STRUGGLE, AND BACK HOME:
GENTRIFICATION OF MODA

By

Kaan Kubilay Aşar

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Supervisors:

Prof. Judit Bodnár

Prof. Ju Li

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Abstract

This thesis argues that an emancipatory social movement might result in heightened political polarization among social groups constrained by extant economic inequality. Based on the case study of the commercial gentrification in Moda neighborhood in the aftermath of the Gezi protests in 2013, this research highlights that the retreat of dissident urban youth from Taksim to Kadıköy and the rapid gentrification of Moda neighborhood are the social manifestations of the overall process of neoliberal restructuring of Istanbul. Moreover, it analyzes the newly opened third-wave cafés, pubs, and theatres as new *territories* of dissident urban youth. The in-depth interviews with gentrifiers and geospatial analysis of Moda neighborhood suggest that gentrification produced a socio-spatial segmentation of politically differentiated consumption places in Moda neighborhood. This thesis shows that the politicization of citadins is highly dependent on their daily practices of familiarizing consumption places with their social space.

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Introduction

At the end of 2013, significant numbers of dissident shop-owners in Istanbul began to relocate their businesses to Moda, a mainly residential neighborhood of the Kadıköy district on the Asian Side of Istanbul. Newcomers displaced the existing tenants and transformed the political, cultural, and economic landscape of the neighborhood. What was once a quarter for leisure time became a teeming center for authentic café-shops, a sanctuary for independent theatres, a hotspot for alternative pubs, and a 'liberated territory' for dissident urbanites. When I began to investigate about this phenomenon in 2017, the change in Moda appeared to me as a trivial example of gentrification since it resulted in displacement, increased rent, and a segmented neighborhood carved out by the economically rational agents of educated middle-class urbanites.

Yet, the story of gentrification of Moda is incomplete without remembering the great urban social movement in 2013, the Gezi protests, where the heart of Istanbul has been stormed by citadins of metropolis against the government's insidious attempt to confiscate so as to transform the Gezi Park into a shopping mall. Indeed, t**is** crowned example of authoritarian neoliberalism was halted by the protestors as they occupied Gezi Park and resisted against the privatization of a public space. Yet, the state power and brutal violence of the police prevailed. The struggle for the center of Istanbul was lost, and protestors went back to their *homes***,** to Moda neighborhood.

In fact, Moda was commercially gentrified, but landlords and old shopkeepers were welcoming the newcomers instead of demonizing them as 'pioneers' of economic capital. Most importantly, gentrifiers in Kadıköy were indeed protestors in Gezi Park, and the majority of them used to run coffee-shops and bars in Taksim. As theaters and café-shops moved to Moda, they also attracted their clientele from Istanbul. Furthermore, the rapid increase in the Moda's

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position, as one of the centers of Istanbul after the Gezi Protests, complicated the merely economic or cultural explanations of the drivers of gentrification.

My ethnographic fieldwork in Moda between January and March 2019 proved that delving into gentrifiers' everyday practices is the most efficient conceptual scheme to build the bridge between the economic and cultural drivers of gentrification. In this way, I observed how gentrifiers craft their urban identities after Gezi protests. I argue that analyzing the process of gentrification (Brown-Saracino, 2009; Rose, 2010) by looking at gentrifiers' business models, cultural judgments, and, most importantly, their political attachments enables us to perceive gentrification as devised by the differentiation and fixation of economic capital, segmentation of consumption practices and emergent political identities in a given neighborhood.

This thesis starts with a review of the literature on gentrification and its relation to neoliberalism and social movements. Chapter 1 proposes possible ways out from the dilemma between production and consumption sides of explanation of gentrification. By looking at the weight of the urban social movements, new urban imaginaries, and its reverberations in the minds of gentrifiers, I propose to explore geographical, economic, cultural and political facets of gentrification as they are restructured in the neighborhood. For this purpose, Chapter 2 reconstructs the historical context of the neighborhood. In it, I document the political events, demographic changes, and economic transformation that structured Moda's segmented urban landscape today. Moreover, I introduce the concepts of core and periphery, as both geographical and commercial segments of the neighborhood, and delineate the methods that helped me to examine this division. Chapter 3 traces the mobility of economic capital within the Kadıköy district and Moda. It demonstrates how different types of economic investments, namely corporate and individual investments, constructed the core and the periphery of Moda. I explicate gentrifiers' entrepreneurship and business models in the inner-neighborhood and emphasize on gentrifiers' cultural and economic rationale behind their work. Furthermore, by

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looking at their clientele's consumption preferences, I demonstrate how particular business models of cafés and pubs are geographically clustered. Having analyzed the economic and cultural structuration of the gentrified neighborhood, Chapter 4 dissects the after-effects of the Gezi protests on the memories of gentrifiers, and how these memories crafted emergent political identities which legitimized the gentrification of Moda. Finally, the conclusion asks us to reconsider the concept of gentrification and offers alternative ways to register emergent political identities in the analysis of neighborhood change.

Chapter 1 - Theorizing gentrification

I situate my thesis under three main theoretical approaches to urban space and its formation in relation to Istanbul. Firstly, I take urban space as a field of struggle between social classes to occupy central space in the cities. By virtue of the neoliberal regime of accumulation, this process results in the retreat of vulnerable urbanites from the centers. Secondly, I introduce the assemblage theory of urban space which perceives multiple centralities within the city. This approach would help to analyze the Gezi Park protests as the revolt of the multitudes where radical democratic spaces and alternative urban imaginaries become possible since space is perceived as the collage of relational entities. However, both groups dismiss the political nature of middle-class urban youth in their understanding of urban space. How come a neighborhood is gentrified and is radicalized at the same time? By employing Bourdieu's concepts of social space, taste, and group habitus I will try to bridge the gap between these two approaches. Lastly, I will demonstrate how their political identities mediate the cultural and economic conditions of gentrification. To sum up, I will argue that the collective experiences of social movements might reproduce the urban space along the lines of taste, belonging, politics and insularity.

1.1 The neoliberalization of urban space

Neo-capitalist urban space for Lefebvre (1991, p. 101) is the center of accumulation and concentration of social, economic, and symbolic relations. For Lefebvre, homogenization (land as commodity in property market) and fragmentation (selective localization of capital in urban space) (341-42) are the main processes which configure cities. The capitalist spatial ordering eventually sets the terrain of class struggle where dominant classes profit from the commodified urban land through strategies of "forcing the proper allocation of capital to land" (Harvey, 1982, p. 360) and of displacement of poor communities from the urban core. Concomitant with Lefebvre's analysis, Smith (2010) dissects the geography of capitalist accumulation in two

contradictory tendencies of capital over urban space: *differentiation and equalization.*[1] This dialectic gives rise to uneven geographies of development, whereas "the mobility of capital brings about the development of areas with a high rate of profit and the underdevelopment of those areas where a low rate of profit pertains [i.e. differentiation]. But the process itself leads to the diminution of this higher rate of profit [i.e. equalization] … That is, capital attempts to seesaw from a developed to an underdeveloped area, then at a later point back to the first area which is by now underdeveloped, and so forth" (197-198). This process of creative destruction (Harvey, 2007) historically permeates through the operations of accumulation by dispossession, transferring the potential economic capital from urban poor to the dominant classes and the state.

1.1.1 Gentrification and uneven development

As the capital transfer ensues "to the extent that residential, industrial, recreation, and other land uses are differentiated and coordinated at the intra-urban level, the coherence of urban space results from the operation of a different function of capital" (Smith, 2010, p. 184). The mediation of the ground rent, where capital's tendency for equalization contradicts its tendency to differentiate over the urban space, is the prime mover of uneven geographies (Smith, 1982). The operations of capital, through differentiation and equalization, open the central urban space to gentrification by displacing and marginalizing the urban poor (Smith, 1987; 1996), as well as in some cases it regentrifies the middle-class neighborhoods (Lees, 2003). Therefore, the agents of neoliberal regime of accumulation necessarily commodify space to profit, and gentrification, as a practice of appropriation and privatization of central space, is "the knife-edge neighborhood-based manifestation" (Hackworth, 2007, p. 149) of this regime.

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[1] Neil Smith's dialectical reading of urban space is also in line with Molotch and Logan's (2007) dialectic of use value and exchange value of urban housing and Harvey's (2001) fixity and motion (see also (Brenner, 1998)).

The commodified urban space also denotes a global tendency for entrepreneurial governments (Harvey, 1989) to rearrange property market to accelerate capital accumulation where governments, municipalities, firms, banks, and investors come together to produce infrastructures, residential and business places, and financial and economic centers within the inner-city areas through urban redevelopment projects, privatizations, and public-private partnerships. Starting with the 1980s, Turkey, too, followed this economic model and most of the urban space was deindustrialized, land-values rapidly increased, and the urban politics shifted from "populist developmentalism to neighborhood upgrading under capitalist logic" (Keyder, 2005, p. 130). Specifically, the municipality law initiated in 1984 contributed to this by separating the municipalities into city governments and district governments and led to the "emergence of an entrepreneurial local government acting as a market facilitator" (Bartu-Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008, p. 12) where they acquired an extensive role on commanding financial resources. The number of neoliberal policies reached its peak during AKP (Justice and Development Party) period. Istanbul is one of these entrepreneurial local governments which have enjoyed the support from the central government. New urban transformation projects are quickly implemented since, with the help of the state, project executors found "legally ambigious areas" where they might easily transfer the property from poor communities to the upper-classes (Kuyucu, Unsal, 2010; 1485; Kuyucu, 2014, p. 615).

1.2 Critical infrastructure of gentrification

Gentrification, for Smith, is the paramount example of the fixation and motion of capital which economically and socio-spatially restructures neighborhoods. Although this leads to the emergence of investment clusters, heterogeneous enclaves (Graham & Marvin, 2001, pp. 227-229), and uneven geographies in cities, gentrifiers' cultural and political dis/investments might buttress or trump the economic rationale behind the gentrification. As Michelle Boyd (2005) argues in her ethnography of a gentrifying African American neighborhood, the residents

welcomed the "middle class blacks to Douglas/Grand Boulevard ... to avoid racial displacement by whites and maintain the area as an African American neighborhood." (267). Furthermore, the value-oriented actions of gentrifiers or newcomers might even contradict the logics of capital accumulation as shown in the case of *social preservationists* (Brown-Saracino, 2009, pp. 250-252). Furthermore, dismissing the extra-rational use of economic capital and conferring gentrifiers to the role of pioneers of capitalism belie the Marxist critique of neoliberal political-economy, since not only the cultural and but political fragments of educated and globally informed middle-classes (Butler, 2002) are more active and visible in contemporary social movements in cities (Tuğal, 2013; Nugent, 2012).

I maintain that the commercial structure of the neighborhood is configured by the spatial fixation and circulation of economic capital at the urban, national, and global scales. Furthermore, the spatial fabric of a neighborhood is partly shaped by its dominant economic sector. A neighborhood with a service economy would look different than one with industry. Also, residents' economic stratification overly affects the housing condition and amenities in a given neighborhood. These economic conditions are crucial in the production of uneven geographies within cities. However, that does not mean that economic development of a neighborhood is untouched by the deployment of cultural knowledge and moral values of its residents. The aesthetics of urban space, such as the architecture of a built environment and public parks, and residents' appreciation of social and cultural activities, such as festivals, theatres, cinemas, exhibitions, establish the cultural infrastructure of a neighborhood.

It is also important to note that for a neighborhood to have a cultural infrastructure does not mean that it should adhere to a monolithic hierarchy of agent's cultural capital. The cultural infrastructure may possess qualitatively different hierarchies (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 282-295) depending on a social setting. As Wacquant cautions "A given cultural capacity, object or title is never cultural capital by itself: it becomes such only in relation to a particular arena of action

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wherein it elicits collective belief, receives value and generates profits" (Wacquant, 2018, p. 103). In one neighborhood a traditional bazaar or a tavern might contribute to its desirability while in another these amenities could be an opera house or a cinema in a shopping mall. All in all, the impetus for a middle-class member to move to a new neighborhood highly depends on the class structure and cultural capacity of the existing residents and the available cultural amenities.

Meandering between the economic and cultural forces of gentrification, Zukin (2005) identifies the alternative consumption practices as critical infrastructure – which is produced by the valuation of gentrifiers', including residents, café-goers, and shop owners, and the review of the products they *reflexively* consume, including architecture, food, and many other cultural elements of urban life. Tallying with Zukin, I analyze the critical infrastructure as a constitutive factor of urban change. I argue that there is a reflexive relationship between cultural and economic infrastructures of a neighborhood rather than one's domination of another. Furthermore, this reflexive relation entangles economic and cultural capacities of the gentrifiers and residents. As Bourdieu argues, taste, aesthetics and cultural consumption define class boundaries because there is a "homology between the positions of the producers (or the works) in the field of production and the positions of the consumers in social space" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 20). Thus, taste brings both gentrifiers' labor and their consumers' preferences together since more or less they embody the same *habitus* (p. 190), that is the "sense of one's place" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 19) which is the product of historical practices and experiences. This correspondence between tastes also produces "group or class habitus" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 80) which, in the case of gentrification, can be taught as distributed over physical and social space.

Furthermore, *distinctive taste* is not only effective in social groupings of the classes but also it significantly creates segregation through its spatial restructuring of the city for the middle-classes. Strategies of distinction by the gentrifiers, often result with the "dynamic of urban

redevelopment that displaces working-class and ethnic minority consumers." (Zukin, 2008, p. 1) For Zukin, the main aim of the gentrification process is "the conversion of socially marginal and working-class areas of the central city to middle class use" (Zukin, 1987, p. 129). Consumption places in gentrified neighborhoods do not merely represent the "social class income, education, and occupation. Instead, they are based on alternative consumption practices that challenge the mainstream institutions of mass consumption." (Zukin, 2008: 738) These alternative consumption practices also provide distances and proximities in-between the people of the same neighborhood. It can be politically or culturally oriented. Exclusion or inclusion from the neighborhood highly rests upon the material barriers, as expensive prices, and cultural barriers, as exclusive tastes. (Zukin, 2008 :735) The studies on gentrification and middle-class strategies in terms of belonging, place-making, and distinction in Istanbul mainly focus on types of cultural capital and life-styles of liberal and pluralist kind. In his case study of Arnavutköy in İstanbul, Keyder (1999) argues that the new middle-class has a deep concern for the social heterogeneity of the city, regards the city as part of the cultural heritage (p. 216), and are "proud" of being Istanbulites (p. 217). Apart from Arnavutköy, Cihangir, Kuzguncuk, Ortaköy, Galata, Karaköy, Tophane, and Haliç were the main cases of gentrification by cultural classes (Gökşen, 2015) including professionals (İslam, 2005), "bohemian artists" and foreigners (Sen, 2006), academicians, journalists, and many other middle-class social groups with high cultural capital (Soytemel, 2015).

