GENTRIFICATION, COSMOPOLITANISM, AND CONSUMPTION IN THE BEYOĞLU DISTRICT: A CASE STUDY OF METROPOLITAN HABITUS

by

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the metropolitan habitus of gentrifiers in Istanbul's urban core, Beyoğlu which is a cosmopolitan lifestyle center having a dynamic cultural life and a heterogeneous social composition. The study is based on qualitative research methods and mainly uses the in-depth interviews conducted with thirty-six gentrifiers. The gentrifiers in Beyoğlu who are a high-cultural-capital group, are mostly employed in social and cultural professions. Through studying their metropolitan habitus I attempt to delineate the interplay of identity, space and consumption for this educated new middle class population. The analysis of the gentrification habitus is conducted in three interrelated parts. First, the motives for gentrification and the meanings associated with Beyoğlu are presented in order to reflect gentrifiers' place-based strategies for identity construction. Secondly, their perceptions of and interactions with diversity are discussed. Thirdly, gentrifiers' taste, lifestyle, and consumption patterns are explored. The main argument of the study is that living in Beyoğlu which pertains to a form of consumption and an aesthetic experience in relation to space, reflects a cosmopolitan attitude. This is a way to articulate cultural capital and social distinction for the Beyoğlu gentrifiers. The cosmopolitan attitude indicating an openness to and interest in difference has limits and paradoxical aspects which are also discussed within the scope of this study. This study aims to contribute to the literatures on gentrification, the new middle class, social organization of taste, and consumption.

Keywords: Urban geography, gentrification, the new middle class, habitus, consumption, cosmopolitanism, Beyoğlu.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma Beyoğlu'nda yaşayan soylulaştırıcıların metropolitan habitusunu incelemektedir. Beyoğlu çok-kültürlü bir hayat tarzı merkezidir. Canlı bir kültürel hayata ve heterojen bir toplumsal yapıya sahiptir. Çalışmada nitel araştırma yöntemleri ve temel olarak otuzaltı soylulaştırıcıyla gerçekleştirilen derinlemesine mülakatlar kullanılmıştır. Beyoğlu'ndaki soylulaştırıcılar Türkiye'deki eğitimli yeni orta sınıfın bir parçasıdır. Bu grup yüksek kültürel sermayeye sahiptir ve ağırlıklı olarak sosyal ve kültürel iş kollarında çalışmaktadır. Bu çalışmada amaçlanan söz konusu grubun metropolitan habitusunu çalışarak kimlik, mekân ve tüketim arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamaktır. Soylulaştırma habitusunun analizi birbiriyle ilişkili üç bölümde gerçekleştirilmiştir. İlk olarak, soylulaştırıcıların kimlik kurgularındaki mekân temelli stratejileri ortaya koymak için, bu grubun Beyoğlu'nda yaşama sebepleri ve Beyoğlu'na yükledikleri anlamlar sunulmuştur. İkinci olarak soylulaştırıcıların Beyoğlu'ndaki çeşitliliğe dair algıları ve bu çeşitlilikle kurdukları ilişkiler tartışılmıştır. Üçüncü olarak soylulaştırıcıların beğenileri, hayat tarzları ve tüketim alışkanlıkları ortaya konmuştur. Çalışmanın temel iddiası, bir tüketim pratiği ve mekâna ilişkin bir estetik deneyim olarak Beyoğlu'nda yaşamanın, kozmopolit bir tavrı yansıttığı ve soylulaştırıcılar için kültürel sermaye ve toplumsal ayrımlarını sergilemenin bir yolu olduğudur. Farklılığa açık olmayı ve ilgi duymayı içeren kozmopolit tavrın sınırları ve sorunlu yanları da bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışma kapsamında bunlar da tartışılmıştır. Bu çalışma soylulaştırma, yeni orta sınıf, beğenilerin toplumsal organizasyonu ve tüketim alanlarındaki literatürlere katkı yapmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kentsel coğrafya, soylulaştırma, yeni orta sınıf, habitus, tüketim, kozmopolitlik, Beyoğlu.

To My Mother and Father

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PART 2: ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

> The term "Little Istanbul" is not enough to define Beyoğlu. "Little Turkey" or maybe with a small amount of exaggeration we can call it the "Little World". Beyoğlu carries the impression of every culture and every sort of people. Italian, Mexican, Japanese, and Russian cuisines; Cuban rhythms; Türkü [Turkish folk song] bars; Anatolian women making local pastry; free-spirited people lighting up with reggae music; the elderly and the young; the rich and the poor; the celebrity and the ordinary people; everybody and everything are present here. Besides, they exist side-by-side in harmony as if an atonal symphony. Within the same hour you can eat pilav [a rice dish] from a food vendor and then have a fancy cocktail in an ultra-luxurious restaurant; you can shop from a boutique selling designer clothes and then from a cheap street peddler. (Arkunlar, Pekçelen & Yılmaz, 2010, p. 15)[1]

The quote above is taken from an article on leisure, entertainment, and the cultural life in contemporary Beyoğlu, published in Time-Out Istanbul, a magazine that targets an urban educated middle-class population. Here, Beyoğlu is constructed as a cosmopolitan consumption space presenting various options for the consumer. The heterogeneity of the district, that is, the co-existence of global and local forms of difference, and high- and low-culture makes Beyoğlu an exciting place for a particular section of the educated middle-class population. This study aims to understand Beyoğlu's appeal for this group by focusing on the perceptions, attitudes, and experiences of gentrifiers living in various Beyoğlu neighborhoods. I attempt to delineate the "gentrification habitus" in Beyoğlu which refers to gentrifiers' dispositions and their taste and lifestyle patterns through which they construct and experience inner-city living (Podmore, 1998). I conceptualize gentrification as both a residential practice and a form of consumption which reflects a desire for distinction. In this study I focus on gentrifiers' perceptions of Beyoğlu and the meanings they attribute to the district, their constructions of and attitudes towards social and cultural diversity, and their tastes and consumption patterns.

[1] The translation is mine.
'Küçük Istanbul'tanımı yetersiz Beyoğlu için. 'Küçük Türkiye', hatta belki biraz iddialı olacak ama, 'Küçük Dünya' denebilir pekâlâ. Her kültürden, her cins insandan izler taşıyor. İtalyan, Meksika, Japon, Rus mutfakları, Küba ritimleri, Türkü barlar, gözleme açan Anadolulu kadınlar, reggae ile coşan özgür ruhlu insanlar, yaşlısı, genci, zengini, fakiri, ünlüsü, ünsüzü; herkes ve herşey mevcut burada. Üstelik yan yana, atonal bir senfoni kadar uyumlu. Aynı saat içerisinde sokaktan pilav yiyip üzerine ultra lüks bir restoranda havlı bir kokteyl yudumlayıp, özel tasarımların satıldığı bir butikten ve işportadan alışveriş yapabilirsiniz.

1. Statement of the Problem and Research Objectives

Gentrification has long been analyzed in relation to a specific fragment of the new middle class and their liberal worldview, distinct lifestyle preferences, and their interest in difference (Butler, 1997; Caulfield, 1994; Ley, 1996). Gentrifiers are identified to be members of cultural new class which refers to "professionals in arts and applied arts, the media, teaching, and social services such as social work and in other public- and nonprofit-sector positions" (Ley, 1994, p. 15). This group having liberal and leftist political inclinations prefers to live in the urban core which they consider as an emancipatory, vibrant and tolerant environment. Furthermore, the inner-city areas host the consumption, entertainment, and cultural amenities which the urban educated middle-class needs and desires, together with the support services and networks making the inner-city a convenient place to live for working individuals. They are also cosmopolitan places which "offer difference and freedom, privacy and fantasy, possibilities for carnival amid the 'relief of anonymity'" (Caulfield, 1994, p. 139) which render inner-city living as a liberating and exciting experience.

This study is an attempt to explore the worldview and habitus of the gentrifying classes living in Beyoğlu. My inquiry involves three interrelated aspects: the motives and meanings of inner-city living, gentrifiers' attitudes towards diversity and their lifestyle preferences and consumption behavior. In this thesis, first I discuss how gentrifiers perceive Beyoğlu and construct the experience of inner-city living. Here, I attempt to explain what space and gentrification practice entail in terms of gentrifiers' self images and identity construction processes while considering the motivations for inner-city living. Secondly I discuss gentrifiers' perceptions of and interactions with social and cultural diversity in their neighborhoods and Beyoğlu in general. I analyze their relationships with the incumbent residents in their neighborhoods who are mostly from socio-economically lower-status groups, and with the disadvantaged and marginalized social groups such as the Kurdish

immigrants, the Roma population, the urban poor, and the transgender community who dwell in the less-gentrified parts of the district. In this part, I want to give an idea about the levels of social mixing in the gentrified and gentrifying neighborhoods of Beyoğlu. I also want to present what gentrification indicates in terms of gentrifiers' constructions of diversity and, the co-existence of and boundaries between different social groups with respect to class, ethnicity, culture, and lifestyle preferences. Thirdly I discuss the consumption practices of gentrifiers in relation to Beyoğlu, a diversified consumption-scape, and their taste and cultural consumption patterns with respect to their distinction strategies. In this part, I examine whether the arguments about the dissolution of boundaries between high and low cultural forms (Featherstone, 1991) and the emergence of an omnivorous taste pattern (Peterson and Simkus, 1992) hold for the taste and consumption patterns of gentrifiers. Besides, I consider the meanings gentrifiers attach to what they consume.

Gentrifiers have a form of metropolitan habitus (Butler and Robson, 2001; Webber, 2007), a distinct worldview, political attitudes, consumption profile, and lifestyle preferences. By studying the metropolitan habitus of the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu I attempt to delineate the interplay of identity, space and consumption. Gentrifiers invest in and claim distinct identities, and produce symbolic boundaries on the basis of their residential and lifestyle preferences, and consumption practices. It has been claimed that gentrification, a form of consumption and an aesthetic experience in relation to space, is a way to articulate cultural capital and social distinction both from the lower-classes with less economic capital and the upper-classes with less cultural capital (Jager, 1986; Bridge, 2001). Gentrifiers have a reputation as a high-cultural capital group as they have high levels of education. They usually work in social, cultural and artistic fields, and they participate in various forms of cultural consumption. In this regard, I argue that the habitus of Beyoğlu gentrifiers involve the display of cultural

capital, the expression of social distinction, and boundary-making within the fields of housing and consumption.

Although gentrification is associated with exclusionary practices and the production of symbolic boundaries on the basis of cultural capital it also indicates a desire to encounter and engage with difference and diversity in the urban core which reflects a cosmopolitan inclination. Scholars recognize cosmopolitanism as a defining trait of gentrifiers whereby they have an openness to and interest in consuming difference (May, 1996; Hage, 1997). Gentrifiers are identified to embrace multicultural political views as they have tolerance for diversity, although this is usually at a rhetorical level (Butler, 2003; Rofe, 2003). In this study I ask whether the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu have cosmopolitan tastes and attitudes with respect to the global and local forms of difference, and cultural diversity within the district. Besides, I explore what are the implications, paradoxical aspects, and limits of gentrifiers' cosmopolitan attitudes and behavior. May's (1997) study in London revealed that gentrifiers superficially consume difference as an aesthetic experience while social and cultural diversity becomes the object of gentrifiers' flâneurian gaze. The aesthetic gaze of the gentrifier reproduces the hierarchy between the subject (white middle class-gentrifier) and the object (the ethnic and class others) and the exclusionary understandings pertaining to class and ethnicity. Similarly Hage's (1997) study in Sydney showed that gentrifiers' sense of cosmopolitanism and their interest in diversity were limited to the consumption of exotic ethnic cuisines. I claim that this sort of a superficial cosmopolitanism partially exists among the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu.

When it comes to the issue of social mixing, it has been suggested that the development of social networks and interaction between the middle-class gentrifiers and lower-class incumbent residents do not occur frequently phenomena in gentrified and gentrifying neighborhoods (Butler and Robson, 2001; Butler, 2003; Butler and Robson, 2003). Gentrifiers tend to socialize with people sharing a similar composition of economic

and cultural capital, and worldview. İlyasoğlu and Soytemel's (2006) study on the social transformation in Balat, an old neighborhood in Istanbul's historical peninsula, presented a similar situation whereby gentrifiers tend to distinguish between their friendship circles and the local neighbors who include the Kurdish migrants and the Roma population and who are socio-economically lower class. The gentrifiers in Balat have limited interaction with this latter group. As Butler and Robson (2003) argue, the multicultural outlook of gentrifiers brings toleration and celebration of diversity but it does not define their social behavior in terms of intermingling with different socio-economic and cultural groups living in their neighborhoods. Moreover, their multiculturalism does not bring an inclusionary vision for all forms of difference. Young, Diep and Drabble (2006), in their study on the gentrification of Manchester, argue that gentrifiers prefer avoiding contact with the lower-income ethnic minority groups, some youth culture and the white working class residing in the inner-city. The Manchester gentrifiers consider those groups as dangerous and unpleasant. I argue that Beyoğlu gentrifiers also have limited contact with the incumbent residents and some of them have exclusionary understandings about certain social groups.

When it comes to the consumption practices and taste patterns of gentrifiers I argue that gentrifiers in Beyoğlu tend to engage in various forms of consumption and they have a broad cultural repertoire involving both high- and low-cultural forms and both global and local forms of difference. Featherstone (1991) argued that postmodern culture introduced "a more relativistic and pluralist situation in which the excluded, the strange, the other, the vulgar which were previously excluded can now be allowed in" (p. 106). The literature on cultural omnivorousness makes a similar point. In the last decades the cultural repertoire of elites has widened in terms of their appropriation of low-brow and popular cultural forms and styles together with the high-brow or elite cultural products (Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996). The new middle classes who possess high levels of education and

the disposable income to engage in various cultural and consumption practices, are identified as cultural omnivores in different settings. Bennett, Savage, Silva, Warde, Gayo-Cal and Wright's (2009) study on the configuration of cultural capital and social exclusion in the UK suggests that the educated middle classes tend to have an omnivorous consumption pattern which transcends traditional cultural boundaries and is linked to their reflexive and self-aware practices.

Cosmopolitanism is recognized as a significant aspect of consumer orientations in the recent decades (Holt 1998, Thompson and Tambyah 1999, Cannon and Yaprak 2002). Cosmopolitan consumption behavior can be thought within the framework of cultural omnivorousness. It refers to the consumption of products, places and experiences originating from different cultures. Individuals participate in cosmopolitan forms of consumption as they seek excellence and authenticity, and want to expand their cultural horizons. I suggest that the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu enjoy consuming both global and local forms of difference. That is, on the one hand, in line with their western-oriented lifestyle patterns they have global tastes for the cultural goods such as ethnic and world cuisines, American dramas and sitcoms, and western musical genres. On the other hand they appreciate local cultural goods and styles such as *arabesk*, the Turkish pop of the 1970s and the 1980s, ethnic music, traditional Turkish cuisine, street food, and home-cooking. The cosmopolitan consumption behavior of gentrifiers is marked by an aesthetic reflexivity indicating a consciousness of the self which attributes personal meanings to consumption for stylizing one's lifestyle (Chaney, 1996).

There are two main lines of analysis in the gentrification literature one concerned with the production side and the political economy of gentrification, and the other focusing on the consumption side, the individual gentrifiers and their social and cultural behavior (Hamnett 1991; Lees 2000; Lees et al. 2008). My approach in this study could be defined as a consumption-side perspective whereby I analyze the experience of gentrifiers who construct

their identities on the basis of place-related practices and discourses, and specific consumption patterns. As Jayne (2006) argues, space as both a physical and symbolic entity to be used and consumed, and as the site of consumption practices contributes to the production, reproduction and negotiation of social identities. Beyoğlu is a very productive case for studying the interplay of place, identity and consumption. Above all Beyoğlu is a cosmopolitan lifestyle center which hosts various retailing, entertainment, cultural and artistic facilities, and which simultaneously involves high and low cultures, global and local forms of difference, and the mundane and the exotic. It has an aesthetic quality with respect to its historical fabric. Furthermore as a crowded inner-city area it hosts great social and cultural diversity. These characteristics of Beyoğlu attract the new middle class subjects with western and globally-oriented lifestyle preferences, and the ones who desire diversity and difference, who object to mainstream values and ways of life, and who want to transcend traditional cultural boundaries.

2. Significance of the Study

Gentrification is a well-studied field in Turkey. Keyder (1999b) gives one of the earliest accounts of gentrification in Istanbul discussing Arnavutköy's upgrading with the settling of educated professionals in the context of a heightened nostalgia for old Istanbul neighborhoods and an imagined cosmopolitanism with respect to the non-Muslim past of Arnavutköy. The following studies focus on the one hand on classical gentrification initiated by individual gentrifiers, and on the other hand state-led gentrification, and urban transformation and regeneration projects in the context of neoliberal urbanism and governance (Sakızlıoğlu 2007, Bezmez 2008 and İslam 2009). This latter vein of studies are burgeoning in the recent years while local governments develop projects in collaboration with private capital to gentrify old inner-city neighborhoods and urban waterfront areas.

Uzun (2001), İnce (2003), İslam (2003, 2005), İlkuçan (2004) and İslam and Merey-Enlil (2006) are some of the examples to the classical gentrification researches in Istanbul. Except İlkuçan's work on Cihangir none of these studies specifically deal with the experience of gentrifiers. İlkuçan makes an important contribution to the gentrification literature in Turkey by analyzing how gentrifiers in Cihangir construct a place-based identity. Yet, although he touches upon gentrifiers' consumption behavior and their attitudes towards diversity these subjects take a limited part in his analysis. I aim to contribute to the literature by developing an in-depth analysis of the gentrifiers' cultural world, consumption practices, and their place-related experiences, perceptions and attitudes. Besides, I examine social mixing and attitudes towards diversity which are generally overlooked subjects within the Turkish literature on gentrification. My study is significant with respect to the gap in the literature about individual gentrifiers. This gap has been referred to in the discussions part of the symposium entitled "Transformations of Historical and Central Districts: The Applicability of Gentrification Theories to Istanbul". The proceedings of the symposium were later published in Behar and İslam (2006). The scholars and researchers who participated the symposium, mentioned the role of bobos[2], i.e. bourgeois bohemians, in gentrification. Bobos are well-educated young urban professionals having a critical attitude and cosmopolitan cultural dispositions, and embracing a bohemian lifestyle. The gentrifying bobos are mostly composed of social and cultural specialists employed in the fields of media, advertisement and public relations. They prefer living in old Beyoğlu neighborhoods as they distinguish themselves from the traditional middle class. My study meets the deficiency of empirical studies on the gentrifying elites within the literature.

Moreover, this study is significant in terms contributing to the international literature by discussing the experience of gentrifiers in Istanbul. The studies concerned with the social

[2] For a discussion on bobos see Brooks (2000).

and cultural profile of gentrifiers are usually concerned with the Global North cities such as Toronto, London and Sydney. Some of the prominent academic works in this field belong to Caulfield (1994), Ley (1996) and Butler (1997). However, there is a lack of research on individual gentrifiers in cities of the Global South although the studies on the economic and political aspects of gentrification are more pervasive. The Global South cities such as Istanbul experience the gentrification of disinvested urban areas especially old inner-city areas in the recent decades within the context of globalization and the expansion of the advanced service sector industries (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005). The educated professionals who adopt western values and globally-oriented lifestyle preferences have been growing in the course of globalization and the expansion of advanced service sector in developing countries. This group constitutes a demand base for gentrification which needs to be analyzed to account for the similarities and differences with the gentrifiers in the advanced capitalist world.

Furthermore, with respect to the culture-focused accounts of gentrification there is a lack in terms of the studies exploring the consumption profile and lifestyle practices of gentrifiers on a wider ground including their taste patterns in multiple fields such as musical and TV consumption. I believe that my study is significant in this respect since I present an extensive account on the ethos and habitus of the Beyoğlu gentrifiers and their taste and consumption patterns, and lifestyle choices in several different fields. A unique contribution of this study is to combine the literatures on gentrification and cultural consumption, especially the literature on omnivorousness. The omnivores are identified to be a culturally elite and well-educated middle- and upper-class population (Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996; Bennett et al. 2009). As far as I surveyed the literature none of the studies identify gentrifiers as an omnivore population and discuss their broad taste repertoire. The combination of the two literatures is quite feasible considering that gentrifiers are composed of well-educated middle-class individuals with a diversified taste and consumption

pattern. I posit that the Beyoğlu gentrifiers have an omnivore taste pattern as they have an interest in consuming both high- and low-brow cultural goods.

This study is also important as a contribution to the literatures on the new middle class and consumption in Turkey. Öncü (1999), Bali (2002), Kozanoğlu (2001) and Şimşek (2005) produced some of the major works focusing on the consumption patterns, social and cultural behavior and worldview of the Turkish educated middle class. However, the literature lacks empirical case studies about the lifestyle patterns and consumption profiles of this group. My study is an attempt to meet this deficiency by presenting ethnographic data on the habitus of a specific fragment of the new middle class. Besides, the new middle classes have usually been discussed in relation to suburbanization in Turkey as in the studies of Öncü (1997), Ayata (2002), Danış and Pérouse (2005), and Candan and Kolluoğlu (2008). These studies mention the middle class desire to draw physical and symbolic boundaries with lower classes and the fears associated with city life, which prompt the new middle class members to move to gated communities and sites (high-rise apartment complexes in the suburbs). The chaotic construction of urban life and its heterogeneity which cause the suburban middle class to flee from inner-city neighborhoods, attract a different section of the educated middle class. In this respect, gentrification can be considered as a counter-trend to suburbanization. My study is significant in terms of focusing on this less-studied fraction of the new middle class who prefers living in the crowded and heterogeneous urban core.

3. Outline of the Study

This study is composed of two parts and eight chapters. The first part contains literature review and theoretical background which set the stage for this study, and it is composed of three chapters. In this part, I present the overview of relevant studies and locate my position within the literatures on gentrification, the new middle class, and lifestyle and consumption. In the first chapter, I present the theoretical positions on gentrification and

identify some of the relevant debates within the gentrification literature. In the second chapter, I focus on urban transformation and the course of gentrification in Turkey and discuss Istanbul's restructuring since the late nineteenth century through the present era of globalization. In the third chapter, I present some of the theoretical debates and empirical studies on the new middle class, their worldview, lifestyle preferences and consumption patterns. Here I present some of the key concepts which I used in the analysis of the data being habitus, cultural omnivorousness and cosmopolitanism.

The second part of this study is specifically focused on my research in the field. It consists of five chapters. In the fourth chapter, I discuss my methodology which is mainly composed of in-depth interviews with the gentrifier population in Beyoğlu. I also present the major demographic characteristics of the respondents. In the fifth chapter, I discuss Beyoğlu's transformation and the current levels of gentrification in its neighborhoods on the basis of existing literature, my interviews, and observations. In the sixth chapter, I analyze the motives of inner-city living and the meanings associated with Beyoğlu. Here, I deal with the constructions of Beyoğlu, the senses the district presents for the respondents, and the symbolic boundaries they produce on the basis of their place-based practices and identity-production. In the seventh chapter, I focus on the gentrifiers' attitudes towards and interactions with diversity. Besides, I touch upon the issues of social mixing considering the gentrifiers' relationships with their lower-class neighbors and the marginalized and disadvantaged populations in Beyoğlu. I also discuss social reproduction regarding their views on child-raising in Beyoğlu. In the eighth and final chapter, I discuss the gentrifiers' taste and consumption patterns, and lifestyle preferences by mainly referring to the cultural omnivore thesis. In the conclusion part, I summarize the findings of the study, discuss its contribution to literature and mention some suggestions for further research.

PART 1: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1: AN OVERVIEW OF GENTRIFICATION LITERATURE

1. Definition of Gentrification and General Information

Gentrification, in its basic sense, refers to "the conversion of socially marginal and working-class areas of the central city to middle-class residential use" (Zukin, 1987, p. 129). The term gentrification was introduced by Ruth Glass in the 1960s indicating the appropriation of inner-city working class neighborhoods by the middle classes in London, transformation of the social composition in those districts and the displacement of lower class residents. Glass explains this process as follows:

> One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle-classes—upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages—two rooms up and two down—have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences[...] The current social status and value of such dwellings are frequently in inverse relation to their status, and in any case enormously inflated by comparison with previous levels in their neighborhoods. Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly, until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed. (qtd. in Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008, p. 4)

Gentrification results in a series of physical, economic and socio-cultural changes simultaneously (Smith 1987b; Hamnett 1984, 1991). It involves a physical transformation in the neighborhood through renovation and upgrading of the housing stock and other built environment. Changing tenure and increasing rents are the main examples of the economic shift in the housing market. The social and cultural composition of the neighborhood changes as middle and upper class gentrifiers move in and, the economically and socially marginalized indigenous residents leave due to increasing rents. The development of culture, entertainment and tourism industries, and retailing spaces in the gentrifying neighborhood is another aspect of the transformation of gentrifying neighborhoods.

2. The Historical Course of Gentrification

Gentrification commenced as a systematic process in advanced capitalist cities in the 1950s and 1960s in relation to the specific social, economic and cultural dynamics of the postwar era (Lees et al., 2008). In major cities of Western Europe and the US a young middle-class population were buying and renovating houses and apartments in the old degenerate neighborhoods which had been built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Those neighborhoods were originally occupied by lower- and working class residents. A desire for preserving historical built environment and living in old inner-city neighborhoods were the initial motivations for gentrification by the middle-class settlers.

In the following decades gentrification has evolved and intensified within the framework of globalization, neoliberalism and the post-industrial transformation of cities and the labor market. It has spread to cities of developing countries in the Global South since the 1990s as the phenomenon is longer confined to advanced capitalist countries (Smith 2002, Atkinson and Bridge 2005, Lees et al. 2008). Atkinson and Bridge (2005) define this spread of gentrification as "the new urban colonialism" whereby private capital and the educated professionals i.e. the new middle classes come to dominate inner-city areas all around the world. The authors suggest that contemporary gentrification "is reminiscent of earlier waves of colonial and mercantile expansion, itself predicated on gaps of economic development at the national scale" (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005, p. 2). The colonization of inner-city areas result in the displacement of lower-income residents. Besides the cultural and aesthetic aspects of gentrification privilege whiteness, the middle-class identity and its lifestyle preferences at the expense of racial, gender and class others who live in inner-city neighborhoods. As gentrification globalizes, the neoliberal market principles and entrepreneurial urban governance become dominant in many parts of the world eliminating the welfare logic and social policies of urban governments.

Hackworth and Smith's (2001) argue that there are three waves of gentrification since the 1950s. Their model is based on neo-Marxist rent gap models which regard gentrification as a matter of investment and it focuses on the political and economic aspects of the process. The first wave of gentrification was observed in the north eastern parts of the United States, Western Europe and Australia. It took place between the 1950s and the early 1970s until the global economic recession period. Gentrification was sporadic, state-led and highly-localized at that stage.

The second wave had taken place between the 1970s and the early 1990s after the global economic recession decelerated. That period was the anchoring of gentrification in global cities. The phenomenon spread to smaller non-global cities and new neighborhoods in global cities which had experienced gentrification earlier such as New York. This stage was characterized by the "integration of gentrification into a wider range of economic and cultural processes at the global and national scales" (Hackworth and Smith, 2001, p. 468). Gentrification became an important element of the cultural strategies used for the economic redevelopment of cities in the 1980s. Public-private partnerships, the increasing role of developers in the process, and laissez-faire policies of governments have been important characteristics of the second wave.

The third-wave gentrification beginning in the mid-1990s is marked by the changing role of governments in facilitating gentrification. They began to take a more interventionist and active part in urban transformation in this stage. Gentrification has actively been supported by state both at the central and local levels. Besides, the phenomenon became tied to large-scale capital more than ever while corporate developers emerged as the primary actors of the process. In relation to this historical stage model I have discussed, Smith (2002) makes a further diagnosis about the state of gentrification in the post-1990 period under neoliberalism and globalization. Gentrification which was observable in the North-American

and European cities since the 1950s has spread to cities in developing countries all around the world in the late 1990s. It has been adopted by urban developers and governments as a strategy to improve the competitiveness of cities in the global arena. That is, it has become "a global urban strategy" and "the consummate expression of an emerging neo-liberal urbanism" (Smith, 2002).

Generalization and intensification of gentrification is bound to the changing role of state under neoliberalism as an agent of the market rather than a regulator. The formation of partnerships and active collaboration between local state and private capital is a fundamental aspect of this worldwide process. As Harvey (1989b) puts, urban governance has acquired an entrepreneurial character since the 1970s contrasting with the managerial stance of governments typical of the 1960s which aims at improving the living conditions of urban populations by providing services, public goods and facilities. Urban entrepreneurialism of the neoliberal era is based on the public-private partnerships for economic development. Under neoliberal urbanism gentrification and urban renewal become efficient strategies used by local governments for attracting investment as well as tourists and local consumers. That is how the city is rendered an attractive and sanitized place to live, operate, and consume. In addition, gentrification provides a profitable investment field for global capital while inner-city real estate markets become a good option for capital investment (Smith, 2002).

The post-industrial transformation experienced in the 1980s in cities of advanced capitalist countries and later on in cities of developing countries is another factor leading to the generalization and intensification of gentrification. In this course the economic base of cities changed and they are reconstituted as suppliers of specialized services (Sassen, 1994) and consumption centers (Featherstone, 1991). De-industrialized waterfronts and inner-city areas are gentrified by individual gentrifiers, local governments and private capital. They are re-constructed as residential areas, touristic centers, cultural consumption places and themed

environments meeting the desires of middle and upper classes for a postmodern lifestyle indicating different experiences and cultural imagery, stylization and aestheticization of life, and spectacle (Featherstone, 1991). In post-industrial cities culture becomes a major basis for urban development and cultural institutions are used as a means for attracting new businesses and corporate elites (Zukin, 1995). The symbolic economy of cities brings further commercialization of culture and history while these are used to frame and promote urban space and generating profit. Historic preservation and urban regeneration emphasize the city's visible past and its cultural value which attracts capital investment, tourists and local consumers. As governments, capital and the middle class turn to inner-city areas and become aware of the symbolic value of cities they develop a stance against deprived social groups inhabiting the urban areas. This process involves the privatization of city, and repressive policies against the class and ethnic others who are perceived as sources of urban fear by the middle class subjects.

The shift from a manufacturing-based urban economy to a service-based one created the expansion of an educated high-income population in global and globalizing cities. The growth of professionals and managers as a high-income and high-culture group gives way to residential and commercial gentrification and the physical upgrading of old urban districts (Sassen, 1994). As Atkinson and Bridge (2005) suggest, the transnational mobility of this professional managerial class in a globalizing world is another factor accounting for the geographical spread of gentrification. A section of the gentrifying class involves transnational elites with cosmopolitan dispositions who are "highly skilled professionals employed within globally oriented industries" (Rofe, 2003, p. 2524). This group is a global elite community whose identity construction strategy is based on the consumption of a globally-oriented lifestyle which is highly commodified and promoted in the recent decades. Their preference to live in the urban core reflects a sense of cosmopolitanism, predisposition to difference and, a

desire for social status while constructing a global persona and articulating distinction from the non-cosmopolite and locally-fixed social identities such as the suburban middle class.

3. Classical Gentrification and the Stage Model

The neighborhood transformation which Ruth Glass describes refers to the classical type of gentrification which is called classical or pioneer gentrification within the literature. Here, disinvested old inner-city neighborhoods are upgraded by the middle-class settlers and the original lower-income residents got displaced (Lees et al., 2008). The main actors of classical gentrification are individual gentrifiers who buy and renovate property. In time this group changes the physical, economic and social structure of the neighborhood. Gale (1979) mentions that gentrifiers in classical gentrification are composed of singles and childless couples in their late twenties and thirties who are university educated and some of whom have graduate degrees. They work in professional jobs and they have above-average income levels. They are usually employed in artistic and design professions.

Clay (1979) and Gale (1979, 1980) developed stage models to discuss the phases of classical gentrification by analyzing the transformation of old neighborhoods in a number of large American cities in the 1970s. Uzun (2001) and Lees et al. (2008) summarize these stage models which are still used as a framework to understand the development of gentrification in various cases. Here, I discuss them as one model since they are very similar. In the first stage a small group of risk-oblivious people move in the declining neighborhood and renovate houses for their own use. They use sweat equity and private capital for renovating older and architecturally distinctive properties. These pioneer gentrifiers are usually employed in social and cultural professions and composed of singles and childless couples. They generally include architects and artists who have the skill, time and ability for the renovation and upgrading of property. The rate and scale of the neighborhood's transformation is limited at this stage. Property values are relatively low and they are mostly in bad condition. At this

stage there is not much displacement of the indigenous residents since the number of pioneers is small and they usually move into vacant houses, and buy or rent property under normal market conditions.

In the second stage the pioneer gentrifier population in the neighborhood increases who renovate houses for their own use. Gale (1980) argues that more risk-prone individuals buy property due to the investment potential of the neighborhood. Besides, more couples with children move in. A few real estate agents begin to operate and they carry out promotional activities to a small extent. Rehabilitation firms and small-scale speculators may come into the picture as well. As renovation activity spreads to adjacent blocks rents begin to increase at this stage. In relation to this, displacement increases and empty houses become scarce. Clay (1979) suggests that at this stage the neighborhood begins to receive public and media attention. Mortgage money may become available for buying property.

In the third stage, the number of individual investors increases. Both pioneers and a new group of more affluent middle class households usually with children, who are risk-averse and older, buy into the neighborhood. These new residents of middle class character begin to organize for promoting the neighborhood, making demands for public resources, and shaping the community life within the neighborhood. Clay (1979) argues that tensions arise between old residents and gentrifiers at this stage since the new-comers are not very tolerant about the lower or working-class behavior. The new residents take protective and defensive actions against crime. Displacement becomes a serious problem. There is a sharp increase in housing rents and prices. Renovation and rehabilitation of built environment become more visible and the physical structure of the neighborhood changes considerably. At this stage an urban renewal project may be developed, and developers and banks begin to invest in the neighborhood while property speculation intensifies. The neighborhood becomes popular in the media and receives official interest.

In the fourth stage a large portion of the neighborhood has been gentrified. More middle class individuals move in and they tend to be much stable in terms of occupation and living arrangements involving more families with children. Contrary to the initial gentrifiers who are from professional middle class this latter group involves business and managerial middle class members. The developers and neighborhood organizations try to achieve historic district designation and obtain public reinforcements for private investment. Specialized services and commercial activites emerge in the neighborhood at this stage. Property values and rents are extremely high while buildings which were held for speculation enter the market. Both renters and some home owners are displaced due to gentrification. The housing stock in the neighborhood may not be enough for meeting the demand of middle class population. Therefore, gentrification spreads to other neighborhoods in the vicinity.

This early model supposes that gentrification turns into the invasion of the neighborhood by affluent and stable middle class members. In time real estate developers capitalize on the increase in housing values and, gentrification evolves to be an investment and profit-making activity for the new-comer gentrifiers. At the end, the neighborhood experiences embourgeoisement and loses its socio-economically disadvantaged and marginalized residents. Rose (1996) challenges the universality of the classical stage model in her study on the course of gentrification in Montreal. According to Rose, total embourgeoisement indicating a massive change in the social composition of the disitrict, did not occur in Montreal in the 1980s due to the specifities of the economic and social structure. Rather, there occurred “marginal gentrification” in the urban core. That is, many lower- and moderate-income educated middle class gentrifiers who are employed in the developing service sector, i.e. “marginal gentrifiers” as Rose (1984) names them, continue to live in the gentrified inner-city neighborhoods together with the working class and immigrants. Social diversity and the existence of lower-income groups are kept within the course of marginal

gentrification. As Rose's study shows, one need to pay attention to the specific characteristics of place rather than taking the stage models for granted. Students of gentrification should be concerned with the "geography of gentrification" since it has a different course and diverse implications in different cities and countries (Ley, 1996).

4. Theories of Gentrification

The earlier theories to account for gentrification were mostly based on neoclassical economic models and they emphasized consumer sovereignty and spatial equilibrium (Lees et al., 2008). Gentrification was explained as a rational market choice to maximize satisfaction and utility. According to this perspective changing demands of higher income households for easier access to the city center and avoiding transportation expenses result in gentrification. The mainstream view about gentrification in the 1970s, both within the academic circles and the media, was that the upper and middle classes who had chosen to live in the suburbs were now coming back to the city centers. Gentrification was praided as a "back to the city" movement and regarded as an urban renaissance.

