

**DYNAMICS OF GENTRIFICATION IN A
SEASHORE TOWN:
THE CASE OF ALAÇATI, İZMİR**

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**by
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ABSTRACT

DYNAMICS OF GENTRIFICATION IN A SEASHORE TOWN: THE CASE OF ALAÇATI, İZMİR

This thesis examines the dynamics of the gentrification processes in Alaçatı (İzmir). The dynamics are the economic, political and social factors, the actors (the gentrifiers, the local people, the financial capital and the state) and the economic, social and physical impacts of gentrification. Compared to the cases in İstanbul and Ankara, Alaçatı as a small seashore town presents new insights about gentrification processes in Turkey. Based on the political-economic approaches, this thesis assumes that the capitalist accumulation processes since the 1980s in Turkey affect the process of gentrification in Alaçatı. My interviews with groups of residents in Alaçatı provided the study data.

Study findings suggest that along with the public interventions, Alaçatı experienced a shift from agriculture to tourism, which attracted a group of pioneer gentrifiers and then other gentrifiers with high income from metropolitan cities who were searching for a small-town-living and jobs in tourism sector. This process affected economic, social and physical space of Alaçatı positively and negatively.

ÖZET

BİR SAHİL KASABASINDA SOYLULAŞTIRMA DİNAMİKLERİ: ALAÇATI ÖRNEĞİ, İZMİR

Bu tez soylulaştırma sürecinin dinamiklerini Alaçatı (İzmir) örneğinde incelemektedir. Soylulaştırma dinamikleri, soylulaştırmaya neden olan ekonomik, politik ve sosyal faktörler, aktörler (soylulaştırıcılar, yerel halk, konut piyasasındaki finansal sermaye ve devlet) ve soylulaştırmanın ekonomik, sosyal ve fiziksel etkileridir. İstanbul ve Ankara örnekleri ile karşılaştırıldığında, küçük bir sahil kasabası olarak Alaçatı Türkiye'deki soylulaştırma süreçlerine ilişkin yeni kavrayışlar sunmaktadır. Politik-ekonomik yaklaşımları temel alan bu tez çalışması Türkiye'de 1980'lerden beri süregelen kapitalist birikim süreçlerinin Alaçatı'daki soylulaştırma sürecinde etkili olduğu varsayımında bulunmaktadır Alaçatı'da yaşayan farklı gruplarla yaptığım mülakatlar çalışmanın ana verisini oluşturmaktadır.

Çalışmanın bulguları kamu müdahaleleriyle beraber, Alaçatı'nın tarımdan turizm sektörüne geçişi deneyimlediğini ve bunun ilk önce metropoliten kentlerde yaşayan bir grup öncü soylulaştırıcıyı, ardından da küçük kasaba yaşamı ve turizm sektöründeki yeni iş arayışında olan yüksek gelirli diğer soylulaştırıcıları çektiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Bu soylulaştırma süreci Alaçatı'nın ekonomik, sosyal ve fiziksel mekanında bir çok olumlu ve olumsuz etki yaratmıştır.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Research Questions

This thesis focuses on the dynamics of the gentrification process in a seashore town, in Alaçatı, İzmir. Gentrification is the in-movement of the people with higher income and education levels to the lower income and/or historical inner-city neighborhoods, which is followed by the physical upgrading and social, economic and demographic changes in these neighborhoods. This thesis considers the dynamics of gentrification as (i) the factors and (ii) the actors leading to gentrification and also (iii) the impacts of this process on that neighborhood or the locale. Drawing from my site observations and my in-depth interviews with various actors in Alaçatı, this thesis examines what kind of (economic, political and social) factors and the actors (basically the gentrifiers, local people, financial capital in the housing market, local and central state) have driven the gentrification process with what kind of reasons, motivations and resources. Also, it explores the impacts of the gentrification process in Alaçatı on the economic, social and physical space of this town.

In the last 40 years worldwide, the process of gentrification has been an important topic for the scholars, policy makers, and the practitioners in urban planning and urban design as well as in other disciplines. Thus studying the dynamics of the gentrification process is important for both the urban studies, policies and practices. For the urban studies, the process of gentrification firstly affects the theories about neighborhood change and secondly the way we understand the socio-spatial changes in the neo-liberal era after the 1970s. For the urban policies and practices, the process of gentrification is important because firstly the gentrification processes evolve in relation to the strategies and tools for the neighborhood regeneration, revitalization, renewal, neighborhood sustainability, economic vitality, social justice and equity discussions (Atkinson, 2003). Secondly the gentrification processes affect the role of the planners in the formation of the gentrification process and at the minimization of its negative

impacts. Moreover, the gentrification processes have been an integral part of the “urban transformation projects”¹ in Turkey especially after the 1980s (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007). Also, studying the dynamics of the gentrification processes in a seashore town in Turkey is important for the Turkish gentrification literature and for the urban planning and design practices in Turkey. Most of the gentrification studies about Turkey focus on the gentrification cases in İstanbul. There is hardly any scholarly work about the gentrification processes in the small seashore towns of Turkey, whereas the policies and practices related to tourism development in Turkey have been targeting very much and firstly such small towns.

Alaçatı is used to be a small seashore town in İzmir and had a population of about 7.000 until the mid-1990s. Since two decades, however, this town has been experiencing a gentrification process at which especially the center of the town has new social, demographic, economic and also physical changes.

The following questions have guided my research about the dynamics of gentrification in Alaçatı, İzmir:

- i) What are the economic, political, social factors driving the process of gentrification in Alaçatı?
- ii) Who are the actors (here basically the gentrifiers, the locals, the financial capital in the housing market and the central and local state) of the gentrification process in Alaçatı?
- iii) What are the impacts of the gentrification process in and on Alaçatı?

The gentrification literatures in the Western contexts and also Turkey provide important insights for my study at the investigation of these questions. There are two main approaches explaining the factors leading gentrification process. The ecological explanations consider the process of gentrification as a part of the human ecology approaches to urban space, mostly by the Chicago School of Sociology. The political-economic explanations see the process of gentrification as a result of the activities in the

¹ In Turkey, the term “urban transformation” is generally used as instead of urban regeneration and renewal projects.

housing market and the lifestyle preferences of the “new middle class.” The political economic explanations fall into two groups as the “economic view” and the “socio-cultural and demographic view.” The economic view explains the gentrification from a Marxist-structural viewpoint focusing on the capital, production and supply mechanisms of the housing market. The socio-cultural and demographic view explains the gentrification from a liberal humanistic viewpoint emphasizing culture, consumption and demand mechanisms.

Moreover, there are four main groups in the explanation of the actors of the gentrification process: the gentrifiers, the local people, the financial capital in the housing market, and the local and the central state. Also, the literature defines the impacts of the gentrification process on that locale with various positive and negative impacts on the economic, social and physical space of the locale.

My study uses these points in the literature to interpret the dynamics of gentrification in a seashore town, in Alaçatı, İzmir. I compare the Western and Turkish gentrification literatures with the case of Alaçatı from the data that I acquired from my field work in Alaçatı between June and September of the 2011.

1.2. Study Methods for Data Collection

This study conducts archival sources and ethnographic methods to collect data. In the archival sources, I had a literature review about the dynamics of the gentrification process at different contexts. Accordingly, I reviewed the gentrification literature in the Western contexts because the processes of and the scholarly works about the gentrification started in especially North America and England. Then I reviewed the gentrification literature about Turkey. In order to collect data for the historical and spatial context of Alaçatı, I reviewed published materials about Alaçatı, such as books, articles, dissertations, local newspapers and magazines, statistical documents, reports, brochures, and internet sources.

In the ethnographic methods, I conducted site observations and developed in-depth interviews with various groups in the town center of Alaçatı between June and September of the 2011. The details about the research methods of the data collection

for the study site are given in Chapter 5, the Study Methods and Study Site. Figure 1 below summarizes the research design process of the data collection for this study:

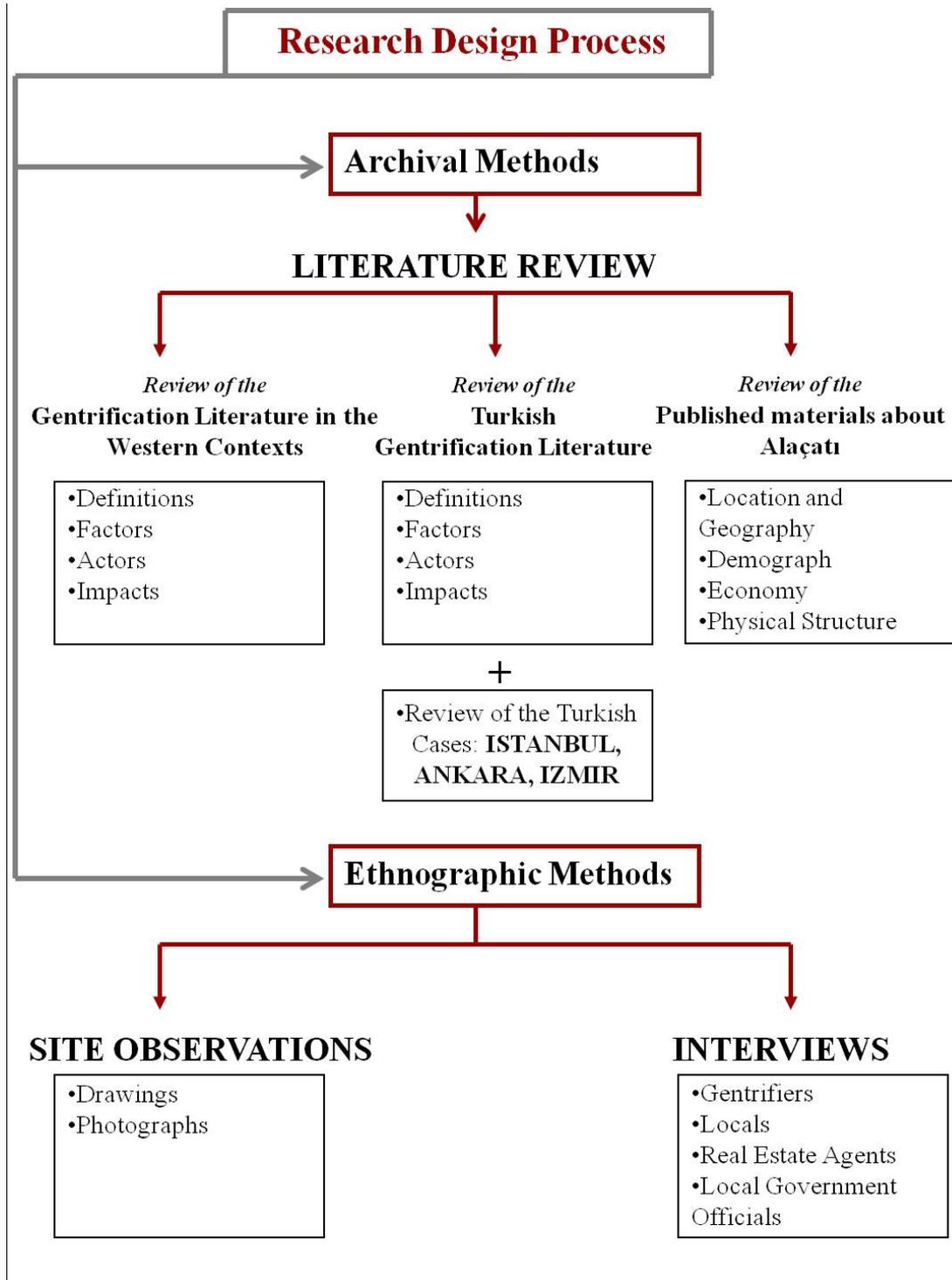


Figure 1. Research Design Process of the Thesis
(Source: Drawn by the Author)

1.3. Study Assumptions and Definitions

I develop the study assumptions of this thesis based on the political-economic explanations about the relationship between the accumulation processes in capitalism and the built environment. I argue that the process of gentrification is a product of the changing capitalist relations and the urban restructuring processes shaped by the economic, political and social trends especially since the 1970s worldwide. The economic structure of the capitalist system has globally changed along with the changing modes of production, decreasing importance of manufacturing and the rise of private sector and services, the changing labor force structure with a shift from the blue collar to white collar jobs, the decentralization of the state, new perceptions towards the urban space as a commodity in tourism, service and consumption industries, and so on. These changes have affected the urban space especially with the historical built stock that were become potentially ready for rent revenues. Deteriorated historical neighborhoods have become attractive to the government programs and reinvestment in the form of urban regeneration projects, to the private investments as well as the individuals with new lifestyle preferences and so on with the global urban restructuring. Gentrification is an inseparable part of this reinvestment processes in the historical neighborhoods. It is a widely used and applied phenomenon in the urban planning and design literature to understand this process of urban change through the economic and political restructuring. Therefore, I adopt the political-economic explanations of the gentrification process to define the dynamics of gentrification.

I define the dynamics of the gentrification process as followed: First, the “factors” for the gentrification are the economic, political and social causes and influences that drive the emergence of the process of gentrification as a product of the political-economic forces. Second, the “actors” of gentrification are the ones who are affecting or being affected from the process of gentrification. The “gentrifiers” are people with higher income and education levels who moved to the gentrified neighborhoods. The “local people” are the ones living in the gentrified area just before the gentrification process occurred. The “financial capital in the housing market” is the construction companies and the real estate agents operating in and for gentrified neighborhoods. The “state” is the central and the local agencies of the government in that area. Third, the “impacts” of gentrification are the economic, social and physical

outcomes on the lives of the gentrifiers, local people, physical, economic and social structure of the gentrified areas.

1.4. The Findings

Drawing from my archival and ethnographic studies to scrutinize the dynamics of the gentrification in Alaçatı, İzmir, my overall findings suggest these:

Firstly, the political, economic and social factors causing the process of gentrification in Alaçatı differ from the majority of the gentrification cases in the Western and the Turkish cases with its small town scale. Whereas the inner city neighborhoods of the metropolitan cities generally are subject to the process of urban restructuring through the large-scale city center flagship projects, transformation to the services in commerce, entertainment, shopping and so on, Alaçatı experiences urban restructuring through an economic transformation from agriculture to the service sector with touristic and recreational activities and also along with the plans and projects of the central and local government in Alaçatı.

Secondly, the actors affecting and affected from the process of gentrification also differ in Alaçatı from its metropolitan counterparts abroad and in Turkey. As the gentrifiers in the majority of gentrification cases are the new middle class occupying white-collar jobs and demanding to live in the inner city; the gentrifiers in Alaçatı are generally wealthy people from the big cities who demand a rural and small town life after a metropolitan life experience. Similarly, the locals in the majority of gentrification cases are the working class population and ethnic minorities; the locals in Alaçatı are the local farmers dealing with agriculture and husbandry and local shopkeepers.

Thirdly, the impacts of the gentrification in Alaçatı mostly display similarities with the cases in the Western and Turkish cases. The economic vitality in the real estate market, upgrading of the physical environment, rising living costs for the locals and are the common impacts. Only, the displacement and /or replacement issue differs; while in most of the gentrification cases the locals are displaced from their living and working areas, in Alaçatı the locals were not displaced but replaced from the city center. The

majority of the locals in Alaçatı moved to the periphery of the town center but did not leave Alaçatı totally.

1.5. Organization of the Thesis

This thesis documents the dynamics of the gentrification process in a small town. Chapter 2 deals with the definitions and the socio-spatial and temporal characteristics of the gentrification process. Accordingly, it gives the definitions of gentrification and details the importance of gentrification for the urban studies, policies and practices. Then, it discusses the characteristics of gentrification in respects to the three historical periods or “waves” of gentrification, the context-based nature or the “geography” of gentrification and the types of gentrification according to the characteristics of gentrifiers and of the locales that are gentrified.

Chapter 3 deals with the dynamics of gentrification in the Western contexts. It introduces the theoretical explanations of the factors leading to the process of gentrification. Also, the chapter discusses the actors and their motivations at the process of gentrification. Then, it focuses on the economic, social and physical impacts of the gentrification process on the locale.

Chapter 4 discusses the dynamics of gentrification in Turkey. The chapter firstly gives how the Turkish researchers scrutinize the definitions of gentrification from the Western gentrification literature. Then, it discusses the political-economic factors leading to gentrification processes in Turkey in the last three decades, the actors and the impacts of the gentrification in Turkey, it details these points with the help of the gentrification cases in Istanbul, Ankara and the Aegean Region.

Chapter 5 introduces my study methods and Alaçatı (İzmir) as the study site. It details the data collection methods and the general context of Alaçatı with its location and geography, history, demography, economic structure and physical structure.

Chapter 6 explores the economic, political and social factors driving the process of gentrification in Alaçatı. I organize these factors in two main headings. The first one is about the shift at the local economy and the lead of the governmental and private actors. The second one is about the urban plans and projects affecting the tourism development and the “gentrification” of Alaçatı.

Chapter 7 is about the actors at the gentrification process in Alaçatı. The chapter firstly examines who the gentrifiers in Alaçatı are. This examination focuses on the gentrifiers' socio-economic characteristics before coming to Alaçatı, their reasons, motivations and resources when coming to Alaçatı, and the changes in their life conditions and life styles after coming to Alaçatı. Secondly, the chapter documents the individual socio-economic characteristics of the locals in Alaçatı. Thirdly, it discusses the general characteristics of the financial capital in the housing market in Alaçatı, that is the construction companies and the real estate agents. Finally, the chapter focuses on the effect of the local government in Alaçatı to the gentrification process.

Chapter 8 details the impacts of the gentrification process in Alaçatı. Firstly, the chapter documents the economic impacts in respects to the changes in the real estate market and daily life prices in Alaçatı. Secondly, it details the social impacts of the gentrification in Alaçatı mainly with the changes in the social and daily life of the locals. Third, the chapter focuses on the physical impacts in respects to the positive and negative impacts of the upgrading of the physical environment in Alaçatı.

Chapter 9 is the concluding chapter. It returns to the initial research questions and interprets the findings of each chapter. That is, it summarizes the economic, political and social factors driving the process of gentrification in Alaçatı, the actors and their motivations at the gentrification of Alaçatı and the economic, social and physical impacts. It does so in comparison to the findings in the Western and Turkish literatures about the dynamics of gentrification. Lastly, the chapter discusses the importance of knowing about the gentrification dynamics for urban planning policies and practices and for urban planners and designers.

CHAPTER 2

THE GENERAL NOTIONS OF GENTRIFICATION

This chapter aims at building a general understanding about the definitions and the socio-spatial and temporal characteristics of gentrification. Thus it details the definitions of gentrification, its impacts on the urban studies, policies and practices, the historical periods or the “waves” of gentrification, the context-based nature of or “the geography of gentrification,” and the types of gentrification in the Western contexts.

2.1. What is Gentrification

Ruth Glass, an English urban geographer, made the first definition of gentrification in 1964:

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... Once this process of "gentrification" starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed (Glass, 1964:33).

In a classical sense, we can see from Glass’s definition that the process of gentrification is an urban change process that has basically a class dimension whereas the middle class occupiers move to the working class neighborhoods, a physical dimension with the upgrading of the housing stock by the new middle classes, and a social dimension with the displacement of the working class residents at that neighborhood by these new coming middle class people.

The definitions of gentrification change in respect to the historical eras with different economic, political and social conditions. For instance, some argue that there was no name for gentrification before the 1970s but similar symptoms of gentrification was valid before, even for some of the 19th century cities. For instance, “The

Improvements” in Britain and the “embourgeoisement” movements in France (e.g., Haussmann’s plan for Paris) display the examples of gentrification (Rodger, 1982; Harvey, 1985 as cited in Schaffer and Smith, 1986).

However, since 1964 various definitions of gentrification has emerged as the practical and academic experience on gentrification has been spreading almost all over the world in different ways, forms and intensities. Gentrification has started to become a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon within various dynamics and processes. The definitions of gentrification vary according to different viewpoints and ideological backgrounds. Accordingly, Marxist and left-Weberian viewpoints see gentrification as a class struggle between middle classes and working classes resulting in the displacement of the working classes (Smith, 1979; Hammett and Williams, 1980). The liberal and humanistic viewpoints takes gentrification as the in-migration of the middle classes to inner-city areas due to their consumption preferences (Ley, 1996). And some functionalist viewpoints see gentrification as the physical and economic upgrading of the neighborhoods (Freeman, 2005).

Still, there are certain common points in the definitions of gentrification—such as the in-migration of the higher income and status groups to poorer neighborhoods (Atkinson and Wulff, 2009), class struggles between middle and lower income classes (Bridge, 1995), reinvestments in the physically deteriorated neighborhoods (Hackworth, 2001), rising efforts for physical upgrading (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981), social upgrading with the in-migration of well paid and more educated groups (Ley, 1988), rising property values (Smith, 1979), changing ownership patterns (Smith and Williams, 1986), displacement and/ or replacement of lower income groups (Atkinson, 2000; Freeman, 2005; Hammett and Williams, 1980) and so on.

This thesis considers gentrification as the in-movement of the populations with higher income and education levels to the lower income and/ or historical inner-city neighborhoods, which follows by the compositional changes in physical (upgrading and / or renewal of the physical environment), social (introduction of high status life styles and social environments), economic (rising property values, taxes, daily prices, changes in ownership and tenureship) and demographic changes (settling of middle classes and displacement and/or replacement of existing lower income occupiers).

2.2. The Importance of Studying the Gentrification Process

The early examples of gentrification in the 20th century started at the end of 1960s and the early-1970s in the Western contexts. Since then, the processes of gentrification have been an important topic for the urban studies, policies and practices for the last 40 years. There are three points that makes the study of gentrification processes important for the urban studies, policies and practices.

Firstly, some scholars argue that in the 20th century, the gentrification processes change the traditional theories about neighborhood change and their concepts (Hamnett, 1984a) which mainly deal with the social and economic explanations of the change in the neighborhood scale (Yanmei, 2006). These scholars focus on the social processes causing residential segregation and disorganization (Schwirian, 1983; Smith, 2010). Gentrification challenges the major assumption of filtering theory. According to filtering theory, firstly introduced by Hoyt (1933), filtering is the in-movement of the affluent property owners from their houses in the central areas to the neighborhoods in the city periphery. This follows by the deterioration of this housing stock in the central locations. The filtering process starts with the aging of the housing stock in the central locations of the city. As the stock becomes older, the cost of maintenance rises and the home-owner occupants begin to invest less amount of capital to their houses and prefer to move out to the new and luxury houses in the peripheral locations (Haines, 2010; Pitkin, 2001). As the high income home-owner occupiers move out, the next richest groups start to fill the vacancies in the city center. Knox (1987) defines this as the “vacancy chains.” Vacancy chains operate in a cyclic fashion and continue downwardly as housing filters down through lower and lower income households (Mark and Goldberg, 1985). At the end of the vacancy chains, the lower income groups start to occupy the central locations. Therefore, filtering is a downward process for the housing stock and upward process for the lower income individuals moving into central locations. However, the definition of gentrification implies the opposite situation. That is gentrification starts with the in-movement of the people with higher income and education levels to inner-city locations, which follows by the upgrading of the housing stock and the displacement and/or replacement of the lower income populations. Therefore, gentrification is an upward process for the housing stock and downward

process for the lower income individuals who are displaced and /or replaced from their neighborhoods.

Similarly, gentrification undermines the general assumption of Alonso's structural theory of urban land market. This theory assumes that demand for low density areas is more important than the accessibility to the city center. But in the gentrification inner-city accessibility and inner-city lifestyle are important demand factors. Gentrification also reverses the assumptions of the stage theories or evolutionary models of urban residential change. Accordingly, while the stage theories of neighborhood change take the suburbanization of the middle classes as the final stage of the neighborhood change process in the industrial cities; gentrification starts with the in-movement of the middle classes to inner-city locations rather than suburban locations in the post industrial era (Hamnett, 1991).

Secondly, in addition to the neighborhood change theories, the process of gentrification is important for the explanation of the capitalist urban dynamics especially after the 1970s. Hamnett (1991) argues that as the processes of suburbanization and the inner-city decline explains the dynamics of the urban restructuring of the 1950s and the 1960s; gentrification is one of the leading edges in the explanation of the urban restructuring in the neo-liberal era as well. Gentrification reverses the dynamics of suburbanization trends and introduces new trends towards the inner-city living with the explanations of neo-liberal capitalist relations (Smith, 1979; Harvey 1981) and post-modern life style motives (Ley, 1996). Therefore, the process of gentrification is also important in urban research for a better understanding about the capitalist relations of the neo-liberal era.

Thirdly, gentrification has become a part of urban public policy as urban regeneration, renewal and revitalization projects are becoming very common in the political agendas of state and local governments. In the area of adapting neo-liberal economic agendas, policy makers start with city center flagship projects, large scale housing demolition and new housing projects and so on for their policy agendas. In most of the cases, gentrification is a policy tool for the efforts for urban regeneration and renewal projects in slum areas and historical neighborhoods (Smith, 1989).

As the process of gentrification is a part of urban public policy, it assigns roles and responsibilities to the urban planners and designers. Spain (1993) discusses that in all the urban regeneration, renewal and revitalization projects, urban planners have a

role in the formation of the gentrification process and also at the minimization of its negative impacts. Accordingly there are three roles of the urban planners in the process of gentrification. The first role of the urban planner is to act as negotiators and deal-makers between public authorities and private investors in the urban regeneration and renewal projects for the interests of the urban poor and disadvantaged groups. The second role of the urban planner is to recognize the collective visions and common themes of different strata of the community to negotiate social conflicts. We should note that most of the gentrification cases display conflicts and competition between the gentrifiers and the locals in their life style preferences and consumption habits in those neighborhoods. Therefore, conflict negotiation is important for conflict resolution. The third role of the urban planner is to anticipate the conflict between different interest groups. The urban planners should take measures about these conflicts both with the planning decisions and warning and informing the policy-makers (Spain, 1993).

2.3. Socio-Spatial and Temporal Characteristics of the Gentrification Processes

2.3.1. The “Waves” of Gentrification

The process of gentrification does not happen in a monolithic way. Depending on cultural and political- economic contexts, there are historical periods or “waves” of gentrification (Hackworth and Smith, 2000). We see the changing dynamics of the gentrification in terms of the process, space, components, and effects and so on in different economic, political and spatial circumstances. As Lees (2000) mentions gentrification today is quite different from the gentrification in the early 1970’s, late-1980’s, even the early -1990’s.

Hackworth and Smith (2000) define the historical waves of gentrification as the first wave (end of the 1960s- the 1980s), the second wave (the 1980s – the 1990s) and the third wave (after the 1990s). The first wave of gentrification was sporadic and driven by the state. The reason for why this wave is defined as sporadic is that the gentrification was not widespread in the time span of the first wave. There were individual cases especially in the USA, in some of the Western European countries and

in Australia. These cases generally emerged along with the reinvestment movements of the state in the disinvested inner-city housing areas. The world economic recession in 1973 was a breaking point for the first wave of the gentrification. Until the late-1970s the examples of gentrification continued in similar veins as individual and piecemeal cases.

In the late-1970s, the second wave represents the expansion of the gentrification and resistance to it by the displaced lower income groups. After the market started to get better, the gentrification trends started to be more widespread. Most of the Western inner-city neighborhoods became the real estate frontiers. Cities with no experiences of gentrification started to adopt strategies to attract private investments. There was a widespread neighborhood commodification process along with increasing investments in the second wave. The role of the public sector too changed in this wave and the private market became more dominant. Governments acted as motivators in a *laissez-faire* manner for the private market. They encouraged investments but did not directly invest by itself. In this period, the process of gentrification became integrated with the larger economic and cultural processes within the increased globalization movements. The cases of gentrification displayed a sharp increase so as to their impacts on the lower income groups, such as displacement of the lower income groups and their resistances to these impacts.

However, the economic recession of the 1987 slowed down the process of gentrification. Only after the 1993, with the reinvestment in the housing market, the third wave started. The third wave is the recessional pause and subsequent expansion period of the gentrification. Interestingly, the 1990s brought gentrification in its most widespread and largest state. After the 1990s, the process of gentrification started to expand across various contexts from the developed capitalist cities to less developed or developing ones and from the inner-city locations to outer neighborhoods and rural areas. Meanwhile, the state has become an integral and important actor of gentrification again. Government projects such as urban regeneration, renewal, slum clearance and so on, has become widespread. There are large private corporations rather than small investors in the gentrification activities in collaborations with government programmes. Gentrification has become a more complex and multi dimensional issue with the third wave. That is why the third wave is the restructuring of the gentrification period (Wyly and Hammel, 1998; Hackworth and Smith, 2000; Wyly, 2002; Wyly et al., 2004).

2.3.2. The Geography of Gentrification

After the third wave, gentrification turned into a wider scope phenomenon in the 2000s. It has expanded in almost all over the world. It firstly started in England and in North America and extended to the central cities of the advanced capitalist world (Smith, 1996a), then to the cities at periphery of the capitalist system such as Puebla, Marrakech, Istanbul, and São Paulo (Harris, 2008) and even to the small settlements and rural areas outside the metropolises (Philips, 2004, Dutton, 2005).

Despite the geographical expansion of the gentrification in different contexts, the majority of the gentrification researches seem to be context-blind. That is, they only focus on the US and the UK cases (Rerat, et, al., 2009). However, each new territory where gentrification happens presents particularities along with their own merits and specificities (Ergun, 2004). Therefore, it is not very easy and also logical to take gentrification as a standard process. It has contextual dynamics changing from one geography to another one. Smith (2002) argues that each city display particularities in its gentrification experience:

Gentrification has occurred in markedly different ways ...insofar as it is an expression of larger social, economic and political relations, gentrification in any particular city will express the particularities of the place in the making of its urban space (p. 440).

When considering such differences related to the contexts and the scales of gentrification, Lees (2000) introduces a new concept to the gentrification literature: the “geographies of gentrification.” That is, the gentrification is context dependent and dynamics of gentrification change according to the own economic, cultural and social circumstances of the each case. For instance when the central government policies are dominant in the English cases of gentrification; the USA cases present the dominancy of the local government interventions. Or while the private sector with the support of land developers is active in the USA cases, the individual entrepreneurs are more active in the UK. Or when the USA cases exemplifies the involuntary displacement of the lower income groups through tax and rent regulations to their disadvantage, in France, the

displacement is not an outcome of gentrification as most of the areas are started to gentrify after long term residents left these areas (Ergun, 2004).

Therefore, we can conclude that national and theoretical generalizations are not sufficient to explain the dynamics of gentrification. Each case should be evaluated with its own political, economic and social circumstances.

2.3.3. The Types of Gentrification

As gentrification has been a complex and multi-dimensional issue, it is not always possible to define each case of the gentrification along with the classic definition of Glass (1964). From Glass' definition till today, different geographies have given different examples of gentrification. The gentrification literature defines the Glass' definition and the first examples of the gentrification in the Western contexts as the classic (mainstream) gentrification. In addition, the literature also introduces other types of gentrification such as yuppification, marginal gentrification, upgrading & incumbent upgrading, super gentrification, tourism gentrification, rural gentrification, state-led gentrification, commercial gentrification, gentrification of public spaces, and new build gentrification.

I classify the types of the gentrification in two groups (see Table 1). The first group categorizes the types of gentrification according to the "characteristics of the initiators or the leading actors." The second group categorizes the types according to the "characteristics of the gentrified area." We should note that it is possible to see more than one type of gentrification in a single case.

Table 1. The Types of Gentrification
(Source: Drawn by the Author)

The 1st Group	The 2nd Group
Acc. to the characteristics of the leading actors	Acc. to the characteristics of the gentrified area
i) Classic (mainstream) gentrification	i) Tourism gentrification
ii) Yuppification	ii) Rural gentrification
iii) Marginal gentrification	iii) Commercial gentrification
iv) Super gentrification	iv) Gentrification of public spaces
v) Upgrading and incumbent upgrading	v) New build gentrification
vi) State-led gentrification	

2.3.3.1. The Types according to the Characteristics of the Leading Actors

As shown in Table 1, there are six types of gentrification according to the characteristics of the initiators or the leading actors of the gentrification process. When talking about the initiators or the leading actors, I focus on the characteristics of the gentrifiers. While most of the leading actors are the private individuals, only one type of gentrification (state-led gentrification) is initiated by the state with its central and local governments and agencies.

(i) The classic (mainstream) gentrification is the most well known type in the gentrification literature. It refers to the existence of standard symptoms such as the in-movement of upper and middle income classes to the deteriorated historical inner-city neighborhoods and their upgrading the physical environment and displacing the local people from the area (Davidson and Lees, 2005).

(ii) Yuppification is the in-movement of the younger professionals, mostly single or childless couples, to central neighborhoods in the metropolitan areas and their upgrading the physical environment and displacing the local people from the area (Van Criekingen and Decroly, 2003).

(iii) Marginal gentrification is the in-movement of transient renters or temporary residents to central neighborhoods. These new middle class in-movers are highly

educated but only tenuously employed or modestly earning professionals (Rose, 1996). They are single households, young unmarried adults living together, gays, women and so on (Lees, 1996). These gentrifiers are looking for inner-city life and settle in deteriorated neighborhoods when the land prices are low. In most of the cases, they are displaced after new gentrifiers move to the area and the prices of the housing market increase. They also leave these neighborhoods voluntarily because they return suburbia after they have a family (Van Criekingen and Decroly, 2003).

(iv) Super gentrification implies a re-gentrification process. Wealthy groups move into an area previously gentrified by the middle and/or upper income groups and they displace the previous gentrifiers (Lees, 2003b).

(v) In the upgrading and incumbent upgrading, the long term residents in a neighborhood having moderate income make some improvements in their houses and when the number becomes significant, the neighborhood started to change. The middle classes start to move the area. In this type, the displacement and /or replacement of the lower income locals are little (Clay, 1979, 1980; Van Criekingen and Decroly, 2003).

(vi) State-led gentrification coincides with the third wave of gentrification since the interventions of the public institutions have increased after the 2000s. State-led gentrification is a product of public planning and public and private capital partnerships (Smith, 2002). Most of the central and local governments' urban regeneration, renewal, rehabilitation and redevelopment programmes result in gentrification. Central and/or local governments play a basic role in the transformation of an area to upper and / or middle income uses. In the state-led gentrification, gentrification is sometimes one of the main policy tools, i.e. social mixing policies, or sometimes is an unexpected negative outcome of these projects. For the former situation, that is when gentrification is one of the public policy tools, there is another type as the third way/ healthy/ positive gentrification. This type of the gentrification is a positive public policy tool (Cameron, 2003) to reach social mixing objectives for less segregated and more sustainable for both communities. Main claim in this type of gentrification is to provide a win-win situation the poor and wealthy by assuming that two groups will live in the same place after the area is renewed (Lees and Ley, 2008).

2.3.3.2. The Types according to the Characteristics of the Gentrified Area

There are five basic types of gentrification according to the characteristics of the gentrified area (see Table 1).

(i) The tourism gentrification implies the transformation of the middle class neighborhoods into affluent and exclusive entertainment and tourism centers. In this type, houses are turned into touristic vacations with the conversion of the houses into short term vacation rentals and tourism facilities to attract visitors. Tourism gentrification generally occurs in the historic inner-city neighborhoods. Therefore, commercial revitalization and historical preservation becomes key issues in the tourism gentrification (Gotham, 2005; Bures and Cain, 2008).

(ii) Rural gentrification refers to the in-migration of the urban middle classes to non-metropolitan areas (rural territories, countryside and so on) and their material refurbishment of properties and the exodus of the rural working population from these areas (Newby, 1979; Philips, 2002). Hines (2010) names these gentrifiers as rural gentrifiers who are permanent tourists. He sees rural gentrification as a back to the countryside movement. The main motivators of this movement are the decentralization of the employment, early retirements, longer life expectancies, amenities of rural areas, construction of interstate highways (Long, 1980), demand for green residential space (Smith and Philips, 2001), deindustrialization which makes abandoned industrial facilities in the rural as new investment means (Giloith and Betancur, 1988) and so on. According to Philips (2004), rural gentrification is the revalorization of the unproductive and marginal agrarian and rural capitals.

(iii) Commercial gentrification is the transformation of a commercial district or a main retail strip into exclusive retail chains, upscale brand boutiques and so on along with sharp increases in the commercial property values and rents and the displacement of the local businesses in the area (Kloosterman and Van Der Leu, 1999; Rypkema, 2003).

(iv) The gentrification of public spaces occurs in publicly owned and used open areas. Public authorities in an area take some physical measures such as designing street furniture uncomfortable for the homeless and the drunks to sleep in order to keep away the disadvantaged groups and attract more affluent users (Zukin, 1995).

Lastly, (v) new build gentrification refers to the construction of high status buildings and newly built designer neighborhoods in inner-city areas, especially on Brownfield sites, demolished and reconstructed residential areas and so on. (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Davidson and Lees 2005, 2009; Rerat et al., 2009). To count new constructions as a kind of new build gentrification, they should have same similar points with the classic gentrification (Rerat et al., 2009: 2). Some authors such as (Boddy, 2007; Buzar et al., 2007) also use the term “reurbanization” for the new build gentrification.

This chapter gave a descriptive summary about the definitions and the socio-spatial and temporal characteristics of the gentrification process. It detailed the definitions, the importance of gentrification for the urban studies, policies and practices, historical and political waves of gentrification, geography of gentrification and the types of gentrification in the Western literature. The first point of this chapter is that the definition of gentrification has evolved from the first definition of Glass (1964) till today. There are different definitions of gentrification according to the different viewpoints of the researchers and also the socio-economic and spatial context of each gentrification case. Second, knowing about the processes of gentrification is important for a better understanding of the neighborhood change theories and the capitalist urban dynamics of the neo-liberal era. Also, gentrification is important for the urban policies and practices as it is a public policy tool and it assigns roles to the urban planners and designers. Moreover there are three historical waves of gentrification between the 1970s and the 2000s and each wave defines different dynamics of gentrification. The fourth point is that each gentrification case has geographical differences and the process of gentrification is context dependent that is the dynamics of gentrification can vary according to different geographical contexts. And lastly there are different types of gentrification with the changing characteristics of the leading actors and the characteristics of the gentrified areas.

The next chapter details the dynamics of gentrification in the Western context.

CHAPTER 3

THE DYNAMICS OF GENTRIFICATION

This chapter details the basic dynamics of the gentrification process in respects to the factors, the actors at and the impacts of gentrification.

This chapter firstly details the political, economic and social factors at the gentrification in respects to the different theoretical perspectives. The second part of this chapter scrutinizes the basic actors and their motivations at the process of gentrification. The third part of this chapter documents the, economic, social and physical impacts of the gentrification process.

3.1. The Factors for Gentrification

The theoretical explanations about the factors for gentrification falls into two categories: the ecological explanations and the political-economic explanations. They give different answers to the question why gentrification occurs. The variations between the answers reflect the existence of different theoretical and ideological viewpoints.

3.1.1. Ecological Explanations

The ecological explanations of gentrification see the process of gentrification as a part of ecological approaches of the Chicago School of Sociology. The ecological approach of the Chicago School explains the process of neighborhood change, that is “any change in people, place, interaction system, and shared identification” (Schwirian, 1983:84) in a neighborhood, with the ecological concepts such as competition, invasion, succession, dominance and so on (Pacione, 2005). The ecological approach argues that neighborhood change is a natural process with the selective, distributive, and accommodative forces of the environment (McKenzie, 1925).

The ecological explanations put that gentrification emerges due to the land use changes from manufacturing to service and technology based industries with the white

collar occupations. The process of deindustrialization, increasing importance of the service jobs, regaining importance of the central business districts especially with the white collar labor force make the inner-city residential areas, which were previously the housing areas of the working classes, an attractive destination for the white collar populations. As the white collar middle classes invade the working class quarters and cause the succession of the working class populations, some authors see gentrification as a form of ecological invasion and succession (Hudson, 1980). Although the classical invasion-succession² model of Chicago School generally implies the decline of the neighborhood after the invasion-succession (McKenzie, 1925; Schwirian, 1983), some takes gentrification as a similar process. As ecological understanding takes every change in the land use and in the type of residents as a result of competition and selection, gentrification is also a matter of competition between the new middle class and the working class populations for the inner-city residential areas. Ecological understanding of gentrification sees the gentrification as “natural” as classic invasion succession. In gentrification there is only the reversal of the actors. While the working class populations displace the middle classes in the classical invasion succession model, now the middle classes displace the working classes in gentrification in the competition for central locations.

Another ecological explanation of gentrification is the life cycle model (Hoover and Vernon, 1959). This model assumes that the urban space changes according to a life cycle of five stages: development, transition, downgrading, thinning out and renewal. When a neighborhood passes through one stage to another many dynamics of this neighborhood changes such as the population density, economic function, commercial development, social class composition, type and condition of housing, racial and ethnic composition and so on (Weinstein, 2007). Some claims that gentrification occurs in the renewal stage of life cycle (Schwirian, 1983). Smith (2010) mentions that when gentrifiers move into an area and renew the physical stock, they start the process of renewal of the life cycle model.

² Invasion is the in movement of a population to an area for residential purposes and succession is the complete displacement of the original occupants by the invaders (Gist and Halbert, 1961).

3.1.2. Political- Economic Explanations

Political-economic explanations of gentrification mainly underline that there is a strong relationship between the capitalist restructuring process and the urban space. Gentrification emerged as a case of the urban restructuring process out of the processes of the capitalist restructuring.

The production of urban space is always depend on the capitalist relations and changes and/ or shifts in the economic structure of cities (Castells, 1977; Harvey, 1981, 1985; Lefebvre, 1991). Especially the economic turning points, such as the economic crisis, have always been decisive in the handling of the urban space. At crisis investing in the built environment for the flow of money becomes one of the saviors for overcoming economic disparities. Gentrification that we still experience today emerged as one of the products of economic crises of the 1970s and its following economic and political restructuring processes (Smith, 2002).