1.3 Politics of gentrification

Focusing on the economic explanations of gentrification gives us a clear picture of the ways space is produced as a commodity. Concentrating on taste and class distinction further helps us to analyze both middle class agents' strategies to relocate and their perception of a neighborhood's cultural image. My gentrification analysis contributes to current discussion by looking at the formation of political identities as the arbiters of economic and cultural aspects

of gentrification. Firstly, I will discuss how urban space and the common political ground are transformed through major political events, in my case The Gezi protests of 2013 in Istanbul. Secondly, I will discuss the literature pertaining to analyze how an agent builds a sense of community and sense of belonging as she moves to a new neighborhood.

1.3.1 Assemblage urbanism

Reading urban space as an assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 1986) of past experiences and present interactions is particularly useful for my purposes in this thesis. McFarlane argues that assemblage is a form of collage or composition of interactions which constitute alternative urban imaginaries (McFarlane, 2011). However, this composition rejects the form of unity, which allows new urban imaginaries to center the "agonistic pluralism" as its political project (Amin & Thrift, 2002, pp. 140-141). Assemblage perspective also perceives urban space as a coalescence of "relational entities" (Amin, 2007), rather than permanently fixed. Moreover, conceptualizing citadins as agents of multiple assemblages provide the "potential for political unity through difference" (McFarlane, 2011, p. 386).

Similarly, Hardt and Negri (2004, p. xiv) argue that "the multitude is a multiplicity of all these singular differences" and the "skeleton and spinal cord of the multitude" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p. 249) is the metropolis. Hardt and Negri conceive urban space as a formative base of social movements. They point out that today "the metropolis is to the multitude what the factory is to the industrial working class." (250). Following the similar line of thought, authors who analysed the remainders of the Gezi protests (Onbaşı, 2016; Harmanşah, 2014; Damar, 2016; Karakayalı & Yaka, 2014) tend to focus on the radical democratic perspective, realized in neighborhood forums and other commoning practices, and take these initiatives as spatial outcomes of the politics of commons produced by the multitude of The Gezi protests. These analyses conceive the urban space as always "under construction,…, as a simultaneity of stories-so-far" (Massey,

2005, p. 9), the remainders of an emancipatory urban revolt can and do materialize it by creating various spaces of radical democratic alternatives.

While both the production and the consumption strand of gentrification confers too much power to the commodification of urban space as the solvent of collective body politic of the city, assemblage theory proposes an urban space of constant flux without any spatial fixation which increases the chance of gathering of different social groups and constructing the politics of common. How then can we register alternative consumption practices into this picture? Can consumption practices be considered as political action of constituting assemblage? If so, why do consumption clusters in city often exclude certain groups? (Eder 2015; Ural 2017) Can gentrification be considered only as the conquest of middle-class capital at the cost of the displaced urbanites? These questions are central to the understanding of how the memory of collective urban politics (commons) enmeshed with alternative lifestyles (distinction) gives rise to the emergence of new urban landscapes of gentrification.

Since this thesis aims at understanding the emergent forms of post-social movement urban space, I consider the socio-spatial transformation of Moda by newcomers and through consumption practices as one result of the Gezi Park movement. Newcomers' collective experiences during the Gezi protests, and later its suppression by the state, prepared the ground on which gentrification acquired a new form of political imagination. From this perspective, I take Moda's gentrification as the infrastructure of this process of gathering or collage of post-Gezi youth along class boundaries. Accordingly, the final section of the theoretical review focuses on gentrifier's sense of belonging and crafting of a new urban identity.

1.3.2 Belonging to the past and bordering the present

The analysis of gentrification becomes clearer when we approach both economic and cultural explanations complementarily (Clark, 2004). I would argue that their commonalities lie in the

toolbox of gentrifiers' which configures their logic of practices in economic, cultural, and political fields (Bourdieu, 1990). Gentrifiers' cultural aspirations, class trajectories, their past experiences, and their classificatory schemes of perception and appreciation of things (Bourdieu, 1986) are only meaningful in so far as their habitus can be reproduced and distributed in a given field. As David Madden shrewdly elaborates, while hinting at Marx of 18th Brumaire, "city dwellers produce their own neighborhoods, but they do not make them as they please. They do so under circumstances given and transmitted from the past and in a field of contestation with other actors in the present." (Madden, 2014, p. 483). Thus, the degree to which cultural and/or economic capital can be utilized depends also on the convergence of political sentiments driven by collective memories.

Literature on the belonging of gentrifiers looks at the transformation of middle-class habituses. Middle-class belonging proceeds as they identify themselves with the built environment and its residents (Southerton, 2002) and it involves the processes of becoming a resident and its negotiation with the neighborhood's existent residents (Benson, 2014, p. 3104-5). Furthermore, this process is buttressed by the dynamism of urban space (Massey, 2005), which in turn transforms newcomers' habitus "to fit to particular neighbourhoods and ways of living" (Benson, 2014, p. 3097). Furthermore, different types of belongings might fracture the middle-class identities. Belonging is not only a process of identifying and adapting with the given setting, it also includes the drawing of boundaries and brings the claims of ownership. With respect to exclusionary forms of belonging, Watt (2009) demonstrates that the selective belonging of middle-class residents' disaffiliation from others turns into a claim over the uses of neighborhood. Thus, fitting into a neighborhood, and sense of attachment to places, results in exclusionary practices and delimits the outsiders' possibilities for belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2011).

1.4 Methodology

This thesis relies on my ethnographic fieldwork which spans over two years, and it is based on the in-depth interviews with dissident shop owners, theatre directors, and consumers in Moda. The reason behind my focus on this specific group is to situate the political realignment and economic system within the urban space. In this vein, I tried to solicit whether their individual perception of Moda neighborhood corresponds to gentrification's socio-spatial map. During my fieldwork in Kadıköy in Spring 2017 and in Winter 2019, I interviewed nine café-owners, one pub owner, one boutique owner and five theatre owners. As a local of Kadıköy, I also participated in nightlife entertainment, parties, and political meetings by virtue of having personal connections and a network of my friends in Moda. In order to protect my interlocutor's confidentiality, I replaced their names and shop names with pseudonyms. The interviews mostly included questions regarding the attributes of social groups in Moda, the political nature of being a newcomer and business owner, elective belonging to Moda, and the daily interactions with the local community. Their answers provided sufficient categories and perspectives in order to analyze their social positions within the neighborhood.

In the following chapter, first, I analyze the history of Kadıköy and its economic and geographical determination as a quarter. Having discussed the neighborhood's history, I will examine how gentrification has come in to being through cultural and economic channels and what kind of business models are dominant within the neighborhood. The confluence of the geographical segmentation, business models, and consumption practices unravels the multifarious and complicated nature of gentrification.

Chapter 2 - Moda: Past and present

2.1 Moda sleeps

The capital of the Empire, Istanbul, developed into the global market in the 18th and 19th centuries through a set of novel political and domestic reforms. The successive reforms especially in free-trade policies resulted in both rural-to-urban migration and the flow of industrial goods from Europe carried by French, English, Italian, and German merchants to Istanbul. The flood of goods and people altogether produced a commercially differentiated urban landscape in the ethnically and religiously compartmentalized neighborhoods in Istanbul. *Mahalle*, the lowest local governmental unit, was a residentially ethnic, economically self-sufficient, and relatively integrated urban space. (Eldem, Goffman, & Masters, 1999, p. 152). In each neighborhood, the Ottoman state provided a relative autonomy to the dominant ethnicity for them to arrange their neighborhood, incentivized the dwellers to preserve and strengthen their identity, as well as to parcellate the possible oppositions along aforesaid lines. For the Ottoman state, excessive contact and intermingling between different ethnic and/or religious identities could produce fatal frictions which would threaten the legitimacy of their government. That is why, for instance, moving from one neighborhood to another was only possible for the people with affluent background and social status.

Among many groups, Levantines held high status and enjoyed most the economic privileges. They were European merchants who had businesses in Istanbul and/or Anatolia. Levantines both brokered between the World and the Ottoman Empire and invested in the neighborhoods they inhabited. The first one they inhabited was Galata, what is today part of Beyoğlu district, and another was Moda (Ekdal, 2004, p. 15), today a quarter of Kadıköy district. These two neighborhoods were mostly inhabited by Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and other non-Muslim groups. The difference between these two neighborhoods was that Galata was at the heart of

fierce competition between local and global merchants. Hence, it was the epicenter of finance, industry, and trade. Unlike Galata, Moda was only a peripheral neighborhood on the Anatolian side, being a natural peninsula with abundant fruit gardens, meadows, kiosks, summer-houses, beaches, cliffs, and unobtrusive small shops (Kömürcüyan, 1952, p. 301-303). An affluent man would go to the Galata quarter to gamble over the prices of linen textiles in the early afternoon, but he would take his family with a bedizened caique from Karaköy to the beach in Moda for a picnic.

Moda was an area for leisure time from the very beginning. Yet, the image of the quarter started to change in the late 19th century as the Selimiye Barracks, Haydarpaşa Military Hospital, and Haydarpaşa Train Station were constructed. These new buildings attracted working classes from Istanbul and Anatolia to the adjacent neighborhoods of Moda. When ferries were launched between Kadıköy and Eminönü, Üsküdar and Princes Islands (Çelik, 1986, p. 82), Moda became more accessible for Istanbulites and slowly articulated to the commercial centers of Istanbul. Moreover, the increase in the neighborhood's population at the end of the 20th century brought water (1894) and later electricity infrastructure (1928) to the neighborhood. The state initiated the first grid planning after the big fire in 1856, and the years between 1912-1914 marked the first zoning plan of Moda which primarily reshaped the historic center, redistributed the property allotments, and opened public parks which are still in use today.
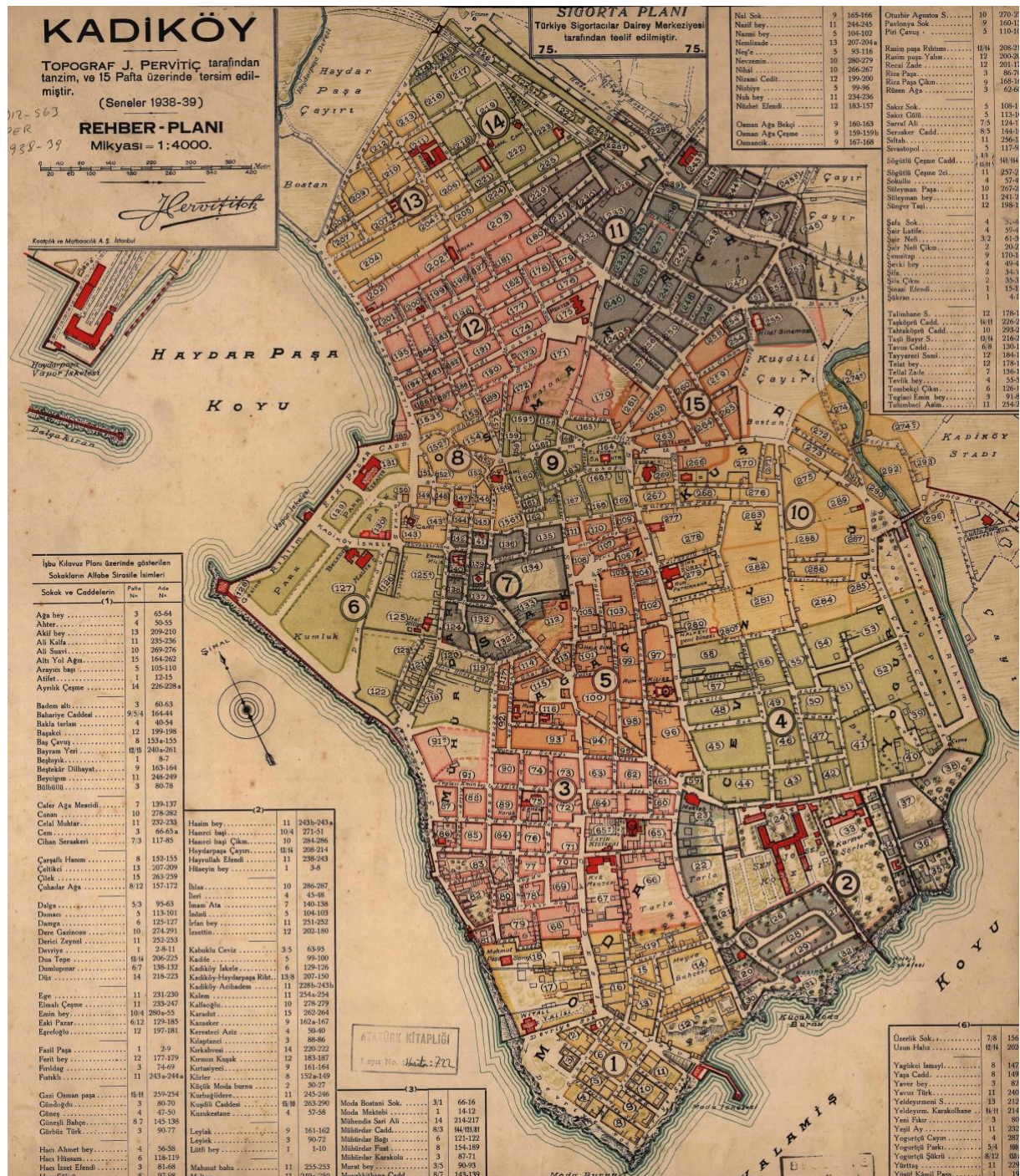
Figure 1 Insurance map of Kadıköy by Jacques Pervititch[2] 1938-1939.

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[2] Pervititch was a Levantine of Serbian Catholic ancestry born in Istanbul circa 1878, educated in Saint Joseph High School in Moda, and worked as a topgraphical engineer solely in Turkey producing insurance and private property plans for İstanbul, İzmir, Bursa, Trabzon, and Çanakkale. Retrieved from: https://heritage.bnf.fr/bibliothequesorient/en/fire-insurance-maps . Last accessed on 2019, June 1.