Later on more critical explanations were developed to account for gentrification. These explanations can be categorized in two major theoretical positions. They are the production-side and consumption-side perspectives, i.e. demand- and supply-side explanations. The production-side approach (focusing on the supply side, economy and structure) is concerned with economic trends, housing markets, and the role of capital, and considers gentrification as an economic activity for maximizing profit. The consumption-based explanations (associated with the demand side, culture and agency), regard the expansion of educated professional and managerial class as the main cause of gentrification, and focus on the consumption practices, lifestyle preferences and cultural taste of the new middle class gentrifiers.

The creation of a stark opposition between production- and consumption-based explanations is misleading and unproductive (Lees 2000, Lees et al. 2008). A dualistic understanding of these perspectives causes us to overlook their converging points such as the centrality of class in both positions (Smith, 1991) and their reference to the broader changes in the socio-economic context for explaining gentrification such as capital flows in the land and housing markets and neoliberalism for production-side perspective, and post-industrialism, shift to a service sector economy and the growth of the new middle class for the consumption-side perspective. Some authors have argued that these perspectives have their own inadequacies and that they should be integrated for a comprehensive analysis of gentrification. Hamnett (1991) suggests that both the supply- and demand-side explanations are partial and limited in analyzing the "elephant of gentrification" (p. 188). Zukin (1987) calls for a synthesis of capital and culture analyses whereby gentrification should be seen as a multidimensional practice referring to production, consumption and social reproduction simultaneously.

a. Supply-side perspective

The supply-side perspective considers gentrification mainly as an economic activity for profit-making. It analyzes the production of built environment for gentrification and is concerned with the political and economic aspects of the phenomenon. The production explanations emerged in the 1970s when gentrification was widely praised as urban renaissance. The neoclassical models and back-to-the-city perspective which were dominant in the literature at that time regarded gentrification as the move of some middle and upper-income consumers from the suburbs to the inner city as a result of their housing and transportation trade-offs. Production accounts of gentrification criticize this approach which explain gentrification by consumer preferences and overlook the agency of capital.

Neil Smith is the most renowned figure of the supply-side perspective. Smith (1979) argues that gentrification is "a back to the city movement by capital, not people" and he challenged the neoliberal models based on consumer sovereignty. According to the production-side perspective gentrification has an economic logic; it is for maximizing profit rather than being the result of changing lifestyle preferences of a certain fraction of the middle classes. The investment of capital in the inner city results in the displacement of the working class residents who have chosen to live in the urban core due to cheaper rents. That is, gentrification constitutes another manifestation of class inequality.

Smith's model employs the concepts of uneven development, disinvestment and the rent gap. In this approach, urban development occurs unevenly as the capital invests in one area of the city causing depreciation in the disinvested parts. Uneven development occurs when "the development of one area creates barriers to further development, thus leading to underdevelopment, and that the underdevelopment of that area creates opportunities for a new phase of development" (Smith, 1982, p. 151). The inner-city which has been underdeveloped and disinvested attracts capital due to lower rents under the present land use and the promise of higher returns with reinvestment. Hence the cycle of disinvestment and reinvestment in the built environment results in urban renewal and gentrification. Rent gap meaning "the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use" attracts developers to invest in disinvested areas and create physical upgrading (Smith, 1979, p. 545).

Gentrification is linked to larger processes of capitalist urbanization. It is seens as the structural result of land and housing markets and capital flows in general. The production-side perspective urges one to analyze and evaluate gentrification within the framework of capitalist accumulation and class inequality. In the last decades, with the rise od neoliberalism and globalization, gentrification generalized and intensified as it became more and more tied to

global economic trends and the neoliberal mode of urban governance. Production accounts deal with the political and economic aspects of the globalization of gentrification by analyzing the links with transnational capital flows and market relations, and neoliberal urban policies.

b. Demand-side perspective

Demand-side explanations link gentrification to the shifts in the industrial and occupational structures of advanced capitalist countries. In this approach, the growth of new middle classes in cities, the increasing participation of women to professional labor force, and the changing gender and domestic relations are regarded as factors generating gentrification. These accounts focus on class constitution of gentrifiers, their demographic characteristics, their motivations for settling in old inner-city neighborhoods, and their everyday experience in gentrified settings. David Ley is the major geographer associated with the demand-side perspective. He explains gentrification by the distinctive behavior of certain segments of the new middle class being the social and cultural specialists and the public sector employees (Ley, 1996).

Ley (1996) views gentrification as the result of social, economic and cultural transformations in advanced capitalist countries which are the post-industrial transformation, the transition from fordism to post-fordism in economy and the post-modern restructuring of cities. He focuses on the production and self-production of gentrifiers. The growth of quaternary sector (intellectual service sector) in the postindustrial society produces an expansion in the central city labor force composed of educated professionals. That is, the transition from manufacturing to a service-based economy which marks the postindustrial society produces an educated middle class population with a different taste culture and worldview, and distinct lifestyle preferences compared to traditional suburban middle classes. Residence in old inner-city neighborhoods articulates their desire for distinction and fits with the cultural values and lifestyle preferences which the educated middle classes with liberal

inclinations adopt. Ley (1996) argues that the new middle class gentrifiers were shaped and influenced by the counter-culture of the post-war era and the 1968 movement.

The counter-culture of the 1960s became a part of gentrifiers' ethos by preparing an ideological ground for the middle class claims to the older districts in the inner city. For the youth movement of 1960s old inner-city neighborhoods became "oppositional spaces: socially diverse, welcoming difference, tolerant, creative, valuing the old, the hand-crafted, the personalized, countering hierarchical lines of authority" (Ley, 1996, p.210). Gentrifiers, who disdain the standardized mass consumption and the blandness and conventions of suburban society, adopt this vision. Ley recognizes the liberating potential of post-modern politics and the counter-culture of 1960s because of the values and desires they purport such as the quest for authenticity, independence and creativity. Yet, diffusion of these desires to the new middle class has erased the critical political ethic and the emancipatory potential of gentrification according to him. He argues that the city has become the locus of conviviality, an "all-seeing festival of consumption" in which gentrification turns into an act of consumerism and the reflection of a constant desire for distinction and stylization of life (Ley, 1996, p.336).

The countercultural identity of the new middle class gentrifiers was also emphasized by Jon Caulfield (1994) who views gentrification in Toronto as a reaction to the repressive institutions of the suburban life. Gentrification, for him, is a resistance practice to dominant culture, mainstream values and modernist urbanism. Unlike Ley, he celebrates gentrification as a critical and emancipatory social practice and is reluctant about considering its consequences for the lower-income original residents and its connections with class inequality, a desire for distinction and the logic of consumerism.

The gender-focused analyses of gentrification constitute another important line of explanation within the demand-side perspective by issuing the changes in social reproduction. With the increasing participation of women to professional labor force since the 1980s and the

changing gender and domestic relations women became active agents in bringing gentrification in inner-city neighborhoods. Damaris Rose (1984) was the first urban geographer who brought up the issue of social reproduction within the framework of changing social and spatial organization of work, transformation of household and familial structures, and the increasing participation of women to the labour force. She emphasized the role of single women professionals and double-income families in gentrification. Rose was critical of the Marxist approach which views gentrification as a mere capitalist activity and a reflection of stark class polarization. She opposed the cleavage between home-owner gentrifiers and incumbent tenants within the literature which conceives gentrifiers as a homogeneous group acting for profit and/or following alternative lifestyles as fashion. In order to stress the variation among gentrifiers, she comes up with a new category being the "marginal gentrifiers", i.e. moderate-income gentrifiers "who are buying their first home, choosing the inner-city mainly for reasons of relative cheapness: people whose combined employment and family responsibilities necessitate an inner-city location" (Rose, 1984, p. 58). This group mostly refers to single professional women gentrifiers.

5. Positive and Negative Conceptions of Gentrification

Scholars have studied the impacts of gentrification over people and built environment in terms of their positive or negative aspects. On the one hand, some academic work recognizes an emancipatory potential in gentrification to create a liberal space for disadvantaged identities, produce social mixing, and develop egalitarian values and tolerance among different social groups (Butler, 1997; Caulfield, 1994; Ley, 1996). In addition, urban governments and developers claim that gentrification will be a way of ameliorating poverty and social exclusion by improving the life chances of lower-income groups as well as revitalizing the built environment and economic life of the neighborhood On the other hand, anti-gentrification movements and certain, especially neo-Marxist, accounts of gentrification

consider it as a negative socio-spatial transformation aggravating class inequality and leading to social polarization by displacing lower-income groups living in the inner-city locations (Marcuse 1985, 1986; Smith 1996).

That is, two main positions can be discerned within the literature in terms of how gentrification is perceived. Lees (2000) calls them the emancipatory city and revanchist city theses. The former position associates gentrification with a liberal and critical worldview generating social mixing and tolerance while the latter sees it as destructive for the low-income groups and the working class living in the inner-city areas causing displacement and exclusion. The dichotomy of emancipatory city and revanchist city theses fit with the demand-side and supply-side perspectives on gentrification to a large extent (Lees, 2000). Yet, it is not accurate to conclude that all accounts having a demand-side focus regard gentrification as a positive socio-spatial transformation and a progressive social practice.

a. Negative conceptions of gentrification

Gentrification generates detrimental consequences such as social conflict, displacement, homelessness, and the loss of social diversity while the middle class gentrifiers "colonize" and transform the inner-city in line with their socio-economic interests, taste and ethos (Atkinson, 2004). For thirty years Neil Smith has associated gentrification with the capitalist thrust of making profit. He develops the concept of "revanchist city" for defining the neoliberal urbanism in the 1990s which is characterized by the aspiration of middle and ruling classes for reclaiming the city center and banishing the socio-economically disadvantaged and marginalized groups (Smith, 1996). The revanchist urbanism which is exclusionary and repressive towards the disadvantaged groups, has replaced the liberal urban policies of the 1960s and 1970s involving redistributive policies and affirmative action for the poor.

Gentrification, for Smith, is accompanied by stigmatizing discourses by the media and police violence along with the repressive legislations and exclusionary practices towards the

lower-income groups, immigrants, and LGBT communities who choose to reside in the inner-city areas for low rents and proximity to work opportunities. The reaction against these groups and their supposed "theft" of the city center is justified through a "populist language of civic morality, family values and neighborhood security" (Smith, 1996, p. 211). Moreover, Smith (1996) recognizes a "frontier imagery" in gentrification whereby the poor and working-class inner-city neighborhoods are viewed as "idyllic yet also dangerous, romantic but also ruthless" (p. 13) and the white middle class "tames" those wild areas and shapes them according to their needs and ideology (p. 17). This is used as a legitimating discourse for gentrification which constructs the city as a frontier zone between the savagery of the working class, blacks, immigrants, and gay people and the civility of the white middle and ruling classes. In a similar line Atkinson and Bridge (2005) put that gentrification has become a global process in the last twenty years as a form of new urban colonialism whereby the white middle class identity dominates the central city areas at the expense of disadvantaged and marginalized social groups.

There are more specific dangers of gentrification which are exposed through various case studies. The process is inimical to the community fabric which is crucial for the survival of lower- and working classes, and racial and ethnic groups (Abu-Lughod 1994; Betancur 2002). The low-income and minority groups experience the destruction of community bonds and consequently the loss of economic and political power emanating from community living. This leads to the difficulty of resistance and further vulnerability to displacement and its consequences. The spatial transformation results in the destruction of ethnic enclaves which have a protective and supporting function for disadvantaged ethnic groups (Betancur, 2002).

Displacement has been identified as the major and the most common destructive effect of gentrification which is a traumatic experience for the incumbent residents (Atkinson 2000, 2004). Marcuse (1985) coined the term "exclusionary displacement" which indicates that that

the original lower-income residents who move out in the course of gentrification, become unable to access housing in the same neighborhood once it has been gentrified since the units available to this group in the housing market are depleted. It is not easy for researchers to measure displacement empirically since the displaced population has moved elsewhere.

b. Positive gentrification and social mixing

In recent years national and local governments and urban policy makers promote gentrification as a "positive public policy tool" within the framework of neoliberal urbanism in the European and American contexts. The influx of middle class population into a declined neighborhood is supposed to create an "inclusive urban renaissance" by improving both the physical and social structure of the neighborhood (Lees, 2008). The positive gentrification discourse suggests that gentrification will be a solution to social exclusion, deprivation and poverty in disadvantaged neighborhoods by creating social mixing and cohesion between the socio-economically better-off new-comers and lower-income original residents. The rhetoric of social mixing supposes that gentrification dilutes the concentration of poverty, and leads to a more heterogeneous and less segregated social environment in which social capital is transferred from high-income to low-income groups improving the latter's life chances.

The conception of gentrification as a positive public policy tool has been criticized within the literature. It is argued that gentrification does not yield the intended results of ameliorating poverty and bettering the conditions of lower-income groups on the basis of existing studies (Lees, 2008). Social mix policies are "cosmetic policies" which attempts to cover up poverty rather than to solve the complex social, economic and cultural problems leading to the concentration of socio-economically marginalized people in inner-city areas (Lees, 2008, p. 2463). Furthermore, the rhetoric of positive gentrification and social mixing is manipulated by local governments as a part of neoliberal urban policies in line with the interests of capital and the bourgeoisie (Lees et al., 2008). Their underlying logic normalizes

and exalts the middle class identity and its ways of being as an ideal for the disadvantaged groups, while othering and even demonizing the lower-income groups and the working class.

The positive gentrification discourse assumes that segregation and concentration of lower-income groups aggravate poverty and deprivation in a declined neighborhood. Yet, this rhetoric overlooks the positive role of social segregation for lower-income groups. Segregation may produce welfare benefits and social networks supporting the disadvantaged ethnic groups and the lower- and working classes (Lees, 2008).

Moreover, a bulk of studies suggests that gentrification does not create social mixing as intended by pro-gentrification policies although it produces a socio-economically diversified demographic composition. The development of social networks and interaction between the middle class gentrifiers and lower-class incumbent residents do not occur frequently in gentrified and gentrifying neighborhoods (Butler, 1997; Butler and Robson, 2001; Butler with Robson, 2003). Butler's (1997) study on gentrification in Hackney, London suggests that gentrifiers have a tolerant attitude and desire for difference which the inner city offers yet they segregate themselves spatially in gentrified neighborhoods and they do not interact much with social and cultural diversity. Middle class residents, both adults and children, tend to socialize with people of their own socio-economic status rather than forming friendships with lower-income residents (Butler with Robson, 2003). The multicultural outlook of gentrifiers brings toleration and celebration of diversity but it does not define the social behavior of gentrifiers and result in their intermingling with social and cultural diversity. Butler and Robson (2001) argue that there is a "tectonic" social structure in gentrified neighborhoods whereby polarized socio-economic groups ignore and move across each other. Social interaction and cohesion are most likely to occur in relatively homogeneous neighborhoods when different socio-economic groups are pushed aside.

The social mix policies presuppose that spatial proximity of the working and middle classes will create a harmonious community and erase class difference. These policies work in accordance with middle class hegemony and reflect its ethos whereby the middle class both denies class difference (by suggesting that it can be erased) and needs it (for asserting its distinct identity). Davidson (2010) puts that spatial proximity does not eliminate class difference. Therefore, policy agendas for social mixing are "the embodied lie: the denial of antagonism" whereby the lower and working classes are expected to love their wealthy neighbors and aspire to middle class status while this is denied by the distinction practices of middle class residents (Davidson, 2010, p. 540).

c. Gentrification as an emancipatory social practice

The consumption-based accounts which focus on gentrifiers as a specific fraction of the new middle class with a distinct worldview and lifestyle preferences mention the emancipatory potential of inner-city living (Lees et al., 2008). These studies discuss that the new middle class gentrifiers' liberal worldview, opposition to mainstream values, and taste for difference lead them to the old inner-city areas which hosts social difference and non-traditional lifestyles. The early stages of gentrification and classical gentrification in general are considered to be more positive phenomenon compared to the later waves in which affluent middle class and corporate capital become determining actors and gentrification becomes linked to globalization and neoliberalism. The issues of tolerance and social mix are usually brought up in the studies of classical gentrification whereby pioneer gentrifiers are recognized to be a tolerant group willing to interact with social and cultural diversity. The different perceptions of gentrification have a temporal dimension and the emancipatory understanding of gentrification which emphasizes tolerance and social mix fits with the earlier stages and pioneer gentrification (Lees et al., 2008).

Most of the consumption-focused analyses mention that the sterile and dull lifestyle and homogeneity of suburban communities are rejected and criticized by gentrifiers who seek social and cultural diversity in the central city (Butler, 1997; Butler with Robson, 2003; Caulfield, 1994; Ley, 1996). Caulfield (1994), who studied the resettlement of old inner-city quarters in Toronto, argues that gentrification is a reaction to the repressive institutions of suburban living and modernism. It is related with an urge for escaping the routine and a desire for difference, freedom, and privacy. Caulfield considers gentrification as a "critical and sometimes utopian subtext of postmodernist urbanism" opposing the modern urban form which created monotonous and generic spaces and its suburban subdivision (1994, p. 109).

For him, gentrification is a critical social practice and even a progressive social movement by the marginal middle class inner-city settlers. Gentrifiers demand the city to be organized around its use value, oppose the dominant homogenizing cultural forms, and seek an autonomous cultural identity and existential meaning. Gentrification, according to Caulfield, indicates resistance and reaction to the workings of capital commodifying the city, the state dominating the urban life, and the hegemonic and repressive cultural institutions. The old inner-city is an emancipatory space which offers alternative and challenging experiences, and the possibility of freedom, fantasy and carnival. Caulfield suggests that encounters with social and cultural diversity are liberating experiences and help the flourishing of positive values such as tolerance. The desire for difference and alternative experiences outside the dominant structures subverts hegemony, and endows inner-city living with a critical and emancipatory potential.

Caulfield attributes an intrinsic positive and liberating value to the central city and assumes that living with diversity will automatically generate tolerance and an egalitarian urban space (Lees, 2000). Contrary to this positive understanding, Butler and Robson (2001) suggest that the openness to diversity is more of an issue of political outlook for gentrifiers

and an element of their self definitions as cosmopolitan citizens. Therefore, it does not reflect in their actions and interactions with different social groups. Caulfield's thesis privileges gentrifiers' ethos, and celebrates their desire for alternative experiences as a source of resistance against the logic of capital and modernism which dehumanize the city. He tends to overlook the othering processes, exclusions and displacements observed in most cases of gentrification. As Lees (2000) puts, "the rhetoric of the emancipatory city tends to conceal the brutal inequalities of fortune and economic circumstance that are produced through the process of gentrification" (p. 394).

Ley's (1996) position is more nuanced and critical towards the emancipatory potential of gentrification. He discusses that the countercultural movement of 1968 which purported critical and progressive values such as tolerance, autonomy, authenticity, and creativity, became a part of the gentrifiers' ethos. However, he also notes that the liberating desires of the 1968 movement were expropriated by the market and lost their intellectual origins in the later years. They are diffused into the receptive strata of the new middle class who seeks distinction and aesthetic pleasures without having a critical political ethics (Ley, 1996). As the postmodern city has become the locus of conviviality, an "all-seeing festival of consumption" gentrification comes to reflect the consumerist logic and becomes associated with forms of conspicuous consumption for the new middle class desiring authenticity and individualization.

The conviction that gentrifiers' desire in diversity helps the creation of an egalitarian and tolerant urban space has been criticized by various demand-side analyses focusing on the experience of gentrifiers. May (1996) argues that that the gentrifier arises as a new urban flâneur who appreciates and desires the encounters with diversity in the inner-city areas. This interest in difference is rather superficial since it represents "only a new form of cultural capital and the contemporary inner city little more than a colourful backdrop against which to play out a new 'urban lifestyle'" (p. 1997). The aesthetic gaze of the gentrifier reproduces the

hierarchy between the subject (white middle class gentrifier) and the object (the ethnic and class others). Therefore, the exclusionary and hierarchical understandings pertaining to class and ethnicity persist.

In addition, gentrifiers' openness to difference is selective. Young et al.'s (2006) study on the gentrification of Manchester shows that although a cosmopolitan re-imagining of the city associates the marketing of inner-city living, this is a limited notion of cosmopolitanism. It involves the commodification and consumption of certain forms of difference, and othering and exclusion of some others, especially the lower-class forms of difference. The upper-class inner-city residents are open to consume commodified aspects of gay lifestyle. Yet, they avoid contact with the lower-income ethnic minority groups, some youth culture and the white working class residing in the inner-city, and consider those as dangerous, criminal and unpleasant (Young et al., 2006, p. 1705).

The inner-city living has been viewed as emancipatory for gay people and women as it provides a suitable and tolerant environment. Gay people prefer to live in socio-culturally diversified inner-city neighborhoods which are more tolerant for disadvantaged and marginalized identities due to the anonymity in these areas. Lauria and Knopp (1985) associate gay gentrification with "the need to escape to an oasis of tolerance" and regard it as "an opportunity to combat oppression by creating neighborhoods over which they [gays] have maximum control" (p. 161). Castells's (1983) study on the formation of gay community in San Fransisco suggests that the spatial concentration gays enabled the gay liberation movement to grow and become powerful. Through gay gentrification the community could fight against oppression and discrimination, and develop political and economic strength.

Gentrification has been associated with the field of social reproduction in terms of the role of changing gender relations, restructuring of domestic sphere and, the increasing participation of women to the labour market and their housing strategies (Beauregard 1986;

Bondi 1991, 1999; Rose 1984; Warde 1991). The studies focusing on the gender dimension mention that inner-city living allows more egalitarian household arrangements. Markussen (1981) claims that central city enables the middle-class dual-income families to have equitable divisions of domestic work through the minimization of journey-to-work costs and the availability of marketed services, and therefore ameliorates the conditions of women. Rose's (1984) "marginal gentrifier" indicating mostly the single professional women with or without children who are marginally employed, finds the central city much more convenient and liberating due to the support services and networks it offers. The factors such as the availability of private services which can substitute the domestic ones, childcare facilities and lower rents in the inner city help the middle-class women to develop strategies to avoid patriarchal norms and dominant gender roles

The gender perspective tends to celebrate gentrification as it is considered to be "in large part a result of the breakdown of the patriarchal household" (Markussen, 1981, p. 32). However, as Lees et al. (2008) argues, "it is almost exclusively and selectively well-educated, professional, middle-class women who have benefited from gentrification" while what gentrification entails for the economically deprived and/or ethnic minority women living in the central-city areas has not been studied specifically by the gender-focused analyses of gentrification (p. 213). On the basis of studies revealing the negative consequences of gentrification on the lower-income incumbent residents it is most probable that these women are not liberated through gentrification.

CHAPTER 2: URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN TURKEY AND ISTANBUL

1. Gentrification in Turkey

In Turkey different forms of gentrification involving classical, commercial, state-led, and rural gentrification have been observed since the 1980s. Urban renewal and regeneration projects give impetus to gentrification in inner-city areas in some of the major Turkish cities such as Istanbul and Ankara. Local governments "have discovered the potential in regenerating inner-city squatter housing areas, in order to increase the competitiveness of cities in the global context" and this government-assisted strategy is used for achieving gentrification (Güzey, 2009, p. 27). In Ankara urban renewal projects have been implemented through public-private partnerships and high-rise apartment blocks for middle- and upper-income groups were constructed in the place of inner-city squatter areas causing the original squatter population get displaced to a large extent (Dündar, 2003).

Historic preservation and urban conservation projects carried out through the collaboration of state, local governments and international organizations such as UNESCO constitute a major facet of gentrification in Turkey. This results in commercial and touristic gentrification. The conservation of historical quarters in Safranbolu and Beypazarı are examples to the historic preservation projects. Türkün-Erendil and Ulusoy (2002) point out the problematic aspects of the touristic and commercial urban transformation in the historical quarter of Ankara. They suggest that the purpose of the project is to generate economic revenue through the commercialization of the area's historical and cultural value. The manipulation of culture and history for profit, exclusion of lower-income groups, the problems with participation and transparency in the decision-making and implementation processes, and the channeling of revenue to the monopoloy of interest groups are identified as the problems about the historic regeneration projects in Ankara.

Yuksel and Iclal (2005) discuss the debatable aspects of rural and touristic gentrification in the small towns of Mediterranean and Aegean districts. Old village houses are being renovated and appropriated by business enterprises, and the middle and upper classes from the metropolitan areas. This process leaves the original residents in a disadvantaged position. The authors suggest that the touristic gentrification of those towns is based on the exploitation of their historical and cultural heritage with a capitalist logic. It is not likely to create a sustainable development for the towns and economic benefit for the local population who lacks the necessary financial resources for starting touristic business enterprises. That is "[w]hat is exhausted is not only the city's cultural heritage, but also its economic, social and societal future" (Yuksel and Iclal, 2005, p. 6).

2. The Modern Istanbul and Its Restructuring

The end of WWI and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire marked the beginning of Istanbul's modern history (Keyder, 2008). Istanbul had great significance in both the Byzantine and Ottoman eras as an imperial capital. In the nineteenth century the city's importance grew while the Ottoman Empire declined in the face of the Western-dominated world system. During the nineteenth century the volume of trade and foreign investment increased as Istanbul had a strategic geographic position being at the crossroads of commercial networks. However, the city's position as an imperial capital hindered its development as a global port city collecting goods from its eastern hinterland and exporting them to the Western markets (Keyder, 1999a).

Istanbul has been a multi-religious city which hosted Muslims, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians although these groups lived in separate social domains. The nineteenth century witnessed greater diversity with the advent of foreign merchants and tradesmen, the Balkan Muslims who migrated as a result of Balkan Wars, and the Russians who fled the Russian Empire due to political turmoil. The modernization and westernization attempts of the empire

affected the physical structure of the city. Especially Pera, which was the center of financial and trading activity and where foreign embassies were located, was influenced by this transformation. Boulevards, apartment buildings and western-style consumption places were built in Pera, to meet the needs and demands of the newly-emerging parochial middle class composed of both Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the empire as well as the European population of Istanbul.

With the foundation of the Turkish Republic Istanbul had lost most of its cosmopolitan demographic structure together with its metropolitan role connecting the Middle East and Europe in terms of trading activity, politics and cultural flows. Europeans and then a significant portion of the non-Muslim population were deported after the formation of the Republic. A majority of the non-Muslim citizens had to leave the city within the framework of anti-colonial sentiments and legislations about ethnic purification in the first two decades of the newly-found nation-state (Keyder, 1999a). Moreover, Istanbul lost its title as the capital city to Ankara which was the center of the nationalist project during the War of Independence. In the first decades of the Republic Istanbul experienced stagnation while Ankara became the center of modernization efforts and it was reconstructed as the capital city. The founders of the Republic "were hostile to Istanbul's potential autonomy, and suspicious of imperial remnants" (Keyder, 2008, p. 510).

When it comes to the changes in the demographic composition of Istanbul, one notices that the huge population growth occurred in the second half of the twentieth century. The city's population did not grow much between the 1920s and the end of the WWII. However, since the 1950s, there was a drastic increase from one million to ten millions. In the second half of the twentieth century Istanbul has experienced massive flows of migration from rural parts of the country. In the 1960s and 1970s Turkey underwent a period of rapid industrialization and urbanization. Consequently there was a huge inflow of rural migrants to

the big cities, especially to Istanbul which became the center of manufacturing as well as trading activity (Danielson and Keles, 1985). Housing was a big social problem especially for the rural migrants, which was solved by squatter housing. The rural migrants built squatter houses which are called gecekondu on the abandoned non-Muslim land and publicly-owned land. The illegal settlement of the poor migrants was accompanied by the illegal appropriation of the public land for luxurious building complexes and villas by urban developers and contruction companies. As Keyder (2008) noted public authorities were incapable and unwilling to stop the illegal housing. Through squatter neighborhoods and the expensive but illegal housing developments the city grew enormously. New neighborhoods were established in the peripheries of the city. In those years old-inner city districts such as Beyoğlu declined with the outflow of its original non-Muslim population and the settlement of rural migrants in the property previously owned by the non-Muslims. This decline continued until the gentrification waves in the early 1990s.

The post-1980 period is considered to be a turning point for the socio-spatial transformation of Istanbul as well as the economic, social and cultural restructuring of Turkey (Keyder, 1999a). In the aftermath of the 1980 military coup the import substitution industrialization model and inward-oriented development policies were dismissed and a neoliberal economic path was adopted which brought the opening of Turkish economy to the world markets and global capital flows. In this period Istanbul has been at the center of the economic and political aspirations for Turkey's integration into the world scene. However, Keyder (1999a) argues that Istanbul did not become a global city due to the central state's inability and reluctance to provide the city with the necessary infrastructure and urban autonomy.

The city has experienced a dramatic transformation with respect to its social, cultural and physical environment after the 1980s. Istanbul had already been the center of trade and

finace in the previous decades. The knowledge-based industries and advanced service sector flourished during the 1980s and the 1990s in fields such as marketing, accounting and management, telecommunications, advertising, and engineering. Besides, the city has become the center of the thriving media sector. Culture industries, retailing and the tourism sector also continue their growth in this period (Keyder, 2008). Transnational corporations began to operate in Istanbul through joint ventures, licensing and direct investment in the 1990s and onwards. The role of finance and advanced service sectors increased in the city economy during the 1990s which resulted in the expansion of the educated and professional middle class population. This population prefers to live in gated communities and sites, the high-rise apartment complexes in the peripheries of the city, as a result of fears of urban crime and pollution, and a desire for social distinction. Suburbanization has become one of the major aspects of Istanbul's restructuring since the 1980s which denotes the desires of the growing middle classes' for a modern and western lifestyle, and their expectations for autonomy, order and security (Öncü, 1997; Ayata, 2002).

The rapid integration of Turkey and Istanbul to world markets brought urban growth and economic development but also fed to the existing inequalities and created further social exclusion in terms of class and ethnicity. Class polarization, class- and ethnicity-based spatial and social segregation, and poverty rose in the process of globalization. The older mechanisms of social integration and employment which sustain the rural migrants such as informal housing and patronage relations have dissolved under the effects of globalization and neoliberalism (Keyder, 2005). In the Istanbul of the 2000s on the one hand there are spaces of the affluent groups which benefit from globalization such as luxurious shopping malls, high-rise developments, chic restaurants, cafes and nightclubs, and expensive suburbs. On the other hand there are spaces of the poor meaning the deteriorated slum areas and squatter neighborhoods. They are under the threat of capital's aspirations for further profit as urban

developers and construction firms want to seize and invest in those places causing the displacement of the poor residents.

Gentrification and urban renewal projects have become the major elements of Istanbul's urban restructuring in the neoliberal era in the 2000s (İslam, 2010). Urban transformation has been carried through the partnership and collaboration of local governments, the state, and corporate capital in many cases such as the Tarlabaşı Transformation Project. State-led gentrification and massive urban renewal projects were enabled with the 2005 law which provided municipalities with great powers to expropriate and transform urban land. With the revisions in the mass housing and municipality laws in 2004 and 2005 various urban renewal projects have been produced targeting the valuable squatter neighborhoods in the peripheries of the city and certain historical inner-city areas such as Sulukule and Tarlabaşı. In the recent years the Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ) has become the major actor in Istanbul's land development as the organization constructed around 60000 housing units between 2003 and 2008 (İslam, 2010). Public authorities have become more strongly involved in land development and the urban restructuring of Istanbul through TOKİ and municipalities.

3. Gentrification in Istanbul

Istanbul as the economic and cultural capital of the country has been experiencing gentrification in the most intensive and broadest ways due to the availability of gentrifiable housing stock, and the existence of capital and a demand base composed of the Turkish new middle class and expatriates. Both commercial and classical forms of gentrification have been observed in the city (İslam, 2005). Besides, state-led forms of gentrification and urban renewal projects have taken place since the 1980s in the historical peninsula and Haliç district (Bezmez 2008), and recently in Sulukule (İslam, 2009) and Tarlabaşı (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007).

The economic and cultural restructuring of Turkey beginning in the 1980s and the expansion of the new middle class accompanied the socio-spatial transformation in Istanbul (İslam, 2005). Since the 1980s the old neighborhoods of Istanbul have attracted the educated high-income groups due to their proximity to the business centers and their architectural charm (Ergün, 2006). Gentrification in Istanbul began in the 1980s in Kuzguncuk and Ortaköy, the old neighborhoods in the shores of the Bosphorus which were originally populated by non-Muslim populations in the Ottoman era and the early Republic. İslam (2005) argues that Istanbul has experienced three waves of gentrification from the 1980s until the early 2000s. The first wave of gentrification is motivated by the historical value of the neighborhoods and the pleasant landscape, the second wave is based on the culture and entertainment industries and the third wave is initiated by institutional investment projects to regenerate the dilapidated historical neighborhoods (İslam, 2005). The first wave begins in the 1980s with the move of individual gentrifiers composed mainly of social and cultural specialists such as artists and architects, to the old neighborhoods in the shores of Bosphorus being Kuzguncuk, Arnavutköy and Ortaköy.

The 1990s witnessed a second-wave of gentrification which involves the physical upgrading and the social transformation of Beyoğlu, Galata and Cihangir. Beyoğlu has been the center of western lifestyle practices, entertainment, retailing and culture since the late nineteenth century (Dokmeci et al., 2007). In the course of globalization and the neoliberal integration of Turkey Beyoğlu has been rejuvenated as a modern lifestyle center which meets the desires, needs and expectations of a globalizing new middle class in terms of taste and consumption patterns. Beyoğlu, more specifically İstiklal Avenue which is the pedestrianized main artery of the district, has experienced the improvement and expansion of retailing, culture, tourism and entertainment industries. The district has developed with the growth of the educated professional class who endorses western values, lifestyle preferences and

consumption habits. While İstiklal Avenue underwent retail gentrification Cihangir and Galata has experienced a residential gentrification. In this process the initiators were mainly artists and architects in line with the other cases of pioneer gentrification in many world cities.

Although the transformations in the Beyoğlu neighborhoods began with individual renovations done by architects, artists and academics in the early 1990s Beyoğlu municipality has become highly active in renovating and promoting these areas in the following years (İslam, 2005). Gentrification in Beyoğlu was initiated by the cultural middle class. The process has been developed by the small and middle-scale investors, and the culture industry. Beginning with the late 1990s, local governments developed regeneration and renewal projects for the Beyoğlu district and the historical peninsula. Their attempts involved the physical upgrading of the urban space, renovation of historical buildings and sites, organization of cultural and artistic festivals, making legal arrangements which facilitate the appropriation of old buildings, and giving consultancy to big investors (Uzun, 2001).

The third wave beginning in the late 1990s according to İslam (2005) has transformed the Haliç district, mainly Fener and Balat. Here, different from the previous waves there is the institutional intervention of local governments, private capital and international organizations to the gentrification process. A regeneration project for Fener and Balat was initiated by the collaboration of the municipality of Fatih and the European Commission for preserving and renovating the historical texture of the neighborhood, which shaped and accelerated the gentrification process in the district. İslam (2005) suggests that the third wave gentrification is distinct from the other two waves of gentrification. Th first two waves developed spontaneously without external stimulation. In the third wave gentrification has begun with institutional intervention.

In the 2000s Istanbul's urban transformation has entered a new stage as the role of state, municipalities and other public authorities grew to a much larger extent (İslam, 2010).

They began to take a more interventionist and active part in the urban restructuring and land development. Gentrification has actively been supported by state both at the central and local levels. As I have argued the revisions in the municipality and mass housing laws and the upgrading role of TOKİ enabled the active intervention of public authorities to the real estate development and gentrification in Turkey. Afterwards the greater municipality of Istanbul produced several urban renewal projects which target both the squatter neighborhoods in the peripheries of the city and the historical inner-city areas which are occupied by lower-income groups. The pioneering projects for Tarlabaşı and Sulukule which are inner-city mixed-use neighborhoods hosting disadvantaged and marginalized populations such as the Roma population, Kurds and other rural migrants, have started recently. The other urban renewal projects target areas like Süleymaniye, Fener-Balat, Yalı and Kürkçübaşı (İslam, 2010).

The municipality of Beyoğlu has developed seven urban renewal projects after the law in 2005 which enabled municipalities to take a much more active role in urban transformation. The pilot project which has caused much public opposition and controversy, intends the restructuring of Tarlabaşı, and aims at the renewal of a large part of the neighborhood with the collaboration of the municipality and a big holding company. Those new urban renewal projects are considered to be the examples of a new phase of state-led gentrification after the 2005 law which provides extensive powers to municipalities for implementing renewal projects. This new phase is characterized by the active agency of local governments and the state, and their collaboration with private capital for expropriating and transforming the dilapidated but valuable urban areas which are occupied by the socio-economically disadvantaged populations.

