

## The Gentrification Process in the Historic Eminonu Peninsula in Istanbul

Meryem Hayir-Kanat

*Department of Social Studies Education, Yildiz Technical University, 34210 Istanbul, Turkey*  
*E-mail: meryemhayir@hotmail.com*

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**ABSTRACT** Over years, the historical city of Istanbul has been going through a massive gentrification process. The historical quarters of Istanbul are located in the districts of Eminonu, which are often referred as “the historical peninsula”, and Beyoglu which is the heart of modern Istanbul with nightlife and many hotels. Eminonu district is home to many historical buildings and sites constructed during Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman periods. However, as a result of large waves of migration and lack of planning, poorly designed and managed buildings with no historical value surround many of these historical sites. The historical buildings and monuments in the historical peninsula include castles, aqueducts, water cisterns, masonry, places of worship and bazaars. Until the 1990s, there was not a serious attempt to restore these historical rich sites. However, in the early 1990s both local and central government began to restore many buildings and opened them to public to attract tourism. Two important problems resulted from such policies. First, many of the historical sites were not restored according to their original forms. Second, many of the historical buildings have been rented out to private companies, which resulted in a change in their functions. For example, the historical houses have been transformed into hotels, guest homes and cafes or the historical manufacture stores and repair shops have been turned into the restaurants and souvenir shops.

### INTRODUCTION

Gentrification is a trend in urban neighborhoods, which results in increased property values and the displacing of lower-income families and small businesses. Gentrification implies the transformation of working-class residential areas. It often results in increased property values and the displacement of lower-income families and business. Therefore, the area is invaded by the middle and upper class and small businesses are replaced with large ones. The first attempts towards gentrification began in places such as London, England and eastern coastal cities in the USA in the 1950s and 1960s. The process received an important degree of criticism in the media. Also, the representatives of national and local governments, city planners, and architects have reminded the problems associated with the gentrification processes (Lees et al. 2008).

One of the first studies on gentrification was conducted by Ruth Glass in 1964 (Glass 1964; Gaebe 2004: 165). Glass investigated how the middle class replaced the working-class quarters in London. After Glass numerous studies have been conducted by urban geographers and planners (Smith 1979; Clay 1979; Ley 1986; Keskies 1997; Smith and Defilippis 1999; Lees 2000;

Hackworth and Smith 2001; Smith 2002; Hamnett 2003; Davidson and Lees 2005; Smith and Holt 2005, 2007; Slater 2006; Lees 2008; Lees et al. 2008; Slater 2011; Hayir 2012; Akcali and Korkut 2015; Islam and Sakizlioglu 2015; Onal and Akdemir 2015; Soytemel 2015; Uysal and Korostoff 2015).

As these studies all set forth, gentrification is usually carried out in the areas in which houses or workplaces are already present in order to rehabilitate the old city centres. With the development of suburbs and newly developed neighborhoods, many people in the upper and middle classes leave the city centers, which offer few services, for the suburbs. This change results in a loss of property value in these neighborhoods, which makes it attractive for cheap housing and low-paid jobs, especially for people who migrate from rural areas to the city. Rehabilitation of these places and their conversion into centers of attraction again form the basis for the activities of gentrification. As expressed by Lees, “gentrification is part of an aggressive and revanchist ideology designed to retake the inner city for the middle classes” (Lees 2008: 2449).

Harvey defines the activities of gentrification as activities intended to make profit at the city centers in order to put urban environments into

use again and to recreate history (Harvey 2010: 103). As these critical perspectives also point out, historical centers became areas that people from the low-income group are excluded from upon renewal. This causes gentrification to exhibit some development towards providing rent under the influence of neoliberal policies.

Lees divided the activities of gentrification into four periods: 1) financiers – super-gentrification, 2) third-world immigration – the global city, 3) black/ethnic minority gentrification – race and gentrification, and 4) liveability/urban policy – discourse on gentrification (Lees 2000: 389). In their study, Hackworth and Smith (2001: 467) also divided urban renewal into periods depending on the literature and set forth their characteristics.

