in Istanbul, in the European side. There are more than twenty neighborhoods in Beyoğlu. In general terms, many of the districts of Beyoğlu have important social, cultural, historical and tourist attractions. Although it is not the largest district in Istanbul, it is seen as one of the most important centers of İstanbul. İstiklal Street (formerly "Pera"), the most important central neighbourhood of the Beyoğlu district, is one of the oldest settlements in the region. Since the beginning of the 19th century, this street has become one of the most famous streets of Turkey, not just Istanbul. İstiklal Caddesi has been a turbulent area since the 19th century and has undergone major economic and social transformation. Therefore, Cihangir, located at the end of İstiklal Caddesi, was affected simultaneously by every change İstiklal Caddesi experienced. Therefore, while considering the socio-cultural structure of Cihangir, İstiklal Street will be a frequent reference. Today, Cihangir is a popular district of Istanbul with its easy and short access to the center, its proximity to metro stations and ferry piers and its panorama have view over the Bosphorus. In Cihangir and nearby areas there are large hospitals, some universities and campuses, churches and mosques. All these factors drive the desire to move to Cihangir (Uysal, 2006).

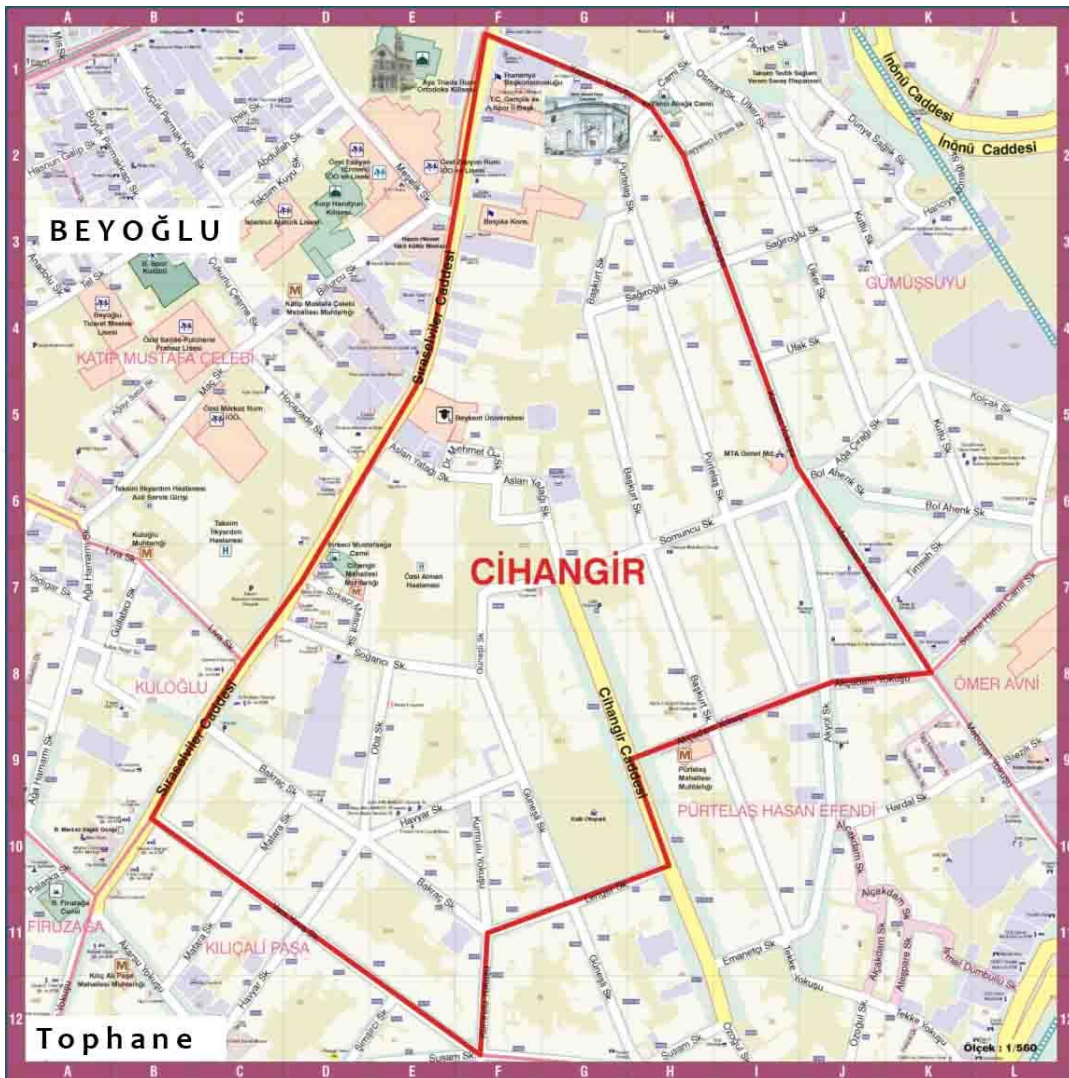


Figure 8: Map of 'Cihangir Neighborhood', 13.01.2017.

## 4.2 Defining Cihangir's Identity Prior to 1980

The neighbourhood of Galata is located at the southwestern tip of the district of Beyoğlu. Cihangir is right in-between Galata on the south and Istiklal Street on the north. As well as directly experiencing the changes occurring in Beyoğlu, Cihangir has also experienced changes happening in Galata with the same intensity. Prior to the 18th century Galata was mainly comprised of gardens and empty land, and Christians, foreigners, and ambassadors who arrived in Galata by sea settled in Istiklal Street. At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, Cihangir was ravaged by a succession of fires. The last fire happened in 1916, burning down most of the wooden houses, and from then on wooden houses were no longer constructed in the area. Until these dates, the Beyoğlu district was home to Muslims and a large number of middle and upper classes of Greek, Armenian, Italian Levantine, Jewish, French, and some European inhabitants (Islam, 2006). Istiklal Caddesi was called 'Grand Rue de Pera' (shortly 'Pera') by foreigners and 'Street-i Kebir' by the Ottomans before getting its present name. This long street is home to churches belonging to various denominations, other places of worship, and mosques belonging to the Ottoman Turks. At the end of the nineteenth century Beyoğlu slowly evolved from gardens and vineyards. With the revival of trade, there was an intense flow of population from Galata to different districts of Beyoğlu. At that time, the minority population reached 40,000 and urbanization accelerated. Buildings and rental values increased. For the local Muslim population, these economic conditions were very difficult. By the beginning of the 20th century, Beyoğlu had become a social entertainment and cultural venue influenced by Europe. It was also referred to as 'Little

Paris' by the public. Opera, cafes, theaters and bookshops were opened. Thanks to this circulation, international trade developed and European visitors began to seek accommodation in Beyoğlu. European-style hotels opened. The socio-economic structure was strengthened, and Beyoğlu became an international trade center, as well as the centre of the city itself (Kızıldere, 2007).

Undoubtedly, the foreign population brought their lifestyles and habits with them. The number of dwellings and shops they established in line with their needs increased. All these developments were further developed by non-Muslim tradesmen and artisans of European origin or Ottoman nationality. Pera was now a dense and multicultural area. After the declaration of the Republic in 1920, Pera became known as 'İstiklal Caddesi'. The twentieth century was the brightest era of the street's history. (Fahri, 2009:111-112).

Some important events that took place in the 20th century respectively caused the minority population to leave Beyoğlu.

1. The Lausanne Treaty signed in 1923 abolished the commercial rights granted to minorities. As a result, the flow of foreign capital ceased and big firms, merchants, insurance companies, and bankers left Beyoğlu (Kızıldere, 2007).

2. As a result of the asset / wealth tax imposed by the state in 1943, the non-Muslim population either emigrated or lost close to all of their assets.

3. In 1955, pogroms were organized by Turkish nationalists, targeting the homes, offices, schools and churches of all minorities, especially the Greeks. Particularly in Beyoğlu, shops owned by minorities were targeted and looted.

4. The tensions between Cyprus and Turkey were cited in 1964 as a reason for the Greeks living in Istanbul to emigrate from the city.

The official policies on the removal of minorities continued in the following decades (Kasaba, 2011:552). The Non-Muslim population accounted for one third of the 700.000 residents of the city in 1927, while it fell to about 75,000 after 1975 (Keyder, 2011). After these devastating events, the population of the minorities decreased in Istanbul and the local Muslim population increased. The identity and character of Beyoğlu was completely changed and lost its former glitter. In 1950, the Democratic Party came into power with a government lead by Adnan Menderes. Menderes's nationalist rhetoric and destructive development policies harm all of Istanbul and therefore Beyoğlu. Intending to rebuild Istanbul, he envisioned new routes for open traffic, new plans that will break the traditional make-up of the city to beautify it, wide roads, open traffic, and a beautiful city (Kasaba, 2011:556). The function of the municipalities is insufficient in the face of the problems of urbanization in the 1950s. There is a shortage of capital. (Tunça et al., 1997:507). All this destruction damaged the physical and social identities of the neighborhoods. Immigrants from Anatolia came to Istanbul and settled in the empty houses. The independence of all the neighborhoods, regardless of which ethnic group they belong to, disappeared. All municipalities underwent a spatial and social change motivated by profit. In the process, approximately 7,300 buildings are destroyed. The city evolves into a giant construction site (Akpınar, 2015). The city starts to grow irregularly and illegal slum multiplies. With changes in population growth and consumption demands, the middle class begins to move away from the heterogeneous structures of the old city and into more homogeneous new areas. Housing demand goes up as the building materials sector rises; Tiles, ceramics, various chrome accessories and so on. (Kasaba, 2011:556).

