THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CREATIVE CLASS AND GENTRIFICATION: THE CASE OF YELDEĞİRMENİ[1]

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to explain the relationship between creative class and gentrification through the Yeldeğirmeni settlement[4] of Kadıköy district which is the center of Istanbul on the Asian side. For this purpose, the aim of the study is to reveal the past, present and future of changing process with all dynamics in Yeldeğirmeni which we define as gentrification. Therefore firstly, semi-structured interviews were conducted with different users of Yeldeğirmeni in 2016 (100 interviews) and then with various actors which are active in decision-making processes related to Yeldeğirmeni in 2018 (6 interviews). The reason for the separate interviews with different users in two different sections is to present the process objectively in all its dimensions and taking a detailed picture of the process. According to the pioneering results of the study, the beginning of the changing process coincides with the years of 2013-2014 when the last implementations of the Yeldeğirmeni Regeneration Project - even if not fully completed - started under the leadership of Kadıköy Municipality and ÇEKÜL Foundation. During these years, Yeldeğirmeni where social, cultural and physical revival took place thanks to the regeneration project has become a very attractive settlement especially for artists, students (especially foreign students) and cafes with the effect of low rent and property

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[4]Yeldeğirmeni is a settlement of Rasimpaşa neighborhood in Kadıköy district of Istanbul with a unique historical and cultural identity.

values. The settlement where the number of art workshops and cafes has increased has entered into a changing process in which different stages of gentrification are experienced very rapidly with the increase in rental and property values. In the study, different dimensions of the changing process in settlement will be discussed and the study will be conclude with the conclusion that describes the traces observed from different stages of gentrification.

Key words: Creative class, gentrification, displacement, Yeldeğirmeni.

INTRODUCTION

The earliest known history of the Yeldeğirmeni dates back to the Khalkedon Period of the first century BC (Arısoy, 2014; Atılgan 2017; Kadıkoy Municipality and CEKUL, 2011). The settlement was called Himeros in this period. It was named after the windmills built by Abdulhamid I between 1774-1789 in order to meet the needs of the people and none of them survived (Arısoy, 2014). During the reign of Sultan Selim III between 1789 and 1807 the streets began to become prominent in Yeldeğirmeni and in 1845 more shapely streets began to emerge (Atılgan 2017). The main development of the settlement was experienced by the apartment building process which started with the arrival of the Jewry to Yeldeğirmeni due to the Kuzguncuk fire after 1885 (Atılgan 2017). At the beginning of the 20th century in 1922, non-muslims went away from Yeldeğirmeni due to the large fire and in 1960 especially the Muslim population from Anatolia started to increase in the settlement (Kadıkoy Municipality and CEKUL, 2011). Yeldeğirmeni where the changes in social and physical structures began with the arrival of the Anatolian population evolved into an unsafe settlement between 1980 and 2010 because of the weakening of neighborly relations with apartment buildings, increase in density of living persons, devastating of infrastructure and increase in crime rates (Arısoy, 2014; Atılgan 2017).

Various interventions were needed to remove Yeldeğirmeni from this process in which Yeldeğirmeni in danger of losing his identity and to ensure the sustainability of the settlement. One of these interventions is the Yeldeğirmeni Regeneration Project which was implemented under the leadership of ÇEKUL and Kadıkoy Municipality in 2010 and continued until the end of 2013 even though it was not completed. With the implementations within the scope of the project Yeldeğirmeni has become a more livable and safe place where the quality of life increases. However the project which was based on point and soft interventions (Arısoy, 2014) and carried out in a historical area has an impact that should not be underestimated in the today's changing process in Yeldeğirmeni even though it has adopted various principles to prevent a possible gentrification process.

In addition to its historical and cultural identity Yeldeğirmeni where physical space and quality of life increased with the project has become a very attractive settlement initially by the artists due to the low rental and property values. Yeldeğirmeni entered a changing process in 2013-2014 triggered by the arrival of the artists and driven by certain dynamics as stated in the interviews. After that rental and property values started to increase in Yeldeğirmeni with time. Especially, the increase in the number of cafes that think they will appeal to the changing population profile (in terms of living and users) has had a positive effect on the increase of rental and property values in the settlement. In the continuation of this process which is defined as the first stage of the gentrification process Yeldeğirmeni has experienced the 2nd and 3rd stages of gentrification in a very short time.

