Burası Tophane [This is Tophane]

An Inquiry into the Gender Dynamics of Gentrification in Istanbul

Maria Bruckmann, M.A.

Burası Tophane [This is Tophane]: An Inquiry into the Gender Dynamics of Gentrification Processes in Istanbul

<u>Abstract</u>

The following article explores the role of gender in gentrification processes at the example of Tophane, a residential area situated in Beyoğlu, one of Istanbul's most dynamic city districts on the European side. Since the early 2000s, Tophane has been experiencing a wave of gentrification, marked by the appearance of art galleries, design and architecture shops and cafes that attract tourists, students and art professionals. At the same time, the majority of Tophane's population consists of low-income migrants from South-eastern Turkey who migrated to the city in the past few decades. The arrival of newcomers has led to various violent confrontations such as attacks on gallery owners, which have received significant media attention. While the majority of gentrification literature concentrates on economic divides to explain social binaries between gentrifiers and gentrified, this article postulates that gender is a key concept in understanding the dynamics of conflict between long-term residents and newcomers in Tophane.

Keywords: Gentrification, Gender, Gendered itineraries, Gender regimes

Author biography

Maria Bruckmann received her MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies from Oxford University. She has studied Turkish politics and history at Bilgi University, Istanbul and conducted heritage research with the Netherlands Institute in Turkey. Currently she pursues a PhD in Turkish history at University of Hamburg.

https://uni-hamburg.academia.edu/MariaBruckmann

Introduction

In March 2013, female artist Neriman Polat and women's rights activist Arzu Yayıntaş organized an art project on violence against women in Tophane, Istanbul. The idea of the project "*Acı Kahve*" (Bitter Coffee) was to place the names of all women killed by male family members in Turkey in that year on the window of a local *kahvehane* (coffeehouse). Many men go to a *kahvehane* on a daily basis to socialize; they chat, drink coffee or tea and play cards. Polat and Yayıntaş[1] perceive of the *kahvehane* as a male space, symbolic of "patriarchal society", "a control panel of the neighbourhood where men spend all their day staring out from the windows". The artists' aim was to "conquer" this space for women by confronting male customers and passers-by with the realities of gender violence and inequality. The two women purposefully selected Tophane, a historical neighbourhood at the core of the city, as the location for their project. They both live in the area and were supported by a local art gallery to organize the art installation. As such, they are part of the wave of newcomers to Tophane who are engaging with and form part of the newly emerging contemporary art scene. They perceive Tophane as "a very conservative neighbourhood" where "masculine culture" is "dominant". The presence of these women and their art project in Tophane demonstrates a key argument of this paper, which focusses on the influence of gender identities and performances on the lived experiences of gentrification. In their engagement with art, Polat and Yayıntaş problematized the neighbourhood's dominant gender practices and norms. Their project[2] exemplifies conflicting gender identities of newcomers and long-term residents, different understandings of how gender dynamics should be performed in public space, and perceptions of difference and construction of gendered social binaries.

Since the early 2000s, Tophane has been experiencing a wave of gentrification, marked by the appearance of art galleries, design and architecture shops and cafes that attract tourists, students and art professionals. At the same time, the majority of Tophane's population consists of low-income migrants from South-eastern Turkey who migrated to the city in the past few decades. The arrival of newcomers has led to various violent confrontations such as an attack on the visitors of an art walk in

---

[1]   Polat and Yayintas, in e-mail conversation with the author.
[2]   For their project see http://www.nerimanpolat.com/works/2013/2013_05.htm

September 2010. These outbreaks have drawn national and international media attention (Fowler, 2010; Goldsmith, 2010; Günal, 2010). Tophane has been portrayed as a stage on which different worldviews are played out. People in Tophane perceive strong boundaries between those who were born and raised in Tophane (*Tophaneli*, Tophane resident), and those who have recently come into the neighbourhood (*yeni gelen*, newcomers).[3] The conflict that gentrification has catalysed in Tophane between locals and newcomers has been described in the press as a "culture war" (e.g. Lewis, 2012).[4]