Harvey (1981) defines “three circuits of capital” to explain the relation between the capital accumulation processes and the built environment. Accordingly, the industrial productive processes are the main sources of the economy in the primary circuit. When the demand for the industrial production increases, new entrepreneurs enter the market with a competition process. At a certain point, the production exceeds the consumption level which results in the overproduction of commodities and over accumulation and ultimately in the market crises. To overcome with these crises, the market mechanism searches for new sectors and sees the built environment as a remedy. By canalizing investments on the built environment, the fixed capital, the market tries to handle the crisis of overproduction and over accumulation. Utilization of the fixed capital for the revival of the economy defines the secondary circuit of capital. In this circuit a functioning capital market and the state provide built environment both for the production and consumption and act as mediating structures between the primary and secondary circuits. However, any change in these mediating structures (financial and state institutions) may cause another crisis and the capital shifts to its tertiary circuit. The market again finds another sector to overcome the crisis. The basic economic mechanism in the tertiary circuit is the investments in research and technology sectors and the social investments to reproduce the labor force.

The 1970s is the turning point to overcome the economic crises worldwide. The efforts to overcome the crisis caused the changes in the economic and political structure. There was a shift from the Keynesian economy, fordist production and the policies of the welfare state to an open, competitive and unregulated market structure which was “liberated” from the state intervention (Brenner, 1988). This new market structure represented itself with the deindustrialization and emergence of the new “white collar” jobs. These new areas of jobs became the ways of adapting the new global economic world order. Finance, tourism, arts and entertainment, managerial jobs, wholesale and retail trade, high-tech manufacturing, scientific and medical services and so on were the major economic sectors (Fainstein, 1990). Moreover, the decreasing state intervention made the neo-liberal governance models dominant and put the ideologies of the municipal service and the state support apart (Keil, 2002). Shrinking and /or privatization of public services and demise of welfare programmes (Brenner and Theodore, 2002) changed the role of the state significantly. State was no more the basic provider of the public services but enabler and /or one of the competitive actors in the new global order.

The economic and political restructuring process of the neo-liberal era has assigned new roles and meanings to the urban space. The new global capitalist world brings for instance the notion of the global cities, which are the nodes of accumulation and sites of the post-fordist forms of global industrialization (Brenner, 1988). Urban space has become a major competition tool for cities to take part in the new global urban hierarchies (Soja, 1989). A new global urban hierarchy emerged and the cities such as New York, London, Tokyo and so on becomes the global centers of economy, global production and consumption (Fainstein, 1990). The vital role of the urban space in this competition is its being the major source of the fixed capital (built environment) according to Harvey’s secondary circuit of capital (Harvey, 1981). Urban restructuring process shows itself with the commodification of the urban space in the neo-liberal economic political atmosphere.

The commodification of the urban space started with two main key processes. These are the deindustrialization and the decentralization of the state. The deindustrialization, which is the secular decline in the share of manufacturing employment in the advanced economies (Rowthorn and Ramaswamy, 1997), is followed by a new economic model that sees tertiary sectors such as service jobs,

information and communication technologies, arts, entertainment sector, business, real estate and so on as the globally accepted ways to be a part of new global order of economy. Urban space has started to host these new sectors in new spatial concentrations on business, banking, finance, reinsurance, real estate, consultancy, publishing, R&D (research and development), advertising, and media and so on.

The decentralization of the state, which is the assignment of the political, fiscal, and administrative duties to the local governments (Montero and Samuels, 2004), is the second key point in the urban restructuring process. It has accelerated the changing role of the urban space. As the welfare programmes and controlled power of the state has decentralized, the local has become an asset in the competitive environment of the neo-liberal era. The neo-liberal era witnessed the decreasing role and importance of the state with the central government and the rising popularity of the local government and the market forces.

Emergence of the changes in the power mechanisms in the state with its central and local governments also changed the government programmes. The governments have devoted themselves on the commodification of the urban space for global economic competition rather than the provision of the basic services to the citizens. Urban regeneration, renewal and revitalization projects become the main tools for articulation of the global competition. The governments started to invest in new urban residential areas with new luxury exclusive residences and creation of the “gentrified” neighborhoods through the renewal of the inner-city historical areas.

Gentrification processes stand as an integral part of the economic, political and urban restructuring processes (Smith and Williams, 1986). The changing economic and political dynamics of the world order created standard typologies in the consumption of the urban space and gentrification emerged sometimes as one of the marketing tools or sometimes as unpredictable outcomes of the spatial commodification projects of the urban restructuring.

The main contributors of the political-economic explanation of gentrification are Neil Smith with his rent gap theory (Smith, 1979) and David Ley with his views about the role of the consumer preferences linked to emerging fractions of the middle class (Ley, 1996). Holding these two main arguments, the political-economic explanations of gentrification fall into two groups as the economic view and the socio-cultural and demographic view. The economic view explains gentrification from the structural

viewpoint and with capital, production and supply mechanisms of the market. The socio-cultural and demographic view explains gentrification from the human agency viewpoint and with culture, consumption and demand mechanisms of the market (see Figure 2).

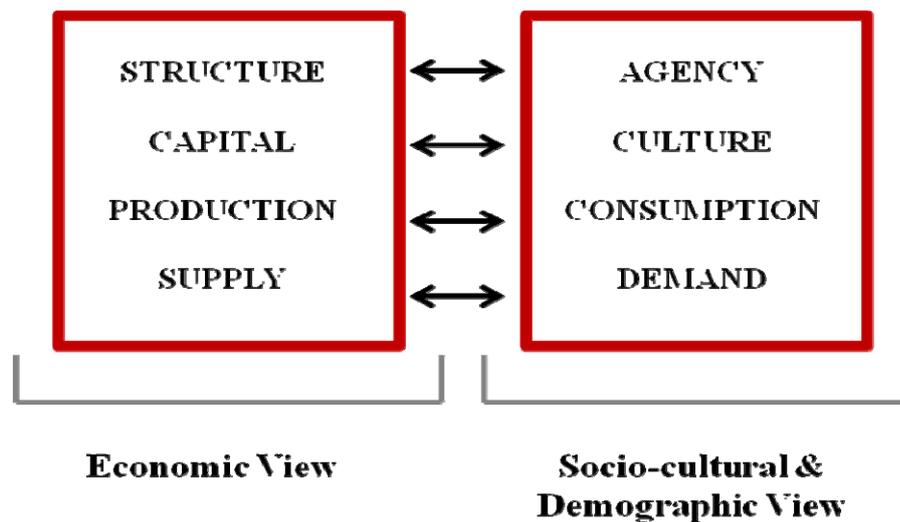


Figure 2. Two Views in the Political- Economic Explanations of Gentrification
(Source: Drawn by the Author)

3.1.2.1. The Economic View

The economic explanation of gentrification reflects a Marxist-structural view. It argues that the capital, dynamics of the housing market and the entrepreneurs in the housing market such as the land developers and the finance institutions (Hamnett, 1991) are the main sources of the emergence of the gentrification process. The economic view explains the process of gentrification with the “gap theories” such as the “rent gap theory” (Smith, 1979) and the “value gap theory” (Hamnett and Randolph, 1984). These theories generally address two situations. The rent gap theory focuses on the “market responses to the changing spatial pattern of land values” and the value gap theory focuses on the “differing market values of housing under different tenures” (Lind and Hellström, 2003:12).

The leading name in the rent gap theory is Neil Smith. He claims that the actions of the developers and/ or the investors are the primary motives behind the process of gentrification (1979). He explains rent gap as follows:

Capital flows where the rate of return is highest, and the movement of capital to the suburbs, along with the continual devalorization of inner-city capital, eventually produces the rent gap. When this gap grows sufficiently large, rehabilitation (or, for that matter, redevelopment) can begin to challenge the rates of return available elsewhere, and capital flows back in. Gentrification is a back-to-the-city movement all right, but a back-to-the-city movement by capital rather than people (ibid: 70).

Therefore, rent gap is “the actual capitalized ground rent of a plot of land given its present use and the potential ground rent that might be gleaned under a higher and better use” (Smith, 1987: 462). If the current rent or property value is less than the potential value of the property (Smith, 1996a), the transformation of the city center becomes inevitable by the market mechanism. Clark (1988) argues that the profitable redevelopment can only occur when the rent gap becomes sufficiently large.

The “value gap theory” also advocates the importance of the market mechanism in the production of the gentrified environments. Introduced by Hamnett and Randolph (1984), the value gap explains basically the tenure conversions. Accordingly, the value gap occurs if a property’s value is greater under owner occupation than under rental occupation. In this case, landlords prefer to sell their properties, rather than renting them. When they sell their properties, their low income tenants are displaced and the middle or the high income occupiers become the owners of these properties. Some government regulations such as tax reliefs for owner occupiers, low real interest rates, or rent control are the main causes of the value gap (Lind and Hellström, 2003).

The basic actor in the gap theories and economic explanations is the real estate investors and entrepreneurs. When they see profits at investing in the inner-city neighborhoods, they renovate and convert old buildings and build new ones to rent them at higher prices; and then more investors start to follow them (Silver, 2006) and the capital moves to the city center and the process of gentrification starts.

The economic view explains the basic structure behind the emergence of the gentrification with the suburbanization and the “emergence of the rent gap, the deindustrialization of the capitalist economies and the growth of the white collar

employment, the spatial centralization and simultaneous decentralization of the capital, demographic changes and changes in the consumption patterns” (Smith, 1996: 266). With these structural powers, gentrification occurs with the reinvestment in the building stock (Atkinson, 2003) in the form of renewal of the existing stock, demolitions and new constructions, construction of new houses on centrally located brownfield areas, tenure conversion from rental housing to condominiums and so on (Hudson, 1980).

The economic view of gentrification, especially the arguments of Neil Smith, generally explains the North American cases of gentrification. Neil Smith uses the term “revanchist” for the North American examples. Revanchist gentrification implies that the middle classes take revenge from the lower income groups by taking the city center from them (Smith, 1996a) as a spatial manifestation of whites to blacks, wealth to poor, and so on (Slater, 2003). Smith explains the revanchist approach as follows:

More than anything the revanchist city expresses a race/class/gender terror felt by middle and ruling class whites who are suddenly stuck in place by a ravaged property market, the threat and reality of unemployment, the decimation of social services, and the emergence of minority and immigrant groups, as well as women, as powerful urban actors. It portends a vicious reaction against minorities, the working class, homeless people, the unemployed, women, gays and lesbians, immigrants (Smith, 1996a:207).

As we can see the “revanchist city” explanation of the economic view of gentrification implies a class-based struggle and tension between the middle classes and the low income and economically and socially disadvantaged groups.

However, as the economic view of gentrification puts the political-economic structural factors and the market mechanism at the core of its gentrification explanations, there are various criticisms about the ignorance of the human factor or the agency view in the economic explanations (Ley, 1996). In return, Smith (1996) argues that he does not ignore the cultural factors and lifestyle preferences in the explanation of the gentrification but assumes that the effect of the capital is more determinant than of lifestyle choices of people. In one of his writings he puts that:

The needs of production- in particular the need to earn profit- are a more decisive initiative behind gentrification than consumer preference... The relationship between production and consumption is symbiotic, but it is a symbiosis in which production dominates (Smith 1979: 540).

3.1.2.2. The Socio-Cultural and Demographic View

The socio-cultural and demographic explanation of gentrification basically stems from a liberal humanistic view. It emphasizes the role of agency rather than the structure in the formation of the process of gentrification. This explanation basically underlines the lifestyle preferences of the individuals as the causes in the formation of the gentrification process. Accordingly, gentrification is an outcome of the changing lifestyle preferences of the new middle class with their changing demographic characteristics. The demand for central locations of the city increase as a representation of the new consumption tendencies of the new middle classes (Ley, 1987). The basic actor in the socio-cultural and demographic explanations is the individual agents that are the middle class gentrifiers and their cultural consumption characteristics, tendencies and demands (Ley, 1980; 1986; Rose, 1984; Beauregard, 1986). There is a significant class-based focus in this explanation with the in-migration and colonization of the new middle class in the inner-city neighborhoods (Atkinson, 2003).

The demographic factors are one of the main causal variables in socio-cultural and demographic explanations. According to Buzar, et al. (2005), the “Second Demographic Transition” is the main motivator in the formation of the new middle class and their lifestyle preferences. The Second Demographic transition refers to the changes in the population dynamics such as the increases in the divorce rates, decreases in the rate of marriages, increases in the age of marriage, decreases in fertility rates, dramatic increases in the numbers of women in the labor force and higher education institutions and so on which result with the baby boom generation after the Second World War especially in Europe (Van de Kaa, 1987). This generation wants to be close to the cultural and recreational amenities in the city life by living in older, refurbished neighborhoods in the central areas (Schaffer and Smith, 1986; Silver, 2006).

The leading name focusing on the socio-cultural and demographic factors in the explanation of gentrification is David Ley. Ley (1980) explains that rather than the capitalist investments, the cultural motives of people are the primary causal variable in

the emergence of the gentrification. The main actor in the process of gentrification is not the real estate developers but the individual agents. Ley (1980) also focuses on the importance of the decision making mechanisms in the process of gentrification. He sees the economic restructuring as the cause of the emergence of a serviced-based society rather than a goods-producing one, which favors white collar and professional workers. This new class has “canons of good taste, aesthetics, consumption and status orientated in pursuit of self-actualization” (ibid: 242-243).

Ley’s cultural explanation for the process of gentrification gives its examples in the Canadian cases. He uses the term “emancipatory” as a counter alternative to the “revanchist” approach of Neil Smith. In the emancipatory approach, Ley (1980) basically focuses on the changes in the housing demand structure in Vancouver with the increasing job opportunities for the white collar classes in the central business district. The emancipatory explanation is a liberal humanistic approach. It sees gentrification as the liberalization of the middle class, diversification of the urban environment both in terms of social interaction and physical quality (Slater, 2006). The rejection of the suburban living style in favor of the city lifestyle is more emancipatory and more individual choice oriented (Silver, 2006). Gentrification is a resistance to dominant suburban values (Caufield, 1994; Ley, 1996). Middle class people simply prefer to be close to the city center and move to the inner-city residential areas, renovate houses, invested in the building stock and more middle class residents start to come. In other words the “money follows people” (Silver, 2006:8).

Some researchers make contributions to the work of David Ley in the cultural explanations of gentrification. Rose (1984) introduces the term “production of gentrifiers” to explain the social and spatial restructuring of the labor market and the emergence of the new middle class. Similarly, Beauregard (1986) underlines the importance of the characteristics, demands and tendencies of the gentrifiers rather than the role of the economic forces in the explanation of the process of gentrification:

In order to explain why these professionals and managers ... remain within the city and also engage in gentrification, we must move away from the sphere of production and focus on their reproduction and consumption activities” (ibid: 39).

As we can see the cultural view puts focus on the reproduction of the middle class with their new consumption demands when explaining the factors for gentrification.

3.1.2.3. Integrating Economic and Socio-Cultural & Demographic Views

Although the economic and socio-cultural, demographic explanations seem to be opposite views, some claim that these are complementing rather than competing views in the explanation of gentrification. For instance, Hamnett (1991) states that both the social restructuring arguments of David Ley and the economic restructuring arguments of Neil Smith are not sufficient to explain the process of gentrification alone. Ley's arguments put little emphasis on the importance of the supply of the gentrifiable areas in the formation of gentrification. It mainly focuses on the demand side. Similarly, Smith's arguments put little emphasis on the existence and production of potential gentrifiers. It focuses on the supply of the gentrifiable land. Thus, Hamnett proposes the integration of the two views and mentions that there are four basic conditions for the emergence of gentrification as the "supply of suitable areas for gentrification, supply of potential gentrifiers, existence of attractive central and inner-city environments, and cultural preference for inner-city residence by a certain segment of the service class" (ibid: 186).

The study approach of this thesis is built upon the political-economic explanation of gentrification. The thesis takes "gentrification" as a product of urban restructuring process along with the processes of the economic and political restructuring after the 1970s. Accordingly, I argue that, the processes of economic, political and urban restructuring emerged through the changing capitalist relations. At this point, it is appropriate to address to Harvey's arguments of the circuits of capital (1981). As capital accumulation processes and the production of built environment are directly related, the process of gentrification emerged in the transition period to the secondary circuit of capital in the economic crises of the 1970s. Investments on the fixed capital, that is the built environment, increased the demand for the central areas of the city by the new middle class gentrifiers, investors and government programs for the utilization of the rent gap. Meanwhile, I do not ignore the lifestyle preferences and

consumption demands of the individual agencies in the formation of the process of gentrification. I assume that the preferences and demands of the individual agencies are shaped by the wider political-economic structural forces along with the capitalist relations.

3.2. The Actors and their Motivations at Gentrification Processes

Actors and their motivations at gentrifying an area is an important part of the process of gentrification. This thesis takes the actors of gentrification as those who are shaping, involving, affecting or affected at the process of gentrification.

As gentrification is complex and multidimensional, so do the actors, their motivations at gentrifying and their relations with other actors. They change according to the own context of each case of gentrification. There are certain types of the actors of the gentrification process such as the gentrifiers, the local people, the financial institutions, the central and / or local governments, and so on. However, each type has variations in itself case by case. For instance when the locals in a particular case are the working class; in another case they may be unemployed ethnic minorities. Or while a central government plays an active role in a case, in another, the local government may be the dominant actor and so on. Moreover, the actor composition has changed with the historical development of the gentrification. For instance while in the earlier waves of gentrification, central government played major roles especially in America, after the third wave, the local governments became more dominant.

This part discusses the main actors of the gentrification process.

3.2.1. Who are the Gentrifiers?

Gentrification literature is always curious about the question of who the gentrifiers are and what their socio-economic characteristics are. A common answer to these questions is that the gentrifiers have socially and /or economically better status people than the locals in a gentrified area.

However, this general statement is not enough to define the gentrifiers. Gentrifiers are not homogenous (Rerat et al., 2009). There are various typologies of gentrifiers based on the class dimension. The basic typology for the gentrifiers is the “new middle class”. Accordingly, most of the gentrification researchers such as Ley (1980, 1986, 1987; 1994; 1996) argue that the “new middle class” is the basic actor in the process of gentrification as being the initiator of the process, whereas others such as Smith (1979, 1987, 1996a) do not see the new middle class as the major group of the gentrifiers and even doubts about the existence of such a class.

3.2.1.1. The New Middle Class

As most of the cases of gentrification focus on the new middle class, I find important to discuss this new class structure in detail. Knowing about the new middle class is necessary as their general profile, life standards and spatial choices are determinant in the formation of the process of gentrification.

According to Buzar et al. (2005), the Second Demographic Transition is the major source for the emergence of the new middle class. The new middle class, who are the young professionals in their late twenties and thirties, was born in the Second Demographic Transition period and became a part of the global competitive market (Featherstone, 2007).

These young professionals are highly educated, have higher incomes, non-traditionalist lifestyle, unstable housing conditions (Haasse et al., 2009). They tend to live in non-family houses and demand more independency and successful careers (Van Criekingen, 2009). Today the new middle class emerges as a marginal labor force population out of the economic restructuring process of the neo-liberal era. They constitute the advance service sector’s white collar profile in the post-fordist

occupations. This new middle class involve in the professional services, managerial and technical jobs (Ley, 1996) in finance, information technologies, communications, insurance, media, education, health, marketing, public relations, consulting, advertisement, culture and art sectors and so on (Featherstone, 2007). They have small and usually childless households and are often unmarried (Rerat et al., 2009).

This new class is generally associated with Bourdieu's cultural intermediaries, who are practitioners in the symbolic good and services provision such as media, design, advertising, and so on (Bourdieu, 1984). The cultural intermediaries are also highly educated and young; they have high cultural capital, post-modern lifestyles and consumption patterns (Jager, 1986; Ley, 1996; Bridge, 2001a).

Some new terminologies such as yuppies (young urban professionals), bo-bos (bourgeois-bohemian) (Brooks, 2001; Lloyd, 2006), dinks (dual income couples with no children) (Smith, 1982), and so on are used to define this new middle class. As detailed in Chapter 2 in the types of the gentrification, yuppies constitute an individual type of gentrification as yuppification, which is used when yuppies move to an area to gentrify. Also, working women, gays and artists constitute an important portion of this new middle class profile. The changing role of women in the family and business life makes them an actor in the process of gentrification. As job participation rates of women increase (Rose, 1984; Silver, 2006), they become more self confident and active in demanding a place and a role in the urban life (Kern, 2009). Similarly, in the some cases of gentrification gay communities play roles in the transformation of an area (Lauria and Knopp, 1985). Artists generally play the role of the pioneer gentrifiers (Ley, 2003), that is those initiating the process of gentrification by being the first movers in an area. They are generally artists, architects, and designers and have tendencies to live in authentic neighborhoods. The process generally starts with the in-movement of pioneer gentrifiers in a particular area. This pioneer encourages his / her close friends to move the area. After that the area starts to change with a massive in-migration by the further middle classes (Islam, 2003).

The most significant lifestyle feature of the new middle class yields in their daily consumption patterns. Their consumption habits are highly different from the middle classes of the modern era. They consume not according to their needs but to the mainstream trends of the post-modern lifestyle motives. Globally accepted exclusive

brands of clothes, automobiles, restaurants and so on are now the main consumption goods of the new middle class (Featherstone, 2007).

The spatial consumption patterns of the new middle class have also changed. The new middle class now demands to be close to the city center, rather than living in the suburbs. Changes in the household types and gender relations are important dimensions for the new middle class to demand to be close to the city center. The feminization of the workforce and the rising number of singles, dual income couples with no children or female-headed-single-parent households devalue the suburban ideals and demand to live in the central locations as central locations provide more options for the daily life needs than suburbs (Rose, 1984; Bondi, 1991; Lyons, 1996).

Changing lifestyle and consumption patterns are other reasons for the inner-city life demands of the new middle class. Accordingly, with the adoption of the post-modern discourses, the new middle classes orient themselves to a more liberal and anti-suburban ideology (Danyluk and Ley, 2007). It is argued that the new middle class adopt individualistic, isolated, egoistic and bohemian mottos in their new lifestyles. They are seeking for pro-urban lifestyle characteristics especially with the historical ambiance of the inner-city neighborhoods (Bridge, 2001a). Moreover they value to be a part of a community life with people who look like them in a traditional neighborhood atmosphere (Featherstone, 2007). Butler (2003) explains this with the concept of “metropolitan habitus” which brings the urban seeking middle classes together in the inner-city. Moreover, as the inner-city districts are becoming consumption centers for artistic, cultural and entertainment facilities, they also appeal to the new middle class (Zukin, 1995). In sum, gentrification is the spatial manifestation of the new middle class habitus (Padmore, 1998).

The metropolitan habitus motives of the new middle classes make them active actors in the physical and social development of their new neighborhoods. In addition to buying and renovating old houses, the middle class gentrifiers also tend to establish and/ or involve in the neighborhood associations (Nachmias and Palen, 1982). As most of the middle class gentrifiers seek for a neighborhood life, they work for better services, better police protection, street lighting, house code enforcement, garbage collection, and so on along with neighborhood associations (Davidson, 1980). As the gentrifiers start to take active roles about the neighborhoods, there are sometimes tensions between the locals and the gentrifiers (Smith, 1996)

As we can see the lifestyle preferences are the major driving force for the new middle class to gentrify an area. However, in addition to these lifestyle related motivations, gentrifiers have also other motivations such as profit making concerns. That is, as the property values increase in the gentrified areas, some gentrifiers are motivated by these increases to buy property to make profit in the future.

3.2.1.2. The Stage Theories for Gentrifiers

Gentrification literature discusses the stage theories of gentrification to explain the changing profile and motivations of the gentrifiers in different stages of gentrification. Accordingly, we can talk about three different stages: In the first stage, the process of gentrification starts with the entrance of the pioneer gentrifiers or early gentrifiers to an area. The literature defines this first group as the “risk oblivious” group. These people’s cultural capital is higher than their material capital. They are small groups of educated lower paid professionals, students, artists, gays, and other self-marginalized social groups. Their cultural capital motivates them to choose inner-city locations for pro-urban lifestyle preferences. Living in historical inner-city neighborhoods provides them distinction from the conventional lifestyle of suburban middle classes. This group creates a new lifestyle for themselves in the inner-city by renovating old houses. They turn into the deteriorated housing stock into habitable and charming environments. They generally tend to welcome social mix with the locals (Duany, 1996; Uzun, 2003).

The second stage starts with the entrance of the “risk aware” groups to the gentrified area. These people do not choose the inner-city locations merely for the historical values of these areas but also for making profitable investments in housing. As the entrance of the risk oblivious groups increases the rental values in these areas, the risk aware group find reasonable to invest in these neighborhoods to secure their investments. These people have more material capital than their cultural capital and want to make good use of their material capital in potentially profitable areas. They have more secure jobs than the first group and generally involve in professional services (Bridge, 2001a; Shaw, 2005)

As the rental values in these areas increase in time with the in-movement of more people and investments, a third group that is the “risk averse” enter in the

gentrified areas to majorly evaluate the rent gap formed by the investments of the previous gentrifiers. This group generally enters these gentrified neighborhoods for the profit making purposes. They are generally the developers and the real estate offices. Different from the previous groups they do not aim to live in these neighborhoods but to involve in the marketing of the housing stock to further gentrifiers (Duany, 1996; Bridge, 2001a; Uzun, 2003; Shaw, 2005).

3.2.2. The Locals

The profile of the locals in a gentrified area surely varies according to the context and own circumstances of each particular case of gentrification. We can classify the locals of the gentrified areas as the working class populations, ethnic minorities, immigrants, low income households, urban poor, homeless people, unemployed, single-female parents, gays, lesbians, elderly and so on (White, 1984; Smith, 1996a; Van Criekingen, 2009). The composition of the locals changes from case to case yet the locals have lower socio-economic status than the gentrifiers. As there is a gap between the economic, social and cultural status of the gentrifiers and the locals, in most of the gentrification cases the locals cannot get along with the gentrifiers due to rising taxes, rents, changes in the characteristics of the social community and so on (Keating, 2000).

The process of gentrification generally affects the local people negatively. The locals are generally displaced and / or replaced from their living and working areas. For this reason, some literature works define this group as the “displacees.” The displacees can either be the property owners or the tenants. In most of the cases of gentrification, tenant locals are seen more disadvantaged as they are generally forced to leave their neighborhoods along with eviction and harassment of their landlords and the gentrifiers (Atkinson, 2000). The displacees generally move other lower income neighborhoods in the periphery of the city or non-gentrified central neighborhoods.

In addition to the displacement of the lower income locals, some locals especially the property owners take some financial advantages as the values of their properties increase through gentrification. They generally sell their properties to gentrifiers or real estate offices and make revenues (Vigdor et al., 2002).

The displacement issue of the lower income locals will be detailed at the end of this chapter under the impacts of gentrification heading.

3.2.3. The Financial Capital in the Housing Market

The financial capital that is the private actors in the housing market (real estate investors and developers) are among the important actors in the process of gentrification. They are individual or institutional investors, real estate agents and companies, building companies, stock market listed property funds, large corporate developers and so on (Smith, 1984; Warde, 1991; Rerat et al., 2009). The investments of these actors in the gentrified neighborhoods are important because their investments motivate the gentrifiers to move into an area.

As I have mentioned in the previous part, the economic view explaining the process of gentrification takes investors and developers as the primary actors in the process of gentrification. Especially, the works of Smith (1979, 1984, 1987, 1996) put this group at the center of the emergence of the gentrification process. According to this view, the actions of the investors and developers cause the formation of the rent gap and the rent gap (the difference between the potential and current rent of a property) is the major force of gentrification. When a rent gap potential exists in an area, the financial capital either the big construction companies or the smaller real estate firms start to invest in these areas. Big construction companies generally involve in the urban regeneration projects as developers in the state-led gentrification cases. They act as the partners of the public institutions and involve in the production and sometimes the marketing of the properties. The smaller real estate firms buy and renovate old houses when they see the potential of the rent gap in a gentrified area and then market these properties to the potential gentrifiers.

3.2.4. The State with its Central and Local Agencies

Gentrification literature focuses on the increasing role of the urban public policy practices in the process of gentrification in recent years (Van Weesep, 1994; Lees, 2000; Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Smith, 2002). In

addition to the economic and cultural forces, the political forces shape the formation of the process of gentrification. Today gentrification becomes an inseparable part of the urban public policies in various scales from international institutions to national and local public authorities.

The active role of the public authorities in the gentrification has become significant especially after the third wave of gentrification in the 1990s. As mentioned in Chapter 2 the third wave of gentrification came forward with the emergence of the state-led gentrification projects. The relationship between the gentrification and the public policy exists in all waves of gentrification but the most direct relation exists in the third wave in the form of urban entrepreneurship (Lees and Ley, 2008). After the third wave, the public authorities have involved in the mass production and marketing of the gentrified neighborhoods in a gentrification blueprint fashion (Davidson and Lees, 2005). Public authorities have become important actors in the gentrification as a part of the neo-liberal economic and political agendas.

The political restructuring processes along with the decentralization of the state, emergence of the international competitive hierarchies among countries and so on have brought changes in the public policy practices. These processes have emphasized the roles of both the central and local governments to adapt at the global competitive economic environment. Therefore, we see the effects of both the central and local governments to gentrification in different scales in Western countries.

As a part of the global urban strategy, the central governments started to involve in the process of gentrification through infrastructure investments, public-private cooperations, and large scale redevelopment projects (Smith, 2002). New concepts such as city competitiveness (Wyly and Hammel, 2001), promotion of knowledge based economy (Kern, 2009), large scale property speculation (Harris, 2008) and so on make the central governments to integrate in the market forces, private sector entrepreneurialism and large scale urban projects (Wyly and Hammel, 2005). Central governments are now involving in large scale housing and community regeneration projects, mixed community policies, urban renaissance projects on arts, culture and leisure programmes (Lees and Ley, 2008). Most of these policy programmes either put gentrification as a strategy or they face with gentrification as an unpredictable outcome. Therefore managing gentrification becomes an inseparable part of the central government programmes (Freeman, 2006).

We can argue that the role of local governments is also very significant in the gentrification and even their role is more significant than the central government with the decentralization of the state processes. Local governments are now active players in the urban regeneration projects along with the support and partnership of the international and national institutions and private development companies. Rerat, et al. (2009) argues that the local governments have two types of roles in the gentrification: the active role and the passive role. The active role of the local governments shows itself mostly with the state-led gentrification. In state-led gentrification, the municipalities are driving forces in the generation of gentrification. Their roles in the urban regeneration projects, infrastructure investment programmes, planning measures to ease construction, tax regulations to promote individual or corporate investments make them one of the actors in the gentrification.

In the passive role of the local governments, we do not see their direct intervention to the formation of the gentrification. In such cases, they have roles as supporters or motivators who try to build consensus between the different parties such as the state, large development companies, individual entrepreneurs, and so on. The municipalities act as the mediators in large scale policies and public programmes coming from the central authority, such as clearance and high density redevelopment, heritage conservation, subsidized housing, socio-economic redistribution, social mixing policies, and so on (Rerat et al., 2009).

3.3. The Impacts of Gentrification at the Locales

There are various positive and negative impacts or outcomes of gentrification on the economic, social and physical structure of the gentrified areas. The variety and size of these impacts change at each case and according to the viewpoints of the researchers about the process of gentrification. Accordingly while especially the neo-liberal standpoints take gentrification as a positive mean for the market salvation of the urban space through the physical and socio-economic development, generally the political left see this process as a damaging process with social problems such as displacement of the lower income groups (Atkinson, 2002).

Following parts of this chapter discuss the impacts of the gentrification process at the locales in respects to the economic, social and physical impacts of the gentrification. Although in real life it is not possible to make such separations among the impacts of gentrification as economic, social and physical, for analytical purposes, I examine the impacts with these sub-headings.

3.3.1. Economic Impacts

There are both positive and negative economic impacts of the gentrification process. However, the general focus is on the positive economic impacts of the gentrification process as some scholars argue that the gentrification process brings economic vitality to the gentrified neighborhoods. (Freeman and Braconi, 2004, Freeman, 2005)

The major positive economic impact of the gentrification is about the real estate market. Gentrification brings vitality to the real estate market as the property values in a gentrified area increases significantly. This economic vitality leads many public and private actors (such as private construction companies, real estate agencies, lending institutions, local governments and so on) to earn high amount of revenues. With the in-movement of the affluent residents (gentrified) to a particular area, the demand for housing and other amenities increases which brings the need for further investments both to the existing properties and to the new constructions. Construction companies start to invest in these areas and due to higher demands they earn greater profits. The marketing pillar of this new housing supply, generally the real estate agencies, also starts to earn profit. Moreover, the mortgage lending institutions receive a share from this supply, and start to lend mortgage credits to homebuyers. The taxes such as the property taxes, sales taxes, income taxes and so on also increase thus the local governments increase their tax revenues. Many private and public actors in this process benefit from these value and price increases in the real estate market (Lang, 1982; Duany, 1996; Lind and Hellström, 2003).

The process of gentrification also brings increases in the home ownership and decreases in the vacancy rates, which also makes the gentrified neighborhoods economically vital (Rypkema, 2004). Moreover, this economic vitality in the gentrified

neighborhoods and high housing demand make the local service providers to allocate more funds for infrastructure and services (Lind and Hellström, 2003).

The literature also discusses the positive economic impacts of the gentrification process for the locality and local people. For instance, as gentrification provides an appreciation of the property values, the existing owners of these properties profit by selling or renting their properties to gentrifiers or financial institutions in the housing market. Moreover, the gentrification of an area increases job opportunities for the locals because new neighborhood jobs, local goods and services emerge parallel with the consumption culture of the gentrifiers. Also, gentrification pulls private investments and new businesses such as new cafés, restaurants, shops, hotels and so on to these areas. So it is expected that the gentrified neighborhoods experience economic vitality and poverty reduction (Byrne, 2003; Lind and Hellström, 2003).

Considering the economic negative impacts of gentrification, we can see that the process of gentrification mostly affects the locals in a gentrified area. As gentrification introduces more affluent residents (gentrifiers) and new lifestyles with new consumption habits, there appear significant increases in the living costs at a gentrified area. Locals in a gentrified area have difficulties in affording daily life in their neighborhoods due to rising rents, taxes and daily life prices. These existing residents suffering from rising prices are mostly the tenants. They also experience evictions by their landlords. As land prices increase due to gentrification, landlords want more revenue and either evict their tenants or compel them to pay higher rents. Rising living costs results with homelessness, poverty, displacement or replacement of the poor (Atkinson, 2000; 2002; 2003; 2004).

3.3.2. Social Impacts

There are also both positive and negative social impacts of the gentrification process. However, the literature generally focuses on the negative social impacts as most of the gentrification cases result in the displacement and/or replacement of the lower income locals in a gentrified area.

In most of the cases of gentrification, especially the lower income locals are displaced and / or replaced by the more affluent residents. As gentrification is in itself a demographic shift from lower income groups to better educated and more affluent

residents, it ultimately results with the displacement of the economically and socially vulnerable groups. In most of the cases of gentrification, the tenant locals are the most disadvantaged groups as they could not afford the rising taxes and rents in their neighborhoods (Keating, 2000). As gentrification increases the property values and prices, it usually becomes difficult for the lower income locals to sustain staying in their current residences or to find affordable houses. Thus, they have to leave from their neighborhoods. Atkinson and Wulff (2009) explain this as:

It is less clear how, and how many, households are displaced as a result of being out-bid in the rental and purchase markets in formerly low-cost areas. Households may be displaced either as they look for new accommodation and find that the market now exceeds their incomes, or because they are “tipped-out” of the area as a result of rental increases in their current properties. Gentrification thus not only reduces the supply of affordable accommodation, but also threatens the sustainability for those with existing tenure in neighborhoods. (ibid: 10)

As we can see, the displacement of the lower income locals is an important outcome of gentrification. The locals are displaced as either they could not afford the rising rents and living costs or they are evicted.

There are two basic displacement types in the gentrification literature: the direct displacement and the indirect displacement (Davidson and Lees, 2009). At the direct displacement, locals are evicted or harassed by their landlords or the gentrifiers. At the indirect displacement locals choose to move out due to the higher prices, taxes, rents, and new social structure. In some cases, the indirect displacees are the owner occupiers, these people move out from their neighborhoods to make economic profit. Therefore, direct displacement is a form of involuntary displacement; whereas indirect displacement is a form of voluntary displacement.

However, either direct (involuntary) or indirect (voluntary), some argue that, displacement might benefit the poor. Vigdor et al. (2002) argues that as gentrified neighborhoods become more desirable and more people move in, the current poor residents may move and accept the cost of relocating, but perhaps enjoy better housing elsewhere, or stay and accept the increased costs, but in this case they may enjoy better services and opportunities. A study of NBER (National Bureau of Economic Research) in USA reveals that the locals accepting to stay in the gentrified neighborhoods experience widespread increases in their income in USA (McKinnish, et al., 2008).

Despite of this argument, the displacement of the locals is not simply a population change or market dislocation. It is also a change in the neighborhood dynamics in the gentrified neighborhoods. These dynamics are loss of the sense of place, changes in the characteristics of the social community, decline in the community spirit and cohesiveness, changes in the human character, family and home, loss of the sense of power and possession, and so on (Atkinson,2000; Keating 2000; Lind and Hellström, 2003; Rypkema, 2004;Atkinson and Wulff, 2009).

Moreover gentrification leads to social polarization in terms of income and lifestyle between the locals and gentrifiers. In some cases, there are conflicts between these two groups. As they have different lifestyles, it becomes difficult to share the same place and being good neighbors (Spain, 1993).

In addition to the displacement and/or replacement arguments, there are also positive social impacts of gentrification with the “social mixing and integration” arguments. These arguments claim that gentrification provides the opportunity for the middle-income and the low-income people to live together in the same neighborhood. The main proponent of the social mixing arguments through gentrification is the local and central public authorities. They use social mixing as a positive public policy ideal in their urban regeneration, renewal and revitalization projects. Major rhetoric of these projects is to reach socially mixed, less segregated neighborhoods (Lees, 2008). The encouragement of social mixing in their projects is a mean for public authorities for the adoption of the neo-liberal policy making trends such as inclusive design (Florida, 2003; Rose, 2004). Policy makers argue that the creation of socially mixed neighborhoods help the poor by giving them new economic and social opportunities (Slater, 2005). These economic and social opportunities are the new jobs, new public services, new networks and contacts with more affluent residents (Schoon, 2001).

In addition to the public authorities, the new middle class is another motivator in the promotion of the social mixing through the process of gentrification. Some of the gentrifiers consciously prefer to live in deteriorated inner-city neighborhoods with the locals to experience difference and diversity through their liberal lifestyle desires such as coming back to the nostalgia, experiencing the neighborhood living and so on (Lees and Ley, 2008; Lees et al., 2008).

Another positive social impact of gentrification is that the new atmosphere created with the introduction of gentrifiers in deteriorated neighborhoods enhances the

neighborhood safety, decreases the crime rates, and increases the quality, quantity and standards of the public services and amenities. Moreover, gentrification provides better images for the neighborhoods as the gentrifiers introduce new cultural identities and consumption habits (Lind and Hellström, 2003; Rypkema, 2004).

3.3.3. Physical Impacts

The most important physical impact of the gentrification is about the upgrading of the physical environment. Gentrification brings reinvestment in deteriorated neighborhoods and provides physical stabilization of these usually declining areas (Atkinson, 2002; Lang, 1982). Either through urban renewal projects or individual interventions of the gentrifiers, the physical environment such as buildings, parks, squares, streets and so on is renewed. Moreover, the vacant and abandoned lands are renovated (Rypkema, 2004). Gentrification also causes changes in the uses of buildings. Residential units might be transformed into commercial or cultural units. On one hand, these kinds of transformations are positive as they bring economic and cultural vitality; on the other hand, we should note that these kinds of changes could also have negative impacts on the neighborhood life and characteristics.

There are relatively few negative physical impacts of the gentrification process. One of them is the commercial and /or industrial displacement. Since most of the gentrification cases, especially the ones in the Western cities occur in the working class neighborhoods, we see the physical and functional transformation of the commercial and industrial facilities. As these facilities can no longer stay in the gentrified neighborhoods, they move to the peripheral locations. Moreover, gentrification brings the problem of housing demand pressures on the surrounding poor areas. The displacement and/or replacement of the lower income groups also create problems for the infrastructure and housing of the surrounding neighborhoods (Atkinson and Wulff, 2009).

This chapter detailed the basic dynamics of the gentrification process in respects to the factors (economic, political and social causes), actors and their motivations and the economic, social and physical impacts of gentrification. Accordingly, there are two basic explanations in the Western gentrification literature about the economic, political

and social factors driving the process of gentrification: the ecological explanations and the political-economic explanations. While the ecological explanation of gentrification argues that the process of gentrification is a part of the ecological concepts of the Chicago School of Sociology (invasion, succession, competition and selection and so on), the political-economic explanation argues that the process of gentrification is an outcome of the wider political-economic dynamics of the neo-liberal era. The political economic explanations focus on two views as the economic and socio-cultural and demographic view. The economic view explains the process of gentrification with the capital, production and supply mechanisms of the housing market. The rent gap theory is the dominant argument of this view. The socio-cultural and demographic view explains the gentrification with the culture, consumption and demand mechanisms of the individuals. The theories on the consumer preferences are the dominant arguments of this view. This thesis adopts the political-economic explanations for the factors for the gentrification process.

The basic actors in the formation of the gentrification process are the gentrifiers, locals, financial capital in the housing market, and the state with its central and local governments. Although the profiles of the actors can vary according to each specific case, there are certain typologies such as the new middle class for the gentrifiers, working class, urban poor, and the disadvantaged groups for the locals, real estate agencies and construction companies for the financial capital in the housing market and the central government agencies and the municipalities for the state. The motivations of the each actor group also varies, the literature generally focuses on the motivations of the gentrifiers at gentrifying an area. While the initial motivations of the former gentrifiers are generally about to living in historical ambiances, the later gentrifiers generally have the profit making aims with the rising rents. There is also a classification in the literature for the changing motivations of the gentrifiers as the “risk oblivious” groups (early gentrifiers without the aim of profit making), “risk aware” and “risk averse” groups (later gentrifiers with the aim of profit making and profit maximization).