Today Yeldeğirmeni includes painters and sculptors and artists who design original products made of glass, ceramics and leather. These artists defined by Florida (2002b) as bohemians in the creative core which is one of the subclass of the creative class in the scope of Creative Capital Theory. In the following parts of the study, firstly, various approaches to how the creative class emerges will be examined and then a literature review will be made on the impact of creative class on urban centers. Then the changing process in Yeldeğirmeni will be examined and the relationship between creative class and gentrification will be revealed within the scope of Yeldeğirmeni.

1. EMERGENCE OF THE CREATIVE CLASS

The emergence of the creative class is associated with the development of creative industries in cities during the process of urban reconstruction where the vacant places in the city centers are filled by the service sector and sub-sectors as a result of the decentralization of industrial activities from urban centers. Therefore first of all, the emergence of creative industries will be examined within the scope of urban reconstruction process. After the examination of the concentration of creative industries in urban centers within the context of urban reconstruction process, the Creative Capital Theory which inferences on the role of the creative class defined by two different groups as the super creative core and the creative professionals (Florida, 2002a) in regional economic growth will be examined within the context of the emergence of the creative class.

1.1.Emergence of Creative Industries in the Process of Urban Reconstruction

In the 1980s when an important urban transformation process began in the world, the changing mode of production caused changes in the structure of the sectors (Uzun, 2006). As a result, while the importance of the industrial sector has diminished in the city centers, the service sector has started to gain importance. Through the concentration of the service sectors which can be organized in a post-fordist flexible production organization unlike the Fordist production organization (Zhong, 2010), finance, banking, insurance, real estate, advertising and the creative industries which prioritize knowledge, technology and creativity (Sen, 2011) start to come out in urban centers. As a result, service sectors have begun to select places in the old industrial areas (Zhong, 2010) which have been reconstructed during the urban restruction process. The process of urban reconstruction is also examined in the literature under various approaches including globalization, transition from fordism to post-fordism, transition from industrial city to post-industrial city and neoliberal policies. During the reconstruction process, Enlil (Enlil, 2000) stated that firstly industrial sector reconstructed and developed countries undergoing deindustrialization suffered great losses in terms of industrial employment, secondly due to the changes in the structure of financial capital, services sector started to develop and as a result, urban economies have started to be formed by the services required by control and coordination functions, financial sector and other service sub-sectors. The factors shaping this process are described by Smith (1996) as follows,

- Suburbanization and the emergence of rent-gap,
- De-industrialization and increasing white collar employment,
- The centralization of space and the decentralization of capital,
- Decrease in profit rates and cyclical movement of capital,
- The change in consumption patterns causes demographic changes.

Since the 1990s in various policy documents, it is stated that creative industries, which are expressed by concepts such as copyright industries, content industries, artistic activities, creative business activities and media industries, were used conceptually for the first time in Australia's economic policy called Creative Nation in 1994 (Moore, 2014). In a comprehensive classification made in 2013 by the UK Department of Culture, Media and Sports the creative industries which are classified in various ways in these and similar policy documents (Table 1.1.) are categorized under the headings of books, periodicals and other publishing activities,

software publishing, cinema, video and television program activities, voice recording and music broadcasting activities, programming and publishing activities, computer programming activities, computer consulting activities, public relations and communication activities, architectural activities, advertising, custom design activities, photographic activities, translation and interpretation activities, cultural education and lastly creative arts and entertainment activities.

Table 1.1 Classification of Creative Industries (DCMS, 2013).

Books, periodicals and other publishing activities
- Book publishing *- Publication of concordance lists* *- Newspaper publishing* *- Publishing of journals and periodicals* *-Other publishing activities*
Software publishing
-Computer game publishing *- Publishing of other software*
Cinema, video and television program activities
- Cinema, video and television program production activities *- Cinema, video and television program post production activities* *- Cinema, video and television program distribution activities* *-Movie film screening activities*
Voice recording and music broadcasting activities
Programming and publishing activities
-Radio broadcasting *-Television program broadcasting*
-Computer programming activities
Computer consultancy activities
Public relations and communication activities
Architectural activities
Advertising
-Advertising agencies *-Media presentation*
Specialized design activities
Photographic activities
Translation and interpretation activities
Cultural education
Creative arts and entertainment activities
-Performing arts *- Performing arts support activities* *-Artistic creation* *- Operation of art institutions*