The legacy of the late Ottoman urbanization in Moda was followed by the Republic and Moda's landscape became an experimental place of the first national architecture movement. Most importantly, in the period of 1938-1949, then mayor of Kadıköy, Lütfi Kirdar, built *Halkevi*[3], renovated the *Süreyya Sineması*[4], *Kadıköy Hali*[5], and administrative buildings that contributed to Moda's contemporary landscape. Additionally, the building of a city port and the water tank, and establishment of coal gasification plant for electricity marked the most important infrastructural developments. Within fifty years, Moda was no longer a place exclusively for leisure but an inchoate residential and commercial quarter.

2.2 Capital knocks on the door

Let's take a walk, then, in the winding streets of Kadıköy to see how urban change is historically permeated through the neighborhood. Now, imagine you arrived in Kadıköy in the 1920s. First, you would see numerous Levantine *köşks* [summer houses]. When you walk by these elegant abodes, you would be led directly to *kahvehanes* [cafés] owned by Greeks, Armenians, and Turks. If you wandered around the inner-city, Moda, you would see Greek, Armenian, and French churches and their vast gardens. Gathered around those gardens you would find butchers, charcuteries, tailors, and many other small shops. By the 1940s, if you strolled around the Moda Street, you would still see these small shops and small *köşk*s. Yet, many local residents would have gone to Greece due to the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923, and the Republican elite began to relocate to the area. If you took the parallel street, Bahariye, you could enjoy a new movie at *Süreyya Sineması*. Following the opera house,

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[3] *Halkevleri* (literally people's houses, or community houses) were community centers aimed at diminishing the influence of religious circles, presenting modernist reforms to the city dwellers, and instructing courses that would extend from fine arts to humanities, handicrafts to music. Halkevleri were first established in 1932 and were closed in 1951.
[4] Süreyya Movie Theater, today acting as the only public opera house in Istanbul.
[5] Initially used as a market hall, today acting as Haldun Taner Sahnesi (Haldun Taner Stage).

you would notice students going to the first training college in Turkey, *Maarif Koleji*[6]. Yet, the 1950s were the most turbulent years for the non-Muslim population in Kadıköy. On the 6th and 7th of September 1955, nationalist underclass mobs committed a pogrom against Armenians and Greeks living in several districts (Galata, Tarlabaşı, Kadıköy, Yenikapı, and Yeşilköy). With crowbars, levers, pickaxes and iron on their hands, they attacked the churches and schools, robbed and destroyed shops, broke into apartments and lynched the non-Muslim shop owners in the neighborhood. When you would enter to an antique shop in Moda's historic bazaar, you can notice the doormen and grocer of the 1950s are now the owners of apartment buildings, shops, and tea-houses. (Kütükçü, 2014)

By the 1980s, if you happened to be on the sixth floor of one of the newly built apartment buildings, you would witness thousands of *gecekondu*s [squatter's houses] built on the peripheries of Kadıköy. The population is five times larger than it was in the 1940s. Now, just below 500,000 people live in the district of Kadıköy (Kütükçü, 2014). New apartment buildings are constructed in place of *köşk*s and their gardens. By the 1990s, Moda undergoes a rapid transformation, becoming yet again an alternative place for leisure activities in İstanbul. Still, the most important change comes with the 2000s. The streets are teeming with people who are hurrying on the underground and Metrobus [transitway] stations and ferry terminals which connect sides of two continents of the city. New *dersane*s [preparatory schools], *kebap* and *döner* restaurants, universities, theatres, cinemas, and many other places suddenly appear out of nowhere, and you are amazed by the speed and force of the change within the neighborhood during the last twenty years.

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[6] Before the Kadıköy Maarif Koleji (Kadıköy Teachers' College), this property belonged to Karmelin Rahibeleri Manastiri (Carmelite Monastery of cloistered nuns). Turkish National Treausry confiscated the property with a decree of the senate in 1955, paid 150,000 liras for the difficulties of expelled nuns, and ordered the establishment of Kadıköy Maarif Koleji in 1964. (See Figure 1: Section 2 – Island 33) – (Retrieved from Budget Commission report of Republican Senate, No. 473, 24.6.1964)

Today, when you walk towards Moda, you will first see extremely saturated lights in the façades of wedding dress shops, phone shops, erotic shops, fast-food restaurants, banks, meyhanes, and hookah-cafés; then you would reach Bahariye where prices and the diversity of foods, clothes, and drinks gradually increase and façades become duller yet uniquely designed; when you arrive in Moda, gentrified coffee-houses along with pubs appear collectively almost as a toy-basket. Each pub or café is tiny in general and they serve up to eight or ten people at a time. In the quarter's penumbra you will see mainly families, lower classes, and conservative middle class linger. In the inner quarter, it is usually the upper and lower middle classes, university students, yuppies, republicans, social democrats, and leftists that have their own place. After such a walk, you will clearly see the social classes separate, through the socio-spatial segregation of the consumption practices of these communities.

2.3 Uneven Moda: The making of core and periphery

I locate three important historical phases that shaped today's Moda. First is the 1880s-1940s when Moda was redesigned after an urban plan, was connected to Istanbul's commercial centers, and started to be populated by the Republican elite. This phase is especially important since it significantly transformed the early Ottoman mentalité over urban space. The neighborhood was no more an ethno-religious enclave. The new urban transformation allowed mobility between quarters. The second period between 1940s and 1980s saw significant political events such as the initiation of the wealth tax against non-Muslim groups, the pogrom of 1955, and the military operation in Cyprus in 1971 forced especially the Greek population in Moda to leave their property to either to the treasury or to Turkish individuals. The expulsion of non-Muslim communities from their lands, the confiscation of their property, and redistribution of their wealth to the newly emerging Turkish bourgeoisie and middle-class exemplify the viral operations of "primitive accumulation" (Marx, 1976) in Turkey. While the first period prepared the modernist geographical setting for capital accumulation, the second

period created the original accumulation. The third period is between 1980s and today. In this period, Moda as a quarter was not exposed to a state-led gentrification or urban renewal projects. Instead other neighborhoods in the Kadıköy district were epicenters of primarily colossal gated community projects and numerous shopping malls [7]. These investments amalgamated the urban middle-class and their life-styles in and around Moda. All in all, the inhabitants, shopkeepers, investors, and local and national governments have struggled to create a neighborhood after their own images. And as we can see, their images appear in geographical and economic enclaves of the neighborhood.

Beginning in the 1990s, the flock of corporate capital alongside the coast and port of the quarter resulted in the homogenous landscape of global chains in Moda. However, the center of the quarter, faced with the flock of small investments between 2010 and 2015, has witnessed a business displacement. The incentivization of the local municipality[8] attracted many investors and displaced the older businesses at the periphery to 'revitalize' the commercial and leisure activities (Özdemir & Selçuk, 2017). The core, although congested as well (Üsküplü & Çolakoğlu, 2015), represented a different trajectory in which old business owners, due to their seniority, the economic attraction of the offer and the political stance of the gentrifier, gave their places to newcomers. In turn, small businesses replaced the old businesses in the core, brought alternative cafés, pubs, and sandwich stores into the neighborhood. The incentivized movement of private capital resulted in the localization of big and corporate capital on the peripheries of Moda and the concentration of small and individual capitals in the core of Moda.

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[7] Editors. (2007, February 8). Kadıköylülerin artık önemli uğrak yerleri alışveriş merkezleri oldu. [The shopping malls are now the significant hotspot for resindents of Kadıköy]. *Gazette Kadıköy.* p. 10

[8] Kadıköy has been ruled by CHP [Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (the Republican People's Party)] for nearly thirty years. In the local elections in 2019, CHP had 65% of the vote, and in 2014 CHP had 72,5% of the vote. The district is said to be a fortress of CHP (see Chapter 4). CHP is the main opposition party in the national assembly.

In the gentrified neighborhood Moda, the uneven geography of economic and cultural capital is maintained by the economic and geographical divisions of *core* and *periphery*.[9]

Demographically the core is a residential section where middle and upper middle-class inhabitants with high cultural capital live, while the periphery is mostly the commercial part of Moda which is adjacent to two working class neighborhoods (*Hasanpaşa* and *Fikirtepe*[10]). The built environment in the core consists of *köşks* of 1880s, the three to four story apartment buildings of 1960s, churches, mosques, and schools while the periphery has high-rise apartment buildings from the 1990s, and a transportation infrastructure from the 2000s. Located at the center of congested urban mobility, the periphery offers a commercial viability for the small shops of the neighborhood such as music stores, stationary and bookstores, beauty shops, clothing stores, delis, bakeries, cheese shops, mobile accessories stores, betting shops as well as global coffee-shop and fast-food chains, banks, municipality buildings, and postal services. The core, however, is commercially dominated by the boutiques, third generation cafés, alternative pubs, high-end restaurants, and theatres. The business types and models are important since as I will demonstrate in the next chapter, the split between the business models results in the abundance of cheap and tacky commodities which caters to the urban poor and low-income social groups in the periphery, and the dominance of expensive and distinctive commodities which serve the upper and middle class in the core. As Smith (1987) succinctly puts "gentrification is a redifferentiation of the cultural, social, and economic landscape, and,

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[9] As I have argued before, political sentiments are crucial in analyzing gentrification. I contend that the symbolic boundaries between class divisions are incubated by the political split that appeared most apparently after the Gezi protests in 2013. Bearing in mind Clark's caution to simplify and clarify the gentrification concept (2004), I look at how the business models of gentrifiers produce different results to understand their cultural or economic inclinations, and will look at the social polarization between the same classes and how it causes the further segmentation of the city in the next two chapters.

[10] These two neighborhoods also experienced a gentrification in the last ten years. Kadıköy municipality portrays the gentrification of these neighborhoods as a process which would give a modern outlook to Kadıköy, and would provide a modern environment for the children to raise. (Editors. (2010, December 2). Projeye destek veriyoruz. [We support the [Fikirtepe] project]. *Gazete Kadıköy*. p. 8.

to that extent, one can see in the very patterns of consumption clear attempts at social differentiation." (168). I will, thus, argue that this division is permeated by the circulation of varying levels of cultural and economic capital of middle-class gentrifiers where their dispositions on social space are realized on geographical space (Bourdieu 2018: 107) and deepened by the extant class divisions between cultural and political subgroups of middle-classes.

Figure 2 Localities of consumption places in Moda.

Chapter 3 - Caffeinated gentrification in Moda

Kadıköy[11] was a latecomer to the urban regeneration projects during the 1980s and 1990s. Most neighborhoods in the Kadıköy district experienced rapid urban transformation at the beginning of the millennium. The metropolitan municipality initiated new urban transformation projects to attract private investment in the surrounding neighborhoods such as Kozyatağı, Ataşehir, and Acıbadem. These neighborhoods soon became filled with many gated communities, often populated by secular middle and upper-middle class residents. Furthermore, the new organization of the transportation networks, i.e. the underground, transitway, and ferries, by the metropolitan municipality connected the Kadıköy district through Moda neighborhood to the multiple commercial centers in Istanbul, namely *Taksim*, *Beşiktaş*, and *Eminönü*, and to the peripheral working-class neighborhoods, notably *Sultanbeyli*, *Sarıgazi*, and *Ümraniye*. All in all, Moda gradually but rapidly caught up with the commercial level of districts on the European side of the city by virtue of a vast infrastructural and demographic change in Kadıköy.

> *There are no more differences between* karşı *(the European side) and Kadıköy. Now almost a million people come to Kadıköy weekly. Everyday life here, as naturally, has got overcrowded. The places near* çarşı *(historic center) alter into taverns since they want to earn more money. As there is neither proper urbanization nor proper settlement, this shows that people in the* Rıhtım *(pier) just come to the neighborhood to consume. And no one knows how to manage this proliferation. These are all, of course, the result of marketization of Moda, and making it an attractive spot. From the artist on the stage to the drug dealer, everyone gets a share from this.* (March 2018, male, a director of a theatre)

The gentrification of Moda occurred through the displacement of old businesses by two different types of investments. The first type of investment was corporate capital. It was in this period, for instance, that the Kadıköy municipality redeveloped the century-old historic bazaar in the periphery. This led to the shutting down of second-hand book-stores surrounding the

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[11] Kadıköy is the name of the district, and Moda (formally Caferağa) is the name of the neighborhood. However, locals, including me, usually refer to Moda as Kadıköy. Thus, when Kadıköy is mentioned in the interviews, my interlocutors refer to Moda, instead of other neighborhoods in Kadıköy district.

bazaar since their profit margin was insufficient to catch-up with the increasing rents. Especially after the 'revitalization' of the historic bazaar, the corporate capital started to move into the periphery. The retail change in the periphery of the neighborhood was highly dependent on the Kadıköy municipality's revitalization project in 2005[12], where they have labeled the project as "revitalization, security, and entertainment"[13]. This process was partly the result of the desire to increase the Kadıköy municipality's competitiveness as a domestic touristic district in Istanbul and attract investments. Dubbed as the new gentrification frontier (Gonzalez & Waley, 2013), or as "retail landscapes of gentrification" (Bridge & Dowling, 2001, p. 95), traditional retail markets are strongly connected to overall neoliberal urban restructuring in which local governments take extensive roles to mediate the channels of capital (Bartu-Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008).

In the core, Kadıköy municipality renovated and transformed the *Süreyya* Cinema to an Opera House also acting as a multi-functional cultural center in 2006[14]. They have also eased the process of issuing licenses for the newcomers, the gentrification has occurred on an overly micro level. The changing consumption landscape of the inner neighborhood started with small yet incessant monetary investments by individual entrepreneurs in small shops and depots on the ground floors of apartment buildings, and gradually produced rent inflation. Rents increased six times, between 2015 and 2017, as I am informed by one of the early gentrifiers (March 19, 2017, male, Moda). 'If you ask me what I should have invested in two years ago' says a resident while we walk, 'I should have gone for a small shop in Moda' (February 2019, male, a resident).

> *What can anyone* [referring to old shopkeepers] *do about it? He* [referring to gentrifiers] *offers five thousand liras rent for the twenty square meters area. Of course, it is an attractive offer. Many of the butchers accepted it. For example, there were*

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[12] Küçükkurti, A. (2005, August 11). Çarşımız canlanıyor. [Our Bazaar Revitalizes]. *Gazete Kadıköy*. p. 10
[13] ibid.
[14] Editors. (2006, January 5). Süreyya Sineması kültür merkezi oluyor. [Süreyya Cinema becomes a cultural center]. *Gazete Kadıköy*. p. 10.