The ideal process of gentrification periods in the literature: the first period is expressed as the period when gentrification has not been very common yet and seen in restricted areas and it is dated back to the early 1970s. In this period, people deprived of social security in the low-income group live in the spaces of gentrification. In the second period, however, changes in the character of enterprises and services begin. Bars, dealers in second-hand belongings, antique dealers and boutiques attract populations from the other regions. Real estate speculations are low in this period. It is expressed as a period of transition and was seen in the west in the 1970s. In the third and fourth periods, the first gentrifiers begin to settle in the gentrified spaces. They are people with a high income, a safe job, no children, and demands for high residential standards. In this way, they have returned to the urban life and approached their workplaces at the city center. In this period, the gentrified spaces begin to be purchased and it is the mediators who carry out these procedures. In the fifth period, the poor residents inhabiting the renewed spaces are forced to migrate due to the rising living standards. The services increase; the existing trading establishments and gastronomy spaces change in parallel with the demands by their new residents; and many old enterprises shut down (Borsdorf and Bender 2010: 220-223).

Coinciding roughly with the 1980s in the west, policies intended to make gentrification permanent were implemented. The 1990s however constituted a period when global urban discourses and neoliberal policies became widespread. The neoliberal policies resulted in the

fact that the global capital also took its place in the gentrified spaces. The impact of neoliberal policies has been seen in the growing metropolises of Asia, Latin America, and partially Africa upon globalization, along with the cities of the countries located in developed geographies. As expressed by Smith, gentrification “is a process which emerged as a sporadic, quaint and local anomaly” (Smith 2002:1). Nevertheless, gentrification has now become a general trend for the neoliberal urban policy.

### **The Process of Gentrification in Istanbul**

The process of gentrification in Istanbul became visible as the workplaces in central areas were headed for the industrial and trade zones generated outside the center particularly under the influence of the neoliberal policies, which started after the 1980s. After the 1990s, the gentrification activities increasing in micro-zones expanded and began to be seen almost throughout the historical quarters of Istanbul. The capital regarded these areas as important rent zones and began to influence the urban policies after 2000.

The major Marmara Earthquake experienced in August 1999 and the presence of the expectation of a major earthquake in Istanbul brought the renewal of worn-out buildings forward (Fig. 1). In this context, the districts of Beyoglu and Fatih became centers of attraction in renewal projects due to the high stock of worn-out buildings. Known as “Cingene Mahallesi” (Romani Neighbourhood) immediately next to the historical walls, “Sulukule” was detected as the first region in the process of gentrification in the 1980s by the government. The inhabitants of Sulukule were sent to the residential areas it had generated on the periphery of Istanbul, which is known as Hadimkoy and were replaced by the people with higher incomes and close ties to the administration. These events received a great deal of media coverage and the right holders initiated suits against the government. Some of the legal cases against the government are still going on.

The studies addressing the process of gentrification in Istanbul were predominantly conducted by urban and regional planning experts the 1990s. These studies focused on social and economic impacts of the gentrification activities at different scales. Sam considered the process of gentrification from an economic perspective