1.2. Theoretical Background to the Emergence of the Creative Class: Creative Capital Theory

Florida (2003) who develops the Creative Capital Theory by taking the notions of innovation, invention and creative destructiveness suggested by Schumpeter (1926) and Human Capital Theory (Becker, 1964, 1993) rooted in Development Economics and explains regional growth through people with high educational levels, argued that the creative class defined by two different groups is a driving factor in regional economic growth. Florida (2007), who calls the present age as a creative era, has stated that creativity is also a kind of capital in economic terms and focused on human ability (a certain type) to create new ideas, technologies and new cultural forms. However, Florida has argued that its theory differs from the Human Capital Theory by 3 points which are,

- Creative capital essentially defines a certain type of human capital (creative class).
- Unlike the Human Capital Theory, the Creative Capital Theory explains the factors that influence the concentration of human capital (especially creative people) in a region through their choice of location.
- According to the Human Capital Theory, while people follow the business, in Creative Capital Theory business follows people who are creative (Florida, 2003).

As a result, in the Creative Capital Theory, regional growth is explained by the share of products or services produced by a certain type of human capital in the creation of value added. While Human Capital Theory, which focuses on the contribution of human to economic growth, sees the concentration of human capital in a region as a blessing granted to it (Florida, 2003), Creative Capital Theory explains the underlying reasons for the creative class's choice of location based on the characteristics or opportunities it offers. In addition, according to the Creative Capital Theory, business now goes to regions that are attracting or have the potential to attract creative capital. So It is therefore in a position to follow capital (the creative class).

Florida also calls his theory 3T Theory based on components of economic development which are technology, talent and tolerance. While Florida (2003) describes technology as a function of innovation and high-tech concentration, he describes talent as individuals with undergraduate and higher levels of education and explains tolerance through the diversity factor associated with ethnic diversity or being exposed to different lifestyles. Florida identified the talent component as the high level of human capital and highlighted the importance of talent in attracting advanced sectors and managing high levels of regional income (Florida, 2002a).

Table 1.2 Two different groups defined within the Creative Class (Florida, 2003).

SUPER CREATIVE CORE	• Scientists • Engineers • Academics • Architects
	Bohemians • Authors / Editors • Poets • Painters • Sculptors • Actors • Directors • Performance Artists • Designers
CREATIVE PROFESSIONALS	• Persons working in knowledge-based professions and advanced technology sectors • Persons working in business management, financial services, legal and health services

Florida has defined the creative class under the talent component through different occupational groups including super creative core and creative professionals (Table 1.2). While the group defined as the super creative core includes scientists, engineers, academics, architects and writers, poets, painters, sculptors, actors, directors, performance artists and designers which are defined as bohemian, the group defined as creative professionals includes people working in knowledge-based professions and high-tech sectors, and people working in business management, financial services, law and health services (Table 1.2). People in Florida's super-creative core class are defined by their talents, while creative professionals are identified by their professions. Florida (2002b) stated that the presence of writers, poets, painters, sculptors, actors, directors, performance artists and designers in a region attracted other types of talent and high-tech sectors. However, Florida and Gates (2001) reported that regions with high tolerance for different sexual identities are more successful in attracting bohemian. Finally,

Juhnke [35] stated that although bohemians could be less integrated economically, their presence is important in attracting others identified within the creative class.

2. CREATIVE CLASS AND THEIR EFFECTS TO THE CITY

In different studies in the literature, it has been observed that the creative class is defined on the basis of economic capital levels, their capabilities and their impact on the city which are gentrification and displacement. Researchers examining the impact of the creative class on the city and city centers have used different concepts to describe this class or the people involved in it. Ley (1996) emphasized that although the cultural capital of the artists is high, their economic capital is low. Similarly, Markusen and Schrock (2006) stated that artists generally do not have a high income level and added that living in poverty might be a subject of choice for them.

Apart from definitions based on economic capital or cultural capital, Lloyd (2002) described the creative class as individuals with a high level of education and non-universal abilities. This class, which has a high education level (undergraduate and higher) constitutes a group in which different demographic characteristics are observed in the society. Regarding this, Uzun (2012) stated that the persons who form the group in general are young and single people between the ages of 25-35 or families with one child. Within the scope of the mentioned features, people who prefer to marry in the later years and who have double income and fewer children cause different demands for entertainment and life in the city (Ergun, 2006) thus triggering the gentrification process. Fasche (2006), on the other hand, has identified creative people through the connections they have made with the markets where cultural products are produced and consumed, either through the skills they possess or the art or professions they perform. Finally, Zukin (1991), unlike others, defined creative people in terms of their impact on the city and emphasized their influence on the gentrification process by changing or transforming the symbolic meaning and spatial habits of their destination.

