

The social space of gentrification:
An exploratory analysis of neighbourhood belonging
and social distance with
Multiple Correspondence Analysis

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Motivations to use a different method/theory in gentrification research

- **First Motivation:** Mainstream gentrification research largely analysed the experiences of middle class gentrifiers and neglected the experiences of non-gentrifying groups
- **Second Motivation:** Most accounts of gentrification research use class as an occupational or an income definition
- **Third Motivation:** Interactions, inclusionary or exclusionary practices or possible conflicts among different groups were ignored

What are the new methods/theories?

Belonging/Social Borders Research

- The spatial strategies of different groups (spatialization of class)
- How inclusion and exclusion are constructed through the social practices, attitudes or values?
- How people choose certain places to live, how they develop sense of place and belonging and how is this linked to boundaries between groups?
- Belonging is not fixed, border making processes

Bridge (1994, 1995); Butler (2002, 2003); Butler and Robson (2003); Southerton (2002); Savage (2008; 2010); Savage et. al. (2005); Bryson 1996, Lamont and Molnar 2002; Mills (2007)

Multiple Correspondence Analysis

- Recently became popular through the work of Bourdieu, cultural taste and participation
- Explorative features
- Relationship between complex categorical variables
- The link between objective structures and subjective choices
- Position takings of different groups against each other, distribution of individual attitudes
- How to link quant. and qual. data

Field Research Area

- Golden Horn Neighbourhoods of Istanbul
- Until 1950s mainly populated by Greek Orthodox, Jewish and Armenian population
- Main Industrial Area of Istanbul (1950-1983)
- Deindustrialisation (1983-1990)
 - Massive demolitions on coastal areas and displacement
- Different migration movements
 - (1945-50) Labour migration mainly from Black Sea
 - (1990-2000) Forced Kurdish Migration

Restoration Projects in Halic

(1997-2008) by UNESCO/ EU Commission

2010 European Capital of Culture

- Strategic Planning and prestige projects
- Open air museum of the city
- Tourism as a main desired sector

Data Collection

50 life history interviews

200 household survey (100 on each side, North and South)

Explore different household types and wealth/income groups

- Residential processes
- Neighbourhood-based social networks
- Friendship and solidarity patterns
- Attitudes towards the neighbourhood and the city
- Political views
- Leisure activities
- Trust and co-operation





SAMET
UFUK
CENGİZ

The Sample

- The overall results encompass a population of 806 people living in 200 households with 49% (392) males and 51% (414) females.
- In both neighbourhoods,
 - respondents were mainly from the 30–60 age group
 - primary school graduates (48% in Haskoy and 61% in FBA) constitute the majority of the sample.
- 31% of the 806 people were working during the time the survey was conducted.
- In both neighbourhoods the majority of the population lacks any type of social security—75% (295 people) in Haskoy and 78% (320 people) in FBA
- There were more retired workers in Haskoy (22%) compared to FBA (8%).
- Haskoy neighbourhood has more high school graduates.
- Haskoy: 14% craft related, 12% retired, 14% plant machine operators
- FBA: there were less people working in craft-related jobs (10%). The second and third most common occupational groups were service and sales workers (6%) and people working in elementary occupations (5%)