> *sixteen butchers in Moda, mostly Rum [Greek], before they [gentrifiers] came. Now there are only four. In Moda, there were a lot of Albanian shoe-makers, now only one left. Now everywhere is coffee-shop, bon appetit, what can I say?*
> (May 2017, male, barber)

According to the index produced by online real estate agency, between 2015 and 2019, the average rent for offices increased by 4% in Istanbul, while it increased by 66,59% in Moda neighborhood.[15] Furthermore, the residential rents for the last four years even dropped by 1,8% in Moda, while it has dropped in Istanbul by 22,4%. The weight of the gentrification by offices and shops in the neighborhood was heavier than the residential displacement. While realtors and investors in Moda were ebullient about the rising rents and the deluge of small investments, landlords and old business owners devised a different strategy for the upcoming gentrification. The viral proliferation of shopping malls around the neighborhood and supermarket chains in the periphery[16] has already been shrinking the consumer base of the old businesses for years. Moda's residents were also predominantly elderly and living in the neighborhood; as 33% of Moda's residents are above fifty-five years old (TÜİK). Landlords and old business owners, thus, asked for an entry fee, *hava parası*[17] , from the newcomers to lease the place. The contract is signed once *hava parası* is paid to the existing tenant. This extra payment for the gentrifiers is sometimes equal to the purchase of a house in the rural side, and for the senior shopkeepers, this money generally amounted to ten years of their pension. This is not to say that the gentrifiers were jubilantly welcomed by old shopkeepers, yet the process of displacement was

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[15] The numbers shared by Sahibindex might be relative to the increasing rents in Moda, The data retrieved from https://www.sahibinden.com/emlak-endeksi.
[16] There are now sixteen supermarkets for 24.000 residents over 1 sq.km. area in Moda.
[17] Literally 'money out of air', can be translated as key money. New tenant informally pays a designated amount of money to the existing tenant in pursuit of renting the place. Since almost all of the business places in Moda have long been occupied by the same tenants, their relationships with their landlords were strong. This practice is illegal in Turkey, yet still very common practice especially in the privileged urban areas. As a result, not everyone is allowed to open a café-shop or pub in a given area, since it would require a vast amount of extra capital. In the core, landlords and old tenants determine the amount to be asked accordingly to both their need, and possible tenant's political and cultural position. For instance, a possible secular middle-class tenant might pay lower key money than a conservative middle-class tenant.

clearly different from the one that occurred in the periphery. The gentrification in the core occurred in a micro-level where the new tenant, old tenant, and landlord negotiated the process of displacement not only in economic terms but also with the aim preserving the political and cultural fabric of the neighborhood:

> *The last thing we want is to see them* [referring to conservative middle-classes] *relocating in Moda and ruining the neighborhood. They can do whatever they want in* Söğütlüçeşme *or* Rıhtım [the periphery]. *But Moda is not a place for their businesses. Although they started to come little by little. These newly opened Şok markets[18] represent their logic – conquering. They are a real threat. It started in every street. Why? To attract AKP supporters here. But the locals will not allow this. We have a bright, wonderful youth, and they are welcomed here. My dear, let them open their cafés, it is better than Şok markets.* (February 2019, male, grocer)

When the political schism is reflected upon rent and extra payments, the gentrification of neighborhood occurs through the segmentation of consumption practices. That is why the "middle-class" is fractured along political lines in Istanbul, and it is further permeated by keeping economic resources within political boundaries. Since in the periphery of the neighborhood, corporate capital permeated gentrification, it is hard to find political reasons for its catalyzer, and it fits within the general theoretical scheme proposed by both production and consumption side of explanations (Smith, 1982; Zukin, 2008). Scrutinizing the gentrification in the core of the neighborhood, in the next section, I compare both types of business models and types of gentrifiers in Moda to understand the gentrifiers' rationale behind their enterprise.

3.1 Gentrifier's entrepreneurship and business models in the Moda's core

> *The smallest hole becomes a café, and I still do not get it. Eventually, these people will go bankrupt. Very interesting. How they foresee an economic dynamism?* (March 2017, male, a director of a theatre)

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[18] A supermarket chain owned by Yıldız Holding. Yıldız Holding has close relations with the ruling Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP, Justice and Development Party).

The large flow of shop owners from Taksim to Moda[19], the number of available spots for rent and rentiers' willingness to lease their place, and the cooperation of Kadıköy Municipality in issuing licenses for cafés and pubs advanced the rapidity and force of gentrification in the core. Thus, the economic side of gentrification in Moda was primarily based on the abundance of a relatively small economic capital of individuals who use the opportunity to invest in the neighborhood. As the Kadıköy municipality indirectly incentivized this process, gentrification started to take place by the end of 2013.

As the number of café and bars has steeply increased, we observe at least two models of business strategies in terms of investments and business models. The businesses include cafés and pubs and business models are utilized by two types of gentrifiers: entrepreneurs and investors. In both businesses, entrepreneurs and investors are tenants who replaced the old shop owners in Moda. They both pay a monthly rent to landlords who are mostly the residents of Moda. While both of them initially invested in a similar amount of money, entrepreneurs started their business with less economic capital than investors. While both are university graduates and have certain qualifications in terms of food, investors have more extensive knowledge and insight over the economic organization of work than entrepreneurs. While both of them oppose the political stand of the current government, entrepreneurs are more radical than investors. Entrepreneurs invest in fewer economic capital and more cultural capital for their businesses and expect cultural profit and craft a sense of belonging. Investors differ from entrepreneurs in the sense that investors invest in similar volumes of economic and cultural capital, yet they expect economic profit and a detachment from the workplace. Bearing in mind the economic and cultural infrastructures of gentrification, the following section will examine these types of gentrifiers in its context in Moda. As Moda geographically divided into core and periphery, I

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[19] The shop owners' relocation from Taksim to Moda will be discussed in the chapter "*Kurtarılmış Bölge*: Making of a Republican Enclave".

show that the core itself is divided into two parts regarding the modes of production and commodities produced. Demonstrating the role of cultural and economic capital and their utilization within these businesses (Deener, 2007), I aim to explain how the economic rationale of commercial gentrification is contested with cultural aspirations and reflected within the limits of neighborhood's critical infrastructure (Zukin, 2005).

3.1.1. Entrepreneurs

Orhan rented a place in Moda at the end of 2013. It was a thirty square-meter place on the ground floor of a thirty-year-old apartment building from a pâtissier. He moved to Istanbul from Rome in the 2010s and worked as a chef in several luxury hotels in Istanbul for two years. After his dissatisfaction with the general working environment, he decided to open a sandwich shop, *Denizli,* in Moda which included all-hand-made products to serve his customers. He was soon able to attract customers from urban middle-class fractions – music producers, actors and actresses, orchestra chefs, advertisers, architects, lawyers, traders, bankers, and so on. Moda being a little bit of bohemian, little bit of artsy, presented a humane side of the city for him. Moda was where Orhan could find 'his own place' (Bourdieu, 1989) and feel comfortable.

In order to live where Orhan is at ease with himself in the social space, he had to invest initially around 800.000 Turkish liras including renovation of infrastructure, *hava parası*, design, kitchen, and taxes to rent the place. When I chit-chatted the amount with the café-goers they were flabbergasted as it was equal to twenty-three years of minimum-wage in Turkey. This amount of economic capital was *enough* to open an average size (thirty square-meter) coffee-shop in Kadıköy. Having acquired a place in Moda, Orhan did not expect much in terms of monetary returns in the first year and he invested culturally and physically in crafting the distinctive products. His actions reversed the *economic drives* as it was a matter of representing his own habitus rather than profiting from economic ends.

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In a culturally profitable field such as Moda neighborhood, the diversity, plurality, and creativity of the products are considered of utmost importance by the middle-class clientele. Most importantly, when an entrepreneur does not belong to upper-economic strata, such as Orhan, the labor he exhausts for the exclusive commodities circumvented the constraints of economic structures by "maintaining a permanent revolution in tastes" and enables an economically middle class shopkeeper "to secure exclusive possessions every moment" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 282). As his labor is a part of the general critical infrastructure of a neighborhood (Zukin, 2005), Orhan works as a connoisseur in collecting and framing the artworks on the wall, as a curious cook in researching for new recipes and serving aesthetically elegant products, and as an *esnaf* [20] (shopkeeper) in presenting sincere attitude to their customers.

> *I am here all day. I will drink at least three to four coffees, they should be the best ones possible, and my friends* [referring to personnel] *should not be spoiled, grumpy, or uncouth. I am always in a friendly relationship with them, as I am with our guests. As an inner-neighborhood café, we fulfill our role as Moda's* esnaf. *We do not open it because it was popular, anything you see in this shop has a meaning.* (January 2019, male, café-owner)

Opening a new shop primarily requires a strong economic background, and running a business requires a stable economic environment. Although the period between 2013 and 2016 was relatively stable for the gentrifiers as well as the Turkish economy, the several political events, most importantly an attempted coup d'état and change of the regime, had insurmountable effects on the long-expected downfall of the Turkish economy. Yearly inflation increased from 7% in 2015 to 26% in 2018 (TÜİK), which heavily inflicted serious constraints on household expenditure.

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[20] Esnaf as a term is quite tricky – because in quotidian parlance it depicts a traditional shopkeeper not a third-generation café-owner. Yet, the term was widely used by my interlocutors and denoted to affectual meaning of esnaf. At once, being an esnaf requires one to conduct a sincere behavior toward customers to make them feel at home, and to establish and maintain relationships with other shopkeepers.

> *Hava parası was 210.000 liras at least. Adding to that you spend around 400.000 liras for the improvements. For infrastructure, design, and everything. This is a serious amount. I do not think that other café-owners profit, at least I do not. How can you run a business by selling coffee when you have that level of expenditure?* (January 2019, male, café-owner)

This period heavily affected the business of gentrifiers and led them to reorganize their work. Besides the labor time spent on culturally investing in their refined and authentic products (Zukin, 2008), they had to increase their labor time for physical involvement in the production process. Many café-owners found themselves working more than they used to in their professional careers. Their labor time is composed of twelve to fourteen hours per day without taking time off, taking a role in logistics for the supply products, delivering food to the residents of Kadıköy, organizing the kitchen, teaching the skills baristas need, and arranging their advertisements on social media. Ultimately, it configured the division of labor anew to depend almost solely on the café-owner. The entrepreneur gradually became a worker in his own business.

Besides the increase in the labor time, the plurality of the products they serve started to diminish due to the fact that the profit and loss scheme of their businesses were on a thin edge. This led many to simplify their serving menus. Orhan, for instance, excelled in desserts. Making a dessert, indeed, requires more than the physical labor that one puts in – a dessert requires distinctive taste, technique, and aesthetics. A dessert as a commodity does not have much of a bodily utility but loaded with taste and distinction. Although he kept producing deserts for the first two years, the skyrocketing prices of ingredients, especially vanilla, pistachio, and cacao, led him to erase the dessert section on the menu. It was the dish which allowed him to represent his cultural capital most effectively. As his work lost its sweetness, it became rather bitter. Later, he focused on advertising the simple sandwiches on Instagram and started home delivery option for his sandwiches.

Our entrepreneur takes on financial risks in the hope of cultural profit. Orhan's sandwich shop was more of a lifestyle project than a profit-making enterprise. Disinterested in economic profit, the only way to represent his work was through finding a place where his cultural capital would loosen the economic rigidities. The selected pieces of their cultural background that are put into use in his business helped him in Kadıköy to economically survive in the beginning. However, as the economic conditions prevailed, entrepreneurs in the streets of Moda found themselves on the brink of bankruptcy. Cultural gentrification, in this sense, is reminiscent of the contradictory class position of the secular and globally informed middle-class in Turkey. Although their struggle with the domestic cultural hegemony through the reproduction of their global lifestyles and deployment of their cultural capital opened up alternative ways of consumption for the dissident urbanites, economic conditions forced them to abandon their creative work only to be supplanted by mainstream commodities.

3.1.2 Investors

Although the number of investments by entrepreneurs in Moda is higher than by investors, the economically dominant model belongs to the latter social group. The reader will recall investors as 'gentrification personified' in most cases of urban change. Our business owner has an economic rationale instead of cultural devotion when she organizes her business, perceives urban space as a place of rent and profit rather than a "lived space" (Lefebvre, 1991), recruits and allocates laborers of critical infrastructure (Zukin, 2005), calculates the working day for employees, and enjoys the profit when she takes time off. Yet, for all these to function without any friction, she establishes his model around her choice of location, time, and consumer base. When these three features are secured, her business model begins to perpetually produce a profit. Unlike the entrepreneur's model, the investor's business model is the main driving force of economic gentrification as these places valorize the urban land more quickly and efficiently than small cafés.

As I mentioned in my geographical examination of consumption practices, Moda has a segmented socio-spatial topography in which many of this type of businesses are closely located in the core (see Figure 2), and around the liveliest part of Moda neighborhood: *Barlar Sokağı* (literally Bar Street). In this venue, one finds a variety of pubs and small fast-food restaurants. The first bars are opened in Moda in the 1990s though they stood still for nearly two decades at the margins of nightlife in Istanbul. Yet, the street started to become famous for the many Istanbulites in the early 2000s. This coincided with the increasing number of real estate investments in the areas surrounding the Moda neighborhood, where upper-middle-class families started to purchase apartments from the gated communities in *Ataşehir*, *Ümraniye,* and *Kozyatağı*[21]. As the visitors of Moda increased, Bar Street became the core of nightlife on the Anatolian side. Majority of investor type of gentrifiers co-opted the economic strategies of the existent businesses and clustered around the Bar Street producing a competitive market for both real estate and for the old businesses.

Fanny is the owner of an artisan bakery called *Laffa* in Moda. She first had the idea of becoming a baker, when she was in Barcelona during an Erasmus program. As she found herself at the epicenter of experimental cuisine, she got into an MA program about restaurant management. As she completed her degree, she worked in several high-end Asian restaurants and practiced her skills in management. The following year, Fanny went to New York to learn bakery proper by an expert artisan in Brooklyn. She was educated there about most of the global cuisine on making bread. As she developed a sufficient knowledge over Middle-Eastern, French, and Scandinavian techniques of bread-making, she intermingled her academic and practical knowledge with her experience in management to open a bakery in Istanbul. After field research about the location and consumer base for five to six months, she opened Laffa bakery in the

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[21] Editors (2008, August 9). En çok prim yapan ilçe Kadıköy: Kadıköy artık bir marka. [Kadıköy is the most profitable district: Kadıköy is a brand now.] *Gazete Kadıköy.* p. 10.

European side of the neighborhood. As she was exhausted by the processes of making artisan bread for the elite restaurant of Istanbul, she closed the shop and moved to Moda in 2014 in pursuit of having her own business.