Most academic literature on gentrification, a process involving the influx of more affluent residents and the re-creation of a neighbourhood, concentrates on economic divides to explain the social binaries which commonly divide gentrifiers from long-term residents (e.g.: Keyder, 2005; Lees, 2008). Moreover, the literature on urban spaces has a strong bias to Western European and North American case studies with little regard for different cultural contexts.[5] The word gentrification itself was coined by British scholar Ruth Glass studying urban changes in London. In its origin, the word is related with the British gentry, thus referencing very particular social structures. This paper uses Tophane as a case study to suggest a different geography as well as a different lens through which to analyse the construction of difference between the gentrifiers and gentrified, namely gender.

Based on a series of interviews and fieldwork conducted in the summer of 2014 and winter of 2015[6], the paper suggests that long-term residents move along gendered itineraries, and commonly spend considerable time in gendered spaces, implying a physical segregation that maintains gender differences (Spain, 1992). Newcomers introduce a new gender regime (Connell, 1987), a new "the state of play in gender relations" (p.120) – in this case a different way of conceptualizing gender in space by mixed interactions. The article contends that gentrification produces a challenge to the

---

[3]   For an elaborate, recently published analysis of gentrification in Tophane see Defne Kadıoğlu Polat (2016).

[4]   On violence in Tophane see Elise Massicard (2018).

[5]   Theoretical discussions over gentrification have only recently begun to integrate case studies outside this context (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005).

[6]   The first part of the research was conducted as part of the Tophane Heritage Project organized by the Netherlands Institute in Turkey (NIT) in the summer of 2014. In January 2015, two weeks of fieldwork were conducted with a total of 31 interviews. In this period, 5 interviews were done in cooperation with Özge Altın, a sociology student from Sehir University, who also supported me in translating those interviews. The remaining 26 interviews were conducted by me, and in cooperation with a Turkish translator.

gendered spatial order of Tophane by bringing into close proximity people who hold divergent perceptions of gender issues.[7]

Literature & Theory

Gentrification produces new social spaces and brings closer proximity to different social groups that often have not interacted previously. In urban policy discourses, gentrification is often believed to enrich and enhance living standards of a neighbourhood because it produces diversity, a social mix of different socio-economic groups (Butler et al., 2012). Academic research, however, has challenged the idea that gentrification results in harmonious interactions between groups with different levels of economic and cultural capital. Instead, it has been observed in a variety of case studies conducted in Western Europe that gentrifiers moving into a neighbourhood will create their own, exclusionary social groups rather than integrating into the community of the area's lower-income inhabitants. The newcomers generally interact only within the social networks they have themselves established (e.g. Atkinson, 2006). In this context, class divides have received significant scholarly attention in the literature.

Gender as an analytical lens through which to conceptualize gentrification processes, on the other hand, has largely been ignored.[8] Going beyond the gentrification literature, feminist geographers have developed some insightful ideas on the links between gender and space. A fundamental contribution was Doreen Massey's (1994) *Space, Place and Gender*. Massey argues that space can be read as an expression of social relations – as she put it in her own words, "the spatial is social relations 'stretched out'" (p.2). Thus gender as an essential construct within social relations could also be read within space. Given the observation that gender relations are lived in a variety of different ways across the globe, Massey argued that space both expresses gender relations while at the same time reinforcing, providing the stage for enacting, and structuring gender relations. She maintained that "spaces and places

---

[7]   The article is based on the author's master thesis "Burası Tophane: A Case Study of Gentrification and Gender in Istanbul" which was handed in at the University of Oxford in 2015 for the completion of the Master of Philosophy in Modern Middle Eastern Studies.

[8]   Two significant exceptions are the articles by Alan Warde (1991) and Lis Bondi (1991). Warde analysed gentrification as a result of shifting labour market structures with women moving to inner-city district as the result of new job opportunities. Bondi concentrated her research on exploring gender codings and the re-negotiation of constructions of femininity and masculinity as a result of female newcomers.

are not only themselves gendered but, in their being so, they both reflect and affect the ways in which gender is constructed and understood" (p.179).