The changes in Cihangir are equivalent to the changes in İstiklal Street until the 19th century. There is no significant settlement before this date but all the foreign immigrants like İstiklal Caddesi begin to settle in Cihangir. After the fire of 1916 about 1325 homes were destroyed. Even sources of Jacques Prevititch Insurance Maps of 1925 describe Cihangir as 'Terre Incindie' or 'Burned land'. The buildings of Cihangir, which have survived to the present day, are those built after the 1920s (Freely & Freely, 2014). With the development of the Turkish cinema industry, many actors, screenwriters and directors began to live in Cihangir. In the 1970s, the identity, quality and character of the group began to change as it did in İstiklal Caddesi. The buildings left by the non-immigrant minorities who migrated from the repressed neighborhoods for minorities remained unclaimed. Since the former owners can not claim ownership in these buildings, Kurdish immigrants running from violence in southeastern Turkey, and other refugees from Africa and various parts of the world used the area as a shelter. The district is also known for its criminal, prostitution and transvestite identity. This situation continued until 1990 (Freely & Freely, 2014) (Karaca, 2011).

#### **4.3 Defining Cihangir's Identity after 1980**

Neoliberal policies implemented by Margaret Thatcher in England and Ronald Reagan in the United States in the late 1970s began to affect Turkey strongly in the beginning of the 1980s. When it came to the 1990s, it affected the whole world. The most negative effect on developing countries was the daily growth of the foreign trade deficit. These states, which can not find foreign investors in a short period of time, borrow again to cover up the deficit. This leads to a long-term financial crisis, although it may cause

the market to move for a short period of time. Seeing this, the states strived to strengthen their competitiveness and strengthen their economies in order to increase their foreign capital income so as not to cause the crisis (Baba, 2015). In Turkey, neoliberalism came to the fore during the leadership of Turgut Özal. As of 2005, it had become a dominant ideology for the whole country. The Turkish bourgeoisie made intensive efforts to adopt this ideology (Yılmaz, 2005). During the Özal period, Istanbul began to become a big city and become one of the world cities.

Beyoğlu İstiklal Caddesi (formerly Pera), which started to change with the immigrants after 1950 and lost its former quality, became a destitute neighborhood after 1970. When porn movies were allowed to be screened in cinemas, social venues such as cinemas and theatres were closed. The street becomes inundated with shops selling cheap goods and manufacturing shops. (Kızıldere, 2007). The places left empty by the middle classes began to be inhabited by the lower classes and the elderly. Until the gentrification process started in 1980, even the most expensive areas in Beyoğlu were occupied by the lower classes (Kasaba, 2011:556). The forcing of minorities into exile and the houses of high architectural and historical value left behind by them being moved into by a new class of residents should also be considered a facet of gentrification. Until the early 1980s, when the gentrification began, the Beyoğlu region was neglected and became a completely destitute area. Especially Cihangir, Galata, Asmalimescit and Tophane districts were the clearest examples of this. (Uysal, 2006:85) The police department of Beyoğlu municipality removed Africans, transvestites and prostitutes with violence and long term struggles from the area (Freely & Freely, 2014). Those who had to flee Cihangir settled in the Tarlabası district, a future area of great destitution.

---

Compared to İstiklal Caddesi, Tophane or Galata, Cihangir is home to more artists' workshops than art galleries. A visible majority of Cihangir's residents are artists, screenwriters, producers and directors. Cihangir is an area where artists can continue their social struggle together, as well as an area of production comprised of their houses and workshops where they create their works behind closed doors.

By the 2000s, Cihangir became a place where artists could conduct their business interviews, host their important guests, do sports, go shopping, and connect with the population most similar to themselves to create a social circle. It is both close to the city centre and also an alternative location where projects contributing to artistic production can easily slide into circulation.

#### **4.4 Gentrification Process in Cihangir and Surrounding Districts**

Although there are similar between themselves when it comes to gentrification, the neighbouring areas of Galata, Karaköy, Asmalımesit, İstiklal Caddesi and Tarlabası also differ from Cihangir. The northern neighbour of Cihangir, Tophane, has seen art galleries open in existing buildings. There is no physical change. The change in character is interpreted as a threat by the original, rebellious conservative owners of the area. In 2010, an attack happened to visitors at a gallery opening because of alcohol consumption by Tophane residents. The incidents of violence in the district slow down the transformation process in Tophane. Recently, the process of gentrification in Tophane

slowed down. Violence incidents does not occur in Cihangir. This is the biggest differences between two district (Kadıoğlu-Polat, 2016).

Social and spatial renewal is also observed in Galata and Asmalımescit. In these two areas, especially at the end of the 1980s, artists begin to settle. In 2000, the conversion is slower compared to Cihangir in these two areas. As it is in Cihangir, the transformation in Galata and Asmalımescit goes parallel to the renovation and rehabilitation works in İstiklal Caddesi. This function is valid for many districts located in Beyoğlu district. Every change centered on İstiklal Caddesi spreads in waves. The common characteristic of Cihangir, Asmalımescit and Galata is being shaped by culture and entertainment (Kayım, 2009) (Şişmanyazıcı, Yıldız, 2010).

#### **4.5 Factors Leading to the Process of gentrification in Cihangir**

Urbanization in Istanbul accelerated after the 1950s. This is due to the mass migration from the village to the town. In Turkey, neoliberal policies first started with practical practices in the period of Turgut Özal after 1983. Therefore, simultaneous evaluation of gentrification in Istanbul with advanced capitalist countries does not work well. The mixed transformation process in Turkey usually starts with the leading gentrifiers and evolves into gentrification carried out by the state. Due to negative state policies, hate speech and actions against middle and upper class minorities, some neighborhoods in Istanbul have been abandoned by non-Muslims. These abandoned places soon transformed into areas of destitution following migration from villages into the city (Koç, 2015). Istanbul experienced the urbanization process later than advanced capitalist cities. As a result, it also experienced phenomena such as neoliberalism or

globalization later. These economic changes, which began to appear in the advanced capitalist countries in the 1970s, also caused significant impact on cities and their employment structure. The transition from the manufacturing sector to the service sector is at the beginning of these important effects. However, the situation in Istanbul is much more complicated (Koç, 2015). In 1980, Turkey experienced a military coup, and after this coup, a new era that is dominated by neoliberal policies. After 1980, Istanbul was planned to become a centre of finance, culture and tourism. In these years of transition from the manufacturing sector to the service sector, qualified producer services, finance and advertising have shown significant progress in Istanbul. As a result, the proportion of employees in these sectors has also increased. With the globalization of the capital, such examples can be seen not only in Turkey, but all over the world. At the same time, investments of foreign capital increase significantly in Istanbul after the 2000s. The reasons why foreign companies choose Istanbul were researched, and it is found that strong communication, qualified labor, quality of life and cultural facilities are attractive to foreigners (Türkün, Ünsal & Yapıcı, 2014).

The transformation in Cihangir is mainly focused on rehabilitation and restoration. This transformational form is to produce spaces that a specific class can present to the consumption of a particular subgroup. Thus, over time, they had to move away from the lower class quarters, and the upper class settled in their places (Koç, 2015). The practice of gentrification contains a formal and intellectual evolution and change. Gentrification is not only a physical change. Otherwise it will be simply called urban transformation. However, gentrification brings about a change in character. The Brooklyn Institute's report confirms this by reporting changes in the neighbourhood's

character at the end of the process (Kennedy & Leonard, 2001). Every neighbourhood has its own structure and manner of function. The supply is created according to the residents' demands, and a marketing strategy and particular demeanour is developed as a consequence.

Cihangir was an era where minorities lived for a long time in large numbers until the 1980s when it almost became neglected. With their generally timid and modest demeanour, minorities created a genteel middle-class in Cihangir. The cheerful, respectful and sincere relation with Cihangir tradesmen and local government units formed the character of Cihangir. In the interim period 1980-90, the transvestites and prostitutes took up residence in the southern parts of Cihangir. Many brothels opened in the area. Although this area did not constitute a physical threat to the people of Cihangir, conservative locals and police drove them away by terrorising them (Behar & Perouse, 2006).

#### **4.6 The Beginning of Gentrification in Cihangir and Its Players**

The process of gentrification in Turkey has not progressed in a planned way. According to Nurdan Gürbilek (1992), this uneven progress is due to economic and political instability. Because of this, its actors have often been unaware of each other, and emerged disparately. The predecessors of this process have been foreigners and those who have studied abroad for a long time and returned. Gürbilek (Gürbilek, 2016) says that the role of the immigrant who has a relation with the outside and has an outward-

looking lifestyle is more decisive. This segment, which adopts the new lifestyle, is in search of houses with attractive prices, profitability, and architectural qualities. When the long Istiklal Street, located right next to Cihangir, was designated pedestrian access-only by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, it became the centre of cultural and entertainment activities. This business reflected on Cihangir with the opening of new art galleries (Behar & Perouse, 2006). Intensive cultural and recreational activities in the process of gentrification in Cihangir have a provoking and effective influence on the formation of this process (Islam, 2006). According to Gonzales (Fehsenfeld, 2010) (Strader, 2006), an Illinois professor of Chicago, low-income artists often act as a bridge between the public and high-income professionals in the area. Such artists become the pioneers of high-income artists who will come later, and cause galleries, cafes and clubs to open in the region. This shows that some cultural activities are the attracting and accelerating effect of gentrification. Controversy is also inevitable among investors who invest for profit and those who value the cultural fabric above all (Ergün, 2006) (Behar & Perouse, 2006).

According to Ali Şimsek (2017), a sociologist and art critic, the number of cultural professionals needs to increase in order for gentrification to be possible. This is indispensable to gentrification. These culture professionals who want to live in cheap accommodation and less worry about comfort join the first wave of gentrification. The culture industry survives by networking. Finding jobs, interviews, close relationships, etc. Such jobs will not be found on newspaper sections. There is a collective network of solidarity (Lightning, Interview notes, 2017).

According to Gonzalez (Fehsenfeld, 2010) (Strader, 2006), the gentrification process needs four main factors to start. It can be said that Cihangir meets all these

criteria. These criteria are: Entrepreneurs who want to make profit, a neighbourhood with a sufficient supply of attractive, architecturally mature buildings, residents who do not have the means nor the wealth to protect their districts, and young, childless professionals who can take up residence in the area (Ergün, 2006).