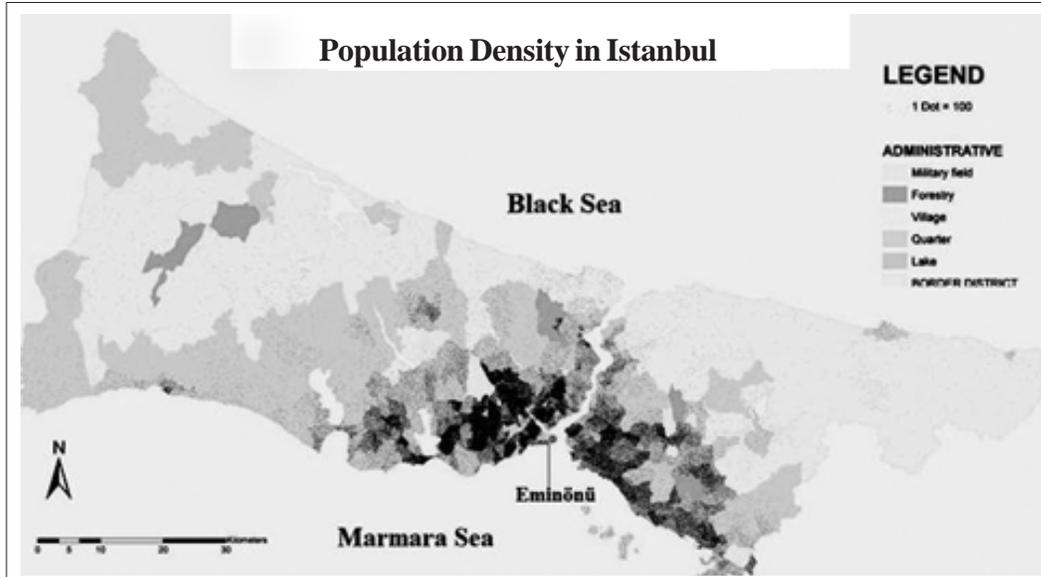


Fig. 1. The location map of Eminonu and the population density in Istanbul

and expressed that the neoliberal policies supported the process (Sam 2010). In her study entitled “Gentrification in Istanbul”, Ergun (2004) investigated gentrification activities in the historical quarters of Istanbul. According to Ergun, the process of gentrification in Istanbul started in two settlements by the Strait: Ortakoy and Kuzguncuk in the 1980’s. Can (2013) not only focused on the renewal and transformation projects in Istanbul but also how these projects were carried out in terms of the neoliberal urban policies in the historical neighbourhoods of city. Furthermore, she investigated the increasing role of the state in the gentrification process in the 2000s. Islam and Sakizlioglu (2015: 59-60) state that the urban renovations in Istanbul have official and unofficial aspects. While local and national government try to ménage the city in a proper way, the real estate and construction companies try to make a profit from the ongoing process. In the historical districts of the city, the classic urban renewal process continues whereas in the shantytowns an unofficial renewal process is taking place.

#### The Process of Gentrification Experienced in the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul

Bordered by the Golden Horn in the north, the Marmara Sea in the east and south, and the

Ataturk Boulevard in the west, the study area is comprised of 33 small neighborhoods (Fig. 2). Similarities in spatial change are observed when one looks at all these neighborhoods. The urban renewal and transformation progress more rapidly in the sections nearby the touristic centers. Although the conventional workshop-type industry has undergone decentralization, the industrial production is still ongoing in certain areas. People from the low-income group are forced to migrate from the areas that are undergoing the urban renewal process due to the rise in real estate prices as result of the expansion of urban renewal. Gedikpasa, an old shoe manufacturing center in Istanbul is a good example. Gedikpasa spreads over an area within the boundaries of Mimarhayalettin, Mimarhayrettin, and Saracishak Neighbourhoods (Fig. 2). Gedipasa is home to small manufacturers and shops on the ground floors of buildings or in the office blocks on the south of the Yeniceri Avenue.

In Istanbul, the urban settlement remains dates back to 8.500 years ago. “The Historical Peninsula” with the oldest settlement remains was historically a strategic are. The settlement forms of Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman Periods are maintaining their existence above ground today besides the remains hidden underground. This study aims to reveal the changes experi-

enced in the historical peninsula and to uncover the factors influencing this change.

The process of gentrification in Istanbul started outside “the Historical Peninsula” in the 1980s. So the gentrification activities began in Ortakoy and Kuzguncuk Quarters on both the European and Anatolian sides of the Bosphorus in the 1980s. It continued in Beyoglu in the 1990s. “The Historical Peninsula” met with gentrification after 2000 (Ergun 2004: 394). Even though the process was new on “the Historical Peninsula”, it progressed rapidly as result of the declaration Istanbul as the European Capital of Culture in 2010. Hagia Sophia and Sultan Ahmet Mosques are a part of gentrification the activities taking place in the area. As one goes away from this area, it is observed that the process started around some important historical buildings on the micro-scale. The primary buildings among them are the Small Hagia Sophia Mosque, the Suleymaniye Mosque, and the New Mosque.

As Krajewski expresses, we will deal with the structural, social, functional and symbolic dimensions of gentrification (Krajewski 2006; Heineberg 2006: 20). Having started at the first stage upon the reflection on the space of the lifestyles in which cultural preferences were at the forefront, the process of gentrification results in an increase in value in the area and the occurrence of an advantageous location for investments (Sam 2010: 133).