Taking up this idea, this article suggests that long-term residents and newcomers in gentrification processes have different conceptions of gender-appropriate behaviour. As proposed by Geraldine Pratt and Susan Hanson (1994), particular localities can be imbued with certain gender relations. Their analysis of workplaces within different neighbourhoods demonstrates that "in the context of work places and small areas within the city, distinctive cultures of gender, race and class (among other) relations develop" (p.11) and are maintained. This observation holds true for Tophane, were long-term residents have maintained a certain set of gender dynamics, which are currently challenged by gentrification. In similar vein, Robert Connell (1987) argues that institutions can have different types of *gender regimes*. The street, as one institution described in his book, can be one example in which a gender regime is constructed and experienced. Here Connell's idea is used to propose that conflicting gender regimes, or to put it in other words, different gendered spatial orders, are brought into close proximity as a product of gentrification. Gender identities and how they are performed on the street, in galleries and cafes, by means of dress and behaviour, may be seen a main reason for the divide between newcomers and long-term residents.[9]

The Setting: Tophane

Tophane is situated in the commercial and touristic heart of Istanbul, and forms part of the large administrative district of Beyoğlu. For the unobservant tourist, the borders of Tophane are often invisible. The neighbourhood does not constitute an administrative unit in itself – it may be seen as a purely imagined entity. Nevertheless, most residents and people working in and around the neighbourhood will have a distinct idea of where Tophane is, and what Tophane is like. Tophane is situated between Galata and Cihangir; two central touristic areas of Istanbul that have already experienced gentrification. On the top and the bottom of Tophane, the main pedestrian shopping mile Istiklal Caddesi and the Bosporus are commonly perceived as natural borders. Down by the Bosporus, there are old factory buildings, port facilities and Greek churches, the modern art museum Istanbul Modern, further the area of the future

---

[9] For a pioneering study on gender in public space of Turkey see Amy Mills (2007).

Galata Port Project as well as various waterpipe cafes which are a common hangout place for young Tophane locals and tourists alike.

As part of Beyoğlu, Tophane is an area that has a rich multifaceted, multi-ethnic history. In the 19th century, Tophane had a military port and hosted one of the first large-scale manufacturing works in the Middle East, a cannonball factory. The factory and the port employed many people of non-Muslim descent. As a result, 47% of the population of Tophane were foreign nationals, and only 17% of the residents identified as Muslim (Çelik, 1986, 38). Tophane lost its multi-ethnic and multicultural character as a consequence of First World War and the nationalist policies of the Kemalist regime, the last Greeks and Armenian minorities leaving the area in the 1950s. The flight of Tophane's non-Muslims left many bourgeois 19th century buildings vacant, which have since been occupied by migrants from the South-east of Turkey with Arabic or Kurdish backgrounds and Roma minorities, who have converted the houses into workshops, car repairs and little groceries and moved into many of the flats. They have set up migration associations in the neighbourhood, which serve as one of the main meeting places in the neighbourhood.

In the past decade, Tophane has begun to witness changes in the socio-economic patterns of the neighbourhood. Its main feature has been the mushrooming of art galleries, design shops, architecture bureaus and cafés, which first began to appear after the opening of Istanbul's first modern art museum, the Istanbul Modern in 2004 at Tophane's seaside. Moreover, boutique hotels and a youth hostel have opened in Tophane. As a result of the construction of a university dormitory at the border to Tophane, students have become more familiar with and moved into some of the area's historical buildings. Sensing the potential of this area, the Istanbul municipality has included Tophane into a "cultural triangle", envisioned to span over most of Beyoğlu as well as Sultanahmet and Kadiköy. As outlined in the "Istanbul Master Plan", this geographical triangle should be the heart of media firms, cinemas, fashion galleries and art production and increase the city's global competitiveness. The government also supports the GalataPort project, which has been announced in the 1990s and is currently under construction, and aims to renew the sea coast. This has led to speculative investments in Tophane's properties as private investors have begun to buy up apartment blocks in Tophane, renovating historical buildings and selling its apartments one-by-one. Property values rise continuously.

