

NOCTURNAL NEOLIBERALISM IN BEYOGLU:  
THE CONSTRUCTION OF ATTRACTIVE AND SAFE NIGHTLIFE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

HAKTAN URAL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN  
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

OCTOBER 2016

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## ABSTRACT

### NOCTURNAL NEOLIBERALISM IN BEYOGLU: THE CONSTRUCTION OF ATTRACTIVE AND SAFE NIGHTLIFE

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October 2016, 263 pages

This study examines the ways that neoliberal political rationality is manifested in Beyoglu's night scene. It explores how the urban government regimes in Beyoglu –which has transformed into entrepreneurialism favouring culture-oriented tourism as an indispensable development strategy- has given rise to the discourses of attractiveness and safety along with greater significance of the flow of people and capital into Beyoglu. Based on a qualitative study conducted with diverse actors in Beyoglu (including managers/owners/workers of entertainment venues and municipal representatives), this study aims at understanding how the normative meanings of nightlife are developed, through which technologies the process of neoliberal transformation is actualized, and how these discourses and practices cultivate particular subjectivities.

By taking neoliberalism as a political rationality that creates a discursive universe, I suggest that the 'affective economies' (Ahmed, 2004a) of Beyoglu's night scene play a central role of identifying the boundaries between affiliation and marginalization, borrowing Miller and Rose's (2008) analytical tools. Accordingly, 'affiliation' refers to the construction of attractive, desirable and safe entertainment clusters, which are compatible with the norms and values of market

rationalities, while marginalization is imbued with incapacities to be inflected with these meanings. I present that these divisions are grounded on the socio-cultural and socio-economic hierarchies of the night scene in Beyoglu. Besides, the study also sheds light on the regime of practices that ultimately actualize neoliberal transformation. I illustrate the technologies of neoliberal government that translates the market rationalities into the economic and cultural life of Beyoglu's night scene. For understanding these dynamics, I have also sought to understand whether and in what ways certain forms of counter movements come to emerge and act against neoliberal discourses and practices.

**Keywords:** Neoliberalism, emotions, affective economy, nightlife, Beyoglu

## ÖZ

### BEYOĞLU'NDA NEOLİBERALİZM VE GECE: ÇEKİCİ VE GÜVENLİ GECE YAŞAMININ İNŞASI

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Ekim 2016, 263 sayfa

Bu çalışma, neoliberal siyasal aklın Beyoğlu'ndaki gece yaşamına nasıl sirayet ettiğini incelemektedir. Beyoğlu'nda kültür odaklı turizmi başat bir kalkınma stratejisi olarak benimseyerek girişimci bir anlayışa bürünen kentsel yönetim rejiminin -tüketici grupları ve sermaye yatırımcılarının bölgeye yönelen ilgisine koşut olarak- Beyoğlu'nda çekicilik ve güvenlik söylemlerini nasıl şekillendirdiği mercek altına alınmaktadır. Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamında rol oynayan farklı aktörlerle (eğlence mekanı sahipleri, yöneticileri ve çalışanlarının yanı sıra il ve ilçe belediyelerinden farklı temsilciler gibi) yapılan görüşmelere dayanan bu çalışma neoliberalleşen Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamında hangi normatif anlamları ürettiği, hangi yönetim teknolojileriyle neoliberal dönüşümün gerçekleştiği ve bu söylem ve pratiklerin hangi öznellikleri ürettiğini anlamayı hedeflemektedir.

Burada neoliberalizmi söylemsel bir uzamın üretildiği bir siyasal akıl olarak ele alarak, bu uzamda -Miller ve Rose'un (2008) analitik araçlarıyla ifade edilecek olursa- mensubiyet ve marjinalleşme arasında sınırların tanımlandığını ortaya koyuyorum. Ayrıca; bu sınırların tanımlanmasında 'tesir ekonomileri'nin (Ahmed, 2004a) başat bir rol oynadığını öneriyorum. Buna göre, 'mensubiyet' piyasa aklının değer ve normlarıyla uyum içerisinde olan, çekici, arzulanabilir ve güvenli özne pozisyonlarını ifade ediyor. 'Marjinalleşme' ise bu normative anlamları

taşıyamama halini anlatıyor. Bu araştırmada, ‘marjinal’ olan ile ‘mensup’ olan arasındaki bu söylemsel ayrımın tanımlanmasında sosyo-kültürel ve sosyo-ekonomik hiyerarşilerin rolünü inceliyorum. Ayrıca, neoliberal dönüşümün gerçekleşmesinde rol oynayan mekanizmaları analiz ediyorum. Piyasa aklını Beyoğlu’nun gece yaşamındaki ekonomik ve kültürel yaşama uyarlayan neoliberal yönetim teknolojilerini irdeliyorum. Bu dinamikleri incelerken, burada mercek altına alınan neoliberal söylem ve pratiklere karşı ve/ya alternatif hareketlerin hangi biçimlerde ortaya çıkabildiğini değerlendiriyorum.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Neoliberalizm, duygular, tesir ekonomisi, gece yaşamı, Beyoğlu

To my mother...



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar. I am sincerely grateful for her friendly support and guidance. She has been a wonderful advisor and has provided me with insightful comments which have been very helpful to find my way throughout the research.

I am also deeply grateful to the examining committee members. I have benefitted much from Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın and Asst. Prof. Dr. Katharina Bodirsky's wonderful comments on the earlier drafts of this dissertation. Their suggestions have assisted my thinking and writing. Prof. Dr. Nilay Çabuk Kaya and Prof. Dr. Aksu Bora have also made wonderful comments and suggestions in my thesis defense.

I could not have completed this dissertation without the insights and helps of some friends and colleagues. I warmly thank Asst. Prof. Dr. Volkan Aytar for his kind support and practical suggestions at the very beginning of my fieldwork. A heartfelt thank you to my dear friends Esra Can and Esra Dabağcı for their willingness to read and discuss. I feel lucky to have Esra Can in my life not only because of her lovely friendship and care but also for her nurturing intellectual contributions. I am also most deeply thankful to Esra Dabağcı; she has been unconditionally caring and supportive in addition to providing me with very insightful comments.

I will never be able to thank my aunt Feride Kutlu and my cousin Desen Halıçınarlı enough for their invaluable support. They did not only open their place but also helped me much to know some key people to conduct the fieldwork. Without their help, I could not have completed the fieldwork. I am also indebted much to Adem Erkoçak, Gizem Akduygu, Kürşad Şahin, Mehmet Said Aydın,

Nuray Özler Yolcu, Sinem Aydınli, Temel Topçu and Utku Serkan Zengin. They made conducting the fieldwork possible and easy for me.

I am more than grateful to Gökhan Albayrak for his unfailing support, patience and understanding. He has brought laughter into my life and brightened up my world. I cannot imagine how I could complete such a laborious journey without him.

Last but not the least, I thank my family for being there with their determined trust and encouragement. I know that there are not enough words to express my gratitude to my mother, Saliha, but I wholeheartedly appreciate everything she has done for me.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In Beyoglu where is a historically rooted district of Istanbul offering numerous leisure activities for both tourists and Istanbulites, myriad identities and cultures have come into a vigorous existence since the nineteenth century and mark the district with convivial, crowded and cosmopolitan character (see Yumul, 2009). Here, the exuberant nightlife has always been known for Beyoglu's conviviality and cosmopolitanism. Having a convivial urban image, the district presents expressive site for socio-cultural differences floating between global and local identities.

Togetherness of differences stems from different trajectories of Beyoglu. A number of studies portray the dynamic image of the district by means of examining social, economic, political and cultural transformations in a continuum with the rise of Westernisation, modernisation, nation-state building and developmentalism in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (see Aytar, 2011; Gül, 2009; Keyder, 2008; Yumul, 2009). Besides, some other recent transformations that shape and are shaped by nightlife in Beyoglu come to the fore. The city has entered into a new route towards integrating into the global capitalist networks. This has brought up an explosive growth of service industries and the increasing significance of culture industries (Keyder, 2011). These transformations are manifested in urban nightscapes of Beyoglu, paving the way for the proliferation of consumerist lifestyles. The rise of consumerism favouring middle class lifestyles is extensively observed in the extension of consumption places and gentrification of residential and commercial areas. Ongoing processes of gentrification (such as the cases of Cihangir and Galata) are outstanding examples. Moreover, the rise of Asmalımescit in early 2000s epitomizes how the image of a certain district could be transformed by hosting hip entertainment facilities (Mert, 2010; İnce, 2011).

Similarly, the prominent role of the neighbourhood to host prestigious actors of culture industry (namely IKSİ – Istanbul Culture and Arts Foundation, as one of the dominant institutional figures) brings the neighbourhood to the international stage by means of a number of cultural events and activities drawing the attention of the international press and tourists (Yardımcı, 2006). Thus, Beyoğlu's night opens the way towards a global scale, as the neighbourhood gives place to numerous nighttime cultural activities.

In line with this, the nomination of Istanbul as a cool city by Newsweek International is worth mentioning, as a kind of response to 'globalizing Beyoğlu'. In 2005, the magazine appeared with a cover designating Istanbul as 'the coolest city of the world' (Foroohar, 2005). The city was being favoured as a site for cultural revival at a world-class crossroads. Owing to the city's historical heritage, cosmopolitanism and vibrancy, Istanbul was being celebrated as a genuinely Western and modern city in the magazine article. Besides, Beyoğlu (particularly Pera district) was designated as an archetype to appreciate what makes Istanbul 'cool'. These dimensions are plainly depicted in an article published in Newsweek as follows:

"The rise of Beyoğlu is a good metaphor – for Istanbul as a whole. At its best, it showcases all that's original and vibrant in the city... the melting pot that is the İstiklal Caddesi is genuine enough." (Foroohar, 2005)

Nevertheless, Beyoğlu is hardly a site offering urban pleasures only to middle classes. Along with its conviviality, Beyoğlu is also identified by the disorder and chaos especially due to İstiklal Avenue, a popular axe of the district peopled by a sheer crowd from different classes and identities (Ertep, 2009). Beyoğlu's reputation for being a 'buzzing' and 'chaotic' venue relies on the fact that the district aggregates a wide variety of practices and meanings different from globally oriented lifestyles. As Aytar and Keskin (2003) state, the presence of informal (street sellers, prostitution etc.) and/or underground (drug dealing and mafia) economies as well as the pleasure seeking of lower classes is considered as the destruction of its glittering urban image. Despite numerous socio-spatial

strategies put into work economic, cultural and symbolic boundaries, Beyoglu juxtaposes “several spaces in a real place” (ibid, 154), wherein different religious, ethnic, class, sexual and gender identities come to the fore for leisure and work purposes.

For that reason, the urban crowd in nocturnal Beyoglu both presents lucrative opportunities and obstacles for market rationalities in nighttime economy. While Beyoglu yields tremendous capacities for profit-making out of a nighttime economy, certain “undesired” components are considered to be undermining it. By the same token, the district attracts the attention of local governmental bodies and private investors. Adoption of neoliberal discourses and practices by the urban government in Beyoglu is a response to dealing with it.

The main objective of policy makers is not to eradicate the convivial crowd but to engineer it. ‘Neoliberal Beyoglu’ favours a convivial urban atmosphere serving for tourist gaze and consumerist lifestyles. For instance, Ahmet Misbah Demircan, the current mayor of Beyoglu Municipality, identifies the route of Beyoglu in the way towards “tourism, culture and arts” in one of the interviews which appeared on a daily paper (Vatan, 16.12.2013). Neoliberal discourses and practices are increasingly put into practice with the purpose of attracting investments, tourists and consuming Istanbulites. Therefore, the cultural and historical trajectories of the district that will potentially serve for upgrading the urban image are being employed (Aksoy and Robins, 2011). Neoliberal strategies are developed through the extension of consumption places and gentrification by government-led projects and/or private investments. The transition towards tourism and culture-based urban economy is already observable at the street level like the increasing real-estate investments by local and international investors (Adanalı, 2011). Tarlabası Urban Renewal Project, the renovation of Atatürk Cultural Centre, the pedestrianization of Taksim Square, the Talimhane Urban Renewal Project, the

reconstruction of Topçu Barracks and the Galataport Project are only a few of the examples<sup>1</sup>.

## 1.1 Research Problem

Viewing the current transformations of Beyoglu in this context, this study aims to understand the processes of neoliberal transformation in Beyoglu's night scene, viewing through the links of global and local forces. Based on a fieldwork conducted through in-depth interviews with managers, owners and workers of entertainment venues and municipal representatives (conducted over a year in 2013-2014<sup>2</sup>), and the analysis of policy documents and newspaper articles, the study aims to scrutinize the manifestations of neoliberal political rationality in Beyoglu's night scene. I explore the neoliberalization as a distinct political rationality that generates a discursive universe and a network of practices which come to actualize a wholesale transformation in Beyoglu.

Accordingly, this study scrutinizes how normative meanings and standards of nightlife are developed in the process during which neoliberal rationalities are incorporated into the spaces of Beyoglu by conservative political authorities. Having in mind that Beyoglu is a historical leisure zone distinctively marked with secular, Western-like and nocturnal entertainment cultures, I also aim to examine in what ways market rationalities create and circulate an image of Beyoglu. For understanding this image, I aim to investigate two interrelated dimensions of neoliberalism in Turkey. On the one hand, I scrutinize the ways that entrepreneurialism and consumerism are embodied across spaces of night in

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<sup>1</sup> These projects serve for the ends of advancing the urban image by means of highlighting the tourist attractions and investments in commercial capital. By doing so, Beyoglu district enters into a wholesale transformation which is substantially characterized by the substitution of productive activities with service economy. The economic restructuring of the district is thus predicated upon the historical and cultural heritage of Beyoglu. That is to say, Beyoglu is taken as a site to be revitalized and upgraded in order to attract larger groups of middle classes and tourists (see chapter 5 for the examination of these dynamics in detail).

<sup>2</sup> The fieldwork is based on a qualitative study that lasted five months. I have spent periods of 1-2 months over a year in 2013 and 2014. I have conducted the fieldwork in August, 2013; in April-May, 2014; and in July-August, 2014.

Beyoglu. On the other hand, I aim to demonstrate to what extent, and in what forms and practices, the conservative political inclinations of the ruling authorities are manifested in neoliberalization of Beyoglu.

On these grounds, I pursue certain answers to a set of questions: How are normative meanings produced and circulated in the night scene? How does this normativity divide people, practices and places in accordance with neoliberal discourses? That is to ask, in what ways are particular groups, practices and places in conformity, or incongruity, with (international and local) entrepreneurial urban government regimes? Who is invited to the nocturnal euphoria? Who is undesired and displaced? In creating the image of 'undesirable', what is the role of socio-cultural hierarchies informed by class, gender and ethnicity in nightlife? In pursuit of answering these questions, I intend to reveal the fragmented character of night and map out the different aspects of nightscapes along the axis of legitimized and degraded forms.

The production and circulation of these normative meanings are also related to the role of neoliberal subjectivities, which are constructed and performed in Beyoglu's night scene. Considering this dimension, I purport to demonstrate the involvement of affective dispositions in the processes of neoliberalization in urban spaces. I aim to understand the affective discourses of neoliberalism coming to the surface in ways that attractiveness, desirability and safety are identified through emotional terms.

Besides, I seek to understand the mechanisms of neoliberalism deployed in the transformation of Beyoglu's nightlife. I examine how the formal and informal practices guide the transformation of urban nightlife, and to what ends? In tandem with the accounts seeing neoliberalization as coercive forces of – especially- state actors, I present that neoliberalization of nightlife is actualized through the convergence of coercive and productive faces of (neoliberal) power. On that account, I aim to demonstrate that neoliberalization of night in Beyoglu is actualized through the confluence of 'responsibilization' (Ong, 2006) mobilizing people's capacities to be optimized with neoliberal urbanism, and coercive forces

obliterating ‘undesired’ elements in the nighttime city. In this way, my objective is to demonstrate that neoliberal power comes into presence as both creative forces cultivating new entrepreneurial subjectivities and disruptive forces resulting in the marginalization, exclusion and displacement of undesirable elements.