The creative class is investigated in association with the creation of a new neighborhood atmosphere defined as neo-bohemian on a local scale, the number and quality of the neighborhood equipment and services, the transformation of the demographic structure of the neighborhood and the impact of processes on the quality of the physical space. Because the rent and property values that increase with the above mentioned processes in a place are considered as a triggering factor for the place to enter the gentrification process. For example, Cameron

and Coaffe (2005) stated that the colonial structure created by the artists in the places where they came together with art spaces and art institutions is very effective in the realization of this process. However, the quality of the physical space and social facilities increases while the rental and property values in the area increase through the regeneration or renewal projects carried out by various actors especially local authorities, triggered by the arrival of artists. With the new arrivals, both the rental and property values as well as the quality of life and physical space increase, thus the process where the area is valued becomes the first stage of gentrification. The stage in which the newly arrived class led to the displacement of older and lower-income residents of the neighborhood points to the second type of gentrification and the first type of displacement. The first type of displacement is defined as direct displacement (Marcuse, 1985), which refers to a reluctant migration process.

Finally, Booyens (2012) described the process as the second type of displacement and third type of gentrification which includes the displacement of middle-income residents or artists by the high-income class as a result of the further increase in rental and property values and the transformation of the space into a luxurious space. The third stage of gentrification was expressed by Smith (2002) as the widespread gentrification and the factors influencing the dissemination of gentrification are listed as follows,

- The transformed role of the state,
- The effect of global capital,
- Changing levels of political opposition,
- Geographical expansion,
- Sectoral dissemination of gentrification.

In the third stage of gentrification, the second type of displacement, which is a result of the decrease in affordable housing supply due to the increase in rent and property values, is defined as exclusive displacement (Marcuse, 1985). The displacement of the artists, who are considered to be the pioneers of gentrification, causes a similar process to be experienced again elsewhere. Regarding this, Shaw (2008) stated that in the third stage of gentrification, artists or middle class were forced to find accommodation elsewhere and generally moved towards neighborhoods where the gentrification process would begin again with their arrival. Kennedy and Leonard (2001) noted that in the third stage of gentrification, which they define as the furher level of gentrification, a process of change which is mentioned below takes place,

- Transition from tenancy to ownership,
- Increased property values for property owners and rental values for tenants,
- Voluntary-involuntary relocation of tenants, landlords or local businesses (employees),
- Decrease in the density of people with low incomes,
- Increasing number of households and artists with high income levels and increasing the equipment and services demanded by these people,
- Change in the use of the street and increase in the number of new / different commercial activities (entertainment venues, galleries, cafes),
- The change of community leadership and the institutional reflection of this situation,
- Increased conflict between old and new living,
- A new value is assigned to the field by outsiders.

3. EXAMINATION OF YELDIRMENI ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CREATIVE CLASS AND GENTRIFICATION

3.1.Analysis for the Study Area

Yeldeğirmeni, which is a very valuable and attractive settlement in terms of different functions/users due to its location and strong transportation connections, is located within the borders of Kadıköy district on the Asian side of Istanbul. Yeldeğirmeni is located in an easily accessible area for some functions like education, health, entertainment, recreation due to its location and proximity to the center of Kadıköy. Yeldegirmeni is connected to the Halitaga Street and then isconnected to the Sogutlucesme axis, which is a service function intensive axis that goes to the center of Kadıköy, through Karakolhane Street which is main commercial axis of Yeldegirmeni. Therefore, the connection of the settlement with the center is strong and the access distance to the center is short.

Yeldegirmeni establishes strong connections with both its immediate surroundings and the European side via Rıhtım axis, Marmaray and Anadoluray (Figure 3.1). The settlement is located in an area accessible to different modes of transport (Figure 3.1). The important road connections between Yeldeğirmeni and its environment are Rıhtım Street in the west, Taskopru Street in the east and Orgeneral Sahap Gurler Street in the north.