All interviews conducted for this study have demonstrated a perception of strong binaries between those who define themselves as locals (*mahalleli*, from the neighbourhood or *Tophaneli*, Tophane resident) and those who have come to the neighbourhood in recent years (*yabanci,* foreigner or *yeni gelen*, newcomer).[10] Common issues raised by respondents in interviews when describing the perceived conflict between the two groups are issues of drinking alcohol, clothing styles of women, religious traditions and interaction of men and women on the street and in other places visible from the street. These issues serve as symbolic signifiers that trigger stereotypes about certain lifestyles for people who have barely any interaction with each other in their daily lives. The following binaries are commonly drawn: wealthy/poor, university education/little or no formal education, contemporary (western) art/ Islamic art, atheist/religiously conservative, Gezi demonstrator/AKP voter, civilized/modern, backward/traditional, urban/rural, West/East.[11]

A majority of the gentrifiers form part of what Richard Florida (2002) once labelled as the "creative class". They are gallery owners, architects, culinary chefs, artists and jewellery makers. Most of them have a university degree, and feel attracted to Istanbul because of its vibrant cultural scene. They have typically moved their shops and cafes to Tophane because of its geographical centrality, the historic character of the built structures, and the comparatively low rent. As such, they may also be described as "urban pioneers", a somewhat disputed term in academic circles for its normative undertone, but used here to contextualize the group within the broader literature (e.g. Lees, 1996, p.459). Only some of them have also settled within Tophane, a large majority comes there only for work. They tend to thus have little social capital available to them within the neighbourhood, many feeling isolated in its social space.

The gentrified, here understood as those who identify as locals, have either themselves moved to Tophane from the Southeast of Turkey, or have parents who have moved to Istanbul some decades ago. The younger generation has generally been born and bred in the neighbourhood. Many of the long-term residents in Tophane own their own properties. This is commonly the only economic capital available to them, convertible into increasing their social position or lifestyle only when they sell

---

[10]   The two categories have been applied to this paper based on the self-definitions of respondents. They are not to be understood as neutral categories, instead they could be seen as "speech acts" (J.L Austin, 1962) , functioning by utterance themselves as an exclusionary mechanism dividing the neighbourhood.
[11]   For a detailed study on the struggles between the two groups in Tophane see Özlem Öz and Mine Eder (2018).

and use the gain made from rising property prices to settle elsewhere, which some have already done. In terms of their professions, most of those working are men: barbers, coffeehouse owners, little grocers and taxi drivers. In the following, the gendered spatial order of Tophane will be described and juxtaposed with the challenge represented by female newcomers.[12]

The Dominant Gender Regime of Tophane

When entering into Tophane, the presence and visibility of men strikes one of the neighbourhood's most prominent characteristics. Men make up the majority of people walking down the street: the coffeehouses are filled with men, and male tea carriers bring tea from male barber shop to male carpenter. Little boys run around playing with plastic guns. A clear segregation between men and women is practiced by the majority of long-term residents, and the value of heterosexual family life and men as bread-winners are clearly emphasised. A classical description of the social life in Tophane was provided by one male respondent:

> "Very close [to us] Istiklal Street is an entertainment area […]; but if you descent 100 metre downwards you will enter into a different atmosphere, a *mahalle*. Women leave the house with knitting/braids in their hands, they eat sunflower seeds, drink tea, make gossip, do knitting; this is the sort of place we are talking about. Or, men, when they go home at night after work, the coffee house culture is common here, they go to the coffeehouse, tea, coffee, they evaluate the day, the day's conversations, such as what happened to your debt, what happened to his property. This is the sort of natural life here".