CHAPTER 3: THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS, LIFESTYLE AND CONSUMPTION

1. The New Middle Class and Cities

The concept of the new middle class basically refers to white-collar workers being salaried professionals, technocrats and managers who are engaged in some form of a mental work. It is a highly heterogeneous and stratified social group and displays great internal differentiation with respect to status, occupational groupings, and public-private divide (Burris 1986). The emergence of the new middle class is tied to industrialization and the changing economic, social and entrepreneurial structures, and dates back to the nineteenth century in Western Europe and the US. Since its emergence this group has been predominantly located in urban areas. The new middle classes are the outcome of urban based dynamics which brought the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the evolution of industrial society, and they are the drivers of further urban growth (Lange and Meier, 2009). The new middle classes are an educated group with high cultural capital. They enjoy engaging in cultural and consumption activities and have the disposable income for consumption. Their existence in cities leads to the development of urban areas as the locus of consumption, new ways of life and fashion, and novel cultural identities. The inner-city districts have become consumption milieus all around the world serving artistic, cultural and entertainment facilities, and meeting the needs and desires of the new middle classes (Zukin, 1995).

The 1970s and 1980s became a turning point for the restructuring of capitalism and bringing major changes in the economic, social and cultural realms. Bell (1973) identified a transition from industrial to post-industrial society pertaining to a shift from manufacturing to service sector as the basis of economy, growth of the white-collar professionals, and the dominance of theoretical knowledge and technological innovation in economic life. In a similar line Castells (2000) discussed the advent of informational network society whereby information-processing, generation of new technologies and communication became the

fundamental sources of productivity and power. Therefore, advanced service sectors within the fields of information-processing, communications, finance, media, marketing and advertisement have become the fundamental constituents of economy. This resulted in the growth of the new middle classes employed in the service sector and knowledge- and technology-based industries, and rendered them much more important elements of the economic life (Harvey, 1989a). The economic and occupational restructuring caused various transformations in cities as manufacturing lost its dominance and service sector especially financial, business and professional services grew and gained importance in urban economies (Hamnett, 2000).

Through globalization the post-industrial shift affected developing countries, and brought the greater expansion of new middle classes all over the world. Specialized service sectors and the command centers of transnational companies have proliferated in metropolises located in different parts of the world. These are global cities and regional centers which are strategic for the management of global economy and the conduct of transnational transactions. As Sassen (1994) argues white-collar professionals employed in advanced service sector and the headquarters of transnational companies constitute the major actors in the restructuring of of urban areas in global and globalizing cities. This group has distinguished lifestyle preferences and consumption habits. Against mass consumption targeting the working classes, the educated and affluent professionals have a taste for specialized and boutique consumption. Their existence in cities contributed to gentrification, urban renewal projects, and the growth of culture industries.

The new middle class holds a "contradictory class position" as it resembles both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat with certain respects (Wright, 1978). The power and status of new middle class subjects are not based on the ownership of the means of production like the capitalist class nor does their subsistence depend on selling manual labor like the working

class. Education is the main asset for this group of skilled workers who rely on credentials and formal training, and it provides social status and jobs with more income (Lange and Meier, 2009). Specialized knowledge and skills, or cultural capital in other words, maintain class position and social reproduction for the new middle class hence those are highly valued by its members (Gouldner, 1978). Ehrenreich (1989) argues that professional middle classes experience status anxiety and "fear of falling" since they do not have a stable and transmittable source of status. Securing their class position in the midst of the uncertainties of labor market and competition is only possible through education and professionalization. But at the same time professionalism sets the barriers for attaining a middle-class position as it involves more competition to have the education and credentials for becoming skilled professionals. Hence professionalism becomes a source of insecurity as well for the educated middle classes.

Gouldner's (1978) writings on the "new class" are illuminating for understanding the cultural world, values and political inclinations of the new middle class as he made a perceptive analysis of the technical and cultural elites who have expanded and gained importance under late capitalism both in developed and developing nations. The new class is composed of educated professionals who command scientific and technical knowledge and specialized skills on which productive forces and relations of production depend in the late capitalist era after the 1950s. Gouldner (1978) defines the new class as a "flawed universal class". He saw a progressive and revolutionary potential for universal change in its members since they are reflexive, critical and self-monitoring and highly cosmopolitan in terms of their knowledge, capacities and interests. Yet, at the same time the culture of critical discourse and rationality which the new class masters bear elitism and thus it has the potential to create a new domination and hierarchical vision of society.

The new middle classes display great internal differentiation (Burris 1986; Lange and Meier, 2009). They are employed in both public and private sector, engaged in diverse professions whose numbers are increasing in the course of capitalism's advancement, and hold different functions and status positions in the complex occupational structure. Social factors such as education and profession result in the diversification of mentalities, values and lifestyle preferences among the new middle classes. In this respect, Ehrenreich and Ehrereich (1979) categorize the professional-managerial class (PMC) into two groups meaning the managers and engineers on the one hand and cultural and social specialists working in liberal professions and the public service. Similarly Gouldner (1978) distinguishes between "humanistic intellectuals" and the "technical intelligentsia" together which compose the new class and adding an internal tension to it. Technical intelligentsia has mastery over scientific and technical knowledge whereas humanistic intellectuals have critical, emancipatory, hermeneutic and political interests as a result of their. The latter tends to have more liberal, radical and revolutionary political inclinations. Ehrenreich (1989) mentiones the existence of two complementary groups within the professional middle class which are yuppies and the New Class. According to her definition the New Class members are occupied in the media and the public and non-profit sectors including universities and foundations while the yuppies are directly employed by corporate capital and work as business-employed professionals. Overall the literature makes a sectoral and profession-based categorization within the new middle class.

In the recent years Florida (2002) coined the term "creative class" which indicates the knowledge-based workers identified as the major driving force in post-industrial economies as creativity and innovation become the main assets for economic growth. Creative class involves two sections whereby at its center there are highly-skilled and innovative people which Florida calls "super creative core" working in a wide range of fields such as science,

engineering, education, advertisement, media, arts and entertainment. This core group produces new ideas, new technology and new creative content. The other section being much broad and of secondary importance, is "creative professionals" who are the classic knowledge-based workers in various sectors such as healthcare, education, business and finance, and law. What characterize the creative class members are their high degrees of formal education and their distinct lifestyle preferences and consumption patterns which sustain their creativity. Florida (2002) argues that the creative class lifestyle is "a passionate quest for experience" (p. 166). That is, they enjoy trying new things out of the routine and the common mainstream expectations. Florida suggests that a vibrant and dynamic urban life which offers diversity and chances for different experiences is crucial for the creative class. Therefore, creative class members prefer living in dynamic and heterogeneous urban centers which involve diversity and, variegated entertainment, cultural and artistic amenities.

2. Lifestyle and Consumption

The new middle classes are inclined to engage in various forms of cultural consumption. Their "contradictory class position" (Wright, 1978) and "fear of falling" (Ehrenreich, 1989) lead them to invest economically and culturally in lifestyle and the development of taste for claiming distinction from both the upper- and lower-classes and maintaining their class position in the midst of insecurities related with labor market conditions. Their privilege is based on their command of knowledge, information and specialized skills. The new middle classes are characterized by self-awareness and reflexivity. They consciously decide on their lifestyle preferences and actively use taste and cultural capital for claiming distinction for composing a self-image (Chaney 1996; Featherstone 1991).

Bourdieu (1984) argues that distinct lifestyle preferences, cultural pretension and aesthetic dispositions become markers of identity and distinction for the new middle classes,

or as he named them the new petite bourgeoisie. For Bourdieu, members of the new petite bourgeoisie are employed in "all the occupations involving presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion, decoration and so forth) and in all institutions providing symbolic goods and services" (p. 359). Bourdiue's new petite bourgeoisie resembles the educated service-sector employees, knowledge workers and the creative class which Florida (2002) discusses. Their occupations mostly require creativity, high levels of cultural capital and cultural competence. Bourdieu (1984) identifies that this group, unlike the established and classical bourgeoisie, appreciate the cultural products and styles at the lower boundaries of legitimate culture. Yet, their interest in lower-class and popular forms of culture is marked by "an erudite, even 'academic' disposition which is inspired by a clear intention of rehabilitation, the cultural equivalent of the restoration strategies which define their occupational project" (p. 360).

Featherstone (1991) elaborates on Bourdieu's arguments on the new petite bourgeoisie and the cultural intermediaries as a subsection of the former, and argues that this group embraces a postmodern culture in which the boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate culture erode. In general, his arguments are based on Bourdieu's (1984) thoughts on taste, consumption, and aesthetics in Distinction. Bourdieu's main argument is that taste and cultural consumption are patterned according to social class. Taste gives a person a "sense of one's place" in the social space by orienting the individuals towards the social positions, goods and practices which fit with their class position (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 466). It makes social actors recognize the members of their own social group, and those who remain outside of it. Hence taste creates distinction and class identification.

Featherstone (1991) claims that the new middle classes and in particular the cultural intermediaries have a fascination for the lifestyles of artists and intellectuals. They have a desire for stylization of life as they are highly concerned about identity, appearance and

presentation of the self. Similarly Savage and his fellow researchers' (1992) study produced empirical data on the existence of a middle-class fraction in Britain which is composed of private sector professionals and specialists, adopting a postmodern lifestyle. Their consumption profile and lifestyle preferences reflect a paradoxical pattern in which contrasting and contradictory tastes and practices coexist. For example, the appreciation of high cultural forms such as opera and a liking for disco dancing go together within the habitus of postmodern middle class.

In the advanced capitalist world consumption highly contributes to the processes of identity construction and self-expression whereby individuals claim and articulate authenticity, prestige and distinction through what they consume (Featherstone, 1991). Under late capitalism culture became much more important and expanded into many aspects of the social and individual life (Jameson, 1991). The consumer society transformed in line with the postmodern and flexible logic which emphasizes fluidity, fragmentation, transgression of boundaries and hybridization. Culture is commodified and used as a way to frame commodities and to induce consumption while consumption patterns are more and more associated with symbolic processes and meanings for a wider population. Baudrillard (1998) suggested that the sign-value of an object being its cultural desirability gained an unprecedented importance in the postmodern consumer society. That is, commodities should signify uniqueness, style, certain values and meanings, and a lifestyle which speak to the desires of the consumer.

In this regard, cultural industries such as media, communication, advertisement, design, and arts expanded all over the world in the last forty years. This brought the growth of highly-educated cultural specialists who gain an unprecedented importance under the advanced capitalism. This group is identified as the initiators and producers of gentrification as cultural entrepreneurs who upgrade dilapidated neighborhoods by adding their cultural

capital (Ley, 2003). For instance İnce (2004, 2006) presented the role of artists and then art and entertainment producers in the gentrification of Asmalımescit in Beyoğlu.

In line with the increasing role of culture in contemporary consumer society consumer goods become valuable in terms of their expressive and symbolic qualities rather than their instrumental uses. In this regard, the concept of lifestyle which indicates a stylized awareness and sensitivity about consumption and self-image has become a major issue especially for the educated middle classes who have the symbolic and economic means for engaging in various intellectual and consumption activities. Lifestyle refers to a set of patterned practices and attitudes through which its bearer makes social and cultural identifications and expresses his/her moral, aesthetic and/or political standing. It is a modern concept as the product of a particular form of reflexivity and a quest for a making a distinct self (Chaney, 1996). Lury (1996) argues that through lifestyle people seek to display their individuality and their sense of style. They claim distinction and social positioning through lifestyle choices which are symbolic and aesthetic preferences. That is, lifestyle involves the incorporation of arts and culture to the ways in which individuals stylize their self-images, and personalize and customize their consumption patterns.

Aestheticization and stylization of commodities and everyday life have become a crucial theme in the postmodern consumer society which values difference, the carnivalesque and the exotic other (Featherstone, 1991). Cultural hierarchies are transformed and become much fragmented and plural. As Harvey (1989a) states, "The relatively stable aesthetic of Fordist modernism has given way to all the ferment, instability, and fleeting qualities of a postmodernist aesthetic that celebrates difference, ephemerality, spectacle, fashion, and the commodification of cultural forms" (p. 156). This brought transgression and erosion of boundaries between high and low culture, and an interest in and the appreciation of popular and mass cultures and subaltern cultures such as of minority groups. Featherstone (1991)

argued that postmodern culture introduced "a more relativistic and pluralist situation in which the excluded, the strange, the other, the vulgar which were previously excluded can now be allowed in" (p. 106). Hence particular forms of cultural capital which were deemed to be illegitimate are now sources of prestige and symbolic hierarchy. Although this cosmopolitan understanding of which gentrification is an indicator, values flexibility and cultural diversity, it is at the same time exclusionary of certain others. As Featherstone (1991) put, gentrification although stemming from a desire to engage with the other, creates exclusionary spaces and segregation within the city. It causes the displacement and the exclusion of lower class populations by increasing the property values and creating secluded enclaves.

a. The metropolitan habitus

Pierre Bourdieu is doubtlessly one of the leading social scientists who explores and theorizes the role of taste, aesthetics and consumption in the way social classes differentiate and distinguish themselves. His concept habitus refers to a mental structure constituted through taste and lifestyle patterns and which is a scheme for perceptions, thoughts and actions. Bourdieu (1990) defines habitus as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without supposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them" (p. 53). The concept of habitus is related with individuals' aesthetic preferences, taste, and consumption and lifestyle patterns which shape their judgments about the social world and their practices. This concept has been transferred to urban and gentrification studies. Various scholars have studied metropolitan habituses to delineate the lifestyle and consumption patterns of urban dwellers and the interplay of different forms of capital within the cities.

Podmore (1998) uses the concept habitus to elaborate on gentrification and inner-city living which constitutes a dominant lifestyle among the cultural elites from various countries. She argues that loft-living as a form of gentrification constitutes a transnational metropolitan habitus for cultural elites, which reflects their shared dispositions, consumption and lifestyle orientations, and particular aesthetic preferences. Loft-dwellers have an interest in arts and an artistic lifestyle, and a taste for authenticity and avant-garde domestic spaces. Loft as a social and symbolic space is used for group identification by the cultural elites in different world cities. The concept of habitus is also used by Butler and Robson (2003) in their study on the gentrifying neighborhoods in London. They identify a metropolitan habitus among the middle-class gentrifiers by looking at the fields of consumption, education, housing and employment. Butler and Robson's study focuses on the social reproduction strategies of gentrifiers and the interplay of economic and cultural capital within the above mentioned fields. Education stands as the most decisive field in which class reproduction is played out since gentrifiers do not send their children to the poorly-performing state schools in their neighborhoods. For the reproduction and transference of cultural capital they send their children to high-quality private schools out of the inner-city neighborhoods. Butler (2003), on the same study, suggests that the metropolitan habitus of gentrifiers is based on the appreciation of diversity, social inclusion, and social integration at a rhetorical level. However, as the gentrifiers' behavior in the field of education shows, the experience of gentrification also reflects an exclusionary pattern towards class and racial others. Besides, interaction with diversity is not common among gentrifiers.

Webber (2007) also studies the metropolitan habitus in the urban centers of England and Wales. He suggests that individuals living in metropolitan neighborhoods use taste and consumption for the ascription and enjoyment of status much more than the residents of suburban neighborhoods, provincial areas and small towns for whom social status depends on

occupation and the ownership of certain key consumer goods. He identifies two different kinds of gentrifying middle class habitus which are of the "city adventurers" and "new urban colonists". City adventurers are young professionals employed in high-ranking positions in private sector. They identify with a hedonist metropolitan culture and they are not interested in engaging in local contacts and networks in their neighborhoods. Thw new urban colonists are more similar to the gentrifier population in Beyoğlu which is the subject of my study with respect to their lifestyle preferences and consumption patterns. They are a well-educated group usually employed in social and cultural fields such as advertising, communications and the media. They have an interest in artistic and cultural activities, authenticity and exotic cultures. They are more open to interaction with diversity and have a deeper understanding of different cultures compared to the city adventurers. Moreover, Webber discusses the existence of a "counter cultural mix" neighborhoods which are occupied by young lower-class migrants, immigrant groups, students and bohemian cadres who are attracted to the heterogeneous composition of the neighborhoods. This group composed of students, foreigners and some public-sector professionals usually have left-leaning political inclinations, countercultural views and anti-corporate attitudes.

b. The omnivore thesis

Cultural omnivorousness, a characteristic generally neglected in the literature on gentrification, is one of the defining characteristics of gentrifiers in both Beyoğlu and other gentrifying socio-culturally heterogeneous inner-city areas. Peterson (1992) in his study with Simkus, developed the term "cultural omnivore" to refer the widening of the cultural repertoire of elites in terms of their appropriation of low- brow and popular cultural expressions and styles together with the high-brow or elite cultural products. At first sight the omnivore thesis can be said to oppose Bourdieu's argument that pure aesthetic is the marker of identity and distinction for the upper classes. Bourdieu (1984) defined pure taste as the

taste of reflection. The bourgeoisie aesthetics are based on the refusal of necessity, simplicity and the profane. They are the rejection of sensational pleasures which are deemed to be impure (1984, p. 486). However, Bourdieu also points out that what is constructed as lower, coarse and vulgar by the bourgeois ethos can be culturally consecrated for the aesthetic appreciation of the dominant class. The objects, persons and practices become competent of high aesthetics only when the marks of simplicity and bestiality are erased and, a sublime and sacred meaning is attached to them. This act of cultural consecration might be considered as a form of gentrification. In this regard, the consumption and gentrification literatures mostly suggest that the new middle class or the upper classes in general have a desire for aestheticization which becomes a prerequisite for their appreciation of built environment, goods and cultural styles, and which can be considered as a class strategy for distinction (Featherstone, 1991; Holt, 1998; Jager, 1986; Ley, 1996).

Peterson and Kern (1996) find out that among the highbrow population which involves the socio-economically upper class individuals, omnivorousness was an increasing tendency in the American society. Yet, the omnivore thesis does not imply the breaking down of symbolic boundaries and an indifference to distinctions. Peterson and Kern point out that the increasing omnivorousness among the high-status population may indicate the evolution of new patterns and rules for the making of cultural boundaries. If this is the case then high-status people develop an intellectualized appreciation for and an aesthetic appropriation of low-brow and middle-brow cultural forms rather than participating in an unreflective consumption for personal enjoyment. The authors also mention that the transition from exclusionist snob taste to omnivorousness may be regarded as an indicator of increasing tolerance towards cultural differences. They identify an omnivore taste profile with today's new business-administrative elite since respect for cultural difference becomes the norm in a globalized world, especially for the ones who manage it.

Omnivorousness has become a pervasive strategy in the contemporary society as individuals claim elite-status not only by appreciating and consuming high-brow culture but also by displaying their knowledge about popular culture, and appreciating and consuming various aspects of it (Peterson and Anand, 2004). Sullivan and Katz-Gero (2007) adds a new dimension to the studies of omnivorousness by proposing the term voraciousness which is concerned with the quantitative dimension, i.e. frequency and range of leisure consumption. The authors are concerned with the way individuals consume rather than what they consume by focusing on the time aspect of leisure consumption. Voraciousness does not indicate participating in an activity for a long period of time and then passing to another one, rather it is about "not leaving many activities untouched or unpracticed" (Sullivan and Katz-Gero, 2007, p. 134). Hence voraciousness is the leisure consumption pattern "of high status individuals with an 'insatiable' appetite for multiple leisure activities" (p. 133). Voracious consumption can be seen as a rational strategy for high-status individuals, the educated professionals with high levels of economic and cultural capital who have to embrace a fast and intensive life tempo, multitasking and a diverse cultural consumption pattern. Sullivan and Katz-Gero also suggests that the frequency and range of cultural consumption works as a marker of distinction and a way of cultural boundary-making for high-status individuals since neither monetary access to leisure goods nor availability of leisure time directly causes voraciousness.

c. Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism is an important trait of the well-educated fractions of the middle class. Ulf Hannerz describes cosmopolitanism as "an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other… [entailing] an intellectual and aesthetic stance toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity" (1996, p. 103). The consumption pattern of high-cultural-capital individuals reflects a cosmopolitan taste which may be

inclusive not only in terms of global cultural diversity but also racial and class differences and an individualist subjectivity (Holt, 1998). The educated middle class subjects seek authenticity in cosmopolitan consumption practices through the consumption of global and local forms of difference. Cosmopolitanism, other than being an interest in and appreciation of diversity, indicates a political openness and tolerance for different social and cultural groups. Ley (2004) puts that "residents of gentrified inner-city neighborhoods have multiple points of openness to cosmopolitanism" (p. 160). The high education levels of gentrifiers especially in the fields of humanities and social sciences, and their employment in social and cultural sectors lead them to have more tolerant views on social and cultural diversity.

Cosmopolitanism has become a fashionable term after the Cold War period and with the globalization trend in the 1990s. In this respect, Calhoun (2008) drives our attention to the fact that cosmopolitanism is not only a personal ethical choice or a free-floating cultural taste. It is highly connected to the globalization of capital and the globalized form of consumerism that capitalism prompts. Moreover, as cosmopolitanism refers to a set of cultural credentials and competencies required for accessing and appreciating cultural diversity, it is a classed phenomenon. Calhoun (2008) suggests that contemporary cosmopolitanism belongs to a certain social class composed of global elites who have the economic and cultural means travel abroad and engage with diversity.

Binnie and his fellow authors (2006) use the concept of cosmopolitan urbanism to understand the contemporary trend whereby ethnic, religious and cultural diversity can render the twenty-first century city attractive and vibrant. Then cosmopolitan urbanism indicates an inclusionary vision of the city in which difference and cultural diversity are desired, praised, consumed and commodified. Gentrification, urban regeneration and the development of culture and tourism industries are strategies of urban governments and developers for maintaining cosmopolitan image for their cities. Cosmopolitan urbanism intends to promote

cultural diversity and, it is believed that native residents would benefit from gentrification and urban regeneration projects which are accompanied by the growth of tourism and culture industries. However, the branding of urban space increases its desirability and therefore causes an increase in rents and the displacement of the economically marginalized residents. At the end, ironically a homogeneous space in terms social and cultural diversity is created.

Binnie et al. (2006) point out that cosmopolitanism is a paradoxical concept with many respects since as a consumption pattern and a political inclination it is bound to economic and cultural forms of capital. As Rofe (2003) and Thompson and Tambyah (1999) argue, it might be part a strategy through which individuals display their cultural capital and claim distinction from traditional middle classes and the groups with local and national identifications. It can indicate a superficial consumerism whereby the cosmopolitan consumers do not develop an interaction with or a deeper understanding of the other. Besides, cosmopolitanism might be exclusionary towards certain forms of difference. In this respect, Young and his fellow researchers' (2006) study on the gentrification of Manchester can be an example. These authors argue that gentrifiers prefer avoiding contact with the lower-income ethnic minority groups, some youth culture and the white working class residing in the inner-city although they enjoy consuming commodified and sanitized forms of difference.

Cosmopolitanism's linkage to cultural capital in the case of educated middle class subjects produces an inherent contradiction at the heart of the concept. Bridge (2006) postulates that cosmopolitanism is bound to cultural capital; however, "the circuits of cultural capital that make cosmopolitan knowledge possible are often antithetical to cosmopolitanism as a form of openness to difference" (p. 53). The maintenance of distinction in the form of class reproduction and the display of cultural capital necessitate economic capital. Bridge's study on the gentrifiers in Bristol shows that gentrifiers with children usually leave the neighborhood for better schooling options. These gentrifiers "are forced to trade the current

deployment of cultural capital in aesthetic display (objectified cultural capital) for a longer-term investment in the reproduction of cultural capital through the schooling of their children (incorporated cultural capital)" (p. 63). Moreover, the aesthetic of gentrification sets taste boundaries which are inimical to a broader engagement with difference.

3. The New Middle Class in Turkey

As Lange and Meier (2009) argue the evolution of the new middle classes takes a different path in developing countries compared to advanced capitalist countries. In the non-Western countries the state created and actively supported the development of an indigenous new middle class employed in public service as a part of the nation-building and modernization process. In Turkey the state created and promoted a large body of civil servants for a long period of time since its establishment including the professionals employed in public sector and administrative workers such as teachers, doctors, engineers and policemen. That is how the Turkish Republic had formed an educated middle class basis working in public service and adopting the nationalist ideology and ideals in its formative years. In Turkey as well as in other developing countries the state had a great importance for the new middle classes in public service since it provided employment, benefits and social security for this group until the dismantling effects of neo-liberalism and globalization. Besides, public employees turned to the state as a reference point of political orientation and claimed authority and prestige as they identified with the state (Lange and Meier, 2009).

However, the significant expansion of the new middle class in Turkey coincides with the period of liberalization in the 1980s (Keyder, 1999b). In this case the flourishing group of educated professionals has been employed in the growing private sector with the opening of economy to global markets. During the 1980s and 1990s Turkey experienced financial liberalization and a significant increase in foreign trade and foreign investment. This has led to the development of service sector in big cities mainly in Istanbul. The banking, media,

advertising, and private health and education sectors has grown in the major cities but the most extensive and important development of the service sector has been occurring in Istanbul as the most globally-integrated city of Turkey. The educated professionals, corporate managers and business people have benefited from the post-1980's economic growth and free market economy and their ability to consume has risen dramatically (Bali, 2002). Keyder (1999b) defines this process as the yuppification of professionals as corporate executives and high-earning professionals adopted an extravagant consumerist lifestyle.

Rutz and Balkan (2009) argue that there is internal differentiation among the Turkish middle classes which creates status inequality and competition for quality education and credentials. On the one hand there is the old core middle class including industrial corporate and public administrative managers and other professionals. The integration of Turkish economy to world markets and further implications of liberalization and globalization deteriorate the economic and social status of the old middle class. On the other hand there is the "new" middle class growing as a result of those processes whose members are employed as professionals and managers in the foreign knowledge-based industries. Credentials, high levels of education and their command of foreign languages, especially English are the main assets for this fraction of the new middle class.

In addition to education consumption is the other primary means of social distinction for this fraction of the new middle class. They have the financial means for consuming luxurious products and participating in various cultural activities. Generally they adopt western and globally-oriented lifestyle preferences. Bali (2002) makes significant observations about the changing consumption patterns and tastes of the cultural and economic elites in the 1990s. As he argues, the educated middle class population which is predominantly located in Istanbul seeks quality, refinement and class in what and how they consume. For instance consumption of Chinese and Japanese cuisine has become one of the

markers of status indicating modernity, a western attitude and sophistication. The appreciation of certain conspicuous consumption goods such as cigars, good olive oil and wine create distinction for the educated new middle class. The "right" ways of consuming those goods as well as the criteria of high quality for them are constantly issued in the media by the cultural intermediaries. The connoisseurship about these conspicuous consumption goods constitutes a stock of cultural capital for distinction and as a marker of refinement in addition to their mere consumption. Attendance to the concerts of world-wide popular singers and bands, and urban festivals such as the International Istanbul Film Festival has become ritual-like cultural practices for cultural elites which are indispensable to their lifestyle. In addition, the appreciation of jazz music happens to be another marker of status and cultural capital in addition to classical music which has been the symbol of a secular, modern and Western lifestyle in Turkey for a long time.

There are not many comprehensive academic studies on the new middle classes in Turkey. Bali (2002), Öncü (1999), Doğuç (2005), Şimşek (2005) and Rutz and Balkan (2009) produced some of the major works focusing on the formation, social and cultural behavior and worldview of the educated new middle class. There is another line of studies which are concerned with the residential preference of the Turkish new middle classes as housing has been one of the major fields through which a middle class position is displayed and secured. The studies of Öncü (1997), Ayata (2002), Kurtuluş (2005), Danış and Pérouse (2005) and Candan and Kolluoğlu (2008) discuss suburbanization and the emergence and development of sites (high-rise apartment complexes in the suburbs) and gated communities in relation to the desire of new middle classes for distinction and their urban fears. Living in the suburbs which reflect a class-based (and ethnicity-based in many respects) segregation and seclusion promises a luxurious, refined and elitist lifestyle whereby the new middle classes avoid the dangers and pollution associated with the city (Bali, 2002). In gated communities the upper-

middle class residents enjoy a sense of community in which they share a similar set of socio-economic standards, values and worldview with their neighbors, and therefore feel comfortable and secure. Sites meet the expectations of new middle classes in line with their rising life standards, and their demands for order, predictability, autonomy and privacy in the domestic sphere (Ayata, 2002). The homogeneous, isolated and "quality" neighborhoods become status markers for the middle classes as living in gated communities articulates social and spatial distinction. As Candan and Kolluoğlu's (2008) study on the suburbs in Göktürk discloses that for the upper-middle class suburbia residents the city is constructed as a fearful space and associated with the unknown, uncertainties, disorder, insecurity and chaos. Urban life mostly equals to traffic, crime and pollution in their minds, and brings fear and various anxieties. Living in suburbs is a form of retrenchment and avoidance of the urban public spaces for the new middle classes. Besides, this brings the narrowing down of their urban experience both socially and spatially.

The 1990s also witnessed the development of a touristic interest and feelings of nostalgia for old Istanbul and its social and cultural life together with the upsurge of suburbanization as an escape from the city life. As Öncü (1997) discusses the educated middle classes rediscovered Istanbul and developed a touristic interest in the city's past and elegant physical structure of old neighborhoods. The tourist gaze of new middle class is fed upon global cultural trends which brought an appreciation of culture and history rather than solely being related to local dynamics. A romanticized and exoticized construction of the past is intrinsic to feelings of nostalgia. The Turkish new middle class members, or with the popular expression "white Turks" have a longing for old Istanbul which evokes a clean, refined and civilized past with which the elites identify (Bali 2002, 2006). They yearn for this imagined past which is juxtaposed to the image of a crowded, chaotic and dirty Istanbul captured and deteriorated by the rude and ignorant migrants from rural Anatolia (Öncü, 2003). The

heightened nostalgia among the educated middle classes in the 1990s brought the publication of many books and novels on the city's history and its old non-Muslim populations, and the organization of city tours to the old districts.

The discourse of nostalgia is accompanied by feelings of sympathy and appreciation for the Greek, Armenian and Jewish populations of Istanbul which were deported or left the city after the formation of the Republic (Bali, 2002). The new middle class residents of Istanbul who claim a civilized and western identity, identifies with the old non-Muslim residents who are considered as the authentic and original Istanbulites and who are associated with western merits and lifestyle and a sophisticated outlook. As Öncü (1999) points out the educated middle class population of Istanbul has claimed to be the real Istanbulites in a city of uncertain cultural boundaries as it has been "captured" and "deteriorated" by the rural migrants and ignorant masses. For this group the image of old Istanbul evokes not only a western and cosmopolitan social setting which reflects modernity but also a communitarian lifestyle in old neighborhoods pertaining to warm and close human relations at the face of alienation in modern urban life. Gentrification in Istanbul which can be seen as a contrary trend to suburbanization is partially related with feelings of nostalgia among the Turkish cultural elites for old Istanbul pertaining to a cosmopolitan past, refined and vigorous social life, and the forms of traditional sociability in old neighborhoods. The attraction of young educated professionals to historical districts such as Beyoğlu, Arnavutköy and Kuzguncuk and gentrification as the outcome are prompted by nostalgia as a popular cultural theme and the desire for an elitist and communitarian lifestyle (Bali, 2006).

PART 2: ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

This study is an exploratory and interpretative research which led me to use qualitative research methods. My purpose is to develop a deeper understanding about the gentrifiers' experience and construction of inner-city living. I want to present an in-depth exploration of their metropolitan habitus indicating their motives, perceptions, attitudes, and practices. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) present a useful definition for qualitative research which I utilized as a framework for how I used this methodology:

> Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (p. 3)

In line with the above definition my endeavour is a situated and reflexive attempt to understand and represent the experience and subjectivity of a particular section of the new middle class in Turkey. Here, I should account for my position as an educated middle-class subject living in Istanbul with western- and globally-oriented lifestyle and consumption preferences. Although not being a gentrifier and a resident of Beyoğlu I am very much a part of the social group which I study. I share a similar set of dispositions, perceptions and attitudes with the gentrifier population. That is, to a large extent I and the sample of this study belong to the same metropolitan habitus in terms of class position, taste, and social and cultural practices. This was mostly an advantage because I have rich insights about the gentrifier population as a result of my personal experiences, observations and self-analysis.

For studying the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu I mainly make use of in-depth interviews which I conducted between the beginning of November 2009 and the middle of March 2010. I

have spoken to thirty-six gentrifiers living in various neighborhoods of Beyoğlu which are Cihangir, Çukurcuma, Firuzağa, Galata, Aynalıçeşme and Tarlabaşı. I employed narrative analysis technique to study and interpret the gentrifiers' accounts. In addition I conducted interviews with two real estate agents operating in Beyoğlu to have a more elaborate understanding about the gentrification process in the district and its particular neighborhoods, the characteristics of gentrifiers, and their concerns and preferences about housing. Besides, I carried out on-site observations in Beyoğlu's gentrified and gentrifying neighborhoods in order to see the physical and socio-cultural transformation in these areas with respect to residential and retail gentrification. I also conducted a small-scale unstructured media analysis to gain further insights about how the educated middle class constructs Beyoğlu and the diversity it hosts, and the consumption patterns and lifestyle preferences of gentrifiers.

1. In-depth Interviews

I interviewed thirty-six gentrifiers living in various Beyoğlu neighborhoods and two real estate agents operating in the district. The interviews were semi-structured and in-depth. I used different ways to recruit respondents. I connected with thirteen gentrifiers via the two real estate agents whom I interviewed with. I found nine of my respondents through using different friendship networks. I did not know any of these respondents prior to my research. I prepared posters giving information about my study to collect respondents which I hung in Cihangir, Çukurcuma, Galata and Asmalımescit. In addition, I left flyers to the cafés in Cihangir and Galata which are popular among gentrifiers. Nine people reached me through the posters and flyers they saw. I found four gentrifiers via the neighborhood associations of Cihangir and Galata. I recruited one respondent with the help of the *muhtar* (the elected head of the neighborhood) of Müeyyedzade Mahallesi in Galata.

The use of multiple sources to recruit respondents allowed me to capture the diversity among gentrifiers in Beyoğlu. Although I used availability sampling to choose respondents I

paid attention have a representative sample in terms of gender, occupation and the neighborhoods where they live. Nearly the half of my sample involves cultural intermediaries and creative class members being artists and the professionals in media and advertisement. I also interviewed managerial and technical professionals such as a lawyer and an engineer, and university students. The information I gained from the real estate agents and my observations in the field helped me to identify the common professions among the gentrifier population in Beyoğlu. Ten of the respondents are home-owners and the others are tenants. This generally reflects the situation in Beyoğlu as most of the gentrifiers are tenants according to my interviews with the real estate agents. Yet, I should also note that I experienced difficulty in reaching home-owners and high-income gentrifiers. This is one of the reasons why the number of home-owner respondents is low in my sample.

My interviews with local gentrifiers were structured according to the three interrelated branches of my research agenda which are the motives and meanings of gentrification, consumption patterns and lifestyle preferences of gentrifiers, and their attitudes towards and perceptions of different social groups in Beyoğlu. In the first part I asked my respondents about the reasons why they moved to Beyoğlu and their views and ideas about the district and the particular neighborhoods they reside in. In the second part I asked questions about their consumption behavior in relation to Beyoğlu such as shopping, attending festivals and cultural events. Besides, I tried to learn about their lifestyle preferences, recreational and cultural activities, and more general consumption behavior in mainly the fields of music, dining and TV series. In the final part I asked questions concerning gentrifiers' views about and interactions with the disadvantaged and marginalized social groups in Beyoğlu. Here I wanted to understand the different constructions of diversity and the levels of social mixing.

I conducted the interviews in relaxed and informal settings mostly in cafés and the respondents' apartments. Overall the respondents were relaxed and comfortable during the

interviews. I recorded the interviews and took extensive notes after each interview about the respondents' answers and the common and divergent themes emerging in their narratives. In my analysis I used the recorded material and the notes. The interviews were semi-structured and I paid attention to follow the same order in asking the questions. This helped me to categorize the respondents' answers and identify the common, recurrent and divergent themes in their narratives. I utilized narrative analysis for interpreting gentrifiers' attitudes and experiences, and the ways in which they make sense of the experience of gentrification. Narrative analysis refers to the analysis of narrative material indicating various kinds of data such as life stories in the form of interviews or literary work. Narratives are particular representations of and constructions about reality. The purpose of narrative analysis is "to see how respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives" (Kohler-Riessman, 1993). The reason why I prefer this method is that it is suitable for interpretative and exploratory research, and for studying the construction of emotions, identity and the self-image (Smith, 2000).