After the process of gentrification began, the new visitors to the area were artists, increasing daily in number, directors who play a key part in the industry, screenwriters, actors, and designers. The new residents would not be disturbed by prostitutes or transvestites, and they were single, usually around 40 years of age, well-educated, high-income, and with a broad portfolio. These artists came to the neighbourhood to acquire a spacious and inexpensive studio space (Ergün, 2006).

The film-production sector, on the other hand, gained momentum in the 2000s. In the early stages, new graduates and stage and film actors from mostly Ankara and Izmir began to take up residence in Cihangir. The majority are left-liberal, secular people (Simsek, Personal Interview, 2017).

The number of resident artists were increasing day by day, and a great majority of Cihangir tradesmen have adapted this change. The grocery stores have become chain markets, the men-only traditional coffee houses becoming trendy cafes. This change in Cihangir has satisfied almost everyone except the families who had to leave.

In gentrification seen in Cihangir, a social polarization takes place due to the differentiation in the forms of production (Evren, 2007:11). It has become the place of residence for new middle-aged artists who have a high income and look for new ventures. With all these differences that distinguish it from other districts, it has become an important indicator of social polarization. After the 1990s, the rapidly spreading

gentrification transformed Cihangir into an upper-middle class neighborhood (Islam, 2006). At this point it is necessary to examine the concept of Bobo (Bohemian Bourgeois). Bobo's are new residences in Cihangir. David Behar refers to the definition of bourgeois and reveals the difference between Bohemian and non-bohemian bourgeois. The bourgeoisie has two important concepts in its definition; 'Reproduction' and 'Distinction'. The non-bohemian bourgeois are more interested in 'Reproduction', while the bohemian bourgeois are more concerned with 'Distinction'. Despite the fact that each country, city, and history are different, the Bobos have the same attitude everywhere. This word was used for the first time in 2000 by David Brooks in the article entitled 'Bobos in paradise', through the bourgeois and bohemian analogy. Nuray Mert (2006) defines the Bobo as a young, bohemian and rebellious generation that has later acquired money and status. According to Mert, the pioneers of the Bobo in Istanbul are the members of the 68 generation and their followers, the left-intellectual and artist circles of the 70's. (Behar, 2006). Mert refers to the Bobo, the majority of the 68 and later generations, who insist on protecting the protest identity. They want to separate themselves from the bourgeoisie, which they once opposed politically. At this point, gentrification takes over. Artists who are influenced by the Bobo and 68 generation culture want to be distinguished in the neighborhood they live in. So, instead of bourgeois neighborhoods, they settled in especially neglected neighborhoods (Behar & Perouse, 2006). All Bobos want to be different, look different, live a heterogeneous, isolated bohemian life. Behar adds that all of them have similar properties. All of the Bobos in New York, London and Istanbul are the same (Behar, 2006) (Behar & Perouse, 2006). Non-bohemian conservative bourgeoisie never settled in abandoned areas. On the

contrary, the Bobo want to live in cosmopolitan regions, isolated from the 'other', different from everyone else. There is not much difference between the word 'Yuppie' used in New York and the word Bobo. Yuppie referred to young urban professionals who were dedicated to their jobs during periods of financial decline in America. Afterwards, when the economy became more stable, a new type of young urban professional model called 'Bobo', more pro-cultural, pro-cultural capital, emerged.

According to Ali Şimsek, the Bobo, who blends cultural capital with real estate, began to exist when newly formed, dominant types and gentrification assumed their places in history. When the Bohemian sensibility was created, the bourgeoisie was Victorian, moralistic, conservative, and gloomy. After 1990, the third generation of the bourgeoisie prefer to live in luxury neighborhoods following globalization; the post-1960, and especially 88 generation (Şimşek, Personal Interview, 2017).

According to Şimsek, gentrification in the 1990s was fronted by the new middle classes, educated white collar workers of the service industry, the key industry of neoliberalism, as well as the culture industry. The new middle class tried to produce a cultural capital that would separate itself from the traditional middle classes and lower classes both culturally and spatially (Simsek, 2014).

The artists who settled in Cihangir created a living space far from the traditional culture. Traditional items have almost no space. One shops at an old grocery store only when the name is changed to 'market'. A modest old bakery can now be considered a 'modern cafe' only if it has tables and chairs spread all over the pavement at the front or terraces and gardens.

Local culture refers to production, while popular culture refers to consumption. Lifestyle 'is a broad concept that incorporates all of the individual's physical and cultural heritage, as well as the past and future vision of life. Today, it has different meanings apart from its cultural essence and accumulation. The lifestyle is directly related to the physical appearance of the person, the social environment, the social space they spend time with, or the things that have no intellectual or philosophical background. All these behaviors towards the physical, superficial and economic image undermine the qualities of one's self and lay the groundwork for the shaking and change of their artistic and cultural qualities. Everyday life has been anesthetized and the great gap between high and low culture has been abolished and the autonomous structure of art has been shaken (Kılıç, 2011).

At first, the process of gentrification in Cihangir was not blatant. The effects of this situation, which would force them away from their homes and neighborhoods due to exorbitant rent increases in the future, was not felt by the residents. The presence of leading groups such as artists, directors, journalists and writers who define themselves intellectually seemed harmless at first. In fact, the desire to be chosen from many beautiful neighborhoods and settle in Cihangir was often welcomed. So, at first, there were no complaints. One of the reasons why new residents were not perceived as potential gentrifiers was that they were not far away from the education levels of the minority middle class, the majority of whom were still living there since the early 1980s. Although their unconstrained lifestyles were met with pucclement, after all they were cultured and mostly famous people. According to Nil Uzun (2000), the beginning of the artists' migration to Cihangir started with an artist couple (Beril and Oktay Anilinmert),

and this process was advanced by the transfer of several artists and academicians to Cihangir. The fact that it is preferred by artists has also increased housing prices and has allowed new investors to focus on the area. The cinema film of Yavuz Turgul shot in some Beyoğlu districts including Cihangir in 1996 can be considered as a turning point. These areas have gained popularity with the movie where bird's-eye views of the city are used (Türeli, 2011). After this date, a few movies shot in the same manner brought the district to the foreground. Famous director Sinan Çetin is one of the top celebrities who settled in Cihangir at the beginning of the 2000s. He bought over thirty houses in Cihangir and established a big movie company. Due to the film company that Sinan Çetin established, Cihangir has become a popular spot for fame and has become an attractive place. The change in Cihangir is not housing-based. The buildings continue to be used as dwellings, many of which function as home-workshops. What is evident in Cihangir is the composition of the artist population living there. With the establishment of the Cihangir Beautification Association in 1995, the individual renovation work in the area has become an organized structure. In Cihangir Park, Sunday, they sell their products in small benches where the modest artists of Cihangir exhibit handicrafts. In addition, the association occasionally organises small-scale art festivals and festivals (Sinan Çetin Cihangir'de, 2015) (Ergün, 2006).

#### 4.6.1 The Impact of Cultural Change in Turkey on the Cinema Industry

As incomes rise after 1950 in Turkey, employment in the culture industry increased. Istanbul became a center of the communication and media sectors. In the mid-1970s, television broadcasts began with three channels. Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality established 'Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Center (IMP)' in 2004. In his own words, the city's mayor at the period wanted to put an end to unplanned construction and imbalances. The major commissioned experts, architects and academics for a comprehensive study. However, despite realising the projects it had set out to do, the IMP came under fire for building Istanbul's future solely on gentrification and the culture industries (Göktürk, Soysal & Türeli, 2011).

When it comes to promoting Istanbul in foreign countries, many biennials have acted as effective pioneers. Istanbul has become a more visible city. Particularly Beyoğlu and Cihangir became a place which visited by artists. The '1st Istanbul International Contemporary Arts Exhibitions', which was the name for the 1st Istanbul Arts Biennial which is in close proximity to Istiklal Street. The 9th International Istanbul Biennial was organized between September 16 and October 30, 2005 and the conceptual framework of the biennial became 'Istanbul'. This biennial was organized by 53 artists and artist groups in a wide range of activities with numerous events around Beyoğlu. The biennial aimed to place Istanbul's rich history in the foreground. The biennial offered this statement for its guests: "İstanbul is a metaphor, a foresight, a living reality and a source of inspiration, which aims to open the doors of a rich history and a universe of possibilities" (9th International Istanbul Biennial, 2004). Istanbul was ranked 19th in the list of '31 Places

to Go in 2010' published by the New York Times. The magazine stated that Istanbul was one of the most creative environments in the world in terms of contemporary art, not just historical works. The urbanization process, the consumption surplus and the expansion of the middle class in the 1950s led to the creation of a consumer society based on advertising. Cultural institutions were settled in neglected areas, poor neighborhoods were destroyed and modern housing projects financed by the state were released to the market. Finance increased its market share and culture industries grew. All these developments were an indication that the culture industry was becoming the economic base of the city. When it came to the 2000s, the city became completely focused on culture (Göktürk, Soysal & Türeli, 2011) (Keyder, 2011).

The culture and arts infrastructure of Istanbul is mostly gathered in the historical centers of the city. Cihangir is one of them. The process of gentrification seen in Cihangir progresses with the development of arts enterprises in this region (Özkan, 2011). The galleries want to be in areas with high income earners and potential to become highly valuable in the future with urban renewal. The demand for Cihangir and its surroundings is increasing with the establishment of the Istanbul Modern Art Museum in 2005 in the southern vicinity of the Beyoglu district located on the seaside.