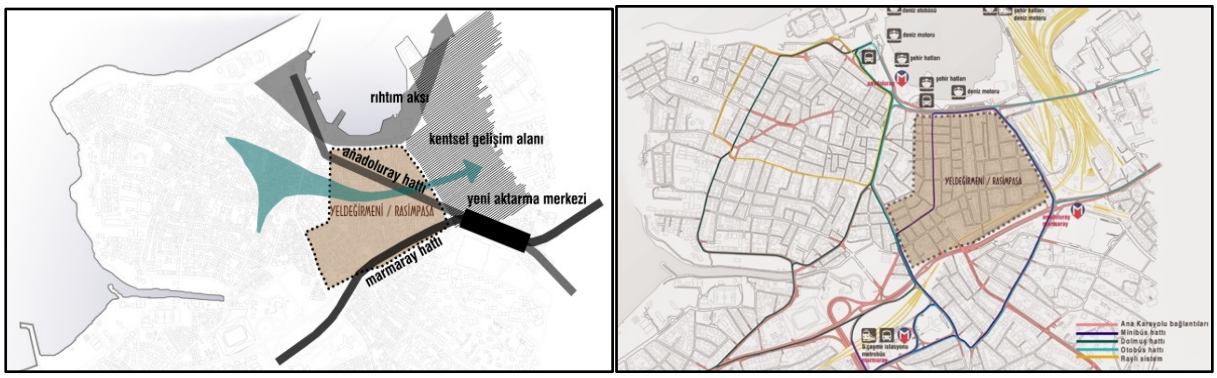


Figure 3.1: Yeldegirmeni main transportation axes and different modes of transportation within the settlement (Url-1)

The settlement has a population of 14. 276 according to 2017 data of Turkey Statistical Institute Address Based Population Registration System. When the demographic indicators other than the population size are examined, it is seen that the middle age group lives mostly in the settlement. Then, young and old population lives respectively in Yeldegirmeni. The inhabitants were mostly single people (6,558) in terms of marital status. When the educational level of the population living in Yeldegirmeni is examined, it is seen that people (53.09%) who have higher education level live in the settlement. As a result, Yeldegirmeni has a settlement character in which the population increased from 2007 to 2017 and with higher education level, single and middle age population demographically.

The economic activity in the settlement is divided into two as small scale manufacturing and service. Printing houses (9%), workshops producing glass/mirrors and frames, iron-joinery workshops (11%), advertising sign manufacturing workshops (39%), flooring workshops (9%) and workshops involved ironmongery-construction-marble-electrical works are among the small manufacturing workshops that make up 38% of the settlement production units. The service sector in Yeldegirmeni consists of cafe operators, artisans, tourism facilities (hotels-motels) and other businesses (office) as well as creative industries and social-cultural services. Creative industries include art workshops and software offices and social-cultural services include education and health (Mammography and Women's Health Center, Prof. Dr. Korkmaz Altug Health Polyclinic), art center (Yeldegirmeni Sanat) and social service centers (Rasimpasa Social Service Center/Ahmet Haşim House and Yeldegirmeni Social Service Center, Mevhibe İnönü Kindergarten).

The numerous cafes in the settlement are concentrated on the Karakolhane Street (central-commercial axis) as well as the parts of Uzun Hafiz, Duatepe and Iskele Street close to

Karakolhane Street and Taslıbayır Street parallel to this axis. Craftsmen shops are located in Karakolhane Street and in areas where residential function is concentrated. Atılgan (2017) stated that the craftsmen shops were concentrated on Karakolhane Street between 1900 and 1950. Since then, the craftsmen of Yeldegirmeni, which have not been major traders, have started to establish strong relations with the neighborhood (Akerman, 2009).

3.2.Analysis of Change

3.2.1. Methodology

In this section the process of change in the Yeldegirmeni will be explained in the context of the results obtained from in-depth interviews with different groups in two different sections (2016 and 2018). For this purpose, in 2016, a total of 100 interviews were conducted with artists (15), households (30), craftsmen (15), cafe operators (18), tourism facility operators (10) and small manufacturing workshops (5), real estate agent (7) in the scope of airbnb in order to obtain information about short term rentals. However, all user groups interviewed were asked questions to learn their opinions about airbnb. Interviews were conducted with different user groups because the change was desired to be heard separately from the eyes of different users. In 2018, in-depth interviews were conducted with the organizations listed below that play an active role in the implementation and decision-making processes at Yeldeğirmeni, apart from those living and working,