I used a thematic analysis model in which the emphasis "is on the content of a text, 'what' is said more than 'how' it is said, the 'told' rather than the 'telling'" (Kohler-Riessman, 2004). The narratives are categorized according to themes in thematic analysis and this model is useful for developing typologies. This method is concerned with the inductive recurring themes in the narratives. In this respect, I tried to categorize and then analyze the meanings presented by the respondents on the basis of "what" is said by them. For instance I categorized the senses which Beyoğlu gives to the respondents as nostalgic, chaotic, cosmopolitan and global with respect to the themes in their narratives. Cosmopolitanism is a major recurring theme in the narratives of the gentrifiers with respect to their constructions of Beyoğlu, political views, and perceptions of and attitudes towards diversity. I mainly regarded this term as openness to and an interest in difference (Hannerz, 1996). I identified tolerance

and intolerance towards diversity, and the propensity to consume difference as the determinants of cosmopolitan attitude. Cultural omnivorousness is another theme which emerges in the consumption patterns of the respondents. I categorized the cultural goods and practices which are consumed by the respondents as local, global, low-brow and high-brow. I defined omnivorousness as the propensity to consume both low-brow and high-brow cultural goods and styles within this study (Peterson and Simkus, 1992).

2. On-Site Observation

In addition to interviews I made on-site observations in Beyoğlu neighborhoods to see the physical and socio-cultural transformation. I took several trips in Cihangir, Galata, Firuzağa, Çukurcuma, Aynalıçeşme and Tarlabaşı. I particularly paid attention to the renovation of built environment and retailing and leisure venues such as cafés, boutiques and ecological shops serving the educated middle classes, local gentrifiers and expatriates. As I am familiar with those neighborhoods I could observe the physical changes and upgrading in a long period of time. Moreover, I talked to local people such as the incumbent residents of those neighborhoods, shopkeepers, café-owners and *muhtar*s about the gentrification process and the resident profile. The on-site observations and conversations with local people enhanced my knowledge about the course of gentrification in different neighborhoods.

3. Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Of the thirty-six gentrifiers interviewed for this research, ten are home-owners and the rest are tenants. This generally reflects the situation in Beyoğlu as most of the gentrifiers are tenants according to my interviews with the real estate agents. All of the respondents had university education and some of them had graduate degrees. That is, they are a well-educated population. I classify sixteen respondents as social and cultural specialists. They have creative class positions as they work in cultural and artistic professions. This group mostly involves photographers, artists, actors and the ones working in the media and advertisement. A

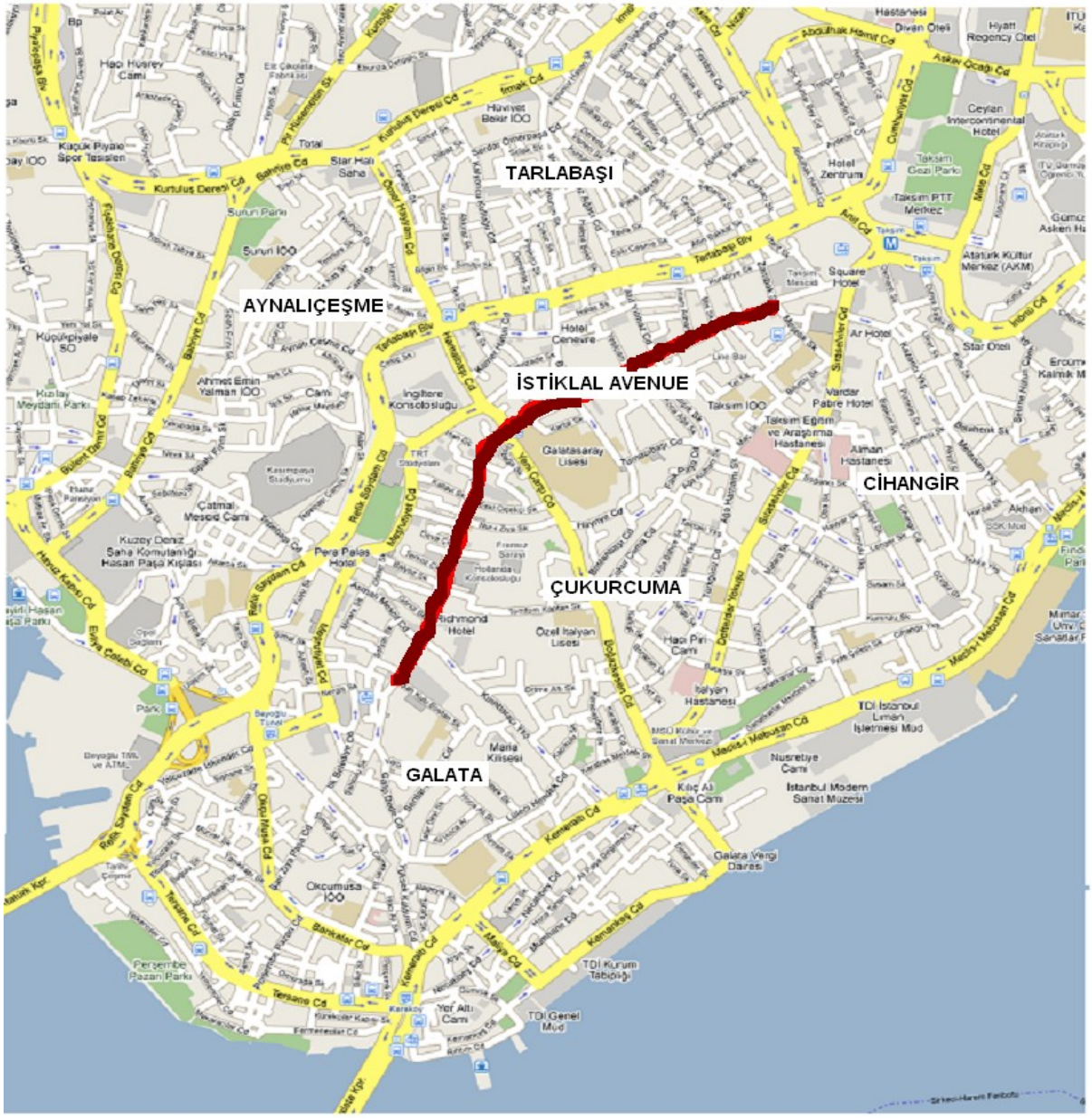
significant portion of them are employed in the TV business as actors, directors and scriptwriters. Eleven respondents are employed in more managerial and technical positions such as an engineer, a lawyer, an architect and bank employees. Four of them are currently students as they continue their undergraduate and graduate education. Involving two from this group four respondents are categorized as marginally employed and unemployed. The other three respondents involve two nightclub managers and one café owner.

Fifteen respondents live in Cihangir and eleven of them live in Galata. The other ten reside in Aynalıçeşme, Tarlabaşı and Çukurcuma. Their rents are usually above 900 TL. Considering that the minimum wage in Turkey is approximately 750 TL the respondents have above-avarage income levels and life standards. Their ages vary between 21 and 56 and most of the respondents fall between late twenties and late thirties. Most of the respondents were never married. Six of them are married and live with their spouses. Eleven respondents are cohabiting with their partners. As İslam (2006) argues the levels of cohabiting is much higher among the gentrifier population compared to other groups within the society. Other than this, living with roommates is also a common practice among my sample which again reflects the general situation in Beyoğlu to some extent. Nine of the respondents live with their roommates and share the rent. Ten of the respondents live by themselves. The second appendix involves the respondents' list which presents their occupation, age, the neighborhoods they live, and the years they live in Beyoğlu. I used pseudonyms instead of the real names of the respondents to protect their privacy.

In the following chapter I depict Beyoğlu's transformation over the years and the level of gentrification in its neighborhoods. In this chapter I discuss various secondary sources on Beyoğlu, the information I gathered from the real estate agents, and the on-site observations I conducted in the district.

CHAPTER 5: THE SETTING: BEYOĞLU AND ITS TRANSFORMATION

Beyoğlu is a historical district on the European side of Istanbul, which lies above the shores of Golden Horn and across the Historical Peninsula. It is the center of cultural and artistic activities, entertainment and retailing and consequently one of the most valuable sites of the city which is used for both commercial and residential purposes. The subway line between Taksim and Levent built in 2000 improved the centrality of Beyoğlu by providing an easier access to the business and finance centers of Istanbul in the Mecidiyekoy area and the Levent-Maslak axis.



The map of Beyoğlu. Adapted from http://maps.google.com/.

In the Ottoman era Beyoğlu had been predominantly occupied by a non-Muslim population including Ottoman Greeks, Armenians and Jews, and the Europeans. It represented the "modern" and "western" face of the Empire as foreign embassies and European finance and trade organizations were located in Beyoğlu in the nineteenth century. Beyoğlu was a distinguished residential area as well as being a financial, commercial and bureaucratic hub, which had a heterogeneous population involving foreign bureaucrats, bankers and tradesman, non-Muslim minorities, and the Ottoman elites (Sakızlıoğlu 2007; Uzun 2001). Yumul (2009) argues that the Pera, which was the Greek name of Beyoğlu commonly used since the Byzantine Empire until the foundation of Turkish Republic in the early twentieth century, of the nineteenth century was the most cosmopolitan and westernized district of Istanbul. She describes Pera as a cosmopolitan public space, "a meeting point for strangers in the late nineteenth century, a suburb of difference and diversity, and a heterogeneous public space of multiplicity where a society of strangers came together" (Yumul, 2009, p. 58). As the empire tried to modernize and keep pace with the Western nations Pera became the locus of western lifestyles, entertainment and conspicuous consumption for the Muslim and the non-Muslim elites of Istanbul. Those elites were characterized by a Europeanized way of life. In this period the district hosted many consumption and recreation places such as theatres, coffee houses, concert halls, restaurants and large import stores, and the modern residential apartment buildings (Dokmeci et al., 2007).

In the twentieth century with the formation of the Republic Beyoğlu had lost its heterogeneous social structure as the embassies moved to the new capital Ankara and the foreign financiers and businessmen left the country as a result of economic nationalization. The non-Muslim population was forced to leave Istanbul in the course of transition from a multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire to a nation-state composed of Muslim Turks. The discriminatory policies such as the "Citizen Speak Turkish" campaign in the 1930s and the

Capital Levy Tax in 1942 and the state-organized pogrom in Istanbul in 1955 resulted in the departure of non-Muslim minorities (Yumul, 2009). Besides, an important part of the Jewish population left for the newly founded Israel in the 1950s and onwards (Ergun, 2004). The emigration of non-Muslims caused a drastic change in the ownership status of property as well as the economic, social and cultural structure of the Beyoğlu district. Some of them sold their property to Muslims as they left while some others rented out from abroad through their attorneys. A significant portion of the abandoned property have been squatted by the rural migrants since the 1950s (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007, p. 171).

In the 1960s and 1970s Turkey experienced a period of rapid industrialization and urbanization whereby there was a huge inflow of rural migrants to the big cities, especially to Istanbul (Danielson and Keles, 1985). Beyoğlu which had lost a considerable amount of its original residents became a convenient site for the settling of rural migrants. Those socio-economically deprived new residents lacked the necessary resources for the maintenance of old apartment buildings. Beyoğlu underwent a process of social and physical decline causing further deterioration and devaluation by the 1980s (Islam, 2005, p. 124). Beginning with the 1980s a second wave of Kurdish migrants, who departed or got displaced from the eastern and southeastern parts of Turkey due to the armed struggle between the Turkish army and the Kurdish forces, have also settled in Beyoğlu, especially in Tarlabaşı and Galata areas.

The social and economic decline of Beyoğlu was accompanied by the development of new business centers in the outer districts of the city, decentralization of jobs and commercial activity, and suburbanization whereby the upper- and middle-classes moved to the segregated enclaves in the peripheral areas. As Dokmeci et al. (2007) put, in the 1980s "the majority of CBD [central business district] functions moved from Beyoğlu, so that its upper and middle income residents no longer wished to live there" (p. 158). Beyoğlu hosted illegal and criminal activity such as drug dealing and prostitution as well as small-scale manufacturing workshops

and entertainment venues. Those forms of illegal activity still continue in certain parts of the district, especially in Tarlabaşı (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007). Although the demographic composition varied in different neighborhoods the residents of Beyoğlu involved mostly the rural migrant families, the Roma population, and certain marginalized sub-cultural groups such as the transsexuals and transvestites during the 1980s (Uzun, 2001). Over the gentrification process these groups have been displaced due to higher rents and increasing costs of living. Besides, as Uzun (2001) discuss, police repression and community pressure against transgender individuals have resulted in their displacement in Cihangir in the mid-1990s. Yet, today, the neighborhoods of Beyoğlu still host socio-economically disadvantaged and marginalized social groups in the less gentrified parts.

In the second half of the 1980s the municipality implemented a massive rehabilitation project to revitalize Beyoğlu. The pedestrianization of Istiklal Avenue which is the main the artery of the district in 1990 was an important step in the regeneration of Beyoğlu improving the commercial and cultural activity and tourism (Ergun, 2004). This also promoted gentrification in Cihangir, Asmalımescit and Galata which are the neighborhoods of Beyoğlu experiencing the socio-spatial transformation in the 1990s and onwards (Ergun 2004; Uzun, 2001). Gentrification in Beyoğlu began in the 1990s in the above-mentioned three neighborhoods which are located in the eastern part of the district as Islam (2005) states, whereby cultural new class gentrifiers, especially architects and artists settled in and renovated property. The pioneers preferred to live in those neighborhoods due to their centrality, proximity to cultural, entertainment and retailing venues, environmental amenities, and the authentic architectural features of property. Meanwhile culture and entertainment sector, and retailing have developed substantially in Beyoğlu, especially on İstiklal Avenue attracting more gentrifiers to the area as well as young new middle class consumers with western-oriented lifestyle preferences.

In Asmalımescit which is a neighborhood lying in the south-western part of İstiklal Avenue, gentrification was initiated by cultural elites and artists who used the apartments for both residential purposes and as ateliers. Yet, culture and entertainment industries have created the major transformation in the neighborhood (İnce, 2006). Nowadays the number of residences is very few in Asmalımescit while the area is mostly occupied by the entertainment sector serving a middle- and upper-class population, meaning the luxury coffee houses, pubs, night clubs and restaurants. The popularity of Asmalımescit has increased in the last years drastically as an entertainment venue. That is, the transformation process which began with residential gentrification has turned into retail gentrification rendering the neighborhood unsuitable for residency.

In Cihangir which is located in the north-eastern part of Beyoğlu the socio-spatial transformation has been linked to the activity of two groups of gentrifiers. The first group is composed of architects, artists and academicians who are followed by young educated professionals moving in the neighborhood. Uzun (2001) suggests that this group renovated property for residential purposes and was careful about preserving the original historical characteristics of the built environment and the neighborhood identity. The second group involves entrepreneurs and real estate developers which are concerned with making profit by exploiting the rent gap. Besides, retail gentrification is a very important aspect of the socio-spatial transformation in Cihangir whereby many boutique-style cafés, restaurants, and stores have opened in the neighborhood in accordance with the distinctive and critical consumption habits of the gentrifiers (İlkuçan, 2004). Today, the housing stock for further gentrification is almost depleted in the eastern part of Cihangir which hosts a wealthier population. The rents are considerably high in this area and gentrification has come to an end. In the western part of the neighborhood there lies Firuzağa and Çukurcuma, two neighborhoods which have been gentrifying rapidly in the recent years. Gentrifiers with lower economic resources such as

students and younger professionals prefer to live in these neighborhoods and still become able to enjoy the amenieties and the cultural life in Cihangir. The rural migrant families and the Roma population still live in these areas although displacement is increasing. In Firuzağa and Çukurcuma the rents are relatively lower and there is still potential for further gentrification. Retail gentrification is also observed heavily. There is a growing number of chic cafés, art galleries, and antique stores opening in these neighborhoods.

Gentrification followed a similar path in Galata which is located in the south-eastern end of İstiklal Avenue whereby residential gentrification is dominant that was initiated by artists and architects. However, the process was rather slow and gradual compared to Cihangir (Islam, 2005). Cihangir has turned into an upper middle-class neighborhood whose residents include the cultural new class as well as urban professionals working in managerial positions while the rents are considerably high in the neighborhood. Galata's gentrifiers are mostly composed of a creative class population including artists, designers, photographers and producers. Nalan, the real estate agent who lives in Cihangir told that Cihangir is more suitable for the residents with more stable living arrangements such as families whereas Galata is more of a bohemian neighborhood with a younger and more "hip" profile. Galata still hosts a significant number of lower-income incumbent residents including the rural migrants and the Roma population living especially in the eastern fringes of the neighborhood. Besides, there are few small-scale workshops and several lighting fixture and electrical goods stores which are regarded with disfavor by most of the gentrifiers. As it is the case in Cihangir, gentrification causes displacement espacilly affecting the lower-income renters (Enlil and İslam, 2006).

Tarlabaşı lies in the north-western side of İstiklal Avenue and the neighborhood is isolated from the area with Tarlabaşı Boulevard which was built in the late 1980s with the demolition of many buildings in the neighborhood. There are the traces of pioneer

gentrification in Tarlabaşı as a few expatriates, university students and middle-class gentrifiers settle in the neighborhood. The real estate agents told that property speculation is heightened in Tarlabaşı in the last five years after the development of a transformation project for the neighborhood by the municipality. Many small-scale investors are buying into the neighborhood and renovating apartments. Several middle-scale investors are collecting property with the expectation of higher returns in the course of the transformation project. Some of the incumbent residents work as real estate agents and small-scale developers. Yet, the physical upgrading in Tarlabaşı is quite limited. In Aynalıçeşme which is adjacent to Tarlabaşı and which lies in the south-western part of the district, gentrification is at a more developed stage. In many buildings there are several renovated apartments which are on the market for sale and rent. Expatriates and the domestic social and cultural specialists reside in Aynalıçeşme as tenants and home-owners.

Gentrifiers in Beyoğlu conform to the gentrifier prototype identified within the literature in most respects as İlkuçan (2004) and Islam (2005) state. Some of their demographic characteristics are small household size, high education levels and occupation in white-collar and creative-class positions. Single households, cohabiting couples, couples without children and single parents can be found within the gentrifier population which are not very common phenomena within the Turkish society. As Islam (2005) puts, "gentrifiers conform to 'global' lifestyles and are less tied to religious ties or cultural common rules than other social groups, including the traditional middle classes, in the city" (p. 132).

Along with the Turkish cultural new class, expatriates are also attracted to the vivacious and vibrant life in Beyoğlu, the abundance and diversity of the cultural and entertainment venues, the social and cultural diversity, and the aesthetic and historical value of the district. Many expatriates working in Istanbul, mostly from European countries and the US prefer to reside in the old apartments in various neighborhoods of Beyoğlu. However, the

role of expatriates in Beyoğlu's gentrification stays as an understudied issue within the gentrification literature on Istanbul.

Small-scale investors which buy and renovate apartments and small buildings for rental and sale have been a part of the process for nearly fifteen years (Uzun 2001; Ergun 2004). This group involves some individual gentrifiers, especially architects acting as real estate developers in their neighborhoods, incumbent residents with financial resources for buying and restoring property, and local real estate agencies. By the second half of the 2000s large-scale corporate investors have begun operating in the district. Beyoğlu AS and Galata AS which are partially owned by multinational real estate companies are the two leading real estate developers in the field which are buying and restoring big apartment complexes with historical value. Moreover, in recent years the numbers of boutique hotels and residence hotels have been increasing in various neighborhoods of Beyoğlu targeting especially foreign tourists and business people coming to Istanbul for a short trip or a long stay. Entrepreneurs re-designing old apartment complexes as hotels constitute another salient aspect of gentrification in the district.

In the last years Beyoğlu Municipality has become a major actor in the socio-spatial transformation and regeneration of the area. The municipality has had a facilitating role in the gentrification process as it rehabilitates the main streets, improves infrastructure, and provides infrastructural and organizational support and finds sponsors for renovation projects. The enactment of a new renewal law by the parliament in 2005 has enabled the municipality to take a much more active role within the process. The law endows the municipalities with greater powers to implement renewal projects in historical sites such as giving them the right to expropriate property and exempting them from certain responsibilities and restrictions under the public law (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007).

Beyoğlu Municipality has developed seven urban renewal projects after the law. The pilot project which has caused much public opposition and controversy targeted Tarlabaşı. It aimed at the renewal of a large part of the neighborhood through the collaboration of the municipality and a big domestic holding company called Çalık Holding which is famous for its close ties with the government. Tarlabaşı is one of the most deprived and dilapidated neighborhoods of Beyoğlu, which is not much affected by the gentrification wave in the adjacent areas. The neighborhood hosts late nineteenth and early twentieth century apartment buildings occupied by a socio-economically and culturally marginalized population who prefer the area for lower rents. Some of the residents illegally occupy the apartments. The residents of Tarlabaşı includes the most deprived, marginalized and vulnerable groups in the city being Kurdish forced migrants, the Roma population, migrants from different parts of Anatolia, and the African and Northern Iraqi immigrants. The transformation project will alter Tarlabaşı's role as a refuge for those groups and turn the neighborhood into a sterile and sanitized high-class residential, consumption and entertainment venue for the parochial upper-middle class and tourists. The urban renewal projects which the municipality has produced will change Beyoğlu dramatically in the near future by changing the demographic structure and transforming the area into a residential and consumption milieu for the affluent middle class population of Istanbul and foreign tourists. These projects are considered to be the examples of a new phase of state-led gentrification after the 2005 law which provides extensive powers to municipalities for implementing renewal projects. This new phase is characterized by the active agency of local governments and the state. It involves their collaboration with private capital for expropriating and transforming the dilapidated but valuable urban areas which are occupied by the socio-economically disadvantaged populations.

CHAPTER 6: THE IMAGE OF BEYOĞLU AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF INNER-CITY LIVING

In this chapter I analyze how gentrifiers perceive Beyoğlu and construct the experience of inner-city living. First I present the motivations of gentrifiers for living in Beyoğlu and discuss the major factors leading to gentrification considering the educated middle classes. As Jayne (2006) argues space as both a symbolic and physical entity and as a site of consumption contributes to the production, reproduction and negotiation of social identities. In this regard, in the second part of this chapter I attempt to explain what space and gentrification practice entail in terms of gentrifiers' self images and identity construction processes while referring to the motivations for inner-city living in the Beyoğlu case. The various consumption practices, lifestyles and worldview associated with Beyoğlu attract the educated middle class population to the district and become a reference point for their self identifications. Besides, gentrifiers produce symbolic boundaries vis-à-vis other social groups on the basis of their residential preference, consumption practices in Beyoğlu and the meanings they attach to the district.

Beyoğlu and its neighborhoods as sites of particular social networks and sociabilities, and forms of consumption, recreation and social reproduction give different senses to gentrifiers which are related with their tastes, desires, aspirations, fears and anxieties. The sense of nostalgia is one of the major attributes of Beyoğlu for gentrifiers related with the historical character of the district which has been cited as a chief motivation for gentrification (Islam, 2005). In the third and final part of this chapter I discuss the senses of place in order to reveal more about the worldview, ethos and habitus of gentrifiers which are fed by their experiences in Beyoğlu and reflected in their constructions of place. Overall in this chapter I try to delineate the motivations for gentrification, meanings attached to Beyoğlu and its neighborhoods, and the ways in which gentrifiers identify with the district and their neighborhoods as they draw symbolic boundaries with certain groups.

1. Motivations for Inner-City Living

The interviews show that gentrifiers have a variety of motivations for living in Beyoğlu. The main reason for their residential preference is related with Beyoğlu's position as the center of artistic, cultural and entertainment facilities. Gentrifiers in Beyoğlu are composed of a high cultural-capital group having globally-oriented lifestyle preferences and enjoying consuming difference. Therefore, they like to engage in various forms of cultural and consumption activities which Beyoğlu hosts as a cosmopolitan lifestyle center with a growing cultural, entertainment and retail infrastructure. Aysu, a scriptwriter for TV explained what she liked about Beyoğlu as follows:

> It is so central. I can reach anything I want here, like everything is under my hand, book stores, clothing stores, cafés, restaurants, night clubs… Plus there is variation of these amenities, they're not monotonous. And there are music and film festivals, and all the other artistic and cultural events. Just a short walk from home and I'll be there. I like this feeling of being at the heart of the city. I can't live without this. (Aysu)

The respondents cited other reasons for their residential preferences concerning the district in general and the neighborhoods in particular. Following Rose (2004) I categorize these motivations as symbolic and utilitarian. The utilitarian attributes are proximity to workplace, affordability of housing and profitability which are concerned with the domains of social reproduction and production (Mills, 1993). In terms of neighborhood selection the affordability of housing plays a significant role especially for marginal gentrifiers who have a strategy of lowering the housing costs for sustaining a living in Beyoğlu. Proximity to workplace has a trivial role in terms of both the decision to live in Beyoğlu and the neighborhood selection. Only two of the respondents mentioned this as the decisive factor for their decision to live in Beyoğlu. Veli who owns a nightclub in Beyoğlu said that he wanted to live close to his nightclub in order to avoid transportation costs and the danger of getting robbed since he returns home in late hours. Nazlı, a café owner, also argued that she lived in Beyoğlu to be close to her workplace. None of the home-owner respondents considered

having a property in Beyoğlu as an investment. Even one of them, Mert who lives in Galata and works as a small-scale developer and a dubbing actor considered what he is doing as a "responsibility work" rather than an economic activity for profit-making:

> I don't consider what I'm doing as my job. I see it more like a hobby or my responsibility. I'm looking at the old buildings which are so derelict yet so beautiful. I renovate them as loyal as possible to their original form. Then I find friends whom I believe to fit with the neighborhood. I work with friends or people who contact me through my friends... I don't just sell the apartment and say "that is all". I have considerations other than earning money. (Mert)

Yet, this does not mean that Mert does not have a purpose of making profit. Rather what is important here is the way he attributes a symbolic value to what he is doing for a living in terms of responsibility and paying homage to history and the neighborhood. The interviews with real estate agents and my observations revealed that educated middle class members buy into Beyoğlu neighborhoods as an investment. Haldun, the real estate agent told that many professionals began investing in Tarlabaşı in the last five years. This group of small investors mostly involves cultural and social specialists with a steady and mediocre income such as academicians and doctors. They buy apartments and sometimes small buildings in Tarlabaşı where the rents are still relatively lower and there is an expectation of profit in the short-run due to the urban transformation project. This group does not prefer to live in their property. They are "production gentrifiers" as Rofe (2003) argues, who invest in the built environment rather than living in the gentrifying areas. The group which Haldun talked about, are relatively older compared to resident gentrifiers most of whom are tenants since as Islam (2005) points out, buying property requires a large sum of money which can be collected over years of working life in Turkey. The fact that mortgage system is still underdeveloped and not pervasive in the country may account for the significant age difference between home-owners and renters, and the higher number of renter gentrifiers in Beyoğlu.

The gentrifiers whom I spoke to are generally "consumption gentrifiers" being the residents of Beyoğlu who actively construct their identities on the basis of their place-related

practices and discourses (Rofe, 2003). The interviews demonstrated that symbolic motivations are far more important than the utilitarian ones for the respondents' decision to live in Beyoğlu, and sometimes for preferring a particular neighborhood. The symbolic motivations are related with the social and cultural attributes attached to Beyoğlu and its neighborhoods. These attributes are used as resources for gentrifiers' politics of place and their identity-making strategies. The symbolic motivations involve culturally-valued characteristics of place loosely referring to the domain of consumption (Mills, 1993). Along with the centrality of Beyoğlu in terms of cultural and leisure activities, the respondents cited the historical fabric and cosmopolitan (read non-Muslim) past of Beyoğlu, neighborhood identity, the desire to live in a community of similar people, and the contemporary cosmopolitan identity and global setting of Beyoğlu as the symbolic attributes of inner-city living. The historical fabric indicates a visually pleasant quality of physical environment which gives a sense of rootedness whereas the cosmopolitan past refers to the predominant existence of non-Muslim populations in Beyoğlu until the second half of twentieth century. The respondents associated neighborhood identity with the traditional and intimate forms of sociability in Beyoğlu neighborhoods, especially the less gentrified ones which are in opposition to the estranged human relations of the modern urban life. The desire to live in a community of similar people basically refers to the need of respondents to socialize and intermingle with other gentrifiers who possess a similar set of cultural capital, lifestyle preferences and political attitudes. The cosmopolitan identity is conceptualized as the social diversity that Beyoğlu hosts and the global setting indicates the globally-oriented cultural environment, existence of expatriates, and the exotic/ethnic consumption places within the district.

In most of the interviews gentrifiers mentioned each one of these symbolic attributes when they talked about their motivations to settle in Beyoğlu and the things they appreciate about the social and cultural life in the district. Yet, in line with the heterogeneity of

gentrifiers with respect to the differences of age, occupation, affect and worldview, the emphasis given to different attributes changes. For instance, older and more affluent respondents and the ones with managerial and business-related occupations tend to value the historical fabric of Beyoğlu the most while they tend to display less appreciation and tolerance for social diversity in the district which consists of the lower-income groups, rural migrants, Kurds, the Roma population and the transgender communities. Here I should note that similar to what Butler and Robson (2003) observed in the gentrified inner-city neighborhoods of London, occupational differences among the respondents do not strictly translate into meaningful categories of attitudes and preferences. Differences of worldview and affect such as the political orientations of the respondents also shape their motivations for gentrification and the meanings they attach to Beyoğlu. However, it is highly possible that a study with a broader and representative sample may show distinct patterns on the basis of occupational differences.

Each of these symbolic motivations which I have mentioned above is linked to a particular sense and characteristic of Beyoğlu recurring in gentrifiers' narratives. I will elaborate on these symbolic attributes in the third part of this chapter while discussing the senses of place for the gentrifiers.

2. The Interplay of Place and Identity

> Living in Beyoğlu marks a certain stage in my life. I came here because I wanted to achieve certain things in my life. I wanted to experience a new setting, to meet new people who could expand my horizons, and to find the opportunities for developing myself… This place gives me more space to do the things I like such as being more engaged in music… Here I'm living in the streets, cafés and bookstores. Beyoğlu is alive for me. I don't just come from work to home, eat and sleep. I interact with Beyoğlu, I use it and I live it. It's like I express myself though Beyoğlu. (Serkan)

The above quote belongs to a young resident of Cihangir who works as a human relations specialist in a small firm. This quote is an example to how most of the gentrifiers value the vigorous social and cultural life in Beyoğlu and regard it as a place where they can

realize their aspirations and potential. In this regard, living in Beyoğlu and sometimes in its specific neighborhoods especially being Cihangir and Galata, are mostly deliberate and conscious decisions for gentrifiers. The district fulfills various personal needs, desires, hopes, and attitudes such as lifestyle preferences, life plans, career goals, moral and aesthetic concerns, and political attitudes. Similar to what Ley (1996) observed in Canadian cities the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu seek a distinct lifestyle whose core values are independence cosmopolitanism, creativity and to an extent anonymity. Many gentrifiers expressed that they are able to experience a liberal and autonomous lifestyle in Beyoğlu which they associate with freedom, self expression, diversity and cosmopolitanism. The below quote by a scriptwriter working in TV series shows how he appreciates that Beyoğlu provides a relatively liberal social setting untrammeled by the conventional and dominant norms and cultural codes of Turkish society:

> …I feel better here. I mean considering that Turkey is becoming so much conservative, religious and oppressive nowadays Beyoğlu is like heaven, it's where I can be free. I guess even in Istanbul in most of the districts you can't find a proper place to gather with friends and drink alcohol. Having long hair or wearing certain clothes may cause you trouble… Even here, unfortunately you come face to face with the repression and boundaries of Turkish society, but too a much lesser extent. Still I can walk half drunk with my girlfriends at 2 AM in Firuzaga without getting harassed. I can laugh and shout, can you do that anywhere else? … I definitely cannot live in any other place in Turkey. (Asım)

Another respondent, Meryem who is a twenty eight-year-old stockbroker working in an investment firm and lives in Cihangir, told what she liked the best about Beyoğlu as follows:

> It's definitely the way people express themselves. I mean you can see all types of people on İstiklal Avenue and they express their individuality and what makes them different. They are not ordinary. They are against conventional norms. I like to see a young man with Mohawk hair or an old lady with excessive make-up and flamboyant clothing. There are street musicians and political demonstrations. People protesting, asking for their rights and demanding freedom …Beyoğlu gives people the space and opportunity to express themselves. This is the thing I liked the most about here. (Meryem)

As the above two quotes demonstrate Beyoğlu is perceived as a liberal and emancipatory place in which gentrifiers can express their individuality, avoid the conventional boundaries and established norms of the society, and make political claims through public protests. The respondents construct Beyoğlu as an emancipatory space to a large extent in their narratives. Simmel (1997) in his The Metropolis and Mental Life argues that the metropolis is the locus of personal freedom as it gives the opportunities and the motivation for developing a unique self and asserting one's difference in the face of the objective and impersonal culture of modern life which reduces the individual to "a mere cog in an enormous organization of things and powers" (p. 184). In line with Simmel, Caulfield (1994) claims that inner-city living is an emancipatory and critical practice which challenges the hegemonic and repressive institutions of society, and even is in conflict with the agendas and interests of corporate capital and the state. In this respect, Beyoğlu provides the necessary environment for gentrifiers to develop their unique selves, expand their horizons and display their distinction through participating in cultural, artistic and political activities. Beyoğlu offers a vibrant social atmosphere with its cultural, artistic and entertainment infrastructure and as a public space which hosts many political demonstrations and activities. This is one of the major factors leading my respondents to settle in the district. Gentrifiers like to engage in the cultural, artistic and leisure activities as a way to mark their individuality and distinction. Besides, some of the respondents who are actively involved in leftist and progressive politics argued that their decision to live in Beyoğlu is partially related with the district's position as the locus of leftist and libertarian oppositional political movements. For instance Melda, a twenty nine-year old lawyer living in Aynalıçeşme said that one of the important reasons why she lived in Beyoğlu is that the district is the center of leftist and libertarian political activity:

> You know, Beyoğlu is where all the political activity is located. All the associations and political parties are here. People come here to make protests. I'm trying to be politically active in my life. If I live elsewhere it might be difficult to come back home

> at a late hour after a meeting or a demonstration. Living in Beyoğlu makes my life easier in such respects. (Melda)

For women and gay gentrifiers Beyoğlu is a liberal and tolerant setting in which they can avoid some of the oppressive and discriminatory views and practices in the society. Within the gentrification literature there are accounts which view the city as "a site of women's education, liberation and expression" (Lees et al., 2008, p. 101). The female respondents talked about how they could exercise their freedom in Beyoğlu much freely compared to many other districts of the city without getting harassed, frowned upon or criticized, at least openly. They mentioned issues such as being outside and going back home at late hours, having male guests in their apartments, and living their lives without neighbors disrespecting their privacy. In this regard, Meryem said:

> My neighbors are respectful people. Everyone mind their own business here. My male friends come and visit me in my home or I have my boyfriend come over. People don't watch who is coming in, who is leaving and when. Elsewhere, in a different district possibly you have that kind of neighbors… There are more traditional families living in my building but even they don't care about this kind of things… In other places two single women living by themselves without a man most likely become the object of attention. You know, there is neighborhood oppression in many places… In Cihangir I haven't experienced neighborhood oppression. (Meryem)

Another woman, Aycan, a forty one-year-old journalist who moved to Tarlabaşı a few months ago, talked about the freedom Beyoğlu offers for women emanating from anonymity in the crowded urban core:

> There are some small things I like about living in Beyoğlu. For instance I can smoke on İstiklal Avenue without anyone paying attention or looking at me. When I was in Trabzon that was not, you know, appropriate because people knew me. Beyoğlu is such a big and crowded place that nobody knows you and everyone is busy with their own lives and problems. So nobody cares what you're doing… Of course, still as a woman you may get harassed but this happens less frequently and to a lesser extent. I think there is more freedom for women here. (Aycan)

The anonymity experienced in Beyoğlu allows the stigmatized and disadvantaged groups such as gays and women to enjoy relative freedom from the public gaze and other forms of oppression. Within the literature gentrification has been viewed to be emancipatory

for gays, which enables them to live in a tolerant setting. Lauria and Knopp (1985) associated gay gentrification with "the need to escape to an oasis of tolerance" and regard it as "an opportunity to combat oppression by creating neighborhoods over which they [gays] have maximum control" (p. 161). Castells's (1983) study on the formation of gay community in San Francisco suggests that the spatial concentration gays enabled the gay liberation movement to grow and become powerful. Some of my gay respondents told that they could be open about expressing their sexual identity in Beyoğlu and that overall the district was emancipatory and liberating for them. In Beyoğlu there is not a gay movement organized on the basis of the spatial concentration of gays in specific neighborhoods as Castells identified in San Francisco. Yet, I should note that Beyoğlu hosts LGBT associations as well as many other civil rights associations, and gay-friendly cafés, bars and nightclubs. Overall the district is the center of progressive and liberal political movements in Istabul. About the situation of LGBT people in Beyoğlu, some of the respondents mentioned the concentration of economically better-off transgender people in Cihangir. This concentration might bring the empowerment of transgender individuals but I do not have any information on whether it has a role in the growth of the gay movement in Istanbul.