Many male long-term residents emphasise the value of family and its significance for the neighbourhood. Traditional family structures provide the gender hierarchies of Tophane, with men typically perceived as breadwinner, and women as mothers. As the above quote demonstrates, the idea of family life is connected with a separation of gender, women watching the children and doing handicraft while gossiping, while men earn the wage and talk about serious matters in the coffee house. Many male respondents noted that the coffeehouse is the real people's assembly, rather than the official meetings organized in the municipality building. The coffeehouse is a place of decision-making on community issues, from which women are excluded. It serves as a prime example of a gendered space as defined by Daphne Spain (1992), in the sense

---

[12]   There was a certain bias towards long-term male residents and female newcomers in the choice of interviews during fieldwork. This was mainly a result of accessibility, for they are the most visible faces of Tophane's public spaces.

that it is a male-exclusive space which both establishes and reaffirms the gender hierarchy between men and women in the neighbourhood.

Long-term resident and barber Omer stresses that men and women in Tophane do not get into close proximity with each other. When women walk down the streets of the neighbourhood, there will be a distance between the two sexes. They will talk, because everyone knows each other – but not too intimately: "*a woman would not speak with a stranger; most people are relatives here anyways. I have never seen any of them walking holding the hand of their husbands*". In Tophane, long-term residents practice mobility along gendered itineraries and interaction between the men and women (if decency and morality are not ensured by kinship links, which they are very frequently, given that many residents originate from the same rural villages) are kept to a minimum. Women spend time in their homes or the houses of friends and family relatives with other women; they organize meetings of women drinking tea (*gün*), go to classes in the municipality, bring their kids to the primary school, and do shopping in groceries. When they interact with men, such as the grocer, these are men they know well. Men move along different itineraries, they walk to their workplaces and tea houses. Both men and women respect the boundaries towards spaces of the opposite gender. It is these gendered itineraries and sensitive codes of male-female interaction that are disrupted by the presence of newcomers, who embrace a notion of the public sphere in which the interaction of men and women is both desired and practiced, as will be outlined below.

In this framework, women's chastity and respectability play a significant role in the maintenance of social structures, and marrying between families maintains social relations and obligations. It is interesting to see that long-term resident such as hobby journalist Berat define the neighbourhood by family structures and marriage:

> "This is a place everyone knows each other, a place they give their daughters to each other, they are neighbours of each other, a place that has founded associations, a place they fight, make peace, kiss each other, are enwoven with each other".

When women walk down the street, long-term male residents commonly expect them to behave what they perceive as decent. Middle-aged civil engineer Ahmet, for example, thinks that women should not walk down the street smoking cigarettes, or attract attention by laughing loudly or shouting. When picturing his ideal wife, he said that

> "She must respect her own family and other families. Other than that, I think that she should be a civilized person who is careful with her clothes, with her hair and her head. I believe that a woman should protect her matrilineal family's honour and behave accordingly […] She would be a person who is honourable, civilized, who stays within the bounds [of what is respectable] in relation to men, who knows that she should stay where she lives, and who knows how to talk".

In a similar vein, men's roles are clearly defined. Young men have a significant role as protectors of the local community. The public face of Tophane is male, as symbolised by the graffiti sprayed onto the buildings all over the neighbourhood: These graffiti are made up of the names of men, combined with slogans stating "This is Tophane" (*Burası Tophane*) or "Tophane resident" (*Tophaneli*).

Figure 3 Graffiti reading "Tophane", "This is Tophane" and "Free Gaza". Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 4 A common feature of the graffiti is male names combined with Tophane slogans. Photograph taken by the author.

A concept that plays a significant role in the construction of local identity is the imagery of a male youngster, the *delikanlı* (a tempestuous youth). Translated literally, it means "with crazy blood". This term, implying masculinity and protection by means of violence (emphasis on physical toughness), ties a particular understanding of gender roles to a specific sense of place. It was mentioned frequently by long-term residents when talking about Tophane, and has been referenced by a variety of Turkish newspapers in their discussions of the 2010 gallery attacks. Long-term resident Berat, for example, thinks that Tophane is a natural school for a *delikanlı*, as evidenced by the fact that "you could find a pocket knife in the pocket of a five-year old child". He defines a *delikanlı* of Tophane in the following manner, he is

> "Courageous, generally has no money, if he does he spends it, he shares, and he is on the side of the vulnerable […] and the people in the neighbourhood. For example if you go around and swear, he fights with you, he leaves it at this; but

when harm is done to a family, a mother, an old aunt, a young girl or a poor person, his reaction could be much stronger."