The very short process in Eminonu when compared with the cities in Western Europe culminated in the fact that the changes experienced were in local dimensions. Therefore, the spaces whose process of gentrification has begun and the spaces of poverty where the process has not started yet are located within short distances. This also leads to the variation of differences in rent at short distances.

### **The Change in the Population Structure**

The population of “the Historical Peninsula”, which had also been expressed as the district of Eminonu as an administrative structure by 2008, had increased by 1955 but continually decreased afterwards. Due to the decrease in its population Eminonu lost its district status and became a part of, the district of Fatih in 2008.

As seen in Figure 2, the greatest population loss in between 1990-2014 took place in the neighborhoods by the Goldene Horn in the north of

“the Historical Peninsula”. These neighborhood include Mollaferani, Mercan, Yavuzsinan, Hocagiyasettin, Tahtakale, Demirbas, Hocapasa, Kemalpasa, Saridemir, Sururi, Balabanaga, Hoybar, Mimarkemalettin, Mesihpasa and Beyazit. These neighborhoods lost 80 percent to 96 percent of their population in the 24-year period. They are dominated by businesses today. The neighborhoods with the lower population losses are in, the south of “the Historical Peninsula. In spite of the population losses, these neighborhoods are areas where families from the low-income group still live. The neighborhoods with little population loss in the 1990-2014 period were in the areas where businesses were concentrated. In this period, only the Tayahatun did not lose population. The traditional commercial centers such as Eminonu (Hoybar), Sirkeci (Hocapasa), Mahmutpasa (Taya Hatun and Molla Fenari neighborhoods), Tahtakale and the Grand Bazaar (Beyazit neighborhood) still preserve their traditional architectural structures (Figs. 1 and 2). While some renewed office blocks have been converted into hotels, the process of return of the middle- and upper middle-income groups has not taken place. The process of population loss is ongoing in Eminonu (Table 1).

### **Mahmutpasa: The Area has Historically been a Business Quarter**

The early shops here were constructed by Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasa in 1462 after the conquest of Istanbul. The Grand Bazaar and the Egyptian Bazaar have been important commercial centers for 550 years.

The population of the neighborhood was 138 people in 2013. They considerably comprised those who worked as office boys or superintendents in the workplaces here. It was one of the two neighborhoods with no population loss in the period covering 1990 through 2013, for it was the same in terms of structure in 1990 as well and the functional structure of Mahmutpasa has remained unchanged since then, except for small-scale restorations (Figs. 3 and 4).

As it will be followed from the Table 1 and the Figure 2 the continuous population loss resulted in the settlement of refugees with no official record or of the people who were present in Istanbul illegally in the place of those who had gone. The decentralization of workplaces, the wearing out of the building stock and the end of