1. Kadıköy Municipality Plan and Project Directorate,
2. Rasimpasa Neighborhood Demarch,
3. Design Workshop Kadıkoy (Independent Company),
4. Kadıkoy Municipality City Council,
5. Chamber of Architects (Istanbul Büyükkent Branch Office)
6. Yeldegirmeni Social Service Center

3.2.2. Findings: 2016 Section

Before listening to the changing process in Yeldegirmeni from different user groups, it is useful to explain the common result / story that was extracted from the interviews. In the beginning, almost all of the interviewed users pointed out the years 2013-2014 (the answer is 2-3 years ago compared to 2016) as the years when the number of art workshops and cafes started to increase in Yeldegirmeni. Users stated that rental and property values in the area started to increase in the same years.

If the results of the interviews are supported by the data given in Table 3.1, it is seen that the rental prices in Yeldegirmeni have been positive for the last 4, 3 and 2 years. When the change of the rental housing prices from the beginning of 2014 to other years is examined (Table 3.1), it is seen that Yeldegirmeni is one of the remarkable settlements in Kadıkoy district in terms of the increase rates.

Table 3.1: Change Rates of Prices for Rental Housing in Neighborhoods of Kadıköy by Years (Url-2).

	CHANGE RATES OF M2 PRICE FOR RENT (%)				M2 PRICE FOR RENT (TL) (according to October of each year)				
	1 year change	2 year change	3 year change	4 year change	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Rasimpaşa Neighborhood /Yeldeğirmeni	-2,50%	5,34%	6,00%	38,97%	16	22	22	24	23
19 Mayıs Neighborhood	4,19%	3,22%	-0,64%	27,74%	17	21	21	20	21
Acıbadem Neighborhood	9,69%	3,79%	5,51%	10,76%	20	21	21	20	22
Bostancı Neighborhood	-2,89%	2,27%	-12,74%	12,20%	17	22	20	20	19
Caddebostan Neighborhood	-1,09%	0,92%	-3,28%	6,39%	27	30	28	29	29
Caferağa Neighborhood	-3,07%	0,26%	1,78%	11,34%	23	25	25	26	25
Dumlupınar Neighborhood	0,04%	7,69%	43,56%	53,79%	10	11	15	16	16
Eğitim Neighborhood	-4,28%	3,70%	25,59%	60,03%	11	14	18	19	18
Erenköy Neighborhood	0,61%	2,46%	-4,17%	2,80%	23	25	23	24	24
Fenerbahçe Neighborhood	0,14%	2,07%	-2,52%	5,39%	28	30	29	29	29
Feneryolu Neighborhood	0,04%	3,82%	3,76%	22,64%	19	22	22	23	23
Fikirtepe Neighborhood	-9,34%	6,12%	49,92%	69,01%	8	9	13	15	14
Göztepe Neighborhood	0,18%	2,78%	1,02%	11,92%	22	24	24	24	24
Hasanpaşa Neighborhood	5,25%	1,84%	11,20%	52,09%	13	18	20	19	20
Koşuyolu Neighborhood	1,13%	-5,94%	2,84%	24,21%	15	19	21	19	19
Kozyatağı Neighborhood	-2,60%	3,26%	-4,66%	22,85%	17	22	20	22	21
Merdivenköy Neighborhood	1,29%	6,39%	3,57%	33,08%	14	19	18	19	19
Osmanağa Neighborhood	2,19%	-2,33%	-0,30%	8,56%	22	24	24	23	23
Sahrayı Cedit Neighborhood	5,20%	6,59%	1,62%	17,68%	17	20	19	19	20
Suadiye Neighborhood	1,49%	3,61%	-9,80%	1,07%	26	29	25	26	26
Zühtüpaşa Neighborhood	-0,72%	1,96%	1,99%	40,77%	17	23	23	24	24
Legend:				increase					
				decrease					

Particularly, the increase rate from 2014[5] to 2015 comes second after the increase rate in Hasanpaşa Neighborhood in Kadıköy district (Table 3.1). The neighborhoods with the highest rate of increase in rental prices between these years were the Hasanpaşa neighborhood and then the Rasimpaşa/Yeldeğirmeni neighborhood. As stated by the users, the location of the settlement close to Kadikoy city center, strong transportation connections with its close and distant surroundings, major transformation projects around it, the neighborhood culture and historical building stock, the idea of local administration on culture-art axis and the initial The lower rent values of Yeldeğirmeni make it a point of attraction for artists and cafes. With these factors, Yeldeğirmeni has been the focus of change in a sense.