The interviews demonstrated that living in Beyoğlu offers gentrifiers the chances to participate in the social networks for achieving the things they desire in life such as like-minded friends and partners, and work opportunities. Faruk, a doctorate student who gives private lessons and lives in Çukurcuma said that the cafés in Cihangir allows him to meet new friends and partners which he values and appreciates about his neighborhood. Especially for young marginal gentrifiers who want to build a career in creative professions such as acting, directing, photography and fashion design settling in Galata and Cihangir promises the required social environment and networks. As I have suggested, Cihangir is a neighborhood which hosts many creative professionals working in the TV and cinema business such as

actors and directors, and Galata is where many visual artists and professionals such as photographers and fashion designers are located. The quality of these neighborhoods as the locus of particular creative and artistic activities draws gentrifiers who want to start and develop their careers in the fields of TV, cinema and other artistic and visual professions. That is, some of the gentrifiers whom I interviewed moved in those neighborhoods for enhancing their social capital through developing connections with the existing artists, creative class population and possible employers. An aspiring fashion designer, Semih explained why he decided to live in Galata as follows:

> Designers, photographers and visual artists are living in Galata. I thought that starting from here might be a good step. Many designers are opening ateliers and boutiques here. We have the Galata Fashion Festival, it's not great but it's something… The industry is developing in Galata. That's why I wanted to be here… Going to home parties, events, cocktail parties, meeting with people, and forming connections…You have these chances here (Semih)

In a similar line Ali, a fifty-year-old painting artist mentioned the importance of living in Cihangir for artists to find potential customers to their art works. He told that in the cafés of Cihangir artists contact with affluent businessmen, managers and professionals who are into arts and that they make deals to sell their works. Ali ironically said that living in Cihangir is an important component of the artist identity in Turkey and that many artists, cultural professionals, and wannabes settle in the neighborhood for presenting their value, creativity and originality. Turgut, an actor living in Galata who is in his mid-forties, also made this point while he was critical about the media and art sector and TV business fetishizing Cihangir as a place where all the artists and creative people live. The public image of Cihangir and Galata corresponds to authenticity, originality, a bohemian and liberal lifestyle, and the existence of artists, cultured and creative people. In this respect, some of the gentrifiers display a place-based identity as they make claims about their identity through their residential preference. Living in Cihangir or Galata becomes a label contributing to their self-images as cultured, creative, bohemian and liberal individuals. Besides, for artists and cultural

professionals, living in those neighborhoods enhances their popularity in the art and culture markets.

As İlkuçan's (2004) study shows Cihangir has an autonomous, artistic and bohemian public image which is embodied in its popular name the "Republic of Cihangir". This image both for Cihangir and to an extent Galata, is promoted by mass media and reflected in how gentrifiers perceive and construct their neighborhoods. My interviews with the real estate agents revealed that living in those neighborhoods is not only popular among the artistic and cultural professionals but also among the educated middle class members who want to participate in the bohemian and artistic social scene of the neighborhoods. The gentrification literature names the first group of artists and social and cultural specialists as pioneers and the latter group as the followers who settle in gentrifying neighborhoods in the later stages of gentrification. Cihangir is much frequently preferred by this latter group of follower gentrifiers which is composed of affluent managers, business people and professionals. Galata is still viewed too much socially heterogeneous, a little bit of dangerous and not gentrified enough by this group. The affluent followers are not professionally occupied with artistic and cultural activities; however, they have an interest in the bohemian lifestyle. Living in Cihangir is a strategy for them to show that they have cultural capital and a refined taste, and to articulate their distinction from the middle classes with high-economic and low-cultural capital. Nalan, the real estate agent answered my question about which social groups choose to live in Cihangir as follows:

> On the one hand there are artists, authors, journalists, actors and so on. They are the real bohemians and marginal types who give this unique sense to Cihangir. And then there are the managers, lawyers, doctors, some young businessmen who follow this group. They want to be around those artistic and cultured people. They want to go to the cafés they go and shop from the places they shop. They imitate the lifestyle of bohemians and artists a little… Once I've heard that one apartment was sold over its price since Orhan Pamuk had an apartment in the adjacent building. (Nalan)

The decision to live in Beyoğlu and the discourses and practices structured around the experience of gentrification involve symbolic boundaries which are the categorizations and exclusions the gentrifiers produce. Lamont and Molnar (2002) define symbolic boundaries as "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices and even time and space" and "tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality" (p. 168). Symbolic boundaries contribute to the process of identity production as individuals exclude certain people and social groups and identify with others, and designate certain characteristics as undesirable and embrace some others. The interviews showed that gentrifiers express their identifications as they produce symbolic boundaries on the basis of economic and cultural capital and lifestyle preferences.

The most emphasized boundary that the respondents articulate is with the traditional and conservative values in society. Most of them expressed an aversion towards what they perceived as the traditional cultural structure of Turkish society, the institution of traditional patriarchal family, conservatism, religiosity and nationalism. Usually they associated these values and the conservative outlook with rural migrants, their descendants and the working class and lower-middle class individuals some of whom are their fellow residents in Beyoğlu. Previous studies show that gentrifying middle class members have liberal and progressive political inclinations, and they endorse globally-oriented and cosmopolitan values (Ley, 1996; Butler, 1997; Butler with Robson, 2003). Rofe (2003) argues that gentrifiers in the Australian context claim a cosmopolitan identity as they distance themselves from and draw boundaries with mainstream Australian culture and the groups with local and nationalist identifications. A similar situation exists in the Beyoğlu case whereby the respondents articulated their distaste for the mainstream national culture and the social groups with a conservative outlook. Gentrifiers' criticism of and distanciation from the traditional and conservative groups may

pertain to a claim for possessing a desirable identity which is modern and globally-oriented. In this regard, Faruk expressed his views and feelings about some of his neighbors as follows:

> I think they don't like us [he and his roommates] much. And they make us feel that, they show it. The way they look at us and speak to us shows this.
> - Why do you think that they don't like you?
> It's simple, because we are different. They're conservative people, they're religious and they're traditional. For them we are alien people. I used to have long hair and I wear an earring. They don't like it. They have no tolerance for things like that… Actually I don't like this traditional family thing and the conservatism they have. They close themselves to new ideas and different ways of life. They can be rude and aggressive when they face with somebody who isn't like them because they feel threatened. Unfortunately this is pretty much how most of the society is, living in their small worlds and being hostile to the outer world and people who are different than they are. Nationalist and overly-religious, this is how they are. (Faruk)

Another respondent, Derya who lives in Aynalıçeşme and works as an associate director for TV talked about the young males who harass women on İstiklal Avenue. She identified this people as the descendants of rural migrants who live in the *varoş* (the working-class and low-income neighborhoods) and people with low income and low education levels. She was critical about their social background which she thought to result in men harassing women.

> They harass you verbally and sometimes even physically, they try to touch you. We see what happens every New Year's Day in Taksim. It's like a mass sexual harassment day. These guys walk like a herd and they act like a herd… Of course we need to look at their family structure. They're coming from traditional non-educated families who came from Anatolia. They live in the *varoş*. Maybe they cannot even hold hands with their girlfriends because their environment is so conservative. And when they see women who dress openly in Taksim they get crazy. In their homes their fathers beat their mothers so what they see in their families is women getting victimized. But I don't believe that this is all men's fault. If women in Anatolia and the *varoş* neighborhoods weren't that submissive and didn't raise their sons like that men wouldn't harass and victimize women so easily. (Derya)

Furthermore, some of the respondents displayed symbolic boundaries towards the low-cultural capital groups. These boundaries emerged when they discussed and criticized how Beyoğlu is used, claimed and governed by different social groups with less education and lower cultural capital. The respondents' criticism targets urban governors, lower-income residents and users of Beyoğlu, and the high-income groups with low cultural capital who

come to Beyoğlu for leisure activities. Consumerism, ignorance, and indifference to the historical and cultural significance of Beyoğlu constitute the main themes of gentrifiers' criticisms. The appreciation of and respect for Beyoğlu's historical fabric and cultural significance are desirable characteristics and indicators of a refined and reflexive subjectivity and cultural capital for gentrifiers. Ali, the painting artist living in Galata criticized the way the district is governed by referring to the Justice and Development Party's acts which is in power in Beyoğlu and the "uneducated" residents of the district who vote for the rightist political party which is in rule in Istanbul and Turkey as well, the JDP.

> I think the JDP municipality is totally incapable of governing Beyoğlu. Beyoğlu needs art and culture but what they give is public aid before elections. And they overlook all the illegal buildings and extra floors to gain votes. They don't know about historical preservation and how to manage such a culturally significant place… Most of the people living here are less educated, poor and coming from rural parts of the country. They don't know how to protect the buildings and they damage the historical and cultural fabric. In the first floor of a monumental old building on İstiklal Avenue you see an ugly food shop selling french fries or *döner*. It's a shame… The JDP views the uneducated people as its vote depot and it doesn't care about the historical and cultural value of Beyoğlu. (Ali)

Ali argued that Beyoğlu the less-educated residents of Beyoğlu were not capable of protecting the historical fabric of their neighborhoods and developing the artistic and cultural value of the district. According to him the governance of Beyoğlu and Galata should involve artists and intellectuals. He despises the JDP which hew viewed as the representative of the "ignorant masses" being the low-income groups in Beyoğlu which are not capable of appreciating the district's value. Similarly Can, a wall-painting artist living in Cihangir emphasized his distaste for uneducated and ignorant people and linked those to the empowerment of JDP in the last years. When I asked him what kind of people he wanted to see in Beyoğlu he said:

> Of course cultivated and educated people… I want to see intellectual people around me and within the society. I don' want to see those people who are disrespectful to one another and to the environment, the ones who spit on the streets and litter. Maybe some of the educated people do such things as well but I guess to a much lesser extent. Usually the less educated ones are more to behave like that … But unfortunately it's

> getting harder to find those people I want in Turkey. The country is becoming more conservative, religiously bigot and less-cultivated with the JDP. (Can)

In several narratives the respondents displayed cultural boundaries with the people whom they considered low-brow and less cultivated on the basis that they are disrespectful and are not civilized enough. Yet, although an anti-JDP attitude can be discerned in many respondents narratives most of them was not that explicit about linking the less-educated low-income residents of Beyoğlu with the political party. Most of the respondents, while criticizing the socio-economically lower-class groups, mentioned that they did not intent to judge or discriminate people on the basis of their social and economic disadvantage. In this respect, Meryem said the following:

> I can't say that I don't like or I'm against any group living in or using Beyoğlu. You can't say such a thing. Of course that I'm disturbed by certain behavior of people such as drunken men harassing women or engaging in fights but they are not all less educated people belonging to the lower strata. Educated people also such things… In my opinion everyone have the right to be here. (Meryem)

The criticism of middle-class consumerism is also a pervasive theme in many respondents' narratives. It is directed to less-cultivated groups, especially to middle-class users of Beyoğlu who possess the financial means to consume in the district but do not have the cultural capital to appreciate the cultural fabric of Beyoğlu. Ezgi who has done many different jobs such as being a waitress in a cruise ship and a manager in a tourism firm was critical of the consumerist users of Beyoğlu who come to the district for the superficial purpose of entertainment:

> I don't understand the people who come to Beyoğlu just for fun. Of course Taksim is an entertainment venue, I don't want to say that people shouldn't have fun here but Beyoğlu is not all about having fun and consumption. In the weekends ten- thousands of people are pouring in İstiklal Avenue. Most of them watch a popular movie and then have a beer or go to a loud nightclub. They eat, they drink, they consume. They're kind of superficial. I feel that I never can share anything and be friends with such people. Beyoğlu is not a shopping mall, it has a historical significance. I think people should be aware of that. (Ezgi)

Another prominent boundary the gentrifiers produce is with site-living and suburban middle class. As gentrifiers' decision to live in Beyoğlu is substantially related with cultural factors and the amenities the district offers, the respondents mentioned that they avoid sites which are the suburban form in Turkey. The literature suggests that gentrifying middle classes who have distinct lifestyle preferences and a liberal worldview, and possess high levels cultural capital want to distinguish themselves from the suburban middle classes with more traditional lifestyle preferences and a conservative political orientation (Caulfield, 1994; Ley, 1996; Butler, 1997; Butler with Robson, 2003). In the Beyoğlu case gentrifiers who frequently participate in cultural and leisure activities in the district consider site-living as unpractical since it brings a commuting problem. They regard suburban landscape as sterile, dull, and standardized. They are critical of the lifestyle and worldview of suburban middle class. In this respect, most of the respondents expressed an emotional and philosophical opposition to the landscape of sites and the site-living. They despise the homogeneity and bounded lifestyle in the suburbs and hence they seek alternative experiences and difference in the urban core. Gentrifiers in Beyoğlu claim distinction from the suburban middle class and consider site-living as a conformist middle-class lifestyle following conventional cultural boundaries and mainstream values. Ayşe who works as a management secretary in a foreign language institute and who lives in Cihangir said:

> I think the ones who choose to live in Beyoğlu are different than site people. They're more like traditional family-type people who go to work, come at home and watch TV… People who want to lead a secure and sterile life, kind of secluded, choose to live in sites. To me this seems like a limited lifestyle and I don't want to live like that… Here [in Beyoğlu] people look for difference, a lively cosmopolitan environment. Sites are boring and dull for these people. (Ayşe)

In a similar line Ezgi compared her lifestyle with her brother's who lives in a gated community in the suburbs of Istanbul as follows:

> When I visit to my brother's home I get bored in three days at maximum. He is a businessmen married with children. It's a nice place for him and his family but it's not for me. The buildings and the apartment itself bore me when I go there. All the

> buildings are identical and everything is so orderly. I find this ugly. It gives me a sense of coldness and bleakness. And you see the same faces everyday. The people are similar having similar economic status and education levels…. There is a monotonous routine and almost no surprises in site life. Life in Beyoğlu means surprises, spontaneity and diversity. It's a bit chaotic and sometimes this becomes depressing. But still I like being here and I never consider living in a site. (Ezgi)

3. Different Senses of Place

Beyoğlu gives different and sometimes contrasting senses to gentrifiers some of which are positive, some of which are negative and some of which are both appealing and unappealing at the same time. The heterogeneity of gentrifiers with respect to various factors such as occupation, age, worldview and the neighborhood they live in shape their perceptions of Beyoğlu. Therefore, Beyoğlu has different meanings for and gives different feelings to each gentrifier. Yet, there are also commonalities in the ways in which Beyoğlu and its neighborhoods are perceived. In this part I try to present the most common and frequently-expressed senses of places, both of Beyoğlu and its neighborhoods.

Beyoğlu is generally perceived and celebrated as a dynamic, vibrant, and stimulating environment for gentrifiers, which offers exciting possibilities and surprises meaning spectacle, alternative experiences and sociabilities, and socio-cultural diversity. The respondents generally used terms like chaotic, hectic, crazy and overwhelming to describe the life in Beyoğlu mostly referring to the anonymous crowds living, working, consuming and simply walking on İstiklal Avenue. The avenue constitutes one of the focal points of gentrifiers' experiences in the district as gentrifiers frequently use it for getting to their homes, taking a walk during the day, and going out for consumption and leisure activities. Walter Benjamin identified that the encounter with the crowd is the ultimate characteristic of urban experience in the modern metropolis and it presents senses of fear and loathing as well as pleasure and excitement (Gilloch, 1996). Similar to what Benjamin argued the construction of Beyoğlu as a chaotic environment on the basis of the image of crowds connotes both positive and negative feelings for gentrifiers. I will elaborate on how gentrifiers experience and

encounter with crowds, and deal with the chaotic character of Beyoğlu in the following chapter on gentrifiers' attitudes towards diversity.

One of the common feelings associated with Beyoğlu in respondents' narratives is nostalgia for an idealized past. The feeling of nostalgia in the Beyoğlu case refers to an appreciation of the historical fabric of built environment, and the cosmopolitan past of Beyoğlu marked by the existence of non-Muslim populations in the district until the first decades of the twentieth century. Moreover, the nostalgic construction pertains to an idealized intimacy in old Beyoğlu neighborhoods, a traditional neighborhood life which stands in opposition to the estrangement in the modern urban life.

Almost all respondents placed value on the historical fabric of Beyoğlu and the neighborhoods. Bali (2006) discusses that gentrification in Beyoğlu is related with "the nostalgia for old Istanbul" which is a common sentiment among the Turkish cultural elites. They develop an interest in and "consciousness" about Beyoğlu's past and its architecture. The narratives of respondents display a nostalgic sense of place especially when they talk about the historical and architectural value of Beyoğlu, their neighborhoods and housing. Jager (1986) puts that gentrification and the aesthetic taste of gentrifiers reflect their desire for social distinction from both the upper and lower classes. In a similar sense the residency in old houses and the "consciousness of Beyoğlu" constitute a cultural strategy for gentrifiers whereby they maintain distinction from the wealthier middle classes with low cultural capital. The below two quotes __the first one belongs to Mert who lives in Galata and works as an actor and small-scale developer, and the second one belongs to Turgut, the actor living in Galata either__ are examples to the appreciation of the district's historical fabric.

> When I walk on İstiklal Avenue, Şişhane or Galata I always raise my head to see those beautiful old buildings… I pay attention to the little ornaments on the walls or the style of balusters…And I say "Oh God, look at the craftsmanship and elegance they have". And I pay attention to the architectural style and the architect; I like to know who built them, a Levantine, Greek, or an Italian architect… Most of the people who

> live and work here are so insensible and unaware about Beyoğlu. They have no idea about Beyoğlu's historical value and they don't care (Mert).
>
> I like that my house has a history. It's old and I want to see the years it has witnessed. I don't like when people renovate and modernize a house so that it loses all its character… I don't even fix the scratches on the hardwood floor. I like looking at and touching those scratches. This gives me a sense of history and past experience. Maybe a child playing on the floor made those or a woman dancing with high heels. I don't want to erase that history…One of the home owners here had PVC windows instead of protecting the old wooden ones. And he has the money to keep and restore them… That's a shame. He destroyed the whole fabric of his house and the building (Turgut).

Turgut talked about the patina of his house which he refers as the marks of history and past experience. In a somewhat similar fashion, I observe that most of the respondents like having old objects such as antique furniture and vintage clothes as those give them a sense of uniqueness against the standardized mass consumption. The desire of gentrifiers for living in old houses and collecting old objects indicate a patina strategy as McCracken (1988) argues, whereby patina works as a status symbol for creating social distinction from the middle-class segments with more economic and less cultural capital. Patina becomes an indicator of consciousness about history and therefore the expression of gentrifiers' cultural capital. In the Beyoğlu case the consumption of housing as an aesthetic object together with other forms of aesthetic consumption and stylization of life, constitute a new middle class strategy for defining and maintaining class boundaries (Jager, 1986).

Bali (2006) suggests that the nostalgic construction of space becomes the expression of cultural elites' discontent about the "invasion" of inner-city areas by rural migrants, "the people of low-culture" and mass consumer culture. In relation to the feeling of nostalgia the cultural elites idealize Beyoğlu as a civilized public space with references to its cosmopolitan past. The ideal of Beyoğlu reflects middle-class sociability for cultural elites in which individuals are kind, elegant and civilized, and always keep their manners and social distance. In this respect, some of the respondents expressed discomfort and annoyance about the rural migrants living in Beyoğlu and the lower-class youth from slums coming to the district for

consumption and leisure activities. They are considered to be ignorant and insensible about Beyoğlu and disrespectful to its physical environment, historical and cultural fabric, and the social life in the district. In the narratives of Can, the artists and kindergarten owner in Cihangir; Emir a high-ranking bank manager and Yelda, a journalist the negative attitude towards and the cultural boundary with the less-educated lower-income groups and the rural migrants who are considered to be "non-Istanbulites" were more obvious and explicit. Sometimes the undesirable groups involved the conservative Muslims exemplified as the women in black veil and the men wearing *cübbe* (a loose-cut coat which is usually worn by religious Muslim men), who are defined as religiously bigot by the respondents. In this respect, Emir talked about how he was disturbed by the "vulgar lower-class people" and the people in religious outfits in Beyoğlu:

> I think the people who are deemed to be vulgar and lower-class do not suit the Beyoğlu I like. They are mostly people who weren't born in Istanbul and who came from rural parts. They aren't familiar with the lifestyle in Istanbul. They aren't respectful. They shout and swear. They are mostly the young guys coming from *varoş* and who walk on İstiklal Avenue as a group and do these things. Those kinds of people disturb me to some extent. One thing more, I really feel disturbed when I see some women in black veil or some men with long beard and wearing jubbah. (Emir)

Yet, most of the respondents, although they made negative comments about certain social groups and the less-educated people, were very careful about not generalizing and stigmatizing them, and attributing their undesirable behavior to their socio-economic status. Osman, on of these respondents, who is a young engineer and an aspiring comedy actor and scriptwriter who lives in Firuzağa was annoyed by the groups whom he believed to disturb and harm Beyoğlu. According to him some of the people who come to the district for entertainment are disrespectful to Beyoğlu.

> On Sunday mornings, in early hours İstiklal Avenue is a mess. It seems so terrible and heart-breaking. It's as if the avenue was raped the night before… These guys don't know how to have fun. They come, drink cheap beer, get drunk, shout and fight. They disturb people. They probably come from *varoş* neighborhoods or places like Dolapdere maybe. Less educated and poor, I understand that but you don't need to behave like this to have fun. I don't want to judge or discriminate people. Some people

> who are educated and better-off can also be disrespectful to the environment and damage here… This is one of the oldest districts of Istanbul and a very rich cultural center. I feel sorry to see İstiklal Avenue in such a bad shape like this (Osman).

Several respondents emphasized that they were not against any group's right to use Beyoğlu and they opposed the ones who make exclusionary comments about the socio-economically disadvantaged groups. For instance Ata, an IT operator and bar manager living in Tarlabaşı said the following when I asked whether there were any social groups in Beyoğlu which he was not fond of:

> There is no such thing as a group that I don't like and I don't want to see in Beyoğlu. Nobody can claim ownership of Beyoğlu or anywhere else. This is against the things I believe in life. I'm against the ones who claim places and exclude others on the basis of wealth and education. That disturbs me. (Ata)

Another aspect of the Beyoğlu nostalgia is cultural elites' appreciation of the non-Muslim population who were the original residents of Beyoğlu. Most of the respondents expressed sympathy and veneration for the non-Muslim communities which inhabited the district in the past. For instance Mert, the actor and real estate developer from Galata told how he felt quiet glad and special when the old Jewish owners of his apartment who left Turkey for Israel in the 1950s visited his house. He deemed this as a very special experience and he was very fond of the old owners of the apartment. He expressed his veneration for their kindness and elegance and their old-Istanbulite etiquette.

> This happened last year. This pretty Jewish couple was walking in Galata to see their old neighborhood, their home. They saw their old apartment which is the one I live in now. They knocked the door. The husband kindly explained their situation to me. I let them in and they take a look at the apartment. They told me its old state back in the 1940s, how they used the rooms and how they decorated the house. That was really a beautiful experience… They were really elegant. The way the old lady dressed, their manners and kindness… It was the old Istanbul style and etiquette. (Mert)

As Pérouse (2006) discusses, Turkish cultural elites regard the non-Muslim identity as western, elite, and modern which constitutes one of the reasons for their interest in and gentrification of previously non-Muslim neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are associated with a partially-imagined and fabricated cosmopolitan past and an elegant lifestyle. Through

appreciating the non-Muslim minorities and declaring an affinity with them the cultural elites claim those characteristics. A number of interviews show this point whereby gentrifiers present their selves as cosmopolitan and cultivated by claiming an affinity with the non-Muslims.

The existence of a neighborhood identity is cited by the respondents as one of the gratifying attributes of inner-city living. The way neighborhood life is interpreted varies according to the demographic characteristics of gentrifiers and the neighborhoods that they inhabit. Yet, basically the neighborhood life is perceived as a pleasing sociability whereby neighborhood dwellers are not estranged, and they know and interact with each other. It raises a sense of belonging for gentrifiers which they do not find in *site*s and other modern urban spaces. The quote below by Emir exemplifies how the neighborhood life invokes feelings of nostalgia for gentrifiers with respect to traditional forms of sociability, warm human relations and a pleasant dose of intimacy. This is the idealized construction of the traditional neighborhood life whereby people interact and care for each other.

> I like this sense of neighborhood here. It reminds me of my childhood when my family and I were living in an old neighborhood in Izmir where people were close to each other… People smile and say hi to each other here in Cihangir when walking their dogs or just passing by. They are kind to each other. The shopkeepers know my name and they say "how are you today Emir Bey" when I enter their stores. People are not estranged here as it is the case in *site*s or neighborhoods like Etiler… I feel that I belong here (Emir).

Emir lives in Cihangir which is the most gentrified area of Beyoğlu and a relatively homogeneous upper- and middle-class neighborhood mostly occupied by artists, social and cultural specialists and to a lesser extent other technocratic and managerial professionals. A majority of respondents from Cihangir cited the "quality" of Cihangir's residents and its community life as major factors for their residential preference. A small portion of the respondents from Galata also indicated that concentration of a creative class population in the neighborhood is one of the reasons for their residential preference, which, to their minds

improves Galata's social and cultural life. Yelda, a fifty six-year-old journalist living in Galata displayed negative views about the existence of lower-class rural migrants and the workshops, small industry and the lighting stores in the neighborhood. When I asked her whether she was content with the gentrification and the changing social composition of Galata she gave the following response:

> Of course that I'm glad that Galata is changing. The change is in a good direction. More educated and upper-class people like artists are moving in. This affects the neighborhood in a good way. The buildings are being renovated. Galata is upgrading. There is now a better social environment here with more elite people. (Yelda)

Yelda had a "bounded" sense of place as she was not happy with the existence of lower-class rural migrants and other disadvantaged groups in Galata (May, 1996). She prefers modern and western educated neighbors instead. I observed that older cohorts with more stable employment and professional occupations tend to value the existence of a community of educated middle class individuals. Some of them prioritize this for their neighborhood selection therefore they do not prefer living in less gentrified areas. In this respect, Can, the artist and kindergarten owner residing in Cihangir said:

> One of the most important reasons of why I live here is the quality of people. The people living in Cihangir have a certain level of culture. They are educated people like artists, journalists and so on. You don't see people spitting on streets or being disrespectful to one another such as you know, harassing someone verbally or through offensive gaze… I mean they are civilized and they are more open to certain things which Turkish society is not in general. They are much more liberal (Can).

The quote above is an example of how most of the gentrifiers in Cihangir perceive their fellow residents as "modern, civilized and liberal" individuals. Their narratives manifest an exclusionary understanding whereby the homogeneity of the neighborhood and a sense of community which is composed of educated middle-class individuals are praised. Thus there is a more bounded sense of place in Cihangir in which rural migrants, and lower and working class individuals are not accepted although they are not discursively excluded. Cihangir is constructed as a space of bohemian attitude, high culture, and the shared values of a western

outlook in which middle-class gentrifiers enjoy the civilized sociability of people like them and "others" are not welcomed. Besides, this construction of Cihangir has implications about the ways in which gentrifiers construct their own identities. That is, while the respondents made claims about Cihangir's identity they also defined their own identities as liberal, progressive and civilized.

Not all of the respondents' outlook and practices reflect such a bounded sense of place. Especially young respondents who are marginally employed or who belong to creative class are critical of Cihangir and its middle class residents as they regarded Cihangir a socio-culturally monotonous and sterile neighborhood. This group prefers living in less gentrified parts of Beyoğlu such as Çukurcuma, Aynalıçeşme, Tarlabaşı, and to a lesser extent Galata where rents are lower and there is diversity in terms class and ethnicity. That is, both lower rents and cultural diversity are reasons for a portion of gentrifiers to living in those neighborhoods. Neighborhood identity constitutes an important aspect of the experience of inner-city living for them as well. However, since those neighborhoods are not homogeneous as Cihangir and the cultural fabric is not totally defined by the gentrifier population what the respondents call "neighborhood identity" pertains to the lifestyles and sociability of incumbent residents. The below quotes are examples to how some of the respondents perceive their neighborhoods and Cihangir:

> Cihangir is not my kind of a place. I don't like hanging there much… Like ten, twelve years ago it was different. Transvestites were living there and there were more different and marginal people. Now it's boring, I don't consider living there. Plus rents and everything, the prices in cafés, the things in the market are so expensive… All you see is entels sitting in the cafes for all day. More conformist people are living in Cihangir now. (Derya)

> There is a sense of neighborhood here unlike Cihangir. Cihangir is kind of artificial and it isn't like a real neighborhood since people do not really interact there… They're kind of estranged… Here, in Galata people are living. In the morning I hear people opening up their shops. I hear the street vendors, I hear the ezan. There're still kids playing on the streets and screaming and then their mothers shout at them… Sadly this is changing now because the people who make here a neighborhood are leaving and the middle-class people are moving in. Galata is becoming like Cihangir. (Aydın)

> There is always a commotion, an action in the neighborhood… You see the lads of the neighborhood hanging out on the street corner. Sometimes people are hassling, the Roma women shouting at each other, you hear the voices of children playing on the streets. Washed clothes are hanging between buildings... It is like the old neighborhoods shown in old Turkish movies or the TV series… I enjoy seeing all these and being a part of this neighborhood. (Gülay)

In the quotes above the respondents mention their criticism and distaste for socio-culturally homogenous environments. They expressed their liking for a lively traditional neighborhood setting and the sociabilities of their lower-class neighbors. In the narratives of Aydın, a thirty one-year old photographer from Cihangir, and Gülay, a thirty-year-old translator from Aynalıçeşme, the neighborhood life is constructed in a romanticized way. Life in those neighborhoods is regarded as a nostalgic and partially an exotic experience. It is nostalgic as it invokes the close human relations in old neighborhoods. Yet, mostly what gentrifiers have is an "imagined nostalgia" as Appadurai (1996) calls it, since most of the younger respondents have not experienced a neighborhood setting before and they lived in segregated middle class neighborhoods and *site*s with their families. In this respect, Gülay's reference to the old Turkish movies and TV series depicting the life in traditional neighborhoods is interesting. The reference point of nostalgia becomes the representations of in the public imagery and the media. The neighborhood life presents an exotic experience for the educated middle-class gentrifiers whereby they take pleasure in watching the lifestyles of different groups such as class and ethnic others and transgender community. This indicates a form of visual consumption of difference.

Another crucial aspect of Beyoğlu's appeal for gentrifiers is its cosmopolitan identity and setting. Beyoğlu is perceived as a dynamic, vibrant and stimulating environment by gentrifiers, which offers exciting possibilities and surprises meaning spectacle, alternative sociabilities, and socio-cultural diversity. Caulfield (1994) argues that old inner-city places "offer difference and freedom, privacy and fantasy, possibilities for carnival amid the 'relief

of anonymity' where 'the ultimate word… has not yet spoken': 'anything can happen here – and it could happen right now'" (p. 139). A majority of my respondents mention these features in describing Beyoğlu and their experience of inner-city living. The inner-city living gives them a sense of freedom emanating from anonymity as well as a sense of spectacle whereby they enjoy encountering with non-traditional lifestyles, and social and cultural diversity. Especially for women and gay gentrifiers, Beyoğlu is an emancipatory space in which there is tolerance for different lifestyles and they can avoid the repression and restraints of traditional Turkish society.

Moreover, the district gives a global sense of place especially for younger gentrifiers who are employed in creative class positions. The articulation and display of a "global persona" is possible in Beyoğlu whereby gentrifiers have an access to transnational flows and networks of people, consumption goods and meanings as Rofe (2003) identifies in the gentrifying neighborhoods of Australian cities. Several respondents emphasized the global character of Beyoğlu pertaining to the increasing number of expatriates living in the district, the inflow of foreign tourists, and the existence of globally-oriented consumption spaces and cultural and entertainment events such as film and music festivals. Gentrifiers appreciate the cultural events with an international significance such as the Istanbul Film Festival, which take place in and around Beyoğlu. They are fond of the global character of Beyoğlu which allows them to engage in globally-oriented consumption practices and cultural activities. More importantly, the respondents value the existence of a transnational community sharing a "global habitus" in terms of lifestyle and consumption preferences and worldview as the indication of Beyoğlu's global and cosmopolitan setting (Podmore, 1998). Yeşim, commercial director living in Aynalıçeşme who is in her mid twenties, said the following:

> In the last years Beyoğlu is evolving. It's getting more cosmopolitan and people of different nationalities come together. It has become one of the gathering points for people from different countries… A month ago I sat with a bunch of friends in Beyoğlu; two was from France, one was American, one from Holland, and my

> boyfriend from Singapore. And this is not an extraordinary case, it happens… I like that this diversity gets together in Beyoğlu and we go beyond boundaries. (Yeşim)

In a similar line Melike a bank employee living in Cihangir talked about how she valued the existence of foreigners in Beyoğlu. She argued that she felt close to the western expatriates in terms of culture, worldview and affect.

> It's good that many foreigners are living here. That really improves the character of Cihangir and Beyoğlu. I make friends with them. Their mindsets and worldviews are enriching for me. Having foreigner friends develops me in terms of worldview, language skills and forming connections. And I think that they're more open and liberal about certain issues. I feel comfortable with them. (Melike)

The local forms of difference referring to lower and working classes, ethnic minorities and transgender community constitutes another aspect of Beyoğlu's cosmopolitan setting which attracts gentrifiers. As I have discussed above, the appreciation of neighborhood life in less gentrified parts of Beyoğlu is related with a desire for consuming difference. In this respect, several respondents noted how they appreciated seeing the African immigrants in Beyoğlu. This desire for alternative experiences and seeing different characters and life-worlds constitute a form of consumption that renders the gentrifier a new kind of urban flâneur (May, 1996). Several respondents mentioned that they enjoy seeing and encountering various forms of social and cultural diversity. However, gentrifiers' openness to difference has limits and paradoxical aspects whereby gentrification practice involves a desire for distinction and marking of class boundaries. Besides, the desire in difference usually pertains to a limited and superficial contact with different social and cultural groups and involves the consumption of difference as I will issue in the next part.

The disadvantaged and marginalized groups living in Beyoğlu become a source of fear as well as pleasure and fascination for some of the respondents. The less-gentrified parts of Beyoğlu, especially Tarlabaşı give a sense of fear and uncanny to the middle-class gentrifiers. For instance Bekir, the lawyer in Cihangir told that he felt anxious and unsafe in Galata at

nights and that was why he did not consider living in that neighborhood. Melike also made a similar comment about Tarlabaşı:

> I know that Tarlabaşı is a beautiful place with the old buildings. I want to go there and take a few photographs. But it feels dangerous at the same time. The streets seem a bit uncanny. I don't want to be there alone. There're pickpockets and snatchers and the people who start public disorder and fights… These are the things that public thinks about Tarlabaşı. It might be different but still I don't consider going in there. (Melike)

I asked the respondents whether Beyoğlu carries certain dangers and threats and whether they are affected by them. Most of them acknowledge that at times living in Beyoğlu might be a dangerous experience. A majority of the respondents have experienced burglary or theft. Yet, they noted that those experiences and the public constructions of Beyoğlu as a chaotic and unsafe place full of dangers did not intimidate them. Some of them mentioned that they felt capable of avoiding dangerous situations due to their knowledge about the district and the places that should not be visited at certain hours. In this regard, Nazlı, the café owner from Cihangir said:

> Things such as burglary, theft, and other assaults happen in Beyoğlu. You might get attacked and have your purse snatched. But this is pretty much the case in any other place in a big city like Istanbul. If you know what to do and what not to do you'll be safe. I learned those things and I feel safe but still things might happen. But if you go to a back street at 2 AM something bad happens… (Nazlı)

Besides, some respondents noted thay they are attracted to the unpredictable character of Beyoğlu and the dangers it involves. This provides excitement to their lives and sustains their self images as city adventurers. The interest in those parts of Beyoğlu which are considered to be dangerous in the public's eye shows their courage and social concern for the marginalized groups. This becomes a way of distinction for those respondents to stand out from the conformist middle class society which isolates itself from class others and lives in segregated envieonments. For instance Asım, a scriptwriter in his late twenties who lives in Cihangir, told that he likes to take trips in Tarlabaşı. He feels that he could communicate with the-so-called dangerous people and avoid threatening situations unlike the upper-class people:

> Tarlabaşı has an underground environment. I can go there during the day and night. I have no fears about going there... I like Tarlabaşı's narrow streets, the houses covered with metal layers... It's like a horror movie. I like the middle-age darkness, that ghetto and *varoş* situation. It is attractive to me... There are those poor people living there. We cannot overlook them. There are drugged people. I have the ability to talk to and interact with them and that's why I don't feel threatened. The upper-class people generally avoid those people and places like Tarlabaşı. It's wrong. Those people aren't monsters. The rich don't have that spirit to communicate with them and so they are afraid of Tarlbaşı's people. If someone rich and ignorant about the situation go to Tarlabaşı with all his/her jewelleries he/she gets robbed. You need to know people. (Asım)

In Asım's narrative Tarlabaşı is constructed as a dangerous but exotic place with its "middle-age darkness". The threatening environment constitutes the neighborhood as a charming and exciting place to visually consume. In a similar line, most of the respondents have distaste for homogenous and sterile middle-class spaces which they considered to be artificial and boring. As displayed in the narrative of Nihat, an art producer living in Galata the unpredictability and dangerous character of Beyoğlu was considered to be a positive and exciting trait of inner-city living by some of the respondents.