Moda was a convenient place for Fanny since it was *trendy*. She rented the place from an elderly butcher, then invested in the design and infrastructure of the place, hired professional ad agencies[22] to make Laffa visible in the social media and participated in several food festivals and coffee festivals. The turning point for Laffa was the visit of the famous Turkish Gourmet Vedat Milor who made it famous among upper-middle-class Istanbulites. She tells me that the language and the style of presentation are crucial to create a solid consumer base. I nod my head as I cognize an upper-middle-class family sitting over a table for a lunch, having slices of an artisan bread and some desserts while facing the brut concrete painted by a short variety of pastel colors, the dominance of wooden furniture including small and stylish yet not useful tables, and around them a motley of cactuses.

The presentation comes from the designers whom she employs but Fanny organizes the working day and division of labor. As Fanny strictly describes, at 9 am the bakery opens, some employees start to serve breakfast to customers from 9.30 till 13.00, at 11.30 some employees begin to distribute bread for some local restaurants. They go out for a lunch at 12.30 and from 15.00 onwards Laffa empties until 18.00 when professionals, mostly single, return from their work and stream to the bakery, and the shop closes at 21.30 strict. The allocation of time and rational management of the division of labor in bakery propound to a self-sufficient business model which allows for the owner to take time off and to be absent. Although Fanny has time to take a break, she is much more visible in the shop compared to pub-owners in Bar Street.

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[22] Fanny says that they leave the management of their social media profile to the professional firms in which advertisements are arranged in newspaper websites. (February 2019)

As I worked through the ways business models are established, one important aspect is how the commodities produced by these shops (let it be cultural, affectual, or concrete). This process of production highly differs from the small-sized enterprises in which the conditions where commodities are produced highly depends on the owner and the condition where these commodities are sold depending on the cultural value it acquires. In the investor's business model, the organization of the workplace allows employees to produce and sell commodities in the absence of the investor. Customers of this business model are expected to consume instead of to feel at home. The clientele expects quality music instead of a sincere attitude. The café-goers visit these places in order to be seen by their friends in social media instead of studying or working at café. Thus, the businesses work on the basis of profit purified from emotional or cultural attachments.

Moda as imagined and practiced, has the geographical and economic layers preparing for the cultural and political layers to structure themselves, and strengthen the symbolic barriers. Therefore, clusters emerge due to the differences in ways of economic structure is established. An entrepreneur can open a shop in the core because his cultural capital is sufficient, yet an investor can own a pub in the core since his economic model is efficacious. While the former targets the unique, the latter targets the ordinary. The former depends on the clientele's appreciation of distinctive taste; the latter depends on the laborers of the critical infrastructure. Indeed, the first wave of gentrification is driven by the businesses which first organized around the most congested area, benefited from the high number of sales, caused new pubs to open, invited many café-owners to locate around them, and became a new home for the dissident citadins' everyday life. The clustering of the consumption places created more or less cohesive parts for the neighborhood, and Moda visitors started to get filtered. The following section will explore the ways Moda is segmented due to the choices of clientele, and how it overlaps with

the geographical and social proximity of cafés. The following analysis shows that gentrification

is sustained through clustering and separation of social groups.

3.2 Socio-spatial networks of taste

This section examines the clustering of cohesive networks in Moda by looking at café-goers'

networks of consumption. Based on both ethnographic and quantitative data, it argues that tastes

and lifestyles of café-goers form spatial clusters in a given neighborhood resulting in

segmentation of consumption practices. Furthermore, it contends that gentrification, being part

and parcel of general urban transformation, leads to multiple clusters rather than a homogenous

totality. These arguments are supported and proved by the Moody-White algorithm for social

cohesiveness. The structuration of café-goers' network of consumption practices in a

neighborhood setting will be analyzed to understand how cohesive are the preferences of café-

goers when it is scrutinized as the socio-spatial segmentation of consumption practices? In this

sense, the general argument of the thesis and the findings in this section concur that the spatial

clustering of gentrified cafés and pubs connects the cultural and economic infrastructures of

gentrification.

In order to locate the segmentation and differentiation of consumption practices, I deployed a

social networks approach through two methodological filters: social and spatial. For the former,

I have scraped the comments and reviews in the Foursquare website. Firstly, I have focused on

the reviews done for four gentrified cafés (named, and I selected ten to fifteen most frequent

visitors from each shop). Having reduced the sample, I conducted my scraping by looking at

twenty café-goers' other consumption place preferences. The rationale behind this

methodological filtering was to scrutinize the social cohesiveness and clustering of different

consumption places in Moda. During the data gathering process, I have scraped 65 café-goers

reviews and 153 cafés from the Foursquare website. I treated 65 cafegoers and 153 cafés as

nodes in which cafegoers chose the specific cafés they prefer to go, and cafés are only chosen

by other nodes. Besides simple network maps between cafés and cafegoers, I have also used Moody-White's method to analyze the cohesiveness of these groups of cafés. Relying on this data, I have drawn the basic map of gentrification as retrieved from the locational data from Google maps in which I indicated the subgroups of cafés.

3.2.1 Gentrification and filtering process

To better conceptualize the relationship between the critical infrastructure and economic infrastructure of gentrification in Moda, this section argues that the tendencies of café-goers to prefer particular places may infer about the styles of cafés and their success during the gentrification process. For this purpose, I have selected four different cafés in order to gather reviews of café-goers. All these four cafés opened after 2013 yet resembled culturally and aesthetically different types of cafés as I have defined in the last section. Yet each café has been reconstructed according to reviews of frequent café-goers. That is to say, although these new places were facing economically similar consequences, they created different relational networks by the practices of their visitors which later determined their survival in the neighborhood.

This coffee-house networks bring our analysis of neighborhood change to the spatially and socially segmented consumption practices where people get "filtered" and redistributed in the neighborhood dissuading citadins from contacting within different contexts. As the newcomers restructured the economic infrastructure, it is soon followed by the new urban imaginary where Moda is constituted as a neighborhood of authentic consumption. Indeed, new Moda, drawn on the palimpsest of old and isolated Moda, is imbued with a sense of authentic urban community through segregation of consumption practices inside the neighborhood. A boutique-owner reveals the Moda's new cultural boundaries by differentiating between Rıhtım (the periphery of Moda) and Moda (inner-quarter or core of Moda):

"A lot of differences. In Rıhtım*, the underside, there is full of "*abur-cubur tayfa*" (the junk-food consumers, or tacky crew), anyone sits there. When you start to walk toward the upside, toward Moda, people get filtered. Here is more* raffiné*. Well, Moda also started degenerate, however."* (March 2017, male, café-owner)

The "filtering" process leaves the big capital and its consumers at Rıhtım thus creates a community of concentrated and cultured consumers. It is the operation of inherited taste, that is "a class culture turned into nature" shaping class bodies (Bourdieu 1986: 190), which valorizes big capital, distills the social classes, and thus reinforces the exclusionary nature of cultural capital. The mainstream fast-food stores host hundreds of people every day, while café-shops or boutiques only have eight or ten tables to sit. As products are widely distributed among the social groups in the periphery of Moda, their consumption practice loses its distinctive character but keeps its economic function. However, small café-shops in the core, through high prices and authentic products, retain their cultural domination over all other goods. Hence, economic filtering becomes intermingled with the critical infrastructure of the neighborhood.

3.2.2 Café-goers' cohesive structuration of taste

Is it possible to observe the "filtering" process, which occurred in gentrifiers' mental map, also in the actions and choices of café-goers? To answer this question, firstly, I have looked at the café and pub preferences of ten most frequent visitors of sandwich shop *Denizli*[23], established in 2013. Although most of the frequent Denizli-goers inclined to keep their reviews and other place preferences in quite low levels, Bear Pub and Tatta Café appear in their other choices. (See Figure 3) That is to say, the frequent consumers in Denizli also prefer to go to Bear Pub and Tatta Café. All these three places are indeed located closely. It takes four minutes by walk to go from Denizli to Bear, and only two minutes from Denizli to Tatta café. It follows from

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[23] Owned by Orhan whom we examined his business model in previous section.

this finding that the second choices of café-goers socially and spatially overlap with their first choices, and these consumer preferences tend to form clusters within the neighborhood.
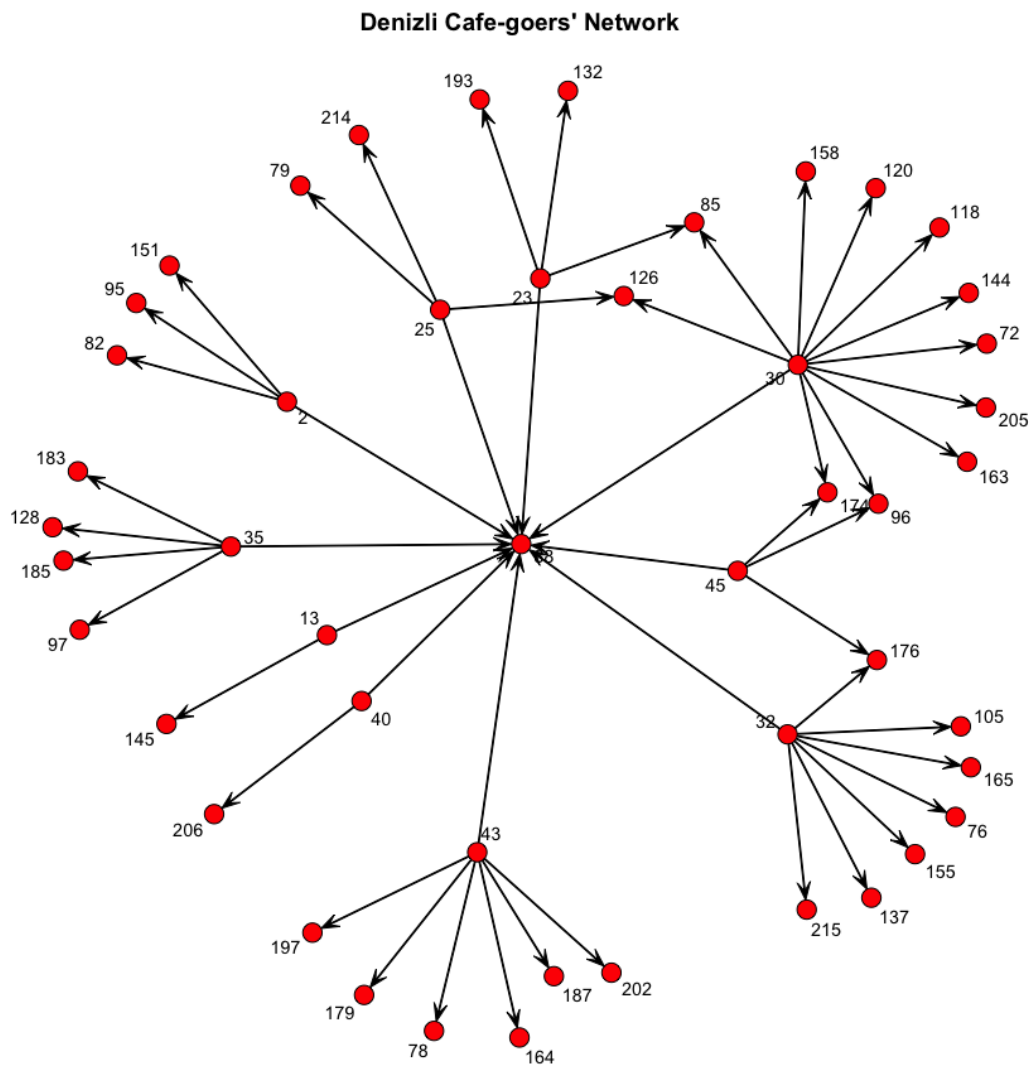

Figure 3 Denizli café. Clintele's network of taste[24]

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[24] For all graphs, node numbers which are between 0 and 66 denote café-goers. Node numbers between 66-218 denote cafes, bars, and restaurant. The central nodes are the cafés on focus. All cafes have in-degree, and all café-goers have outdegree. For example, the central node in this figure is Denizli cafe.

Secondly, regular Book Café goers review, present, and recommend myriads of cafés, pubs, and restaurants on Foursquare. Their preferences are spread across the core of the neighborhood. Among many places they refer, Laffa, Bucconi, and Neruda are the most common ones. (See Figure 4). These places are, by order, a specialty bakery, an Italian restaurant, and a Mexican restaurant. Book Café is run by an investor, and they have a great presence in social media. Book Café is similar to the business model of *Laffa* which I have examined in the previous section. While Denizli visitors are tending to prefer café or pub, Book-goers rather choose a restaurant or patisserie in which prices and uniqueness of products are also higher. Despite the reviews ran the gamut from specific cafés to specialty restaurants locating all over the neighborhood, these three most shared places are located on the Moda street. In contrast to Denizli consumption cluster, Book Café, being established itself in 2015, represents a street within which prices and authenticity of places attract the visitors rather than its closeness.

Book Cafe-goers Network
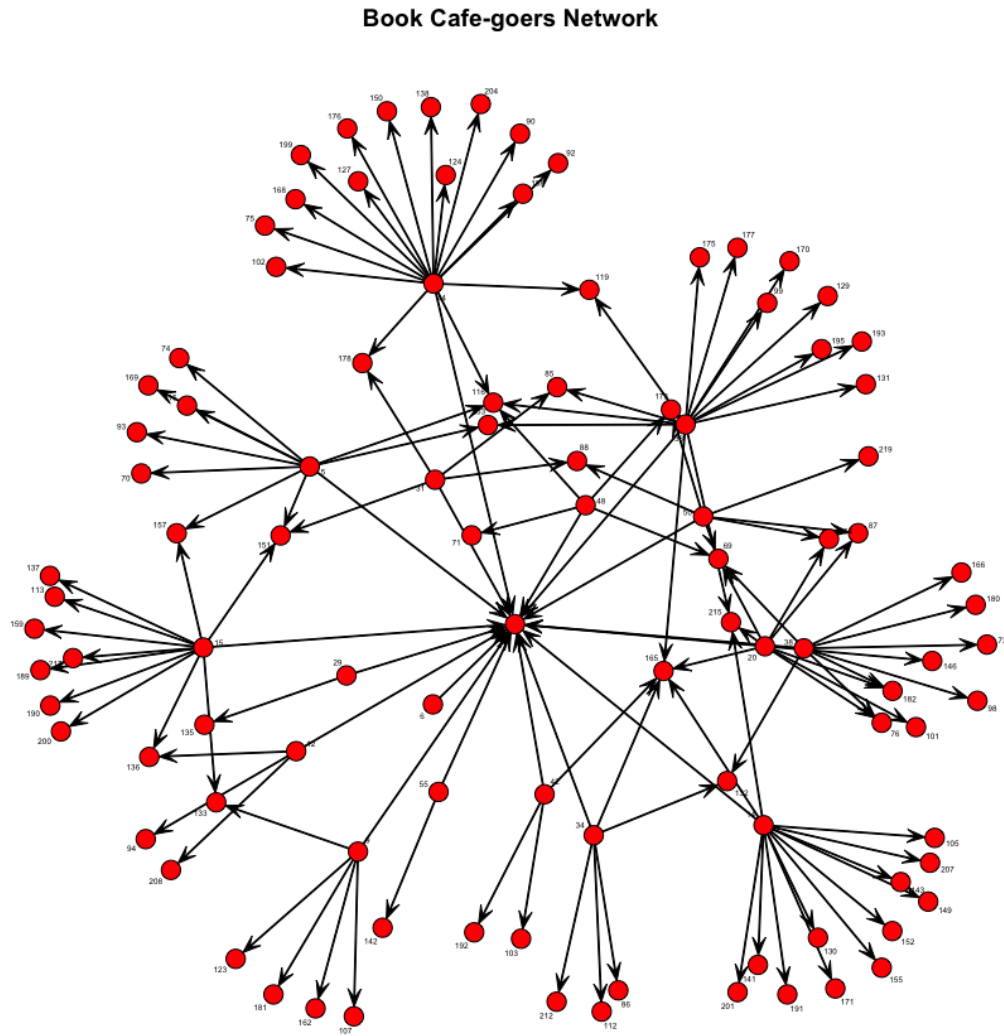
Figure 4 Book café. Clientele's network of taste.