Lastly, I handle the nightlife as an ambiguous and contesting site in which certain discourses and practices reign over the material and symbolic economies of the city. Thus, my concern is also to ponder the capacities of certain agents to open up alternatives to neoliberalizing spaces of night. These possibilities imply politics of everyday life and its potential challenges to the processes of neoliberalization. I also aim to dwell on the possibilities of collective action for contentious politics.

## **1.2 Nocturnal Neoliberalism in Beyoglu**

In understanding the nocturnal neoliberalism in Beyoglu, I conceive neoliberalism as a discursive phenomenon that creates certain regimes of truth, which is actualized through regimes of practices and cultivates some subjectivities acting upon these discourses and practices. Following the analytical tools of governmentality studies (e.g. Brown, 2006; Larner, 2000; Lemke, 2001; Miller and Rose, 2008), I utilize Dean’s (1999) ‘analytics of government’ as a conceptual framework for dissecting neoliberalism in Beyoglu’s night. Following this, I study neoliberalism in Beyoglu’s night scene at three levels: development of political rationality favouring convivial public life of Beyoglu in urban development goals, certain mechanisms that put these political rationalities into practice, and the construction of subject positions.

By taking neoliberalism as a development of some political rationality, I examine the neoliberal government of nightlife as a realm in which certain truth claims concerning urban developmentalism are created and promoted. In the case of Beyoglu, the urban development is discerned as a primary objective set to be achieved through improving ‘culture-oriented tourism’. In the urban imaginaries of transforming Istanbul’s urban economy into globally competitive and knowledge-based one, Beyoglu is considered to be promising lucrative

opportunities. As a historically rooted social and cultural hub of the city that consists of numerous entertainment practices, the public life of Beyoglu is deemed expedient to attract consumer groups, whether it be tourists or middle classes. In that regard, the district and its convivial night scene become subject to neoliberal rationalities. Ruling authorities create a 'regime of truth' in terms of safety, attractiveness and desirability of Beyoglu. That is to say, the neoliberal government puts forward a discursive framework favouring the flows of people and capital into the spaces of Beyoglu.

This way of thinking is translated into the domain of reality through a network of practices. However, by examining neoliberal technologies in this context, I do not plainly point out the implementation of such a political project. In speaking of neoliberal governmentality, technological aspects of government imply governing a territory as a whole, which involves some mechanisms having an influence at a distance (Miller and Rose, 2008, 33). Neoliberalism creates a milieu in which the transformation of nightlife is actualized through the active involvement of self-interested neoliberal selves (e.g. through the dynamics of property markets) or some coercive forces of disciplinary and/or legal mechanisms (such as tax policies, municipal regulations and policing strategies).

Diverse actors of nightlife in Beyoglu simultaneously construct certain discursive frameworks that identify social divisions in neoliberalizing Beyoglu. These divisions rely upon the dispositions of nocturnal actors in the fragmented character of nightlife. In this process, the subject positions, which are amenable to middle class tastes and lifestyles (such as upper echelons of entertainment clusters and historically rooted venues), come to bear the marks of affiliation to neoliberal Beyoglu. On that account, these actors cultivate a discursive framework reasoning and identifying marginalization across spaces of night. Accordingly, the marginalized subject positions are identified through the terms of 'undesired', 'unattractive' and 'unsafe' entertainment cultures.

### *1.2.1 Taking Emotions Seriously*

In this study framed by such analytical framework as presented above, I argue that emotions and affective dispositions are central to the neoliberalization of the night in Beyoglu. I suggest that, in the very formations of neoliberal discourses developing and circulating some truth claims of urban development, the district is implicitly or explicitly appropriated through its affective capacities. In a parallel vein, the actors of the night scene present discursive practices acting upon market rationalities in a way that is laden with emotional subjectivities. They come to identify themselves and others depending on their affective dispositions; they present discursive constructions laden with diverse emotional discourses identifying attractive and disgust, safe and feared, etc.

Insofar as the ruling authorities create the knowledge of making Beyoglu an attractive, desirable and safe site where larger consumer groups enjoy leisure activities, the district is imagined in affective terms. The political rationality that favours attractiveness, desirability and safety enjoins with certain styles of thinking inherently concerned with the affective qualities of Beyoglu. That is to say, governing bodies take the affective life of Beyoglu as 'object-target' to be governed. The Strategic Action Plan published by Beyoglu Municipality illustrates the gist of the government of affective life. The plan explicitly presents a vision of improving attractiveness and establishing orderliness in pursuit of increasing the flow of people and capital into Beyoglu. For that reason, a number of mechanisms, such as urban transformation projects (that serve for the attractiveness of the district) and policing strategies (that help to establish the orderliness of streets) are technological elements responding to the needs of governing affective life.

The dimensions of affect and emotions are also prevalent in the construction of subject positions across spaces of night. The discursive practices performed by the actors of the night scene in Beyoglu determine affiliated and marginalized subject positions in emotional terms. For instance, the practices of governing affiliation to neoliberal Beyoglu are directly concatenated to creating a middle class setting; a



safe and attractive atmosphere takes on the meaning of avoiding –allegedly *maganda*- elements that affectively disrupt the image of middle class milieu. Interrelatedly, the discourses of marginalization culturally construct ‘disgusting’ and ‘feared’ subject positions of Beyoglu’s night scene. The cultural construction of ‘disgust’ takes on the meaning of ineligible cultures belonging to low status and low cost entertainment clusters, in other words, downwardly echeloned entertainment venues. Besides, marginalized subject positions discursively constructed through ‘fear’ identify particular identities and cultures associated with the informal and underground facets of Beyoglu as ‘feared’ positions. The construction of ‘feared bodies’ relies upon a stereotype that is formed at the intersectionality of gender, class and sexuality. The discourses of ‘feared bodies’ identify a ‘rough masculinity’ related with binge drinking, drug dealing and prostitution.

### *1.2.2 The Inadvertent Convergence of Neoliberalism and Conservatism*

In understanding the neoliberalization of the night in Beyoglu, the second domain that deserves attention is the relationship between neoliberal and conservative rationalities. I suggest that, although the rise of entrepreneurialist discourses of local authorities barely puts forward a vision of urban remake informed by conservative norms and values, there still exist some forms of neoliberal rule entangled with conservatism.

Throughout its history, Beyoglu is a historical leisure zone where diverse identities and cultures are constructed and performed through secular practices, most notably owing to the alcohol-related night-time activities (see Aytar and Keskin, 2003). The local government seemingly presents a vision of maintaining this sort of urban identity as it plainly sits well with urban development goals. In congruity with entrepreneurialist government regimes, it expresses a determined greed to attract people and capital investments. To that end, the local government acts as a licensing authority and extends the spaces of alcohol consumption through granting licences to sell alcohol in certain entertainment venues. This policy indicates that local authorities see some value-conducive capacities of the presence

of entertainment clusters, especially in the vicinity of Istiklal Avenue. By the same token, it notably demonstrates that the local government is in conformity with the performance of drinking cultures across spaces of Beyoglu.

However, the conservative political rationality does also partake in the process of the neoliberalization of night in Beyoglu in spite of having an indirect influence. As a matter of fact, the moral compass for society, which is promoted by the religiously/conservatively informed central government, is markedly visible in the care regimes, reproductive rights and familialist social policy frameworks. Another realm shaped by conservative discourses and practices is restrictions on alcohol consumption. In addition to prohibiting late night purchase and restricting the public appearance of alcoholic drinks, drastic increases in tax levies on alcohol consumption are linked to the technologies of governing nightlife. It is true that these regulations are not unique to Beyoglu. Yet, in the case of Beyoglu, especially the tax policies function like the government at a distance and exert an economic pressure over downmarket entertainment clusters. Although drawn upon different objectives, these practices indirectly serve for the neoliberal government of nightlife.

Considering these, I do not suggest that a moral compass of conservatism moulds the neoliberal government of nightlife in Beyoglu as a strong and predominant force. Viewing through the lens of Wendy Brown's (2006) analytical tools, my argument is that neoliberalism and conservatism are inadvertently converged and mutually reinforce each other in Beyoglu.

### **1.3 Significance, Contribution and Limitation of The Study**

This study provides an insight into the creation and circulation of some normative meanings about what makes the night scene in Beyoglu more attractive, desirable and safe in the eyes of consumer groups. It also examines a series of mechanisms that guide a wholesale transformation of the night scene into a site characterized by these normative meanings. In this respect, the study dissects these discourses and practices, and in what ways they are shaped by neoliberal political rationality.

The contribution of this study lays in its attempt to understand the rise of neoliberal political rationality in local contexts. Following Larner (2000), Jeffrey et al. (2012) and Roy (2009), I deal with neoliberalism through exploring the ways by which it is adapted, translated or reappropriated in socio-political and socio-cultural contexts of Turkey. This perspective paves the way for understanding how entrepreneurialist discourses and practices are delicately linked to conservative rationality. Likewise, I elaborate the construction of attractiveness, desirability and safety by means of considering the social and cultural heritage of Beyoglu's night scene.

Another contribution this study intends to make is about having a deeper understanding of how neoliberal rationality permeates into the social life in Turkey. I conceive neoliberalism as a political project that develops a rational knowledge – seeking to increase attractiveness in the eyes of tourists and middle classes - and cultivates neoliberal subjects acting upon this rationality. In this context, I suggest the presence of affective dynamics that take a central role in market-oriented styles of thinking. Besides, I also illustrate the construction of social divisions identifying affiliation and marginalization that shape and are shaped by emotional subjectivities (which discursively construct disgust and fear). In that regard, this study helps to understand how neoliberal political rationality is informed by styles of both thinking and feeling.

Apart from these, the thesis sheds light on the practice of neoliberal transformation in a particular historical moment. As mentioned above, the fieldwork was conducted over a year in 2013 and 2014. I started to conduct the fieldwork in August, 2013 and spent four months (in two separate time spans, that was in April-May and July-August) in the following year. The time I started to conduct the fieldwork was a couple of weeks after a nationwide uprising which bursted out of protest cycles against the construction of a shopping mall in Beyoglu's prominent public park known as Gezi Park. Indeed, there were still some demonstrations performed by relatively smaller numbers of protesters at that time. Owing to such timing, I could have the opportunity to listen to the narratives and experiences of research participants about the Gezi uprising. By

that means, I had an insight into the rise of public defiance and alternative discourses against neoliberal and/or conservative currents of ruling authorities.

However, in the following years, some recent developments gave a new direction to the fate of public life in Beyoglu. Security concerns in everyday life have severely arisen as an outcome of a series of terror attacks targeting ordinary people and tourists in Istanbul as well as other city centres in 2015 and 2016. Especially the ones in Istanbul have occurred in Sultanahmet, Beyoglu and Ataturk Airport, which are immensely visited by tourists and Istanbulites<sup>3</sup>. Indeed, the bomb blasts in Sultanahmet<sup>4</sup> and Beyoglu<sup>5</sup> directly targeted tourists. These attacks have been formative moments transmuting the discourses of attractiveness, desirability and safety. Given that neoliberal discourses and practices give priority to the flow of people and capital into Beyoglu, these developments seem to have worked against these urban imaginaries.

As a matter of fact, it is not yet possible to fully portray the outcomes of these developments. Despite this, there exist some indicators bearing the marks of the outcomes. According to tourism statistics (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2016), for instance, the decrease in the rate of tourist arrivals in Turkey in the first

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<sup>3</sup> In 2016, a series of explosions occurred in Istanbul. On 12 January 2016, a suicide bomb attack targeted a tourist group near Blue Mosque, which is reputable historical spectacle in Sultanahmet. The perpetrator was a Syrian member of ISIS. On 19 March 2016, another suicide bombing occurred at the intersection of a side street and Istiklal Avenue in Beyoglu. Likewise, the attack caused deaths and injuries, among whom foreign tourists were the majority. Although it is not confirmed, the perpetrator is alleged to be a member of ISIS. On 7 June 2016, another bomb blast happened near the historical city centre in Beyazit. Unlike the other attacks, it targeted a police bus although civilians were injured and killed. Differing from other blasts, a Kurdish militant group has claimed the attack. Finally, on 28 June 2016, suicide bombings and shootings occurred in Istanbul Ataturk Airport. It has been the largest terrorist attack causing the highest number of deaths and injuries. Although not claimed, it is also considered to have been perpetrated by ISIS members.

<sup>4</sup> The bomber walked into a tourist group (of which 12 German and 1 Peruvian tourists died) and blew himself up in Sultanahmet Square.

<sup>5</sup> The bomber blew himself up at the time that the avenue was relatively empty. All the casualties are tourists (consisting of 1 Iranian, 1 Israeli and 2 American citizens) and there are also German, Iranian, Irish, Algerian, Israeli, Arab and Turkish citizens among the injured people.

half of 2016 is approximately %28 in comparison to the rates of the first half of the previous year. In line with the drastic decrease in tourist arrivals, there are substantial numbers of abandoned businesses especially along the Istiklal Avenue. During the summer 2016, several businesses, which are branches of global or local brands (such as Starbucks, Columbia Sportswear, Teknosa, etc.), have been shut down in the avenue. Indeed, there are a few entertainment venues such as Otto, House Café, Midpoint and Mama Shelter among them (see Tremblay, 2016). These incidents indicate that the entrepreneurialist government regimes are severely disrupted by bomb blasts. Nevertheless, these dynamics go well beyond the scope of analysis presented in this study.

#### **1.4 Outline of the Study**

The present study involves 9 chapters. Following this introductory chapter, I present an overview of existing literature about neoliberalism in chapter 2. This chapter presents the major theoretical debates by revisiting the politic economic tradition and governmentality studies. The recent debates on governmentality studies also constitute the conceptual framework utilized in this study. Finally, I briefly overview the major studies about neoliberalism in nightlife and in Istanbul.

Chapter 3 illustrates the methodological approach utilized in this study. It examines how the theoretical approach is linked to the research methods in addition to what kind of research techniques are used and what sort of field strategies are developed, and the critical aspects of data processing.

In chapter 4, I examine the construction of Beyoglu's urban identity that revolves around the nightlife and entertainment cultures. To do so, I present the historical background of the district by revisiting the existing literature on public life in Beyoglu. I demonstrate how the entertainment cultures shape and are shaped by the social, economic, political and cultural life of Beyoglu throughout its history. Following this, I illustrate the hierarchically fragmented character of nightlife in relation to the district's historical background. I present that four different entertainment cultures are constructed and performed.

The following four chapters examine neoliberalism in Beyoglu's nightlife. In chapter 5, I examine how entrepreneurialist regimes have arisen and are established by analysing legislations, policy documents, newspaper articles and interviews with municipal representatives. This chapter presents the parameters of neoliberal urban government in Beyoglu. In chapter 6, I dissect the network of practices that guide and actualize neoliberalism in Beyoglu's nightlife. Chapter 7 focuses on diverse actors' discourses in Beyoglu's night scene. In this chapter, I illustrate how certain subject positions are constructed and how they are informed by affective dispositions. Chapter 8 deals with the attempts to create alternative discourses against neoliberal government.

Finally, chapter 9 brings out some concluding remarks that give a brief summary of the major arguments, their possible implications and suggestions for further research.

## CHAPTER 2

### UNDERSTANDING NEOLIBERALISM IN CITIES

Having drawn upon England and Ward's (2011) definition, the concept of neoliberalism addresses to multifaceted dynamics. Accordingly, 'neoliberalism' enunciates an economic and political inclination enacting policies of privatization, deregulation, and diminishment of welfare state functions. Such a shift is reverberated around the urban governance through adapting market-driven mechanisms. The rise of neoliberal urban governance articulates the production of goods and services in the frame of certain rationality favouring profitability.