There are economic, social and physical impacts of the gentrification process. Among the economic impacts the economic vitality arguments, among the social impacts the displacement and /or replacement of the lower income locals either

voluntarily or involuntarily arguments and among the physical impacts, the upgrading of the old physical stock arguments are the most important ones.

The next chapter examines the gentrification process and its main dynamics in the Turkish gentrification literature.

CHAPTER 4

THE DYNAMICS OF GENTRIFICATION IN TURKEY

This chapter details the process of gentrification and its dynamics in Turkey. Whereas the gentrification literature in the Western cities has been discussing the process of gentrification since the 1970s, Turkey has experience the gentrification processes since the 1980s and has been discussing scholarly about since the beginning of the 2000s.

The experiences with gentrification in Turkey started in the largest Turkish metropolis, i.e., İstanbul. Also, a great body of the gentrification literature about Turkey focuses majorly on the cases in İstanbul (Enlil, 2000; Ergun, 2004, 2006; İslam, 2003, 2005, 2009, 2010; Uzun, 2001, 2003, 2006).

There are also more than 20 master's and doctoral thesis in Turkey about the process of gentrification. Eight of them are in the fields of urban planning, design or architecture. Table 2 shows these theses about gentrification all of which focus on the cases in İstanbul.

Table 2. Graduate Theses in the Urban Planning, Design and Architecture Fields about the Gentrification Process in Turkey
(Source: Organized by the Author from www.osym.gov.tr)

THESIS IN THE URBAN PLANNING AND DESIGN FIELDS ABOUT THE PROCESS OF GENTRIFICATION IN TURKEY			
MASTER'S DISSERTATIONS			
Year	Author	Name	Name of the Case
2010	Eken, T.	Gentrification in Fener Balat Neighborhoods: The role of Involved Actors	Istanbul (Fener-Balat Neighborhoods)
2007	Budak, B.	Gentrification in the Context of Urban Regeneration Process: Fener-Balat Model	Istanbul (Fener-Balat Neighborhoods)
2006	Kütükoğlu, İ.	Architecture and Gentrification in Cihangir	Istanbul (Cihangir)
2005	Şalgamcıoğlu, M.E.	Examining The Dynamics of Cihangir's Gentrification Process	Istanbul (Cihangir)
2004	Uslu, G.	Gentrification Concept as a Means of Transformation, Comparison of Prag (Londoynska) and İstanbul (Kuzguncuk) Examples	Istanbul (Kuzguncuk)
2003	İslam, T.	Gentrification in İstanbul : The Case of Galata	Istanbul (Galata)
DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS			
Year	Author	Name	Name of the Case
2003	İslam, T.	State-Led Gentrification and the Local Residents: The Case of Neslişah and Hatice Sultan Neighborhoods (Sulukule)	Istanbul (Sulukule)
2006	Şen, B.	Gentrification as a Contradictory Process to Overcome Urban Decline: The Case Of Galata	Istanbul (Galata)

As the research on the cases in Istanbul is more, it is easier to have a general knowledge about the dynamics of the gentrification in Istanbul. However, some of the urban transformation projects in Ankara, the capital city, are too the subject of the gentrification discussions in Turkey (Dündar, 2001, 2003; Güzey, 2006, 2009; Uzun, 2003). In the recent years, a few coastal villages such as Behramkale, Adatepe, Yeşilyurt villages in Çanakkale (İslam, 2005) also experience the gentrification process. However there is not any scholarly published works about these cases. There is only one published work about the gentrification story of a small town Doğanbey, Aydın. Still I will discuss the validity of this example as a gentrification case in the third part of this chapter.

The first part of this chapter gives the general notions about gentrification in the Turkish literature in terms of its translation into the Turkish and the definitions of the gentrification from the viewpoints of the Turkish researchers. The aim is to document whether the definitions of the Turkish researchers differ from the Western gentrification literature due to the geographical differences. The second part focuses on the dynamics of gentrification in Turkey. It documents what the major political, economic and social dynamics are underneath the gentrification process in Turkey, who are the actors and what are the impacts of the gentrification process in Turkey. The third part makes a review of the gentrification cases in Turkey with the subheadings of the cases in Istanbul, Ankara and the Aegean Region and makes a brief review of these cases in respects to their dynamics.

4.1. The Notions of Gentrification in the Turkish Literature

The research about gentrification in Turkey has not a common point when translating the term of gentrification into Turkish and thus, they use various terms. However, the majority of the Turkish resources name gentrification as “soylulaştırma.” We can say that “soylulaştırma” is the closest translation of gentrification as “soylu” refers to the “gentry.” Some resources also use the terms “seçkinleştirme”, “mutenalaştırma”, “burjuvalastırma”, “nezihleştirme”, “jantilesme”, “kibarlastırma”, “ehlilestirme” and so on.

The Turkish works about gentrification generally develop their definitions from the scrutinization of the Western literature. The definitions majorly conceptualize the

gentrification process as a socio-spatial change having class struggles, upgrading of the physical environment, displacement and replacement dimensions. Some of the Turkish researchers define gentrification as a socio-spatial renewal (Uzun, 2001, 2003). Some define it as a part of the urban transformation projects in Turkey (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007); whereas others see gentrification as a purpose of these urban transformation projects (Güzey, 2009). Some researchers define gentrification as a part of urban restructuring (Şen, 2006), or as a restoration through the user changes (İslam, 2003), or as the change in social class and ownership (Ergun, 2004, 2006), or as a change in housing market (Enlil, 2000), and so on.

Still the majority of the Turkish researchers agree with the definitions of the Western gentrification literature. All these definitions refers to the process of changes in the class composition, changes in the ownership, upgrading of the old physical stock, displacement and /or replacement of the lower income groups through the in-movement of the groups with higher income and education levels and private and public investors to inner-city deteriorated neighborhoods. Therefore, we can argue that, the Turkish researchers generally define gentrification from the synthesis of the Western gentrification literature. Their definitions do not differ from the classical definitions of gentrification in the world wide definitions.

4.2. The Dynamics of Gentrification in Turkey

This section details the factor, actors, and the impacts of the gentrification process in Turkey with the help of the review of the literature about the Turkish gentrification cases.

4.2.1. The Factors for Gentrification

In Turkey, the process of gentrification and its socio-spatial and economic reflections in urban areas are an outcome of the political and economic changes in the 1980s. As different geographies experience similar changes with globalization (İslam, 2003), Turkey experiences the effects and outcomes of the economic, political and

urban restructuring process directly in various areas, such as politics, economy, urban life, social order, lifestyle, consumption habits and so on.

Urban restructuring is a part of the changing production processes of the global economies (Enlil, 2000). The urban restructuring in Turkey started with the replacement of import substitution model with an export and private sector oriented economic model with the liberal economic policies after the military coup of 1980 (Uzun, 2001). This economic model favors the integration with the global economy. Turkey witnessed changes in the production and technology sectors, social life, and the physical environment and so on to integrate with the global economy (Ergun, 2004; İnceoğlu and Yürekli, 2011). This new economic model does not put the industrial production to the center of the economic development and sees the service jobs, information and communication technologies, arts, entertainment sector, business, and so on as the “globally accepted ways” to be a part of the new global order.

Neo-liberal urban restructuring also affects the central areas of the Turkish cities. Through the adoption of the free market economy, city centers are becoming business and finance centers especially with foreign investments (Ergun, 2004). Arts, entertainment and consumption sectors are rising and, city centers are becoming to host exclusive brands, designer boutiques, jazz bars, hotels, cafés, world cuisine restaurants, fast food chains, hypermarkets, shopping and convention centers, international art activities, concerts, exhibitions and so on (Şen, 2006; Tok et al., 2011). The real estate market and the cultural industries started to be leading economic sectors especially for Istanbul (Aksoy, 2008). Keyder (1992) summarizes Istanbul’s situation with the question “how to sell İstanbul?” in the integration process to the world economics. In time, the flow of global lifestyle materials and events also spread to the other metropolitan areas and even smaller cities in Turkey (İslam, 2005).

Neo-liberal political and economic agendas also change the role of the governmental bodies and the content of their political programmes in Turkey. Accordingly the comprehensive perspective of the modern planning in Turkey is replaced by the fragment perspectives favoring the piecemeal project packages (Dinçer, 2010). Also, the new legislations such as the Laws no. 775 and 2981 about the squatter areas, law no. 5366 “Law on the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-use”, law no. 4767 “The Mass Housing Law”, law no. 5393 “The Municipality Law” and so on also supported the changing role of the

government and its policies. These laws supported the piecemeal project packages such as “urban transformation projects” especially on historically valuable areas and in squatter settlements, and also the dominance of the local governments in the urban policy making processes.

The 1980s is the period of the massive urban regeneration and renewal projects of the state and the local governments in Turkey similar to the Western countries (Uzun, 2006a). The urban transformation was done through the renewal of the deteriorated and/or historical residential areas which results in the process of gentrification and also the regeneration of the industrial, commercial and coastal areas. Also in the 2000s the local government and the private sector partnerships became dominant and urban transformation was utilized as an urban policy strategy in most of the regeneration and renewal projects. The transformation and gentrification of the historical inner-city neighborhoods accelerated in this period (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007).

The economic and political changes directly affected the Turkish cities. Among them, İstanbul comes into prominence as a global actor in the new order with foreign financial investments, regeneration projects, real estate investments in exclusive and gated living areas, art and culture initiatives, so on. The gentrification in the inner-city historical neighborhoods of İstanbul is another outcome of the economic restructuring. Also, Ankara engages in the globalization movements basically through the investments in the real estate and the regeneration (urban transformation) projects. Most of the urban transformation projects in the central areas of Ankara results in the process of gentrification. İzmir, the third largest city, is trying to be a part of the urban restructuring through government programs of the ruling party such as cruise ports, yacht marinas, regeneration projects, candidacy for EXPO (<http://www.binaliyildirim.com.tr/pdf/35İzmir.pdf>). Anatolian cities such as Çorum, Denizli, Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş started to build economic linkages with the world through their productions (Eraydın, 1999).

The urban restructuring process directly affects the urban space in terms of economic activities, composition of the labor market and the social classes, consumption patterns, political programmes. The process of gentrification becomes a part of these structural changes in most of the cases especially in İstanbul and then Ankara. It is not possible to see the evolution of gentrification in Turkey separate from the politic-economic dynamics of the urban restructuring process.

4.2.2. The Actors at Gentrification

For analytical purposes, I define the actors of the gentrification process in Turkey as the gentrifiers, locals, financial capital in the housing market and the state with its central and local agencies as I did when examining the Western gentrification literature in Chapter 3.

4.2.2.1. The Gentrifiers

The new middle class profile is the dominant type of the gentrifiers in most of the cases of gentrification in Turkey similar to its Western counterparts.

The changes in the basic economic structure cause changes in the characteristics of the labor force in Turkey, the labor force profile started to shift from blue collar and labor intensive jobs to white collar jobs in banking, finance, reinsurance, real estate, consultancy, publishing, R&D, advertising, media sectors (Bali, 2002; Özkan, 2003; Şentürk and Dökmeci, 2010). The white collar profile dealing with these jobs constitute the new middle class in Turkey (Keyder, 1999).

We can argue that this new middle class in the 2000s of Turkey is different from the middle classes of 1950s in Turkey (Çoşkun and Yalçın, 2007). The middle classes of the 1950s were composed of the industrial corporate managers, public administrative managers and other professionals (Sözen, 2010). They had different consumption demands and lifestyles such as living in the suburban apartment blocks and having a home-job based daily routine and so on. However, the new middle class in the 2000s of Turkey has different consumption demands and lifestyles. Keyder (1999) defines the lifestyle preferences of the new middle class as the “extravagant consumerist lifestyle.” The major motivator of this consumerist lifestyle is the free flow of the Western lifestyle and the consumption habits due to the process of globalization. The new middle class in Turkey demand to be close to the activity and consumption centers (Enlil, 2000; Çoşkun and Yalçın, 2007). They want to build a new cultural identity (Aksoy, 2008) by demanding the historical housing stock to live intimate neighborhood atmospheres in traditional residential areas instead of apartment blocks in the suburbs.(Keyder, 1999).

Enlil (2000) considers the tendency of the new middle classes in Turkey to settle in the traditional housing stocks with their desire to be “socially exclusive” from the other strata of the society and their desire to use their “symbolic capital.” Behar (2006) explains this with the “nostalgia” phenomenon and uses the term “bo-bo” (bohemian bourgeois) to define the new middle classes in Istanbul. He mentions that, the term bourgeois implies two features as “reproduction” and “distinction.” He claims that the lifestyle preferences of the new middle class yield in the efforts of them to be distinctive and different rather than reproductive, that’s way he adds the term of bohemian to the term bourgeois in his conceptualization.

The new middle class gentrifiers in Turkey also tend to involve in the neighborhood associations. In some gentrification cases in Turkey, we see the involvement of the gentrifiers in the neighborhood associations or NGOs such as Cihangir Beatification Association or the neighborhood associations in Kuzguncuk (see part 4.3 of this chapter). The gentrifiers generally play the role of the founders of neighborhood associations. They are playing pioneer roles either in the establishment of the associations or the revival of the existing ones. The associations generally work on the establishment of the neighborhood ties and the community involvement between the residents, protection of the build environment, control of development pressures and so on (Uzun, 2003). In some of the cases, the locals also participate in these associations (Ergun, 2004).

The new middle class profile in Turkey displays similarities with its counterparts in the Western contexts. Especially, the profiles of the gentrifiers (the socio-economic characteristics and lifestyle preferences) in Istanbul are almost the same with the Western gentrification cases. The gentrifiers in most of the cases in İstanbul are the artists, intellectuals and urban professionals who prefer to live in the historical inner-city neighborhoods.

4.2.2.2. The Locals

In the Turkish gentrification literature, there is a few works about the locals in the process of gentrification. As in most of the cases of gentrification, the local population is displaced and/or replaced from their neighborhoods; it is generally not practically possible for the researcher to track the locals. However, we can say that in most of the gentrification cases in Turkey, the locals are the low income, migrant populations from Anatolian cities. These are generally workers and unemployed people. These people have large household sizes and low education levels (Uzun, 2003; Güzey, 2006; 2009).

4.2.2.3. The Financial Capital in the Housing Market

The financial capital in the housing market is an important actor of the gentrification process in Turkey. Their role is significant in the transformation of the building stock. As we know, one of the important dynamics of the gentrification process is the upgrading of the physical environment and the financial capital in the housing market has a direct effect on this upgrading.

We see the private development companies and real estate agents as the actors of the process of gentrification in Turkey. The private development companies are generally the partners of the state agencies in the urban transformation projects as the contractors. The real estate agents act in the marketing pillar of these projects. In addition, we see the real estate agents in the classic (mainstream) gentrification cases. When the gentrifiers enter an area, they cause the increases in the housing prices. Then, the real estate agents enter the market, they sometimes buy and repair the properties and market them and sometimes act as commission agents (İslam, 2010)

Besides the private actors in the housing market, we see the role of the financial capital in the consumption industries. When an area gentrifies, daily consumption demands increase and private investors enter the market in the form of new cafés, restaurants, hotels, bars, shopping malls and so on.

4.2.2.4. The State with its Central and Local Agencies

Public authorities, the central government and especially the local governments are important actors in the gentrification process in Turkey. Ergun (2004) and Islam (2005) put the role of the public authorities in the gentrification process as “indirect” and “direct.” While the central government has generally the indirect role in the formation of the gentrification process in Turkey, the local governments have both the indirect and direct roles. The indirect effect of the central government emerges with its “law maker” role (Ergun, 2004). Especially in urban transformation and renewal projects, central governments are becoming the indirect actors as the provider of the legislation. In the urban transformation projects in Turkey, the major legal basis is the laws no. 775 and 2981 about squatter areas. Moreover, some specific laws also make central governments as indirect actors in gentrification. For instance, the Bosphorus Law of 1983 makes the central government as an indirect actor in the gentrification of Bosphorus neighborhoods of İstanbul. In these cases, central government, through protective legislation has a positive role contributing to the conservation of the traditional stock because law puts construction limits. Declaration of the protection zones also makes the central government as an indirect actor in the process by its contribution to the conservation of the physical stock.

The role of the local governments in the gentrification process in Turkey emerged mostly through the process of decentralization of the state. The local governments became active actors in the decision making and the implementation phases mostly in the transformation of the urban residential areas (Uzun, 2003). Regeneration projects became an important tool for the local authorities to make their cities as a part of the global order by investing in the upgrading of the physical environment. Municipal programs are focusing on large scale urban transformation projects in the low quality housing areas and traditional neighborhoods (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007; Aksoy, 2008; Güzey, 2009). Keyder (2005: 130) defines this process as “land has finally become a commodity.”

The new legislative frameworks on urban regeneration and renewal give the local governments in Turkey direct roles in the process of gentrification. For instance, the law no. 5366 of dated 2005 “Law on the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-use” gives the local authorities the role of

renewing the historical environments. Also, the revisions in the Mass Housing Law and the Municipality Law of 2004 and 2005 make possible the regeneration and renewal of the historical areas and squatter settlements. In the direct role of the local governments in the urban transformation and urban renewal projects, they become the partners of other public institutions and the private building companies. Güzey (2009:36) states that the local authorities are becoming entrepreneurs shaping the middle and upper income level group's consumer demands by providing new physical alternatives in their urban transformation projects and therefore they directly contribute to the process of gentrification.

The indirect role of the local governments in the process of gentrification in Turkey emerged as a result of their urban revitalization and renewal projects. For instance, when a local government renews a physical environment, this renewed area start to pull investment and higher income groups and in turn the process of gentrification starts. We see the indirect role of the local authorities in the gentrification process with the cases of Ortaköy and Beyoğlu District in İstanbul. As the local government made a revitalization project in Ortaköy square, the area became an attraction point for the intellectuals and artists. Similarly, the revitalization of İstiklal Avenue affected the gentrification process of Galata, Asmalımescit and Cihangir (see the part 4.3).

4.2.3. The Impacts of Gentrification

For analytical purposes, I also categorize the impacts of the gentrification process in Turkey in respects to the economic, social and physical impacts as I did in Chapter 3.

The most significant economic impact of the gentrification process in Turkey is the price and value increases in the gentrified areas. As the living standards and costs increase after the gentrification, most of the locals in the gentrified neighborhoods cannot afford the rising costs (Uzun, 2003; Karaman, 2006). Another economic impact of the gentrification process in Turkey is about the changes in the ownership patterns. Gentrification generally leads a transformation from tenureship to ownership (İslam, 2003).

One of the most significant social impacts of the gentrification process in Turkey is the “displacement of the lower income locals” in the gentrified areas. As in most of the gentrification cases the physical, economic and social environment changes, locals are pushed out from the gentrified areas either voluntarily or involuntarily due to economic and social adaptation problems to the new lives in their neighborhoods. However, in some of the examples such as Kuzguncuk in İstanbul, the locals are not pushed away and they included in the new neighborhood life. Also they are becoming parts of the neighborhood association and decision making processes at the neighborhood level (Uzun, 2003).

A significant physical impact of the process of gentrification in Turkey is the upgrading of the physical environments. In historically valuable sites, the dilapidated traditional housing stock is restored and the urban tissue is rehabilitated. (İslam, 2003). Land use changes in the gentrified areas are another physical impact of the gentrification in Turkey. In some of the cases in İstanbul, such as Ortaköy, Asmalımescit, Galata, most of the residential units were transformed into commercial and entertainment uses (Ergun, 2004).

4.3. The Cases of Gentrification in Turkey

This part examines the gentrification cases from Turkey. There are three main groups as the cases in İstanbul, cases in Ankara and cases in the Aegean Region. At the end of this part, I synthesize the cases in terms of their types, the characteristics of their areas, the characteristics of the gentrifiers and the impacts in a summary table.

4.3.1. Istanbul Cases

The gentrification cases of İstanbul cluster into three groups according to the emergence date and location. İslam (2003) defines three basic waves of gentrification in İstanbul as the “first wave” in Bosphorus neighborhoods (1980s), “second wave” in Beyoğlu District (1990s) and the “third wave” in Historic Peninsula neighborhoods (2000s). The first and second groups that are the Bosphorus neighborhoods and Beyoğlu districts generally display the characteristics of the classic (mainstream) and/ or

commercial gentrification. The third group that is the historic peninsula neighborhoods is the examples for the state-led gentrification.

4.3.1.1. Bosphorus Neighborhoods (Kuzguncuk, Arnavutköy, Ortaköy)

Kuzguncuk, Arnavutköy and Ortaköy started to experience gentrification in the 1980s. The gentrification processes occurred majorly with the individual reinvestments of the new middle classes in Istanbul (Şen, 2006) due to the historical value of the neighborhoods (İslam, 2005). All districts have traditional architectural characters of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and have a good view of Bosphorus and Istanbul. Another common point of these cases is that all were occupied by non-Muslim minorities such as Greeks, Jews, Armenians so on till 1950s and 1960s.

Kuzguncuk:

Kuzguncuk becomes an important example in the gentrification literature of Turkey as it is the first gentrification case. It is a Bosphorus settlement in the Anatolian side of Istanbul. Till 1950s it was occupied by different ethnic minorities. Due to some political problems in the late Ottoman and early Republican era, these non-Muslim populations left the area and it took migrants especially from the Black sea Region of Anatolia (Şen, 2006).

The change in Kuzguncuk started with a pioneer name, a well known architect Cengiz Bektaş. He bought an old house and restored it in 1979. In time his artist friends and other middle class professionals, artists, writers, architects started to come and buy old houses in the area. The restorations achieved to preserve the authentic case. Moreover the current legislation for Bosphorus necessities the conservation of the traditional tissue and limits the new construction. Therefore, there is a well conserved traditional urban tissue. In addition to renovating the physical stock, the gentrifiers organize some social activities and try to make neighborhood life social and vital. The gentrifiers in Kuzguncuk also involve in the neighborhood associations. They build good relations with the existing residences and try to make them aware of the neighborhood culture. We can say that Kuzguncuk does not display the negative consequences of gentrification such as the displacement of the locals (Uzun, 2001; 2003).

Arnavutköy:

Arnavutköy is another Bosphorus settlement in the European side of Istanbul. It has a rich nineteenth century housing stock. Similar to Kuzguncuk, due to some political problems in the early republican era migrants, the area lost its minority population and took migrants from the Black Sea Region of Anatolia (Keyder, 1999).

In 1983 a new legislation made the restoration of the exterior facades of the buildings compulsory. As the existing residents could not afford the restorations they started to sell their houses to the gentrifiers (Şen, 2006). These gentrifiers are generally young middle class populations dealing with finance, advertising and education. Arnavutköy appealed the interest of this new middle class due to the close distance of Arnavutköy to the central business district and also the lifestyle preferences of this new middle class to be close to the city center (Çoşkun and Yalçın, 2007).

Ortaköy:

Ortaköy is another Bosphorus settlement in the European side of Istanbul. It witnessed both classic (mainstream) and commercial gentrification (Şen, 2006). There were also various ethnic groups in Ortaköy and they left the area in time (Enlil, 2000).

Ortaköy has a good sea connection. Nineteenth century apartment buildings and its Ortaköy square are the significant urban characters of the area (Çoşkun and Yalçın, 2007).

In 1989 the local government started a revitalization project in the area for the revival of the Ortaköy square and adjacent streets. After the project completed, higher income groups started to buy and restore houses in the area. Artists and intellectuals settled around the square and the environs. They opened art galleries, antique shops, cafés, bars, restaurants. In time Ortaköy became a popular and crowded area. Due this popularity the entertainment sector such as discos and bars also started to locate in the area. After the introduction of the entertainment sector, the traffic densities and noise increased. The first-comer high income gentrifiers started to be unhappy with the high density and crowd and started to leave the area. With their left, the entertainment sector spread more. Local people of Ortaköy got into conflict with these second-comer gentrifiers. In time, Ortaköy started to lose its popularity (Çoşkun and Yalçın, 2007; Ergun, 2006).

4.3.1.2. Beyoğlu Districts (Cihangir, Asmalımescit, Galata)

Cihangir, Asmalımescit and Galata met with the gentrification process in the 1990s. The major motive behind the gentrification of these areas is their close connection with the culture and entertainment industry in Beyoğlu (İslam, 2005). The gentrification of the Beyoğlu District occurred in parallel with the pedestrianization and revitalization of the İstiklal Avenue by the municipality. After the revitalization project Beyoğlu has become a retail, culture, tourism and entertainment center for the whole city. While İstiklal Avenue undergone a commercial gentrification, its environs Cihangir, Asmalımescit and Galata went under classic (mainstream) gentrification (Sözen, 2010).

Cihangir:

Cihangir is another historic settlement in the Beyoğlu District of İstanbul. It has locational advantages due to its view towards Bosphorus and historical peninsula and its walking distance to Taksim-Beyoğlu CBD. After the revitalization of Taksim-Beyoğlu Area by the municipality, dwelling demand increased for Cihangir. Individual pioneers such as artists, writers, architects and academicians started to move the area and renovated the old housing stock. Gentrification in Cihangir started in an individual base and then continued by the in-movement of small scale investors. The physical stock was conserved by restorations and also with the declaration of the site as an urban conservation area. In time the gentrifiers found an association: The “Cihangir Beatification Association.” The housing prices and cost of living increased in the area and the locals are pushed out (Uzun, 2003).

Asmalımescit:

Asmalımescit is a small district in Beyoğlu in the vicinity of Taksim-Beyoğlu CBD. Till 1950s, the servants of the wealthy Europeans occupied the area. After they left, the area became dilapidated and hosted restaurants, cafés, nightclubs and taverns. After the 1980s the commercial life in the district declined and rent prices went down. Artists and intellectuals such as painters, sculptors bought traditional houses and established workshops. Then, more people started to move such as writers, journalists, architects and so on. New restaurants, cafés, bars were opened. Asmalımescit started to be an expensive and trendy area. In time, former gentrifiers renting the buildings with low rents were replaced by the renters paying higher rents. (Ergun, 2006; Çoşkun and

Yalçın, 2007). Therefore, in Asmalımescit case, we see a kind of “displacement of the first gentrifiers.” Asmalımescit displays the example of both classic (mainstream) and commercial gentrification (İslam, 2005).

Galata:

Galata is another architecturally significant district in Beyoğlu with its nineteenth century building stock. It has close connection with İstiklal Avenue. In the 1970s the area was mostly used by small scale production units due to the low rents. Due to these small scale production units the area became deteriorated. In the 1990s artists discovered the site and rented the buildings to make art galleries. After that, more people started to come who are generally well educated people from art and design sectors, single or childless couples. The housing stock was renovated by the gentrifiers. Real estate prices increased and most of the renters in the area were displaced. With the rising prices, cost of living increased for the locals in the area (İslam, 2003).

4.3.1.3. Historic Peninsula Neighborhoods (Fener-Balat, Sulukule, Tarlabası)

Fener-Balat, Sulukule and Tarlabası are different gentrification cases compared to the rest of the gentrification cases in İstanbul. All of these three cases are the examples of state-led gentrification. Gentrification process occurred with the regeneration and renewal projects of the local governments and international organizations. In the last years, state-led gentrification examples in İstanbul increase in number. Accordingly, regeneration projects in Süleymaniye, Yalı, Kürkçübaşı Districts and so on will possibly give way to the gentrification processes (İslam, 2010).

Fener-Balat:

Fener- Balat district is in the historic peninsula of İstanbul. There are traditional houses and commercial units in the area. Ethnic minorities occupied the area till the mid-twentieth century. After their leave from the area, Fener-Balat took migration from East Anatolia and Black Sea Regions. As this in-migrant population does not have the economic power to sustain the traditional physical stock, the traditional tissue has become dilapidated in time. In 1997, after the HABITAT II Congress in İstanbul, the area was declared as a protection zone. With the collaboration of UNESCO, EU and the

related local government a regeneration project started to restore some of the houses in the area. The project aimed the revitalization of the physical environment and reintegration of the low income locals. After some of the restoration works, a small group of journalists and artists moved the area. As a small portion of the housing stock was restored, gentrification process is relatively small and there are not too many displacements among the locals yet (Şen, 2006; Çoşkun and Yalçın, 2007).

Sulukule:

Sulukule is a dilapidated neighborhood along the city walls of historic peninsula of İstanbul. It has a significant social character as the population is composed of Romans. In 2005, the area was declared as an urban renewal area through a public-quasi-public partnership with the local government and the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKI). According to the project, property owners will pay the difference between the construction cost and the current cost of their properties to become the owners in the renewed area. Project asks existing renters to move mass housing area in the outer locations of Istanbul by paying monthly installments. The project pulled lots of reaction from different sectors of the society as the unique Roman culture is in danger. (İslam, 2010).

Tarlabası:

Tarlabası is an inner-city neighborhood in the close vicinity of Beyoğlu. The area is occupied by the low income groups and illegal immigrants. It has a high crime rate. Both the physical stock and the social life is dilapidated. In 2006, the area was declared as an urban renewal site with public-private partnership. A big construction company is the contractor according to this partnership. The project basically aims to upgrade the physical environment. The existing buildings in the site are demolished and new blocks are built. The replicas of the traditional facades are applied to the new blocks. The project proposes luxury residences, shopping malls, cafés and hotels. Through the large scale transformation of the area the district will probably turn into a gentrified area (İslam, 2010).

4.3.2. Ankara Cases

The gentrification experience of Ankara is different from İstanbul in many aspects. Firstly, the cases in Ankara are less in number than İstanbul. Secondly, Ankara does not experience gentrification in the same way with the most of the gentrification cases in İstanbul. We do not see the classic (mainstream) or commercial gentrification examples in Ankara. The gentrification cases of Ankara are the typical examples of the state-led gentrification.

The renewal of the squatter housing areas is among the policy priorities of the municipalities in Ankara in the last years (Dündar, 2003). Urban transformation projects for the squatter settlements in Ankara include the transformation of both the inner-city squatter areas and the ones in the peripheral locations. Inner-city squatter areas experience gentrification rather than peripheral squatter areas. Because, the inner-city squatter areas are surrounded by expensive residential areas and they have the potential to be upscale neighborhoods. After the transformation of these inner-city squatters, they become ready to gentrify by the high-income groups (Güzey, 2009).

The transformation of the squatter areas in the central locations of Ankara is led by the local municipalities, Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ) and big private construction companies. After the demolishment of one-two storey squatters, high rise, upscale buildings are constructed. This pulls upper income populations to these areas. Although, most of the regeneration projects puts the prevention of displacement of the locals as a project goal, the resulting physical environment, rent speculations and the new social life push the existing low income occupiers to either other squatter settlements or peripheral locations in the city (İslam, 2005; Güzey, 2009).

There are two typical gentrification cases in Ankara as Dikmen Valley Project and Koza and Küpe Streets in GECAK Project.

4.3.2.1. The Dikmen Valley Project

The Dikmen Valley was a central squatter area surrounded by high and middle class housing areas in Çankaya District of Ankara. The residents of the valley were low income migrants from the Inner Anatolian Region of Turkey. In 1989, with the collaboration of the Greater Municipality, district municipalities and a big private construction company, the Dikmen Valley project started. The aim of the project was to make the valley a recreation area and upgrade the deteriorated physical environment. Another aim was to keep the locals in the site by providing them prefabricated apartment blocks. In the first phase, construction of the prefabricated houses completed and the existing squatter population moved their new houses. In the second phase upscale villas on the other side of the valley and two prestige towers between the prefabricated apartment blocks and the villas were constructed. High-income groups settled in these upscale residences. With the project a socio-spatial segregation process experienced. As squatter population has a tendency to continue their semi-rural lifestyle in the apartment blocks, they could not adopt the new environment and left the area (Uzun, 2003).

4.3.2.2. Küpe and Koza Streets in GEÇAK Project

Küpe and Koza Streets are also in the Çankaya District of Ankara. The area was a squatter settlement of one-two storey squatters with unhealthy sanitary conditions and geologic inconveniences. The migrant population with low income and education levels occupied the area. Around the site there were high-income housing areas. The local municipality decided to transform the squatters into new apartment blocks. The collaboration model of the project includes the municipality, a private construction company and the building cooperatives that would be built by the squatters. The project also aimed to keep the local population on the site through the building cooperatives. The project finished in the mid-1990s. After the physical environment changed, the squatter population deserted the area since they cannot adopt the new social profile and life in the area. High-income and education groups have taken the area over and a new gentrified environment emerged (Güzey, 2006; 2009).

4.3.3. The Cases in the Aegean Region

The majority of the gentrification cases in the Aegean Region display the characters of the rural and touristic gentrification. The Aegean Region of Turkey has a lot of touristic attraction points. The rural and touristic gentrification cases of the Aegean Region are in the small coastal towns. These towns generally stand out with their traditional architectural stock and their nature and sea. These features make the seashore towns attractive for people who are seeking for holiday or desiring to settle in a small seashore town after living in metropolitan areas. Thus, these seashore towns started to attract people from the big cities. These people come and buy traditional houses in these destinations and cause changes in the physical and social environment. We can count some coastal villages such as Behramkale, Yeşilyurt, Adatepe in Çanakkale (İslam, 2005) and Doğanbey Village in Aydın (Dinçer and Dinçer, 2005) as the examples of gentrification cases in the Aegean Region. This part discusses the case of Doğanbey as there is no academic works about the other cases yet.

4.3.3.1. The Doğanbey Village

Doğanbey was a traditional settlement in the Aegean Region between Priene and Milet antique cities in Aydın. Till 1924, the Greek population was lived in Doğanbey and in the population exchange in the early Republican Era the Muslim populations were settled in the village. In 1955, there was an earthquake in the village and it was declared as a devastated area and evacuated in 1985 completely. The occupiers in the village moved to a new village namely the “New Doganbey”, built by the state. In 1996, there was a big fire around the Old Doğanbey and green areas have lost. At the end of the 1990s, a group of intellectuals from İstanbul came to Old Doğanbey and bought the ruined houses. The houses were demolished and reconstructed again according to a new architectural style. This new style is directly opposite to the authentic values of the traditional architecture and pulled many objections from the conservation specialists. After all these changes a new social life is created in Doğanbey, far from the original case (Dincer and Dinçer, 2005)

Although Dincer and Dinçer (2005) defines the case of Doganbey as an example of rural gentrification, I argue that, since the Old Doğanbey was abandoned and there was no locals before the in-movement of the new comers, it is questionable to see the case of Doğanbey as a gentrification example.

The Table 3 summarizes the gentrification cases in İstanbul, Ankara and the Aegean Region chronologically in respects to the types of gentrification, characteristics of the areas, characteristics of the gentrifiers and the impacts. I also ask the question if the case of Alaçatı is put on this table, how would the Alaçatı part be filled?

Table 3. Summary Table of the Cases of Gentrification in Turkey
(Source: Organized by the Author)

CASES		TYPE	CHAR. OF THE AREA	CHAR. OF THE GENTRIFIERS	IMPACTS			
					Displacement	Social Mixing	Physical Upgrading	
ISTANBUL CASES	BOSPORUS NEIGHBORHOODS	Kuzguncuk	Classic	Historic	Artists, architects, writers	No	Yes	Architectural
		Arnavutköy	State-led Classic	Historic	Young Middle class professionals	Yes	No	Architectural
		Ortaköy	State-led Classic Commercial	Historic	First: artists and intellectuals Then: entertainment sector	Yes	No	Architectural
	BEYOGLU DISTRICTS	Cihangir	Classic	Historic	Artists, architects, writers	Yes	No	Architectural
		Asmalimescit	Classic Commercial	Historic	Artists, architects, writers	Yes (Existing users + first gentrifiers)	No	Architectural
		Galata	Classic Commercial	Historic	Artists	Yes	No	Architectural
	HISTORIC PENINSULA NEIGHBORHOODS	Fener- Balat	State-led	Historic	Artists (few)	No	No	Architectural
		Sulukule	State-led	Squatter	High-income residents (estimated by the project-not finished)	Yes	No	Total
		Tarlabaşı	State-led	Historic	High-income residents (estimated by the project-not finished)	Yes	No	Total
ANKARA CASES	Dikmen Valley Project	State- led	Squatter	High-income groups	Yes	No	No	
	Küpe and Koza Streets in GECAK Project	State- led	Squatter	High-income groups	Yes	No	No	
AEGEAN REGION CASES	Doğanbey (Aydın)	Rural	Historic	High-income groups	No (no locals)	No	No	
	ALAÇATI (İZMİR)	?	?	?	?	No	?	

As Table 3 suggests, the majority of the gentrification cases in İstanbul occur in the historical inner-city neighborhoods. The gentrifiers are the new middle class populations who are generally the artists and the urban professionals. The majority of the cases result in the upgrading of the building stock and the displacement of the low income locals. The cases in Ankara occur in the squatter settlements in the central locations of the city. The gentrifiers are high-income groups. The cases in Ankara result in the total demolition and reconstruction of the whole urban tissue and the displacement of the lower income squatters. As there is only one published work about the gentrification process in the Aegean Region cities and it is questionable whether the case of Doğanbey is an exact gentrification case, it is not possible to generalize the cases in the Aegean Region. Yet we can say that in the case of Doğanbey, the process occurred in an historical seashore town. The gentrifiers are high-income groups living in the metropolitan cities. The case of Doğanbey results in the reconstruction of the building stock and there is no displacement or social mix as there is any local in the village.

This chapter detailed the basic dynamics of the gentrification process in Turkey. To do so it examined the definitions of gentrification from the viewpoints of the Turkish researchers, the economic, political and social factors, the actors and the impacts of the gentrification process in Turkey and the cases of gentrification in İstanbul, Ankara and the Aegean Region. The Turkish researchers generally define the process of gentrification from the scrutinization of the Western gentrification literature. The Turkish researchers generally differ in the way that they translate the term into Turkish. Accordingly, there are different translations such as “soylulaştırma”, “seçkinleştirme”, “mutenalaştırma”, “burjuvalaştırma”, “nezihleştirme”, “jantilesme”, “kibarlaştırma”, and “ehlileştirme” and so on. The process of gentrification is also an outcome of the economic, political and urban restructuring of the neo-liberal era similar to the cases in the Western contexts. The difference is that Turkey experienced both the economic, political and urban restructuring and the process of gentrification later than its Western counterparts. The process of gentrification started in Turkey in about the 1980s and it entered the literature in the 2000s. Although there are various types of gentrification in the Western gentrification cases, Turkish cities experience some types of gentrification such as classic (mainstream) gentrification, commercial gentrification, state-led gentrification and rural and touristic gentrification. Moreover, the composition of the

actors of the gentrification process in Turkey is similar to the Western gentrification literature.

Accordingly we can also count the basic actors of the gentrification process in Turkey as the gentrifiers, the locals, the financial capital in the housing market and the state with its central and local governments. Besides, there are economic, social and physical impacts of the gentrification in Turkey. Accordingly, the economic impacts are the rising property values and the living costs and change in the ownerships. The social impacts are the displacement of the locals for most of the Turkish cases and the inclusion of the locals for some other cases of gentrification. And the physical impacts are the upgrading of the physical environment.

Finally, we can classify the cases of gentrification in Turkey in three groups as the cases in Istanbul, Ankara and Aegean Region. Istanbul has the first and most significant cases of gentrification. Also, the cases of İstanbul is more in number than the other cities in Turkey. The cases in İstanbul display the classic (mainstream), commercial and state-led gentrification examples. There are two gentrification cases in Ankara and both of them are the examples of state-led gentrification. Although there is nearly any academic work about the gentrification of the small seashore towns in Turkey, there is one example from Aydın in the Aegean Region, which is Doğanbey village as a rural gentrification example. However, as mentioned, it is questionable whether this example is an exact gentrification case because there are no locals, which are important actors for the process of gentrification to occur, in the case of Doğanbey.

The remaining chapters of this thesis deal with “how to fill the row for Alaçatı at Table 3” by investigating the dynamics of the gentrification process in Alaçatı.

CHAPTER 5

THE STUDY METHODS AND THE STUDY SITE

This part details the methods for data collection that I have used during my case study in Alaçatı and the general context of my study site in respects to its location and geography, history, demography, economic structure and physical structure.

5.1. Study Methods for Data Collection and Analysis

I collected the data for my study site from the archival and ethnographic methods. In the archival sources I used the archive of the Alaçatı Municipality, books, articles, dissertations, local newspapers and magazines, statistical documents, reports, brochures, and internet sources and all other published and electronic sources about Alaçatı. In the ethnographic methods, I conducted site observations and face-to-face interviews with the various groups in Alaçatı. There are two phases of my ethnographic studies.

The first phase was my pilot study in June 2011 in Alaçatı. In this first study, my aim was to understand the general context of Alaçatı and the background of the “gentrification” process. Moreover, this pilot study constituted the base of my face-to-face interview questions for the second phase of my field work. During my site observations at my pilot study, I took photos of different parts of Alaçatı and also made sketches especially of the traditional physical environment in the town center. Also I interviewed 10 local people who are the residents living in Alaçatı more than 20 years. My interview questions were about the history of the gentrification process in Alaçatı. The selection technique of these respondents was the snowball technique. Accordingly, I talked to the muhtars (headmen) of the neighborhoods in the town center of Alaçatı and the local shopkeepers as the entry points to my field study. I asked these muhtars and local shopkeepers about who to interview with. I talked with three muhtars, three shopkeepers, one bank clerk, one landowner in the gentrified area and one university student.

After the pilot study, I had the second phase of my case study. There I continued with my site observations and conducted face-to-face interviews with 45 people of Alaçatı, who I called as the “gentrifiers”, the “local people”, the “real estate agents” and a “local government official” in Alaçatı. I also used the snowball technique to reach my interview respondents. I interviewed with 21 gentrifiers (9 female and 12 male respondents- the residents living in Alaçatı less than 20 years), 18 locals (6 female and 12 male respondents- the residents living in Alaçatı more than 20 years) and 5 real estate agents and 1 official in the Alaçatı Municipality.

For each group of respondents, the interview questions focused on these themes:

For the gentrifiers:

- i) their socio-economic profiles of the gentrifiers (age, location of residence, education, job history, tenureship, marital status, family care responsibility) before coming to Alaçatı and after coming to Alaçatı,
- ii) their reasons and motivations of the gentrifiers for coming to Alaçatı,
- iii) their actions of the gentrifiers after coming to Alaçatı and the changes in their life conditions and lifestyles then,
- iv) their views about the impacts of the gentrification process to Alaçatı and to local people.