The emergence of Turkish modernization is mostly accepted through culture and art. For the world, 1980 was the beginning of postmodernism and the end of modernism. In Turkey, which faces modernism in 1980, small traces of postmodernism are seen. As a result, an elite understanding develops in balance with traditional structures. Modernity contains a monotony within itself and does not allow the formation of different identities. Postmodernism allows them to express themselves to opposing groups who have

problems with modernism (Baba, 2015). In the postmodern period, all values and thought systems of the modern era begin to be questioned. Postmodernism has a completely skeptical, critical and negative viewpoint. In this process, all political and moral discourses rejecting 'difference' are interrogated and rejected (Möngü, 2013). The art-culture-policy trilogy, towards the end of the 1980s, became more and more certain in the 1990s. This trilogy caused a powerful change which has lasted until today (Kalkan and Altinkurt, 2012). The 1980s were a time in which many different views and ideologies collided. Both the old Republican elite and the groups with different sexual and cultural identities, both official ideologies of the traditional left and religious intellectuals... The year 1980 was a period in which all these conflicts were questioned and Turkey criticized modernism. When it came to 1990s, the faith in a good future promised through the modernism project by the state began to be questioned both by the people and intellectuals (Baba, 2015).

According to Antony Giddens, the postmodern era is the globalization and radicalization of modernism (Kalkan & Altinkurt, 2012). In these periods where modernism and postmodernism conflict with each other around the world, a "Western model" has been adopted intensively in Turkey. This Western model is entirely about appearances and consumption patterns. In the Republican period there was also a struggle to enter into a 'westernization' process, but westernization at that time was entirely cultural and intellectual. All the efforts made were efforts for the Turkish people to act like a westerner in the literary, philosophical, and cultural sense. However, this intellectual and cultural infrastructure loses its significance and an understanding of western formalism prevails. What is important now is how much the individual consumes

Western products and looks like a Westerner in a formal sense (Baba, 2015). Turkey does not fully confront a postmodern understanding. The experiences are only 'efforts' to question and criticize modernism. The post 1980s era is when modernism and 'critical modernism' came face to face with one another and fought against each other. On the one hand, while trying to adopt the acceptance of different sexual identities in a new critical sense, on the other hand, there is a strong 'Westernization' effort (Möngü, 2013), which resists the diminished self-esteem of the West. Especially in Turkey, which resisted modernism at the beginning of the 1980s, political and cultural changes took place with the liberal economy and mass migration to Istanbul. Immigrant communities in Istanbul continue to protect their identities and cultures in a conservative way. Ethnic differences and patriarchal order continue resisting urban modernism. All these changes have also influenced the concept of art and the way in which art is made (Madra, 2008).

In the 1980s, contemporary art had a weak basis. At that time, there were only two universities that were regularising annual art festivals. These were Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University and Marmara University's Faculty of Fine Arts. Some independent exhibitions were organised by groups of artists, private art galleries and a few companies with cultural initiatives. The artists were happy to support the postmodern culture, which had just started to be adopted. In the 1990s, artistic relations with the member of European Union countries began. Within the European Union's enlargement and cultural integration policy, the flow of art and culture in Istanbul changed greatly (Madra, 2008).

In the 1980s, the media sector expanded, radio channels multiplied, and nearly twenty television channels were opened. With this rise, a large number of production companies were established. With the widespread use of cassettes in the 1980s, the music

industry developed and partnerships with global media giants began. After the 1990s, the film industry was revived. By the 2000s, the publishing sector is revitalised, although later than others (Kasaba, 2011:558-559). Istanbul entered a rapid restructuring process, especially after the 2000s. Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality was involved in many urban planning initiatives to adapt to this change. Parallel to this, the real estate sector grew significantly. Istanbul is overtaken by a constant flow of new projects, including high rise buildings, bridges, and restoration and renovation works (Özkan, 2011).

#### ***4.6.1.1. Yeşilçam Cinema and Yeşilçam Street.***

Yeşilçam Street is located nearby İstiklal Street in Beyoğlu, and it is a famous street to the northwest of Cihangir. After the 1950s, many cinematographers and production companies took up residence on the street and the period's Turkish cinema is named after the street. The birth of Yeşilçam Cinema following the 1950s and its decline after some time directly affected Yeşilçam Street. The ties between Yeşilçam Street, filmmakers, and the neighbourhood meant that people were reluctant to leave Beyoğlu. As Yeşilçam Cinema began to decline, the residents of Yeşilçam Street left their street on İstiklal Caddesi one by one and spread across the street opposite their previous residence. In fact, Yeşilçam Cinema filmmakers spread across two streets facing each other and formed a large island. After 2000, they gradually began to leave behind their second street (Turkish Cinema, 2008) (Özgüç, 2001).

According to the list published by the General Directorate of Cinema of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the year 2016, the distribution of the units, individuals and organizations in Turkey Film Industry has been consistently collected in Istanbul with a high ratio in Turkey and in Beyoğlu in Istanbul. The results are as follows (Turkish Film Industry, 2015):

**a. Production and post-production companies:** There are 185 production and post-production companies throughout Turkey. Of these, 182 are in Istanbul. Of the 182 film companies in Istanbul, 69 are the only ones in the Beyoğlu region, 116 of which are scattered in different regions of Europe and Asia. Only a steady spread in the Levent region is observed in the distributions of these 116 companies (Turkish Film Industry, 2015).

**b. Studio, Plato, Laboratory and Digital Effects Offices:** Of the total 21 companies in Turkey, 20 are in Istanbul. 4 out of 20 firms spread around İstiklal Caddesi and its vicinity, and the remaining 16 were spread scattered in various districts of Istanbul. There is no stable distribution in other regions (Turkish Film Industry, 2015).

**c. Sound, Light, Camera Equipment and Decorating Services:** Among the total 41 companies in Turkey, 19 are in Istanbul and 2 are outside Istanbul. Of the 19 firms in Istanbul, 4 were in the vicinity of İstiklal Caddesi and 15 were scattered in various parts of Istanbul. There is no stable distribution in other regions (Turkish Film Industry, 2015).

**d. Foundations, associations and professional associations:** There are 11 associations and foundations in Turkey. One of these institutions is outside İstanbul, the

remaining 10 are in Istanbul. Of the 10 firms, 4 are located in İstiklal Caddesi and the remaining 6 are distributed in various districts (Turkish Film Industry, 2015).

The dwelling-place of Yeşilçam Cinema is the street of the same name on İstiklal Street. İstiklal Street has always been the settlement area of Turkish cinema producers. Before 1946 there were many movie companies on the same street before Yeşilçam Cinema was established. Many publishing houses and film companies were not limited to this street but spread to other areas of Beyoğlu İstiklal Caddesi. After 1946, many movie companies were added to the list. In 1946, the Halk Film Company moved to Yeşilçam Street and the street grew in popularity, thus Yeşilçam Street became a symbol. During these times the street was intensely busy. Production companies opened one after the other on the street. The number of films increased and every branch of the sector took a large share from this circulation (Özgüç, 2001).



*Figure 9: Yeşilçam Sokağı Ne Halde, Erhan Işık, 2007. 15.01.2017.*

#### **4.6.2. The Relation between Istiklal Street and the Development of the Cinema Industry**

Sigmund Weinberg, the first cinematographer, director and screenwriter of the Ottoman period, opened a shop in Galata that sold photographic equipment and supplies in 1889. He brought his materials from Europe and acted as a merchant. In 1900, he bought all the rights of the cinematographer from the Lumi r Brothers and undertook the representation of the 'Pathe Freres' Company. Pathe Freres' company did not just export these machines and films but also opened cinemas through Weinberg. In 1908, Turkey's first permanent cinema is opened in Tepebasi, a road running parallel to Istiklal Caddesi. This is followed by two different cinemas opening on  stiklal Caddesi. After eight years, the right to operate is taken from Weinberg and the name changed to 'Municipal Cinema'. After the opening of Pathe Cinema, the cinema market was revived. Weinberg starts looking for a market for ever-growing films and gadgets (L leci, 2015). In 1945, a new Ye il am Cinema was born after Turkey adopted the multi-party system with the Democratic Party. In 1948 the tax on foreign films was 70 percent whereas the tax on domestic films was reduced to 25 percent. After this period, there was a big increase in the number of new directors and film production. This period is an important milestone in the construction of Turkish cinema. More than two hundred films were produced annually in Turkish cinema. After the 1950s great and important developments were made on behalf of the cinema. Thanks to the new 'Ye il am' cinema industry, there was a big increase in the number of movies and movie theaters. Criticism of cinema started to come up in important magazines. Cinema agencies and cinema publishing increased. In addition, cinema began to be regarded as a profession. For this reason, the need for the

director, actor, technical team grows and this called for a systematic development. Cinema entrepreneurs started to open a number of film companies and offices on 'Yeşilçam Sokağı' on İstiklal Caddesi (Turkish Cinema, 2008).

Yeşilçam Cinema began to develop after 1950. Especially between the years 1950-1960, movies featured national characteristics in parallel with the new political system. It is only after these years that the domestic cinema assumed a vibrant role in the city's collective and economic life (Göktürk, Soysal & Türeli, 2011). Between the years 1960-1970, Turkish cinema experienced its 'Golden Age'. Film production showed a significant increase over those years. During this decade, the number of films produced annually increased from 80 to 100. Most were comic or melodramatic films intended for a family audience. In this period, cinema became the main public entertainment. After the 1970s, two major crises hit the film industry. By the 1970s, the increase in the cost of film and the decrease of the purchasing power of the people were important factors in this decline. There was then a flurry of erotic films. Only the movie-goers' interest was not enough to keep the industry alive. Yeşilçam Cinema's audience dwindled to almost nothing and the amount of people going to the cinema were very few. Filmmakers were unable to afford even the construction costs and a serious crisis is seen in Turkish cinema. The arrival of television and the unstable political environment kept people away from cinema (Türk Cinema, 2008) (Kalemci And Özen, 2011) (Türeli, 2011). After the military coup in 1980, a second major crisis was experienced. Parallel to the political environment of the country, it was a time of worry and anxiety, where people's freedoms were restricted. Films that were more pro-freedom and focusing individual issues were produced. After 1980, US film companies spread not only in Turkey but also in an

international area all over the world. The international market share of the US cinema sector's ticket revenue rose to 51% in 1996 from 43% in 1989. In the 1980s, when American movie companies bought movie theaters, almost all the cinemas started showing only American movies. In this case the producers become unable to produce films. At the end of the 1980s, the Turkish cinema sector entered its second crisis period. Most of the production companies closed their offices. After the 1990s, the general structure of the cinema began to change. Yeşilçam cinema's system is disrupted and its producers begin to experience hardships one by one (Turkish Cinema, 2008) (Kalemci And Özen, 2011).