The narrative of protection and aggressive behaviour legitimized on moral grounds of defending the weak, notably women, is a recurrent feature in definitions given by long-term residents of Tophane. It is interesting to see that many female long-term residents support the idea of male guardianship for Tophane. Women who attend the knitting and braiding classes in the municipality building in Tophane claimed that they appreciate the protection of their husbands and sons in the neighbourhood. They talked about the Gezi demonstrations in May 2013 against the AKP-led government, and how the proximity to the events made Tophane a place of tear gas and protestors. By fighting the protestors and keeping them out of Tophane, their sons demonstrated their sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. When long-term female residents were asked in the interviews whether they feel threatened by the strong presence of men, they strongly disagreed. Instead, they insist on feeling safe as a result of the strong social ties and networks of familiarity. The women of a knitting class at the local municipality building, for example, emphasized:

> "We are free […] for one thing, we can enter [the street] without fear. When we go outside onto the street, we are not afraid. We know everyone. Because until you get any place you come across ten people you know".

This spatial regime, based on gender segregation and close social ties, is threatened by the influx of newcomers who introduce different gender practice and threaten the networks that provide a sense of freedom to female long-term residents walking down the street.
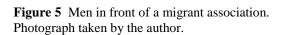

Figure 5 Men in front of a migrant association. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 6 Women having lunch together after their braiding and knitting class in the municipality building. Photograph taken by the author.

Gentrification as a Challenge to the Gendered Spatial Order

To demonstrate the conflicting gender regimes in Tophane which are brought into close proximity as a result of gentrification, a newcomer's space serves as a great example: the Balkon Sefasi café, owned by a young Turkish woman who studied architecture. She uses her café as both a place to sell food and drinks, and as an architecture bureau. The café is styled with English slogans, advertising organic products and a global lifestyle. It attracts many tourists, and English pop songs are played. A Christmas tree is set up at the side, with little signs of "Love, peace and hope". Photographs at the walls show couples embracing on the street. The cafe also sells women's jewellery and Vogue and other style magazines are lying around to be read. On the only small toilet of the café, a huge naked women's torso is fixed to the wall above the toilet seat. The way in which the cafes name is written makes two of its letters O and f form into the Venus symbol. In its aesthetics and products on sale, such as women's jewellery and fashion, the café is clearly aimed at a female audience. It does serve to male customers as well, most of them tourists strolling through Tophane on their way from Galata to Cihangir. Balkon Sefasi café was one of the first cafés opened by a newcomer on this main street a few years ago in a building that previously hosted a male barber shop. The café suggests a very different approach to gender dynamics in the neighbourhood: opened by a young university-educated woman, it represents the shift from a neighbourhood of male craftsmen with families and women at home, to a globalizing space of urban Istanbul, catering to tourist taste and offering employment opportunities for the more culturally endowed female university graduates.

The opening of these new places by women and the consequential disappearance of male-only employment structures presents a challenge to the gender regime of Tophane. Jewellery-maker Elif perceives a strong dissonance between perceptions over gender roles and work in Tophane. She feels like it is "*shocking for them [the Tophane people] that I have been here for many years and working 'although' I am a woman*". In similar vein, Miray, who produces glass jewellery and glass design products, says that her being a single woman owning a shop and working with fire to produce glass design products, are "*weird*" for people in Tophane because their idea of a woman is very different, and because more generally they do not understand her work or her products: "*the work I do does not correspond to the image*

they [the Tophane people] have of a woman in their mind [...] I do work that they do not even see a man doing".