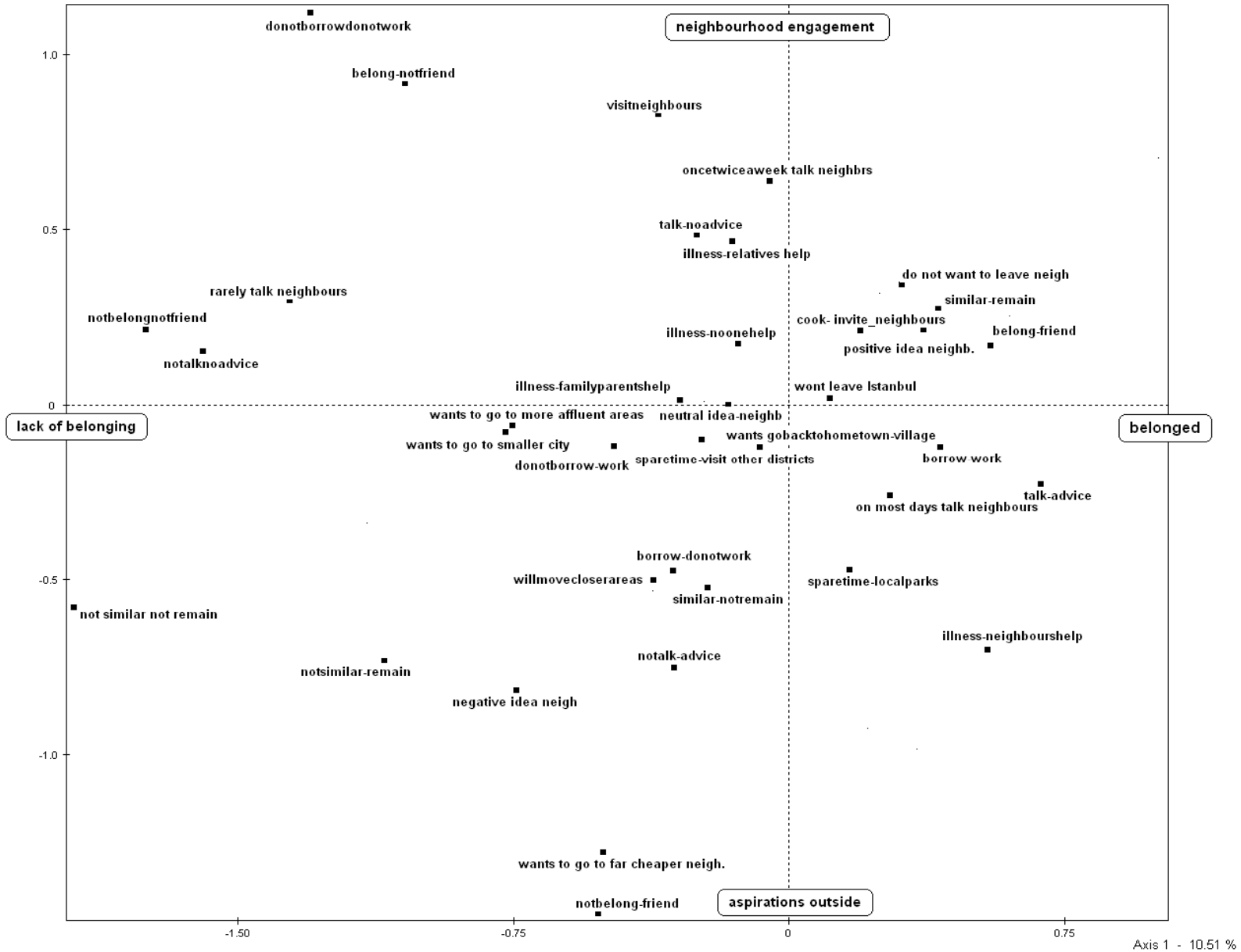
Active Variables

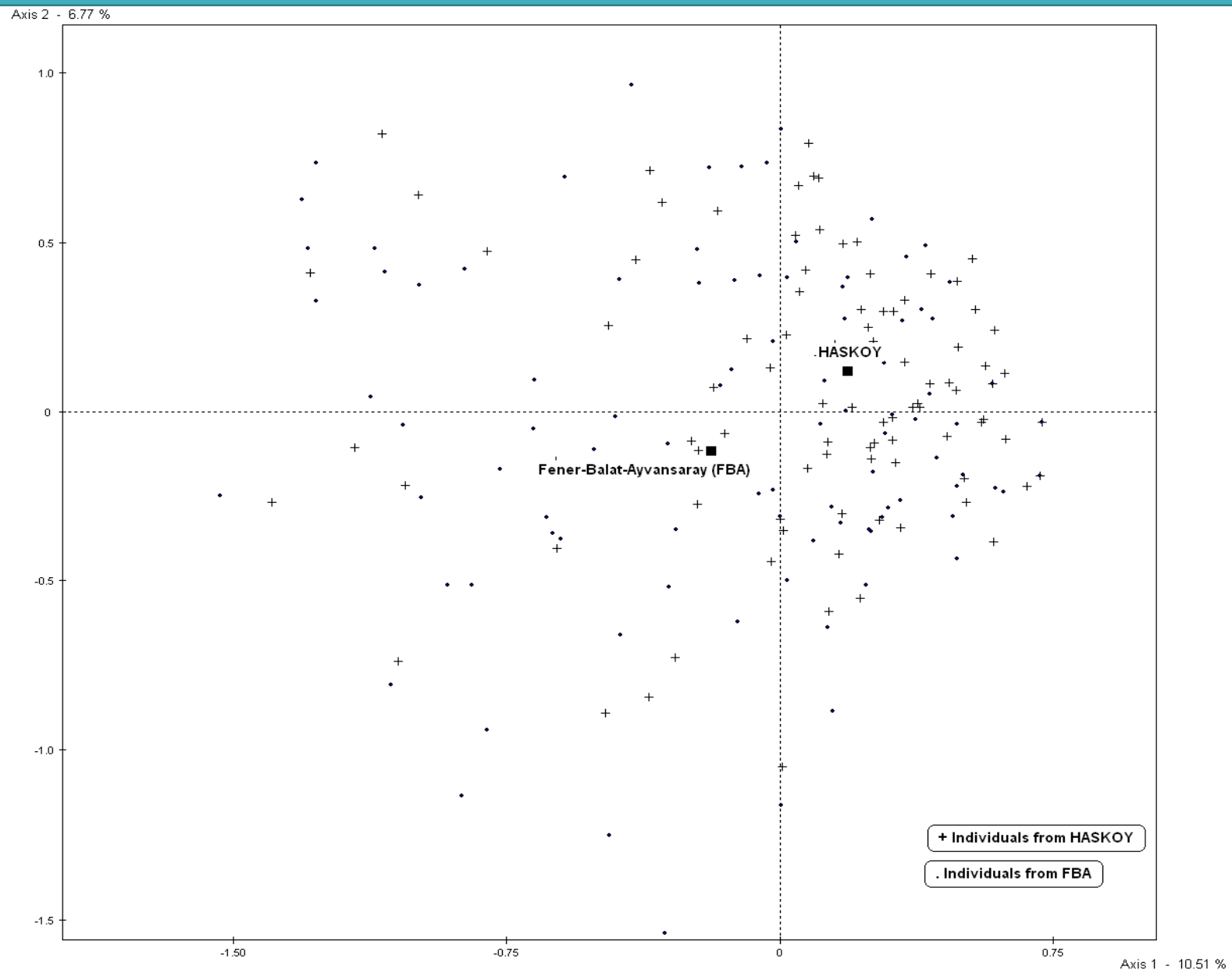
- (1.) if they feel that they belong to their neighbourhood
- (2.) if friendship and associations with other people in the neighbourhood mean a lot to them
- (3.) if they can go to someone in the neighbourhood when they need advice about something;
- (4.) if they borrow things and exchange favours with their neighbours
- (5.) if they are willing to work together with neighbours on projects to improve the neighbourhood;
- (6.) if they plan to remain in the neighbourhood for a couple of years or more;
- (7.) if they think of themselves as similar to the people who live in their neighbourhood
- (8.) if they regularly stop and talk to people in their neighbourhood.