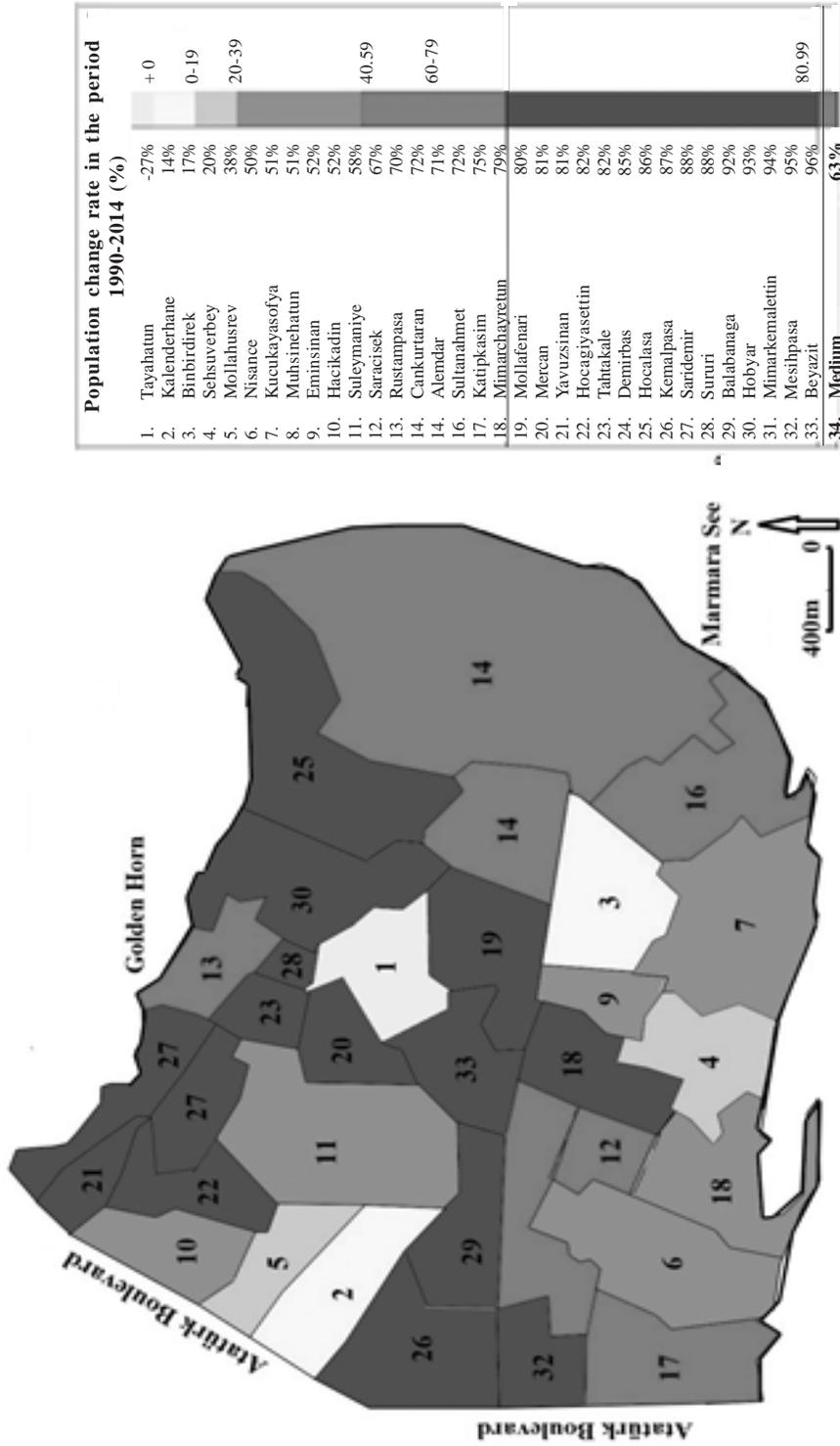


Fig. 2. The average annual population change in neighbourhood in Eminonu between 1990-2014

**Table 1: Population development in the 1990-2014 period and the population loss rate (%)**

<i>Neighbourhoods in Eminonu</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2014</i>	<i>1990-2014 ( %)</i>
Tayahatun	117	80	81	149	-27
Kalenderhane	1806	871	1399	1.558	14
Binbirdirek	2301	1.693	1745	1.900	17
Sehsuvarbey	3248	2.515	2514	2.599	20
Mollahusrev	2496	1.844	1152	1.549	38
Nisanca	11164	7.399	5764	5.607	50
Kucukayasofya	6105	4.501	3561	2.965	51
Muhsinehatun	4948	3.108	2769	2.414	51
Eminsinan	2537	1.347	1438	1.230	52
Hacikadin	965	1.478	586	461	52
Suleymaniye	1116	941	485	471	58
Saracisak	3559	1.373	1281	1.158	67
Rustempasa	123	56	75	37	70
Alemdar	828	1.432	177	241	71
Cankurtaran	3768	2.852	1288	1.069	72
Sultanahmet	3270	2.251	1183	928	72
Katipkasim	7616	3.207	2188	1.938	75
Mimarhayrettin	3231	1.31	567	679	79
Mollafenari	539	433	76	107	80
Mercan	290	154	69	55	81
Yavuz sinan	1269	1.163	198	237	81
Hocagiyasettin	5240	3.386	1251	928	82
Tahtakale	111	58	27	20	82
Demirtas	2261	1.01	388	331	85
Hocapasa	1607	1.898	113	222	86
Kemalpasa	2863	2.93	378	383	87
Saridemir	105	47	19	13	88
Sururi	272	132	40	34	88
Balabanaga	1175	1.328	46	95	92
Hobyar	820	196	41	61	93
Mimarkemalettin	4068	1.632	240	235	94
Mesihpasa	2423	1.737	79	132	95
Beyazit	1203	223	36	51	96
Total	83444	55.635	31254	29857	63