For the local people:

- i) their socio-economic profiles of the locals (age, location of residence, education, job history, tenureship, marital status, family care responsibility) before and after the gentrification of Alaçatı,
- ii) the changes in their life conditions and lifestyles after the gentrification of Alaçatı,
- iii) their views about the impacts of the gentrification process to Alaçatı.

For the real estate agents:

- i) the changes in the housing and real estate sector in Alaçatı,
- ii) the impacts of the real estate sector in the gentrification of Alaçatı.

For the local government official:

- i) the role of the Alaçatı Municipality in the gentrification of Alaçatı.

5.2. The Study Site: Alaçatı

5.2.1. Location and Geography of Alaçatı

Alaçatı is a small seashore town in İzmir province with a total population of (town center and the villages) about 11.000 (ABPRS-Adress based Population Results, 2011- <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr>). İzmir is the third largest city in Turkey a population of 4.000.000 following İstanbul and Ankara (see Figure 3). It is a coastal city in the Aegean Region of Turkey and famous with its touristic destinations with their natural beauties, seashores and historical physical tissues. Alaçatı is among these destinations in the district of Çeşme in İzmir. It is famous for its authentic stone house architecture, vineyards, boutique hotels, sea, climate, windmills, windsurf, and so on.



Figure 3. Location of İzmir in Turkey
(Source: Drawn by the Author)

The wind of Alaçatı is an important feature of the town. As the number of the windy days is above the Turkey's average with 330 days a year, Alaçatı has become an important destination for the windsurf activities especially since the 1990s. Alaçatı is at

the center of the northern and southern wind corridors in the region. The dominant summer northeaster winds make the climate of Alaçatı hot but cooler, whereas the southeaster winter winds make the town's climate mild.

Alaçatı is 7 km far from Çeşme and 79 km distance from İzmir. The town has a direct highway connection with İzmir through İzmir-Çeşme Highway (see Figure 4) Due to this highway, the connection between Alaçatı and İzmir Adnan Menderes Airport is easy.



Figure 4. İzmir-Çeşme Highway Connection

(Source: Drawn by the Author on the base from <http://www.kgm.gov.tr>)

Alaçatı is surrounded by the Çeşme District and the Aegean Sea to the West, Uzunkuyu and Urla Districts to the East, Ilica to the North, and Alaçatı Harbor from the South (see Figure 5). The center of the town is 3 km far from the seashore, which is the Alaçatı Harbor. The altitude from the sea is 16 km. The town has approximately 55 km² area. Alaçatı has three villages in its administrative boundaries as Ildırı (Erythrai), Reisdere and Germiyan Villages. There is an inactive volcano, Mount Karadağ on the west of Alaçatı and this volcano provides thermal resources to the region. There is also

a drinking water dam, Alaçatı Kutlu Aktaş Dam in Alaçatı (Alaçatı Guide, 2008; the Official Website of Alaçatı Municipality-, <http://www.alacati.bel.tr>).



Figure 5. Alaçatı and its Environs
(Source: Alaçatı Tourism Association, 2008)

5.2.2. A Brief History of the Settlement

The history of Alaçatı goes back to the ancient times due to its location in the Aegean part of Anatolia. Alaçatı was located in one of the twelve Ionian cities, Erythrai, in the ancient times. In those times, Çeşme was the harbor of the Erythrai and Alaçatı was a part of Çeşme. Alaçatı with the name of Agrilia is located in the center of these 12 Ionian cities (Herodotos, 1973) (see Figure 6).

There are various rumors about the original name of Alaçatı. Among them, “Agrilia” is the well known and accepted one (Umar, 1993). Also there are other names such as Alacık, Alasta, Alacaat, and so on for the original name of Alaçatı.

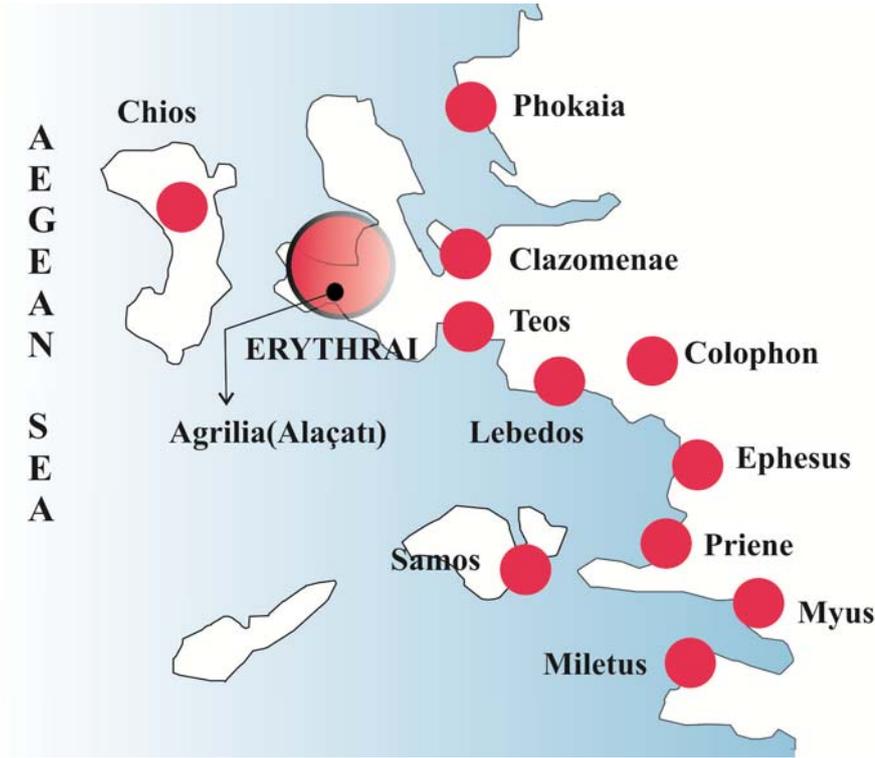


Figure 6. 12 Ionian Cities and the Location of Alaçatı
(Source: Drawn by the Author)

Erythrai today is one of the villages of Alaçatı with the name of Ildırı (Özgönül, 2010). The first settlements in Erythrai go back to the Bronze Age. The first colonial settlers in Erythrai were Crete migrants (Gezgin, 2007). Then the Lydians, Persians, Macedonians, King of Pergamum and Roman Empire and then Byzantine Empire ruled the city respectively (Akurgal, 2002).

Alaçatı lost its economic significance after the 3rd century under the rule of the Byzantine Empire. In those years Islamic navies took the control of the Aegean coasts and Alaçatı became a village of Ephesus episcopacy under the rule of Byzantine Empire (Bayburtoğlu, 1975). In the Anatolian Seljuk's period, Çaka Bey dominated İzmir and its environs and Turks started to settle in Alaçatı in the 11th century. However, especially after the death of Çaka Bey, the Turkish dominance decreased in the region and the Byzantines took the power again till the 14th century (Gezgin, 2007). After the second half of the 14th century, the region was dominated by the Aydınoğulları Beyliği. In this period Çeşme Peninsula became an important destination for sea trade. Çeşme

and Alaçatı Harbors were the central locations in sea trade in Aydınoğulları Beyliği Period. There were strong trade relations especially with Genoese (Baykara, 1980).

In 1425, Sultan Mehmet Çelebi as the Ottoman padişah, took the rule of the Çeşme Region to the Ottoman Empire. In these years, various Turks settled in the area. In “Çeşme Kanunnamesi” dated back to 1530, Alaçatı was mentioned as “Alacaat” and there were 127 dwellings in Alaçatı, 60 in Ildırı and 211 in Çeşme (Özgönül, 1996). The 15th century Alaçatı is known as a Turkish settlement. In the 16th century, Ottoman Empire got the power in the Aegean Sea and they conquered Sakız (Chios) Island in 1556. After that, the harbors in Çeşme Peninsula lost their importance and İzmir became a trading center in the region. An important name for the Turkish seamanship, Piri Reis also mentioned Çeşme and Alaçatı settlements. Harbors in his book ‘Kitab-ı Bahriye’ (Senemoğlu, 1973). In the 17th century Alaçatı became a small “timar” settlement with an agricultural economic base. There was a plague epidemic in 1672, an earthquake in 1688 and again a plague epidemic in 1732 and these caused the population decreases in the area (Özgönül, 2010).

At the end of the 18th century, a “yeniçeri (janissary)” of the Ottoman Empire, Hacımemiş Ağa, whose name still exists with one of the neighborhoods in Alaçatı town center, came and settled in Alaçatı. As the southern part of Alaçatı was full of swamps which carried malaria, Hacımemiş Ağa led the drying up swamps through the opening of a canal (Interview with Önder, 59, living in Alaçatı since his birth, a shopkeeper and the ex-council member of the previous local government; Atilla and Öztüre, 2006). Then he built the Turkish neighborhood in the southern part of the town around the Hacımemiş Mosque in today’s Hacımemiş Mahallesi (Gezgin, 2007). Hacımemiş Ağa brought Greek workers from the Sakız (Chios) Island to work in his farms and also in the construction of the canal. Greek workers took land from Turkish landowners in return for their work. In time the Greek workers permanently settled in the region and brought their own traditions and occupations such as viniculture and wine production (Atilla and Öztüre, 2006). First they settled in the harbor area and then they constructed today’s town center in the Northern parts of Hacımemiş Mahallesi. Most of the traditional stone houses in Alaçatı today date back the second half of the 19th century (Özgönül, 1996). The only existing monumental building inherited from Greeks is Ayios Konstantinos Church. It was constructed in 1913. In the Republican Era the church was converted into a mosque. Recently, in 2010 the building was restored and

it now functions both as a church and a mosque. It is located in Pazaryeri area in Tokoğlu Mahallesi(see Figure 7).



Figure 7. The Ayios Konstantinos Church- Pazaryeri Camii
(the Author's Archive- July 2011)

In the 19th century, the Alaçatı Harbor became important for wine trade to Sakız (Chios) Island and France. Till 20th century, the number of Greek population was much higher than the Turkish population (Gezgin, 2007). In 1880, the population of Alaçatı was 4133 among them 4055 was Greek and 78 was Turkish. In 1895, total population was 11.947 and there were 11.606 Greek, in 1907 the total population was 15000 and there were 50 Turks (Özgönül, 1996; Gezgin, 2007).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the population composition of Alaçatı changed significantly and the number of Greeks started to decrease in the Independency War period. A population exchange occurred between Greece and Turkey out of the

Lausanne Treaty after the 1919-1922 Independency War. According to this Treaty, Balkan immigrants were brought Turkey and Greeks left Turkey and settled in Greece. This population exchange directly affected Alaçatı and Greek population left and minorities from Balkan countries mainly from Macedonia, Yugoslavia, Thessaloniki, Crete, Bosnia, Abenia and so on settled in Alaçatı. The Turkish army entered İzmir in 15 September 1922 and the Greek population vastly left the settlement after the treaty signed in 30 January 1923 between Turkey and Greece. After the Turkish minorities settled in Alaçatı, they started to settle in the houses emptied by the Greeks. As these minorities were not accustomed viniculture, they started to tobacco production, melon production and cattle breeding. Turkish immigrants made some alterations to the houses according to their own needs and customs. They turned into the wine cellars in the ground floors of the traditional houses to tobacco cellars or barns (Özgönül, 1996; Gezgin 2007; Atilla and Öztüre 2004).

After the 1980s the basic sector of Alaçatı shifted from agriculture and animal husbandry to culture and tourism sectors. The town has become a popular touristic town.

5.2.3. Demographic Structure of Alaçatı

As mentioned in the previous part, the majority of the population was Greek in Alaçatı in the 18th and 19th century. At the beginning of the 20th century, the population composition of the town started to change. Table 4 shows the population changes in Alaçatı between 1880 and 1911.

Table 4. The Population of Alaçatı between 1880 and 1911
(Source: Ülker, 1995 as cited in Kocamanoğlu, 2010:17)

Year	Non-Muslim	Female	Male	Muslim	Female	Male	TOTAL
1880	4055			78			4133
1881							13800
1885							12800
1889							14000
1890							11428
1892							9690
1893	13845	8440	5405	127	67	60	13972
1894	12551	6398	6010	143	69	74	12694
1895	11606	5681	5925	341	172	169	11947
1896	11682	5726	5956	345	173	172	12027
1898	12035	6013	6022	346	173	174	12382
1901	12388	6225	6163	354	176	178	12742
1904	15450			50			15500
1907	14950			50			15000
1911							10516

As mentioned, in the Independency War period, the population composition of Alaçatı changed and a population exchange occurred between Greece and Turkey. Turkish immigrants from the Balkan countries came and settled Alaçatı and the Greeks left the area. In these times, the population of Alaçatı significantly decreased. Table 5 shows the population change in Alaçatı between 1927 and 1970.

Table 5. The Population of Alaçatı between 1927 and 1970
(Source: İzmir İl Yıllığı-1973:149)

Year	Total Population
1927	3214
1935	3901
1950	3699
1955	4196
1970	3459

As Table 4 and Table 5 shows, there was a sharp decrease in the population of Alaçatı between 1911 (10516) and 1927 (3214). This suggests us that the population decrease occurred in the population exchange period. As seen in Table 5, between 1927 and 1970 the population of Alaçatı fluctuated in small numbers. We can say the population of Alaçatı after the population exchange till the 1970s was unstable.

However, the population trends in Alaçatı started to change after the 1970s. After 1975 to 2000 onwards, the population of Alaçatı increased due to tourism developments. The city started to pull new migrants. First migrants came from Middle and East Anatolia in the 1980s. These migrants were construction workers and their families. They came to the town due to the job opportunities in the increasing second house and social house constructions. Another group also started to migrate Alaçatı after the 1980s. These are generally high income residents from big cities of Turkey. The in-movement of these high income classes sharply increased in the 2000s (Alaçatı Tourism Association, 2007).

According to TUIK (Turkish Statistical Institute) data, there was a sharp increase between 1985 and 1995 from 4800 to 7100 (see Figure 8).

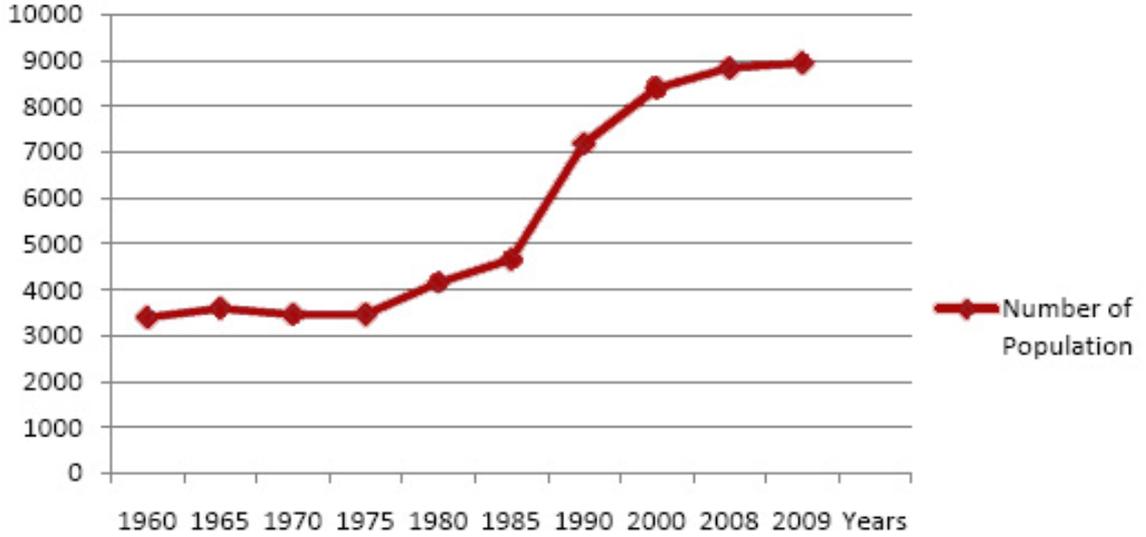


Figure 8. The Population of Alaçatı between 1960 and 2009

(Source: TUIK, 2009)

As we can see from Figure 8, the population of Alaçatı continued to increase from the 1970s till 2009. The population continues to increase from this date to today. The data of the Address Based Population Registration System of the Turkish Statistical Institute reveals that the total population of Alaçatı town center is 9.268 in 2011 the population of the town center with the three (Germiyan, Ildır and Reisdere) villages of Alaçatı is 10.831 (see Table 6).

Table 6. The Population of Alaçatı and Its Villages in 2011

(Source:<http://rapor.tuik.gov.tr/reports>)

		Female	Male	Total
Alaçatı Town Center	Alaçatı	4552	4716	9268
	Germiyan	463	486	949
Villages	Ildır	283	318	601
	Karaköy	3	10	13
TOTAL		5301	5530	10831

Although the total population of Alaçatı is about 11.000 according to Table 6, this number is for the winter season. The summer population of Alaçatı reaches around 50.000 with the tourists and second home residents (<http://www.alacati.bel.tr>)

5.2.4. Economic Structure of Alaçatı

Alaçatı had been a rural settlement and its basic source of living was primarily with agriculture and husbandry till the end of the 1980s. After the tourism developments in the last 20 years (with the tourism investments of the central and local government, the in-movement of the upscale high income groups to Alaçatı for living and / or involving in tourism investments, the increasing popularity of the windsurf activities and so on), the basic economic sector of the town shifted from agriculture to culture, tourism and recreation.

As mentioned, before the population exchange period in the early Republican era, the majority of the population was Greek and they dealt with grape and olive production. In those years, Alaçatı exported wine to foreign countries such as Greece, Italy and viniculture was the dominant production type. After the Turkish immigrants came Alaçatı in the population exchange period, these immigrants started to deal with anise, tobacco, melon, wheat, onion production and animal husbandry as they were not accustomed to grape and olive production. The main economy of Alaçatı had been based on these products for nearly 60-70 years until the 1980s. During this period, Alaçatı had a stagnant economy, majority of the interview respondents mentioned that most people in Alaçatı dealt with tobacco production and they did not earn too much. A minor portion of the population started to involve in tourism sector in the 1970s as workers in the hotels. They worked in big hotels in Çeşme such as Turban Hotel (opened in 1969) and Altınyunus Çeşme Hotel (opened in 1974).

However, in the 1980s onwards there was a significant shift in the basic sector of Alaçatı from agriculture and husbandry to culture, tourism and recreation. The town turned into an upscale touristic destination which follows the process of gentrification in Alaçatı.

5.2.5. Physical Structure of Alaçatı

There are three main parts in Alaçatı with different urban characteristics: i) the town center which has an urban conservation area (Tokođlu, Yenimecidiye and Hacımemiř Mahallesi) , ii) the second homes and the social housing area (Fevzi akmak, Menderes and İsmetpařa Mahallesi), and iii) the southern seashore parts (The Port Alaçatı and the surfing area) (see Figure 9).

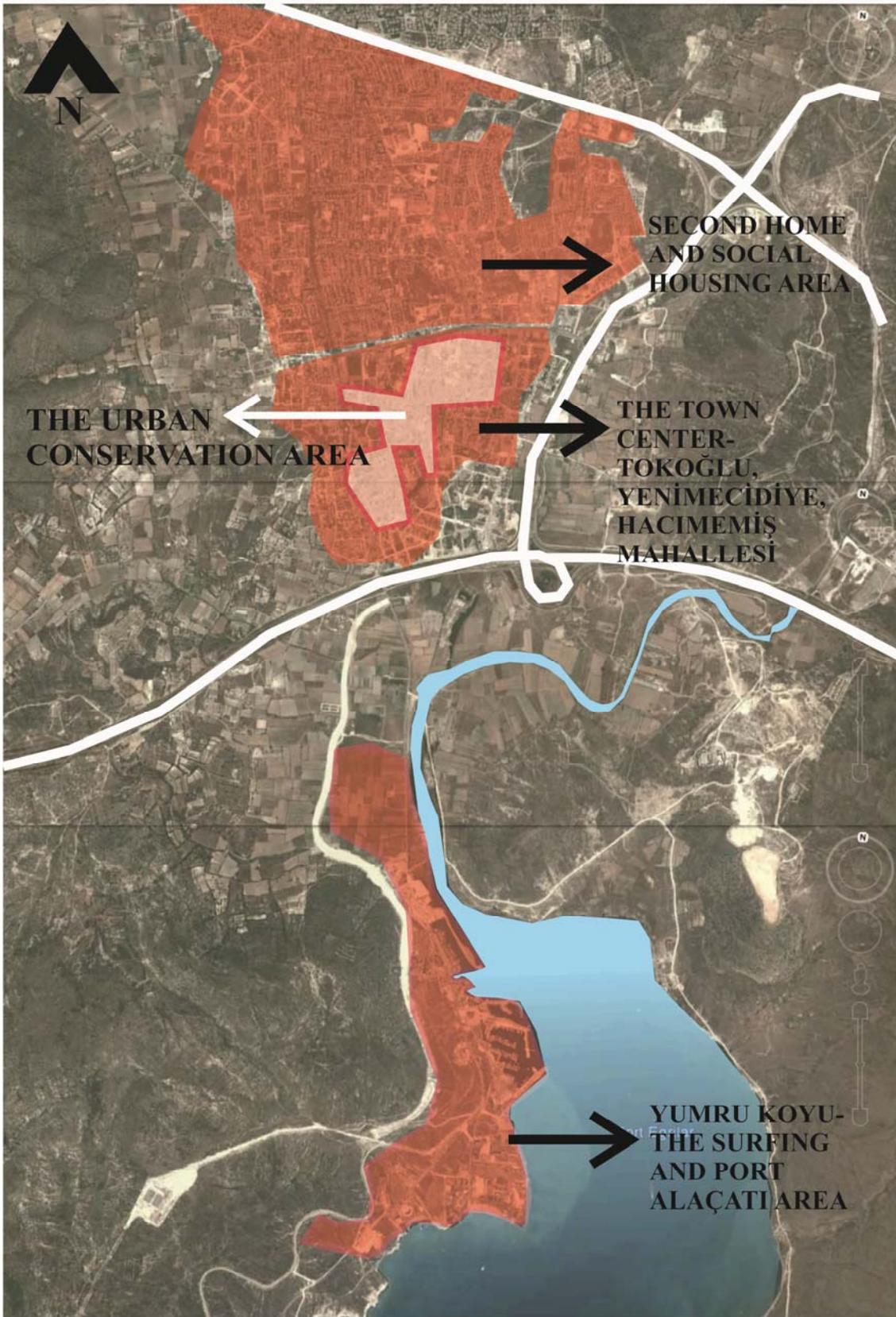


Figure 9. The Parts of Alaçatı
(Source: Drawn by the Author on the Google Earth Image)

This thesis mainly focuses on the town center with the urban conservation area of Alaçatı, since the process of gentrification mostly affects the traditional town center. As mentioned, the town center is the oldest part of Alaçatı as it is the first settled area of the town.

Streets and Squares:

The spatial character of Alaçatı displays an organic tissue. The town center composes narrow streets, cul-de-sacs and small squares. The width of the streets in Alaçatı changes between 6 to 3 meters. Kemalpaşa Street is the main commercial spine of the town center. The other important axes are the Mektep Street, Uğur Mumcu Street and Mithatpaşa Street (see Figure 10). There are four squares in the town center of Alaçatı as the Değirmenaltı Square, the Municipality Square, the Pazaryeri Square and the Hacımemiş Square (see Figure 11).

The Degirmenaltı square is the northern entrance point to the town center. It is associated with the historical windmills, which are also one of the symbols of Alaçatı. The Alaçatı Municipality made an urban renewal project in this square in 2008, which will be detailed in the next chapter. The square is also the area for the celebrations of the special occasions such as the religious and national bayrams and so on.

The Municipality square is on the Kemalpaşa Street and faces the old municipality building constructed in 1873, which is a boutique hotel now. The municipality square works as a node in Kemalpaşa Street and is one of the densest points in Alaçatı in terms of the pedestrian traffic.

The Pazaryeri Square is another nodal point in Alaçatı town center. This square faces the Ayios Konstantinos Church- Pazaryeri Camii. The square functions as the market place of the town center.

The Hacımemiş Square is in the Hacımemiş Mahallesi, which is in the southern section of the town center. The square faces two traditional coffee houses (kahvehanes). The area is still mostly used by the local people of Alaçatı.



Figure 10 .Main Streets in the Town Center of Alaçatı
(Source: Drawn by the Author)

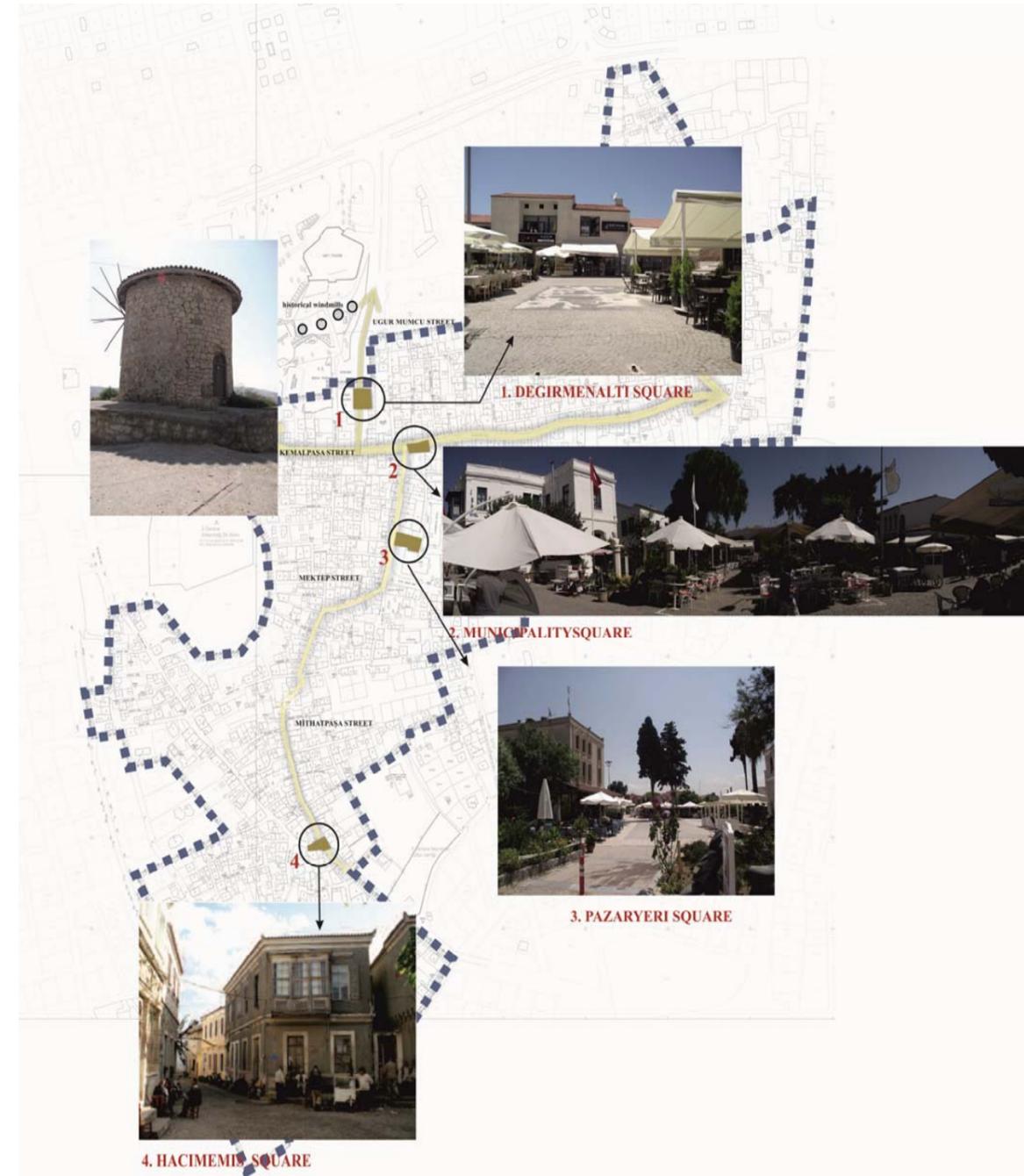


Figure 11. The Squares in Alaçatı Town Center
(Source: Drawn by the Author)

The Civic Architecture:

The traditional architecture of Alaçatı composes the 19th and the early-20th century houses. The architectural character reflects the Mediterranean Architecture with Greek and Turkish architectural styles.

The stone house architecture is dominant in the area. The houses were built with the local stones (limestone) generally two-storey with cumbas (projections) (see Figure 12). The stone house architecture emerged due to the geographic and climatic conditions. The stones keep the houses warmer in winter and cooler in the summers (Alaçatı Municipality, 2007).



Figure 12. A Traditional House in the Town Center of Alaçatı on Kemalpaşa Street
(Source: the Author's Archive- July 2011)

The economic activities and the production type directly affected the traditional architecture. Accordingly, the majority of the houses in Alaçatı town center have a first floor use of animal dams or wine and/or tobacco depots. The houses on the main axes, especially the ones on Kemalpaşa Street have also shops in their first floors and their depots are at their backs (see Figure 13).

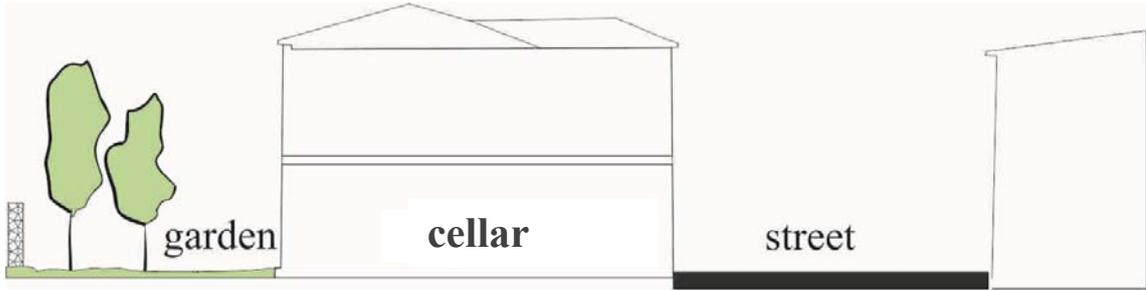


Figure 13. The Conceptual Section of a Traditional House in Kemalpaşa Street
(Drawn by the Author)

The majority of the houses in the town center have direct connection with the streets. There are no semi-public spaces between the streets and the houses. Most of the houses have courtyards or gardens at their back sides (see Figure 14). There are stoves, wells, toilets and trees in the courtyards or gardens of the houses.

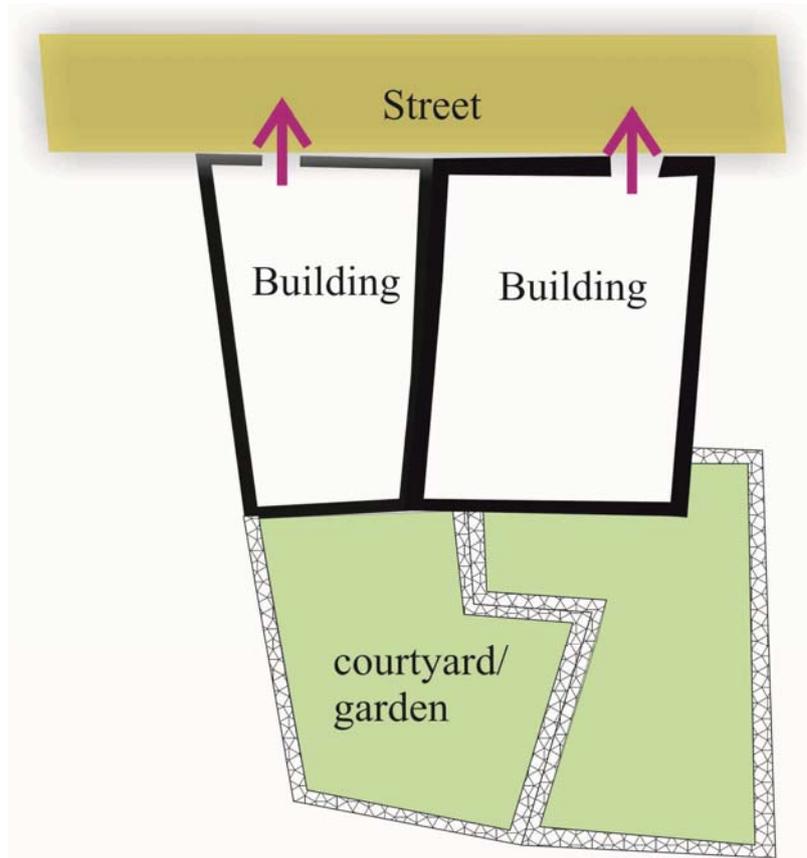


Figure 14. The Building- Street Relation in the Town Center of Alaçatı
(Source: Drawn by the Author)

The houses on the main axes (Kemalpaşa, Mektep, Mithatpaşa Streets) are larger in size and have façade ornaments, projections and so on. However, the buildings in the interior parts of the town center are simpler.

The Monumental Buildings:

The monumental buildings in the town center of Alaçatı are historical windmills, the religious buildings (see Figure 15).

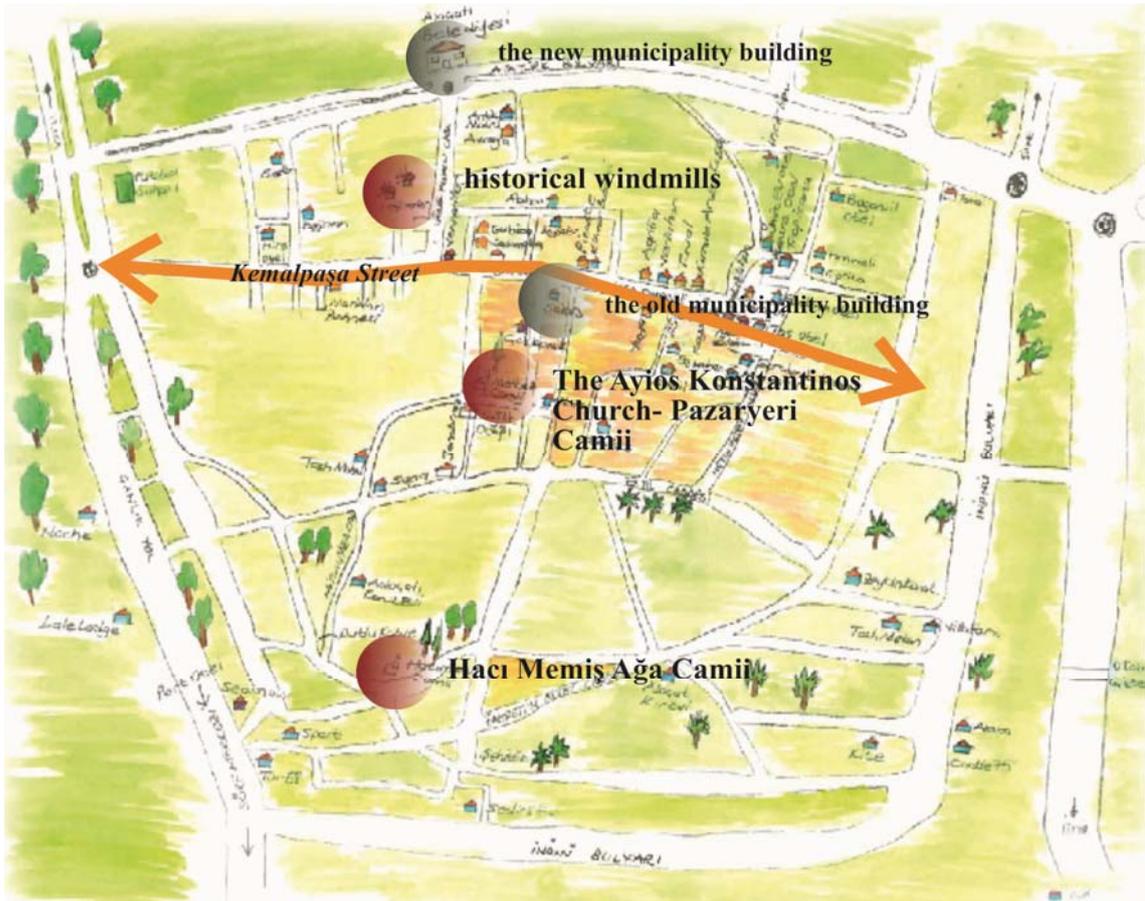


Figure 15. The Locations of the Monumental Buildings in the Town Center of Alaçati (Source: Organized by the Author on the Image from <http://alacati-rehberi.com/en/>)

As mentioned, the historical windmills are important images for the Alaçati. The town is mostly associated with its wind and windmills. The historical windmills are on the hilltop of the northern entrance of the town center. There are four historical windmills remaining in the town (see Figure 16).



Figure 16. A View from a Historical Windmill in the Town Center of Alaçatı
(Source: the Author's Archive, June 2011)

The Ayios Konstantinos Church- Pazaryeri Camii is the most important monumental religious building remaining in the town center of Alaçatı. The church was constructed by the Greeks in 1913 and after the Republican Era in 1952 a minaret was added to the church and the church transformed into a mosque (Gezgin, 2007). Recently in 2010 the building was restored and now it functions both as a church and a mosque.

Hacımemiş Ağa Camii (Mosque) is another important religious building. It is located in Hacımemiş Mahallesi and constructed in the 18th century.



Figure 17. A View from Hacımemiş Mosque
(Source: the Archive of the Alaçatı Municipality)

CHAPTER 6

THE FACTORS FOR THE GENTRIFICATION IN ALAÇATI

This chapter details the economic, political and social factors that lead the gentrification process in Alaçatı.

I collected the data for this chapter from the archival data and my site observations and the interviews that I had during my pilot study in Alaçatı in June 2011.

Accordingly, I define the factors of the process of gentrification in Alaçatı as the shift at the local economy from agriculture to tourism with the policies, the plans and projects of the central and the local government and the individual attempts of the private actors in the tourism development and the gentrification of Alaçatı. At the end, I document the factors for the gentrification process in Alaçatı chronologically in a timeline.

6.1. A Shift at the Local Economy and the Lead of the Governmental and Private Actors

The central government's discouragement of the production of certain agricultural products is an important factor preparing the ground to the shift from agriculture to the service sector with a focus on commerce and tourism in Alaçatı. As Chapter 5 detailed, the tobacco production was the dominant part of the economy of Alaçatı until the end of the 1980s. However, at the beginning of the 1980s, the central government put some quotas on the production of tobacco and many agricultural products. According to the majority of the respondents of my pilot interviews, the quotas put by the central government on the tobacco production discouraged the agricultural activities for tobacco production and the income of the local people dealing with tobacco decreased. Most of the locals left the tobacco production and agriculture through time and even some of them started leaving Alaçatı for İzmir for new jobs.

After the decreasing importance of agriculture, the economic base of Alaçatı shifted to service sector in commerce and tourism. One of the local respondents, Engin (60, male, living in Alaçatı since his birth, the muhtar of the Tokoğlu Mahallesi and also a local shopkeeper) mentioned that this change also brought a new daily lifestyle based on consumption rather than production especially along with the in-movement of the upscale high income groups from İstanbul and İzmir to Alaçatı. Engin said:

Everybody was used to make a living by farming, then people started to trade and farming has come to an end... Also nobody deals with animal breeding. Everybody used to make their own cheese, milk, yoghurt in their homes but now everything is sold in the markets. The people came from Istanbul have revived us, we are now more advanced than Çeşme in terms of commerce today. The good thing is that our lands and houses are more expensive than those in Çeşme.

In addition to the government quotas on the agricultural production, some other larger decisions also encouraged the shift from agriculture to the tourism sector in Alaçatı. Among them, there are new legislations encouraging the development of tourism. For instance, the law numbered 2634, “Tourism Encouragement Law”, enacted in 1982, is one of the important factors for the tourism development of Alaçatı. This law basically introduced the concepts of the “tourism region” and “tourism center”³ And this law also defines the means and the actors of the tourism encouragement in the development of these tourism regions and centers. The Ministry of Tourism⁴ has the authority to declare the tourism regions and tourism centers. The Ministry declared Alaçatı as a “tourism center” in 1982. In these years, government gave permissions for family pensions. However, there was not a massive tourism development in these years. In 2005, The Ministry of Culture and Tourism extended the boundaries of “İzmir Paşalimanı Tourism Center”, which is in the District of Çeşme and declared “Çeşme- Alaçatı-Paşalimanı Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Region.”

³ In 24.07.2003 with an amendment in 2634 with 4957, a new concept (Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Region) was added to the Tourism Encouragement Law.

⁴ In 16.4.2003 with law numbered 4848, Ministry of Tourism and Ministry of Culture were combined, The name of the Ministry is now ‘Ministry of Culture and Tourism’.

Meanwhile, the municipality of Alaçatı started to develop urban land in the agricultural areas in the northern parts of the town. These lands started to become the second-home developments. In the mid-1980s, the mayor of these years, İsmet Sarı initiated a housing cooperative project in İsmetpaşa Mahallesi to the northern part of the Alaçatı town center (see Figure 18 and 19). Local people in Alaçatı call this area as “Petekler.” This first social housing project in Alaçatı is composed 192 dwelling units. The following mayor of Alaçatı in the 1990s, Remzi Özen started a second social housing project at the beginning of the 1990s in the same area. There were 610 dwelling units in this project. According to Sevda (40, female, living in Alaçatı since her birth, bank clerk). the Petekler District now accommodates a large portion of the local people who sold or rent their historical houses in the town center to the gentrifiers. Moreover, the construction workers especially coming from Eastern Anatolia, retired civil servants and civil servants live in the Petekler Area.