Departing from this, four distinct ways of understanding neoliberalism are portrayed in England and Ward's (ibid, 11-13) account. First, neoliberalism is understood as a hegemonic ideology articulated by the class-based alliances especially among state actors and the representatives of capital. Just as it is conceived as a formation of hegemony out of class relations, the political dominance of neoliberalism at different places paves the way for the rise of neoliberalism at a globalizing scale. Second, neoliberalism is understood as a policy framework that reflects the implementation of market rationalities in the public sector and, concomitantly, domineering role of certain institutions enforcing to implement neoliberal policies. Third, neoliberalism is conceived as a re-formation of governmental bodies through organizing its capacities and enactments in the ends of profit orientation. Fourth, neoliberalism is grasped in the way of rising subjectivities and governmentality brought into alliance with entrepreneurialism.

Conceived in this way, different understandings of neoliberalism rest on contesting theoretical debates. Among those debates, the task of identifying this phenomenon urges to put into work sensitivities to geographical and historical particularities, and complexities in the proliferation of neoliberalism (Castree et al,

2010). The concept is increasingly viewed through the terms of historicity, different socio-cultural contexts, and complexity of processes in the last decades. Owing to this, theories on neoliberalization of space are of a plurality; namely political economic and poststructuralist theories (Mayer and Künkel, 2012; Yazıcı, 2013).

This theoretical variation is informed by contesting approaches providing insight into different relations and practices. In the lens of political economic account, neoliberalism is conceived through the restructuring of state in the purpose of establishing new capital accumulation regimes. The dynamics of capital investments and its spatially mobile character are the primary mechanisms that condition the socio-spatial transformations in neoliberalizing context. Considering the strategic significance of state actors, this approach sees neoliberalism as a political dominance hegemonically enforcing market rules. Indeed, in this view, neoliberalism is shaped by the hegemony of ruling classes favouring free markets, privatization and competition.

Conversely, poststructuralist accounts mostly inspired by governmentality studies present an alternative to the views seeing neoliberalism as class hegemony. Considering neoliberalism as a discursive formation, this approach identifies it as a political rationality, which is not limited to the modality of state action. In fact, neoliberalism is discerned as a discursive terrain restructuring the subject positions in compatibility with market rationalities. Besides, 'how' questions are central to this understanding seeking to dissect the mechanisms guiding the process of neoliberalism. There lies a greater emphasis on the power dynamics which is not solely predicated upon the disciplinary forms of power but the technologies of self incorporating one's own desires, motivations, and calculations. In this study, I follow this approach as it renders possible to understand how practices and identities are arranged by neoliberal rationalities.

In that regard, I am taking neoliberalism as a political rationality that creates a normative vision promoting the individual, collective and institutional actions aligned with market terms. Following this, I conceive the term as 'the deployment



of ‘enterprise models’ that would allow the state itself to be ‘run like a business’ (Ferguson, 2010, 170). Viewing in this way, I do not utilize a static, fully formed conception of neoliberalism but, instead, a perspective seeing neoliberalization as a process which is marked with some contradictions, ambiguities and contingencies (Kingfisher and Moskovsky, 2008). In that regard, I get benefit of an analytical framework that renders seeing the relationship of socio-political (conservatism) and socio-cultural (emotions and affect) dynamics with neoliberalism possible.

For doing so, this chapter presents a critical overview of contemporary debates over the neoliberalization. First, I will examine the neoliberal urbanism considering political economic tradition. Following this, I will present an analytics of neoliberal government by which the study is framed, particularly revisiting the literature on governmentality studies. Third, I will briefly present repercussions of these debates across spaces of night. Lastly, in light of these theoretical debates, I will briefly present the currents of neoliberal urbanism and its societal effects in Istanbul in the light of existing literature on Istanbul’s case as well as news reports and policy documents.

## **2.1 Neoliberal Urbanism in Political Economic Tradition**

In the light of political economic account, neoliberalism is understood through the terms of shifting capital accumulation regimes from Keynesian welfarism to more open and competitive market rules. As Brenner and Theodore (2002) states, neoliberal discourses favour unregulated market relations; yet transformation into neoliberal governance regimes is actualized through an absolute involvement and intervention of state actors (see also Theodore et al, 2011). In Brenner and Theodore’s account (2002, 363):

“Neoliberalism represents a complex, multifaceted project of sociospatial transformation – it contains not only a utopian vision of a fully commodified form of social life, but also a concrete program of institutional modifications through which the unfettered rule of capital is to be promoted.”

Accordingly, these institutional modifications are enacted through the interplay of destructive and creative moments (ibid); any sort of institutional arrangements functioning as collectivist and redistributionist systems are replaced by a new infrastructure developed with the intention of economic growth and commodification.

Jessop (2002) indicates that shifting capital accumulation regimes into the form of neoliberalism resulted in the change of scalar dimension of policy-making. Insofar as governmental actors are seeking to create capital-conducive mechanisms, policy-making at national level, which was central to planned economies of welfare states, has evolved into a multi-scalar character. Here, the urban level comes to the fore just as the cities, as 'projected spaces' (Theodore et al, 2011) are increasingly subject to neoliberal arrangements. The central role of cities in neoliberalization rests upon the intents of re-making the city in order to promote certain places, create new opportunities for investments and extend spaces of consumption. To that end, various socio-spatial strategies are employed through the involvement of governmental bodies (eminently mobilization of local politics) and private sector (such as business associations, chambers of commerce, investors, property owners, etc.) (Harvey, 1989b; Mayer, 1994). This coalition takes action for technological advancements, infrastructural investments, creation of spaces for elite consumption, amelioration of the representation of cities, etc. As Mayer (1994, 322) states, this new mode of urban governance is amenable to private interests as it offers profitable opportunities to them; and to government interests as it allows for increasing attractiveness for their development goals.

Conceived in this way, neoliberal urban governance regimes put into practice a number of socio-spatial strategies seeking for economic growth. This leads to a formation of business-like urban governance, which is identified as 'entrepreneurialism' (see Hubbard and Hall, 1998). Interrelatedly, gentrification has turned into a global urban strategy to meet the needs of neoliberal urban governance regimes in both material and symbolic terms (Smith, 2002). In the meanwhile, neoliberal urbanism, characterized by entrepreneurialism and gentrification, is predominantly understood as institutional arrangements led by

the capital-centric rule. However, this does not lead to a conception of neoliberal urbanism construed as a static and monolithic term but, instead, imbued with variations, heterogeneities and contingencies (Brenner et al, 2010; England and Ward, 2007; Lerner, 2003).

### *2.1.1 Entrepreneurialism*

The rise of 'entrepreneurial city' rests upon a determined greed for carrying the urban economy to a competitive position. In view of Harvey (1989b), entrepreneurial policy framework relies on seeking opportunities to boost the economic growth in cities by means of new direct investments and new employment sources. Indisputably, such a stance for economic growth implies a policy agenda of place marketing in favour of business circles. Indeed, as Jessop (1998) illustrates, entrepreneurial practices seek for a structural transformation of the urban economies, which is realized through making enhancements in the city's innovative capacities. That is to say, making innovation is central to the notion of 'entrepreneurial city' as urban entrepreneurialism is actualized through place production by means of opening new markets and finding new sources of supplies.

Given that entrepreneurial city put into work a policy agenda in pursuit of local economic growth through new markets, supplies and employment opportunities, city's attractiveness plays a central role. A city's capacity to attract capital investments, goods, and people becomes a distinguishing remark of competence to achieve entrepreneurialism. On that account, governing bodies come to have a strong will to reimage the city, which in turn take on a new identity in accordance with the demands of global and local markets (Hubbard and Hall, 1998, 7). Jessop (1998, 88) argues that the discursive constitution of these identities derives from a complex set of norms and modes of socio-economic calculation. This normative vision identifies and seeks to erase 'the negative iconography' (Hubbard and Hall, 1998) -mostly associated with industrial city- in favour of establishing a sanitized urban environment viable for commercial and financial capital. To that end, governing bodies pave the way for 'flagships' or 'mega projects' that serves for both symbolic and material construction of cities' new

identities. Hubbard and Hall (ibid, 7-8) argue that ever-increasing presence of these prestige developments bears the marks of transition of cities' productive functions into 'spectacular' character. In addition, these developments also cater for commercial or residential uses of cities in compliance with consumerist ideologies.

In that meantime, culture is a significant component of these strategies to boost the economic growth of the city in two terms, according to Sharon Zukin (1995). First, culture symbolically informs the look and feel of the city. Thus, investments to the cultural infrastructure furnish an urban experience that serves for the attractiveness of the city; they function as a symbolic capital of built environment, which has an influential role in attraction of financial and commercial capital (see also Zukin, 2006). Second, in economic terms, she mentions the benefits for the service industries as it conforms to the urban transformation towards the functions of entertainment, consumption and residence. Similarly, in Harvey's (2001) account, culture provides compelling ground for claiming uniqueness of certain locations. Therefore, it would be a viable component of place-marketing strategies.

Apart from these, having a glance at third world urbanism, dynamics of entrepreneurial city have distinguishing characteristics to an extent. Contemporary debates address to fabulous growth of non-Western industrial cities across Latin America, Middle East, and South Asia in size, accompanied by economic restructuring of global capitalism, in which urban life is predominantly characterized by urban poverty, squatter settlements, and informal economy (e.g. Roy and Alsayyad, 2004; Simone, 2010). These components of urban life are plainly deemed to be 'urban problems' that should be cleansed in entrepreneurial policy frameworks. Urban strategies dealing squatter settlements and informal economy have thus reached at a massive scale (He and Wu, 2009; McFarlane, 2008).

### *2.1.2 Gentrification*

In line with the rise of entrepreneurial governance regimes, surfacing the attempt of reconfiguring the city under the rubric of market-driven mechanisms, gentrification has been placed in the forefront of urban policy agenda. Processes of gentrification, which in fact dates back to 1950s and 1960s, have turned into a global urban strategy in contemporary urban governance regimes (Smith, 2002). Following Hackworth and Smith's periodizations (2001), unlike the first wave (characterized by sporadic real estate developments by rising interests of middle classes in immediate localities in inner cities) and second wave (typically accompanying economic restructuring of newly emerging global cities), third wave of gentrification is informed by concrete manifestation of involvement of state actors.

Neil Smith (2002, 441) identifies this generalization of gentrification in neoliberal governance regimes through the terms of transformed role of the state, penetration by global finance, and sectoral and spatial dispersal. Here, there is an emphasis on the role of governmental actors who are in pursuit of regenerating the city in favour of recreative, residential, and commercial uses of urban space by affluent groups. Accordingly, he delineates a change in the role of state in line with the increasing attention of corporate powers to the profitable opportunities in gentrification. Gentrification, inaugurated as a crucial strategy for neoliberal governance regimes, intensified the partnerships between private capital and the local state since 1990s. This new wave of gentrification also brought up larger and more extensive urban transformation projects. Neil Smith (1996) conceives the processes of gentrification as a socio-spatial transformation of inner cities driven by capital mobilities. Conceiving gentrification as sequential processes of disinvestments and reinvestments, Smith (ibid) explains this phenomenon through formulating 'rent gap' account. In this formulation, the difference between the actual ground rent and its potential ground rent after capital investments provides the investors with profitable opportunities. Owing to this, 'rent gap' underlies the essential mechanism leading the way to gentrification in inner cities.

Conceived in this way, gentrification is examined as a multi-scalar urban process. Paying a particular attention to global scale, some scholars (e.g. Atkinson and Bridge, 2005) put forward the formative role of expansion of professional classes in accompany with neoliberal governance regimes and the mobility of global capital. On that account, increasing gentrification activities are deemed to be present in globalizing cities. On the other hand, Sharon Zukin (2010) addresses to relevance of some other local dynamics, which plays indispensable role in constituting a sense of place through media productions and consumer tastes. Therefore, gentrification in this wider context reveals complexity, to a certain extent, mediated through numerous alliances and conflicts, profit generation strategies, and various meaning-making processes. Such mediations dictate comprehension of gentrification as a historically and spatially specific phenomenon, incorporating various formations, meanings and lived experiences (Lees et al, 2008).

The dynamics paving the way for gentrification aside, a considerable attention is also paid to the transformation of socio-spatial relations in the process of gentrification. In the political economic tradition, re-making the city through the profit-oriented motives rests on the hegemony of ruling classes. All the same, capital accumulation processes under neoliberal urban governance are also conditioned by some other social relations different from class. Jessop and Sum (2012, 92) demonstrate that neoliberalism puts forward a hegemonic vision dominating the entire social order in the wake of capital accumulation. This denotes partake of particular socio-spatial formations “under the dominance of religion, military-police criteria, nation-building, socially constructed ‘racial’ demarcations, revolutionary socialism, capital accumulation, and so on” (ibid, 92). Demarcations are primarily formed along the class divides; however, their approach delineates manifestations of non-class identities in relevance to class terms (see Sum and Jessop, 2013; Jessop and Sum, 2012). That is to say, socio-spatial demarcations in the built environment are informed by intersectionality of class, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, etc.

This hegemony is reflected in the built environment in diverse ways. Aforementioned practices of creative destruction implicates displacement of 'undesirable' populations in which working class neighbourhoods take the lead, as they are viewed as markers of disorder, danger and decline (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). All in all, these resonate the sharpening of socio-spatial demarcations which are increasingly manifested in fragmented city, gated communities, gentrified neighbourhoods, enclaves, ghettos, etc. (Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000). Swyngedouw et al's study (2002) on neoliberal governance project across Europe also provides powerful insight into the extent of urban transformation that resulted in increasing exclusion and marginalization of undesired classes in favour of making islands of wealths in diverse urban spaces. Similarly, in his comments on generalization of gentrification across the world, Neil Smith (2002) argues that the question of social balance is rarely acknowledged without any sort of recognition of displaced populations.

In short, restructuring of state is fundamental to the understanding of neoliberal urbanism in political economic tradition. The evolution of urban policy agenda into entrepreneurialist practices and the generalization of gentrification in neoliberal governance regimes are the foremost markers of neoliberal transformation in urban governance. Viewing through this lens, as Barnett (2005, 10) suggests, the centrality of state restructuring and the hegemony of ruling classes in the conception of neoliberalism creates deficiencies in understanding the ways that individual/collective actions in everyday life are guided by neoliberalism. Seeing neoliberalism as a political dominance and class-driven hegemony leaves little room for an account of power relations that goes beyond dominant forces and social control (ibid, 9). This gap is filled by alternative theoretical accounts that sees neoliberalism as a political rationality put into practice through diverse techniques and restructure subject positions in economic, social, political and cultural life.

## 2.2 Neoliberal Governmentality

In contemporary debates on neoliberalism, there is extensive literature dealing with neoliberalism by taking into account productive forces of power. Invoking the works of Foucault, this account goes beyond a conception of modality of state action towards a discursive phenomenon. In Larner's (2000, 12) view, neoliberalism is discerned "as a system of meaning that constitutes institutions, practices, and identities in contradictory and disjunctive ways." The conception of neoliberalism delineates normative relations and practices cultivating entrepreneurial and innovative subjectivities within an active society, rather than hegemonically ruling over the societal order. Neoliberalism is not merely derived from a modality of state action operating as a capital conducive institutional body; it permeates into the political and social realms in congruity with the market rationality (Brown, 2006). This perspective does not necessarily underestimate the capacities of state action in neoliberal forms of government but it construes the role of the state as an allocation of direct and indirect mechanisms. As Brown (2006, 694) suggests, "the state itself must construct and construe itself in market terms, ... and promulgate a political culture that figures citizens exhaustively as rational economic actors". This leads to the formation of political culture in which subjectivities abiding by entrepreneurialist discourses are created and promoted (Lemke, 2001). In that regard, this understanding paves the way for elucidating on formation of individual and collective identities, constituted through the complex dynamics of power relations which are not limited to coercive and domineering forces.