The period from 1990-2000 is a time when young filmmakers sought new experiences and attempts. All of the classic Yeşilçam Cinema tropes were abandoned. After the 2000s, Turkish Cinema entered an innovative era, and it began to compete globally. The new generation of filmmakers who stepped into Turkish cinema in the 1990s were by then becoming more competent. New generation filmmakers rejected the usual Yeşilçam Cinema patterns. Independent productions and understandings emerge. Along with the increase in private TV channels, the number of films shot increased. The new generation of directors began to gain recognition and win awards in the international arena. Yeşilçam Cinema has now reached its end. (Kaya, 2011).

#### **4.7. The Effects of Art and Artistic Creativity on Place and the Environment**

Cihangir is home to a population in the cinema industry with multiple branches of this profession. The directors and producers also constitute a large majority, as well as the actors, designers, screenwriters or graphic artists involved in the sector. Nowadays, creativity in science and technology is needed as well as creativity in the arts. Contrary to popular belief, the same powers and abilities play a role in creativity related to both fields (San, 2008).

According to Crutchfield (1962) and Wilson (1956), creativity has been considered as original idea contributions, different points of view, and new ways of problem solving. Based on this definition, both researchers point out that the concept of creativity is a process opposite to conformity, a subject of conformity. Because conformism is the desire, to make promises, to swear allegiances, to disturb others and not to create problems for others. The creative individual is one who does not submit to the conformist pressures of their surroundings and who can freely express their independent thoughts. According to Mumford and Gustafson (1988), creativity should not be thought of as a product that is accepted as a collective, because creative behavior is a complex interrelated relation between one's and the other's burdens. The active factor in the creativity process is an active factor in the 'environment' as well as the process, product or personality. Environmental factors can feed or hinder creativity. Berlyne (1960), Derenberg and Bell (1960) argue that environmental conditions facilitate creativity if they are suitable. If the environment clearly needs creative activity, and if it can even offer rewards in return, it leads to higher levels of creative activity in these individuals. Taylor (1972) also notes that an appropriately organized environment

supports creativity. Pelz (1956) says that an environment that cares and accepts the creative efforts of people for the production of new ideas is necessary. In an environment lacking in trust and deficient in communication, where there is limited personal autonomy and unclear aims, creativity is hindered. (Öncü, 1992). Nuray Sungur says that creative thinking is directly proportional to problem-solving ability and that it must be continuously developed (Sungur, 1997). If it is the first idea to shoot a movie, it is understood that each phase is a problem-solving process, as the themes are created, the script is written, the synopsis is prepared, the music, the actors and the settings are selected and the details of the post production are considered afterwards. In general, it is up to directors to solve these problems. Then, screenwriters, assistants and producers come into play. For all these reasons, the creativity issue is an important element in the process of producing a movie, and it is one of the important attributes that those in key positions in the film sector should have (Sevimli, 2015).

The issues that reach a positive solution in the course of daily life are also the work of one's creativity. In order for an individual to be defined as creative, either the thing they produce or their life must be constituted by creative elements (Sevimli, 2015). The living space and/or residence is an important social status indicator today. People try to choose the district they live in according to their social status. Neighborhoods now have not only a visual image but also a cognitive image. This change leads people to prefer to live in the same neighborhood as people in their own social circles. This preference is the reason why the residents of Cihangir, especially after the 2000s, are increasing day by day (Markoc, 2013). Today, Cihangir is an 'inspiration' center where artists can make their private and business lives more effective. For artists, Cihangir is a

field where they can easily create work and find new jobs. Creative people are in contact with the space they live in. The concept of creativity is the ability to produce new ideas and products. Cihangir is perceived as an environment that encourages creativity in this context (Markoc, 2013).

According to Ataseven (2003), "Art works or art events must be rescued from restricted areas, pointed directly towards the outside world, incorporated into real life, and circulated" (Ataseven, 2003).

One's living space is a result of a multifaceted culture in the social and personal sense. This environment, which contains a lot of visual materials, must feed the artist's creative process. People will be more willing to live in an aesthetically developed, artistic environment. The living environment enhances the artists' personalities, enriches, inspires and encourages them to create new products. All of this involves the artist's sensory experiences and is important to an artist. Art is nourished from the social and cultural backgrounds and is created through these images and symbols produced in relation to society (Tuzlak, 2004).



*Figure 10: Güneşli Street 1977, Muhammet Yaymaz, 2012. 01.07..2018.*



*Figure 11: Güneşli Street 2012, Muhammet Yaymaz, 2012. 01.07.2018.*



*Figure 12: Cihangir Park in 1985, Muhammet Yaymaz, 2012. 01.07..2018.*



*Figure 13: Cihangir Park in 2013, Evrim Kepenek, 2013. 01.07..2018.*



Figure 14: Cihangir Akarsu Street 2018., Yuvako, 2018. 01.07..2018.



Figure 15: Havyar Sokak 2016., Cihangir Sokaklarında Yorulmadan, 2016. 01.07..2018.

## 5. RESEARCH AND COMMENTARY

This section aims to understand what causes and situations brought about the beginning of gentrification in Cihangir through face-to-face interviews with two directors, two producers, two actors, one designer and one art critic, all of whom live in Cihangir and work in the film industry.

They were first asked why they chose Cihangir as their place of residence and what consequences this had for them personally or in general. Then, questions aiming to understand whether their selection of place of living was dependent on the creative process, the longstanding habit of the district, or commercial profit or concerns were explored.

The habitual experience of the district: Six people from the interviews stated that gentrification began in Cihangir due to the the cinema industry in Beyoğlu and particularly from Yeşilçam Street.

E.U. (Director): 'No one wants to go farther than a center where there are close relationships. Although there is a decrease in Beyoglu, there are still production companies. Beyoglu is a cinema paradise. The most alternative place to this region is Cihangir. It is also very important to be close to Yeşilçam Street because especially the producers are still in Beyoğlu'.

S.D.(Actress): 'There is a habit coming from Yeşilçam Street. Actors, screenwriters, producers and directors who wandered around in Beyoğlu in the past are now on the streets of Cihangir.

K.K. (Designer): 'Beyoğlu has been home to cinema and artists throughout history. Why would artists want to leave such an inspiring and centralized area when they do not have a lot of space to escape?'

Two of the interviewees held the belief that the move to the neighbourhood does not have anything to do with Yeşilçam.

S.Ç. (Actress): 'Yeşilçam's own members lived its tale and it was over. There was never any relation between Yeşilçam and Cihangir. They were always confined to their own street and did not come to Cihangir. When private TV channels began to be established, the film and TV serial sector had to come to Cihangir to gain the easiest access to artists, because especially theatre actors had all moved to Cihangir. This sector began to emerge in the 2000s and has been growing to this day. Owing to the ease of reaching actors, producers and directors began choosing actors for their works in those years'.

Cihangir's Geographical Location and the Area's Physical Suitableness to the Sector: All participants in the interview stated that one of the causes of the gentrification that started in Cihangir and continues unimpeded was due to the physical convenience of the district.

D.K. (Producer): 'Cihangir is like an open-air film set. The industry is making great use of Cihangir. Its streets are being used as a film set. With the establishment of the TV serial industry, there is now more and more TV shows being shot. The fact that it's a popular neighbourhood has meant most of the cast relocated here.

How living in Cihangir impacts the creative process: Seven of the participants stated that the space they live in or the environment directly affects the creativity process.

They expressed that they are more productive thanks to the comfort of the place, that their performances are improved and they are doing better work.

How living in Cihangir impacts their business life: All of the participants agreed that living in Cihangir had a direct effect on their business life. They also pointed out that their social communications increased and they became more visible in their sector.

E.U.(Director): Living in Cihangir is a benefit. Living here gives rise to more production and self-marketing possibilities. People can be reached without having to phone beforehand. There is a natural and spontaneous environment for meetings. A natural network!

Ideas for the future of Cihangir: The participants all think that this process in Cihangir will continue increasingly. Different answers were received as to what the next alternative could be after Cihangir. These were: Kadıköy (3 people), Maslak, Karaköy (2 people) (Cihangir connected) and Nişantaşı.

When participants were asked to describe Cihangir briefly, they said ‘a natural film set, a stylish showcase and expensive’.

The general consensus of the interviewees was that the gentrification in Cihangir was began and is continued by members of the film industry. It is also seen that the feeding of the processes of creativity and its commercial feedback run parallel to each other. The region's position and the habit of going back to the cinemas from the past is the reason for the long-term plans to keep the assets of the film industry members in Cihangir.

## 6. CONCLUSION

This thesis discusses about the gentrification process by film industry in Cihangir and the role of Cihangir on its past that comes from Yeşilçam Cinema. Accordingly it considers the affiliation between creativity and its situation with space. Neoliberal policies, criticism of modernism, the process of creativity and the role of the elite approach is emphasized.

Film industry has come from different stages and it has passed through the process of the gentrification of Cihangir. It is seen that the process is progressing at equal speed in terms of both commercial and artistic creativity. Artists prefer to stay in a place where they can express themselves freely and comfortably despite the increasing expenses of living in Cihangir. Artists often associate their work with space. One of the reasons for their insistence is the century-old habitation of the film industry coming from İstiklal Caddesi in Beyoğlu. Also includes the evaluation of this historical residence habit in terms of sector. Another insistent reason for relocation is that they relate the work they do and the creative process to the space they live in. Six people who moved from the region in the 1990s were interviewed and it was understood that their reason for leaving Cihangir were high rents. Two homeowners stated that the reason they did not want to move away from Cihangir yet was the high social status of the inhabitants of the district and the fact they enjoyed the popularity brought about by the artists.