At the beginning, the artists who preferred Yeldeğirmeni because of the low rents compared to other places in Kadıköy and who had middle income in general started to open their workshops on the ground floors of the buildings. Although the years in which the art workshops were opened were based on the years before 2013-2014, they started to increase in the field in 2013-2014. The interviewed artists generally stated that they came from Tophane and Cihangir to Yeldeğirmeni in the years mentioned above. Some of them stated that they were relocated in Yeldeğirmeni due to various reasons which are rent increases or lack of horizontal area size of the workshop because of the floor area coefficient values in Yeldeğirmeni. The interviewed artists are the tenants of the workshops and the average rental value of the workshops is between 1500-2000 TL. Among the interviewees, there are also artists who can give a maximum rent of 2500 TL. Some of them give less than 1000 TL rents by agreement with the owners. In addition, some of the interviewed artists use their workshops as both a work and accommodation space. In general, middle-income artists stated that they could not cope with the increasing rents and threatened to leave their workshops. As stated by the artists, there are cafes that can handle high rents.

The artists who cannot meet the high rent values either close their workshops or they start to be positioned with a different number of other artists who operate in similar fields of art in the same workshop. At the same time, most of the interviewed artists provide training in their workshops in order to earn more income and pay rent. In general, the artists stated that they

[5] 2014 is determined as one of the years when rental values started to increase as a result of the interwievs.

provide education to foreign students who study fine arts even though they have decreased in number due to the increasing rents.

Due to the increased rental and property values, owners who wanted to earn more rent preferred to rent their units to cafes in particular. In many places the opening of new cafes has caused artists to leave their units. Some property owners have moved to cheaper places by selling their property and considered the difference in value as a gain. Households interviewed also emphasized the following processes,

- Neighborhood relations in Yeldeğirmeni have come to an end.
- The rate of unfamiliar people has increased.
- User and living segment of the field changed due to cafes and artists.

The households also stated that they do not want the airbnb units that have been increasing recently and do not want to be present in the area because they think they are not suitable for the culture of the place where they live. Finally, Yeldeğirmeni tradesman[6], who states that he has strong ties with households, students and artists, stated that they could not compete with cafes in general and that cafes were opened instead of shops that were closed in some places.

3.2.3. Findings: 2018 Section

According to the results of the interviews, the changing process initiated in 2013-2014 at Yeldeğirmeni, triggered by both interventions within the field and external factors, points to a process in which winners and losers are determined. In this process, Yeldeğirmeni Regeneration Project, which started in 2010 and where the last applications were made in 2013, comes to the fore. According to the interviewees, the impact of the project on the changing process lagged behind the external factors and the aims, targets and strategies of project were designed to prevent a possible gentrification process in Yeldeğirmeni.

On the other hand, the Gezi Resistance which started in Yeldeğirmeni in 2013-2014 and the Gezi Spirit formed was one of the influential factors in this process. In the process, factors related to the features of Yeldeğirmeni are central location of the settlement, strong transportation connections, historical building stock and low rent values compared to other places in Kadıköy and the external factors are the opening of Marmaray and the opening of the

[6] The general characteristics of the tradesmen interviewed are that they have high school and lower education level and they are 36 years old and over.

Anatolian Ray metro line, major transformation projects on the E-5 highway and the Haydarpaşa Port Project.

Yeldeğirmeni, which has become a center of attraction due to the above mentioned factors, has started to increase the student population due to the low rental values in the beginning years. The majority of these students are foreign students. The number of artist workshops in the settlement started to increase. Thus, the empty units began to fill quickly. The presence of the artist and student population has triggered the opening and increasing number of cafes in Yeldeğirmeni since 2013-2014. The changing demographic structure / population profile of the settlement and the increase in the number of art workshops and cafes led to an increase in rental and property values in the area. Okan Allüşoğlu, the demarch of Rasimpaşa / Yeldeğirmeni stated his observations about the increase in rents as follows,

"Before the rents started to increase, the rent values required by the owners for the approximately 10 m2 stores here were between 300-500 TL. And most of these stores were empty then. However now, at least 1500-2000 TL rent is demanded for stores filled by artists or cafes."