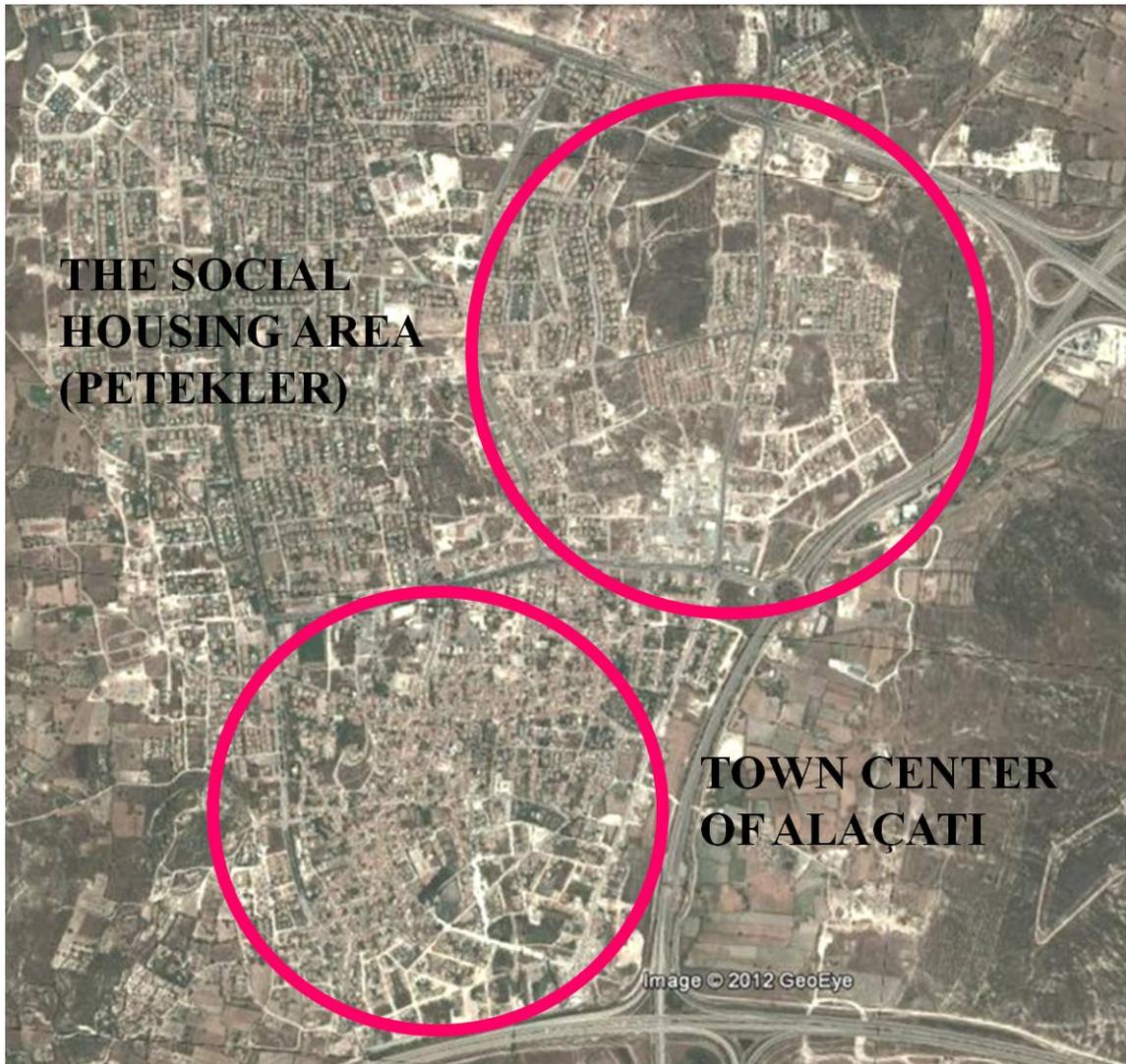


Figure 18. The Location of the Social Housing Area-“Petekler”
(Source: Drawn by the Author on the Google Earth Image)



Figure 19. Views from the Social Housing Area- “Petekler”
(Source: the Author’s Achieve- June 2011)

According to one of the respondents Önder (male, 59, living in Alaçatı since his birth, a local shopkeeper and the ex-council member of the previous local government),

the tourism development in Alaçatı started with the “International Child and Youth Theater Festival” in Alaçatı at the beginning of the 1990s. The mayor in the 1990s, Remzi Özen led the organization of this festival. He had some personal networks with some of the ministers. One of the parliament members then, Türkan Akyol asked the mayor to organize this festival in Alaçatı. The International Child and Youth Theatre Association (Assitej) organized the event firstly in 1990 in Alaçatı. Also in 1990, a film “Koltuk Belası” was shot in Alaçatı. Kemal Sunal, a famous Turkish actor was the leading actor. The respondent mentioned that the theatre festival was the first motivator in the advertisement of Alaçatı in national and international platforms. Moreover, the film had contributed to the Alaçatı’s fame in Turkey.

Another factor in the tourism development of Alaçatı is the introduction of the İzmir-Çeşme Highway at the beginning of the 1990s. This highway made Alaçatı as an accessible destination from the city center of İzmir and also the Adnan Menders Airport (established in 1987). As Alaçatı had become an accessible destination, it started to pull visitors from big cities in Turkey. One of the respondents Recai (60, male, living in Alaçatı since his birth, the muhtar of Hacımemiş Mahallesi) mentioned that the introduction of the highway provided new opportunities to the tourism development of Alaçatı and thus for the young locals in the form of new job opportunities. Recai detailed:

It is a blessing; farming is over, high-way has been opened. God forbid our government. Young people are lucky about the future of Alaçatı.

The majority of the respondents of my pilot study mentioned that a group of individuals and their activities in Alaçatı also affected the tourism development and then the gentrification of Alaçatı. Accordingly, there are three major actors in the gentrification process of Alaçatı: Tunç Cekan (as the owner of the first windsurf school in Alaçatı), Leyla Figen (as the owner of the first restaurant in Alaçatı) and Zeynep Öziş (as the owner of the first boutique hotel in Alaçatı).

According to some of the respondents, the surf activities started with the coming of Tunç Cekan. He opened the first windsurf school in Alaçatı at the beginning of the 1990s. He organized the “World Windsurf Championship” in Alaçatı in these years.

After that, a lot of surfers, especially from İstanbul started to come to Alaçatı for surfing. The wind features of Alaçatı displays some ideal conditions for windsurf activities, which is another factor for the tourism development of Alaçatı. According to Engin (60, male, living in Alaçatı since his birth, the muhtar of the Tokoğlu Mahallesi, a local shopkeeper) with the introduction of the surf in the beginning of the 1990s, Alaçatı was transformed into a well know destination from a small town:

Of course surfing made Alaçatı popular. Alaçatı was used to be a virgin town 20-25 years ago... When we told our address as Alaçatı to someone, they used to ask us where is Alaçatı? Today all the people in Ankara, İstanbul, across Turkey have heard about us.

Since then, the wind surf activities have been in the southern section of the area. The “Yumru Port”, which was called as “Agrilia” in the ancient times, started to host the windsurf activities (see Figure 20).

Today, Alaçatı has become one of the surf centers in the world (see Figure 21) There are a lot of windsurf schools and stations in the area and it pulls a lot of surfers from Turkey and also from abroad.



Figure 20. Location of the Yumru Port (Windsurf Area)
(Source: Drawn by the Author on the Google Earth Image)



Figure 21. A View from the Windsurf Area
(Source: the Author's Archive, June 2011)

Another individual who was active for the tourism development of Alaçatı was Leyla Figen. According to the interview respondents, she is one of the pioneers in the gentrification of Alaçatı. Ural (76, male, living in Alaçatı since his birth, the muhtar of the Yenimecidiye Mahallesi) detailed this:

When Leyla Figen opened Agrilia, it was started there (gentrification). It has become a fashion. She brought many people from Istanbul. So she caused the change here.

According to the interview respondents Leyla Figen was from İstanbul and worked as the executive assistant in Turyağ Holding in İzmir. After married with the general director of Turyağ Holding, Şevki Figen, she quitted her job as the executive assistant in this holding and started to deal with wedding and ceremony organizations.

In 1993, she organized the opening ceremony of the Alaçatı Technopark and then she decided to stay in Alaçatı. She bought the old “Sakarya Sineması (Sakarya Cinema)” in Kemalpaşa Street in the Yeni Mecidiye Mahallesi. This building was deteriorated and did not operate as the theatre in those years. She renovated the building and turned it into a house. After that, she bought an old fodder and coal depot in front of her house. She also restorated this building and opened the first restaurant in Alaçatı with the name of “Agrilia” in 1996 (see Figure 22). Agrilia became a popular restaurant in Alaçatı and a lot of famous names from İstanbul’s upscale business life came to Agrilia and it was an important image for the town. Leyla Figen ran Agrilia till 1998. Agrilia is still open and run by a gentrifier now in another location in the Yenimecidiye Mahallesi in Alaçatı town center (see Figure 23). Leyla Figen also became well known especially among the local people of Alaçatı with her efforts to encourage housewives to make and sell local foods and handcrafts. She organized local women to open stands in the Pazaryeri area. Moreover, she contributed to the opening of the antique bazaar in Pazaryeri area. She called collectors and antique dealers from İstanbul and İzmir to come to Alaçatı. For a long time, Antique Bazaar operated and acted as another pull factor for the visitors. She also worked for the beautification of the streets; she planted flowers, putting ash pans and so on around her restaurant and try to make the local residents to do so. She died in 2002 due to lung cancer.



Figure 22. A View from the "First" Agrilia Café operated by Leyla Figen
(Source: <http://www.İzmirmagazin.net/haberler/agrilla.html>)



Figure 23. The "New" Agrilia Café
(Source: <http://www.gurmerehberi.com/>)

The third leading actor in the gentrification process of Alaçatı is Zeynep Öziş. She was the owner of the first boutique hotel (Taş Hotel) in Alaçatı (see Figure 24) Zeynep Öziş was working as the marketing manager of the Turyağ Holding. She and her husband, a doctor, came to Alaçatı in 1992. They bought an old stone house in Alaçatı town center. First, they used this house as their second home, but in time they started use it permanently and go their works in İzmir from their home in Alaçatı. In 2001 she quitted her job in İzmir and opened the “Taş Hotel.” She also worked to introduce Alaçatı to tourism. She organized the local women for the production of the local foods and goods with Leyla Figen. Moreover, she is also the founding president of the “Alaçatı Conservation Association” and “Alaçatı Tourism Association” and had active roles in these associations.



Figure 24. A View from Taş Hotel
(Source: the Author’s Archive, July 2011)

These three pioneer gentrifiers (Tunç. Cekan, Leyla Figen and Zeynep Öziş) are important leading actors. Their activities pulled a group of people from İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara. In time, the gentrifiers started to come and open new tourism jobs in Alaçatı according to Önder (59, male, living in Alaçatı since his birth, a local shopkeeper and the ex-council member of the previous local government.):

The people from İstanbul have explored Alaçatı slowly along with Agrilia and then Taş Hotel. Then the people from İzmir have started to open restaurants here. Now Alaçatı has been developing.

6. 2. Regional and Local Urban Plans and Projects

Certain development plans and urban and architectural projects are other important factors in the tourism development and gentrification of Alaçatı. This part examines these plans and projects chronologically.

The Conservation Plan of Alaçatı:

The historical building stock is an important motivator in the gentrification of Alaçatı both for the financial capital in the real estate market and the “gentrifiers.” The Conservation Plan for the conservation area of the Alaçatı town center is an important policy document as this plan put the ways and the conditions of the conservation of the historical building stock.

The first conservation studies in Alaçatı started with the building based registrations on the historical buildings in 1977 by the Ministry of Culture. In 1998, İzmir Conservation Council of Cultural & Natural Properties Number 1 declared the town center of Alaçatı as an “Urban Conservation Area.” The boundaries of this conservation area were extended in 2004 with the 175 registered buildings. Today, Yenimeciye, Tokoğlu and Hacımemiş Districts are in the Urban Conservation Area. As the legislation (law numbered. 2683- Law on the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage) requires the preparation of the conservation plans for the conservation areas, the “Conservation Plan (Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı)” of Alaçatı was prepared in 2007 (Alaçatı Municipality, 2007) (see Figure 25).

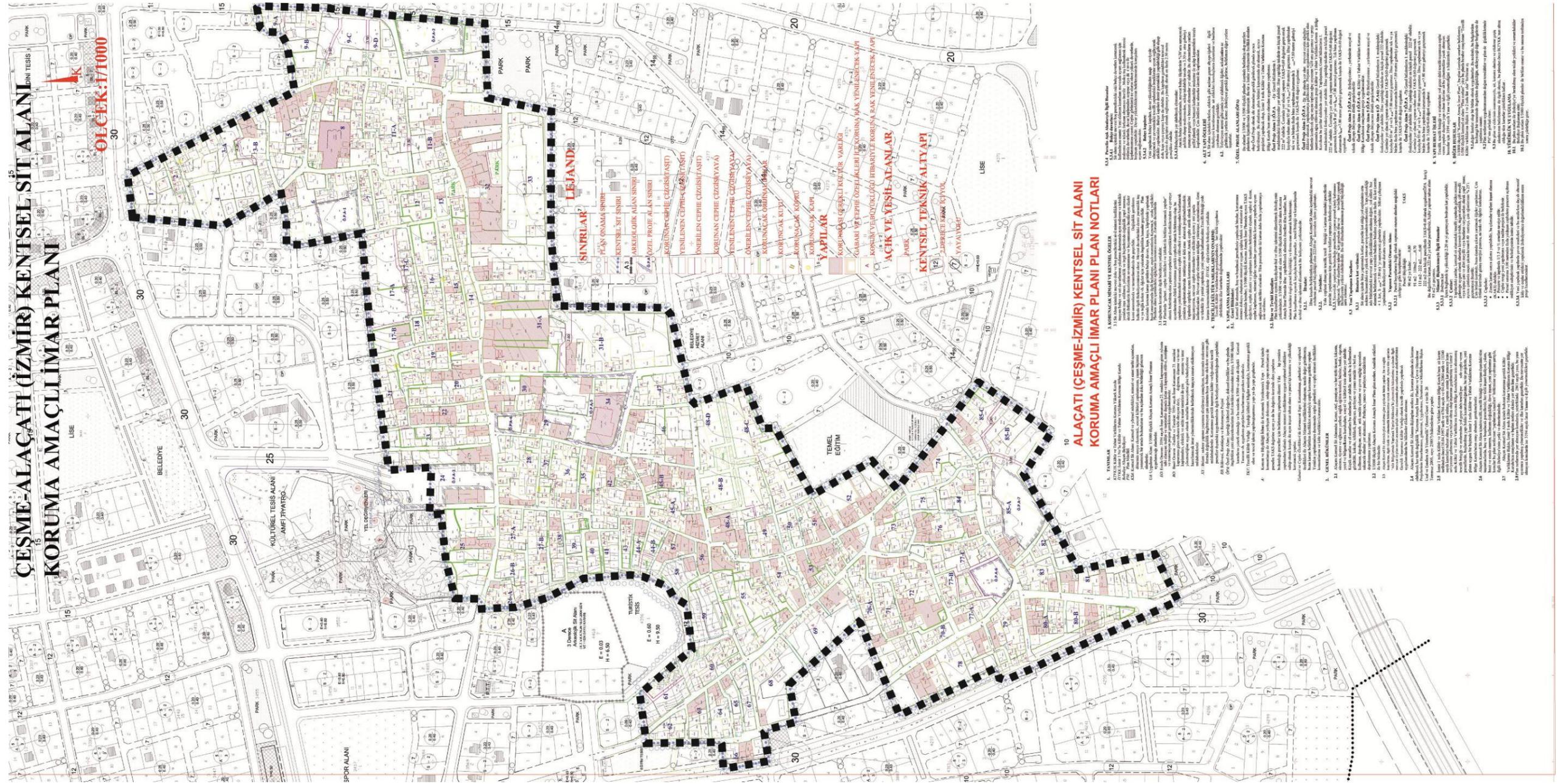


Figure 25. The Conservation Plan of Alaçatı
(Source: The Archive of the Alaçatı Municipality)

The general planning decisions of this Conservation Plan are:

- There can be houses, hotels, pensions, any kind of commercial units, restaurants, cinemas, theatres and entertainment facilities...in the boundaries of urban conservation area.
- The gardens and the walls, the original doors made up of wood or iron, the transcripts in the area, any remains, watercourses, bridges either registered or not will be kept as the same. If any of them are demolished, they should reconstructed in their authentic cases.
- The buildings going to be built on the vacant plots in the urban conservation area will be constructed in harmony with the traditional architecture of the town with the modern construction techniques and materials.
- When the buildings, having more than two floors before this plan, are demolished they have to obey the development rights of this plan (max 2 floors)
- Either registered or not, in the garden of any building, there can be annexes. The conditions of use of the existing annexes kept by this plan will continue. For the new annexes, the maximum height is 2.30 m., the floor area is less than 7% of the floor area ratio of that plot and the roof material should be the mission tile.

Özgönül (2010) mentions that, the Conservation Plan of Alaçatı tries to preserve the existing case and do not propose significant changes in the existing land uses. She finds the majority of the planning decisions positive for the preservation of the built heritage as the plan details every conditions of construction for the plots, buildings and other structures. The plan emphasizes the importance of the preservation of the authentic case and also necessitates the harmony of the traditional and the new. The plan tries to control the future developments in the urban conservation area and put some limitations on construction conditions of the new buildings. Also it respects the microclimatic conditions and traditional life style by detailing garden and courtyard uses Özgönül (2010). However, when we look at the existing practices and the case,

there are some problems about the conservation of the authentic case, which will be detailed in Chapter 8 about the impacts of gentrification.

The Port Alaçatı Project:

Another determinant project in the tourism development and gentrification of Alaçatı is the “Port Alaçatı” Project. It is located in the southern part of the town, in the Yumru Koy (see Figure 26). The study respondents call this project as the “Venice Project” because the project proposes a new port city through a canal like Venice. It opens the vacant lands in the southern part of the town totally to development (see Figure 27 and 28). Some also argues that the project inspired from the “Port Grimaud” Project in France.

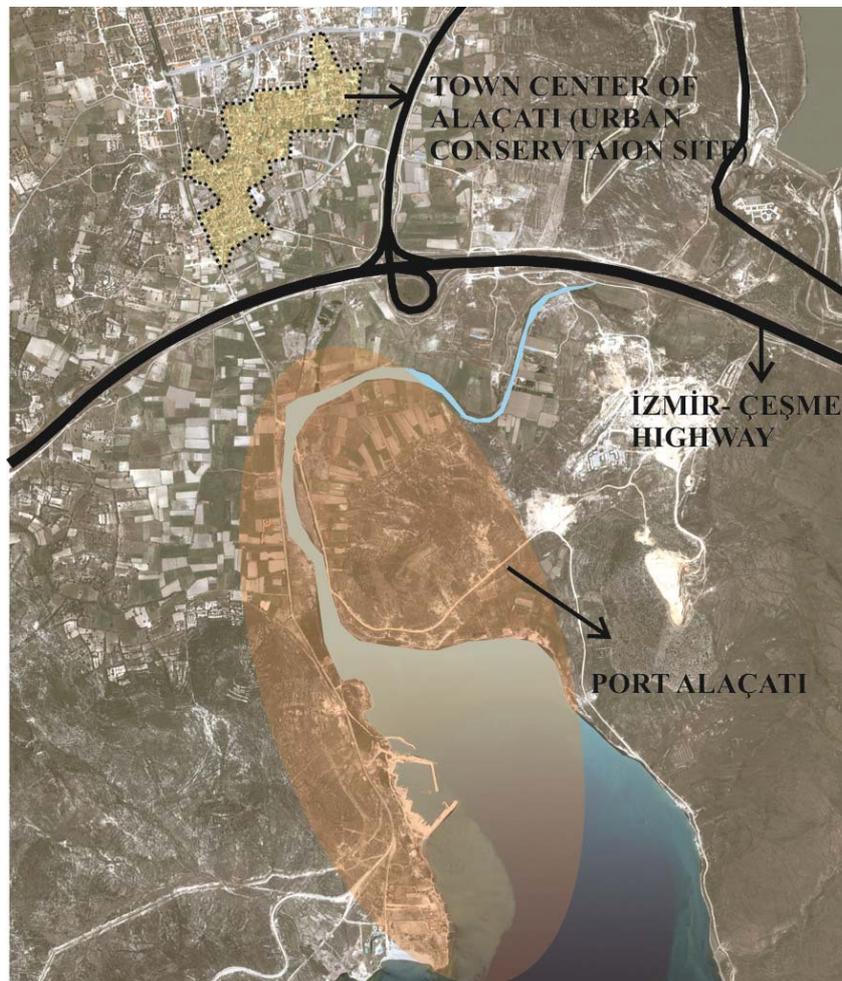


Figure 26. The Location of Port Alaçatı Project
(Source: Drawn by the Author on the Google Earth Image)

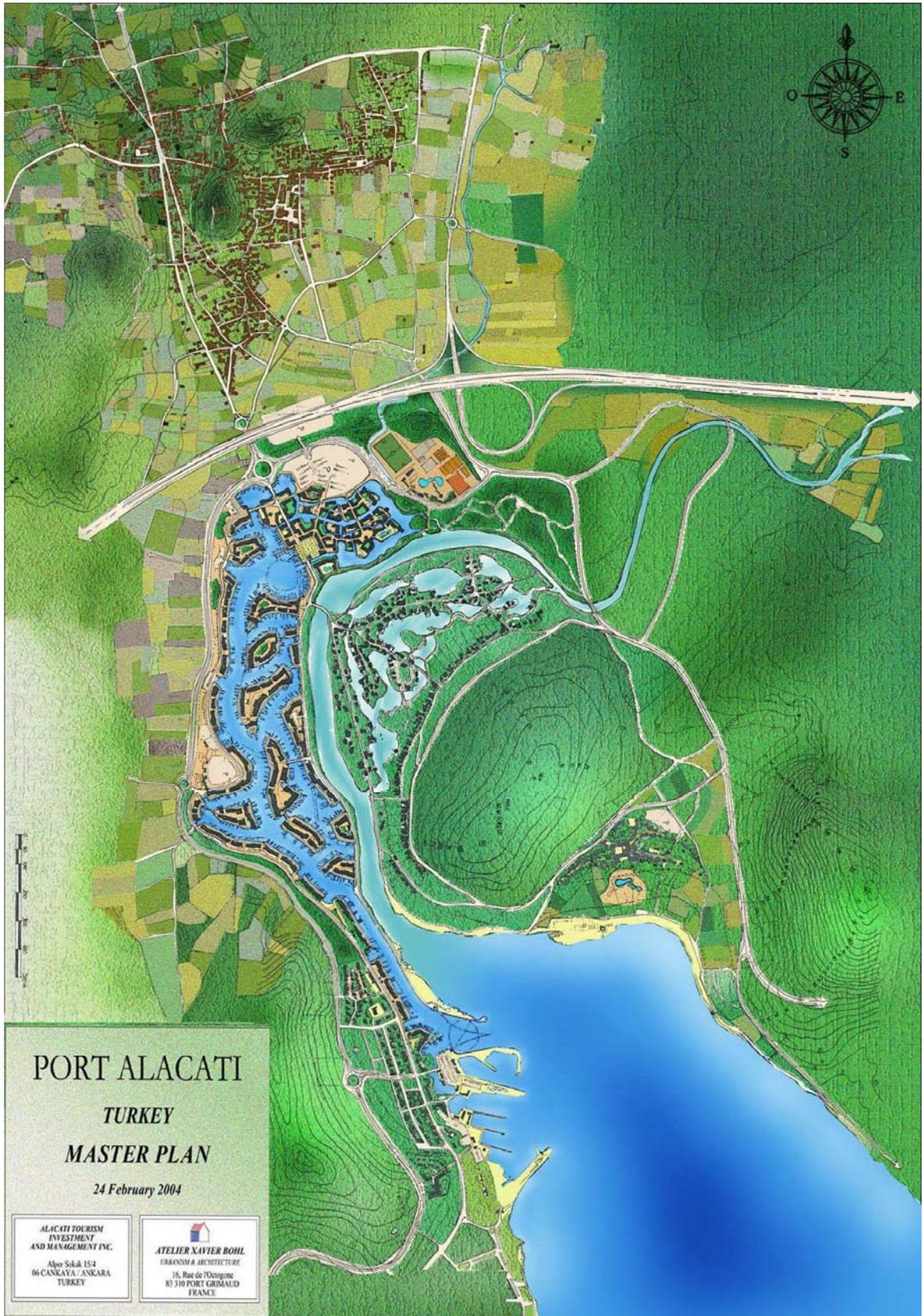


Figure 27. Port Alaçatı Master Plan
(Source: The Archive of the Alaçatı Municipality).

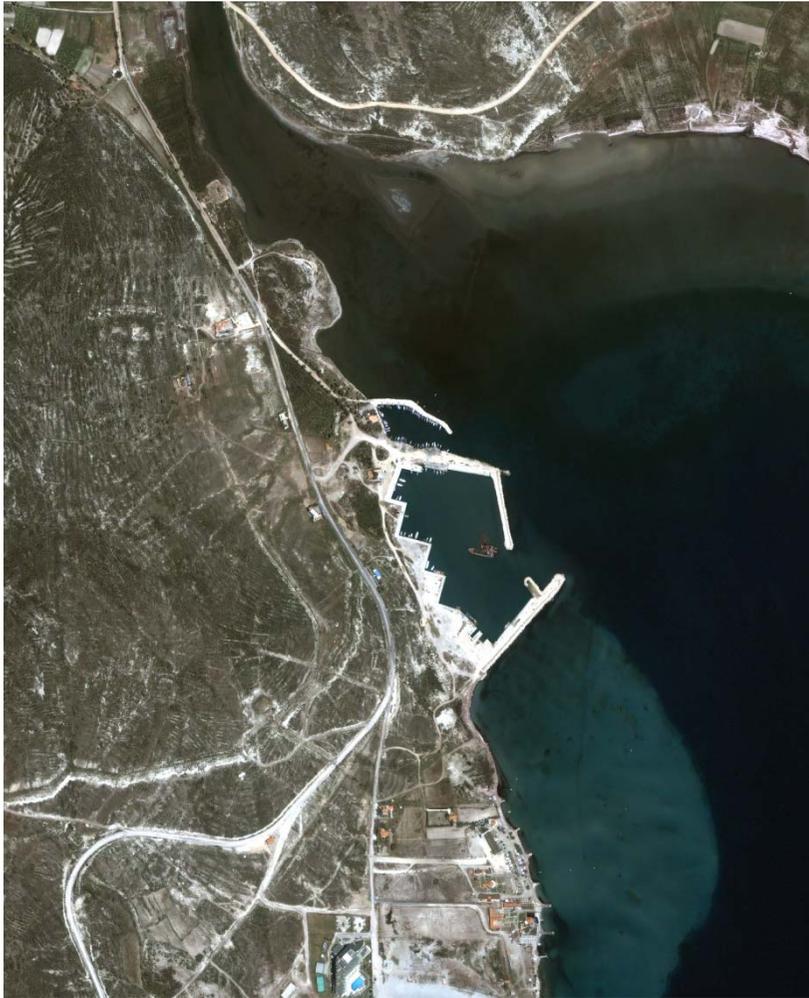


Figure 28. The Port Alaçatı in 2002 Aerial view
(Source: Google Earth)

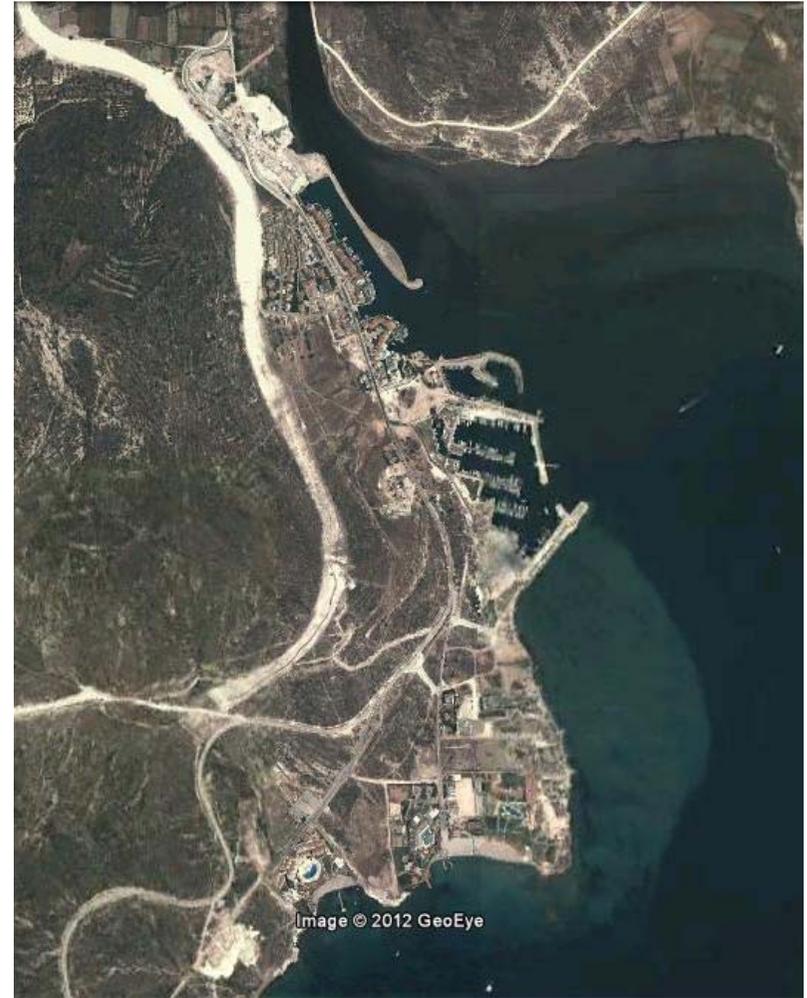


Figure 29. The Port Alaçatı in 2012 Aerial View
(Source: Google Earth)

The project started with the establishment of “Alaçatı Investment Incorporation” in 1995. The founder and the president of this corporation was the Alaçatı Municipality. The municipality had six partners who were the big investment companies. The planning process of the Port Alaçatı project started in 1995 and in 2000 the Regional Master in the 1/25000 scale, in 2002 the Master Plan in 1/5000 scale, in 2003 the Master Plan in 1/1000 scale were prepared (see Figure 29). The master plan had some amendments and the date of the last amendment of the Port Alaçatı project is 2010 (Özgönül, 2010).

The Master Plan for Port Alaçatı mainly proposes an exclusive port city with upscale houses with direct access from the sea, hotels, marina and so on (see Figure 30).



Figure 30. A View from the Port Alaçatı Project
(Source: <http://portalacati.com.tr/galeri/galeri.aspx>)

One of my interview respondents Engin (60, male, living in Alaçatı since his birth, the muhtar of the Tokoğlu Mahallesi and also a local shopkeeper) mentioned that Port Alaçatı is very important in the tourism development and the gentrification of Alaçatı. He thought that as there are upscale houses in the Port Alaçatı project, high income and upscale people started to come to Alaçatı:

Now the most important place, making Alaçatı popular is the place of Port Alaçatı (...). You know the houses there are sold for 1-1.5 trillion TL there. The cheapest house is sold at 900 billion TL. The rich people of Istanbul come here by their yachts. So that advantage is present there. Many good things have been done also in marina such as fish restaurants, so there has become a different world.

Çeşme-Alaçatı-Paşalimanı Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Regional Master Plan:

Another important project in the tourism development and the gentrification of Alaçatı is the tourism plan of the town. As mentioned earlier, Alaçatı was declared as a tourism center at the beginning of the 1980s. In 2005, The Ministry of Culture and Tourism extended the boundaries of “İzmir Paşalimanı Tourism Center” and declared “Çeşme- Alaçatı- Paşalimanı Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Region”. According to this, the Ministry prepared Çeşme-Alaçatı-Paşalimanı Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Regional Master Plan in 1/25000 scale (Çeşme-Alaçatı-Paşalimanı Kültür Turizm Koruma ve Gelişim Bölgesi Çevre Düzeni Planı)” in 2006 (see Figure 31). According to this plan, in the Çeşme-Alaçatı-Paşalimanı Culture and Tourism Development Region there are 5 sub-regions and Alaçatı is among these sub-regions (see Figure 32). The plan assigned various roles to each of the tourism centers such as recreation, sports, tourism, thermal cure and health care. It proposes the allocation of lands to the tourism investors for 75 years. However, the plan was cancelled with the decision of the Council of State (Decision Number: 2008/8262) in 26.11.2008 (the Archive of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism).

After the cancellation of the Çeşme -Alaçatı-Paşalimanı Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Regional Master Plan, the Council of Ministers declared 4 tourism centers in Alaçatı in 17.12.2009. These were İzmir Alaçatı Çakabey Tourism Center, İzmir Alaçatı Yumru Koyu Tourism Center, İzmir Alaçatı Güvercinlik Tourism Center and İzmir Alaçatı Şifne Tourism Center (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2009) (see Figure 33). For these new tourism centers, the Ministry has not started any planning study yet.

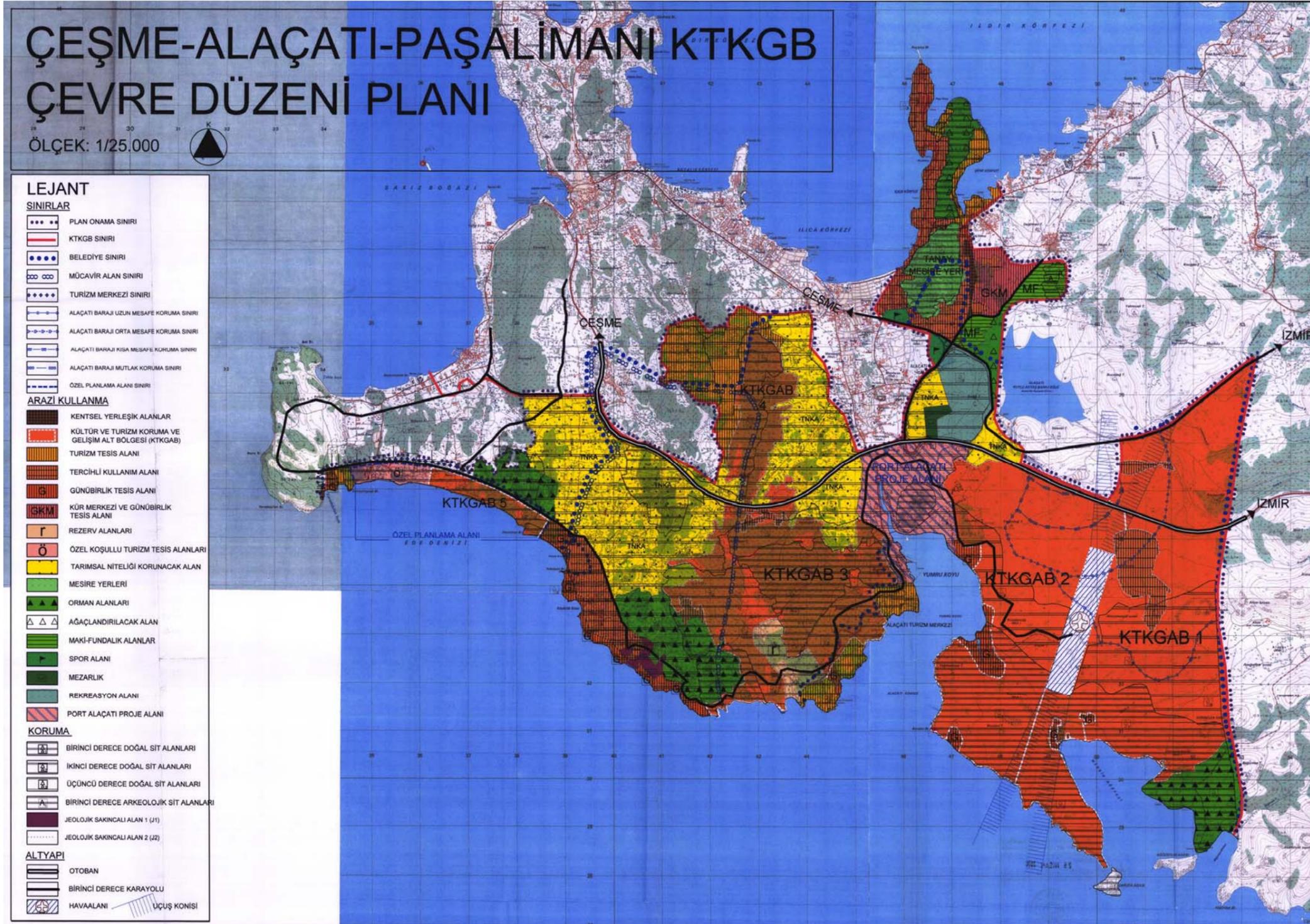


Figure 31. Çeşme-Alaçati-Paşalimani Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Regional Plan
(Source: The Archive of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism)

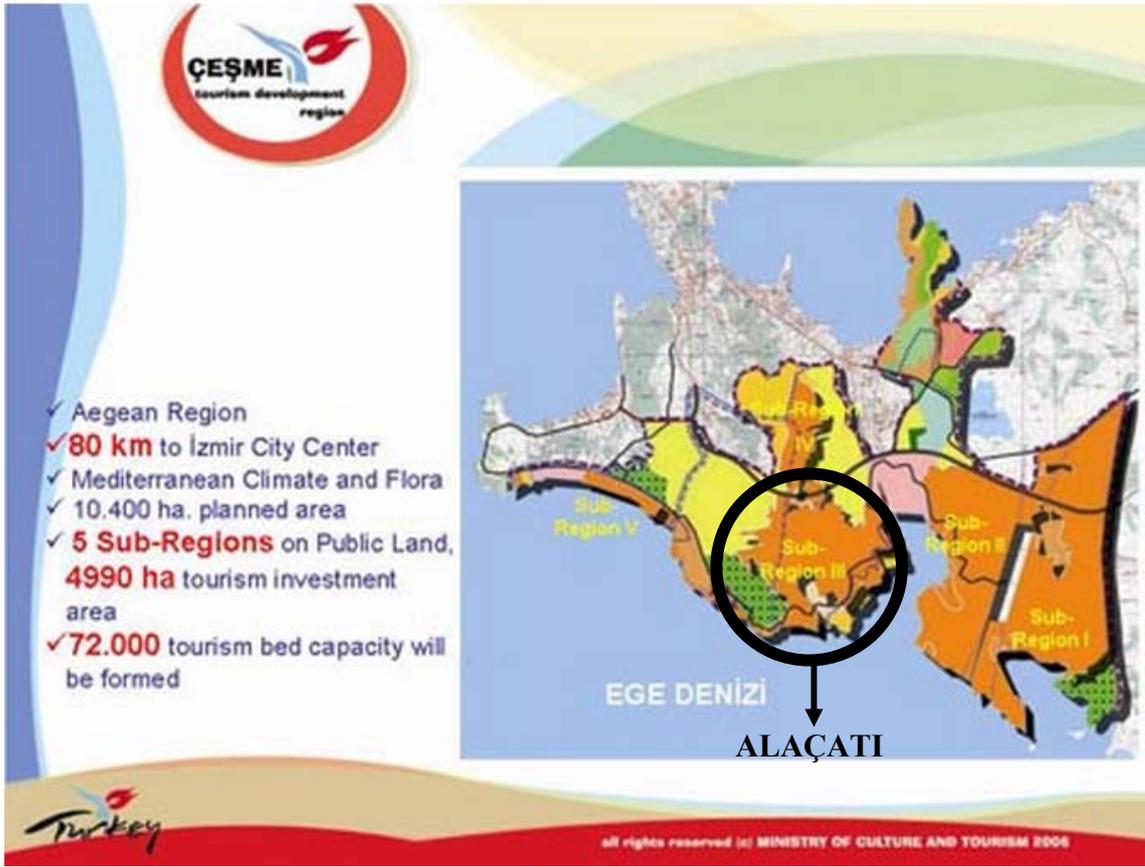


Figure 32. Çeşme- Alaçatı- Paşalimanı Tourism Development Region and Sub-Regions
 (Source: <http://www.kultur.gov.tr>)



Figure 33. Four New Tourism Centers in Alaçati declared in 2009
(Source: The Ministry of Culture and Tourism)

The Urban Renewal Projects (Değirmenaltı Square Project):

In addition to these large scale plans and projects, there are also small scale projects for the renewal of the built environment in the town center of Alaçatı. The urban renewal project in Uğur Mumcu Street, which is the northern entrance point to the traditional town center is among these projects made by Alaçatı Municipality (see Figure 34). The name of the projects is “Değirmenaltı Square Project (Değirmenaltı Meydan Projesi)”.

There are historical windmills in the north part of the area. These windmills still constitute one of the images of the town. There were commercial units and a wedding hall before the urban renewal project in the area. The area is also important as it is the entrance square of the town, Alaçatı people still celebrates special occasions in this area. In 2008, the Alaçatı municipality initiated the urban renewal project in the area (see Figure 35). The project removes the existing shops and the wedding hall and built new shops with imitating the traditional stone architecture (see Figure 36). For the project, the historical windmills were restored and a new car park and pedestrian area were proposed. With the completion of the project, the rents increased and expensive shops started to locate in the area. Most of the local shopkeepers started to suffer from this change as they have difficulty in paying the rents of their shops (Gürkan, 2008; Tezcan, 2010).