Cihangir is the closest example to the Soho region in New York. It has seen many parallel characteristics. Main similarities are; spatial renewal, alteration in habitual consumption by new comers and relocation of former residents by reason high rents. Also

the characteristic changing because of the new comers who brings new lifestyle and habits (Uysal, 2007). Also there are some distinctive features. First separation comes from their history. Soho is a depressed area before being gentrified by artists, and it is covered with high-ceiling factories established in the industrial revolution before it. Cihangir is known as a decent neighborhood, which has been home to mostly minorities since its inception. Although the local people do not always have a high income, they usually have a calm society character. Cihangir is influenced by the intensive immigration to Istanbul after 1950s and the wrong cultural policies made between 80-2000 years, which causes Beyoğlu to become a depressed area. Some of the people of the region perceive the foreign immigrants who flock to Cihangir and the individuals of LGBTTIQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transvestite, Transsexual, Intersex, Queer) as a threat. LGBTTIQ individuals are tried to be removed by violence from the Beyoğlu region by the security units of the period. In this period, some of ex residents leave from Cihangir. After high rents that suddenly increased after the year 2000, Cihangir evacuated from its former residents and starts to rebuilt. The closest examples to Cihangir in Beyoğlu region are Galata and Asmalimescit. In these regions, social and spatial renewal are seen as in Cihangir. Despite its structural similarities, the most visible feature that distinguishes each other; Their past, the location of the neighborhoods, and their social significance. Each has a different internal dynamics (Uzun, 2006).

The process of gentrification in Cihangir is determined by the fact that the economic development of the sector takes place on the service sector and creates a wide network for the cinema and serial sector members. The positive effect of environment on creative artists provide to protect circulation on Cihangir in the context of space-human

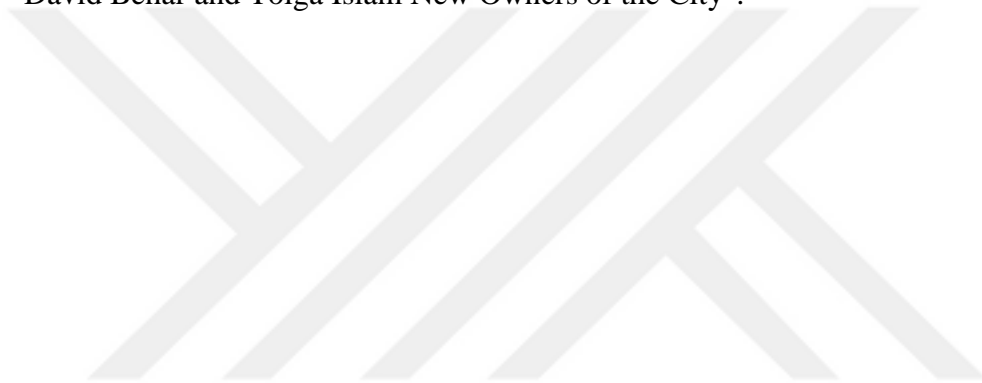
relation. In this direction, as long as the directors, screenwriters and designers remain in the neighbor, they will improve the region. Over time, the region becomes an inevitable living and business center for creative artists.

It has been observed that Cihangir has been gentrified by the settlement of cinema artists after 90's. After 2000s, not only the cinema sector also famous names from the other branches of fine arts and the literary community began to reside. But the most distinctive feature that distinguishes the cinema industry from other groups is that this sector is the majority of the laborers and artists and they systematically and continuously maintain their residence in Cihangir. Artists and laborers who are involved in the cinema sector have high roles as gentrifier in the process of gentrification. Some of face-to-face interviews and observations on field confirm this theory. But the most important obstacle in confirming the hypothesis of the research is the difficulty in communicating because of the busy calendar of the sector workers. The most concrete answers of the research were provided by detailed observations and daily conversations in the region made by the researcher, who was a former Cihangir resident. The face-to-face meetings were mostly chosen from screenwriter, director, producer and actor who reside in Cihangir for more than ten years.

In the later stages of the study, it may be advisable to take the views of a large number of participants and draw up a larger scale of statistics. It will of course be clearer to investigate the reasons for the departure of persons who have moved out of Cihangir in the 90s. Reaching the former locals of the district and interviewing more people who are now residing in Cihangir will give clearer results for future research. Detailed discussions with the municipalities will also illustrate the trajectory followed by the cultural policies

of the last 20-30 years, and draw up a parallel graphic of the process to illuminate the questions that are waiting to be answered. In this direction, it can be clarified which business line in the cinema industry is among the first settlers in Cihangir's gentrification process.

The main sources of the research are the 'Gentrification' book by Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E., a first in the world and the 'Gentrification' in Istanbul, published by David Behar and Tolga Islam New Owners of the City '.



## REFERENCES

---

Adam, G. (2014). *How Long Can the Art Market Boom Last?*. Retrieved from <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/9f4fff3c-eb27-11e3-bab6-00144feabdc0.html#axzz34trCCURd>, 10.05.2017.

Akpınar, İ. (2015). Menderes imar hareketleri Türkleştirme politikalarının bir parçası mıydı?. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/12237997/\\_Menderes\\_imar\\_hareketleri\\_Turklestirme\\_politikalarinin\\_bir\\_parçasi\\_mıydı](https://www.academia.edu/12237997/_Menderes_imar_hareketleri_Turklestirme_politikalarinin_bir_parçasi_mıydı), 14.01.2018.

Artun, A. (2014). *Sanat-Emlak Karması*. Retrieved from <http://www.e-skop.com/skopbulten/sanat-emlak-karmasi/2007>, 22.10.2017.

Ataseven, O. (2003). “Sanatın Çevreye Katılımı”, 7. Ulusal Sanat Sempozyumu, “Sanat ve Çevre” Bildiriler Kitabı, H.Ü. Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi Yayınları:21, Ankara.

Baba, E. C. (2015). *Modernizmden Postmodernizme Geçiş Sürecinde Loft Mimarisi ve İstanbul'daki Yansımaları*. İstanbul, Yem Yayın.

Behar, D., Perouse, J.F. (2006). İstanbul'da Soylulaştırma: Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri. In Behar, D., Islam, T. (eds.), İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları (series); Kent / Monografi 4, İstanbul.

Brenner, N. & Theodore N. (2002). *Cities And The Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism'*. Retrieved from [http://www.urbaneconomy.org/sites/default/files/Theodore\\_citiesandactuallyexistingneoliberalism.pdf](http://www.urbaneconomy.org/sites/default/files/Theodore_citiesandactuallyexistingneoliberalism.pdf), 31.03.2016.

Byrne, J. P. (2003). *Two Cheers for Gentrification*. Retrieved from <http://scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1936&context=facpub>, 13.02.2018.

Can, A. (2011). Neo-Liberal Urban Politics in the Historical Environment of İstanbul – The Issue of Gentrification, *Planlama Dergisi*, 23(2), 95-104. doi: [10.5505/planlama.2013.79188](https://doi.org/10.5505/planlama.2013.79188).

Cameron S., & Coaffee J. (2005). Art, Gentrification and Regeneration From Artist as Pioneer to Public Arts, *European Journal of Housing Policy* 5 (1). Retrieved from [http://www.scholars-on-bilbao.info/fichas/EJHP\\_cameronandcoaffee2005.pdf](http://www.scholars-on-bilbao.info/fichas/EJHP_cameronandcoaffee2005.pdf), 14.02.2018.

Davidson M., & Lees L. (2005). New-Build ‘Gentrification’ and London’s Riverside Renaissance. *Environment and Planning A*, 37, 1165-1190. doi:[10.1068/a3739](https://doi.org/10.1068/a3739).

Davis, B. (2013). *Are Artist To Blame For Gentrification?* Retrieved from [http://www.slate.com/articles/life/culturebox/2013/10/are\\_artists\\_to\\_blame\\_for\\_gentrification\\_or\\_would\\_soho\\_chelsea\\_and\\_bushwick.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/life/culturebox/2013/10/are_artists_to_blame_for_gentrification_or_would_soho_chelsea_and_bushwick.html), 12.12.2017.

Duany, A. (1996). *Three Cheers For Gentrification?* Retrieved from <https://www.mckinneytexas.org/DocumentCenter/View/1350>, 02.12.2017.

Eğitim, M., & Projesi-MEGEP, Ö. S. G. (2008). *Radyo Televizyon Alanı – Türk Sineması*. Retrieved from <http://www.kameraarkasi.org/makaleler/makaleler/turksineması.pdf>, 11.01.2018.

Engür, A. & Üreten, S. (2013). *Kentsel Dönüşüm Soylulaştırma*. Retrieved from <http://pera20.blogspot.com.tr/2013/03/kentsel-donusum-soylulastrma-ve-beyoglu.html>, 16.11.2017.

Erdoğan, İ. (2014). Popüler Kültürün Ne Olduğu Üzerine. *Bilim ve Aklın Aydınlığında Eğitim Dergisi*, November 2004. 5(57): 1-18 Retrieved from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266391840\\_POPULER\\_KULTURUN\\_NE\\_OL\\_DUGU\\_UZERINE](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266391840_POPULER_KULTURUN_NE_OL_DUGU_UZERINE), 16.11.2017.

Ergün, N. (2006). İstanbul'da Soylulaştırma: Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri. In Behar, D., Islam, T. (eds.), *Gentrification Kuramlarının İstanbul'da Uygulanabilirliği* (pp.15-30 İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları (series); Kent / Monografi 4, İstanbul.

Evren, Y. (2007). İstanbul Merkez Bölge'de Bütünleşme ve Ayrışma: 15. Isocarp Genç Profesyonel Plancılar Çalıştayı'nın Düşündürdükleri. *YTÜ Mim. Fak. E-Dergisi*, 2(1). Retrieved from [http://www.megaron.yildiz.edu.tr/yonetim/dosyalar/0201\\_02\\_EVREN.pdf](http://www.megaron.yildiz.edu.tr/yonetim/dosyalar/0201_02_EVREN.pdf), 13.09.2017.