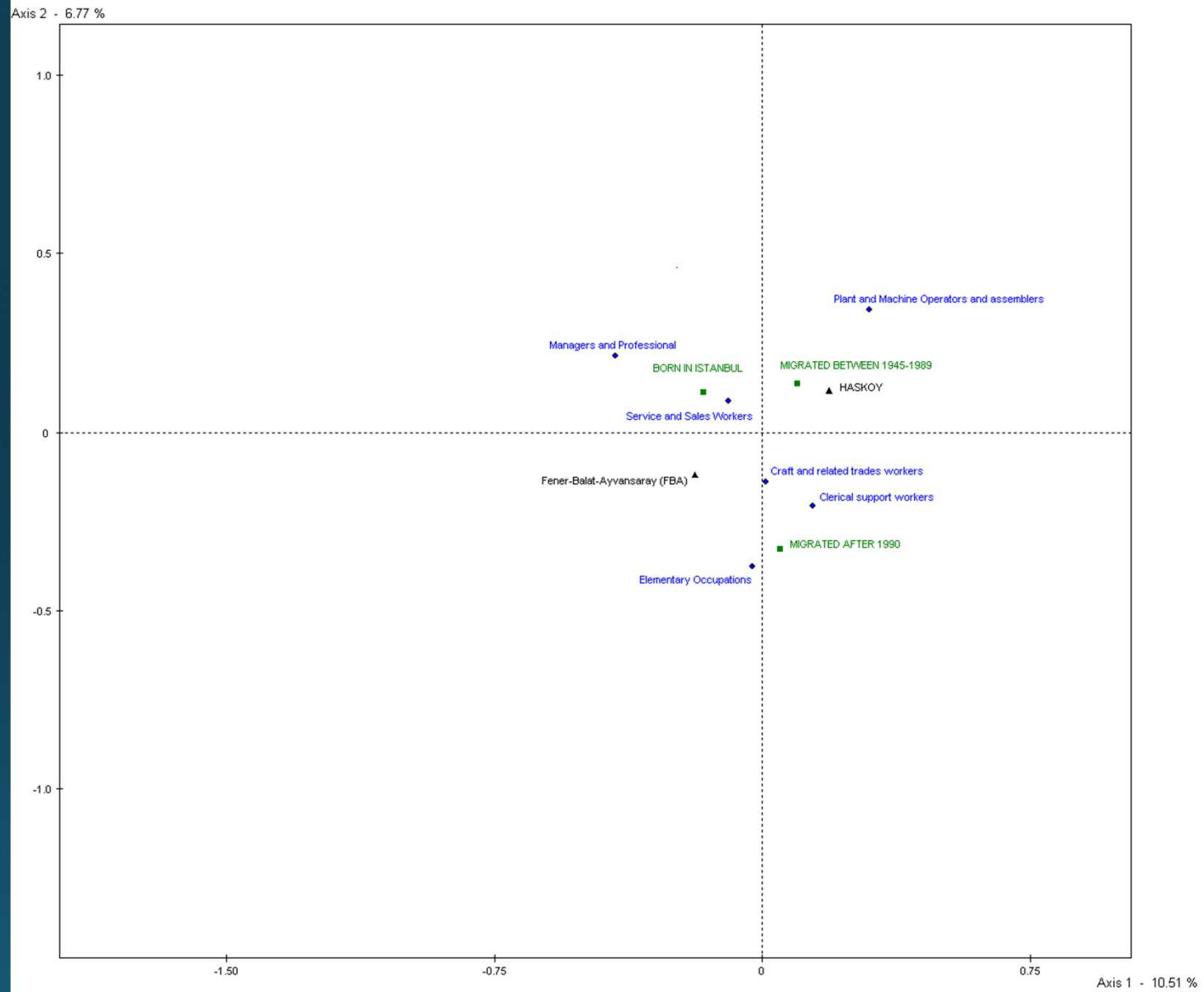
Supplementary Variables

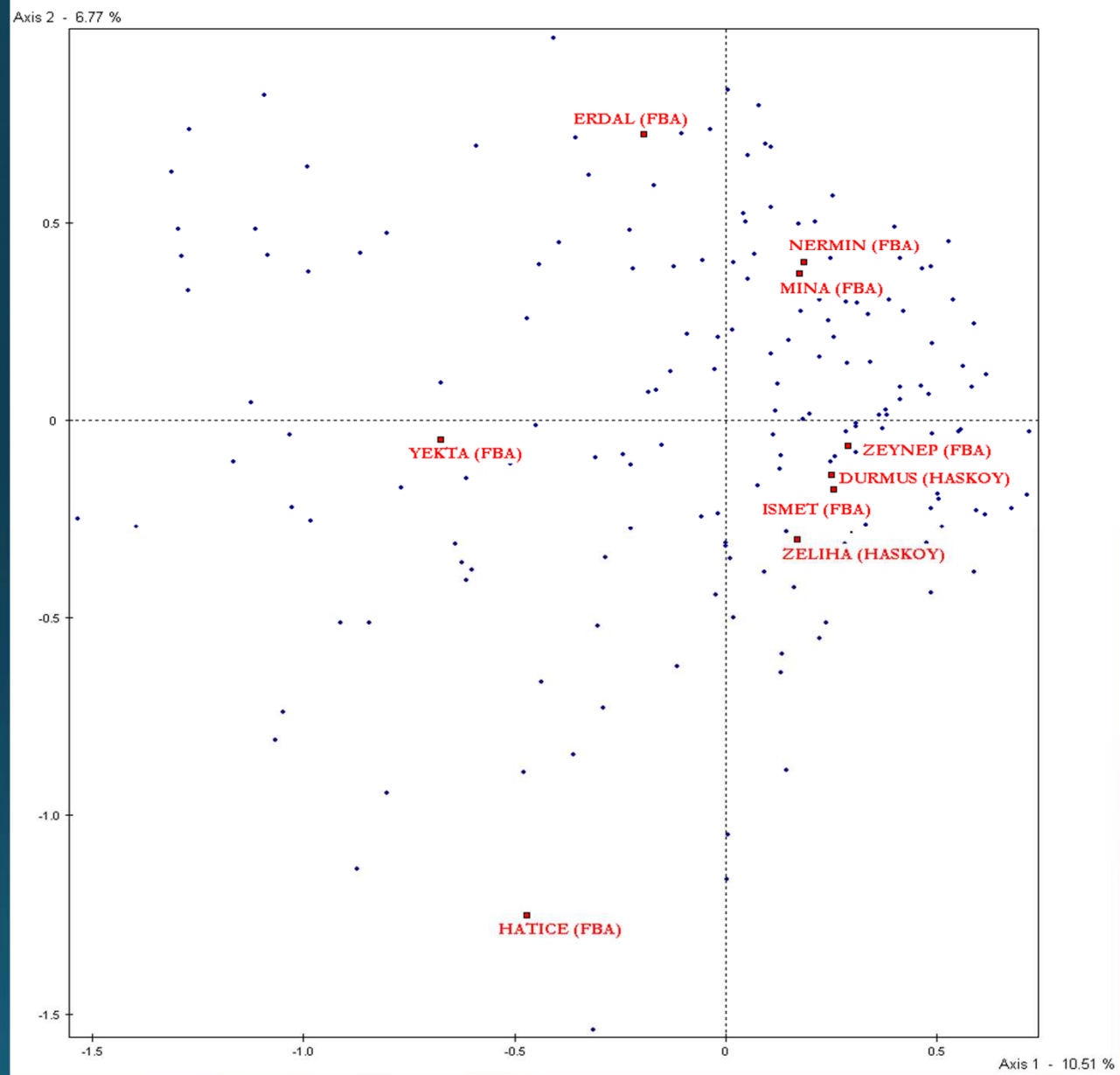
- Neighbourhood
- Family Occupational Class
- Year of Migration
- Number of high school graduates in the household
- Number of university graduates in the households
- Number of wage/salary earners; pensions; self employed
- Total budget

Axis 2 - 6.77 %









GENTRIFIERS AND ELECTIVE BELONGING

“What brought me to Istanbul? It is really hard to describe, coming from London, the food here is just extra-ordinary, you know the markets. I started to look at Ottoman Cuisine, try to get some information. I would come to Istanbul to relax from my life in London. It is a crazy city, yes but there is something about it, when the lights go down minarets are all lit up and the Bosphorus is there. At that time there was a lot of change and a lot of progression and you can see it.”

(Female, 40 years old, British).