Source: Census of Turkey and ANDKS Data for TurkStat.

the neighborhood life accelerated families' going outside "the Historical Peninsula". The movement of families also led to the decrease in the population on "the Historical Peninsula". Despite the decrease in families, the rate of females in the total population increased in the 1990-2011 period, 63 percent of the population in Eminonu was male in 1990, whereas the rate decreased and became 53 percent in 2011 (Fig. 5). The 10 percent decrease in the male population in the 23-year period cannot be accounted for by the increase in the female population here but by the fact that the males who were unable to find a job depending on the decrease in workplaces and lived as singles in groups left the region.

Based on the changes in population, it seems that "the Historical Peninsula" is in the phase of gentrification periods. So it is important to look

at what is actually happening on the ground such as the change in buildings, and the change in the social structure.

### **Spatial Reflections of the Gentrification Process on the Historical Peninsula**

#### ***The Quarters Undergoing the First Phase of the Gentrification Process***

People deprived of social security in the low-income group live in the potential spaces of gentrification. Renewal and functional change occur in the buildings close to Istanbul University and the Suleymaniye Mosque in the Suleymaniye region. Cafés, restaurants, booksellers and enterprises which sell souvenirs have developed after 2000.



**Fig. 3.** Mahmutpasa yokusu. The shops are open between 9 a.m. and 7 p.m. in Mahmutpasa. The quarter becomes empty soon after the closure of the workplaces and acquires the appearance in Fig. 4.



**Fig. 4.** Mahmutpasa yokusu, after the working hours. Mahmutpasa, the historical commercial center of Istanbul particularly for the textile sector, is located in Tayahatun Neighborhood

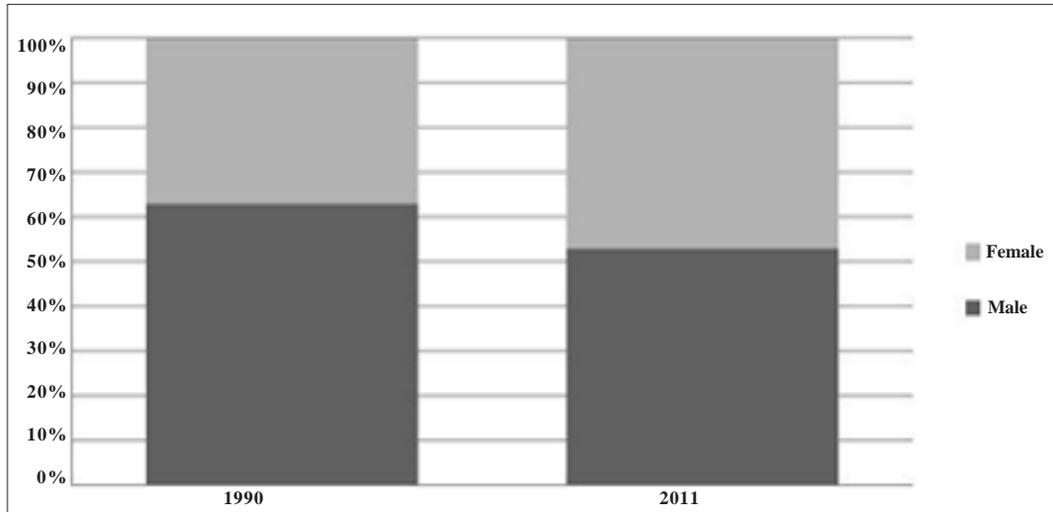


Fig. 5. The Distribution of the population in Eminonu by gender in the 1990-2011 Period (TurkStat)

### Suleymaniye

Suleymaniye, which has been declared an urban renewal area in 2005 by the local and central governments, traditionally has had the identity of a Muslim Turkish neighborhood since the Ottoman Empire (Fig. 2). The process of change in this neighborhood began as the wooden houses in area were destroyed in the fire and converted into areas for parking after 1990's (Figs. 6 and 7).