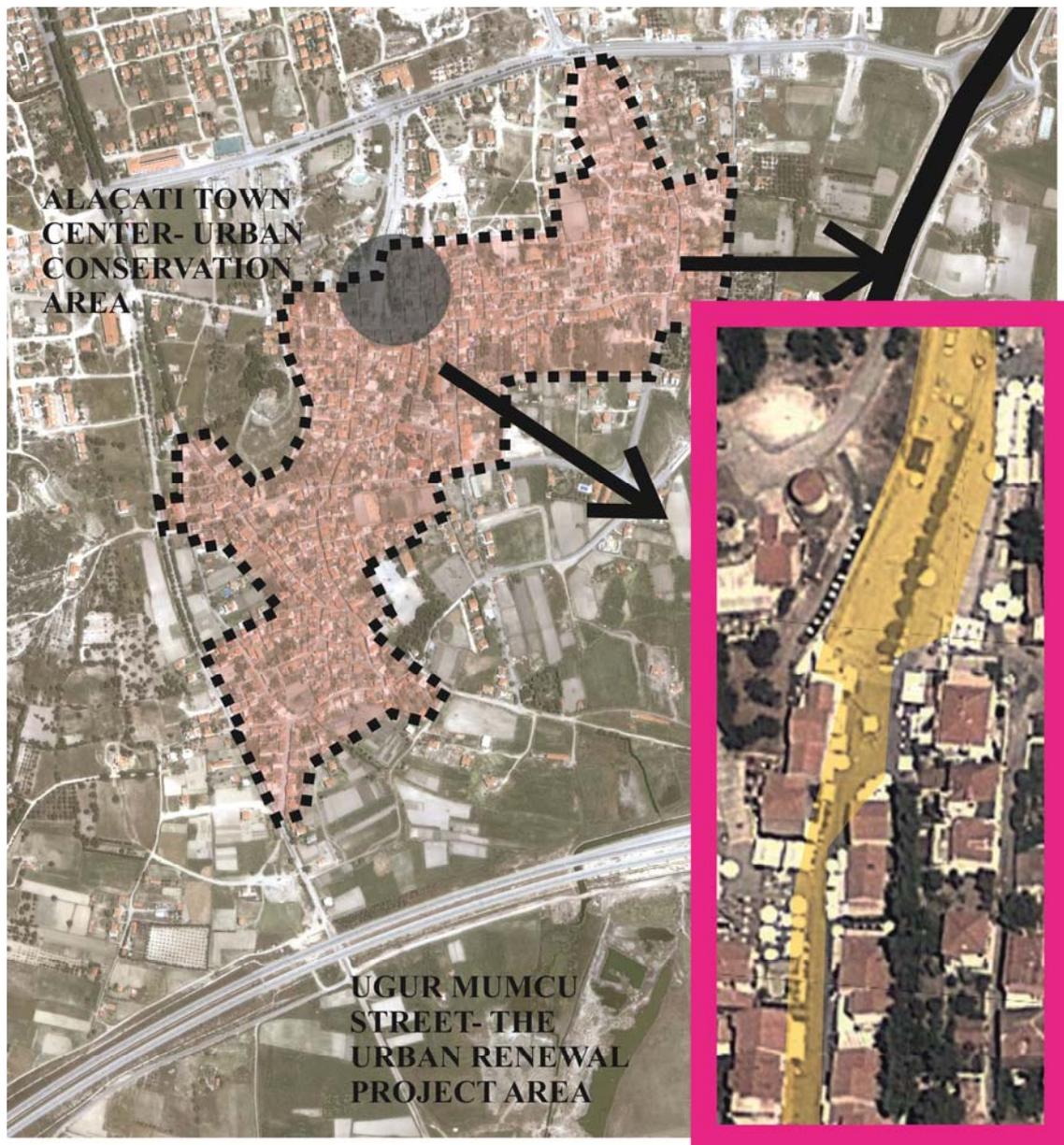


Figure 34. The Location of the Urban Renewal Project in the Town Center of Alaçatı
(Source: Drawn by the Author on the Google Earth Image)

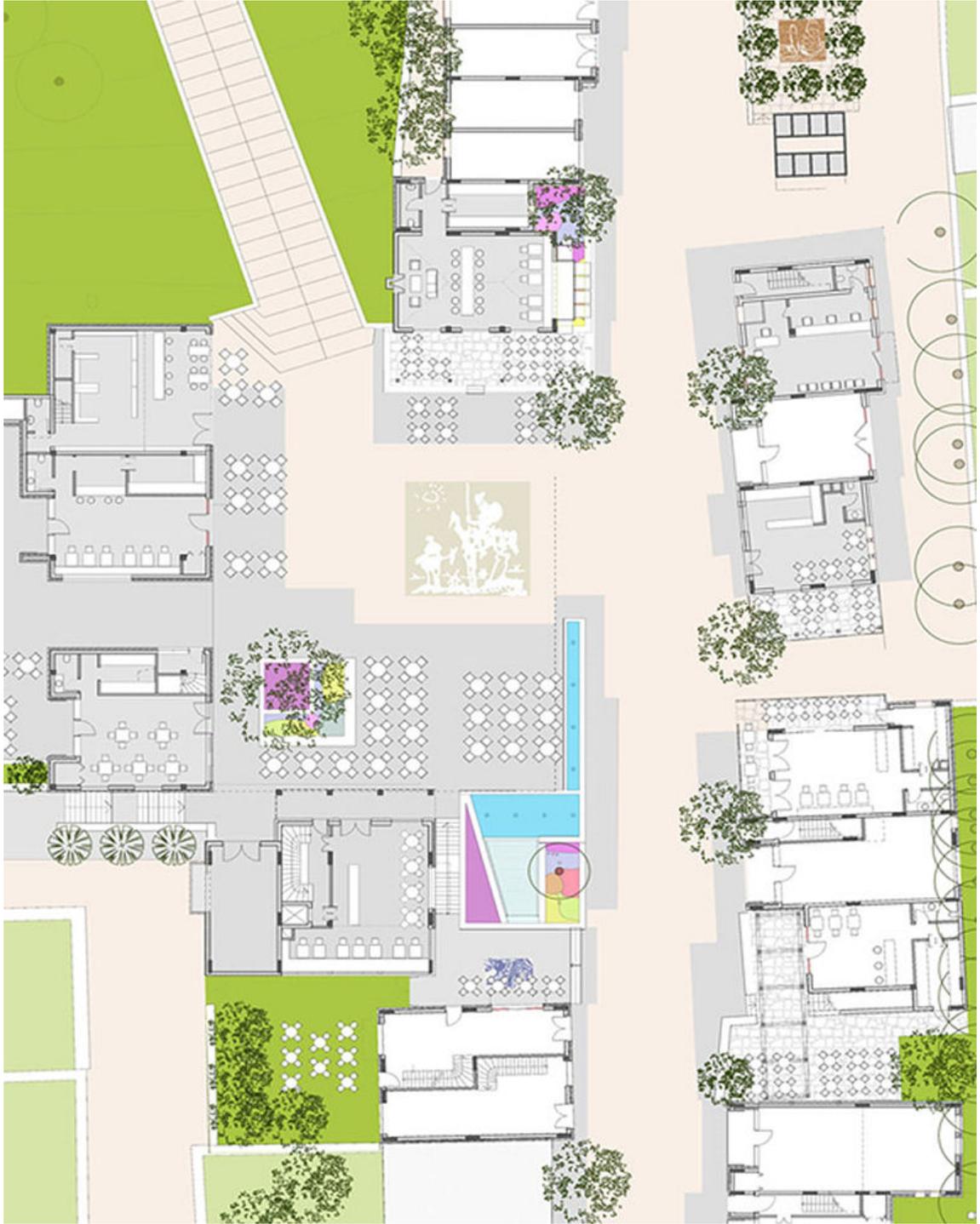


Figure 35. The Urban Renewal Project- Alaçatı Değirmenaltı Square Project
(Source: <http://www.arkiv.com.tr>)



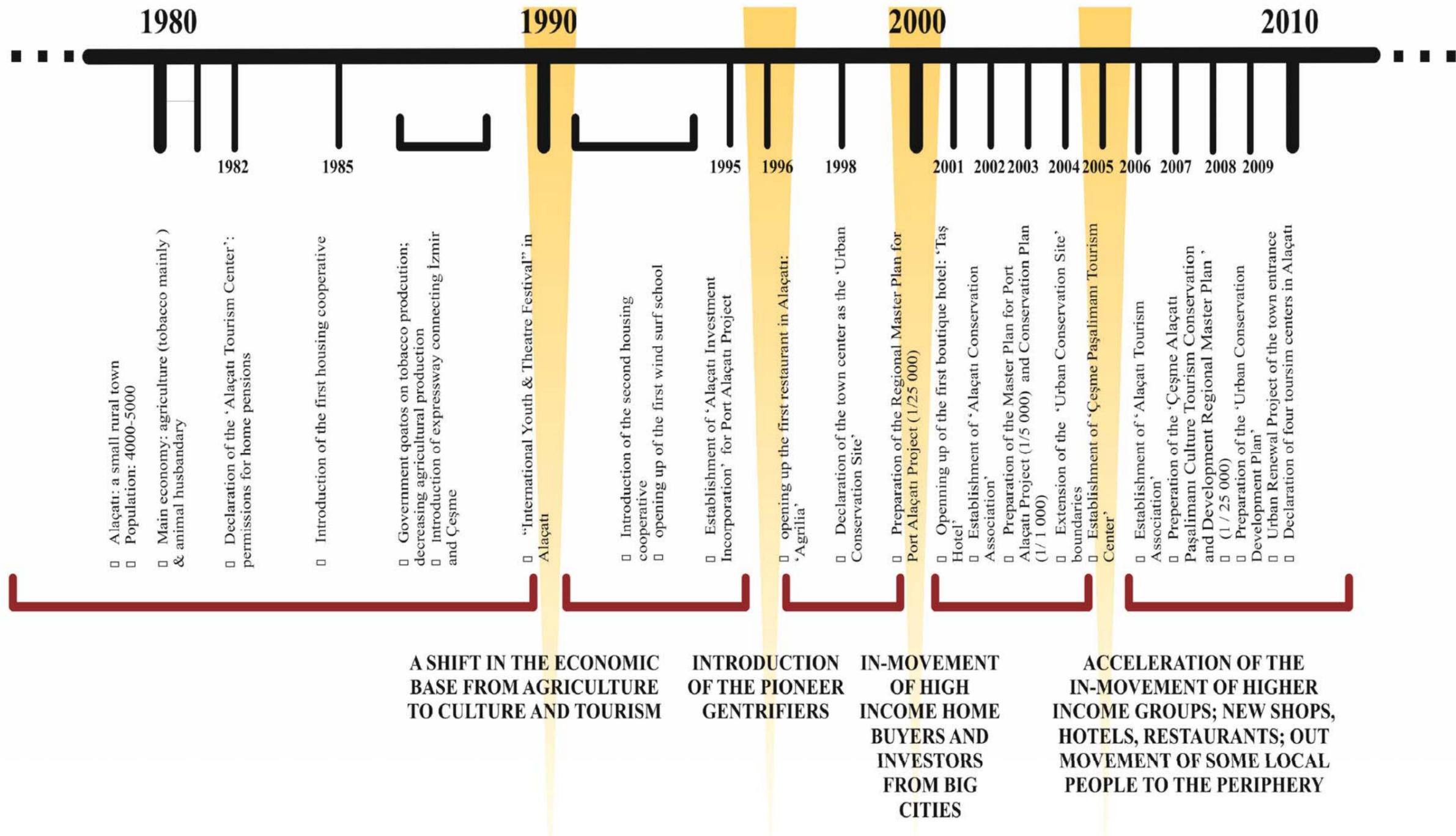
Figure 36. A View from the Site after the Completion of the Project
(Source: the Author's Archive, June 2011)

In summary, the transformation of the economic base of Alaçatı from agriculture to tourism involves various processes and interventions. These interventions are the outcomes of the central government and local government decisions and implementations and the individual attempts. In about 20 years period Alaçatı witnessed significant transformations in its basic economic sector, the population composition, the daily lifestyle and so on.

All the changes that are discussed above were determinant in the gentrification of this seashore town with the in-movement of the high income people from the metropolitan cities of Turkey especially İstanbul and then İzmir and Ankara. People with high income and high education levels started to come to and buy old houses in Alaçatı town center. They restore these old houses and open boutiques, bars, restaurants, shops, boutique hotels and so on. The respondents mentioned that the gentrification of this seashore town significantly started at the beginning of the 2000s and it reached its peak after 2005. It continues to even today with an increasing trend.

Based on my interviews, site observations at my pilot study in June 2011 in Alaçatı and also the archival sources that I used about Alaçatı, Table 7 below summarizes the main lines of the shift in the economic base of Alaçatı from agriculture to tourism in a timeline of 30 years period.

Table 7. The Timeline of the Economic Shift from Agriculture to Tourism in Alaçatı
(Source: Drawn by the Author)



This chapter summarized the factors for the gentrification in Alaçatı. This thesis adopts the political-economic explanations of the gentrification process along with the relationship between the capital and the built environment. Therefore it argues that the shift at the local economy of Alaçatı from agriculture to tourism is the main “factor” for the process of gentrification in Alaçatı with the massive investments in the built environment in tourism. As Table 7 suggests, the changes in the economic structure of Alaçatı started at the beginning of the 1980s and the dominance of the tourism sector in the town and the process of gentrification started to accelerate especially after the 2000s. As Harvey (1981) puts, the economy restructures itself in the crises times and the secondary circuit of capital is a restructuring remedy for the economic depressions with the investments in the built environment instead of manufacturing. Turkey witnessed a process of deindustrialization and a shift to the service sector in the 1980s. In these and the following years, the construction sector, that is the investments in the built environment, was also a mean for the economic revitalization in Turkey. Since then, the construction sector has been an important part of the Turkish economy. (Güloğlu and Altunoğlu, 2002). After the 1980s Alaçatı also witnessed a shift to the service sector in tourism and commerce, the investments in the built environment also became an important part of the town’s economy. This is followed by the lead of the governmental and private actors and the urban plans and projects. The decisions, actions and the projects of the central and local governments and the actions of the pioneer gentrifiers to publicize Alaçatı as a destination with its natural and historical resources prepared the ground for the gentrification in Alaçatı.

CHAPTER 7

THE ACTORS AT THE GENTRIFICATION IN ALAÇATI

This chapter details the actors who are the individuals and the institutions affecting and/or being affected from the process of gentrification in Alaçatı. Accordingly, I define the actors of the gentrification process in Alaçatı as the gentrifiers, the local people, the financial capital in the housing market and the central and local government.

I collected the data for this chapter from my interviews with the “gentrifiers”, the “locals”, the “real estate agents” and one “local government official” in Alaçatı in the second phase of my site study.

7.1. The Gentrifiers

This chapter identifies the “gentrifiers” in Alaçatı as the ones who have been in Alaçatı less than 20 years based on my face-to-face interviews with 21 gentrifiers (9 females and 12 males).

Yet as mentioned in the Chapter 6, there were also three leading names as Tunç Cecan, Leyla Figen and Zeynep Öziş as the pioneer gentrifiers in Alaçatı. In the 1990s their works especially to publicize Alaçatı as a destination with its natural and historical resources made them the pioneer gentrifiers for Alaçatı.

I focused only on the current gentrifiers from my interview respondents. My questions to the gentrifier-respondents focus on three phases in these respondents’ life cycle: before coming to Alaçatı, when coming to Alaçatı, and after coming to Alaçatı. I firstly document the socio-economic characteristics of the gentrifiers before coming to Alaçatı. Secondly I examine how the gentrifiers moved to Alaçatı and their reasons, motivations, resources when coming to Alaçatı. Thirdly I document whether and how their life conditions and life styles changed after coming to Alaçatı.

7.1.1. Before Coming to Alaçatı: Individual Characteristics of the Gentrifiers

When documenting the individual characteristics of the gentrifiers before coming to Alaçatı, I focus on the socio-economic characteristics of the gentrifiers in respect to their ages, marital status, family care responsibilities, education, job history and tenureship for both the female and the male gentrifiers.

Age: For both the female and the male gentrifiers the average age of arrival at Alaçatı is 40. Considering their arrival age at Alaçatı, the ages of the 30s and the 40s are dominant among the female gentrifiers and the 40s is dominant among the male gentrifiers. With their middle ages, the gentrifiers in Alaçatı differ from the gentrification literature that defines a new class structure, “the new middle class,” who are young people in their 20s and 30s.

Marital Status: More than half of the both female (6 out of 9) and the male (7 out of 12) respondents were married before coming to Alaçatı. Although the gentrification literature defines the gentrifiers (the new middle class) as mostly single and childless people; the majority of the respondents are married with children in Alaçatı.

Education: Nearly all of the female and the male gentrifiers had high education levels before coming to Alaçatı. 7 out of 9 female gentrifiers had university degrees and 2 had high school degrees. Similarly, 10 out of 12 male gentrifiers had bachelor degrees whereas the rest had graduate degrees.

Job: Before coming to Alaçatı, all of the female and male gentrifiers had professional occupations or involved in business. Among the professional occupations, there were managers, teachers, designers, artists, local politicians, and brokers. Among professional service jobs some of the female and male respondents dealt with ship ownership, tourism, hotel business, home design, decoration and textile

The level of education and the jobs of the gentrifiers in Alaçatı display similarities with the gentrifiers defined in the Western and Turkish gentrification cases. The gentrifiers in Alaçatı are also with high education levels and involved in professional services and business before coming to Alaçatı similar to the gentrification literature. The gentrification literature defines the gentrifiers (the new middle class) as highly educated people working in professional services, managerial and technical jobs in finance, information technologies, communications, insurance, media, education,

health, marketing, public relations, consulting, advertisement, culture and art sectors (Featherstone, 2007; Haasse et al., 2009; Ley, 1996) such as artists, architects, musicians, film makers, advertisers, academicians, fashioners, journalists, professionals in health, educations, finance, banking, accounting sectors and, so on (Bali, 2002; Özkan, 2003; Şentürk et al., 2010).

Tenureship and Property Ownership: The majority of the both female and the male respondents had at least one house in the metropolitan cities and a car before coming to Alaçatı. Only 1 female and 2 males did not have any ownership.

Previous Location of Residence and the Nationality: Half of the both female and the male gentrifiers came Alaçatı from İstanbul, while others came here from İzmir and Ankara. Nearly all the female respondents and all the males are Turkish, only one female respondent is Italian who came Turkey by marriage. Nearly all of the female and the male gentrifiers live in Alaçatı now.

Social and Daily life: The majority of the both female (8 out of 9) and the male (9 out of 12) respondents mentioned that they had a very busy life pace before coming to Alaçatı. All of them had busy schedules about their career and domestic lives in the big cities that they have come from. For instance, Zümrüt (53, female, single, now the owner of a boutique hotel) told her life in Istanbul as:

It was exactly a city life between the home and the job with a rush. I has use my car all the time for job, for friend visits, for going to sport...

Before moving in Alaçatı, the majority of the both the female and the male gentrifiers had social activities before moving in Alaçatı with friends, at cinema, theatre, sport, dancing, music voluntary organizations and so on.

7.1.2. When Coming to Alaçatı: Reasons, Motivations and Resources for Gentrifying

According to my interview results, I categorized the gentrifiers' initial reasons for coming to Alaçatı under four headings: “small city versus big city preferences”, “family related reasons”, “private reasons” and “economic reasons.”

The common initial reason of the both female and the male gentrifiers are about their preferences for living in a small city rather than a big city. The majority of the female (8 out of 9) and male the gentrifiers (9 out of 12) mentioned that they wanted to escape from their big city life and were looking for a small settlement and a healthy and quiet new life. They found the big city life as “complicated and dense”. For instance, Gaye (42, female, married, now the executive manager in a boutique hotel) was working in the textile sector in İzmir, told about the daily city life in İzmir and said that people lose the control of their lives in big cities:

The basic reason for that I wanted to come here is that we cannot control anything in the life cycle of city and the artificialness and density of the city life. The people do not want this. When you get into this gyre, you lose your own area of movement, and you cannot be an individual anymore. This is very disturbing (...) Some people go to bank, some to their office, they are sleepy and exhausted even in the morning, they do not have breakfast then at the weekend they are in a hurry of going home and then of going to shopping malls and shopping.

While Gaye was complaining about the city life in general, Zeynep (53, female, single, now the owner of a boutique hotel) was already fed up with her own life then when she was working as a marketing executive in İzmir. She remembered that:

I used to work too much. My life was in a cycle between home-plane-meeting hall/office environments. Then I said to myself: I do not want to be in a place with wall-to-wall carpet and fluorescent lighting anymore.

Due to the complexity of the big city life, these respondents wished to live in a small settlement and a quiet life. Tülay (53, female, married, now the owner of a café) who was dealing with design and decoration works in İstanbul decided to move in

Alaçatı after she got married with a foreign man who did not want to live in İstanbul. They were looking for a “simple” life away from the chaotic lifestyle in İstanbul. Similarly, Mert (50, male, single, now the owner of a restaurant), Gökhan (63, male, single, owner of an art gallery) and Caprina (30, female, married, now the owner of a boutique) mentioned that they were desiring a more “healthy and quiet” lifestyle integrated with nature when coming to Alaçatı.

Family related reasons are also important for the gentrifiers for coming to Alaçatı. A family related reasons is the family roots in Alaçatı before the population exchange period, which was relevant for 2 female and 2 male gentrifiers. For instance Şevval (35, female, married with children, teacher and now the owner of a souvenir stall) mentioned that her mother is from Alaçatı and she is still living in Alaçatı. After Alaçatı has become a popular destination, Şevval and her husband decided to move Alaçatı and opened a souvenir stall. Similarly, Mehmet (37, male, married with children, now the owner of a boutique hotel and a construction materials company) mentioned that he has a lot of relatives in Alaçatı and as Alaçatı has become a touristic town he saw job opportunities in Alaçatı. Another respondent Zeynep (53, female, single, now the owner of a boutique hotel) mentioned that, one of her reasons for coming Alaçatı is her family roots in the migrant culture of the population exchange period. She indicated that as her family migrated from Greece to İzmir in the early Republican Period, she felt close to the daily speech language of the local people in Alaçatı as her family is also migrants. That is why she found Alaçatı as a good alternative for her to settle down.

Another family related reason is the spouse’s job. One female respondent gave her husband’s job as her initial reason because her husband started to deal with wind energy sector in Alaçatı.

Two female respondents mentioned that the life of a small town was part of their childhood dreams and childhood memories. For instance Zeynep (53, female, single, now the owner of a boutique hotel) was dreaming for having a stone house from her childhood years. Similarly, Zümrüt (53, female, single, now the owner of a boutique hotel) finds similar the small town life in Alaçatı to her childhood neighborhood in İstanbul:

I am from Yeşilköy (Istanbul) and I found my childhood and the life of Yeşilköy here, Yeşilköy was also a place in which there was an open-air cinema and many people who are not judged with your appearance. Here is the same.

One female respondent explained her reason for coming to Alaçatı in order to fulfill her wish to escape from the problems in her private and professional life. She moved into Alaçatı immediately she lost her husband due to cancer and lost the local elections that she was involved through a political party in İzmir.

Interestingly, only the male gentrifiers gave the economic reasons as their initial reasons for coming to Alaçatı. Three of the male respondents mentioned that they came to Alaçatı for the job opportunities in Alaçatı. For instance, Mert (50, male, single, now the owner of a restaurant) mentioned that he was unsatisfied with his job in textile in İstanbul and decided to enter in a new sector (restaurant) in Alaçatı. He mentioned as Alaçatı became popular, he found it as an opportunity to open his own restaurant and realized his dreams of being a cook in his own restaurant. Another male respondent Mehmet (37, male, married with children, now the owner of a boutique hotel and a construction materials company) moved his own job to Alaçatı. He saw a potential in Alaçatı in selling construction materials as there have been lots of construction works in Alaçatı in the last years. Utku (47, male, married with children, artist and now the owner of an art gallery) mentioned that he has an art gallery in Ankara and wanted to open another art gallery in Alaçatı to work in the summer seasons. Ertan (35, male, married with children, now the owner of an antique shop) stated that he came Alaçatı to earn money due to the job opportunities. He quitted his job on internet sales in İzmir and opened an antique shop in Alaçatı.

Another economic reason of the male gentrifiers is to have retirement investments here. Three male respondents mentioned that they came to Alaçatı as a retirement investment for either to settle down or to establish a new job after retirement. For instance Barlas (63, married with children, now the owner of a boutique hotel) decided to establish a new job in Alaçatı after he got retired:

We thought what we should do something when we get retired (...) So we wanted both to do something in which we feel its pleasure and; at the same time to earn some money.

Levent (57, male, married, now the owner of a boutique hotel) mentioned that he came to Alaçatı due to the economic recession in the 2000s. He quitted his job in İzmir on technical consultancy and opened a boutique hotel in Alaçatı.

In summary, we might suggest that coming to Alaçatı is driven by the respondent's desire to escape from the busy and chaotic city life to a relatively quiet small town. Such desires to move to an area differ in the gentrification literature when talking about the new middle class (Ley, 1996; Hamnett, 2000). As most of the cases in the gentrification literature focuses on the classic forms of gentrification, the new middle class generally desires to be close to the city center of the metropolitan areas. They choose inner-city locations to reflect their anti-suburban life style preferences (Danyluk and Ley, 2007). However in Alaçatı we see some "anti-urban" lifestyle preferences. Mindful of these anti-urban lifestyle preferences, we should note that these preferences emerged within the context of the close connection of Alaçatı to the metropolitan area of İzmir and the Adnan Menderes Airport. Therefore the small and the quiet town characteristics of Alaçatı do not imply a total anti-urban lifestyle preference, the gentrifiers chose both to be far away from the chaos of the city life and close to be its practical eases (e.g location, transportation), which are detailed below.

Why the gentrifiers chose Alaçatı instead of another Aegean town at seashore: Both the female and the male respondents explained why they have chosen Alaçatı instead of other small seashore towns with mainly eight reasons: "the nature, air, water, and climate of Alaçatı", "the quiet and not crowded nature of Alaçatı", "its location and transportation eases", "friendly local people", "well preserved architectural tissue", "their familiarity with Alaçatı then", "surfing activities in Alaçatı", "the development potentials with the increasing popularity of Alaçatı".

These reasons were related to each other. For instance, Alaçatı has nice climate while also having suitable location with transportation eases and 45-minute drive to Adnan Menderes Airport, which makes the distance between İstanbul and Alaçatı about two and a half hour. Local people with their welcoming, gentle and friendly characteristics became a positive attribute for choosing Alaçatı for the gentrifiers. For instance, Nurhan (56, female, single with children, now the owner of a boutique) sounded surprised talking about the "modern" and welcoming people of this small town:

First of all the people here are modern. They are not closed-minded and bigoted. They help us for everything, I love Alaçatı much more as they are modern, broadminded and hospitable people.

Also, three male respondents mentioned that, surf was an important reason for them to come to Alaçatı, as they have been dealing with surf before coming to Alaçatı. In addition to the hospitality of the local people in Alaçatı, the well preserved architectural tissue of Alaçatı is another factor nearly half of the both female and male respondents. Not only the transportation eases, small town characteristics, architectural tissue of Alaçatı are important reasons for both the female and the male gentrifiers to choose Alaçatı among the other small towns at seashore, the development potentials with increasing popularity and new job opportunities in Alaçatı were other factors for some of the female and the male gentrifiers. For instance Gökhan (63, male, single, now the owner of an art gallery) who bought an old house and restore it mentioned that the stone houses and the authentic ambiance of Alaçatı impressed him to move in Alaçatı. Moreover, we should also note that the new jobs of the majority of the gentrifiers in Alaçatı in service jobs in tourism and commerce are related to the authentic and traditional atmosphere of the building stock of Alaçatı. Most of them convert old stone houses into boutique hotels, restaurants, art galleries and so on.

One of the female and 7 of the male gentrifiers mentioned that they chose Alaçatı for profit and/or status making purposes along with new jobs, similar to the profit making purposes of the “risk averse” groups in the gentrification literature. The risk averse group decides to move into a gentrified area after the rent gap exists and the property values increases, the arrival of the risk-averse groups is generally later than the first gentrifiers as they wait until the rent gap becomes sufficiently large as discussed by the literature (Duany, 1996; Bridge, 2001a; Uzun, 2003; Shaw, 2005).

Similar to this argument, the arrival years of the both the female and the male gentrifiers in this study, who mentioned that they chose Alaçatı due to its popularity and job opportunities, varies between 2008 and 2010. As mentioned in Chapter 6 of this study, the process of gentrification in Alaçatı has accelerated after 2005. For instance a female gentrifier Şevval (35, female, married with children, teacher and now the owner of a souvenir stall) mentioned that after Alaçatı became a tourism destination, at the beginning of the 2000s she and her husband decided to move in Alaçatı to sell souvenirs and glass-made objects. Another female gentrifier, Saba (47, female, married with

children, an artist, and now the owner of an art gallery and a restaurant) came to Alaçatı to reach people dealing with art because Alaçatı has a connection with the art life in İstanbul via people here. She emphasized the advantages of Alaçatı with the popularity of Alaçatı in the art sector as a lot of famous artists and the people dealing with art are especially from İstanbul come to Alaçatı each year for holiday, workshops, exhibitions, and so on. And this makes Alaçatı as a good job opportunity for her:

Alaçatı has provided an advantage, the things we do here is similar with the things we do in İstanbul. Alaçatı is so much mentioned in press. Anybody can pass from here. There is no big difference between being in the centre of İstanbul and being in Alaçatı and you get tired less.

The resources for coming to Alaçatı: For the gentrifiers in Alaçatı, to come to Alaçatı, they needed certain resources such as social networks, financial resources and so on. Accordingly, the majority of the both female and the male respondents mentioned that their friends from childhood, university, business life and so on in Alaçatı were important motivators for their coming to Alaçatı. Nearly all of the both female and the male respondents mentioned that they have used their own financial resources and savings when moving in Alaçatı. One of the female respondents and 3 male respondents used their family's financial support in addition to their savings. Yet it seems that to have large financial resources is crucial for the respondents' move in Alaçatı because the majority of them did have not only housing investments but also were involved in their own businesses in tourism related jobs. Only 2 male respondents mentioned that they had no financial resources and did not get any financial support when moving in Alaçatı.

Difficulties and the eases at the beginning of their move in Alaçatı: The majority of the both female (8 out of 9) and the male gentrifiers (10 out of 12) moved in Alaçatı permanently and started a new life there in the 2000s and afterwards. Among them, 4 female and 3 male gentrifiers experienced a "transition period" before moving in. For instance, some of them bought a house and came to Alaçatı only in summers, and some ran their businesses in Alaçatı only in summers before permanently moving in the town.

When settling down in Alaçatı less than half of the female gentrifiers (3 out of 9) and most of the male gentrifiers (8 out of 12) mentioned that they had difficulties at the

beginning. Some of the female and one male respondent suffered from problems related to technical infrastructure such as garbage, telephone, internet, electricity and so on when they first arrived. They said that the municipality solved these problems a couple of years after their arrival especially at the beginning of the 2000s.

A few female and male gentrifiers had adaptation problems with a new job and a life in this small town. Mehmet (37, male, married with children, now the owner of a boutique hotel and a construction materials company) who came Alaçatı from İzmir at the end of the 1990s suffered mostly from the few social activities such as cinema, theatre and so on in Alaçatı at the beginning. Gaye (42, female, married, now the executive manager in a boutique hotel) told the difficulty of adapting a small town when her first arrival in 2005 as:

I had some difficulty in getting used to here when I came here by leaving everything. Ultimately here is a village. Especially ten years ago here was more likely a village. I had difficulty for a year when I came here. The limited opportunities in a small place are difficult after coming from a big city, but you can get used to it in time.

Less than half of the female and male respondents had problems with the local people with certain prejudices about people coming outside from Alaçatı especially from İstanbul. Zümrüt (53, female, single, owner of a boutique hotel) thought that she was not accepted very quickly by the local people as she came from İstanbul:

When we came here, the people of Alaçatı said us you, the people of İstanbul came here and disrupted here. I am from İstanbul but I came here to get some thing here and to add something here. We have had a process until they accepted this but now I get on well with the people of Alaçatı now.

Similarly, Gökhan (63, male, single, owner of an art gallery) mentioned that the local people in Alaçatı were jealous at the beginning in about the beginning of the 1990s to the gentrifiers:

Local people of here were jealous but they got used to that and when they got the money.

In addition to the difficulties in their first arrival to Alaçatı, the majority of the female (6 out of 9) and less than half of the male respondents (4 out of 12) mentioned that they did not get any difficulty at the beginning. Moreover, most of them stated that they got help and support from the local people. For instance, Gaye (42, female, married, now the executive manager in a boutique hotel) talked about the hospitality of the local people in Alaçatı from her first arrival to today:

Here is a very modern village, so they welcome us, they are not closed-minded , they help us and they do not exclude us (...) They also support us when we do something good.

Some of the female and the male respondents mentioned that they got support in the bureaucratic procedures from the municipality in their first arrivals in about the 1990s and the 2000s. The municipality helped the gentrifiers when they open their hotels, restaurants and so on about the municipal permissions.

The half of the female respondents (5 out of 9) find advantageous the transportation eases and small scale of Alaçatı at their first arrival. They mentioned that the short distance between Alaçatı and the Adnan Menderes Airport (İzmir) through İzmir-Çeşme Highway, walking distances in the town, walking and biking opportunities, low traffic, less dependency on car makes their adaptation easier to Alaçatı.

7.1.3. After Coming to Alaçatı: Changes in the Life Conditions and Life Styles

Length of residency in Alaçatı: The majority of the both female and the male respondents have been in Alaçatı for 5 to 10 years, only one of the female gentrifiers has been in Alaçatı for about 20 years. As mentioned in Chapter 6, the social, economic and spatial changes have accelerated in Alaçatı since the 2000s as shown in also Table 8. The majority of all the gentrifiers arrived at Alaçatı in about the 2000s and afterwards.

The current age: The average of the current age of the female gentrifiers is around 46. Those with the age over 40 and 50 constitute the majority. The average of

the current age of the male gentrifiers is around 49. Those with the age over 30 and 60 constitute the majority.

Changes in the marital status: After coming to Alaçatı, the majority of the both female and the male respondents did not change their marital status. Only 1 female and 1 male respondent have divorced and 2 male respondents got married.

Changes in the jobs: All the gentrifiers in Alaçatı involved in professional services and business before coming to Alaçatı. However, interestingly after coming to Alaçatı nearly all of the gentrifiers in Alaçatı made a job change by quitting their jobs in the big cities that they came from. Accordingly, the majority of the female (8 out of 9) and all the male gentrifiers got a new job in Alaçatı. Only one female respondent, who lives in İstanbul and comes Alaçatı in every holiday occasion, did not make any job change and runs her own business on textile in İstanbul. All of the female and male respondents who shifted to a new job now deal with service jobs in tourism and commerce in Alaçatı (see Table 8).

For instance, Zeynep (53, female, single, now the owner of a boutique hotel) quitted her job as a manager in an international company after a time later she and her husband bought an old house in Alaçatı. As she liked Alaçatı she decided to move in there permanently and bought another old house in Alaçatı and restored it to open up a boutique hotel. Her hotel is the first boutique hotel in Alaçatı. Similarly, Caprina (30, married, now the owner of a boutique), who is an Italian, quitted her job in İstanbul when working in a famous fashion magazine. She rented an old depot and renovated it into a boutique on home textile emporium with a brand famous in Italy. She also engages in construction works and makes new stone houses and interior decoration in Alaçatı.

Mert (50, male, single, now the owner of a restaurant) quitted his family job on textile and started to deal with diving and sea surfing. After a time, he went London to take cookery education. After he returned Turkey, he started to go Alaçatı for surf and then decided to open a restaurant. He took over the famous “Agrilia” restaurant from Leyla Figen then he moved the restaurant from Kemalpaşa Street to in another location in the Yenimeciye Mahallesi in Alaçatı town center. Similarly, Burak (38, male, single, now the owner of a restaurant, a café and a boutique hotel), who quitted his job on textile in İstanbul and went London for cookery education, took over one of the oldest and famous “kıraathane”, “15 Eylül Kıraathanesi” and turned it into “15 Eylül

Café”. After that he also opened a restaurant and boutique hotel in Alaçatı. Barlas (63, male, married with children, now the owner of a boutique hotel), who was the general director of an international company, bought a land in Alaçatı and constructed a boutique hotel. He now runs this hotel with his sons.

The table below summarizes the job history of the female and the male gentrifiers in Alaçatı.

Table 8. The Job Histories of the Gentrifiers in Alaçatı
(Source: Drawn by the Author)

JOB HISTORY		JOB IN ALAÇATI
FEMALE		
ZEYNEP	marketing manager	boutique hotel
ŞEVVAL	high school teacher	souvenir stall+teacher
CAPRINA	fashion magazine	world brand boutique-construction sector
TULAY	ship owner, broker, design and decoration	café
ZUMRUT	owner of a home textile boutique-retired	boutique hotel
GAYE	home textile	executive manager in a boutique hotel
SABA	artist	art gallery and restaurant
NURHAN	local politician, housewife	boutique+designer
VERDA	textile	X
MALE		
MERT	textile	restaurant+cooker
BERK	interior designer- retired	shoe stall
YILMAZ	stage back worker in series	souvenir stall+designer
BARLAS	executive manager-retired	boutique hotel
GÖKHAN	engineer-executive manager-art consultant-retired	art gallery +cooking book writer
ERTAN	internet sales	runner of an antique shop
OGUZHAN	economist	boutique hotel
BURAK	textile	boutique hotel,restaurant and a café +cooker
LEVENT	engineer-technical consultant	boutique hotel
UTKU	artist	art -gallery in Alaçatı and in Ankara
YENER	public sector manager-retired	boutique hotel
MEHMET	economist-construction sector	a boutique hotel+construction sector+agriculture

As the Table 8 suggests, there is a highly interesting point that makes the gentrification in Alaçatı different from its Western and Turkish counterparts. The gentrifiers in the Western and Turkish gentrification cases do not make any job change

and continue their jobs in professional services, managerial and technical occupations after moving the gentrified neighborhoods. However nearly all of the gentrifiers in Alaçatı made a job change after coming to Alaçatı and now involve in service jobs in tourism and commerce mostly as the owners of their own businesses here.

Both the female and the male gentrifiers in Alaçatı have used their material and cultural capitals when changing their jobs. The majority of the gentrifiers (19 out of 21) are the owners of their own businesses in Alaçatı now. Among them, more than half (12 out of 19) are the property owners of their local businesses. They have used their material capital in buying, renting and renovating the properties that they have been using for their new jobs / businesses. In addition, more than half of the both female and the male respondents have used their cultural capitals, such as their knowledge and experiences from their previous jobs as managers, economists and so on and their own skills such as cooking, designing and so on.

Changes in Tenureship and Property Ownership: More than half of the female and nearly all the male gentrifiers are home-owner occupiers and 4 of the both female and male gentrifiers are tenants. 2 female and 2 male respondents live in their own boutique hotels in Alaçatı.

Chapter 3 and 4 mentioned that the gentrifiers in the Western and Turkish gentrification cases make changes in their tenureships. They either buy an old house and renovate it or they buy or rent already renovated houses. The case of Alaçatı displays similarity with the Western and Turkish gentrification cases in that sense. However, there are also differences with Alaçatı and other gentrification cases, as some of the gentrifiers in Alaçatı live in their boutique hotels. Therefore, in Alaçatı case we also see the co-existence of the location of residence and the job.

Just like the gentrification literature states, the gentrifiers in Alaçatı have high income level with property ownership. Moreover, the majority of them added to their material capital after coming in Alaçatı. As I have mentioned, the majority of them had at least one house and a car before coming to Alaçatı. After coming to Alaçatı, 2 of the female and 6 male gentrifiers have owned a hotel, 7 female and 9 male gentrifiers have a house, and all of the female and male gentrifiers have a car in Alaçatı. The majority of the female and less than half of the male gentrifiers are homeowners in Alaçatı and they also own houses in İstanbul and İzmir. The others sold their houses in the big cities that they came from.

Some of the gentrifiers bought lands in Alaçatı and constructed new stone houses. While some bought old stone houses from the locals and restored them. For instance, Zeynep (53, single, owner of a boutique hotel) bought an old house in Alaçatı and restored it. After she divorced she bought a land and constructed a new stone house. Similarly, Mert (50, single, owner of a restaurant) bought an old house at the town center of Alaçatı and restored it. After the town center became crowded, he sold this house and bought a new stone house in the outer parts of the town center.

Changes in the social and daily life: Despite their busy life schedules of all the female and the male respondents, after coming to Alaçatı, the majority of the female and more than half of the male respondents mentioned that their daily schedules became less busy. They now have a quiet social life in Alaçatı. This also corresponds to their initial reasons about choosing Alaçatı as the majority of the respondents mentioned that they decided to come to Alaçatı to escape from the chaos and complexity of the big cities.

For instance, Gökhan (63, male, single, now the owner of an art gallery) stated that he can spare more time for himself after he started to live in Alaçatı. He is dealing with art organizations and writing cooking books on the traditional Mediterranean kitchen. Similarly, Caprina (30, female, married, now the owner of a boutique) mentioned that, the quiet life in Alaçatı let her and her husband to spare more time for them. Zümrüt (53, female, single, now the owner of a boutique hotel) told that, her new life in Alaçatı gave her the opportunity to live with the nature:

...This is natural life, I can take my breakfast and go out when I see the sun and I can walk on the soil in the mornings. This quiet life is very good.

Although the majority of the both female and the male respondents have a more quiet daily life pace than the big cities, the ones running or involving in service jobs in tourism in Alaçatı have still busy schedules in the summer seasons. The majority of them mentioned that they work too hard in the summers nearly 18 hours a day. However, in the rest of the year they generally spending time for them. Gaye (42, female, married, now the executive manager in a boutique hotel) told about the busy pace of the summer seasons and quietness of the winter seasons as:

I work hard in summers. Because we only work for 3 months and only focused on work. Because of the reason that, when this 3 months period ends, 9 months period is our. There is only working in our life in the summers, this is the same for everyone here... in winter we go to concerts, cinema and foreign countries. We search what we can do in the winters and we work for it in summer hard.

Gaye continued that the life in Alaçatı is more social than in the big cities. She can pass time with the people similar to her socio-economic characteristics and involve in the social events that are difficult to do in the big cities in Alaçatı:

Here, you can do many things what are difficult to be done in the city... People came here for these social things and experiences, it is a big pleasure to be with them. For example there is a fishing tournament in October, many people are going to come here, many people come from foreign countries. There is a herb festival in April, the summer fest is also coming. Beside this, you can go to the seaside by riding your bicycle, to go for a walk at the seaside, to swim in the sea and then to start the day. You cannot do this in the city. You can go fishing by a boat and you can deal with your garden.