Along with female businesses, mixed gender spaces have become a common phenomenon in Tophane: boutique hotels, art galleries, design and jewellery shops, and cafes opened by newcomers all represent a very different understanding of gender use of space. Newcomers embrace a notion of the public space in which the interaction of men and women is both desired and practiced. They intermingle in their homes, in hotels, cafes and galleries. Many of the violent outbreaks in Tophane of the past few years between long-term residents and newcomers can actually be attributed to the discomfort produced by the performance of gender mixing in spaces visible to long-term residents.

Long-term residents worry especially that gentrification threatens their conservative family structures. The two students Eylül and Zehra feel like they could never really belong to the neighbourhood because they "*are not anybody's wife*". They stated that seeing single women living on their own without the protection of a male family member or husband is "*weird for them [...] we should live with our family because we are not married*". In similar vein, the 43-year old Merve, who owns a vegan restaurant and lives in Tophane, feels excluded by her neighbours because of being an unmarried woman living by herself. The jewellery maker Elif recounted that she made a ring for a female newcomer who felt so pressured by the neighbourhood climate that she wanted to pretend being married. In similar vein, female nudity poses a significant challenge to the gender regime of Tophane.
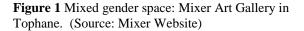

Figure 1 Mixed gender space: Mixer Art Gallery in Tophane. (Source: Mixer Website)

Figure 2 Artwork exposing female body exhibited at Mixer Art Gallery. Photograph taken by the author.

Commonly, gallery owners and their employees debate the artworks they display with regards to how they portray women. The gallerist working at Daire Gallery in Tophane said that in their current exhibition, they consciously left those painting showing naked women in the back of their gallery. Many female newcomers do not feel comfortable walking down the streets of Tophane. Some have been threatened for what they wear. As 25-year old Eylül puts it, "*If you wear something a bit open, they will look at you, they will stare*". In similar vein, jewellery maker Elif says she could not live in Tophane: "*I can't wear the clothes I like here, I can't talk, I can't walk, I can't be myself.*"

Conclusion

While gentrification is commonly perceived in terms of class conflict, the element of gender has yet to be integrated into our understanding of the construction of social boundaries between gentrifiers and gentrified. Gentrification is a process that severely impacts the social structures of a neighbourhood, and gender is a key element of all social relations. As this paper has demonstrated, gender plays a significant role in the perception of difference between newcomers and long-term residents. As gentrification proceeds, the formerly residential neighbourhood Tophane is increasingly exposed to commercialized spaces and people who have the means to use them. Close social ties, commonly based on kinship and a sense of selective belonging are threatened in this process. Main features of how the neighbourhood is understood by long-term residents, which link community with male protection, and honour with female chastity, are challenged by new conceptions of gender relations. The neighbourhood structures are altered by the influx of more educated, and commonly young female students and professionals. The gendered spaces of the neighbourhood and gendered itineraries of long-term residents are unsettled by a new gender regime female of newcomers who work and interact with men who they may not have previously met in public. This suggests that the experience of gentrification of people within a locality is strongly influenced by the extent to which it upsets the dominant gender dynamics.

Gender clearly has a high significance for the lived experience of gentrification in Tophane and the immense pressures felt on both sides of the divide. While long-term residents are increasingly displaced due to commercialization, some female newcomers too, leave the neighbourhood because they feel so uncomfortable. In fact, the owner of Balkon Sefasi café has closed her shop since the interview was conducted

as she felt threatened by some long-term residents. Within the limited scope of this working paper, it was impossible to analyse the matter from a national perspective. Undoubtedly, the political tension between the religiously conservative AKP-led government and its opponents trickles down to the neighbourhood level and magnifies the gendered conflict among residents and newcomers. Further research into different localities and cultural context outside of Turkey would thus immensely enrich the debate and shed new insights into the links between space, gentrification and gender.

Bibliography

Atkinson, Rowland and Gary Bridge (Eds). *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism: Gentrification in a Global Perspective*. London; New York: Routledge, 2005.