The wooden houses were declared as historical and taken under the protection of the High Council of Monuments., So the inhabitants cannot do any repairs without permission from the Council. Hence, the old houses in this quarter were abandoned by their owners, who did not want to live in them owing to the repair costs and as the repair processes were not easy. After the 1980s, those who arrived from the rural areas or students lived in these houses because they were cheap to rent. In this process, the houses became further unserviceable and the incidence of fires increased. The building sites began to be used as parking spaces as new constructions were allowed. Some 333 historical buildings were registered in the field which covered an area of 10.2 hectares when drawing up the Suleymaniye renewal project after the destruction (Bilsel and Arican 2010: 225).

Today, however, the Suleymaniye urban renewal project has been prepared on the basis of

*“the law on renovating, conserving and actively using dilapidated historical and cultural immovable assets”*<sup>1</sup> No. 5366, prepared and enacted in 2005, and the implementation of the project has been assigned to KIPTAS – a construction company of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. The participation of owners of houses or building sites during the preparation of projects is also envisaged in the law. In practice, however, the projects are carried out by the Municipalities without any local participation, which leads to disagreements in the implementation process. As a natural result of this, suits are brought (Islam 2006; Bilsel and Arican 2010; Kocabas and Gibson 2011). Another point which is as important as the bringing of suits here is the complete destruction of the original architecture of the buildings qualifying as historical works inside the building from time to time only by preserving the external facade when performing urban renewal in historical regions. This can be exemplified by the renewal activities carried out in Tarlabasi-Beyoglu and Balat-Fatih. The historical buildings in Suleymaniye, which have in some way survived up to the present have recently been used by refugees, predominantly of Syrian origin. Inhabiting these buildings, which tend to collapse, is unhealthy; furthermore, the use of buildings increases the probability of breaking out of fire. The fire to break out in these predominantly wooden buildings also threatens the historical houses, which have remained in a small number in the region.



Fig. 6. Historic houses in Suleymaniye



Fig. 7. Destroyed historic house in Suleymaniye

### *The Quarters Undergoing the Second Phase of the Gentrification Process*

It is the phase when changes in the character of enterprises and services begin. Bars, dealers in second-hand belongings, antique dealers and boutiques attract populations from the other regions. Real estate speculations are low in this period. Spatial reflections concerning this phase are available at the quarters of Laleli, Beyazit, Cemberlitas, Sultanahmet and Cankurtaran. Nevertheless, there are also differences among the quarters concerned. Laleli is an area where tourist hotels and wholesale and retail textile dealers are common as it is a free trade zone. Especially the Ordu Avenue and its close vicinity constitute an area where textile stores, shoe stores, restaurants and souvenir dealers are concentrated. When one approaches Beyazit from the Ordu Avenue, an increase in the number of stores selling souvenirs is seen. Many gastronomy enterprises are available at Beyazit Square and on the avenue descending from the square to Gedikpasa. These enterprises particularly serve the tourists who visit the Grand Bazaar and Beyazit Square and the students at Istanbul University. The enterprises are shifting to Gedikpasa depending on the rise in real estate prices in this area, which leads to an increase in real estate prices and puts pressure on the shoemakers who try to survive in Gedikpasa (Fig. 8).

### *Gedikpasa*

The historical shoe production center of Istanbul, to the organized industrial zones built around Istanbul. In spite of the migration, shoe production is ongoing in this region. Gedikpasa, whose process of gentrification has begun on the Beyazit-Cemberlitas axis, is the primary area to be gentrified by failing to resist urban renewal and undergoing change in the next decade. Its location facing the Marmara Sea, its location nearby dense spaces of tourism such as Beyazit and Sultanahmet and its large office blocks convenient for becoming hotels support our opinion. Gedikpasa is one of the areas in which investments can still be made before the wave of gentrification that converts historical city centers into an opportunity of rent.

### *The Quarters Undergoing the Third and Fourth Phases of the Gentrification Process*

*In the Third and Fourth Periods* the first gentrifiers begin to settle in the gentrified spaces.

They are people with a high income, a safe job, no children and demands for high residential standards. In this way, they have returned to the urban life and approached their workplaces at the city center. In this period, the gentrified spaces begin to be purchased and it is the mediators who carry out these procedures.