Similarly, Zeynep (53, female, single, now the owner of a boutique hotel) stated that this new life brings more social life as she finds opportunity to spare more time for spending with nature, animals, plants, family, friends, and so on. After coming to Alaçatı, she started to deal with surf, bought a boat and started sea journeys, bought an olive yard and started agriculture. Some of the both female and the male respondents had new daily activities such as walking, handcraft designing, photography, painting, writing books, surf, dancing, travelling in Alaçatı, Turkey and abroad, and so on.

After coming to Alaçatı the majority of the both female (6 out of 9) and the male (8 out of 12) gentrifiers defined their social activities as passing time with their new friends in Alaçatı. Most of them mentioned that they have become a new “group” or “community” with the new comers (the gentrifiers) in Alaçatı. Therefore, as Caprina (30, female, married, now the owner of a boutique) said that their “new friends” are actually the other gentrifiers rather than the local people:

We have created a new social life here. Although we are composed of a limited number of people, there are very respectable people among us; we are a small community composed of cooks, artists...

Only three male gentrifiers told that they have friends form the local people in Alaçatı. Gökhan (63, male, single, now the owner of an art gallery) talked about his friendship with the locals as:

I have good relationships with the local people. The people come here and despise the local people. They want to establish relationships with the people coming here from other places. I make the contrary; I become friend with the local people.

Some of the both female and the male respondents defined their social activities with their own hotels, cafés, restaurants and so on. For instance, Tülay (53, female, married, now the owner of a café) defined her own café as a “socializing and adaptation space” for her as she meets a lot of new people in her café and become their friends then. She mentioned that nearly all of her new friends in Alaçatı were her customers in her café.

Some gentrifiers in Alaçatı also are getting organized for Alaçatı. 3 female and 5 male gentrifiers were involved in neighborhood associations developed by usually other gentrifiers. For instance, Zeynep (53, female, single, now the owner of a boutique hotel) is the founding president of the “Alaçatı Conservation Association” and the “Alaçatı Tourism Association” and had active roles in these associations. The gentrifiers, especially the ones who are running boutique hotels, restaurants and cafés are members of the Alaçatı Tourism Association. There are other organized activities of the gentrifiers. For instance, one of the male respondents, Oğuzhan (29, male, married, now the owner of a boutique hotel) is a founder of the “Life in Alaçatı Platform”. One of the female respondents, Zümürüt (53, female, single, now the owner of a boutique hotel) mentioned the she involves in some bicycle organizations like “Bike Friend Alaçatı Project (Bisiklet Dostu Alaçatı Projesi)” and she formed also a voluntary group as “Tuesday Morning Cyclists.” Another male respondent Yener (54, male, married with children, now the owner of a boutique hotel) is one of the founders of the “Alaçatı Newspaper”. He also engaged in some culture and art organizations such as classical music concerts, sculpture workshops and so on. Also, two female gentrifiers are organizing social responsibility activities such as taking care of the stray dogs in Alaçatı or teaching the local children and so on. Zeynep (53, female, single,

now the owner of a boutique hotel) dealt with local children in Alaçatı. She organized some lecturing sessions in her boutique hotel in winters to help the local children on their school and liberal education for 6 years from her first arrival at the beginning of the 2000s. She thought that dealing with the local children helped her to adapt her new life in Alaçatı as she was new in Alaçatı and just opened her boutique hotel and divorced from her husband in those years (For detailed information for the voluntary social activities of the gentrifiers see the Chapter 8).

Interestingly, while some of the both female and the male respondents started to get involved in the voluntary organizations after coming to Alaçatı, some intentionally prefer to take part in less charity activities. Nurhan (56, female, single with children, now the owner of a boutique), who was volunteering in various clubs and associations before coming to Alaçatı in İzmir, now did not prefer to involve in these activities:

I escaped now I am not going anywhere. I got many offers from associations and universities, from other organizations to join them but I do not go anywhere. I go to where I want and I do what I want.

A half of the female (5 out of 9) and a few male (2 out of 12) gentrifiers go to restaurants, cafés and bars in the town center, marina part (Port Alaçatı) and nearby locations. There are specific restaurants and cafés that the majority of the gentrifiers go to regularly with the members of their “new community”. Gaye (42, female, married, now the executive manager in a boutique hotel) talked about the popular places that most of the gentrifiers go to:

Everybody goes to Agrilia, Sailors Orta Kahve, Köşe Kahve and now Salça Bar, there are some restaurants at Port at the seaside. Ferdi, again Ferdi in Şifne and there is a booth place named Ada Balık at the seaside. Go one of them, certainly one person from this village went there, you say hello and sit down. Because you go somewhere and you recommend it and we go there. Mostly people come together at the port or at the surfing center as 90% of the people living here do surf at the same time. So it is also a center for the people for gathering.

Some of the female and the male gentrifiers mentioned that they prefer to go places in Alaçatı in winter seasons as they work hard in summers and also it is very crowded in the summers.

Beaches in and around Alaçatı are other spare time destinations for some of the female and the male gentrifiers. A few female and the male respondents go Ilica, Çeşme and so on for sea and official jobs in the government offices there. Some respondents go regularly İstanbul, İzmir and so on to visit their friends and families. Less than half of the female and the majority of the male gentrifiers go abroad frequently for vacation especially in the winter seasons.

7.2. The Locals

This part is based on my face-to-face interviews with 18 locals (6 female and 12 male) in Alaçatı. My interview questions for the locals in Alaçatı collected data about their socio-economic characteristics, the changes in their life conditions and the lifestyles after the gentrification of Alaçatı. This part first defines who the “locals” of Alaçatı are from the viewpoints of the local respondents. Second, I focus on the socio-economic characteristics of the current locals. I detail the changes in the life conditions and lifestyles of the local people then, in the next chapter, in the Impacts of Gentrification in Alaçatı.

Accordingly, the majority of the female (5 out of 6) and 1 male respondent defined “the locals of Alaçatı” as the ones who were born and raised in Alaçatı. 3 male respondents mentioned that the locals are the exchangees moved in Alaçatı in the population exchange period of 1920s as a result of the Independency War. However, a few of the both female (1 out of 6) and the male (2 out of 12) respondents mentioned these exchangees are not the original locals in Alaçatı as they came in Alaçatı from the Balkan countries; they are only the long-term residents. These respondents defined the locals as the ones who came in Alaçatı before the Independency War and the population exchange period in 1923. They make a classification as “exchangees” and the “locals”.

According to two male respondents, people living in Alaçatı for a long time are the locals while two other male respondents did not think so. For instance, Latif (57, male, married, retired) mentioned that he is a local in Alaçatı as he has been living in

Alaçatı for more than 30 years. However, another male respondent Erol (51, married with children, retired) who moved Alaçatı 45 years ago mentioned that he is not local.

Some of the both female and the male respondents mentioned that people moved Alaçatı from the big cities (especially Istanbul) in the last years (the gentrifiers) are not the locals.

7.2.1. Individual Characteristics of the Local Respondents

When documenting the individual characteristic of the local respondents, I focus on their socio-economic characteristics in respects to their length of residency in Alaçatı, their ages, marital status, family care responsibilities, education, job history and tenureship before the gentrification of Alaçatı.

Length of Residency in Alaçatı: Half of the female (3 out of 6) and majority of the male (8 out of 12) respondents have been living in Alaçatı since their births. 3 female and 2 male respondents have been living in Alaçatı for more than 30 years and they came by marriage. 2 male respondents have been living in Alaçatı more than 40 years.

Age: The average of the current age of the local females is 51 and the ages over the 40s and the 50s constitute the majority. The average of the current age of my male local respondents is 55. The ages over 50s and 60s are dominant among the male locals.

Marital Status: The majority of the female respondents (5 out of 6) and all of the male respondents were married before the gentrification of Alaçatı. They did not change their marital status after the gentrification. All the female and 10 male respondents have children. The number of their children varies between 2 to 8.

Education: 3 of the female and the majority of the male (9 out of 12) respondents have primary school degrees. 3 females and 3 males have high school degrees. When comparing the education levels of the gentrifiers and the locals in Alaçatı, we see that the local people have lower education levels. This situation is also valid for the Western and Turkish gentrification cases as they define the local people with their low education levels.

Job: Before the gentrification in Alaçatı, 2 of the female locals were housewives, 2 females were dealing with agriculture, 1 female was teacher and 1 was a local shopkeeper. More than half of the male local respondents were shopkeepers, 3 were civil servants, 1 was contractor and 1 was a worker. The job histories of the locals in Alaçatı are not parallel with the job profiles of the locals in the Western and Turkish gentrification cases. The gentrification literature defines the local people as the working class populations or unemployed people. However, there the local people are generally the farmers and local shopkeepers.

The changes in the jobs of the local people after the gentrification in Alaçatı will be detailed in the next chapter, in the impacts of gentrification in Alaçatı.

Tenureship and Property Ownership:

More than half of both the female and the male local respondents had a house in the town center before the gentrification in Alaçatı. However, the majority of them were not the only owner of their houses as there are more than one shares in each house in Alaçatı due to the inheritance issues. In addition to their houses half of the local respondents had agricultural lands. 6 of the female and the male respondents did not have any ownership.

Social and Daily life: The majority of the both female (4 out of 6) and the male (9 out of 12) respondents mentioned that they did not involve in social activities before the gentrification of Alaçatı, the defined their social life with their friends, relatives and neighbors.

7.3. The Financial Capital in the Housing Market

The financial capital in the housing market is the big construction companies, contractors and the real estate agents operating in and/or for Alaçatı. The big construction companies involve in the construction of the new housing estates. The houses in these estates are “new but seem old” (Özgönül, 2010) stone houses. They are constructed with the modern construction techniques and materials but in the form of the replicas of the traditional stone houses in Alaçatı. The contractors generally operate in the town center of Alaçatı and they involve in both the restoration of the old stone houses and the construction of the new stone houses.

Another important actor is the real estate agents. There are more than 10 real estate agents operating in the Alaçatı town center. They are either the branches of the corporate real estate companies or small individual firms. Moreover, the real estate agents (corporate or individual) in İstanbul, İzmir and Çeşme involve in the real estate market.

In my face-to-face interviews, I interviewed with 5 real estate agents in Alaçatı. Among them, one is the branch of an international real estate company and has been operating in Alaçatı for two years. The others are small individual offices. The owners of these offices are the local people of Alaçatı. 2 of them have been operating in the real estate sector in Alaçatı for 10 years and both were involved in agriculture before. Their entrance to the real estate sector coincides with the acceleration period of the gentrification in Alaçatı. The other individual offices have been operating for 17 and 29 years. All of these firms are dealing with selling and renting the traditional stone houses, new stone houses, and second homes and also the development of the agricultural lands. 3 of the real estate firms also work as contractors and they involve in the construction and decoration works in Alaçatı.

7.4. The State with its Central and Local Agencies

As I have mentioned in Chapter 6, the central government and the local government in Alaçatı have effects in the gentrification of Alaçatı.

The central government with its discouraging implementations on the production of tobacco, introduction of the İzmir-Çeşme Highway, new legislations about the tourism development (Law No. 2634- The Tourism Encouragement Law), declaration of the tourism centers in Alaçatı and their plans in these tourism centers and so on make the central government in Turkey as an actor in Alaçatı.

The role of the Alaçatı Municipality in the gentrification of Alaçatı is also important. First the plans and the projects of the municipality such as the social housing projects, The Conservation Plan of Alaçatı, The Port Alaçatı Project, the Urban Renewal project in the town center of Alaçatı and so on affected the tourism development and in turn the gentrification of Alaçatı.

My interview respondent, Gürkan, who is the urban planner in the Alaçatı Municipality, mentioned that the Municipality has an important role in pulling the high income people from the big cities of Turkey to Alaçatı. The municipality contributed to the conservation of the historical tissue with its urban conservation plan. It also determined the development rights of the surrounding areas of the urban conservation area in terms of the building heights and the construction materials of the new constructions. This provided the conservation of the small town scale of Alaçatı and appealed the gentrifiers and the investors. He also mentioned that the Municipality technically and bureaucratically supports all the tourism investments such as boutique hotels restaurants, cafés, housing estates and so on in Alaçatı.

This chapter detailed the actors of the gentrification process in Alaçatı based on my face-to-face interviews with the gentrifiers, the local people, the real estate agents and one government official in the Alaçatı Municipality. Accordingly, the first finding of this chapter is that, the gentrifiers in Alaçatı are different from the “new middle class” typology of the gentrification literature. The gentrifiers in Alaçatı are wealthy people with high education levels. They are in their 40s. All of them had professional occupations and involved in business before coming to Alaçatı and changed their jobs after moving in Alaçatı. Now, they involve in service jobs in tourism and commerce. They came to Alaçatı from the big cities of Turkey for mostly escaping from the big city life and experiencing small town living. Moreover, some of them decided to come to Alaçatı for profit making purposes due to the increasing values in Alaçatı. The majority of the respondents changed social life and activities and started to involve in neighborhood associations or voluntary social activities. The second finding of this chapter is that the locals in Alaçatı are people with lower income and education levels compared to the gentrifiers. The majority of the had property ownership in the town center. They were generally the local shopkeepers and dealing with agriculture. The third finding is that the most important actor in the financial capital in the housing market of Alaçatı is the real estate agents. These are either the branches of the big real estate companies or the small individual firms. They are dealing with selling and renting the old houses, new stone houses, second homes and agricultural lands. In addition to the real estate firms, there are construction companies and the contractors in Alaçatı as the other actors in the financial capital in the housing market of Alaçatı. And the last finding tells that in addition to the plans and projects of the central government in

Turkey, the plans and projects of the local government in Alaçatı is a pull factor for the gentrifiers and investments in Alaçatı.

The next chapter discusses the impacts of the gentrification process on Alaçatı.

CHAPTER 8

THE IMPACTS OF GENTRIFICATION IN ALAÇATI

This chapter details the positive and negative impacts of the process of gentrification in Alaçatı in respect to its economic, social and physical space.

8.1. Economic Impacts in Alaçatı

Similar to the Western and the Turkish gentrification cases, the major economic impact of the gentrification process in Alaçatı are positive with the economic vitality in the real estate sector and employment opportunities in Alaçatı. However, there are also negative economic impacts of the gentrification in Alaçatı, such as the rising rents and living costs for the locals in Alaçatı and so on.

8.1.1. Positive Impacts

According to my interview results with the locals and the real estate agents, one of the most significant positive economic impacts of the process of gentrification is about the tourism development in Alaçatı. The process of gentrification made Alaçatı one of the popular surf and tourism centers. This brings economic vitality to the town in many aspects. Accordingly, the first aspect is the longer tourism season, which makes the number of the tourists and their length of stay longer. The majority of the local female (4 out of 6) and a few local male (2 out of 12) respondents mentioned that the increasing number of the tourists and their longer stays brings economic vitality in terms of the cash flows in Alaçatı.

The second aspect is that with the tourism development, the investments in the tourism sector, mostly in the form of boutique hotels increased. Nearly a half of the both female and the male local respondents (8 out of 18) mentioned that the boutique hotels are important “locomotives” for the economy of Alaçatı. For instance, Sinem (38, female, married with children, now selling meat-balls in Alaçatı town center, living

in Alaçatı since her birth) argued that as the number of the luxury boutique hotels increase, upper income tourists come Alaçatı and this in turn makes the local economy vital.

According to the Alaçatı Tourism Association data, there is a continuous increase in the number of the boutique hotels in Alaçatı every year. In the following table (Table 9), we can see the changes in the number of the boutique hotels between 1998 and 2010. Today, there are about 150 boutique hotels in Alaçatı.

Table 9. The Number of the Boutique Hotels in Alaçatı between 1998-2010
(Source: Alaçatı Tourism Association)

	1998	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
	Herman	Bakırlı	Taş Otel	Sailors	Beyazhan	Ümit Evote	Sailors 2	Begonvil	Zeytin Otel	İncirli Ev	Naciye Teyze	Nano
	Büke			O Ev	Sakızlıhan	Lemon	Adaçatı	Lale Lodge	Alaçat	Padma	Denizkabuğu	Mandalina
	Çark				Betül	Antik	Kirman	Shaka	Sardınaki	Noche	Kajavic	1882
						Mimas	Alaçatı	Hire	Cadde 75	SedirliEv	Kayesta	Daphne
								Manastır	K. Ardeş K.	Tur 58	Narçiçeği	Masala
								Değirmen	Sports	Radika	Padma	Mavi Ev
								Kuyulu K.	Villa Fora	Siesta	Port Otel	No 6
								Port Otel	Saklıbahçe	Kayla	Pürlen	Panda
									Meltem	Bedirhan	Villa Fora	Alarroof
									Alahan	Narlıkonak	Yalçınkaya	Beyevi
									Tropikana	Calmia	Sakız Evi	Sakin Ev
									Ciprika	Sudan Palas	Yazz Otel	Taş Saray
									Sapa	Taş Mekan	Kesre	Ahıra
									Tenmün	Kite	Sava	Ala
									Hanımeli	Beyaz Ev	Sesil	Sante
									Alesta	Seven Rooms	Taşdelen	Anteros
									Sel Ev	Yalçınkaya	Tuvana	Aleyna
									Taş Mahal	Veriahan	Nars	Moy
										Sun	İmerek	May
												Leylak
												Taşhan
												Yamaçevi
												Mercanköşkü
												The Mağaza
												Mavi Ev
												Bardacık
												Bizim Ev
												Nil
												Alaçatı Marina Palace
												Villa Citrus
												La Capria
												Kalamata
												Ayazma
												Allegro
												Balanbaka
												Kumerika
												Nüans
												Sır
The no. per year	1	1	1	2	3	4	4	8	18	19	18	38
Total no.	1	2	3	5	8	12	16	24	42	61	79	117

The third aspect is about the value and the price increases especially in the real estate sector in Alaçatı. Most of the both female (4 out of 6) and the male (7 out of 12) locals mentioned that the process of gentrification in Alaçatı caused large price increases. They mentioned that the real estate prices increased more than ten times in the last ten years due to the increasing demand by the upper income groups from the big cities of Turkey. For instance, a female local Nesrin (58, married with children, retired, living in Alaçatı since her birth) stated that the price increases in the real estate sector made the deteriorated historical houses valuable:

Firstly, selling and purchasing was started; big changes started in real estates. We have heard extreme prices such as trillions, now trillions are given to the ruined houses which are sold for less than 10.000 liras fifteen years ago. So the number of the real estate agents has increased and competition emerged between them.

As mentioned by Nesrin, the price increases in the real estate sector increased the number of the real estate agencies working in and/or for Alaçatı. A real estate agent (Ümran, female, 55, married with children, living in Alaçatı since her birth) mentioned that after the gentrification of Alaçatı, the real estate sector became a dominant sector and various real estate offices opened in Alaçatı. Another real estate agent İdris (53, male, married with children, living in Alaçatı since his birth) mentioned that, in addition to the real estate firms there are also numerous “informal” real estate agents or commissioners, who are the locals in Alaçatı and involving in the real estate sector individually by dealing with the properties of their friends, relatives, neighbors and so on:

In the development of Alaçatı, you can see that the coffee shop owner has become a real estate agent and the restaurant owner has become a real estate agent. Gardeners, security guards working in a company have become real estate agents. Opinion leader of the district has become a real estate agent.

As the prices in the real estate sector increased in large amounts, the demand for the real estate investments also increased. A real estate agent Soysal (39, male, married with children, living in Alaçatı since his birth) mentioned that in the last years, the

investments in land increased as the rate of return in land in Alaçatı is higher than the other investment types:

Investments are made mostly to lands in Alaçatı. Every part of land has earned money for its investor in comparison to bank, exchange and repo. In Alaçatı, Çeşme real estates have never caused people lost money, even in the worst investment they exceeded the said investment media.

The supply of the built stock in Alaçatı also increased. A local male respondent Ergin (50, married with children, a local shopkeeper, living in Alaçatı since his birth) mentioned that there are a lot of new constructions in Alaçatı.

The value and the price increases in the real estate and construction sectors in Alaçatı increased the income of the property-owning locals in Alaçatı. Accordingly, the majority of the female (5 out of 6) and half of the male (6 out of 12) local respondents mentioned that they experienced particular income increases through property sales and property renting to the gentrifiers after the gentrification of Alaçatı. Some of them sell and/or rent their stone houses in the town center of Alaçatı, some sold their vacant plots, and some sold their agricultural lands to the gentrifiers, contractors and so on. For instance, a female local Nesrin (58, married with children, retired, living in Alaçatı since her birth) mentioned that, she and her relatives sold two stone houses of her grandfather in the town center to one of the pioneer gentrifiers and one of these houses now operates as the first boutique hotel in Alaçatı. In addition, the respondent is renting the first floor of her father's stone house in the town center to a restaurant. She stated that she earned high profit from these property sales and renting. Similarly, a male local respondent Musa (52, married, retired, living in Alaçatı more than 30 years and came by marriage) stated that he gained a large profit by selling his property to a gentrifier. About 10 years ago a gentrifier from İstanbul asked Musa to buy his land to 100.000 Liras. As he was shocked with the amount of the offer, he could not decide and thought that why this new comer wanted this small land for too much. Then the respondent offered the gentrifier 400.000 Liras and sold to 380.000 Liras at the end. He mentioned that he is one of the first locals selling land to the gentrifiers. He evaluated his sale as a big chance for him like a lottery. He bought four new houses with the money he got from this sale. He is also renting his wife's stone house and two shops in the town

center of Alaçatı to the gentrifiers from İstanbul. Another local male respondent Hasan (75, married with children, grocer, living in Alaçatı since his birth) also gained profit from his stone house in the town center of Alaçatı. He was running a grocery in the first floor of his stone house for about 50 years. A couple of years ago he reduced the size of his grocery by dividing the shop into two and he gained two shops by making some modifications such as adding up a door. He rented the remaining part of his grocery to a gentrifier from İstanbul.

Vitality in the commerce with the in-movement of the gentrifiers and the tourists is another positive economic impact of the gentrification in Alaçatı according to the majority of the female (5 out of 6) and less than half of the male (5 out of 12) local respondents. A male local Refet (65, married with children, a local shopkeeper, living in Alaçatı since his birth) stated that the composition of the commercial activities varied in the form of new cafés, restaurants, boutiques and so on and there are a lot of new customers with high income. This makes the income level of the shopkeepers higher:

There is a big difference between the old and new Alaçatı. Now there are guests, there were not any guests of Alaçatı in the past. There wasn't a commercial life like this in the past, there was only a producer market. There were only small markets, greengrocer, butcher, drapery which only serve mostly to the internal commerce but there were limited number of customers of Alaçatı in terms of commerce. There were only some people who came to buy fresh vegetables. So there are very big differences between the past and today. Now if you stop someone in the center in Alaçatı, you can see that he/she will have an important amount of money in his/her pocket.

The new job opportunities for the local people are another positive economic impact of the gentrification process in Alaçatı. 2 of the female and 3 of the male respondents mentioned that as the gentrifiers open new tourism establishments in Alaçatı such as hotels, restaurants, cafés, boutiques and so on, local people can find jobs in these establishments. They stated that, before the gentrification of Alaçatı, the job opportunities were too limited in Alaçatı. The majority of the locals were dealing with agriculture and the rate of return of the agricultural production was small. Therefore, job was a big problem for the locals. After the gentrification of Alaçatı, the majority of the locals involve in the tourism jobs and they earn more money than agriculture. For instance, a female local Belkıs (48, married with children, now the owner of a local

food restaurant in Alaçatı town center, living in Alaçatı more than 30 years and came by marriage) stated that with the new job opportunities, the locals started to earn more money and increased their life standards:

Everybody has acquired a job and money to live by. Everybody has acquired at least one house and one car in Alaçatı.

The new service jobs in tourism sector in Alaçatı for the locals mostly benefit the women and the young locals according to the 2 of the female and 3 of the male local respondents. A local male Ergin (50, married with children, a local shopkeeper, living in Alaçatı since his birth) told that

There is a dynamism in Alaçatı, higher number of young people can find work. At least there are important changes in boutiques, restaurants here in terms of job opportunities

Accordingly, the majority of the female (5 out of 6) local respondents made a job change after the gentrification of Alaçatı and started to get involved in service jobs in tourism and commerce. 4 of them mentioned that they were affected from the gentrification of Alaçatı positively as they started to earn money. For instance, a local female Belkıs (48, married with children, living in Alaçatı more than 30 years and came by marriage) became the owner of her own local food restaurant when she was a housewife before the gentrification of Alaçatı and her food is famous among the tourists in Alaçatı now: She also mentioned that after she opened her own local food restaurant in Alaçatı she started to earn money buy a house, a new car, afford her children collage education and so on.

2 other female respondents, who were housewives and dealing with agriculture before, mentioned that they became the owners of their jewellery stalls and started to earn money. Both of them mentioned that they owe their new jobs to two female pioneer gentrifiers, Leyla Figen and Zeynep Öziş, as these pioneer names encouraged and organized the local women to open stalls in the Pazaryeri Square of Alaçatı town center.

Although, the majority of the female local respondents made a job change after the gentrification of Alaçatı, the majority of the male locals (11 out of 12) did not make any job change. Some of the local shopkeepers mentioned that the gentrification in Alaçatı adversely affected their jobs (see the next heading: Negative Economic Impacts of Gentrification in Alaçatı). 7 of the male locals were the local shopkeepers and 4 of the local male respondents were retired. The only male respondent who changed his job after the gentrification of Alaçatı were a grocer and he quitted his job and started to work in his son's boutique hotel in Alaçatı town center.

The table below summarizes the job histories of the both female and male local respondents:

Table 10. The Job Histories of the Locals in Alaçatı

	JOB BEFORE	JOB AFTER
FEMALE		
BELKIS	Housewife	owner of her own local food restaurant
ALİYE	Textile	worker in a food kiosk
MACİDE	Agriculture	owner of her own jewellery stall
NESRİN	teacher	retired
SİNEM	Agriculture	selling meat-balls
VAHİDE	Housewife	owner of her own jewellery stall
MALE		
ERGİN	hardware dealer	hardware dealer
MUSA	teacher	retired
HASAN	grocer	grocer, sports equipment, agriculture, tourism
MUHSİN	grocer	grocer
CUMA	restaurant	restaurant
LATİF	civil servant	retired
TANER	hairdresser	hairdresser
ADNAN	tailor	tailor
ENDER	construciton	construction
EROL	civil servant	retired
MUSTAFA ALİ	worker	retired
REFET	grocer	working in his son's boutique hotel

8.1.2. Negative Impacts

According to my interview results, less than half of the female (2 out of 6) and a half of the male (6 out of 12) local respondents saw the decreasing agricultural production as one of the most important negative impacts of the gentrification in Alaçatı. They mentioned that Alaçatı is no more productive in terms of agriculture and its economy only depends on the services in tourism and commerce.

Another negative economic impact of the gentrification in Alaçatı is about the jobs of the locals. Accordingly, 1 of the female and half of the male (6 out of 12) local respondents mentioned that their jobs were adversely affected by the gentrification in Alaçatı. Among them 1 of the female and 1 of the male respondents closed up their shops (textile and grocery respectively) due to the rising rents of their shops. They find the gentrifiers responsible from this situation as they cause the rent increases. Aliye (49, married with children, now working in a food kiosk, living in Alaçatı more than 25 years) stated that:

I had to close my shop as my landlord increased the rent abnormally. So the people of Istanbul caused this.

3 of the male locals, who are the local shopkeepers in the town center of Alaçatı mentioned that their volume of the sales and so as to their incomes decreased after the gentrification of Alaçatı as there are a lot of substitutes of their shops in Alaçatı. For instance, a male local Cuma (57, male, married with children, owner of a restaurant, living in Alaçatı since his birth) complained about the decreasing numbers of his customers due to the more luxury substitutes of his restaurant run by the gentrifiers:

We are an old restaurant here... The people of Istanbul come here but they do not come to our restaurant, they go to the restaurant of the people from Istanbul. Pasta is 35 TL there, we are selling for 10 TL but they eat it in their restaurants. For example they make Italian pasta but I cannot do that I can do what I have seen from my father such as pasta with cheese so on. Octopus for example. We are old fishermen, old restaurant owners, I do not peel octopus when selling. Octopus is brought us in original form, you can peel it or not how you want. Our kitchen style is different. I have not changed it. I sell appetizer for 5 TL here but no one comes here. But I heard that people are going the places in which appetizers are sold for 15 liras.

Another negative economic impact of the gentrification in Alaçatı is about the rising daily life prices. The majority of the both female and the male local respondents mentioned that daily grocery prices in Alaçatı are not affordable by them, especially to the low income ones. A male local Refet (65, married with children, a local shopkeeper, living in Alaçatı since his birth) mentioned that, the gentrifiers caused increase in the market prices and the locals cannot afford these prices:

It is impossible for us to catch them (the gentrifiers), our life does not match with theirs and disturb us, some people earns but not the local people, they (the gentrifiers) take the money, but I pay the same money for example for tomato with the rich people.

8.2. Social Impacts in Alaçatı

Similar to the Western and the Turkish gentrification cases, the most significant social impact of the gentrification in Alaçatı is about the displacement and/or replacement of the locals in Alaçatı. In addition to this negative social impact there are positive social impacts of gentrification in Alaçatı. The most significant positive social impact of the gentrification in Alaçatı is about the social mixing arguments between the gentrifiers and the locals in Alaçatı.

8.2.1. Positive Impacts

The Chapter 3 mentioned that the most important positive social impact of the gentrification process is about the “social mixing” between the gentrifiers and the locals, which means that the gentrifiers and the locals live together in the same neighborhood without conflict (Lees, 2008). Similarly the majority of the both female (7 out of 9) and male (8 out of 9) gentrifier-respondents argued that the most important positive social impact is social mixing in Alaçatı. They mentioned that there is a socially mixed environment in Alaçatı between the gentrifiers and the locals and the in-movement of the gentrifiers had positive impacts on the social lives of the locals. Zeynep (53, single, owner of a boutique hotel), who is the founder of the Alaçatı

Conservation Association, argued in the preface of her book, “Living in Alaçatı” that, the gentrifiers and the locals are living together in a harmony in Alaçatı:

Today, we all enjoy living in Alaçatı as a community embracing the grandchildren of those who immigrated some 90 years ago from Kosovo, Bosnia Thessaloniki and the Islands together with those of us who have come here from İstanbul, and İzmir (Öziş, 2006: 33)

In addition, in her interview, she argued that there is a “cultural interaction” between the gentrifiers and the locals. She said that these two groups learn from each other about their own lifestyles, daily habits and so on. She stated that in the future there will be a common culture between the gentrifiers and the locals.

Of course there is a cultural interchange. The vision brought by us is learned by them. We learn many things from them also. There is a very important thing we learned that life is not only hurrying, earning money. For example we agree for a time with the carpenter for an alteration in my hotel, he does not come in time. I go and look for him and I see that he is drinking tea in the kahvehane, I say him I am waiting for you. He says me that I am drinking tea, come and drink a glass of tea. They have become disciplined in time and we have become relaxed as them. Of course a common culture will be formed in the future. Both of them are not correct. We were getting angry as they are lazy but they may be happier, we have been in a hurry but may be we are not happy as them, many friends of us died because of cancer.

However, we should note that, only the gentrifiers argued that there is a social mix between the gentrifiers and the locals in Alaçatı. The local respondents had the opposing argument. The majority of the female (5 out of 6) and the male (10 out of 12) locals argued that there is no social mixing between the gentrifiers and the locals. Accordingly, 4 female and 8 male local respondents mentioned that there is no relation between the gentrifiers and the locals either positive or negative; they interact with each other for only job and commerce. A male local Ergin (50, married with children, a local shopkeeper, living in Alaçatı since his birth) stated that there are economic and cultural differences between the gentrifiers and the locals and due to these differences there cannot be any common point between these two groups:

There are big cultural differences between them and us. It is impossible for us to catch their lifestyles, because their cultural statuses are higher. Thus, we cannot go to the cafés, restaurants that they go, because the prices are too high for us. Also I do not understand what they talk about, I cannot chat with them.

Yet only a few female (1 out of 6) and male locals (2 out of 12) mentioned that they have good relations with the gentrifiers. As a lot of people either the gentrifiers or the tourists come to Alaçatı, they meet more people and their social relations extends positively with them.

A few of both the female (1 out of 6) and the male (3 out of 12) local respondents mentioned that the gentrification in Alaçatı positively affected the socio-cultural life in Alaçatı. For instance, a local male respondent Hasan (75, married with children, grocer, living in Alaçatı since his birth) mentioned that most of the gentrifiers are with high income and education levels and they contribute the socio-cultural development of Alaçatı in terms of the daily habits and life styles of the locals:

They are good people and they are very polite. Elite people of Turkey such as Ali Koç, Mustafa Koç and Sabancı are in Alaçatı so modernity came Alaçatı. People started to think broader. They started to care about their appearance and behaviors.

The majority of the gentrifiers (15 of the 21) and a few local respondents (5 out of 18) argued that the gentrification in Alaçatı increased the life standards of the locals and contributed to the personal development of the young locals in Alaçatı. For instance, a female gentrifier Gaye (42, married, now the executive manager in a boutique hotel) mentioned with the in-movement of the people with high education and income levels (the gentrifiers) the locals started to earn more money, increase their life standards, and can afford the education costs of their children.

They were suddenly modernized. This development makes some local families to earn money. They can send their children to university, abroad and so on. Maybe they did not have money to afford their children's education before. They solved their health problems. They increased their life standards. For instance, there is a civil servant in the Municipality, his son was studying in Bursa and playing basketball. A person from İstanbul, who is also my friend, saw the potential of the child in the basketball and supported him and sent to America. All these are the results of the new social life here. If this new life did not exist, the families in Alaçatı could not develop themselves and maybe the child finished the high school and even could not go university.

Similarly, a local female respondent Belkıs (48, married with children, now the owner of a local food restaurant in Alaçatı town center, living in Alaçatı more than 30 years and came by marriage) mentioned that the gentrification in Alaçatı have positive impacts on the local young people. Before, the young locals in Alaçatı rarely take university education and the majority of them did not have any jobs. After the gentrification in Alaçatı the majority of the young locals started to attend universities and got involved in the tourism sector. Most of the young locals learned surfing and worked as surf instructors. Belkıs also stated that living together with the people with high education and income levels, is important for the personal development of the young locals.

It is very important for the young people to go university, be interested in surfing and come together with the people with high level of culture

Another positive social impact of the gentrification in Alaçatı is that some of the gentrifiers and the locals in Alaçatı are working for the socio-cultural development of the town with the voluntary organizations, neighborhood associations and so on. For instance, a female gentrifier Zeynep (53, single, now the owner of a boutique hotel) defined herself as the one who introduced the concepts of the conservation and boutique tourism development to Alaçatı. As I have mentioned she is the founder of the “Alaçatı Conservation Association” and “Alaçatı Tourism Association.”

The main aim of the Alaçatı Conservation Association was at developing small scale tourism by preserving the authentic architecture, social life and the nature of Alaçatı. In 2006, Zeynep prepared a book; “Living in Alaçatı” which documents the tangible and intangible values of the town such as its architecture, social and daily life and so on. The Association was closed due to some bureaucratic problems in 2006 and in that time it had 100 members. In these years, as the number of the hotels increased and the tourism activities in the town intensified, Zeynep decided to found another Association, which is the Alaçatı Tourism Association. The main aim of this association was at positioning and marketing Alaçatı for the tourism sector through the conservation of the history and the nature. Accordingly, the Association set its goals as the development of the small scale tourism with the tourists of high income and culture

level, positioning Alaçatı as a recreation destination with its small town atmosphere and so on.

We can say that the Alaçatı Conservation Association and the Alaçatı Tourism Association are positive factors for the socio-cultural development of Alaçatı. There are also other organizations serving for the social life of Alaçatı such as “Life in Alaçatı Platform”, “Bike Friend Alaçatı” and so on. There are some annual socio-cultural organizations with the efforts of these platforms, individuals and the Municipality. Some of these organizations are handcraft workshops, art days, fishing tournaments, windsurf competitions, bicycle festivals, civil aviation festivals, photo-rally games, off-road competitions, kite festivals, summer festivals, herb festivals, olive days, tossing dice tournaments and so on (see Figure 39).

Some of the social responsibility projects developed by the gentrifiers such as the voluntary educations for the local children or taking care the stray dogs and so on are also useful attempts for the social life of Alaçatı.

8.2.2. Negative Impacts

The most important negative social impact of the gentrification in Alaçatı is about the arguments of the displacement and /or replacement of the locals in Alaçatı similar to the gentrification literature. However, the case of Alaçatı differs from the most of the gentrification cases in the Western countries and Turkey. We do not see the total displacement of the locals in Alaçatı. We see their replacement from the town center of Alaçatı to the outer neighborhoods especially to the Petekler Social Housing Area by selling their properties in the town center to the gentrifiers. A half of the female (3 out of 6) and less than half of the male (4 out of 12) local respondents sold their stone houses in the town center to the gentrifiers and moved to the Petekler Social Housing Area.

The majority of the female (5 out of 6) and all of the male local respondents mentioned that as most of the properties in the town center of Alaçatı were gained through the inheritance, there were a lot of shares in a property. As the share holders could not share their property and also could or did not repair their property, they sold their properties to the gentrifiers to high prices. They also mentioned that most of the local people bought more than one house in the outer neighborhoods of Alaçatı especially in Petekler Social Housing Area with the money they got from the sales of their stone houses in the town center of Alaçatı.

In addition to the replacement of the local people through the property sales to the gentrifiers, there are replacements through landlord evictions for the tenant locals. For instance, a male local respondent, Muhsin (48, married with children, grocer, living in Alaçatı since his birth) mentioned that after the gentrification of Alaçatı, the housing rents increased in large amounts and he changed his house 5 times in the last 10 years.

I am living in a rented house and this is my 5th house. Everybody in Alaçatı wants to give their house for rent to a hotel or a restaurant. My landlord told me to leave the house that he would found a hotel to rent, then I moved to another house but the landlord increased the rent to the double price after a year and I moved again to a house in Petekler.

2 of the female respondents mentioned that the replacement of the locals caused the decreases in the local population in the Alaçatı town center and the dominance of the gentrifiers. For instance, Aliye (49, married with children, now working in a food kiosk, living in Alaçatı more than 25 years) explained this as:

They come and buy the houses. The people of Alaçatı are now living in outer sides of Alaçatı. The roads, streets they used to walk are not their now. They cannot pass through because the houses are restored and new beautiful buildings are constructed. The people have become strangers to their streets and neighbors. I am worried about this, the people of Alaçatı will not stay in Alaçatı in the near future. The people of Alaçatı will stay in the outer place of Alaçatı except several streets. The small town life in Alaçatı will become disappeared. There will be no people of Alaçatı there.

Similarly, another female local respondent, Nesrin (58, married with children, retired, living in Alaçatı since her birth) mentioned that the local people of Alaçatı have become strangers to their home towns and they cannot afford the costs of staying in the Alaçatı town center.

People of Alaçatı started to migrate to Petekler and other areas in the outer places and now you can see that most shopkeepers are from outside. There are generally butchers in Alaçatı and a kahvehane is run by a person from Alaçatı. Many of the others have become estranged. The local people cannot spend time in the kahvehanes in any more. Then they started to embrace Alaçatı by saying we founded this, if you cannot stay here, go to other places.

Some of the both female and the male respondents mentioned that after the in-movement of the gentrifiers and the out-movement of the locals from the town center, the neighborhood relations disappeared among the locals. Moreover, there exist economic gaps between some of the locals who gain profit from the property sales and rents and who did not. A local male respondent Refet (65, married with children, a local shopkeeper, living in Alaçatı since his birth) stated that:

Neighborhood relations have already ended, no one has conversations with each other you have money but I do not. There was friendship in the past, people used to meet each other, but now there is nothing like friendship, , nobody recognizes each other now

A half of the both female and the male local respondents mentioned that the locals in Alaçatı experienced economic and cultural degeneration. As the gentrifiers coming from the big cities to Alaçatı are with high income level and high life standards, some of the locals in Alaçatı emulated the lifestyles of these gentrifiers. In turn, this caused economic and cultural degeneration for the locals. For instance, a local female respondent Nesrin (58, married with children, retired, living in Alaçatı since her birth) mentioned that the locals, who sold their properties to the gentrifiers, generally did not make any investment with the money they got from the sales and they tried to imitate the consumption habits of the gentrifiers. As they spent all their money, they become housekeepers, gardeners and so on in the gentrifiers' houses and hotels then. This situation mostly affects the young locals. A local male respondent Erol (51, married with children, retired, living in Alaçatı more than 45 years) stated that:

Young people of Alaçatı wanted to live like them, as their opportunities are insufficient economic problems started. The biggest unluckiness here is this for the young people. They try to live like the people coming from the big cities. The families cannot control their children, all young people want to live like them, this is a very bad thing. They see richness. Their family sold theirs in the past, spend that money and now they famish.

8.3. Physical Impacts in Alaçatı

Similar to the Western and the Turkish gentrification cases the most significant physical impact of the gentrification in Alaçatı is about the upgrading of the historical housing stock in Alaçatı. In addition to this positive impact there are negative impacts of the gentrification in Alaçatı as inappropriate restoration implementations to the historical stock and the environmental problems such as crowd, pollution and so on.

8.3.1. Positive Impacts

The process of gentrification in Alaçatı contributed to the upgrading of the physical environment. Most of the gentrifiers in Alaçatı bought the historical houses in the town center of Alaçatı and repaired them. 2 of the female and 5 of the male local respondents mentioned that the repairs of the gentrifiers in the old housing stock

increased the life of the buildings. For instance, Hasan (75, married with children, grocer, living in Alaçatı since his birth) mentioned that the property transfers between the locals and the gentrifiers are very positive for the deteriorating housing stock. As the local people did not have the economic power to restore their houses, the gentrifier property buyers saved the historical houses in Alaçatı.

If these people from Istanbul did not come and buy our houses, these houses would have been demolished 10 times up to now. Our houses are 200-250 years old and they had not been restored, so they saved our houses from demolishing.