The increase in the number of art workshops resulted in the closure of the craft workshops and the displacement of the artisans. In addition, with the increasing number of workshops, galleries were opened in the area. The artists in these workshops are mostly students who are still studying fine arts.

Increasing number of cafes started to replace artisan shops[7] which were formerly dominant users along Karakolhane Street and could not cover the increased rent. The Chamber of Architects and Kadikoy City Council President Saltuk Yüceer shared the impression he had obtained regarding the displacement of artisans as follows,

"The owners began to rent their units to anyone who gave them more rent. The rent of a cafe cannot be the same as the rent of a stationery. So artisans started to close the their shops."

As a result, the sense of ownership of the area decreased due to new users coming from outside Yeldeğirmeni. This is because the artists who came to Yeldeğirmeni were the ones who were displaced from places such as Cihangir, Tophane and Çukurcuma. Most of the cafe operators that started to increase in the area are not from here. Over time, the noise from the cafes and the occupation of the pavement began to disturb households, especially in dense housing.

[7] This is referred to as commercial gentrification in the literature.

Sociologist Duygu Kahraman, who works at Yeldeğirmeni Social Service Center, expressed the reaction of the households to cafes as follows,

"Especially the noise from the cafes that use the back gardens disturb the households. There are also art workshops that use their back gardens as cafes. In addition, alcohol consumption in front of the apartment on the street is disturbing households. Households are concerned about security in this regard."

Finally, TAK co-founder Ali Faruk Göksu described the process at Yeldeğirmeni as a process in favor of newcomers lost by the existing residents.

4. CONCLUSION

The process triggered by the increase in rental and property values in Yeldeğirmeni points to the first stage of gentrification. In continued, the process, which was defined as the second stage of gentrification by the displacement of the existing working and living groups by the new arrivals and the involuntary displacement, has started to take place in Yeldeğirmeni. At this stage, the artisans, the established elements of the neighborhood culture and life, were displaced by the artists and the tenant households were displaced by the student groups. [8]

In the third stage of gentrification, middle-income artists started to be displaced by cafes that increased in number and could meet the rents demanded by property owners. As a result of this, cafes were opened in place of the closed workshops and some artists started to come together in the same workshop in order to cover the increased rent. However, there is a process for cafes in which the small entrepreneur[9] handed over the cage to the larger entrepreneur[10].

The above are the most prominent traces observed in the 3rd stage of gentrification. One of the less obvious traces of this stage is the fact that high-income artists started to own property in Yeldeğirmeni, which was recently discovered by the TV series and the advertising sector. In the case of the ownership, the effective opinion is that the area will be evaluated later is dominant. In addition, the artists who own the property do not currently live in Yeldeğirmeni. Another less prominent sign in the third phase of gentrification is the opening of workshop cafe

[8] This situation is expressed in the literature as studentification.

[9] Young, newly graduated, has low initial capital.

[10] Not from around here and the area never met, has high capital.

or workshop-cafe-co-working space in Yeldeğirmeni. It is not yet discovered whether these are a new type of cafes or art workshops.

Yeldeğirmeni has undergone a rapid process of change in the course of 5 years in which the foregoing is concerned and driven by the free market mechanism. Today Yeldeğirmeni is in danger of loss of neighborhood life due to displacements. In addition, the displaced artists in the 3rd stage of gentrification[11] are expected to initiate a new wave of gentrification wherever they go[12] and various actors must undertake joint and separate tasks to intervene in the process in Yeldeğirmeni. The most important of these is the active participation of all segments of the society in the process to be realized and solution-oriented. Bahsedilen katılımın sağlanmasında TAK gibi kuruluşların buluşturan bir platform görevi görmesi ile yerel yönetimin süreci organize eden bir mekanizma görevi görmesi önemlidir. In order to prevent further displacement, activities that bring together households and artists or artists and craftsmen should be organized. In this process, the interaction of the artists with Yeldeğirmeni residents, artisans and small manufacturing workshops is very important. In order to take a more active part in the decision-making process, the artists need to create an environment of reconciliation among themselves and take initiatives for Yeldeğirmeni when necessary. Finally, in order to prevent displacement and thus to protect the assets of the critical groups that are the established elements of the Yeldeğirmeni culture, the local government's restrictions on various uses in different regions of the settlement and its interventions on the market will become important for Yeldeğirmeni.

[11] Exclusive displacement.

[12] As stated in the interviews: Örnek Neighborhood in Ataşehir district where rent values are lower.

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