Fahri, A. (2010). *İstanbul'un 100 Cadde ve Sokağı*. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, İstanbul.

Fehsenfeld, K. (2010). Zoning in on Pilsen: As Development Moves in, Old-Timers Move Out. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagotalks.org/?p=6939>

Freely, B., Freely J. (2014). *Galata, Pera, Beyoğlu: Bir Biyografi*. Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul.

Gen, E. (2014). *Toprak ve Özgürlük: Kentsel Dönüşümün Ekonomik Politigi*. Retrieved from <http://www.e-skop.com/skopbulten/toprak-ve-ozgurluk-kentsel-donusumun-ekonomi-politigi/2016>, 13.11.2017.

Glass, R. (2013). The Gentrification Debates: A Reader. In Brown-Saracino, J. (eds.), *Aspects Of Change* (pp.19-30). Routledge.

Göktürk, D., Soysal, L., Türeli, İ. (2011). *İstanbul Nereye? Küresel Kent, Kültür, Avrupa*. Metis Yayınları, İstanbul.

Grodach C., Foster N. & Murdoch James (2014). Gentrification And The Artistic Dividend: The Role Of The Arts In Neighborhood Change. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 80(1), pp. 21-35. [doi: 10.1080/01944363.2014.928584](https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2014.928584).

Gürbilek, N. (2016). Vitrin’de Yaşamak 1980’lerin Kültürel İklimi. Metis Yayınları, İstanbul.

İslam, T. (2006). İstanbul’da Soylulaştırma: Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri. In Behar, D., İslam, T. (eds.), *Merkezin Dışında: İstanbul’da Soylulaştırma* (pp.43-58 İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları (series); Kent / Monografi 4, İstanbul.

Kadıoğlu-Polat, D. (2016). ‘There Is Nothing Quite Like Tophane’ A Case Study Of Gentrification In Istanbul. Istanbul Policy Center Sabancı University Stiftung Mercator Initiative. Retrieved from [http://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/There-is-Nothing-Quite-like-Tophane\\_D.K.Polat\\_.pdf](http://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/There-is-Nothing-Quite-like-Tophane_D.K.Polat_.pdf), 29.10.2017.

Kalemci, R.A., ÖZEN, Ş. (2011). Türk Sinemacılık Sektöründe Kurumsal Değişim (1950-2006): Küreselleşmenin ‘Sosyal Dışlama’ Etkisi. *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, March 2011. 1(44): 51-88 Retrieved from [http://www.todaie.edu.tr/resimler/ekler/0db8bf104ff83fe\\_ek.pdf?dergi=Amme%20Idaresi%20Dergisi](http://www.todaie.edu.tr/resimler/ekler/0db8bf104ff83fe_ek.pdf?dergi=Amme%20Idaresi%20Dergisi), 20.11.2017.

Kalkan, A., Altınkurt, L. (2012). Günümüz Sanat Ortamında Çağdaş/Güncel Sanat Yaklaşımlarına İlişkin Sanatçı, Eleştirmen ve Sanat Galerilerinin Görüşleri. *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Sayı 34, 125-135. Retrieved from

[http://uvt.ulakbim.gov.tr/uvt/index.php?cwid=9&vtadi=TSOS&c=ebsco&ano=157078\\_0eb25d2e9a1ebc36e71d84a659b42af3&?](http://uvt.ulakbim.gov.tr/uvt/index.php?cwid=9&vtadi=TSOS&c=ebsco&ano=157078_0eb25d2e9a1ebc36e71d84a659b42af3&?), 13.11.2017.

Karaca, B. (2011). Kentsel Sanat Etkinlikleri Politikaları: İstanbul'la Berlin'i Karşılaştırmak. In D. Göktürk, L. Soysal & İ. Türeli (eds.). 304-324, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul.

Kasaba, R. (2011). *Türkiye Tarihi Modern Dünyada Türkiye 1839-2010*. Cilt 4, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul.

Kaya, I. (2011). *Sinema'da Minimalizm ve 2000 Sonrası Türk Sineması'nda Minimalist Yaklaşımlar*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Selcuk University, Turkey.

Kavrakoğlu, F. (2015). Çağdaş Sanata Varış 164 – Soylulaştırma. Retrieved from <http://blog.kavrakoglu.com/cagdas-sanata-varis-164-soylulastirma/>, 12.11.2017.

Kayım, E.S. (2009). Bir Kentselliğin Anatomisi: Asmalimescit. *Mimarlık ve Tasarım Yayın Platformu*. Retrieved from [http://www.mimarizm.com/yeme-icme/bir-kentselligin-anatomisi-asmalimescit\\_114085](http://www.mimarizm.com/yeme-icme/bir-kentselligin-anatomisi-asmalimescit_114085), 23.11.2017.

Kennedy M., & Leonard P. (2001). *Dealing With Neighborhood Change: A Primer on Gentrification and Policy Choices*. Retrieved from <http://community-wealth.org/sites/clone.community-wealth.org/files/downloads/paper-kennedy-leonard.pdf>, 05.08.2016.

Keyder, Ç. (2011). Yirmi Birinci Yüzyıla Girerken İstanbul. In D. Göktürk, L. Soysal & İ. Türeli (eds.). 49-61, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul.

Kılıç, S. (2011). Postmodernist Ortamın Sanatçı ve Sanat Üretimlerinin Değişim ve Dönüşümü Üzerine Sosyo-Kültürel Etkileri. *Uluslararası Hakemli Karadeniz Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 8: 119-132. Retrieved from

<http://dergipark.ulakbim.gov.tr/kdeniz/article/view/5000046947/5000044242>,

11.06.2017.

Kızıldere, D. (2007). *1980 Sonrası İstanbul'un Tarihi Kent Merkezinde Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Mekansal Dönüşüm: Talimhane, Beyoğlu Örneği*.Yayınlanmış Tez: Yeditepe Üniversitesi, Mühendislik ve Mimarlık Fakültesi, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, İstanbul, Turkey;.

Knauss, D. (2002). *Gentrification: Artists and Yuppies are working together*. Retrieved from <http://riverwestcurrents.org/2002/07/gentrification-artists-and-yuppies-working-together.html>., 29.11.2016.

Koç, A. (2015). İstanbul'da Yaşanan Mekansal Dönüşümler Bağlamında Soylulaştırmanın Yeniden Konumlandırılması. Kırıkkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 5:1. Retrieved from <http://dergipark.ulakbim.gov.tr/kusbd/article/view/5000120979/5000111578>, 06.11.2017.

Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. (2007). *Gentrification*. New York, Routledge / Taylor and Francis Group.

Lees, L. (2008). Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance? *Urban Studies*, 45:2449. Doi: 10.1177/0042098008097099.

Lüleci, Y. (2015). *Osmanlı'da Bir Sinema Gönüllüsü: Sigmund Weinberg*. Retrieved from <http://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/yazi/yazidetay/21/osmanli%E2%80%99da-bir-sinema-gonullusu--sigmund-weinberg>, 12.10.2017.

Madra, B. (2008). Türkiye'de Dün Bugün Dönüşümleri. In G. Bal (eds.), *Küresel Sanatın Sıcak Noktası* (pp.64-88). Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul.

Mao, J. (2013). On Gentrification In An Unhip Place. Retrieved from <https://nextcity.org/daily/entry/letter-from-flushing-on-gentrification-in-an-unhip-place>.

Markoç, İ. (2013). The Reasons Of Creative Personalities to choose Cihangir As A Settlement And A Research About The Lifestyle İn Cihangir. Retrieved from [http://www.academia.edu/5862843/Yarat%C4%B1c%C4%B1\\_Ki%C5%9Filerin\\_Yerle%C5%9Fim\\_%C4%B0%C3%A7in\\_Cihangiri\\_Tercih\\_Ediyor\\_Olmalar%C4%B1n%C4%B1n\\_Sebepleri\\_ve\\_Cihangirde\\_Ya%C5%9Fam\\_%C3%9Czerine\\_Bir\\_Ara%C5%9Ft%C4%B1rma](http://www.academia.edu/5862843/Yarat%C4%B1c%C4%B1_Ki%C5%9Filerin_Yerle%C5%9Fim_%C4%B0%C3%A7in_Cihangiri_Tercih_Ediyor_Olmalar%C4%B1n%C4%B1n_Sebepleri_ve_Cihangirde_Ya%C5%9Fam_%C3%9Czerine_Bir_Ara%C5%9Ft%C4%B1rma), 12.11.2017.

Morian, J (n.d). Early Cultures of Gentrification in London, 1955-1980. Journal Of Urban History, 34(1), 101-121.

Möngü, B. (2013). Postmodernizm ve Postmodern Kimlik Anlayışı. *Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 17(2): 27-36. Retrieved from <http://e-dergi.atauni.edu.tr/ataunisobil/article/view/1020009859/1020007887>, 06.10.2017.

Newman, K. & Wyly, E. (2005). *Gentrification and Resistance in New York City*. Retrieved from <https://shelterforce.org/2005/07/01/gentrification-and-resistance-in-new-york-city/>, 01.02.2018.

O'Sullivan, Mary Therese. (2013). Home is Where the Art Is: The Impact that Housing Laws and Gentrification Policies have had on the Availability and Affordability of Artist Live/Work Spaces, *Seton Hall Journal of Sports and Entertainment Law*, 23(2). Retrieved from [http://scholarship.shu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1051&context=sports\\_entertainment](http://scholarship.shu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1051&context=sports_entertainment), 22.03.2017.

Öncü, T. (1992). Yaratıcılığın Betimlenmesi ve Yaratıcılık Üzerine Çevresel Etkiler. Araştırma Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Felsefe Bölümü Dergisi, 14, 255-264. [doi:10.1501/Felsböl\\_0000000117](https://doi.org/10.1501/Felsböl_0000000117).