Bobo Restaurant, being renovated in the 2010s, is my third sample in this research. This restaurant primarily serves breakfast and street fast-food depending on the part of the day. Bobo is located at the end of the Moda street, where old kiosks, apartment buildings, and public park come together. Its location can be considered as within the peripheral area of the neighborhood in which shops generally host five- or six-times larger groups than in the core. Interesting enough, the frequent consumers in Dodo prefer Starbucks and some steak restaurants as their second choices (See Figure 5). While to see Starbucks in one of the preference lists of Denizli-

goers or Book-goers is impossible, for Bobo-goers it is a common and shared choice. From this network, it is possible to observe that the main ideational framework of Bobo rests upon the service and economy, being part of the economic capital, which tends to calculate the utility of a product. The taste as the practice of the cultural capital, which tends to focus on the uniqueness of a product, is insignificant in their choices. In fact, this concern over utility can also be seen within the spatial location of these second choices which are mostly in the periphery of the neighborhood.
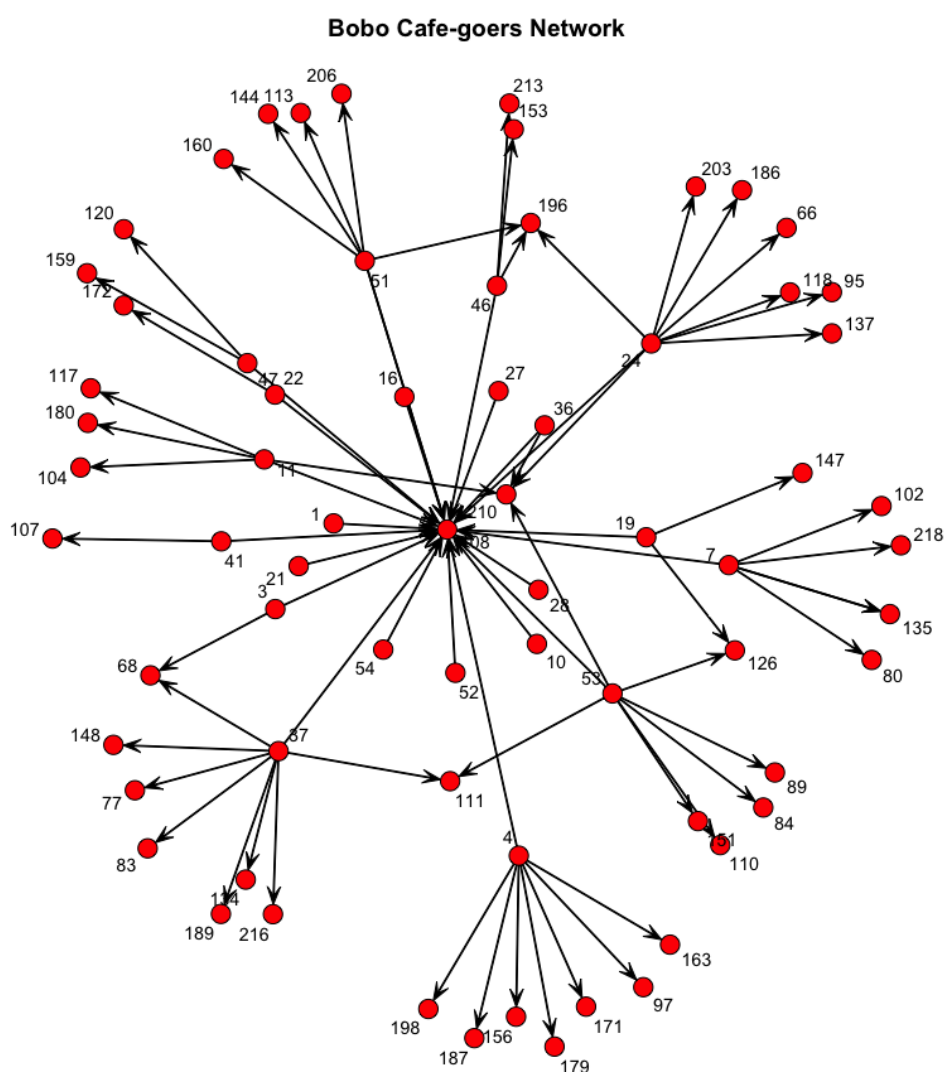

Figure 5 Bobo restaurant. Clientele's network of taste

Lastly, I have gathered the comments and reviews from the chocolatier called Nur. Contrary to the other three places that I have analyzed above, Nur Café did not yield sufficient results for an analysis of its network. Most of the frequent visitors were not from Moda or Kadıköy, and their consumption preferences are mostly concentrated on the European peninsula of Istanbul. This particularity of Nur Café might be due to the fact that it has been established in 2017, and this short period of time would not be sufficient for the emergence of a solid consumer base and of a shared social space of preferences. Having said that, I have included Nur Café to my total database of relations and projected it into the combined dataset of consumption preferences in Moda.

Indeed, when all of the networks is analyzed within the scope of these four cafés (see Figure 6), it might be observed that there exists a segmented and clustered relationship between the consumption places. When analyzed with Moody and White algorithm, it is possible to see that there appear 5 sub-groups in which three of them overlaps with one. (see Figure 7) Cafés and café-goers in the purple subgroup are usually the ones dispersed in the core while locating in groups usually around Moda street (see Figure 8). The blue community is much more dispersed while forming their groups in the peripheries of Moda and the cafés in that cluster locate very closely in numbers of three or four. The red cluster in our graph is both social and spatially in-between two groups (yellow and green clusters) and they are also clustered closely only in the core of the neighborhood. Finally, the yellow cluster presents either peripheral or central tendency when it comes to its geographical location. All in all, the locations of these clusters give us a clue on how different communities of cafés and café-goers produce multiple spaces of practices and transforms the neighborhood culture by their spatial proximity.

When analyzed separately, each café provides a distinct sense of identity for café-goers and each bundle of consumer preferences represents a distinguished proclivity to specific cafés. It shows that gentrification starts exactly at the point of segmentation rather than homogenization

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of lifestyles. That is to say, it is hard to assess the economic side of gentrification without looking at how it allows the movement of cultural capital or cultural appropriations of the transformed neighborhood. When a neighborhood undergoes a rapid transformation by the entrepreneurs, it does not transform the neighborhood into one single unit but rather produces multiple centers and cultures.[25]

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[25] Further analysis would require a bigger dataset and semantic map of the reviews. This may provide the clusters with a political or cultural attitude. By doing this, it might buttress the ethnographic accounts with the sociological taxonomies derived from the field yet constructed with the social networks approach. Furthermore, the relations between these cafes and cafegoers may also indicate the brokers between different tastes which would then help researchers to identify gentrification as an urban transformation led and legitimized by the actors of a neighborhood mediating between state and residents.

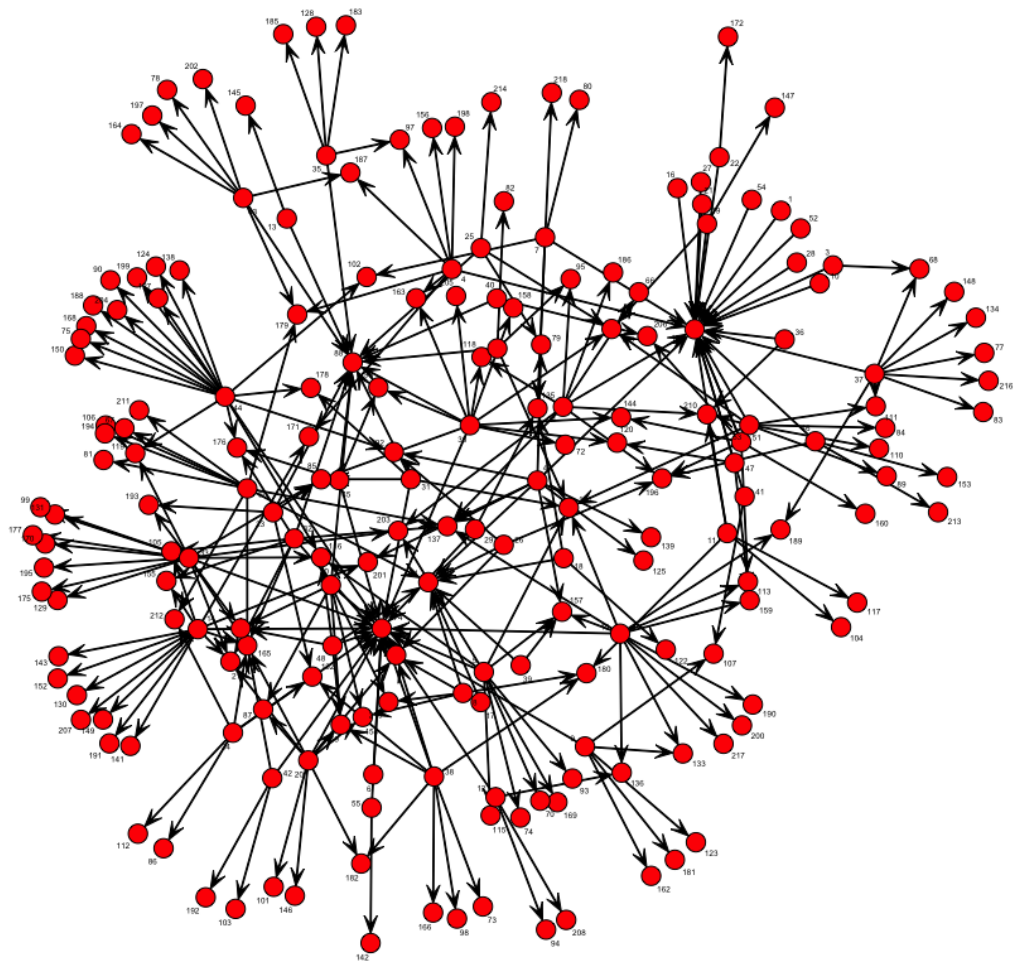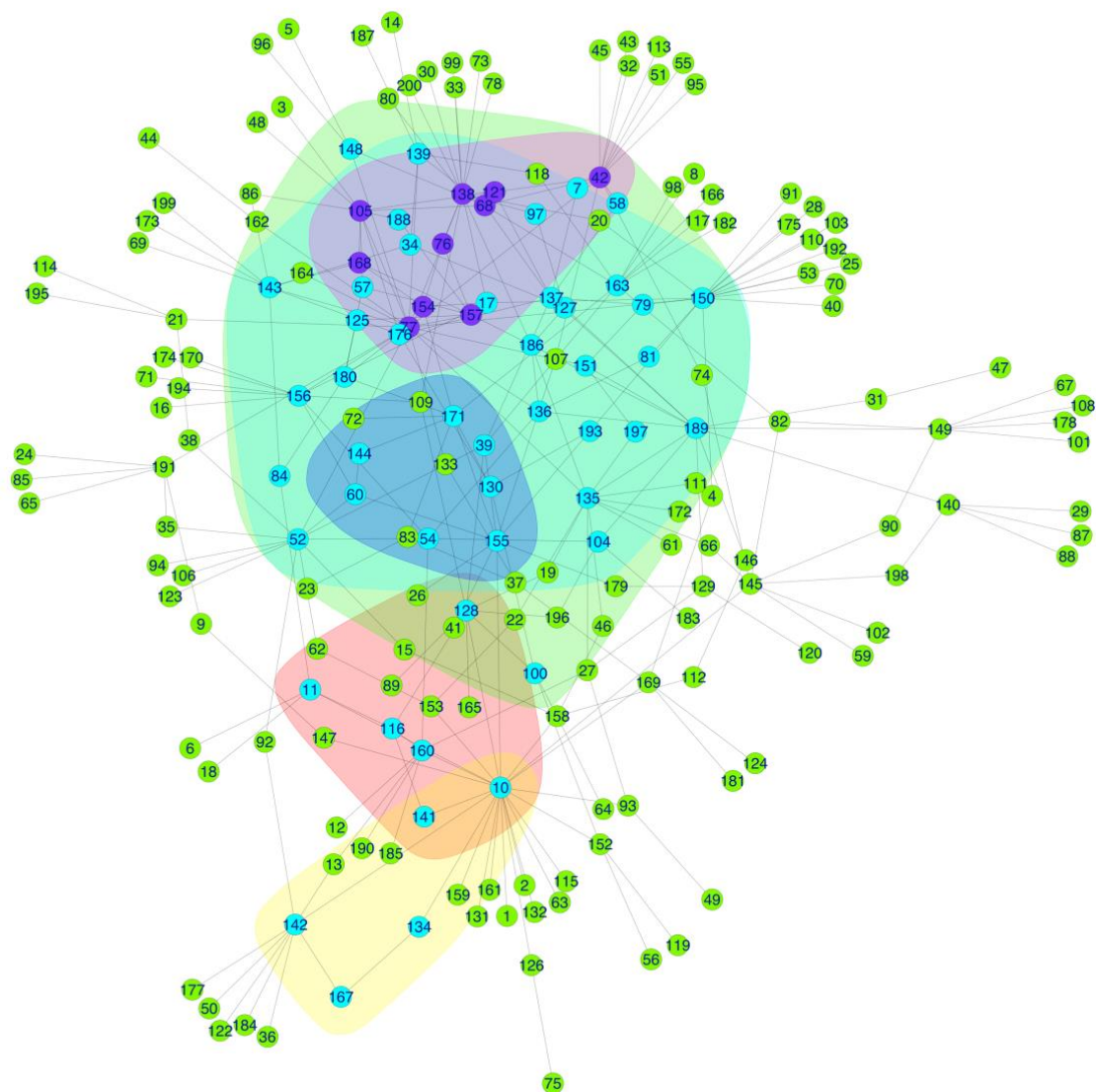**Figure 6 Clientele's combined network of taste**