Understanding neoliberalism in this way is deeply rooted in Foucault's (2007, 2008) works on governmentality. In his view, the government is the conduct of individuals' involvements with resources, spatial practices, ways of acting, and ways of thinking, etc. (Foucault, 2007, 96). The concept of 'conduct' here implies an exercise of power incorporating indirect interventions to the realm of possible actions. The conduct does not necessarily operate as an external regulation; the government rests upon the subject's freedom (Bröckling et al, 2011). Indeed, while conceiving 'freedom' as a fundamental component of the liberal arts of



government, he still contends with the pertinence of sovereignty and discipline. That is to say, modern arts of government recast the juridical and executive arms of the state as well as disciplinary techniques over the bodies and their capacities (Dean, 1999, 19). They come to incorporate a particular form of rule acting upon the population as a whole. Dean (ibid, 21) suggests an analytics of government to dissect these dynamics as follows:

“An analytics of a particular regime of practices, at a minimum, seeks to identify the emergence of that regime, examine the multiple sources of the elements that constitute it, and follow the diverse processes and relations by which these elements are assembled into relatively stable forms of organization and institutional practice. It examines how such a regime gives rise to and depends upon particular forms of knowledge and how, as a consequence of this, it becomes the target of various programmes of reform and change. It considers how this regime has a technical or technological dimension and analyses the characteristic techniques, instrumentalities and mechanisms through which such practices operate, by which they attempt to realize their goals, and through which they have a range of effects”

In understanding these relations, rationality, technologies and subjectivities are distinct and interrelated elements of government (Bröckling et al, 2011; Dean, 1999; Miller and Rose, 2008). These are the conceptual tools to undertake an analytics of government at three levels. Here, there lies the theoretical strength of this perspective as it provides an insight into neoliberalism in two ways: First, it seeks an answer to ‘how’ questions by directing the attention to practices of governments (see Dean, 1999); and second, it gives an account for the question of how neoliberalism delicately permeates into the social life (Lemke, 2001).

### *2.2.1 Neoliberalism as a Political Rationality*

Dean (1999, 27-30) suggests conceiving the activities of governing that comes out of a problematization after the examination of existing situations in which a series of governing practices are called for. These problematizations inform ‘the field of visibility’ characterizing the governmental regimes; it renders particular objects,

places, people, relations and practices intelligible to be governed. The government as a rational action is located within this domain in which its certain elements are identified as a 'problem' or 'question' to be re-aligned in terms of some ends.

The government of economic and social life has a discursive character, as Miller and Rose (2008, 29) states, in that sense. It presents some conceptualizations derived from the activities of examination. It involves a discourse of rationality incorporating the knowledge of social reality and identifying the objectives of government designed to transform that reality. On the basis of explanations and calculations of this rational knowledge, government is deemed to be of styles of thinking, a political rationality.

Viewing through this lens, neoliberalism is conceived as a political rationality that creates, circulates and promotes self-sufficiency, autonomy and entrepreneurialism (Rose, 1996; Rose 1999). In that regard, neoliberal government validates a prescriptive norm endorsing 'self-administering' of individuals, families, communities and neighbourhoods (Lemke, 2001). In that context, Ferguson (2010) suggests avoiding treating the term, neoliberalism, as an all-encompassing one on account of the idea that it is no a useful analytical strategy to generate such a broad and vague concept. Yet, he does not argue that the term does not have a utility other than confusing and conflating conception. As he regards, the way that neoliberalism is defined especially in the governmentality approach provides a clear analysis with an appropriate precision. As he states:

"Neoliberalism ... puts governmental mechanisms developed in the private sphere to work within the state itself, so that even core functions of the state are either subcontracted out to private providers, or run (as the saying has it) "like a business". The question of what should be public and what private becomes blurred, as the state itself increasingly organizes itself around "profit centers", "enterprise models", and so on. Rather than shifting the line between state and market, then, neoliberalism in this account involved the deployment of new, market-based techniques of government within the terrain of the state itself. At the same time, new constructions of "active" and "responsible" citizens and communities are deployed to produce governmental results that do not depend on

direct state intervention. The responsabilized citizens comes to operate as a miniature firm, responding to incentives, rationally assessing risks, and prudently choosing from among different courses of action” (Ferguson, 2010, 172).

Viewing through this lens, the reformulation of ruling bodies as the institutions running like business are remarkably present in the urban government regimes of Beyoglu . The local and central governments put forward the discourses of developmentalism favouring the symbolic and cultural heritage of the district. On that account, aspirations to improve ‘culture-oriented’ tourism are the basis of neoliberal political rationality that brings along the means of calculations in terms of bed capacities, amounts of money paid by tourists and Istanbulites, rates of property values, etc. This form of rational knowledge creates a discursive universe in which the attractiveness of the district in the eyes of tourists and affluent groups takes a priority in neoliberal government regimes of Beyoglu. In that sense, I suggest that it is credible to discern developmentalist urban agenda in Beyoglu as a neoliberal political rationality (these dynamics are examined in chapter 5 in detail).

### *2.2.2 Technologies of Government*

The forms of knowledge characterizing the values and norms of government are realized through some mechanisms of direct or indirect intervention, which are commonly called as ‘technologies of government’. By these technical means, the discourses of government are translated into real objects, places, people, relations and practices (Miller and Rose, 2008, 32). In this context, Foucauldian conception of power relations comes to the fore; the regimes of practices are deemed to be exercise of power mobilizing a capacity for action and adjusting certain subject positions acting upon political rationalities. As mentioned earlier, rather than conceiving power as merely coercive and dominating forces, there lies the idea of ‘freedom’ and ‘choice’ generated through negotiations, persuasions and seductions (Larner, 2000; Miller and Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999).

In understanding neoliberal technologies of government, individual responsabilization is articulated to explicate the fundamental mechanism (Lemke, 2001; 2007; Ong, 2006). The motives of competition and individualism ultimately proclaim one's responsibility in a neoliberal logic; and it deploys regulatory mechanisms "to harness and extract life forces" in Ong's (2006, 13) words. Hence, neoliberal power in Foucauldian terms is considered as a project of self-governing identified by 'freedom' and 'choice'. This conception leads to the idea that neoliberal power is not understood merely as rearrangements of social life through direct state acts but a process of regulation of people's everyday conduct (Keil, 2002). In the regulation of everyday life, non-state actors are also deemed to be the agents acting upon political rationalities (Rose-Redwood, 2006).

Yet this does not declaim strategic arrangements of coercive forces. In Foucault's (2007) account, the modern arts of government going through freedom and choice do not simply substitute for the disciplinary and sovereign forms of power but the complex dynamics of power relations operate through these three forms of power, which leads to the conception of government in a polymorphous character (Hansen and Stepputat, 2005; Lanz, 2013).

On that account, it is credible to pay attention to the coercive forces of state actors inculcating the normative human action. In Smith's (1996) account for 'revanchist city', for instance, repressive policing techniques are intensely prevalent in extending the spaces of wealth through obliterating morally and legally undesirable elements from the urban spaces. Likewise, Mitchell (2003) presents the pertinence of punitive mechanisms which outlaw certain practices marking the city with the meanings of insecurity and dirtiness.

Thus, these accounts help to discern the interplay of external regulation and 'technologies of self' in the neoliberal remake of social and economic life. As Mayer and Künkel (2012, 5-6) states, it is of great importance to dwell on both the external and internal forces in a fuller understanding of neoliberal urbanism:

“Foucauldian analysis foregrounds the ‘conduct of conduct’, a governmentality or system of beliefs steering people’s actions, which aims at mobilizing the ‘technologies of self’ – that is, the policing of the self as part of subject constitution – for specific goals. The framework thus enhances our understanding of neoliberal hegemony by revealing how it is sustained not only through (external) force but also by processes of identification and responsabilization ...”

This way of understanding neoliberal government portrays a dynamic and comprehensive image of neoliberal technologies. It leads to a conception of equivocal nature of neoliberalism, which opens the way to discern neoliberalism at the heart of ‘force as well as consent, inclusion as well as exclusion, scandalization as well as toleration’ (Künkel, 2012, 192). This implies a heterogeneous efficacy of governing human action which is differentially influencing different actors (Rehmann, 2016). It renders the depiction of neoliberal urbanism in multivalent terms.

### *2.2.3 Neoliberal Subjectivities*

Aforementioned dimensions of government that constitutes a particular rationality and is actualized through a set of mechanisms are also linked to formation of subjectivities at both individual and collective levels. The ways that individual and collective identities are created are straightly linked to the political rationality in the sense that it delicately identifies and promotes some subject positions in alignment with its calculations and styles of thinking (Dean, 1999, 32). In the context of neoliberal governmentality, the values of self-sufficient, autonomous, self-caring and entrepreneurial neoliberal selves, individually responsabilizing one for their own actions and risks, are the foremost elements (Lemke, 2001; Rose, 1999; Rose, 1996). Besides, in promotion and encouragement of neoliberal selves, there lies the relevance of the productive capacities of neoliberal power as it is conceived as an assembly of life forces cultivating, or enforcing, certain capacities of human action (Barnett, 2005; Larner, 2003; Ong, 2006).

However, it is worthy mentioning the attention of the scholars in that tradition to the idea that neoliberal governmentality goes through as a blueprint in which the

capacities to escape from its discursive frameworks are erased, or diminished. For instance, Bröckling et al. (2011, 17) suggests scrutinizing people's capacities to breach, dislocate and reject the arts of government in pursuit of another way of conduct. It is in this context that the potentials of 'counter-conduct' (Foucault, 2007) emerges as a form of contesting government that creates its own rational knowledge, puts into practice its own technologies and creates its own resistant selves (Death, 2010, 240-242).

#### *2.2.4 Neoliberalism Intermingling with Distinct Rationalities*

Although neoliberalism is conceived as a political project running through market rationality, being actualized through certain mechanisms and creating self-organizing entrepreneurial subjects in the tradition of governmentality studies, there is a controversy arising over the understanding the neoliberalism with a unitary organizing principle in the name of market rule. Miller and Rose (2008), for instance, underline the interplay of different rationalities and technologies with neoliberal political project. In this way, they urge the necessity to take into account apparently disparate and unconnected discourses and practices, which would be in play conforming with neoliberal rationalities<sup>6</sup>. Departing from this, there is a greater emphasis on local differences that necessitate a "mid-range theorizing" (Ong, 2006, 13).

Given that neoliberalism is an institutional arrangement favouring the extension of market-driven calculations, it is enacted through re-appropriations, translations and adaptations, which paves the way for pondering neoliberalism through heterogeneities (Blanco et al, 2014; Doel and Hubbard, 2002; England and Ward, 2007; Larner, 2003). Insistence on heterogeneity, herein, refers to a number of

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<sup>6</sup> Although these critiques mostly rely on post-structuralist strands of theories on neoliberalism, these dimensions are also incorporated into the political economic accounts –say, in Brenner et al's (2010) conception of "variegated neoliberalism" or in Sum and Jessop's (2013; see also Jessop and Sum, 2012) recognition to see capital accumulation as an entanglement with socio-cultural and socio-political imaginaries.

dimensions that results in substantial divergences. This is to suggest a conception with some indeterminacy and uncertainty. For that reason, as Ananya Roy (2009, 822) argues, it would be hardly grasped through theoretical generalizations. Likewise, Larner (2000, 14) calls for elaborating neoliberalism as a political rationality that is characterized by complexities, ambiguities, and the contingency (see also Kingfisher and Maskovsky, 2008). On that account, she urges the necessity to scrutinize the ‘messy actualities’ of particular neoliberal experiences in order to elude generalized accounts.

In pursuit of dwelling on these contingencies, a body of literature addresses to the entanglement of neoliberalism with other political projects (like nationalism, conservatism, colonialism etc.) in diverse socio-cultural and socio-political contexts (Barnett, 2005; Blanco et al, 2014; England and Ward, 2007; Jeffrey et al, 2012; Larner, 2003). A number of studies present compelling evidence in support of entanglement of distinct political rationalities. For instance, Phil Hubbard (2004) scrutinizes gendering dimensions of urban entrepreneurialism through analyzing the policy frameworks dealing with prostitution. He argues that displacement of sex workers for making the city more “safe” and “hygienic” could not only understood within logics of capital accumulation but also of gendered and heteronormative arrangements in Western post-industrial societies.

Apart from these, having an eye on non-western context, Ananya Roy (2009, 826) argues how informality sits on well with neoliberal regimes of practices. She states that the urban informality is not only survival strategy of the urban poor but state itself operates in these domains to establish and extend mechanisms of accumulation and legitimation. She points out that Western theories of urban accumulation and regulation conceives these processes within the formal mechanisms. For that reason, she underlies the necessity to develop a conceptual terrain sensitive to geographical particularities of non-western.

Wendy Brown’s (2006) analysis of neoliberalism, which is particularly focusing on the American context, also provides an insight into its co-functioning with conservatism. On the one hand, she mentions contradictory aspects of

neoliberalism and neoconservatism. Accordingly, the conservative political reason favouring a moral subject on the basis of religious and family values may substantially clash with neoliberal rationality promoting self-interested subjects on the basis of productivity and profitability. However, on the other hand, she concomitantly remarks how conservatism functions as a supplement of neoliberal policy frameworks. According to her, religious discourses and practices on the grounds of conservative rationalities are important fertilizer to generate normative political reason in consonance with neoliberal practices. Considered in this way, the mutual reinforcement of neoliberalism and conservatism in the light of Brown's account plays an influential role in analysing the dynamics of neoliberalism in Turkey (see Acar and Altunok, 2013; Karaman, 2013; see also "The Mutual Reinforcement of Conservatism and Neoliberalism" in this chapter).

#### *2.2.5 Affective Dynamics of Neoliberal Discourses, Practices and Subjects*

In so far as neoliberalism is discerned as a political project actualized through the regimes of practices which create particular subjectivities, it is credible to take into consideration the affective dynamics (D'Aoust, 2014). The affective qualities – derived from the relations with people, objects and places- can be identified in particular forms of knowledge, its capacities can be mobilized as a productive force, and finally, particular subject positions can be marked with distinct affective terms.

For understanding these dynamics, Anderson (2012, 34) conceives neoliberalism as a practice of governing the 'all of life' involving affective capacities. In that regard, the affective life comes to be 'object-target' to be governed in the way that its value-conducive components are extended and promoted, and other incongruent components to accrue value are distracted. For instance, the regimes of practices seeking to govern the symbolic economies of cities in pursuit of producing creative, inventive and convivial site evince the centrality of affective life in entrepreneurialist discourses and practices (Thrift, 2004, 68). Taking the example of a formerly industrial city in UK, Bennett (2013) indicates how place promotion strategies take on the engineering of affective life. As she illustrates,



governing bodies attempt to promote people's belonging to the city that would in turn improve the city's attractiveness to the investors. In this sense, the affective life becomes both the object of knowledge identifying its desirable elements and technological element responding to the needs and demands (Anderson, 2014).

Neoliberal government restructuring the affective life in congruity with market rationality does also rest on the creation of subjectivities marked with some affective registers. The nascent literature examining the interplay of affect and neoliberalism presents that disparate affective dispositions are valorised and mobilized. Vradi and Monstion's (2014) study demonstrating that self-responsibilized and self-interested subjects of volunteerism imbued with affective competencies, and Richard and Rudnycky's (2009) study demonstrating the role of affective ties binding different neoliberal subjects are some of the examples scrutinizing this dimension.

Apart from these, neoliberal subjectivities can also be marked with certain affective dispositions naming some subject positions as menaces to social order set forth by the market rationality. As Wrenn (2014) suggests, these dispositions derive from the circumstances of generalized discomfort with some people, places or practices. Self-interested neoliberal selves come to identify and label these components of collective life as incompatible within the bounds of market rationality. Voelkner's (2014) study dissecting the discourses of femininity in Vietnam is a good example of this dimension. She demonstrates that the discursive frameworks are deployed to discourage the allegedly 'shameful' practices of commercial sex, and to exercise technologies of self to recreate self-sufficient, entrepreneurial selves in congruity with respectability and morality.