The gentrified spaces on the Historical Peninsula have particularly turned into hotels, motels, pensions, restaurants, cafés or souvenir stores owing to the potential of the region for tourism. Thus, the process of settlement of a new professional middle class in the gentrified spaces – mentioned in the Western literature and experienced in Cihangir, Beyoglu (Uysal 2006) as well as in Ortakoy and Kuzguncuk in Istanbul – is not common here. Although uncommon, there are historical wooden houses, which were not converted into commercial enterprises but used as houses after the restoration particularly at the quarters located in the southern part of “the Historical Peninsula” such as Ahirkapi and Kadirga. Some houses have been converted into commercial enterprises by changing functions, while others have

been used as houses after the restoration – although rarely – and uncared-for buildings inhabited by people from low-income groups are available within short distances (Figs. 9 and 10).

#### *The Quarters Undergoing the Fifth Phase of the Gentrification Process*

*In the fifth period*, the poor residents living in the renewed spaces were forced to migrate due to the rising living standards. The services increase and the existing trading establishments and gastronomy spaces change upon the demands by their new residents. Many old enterprises shut down. It is possible to observe the fifth period around Sultanahmet. The historical functional features in and around Cagaloglu Hill, where once upon a time there were printing houses, booksellers, publishing houses, etc. are undergoing change day by day. The numbers of hotels and street cafés are on the increase and the region is being demanded by both the periphery of Istanbul and tourists.



Fig. 8. Gedikpasa, the historical shoe production center of Istanbul

### DISCUSSION

There have been many studies about old city centers reformations after the first study on gentrification by Glass (1964). The focuses of those studies were on the replacement of proletariat by middle class. The old and outdated places in Eminonu, the historic center of Istanbul, are being restored with neoliberal politic practices. This functional change in the city center support Harvey's (2000) idea of "gentrification is an act to profit from the city center". Also, it is possible to see periodical classification (Lees 200; Hackworth and Smith 2001) in the literature. There is Sultanahmet square whose gentrification Works have finished on the one side and Suleymaniye district whose gentrification Works have just begun. Moreover, gentrification works are being done in other places than Eminonu (Akcali and Korkut 2015; Islam and Sakizlioglu 2015; Onal and Akdemir 2015; Soytemel 2015; Uysal and Kristof 2015). The significant result these studies present is that the process of gentrification draws a rebuff of the moved-out people in the city center (Islam 2010; Soytemel 2015). While districts such like Balat, Ortakoy, Cihangir where poor people resided before are being restored,

they witness population change. The closeness of Eminonu district to historical trade centers caused workplaces to settle in the gentrified places instead of people of another class. Thus, rebuffs to gentrification become less. The results based on qualitative and quantitative data is compatible with the literature with little differences at times.

### CONCLUSION

Gentrification eliminates the deprivation experienced at the historical centers by converting these places again into centers of attraction. The realization of this process is generally divided into periods in the literature. The developments pertaining to different periods are experienced at short distances in the historical center of Istanbul. The deprived spaces of Suleymaniye are on one side and the environment of Sultanahmet, where the developments in the last phase of gentrification are seen, is on the other side. On the other hand, micro-scale gentrification zones have occurred at the quarters other than these two different regions. Several more decades are needed for the completion of the process throughout the Historical Peninsula.



**Fig. 9. Saffeti Pasa Street. The Street in Hocapasa Neighborhood in the north of Sultanahmet Neighborhood. There are hotels and restaurants on this street immediately nearby Gulhane Park**



**Fig. 10.** The houses converted from houses into hotels on the south-western coast of the walls of Topkapı Palac, Sultanahmet

When the process is completed, it will be possible to speak of a complete gentrification process unique to Istanbul. This will be a gentrification based accommodation establishments and tourist facilities given that the area receives a large number of tourist every year. Here we cannot deny that area is under the threat of conversion of the historical center into an area of rent as Istanbul is an attractive place for national and global capital. This may result in the disappearance of many historical sites. Restoration of the existing historical buildings according to their original versions is costly. The investors always find a way to go around the regulations, which may result in the destruction of the rich history in the area, which is what Istanbul is.

#### NOTE

1 <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5366.pdf>

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