Figure 7 Cohesiveness model applied with Moody-White algorithm

Cohesion Map

Yellow sub-group
○ All items

Purple Subgroup
○ All items

Blue Subgroup
○ All items

Red sub-group
○ All items

Cafes
● All items

Spatial analysis of Moody-
White cohesion graph.
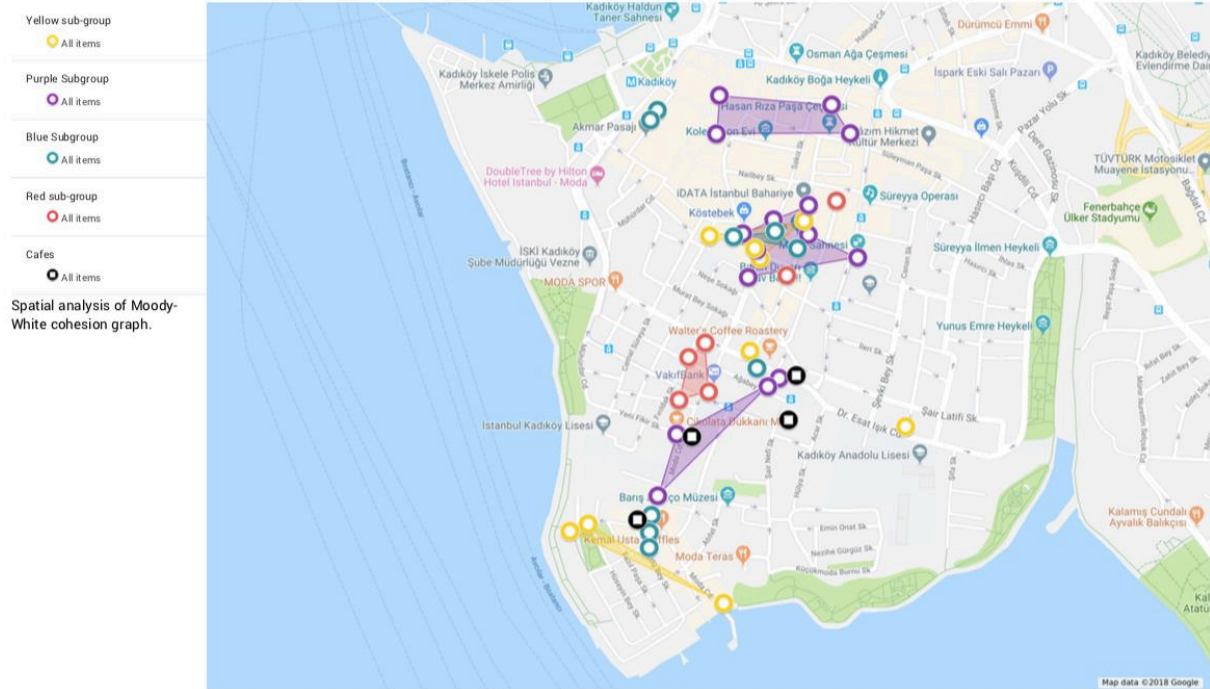
Figure 8 Geographical cohesiveness of café preferences.

3.4 Conclusion

The historical context of the neighborhood as a leisure quarter and investments of Kadıköy municipality created an authentic setting for the gentrifiers. As newcomers came to the neighborhood, the geographical locations of transportation, public parks, and infrastructure divided the neighborhood into two main parts which I called core and periphery. Moreover, the effect of the Gezi protests led some shop owners and a great number of theatres to relocate to Moda. In the meantime, the periphery attracted the corporate capital and investments by the metropolitan municipality, and it expanded the number of daily visitors in Moda, while the core of the neighborhood attracted a significant number of relatively small investments. This process is directly mediated by the landlords and old tenants who saw these investments both as an economic opportunity and as a political action.

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The small investments, indeed, are separated according to their business models and two types of gentrifiers emerged: entrepreneurs and investors. The entrepreneurs grasped the cultural field to attract specific consumer groups. The investor rather transformed their cultural capital into economic profit and established a well-functioning division of labor to sustain their income. As I have discussed in the previous section of this chapter, their different commodities are also reviewed and construed by the clientele which resulted in the gathering of similar kinds of shops in similar geographical segments of the neighborhood. As the general economic conditions prevailed in Turkey, the products of entrepreneurs lost their distinctive character, as well as entrepreneurs' distinctive hubitus, lost its value in the cultural field of Moda. In what follows, I will pay closer attention to how entrepreneurs cling to their position on social space besides their cultural background. This will be demonstrated by analyzing the emergent political identities of entrepreneurs and residents which are collectively constructed and shaped today's Moda.

Chapter 4 - *Kurtarılmış bölge*: The making of a republican enclave

4.1 Uncanny remnants of Gezi

> *Gezi was an extreme event, and it cannot happen again, it's impossible. You know, one million people were there. We were beaten, shot, killed. People lost their legs and arms. It is as if now I want to forget it. If we would have done more, then we could have looked at the future with hope. We struggled, but they were extremely strong. Now he comes with full of his strength* (February 2019, male, resident)

4.1.1 The struggle

Gezi resistance was a collective yet leaderless revolt of urban youth of Istanbul for the democratization of urban space and against the confiscation of a particular public space (Göle, 2013: 8; Örs, 2014: 492). A week after small environmentalist groups demonstrated in Gezi Park in the last days of May 2013, thousands of people poured into the streets as a response to police brutality and to the destruction of the public park. These people, being mostly from educated, urban, middle-class youth[26] and residing mostly in Kadıköy and Beşiktaş[27], were from diverse social and political fractions, from republicans[28] to anti-capitalist Muslims, from intellectual laborers to workers, from high-school students to elderly people, yet their collective effort in Taksim enabled them to occupy Gezi Park and transform it into "Taksim Gezi Commune" which included mobile and free libraries, markets, medical centers, theatres, and many other places. Protests continued for almost half a month, scattered all over the country,

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[26] Ete, H. and Taşkan C. (2013) Kurgu ile Gerçeklik Arasında Gezi Eylemleri [Gezi Protest between Fiction and Reality]. SETA. Istanbul. Retrieved from: http://file.setav.org/Files/Pdf/20130916162138_kurguilegerceklikarasindageziyelemleri_rapor.pdf

[27] KONDA (2014) Toplumun "Gezi Parkı Olayları" algısı: Gezi Parkındakiler kimlerdi? [*Social Perception "Gezi Park Events": Who were at Gezi Park?*]. KONDA. İstanbul. Retrieved from: http://konda.com.tr/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/KONDA_GeziRaporu2014.pdf

[28] The term "republican" means that they are strictly oppose to the current government, and also sympathetic toward the main opposition party, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party).

and, in the end, the state violently suppressed the resistance, destroyed the commune, and evicted the community from Gezi Park on the 15th of June.

4.1.2 Going back home

During the occupation of Gezi, Kadıköy was one of the most politically vibrant neighborhoods. On the morning of June 1st , a group of supporters of rival football teams gathered in Kadıköy, crossed the Bosporus bridge, and arrived in Beşiktaş to participate in the resistance.[29] Others joined the demonstration by using the ferries until Istanbul municipality canceled the transportation network between the two sides of the city.[30] The ones who stayed in Kadıköy participated in the Gezi Resistance by banging on pots and pans in their neighborhoods.[31] In the aftermath of the demonstrations, to protest police brutality, 1. Gazdan Adam Festivali (1st Gas Man Festival – ridiculing the use of tear gas by the police) was arranged in Kadıköy on July 7th. In the following months, several neighborhood solidarities inspired by Gezi, most importantly *Acıbadem*, *Caférağa,* and *Yeldeğirmeni*, organized in Kadıköy.[32] Thus, the line of resistance between Gezi and Kadıköy was an active one. In a way, Gezi has triggered vast political mobility in-between Kadıköy and Taksim and saturated Kadıköy as a home to the urbanites who are against the authoritarian rule of Erdoğan.

The legacy of Gezi has continued in Kadıköy with these new solidarity networks, neighborhood associations, festivals, and squat houses in which the politics of commons have been reflected. Yet, as I have explicated on the previous chapters, the economic and demographic changes in

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[29] "Kadıköy'den Taksim'e köprüden geçtiler." [They crossed the bridge from Kadıköy to Taksim]. Bianet. 1 June 2013. Retrieved from: https://bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/147111-kadikoy-den-taksim-e-kopruden-gectiler

[30] "Fenerbahçe ve Beşiktaş taraftar grupları Taksim'e yürüdü." [Supporters of Fenerbahce and Besiktas arrived in Taksim]. Hürriyet. 8 June 2013. Retrieved from: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/fenerbahce-ve-besiktas-taraftar-gruplari-taksime-yurudu-23462125

[31] "Gezi ruhu Kadıköy'de" [The Spectre of Gezi is in Kadıköy]. Gazete Kadıköy. 20 June 2013. Retrieved from: http://www.gazetekadikoy.com.tr/genel/gezi-ruhu-kadikoyde-h4229.html

[32] Kocabıçak, Evren. "İşgal ve Mahalle Dayanışması." [Occupy Movement and Neighbourhood Solidarity]. Müşterekerimiz [Our Commons]. 20 Dec. 2014. Retrieved from: http://musterekerimiz.org/isgal-ve-mahalle-dayanismasi/

Moda, and extremity of political events in Turkey, and the traumatic memory of Gezi Park's lost has all contributed to the political aspects of gentrification in Moda. Although the grassroots politics have been conveyed by these particular activities, the cultures of protest have acquired the form of gentrification through memory, belonging, and isolation in Moda.

4.1.3 Memories of a lost cause

The Gezi protests still haunt the minds of the dissident citadins of Istanbul. It was the utmost state violence which left protestors' bodies and souls injured. "We were beaten, shot, and killed. People lost their legs and arms. They were too strong." says Hasan, a resident of Moda. A moment of silence. "It is as if I want to forget it." Dilara, a café-owner, joins with her own experience: "I saw that a policeman shot a woman on the head with a rubber bullet. Her eye came out, just near me. And security personnel attempted to save her, but in vain. When he approached to her, at least twenty-five policemen shot him with rubber bullets." Hasan nodded in sorrow. "Once you witness thousands of these events," said Dilara, "the memory turns into a trauma which you can never escape." (February 2019)

Today the surveillance and superintendence over Taksim regulate the heart of Istanbul under the veil of order and protection. What was once a considered to be a space of hope - now is altered into a traumatizing enclave for dissidents. Even so, my interlocutors, who participated in the protests, left Taksim and never visited it again. Most of them relocated to Kadikoy and began to run their businesses in Moda. One of them, Gamze, a 35-year-old educated woman, used to run a café in Cihangir, Beyoglu. She started to look for available shops in Kadikoy one month after the police violence against protestors abated. "This one month", she says, "was more suffocating than all the pepper sprays I had. It was. As if Taksim was threatening me, chasing me every morning" (February 2019).

While personal memories appear as peculiar to the individual, especially the singular glances at past social events "involves cooperative work often in quite localized settings" (Urry, 1995, p. 50). The shared memory also allows people not only to collectively remember but also construe their past. In this sense, gentrifiers' retrospective interpretation of the Gezi protests instigated their present social proximity in the neighborhood. As a result, while dissident citadins reconstructed Taksim as a traumatic site, they collectively redefined their position in the city through the retreat from the traumatic loss of the city center and transmitted their memory to Moda. Albeit the trauma of the Gezi protests persists in the mind of gentrifiers, it is only one factor behind their affinity with Moda neighborhood. Other facets, such as educational attainment, cultural assets, income, lifestyle, and political alignment, shape their aspirations and trajectories. The next section of this chapter will discuss how gentrifiers' past experiences and their senses of belonging remade Moda the Republican enclave.

4.2 Kurtarılmış bölge

Lefebvre defines "absolute political space" as a strategic arrangement by the state in order to impose itself as reality (1991: 94). Indeed, after the Gezi protests, the state's strategical attack evicted the contentious political environment from public space and produced it as "absolute political space" of the state. Yet, as Lefebvre argues "space is neither a frame nor container" of actions, rather "space is a lived experience." (1991: 94) Although the state was able to control the physical space as such, it does not mean that the lived experiences of protestors have gone. On the contrary, these accumulated practices positioned the protestors in their shared social space of possibilities. In other words, homogeneity of the objective conditions among the agents (i.e. the Gezi protests and its suppression by the state) produced a "group habitus" (Bourdieu 1977: 80) in the "representational space" (Lefebvre 1991: 39) where similar images and symbols are communicated.

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Bearing in mind the coalescence of café-owners' collective past, in this chapter, I argue that the political experiences transmitted from the past can inscribe and split not only the neighborhood but also the city as much as economic capital and cultural capital do. Furthermore, I contend that the gentrifiers' experiences of belonging through identifying themselves with the neighborhood and distinguishing themselves from the metropolis are crucial in understanding the political infrastructure of the neighborhood. I also argue that the constituted political divisions further entrench the extant economic inequalities and cultural differences. In order to explicate my arguments, I scrutinize the neighborhood as a construct of everyday practices (loaded with economic, cultural, and symbolic exchanges) which reshapes the habitus of the newcomers. All in all, I demonstrate that newcomers' sense of belonging resulted in the making of a new political identity.

4.2.1 *Mahalle kültürü*

Though fewer in number, hundred-year-old *köşk*s and churches, the coastline, and the relatively silent and chill parts of the quarter made Moda famous as a summer resort. Its generous sea landscape is crowned by the Prince's Islands. Both the cultural and natural setting of Moda exudes a distinct *aura* for the Istanbulites. Indeed, Kadıköy municipality took an active role in transforming the surrounding neighborhoods by opening prestigious streets, renovating the façades of old *köşk*s, collaborating with green companies, and organizing cultural festivals in order to induce a modern urban consciousness that would aesthetically appreciate the built environment[33]. Besides cultural investments, the local municipality also displaced the weekly bazaars in the periphery of the neighborhood after mayor's concerns over the stallholders' intrusion into the personal lives of Kadıköy residents and their degradation of public places[34].