### **2.3 Spaces of Night in Neoliberalizing Contexts**

Increasing number of studies put forward spatiality of nightlife and its relevance to contemporary urban processes. One of the most representative example of this phenomenon is the rise of the concept '24-hour city' (e.g. Robert and Turner, 2005; Heath, 1997), particularly in 90s' Britain. The concept was originally rooted

in a critique towards mono-functional city zoning. In opposition to nine-to-five urbanism, revitalization of night publicity has been prevalently favoured as a response to economic restructuring, exclusively in former industrial cities like Manchester, Leeds, Newcastle and so on. So-called revitalization of night publicity was unambiguously evoking “creative destruction of city” (Brenner and Theodore, 2002) under entrepreneurial regimes. Creation of ‘24-hour city’ initiated by local authorities was implying strategies to create new opportunities for investments and spaces for consumption in addition to various techniques to furnish night publicity as an attractive spatial domain. Revitalization of night publicity has been intentionally implicated through creating safer and playful cities and facilitating a vibrant night economy. ‘Night urbanism’ comes forward as a distinctive spatial domain that serves for material and symbolic urban economy (e.g. Robert and Turner, 2005). In other words, night economy is beheld under the circumstances of entrepreneurial discourses and practices seeking for extension of consumption-based economies and as an integral part of city branding.

Manifestations of economic restructuring in the nocturnal city are examined through employing different theoretical frameworks outlined above. Accordingly, a vast array of studies deals with these processes as the revelation of capital accumulation regimes that result in increasing exclusion and marginalization. Besides, some other studies provide a different explanation utilizing poststructuralist strands of thought by means of making use of a conceptual terrain revolving around neoliberal subjectivities and technologies of power.

### *2.5.1 Exclusion and Marginalization in Neoliberal Night*

In the view of political economic account, nightlife is beheld as a multi-faceted spatial domain where neoliberal government regimes are increasingly prevalent. Concomitantly, such spatiality also accommodates a dynamic ground for different and contesting urban practices and meanings. In this way, nightlife is examined through a number of conceptual frames like gentrification, commodification, urban regeneration and post-industrialisation manifesting transformation of socio-

spatial relations in diverse contexts. Chatterton and Hollands' (2003) study is a pioneering example that sheds light on these complexities in a comprehensive way (see also Chatterton and Hollands, 2002; Chatterton, 2002; Hollands and Chatterton, 2002). Here, they propose two lines of inquiry: First, they unravel the ways that nocturnal practices and meanings are produced and circulated at three levels, which are production, regulation and consumption. They make the emphasis on the actors who shape and get benefit of these processes in both social and economic terms. Secondly, they dwell on the fragmented character of night and map out different aspects of night cultures, in the name of dominant/legitimized urban nightlife, alternative nightlife and residual nightlife, which are formed along the axis of neoliberalism and globalization. In this way, they propose nightlife as an ambiguous and contesting site although some particular forms are more likely to dominate. In addition, there are also some other studies that delineate these complexities in diverse contexts of gender (van den Berg, 2011), class (Hae, 2011; Thomas and Bromley, 2000) and race/ethnicity (Talbot, 2004).

The crucial point to be derived from this literature demonstrates the motives to establish market-driven mechanisms. A complex set of regulatory practices is employed to re-make the nighttime city for the benefit of corporations in the entertainment industry (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003). More importantly, those mechanisms are tied up with symbolic and material economy of cities with the intent of creating exclusive leisure zones, city branding and gradually, selling the city itself (Chatterton, 2002). As Chatterton and Hollands (2003) argue, nightlife is an indispensable component of a vibrant urban image as it promises a 'playful' and 'joyful' urban experience for entrepreneurialist policy agenda. Urban nightscapes are comprised of various social practices laden with hedonism and pleasure. Therefore, it provides opportunities for symbolic construction of the urban image through aestheticization of the city. In material terms, it is also of huge importance as it renders profit making and employment in service industries possible.

Local governments put into practice policy frameworks regulating and/or deregulating nocturnal practices in the purpose of creating vivid, safe and attractive nightscapes of cities. Regarding a variety of studies incorporating experiences of some major urban centres famous for its buoyant night life like New York, London, Manchester etc., it could be stated that those regulatory mechanisms appeal to licensing judiciary, policing styles and door security (Chatterton, 2002; Hae, 2011). These mechanisms are utilizing different tools and tactics; and moreover, they are serving to different ends. On the one hand side, there appears a deregulatory legislative framework, which extends licensing hours of venues, and some fiscal subsidies such as reduction for electricity tariffs (Hae, 2011, 3). On the other hand, regulatory mechanisms may also come up with certain restrictions in the ends of ordering nighttime entertainment. For instance, policing styles can be traced out as a variant conduct in the segmented character of nightlife. While policing may be conducted through an implicit suspicion and intervention on local and independent nightlife zones, it may be performed in a supervising and pleasure-guaranteeing way for corporate-led night zones (Chatterton, 2002, 34). Besides, some other strategies, like surveillance by virtue of CCTV and street lighting, serves for the purposes of safe urban environment (Talbot, 2004). Similarly, there are some other socio-spatial strategies individually exercised by entertainment venues like door supervision. Bouncers perform these strategies which are explicitly linked with styles and behaviour of consumers and results in boundary-making in order to exclude urban undesirables (Chatterton, 2002, 35).

Under the rubric of urban entrepreneurialism, the extension and proliferation of “playscapes” (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002) introduces a cosmopolitan character wherein differences might be joyfully embraced. Here, nightlife potentially offers an extended spatial domain catering for particular identity formations and subcultural groupings comprised of sexual communities, ethnicities as well as some other social formations identified by various belongings in terms of musical tastes and lifestyles (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002; 2003). Moreover, urban nightscapes are also remade and reinscribed by these

differences. Nighttime revellers and the way they revel becomes integral part of (nocturnal) meaning making processes in the city. Production of urban meanings, in the name of 'vibrancy', 'coolness', 'hipness', 'cosmopolitanism' and 'buoyancy', may possibly address to those cultural processes in which the urban image is being re-inscribed and circulated in consumption processes.

However, night publicity is also a site for contestations and conflicts (Zukin, 1995); and thus, certain practices and meanings may be more valorised and visible (Hae, 2011). Aforementioned entrepreneurial policy agendas definitely bring up deepening socio-spatial demarcations –which are laden especially with class (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Hae, 2011). What niche markets of entertainment industry target for, and regulatory mechanisms take as a reference point addresses to middle class consumption (Hollands and Chatterton, 2002, 293). As a reflection of increased fragmentation and segmentation, boundary-making strategies at production, regulation and consumption processes are substantially characterized by class positionings.

The very class content of nightlife aside, there exists relatively fewer numbers of studies emphasizing that various practices and meanings are also gendered as well. Although it is implicitly underestimated in the literature, it is evident that entrepreneurial strategies are constructed through gendered meanings in intersectionality with class and race/ethnicity. For instance, Marguerita van den Berg (2012) sheds light on Rotterdam case and processes of the city's adopting a new symbolic economy. According to her, Rotterdam has been suffering from a masculine image due to the city's industrial past, which entails a profile of the city, incorporating working classes with masculine traits, populated by non-Western migrants with high levels of poverty. As a response to this, launch of the project 'La City', in 2008, mobilizing various strategies for urban renewal of built environment and attraction of creative industries, corresponds to complexities, in which gender and class work together (ibid, 155). Urban regeneration practices entail displacement of lower classes while attempting to attract creative industries and middle class gay and women inhabitants to live and work. In this way, changing image of the city Rotterdam through creating commercial and cultural

attractiveness, and facilitating a women/gay-friendly urban publicity does not particularly address to nightlife while nocturnal experience of city is apparently significant.

### *2.3.2 Neoliberal Subjectivities in Nocturnal City*

Engaging with poststructuralist account, debates on neoliberalization of nightlife articulate particular trajectories of nocturnal experiences and present a critique of political economic narratives. Here, Robert Shaw's (2015; 2014; 2010) comments are worthy of attention as he purports remarkable accounts while markedly paying attention to urban processes in nightlife. According to him, understanding the neoliberalization of nightlife as manifestations of regulatory system neglects the locally based agencies (2010, 898). Instead, moving towards the concept of the subjectivities of neoliberalism, he suggests pondering how neoliberal discourses and practices are maintained and rearticulated in nighttime processes.

"The subjectivity of compliant consumerism" is a key term to understand the maintenance of neoliberal logic in Shaw's (2010, 898) account. In the meantime, certain technologies of power condition this process. Referring to Hayward and Hobbs (2007), he chronicles spatial order (like architectural design), formally controlling agents (like bouncers' role) and inconspicuous spatial strategies (like use of lighting and sound) to explicate these technologies (Shaw, 2010, 899). That is to say, creation of consumerist subjectivities in urban nightscapes bolsters a normative spatial order. These consumerist subjectivities do not predicate upon a strong determination but allow for differing, to a certain extent, on the basis of 'freedom' and 'choice'. In other words, creation of consumerism does not imply a determinate formation of subjectivities but diversities within the bounds of normativity.

Departing from this, proliferation of neoliberal policies is also considered through the terms of affective dimensions. In his study based on a fieldwork in Newcastle, Robert Shaw (2014; 2015) conceives the construction and management of subjectivities by examining how the urban atmospheres are governed. The

concept of 'atmosphere' informs a mode of affection at a collective level. As an emergent form out of relations (both human and non-human relations), it conditions a spatial experience with a certain force<sup>7</sup> (Anderson, 2009, 78).

The involvement of affective dimensions in the context of neoliberal night accommodates two distinct but interrelated domains of urban atmospheres: (i) that of orchestrating the affection that trigger conviviality; (ii) and that of diluting fear. In each cases, Robert Shaw (2014) identifies certain set of spatio-temporal practices that define and entrench the boundaries and identities of places in reference to particular affections. The urban atmosphere in the night-time city is an outcome of eventful construction processes through gathering of various bodies and transmittance of affects between them (ibid, 90).

Neoliberal policies are involved in these processes of construction wherein particular affections (like creativity and conviviality) are mobilized and orchestrated in congruity with place-marketing strategies (Bennett, 2013; Shaw, 2015). For instance, Shaw (2015, 466) mentions the performative character of streets prompted by the neoliberal government regimes. He denotes that a number of businesses and the crowd in and around these businesses convey a message of spontaneous creativity. This way of neoliberal policy-making, in his account, that is rooted in the shaping of subjectivities are clear attempts to transform the urban life itself.

All the same, neoliberal policy frameworks also handle the imagined or real elements of threat undermining the images of safety in the nighttime city (Thomas and Bromley, 2000). However, these dimensions are of some complexity as unequal power relations that condition dynamics of fear emerging from the non-human and material elements (like lighting and policing) and some other social factors in intersectionality of gender, ethnicity and class (Brands et al, 2015). Here homelessness, street violence, crime, sex work are prominent issues. The

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<sup>7</sup> It should be noted that, following Anderson's (2009, 80) conception, the terms of 'atmosphere' does not identify a determinate and static mode of affection but all-presence of processes of affection.

configuration of fearful urban environments is considered especially in relevance to gendered, racial, and classed meanings and practices especially in post-industrial urban context.

The neoliberal currents at night, in the poststructuralist strand of thought, are conceived through tracing out numerous strategies in the purpose of governing the disorder and threat associated with certain subject positions. As Nayak (2006) states, the nighttime city establishes a variety of mechanisms delimiting their entrance to 'clean', 'modest' and 'respectable' nocturnal zones. Along these lines, the portrayal of the city would be possibly articulated through social and cultural hierarchies. In the meantime, the policies dealing with these undesirable elements are considered as revelation of racist, patriarchal, heteronormative implications with diverse specificities in local contexts (DeVerteuil, 2009; Hubbard, 2004; Swanson, 2007; Williams, 2014).

Last but not the least, some studies unveil the processes of neoliberalization in the nighttime city with a particular focus on non-Western geographies. Here, informality is a pivotal term that predominate the urban processes in the night. For instance, Yeo and Heng (2014) demonstrate the resilience of urban informality in the neoliberalizing Singapore. Accordingly, nighttime experience of the city depicts an informal nuance wherein the crowd attends to numerous activities of informal urban economy. The aforementioned informality is a survival strategy, especially of the urban poor. Moreover, informal way of interactions is not restricted to the survival strategies but may also characterize the urban government practices. Tadié and Permanadeli (2015) examine the government policies in Jakarta's nightlife in this way. They state that informal arrangements of the state are central in the adaptations of neoliberal discourses and practices. The presence of informal economy aside, informality is apparent in the policy and government realms (ibid, 474). Certain practices of the local governments regulating the nightlife and sex industry in the city bring up the blurring of the distinction between informality and formality as these practices are predicated upon arbitrariness.



In short, growing body of literature on neoliberalization of night demonstrate that the processes of urban remake are actualized through the interplay of exclusion and marginalization on the one hand, and cultivating of entrepreneurial subjectivities, on the other hand. Recent debates on neoliberalization in Istanbul similarly portray this coexistence of power structures, as they are presented in the following part.

## 2.4 Neoliberal Urbanism in Istanbul

In Istanbul, socio-spatial transformations have been profoundly witnessed in line with the rise of urban imaginaries envisaging ‘the globalizing Istanbul’ since 1980s (Keyder, 1999). However, these transformations have extended into a tremendous scope and magnitude in the last decade (Karaman, 2013b, 718). Above all, the ruling political party AKP (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi – Justice and Development Party*) established a new legislative framework through a set of amendments assigning local and central governmental bodies to promote, initiate and regulate urban development strategies (Kuyucu, 2014; Türkün, 2011; Uzun, 2007; see also following chapter). Accordingly, local governments in Turkey had the legal responsibility to undertake entrepreneurialist projects. To that end, authorities embarked upon a variety of strategies ranging from ‘mega-projects’ to urban renewal or regeneration projects in squatter settlements and inner cities. These projects are exemplars of development strategies in pursuit of reimagining the city and constituting a new identity by means of investing in the city’s attractiveness to be viable for capital investments.

To begin with, urban transformation projects in Kartal, Küçükçekmece Haydarpaşa, and Galataport have been publicized; they represent the ‘mega projects’ contributing to Istanbul’s new identity. They aim to replace the industrial image of the city with service economies. They involve office buildings, prestigious hotels, shopping malls or residential areas, or cruise ship ports for tourism, which are replacing residential, commercial and transportation functions of an industrial city. Indeed, they are actualized through involvement of prominent architects – Zaha Hadid designs the project of Kartal, and Ken Yeang designs the project of

Küçükçekmece. These attempts illustrate the substantial transformation of Istanbul into what Hubbard and Hall (1998) calls as 'spectacular city'. Besides, as Asu Aksoy (2014, 29) states, these practices purport a political economic project involving the attempts of "constructing the city anew". This projection implicates an economic restructuring identified by de-industrialisation, expansion of service industries and advancing the city's competitiveness in order to attract international capital flows. Therefore, it leads to improving urban infrastructure (such as transportation systems, cultural facilities, etc.), aestheticization of urban fabric, revitalization of certain urban centres and expansion of consumption places. That is to say, they serve for ameliorating the look and feel of the city (Zukin, 2009).

Besides, transforming the urban image through demolishing the squatter settlements, and revitalizing the social, economic and cultural life in historical city centres has also been pivotal in the local policy agendas. In line with this, numerous urban transformation/renewal projects for different housing and consumption areas (such as the cases of Sulukule, Tarlabası as well as urban transformations in a number of squatter settlements such as Ayazma and Başbüyük, etc) are being actualized at various edges of the city. Implementation of each strategy is apparently distinctive and intends a spatial transformation in line with the projects' socio-spatial particularities. However, any strategy is laden with a capacity paving the way for implementation of another (see Özbay, 2014, 191; Yalçın et al, 2014, 55).

In recent debates, these neoliberal arrangements in Istanbul are taken into account in two distinct ways. First, some studies deal with transformation of socio-spatial relations pondering the purposes of these projects and their societal effects. Among them, deepening inequalities under the guise of displacement, exclusion, and marginalization are deemed to be at forefronts. However, although limited, some studies handle neoliberal urbanism as a political rationality that cultivates certain subjectivities. Second, the fashion of neoliberal urbanism and its consonance with other socio-political and socio-cultural meanings are scrutinized

in Turkey's cultural and political context. It is widely recognized that neoliberal urbanism is actualized in a conservative and authoritarian context.