> Yes, life in Beyoğlu presents danger. It's so crowded. So many people are here involving criminals, burglars, transgender prostitutes and so on. But this is what the metropolitan life is like. There is an amount of risk and danger you need to venture. And I like this sense of danger. I think most of the people living here do. This adds magic to the city life. You cannot standardize everything and everyone. (Nihat)

CHAPTER 7: ATTITUDES TOWARDS DIVERSITY

As I have mentioned Beyoğlu has a heterogeneous demographic composition whereby it hosts disadvantaged and marginalized groups such as the lower-income rural migrants including the Kurdish forced migrants, the Roma population, transgender communities, and the immigrants from Iraq, Iran and African countries. In this chapter I discuss gentrifiers' perceptions of and interactions with social and cultural diversity in their neighborhoods and Beyoğlu in general. I analyze their relationships with incumbent residents who are mostly socio-economically lower-status, in their neighborhoods, and the disadvantaged and marginalized social groups who dwell in the less-gentrified parts of Beyoğlu such as Tarlabaşı and Tophane. In the first part of this chapter I discuss the political views and inclinations of gentrifiers to present a general idea about their attitudes towards different groups. In the second part I specifically focus on their perceptions of and interactions with diversity. In the third part I analyze the levels of social mixing in Beyoğlu neighborhoods between middle-class gentrifiers and the working and lower-class incumbent residents. In the final part I discuss the issue of social reproduction for the Beyoğlu gentrifiers. I examine respondents' opinions whether Beyoğlu and their neighborhoods which host diversity that can be associated with specific dangers and disadvantages, are convenient for raising children.

Overall I want to present what gentrification in Beyoğlu entails in terms of the constructions of diversity and the co-existence of and boundaries between different social groups with respect to class ethnicity, culture and lifestyle preferences. A shortcoming of this attempt is that I am only concerned with one side of this picture as I focus on the perceptions and practices of gentrifiers and have not studied the incumbent residents and socio-economically disadvantaged groups living in Beyoğlu.

1. The Political Views of Gentrifiers

The literature frequently notes that gentrifiers have left-wing and liberal political inclinations (Ley, 1996; Butler, 1997; Butler with Robson, 2003). Similarly the interviews showed that most of the respondents have leftist political views changing from mild to radical and they embrace liberal and libertarian ideas about the social and cultural life in Turkey. Ali, a respondent who works as the manager of a bar and an IT clerk, and lives in Tarlabaşı defined his political views as egalitarian and anti-discriminatory meaning that he opposed homophobia, nationalism and racism as well as capitalism. Another respondent, Asım associated his decision to live in Beyoğlu which he regarded as the space for society's outcasts, with his egalitarian political views:

> Beyoğlu hosts the ones whom the society disfavors and it excludes, such as the poor people from the East, transsexuals, gays, and the people who choose alternative lifestyles. I like that because these people have courage to go against the established norms. They seem dirty but they are actually the ones who are clean… I know that boys just because that they gave the impression of being gay were beaten by the police. They [the ones with power and authority] don't want to see gays around and try to evict them. I believe that everyone should be equal no matter what. Everyone have the right to exist here, not just only the rich and proper ones. I'm against those people with power who oppresses us, who oppresses the different ones. I'm here and will be here in Beyoğlu to defend these ideals. (Asım)

Not all of the respondents were that much radical and inclusionary in terms of their political ideas which could be discerned from their narratives about social and cultural difference in Beyoğlu. Most of them, although expressing tolerant views about diversity, have strong boundaries against particular groups living in and using Beyoğlu. Only a small group of respondents openly expressed negative and exclusionary views about lower classes, gays and transgender people, Kurds and the Roma population. For instance Yelda presented a negative stance and rather exclusionary views about the gay hostels located in her neighborhood, Galata:

> In the last few years they opened some gay hostels in Galata. Gay tourists from Europe and the US come here and stay, usually not that wealthy ones I suppose. I don't want this gay hostel thing to grow. I don't want Galata to be a gay neighborhood and to be

> associated with gay lifestyle. It's not that I'm against gays but I don't think that this is a good reputation. (Yelda)

Cosmopolitanism is identified to be one of the prominent traits of gentrifiers as gentrifiers adopt cosmopolitan views, at least at a rhetorical level (Butler, 2003; Rofe, 2003). Binnie et al. (2006) argue that cosmopolitanism can be characterized in two ways: "first as a philosophy of world citizenship which simultaneously transcends the boundaries of the nation-state and descends to the scale of individual rights and responsibilities in an apparently increasingly connected and globalized world; and second as a particular set of skills and attitudes towards diversity and difference" (p. 13). I observed that both of these types of cosmopolitanism are common among the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu. That is, one the one hand gentrifiers' have global sources for their political views and identifications. On the other hand they have varying degrees of openness to and tolerance for diversity.

With respect to the first meaning of cosmopolitanism indicating the transcendence of politics at the level of nation-state most of the respondents reported that they had distaste for the mainstream political scene in Turkey. They found the mainstream political debates limited and fruitless, and most of them were critical of nationalism as both an ideology and practice. Most of the respondents talked about their discontent with the politicians who govern Beyoğlu and Istanbul (being the rightist ruling party in the country, the JDP) and the opposition parties in the parliament. They usually criticized nationalism, religion-based politics, and conservatism. Some of them argued that they chose to be isolated and withdrawn from the daily politics yet still maintaining a critical attitude. One of the respondents, Mine explained her views about and her attitude towards the politics in Turkey as follows:

> In Cihangir I built a habitat for myself. It's a little close to what happens outside. I mean the political issues on the agenda of Turkish society, what is written in newspapers and what is shown on TVs. I actually don't care about and don't follow those because they are so stupid and meaningless to me. Of course that I'm not happy with the politics in Turkey and politicians who manipulate and exploit people. They give people a fascistic mindset. I mean nationalism and all the other things… But overall I live an introverted and isolated life in Cihangir… I think this is pretty much

> the case for the people in my social circle. Of course that we talk and react to certain political issues but we choose not to get involved with the bad things that are happening. It's a kind of passivism. (Mine)

Gentrifiers in Beyoğlu are usually critical of the boundedness of the dominant politics at the national scale along with the boundaries of nation-states. Derya, the associate director in TV programs and who lives in Aynalıçeşme said that she found national boundaries "stupid" and that she wanted the elimination of boundaries separating people all around the world. This idealist position reflects in the political identifications of gentrifiers who generally value human rights and welfare over national interests. Some of the respondents support new social movements such as identity politics, ecological movements and environmentalism which are not bound to the framework of the nation-state and have transnational and global concerns. Yet, overall only a little group of gentrifiers reported that they were politically active in terms of membership to a political group, party or movement. Most of the times, their leftist and oppositional position does not give way to organized political practice.

Cosmopolitanism in the second sense referring to an openness to and interest in difference according to Binnie et al.'s (2006) definition is also widespread among the gentrifiers. In this respect, Hannerz described cosmopolitanism as "an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other… [entailing] an intellectual and aesthetic stance toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity" (1996, p. 103). Ley (2004) puts that "residents of gentrified inner-city neighborhoods have multiple points of openness to cosmopolitanism" (p. 160). The high education levels of gentrifiers especially in the fields of humanities and social sciences, and their employment in social and cultural sectors lead them to have an interest in and appreciation of cultural difference. In this regard, Binnie et al. (2006) argues that cosmopolitanism is a classed phenomenon which is linked to economic and cultural capital as it involves to a set of skills and competencies required for knowing, learning and appreciating different cultures.

A majority of respondents have varying degrees of sympathy for and interest in socio-economically deprived and culturally marginalized groups such as Kurds, the Roma population, and the transgender people. The gentrifiers usually welcomed diversity in their narratives and expressed varying degrees of tolerance for the various disadvantaged and marginalized groups living in Beyoğlu. As Ley identifies, their education and occupation in social and cultural fields is one of the reasons for their cosmopolitan attitude. I observed that older respondents with more stable occupations and some residents of Cihangir tend to have less tolerance for and openness to diversity whereas younger respondents who are marginally employed and/or having artistic professions displayed higher degrees of cosmopolitan attitude. Yet, still my data did not show a strong correlation between occupation, age, and cosmopolitan attitude. That is, worldview and affect are important factors shaping the attitudes and behavior of gentrifiers.

Overall the interviews showed that cosmopolitanism especially at a rhetorical level is one of the prominent characteristics of the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu. This entails two forms of relationship with diversity. On the one hand, most of the respondents articulated positive views and sympathy for difference referring to deprived, marginalized and socially excluded groups. On the other hand, they are interested in visually consuming diversity and experiencing different life-worlds. As I have argued, the respondents displayed a leftist ideological position and an egalitarian and liberal outlook which highly contradicts with the nationalist and conservative mainstream politics in Turkey. Hence the cosmopolitan attitude and multiculturalism fit with the general political and cultural orientation of gentrifiers. Hazal, a web designer living in Çukurcuma said:

> I reject the discriminatory viewpoint which excludes certain identities and embraces some others as superior. Kurds, the Roma population, transsexuals and transvestites are living in Beyoğlu and this is cultural richness. It's diversity. I like seeing this difference in my environment… This needs to be protected. The conditions of these people should be improved. There's huge poverty in Tarlabaşı, we all see that… With

> the urban transformation project they want to deport these groups. They want to make Beyoğlu a sanitized place for the rich (Hazal).

During the interviews I asked gentrifiers how they viewed the urban transformation project in Tarlabaşı. This is a highly debated issue and the prohject is opposed by the leftist parties and civil society organizations in Turkey. A majority of the respondents were against the transformation project as the above quote shows on the basis that the project would evict and harm the socio-economically disadvantaged and marginalized groups living in the neighborhood. A relatively broad section of the respondents argued that a gradual transformation as experienced in Cihangir and Galata would be better for the disadvantaged groups occupying Tarlabaşı.

2. Perceptions of and Interactions with Diversity

As I have argued in the previous part the respondents have varying degrees of openness to and tolerance for diversity while they construct themselves as cosmopolitan subjects. A majority of them expressed a sympathetic attitude towards different social groups living in Beyoğlu. Overall the respondents argued that they appreciated the cosmopolitan and heterogeneous composition of Beyoğlu. Even the ones who are intolerant about the disadvantaged and marginalized groups in Beyoğlu, such as Yelda, noted that they enjoy living in a cosmopolitan setting. The below quotes from the respondents' narratives demonstrates this appreciated cosmopolitan image of Beyoğlu:

> I define the life on İstiklal Avenue as… It's like you have a shot of the strongest drink. It is mind blowing and numbing at the same time. I love walking through the avenue. All of those people from every different walk of life, entertainment, the music, the street kids, beggars, everything about Turkey exist on that avenue. (Yelda)

> This place is ever-changing as there is a great energy and influx of people. Beyoğlu has a spirit and it nourishes and inspires me… I sometimes feel as if I'm a little drop in this huge ocean with no name, like invisible. It's a comforting feeling and gives a peculiar pleasure… Sometimes I feel so hungry spiritually walking on the streets. Then I open my eyes wide and look at the old buildings and all the people passing by, the young and the old, the poor and the rich. They have desires for money, sex and luxurious clothes. All these diverse energies… This both gives me energy but at the same time exhausts me. (Mert)

> Yes, life in Beyoğlu presents danger. It's so crowded. So many people are here involving criminals, burglars, transgender prostitutes and so on. But this is what the metropolitan life is like. There is an amount of risk and danger you need to venture. And I like this sense of danger. I think most of the people living here do. This adds magic to the city life. You cannot standardize everything and everyone. (Nihat)

The chaotic character of inner-city life emanating from the anonymous crowds living, working and consuming in Beyoğlu presents exciting, threatening, and exhausting experiences for gentrifiers. As I have explained in the previous chapter while discussing different senses of place, the dangerous construction of Beyoğlu creates as fascination for some of the respondents such as Asım, the scriptwriter from Cihangir.

The crowds, diversity, and anonymity in Beyoğlu stimulate different and sometimes conflicting emotions. For instance, Serkan, the public relations specialist from Cihangir said the following about the hectic character of life in Beyoğlu:

> Sometimes everything becomes so hard. İstiklal Avenue is so crowded and claustrophobic. It's so crowded and so noisy. All of those images tire and exhaust me… Then I hate it but two days later, I love it. I like drifting in the crowds and the hectic pace of life here. It gives great energy. (Serkan)

The respondents' constructions of Beyoğlu bear strong resemblance to how Walter Benjamin viewed the modern urban experience. Benjamin discussed that the encounter with the elusive and anonymous urban crowd brought feelings of fear, shock, disorientation and revulsion together with excitement and pleasure (Gilloch, 1996). Yet, his archetype the flâneur finds pleasure and delight, and seeks diversion as he wanders through the crowded streets and the arcades. I argue that a flâneur-like attitude exists among the respondents as a majority of them enjoy consuming the urban environment in Beyoğlu referring to its sights, smells, characters and action.

For some respondents the crowds and diversity are depressing and threatening elements. Some mentioned that they did not like walking on İstiklal Avenue which host approximately one million people everyday. The anonymous crowds in the avenue present

feelings of fear, unease, and discomfort. The lower-class male population in Beyoğlu is perceived as the major source of threat. They are regarded as an undesirable group which is prone to harm the gentrifiers. There is an emphasized boundary against the lower-class males coming from the *varoş* neighborhoods to Beyoğlu in most of the respondents' narratives. In this respect, one of the respondents, Aydın said the following about why he avoids using İstiklal Avenue:

> Now there is the subway and Beyoğlu becomes much more crowded in weekends. The young men are coming from Bağcılar, Esenler and all those *varoş* neighborhoods to Beyoğlu. They're pouring in. I don't use İstiklal Avenue most of the times. I find alternative ways and the back streets to come home. If I have to use the avenue I listen to my i-pod and walk fast trying not to notice the crowd. (Aydın)

In a similar line, Melike said:

> I generally avoid using İstiklal Avenue. Actually it isn't much necessary for me. Everything I need, the cafés, shops and my friends are here in Cihangir. İstiklal Avenue is so crowded and I feel depressed when walking there. I feel kind of vulnerable and anxious especially at Friday and Saturday nights when everyone is pouring in… It's also exhausting trying to make your way out of that entire crowd. (Melike)

Despite the fact that the respondents appreciate the idea of diversity at an abstract level or they enjoy the visual consumption of crowds and difference, most of them have negative views about particular groups. They expressed less tolerance for groups such as the lower-class men on İstiklal Avenue and the rural migrants. Their openness to and tolerance for diversity is not all-encompassing. The gentrifiers' cosmopolitan attitude is selective and conditional. Hence, the positive attitude towards diversity and the way gentrifiers construct the different social groups being ethnic and class others and the transgender people, need a critical reading. My findings show that the sympathetic attitude has limitations, and paradoxical and problematic aspects.

Rose (2004) conducted an empirical research in inner-city Montreal neighborhoods which are deliberately socially mixed by the policies of local government for repopulating the area. Her findings suggest that gentrifiers display four types of attitudes towards social

diversity in their neighborhoods which are egalitarian, tolerant, NIMBY (not in my backyard) and ignorant/indifferent. The ignorant/indifferent ones are a small minority wile most of the respondents fall in the rest of the three categories. The ethnic, social and cultural diversity is not considered to be the most important factor for the gentrifiers' residential preference; yet, even the NIMBY group mentions heterogeneity as a positive characteristic of their neighborhoods. Rose suggests that although the NIMBYs who have feelings of fear, anxiety and unease towards the poor marginalized groups living in their neighborhoods, were not the predominant group in her sample they were in fact much more common among the gentrifier population in Montreal. She argued that some of the egalitarian and tolerant gentrifiers might have been closet-NIMBYs. They presented themselves as more cosmopolite and liberal since those are desirable traits among the educated middle classes.

The interviews I conducted present results similar to Rose's study. Only a small group of respondents were indifferent to diversity. They neither had negative views about heterogeneity nor did they put emphasis on cosmopolitanism and socio-cultural diversity as appealing characteristics of Beyoğlu. Veli, a nightclub owner living in Çukurcuma and Aysu, the scriptwriter living in Cihangir, both in their late twenties, are the respondents whom I identified as indifferent. Three respondents although appreciating cosmopolitanism at an abstract level, emphasized strong negative views about certain social groups in Beyoğlu, and an explicitly bounded sense of place. Emir, the high ranking bank manager in Cihangir; Yelda, one of the earliest gentrifiers in Galata and who is a journalist; and Can, the artist and kindergarten owner living in Cihangir openly expressed their unease with various disadvantaged and marginalized groups living in Beyoğlu such as the transgender people and Kurdish migrants. The others can loosely be put in the categories of egalitarian and tolerant about diversity. They mostly argued that they were not disturbed by the existence of disadvantaged and marginalized groups in Beyoğlu and they were pleased with diversity

although they presented varying degrees of fear and distaste about certain forms of difference. In line with Rose's (2004) comment, I also argue that the concerns about political correctness and social desirability might have resulted some of the gentrifiers to present themselves more tolerant about diversity than they actually are.

Two of my respondents mentioned heterogeneity and the existence of social and cultural diversity as the most decisive reason for their neighborhood selection. Aydın, an art director and photographer living in Galata, is the one who placed the greatest value on the existence of lower-income and working class individuals in his neighborhood. Mert, the small-scale developer and dubbing actor living in Galata also viewed the "traditional local people" as the most important factor why he lived in Galata rather than Cihangir which is more homogeneous. Aydın expressed his views about the incumbent residents in his neighborhood and the new-comer wealthy gentrifiers as follows:

> The people living here are real people. They have real problems in life like getting a job, earning money, paying the rent and feeding their children. The moneyed and the-so-called intellectual types have artificial problems and all these depression and melancholy. I find them insincere and hypocrite about many issues… I look at my Roma neighbors and they're so lively, genuine and real. I like that. I like to talk to them and participate in their wedding ceremonies in the streets. I want to be around those real people. And this is why I'm not living in Nişantaşı or Cihangir… Unfortunately moneyed types are coming to Galata and the real people I like are leaving. They bring their bell jars to Galata and Tünel and they're ruining here. (Aydın)

Mert made similar points while he was extremely critical about the follower gentrifiers. He also regarded the lower-income incumbent residents as "real people" who are "touching life" and who are genuine unlike the educated middle-class gentrifiers. He even considered leaving Galata and moving to Fener or Balat since Galata was becoming a homogenous middle-class neighborhood, a process which he detested.

> When I first came to Galata it was like a beautiful maiden. It was untouched. There used to be much more local people with lower socio-economic status. It was more traditional and authentic. A few months ago I saw a young chic woman with big sunglasses and stilettos walking her dog in the park near the Galata Tower. I said "shit, Galata has become Cihangir". I no more can see the real people here. The real people

> who go to street markets, who walk in the streets, men who go to the mosque… I consider moving to Fener or Balat where this traditional structure still exists. Those neighborhoods are so beautiful and preserved. Traditional normal people who watch Turkish series at night are still living there. (Mert).

Both Aydın and Mert, and some other respondents were highly critical of the follower gentrifiers for not interacting with the incumbent residents and the disadvantaged and marginalized groups in Beyoğlu. Aydın and Mert had a romanticized construction of the socio-economically lower class groups which was common in most of the respondents' narratives. The lower- and working class people with traditional lifestyles were considered to be authentic features of Beyoğlu neighborhoods while they are exoticized and romanticized as "real people". Many respondents argued that they enjoyed watching and consuming the others' lifestyles and sociabilities although in varying ways and degrees. May (1996) criticizes gentrifiers' desire and interest in difference by holding that this pertains to an aestheticized gaze of the other, a "new form of cultural voyeurism" and argues that gentrifier can be considered as a new form of urban flâneur (p. 206). The interviews demonstrate this kind of a relationship with difference exists in the Beyoğlu case whereby the gentrifier subject consumes diversity and different characters for pleasure together with the urban environment and the various goods and services which Beyoğlu offers. Shields (1994) on the basis of Walter Benjamin's arguments, explains that flânerie "involves staging an alienated relationship with the environment and cruelly perpetuates alienation from the Other" (p. 77). He interprets the flâneur as an unethical consuming figure who always keeps social distance and has an alienated relationship with the other.

Some of the respondents displayed flâneur-like attitudes towards diversity as they have an aestheticized gaze of the other and practice a form of cultural voyeurism as May (1996) argues. They keep their social distance and do not develop an interaction with and/or a deeper understanding of difference. There is usually a limited and superficial encounter with diversity in which the gentrifier takes pleasure in visually consuming difference. That is, the

encounter with the other becomes a fascinating experience for some of the gentrifiers, which does not translate into an interaction. Bekir, a lawyer in Cihangir said that he and his friends occasionally went to the cheap nightclubs which they did not normally go and watched the people, usually young lower-class men:

> There're really strange clubs in Beyoğlu where the youth from slums hang out. There is cheap club music playing so loud and young men dance to it with overdone hair styles and clothes. I and a couple of friends sometimes go to these places to watch them. It's enjoyable to hang out in such clubs and watch those people.
> - Do you interact or make friends with the people in those clubs?
> No. We usually have our beers and stay quite. We don't want to interrupt the environment. It's like making an observation in their natural habitat. (Bekir).

Another respondent, Nihat who is the photographer and art producer living in Galata talked about the brothel in his neighborhood. He argued that although he found the scene of men going to the brothel "ugly" and bad for the reputation of Galata and he was concerned about the situation of the prostitutes, it was also interesting and inspirational for his art:

> Do you know that there is a brothel down there?
> - Yes I know.
> The road which goes to the brothel is so crowded on Sundays. And especially after the Ramadan in the religious holidays you see many men heading to the street of the brothel. Many of my women friends do not use that street on those days. They get harassed. The situation is unacceptable, very ugly and bad for Galata but aside from that it's kind of weird and interesting to me. I went to the brothel street a couple of times. The guys there asked me whether I need a woman. All these men, the lower-class men and soldiers in their free day walking around, standing, looking at the prostitutes... I'm planning to make an art project on this. Maybe I can take a few pictures there… (Nihat)

As I have argued in the previous chapter about gentrifiers' constructions of the less-gentrified neighborhoods the respondents have a tendency to enjoy watching the lifestyles of the lower-income incumbent residents. Several respondents mentioned that they attended or they would like to attend the street weddings of the Roma people. This can be considered as an act of cultural voyeurism whereby the educated middle-class gentrifiers consume the cultural practices of a different group. For instance Faruk, the doctorate student living in Çukurcuma went to a street wedding in Tophane with his friends to shoot a documentary on

the life of the Roma population which was a very exciting and interesting experience for him. Asım, the scriptwriter from Cihangir explained that he liked taking trips to Tarlabaşı. He noted that he was attracted to the "middle-age darkness, that ghetto and *varoş* situation" of the neighborhood.

Focusing on the gentrifiers in inner-city London, May (1996) suggests that the interest in difference and otherness constitutes a new form of cultural capital for the new middle class gentrifiers whereby they "seek to display their liberal credentials and thus secure their class position" (p. 196). I observed that for some portion of the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu appreciation of different cultures, and having experiences with and knowledge on them are sources of cultural capital and those are socially desirable characteristics. The multicultural outlook and appreciation of difference indicate distinction from the traditional middle class and mainstream ideology, and express a person's embracement of liberal and progressive values. As Featherstone (1991) argues, for the gentrifiers the legitimate cultural capital which is a source of distinction and prestige involves cultural competence and knowledge of the other.

Although some of the gentrifiers' interaction with diversity is quite limited it is not accurate to generalize flâneurism and the superficial and pleasure-oriented forms of encounter with difference. Most of the respondents expressed social concerns about the disadvantaged and marginalized populations living in Beyoğlu such as the urban poor and the transgender sex workers. In a similar line, several respondents criticized the superficiality of the middle-class interest in social and cultural diversity, and consumption of difference by gentrifiers and the Turkish cultural elites. Dilek was one of them, who is an actress in her mid-thirties and lives in Galata:

> Doing things about the "others" has become very popular nowadays. I see people who are going to poor neighborhoods like Tarlabaşı and Balat and taking pictures of the Roma children. It's as if they are on some kind of a safari tour. Most of them don't really care about poverty or other social problems those people experience. They show the pictures to their friends or organize exhibitions and just show off. They say "look, how intellectual I am". But I don't believe that they really care. (Dilek)

Some others are involved in political groups and social responsibility projects and seek ways for developing solidarity with deprived and marginalized social groups and improving their conditions. A limited group of gentrifiers displayed a reflexive attitude by referring to the negative consequences of gentrification on the lower-income residents such as displacement and the increasing cost of living in Beyoğlu neighborhoods. Some of them were self-critical as they acknowledged their role as gentrifiers in increasing the rents and making it difficult for the incumbent residents to survive in gentrifying neighborhoods.

As I have argued, the respondents also expressed negative feelings for the different groups living in and using Beyoğlu. The lower-class incumbent residents, although being romanticized by the gentrifiers were sometimes considered as ignorant, self-interested, rude and hostile in the respondents' narratives. In this respect, several respondents mentioned that the homeowners in Beyoğlu who are rural migrants and their descendants, tried to cheat them about housing and the local retailers usually overcharged them. Yasin, a university student who has lived in both Cihangir and Galata said that he disliked the incumbent residents:

> They tried to cheat me in both Cihangir and Galata. But in Galata it was way too much. The landlord tried to get extra money for every little thing… The local people like the shopkeepers, were kind of hostile to us. They tried to rip us off at every chance. I don't quite understand why. They thought that we were extra rich or something. When we were moving out we found a person with a truck who was a friend of the man who owns the local convenience store. The way was short, from Galata to Cihangir, but the price he gave was too high. Then we bargained and made a deal for half of the initial price he gave… It's so ugly the way they considered us stupid and tried to cheat us. It's so banal. (Yasin)

Similarly Mert, who put great emphasis on heterogeneity and the existence of lower-income neighbors with traditional lifestyles, expressed negative views about certain behavior of the incumbent residents:

> The municipality collects the rubbish at 10 PM here. I see bags of rubbish on the streets at 7 AM the next day. They [the local people, incumbent residents] drop their rubbish on the street whenever they want, they just don't care about it. Maybe it's because they are less educated or because of their culture, I don't know. It really drives me mad… And the Roma people, they are so dirty. In the building adjacent to

> the one I live in, there are Roma people. One of my friends also lives in that building. We fixed the door which was open all the time. Now it's still open. They [the Roma people] put a stone to keep it open all the time. Cats enter the building and piss. It's really dirty in there and they don't care. There is a dirty couch outside the building. They sit there next to bags of rubbish all day long. It's unbelievable. (Mert)

Some of the respondents mentioned that they disliked the incumbent residents' traditional lifestyles, conservatism, and intolerance for difference. As I have discussed in the previous chapter on place and identity, several respondents draw symbolic boundaries with their lower-income neighbors. This negative perception is linked to the aversion of the new middle class gentrifiers adopting modern and western values for the traditional and conservative ways of life. As I have mentioned, most of the respondents were critical about nationalism, conservatism, patriarchy and the religious outlook which are associated with the lower classes. In this regard, I want to present the quote by Faruk again who expressed his dislike for some of his neighbors with a traditional worldview:

> …They're conservative people, they're religious and they're traditional. For them we are alien people. I used to have long hair and I wear an earring. They don't like it. They have no tolerance for things like that… Actually I don't like this traditional family thing and the conservatism they have. They close themselves to new ideas and different ways of life. They can be rude and aggressive when they face with somebody who isn't like them because they feel threatened. Unfortunately this is pretty much how most of the society is, living in their small worlds and being hostile to the outer world and people who are different than they are. Nationalist and overly-religious, this is how they are. (Faruk)

Moreover, some respondents, although they are a limited group, expressed negative views about the Kurdish migrants living in Beyoğlu and the transgender people. Some of the respondents considered Kurds as the cause of criminal activity in Beyoğlu such as drug-dealing, purse-snatching and burglary. Nazlı who is the café owner living in Cihangir and Yelda, the journalist living in Galata associated Kurds living in Beyoğlu with various criminal and disruptive activity. Emir noted that he felt at unease when he encountered a transgender person. He said the following:

> The trannies are a bit scary. I know that they have a tendency for violence. They cut themselves and attack people. And they look, some of them look so bad, so awful…

> Of course they live under very bad conditions and maybe this is why they can be too aggressive. But I don't want to encounter with one of them or want to be around them. (Emir)

Serkan, the human relations specialist living in Cihangir regarded the Kurdish people, or as he called them "the Easterners", ignorant, uncivilized and dangerous. When I asked his views about the Kurdish migrants living in Beyoğlu he said the following:

> They live in Tophane, Galata and the areas through Tünel and Asmalımescit. Most of the doormen here are from the East. Their children shout in the streets all the time and play football. Their ball hits your face and they don't even say sorry. It's easy to notice them… I don't like them much. They're much closed to the rest of the society. They don't interact with the others. They're living in a city and I think they need to learn to behave accordingly. (Serkan)

Serkan expressed that he was tolerant about and appreciated the transsexuals in Beyoğlu and their culture. He told that he was friends with his transsexual former-sex worker neighbor and liked to spend time with her in the neighborhood. I observed this situation in several respondents whereby one form of difference is tolerated and appreciated and another form of difference is not welcomed. For instance Meryem said that she did not have boundaries with any social group except the overly-religious people:

> The one boundary I have against is the religiously bigot people. I don't want to see men in jubbah and turban or women in black veil on İstiklal Avenue. Yet, this is not only against the Muslims. I also don't want to see a Jewish zealot in their religious outfit. I'm open to any other groups but religious zealots are my exception. This is related with my position against religion. Maybe I need to overcome this. I don't know… (Meryem)

There is not a strong coherent pattern about the ways in which gentrifiers construct diversity and have a negative or positive attitude towards different social and cultural groups in Beyoğlu. The gentrifiers in Beyoğlu as well as my respondents are a heterogeneous group in terms of many characteristics such as age and socio-economic status. Not only age and occupation but also their worldview and social and cultural backgrounds shape their attitudes towards diversity. The interviews demonstrate that older respondents and the respondents with higher economic status and managerial occupations tend to have more negative feelings

and an exclusionary understanding about certain forms of difference in Beyoğlu. Besides, they tend to have limited interaction with the disadvantaged and marginalized groups. The respondents who work in social and cultural fields and who are involved in arts tend to have more positive and inclusive views about diversity. They are more open to interaction with diversity and making friends with the different social groups living in Beyoğlu. One thing to be mentioned about the respondents' attitudes towards diversity is that their openness to and tolerance for diversity is selective and conditional. It has limits as most of the respondents expressed distaste and intolerance for particular social groups.

In this regard, the most-emphasized boundary is produced against the the lower- and working-class young males living in and using Beyoğlu. A majority of respondents expressed feelings of fear and distaste for this group. Gentrifiers usually encounter them on İstiklal Avenue. The respondents reported that this group was prone to start fights, harass others verbally and physically, swear loudly and shout. They litter and spit on the streets. They were regarded as dangerous, prone to violence and disrespectful to the social order in Beyoğlu. As I have mentioned some of the respondents expressed discomfort and annoyance about the rural migrants living in Beyoğlu and the lower-class youth from slums coming to the district for consumption and leisure activities. They are considered to be ignorant and unconscious about Beyoğlu and disrespectful to its physical environment, historical and cultural fabric, and the social life in the district. The below quote by Yeşim is an example:

> There are those groups of boys and young men from poor neighborhoods. They're "kıros" as people call them. The way they dress and their hair styles, you know… I guess some of them come from the *varoş* neighborhoods and some of them are living here. I try to avoid them because they can be dangerous. At late hours it's mostly dangerous because of them. They can be drugged and do anything… They're so angry and they reflect this anger to other people. But I'm not the one whom they should be angry at. … When my boyfriend and I are walking those guys make rude remarks at him about his clothes, piercing and clothes. He is from Singapore and they call him "Chinese". It's bad and annoying. (Yeşim)

One major aspect of the multicultural attitude of gentrifiers is that this does not bring an inclusionary vision for all forms of diversity in the urban core. Their cosmopolitanism is selective and conditional in the sense that certain forms of difference are not appreciated and tolerated as Young et al.'s (2006) study on the gentrification of Manchester shows. These authors argue that gentrifiers prefer avoiding contact with the lower-income ethnic minority groups, some youth culture and the white working class residing in the inner-city although they enjoy consuming commodified and sanitized forms of difference. There is a similar case in Beyoğlu whereby the most disfavored social group is the working class youth, especially males. Although most of the respondents expressed feelings of fear and distaste for this group they paid a significant attention for being politically correct and not uttering certain derogatory expressions commonly used to describe lower-class people such as *varoş*, *kıro*, *maganda* and *ayaktakımı*. When they uttered those words they usually felt the necessity to note that they were using the word in a reflexive way. This is related with gentrifiers' strategy to maintain a liberal, egalitarian and humanitarian self image.

3. Social Mixing in Beyoğlu

The interest in difference and otherness constitutes a new form of cultural capital for the new middle class gentrifiers whereby they "seek to display their liberal credentials and thus secure their class position" (May, 1996, p. 196). For the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu the multicultural outlook and appreciation of difference indicate distinction from the traditional middle class and mainstream ideology, and express their embracement of liberal and progressive values. Many respondents, especially the younger gentrifiers and the ones who are involved in social and cultural professions and arts argued that they value interacting with the different social groups living in Beyoğlu. Some of them were very critical about the affluent follower gentrifiers who avoid interacting with the disadvantaged and marginalized groups and who "bring their bell jars with them" as Aydın told. Osman, the young engineer

who pursues a career in acting and script-writing indicated that he wanted to make friends with the Roma people and the transgender individuals in order to learn more about different ways of life and to expand his cultural horizon. As I have discussed, cultural competence and the knowledge of different social groups and cultures are desirable capabilities for some of the gentrifiers and they try to develop those through observing and interacting with diversity.