“ Lots of foreigners in Arnavutkoy. Cihangir never stroke me, I visited delis, restaurants there, my friends live there but it never attracted me as a place to live. I grew up in Melbourne, on the water, I actually started to look around Asmalimescit and Galata. You know some buildings don't see sun light and I, Melbourne is a flat city as well, lots of high rises and very little, not high rises but tall buildings, narrow streets, little sun light, so a friend brought me out here. And then I you know, I was watching, I was still looking at Galata, but I could not find a right place. So I came back here...”

(Female, 43 years old, Australian)

Waiting for the cosmopolitan moment

"Previously, as you know, Jews, Greeks, even since Byzantine Empire, during Ottoman Empire. During those days, the wealthiest population and successful tradesmen, interpreters, ambassadors lived here. These rehabilitation efforts are very important and useful. To rescue these neighbourhoods, we took the first steps. Hopefully others will come later and these two neighbourhoods (Fener and Balat) will be regained. No, there are no strollers around from the minorities. I wish there is. I really want Greeks to come here, live here, but due to the bad things happened to them they will not come back. But if they were here it would be more colourful.

(Male, 37 years old, Turkish).

"Yeah you see I am a person who lives on herself, as I did in Netherlands. I say hello to my neighbours and I have a little chat with them. But I am not someone who invites them to my house, and say lets have four hours just talking. I am not a person like that. But the people are different here, they don't have so much to expect from life. I am not living with my neighbours, I am living in this neighbourhood but not really... but I, what I do is I write poems and short stories via the internet with an international community"

(Female, 70 years old, Dutch)

“The reason I came here was due to its historical character of its own. Instead of living in an ordinary housing complex, living in a place with its own character has its own enjoyment. Ones, who come here are either artists or journalists or writers or actors who give importance to history, who are observers, researchers, but a human who knows the importance of this place. In other words they are not people who weigh everything with money and it is impossible for the ones who weigh happiness in life with his/her car, his/her neighbourhood or other values to be happy in this neighbourhood. It is impossible for them to have a choice to live here.”



The Working Class, Occupational histories and Belonging

'I came to work when I was a child...'

"I started working in 1980. I came from the village and it was easy to find this job. I went to the factory; applied and they hired me. It was a big factory, there were 1,200 people working there. We were preparing the wool. I worked three shifts and on Saturdays. All of my colleagues were from this neighbourhood. We were neighbours and we were working together. The majority of them were from Samsun Bafra. In my department there were 10 women, eight from Bafra, and two from Giresun."

Female, 53 years old, Turkish.

"We bought this house because it was close to the factory.. We could save money because we were eating at the factory and we had bonuses every three months. We preferred to be close to the factory because we were shift working. I remember many times I was called if somebody did not go to work that day, I ran to the factory before finishing washing the dishes. They were calling me because they knew that I sent my children to the village. It was very crowded here, like Eminonu. Sometimes they sent us home early. I remember walking back to my house with my women friends at 5.00 a.m. in the morning."

Female, 50 years old, retired worker.

'I never dreamed of coming to Istanbul'

'I never dreamed of coming to Istanbul. My husband was working as a lorry driver. One night he came back to the village and told me that 'we are going to Istanbul.' He said 'come on we are really going to Istanbul, pack up!' My husband's boss gave this house to us, he did not ask for rent, in return men in our household worked for him without social security. I did not bring anything; we did not even have curtains in the first months. When I first came, I thought these houses looked like caves. I thought nobody can live in them. I looked at the houses, I said, 'Oh my God, what kind of houses are they, they are very small, very narrow streets.' I was used to large land, large gardens...'

(Female, 30 years old, Kurdish)

To conclude...

- It is essential to look beyond the conventional or mainstream definitions of class which take class as an occupational or income definition.
- We need to look at the geography of class relations (relational approach)
- Exploratory data analysis, consider using different tools, methods, potentials of mixing qualitative and quantitative data.
- Residential choices or sense of place are not simple personal choices but they are linked to social class.
- Gentrification not only creates social polarisation but it is also detrimental to social cohesion.
- Gentrification leads to the creation of new boundaries (not only between districts (spatial polarisation) but within the neighbourhoods (social polarisation)).

THANK YOU

**LOOKING FORWARD TO HEAR YOUR QUESTIONS AND
COMMENTS**