#### *2.4.1 Transformation of Socio-Spatial Relations*

The shift in policy paradigm of Istanbul's urban government has resulted in the transformation of socio-spatial relations in diverse ways. Above all, a number of studies explicate this in relevance to class relations; these processes are concrete manifestations of displacing and replacing urban poverty (Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008, 7). Neoliberal configurations of the city entail intensifying segregation of spaces of poverty and wealth. In consonance with this polarisation, gentrification (Islam, 2005) and gated communities (Geniş, 2007) gain importance in the urban fabric wherein new classes identified by economic and cultural terms play a crucial role. These processes work conjointly with displacement of urban poor. However, it is of a complexity. Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010) addresses to the effects of tenure structures in the urban transformation projects, which in turn results in deeper socio-economic costs for less advantaged populations in project implementation areas (see also Kuyucu, 2014).

Besides, these transformations are discursively legitimized through a set of discourses and practices. Here, the primary mechanism is the designation of a project implementation area as "spaces of decay", especially through adhering to moral discourses and socio-cultural hierarchies. Owing to this, certain projects are legitimized through "discourses of urgency" (Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008, 17) in the purpose of creating a sense of fear and need. These dimensions are manifested especially in Sulukule and Tarlabası where prostitutes, transgender women, Kurdish or Romani populations are living in and persistently associated with moral decadence due to presence of prostitution and drug dealing (Dinçer, 2011; Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010).

In addition to these, debates also involve the dynamics of neoliberal urbanism as a productive force that govern people's everyday conduct and dispositions. Karaman's (2013b) study on an urban transformation project in a squatter

settlement in Başbüyük provides an insight into these dynamics. He argues that neoliberal arrangements play a formative role in every aspects of social life. In the everyday life of Başbüyük's residents, neoliberal arrangements have an influence in both economic and spatial terms. He states that, in economic terms, neoliberal arrangements generate temporary jobs especially in construction sector, which turned out to be one of the major source of income for male residents. In spatial terms, this transformation is reflected in residents' use of space; while plenty of garden spaces were used for agricultural production and socialization, spatial transformation into vertical and high-density residential use results in cleansing these garden spaces.

Karaman's study (2013b) intriguingly illustrates how productive capacities of neoliberal power, and dispossession and dislocation are interlinked to each other. While he bluntly recognizes how former residents in Başbüyük are forced to be relocated, he concomitantly demonstrates that former residents are forced to comply with neoliberal discourses. Accordingly, residents are forced to be incorporated into a mortgage market which take on the extended marketization of their selves. This dimension addresses to a rise of the neoliberal ideal which makes individuals and families are responsabilized to take action and govern their lives.

#### *2.4.2 The Mutual Reinforcement of Conservatism and Neoliberalism*

Apart from these, the dynamics of neoliberalism in Istanbul is also considered in the sense that shape and is shaped by conservative political projects. The conservative character of ruling *JDP* (that holds the power at both central and local governments in Istanbul) and to what extent it is manifested in the neoliberal political reason is debated in that regard. The intersections of conservatism and neoliberalism in the urban government regimes are particularly observed in some urban transformation projects that symbolically communicate the conservative currents of ruling authorities. Yet, conservative political reason may also come to emerge and govern the everyday conduct in tandem with neoliberal arts of government.

To begin with the symbolic dimension, the construction of Topçu Barracks in Gezi Park, a nodal point of Beyoglu, is an outstanding example for conservative blend of neoliberal urbanism. As a matter of fact, the project is designed to involve a high-end consumption place distinctively marked with luxurious lifestyles. Concomitantly, the architectural style of the project favours the aesthetic values of Ottoman Heritage as the building is designed to be a replica of Topçu Barracks from 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire. In that regard, the project is discerned as a sign of conservative political reason imbued with Ottoman nostalgia (Aksoy, 2014, 40). Yet, the idea that the project derives from the conservative norms and values is not limited to the cultural expression of Ottoman nostalgia in architectural styles. As Gül et al (2014, 68) suggests, ruling bodies come to eliminate the signs of secularist ideology in the public space and reinscribe space through symbols of Ottoman memort. In this view, Taksim Square is deemed to be a site where secular and Western symbols dominate; thus, the establishment of an urban project which is primarily designed to involve consumption place concomitantly take on the meaning of struggle over the public space. Incorporation of distinct aesthetic codes in Ottoman style symbolically shows how the transformation of a public space (Gezi Park) into a private domain (a high end shopping mall) can also be moulded by contesting political reason.

Apart from these, the religiously-inspired takeover of the city shows the neoliberalism blended with conservatism (Gürcan and Peker, 2014, 75). Above all, it should be noted that the conservate political reason is predominantly apparent especially in the social policies (see “Espousing Conservative Values in Neoliberal Government of Beyoglu” in Chapter 5). The social policy realm in Turkey constitutes a legitimate ground where conservative norms and values finely overlap with budget cuts, tariff elimination, decrease in wages, increasing unemployment etc. The former welfare state functions are substituted with religious charities and family networks (Beşpınar, 2014; Buğra, 2012; Kaya, 2015). These changes in policy frameworks do not only serve for the neoliberal economic doctrine but also family and/or religion-based moral compass for the

society which is constantly promoted by the conservative political reason (Çavuşoğlu and Strutz, 2014; Gürcan and Peker, 2014).

Besides, considering these dynamics in the urban government regimes, Karaman's (2013a) study provides a profound insight into the mutual reinforcement of neoliberalism and conservatism. He plausibly regards that, in the JDP's discourses and practices, the neoliberal and conservative rationalities act upon each other in a symbiotic fashion (ibid, 3419). That is to say, these two political rationalities, although taken as disparate ones with distinct characteristics and ends, get enmeshed in and mutually reinforce each other. Karaman (ibid, 3424) suggests the entrenchment of neoliberalism in JDP's hands by virtue of the party's widespread acceptance and strong trust, which are rooted in its religious and conservative outlook. In that regard, by analysing the redistributive policies in an urban renewal project, he shows that these policies –which are substantially moulded by Islamic norms and values- help maintaining the party's acceptance and trust while concomitantly running through the neoliberal economic doctrine.

Technologies that legitimate ruling authority outright are the primary mechanisms that tie the conservative currents to the rising authoritarianism. Having based on this political authority at an unprecedented level, AKP authorizes certain state actors (like Mass Housing Administration – MHA) to develop urban transformation projects disregarding local voices and demands (Kuyucu, 2014). Just as these actors are the absolute authorities to enact numerous policies at varying scope (from housing projects to infrastructural investments), state, herein, forges a political body redefining the distinction between formality and informality in congruity with the ends of capital accumulation. This is the reminiscent of Ananya Roy's (2009) debate on 'informality of state'. While numerous state actors govern the urban life, not only in economic terms but also in socio-cultural and socio-political terms, diverse governmental bodies are granted to act upon these political rationalities without unprecedented authorities and power. The broad authorities of governing bodies in decision-making and implementation processes leave little space for negotiations or contestations.

Having said this, the authoritarian manner is also demonstrated in the practices to eradicate oppositions against AKP's neoliberal urban agenda. Brutality of police power against the protesters of neoliberal projects epitomizes the level of authoritarian government (Eraydın and Taşan-Kok, 2014). In addition, Deniz Yonucu (2014) demonstrates the role of militarist technologies in the enactment of urban transformation in a neighbourhood aligned with leftist politics. She proclaims that numerous techniques (like arbitrary police investigations at street, presence of police vehicles and police raids on home) are symbolically and performatively constitutive elements to legitimate and accelerate urban transformation. The presence and interventions of police forces remake the project implementation area as a site of 'urban decay'; and they contribute to the processes of legitimation by means of making these sites knowable as 'criminal', 'marginal', and 'outrageous'.

## **2.5 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter examines the recent theoretical debates on neoliberalism and its repercussions in nightlife and the case of Istanbul in general, by revisiting the political economic tradition and governmentality studies. Considering these approaches as the major theoretical lenses to dissect neoliberalism, I employ the tradition of governmentality studies as the basis in this study.

By doing so, I take the opportunity to examine the complex dynamics of neoliberalism as a political project that creates and circulates particular forms of knowledge, and constitutes normative standards on the basis of calculations and styles of thinking in market terms. This account helps me portraying a dynamic image of neoliberalism characterized by contingencies and ambiguities in local cultural contexts, as well as affective dynamics. Besides, this account giving priority to the mechanisms that translate neoliberal political rationality into reality renders possible to take into account the technical aspects. That is to say, it provides an insight into complex dynamics of power relations incorporating the Foucauldian conception of power that sees neoliberalism as interplay of external regulations and technologies of self. In this way, it goes beyond an understanding

of neoliberalism actualized through coercive forces and sheds light on the creative capacities of neoliberalism generating subjectivities, dispositions and identities.

Following this, I present a brief overview of the literature considering neoliberalization in nightlife and Istanbul. In the debates of neoliberalization of night, some studies depict that neoliberalization of night constitute, or reinvigorate, socio-spatial boundaries between different classes, and gender and ethnic identities. In addition, some others inspired by governmentality studies demonstrate the formation of neoliberal subjectivities, which are characterized by discursive frameworks of consumerism, and middle class values and norms. In a similar vein, the literature concerning neoliberalization in Istanbul parallel the pertinence of these debates in local context. In addition to transformation of socio-spatial relations and cultivation of neoliberal subjectivities, the literature addresses to linkages of neoliberal urbanism with authoritarianism and conservatism.



## CHAPTER 3

### EXPLORING 'NEOLIBERAL NIGHT'

In this chapter, I present the methodological approach of this study by demonstrating the linkages between theoretical framework and research methods. In what follows, I will first present in what way the analytics of neoliberal government has informed my methodological approach. Following this, I will illustrate which methods of data collection I have used and what kind of field strategies I have developed respectively. Finally, I will demonstrate the critical aspects of data processing including transcription, interpretation and analysis of collected data.

#### 3.1 The Analytics of Neoliberal Government

My theoretical approach relies on the analytics of specific conditions under which neoliberal government emerge in and change the spaces of night in Beyoglu. Following the theoretical perspective of governmentality studies, I examine neoliberalism in the form of possessing logic, rationality, certain styles of thinking and calculations that is inherently oriented towards particular ends and purposes. Such an analytical framework leads to an understanding of neoliberalism as a discursive formation that creates and circulates some vocabularies, terms, regimes of practices and subjectivities. In pursuit of understanding these dimensions, I utilize a discourse analytic framework. The use of discourse analysis provided an insight into the normative meanings of neoliberal night, guiding mechanisms that actualize neoliberalization of Beyoglu and the construction of neoliberal subjectivities.

Another important analytical outlook of this study is its focus on the dynamics of emotions and affect in construction of neoliberal subjectivities across spaces of

night. The affective dispositions of the actors of nightlife in Beyoglu were crucial in the formation of subjectivities. In order to understand what role the dynamics of emotion and affect played in the construction of neoliberal subjectivities, I paid a particular attention to these dynamics. In this sense, I showed wariness to these dimensions in pursuit of exploring and understanding the discourses of neoliberal subjectivities across spaces of night.

### *3.1.1 Discourse Analysis*

Viewing through the lens of a discourse analytic approach, I considered texts and talks as discursive formations which construct and legitimate the categories of un/desirability, in/attractiveness and un/safety across spaces of night. These formations consisting of some representations of feeling and thought provided insight into the meaning-making processes in neoliberalization of Beyoglu.

The analysis of discursive formations is interested in the content and organization of language, as it is deemed to be a part of construction of the social world (Gill, 2000; Potter and Wetherhell, 1995). As Gill (2000, 175) contends, “language and linguistic practices offer a sediment of systems of terms, narrative forms, metaphors and commonplaces from which a particular account can be assembled”. Viewing the discursive formations through this lens, I am interested in how the categories of un/desirable, in/attractiveness and un/safety are developed and maintained in diverse discursive practices. For instance, in analysing the discursive formations in Beyoglu’s urban government regimes, I aim to understand how the categories of desirability, attractiveness and safety inherently come with the developmentalist discourses. In a similar vein, I investigate how these categories are reverberated in the construction of self and other across different actors of Beyoglu’s night scene.

To begin with, I have examined night venues and entertainment life in Beyoglu as objects of neoliberal discourses. As Fadyl et al (2012, 483-484) suggests, particular discourses come to identify, speak of and act upon various objects. Certain objects appear as visible, describable and manifest entities which are

formed by some styles of thinking and feeling in discursive practices. Besides, there exists complex ways of identification in which 'object' of discourse is specified and classified. By taking night venues and entertainment life of Beyoglu as object of neoliberal discourses, I have investigated how wide variety of entertainment practices and cultures are described, specified and classified.

I deal with these discursive formations as an integral part of meaning-making processes (Potter and Wetherhell, 1995). That is to say, I investigate various forms of conceptions deriving from description, specification and classification of objects in the discursive practices. In that regard, I present the appropriation of the categories of 'attractiveness', 'desirability' and 'safety' that play a central role in creation of social divisions across spaces of night. I demonstrate the construction of legitimated and degraded identities and cultures which are grounded on the discourses of attractiveness, desirability and safety. I scrutinize in what forms and ways these concepts come to play a role in both neoliberal government regimes and ordinary people's ways of thinking and feeling in Beyoglu's night scene.

In order to understand the meaning making processes through production and circulation of these concepts, the normative meanings are examined in relation to their context. I have considered the hierarchically fragmented organization of nightlife in Beyoglu as a context to which discourses of attractiveness, desirability and safety refer. While certain social divisions in the name of in/attractive, un/desirable and un/safe are constructed and maintained, socio-cultural and socio-economic hierarchies in Beyoglu's night scene constituted the contextual features that made particular accounts meaningful and intelligible. The construction of these categories, therefore, are situated in Beyoglu's socio-spatial context.

I am dealing with the concepts of situatedness and context as a primary domain where 'interpretative repertoires' (Potter and Wetherhell, 1995) are formed. This term, 'interpretative repertoires', is developed as a methodological tool to understand the process of meaning-making of people, practices and places in an habitual and culturally familiar fashion. The inquiry of these repertoires that

shape the interpretation of objects and subjects has guided me on how to identify and examine the construction and performance of subject positions and their relations with each others.

The final stage of the methodological plan of this study was strategies. Discourse analysis is not only concerned with what discourses say but also what discourses do (Potter, 1995). Discursive practices create a particular knowledge of objects and subjects, and present concepts. These formations are strategically restructured in ways that serve for the actualization of normativity promoted by discursive practices (Fadyl et al, 2012, 484). That is to say, particular objects, subjects and concepts are co-present and in relation to each other that forms a discursive formation. Their co-presence guides particular regimes of practices, mechanisms and techniques.

For understanding these dimensions, I have examined the regimes of practices in various fields such as property markets, tax policies, municipal regulations concerning night venues and policing strategies. I have investigated a number of mechanisms embedded in these fields, which concomitantly form neoliberal rules and processes in Beyoglu's public life.

### *3.1.2 Thinking Subjectivities through Emotions and Affect*

Another strand of the methodological approach that I have utilized in this study was concerned with the way that I have scrutinized neoliberal subjectivities. In pursuit of understanding how diverse subject positions act upon some discursive formations, I have sought to understand relationships between thinking and feeling. For that reason, in such an understanding, I have dealt with construction of subjectivities through emotions and affect.

The study of emotions and affect through discursive practices is a debated issue. Especially in the view of non-presentational theory, grasping affective dispositions through individual or collective accounts has some methodological shortcomings. In fact, this idea relies on the formulation of affect as an extra-discursive, non-

individualized and ineffable event, which necessitates a distinction between affect and emotion (e.g. Massumi, 2002; Thrift, 2004). Such a conception leads to a methodological distancing from discourse studies -for this approach is discerned as a tool to inquire the cognitive aspects of emotions- and a shift to inquiring the movement of bodies (Wetherhell, 2013). In this view, the 'affective intelligence' (Thrift, 2004) is deemed to be a methodological starting point, which stands outside of cognitive, thoughtful realm.