Furthermore, for the cultural intermediaries, interaction with diversity and observing the lives of different social and cultural groups are considered to be necessary for enhancing their creativity. Within my sample there were many artists and cultural specialists, especially the ones working for media and TV. I believe that the composition of my sample represents the general composition of gentrifiers in Beyoğlu to a large extent as the creative class workers in the fields of media and advertisement are identified as the main body of gentrifiers in the Beyoğlu neighborhoods (Bali, 2006). Florida (2002) argues that the creative class lifestyle is "a passionate quest for experience" (p. 166). That is, creative professionals enjoy trying new things out of the routine and the ordinary mainstream expectations. Florida suggests that a vibrant and dynamic urban life which offers diversity and chances for different experiences is crucial for the creative class. Therefore, creative class members prefer living in dynamic and heterogeneous urban centers which involve diversity and, variegated entertainment, cultural and artistic amenities. For instance Derya, living in Aynalıçeşme which is a less gentrified neighborhood hosting predominantly the low-income groups, said that she appreciated living in a heterogeneous environment and valued interaction with diversity as this expands her creativity about her job which is to direct TV series for Turkish national channels. She told me that she liked going to low-brow cheap gay clubs around Tarlabaşı and that she liked to intermingle with people from different walks of life. This is both an entertaining activity for her and refreshing in terms of enhancing her creativity about her profession. Moreover, Derya mentioned that she did not prefer to put a distance with

socio-economically disadvantaged people both in her neighborhood and in the different social environments she joins such as the gay bars:

> I like the vibe in the gay bars of Tarlabaşı. They're relaxed place where I can have fun… I like to engage with people from different walks of life. I don't say "well you don't have a degree so I cannot talk to you". I don't discriminate people like that. Those cheap gay bars are where I have the fun of my life. You somehow interact with people when you are there and getting entertained. You talk to people, cheer the songs together and dance together. I'm not the person who goes to a place, sit in the corner in an isolated way and gaze people… This is pretty much the same in my neighborhood. I talk to my neighbors and the local shopkeepers. I say hi and greet people. We sometimes chat about daily matters… We're social beings, of course that I interact with them. (Derya)

In line with the respondents' liberal values several respondents emphasized that they did not discriminate people on the basis of class, ethnicity or sexual preference. Just like Derya, an important group of respondents noted that they did not hesitate to interact and form friendships with the lower-income incumbent residents in their neighborhoods and the disadvantaged and marginalized people in Beyoğlu such as the homeless and the sex workers. Osman told that he was eager to make friends among the Roma people, and the transgender people living in Beyoğlu. Akın, an actor living in Cihangir narrated how he was charmed by a transsexual sex worker whom he encountered on İstiklal Avenue and that they talked the whole day about their lives. Mine talked about her friendly relations with the homeless people living in the neighborhood and the transsexual residents of Cihangir:

> There are homeless people and wine-bibbers in the park next to my building. My dog loves them. They share their food with him. They're nice people. Of course, I say hi to them every morning and talk to them. And there are trannies here. They walk their dogs, I walk mine and we usually chat about daily matters while sitting in the park. Or when we see each other in the market picking apples we talk about the apples or matters about the neighborhood. I don't discriminate people according to their status or sexual preference… Here is Cihangir, here is Beyoğlu. Every kind of people exists here. You need to interact. If you don't want this then Cihangir is not right for you. (Mine)

However, some of the respondents who said that they valued interaction with diversity and with the incumbent residents in their neighborhoods have actually limited relationship with those groups. For instance Mert, who placed great value on heterogeneity and the

existence of lower-income incumbent residents in Galata, accepted that he had actually very limited interaction with the "local people" as he called them due to the differences in their outlook and lifestyle preferences. Mert said that actually his relationship with his lower-class neighbors was rather remote when I asked him what his neighbors possibly thought of him.

> I guess they thought that I'm a remote person and that I'm not very friendly. They don't easily come to me to ask for advice or help. I think I don't have a close relationship with them. They have different perceptions about life and the ways in which we live are different. They're mostly those traditional families… Maybe this is why we don't have much interaction. (Mert)

Aydın who previously lived in Cihangir said that he was friends with the transgender people in the neighborhood. When I asked him whether he knew their name or met them outside the neighborhood Aydın's answer was negative. This is an example to my observation that although many respondents highly appreciate the idea of interacting social and cultural difference their interactions with diversity remains within certain limits. It can be argued that some of the gentrifiers pay lip-service to the inclusionary visions about diversity and multiculturalism as they overstate their interactions and connections with class and ethnic others. Most of the respondent who argued that they had friends from the disadvantaged and marginalized groups and the incumbent residents, usually noted that they came together with those "friends" only in their neighborhoods on occasional basis. That is, the interviews showed that the respondents generally have loose and somehow unsustainable interactions and friendships with those groups. They usually do not maintain a regular connection with the individuals from different social groups.

Besides, the interviews showed that the gentrifiers' close friendship circles do not generally involve their class others. Rather, they prefer people with whom they share a similar composition of cultural and economic capital, common lifestyle preferences, and worldview. The cosmopolitan and multicultural attitude which takes a major part in the gentrifiers' discourse does not exactly correspond to their social behavior in terms of their interactions

with people from different social backgrounds being the low-income incumbent residents and the other disadvantaged and marginalized groups. The people whom the respondents regularly socialize such as close friends, neighbors, and partners are the people with whom they share a similar way of life and socio-economic status. That is, their close social circles involve mostly the other middle-class gentrifiers living in Beyoğlu. Butler and Robson (2001) argue that there is a "tectonic" social structure in gentrified neighborhoods whereby polarized socio-economic groups ignore and move across each other. Social interaction and cohesion are most likely to occur in relatively homogeneous neighborhoods when different socio-economic groups are pushed aside. This partially fits with the case in gentrified and gentrifying neighborhoods of Beyoğlu whereby social mixing between gentrifiers and the lower-class incumbent residents is somehow limited, at least for a certain group of respondents. Bekir who lives in Cihangir, claimed that there are two separate societies in the neighborhood which are divided on the basis of class and that they are not eager to interact:

> Actually there're two groups in Cihangir. One involves the more educated professional people, artists, actors, directors and so on. And the other is the people coming from Anatolia, more conservative families, people with lower socio-economic status and less education… You can't see the other group much on the streets. They don't come to cafés or do other things which the first group does. They don't interact with people like us as they're more conservative… It's as if there're two separate worlds in Cihangir (Bekir).

Albeit gentrifiers in Beyoğlu enjoy the neighborhood life, as I have discussed, the sociability of incumbent residents is not always pleasing and enjoyable for the respondents. One of the respondents, Meryem said that one of the major reasons why she lived in Cihangir was to avoid interaction with the neighbors. Similarly several respondents argued that they did not want to have traditional close neighborhood relations as they did not have time for sustaining those relations. Gentrifiers in Beyoğlu as members of cultural new class have western-oriented lifestyle preferences and a liberal worldview. They are mostly critical of and repulsed by the norms of the traditional Turkish society, family structure, and the religious,

conservative and nationalist values which are dominant among the community of rural migrants in Beyoğlu. Some respondents argued that lifestyle difference was the major reason why they did not interact with the incumbent residents with lower socio-economic status. The prominent differences between the cultural practices, values, norms and understandings of the gentrifiers and the incumbent residents are some of the reasons for the limited interaction or the lack of communication between these groups. In this respect, Nihat, who used to have rural migrant neighbors in his building, said the following:

> There were Kurdish families and families with a rural background in the apartment. They were really conservative and religious. For instance I've never entered their apartment and they've never come to mine. This is inappropriate and unacceptable because I'm a single man. I was an unreliable person in their eyes. I only used to speak to the husbands on the issues about the building. They had a traditional lifestyle and it's as if they closed themselves anything new… They always objected to any renovation proposals such as fixing the door and the stairs. When something is done they do everything for not paying. (Nihat)

Gentrifiers are not fond of the conservative and closed lifestyles of the incumbent residents. That is, even for those respondents appreciating the socio-economically disadvantaged and culturally different residents, difference is not always tolerated. This is partially related with the cultural boundary of gentrifiers who claim a globally-oriented cosmopolitan identity, with the lower-classes who are local and non-cosmopolite in terms of their sources of identification (Rofe, 2003). Class and cultural differences lead to gentrifiers' disfavor with the particular attitudes of the incumbent residents. Several respondents expressed that they are annoyed with certain behavior of the incumbent residents such as their "inappropriate intimacy" and covetousness referring to home-owners and local shopkeepers. As the below quote by Ezgi shows, most of the gentrifiers keep their social distance in their relationship with the incumbent residents in order to protect their privacy. They usually do not want get too close with the incumbent residents. Ezgi talked about how she used kindness to protect her privacy and to put a distance with her neighbors for avoiding their undesirable attention:

> I generally have good relations with my neighbors. But they have a tendency to get too much intimate and meddling with people's private affairs. They may become over-involved with my life asking about my friends and so on… I don't want this. That's why I always keep the distance yet become kind to them. And kindness puts this protective distance in my relationship with them (Ezgi).

As I have argued above, social interaction and cohesion between the educated middle-class residents with a western outlook and lifestyle preferences and the traditional lower-income residents are not thorough and pervasive. The gentrifiers' interactions with other forms of diversity remain limited in most of the cases.

However, it is not accurate to overstate and generalize this point. I do not argue that gentrifiers totally avoid and do not interact at all with the different social and cultural groups in Beyoğlu and the low-income incumbent residents in their neighborhoods. The examples I presented above from the narratives of Derya, Mine, Osman, and Akın establishes this point. The case of Yasin, a university student living Galata, is also an example to the interactions between gentrifiers and the lower-income incumbent residents. Yasin told that he gave free private lessons to the children of his lower-income neighbors and maintained his relationship with the family. To give another example Hazal, the web designer living in Çukurcuma mentioned how she became friends with her neighbors living next door who were a conservative rural migrant family having a traditional worldview and lifestyle preferences:

> When I first moved the house and saw my neighbor living next door I really got worried. He is the "hajji uncle" [an expression used to refer to the traditional religious elder men] type and his wife wears a black veil when she goes outside. They're those traditional religious types. I'm a single woman and I thought that they would annoy me because of that. I come home at late hours and my friends come over, you know… But it turned out that I was wrong. I never felt something negative on their side about me. We talk to each other, "hi, how are you today" kind of talk… When I need something such as a screwdriver to fix something I can knock on their door. I feel kind of safe when I go somewhere because they look after my apartment. I cannot say that we got really close but we really respect each other and get along in a nice way. (Hazal)

Hazal's relationship with her neighbors represents most of the respondents' situation whereby they do not get too close but still maintain a certain level of interaction with their

neighbors. The case with the Beyoğlu gentrifiers do not exactly fit with the results of Butler's (2003) study on the gentrifiers in inner-city London. Butler describes their experience of gentrification as "living in the bubble". For the Londoner gentrifiers "difference, diversity and multiculturalism remain important elements of the discourse of belonging, they do not play in the way this is lived out" (Butler, 2003, p. 2484). It is true that Butler's argument is important to explain the discrepancy in the gentrifiers' rhetoric and social behavior but this argument does not exactly reflect the situation in Beyoğlu. My argument is that social mixing and the gentrifiers' interactions with the people from different social backgrounds are limited and non-sustainable at times but still they are not missing by any means.

4. Social Reproduction

One important issue that should be mentioned about the gentrifiers' attitudes and interactions with diversity is related with social reproduction and their ideas and practices about child-raising. This subject has been previously issued in Butler (1997, 2003), Butler and Robson (2003) and Bridge (2006). Butler (2003) argues that gentrifiers have a tendency to leave their lower-income inner-city neighborhoods which do not have quality schools and move to the neighborhoods with better schooling options. Another strategy is to send their children to better schools which are far away from the inner-city neighborhoods where they live. He suggests that the gentrifiers "live in a bubble" as both themselves and their children have no or very little interaction with the people from different social backgrounds. Bridge's (2006) study on the gentrifiers in Bristol shows that gentrifiers with children usually leave the neighborhood for better schooling options. These gentrifiers "trade the current deployment of cultural capital in aesthetic display (objectified cultural capital) for a longer-term investment in the reproduction of cultural capital through the schooling of their children (incorporated cultural capital)" (p. 63). That is, they give up the satisfaction of living in a heterogeneous

central-city area for social reproduction as their children gets better education and grows in a safe middle-class environment in the suburbs.

Most of the respondents of this study do not have children. Only three of the respondents have children and only two of them live with their child. Therefore, mostly I asked a hypothetically question whether they would move out if/when they have children. Besides, I wanted the respondents to describe the favorable environment to raise children. A major group of respondents held that Beyoğlu is not the right place to raise children for various reasons such as the crowdedness and heterogeneity of the district and the lack of green areas. None of them talked about the lack of quality schooling options as Beyoğlu is a central area which hosts some prestigious schools and transportation to other quality schools from the district is relatively easy. Their narratives mostly revolved around Beyoğlu's position as a heterogeneous inner-city area which may be perceived as a unsafe area due to anonymity, crowdedness and the "dangerous classes" it hosts. A group of respondents including the ones, who value the socially heterogeneous composition of Beyoğlu, expressed that they would move to *site*s or to the countryside where they can present a secure environment for their child. For instance Yeşim, the commercial director living in Aynalıçeşme who appreciated the diversity and unpredictability of the district said that her neighborhood is not suitable for raising a child since it is unsafe as a crowded inner-city area. That is, those respondents make a tradeoff between living in Beyoğlu which allows them to engage in various cultural activities and interacting with diversity, and the proper upbringing of their children. The diversity which is appreciated by the respondents and which is a source of excitement and pleasure turns into a dangerous trait of inner-city life in the case of having children. In this respect, Melike from Cihangir said the following:

> Cihangir is good but still it might be not appropriate to raise children. I mean there is not much parks here, no greens… Beyoğlu is a bit dangerous place. I'm working and I think that especially if the mother is working the child must be in a secure environment where people know and look after each other. It's because the mother

> cannot be with her/him all the time… I want my child to feel free, to play outside and to play in the nature. In the city you cannot give those to your child. I think a place like a *site* or maybe the countryside is much better for the child where he/she can climb trees and walk on the soil barefoot. (Melike)

Yet still there is another group of respondents, which is close to the previous group regarding Beyoğlu unsafe for children in terms of number, who suggested that living in a heterogeneous and culturally-active environment would improve the social and cultural competencies of their children. Asım, Dilek and Meryem are some of the respondents who want their children to grow in a cosmopolitan social setting in Beyoğlu. Güliz, young academician living in Cihangir and who was pregnant at the time of the interview said that she preferred her child to grow in Beyoğlu rather than the homogenous social setting of *site*s. She, similar to several other respondents, believes that living in Beyoğlu would develop the child's worldview and cultural horizon as it offers the chances to encounter diversity.

> In terms of weather pollution and the lack of parks Beyoğlu might not be that suitable for children. Yet, other than that it's good because it's a cosmopolitan area. I want my children to grow in a cosmopolitan environment as I did. I think it brings richness. It develops the child to be more open to difference and different people. I prefer my child to grow in Beyoğlu rather than in a *site* where he/she will interact only with people like him/her… I think a child learns more about life in Beyoğlu. He/she sees different faces of life and learns what is good, bad and dangerous earlier. (Güliz)

Overall there is not a common pattern among the Beyoğlu gentrifiers about their ideas on the districts' convenience for raising children. Yet, the results showed that Butler's (2003) and Bridge's (2006) observation that most of the gentrifiers relinquish the cosmopolitan inner-city living for social reproduction does not hold for the Beyoğlu case.

CHAPTER 8: THE CONSUMPTION PRACTICES AND LIFESYTLE OF GENTRIFIERS

Webber (2007) suggests that individuals living in metropolitan neighborhoods use taste and consumption for the ascription and enjoyment of status much more than the residents of suburban neighborhoods, provincial areas and small towns for whom social status depends on occupation and the ownership of certain key consumer goods. The interviews demonstrated that a similar situation exists in Beyoğlu whereby gentrifiers make identity claims and maintain their social distinction through practices with a cultural relevance such as the consumption of Beyoğlu as both a physical and a symbolic entity. Their overall consumption patterns, taste and lifestyle preferences indicate the existence of a common metropolitan habitus among the Beyoğlu gentrifiers through which they articulate their social status and distinction. These findings are in line with Podmore's (1998) arguments on the basis of her study about loft living in Montreal. She claimed that loft living as a form of gentrification connotes a transnational habitus whereby loft-dwellers in different world cities share a similar set of consumption and lifestyle orientations as they have an interest in arts and an artistic lifestyle, and a taste for authenticity and avant-garde domestic spaces. The respondents also mentioned that they value authenticity and artistic features in their residential and consumption preferences. For instance, Elif, a customer representative in a tourism firm living in an old apartment in Galata said:

> I feel very luck about finding this apartment and living here. The view of the apartment is great. You can see the sea and the Anatolian side… It gives such as spacious feeling. And the oldness and originality of the apartment present such an authentic air. For one thing Galata has this great historical fabric. The Tower, the buildings and the cobblestone pavements… Living here is so inspiring. Even if you are not an artist you sense the artistic feeling of Galata. And it captures you and it adds this artistic quality to your life. (Elif)

Gentrifiers' desire to aesthetize and stylize everyday life is prevalent in their overall consumption patterns in line with their consumption of Beyoğlu's nostalgic and cosmopolitan setting and old housing for symbolic and aesthetic purposes. The respondents' interest in

social and cultural diversity and alternative experiences reflects in the their consumption practices whereby they enjoy consuming elite and high culture together with popular and low-class forms of culture, and both global and local forms of difference. Living in Beyoğlu is crucial for most of the respondents as the district meet their desires and needs to lead a cosmopolitan and culturally-active lifestyle and to engage in various cultural and consumption activities.

The interviews showed that respondents have a distinct consumption profile and lifestyle preferences which are in line with their western and globally-oriented mindset and cosmopolitan inclinations. It is not uncommon that the respondents' close social networks involve foreigners as spouses, partners and roommates. Most of them speak at least one foreign language which is usually English. They watch American TV shows, follow European and Asian cinema, experience world cuisines, listen to western and world music, and travel abroad for leisure and recreational purposes. They also have an interest in local forms of difference and certain aspects of the low-class and popular culture such as arabesk music. Some of them consume organic food as a result of their concerns about health. Some care for recycling and express ecological concerns. The gentrifiers' lifestyle and consumption profile can be defined as cosmopolitan as they have an interest in local and global forms of difference. This profile also reflects an omnivorous pattern as they consume both high and low culture and appreciate particular forms of parochial culture.

In the above paragraphs, I tried to present a general picture about the metropolitan habitus of the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu. In the subsections of this chapter first I further explore the consumption practices of gentrifiers structured in relation to the experience of living in Beyoğlu and secondly I discuss their overall consumption practices and lifestyle preferences. That is, in the first part I deal with Beyoğlu as a consumption-scape which offers various entertainment, culture and leisure activities for the gentrifiers. I try to show the meanings they

associate with the specific consumption and leisure places within the district. Besides, I discuss the retail gentrification in Beyoğlu neighborhoods which accompanies the residential gentrification. In the second part I explore the general consumption patterns and lifestyle preferences of gentrifiers as I focus on the fields of music, dining and TV series. Overall I attempt to delineate the metropolitan habitus of gentrifiers living in Beyoğlu meaning their dispositions and their taste and lifestyle patterns through which they construct and experience inner-city living.

1. Consumption in Beyoğlu

The respondents have western and global lifestyle patterns. They are culturally active in terms of engaging in various cultural and artistic activities such as attending the Istanbul Biennial and the film and music festivals which generally take place in and around Beyoğlu. Many respondents noted that they regularly use the cultural and entertainment facilities in Beyoğlu such as the cafés, restaurants, cinema halls, and nightclubs. The respondents want to be close to the cultural amenities and leisure facilities in Beyoğlu. As I have discussed, in the chapter about the motivations for gentrification the practicality of living in the urban core in terms of proximity to cultural, entertainment and retail venues constitutes one of the most important dimensions of Beyoğlu's appeal for the gentrifiers. Some of the gentrifiers argued that although the costs of living in Beyoğlu, especially the rents were high for their budgets they still preferred to live in the district for the cultural amenities and the entertainment infrastructure. Can, mentioned that the existence of cafés and the sociability of artistic and intellectual people in Cihangir constitute the major factor affecting his decision to live in that neighborhood:

> I can live in a better house in Beşiktaş or anywhere else paying that much rent. Or I can live in Bakırköy and be close to work. Yet, I cannot find the atmosphere, the air that exists in Cihangir.
> - Can you elaborate on this?
> The people who live here basically… You cannot find such people in other places. And cafés, they are very important for me. I spend most of my time in cafés working

> on something, reading, chatting with friends. This is an important aspect of my life in Cihangir. (Can)

Beyoğlu becomes the milieu in which the gentrifiers can realize their lifestyle projects. It provides the opportunity to lead an aestheticized lifestyle as it offers an elegant historical fabric, stimulating cultural environment and an active social life. Appreciation of the dynamism and chaotic social setting of the district is present in many of the respondents' narratives. Besides, it emerges as an affect which distinguishes the gentrifiers from the traditional and suburban middle classes, and mainstream ways of life which values order and predictability. Dilek, the actress living in Galata said the following:

> I guess I'm a bit weird. I can even live in an apartment on İstiklal Avenue. When I mention this my friends say "are you crazy Dilek, how can you do that". All the noise and crowds do not bother me. Actually they are pleasure for me. Watching people, listening to their voices, watching how life and the crowds on the avenue change in different hours of the day… I like it. (Dilek)

As Jayne (2006) argues, space as both a physical and symbolic entity to be used and consumed, and as the site of consumption practices contributes to the production, reproduction and negotiation of social identities. Beyoğlu is a cosmopolitan lifestyle center which hosts various retailing, entertainment, cultural and artistic facilities, and which simultaneously involves high and low cultures, global and local forms of difference, and the mundane and the exotic. Consumption both of housing, places and goods in Beyoğlu constitutes a prominent aspect of the gentrifiers' experience of inner-city living. Gentrifiers meet their needs and desires in Beyoğlu for leading a distinct cosmopolitan lifestyle and maintaining distinction from the groups with low cultural capital. For the gentrifiers living in Beyoğlu is related with a desire for stylization of life through incorporating arts and culture and the encounters with diversity which pertains to an aestheticized lifestyle, and a reflexive and critical social practice (Featherstone 1991). Beyoğlu is significant as the site in which the gentrifiers live out a particular lifestyle which is mostly critical, bohemian and artistic.

Consumption of old apartments as housing and the appreciation of the historical fabric is an important part of the gentrification habitus whereby gentrifiers claim social distinction (Jager, 1986). In this respect, most of the respondents noted that they enjoy and appreciate the historical fabric and nostalgic sense of their apartments and the Beyoğlu neighborhoods. Almost all respondents expressed that they like old apartments with wooden floors and high ceilings. This gives a sense of nostalgia and authenticity for the respondents, which displays their appreciation of and consciousness about Beyoğlu's past. That is, the taste for the historical fabric is an indicator of cultural capital among the Beyoğlu gentrifiers. Besides, living in old apartments and using the historical fabric of Beyoğlu bring an aesthetic quality to their lives. Osman who lives in an old apartment in Firuzağa said:

> My apartment is more than a place where I sleep and eat. It's much more to me. Its oldness, texture and smell…The apartment has a spirit. I think of it as a lady of old Istanbul, elegant and graceful. It gives a sense of past experience which you cannot find in new apartments. It has a history and you can feel it. It's unique for me. Wooden floor, high ceilings and original wooden doors… I fell in love with the apartment when we first saw it. I said "this is it". It's really authentic and it's a great pleasure too wake up everyday in this house. I feel lucky for living here. (Osman)

The historical fabric of Beyoğlu presents a sense of rootedness and an organic sense of place for most of the gentrifiers which they cannot find in *site*s and the shopping malls. It indicates authenticity and uniqueness which are desired by the gentrifiers. Most of the respondents noted that they consider Beyoğlu as an organic and alive place referring to its oldness, dynamism and heterogeneity. Gentrifiers use Beyoğlu for various consumption, leisure and cultural activities rather than going to shopping malls. The respondents articulated repugnance for malls in a similar fashion with their distaste for *site*s. This point was also revealed in İlkuçan's (2004) study on the gentrifiers in Cihangir. *Site*s and shopping malls are regarded as inorganic and artificial places. Some respondents described shopping malls bleak, dull, boring and depressing. They associated the malls with intense consumerism, a superficial and shallow consumption-oriented mindset by the respondents. That is, the distaste for

shopping malls indicates a critical attitude and a symbolic boundary with the consumerist middle classes. In this regard, Bekir was critical of shopping malls and the upper-middle class consumerist lifestyle associated with malls:

> The malls… I avoid going to the malls. My wife goes to the malls. She is American and this is a part of her American culture. She says that "now I'm at home" when we go to a mall. But for me they're really awful. They seem so fake and artificial. I'm against malls as a principle. They're the temples of consumer society. The music and everything orients you to consume more and more, we know all these… I have an uncle who is a total businessman. His life passes in his office, his home and the mall. There isn't a fourth place… They [the uncle and his family] go to a mall in weekends and spend hours there. I don't understand how a person wastes his time in such places. (Bekir)

Similarly Dilek said the following:

> I don't like shopping malls. I feel kind of disturbed by the lights. I feel a strong electrical field there which also disturbs me. I guess it's because of all those electrical goods… I want to be in open air with people while shopping. Malls are kind of artificial, closed and depressing. I don't like this and I don't like the idea behind malls which is non-stop consumption. And everything is in one building, the supermarket, boutiques and the movie theater… Everything is so effortless and directs you to consume so explicitly… I'm not like those Kanyon [referring to a famous high-class shopping mall] people. You know the over-tanned girls with big sunglasses and they spend all their time shopping…(Dilek)

Compared to the shopping malls Beyoğlu is much more attractive for the educated middle class gentrifiers who seek uniqueness, authenticity, a symbolic value, and a token of history and artistic creativity in what and where they consume. They regard the district more than a totally consumption-oriented space and appreciate its cultural, artistic and historical relevance. It has been argued that the new middle class have a desire for aesthetics and authenticity which becomes a prerequisite for their appreciation of built environment, goods and cultural styles, which can be considered as a class strategy for distinction (Featherstone 1991; Holt 1998; Jager 1986). This explains gentrifiers' rejection of shopping malls and embracement of Beyoğlu for its symbolic value which is a part of their distinction strategy.

The most popular venue for entertainment is Asmalımescit for the respondents, hosting bars and restaurants which fuse a historical environment with modern music and

world cuisines. A majority of respondents noted that they go out in Beyoğlu at nights for leisure and entertainment purposes. Most of the respondents noted that they like going to cafés for relaxing and meeting with friends. The street cafés of Cihangir are very popular among gentrifiers. Nalan, the real estate agent and a resident of Cihangir said that street cafés which mostly serve the gentrifier population living in the neighborhood are the most important amenity which draws the educated middle class population to Cihangir. This neighborhood is characterized by its fancy cafés, elite boutiques and other luxurious stores selling cigars and fine wine. In Firuzağa and Çukurcuma which are adjacent to Cihangir gentrification is accompanied by the opening of chic cafés and boutiques. Similarly in Galata I observed the many luxurious restaurants, cafés and boutiques selling design clothes have opened in the last five years in line with the gentrification process. That is gentrification is accompanied by retail gentrification in these neighborhoods similar to the flourish of "hippy" retailing in the gentrifying neighborhoods of Vancouver as Ley (1996) observed. The opening of ecological stores, the markets selling organic food, gyms and yoga schools is another aspect of the retail gentrification in Cihangir and Galata. In this vein the interviews indicate that gentrifiers adopt ecological and environmental values and they care for leading a healthy lifestyle. In Tarlabaşı and Aynalıçeşme retail gentrification is not present or it exists in a limited scale as residential gentrification is not pervasive in these neighborhoods compared to Cihangir and Galata.

2. Consumption and Lifestyle Patterns

Bali (2006) argues that the gentrifying class in Beyoğlu is composed of well-educated young professionals who are mostly employed in the fields of media, advertisement and public relations. This group has western and globally-oriented consumption and lifestyle preferences and its members are exposed to global and cosmopolitan cultures. My findings

largely verify these comments as a large group of my respondents are employed in social and cultural professions, and some of them are cultural intermediaries.

Webber (2007) identifies two different kinds of gentrifying middle class habitus which are of the "city adventurers" and "new urban colonists". City adventurers are young professionals employed in high-ranking positions in private sector. They resemble the yuppie gentrifier typology which Smith (1996) observed in New York. They identify with a hedonist metropolitan culture and they are not interested in engaging in local contacts and networks in their neighborhoods. Unlike the city adventurers the new urban colonists are older and more settled compared to the city adventurers in terms of marriage and having children. They are a well-educated group usually employed in social and cultural fields such as advertising, communications and the media. They have an interest in artistic and cultural activities, authenticity and exotic cultures. They are more open to interact with diversity and have a deeper understanding of different cultures compared to the city adventurers. Besides, Webber discusses the existence of a "counter cultural mix" neighborhoods which are occupied by young lower-class migrants, immigrant groups, students and bohemian cadres who are attracted to the heterogeneous composition of the neighborhoods. This group composed of students, foreigners and some public-sector professionals usually have left-leaning political inclinations, countercultural views and anti-corporate attitudes.

The respondents mostly displayed similar characteristics with the new urban colonists and the counter-cultural professionals. New urban colonists are more similar to the gentrifier population in Beyoğlu with respect to their lifestyle preferences and consumption patterns. Yet, my respondents and the majority of the gentrifier population in Beyoğlu are different from the new urban colonists in terms of age, marital status and living arrangements. They are younger, mostly between late-twenties and thirties. They are usually single and without children. As I have argued, they have a distinct consumption profile which is generally

western and globally-oriented. Most of the respondents noted that they watch American TV shows, follow European and Asian cinema, experience world cuisines, listen to western and world music, and travel abroad for leisure and recreational purposes. Visits to arts galleries and museums, and attendance to music and film festivals and other artistic and cultural events which are usually held in and around Beyoğlu, are also common among the respondents. Most of them expressed their concerns about environmental issues and that they care for recycling. They follow the new ideas on diet, exercise and well-being. They go to gyms and especially women take yoga classes. Artistic hobbies such as acting are pervasive among the respondents. It is worth noting that a majority of the respondents engage in photography and they take pictures in Beyoğlu neighborhoods. In the metropolitan habitus of gentrifiers taste and consumption are the major means for acquiring and displaying status in contrast to the suburban middle class who claim distinction through occupation and the ownership of key consumer products (Butler with Robson, 2003; Webber, 2007).

I asked the respondents questions regarding their consumption practices and tastes within the fields of music, dining and TV series. Within the course of interviews we talked about other lifestyle-related issues such as what they do for entertainment, and their hobbies, past-time activities and holidays. The musical taste of the respondents is to a large extent multidirectional in terms of including both domestic and western/global genres and the high- and low-brow musical forms, which has led me to identify an omnivorous consumption pattern among the gentrifiers. Faruk, the doctorate student living in Çukurcuma defined his musical taste as "eclectic" which fits with many of the respondents. Bekir, the lawyer from Cihangir mentioned that he liked listening to Turkish folk songs, Kurdish music, some arabesk songs as well as classical music and certain western rock bands. Nil talked about the erosion of boundaries between different musical genres having diverse audiences:

> We don't have the thick boundaries and distinctions about musical taste anymore. Before, there were groups like rockers, Turkish-pop audience and the arabesk

> audience. Nowadays everyone pretty much listens to everything… When I go out with friends at night and there is house music playing I go with the flow and enjoy it. Or some Turkish song which previously could be considered as arabesk, if it's catchy I enjoy it. Look at Müslüm Gürses, everyone used to despise and mock him, now we love him. All the folks from Cihangir go to his concerts. (Nil)

A majority of the respondents have a diversified and omnivorous musical taste. Western and global musical genres such as rock, jazz and classical music which connote an educated upper-class taste within the Turkish context are appreciated by the respondents. In addition, I observed an interest in domestic ethnic music such as the Kurdish music and the Roma and the Balkan folk music. I particularly paid attention to the respondents' attitudes towards *arabesk* which has been considered as low-class musical genre and associated with the rural migrants in cities since the 1970s. The urban educated middle classes in Turkey despised and ridiculed arabesk as an unsophisticated low-class genre for a long time as a distinction strategy. In this study I found that most of the respondents have positive views about arabesk as they constructed it as an authentic musical form expressing genuine and sincere feelings. That is, I argue that arabesk has been largely incorporated to the cultural repertoire of the modern and western new middle classes, at least within the case of Beyoğlu gentrifiers. The "discovery" of Müslüm Gürses who is one of the most popular arabesk singers by Murathan Mungan) and their collaboration in the early 2000s marked the beginning of the popularization of arabesk among the Turkish intellectuals. The latter is a well-known author and poet and ironically a resident of Cihangir. The educated middle classes have become the followers of this cultural trend as they developed a liking for the genre.

Özbek's (1994) study which views and celebrates arabesk as the expression of resistance by the working class to the economic and cultural inequalities in Turkey can be considered as a precursor of the interest in this genre by the educated middle classes. I claim that arabesk as a low-brow cultural form has experienced gentrification just like the old neighborhoods of Beyoğlu. Gentrification of cultural goods, practices and styles is an

understudied field and the attempts to move the gentrification studies to the symbolic space are limited. Halnon and Cohen (2006) produce an innovative account of the gentrification of culture as they moved the concept to the terrain of symbolic goods. They come up with the term "gentrification of symbolic neighborhoods" which defines the process of appropriation by the middle class of the symbolic goods and cultural practices associated with the lower classes. Following Halnon and Cohen I claim that arabesk is one of the gentrifying symbolic neighborhoods within the Turkish context with the growing popularity of the genre and its expanding share in the music and entertainment markets.

Turning back to the Beyoğlu gentrifiers, one of the respondents, Mine uttered the below statement about arabesk which partially reflects Özbek's (1994) arguments about the genre's cultural meaning and social role:

> Arabesk is the fado of Turkey. It's the music of pain and some form of resistance against life and even to inequalities. It's like rebellious music and I like it. You cannot say that arabesk is the music of the ignorant masses. I don't like it when people become snub about and despise arabesk. It's so much about us, about the people of this country. It expresses real feelings and I have respect for this… What you do when you fall in love? You listen to an arabesk song because it touches your heart. (Mine)

The respondents mostly enjoy listening to the iconic figures of arabesk who are Müslüm Gürses and Orhan Gencebay. Only a small group including Emir, the high-ranking bank manager and Can, the artist and kindergarten owner displayed a strong negative view about the genre and consider it vulgar and cheap. Yet, several respondents noted that although they appreciate and listen to arabesk it is not a part of their everyday musical consumption. That is, their usual consumption repertoire might be dominated more upper-class and western cultural items such as jazz, electronic music or western Turkish pop and rock; however, occasionally they enjoy listening to particular arabesk songs. As Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal (2007) argued on the basis of their study on the cultural consumption patterns of British people, cultural omnivorousness is not an ideal type whereby the ways in which well-educated middle-class individuals consume popular and low-brow cultural items differ. The

meanings they attribute to those cultural goods and their motivations and orientations display diversity so that a coherent singular pattern cannot be discerned. A similar situation exists among the Beyoğlu gentrifiers with respect to their consumption of diversity and popular and low-brow cultural goods and styles. For instance Melike said that she rarely listens to arabesk songs when she is in the "arabesk mood":

> I don't usually listen to arabesk. I mean there're a couple of famous songs I know and like such as "Batsın Bu Dünya". When we gather with friends and drink rakı and if a good arabesk song is playing I go with the flow. Or when I break up with someone… You know, that is the arabesk mood. Sometimes some of the arabesk songs express your emotions very well. Yet, I don't know the name of the songs mostly. And I'm not the type who listens to arabesk every day or something. (Melike)

The meanings that the respondents attach to arabesk and their attitudes towards the practice of arabesk-listening also display variation. However, to a large extent the appreciation of arabesk involves a romanticized and idealized construction of the genre and its association with "real", original and authentic people and emotions in the respondents' narratives. In a similar line with Mine who considered the genre as a genuine expression of rebel and deep feelings Turgut, the actor living in Galata expressed his views about Müslüm Gürses:

> The guy is real. I believe that he is really sincere. When he sings it comes from his heart. He reflects that pain and heartache. He sang Teoman's song and we saw what he added to the song. The way he sings and his attitude is really original. (Turgut)

For some respondents such as Aycan, the forty one-year-old journalist living in Tarlabaşı, listening to arabesk is almost a natural and ordinary activity which she has done since her youth whereas Aydın's attitude towards the genre is somehow ironic and mocking although overall he celebrated arabesk and regarded it as a "revolutionary" cultural act. Aydın mentioned that he recently developed an interest in Hakkı Bulut who is an arabesk singer and said the following about how he views his music. Aydın's consumption of arabesk is an example to "sarcastic enjoyment" of low-brow cultural forms which has become popular among the young educated middle class members in the late 1990s (Ergin, 2005).

> I love Hakkı Bulut. His lyrics are really sick. They're like "I love you and I am jealous of you and I am even jealous of your fourteen-year-old cousin because he is with you". He loves the women and he is kind of psychopath about it. Hakkı Bulut is really a funny guy. His looks and his music are kind of weird. (Aydın)

In terms of eating habits most of the respondents have an omnivorous pattern. They like trying world cuisines and exotic dishes. It is obvious that they have a taste for global forms of difference in terms of food. Yet, they also have a taste for classical Turkish casserole food and traditional dishes which belong to the local food culture. Some of them said that they mainly eat out and do not cook at home which is a consequence of their long working hours and socially-active life. Several respondents mentioned that cooking is a hobby for them and they enjoy learning and cooking dishes from the world cuisines at home. Fast food and the food from street vendors are also consumed by the respondents as these are cheap, tasty and time-saving options. For some eating street food such as stuffed mussels and, chickpeas and pilaf present an authentic and exotic feeling, and those are regarded as diversity. In this regard, Nihat, the photographer and art producer from Galata told how eating street food in Beyoğlu is an authentic experience complementing the charm of living in the district:

> Sometimes I eat in a place which is chic and stylish. Sometimes I eat street food... I love chickpeas and pilaf. There is a man with his vendor selling this in Şişhane. After midnight you see a row of well-dressed people near his food vendor waiting to be served chickpeas and pilaf. His food is cheap and maybe dirty but it's really delicious. It might be the vendor that makes it so nice. Eating this food from his vendor, whenever I want late at night or early in the morning is one of the special and authentic things about living here. (Nihat)

Yet, for some other respondents eating from street vendors is an ordinary activity which they do not attribute a special meaning and which they do not perceive as an authentic experience. Here as well, we need to pay attention not only to what is consumed but also to how it is consumed and the meanings attached to the cultural object and the consumption practice in terms of the modes of appreciation and appropriation (Warde et al. 2007; Tampubolon 2008). Inadditon, many respondents are concerned about healthy-eating based on organic food. Several respondents noted that they adopted a vegetarian diet.