Örge, N. (2013). *İktidar Kenti / Kentin İktidarı ve İsyan*. Retrieved from <http://www.e-skop.com/skopbulten/iktidarin-kenti-kentin-iktidari-ve-isyan/1367>, 16.08.2017.

Özgüç, A. (2001). *Altmış Sekiz Adımlık Sokak Bunca Ünlü Burada Mı Yetiştirdi?*. Retrieved from <http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11498/10184/001580963010.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>, 14.09.2017.

Özkan, M. (2011). *İstanbul'da Kültür ve Sanat İçerikli Kent Politikaları*. Retrieved from <http://www.e-skop.com/skopdergi/istanbulda-kultur-ve-sanat-icerikli-kent-politikalari/402>, 14.09.2017.

Robles-Duran, M. (2017). The Haunting Process of Urban Vampires. Harvard Design Magazine, No.37, Urbanism's Core. Retrieved from <http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/37/the-haunting-presence-of-urban-vampires>, 16.08.2016.

San, İnci (2008). *Sanat ve Eğitim, Yaratıcılık-Temel Sanat Kuramları- Sanat Eleştirisi Yaklaşımları*, Ankara, Ütopya Yayınevi.

Sasanlar, B. T. (2006). A Historical Panorama of an İstanbul Neighborhood: Cihangir from the Late Nineteenth Century to the 2000s. Retrieved from [http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Cihangir-from-the-late-nineteenth-century-to-the-2000s-Binnaz\\_Sasanlar.pdf](http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Cihangir-from-the-late-nineteenth-century-to-the-2000s-Binnaz_Sasanlar.pdf), 30.12.2017.

Sevimli, A., D.. (2015). Yaratıcılık Ve Sanat Bağlamında *Sinema Bir Örnek: Akira Kurosawa*. (Unpublished dissertation). Istanbul University, Turkey.

Shaw, K. (2008). Gentrification: What It Is, Why It Is, and What Can Be Done About It. *Geography Compass*, 2/5, 1697-1728. doi:10.1111/j.1749-8198.2008.00156.x.

Simsek, A. (2014). Soylulaşmayı tasarlamak, *Tasarım Dergisi* . Retrieved from <http://tasarimdergisi.com/soylulasmayi-tasarlamak/>, 13.03.2017.

Sinan Çetin Cihangir'deki evini Haliç Üniversitesi'ne Kiraladı (2015, 11 January), Star Newspaper, <http://emlakkulisi.com/sinan-cetin-cihangirdeki-evini-halic-universitesine-kiraladi/332233>, 13.11.2017.

Smith, N. (2006). *Yeni Küresellik, Yeni Şehircilik: Küresel Kentsel Strateji Olarak Soylulaştırma*, Planlama Dergisi, 2, 13-27. Retrieved from [http://www.spo.org.tr/resimler/ekler/fbce4c1d7c425ba\\_ek.pdf](http://www.spo.org.tr/resimler/ekler/fbce4c1d7c425ba_ek.pdf), 12.11.2017.

Smith, N. (2002). *New Globalism, new urbanism: Gentrification as global urban strategy*. Antipode, 34(3), 427-450.

Smith, N. (1982). *Gentrification and Uneven Development*. Economic Geography, 68, p.139.

Sönmez, B. (2014). Soylulaştırmanın Yeni Biçimleriyle Yerinden Edilmeyi Yeniden Düşünmek, *Planlama Dergisi*, 24(1), 42-53. doi: 10.5505/planlama.2014.11939.

Steyerl, H. (2010). *Politics of Art And The Transition To Post-Democracy*. Retrieved from [http://worker01.e-flux.com/pdf/article\\_8888181.pdf](http://worker01.e-flux.com/pdf/article_8888181.pdf), 30.12.2016.

Steyerl, H. (2015). *Duty-Free Art*. Retrieved from <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/duty-free-art/>, 14.09.2016.

- Strader, C. (2006). The View From Here: Old Bonita Facing Gentrification. Naples Daily News. Retrieved from <http://archive.naplesnews.com/community/the-view-from-here-old-bonita-facing-gentrification-ep-406193142-331428221.html/>, 16.11.2016.
- Sungur, N. (1997). *Yaratıcı Düşünce*. Evrim Yayınevi, İstanbul.
- Şişmanyazıcı, B., Yıldız, H.T. (2010). Tarihi Kentsel Alanlarda ‘‘Toplumsal ve Mekansal Yeniden Yapılanma’’: Fener ve Balat Örneği, *Mimarlık Dergisi*, 352, Mart-Nisan 2010. Retrieved from <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=366&RecID=2324>, 15.11.2017.
- Tan, P. (2006). Gentrification And The Role Of The Artists, *Mimar-İst*, 21(8), 69-72. Retrieved from [http://tanpelin.blogspot.com/2006/09/gentrification-and-role-of-artist\\_26.html](http://tanpelin.blogspot.com/2006/09/gentrification-and-role-of-artist_26.html), 16.11.2017.
- Tan, P. (2005). Avrupa Kentlerinin Geleceği, *Mimarlık Dergisi*, 326. Retrieved from <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=40&RecID=981>, 16.11.2017.
- Tunçay, M., Koçak, C., Özdemir, H., Boratav, K., Hilav, S., Katoğlu, M. & Ödekan, A. (1997). *Türkiye Tarihi 4 Çağdaş Türkiye 1908-1980*. İstanbul, Osmanlı Bankası Arşivleri, Cem Yayınevi.
- Tuzlak, B. (2004) *Sanat Eğitimi ve Çevre İlişkisi*. (Unpublished dissertation). Gazi University, Turkey.
- Türel, İ. (2011). Göçmenlerin Gözüyle İstanbul. In D. Göktürk, L. Soysal & İ. Türel (eds.). 191-215, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul.

Türkün, A., Öktem, B. & Yapıcı, M. (2014). Mülk, Mahal, İnsan İstanbul'da Kentsel Dönüşüm. In A. Türkün (ed.), 1980'ler Sonrasında İstanbul'da Kentsel Dönüşüm, Mevzuat, Söylem, Aktörler ve Dönüşümün Hedefindeki Alanlar (pp. 88). İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul.

Uysal, Ü. E. (2006). Soylulaştırma Kuramlarının İstanbul'da Uygulanabilirliği: Cihangir Örneği, *Planlama Dergisi*, 2, 80. Retrieved from [http://www.spo.org.tr/resimler/ekler/705e1164a8394aa\\_ek.pdf](http://www.spo.org.tr/resimler/ekler/705e1164a8394aa_ek.pdf), 12.09.2017.

Uzun, N. (2006). İstanbul'da Soylulaştırma: Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri. In Behar, D., Islam, T. (eds.), İstanbul'da Seçkinleştirme (Gentrification): Örnekler ve Seçkinleştirme Kuramları Çerçevesinde Bir Değerlendirme (pp.31-42 İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları (series); Kent / Monografi 4, İstanbul.

Wetzel, T. (2004). *What Is Gentrification*. Retrieved from <http://revision.peterhouse.co.zw/geography/AS%20Level%20Geography/settlement/What%20is%20Gentrification.htm>, 30.10.2016.

Yılmaz, E. (2006). Yaratıcı Mekanlar İçin Stratejiler: Londra, Barcelona ve Berlin Örnek Alan İncelemeleri ve Alınan Dersler, *Strategies For Creative Spaces: London Case Study* (November 2006) London Development Agency, Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/1486155/Yarat%C4%B1c%C4%B1\\_Mekanlar\\_i%C3%A7in\\_Stratejiler\\_Londra\\_Barcelona\\_ve\\_Berlin\\_%C3%96rnek\\_Alan\\_%C4%B0ncelemeleri\\_ve\\_Al%C4%B1nan\\_Dersler\\_Kas%C4%B1m\\_2006\\_London\\_Development\\_Agency](https://www.academia.edu/1486155/Yarat%C4%B1c%C4%B1_Mekanlar_i%C3%A7in_Stratejiler_Londra_Barcelona_ve_Berlin_%C3%96rnek_Alan_%C4%B0ncelemeleri_ve_Al%C4%B1nan_Dersler_Kas%C4%B1m_2006_London_Development_Agency), 06.05.2016.

Yılmaz, A. (2005). Neo-Liberal Dönüşüm Sürecinde Türkiye'de Devlet Toplum İlişkileri, Toplumsal Sınıf Merkezli Bir Yaklaşım, *Marmara Üniversitesi İ. İ. B. F.*

*Dergisi*, 20 (1), 107-140. Retrieved from e-  
dergi.marmara.edu.tr/maruiibfd/article/view/5000007552/5000007859., 12.04.2017.

Zukin, S. (2007). Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 13. (1987), pp. 129-147. Retrieved from [http://www.lit.osaka-cu.ac.jp/user/yamataka/Zukin\\_1987.pdf](http://www.lit.osaka-cu.ac.jp/user/yamataka/Zukin_1987.pdf), 12.07.2016.

9. Uluslararası İstanbul Bienali 16 Eylül-30 Ekim 2005, Basın Bültenleri. (2004, Ekim). Press Release. Retrieved  
From <http://9b.iksv.org/turkce.asp?Page=Press&Sub=Release&Content=2>, 20.09.2017.

Remembering Everett Ortner (2012), retrieved from  
<http://parkslopeciviccouncil.org/remembering-everett-ortner/>, 22.09.2017.

Türkiye Film Endüstrisi (2015), retrieved from  
<http://sinema.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,144748/turkiye-film-endustrisi.html>, 15.09.2017.

Rose, D. (2011), retrieved from <http://www.ucs.inrs.ca/damaris-rose?f=publications>, 13.09.2016.

Beauregard, Robert (2017), retrieved from  
<https://www.arch.columbia.edu/faculty/168-robert-beauregard>, 13.09.2016.

Ali Simsek, personal interview, March 2017.

---