However, this formulation based on the distinction between emotion and affect is immensely questioned. For instance, Bondi (2005, 438) suggests that this formulation is extremely detached from the ordinary experiences of emotion and affect. Indeed, she regards, such an emphasis on the ineffable aspects of affect recreates a distinction between the researcher as a rational knower who surveys and examines its objects of study from a distance.

In order to overcome these methodological flaws, Ahmed (2004a) suggests paying attention to the constant movements of affect and the processes of sticking to people, practices and places during the circulation between bodies. This way of understanding makes the distinction between the affect and emotion insignificant. In that regard, an inquiry of emotional subjects comes to be much more promising to explore these affective movements, and their interpretations in the everyday life, as Thien (2005) argues. That is to say, in such an understanding, diverse subject positions are deemed to be of capacities and qualities to speak of their affective dispositions through discursive practices. According to Bondi (2005, 444), for instance, people make sense of themselves and others in the way that is both felt and thought, affectively and emotionally. Likewise, Wetherhell (2013, 351) suggests that talk, actions, affects and emotions are assembled.

Following this, I utilize the discursive practices in the mould of talk and texts as those illustrating the affectively informed narratives. These narratives are situated performances manifesting the narrator's subjectivities speaking of him/herself and others' positions in the night scene of Beyoglu. The ways that these divisions are

narrated demonstrate the discursive frameworks identifying the contours of un/desirability, in/attractiveness and un/safety.

### 3.2 Research Methods

The major sources of discursive materials that I have examined are texts such as policy documents and newspaper articles, which provided an insight into the discursive formations in the institutional life, and semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with municipal representatives, and the workers, managers or the owners of entertainment venues in Beyoglu's night scene, which helped me understanding the ordinary people's ways of thinking and feeling. Considering the advantages and disadvantages of these data collection tools, I have tried to develop some research strategies to overcome their disadvantages while conducting the fieldwork.

#### 3.2.1 Textual Analysis

The texts of policy documents and newspaper articles have been influential materials to analyse the discursive practices of some institutional bodies. I have examined the textual statements of municipal authorities such as Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Beyoglu Municipality, in addition to other significant actors such as Beyoglu Beautification Association (*Beyoğlu Güzelleştirme Derneği*) and BEYDER (Beyoglu Association of Entertainment Venues – *Beyoğlu Eğlence Yerleri Derneği*), and a number of legislations concerning urban transformation. I took into consideration the policy documents –such as Environmental Arrangement Plan of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Strategic Action Plan of Beyoglu Municipality, Beyoglu Conservation Plan, and informative documents and websites for particular urban transformation projects– identifying the parameters of 'neoliberal Beyoglu'. These materials set the basis for understanding the calculations, standards and guidelines characterizing the neoliberal rationalities in Beyoglu. In addition, I have analysed numerous newspaper articles and newspaper interviews conducted with municipal representatives and others representing Beyoglu Beautification Association and

BEYDER. In dealing with the texts of these public discourses, I could have an insight into particular ways of thinking which are publicly present and officially recognized. These texts helped me understanding how institutional bodies consider or experience neoliberal urban government regimes.

Although the textual analysis of policy documents and newspaper articles open up an indispensable space to understanding styles of thinking in the institutional life, there are some methodological limitations of this analytic material. Potter (2004, 614) states that publicly present and circulated textual materials are imbued with a designed mobility; therefore, there lies a risk of involving decontextualized statements in these materials. On that account, this sort of discursive materials may consist of extremely abstract relation to what they represent. Such a limitation would urge the researcher to speculate what is discursively presented without having a clear insight into what discourse says and does. In pursuit of overcoming these limitations, I have utilized in-depth interviews with municipal representatives and the actors of Beyoglu's night scene, which guided me to recontextualize and situate the discourses in policy documents and newspaper articles.

### *3.2.2 In-depth Interviews*

I have utilized the semi-structured in-depth interviews, not simply with the purpose of obtaining information about actual experiences of research participants, although they may have such a role. These interviews have been a performative site providing an arena for different actors drawing on some discursive resources. They functioned as a realm where particular interpretative repertoires available to research participants are expressed and communicated. They have been influential to examine the meaning-making processes.

The own words of different actors manifest these processes in two terms: First, the narratives tactfully illustrate the social divisions in Beyoglu's night, which are formed by economic, cultural and affective accounts. The ways that these divisions are narrated, either in an affirmative or contradictory tone, demonstrate

the interpretative repertoires identifying the contours of un/desirability, in/appropriateness, or ir/respectability. Second, the narratives can also provide an account for one's in/capacities enabling or constraining his/her presence in neoliberalizing context. The actors' own words are predicated upon their social location in the hierarchical structure of nightlife. Hence, they inform about the economic, cultural or spatial boundaries, by which certain nocturnal practices are restrained or welcomed in neoliberalizing Beyoglu. As Chase (2005, 657) demonstrates, narratives are elaborately laden with emotions, thoughts, and interpretations in one's descriptions of life experiences. The ways that a narrator informs about his/her own life provide insight into one's complaints or confirmations of social contexts. Indisputably, these narratives are socially situated performances manifesting the narrators' subject positions in diverse social and historical contexts. Hence, the narrative analysis sheds light on how individuals' actions are structured and in what ways they give meaning to these social circumstances. On these grounds, the narratives are efficient enough for understanding how the subject positions are newly created or reinforced in the process of neoliberalization of night.

I have utilized the method of semi-structured, in-depth interviews for collecting the data of individuals' narratives. I have conducted 43 interviews with different actors in the night scene. The majority of the interviewees (27) are the managers or owners of different entertainment venues. I have also interviewed with service staff – 1 bouncer, 3 barmen/barmaids, 3 waiters/waitresses, and 3 DJs (10 in total). Besides, I have also conducted interviews with 2 individuals who are not directly taking part in the organization of nightlife but playing an intermediating role: One of them works as a journalist who is making interviews with *meyhane* owners and publishing *meyhane* reviews for a website sponsored by one of the most prominent *raki* brand. The other one runs a hostel providing low-cost services for backpackers. He regularly organizes small tours of night in Beyoglu, especially for the hostel youth seeking for binge drinking, club music and dancing. In addition to many numbers of details and stories they informed me about, I could also have an opportunity to participate in their nocturnal activities. Last but



not the least, I have interviewed with 4 representatives of municipal institutions playing direct or indirect role in regulation of night; the representatives were being employed in Municipal Police Department (1) and Licensing Department (1) in Beyoglu Municipality, and in Tourism Municipal Police Department in Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (2).

I have moderated the interviews with the intents of understanding how the neoliberalizing Beyoglu is manifested in the night scene of Beyoglu, how the actors' positioning are structured in this process, how these dynamics shape the ways of seeing neoliberalization, and in what ways people's actions are constrained or confirmed by the urban government regimes. In pursuit of this, the interviews with the actors in the night scene (managers, owners and workers) involved the narratives about their work history (sectors and positions in previous jobs, meaning of current job and expectations), socio-cultural and socio-economic characteristics of the entertainment venue (styles – menu, decorations and music; location preferences; number of employees; pricing policies; etc.), perceptions and thoughts about nightlife in Beyoglu (perceptions, expectations, complaints, advantages, etc.) and perceptions and thoughts about urban government in Beyoglu (evaluation of the vision to transform the district, difficulties they face and strategies). The interviews conducted with the municipal representatives involved the narratives about how they define the initial problems to be solved in Beyoglu; the meaning of nightlife, tourism economy, etc.; and how they see the ongoing transformation in Beyoglu.

As it is frequently debated in the last decades (e.g. Gill, 2000; Potter, 2004; Potter and Wetherhell, 1995), although conducting in-depth interviews is a resourceful strategy to examine the discourses, there are some methodological concerns about the potentials of the interviews. Above all, interviews are of a 'contrived nature' (Potter and Wetherhell, 1995, 84), which may result in difficulties to make straightforward extrapolations. Interrelatedly, the practice of interviewing is inherently laden with the expectations of social researcher that may in turn shadow the orientations of research participants (Potter, 2004, 613). In order to overcome these limitations, I have developed a number of strategies of examining

other sources of materials, which facilitated a deeper understanding of research participants' orientations. For doing so, almost all of the interviews have been conducted in the participants' work environment, especially of the participants from entertainment venues. By virtue of this, I could have a chance to observe the menu, decorations, musical styles, location of the venue and its environments etc. By taking fieldnotes intricately concerning that sort of details, I could have a chance to contextualize the own words' of the participants. This provided me a better understanding of the context in which the narratives are situated.

Finally, such a methodological plan is rooted in the quest of transformation of nocturnal city in line with the rise of neoliberal rationalities. This leads to prioritizing production and regulation of nocturnal pleasures over consumption processes – which incorporates diverse entertainment practices, cultures, and lifestyles. However, I believe that a wholesale portrayal of nocturnal processes requires a consideration of 'Beyoglu's night' from the consumers' side. For doing so, I also made unstructured interviews with 9 respondents. I gained access to the interviewees through employing snowball method. All of them are Beyoglu-based 'nighttime revellers' representing different experiences in terms of gender, class, sexuality, age, and ethnicity. In addition to the interviews, I could also have the opportunity to participate in their 'nights out'. By that means, I could have a chance to observe different patterns of nighttime revelling. These events helped me illustrate the fragmented character of nightlife, which derives from socio-economic and socio-cultural hierarchies.

### **3.3 Situating the Field**

The fieldwork has been realized in diverse entertainment venues along the Istiklal Avenue and in its vicinity, and in administrative units of municipalities in Beyoglu. In this process, the fieldwork has come to be a conduct of encounters between the researcher and the participants, which had a negotiated and situated nature. Below I present some principal dynamics of negotiations which are fundamentally relevant to entering the field, underground activities, trade secrets and time arrangements.

### 3.3.1 Entering the Field

I have used some of my previous contacts that were mostly comprised of Beyoglu based inhabitants enjoying the district's night scene, and even, having some professional relationship with the actors of entertainment life. My cousin Desen has been my key contact for the entertainment venues especially located below the Galatasaray High School<sup>8</sup>. Her social network has been influential due to her Beyoglu-based everyday life as she lives in Tophane and works in her studio in Karaköy. Likewise, my aunt Feride, a former 5-year-long café-bar owner in Galatasaray, has been important key source to enter the field in this vicinity. Her social network was resourceful especially in more gentrified areas such as Galatarasay by virtue of her professional experience in these locations.

Thirdly, Adem who was working as a journalist and publishing interviews with *meyhanes* in Istanbul has been a key source to get in contact specifically with *meyhane* owners or managers. He did not only help me understand particular dynamics of *meyhane* life but also introduced me how diversely such a long-lived entertainment tradition is maintained in Beyoglu.

Besides, Süleyman, who runs a low cost hostel mostly serving for international back-packers, has been a key source for getting to know the youthful places in Beyoglu's night scene. During the time that I have conducted the fieldwork, he was organizing some night tours in Beyoglu for the hostel youth seeking for diverse music and dance venues. Joining these nights, I could have a chance to be familiar with youthful spaces of nightlife in Beyoglu. He also introduced me to a few managers or owners of entertainment venues.

Finally, Şahin, a bartender in a low cost pub, has been a key source for downwardly echeloned entertainment clusters. Being employed in low cost and

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<sup>8</sup> As it is presented in the following chapter, Galatasaray High School is a significant symbolic marker of socio-cultural and socio-economic demarcations.

low status entertainment venues for a few years, he offered contacts and introduced me to his friends and neighbours.

### *3.3.2 Research Encounters in the Underground Facets of Beyoglu*

Apart from these, developing a rapport relationship between me as a researcher and the research participants has also been crucial, especially in relations with those associated with underground activities. In this research project, some of the research participants were actively involved in illegal and socially disapproved activities. I have interviewed owners of entertainment venues where women are employed as *konsomatris* despite lacking work permits, and illegal gambling services and drug-dealing are provided. For understanding these sorts of underground facets of the night scene in Beyoglu, some kind of trust relationship has been indispensable. Here, I should note that, in speaking of trustworthiness, I do not simply suggest that these participants told me about their involvement in the underground life only because they trusted me. As it is presented in the following chapter, these illegal and/or allegedly 'immoral' activities are already of some visibility to a certain extent. Despite this, they still come to manage their visibility through a number of strategies. In that regard, their narratives concerning their involvement in these underground activities required a rapport relationship with me.

For establishing these ties, two key informants (who were employed in different entertainment venues which were neighbouring the ones involving in underground activities) helped me. As a matter of fact, before I was introduced to these research participants, the key informants already informed them about my research project so I could not have the opportunity to witness in what way the key informants persuaded them to conduct the interviews. At the time that I met them, they had already known about the research and been convinced to participate it as interviewees. Yet their narratives concerning the influence of my key informants revealed me the centrality of the role of the informants in taking their consent.

Indeed, despite their consent taken, they were still negotiating the level of transparency between me, as a researcher, and them. The primary concern was apparently about the feeling of comfort while telling some stories that goes beyond the legal norms. During these research encounters, my researcher position was perceived as a legal one due to my academic and professional experience in state university. On the other hand, theirs were characterized by series of illegal activities involving sex industry, drug dealing or gambling. On that account, they had apparently some concerns about to what extent they can narrate their venue. I realized that they told lies, or avoided to tell the truth, about some important details of illegal activities; the ways that they narrated themselves and their venue did not perfectly fit well with others' utterances neighbouring these venues. An interesting example is *Halil Dayı*'s venue where is widely used as a gambling venue. *Halil Dayı* narrated how he becomes generous to make his clients happy by serving whatever they want only except for drugs. Yet my informants did not confirm it and asserted the contrary even on account of their witnessing or their active involvement.

### *3.5.3 Trade Secrets and the Suspicion towards the Researcher*

As it is presented above, a number of key informants have been influential in gaining the trust and consent of interviewees to participate in the research. In pursuit of maintaining their trust, I strongly emphasized that the data I collected will represent the diversity of entertainment life in Beyoglu without uncovering their exact identity. I ensured that the anonymity of their utterances will be strictly maintained throughout the analysis. In this way, I could have the opportunity to listen to many numbers of stories concerning their relations with municipal representatives, workers and other venue owners/managers. Despite this, when it comes to some 'trade secrets' mostly involving some economic facts about the amount of rentals and monthly turnover, I realized that the trust relationship has been interrupted and the participants avoided to give some details about these issues.

The participants' avoidance to give details of economic facts about the rental amounts or monthly turnover can be grounded on some dynamics of economic and social life in Beyoglu. As it is presented in this dissertation, the deployment of urban transformation projects in line with entrepreneurialist government regimes has given rise to intense real estate activities. The immediate outcome this process, among many others, has been drastic increase in rental values. On that account, the participants' reluctance to tell about the amount of rental can be discerned as a strategy. Their rental agreement may be cancelled if someone else offers more to the property owner. For that reason, they attempt to render it hidden.

Besides, their avoidance of telling about the monthly turnover is about the competitive nature of the relationship among venue owners. As it is presented in chapter 8, the entertainment venue owners see others as their contestants who are constantly seeking for opportunities to cause a material damage. The immediate mechanism of material damage is reporting issues to the municipal representations (for municipal authority holds the authority to give punishments depending on the regulatory frameworks). For that reason, managers or owners attempt not to be seen as a 'money-making' venue. They fear that, if their profits apparently exceed neighbour's profits, their relation with neighbours would potentially turn into enmity. Thus, they prefer to keep their monthly turnover as a trade secret, including me as a researcher.

Once I realized that the participants see these sorts of economic indicators as trade secrets, I did not prefer to insist on asking questions about these dynamics in order to eliminate the potential suspicion toward me. In pursuit of avoiding such an impression of a researcher who insistently asks about some issues the interviewees do not feel comfortable, I have differently structured the interviews; that is, I did not ask about these economic indicators. By that means, I believe, I could have an open dialogue dealing with many other issues presented in this study.