Austin, J.L. *How to Do Things with Words.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.

Bondi, Liz. 'Gender, Class and Gentrification: Enriching the Debate'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 17 (1999): 261–82.
———. 'Gender, Class and Urban Space: Public and Private Space in Contemporary Urban Landscapes'. *Urban Geography* 19, no. 2 (1998): 160–85.
———. 'Gender Divisions and Gentrification: A Critique'. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 16, no. 2 (1991): 190–98.
———. 'Gender Symbols and Urban Landscapes'. *Progress in Human Geography* 16, no. 2 (1992): 157–70.

Butler, Tim, and Garry Robson. 'Social Capital, Gentrification and Neighbourhood Change in London: A Comparison of Three South London Neighbourhoods'. *Urban Studies* 38, no. 12 (11 January 2001): 2145–62.

Butler, Tim, and Chris Hamnett. 'Gentrification, Class, and Gender: Some Comments on Warde's "Gentrification as Consumption"'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12, no. 4 (1994): 477 – 493.

Çelik, Zeynep. *The Remaking of İstanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986.

Connell, Raewyn W. *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics.* Polity Press, 1987.

Florida, Richard. *Rise of the Creative Class.* Tandem Library, 2003.

Fowler, Susanne. 'Art Walk Turns Into Street Fight in Istanbul'. *The New York Times*, 10 November 2010. http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/11/world/europe/11iht-m11CTophane.html. Last accessed: 26.09.2018

Goldsmith, Rosie. 'Modern Art Boom Exposes Turkey's Tensions'. *BBC*, 30 October 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/9138192.stm. Last accessed: 26.09.2018

Günal, Asena. 'Burası Tophane!' Bianet, 24 October 2010. http://www.bianet.org/bianet/toplum/125013-burasi-tophane. Last accessed: 26.09.2018

Hackworth, Jason. 'Post Recession Gentrification in New York City'. *Urban Affairs Review* 37 (1 July 2002): 815–43.

Jackson, Emma, and Tim Butler. 'Revisiting "Social Tectonics": The Middle Classes and Social Mix in Gentrifying Neighbourhoods'. *Urban Studies*, 5 September 2014, 0042098014547370.
Kadıoğlu Polat, Defne. "'There is nothing quite like Tophane' A Case Study of Gentrification in Istanbul", Istanbul Policy Center, Sabanci University, 2016. Retrieved from: http://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/There-is-Nothing-Quite-like-Tophane_D.K.Polat_.pdf

Keyder, Caglar. 'Globalization and Social Exclusion in Istanbul'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 1 (March 2005): 124–34.

Lees, Loretta. 'Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance?' *Urban Studies* 45, no. 12 (November 2008): 2449–70.
———. 'In the pursuit of difference: representations of gentrification'. *Environment and Planning A*, 28 (1996): 453-470.

Lewis, Jonathan. 'Turkey: Istanbul Gentrification Opens Second Front in Culture War'. Eurasianet, 3 January 2011. http://www.eurasianet.org/node/62653. Last accessed: 26.09.2018

Massey, Doreen. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

Massicard, Elise. 'Quand les civils maintiennent l'ordre. Configurations vigilantes à Istanbul', *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, Etudes libres inédites (2018).

Mills, Amy. 'Gender and *Mahalle* (Neighbourhood) Space in Istanbul'. *A Journal of Feminist Geography* 14, issue 3, (2007): 335–354.

Öz, Özlem and Eder, Mine. ''Problem Spaces' and Struggles Over the Right to the City: Challenges of Living Differentially in a Gentrifying Istanbul Neighbourhood'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (2018).

Pratt, Geraldine, and Susan Hanson. 'Geography and the Construction of Difference'. *Gender, Place & Culture* 1, no. 1 (1 March 1994): 5–29.

Warde, A. 'Gentrification as Consumption: Issues of Class and Gender'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9, no. 2 (1991): 223 – 232.

Spain, Daphne. *Gendered Spaces*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.