We can argue that the physical upgrading of the traditional buildings in Alaçatı is a positive impact for the conservation of the traditional character and the tissue of Alaçatı. However, we should also note that only the restorations made with respect to the authentic case of the buildings have positive impacts for the conservation of the built heritage. Otherwise there may be some misconceptions about the past and the authentic form of the built stock. In the following figure, there are before and after cases of the restored buildings:



Figure 38. Before and After Cases of Some of the Traditional Buildings
(Pictures in the left hand side: the Archive of the Alaçatı Municipality; Picture from the right hand side: the Author's Archive, July-August 2011)

According to one of the real estate respondents, İdris (53, one of the founders of the Alaçatı Conservation Association and the ex-chairman, living in Alaçatı since his birth) mentioned that the Alaçatı Conservation Association had positive effects on the conservation of the traditional built stock in Alaçatı. He stated that the Association served as a technical consultant to the ones who wanted to restore their stone houses to use in the service jobs in tourism. The association also contributed to the physical arrangements of the streets in terms of the surface materials, furniture and so on, especially on the main street of Alaçatı, the Kemalpaşa Street.

Similarly, Zeynep (53, single, owner of a boutique hotel, founder of the Alaçatı Conservation Association) also told about the positive impacts of the Alaçatı Conservation Association in the physical structure of Alaçatı. She argued that the Association worked for the declaration of the town center as an urban conservation area by contacting the Conservation Council, The Alaçatı Municipality and so on.

In addition to the upgrading of the physical environment, 3 of the local female and 7 of the local male respondents mentioned that changes in the land uses is positive for Alaçatı as there are new and luxury boutique hotels, restaurants, bars, cafés and so on instead of deteriorated houses. They were in the opinion that the land use changes in Alaçatı in the form of the tourism establishments gave Alaçatı as a better physical image. The process of gentrification firstly started in the main commercial spine of the town center (Kemalpaşa Caddesi) (see Figure 39). Even today, this street is the most crowded and popular part of the town. The majority of the respondents of my first pilot study mentioned that, the gentrification is spreading to the other parts of the town center, especially the Hacımemiş Mahallesi, which is in the southern part of the town center and is between Kemalpaşa environs and the Port Alaçatı area.

Today, there are various shops, boutiques, boutique hotels in Alaçatı town center. The boutique hotels, cafés and restaurants are especially dominant in the area (Figure 40).



Figure 39. Views from Kemalpaşa Street
(Source: the Author's Archive, August 2011)

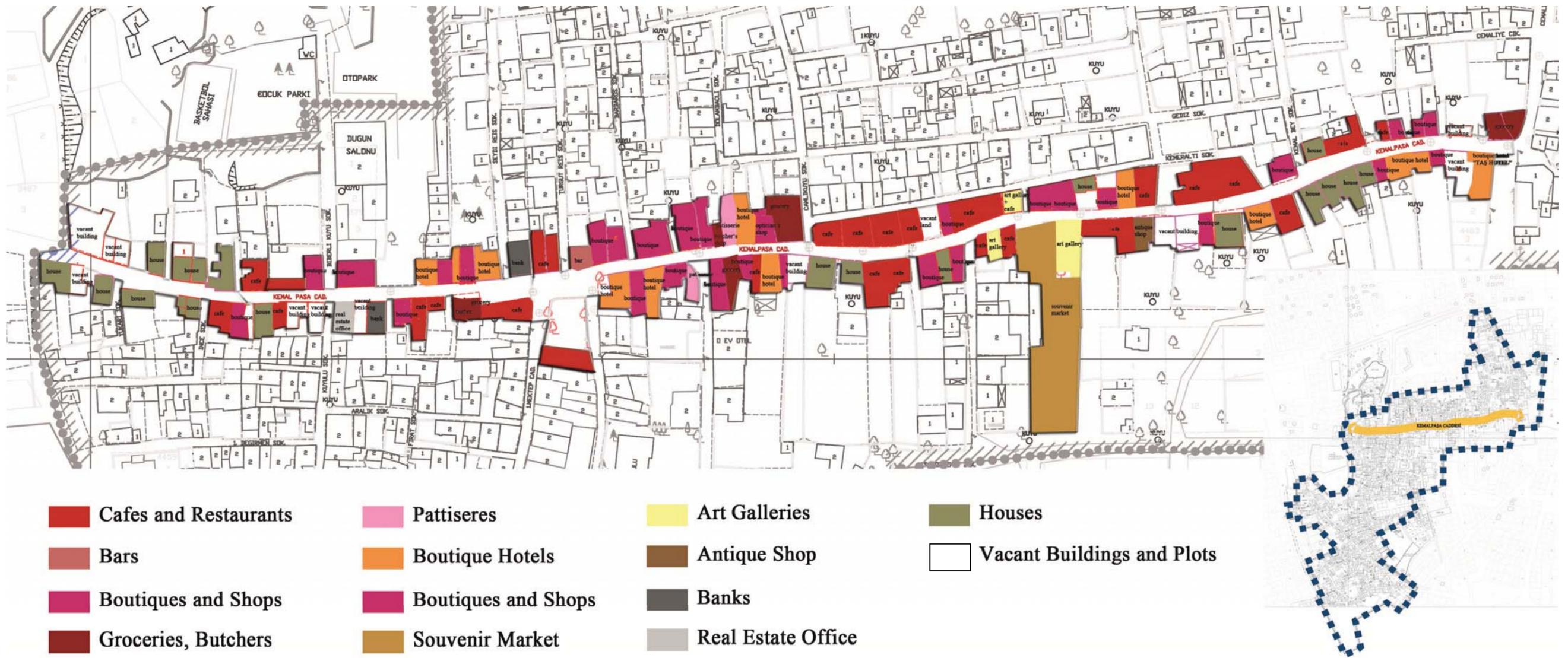


Figure 40. The First Floor Landuse of Kemalpaşa Street
(Source: Drawn by the Author)

8.3.2. Negative Impacts

One of the negative physical impacts of the gentrification in Alaçatı is that Alaçatı is becoming more crowded and dense according to the 2 female and 7 male local respondents. For instance, a female local respondent Aliye (49, married with children, working in a food kiosk, living in Alaçatı more than 25 years) complained about the crowd, noise and pollution of Alaçatı:

Alaçatı was a calm and small town in the past but now everywhere is crowded and noise and environmental pollution is in a very high level.

Another negative physical impact is the development of the agricultural lands and the decreasing number of the agricultural areas. A real estate agent İdris (53, male, living in Alaçatı since his birth) mentioned that there were about 1000 houses in the town center of Alaçatı before the gentrification. However after the gentrification, with the second home and social housing developments in the Çamlıkıyol and Petekler Areas, new residential and hotel developments in the southern section of the town center, the developments in the Port Alaçatı area increased the number of the residential units to about 8000. Before the gentrification of Alaçatı the physical boundaries of the town composed of the historical city center and some of the second home areas in the northern section. Now the size of the macroform of the town became nearly three times bigger than its size of 20 years ago (see Figure 41).

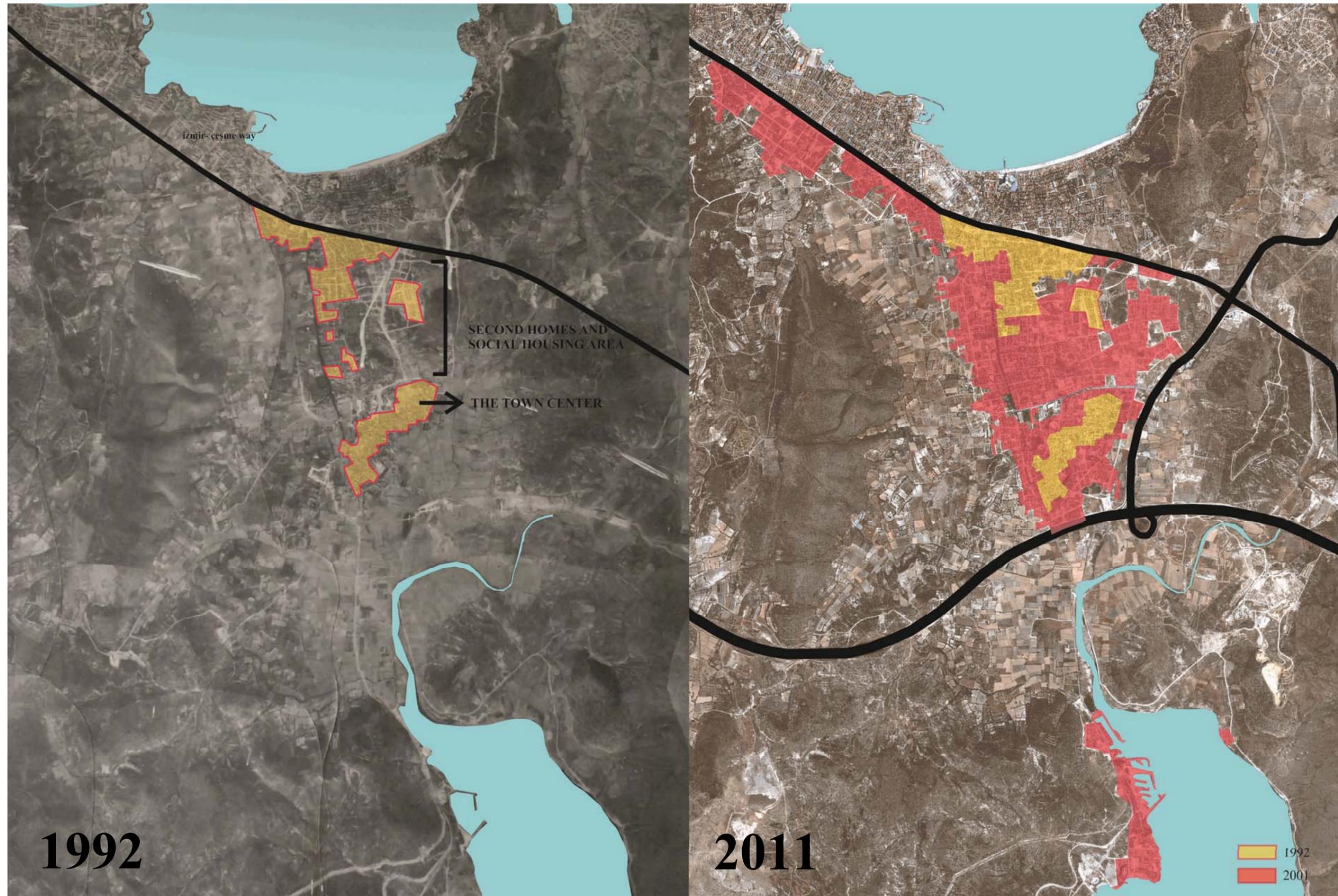


Figure 41. The Spatial Growth of Alaçatı from 1992 to 2011
 (Source: Drawn by the Author on the arial bases from the Alaçatı Municipality)

Another negative physical impact of the gentrification in Alaçatı is about the restorations on the historical houses. Some wrong restoration implementations and the repairs which did not respect the authentic cases of the buildings have negative effects on the preservation of the authenticity. The authentic physical atmosphere of Alaçatı is one of the most valuable assets for the town. Therefore, the conservation of the traditional tissue is at great importance and any wrong physical intervention in the repairs and restorations may cause irreversible mistakes. The wrong implementations in terms of material, color and proportions cause misconceptions about the authentic cases of the buildings. This study does not examine the physical qualities of the restoration implementations on the historical houses in Alaçatı as this kind of an examination should be the subject of another research.

The new constructions in Alaçatı which are built in the form of the replicas of the traditional stone houses is another negative impact. These new constructions are new but they are seem to be old and this situation causes misconceptions about what the new and the old are. These kind of new constructions create an “artificial” spatial tissue and this is a negative impact for the historical tissue of Alaçatı (see Figure 42).



Figure 42. Views from "New" but Seem to "Old" Building Constructions
(the Archive of Alaçatı Municipality)

This chapter detailed the economic, social and physical impacts of the gentrification process on Alaçatı. Accordingly, the most important economic impact of the gentrification in Alaçatı is the value increases and vitality in the real estate sector similar to the gentrification cases in the Western and Turkish cases. In addition the new job opportunities for the locals in the service jobs in tourism and commerce are another positive economic outcome. However, there are also negative economic impacts of the gentrification on Alaçatı as the rising rental and daily life prices for the lower income locals, who cannot afford the rising costs. In terms of social impacts the most important outcome is the replacement of the locals in Alaçatı to the outer social housing neighborhoods either voluntarily (through property sales and renting to the gentrifiers) or involuntarily (landlord evictions). The case of Alaçatı differs from the majority of the gentrification cases as there is no total displacement of the locals. Still their replacements have some negative impacts such as decreasing local population in the town center and degenerating neighborhood relations. The social mixing, that is the cultural interaction between the gentrifiers and the locals for the Alaçatı case is a positive social impact of gentrification. Lastly, similar to the gentrification literature, the main positive physical contribution of the gentrification on Alaçatı is the upgrading of the historical housing stock. Mindful of this positive impact, we should note that the wrong restoration implementations not respecting the authentic case of the traditional stone architecture in Alaçatı, creates misconceptions about the characteristics of the historical stock. Moreover, the construction of new but seem to old stone houses cause misconceptions about the value of the authenticity. Besides, the increasing crowd, noise and pollution in Alaçatı are other negative physical outcome of the gentrification process in Alaçatı.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

This thesis examined the dynamics of the gentrification processes in Alaçatı, İzmir. It is one of the first studies examining the gentrification of a small seashore town in Turkey. So far, the majority of the gentrification studies in Turkey focus on the cases in İstanbul and then Ankara. Therefore, the findings of this thesis are important with the small scale of its study site. It examines the first instances of the gentrification outside the major metropolitan areas of Turkey. Given the public and private investments in tourism, housing and other related market activities in the seashores of Turkey in the last years with the economic, political and social trends of the neo-liberal era, the gentrification experience of Alaçatı becomes an important case for the urban planning and design studies and as well as urban policies and practices.

This thesis considered “gentrification” as the in-movement of the people with higher income and education levels to the lower income and historical inner-city neighborhoods, which follows by the introduction of high status lifestyles, upgrading of the physical environment, rising property values and prices, and the displacement and/or replacement of the lower income locals in these neighborhoods.

I consider the dynamics of the gentrification process as the “factors” (the economic political and social causes for gentrification), the “actors” (the gentrifiers, the local people, the financial capital in the housing market, and the state with its central and local agencies) and the “impacts” (the economic, social and physical outcomes of gentrification on the locales).

I collected the data for my thesis from the archival and basically via the ethnographic methods with the site observations and face-to-face interviews with the gentrifiers, the local people, the real estate agents and a local government official in Alaçatı in the summer of the 2011.

In a twenty years period, Alaçatı has become one of the upscale touristic towns of Turkey along with the tourism activities and the in-movement of the high income individuals and tourists from the metropolitan cities of Turkey. Before the gentrification of the town, it was a small rural settlement earning its life primarily with

agriculture and animal husbandry. The local people of Alaçatı were mainly the farmers and the local shopkeepers. The locals were generally composed of Balkan immigrants, who moved in the town in the early Republican period. The majority of the local population was living in the traditional town center which is significant especially with its stone house architecture dated to 19th century.

The Table 3 at the end of Chapter 4 summarized the general features of the gentrification processes in the Turkish gentrification cases in respects to their types, characteristics of their areas, characteristics of the gentrifiers and the impacts. I asked the question “If the case of Alaçatı is put on this table, how would the Alaçatı part be filled?”. Based on my findings, these are the general features of the gentrification process in Alaçatı in Table 3.

	TYPE	CHAR. OF THE AREA	CHAR. OF THE GENTRIFIERS	IMPACTS		
				Displacement	Social Mixing	Physical Upgrading
ALAÇATI (İZMİR)	Tourism,- Rural- Commercial	Historic	High income groups from big cities	Replacement	Partial	Architectural

Alaçatı is experiencing the combination of the tourism, rural and commercial gentrification types along with the in-movement of the people with higher income and education levels from the big cities of Turkey to traditional town center of Alaçatı. This process is followed with the introduction of a high status life style, upgrading of the physical environment, replacement of the local people in Alaçatı to the outer neighborhoods from the town center. The gentrification process in Alaçatı started in the 2000s and accelerated after 2005. The high income groups started to buy and restore old houses in the town center of Alaçatı. They also open boutique hotels, boutiques, restaurants and cafés. These changes pulled more gentrifiers and tourism investors. A massive reinvestment process on the historical built stock and in other parts of the town started. The number of the boutique hotels and other service establishments in tourism and commerce is increasing continuously in each year. The process of gentrification

firstly started in its main spine Kemalpaşa Caddesi in the town center and then extended to the other parts of the town center.

My findings in Alaçatı about the dynamics of the gentrification process as follows:

The Factors for the Gentrification:

The factors driving the process of gentrification in Alaçatı are the shift in its local economy from agriculture to tourism, the lead of the government and private actors and the regional and urban plans and projects for the tourism development of Alaçatı.

I can summarize these factors as:

- The discouraging policies of the central government on the production of the certain agricultural products and the decreasing amount of the agricultural activities in Alaçatı.
- Declaration of tourism centers in Alaçatı in different dates beginning in 1982.
- Development of the agricultural lands in Alaçatı by the Municipality and the initiation of social housing projects in the town.
- Organization of a theatre festival in the town at first time and shooting a famous Turkish film.
- Introduction of İzmir-Çeşme Highway, which makes the distance between Alaçatı and the city center of İzmir and the airport shorter.
- Lead of some pioneer gentrifiers in Alaçatı by opening the first surf school, the first restaurant and the first boutique hotel.
- Preparation of regional plans such as Çeşme-Alaçatı-Paşalimanı Conservation and Development Regional Master Plan; and local plans such as the Urban Conservation Plan for the traditional town center, the Port Alaçatı Project in the southern section of the town and the urban renewal project in the entrance of the traditional town center.

All these processes prepared the ground for the gentrification of the town as they made Alaçatı as an appealing alternative for town living and tourism investments. I argue that all these processes are the outcomes of the economic, political and urban restructuring processes in Turkey in the 1980s. Similarly, the literature explains the factors for the gentrification process with the economic, political and urban restructuring processes worldwide. It explains the factors mainly with two approaches:

the ecological and political-economic explanations. The ecological explanations of the gentrification argue that the process of gentrification is a part of the human ecology approaches to urban space of the Chicago School of Sociology. It considers the gentrification processes as a natural outcome of the competition between different social classes (the new middle class and the working class) for gaining the inner-city locations as the inner-city residential areas became attractive with the process of deindustrialization and rising importance of the white collar works in the central business districts. The political-economic approaches explain the gentrification with the economic and socio-cultural and demographic views and argue that the gentrification processes emerged with capital, production and supply mechanisms of the housing market and the cultural consumption and demand mechanisms for the middle class individuals.

This thesis adopted the political-economic explanations of the gentrification. Accordingly, I assumed that the process of gentrification in Alaçatı is a product of the relationship between the capital accumulation processes and the urban space. The gentrification in Alaçatı emerged as a reinvestment process to the traditional housing stock by the housing market and the high income groups from the big cities of Turkey. This reminds us the “capital of circuit” conceptualization of Harvey (1981). The second circuit of capital is a remedy for the economic crises of the 1970s by investing the built environment instead of manufacturing and the gentrification in Alaçatı occurred in the second circuit of the capital with the decreasing amounts of the agricultural products and the rise of service sector in tourism and commerce.

The Actors and their Motivations for Gentrifying:

Given these political, economic and social factors, the general features and motivations of the “actors” affecting and being affected from the process of gentrification in Alaçatı are as follows:

➤ *The “Gentrifiers”:*

Based on my face-to-face interviews with the 21 gentrifiers in Alaçatı, the gentrifiers in Alaçatı are people with high income and education levels, they are at their middle ages and mostly married with children, they came from the metropolitan cities of Turkey for a small town living with the desire of escaping from the big city life. These gentrifiers are different than the new middle class typology of the gentrification

literature as these gentrifiers gentrify a rural settlement not a metropolitan inner-city neighborhood due to their life style desires for a small town way of living.

However, the gentrifiers in Alaçatı do not start a total rural and small town living, they created new living and working areas for themselves. The most interesting point for the gentrifiers in Alaçatı is that nearly all of my gentrifier respondents changed both the location of their residences and also the type and location of their jobs. They changed their jobs after coming to Alaçatı and started to involve in the service jobs in tourism and commerce. When they were urban professionals having busy schedules in the big cities, they became the permanent residents of Alaçatı as the owners of the boutique hotels, boutiques, restaurants, cafés and the like.

The initial reasons of the gentrifiers for moving in Alaçatı cluster around two main reasons: escaping from the chaos and the complexity of the big city life or gaining profit along with the service jobs in tourism with the rising popularity of Alaçatı. These two initial reasons brings us a classification between the gentrifiers in Alaçatı as the “risk oblivious” and the “risk aware and risk averse” groups. The majority of the early gentrifiers (risk oblivious), who arrived at Alaçatı in the 2000s and before, gave the big city versus small city preferences as their initial reasons while the later gentrifiers (risk aware and risk averse), who came to Alaçatı after 2005 gave the profit making purposes as their initial reasons. Still the risk oblivious groups, who are in search for a relatively quiet small town life, constitute the majority. This also differs from the gentrification literature, as the middle class gentrifiers in the Western and Turkish gentrification cases are in the demand for the inner-city metropolitan living with anti-suburban preferences; the gentrifiers in Alaçatı prefer an anti-urban lifestyle. However mindful of their reasons about choosing Alaçatı instead of other small towns in similar locations we see that Alaçatı does not display totally rural features because it is in a close touch with city center of İzmir and also the Adnan Menderes Airport.

The gentrifiers in Alaçatı had high levels of material and cultural capital and they used their material and cultural capitals and social networks in their new lives and jobs in Alaçatı. Moreover, they increased their material capital after coming to Alaçatı with their new jobs. Their investments are on the built stock, they either bought or rent old stone houses and turned them into their residences and/or workplaces or bought or rent “new stone houses.”

The daily social life and the activities of the gentrifiers in Alaçatı also changed. They now have a more quiet life in this small town and also majority of them involve in the neighborhood associations, activity clubs and voluntary social responsibility projects. This is also valid for the classic gentrification cases in other contexts, the new middle class gentrifiers also involve in neighborhood associations and voluntary organizations in most of the gentrification cases.

➤ *The “Locals”:*

Based on my interviews with the 18 local people in Alaçatı, the locals are at their late middle ages who came to Alaçatı in the population exchange period in the early Republican era. All of them married with children. They have low education levels (mostly primary school degrees) and they have lower incomes. The locals were dealing with agriculture or they were local shopkeepers before the gentrification of Alaçatı. This feature of the locals in Alaçatı differs from the classic cases of gentrification because the gentrification literature defines the locals as the working class populations or unemployed people. The majority of the locals in Alaçatı made a job change after the gentrification. Accordingly, especially the housewives and the young locals got new service jobs in tourism when they were unemployed before. However in most of gentrification cases we do not see a job change for the locals.

The majority of the locals in Alaçatı also made changes in their residences. Different from the most of the gentrification cases in the Western and Turkish cases, the locals in Alaçatı are replaced to the outer neighborhoods instead of total displacement. The majority of these replacements are voluntary replacements. The majority of the locals in Alaçatı had stone houses in the town center before the gentrification of Alaçatı. After the in-movement of the high income groups they sold their houses to the gentrifiers and moved to the social housing areas at the periphery of the town center. However, there are also involuntary replacements of some of the locals in Alaçatı along with landlord evictions.

➤ *The “Financial Capital in the Housing Market”:*

Based on my interviews with 5 real estate agents in Alaçatı, the important actors of the financial capital in the housing market are the big construction companies, the individual contractors and the real estate agents similar to the Western and Turkish gentrification cases. The construction companies are big firms initiating housing estate projects in Alaçatı. There are also individual contractors building single houses or

restoring the historical houses in the city center. The real estate agents in Alaçatı are either the branches of the big real estate companies or they are small firms. They involve in the marketing of the traditional housing stock and new constructions to the gentrifiers.

➤ *The “State with its Central and Local Agencies”:*

Based on my interview with a local government official in Alaçatı and other archival sources that I have reviewed, the central government with its policies and plans is an important actor in the gentrification of Alaçatı. The local state that is the Municipality is the other important governmental actor in the gentrification of Alaçatı with its development plans and renewal projects and so on. It also supports the in-movement of the gentrifiers by providing technical and bureaucratic easements at the first arrivals of the gentrifiers.

The Impacts on the Locale:

There are various economic, social and physical impacts of the gentrification process on Alaçatı. Similar to the gentrification literature, the most important economic impact of the gentrification on Alaçatı is about the vitality in the housing market and new job opportunities for the locals. However, there are also negative economic impacts such as the increasing living costs for the locals in Alaçatı. In terms of social impacts, the replacement of the locals in Alaçatı makes it different from the most of the gentrification cases as the majority of the Western and Turkish gentrification cases result in the displacement of the locals from their neighborhoods. However, the replacement of the locals in Alaçatı has negative side effects such as the decreasing number of the local population in the town center and degenerating neighborhood relations between them. Similar to the gentrification literature, the social mixing arguments between the gentrifiers and the locals in Alaçatı is a positive social outcome. Lastly, similar to the literature the most significant physical impact is the upgrading of the historical housing stock in Alaçatı. However, there are also negative impacts of the gentrification in Alaçatı due to wrong restoration implementations to the historical stock and the environmental problems such as crowd, pollution and so on.

Based on the results of my field study, following tables summarize the economic, social and physical impacts of the gentrification on Alaçatı.

➤ *The “Economic Impacts”:*

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
Increasing tourism investments and the number of tourism establishments	Decreasing amount of agricultural productions
Increasing number of tourists	Decreasing sales for the local shopkeepers due to their upscale substitutes
Vitality in the daily commercial activities	Landlord evictions for the tenant local shopkeepers due to the rising rents
The value and price increases in the real estate sector and the increasing investments	
Increasing income of the property-owners locals with property transactions	
New job opportunities for the local in service jobs in tourism and commerce	

➤ *The “Social Impacts”:*

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
Cultural interaction between the gentrifiers and the locals	Replacement of the locals in the town center of Alaçatı to the social housing areas at the periphery
Contributions to the socio-cultural development of the especially the young locals	Decreasing number of the local population and increasing number of the gentrifiers in the town center ; the locals’ becoming strangers to their home-towns
Introduction of neighborhood associations, socio-cultural activities and voluntary organizations	Contradictions between the gentrifiers and the locals in terms of their socio-cultural backgrounds and lifestyles
	Landlord evictions for the tenant local residents
	Degeneration of the neighborhood relations among the locals
	Economic gaps between the locals who got profit from the property sales to the gentrifiers and who could not

➤ *The “Physical Impacts”:*

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
Upgrading of the traditional housing stock	Increasing densities and physical pollution
Changes in the building uses with upscale service facilities; a better image for the town	Development of the agricultural areas Wrong restoration implementations not respecting the authentic cases of the traditional buildings
	Imitation of the traditional stone house architecture without contemporary architectural interpretations, misconceptions about the “old” and “new”

The process of gentrification in Alaçatı involves various economic, political and social factors along with its various actors and their reasons, motivations and actions and their resulting economic, social and physical impacts. The case of Alaçatı shows us that the process of gentrification is valid also for the small towns and as planners and urban designers, knowing about these dynamics of gentrification in a small seashore town like Alaçatı provides us a theoretical background for the evaluation of the similar cases. Besides, the case of Alaçatı is a good example to understand the effect of the neo-liberal urban policies and practices in Turkey as the small seashore towns are the targets of the tourism investments, developments and plans in the last decades within the context of globalization and economic, political and urban restructuring. The findings of this study teach us that the process of gentrification is valid about the probable outcomes of such developments on the social and spatial space of the locales and as the urban planners and designers urges us about being aware of the future directions of such neighborhood change processes and seeking ways to minimize their negative costs.

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APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONS OF THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

D) THE GENTRIFIERS

1. Alaçatı'ya ne zaman geldiniz?
2. Nereden geldiniz?
3. Alaçatı'ya gelmeden önce nasıl bir hayat sürüyordunuz?
 - *Bir işte çalışıyor muydunuz? Ne tür bir işti?*
 - *Medeni durumunuz nasıldı?*
 - *Bakımınıza muhtaç kişiler var mıydı?*
 - *Sosyal faaliyetleriniz var mıydı? Ne tür? (gönüllü dernekler, sosyal etkinlik ya da faaliyetler)*
 - *Günlük yaşam tempunuz nasıldı?*
4. Alaçatı'ya gelmek için ne yaptınız?
 - *Oradaki yaşamınızda değişiklik yaptınız mı? Ne tür?*
 - *Ev/ aile ortamı*
 - *İş ortamı*
 - *Sosyal yaşam ve bağlantılar*
 - *Ekonomik durum*
5. Alaçatı'ya gelirkenki kaynaklarınız (bireysel, sosyal) yeterli miydi?
 - *EVET- Ne tür kaynaklara sahiptiniz?*
 - *HAYIR- Destek aldınız mı? Ne tür destekler aldınız?(Aileden, kurumlardan)*
6. Alaçatı'ya gelme nedeniniz nedir?
 - *İş kurmak, yazlık konut elde etmek, tanıdıkların teşviki, ilçenin popülerliği, turizm, kırsal yapısı, tarihi dokusu, v.s.)*
 - *Neden Çeşme ya da Urla değil de Alaçatı?*
7. Alaçatı'ya geldikten sonraki yaşamınızı anlatır mısınız?
 - *Neler yaptınız?*
 - *İş yaşamınız*
 - *Ev/ aile yaşamınız*
 - *Sosyal yaşamınız ve bağlantılarınız*
 - *Nerelerde yaptınız?*
8. Alaçatı'ya ne zaman geldiniz?
9. Nereden geldiniz?
10. Alaçatı'ya gelmeden önce nasıl bir hayat sürüyordunuz?
 - *Bir işte çalışıyor muydunuz? Ne tür bir işti?*
 - *Medeni durumunuz nasıldı?*
 - *Bakımınıza muhtaç kişiler var mıydı?*
 - *Sosyal faaliyetleriniz var mıydı? Ne tür? (gönüllü dernekler, sosyal etkinlik ya da faaliyetler)*
 - *Günlük yaşam tempunuz nasıldı?*

11. Alaçatı'ya gelmek için ne yaptınız?
- *Oradaki yaşamınızda değişiklik yaptınız mı? Ne tür?*
 - *Ev/ aile ortamı*
 - *İş ortamı*
 - *Sosyal yaşam ve bağlantılar*
 - *Ekonomik durum*
12. Alaçatı'ya gelirkenki kaynaklarınız (bireysel, sosyal) yeterli miydi?
- *EVET- Ne tür kaynaklara sahiptiniz?*
 - *HAYIR- Destek aldunuz mu? Ne tür destekler aldınız?(Aileden, kurumlardan)*
13. Alaçatı'ya gelme nedeniniz nedir?
- *İş kurmak, yazlık konut elde etmek, tanıdıkların teşviki, ilçenin popülerliği, turizm, kırsal yapısı, tarihi dokusu, v.s.)*
 - *Neden Çeşme ya da Urla değil de Alaçatı?*
14. Alaçatı'ya geldikten sonraki yaşamınızı anlatır mısınız?
- *Neler yaptınız?*
 - *İş yaşamınız*
 - *Ev/ aile yaşamınız*
 - *Sosyal yaşamınız ve bağlantularınız*
 - *Nerelerde yaptınız?*
 - *Karşılaştığınız zorluklar ve kolaylıklar oldu mu? Neler? (Yerliler, diğer yeni gelenler, kurumlar)*
 - *Bunlar karşısında siz neler yaptınız?*
15. İlerleyen süre içinde bugüne kadar neler oldu?
- *Neler yaptınız?*
 - *İş yaşamınız*
 - *Ev/ aile yaşamınız*
 - *Sosyal yaşamınız ve bağlantularınız*
 - *Nerelerde yaptınız?*
 - *Karşılaştığınız zorluklar ve kolaylıklar oldu mu? Neler? (Yerliler, diğer yeni gelenler, kurumlar)*
 - *Bunlar karşısında siz neler yaptınız?*
16. Şimdiki yaşamınızı anlatır mısınız?
- *Neler yapıyorsunuz?*
 - *İş yaşamınız*
 - *Aile yaşamınız*
 - *Sosyal ilişkileriniz ve bağlantularınız*
 - *Bu konularda ilk geldiğiniz zamandan bu yana değişiklikler var mı?*
 - *Nerelerde? Alaçatı- geldiğiniz yer, Alaçatı-İzmir, Alaçatı-Çeşme, v.s*
17. Geldiğiniz zamandan bu yana Alaçatı' da değişim gözleyor musunuz?
- *Ne tür bir değişim yaşıyor?*
 - *Kimler geliyorlar?*
 - *Sizce neden geliyorlar?*
 - *Yeni gelenlerin Alaçatılı'lar üzerinde sizce nasıl etkileri oluyor?*
 - *Neler değişiyor?*
 - *Sosyo-ekonomik yapı*
 - *Yatırım türleri*
 - *Alım-satım kira fiyatları*

- Mülkiyet
- Günlük yaşamdaki fiyatlar
- Kullanımlar
- Diğer

18. Alaçatı'nın geleceğini nasıl görüyorsunuz?

19. Sizin Alaçatı'daki yaşamınızı gelecekte nasıl görüyorsunuz?

II) THE LOCALS

1. Sizce Alaçatılı ya da Alaçatı'nın yerlisi kimdir?
2. Siz kaç yılından beri Alaçatı'da yaşıyorsunuz?
3. Sizce Alaçatı'nın son 20-30 yılında bir değişim var mı? Ne tür?
 - *Önceden Alaçatı nasıl bir yerdi?*
 - *Bu değişim ilk ne zaman başladı?*
 - *İlk nerede başladı?*
 - *İlk olarak kimler geldi?*
 - *Gelenlerin Alaçatı üzerinde bir etkisi oldu mu? Neler?*
 - *Gelenlerin Alaçatılı'lar üzerinde bir etkisi oldu mu? Neler?*
 - *Gidenler oldu mu? Kimler?*
 - *Nereye gittiler?*
 - *Kalanlar kimler? Neler yapıyorlar?*
 - *Yeni gelenler yerlilerle anlaşabiliyor mu? Nasıl bir ilişkileri var?*
 - *İlk olarak neler değişti?*
 - *Yatırım türleri*
 - *Alım-satım-kira fiyatları*
 - *Mülkiyet durumu*
 - *Kullanımlar*
 - *Günlük yaşamdaki fiyatlar*
 - *Diğer*
4. Bu sürecin ilk başladığı yıllarla ilerleyen zamanlarda fark oldu mu ? Nasıl?
 - *Alaçatı'nın neresinde devam etti?*
 - *Kimler geldi? İlk gelenlerden farklılar mıydı?*
 - *Gelenlerin Alaçatılı'larla nasıl ilişkiler kurdular? Alaçatılı'lar nasıl etkilendi?*
 - *Neler değişti?*
 - *Sosyo-ekonomik yapı*
 - *Yatırım türleri*
 - *Alım-satım-kira fiyatları*
 - *Mülkiyet durumu*
 - *Kullanımlar*
 - *Günlük yaşamdaki fiyatlar*
 - *Diğer*
5. Şu anda Alaçatı'da ne tür değişimler gözlüyorsunuz?
 - *En çok nerede bir değişim var? Ya da nereye doğru kayıyor?*
 - *Dışarıdan insanlar gelmeye devam ediyorlar mı? Kimler?*
 - *Alaçatılı'lara nasıl etki ediyorlar?*
 - *Günümüzde Alaçatı'da neler değişiyor?*
6. Sizin hayatınızda değişiklikler oldu mu? Nasıl? Ne zaman başladı?

- *Ne iş ile uğraşıyordunuz?*
 - *Nerede oturuyordunuz?*
 - *Aile yapınız nasıldı?*
 - *Sosyal hayatınız nasıldı? Nerelere giderdiniz (Alaçatı içi-dışı)? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz nasıldı?*
7. Bu sürecin başladığı yıllarla ilerleyen zamanlarda hayatınızda fark oldu mu? Ne gibi?
- *İş yaşamınız?*
 - *Oturduğunuz yer?*
 - *Aile yaşamınız?*
 - *Sosyal hayatınız, komşuluk ilişkileriniz? Alaçatı’da ya da dışarısında gittiğiniz ya da kullandığınız yerler?*
8. Şu anda ne yapıyorsunuz?
- *İş yaşamınız?*
 - *Oturduğunuz yer?*
 - *Aile yaşamınız?*
 - *Sosyal hayatınız, komşuluk ilişkileriniz? Alaçatı’da gittiğiniz ya da kullandığınız yerler?*
9. Geçtiğimiz 20-30 yıl içerisinde unutamadığınız ya da aklınızda kalan ilginç eğiřiklikler var mı? Neler? Bir örnek verebilir misiniz?
10. Alaçatı’nın geleceğini nasıl görüyorsunuz?
11. Sizin Alaçatı’daki yaşamınızı gelecekte nasıl görüyorsunuz?

III) THE REAL ESTATE AGENTS

1. Ne kadar zamandır Alaçatıdasınız?
 - *Başka bir yerden mi geldiniz?*
 - *EVET, (nereden geldiniz, neden geldiniz?)*
2. Yaşınız?
3. Eğitim durumunuz?
4. Ne kadar zamandır emlakçılık yapıyorsunuz?
5. Alaçatı’da ne zamandan beri emlakçılık yapıyorsunuz?
6. Ne tür gayrimenkullerle uğraşıyorsunuz? (arsa, ev, dükkan)
7. En çok neye talep var?
8. En çok Alaçatı’nın neresine talep var, siz nerelerine yoğunlaşıyorsunuz?
9. Nasıl bir müşteri profiliniz var?
 - *Yerli*
 - *Yeni gelenler*
10. Alaçatı’da taşınmaz arayan insanlar hangi yolla/yollarla buluyorlar? (emlakçı, arkadaş, internet, kendi kendine dolaşma)
11. Müşterileriniz sizi nasıl buluyor?
12. Alaçatı dışındaki emlakçıların, Alaçatı emlak piyasasına bir etkisi var mı? Nasıl?
20. Belediye’nin Alaçatı emlak piyasası üzerinde bir etkisi var mı? Ne tür?
21. Alaçatı’daki mülk sayısı nedir?
22. Birden fazla mülk sahipliliği ne kadar yaygın?
23. Genel olarak Alaçatı’da bir deęişim gözlüyor musunuz?
 - *Ne tür bir deęişim yaşıyor?*

- *Kimler geliyorlar?*
- *Sizce neden geliyorlar?*
- *Yeni gelenlerin Alaçatılı'lar üzerinde sizce nasıl etkileri oluyor?*
- *Neler değişiyor?*
 - *Sosyo-ekonomik yapı*
 - *Yatırım türleri*
 - *Alım-satım kira fiyatları*
 - Alaçatılılara etkisi*
 - Yeni gelenlere etkisi*
 - *Mülkiyet*
 - *Günlük yaşamdaki fiyatlar*
 - *Kullanımlar*
 - *Diğer*

24. Alaçatı'nın geleceğini nasıl görüyorsunuz?

25. Sizin Alaçatı'daki yaşamınızı gelecekte nasıl görüyorsunuz?

IV) THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

26. Alaçatı'nın son 20-30 yılına dair bir değerlendirme yapar mısınız?

- *Sizce Alaçatı'da ne tür bir değişim yaşanıyor?*
- *Bu değişim ilk ne zaman başladı?*
- *İlk nerede başladı?*
- *İlk olarak kimler geldi?*
- *Gelenlerin Alaçatılı'lar üzerinde nasıl etkileri oldu?*
- *Gidenler oldu mu? Kimler?*
 - *Nereye gittiler?*
 - *Kalanlar kimler? Neler yapıyorlar?*
- *Yeni gelenler yerlilerle anlaşabiliyor mu? Nasıl bir ilişkileri var?*
- *İlk olarak neler değişti?*
 - *Sosyo-ekonomik yapı*
 - *Yatırım türleri*
 - *Alım-satım-kira fiyatları*
 - *Mülkiyet durumu*
 - *Kullanımlar*
 - *Günlük yaşam (komşuluk ilişkileri, fiyatlar, güvenlik hissi, aidiyet, v.s)*
 - *Diğer*
- ***Süreç içinde ne tür değişiklikler oldu? (2000'den sonra)***
- *Alaçatı'nın neresinde devam etti?*
- *Kimler geldi? İlk gelenlerden farklılar mıydı?*
 - *Gelenlerin Alaçatılı'larla nasıl ilişkiler kurdular? Alaçatılı'lar nasıl etkilendi?*
- *Neler değişti?*
 - *Sosyo-ekonomik yapı*
 - *Yatırım türleri*
 - *Alım-satım-kira fiyatları*
 - *Mülkiyet durumu*
 - *Kullanımlar*

- *Günlük yaşam (komşuluk ilişkileri, fiyatlar, güvenlik hissi, aidiyet, v.s)*
 - *Diğer*
 - ***Günümüzde ne tür değişimler gözluyorsunuz?***
 - ***En çok nerede bir değişim var? <yer değiştirme ya da kayma var mı? Nereye?***
 - ***Dışarıdan insanlar gelmeye devam ediyorlar mı? Kimler?***
 - *Alaçatı'daki yaşaetki ediyorlar? (Alaçatılılara, mekana, sosyal yaşama)*
 - ***Günümüzde Alaçatı'da neler değişiyor?***
- 27. Bu sürece / değişime devlet kurumlarının (merkezi hükümet, valilik, belediye) ya da özel kuruluşların etkisi olmuş mudur? Nasıl?**
- ***O sırada (... kurum) böyle bir işe neden girişti?***
 - ***(... kurum) neler yaptı?***
 - *Proje, v.s.*
 - ***Bu işer ve projeler için (... kurumun) kaynakları yeterli oldu mu?***
 - *Ne tür kaynaklar kullandılar?*
 - *Dışarıdan kaynak / destek aldı mı? Kimlerden?*
- 28. Alaçatı'nın bundan sonraki 10 yılını nasıl görüyorsunuz?**
- ***Gelecekte yapmayı planladığınız plan/proje var mı? Neler?***