In terms of the TV consumption of the gentrifiers many respondents displayed a strong critical attitude towards television in general and national TV channels although I did not observe a unifying attitude pattern. This is related with their general criticism for the popular and mainstream culture. Several of them mentioned that they do not own television sets or that they rarely watch TV, which is a conscious decision to avoid a time-consuming, dull and stupefying activity. Some noted that they do not like watching national TV channels and domestic TV series which are very popular among the Turkish society, and they regard those boring and repetitious. The rejection of national TV channels and domestic TV programs, especially the prime-time TV consisting of the reality shows intending a traditional middle- and lower-class audience can be considered as a boundary-making social practice. That is how the cosmopolitan educated middle-class gentrifiers claim distinction from the locally-identified traditional less-educated social groups. One of the respondents, Ali indicated that he avoids watching TV and said the following:

> TV is the ultimate time-consumers. You just kill your time watching it. Most of the things on TV channels are rubbish. There're just a few TV programs I like such as Okan Bayülgen's show and Yaban's part from Haneler. Okan does a good job by mocking and criticizing the bad stuff on the popular media. The others just stupefy people. I mean the bride and mother-in-law kind of TV shows and all the marriage shows. They are so stupid and so vulgar. They intend to put people to sleep… I prefer listening music instead of watching TV. I have my old long plays and cassettes. And I like listening to the radio, Açık Radyo mostly. (Ali)

However, American TV shows and series, and sit-coms such as Lost, How I Met Your Mother and the Big Bang Theory are popular among the gentrifiers. Besides, several respondents reported that they enjoyed some of the domestic TV shows and series such as "Disko Kralı" and "Bu Kalp Seni Unutur Mu?" which generally have a young educated middle-class audience. With respect to TV consumption I observed a slight omnivorous pattern and the main profile consists of the appreciation of western and American TV series. Yet, some of the respondents such as Faruk, the doctorate student and Güliz, the academician

from Cihangir noted that they both watch foreign and domestic TV series which constitute an omnivorous pattern.

When it comes to the gentrifiers' past-time activities the interviews demonstrated that artistic hobbies such as acting and painting are common among the respondents. However, by far it is photography which is the most popular artistic and leisure activity among the respondents. I asked some of the respondents to talk about what kind of scenes they usually like to photograph. Most of the respondents noted that they like taking pictures in Beyoğlu neighborhoods of the landscape and the social life. Galata and Tarlabaşı are the most appealing neighborhoods in Beyoğlu to be photographed for the respondents. Photography is seen as a way of self expression and a critical and artistic representation of the street life by the respondents. As I have argued in the previous chapters gentrifiers in Beyoğlu consume the historical built environment and the heterogeneous social composition of the district in various ways. Photography as a recreational and artistic activity indicates one of the ways in which Beyoğlu's historical landscape and the socio-cultural diversity it hosts are visually consumed. I argue that it is an aesthetic and sometimes an intellectual form of relationship to space for the gentrifiers whereby they reflect their unique interpretation of the physical, social and cultural environment of the district. When I asked Bekir what are the scenes that he likes to photograph he said:

> I like to capture contrasts and contradicting images. For instance a scene in which you see a young men with pink punk hair style walking across Mısır Apartmanı. Do you know that building? It's such an old one with a very authentic and elegant aura. Taking the picture of the old historical building together with the twenty-first-century punk boy is interesting to me. I like to show these kinds of overlapping and contrasting images which are weird and interesting. (Bekir)

The respondents' interest in the historical fabric of Beyoğlu and the old late nineteenth century buildings which generate a nostalgic sense of place echoes in their taste for old and antique objects, and vintage clothing. Several women respondents mentioned that they liked to wear designer clothes. The respondents' interest in unique clothes, furniture, and

accessories reflect a desire for the stylization and aestheticization of life. This also pertains to a desire for social distinction through the "patina strategy" (McCracken, 1988) as it is in the case of the ownership and appreciation of old housing. Most of the respondents expressed that they sought uniqueness, authenticity, a symbolic value, and a token of history and artistic creativity in their material possessions. In this respect, Ezgi who values old and unique objects said the following:

> I like unique things which are one of a kind. I don't want to have or wear what everyone has or wears. There needs to be something unique, something special about the things I have… I like going to Çukurcuma and looking for old objects. I buy things like vintage sunglasses and bags, and some old objects and accessories. I like the sense of oldness and the things with a history. (Ezgi)

The interviews showed that most of the respondents are characterized by a critical attitude towards and partial rejection of mainstream and popular culture, and middle-class consumerism. They prefer global and local forms of diversity and Western cultural forms. Yet their consumption behavior does not exclude every aspect of the local whereby they take pleasure in consuming various elements of the parochial culture and low-brow cultural forms and practices. The respondents mentioned that they appreciate local tastes, habits and meanings and have a taste for local cultural diversity. For instance a significant group enjoys listening to local types of ethnic music, stylized forms of folk music and arabesk which are considered to be low-brow musical genres, and the Turkish pop songs of the 1970s and the 1980s. Some of the respondents expressed that they like cooking and trying different dishes from the domestic cuisine which are originally not a part of their usual diet and which they find exotic.

Similar to Thompson and Tambyah's (1999) study on the consumption behavior of expatriates in Singapore, gentrifiers in Beyoğlu have a cosmopolitan consumption behavior which resonates with their global and cosmopolitan identity claims as they have a taste for both western, global and local cultural goods and styles. Besides, referring to Peterson and

Simkus's (1992) study, gentrifiers in Beyoğlu display a "cultural omnivore" character as they consume low-brow and popular culture together with high-brow or elite cultural products. Bennett and his fellow authors (2009) claimed that the educated middle class subjects "seek to position themselves through demonstrating competence in handling a diversity of cultural products" rather than simply articulating distinction from the working class through their command of high-culture goods (p. 178). This is pretty much the case for the omnivorous gentrifiers as they have an interest in a broad range of cultural products including high- and low-brow, and local and global ones. Their cosmopolitan consumption pattern is bilateral as they appreciate both global and local forms of difference and both low-brow and high-brow culture. Yet, I observed that the respondents have ways for claiming a distinct sophisticated and reflexive subjectivity and maintaining their distance with lower classes and the mainstream culture (Holt, 1998). They consume low-brow cultural goods and styles in a mocking and sarcastic manner, attribute authentic meanings to them, or profess connoisseurship about them to achieve class distinction (Holt 1998). That is, as Tampubolon (2008) argues, we need to pay attention to how goods are consumed and the modes of appreciation and appropriation by different social classes. Overall as Featherstone argues gentrifiers in Beyoğlu embrace a "postmodern culture" referring to "a more relativistic and pluralist situation in which the excluded, the strange, the other, the vulgar which were previously excluded can now be allowed in" (p. 106). Hence particular forms of cultural capital which were deemed to be illegitimate are now sources of prestige and symbolic hierarchy for gentrifiers.

Another common point that should be re-emphasized is that most of the respondents' consumption patterns reflect a desire for the aestheticization and stylization of life. As they customize and personalize their consumption patterns they stylize their self-images and claim a distinct subjectivity (Lury, 1996). This consumption profile is marked by a symbolic

economy in which nostalgic, authentic, unique and culturally meaningful goods are valued and appreciated together with the physical environment of Beyoğlu. The cosmopolitan and omnivorous consumption behavior of gentrifiers is marked by an aesthetic reflexivity indicating a consciousness of the self which attributes personal meanings to consumption for stylizing one's lifestyle (Chaney, 1996).

CONCLUSION

In this study I have tried to delineate the metropolitan habitus of gentrifiers in Istanbul's urban core, Beyoğlu which is a cosmopolitan lifestyle center having a dynamic cultural life and a heterogeneous social composition. The gentrifiers in Beyoğlu who are a high-cultural-capital group, are mostly employed in social and cultural professions and belong to the growing new middle class population of Turkey. Through studying their metropolitan habitus I attempted to explore the interplay of identity, space and consumption in Beyoğlu.

I conducted the analysis by focusing on three interrelated fields. First I analyzed the motivations for gentrification and the meanings associated with Beyoğlu by looking at the ways in which the district is constructed in the respondents' narratives in order to comprehend their place-based strategies for identity construction. Secondly I presented their attitudes towards and interactions with diversity in terms of the lower-income incumbent residents in their neighborhoods and other disadvantaged and marginalized populations in the district. Thirdly I explored gentrifiers' consumption practices in relation to Beyoğlu and their overall consumption patterns, taste, and lifestyle preferences. As I have argued, my goal was to explore the interplay of place, identity and consumption in Beyoğlu whereby gentrifiers produce symbolic boundaries with certain groups, articulate their social distinction and make particular claims about their identity. The study mainly showed that cosmopolitanism indicating openness to, tolerance for, and an interest in diversity emerged as one of the defining characteristics of the gentrifiers. It is prevalent in their constructions of Beyoğlu, attitudes towards diversity, and their taste and consumption patterns. However, the cosmopolitan attitude has limits and problematic aspects which I tried to discuss wihin the scope of this study.

1. Summary of Findings

This study suggests that the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu share a metropolitan habitus which is characterized by an appreciation of Beyoğlu's historical fabric, the dynamic and variegated social and cultural life, and the diversity it involves; varying degrees of openness to and tolerance for difference; and a globally- and western-oriented but also cosmopolitan and omnivorous consumption profile. I observed that the respondents invest in and claim a cosmopolitan identity through their residential and lifestyle preferences. Their interest in diversity is also manifest in their omnivorous consumption patterns. However, their cosmopolitan attitude indicating an openness to and tolerance for diversity has limits and paradoxical aspects which need to be problematized as I tried to succeed in this study. That is, the cosmopolitan attitude is selective and does not bring an inclusionary vision for all forms of difference. Besides, it might be consumption-oriented as it does not pertain to a deeper understanding of and a sustainable relationship with difference. The respondents produce symbolic boundaries with the traditional middle class and the conservative low cultural-capital groups having local and national identifications. In this respect, although they interact with diversity in various ways and degrees social mixing is limited and not much pervasive between the middle-class gentrifiers and the lower-income groups in Beyoğlu At times the gentrifiers' relationship with diversity might be consumption-oriented.

One of the major arguments of this study is that gentrification which is a form of consumption and an aesthetic experience in relation to space, is a way to articulate cultural capital and social distinction for the Beyoğlu gentrifiers. Here, cosmopolitanism as a part of the respondents' self image is sometimes used as a tool to claim distinction from the traditional middle classes and the mainstream cultural orientations and standards.

This study also showed that the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu are not a homogenous group and there are differences in terms of the meanings they attribute to Beyoğlu and the

characteristics they value about the district, their attitudes towards diversity and their constructions of difference, and their lifestyle and consumption preferences. Those differences cannot solely be explained by socio-economic status, age and occupation although they have a role in certain divergent patterns in line with the findings of Butler and Robson's (2003) study. Worldview and affect are also important factors shaping the perceptions, and social and cultural behavior of the gentrifiers.

Now, I would like to be more specific about and elaborate on the findings of this study. In the first part I attempted to depict how gentrifiers construct the image of Beyoğlu and how they experience the inner-city living. The variegated cultural and entertainment infrastructure in Beyoğlu, and the vibrant cultural life constitute the major factors for most of the respondents' residential preference. Beyoğlu and its neighborhoods present nostalgic, exotic, cosmopolitan and global senses of place for the respondents. Yet, the less-gentrified neighborhoods, especially Tarlabaşı, are constructed as unsafe and dangerous environments in some of the gentrifiers' narratives.

Gentrifiers meet their needs and desires in Beyoğlu for leading a distinct lifestyle and maintaining distinction from the traditional middle classes and the groups with low cultural capital. Living in Beyoğlu is related with a desire for stylization and aestheticization of life as the district offers a rich historical and cultural fabric, and an artistic and bohemian social setting. The possibility of alternative experiences and encounters with different social groups, make Beyoğlu an exciting and alluring setting for most of the respondents. Besides, living in Beyoğlu is constructed as a reflexive and critical social practice by the gentrifiers through which they mark their symbolic boundaries. The gentrifiers draw boundaries with the traditional and suburban middle classes with low cultural capital, and with the mainstream consumerism. Most of the respondents expressed their distaste and criticism for traditional lifestyles, conservatism, religious bigotry, sexism, and nationalism. Living in Beyoğlu, mostly

due to the district's historical value, active cultural life, and social diversity is presented as the indicator of an alternative and critical lifestyle.

In terms of the gentrifiers' attitudes towards diversity, this study showed that the gentrifiers in Beyoğlu have a cosmopolitan and multicultural outlook although it is problematic with certain respects. The respondents mostly identified with leftist and progressive politics. Most of the respondents expressed that they tolerated and favored diversity. A small group of respondents displayed a strong non-tolerant attitude towards the lower- and working class people, ethnic groups, and the transgender people. In general, I found that most respondents' openness to and appreciation of diversity does not involve all forms of difference. Their cosmopolitan attitude has limits and paradoxical aspects. Gentrifiers usually expressed feelings of fear and distaste for the lower- and working-class young males living in and using Beyoğlu. Some of them disliked the Kurdish migrants. They also have distaste for religious and conservative social groups in Beyoğlu, and their rural-migrant neighbors. The cosmopolitan attitude tends to be stronger at a rhetorical and ideological level while the respondents actually dislike and produce boundaries with certain social groups with lower socio-economic status and local/traditional identifications.

The gentrifiers' interactions with different social groups are usually narrow and incomprehensive. Although the respondents socialize with people from disadvantaged and marginalized social groups, their usual friendship networks include people with whom they share a similar composition of economic and cultural capital. My argument is that social mixing between the educated middle class gentrifiers and the disadvantaged and marginalized residents of Beyoğlu is relatively limited and non-sustainable at times. Yet, still it is not missing by any means contrary to Butler's (2003) findings. Moreover, I argue that gentrifiers claim cosmopolitan identity which distinguish themselves and indicate social status as they articulate openness to and desire for difference. This cosmopolitan identity and their

interactions with people from different social backgrounds are used by the gentrifiers to claim disitinction from traditional and suburban middle classes.

Another finding about the gentrifiers' attitudes towards diversity is that their interactions with different social and cultural groups are consumption-oriented in some cases. This form of an interaction does not generate a deeper understanding of and a sustainable relationship with diversity. The respondents' desire in seeing and/or interacting with different social groups may pertain to superficial and limited encounters with difference, and consumption o difference for pleasure in search of an authentic and exotic experience.

The interviews showed that the consumption patterns and lifestyle preferences of the respondents are usually western-oriented and affected by global cultural trends. Besides, their consumption profile also displays a cosmopolitan and omnivorous character whereby they appreciate and consume both global and local and both low-brow and high-brow cultural goods and styles. Yet, their consumption behavior still pertains to a desire for distinction from the mainstream and popular culture. This distinct profile contributes to the production of class boundaries with lower classes and the traditional middle class. That is, the ways in which they consume low-class and popular cultures and the meanings they attribute to these cultural forms, constitute a strategy for maintaining social distinction. Most of the respondents' consumption profiles reflect a desire for aestheticization and stylization of life as they seek nostalgic, unique, and authentic experiences through their consumption of difference, and Beyoğlu's historical and cultural fabric. The respondents' lifestyle preferences revealed that most of them have concerns about personal health and environmental issues. They are conscious about consuming ecological and organic products, and they follow the new ideas on exercise and well-being. Consequently retail gentrification, in line with the consumption practices and lifestyle preferences of the gentrifiers, accompanies residential gentrification in the gentrified and gentrifying Beyoğlu neighborhoods such as Cihangir and Galata.

All in all the gentrification practice and the gentrifiers' lifestyle preferences, worldview, and consumption behavior reflect a cosmopolitan mindset which indicates openness to, tolerance for, and an interest in difference. The gentrifiers' inclusionary attitude towards socio-cultural diversity is undeniable. Yet, this might be narrow, superficial and tends to be stronger at the discursive level. This cosmopolitan position also contributes to the maintenance of class boundaries as gentrifiers draw boundaries with the traditional and suburban middle classes, the groups with local identifications, and the traditional, mainstream, and popular cultures in Turkey. Many respondents are critical about middle-class consumerism and they articulated their boundaries with consumerist upper classes. The gentrifiers have negative views about certain social groups living in and using Beyoğlu such as the lower and working-class young male population, and the traditional and religious rural migrants. I argue that the cosmopolitan attitude of gentrifiers has limits and problematic aspects. Moreover, I claim that the cosmopolitan attitude itself becomes an important element of the distinction strategy of the educated middle class gentrifiers in Beyoğlu through which they articulate their difference from and boundaries with the mainstream culture.

2. Contribution to the Literature

This study contributes to both the gentrification literature and the literatures on the new middle class, consumption and lifestyle. It is significant in terms of combining gentrification studies and cultural studies by exploring the taste, dispositions, perceptions, and the social and cultural behavior of the gentrifier population in Beyoğlu. Although there are studies focusing on the habitus of the gentrifiers in the Global North (such as Caulfield, 1994; Ley, 1996; May, 1996; Butler, 1997; Rofe, 2003; Butler and Robson, 2003) in Turkey as a part of the global South this sort of studies are very limited. The results show that the Beyoğlu gentrifiers are similar to their counterparts in the advanced capitalist countries in many respects. They have cosmopolitan and multicultural views and a desire in difference. Yet,

contrary to Caulfield's (1994) argument, gentrification in Beyoğlu does not emerge as an emancipatory practice generating a deeper understanding and appreciation of diversity, and social mixing. The experience of gentrification involves the exclusionary understandings and intolerance towards various forms of difference although gentrifiers express a cosmopolitan attitude at a discursive level. This point has been observed by several scholars studying the social and cultural behavior of gentrifiers in the advanced capitalist cities (May, 1996; Butler, 2003; Rofe, 2003; Young et al., 2006). My findings verify Podmore's (1998) argument that gentrifiers in different parts of the world share a similar metropolitan habitus in terms of their liberal worldview, an interest for aestheticization of life, a desire for distinction, and an appreciation of difference along with the symbolic boundaries they produce vis-à-vis certain social groups.

However, the findings do not strictly hold with Butler's (2003) and Butler and Robson's (2003) conclusion that gentrifiers live in a segregated social environment without interacting with the lower-class incumbent residents. In spite of the fact that the gentrifiers have limited encounters with different social groups, social mixing is not totally missing in Beyoğlu. Many respondents mentioned that they interacted with diversity although those relationships are usually limited and/or non-sustainable. This can be considered as a distinguishing feature of the gentrification experience in Beyoğlu. This divergence might be related with some of the demographic differences between the Beyoğlu gentrifiers and the Londoner gentrifiers studied by Butler and Robson. The gentrifiers I study are a younger cohort. They are usually not married and without children. Compared to the Londoner gentrifiers they have less stable living arrangements and lower economic capital. Many of them are tenants living in the same buildings with their lo-income neighbors. Those differences could make the Beyoğlu gentrifiers less concerned about social segregation. They might have contributed to the development of a relatively closer relationship between my

respondents and the disadvantaged and marginalized social groups in the district. The dissimilarity between the cases of London and Beyoğlu establishes Ley's (1996) point that one needs to concern "geograhies of gentrification" rather than assuming a unifying gentrification experience across cities and countries.

My study also contributes to the literature as I present an in-depth account of gentrifiers' ethos and habitus. I conducted an extensive exploration of the gentrifiers' lifestyle preferences and consumption profile focusing on their taste patterns in multiple fields such as musical and TV consumption. A unique contribution of this study is to combine the literatures on gentrification and cultural consumption, especially the literature on cultural omnivorousness. The omnivores are identified to be a culturally elite and well-educated middle- and upper-class population (Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996; Bennett et al. 2009). In this study, I identified the Beyoğlu gentrifiers as a cultural omnivore group since they have a diversified taste and consumption pattern involving both high- and low-brow, and both local and global/western cultural goods and styles.

This study is also significant to the literature on the Turkish new middle classes which lacks empirical studies on their worldview, lifestyles, and consumption preferences. Several studies on the cultural world of the new middle class focus on the suburban middle class (Öncü, 1997; Ayata, 2002; Danış and Pérouse, 2005). My study is significant as it attempts to delineate the ethos and habitus of the gentrifying new middle class which is a well-educated urban population mostly employed in cultural and artistic professions.

3. Further Research

In this study I observed that gentrifiers have an omnivorous consumption profile. In the light of the findings of previous studies on gentrifiers, this argument can be generalized to the gentrifier populations in different geographies. In this regard, one of my suggestions for further research is the examination of cultural omnivore thesis for the gentrifier populations in

different contexts. This sort of studies may speak to the shortage in the gentrification literature about the research focusing on the consumption and taste patterns of gentrifiers.

Another suggestion is related with one of the shortcomings of this research. Within the confines of this study, I am only concerned with one side of the picture as I focus on the perceptions and practices of gentrifiers. I have not studied the incumbent residents of gentrifying neighborhoods and the lower-income populations living in Beyoğlu. Further research may examine how gentrification is experienced by the incumbent residents and the disadvantaged and marginalized groups in Beyoğlu with respect to their attitudes towards and interactions with the new-comer gentrifiers.

My field research revealed that expatriates have an important role in the gentrification process of Beyoğlu. Along with the Turkish cultural new class, expatriates are also attracted to the vivacious and vibrant life in Beyoğlu, the abundance and diversity of the cultural and entertainment venues, the social and cultural diversity, and the aesthetic and historical value of the district. Their experiences in the district, motivations for gentrification, and their perceptions of and interactions with the local population constitute some of the subjects to be studied for further research. A study on whether social mixing occurs between expatriates the local residents of Beyoğlu enhances the knowledge on Beyoğlu's gentrification. Besides, the social and cultural behavior of expatriate gentrifiers might be compared to the domestic gentrifiers.

Finally, I suggest a research on the gentrification of popular and low-brow cultural goods and styles such as arabesk. My study shows that gentrifiers are also the consumers of arabesk being a gentrifying musical genre. There may be a study exploring how arabesk is constructed and consumed by the educated urban middle class audience who develop a distinctive taste for the genre in the recent years.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

- Kaç yaşındasınız?
- *How old are you?*

- Nerede doğdunuz? Kaç yıldır Istanbul'da yaşıyorsunuz?
- *Where were you born? For how many years have you been in Beyoğlu?*

- Eğitim durumunuz nedir, hangi okullarda okudunuz? Lise, lisans eğitimi ve varsa yüksek lisans/doktora eğitiminin alındığı kurumlar.
- *What is your education level? Which schools did you attend?*

- Mesleğiniz nedir, nerede çalışıyorsunuz? Yaptığınız işi anlatır mısınız?
- *What is your occupation, where do you work? Can you talk about your job?*

- Ne zamandır bu evde yaşıyorsunuz? Daha önce nerelerde oturdunuz?
- *How long have you been living in this house? Where did you live previously?*

- Eşiniz ya da birlikte yaşadığınız bir partneriniz var mı? Çocuklarınız var mı? Onlardan bahseder misiniz?
- *Do you have a partner or spouse whom you live together? Do you have children?*

- Çocukluğunuzdan bahseder misiniz? Mesela anne ve babanızın eğitim durumunu ve mesleklerini öğrenebilir miyim?
- *Can you talk about your childhood? What is the occupation and education levels of your mother and father?*

*

- Neden bu mahallede/semtte oturmayı tercih ettiniz? (işyerinize ya da şehir merkezine olan yakınlık, ev kiralarının ucuzluğu, arkadaş çevrenizin burada bulunması, bu bölgenin sunduğu kültürel imkânlar, sosyo-kültürel çeşitlilik, vs.)
- *Why did you prefer to live in this neighborhood? (proximity to your work or city center, low rents, your friends living in the neighborhood, the cultural amenities, diversity, etc.)*

- Eviniz size mi ait, mi kira mı? Tadilat yaptırdınız mı, ya da evi aldığınızda/ kiraladığınızda tadilat görmüş halde miydi? Tadilat yaptırırken nelere özen gösterdiniz? Bu bölgede nasıl evleri beğeniyorsunuz (iç ve dış özellikleri bakımından)?
- *Do you own your apartment or are you a tenant? Did you renovate your apartment or was it renovated? What were your concerns while renovating your apartment? What kind of apartments do you like in Beyoğlu (in terms of interior and exterior characteristics)?*

- Oturduğunuz mahalleyi/ semti nasıl tanımlarsınız? Burada yaşamanın sizin için iyi ve kötü yanlarından bahseder misiniz?
- *How do you define your neighborhood? What are the pros and cons of living here?*

    - Sizce bu mahallede/ semtte oturmanın tehlikeleri var mı?
    - *Do you think living in this neighborhood and Beyoğlu have particular dangers?*

- Burada yaşamaya başladığınızdan beri başınıza, taciz, kapkaç, hırsızlık (evinizin soyulması, yankesicilik) tarzı bir olay geldi mi? Ya da herhangi bir yakınınızın, arkadaşınızın? Ya da çevrenizde bu bölgede yaşanmış bu tarz bir saldırı olayı anlatıldı mı?
- *Have you experienced an assault, theft, burglary or harassment since you moved to Beyoğlu? Or have any of your friends living here? Or have you heard such stories?*

- Mahallenin ya da bu semtin yerlileriyle ilişkiniz var mı? Görüştüğünüz, arkadaşlık yaptığınız kimseler var mı? Varsa onlardan bahsedebilir misiniz?
- *Do you interact with the local residents of your neighborhood? Are there people from the neighborhood which you regularly meet and be friends with? Can you talk about those people?*

- Mahallenizde (ya da apartmanınızda) komşuluk ilişkileri nasıl? Komşularınızla görüşüyor musunuz? Ne sıklıkla?
- *How are the neighborhood relations in your building and neighborhood? Do you meet and visit your neighbors? How often?*

- Beyoğlu'nun genelinde farklı sosyo-ekonomik düzeylerden, etnik ve kültürel gruplardan insanlar yaşıyor ve çalışıyor (mesela kent yoksulları, Kürtler ve Romanlar, travesti ve transeksüeller gibi). Bu gruplar hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
- *Beyoğlu involves people from different walks of life such as the urban poor, Kurds, the Roma people and the transgender communities. What do you think about those diverse populations which Beyoğlu hosts?*

    - Buraya yerleştikten sonra bu gruplarla ilgili algınızda, hayat görüşünüzde, hayata ve topluma bakışınızda ne gibi değişiklikler oldu?
    - *Is there a change about your views and attitudes towards those groups after you moved in Beyoğlu?*

- Bu gruplarla iletişiminiz var mı ya da bu gruplardan arkadaşlarınız var mı? Varsa onlardan bahseder misiniz? Mesela nasıl tanıştınız, ne sıklıkla, nerelerde görüşüyorsunuz?
- *Do you interact with people from those groups and do you make friends with them? If so, can you talk about them? How did you meet? How often do you see each other? Where do you meet?*

- Çocuğunuzun burada büyümesini ister misiniz? Beyoğlu sizce çocuk büyütmek için uygun mu?
- *Do you want to raise your child in Beyoğlu? Do you think Beyoğlu is suitable for raising children?*

*
- Eğlenmek için dışarı çıkar mısınız? Nerelere gidersiniz, nasıl mekânları tercih edersiniz? Haftada kaç akşam dışarı çıkarsınız?
- *Do you go out for entertainment? Where do you go? What kinds of places do you prefer? How many nights do you go out?*

- Dışarıda yemek yediğinizde nasıl lokantaları tercih edersiniz? Dünya mutfaklarına ilginiz var mı? Farklı yemekler denemeyi sever misiniz?

- *When you dine out what kind of restaurants do you prefer? Do you have an interest in world cuisines? Do you like trying different dishes?*

- Evde yemek pişirir misiniz? Nasıl yemekler yaparsınız?
- *Do you cook at home? What kinds of dishes do you cook?*

- Ne tür müzikleri dinlemekten hoşlanırsınız? Ne tür müzikleri sevmezsiniz? Bu müzik türleri sizin için ne ifade ediyor?
- *What kinds of music do you like? What kinds of music do you dislike? Can you talk about those musical genres, what do you like/dislike about them?*

    - Arabesk, Roman müzikleri ve/veya halk müziği dinler misiniz? Bu tarz müzikler sizin için ne ifade ediyor? Müslüm Gürses ve müzikal kariyeri hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
    - *Do you listen to arabesk, the Roma music and/or folk music? What do you think about these genres? What do you think about Müslüm Gürses and his musical career?*

- Müzik dinlemek için Beyoğlu ve çevresindeki kulüplere ve konser salonlarına gider misiniz?
- *Do you go to the nightclubs and concert and performance halls in Beyoğlu?*

- Beyoğlu'ndaki veya mahallenizdeki festivallere katılır mısınız (film, müzik, vs.)? Bunları nasıl buluyorsunuz?
- *Do you attend the festivals which are held in Beyoğlu and in your neighborhood? What do you think about those?*

- Tiyatro ve sinemaya gider misiniz? Ne sıklıkla?
- *Do you go to stage plays and cinema? How often?*

- Beyoğlu'nda yaşam, kültür sanat etkinlikleri ve eğlence ile ilgili haberler veren, sizin takip ettiğiniz dergi ya da internet siteleri var mı?
- *Do you follow specific magazines and/or web-sites giving information about the cultural and artistic events and entertainment in Beyoğlu?*

- Dizi izliyor musunuz? Takip ettiğiniz yerli ve yabancı diziler ve televizyon programları nelerdir? Neden bu TV dizilerini, programlarını beğeniyorsunuz?
- *Do you watch TV series? What are the foreign and domestic TV series and shows do you follow? Why do you like those?*

- Nerelerden alışveriş yaparsınız (yeme-içme, ev alışverişi, giyim kuşam)?
- *Where do you shop (food, household items and clothing)?*

- Boş vakitlerinizde düzenli olarak katıldığınız bir sosyal/sanatsal etkinlik ya da kurs var mı? Bunlardan bahseder misiniz?
- *Is there a social/artistic/sportive activity or a hobby class you attend in your free time?*

- Daha önce yetenek veya beceri kurslarına katıldınız mı? Katıldıysanız bunlar ne tür kurslardı?
- *Have you ever attended any hobby classes? Can you talk about them?*

- Gönüllü olarak çalıştığınız herhangi bir sivil toplum kuruluşu var mı? Varsa orada nasıl faaliyetlerde bulunuyorsunuz?
- *Is there a civil society organization that you volunteer in? If so, what kind of activities do you do as a volunteer?*

*

- Beyoğlu sizin için ne ifade ediyor? Beyoğlu'nu nasıl tanımlarsınız?
- *What does Beyoğlu mean to you? How do you describe Beyoğlu?*

- Beyoğlu'na ilişkin neleri olumlu ve olumsuz buluyorsunuz? Beyoğlu'nda sizi mutlu ve mutsuz eden olaylar, durumlar, şeyler nelerdir?
- *What are the things that you like and dislike about living in Beyoğlu? What are the things that make you happy and unhappy here?*

- Beyoğlu'nda sizi tedirgin eden, ürküten yerler, kimseler, durumlar var mı?
- *Are there things, places, people and circumstances that make you feel uneasy and nervous in Beyoğlu?*

- Beyoğlu'nda görmekten keyif aldığınız, buraya yakıştığını düşündüğünüz insanlar kimlerdir? Bu insanlardan bahseder misiniz?
- *How are the people whom you like to see in Beyoğlu and whom you think fit with the image of the district? Can you describe these people?*

- Beyoğlu'nda görmek istemediğiniz, bu çevreye yakışmadığını düşündüğünüz insanlar var mı? Onlardan bahseder misiniz?
- *How are the people whom you don not like to see in Beyoğlu and whom you think do not fit with the image of the district? Can you describe these people?*

- Beyoğlu geçmişi boyunca ve bugün de pek çok farklı dinden, kültürden ve sosyo-ekonomik düzeyden insanlara ev sahipliği yapmış ve hâlen de bu özelliğini koruyor (geçmişte Rumlar, Ermeniler gibi; bugün de Romanlar, Kürtler, Afrikalılar, travesti ve transeksüeller gibi). Bu durumu nasıl buluyorsunuz? Bu farklı kültürlere ve yaşam tarzlarına ilginiz var mı? Mesela Beyoğlu'nun ya da yaşadığınız bölgenin tarihine, burada eskiden yaşamış olan gayrimüslüm grupların kültürüne ilgi duyuyor musunuz?
- *Since old times Beyoğlu has hosted people from different religions, cultures and socio-economic backgrounds (in the past Rums, Armenians; today the Roma people, Kurdish people, African immigrants, transgender people, etc.). What do you think about this heterogeneous demographic composition? Do you have an interest in the different cultures which the district hosts? For instance do you have an interest in Beyoğlu's and your neighborhood's history and the old residents of the district being mostly the non-Muslims?*

- Tarlabaşı Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi hakkında bilginiz var mı? Bu konu hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
- *Have you heard of the Tarlabaşı urban transformation project? What do you think about the project?*

APENDIX 2: RESPONDENT LIST

#	Name	Occupation	Neighborhood	Age	Rent/ Property value	Years in Beyoğlu
1	SERKAN	Public relations specialists	Cihangir	26	Renter 900 TL	2
2	MELDA	Lawyer	Aynalıçeşme	29	Owner 70.000 TL	3
3	ATA	IT operator and bar manager	Tarlabaşı	38	R 500 TL	5
4	NALAN	Real estate agent	Cihangir	-	-	-
5	AYŞE	Management secretary	Cihangir	33	R 1500 TL	6
6	AYDIN	Art director, photographer	Galata	31	R 1000 TL	12
7	AYCAN	Journalist	Tarlabaşı	41	R 1000 TL	1
8	OSMAN	Engineer	Çukurcuma	25	R 1400 TL	2
9	MERYEM	Stockbroker	Cihangir	28	R 1550 TL	2
10	GÜLAY	Part-time translator	Aynalıçeşme	30	O 47.000 TL	3
11	MEHMET	Retired military officer and PHD student	Aynalıçeşme	44	O	3
12	MELİKE	Bank employee	Cihangir	23	R 800 TL	1
13	AYSU	Scriptwriter for TV	Cihangir	28	R 750 TL	4
14	DİLEK	Actor	Galata	35	R 1000 TL	10
15	TURGUT	Actor and director	Galata	45	R 1000 TL	12
16	YEŞİM	Commercial director	Aynalıçeşme	26	R 1500 TL	2
17	MERT	Real estate developer, dubbing actor	Galata	37	O ?	7
18	BEKİR	Lawyer	Cihangir	30	R 1850 TL	9
19	GÜLİZ	Academician	Cihangir	33	O 650.000 $	7
20	ELİF	Customer representative and part-time yoga and reiki teacher	Galata	29	R 500 TL	3
21	ALİ	Painting artist	Galata	49	R 1500 TL	5
22	SEMİH	University student and works part-time	Galata	22	R 350 TL	1

23	MİNE	Owner of an education and career consultancy firm	Cihangir	31	O ?	13
24	CAN	Wall-painting artist and kindergarten owner	Cihangir	38	R 750 TL	5
25	NİL	Café owner	Cihangir	39	R 1250 TL	5
26	EMİR	Banking manager	Cihangir	41	O ?	6
27	FARUK	PHD student and gives private lessons	Çukurcuma	26	R 1400 TL	1
28	YELDA	Journalist, columnist	Galata	56	O 23.000 mark	15
29	YASİN	University student and works part-time	Galata	22	R 1250 TL	4
30	VELİ	Nightclub owner	Çukurcuma	29	R 1400 TL	6
31	HAZAL	Web-designer and hosts a radio show	Çukurcuma	32	R	10
32	EZGİ	Currently unemployed	Cihangir	29	R 1250 TL	10
33	AKIN	Actor	Cihangir	41	R 1600 TL	3
34	ASIM	Scriptwriter for TV	Cihangir	28	R 600 TL	3
35	ESRİN	Architect	Galata	55	O	16
36	DERYA	Associate director	Aynalıçeşme	33	O 190.000 TL	8
37	NİHAT	Photographer and art producer	Galata	46	R 1450 TL	8
38	HALDUN	Real estate agent	-	-	-	-