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[33] Kılınç, H. (2010, June 10). Bölge çağdaş kent görünümüne kavuşacak. [The area will have an outlook of the modern city]. *Gazete Kadıköy.* p. 12.
[34] Editors. (2006, August 31). Salı pazarı tarihe karışıyor. [The Tuesday bazaar is history]. *Gazete Kadıköy.* p. 10

Most importantly, in the last twenty-five years, the Kadıköy municipality organizes the *Fener Alayı* (a sort of public festival) to celebrate the establishment of Turkish Republic and to reiterate that "Kadıköy is the Fortress of the Republic and Democracy".[35]

The cultural and political investments of the Kadıköy municipality contributed to the cultural infrastructure of Moda where it allowed many dissidents to readily connect with the neighborhood. The trauma of Gezi has been dealt with at 'home' with 'same kind of people' (Gamze). In these terms, Moda is also seen as the emblematic of *mahalle kültürü* (neighborhood culture) – which is a type of culture emerging from the interactions between and co-existence of refined residents, educated clientele, and old businesses. Entrepreneurs build their meanings over the palimpsest of Moda, adapt to their clientele, and remake the neighborhood culture. As they merge the past with the present, both through their past experiences and through the symbols of Moda, they depict their workplaces as their home.

> *"Our customers are the ones who want to relax, who want to move away from the* özenti piyasa *[wannabe elite] kind of places. I am 34 years old. Honestly, I like boutique, home designed, friendly, sincere places. I prefer them. I don't want grumpy people, like I don't want to say, "God damn he/she is here again". We are the sincere ones, the people who come here says, nevertheless, we came here to see you. It's a good, proud thing for us."* (March 2017, female, Moda).

Proliferation in the numbers of small cafés and theatres in the inner streets of neighborhood recalls the "pacification by cappuccino' (Zukin, 1995, p. 28). Zukin (pp. 28) shows, after the reorganization of a public park, how "public spaces are made safe by attracting lots of "normal" users". The gentrification in Kadıköy resembles this process as it provides a *relaxing* environ for the clientele. Both café-goers and entrepreneurs deploy a sense of affective belonging to the neighborhood. Moreover, they do not only think that Moda is a relaxing neighborhood, but it is the 'only' "comfortable" neighborhood in Istanbul. This formation of affectual bond is one

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[35] Editors. (2000, October 26). Cumhuriyetin ve demokrasinin kalesi. [The fortress of the Republic and democracy]. *Gazete Kadıköy.* p. 10.

attempt at identifying Moda community and separating it from Istanbul. Here, my analysis differs from pacifying tendencies of cappuccino as Zukin effectively uses to define the process of domestication of a public park. A new imagined community, so to speak, arises out of 'caffeinated' effects of gentrification which are the creation of consumption clusters in the neighborhood. The critical infrastructure of these new enterprises excludes the 'chaotic, crowded, and depressive' Istanbul and prosper a new urban identity based on an updated form of political antagonism. In other words, separation of the urbanites through consumption practices turns "right to the city" into *relaxing* with the city.

Entrepreneurs deploy senses of feeling at home to their clientele. They do it through making bespoke commodities tailored with 'authenticity' (Zukin, 2008), and showing their respect and attachment to traditional artisanship. They see themselves as new shopkeepers of the neighborhood, continuing to produce *mahalle kültürü* from where it was left. Their labor over authentic products acquires a meaning when they try to be *esnaf*. "Moda is the most humane part of Istanbul," says Inci, a café-boutique owner, "and we are participating in it by putting our efforts to make a quality product to meet quality clientele." Damla puts it in other words as she says that they produce them for consumers who "gets it," those who can reflect upon their products, for those who have a distinct circle of friends, and for those who are refined people. The daily exchange of authentic products fosters larger bonds with Moda among entrepreneurs and it gives them a higher chance to ease the process of 'tuning-in' to the neighborhood.

Entrepreneurs demonstrate their attachment to particular histories by utmost openness in their workplaces. A boutique-tattoo-café in Moda Street entrances their clientele by a lavishly framed newspaper sheet with a big photo of Ataturk and the mourning crowd. A drawing of a women urbanite in a paper from the 1880s hangs on the wall of Mars café. Cenk, the owner of Mars café, tells me that he asked some painters living in Moda to produce oil paintings for the interior, collected maritime antiques from warehouses, and located them at his own wish. They act as

connoisseurs in decorating their shop. But they also add their preservationist attitude to their attachment to the past. When Cenk found the coffee tables standing idle near garbage container, he took them, polished their surface, and put a marble on top of it. 'I do my work with care' he says, 'we should polish the neighborhood we live so as to leave it as it is to next generations.' (January 2019)

Entrepreneurs' attachment to Moda is also visible in their attitude as perceiving themselves as shop owner and customer at the same time. They establish good relationships with other cafés as they visit and consider themselves as a part of the neighborhood as they want their business to be long-run.

> *Of course, I don't say to others that "I am from Moda, do not dilute here brother!" Maybe I am diluting Moda as well. But I now belong to Moda, and I came here to stay for long. I think all other businesses should be long-run. Open a café for three years, then shut down it, then again, it kills the fabric of the neighborhood. And harms our relations with the residents as well.* (February 2019, female, boutique owner)

They require a sincere attitude towards the clientele from their employees, which entrepreneurs refer as friends. The sense of belonging, thus, not only is practiced by entrepreneurs but also is expected from the employee.

The café-shop, new abode of the middle-class in Istanbul, is home and exhibition at once. The home emanates the affective properties of shop-owner, it is collectively practiced by them, residents, and the clientele. While the house proposes an open space for mutual interaction, the exhibition form of the shop certainly requires a process of filtering and reduction. The cultural properties, hence, define the rules of belonging – who can belong, how, and when? Whereas affects are transmitted from the retrospective reading of past, cultural properties convert the accepted modes of conduct into distinctive commodities. As affects provide the attachment to the neighborhood, cultural properties work as a defense mechanism of entrepreneurs.

4.2.2 *Mahalle baskısı*

> *"In 2013, Istanbul broke into two parts, it exemplified 'how we went socially bad [or stale, rotten]. An insolent government, investing on ground rent, consumption-oriented urbanization, and, the worst, the emergence of high tower buildings, gated communities, one and a half-million-dollar flats, and so on. As opposed to this, Turkey has seen the riot of the people who said 'not everything is money'. Simple as that. Then Turkey got split. Istanbul got split. We do not go to Taksim anymore, it was the metropolis proper, it was serving everyone no matter their background. So, 2013 brought Kadıköy into a new phase, it is now 'kurtarılmış bölge', only place in Istanbul where people can feel freedom, comfort, relief. Youth, artist circles, intellectuals, they all came here to defend and to prosper the only neighborhood we have."* (February 2019, male, Moda resident)

The ideological division between *mahalle kültürü* and *mahalle baskısı* is persistent in the divisions between refined versus tacky, feminine versus masculine, isolated versus cosmopolitan, walking distance versus transitway, culture versus economy. These dichotomies of the everyday language reproduce themselves as constituents of belonging in entrepreneurs' self-discourse. The shop owners' sense of belonging is also affected by the presence of their 'other's. As the political and religious orientations were polarizing discourses in Turkey (Öncü, 1999; Navaro-Yashin, 2002), the consequences of the Gezi protests had also produced a divided city between supporters and dissidents of the government. Many either moved in to or spend more time in Moda which resulted in congestion of dissident youth in a quarter. Their neighborhood culture is possible with its counterpart *mahalle baskısı*[36]. When entrepreneurs decided on their locations in the core, they reproduced the social categories of others so as to define boundaries of belonging to Moda.

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[36] The term is a concept coined by the sociologist Şerif Mardin which suddenly became part of the colloquial and everyday language in Turkey. It analyzes *mahalle* as at once a social unit by itself, and coalescence of individuals. He argues that *mahalle baskısı* occur through a power gaze of the people of hegemonic culture over the others. The term's relevance is due to both its actuality in local as well as national setting.

Moda's core as the antithesis of the metropolis, represents the *refined* community, while the people who used to spend time in the peripheral shops are labeled as *junk crew*.[37] This definition highly depends on consumption practices and taste. However, on a deeper level, it represents two distinct groups. The former represents delicate, gentle, distinguished, and intellectual individuals, the latter represents a homogenous mob having uncouth, crude, practical and plain individuals. Entrepreneurs define themselves through the use of these categories, but also demarcate their geographical areas of belonging as well.

However, being more than a result of choice between different commodities and areas, the level which distinguishes core and periphery is actually embodied and performed by citadins. Most of the women interlocutors that I have talked with explain the 'inundating masculinity' as a problem that appeared with the extensive transportation network in Istanbul. The transitway and subway are dangerous places where they do not feel secure. "Insults, abuses, tons of harassments," says Sinem, a café-tattoo shop owner, "these all happen in Metrobus. I am happy in Moda, I can walk in the night without any fear. It is not like *Rıhtım* or Istanbul in general." Gamze adds to Sinem's argument that "If I were to go to Taksim as a woman and with my women friends, do you believe that is it possible that I would turn back home without any harassment?" As Lordoğlu (2018) also demonstrates in her book*, "Being a Single Woman in Istanbul",* Kadıköy is an exemplary case in Istanbul where women feel secure more than other districts.

Mahalle baskısı is formed and reproduced in the periphery of the neighborhood as the manifestation of the metropolis as a whole. When I asked the women clientele to think of

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[37] "A lot of differences. In Rıhtım, the underside, there is full of "abur-cubur tayfa" (the junk-food consumers, or tacky crew), anyone sits there. When you start to walk toward upside, toward Moda, people get filtered. Here is more raffiné. Well, Moda also started degenerate, however." (March 2017, male, café-owner, Moda)

mahalle as a person, their answers revealed the stark difference between the core and the periphery. While the periphery would be a young, jealous, violent and heterosexual man, the personified core would be young, sincere, uninhibited, and bisexual woman. The possible partnership between these two persons would seem impossible for my interlocutors. As they put it, the periphery would always try to restrain and dominate the core through excessive use of family values, common-sense, and violence. Furthermore, while the periphery would hardly graduate from the secondary school and surely become a part of the low-income class group, the core would be a university graduate with a focus on humanities or cultural studies and would work in the creative sector.

Entrepreneurs and their clientele's belonging to Moda, thus, stems from their imagination of the boundaries between core and periphery relied on the set of moral and ethical values that social groups espouse. The distinction based on the economic, cultural, and political dichotomies demonstrates that political identity is an exclusionary process of gentrification. The specific channels fueling these boundaries are also saturated by the memories of the Gezi protests. Habitus, taste, and memory conflate the positions in the class structure with the alignment in the political structure in the city. Moda is a liberated 'territory' because it offers a locale for dissident citadins' lost belonging to metropolis. Moda, in this sense, is the neighborhood proper for feeling at ease with dissidents' position in society. However, as much as it motivates new group formations and solidarity, on closer scrutiny, it reproduces itself as 'liberated' territory which attests to exclusion of urban poor and depriving them to participate in the emerging center of Istanbul.

Gentrification reconsidered

> *"We comfort ourselves by reliving memories of protection. Something closed must retain our memories, while leaving them their original value as images. Memories of the outside world will never have the same tonality as those of home and, by recalling these memories, we add to our store of dreams; we are never real historians, but always near poets, and our emotion is perhaps nothing but an expression of a poetry that was lost." (Bachelard, 1964, s. 6)*

For Bachelard (1964), the house is where imaginations are spatially fixated. While cellars are loaded with fear, the attic is where our thoughts are lucid and undisturbed. Our memories stroll, and then localize in certain spots, as the rooms keep and foster memories. Akin to Bachelard's rigorous analysis of the space, I would say that Moda is the attic of Istanbul. The reverberations of the Gezi protests among the protestors defy the economic rationale of a typical gentrifier. The new senses of belonging imbued with an emergent political identity draw the symbolic borders of exclusion. Yet, as Bourdieu quips, these magical boundaries also operate "to stop those who are inside, on the right side of the line, from leaving, demeaning or down-grading themselves." (Bourdieu 1991, pp. 122).

Kurtarılmış Bölge, the liberated territory of Istanbul for the dissident citadins, is what the memories of Gezi reconstructed. As the state violence evicted the protestors from the heart of the metropolis, the operations of economic and cultural capital kept the dissidents inside of Moda. The movement of economic capital instigated the consumption clusters and segmentation of social groups as well as it is mirrored in the geographical plane as *the core* and *the periphery.* The circulation of cultural capital is made possible by the critical infrastructure of the neighborhood, the clientele and the residents, which in turn separated the *refined* and *junk.* Most importantly, these economic and cultural dichotomies provided gentrifiers and residents with a new semantic toolbox where they can retrospectively construe their political identity and legitimize the gentrification of Moda.

Although I grounded my arguments on the case of Moda neighborhood and the Gezi Protests, the proposed conceptual framework can be applied in other cases where emancipatory social movements leave its effects on cities. First, treatment of a neighborhood as the space of everyday construction and conflation of the economic and cultural field might open a new vista in gentrification studies. Secondly, scrutinizing how gentrification is maintained rather than looking at the drivers of gentrification could provide a better understanding of the category of *gentrifier*. This thesis, indeed, challenges the analysis of gentrifier as a solely economic or culturally oriented agent and proposes the political factors which constitute their desire to move into a neighborhood. Lastly, I contend that the complementary use of ethnographic methods and network analysis to situate the economic, cultural and political layers is particularly helpful to examine a gentrified neighborhood.

I focused on the commercial gentrification of Moda and its political underpinnings. Since a significant number of studies are on the residential gentrification, my specific locus of analysis would not elaborate on how emergent political identities are constructed in other types of gentrification. Further research can be conducted on how cultural and economic capitals are effective or weak in the construction of urban identities by the resident gentrifiers. Secondly, I analyzed a middle-class neighborhood where certain types of cultural capitals were relevant for my analysis of political aspects gentrification. More detailed research, for instance, might include the examination of the working-class neighborhoods that are under gentrification and would analyze the sense of belonging of dwellers in relation to their strategies to draw their own symbolic boundaries. These two limitations of this thesis, when wrought with a rigorous critique, would enrich the debate on gentrification and urban change.

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