#### *3.3.4 Negotiating the Time Arrangements*

Another way that the research encounters were negotiated was about the time arrangements. The ordinary working day of the actors of entertainment life has been strictly structured. Due to the nature of their work, they were intensely busy with their responsibilities in the later hours at nights. Indeed, if the food service is also included, that time span gets extended to earlier hours. In addition, substantial increase in the number of visitors and loud voiced music in these periods make these venues inefficient to conduct interviews at later hours; therefore, neither the participants nor I were eager to have the interviews during these times. On the other hand, the participants' working life during the daytime were much more flexible, although they still had some responsibilities to get prepared for the upcoming night's event. On that account, almost all of the participants agreed to make an interview in late afternoons. This was the optimal time period to have the interviews as the participants could get free and the venues were less likely to be crowded and noisy.

However, despite the advantages, these late afternoon meetings did not provide me the opportunity to observe the entertainment events in rush hours. These meetings were not sufficient enough to discover what kind of entertainment activities takes place in these venues. To overcome this concern, I have made some further visits to these venues in their rush hours at least once. By taking field notes afterwards, these visits helped me contextualize the data I have collected through in-depth interviews. Besides, in some occasions, I could have the opportunity to conduct unstructured interviews with the research participants.

### **3.4 Data Processing: Recording, Transcription, Coding and Analysis**

Below, I present some issues of recording, transcription, coding and analysis that have arisen during the courses of collecting data and dealing with empirical work.

By obtaining approvals of the research participants, I have tape-recorded most of the interviews. However, fewer participants preferred not to be recorded during

the interviews. Besides, although some interviewees accepted to be recorded, they preferred to give some details after I have stopped tape recording. Especially the owners of entertainment venues involving in informal and/or illegal activities, such as those who are not licensed to sell alcoholic drinks, and some others offering gambling services or commercial sex illegally, were more likely to tell more after the end of tape recording, due to the legally or morally forbidden character of their courses of actions. In this case, I took detailed notes of these narratives after the interviews.

As previously mentioned, in addition to interviews, I have extended the empirical materials by using fieldnotes that involve my observations of the venues' menus, decorations, musical styles, locations and their environment. It helped me conducting the analysis at every stage of my research. Besides, these fieldnotes helped me to contextualize the data I have collected through the interviews.

I have used the transcription method of verbatim speech that includes all of the words of my own and the participants in the transcribed interview. While doing transcription, I avoided editing or correcting the aspects of speech. By that means, I could have a chance to consider every single detail of talks rather than capturing the gist of what is said. Moreover, this transcription method facilitated presenting intensive and relatively longer quotations of the research participants. By that means, I could present particular forms of discursive practices giving meaning to people, practices and places across spaces of night.

I have performed a series of coding, by means of reading and rereading the texts and talks. In this process, I have searched through a number of themes (such as the issues concerning how nightlife in Beyoglu is, how it is positively or negatively accounted, how urban government is narrated, how a manager/owner/worker of a venue narrate his/her own entertainment facility, etc.) and some categories (of how the participants give accounts of un/desirability, in/attractiveness and un/safety). The coding has not been an independent stage preceding the analysis but a continuous process which informed and was informed by the process of



analysing discourses. I reconsidered, transformed and reformulated the categories of discourses throughout the stage of analysis.

Finally, at the stage of analysis, variation and rhetoric has been influentially related to the analytical plan of this study. As Gill (2000, 180) suggests, the analysis of discursive practices requires sensitivity to variability within and between texts and talks. The corpus of discursive practices may be present in complexly fragmented and contradictory forms. In this case, the investigation of some particular patterns of variation come to be the initial task to be performed. Viewing through this lens, for instance, I examined the construction of entertainment life in Beyoglu. Considering the patterns of accounts related to how the actors of nightlife narrate the entertainment practices and cultures being experienced in their venue, I have mapped out the construction of entertainment cultures in Beyoglu. I have developed some categories through dissecting how respondents aligned themselves with particular lifestyles and differentiated themselves from the others. Consequently, the analysis that I illustrate the multiple compositions of nightlife sets the precedent of my concern over the variation in the stage of analysis. Indeed, this analysis of patterns in discursive practices informed how I have examined neoliberal technologies of government (in chapter 6) and construction of marginalization and affiliation in affective economies of Beyoglu (in chapter 7).

In analysing the variation through patterns of accounts, I was concerned with the details of what is said and how it is said. Such an attention to the specifics of discursive practices helped me avoiding generalizations. As Potter (2004, 618) states, a wariness of irregularities found through attentiveness towards details guides the researcher to break down broad claims. In the analysis of the trajectories of nightlife, I present the discourses crossing the boundaries within the fragmented nature of nightlife in Beyoglu. However, these instances do not necessarily invalidate the construct of categories but the presence of transition between them.

Secondly, another dimension of my analytical strategy was about the rhetorical organization of discourses. The rhetorical analysis has been influential to understand the affective dispositions embedded in people's argumentative claims. Potter and Wetherhell (1995, 82) suggest that attention to the rhetoric helps to highlight the presence of conflicts in discursive practices. Considering this, I investigated the ways that affective dispositions are structured and communicated through feelings and emotions in construction of 'othered' identities and cultures. For instance, the discourses of marginalization illustrated in chapter 7 present a rhetorical analysis of talks. I demonstrate that discursive practices construct marginalized identities through affective dispositions in the name of disgust and fear. Here, the emotions of disgust and fear come to inform the rhetorical organizations of discourses that identify allegedly 'marginal' identities.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE FRAGMENTS OF NIGHTLIFE IN BEYOGLU

Beyoglu presents diversified and fragmented character of pleasure seeking. The public life in nocturnal city embodies a vast array of Western-like entertainment practices in bars, restaurants, pubs, nightclubs, concert halls, etc. and in their local variants such as *meyhane*, *pavyons*, and *türkü bars*. These multiple forms of pleasure seeking aggregate numerous entertainment practices, lifestyles and tastes; diverse and complex meaning-making processes are incorporated into the cultural formations of nightlife in Beyoglu. Concomitantly, this leads to the construction of urban identity revolving around nocturnal pleasure seeking. Beyoglu comes to be a social and cultural hub of urban nightlife in Istanbul.

Amin and Thrift (2002, 24) suggest that cities are memorialized through ‘fixed namings’. In the naming of a city, the narratives identify cities in reference to particular social and cultural practices and present a stereotypical urban image. However, by using the metaphor of footprints, they state that cities are made and remade through myriad trails of mobilities (ibid, 23). This allows for understanding multiplicity of urban experiences that negotiate, contest or confirm such imaginaries.

That said, nocturnal Beyoglu is hardly made knowable through an all-encompassing and unitary term and deemed to be a buzzing, disordered, and chaotic site. The popular axe of the district, Istiklal Avenue, where is peopled by a sheer crowd comprised of groups with different socio-economic statuses and lifestyles, provides the basis for circulation of such urban imaginaries. According to Aytar and Keskin (2003, 153), spaces of Beyoglu along Istiklal Avenue is Istanbul’s foremost leisure zone characterized by side-by-sidedness of differences, that is embodied by different musical tastes (including a variety from folk music to

electronic scene), globalized leisure styles in hip entertainment facilities (such as Asmalımescit) or different identities performing diverse entertainment cultures (such as Türkü Bars by Alevis and Kurds, gay clubbing, etc.).

In this chapter, I aim to provide an insight into how these diverse entertainment cultures and practices are forged in line with the economic, cultural, political and social transformation of the city. For doing so, I first examine the trajectories of Beyoglu and how nocturnal practices and meanings diversely inform the urban image throughout history. I present the nocturnalization of Beyoglu along with the processes of Westernization and modernisation in 19<sup>th</sup> century, remaking the city as a site for urban decay in accompany with nation-state building and migration flows, and resurgence of public life in line with globalization since 1980s.

Secondly, I dissect the diversified and fragmented character of nocturnal Beyoglu. I aim to unveil how multiple compositions of nightlife in Beyoglu are constituted and how diverse social and cultural practices are informed by the segmentation of nighttime economy. In this context, I present four distinct modes of entertainment life in Beyoglu organized through ‘up-market venues’, ‘historically-rooted venues’, ‘community-based venues’ and ‘informal/underground networks-based activities’.

These components are ideal typical presentations of Beyoglu’s night which are marked with socio-spatial demarcations. Yet I do not imply that these categories are shaped by rigid boundaries; there definitely exist possibilities of crossing the boundaries. For understanding these dynamics, the last part of this chapter examines the ways that the demarcations between the currents of nightlife are blurred and renegotiated.

#### **4.1 Trajectories of Beyoglu: Rise, Fall and Resurgence of Nightlife**

In the urban history of Istanbul, patterns of urban change are figured out along four axes, which are rise of Westernisation, nation-state building, national developmentalism and globalization (see Keyder, 2008). Along these axes,

nightlife in Beyoglu reverberates these transformations in quite intriguing ways (see **Table 1**). Nighttime experiences portray a dynamic image oscillating between rise and fall; and these dynamics bear the marks of three distinct historical developments: First, emergence of Western urbanism and lifestyles in 19<sup>th</sup> century informs the *nocturnalisation of Beyoglu* by means of which the rise of public life served for entertainment practices of both non-Muslim and Muslim populations. Second, in line with cultural policies of early Republican era and subsequent demographic change as an outcome of developmentalist policies started at 1950s, nightlife in Beyoglu gradually turned into a *site for decadence*. Two correspondent processes paves the way for this process: (i) social and symbolic destruction of the glittering image which predicates upon the non-Muslim heritage, (ii) and emergence of new socio-spatial nighttime practices taking place in the district. Third, *resurgence of nightlife in Beyoglu through globalization* addresses to a different mode of nocturnal experience identified by the rise of consumerism and corporatisation which shape and shaped by spatial demarcations and gentrification in the district.

#### *4.1.1 Nocturnalisation of Beyoglu in 19<sup>th</sup> century*

Beyoglu district, which was named as Pera in the meaning of “other side” or “opposite side” in Greek, has an almost millennial history of European merchants settled there. Although these characteristics are relatively maintained in the Ottoman period, certain political and economic developments gave a new direction to the district in the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century. As Murat Gül (2009, 25) denotes, on account of military and economic weaknesses, the Ottoman Empire was considered to be on the verge of collapse. In response to this situation, a number of commercial treaties (first signed between Ottoman Empire and United Kingdom in 1839) have been signed with several European states. These treaties were offering tax reliefs and abolition of administrative obstacles to European merchants in order to favour international trade. Subsequently, with the rising interest of foreign traders in the city, Pera has been home for incoming European merchants, who were called Levantines.

**Table 1:** Rise, Fall and Resurgence of Nightlife in Beyoglu

	Transformations	Street-level manifestations
<i>Nocturnalisation of Beyoglu in 19<sup>th</sup> century</i>	Commercial treaties between Ottoman Empire and European States	Increasing number of European merchants and embassies.
	Adaptation of Western administrative systems	Embellishment and regularization of streets (road enlargements, construction of sidewalks, street lighting, etc.)
		The rise of pleasure seeking across bars, cafechantants, <i>meyhanes</i> , <i>gazinios</i> , cabarets, etc.
<i>Decline of Beyoglu's night in Modern Turkey</i>	Nationalist discourses and practices	Daunting the non-Muslim populations.
	Economic restructuring, industrialisation and rural-to-urban migration	Women's and families' decreasing presence in public life of Beyoglu.
	Advent of TVs	Rise of male-dominated entertainment cultures.
<i>Globalization and Resurgence of Nightlife in Beyoglu after 1980s</i>	Rise of consumerism along with significance of service industries	Gentrification  Rising numbers of tourists
	Deepening inequalities and poverty	Increasing capital investments in entertainment sector.
	Displacement and forced migration of Kurdish and Alevi populations	Socio-spatial demarcations between up-market and down-market entertainment clusters.

Source: Compiled from literature and secondary sources.

Their arrival was not only a demographic change but also impelled transformations of social, cultural and economic relations in the city; and these transformations are intricately manifested in the urban fabric. The foremost outcome of these developments is observed in the public life of Beyoglu. In line with the flows of European merchants, Pera has been subject to socio-cultural and

socio-political transformations. Above all, these developments resulted in formation of a Western-like municipal unit. Concomitantly, increasing numbers of Levantines brought in substantial changes in the cultural life.

The motives behind the reforms in administration of urban affairs were requirements of better transportation and communicative systems as well as newer buildings for commercial/residential accommodation of Levantines who were primarily settled in a number of neighbourhoods in Beyoglu (such as Pera, Galata and Karaköy). To that end, reforms in urban administration have been put into the political agenda, which paved the way for the establishment of first Western-like municipality, as Zeynep Çelik (1993, 44) states. This local administration was assigned to regulate the urban affairs, to collect taxes and to provide services in Beyoglu. Embellishment and regularization of the urban fabric through road enlargements, improvement of building methods, construction of sidewalks, water and sewage lines were the primary tasks of this administrative unit. Indeed, it should be noted that street lightings have also been provided along with Grand Rue de Pera, which is officially named as Istiklal Avenue after the foundation of republic. Owing to this, exterior lighting of Beyoglu was first example of street lighting of Ottoman Empire.

These developments also set forth transformation of cultural life outright. Here, Arus Yumul (2009, 59) claims that emergence of a new public life rests upon proliferation of urban places like cafés, opera houses, shops, theatres, restaurants, beer halls, hotels, bookstores and public parks. Emergence of nightlife in Beyoglu dates back to that period, especially owing to increasing numbers and significance of *meyhane*, *gazzino*, café-chantant, cabarets, wine houses, bars/pubs and dancing halls. Many of these places were adaptations of entertainment cultures from prominent European cities, particularly Paris. In addition, *meyhane* and *gazzino* comes to the fore as local variants of emergent nightlife in Beyoglu. Different from the others, *meyhanes* were places run by Greek and Armenian minorities and cultivating a distinctive culture around local alcoholic drinks called *raki*. Likewise, *gazzinos* were also other local counterparts of Western-like entertainment cultures. Similar to cabarets, these places were offering a feast of musical programmes and

dance shows for the audience eating meals and drinking alcoholic beverages. The shows were not only restricted to European-style dance shows and musical performances but also involving other performances in Ottoman styles.

Rise of nocturnal Beyoglu (or Pera), in this period, is pivotal in the formation of new urban meanings and practices. The district gained a vivid character and operated as “an entertainment enclave” (Aytar and Keskin, 2003, 147). A number of studies dwell on certain socio-cultural dynamics of this phenomenon in diverse ways. For instance, Volkan Aytar (2011, 33) addresses to the formative role of ethno-religious relations in the entertainment sector of that period. He claims that, due to prohibitions of production and consumption of alcohol for Muslim populations enacted by religious discourses and sultan’s commands, non-Muslim populations established their own monopoly in the entertainment sector. Consequently, emergence of nightlife in non-Muslim neighbourhoods and in Western forms restricted Muslim populations’ entrance to nocturnal carousal both as producer and consumer. Despite this, he mentions strategies of Muslims to participate in nightlife. Here, a relative anonymity in the guise of darkness at night facilitates a clandestine urban presence of Muslim populations (ibid, 38).

Besides, Arus Yumul (2009, 62) states that rise of nightlife in Beyoglu introduced a new form of sociability and new opportunities of social interaction for the Ottoman society. She notably pays attention to the transformation of gender relations. Unlike traditional places like mosques, coffeehouses and public baths organised through the terms of strict gender segregation, formation of public life in Beyoglu across various places –wherein night venues take the crucial role– creates potentials for encounters and constitution of alternating subjectivities in gender-mixed social circles (ibid, 61).

However, *meyhanes* are exception to this dimension. Particular mode of pleasure seeking in *meyhanes* has historically been a local form of entertainment serving for men. The entertainment practices in this local variant of pleasure seeking were different from its Western counterparts. Many of them were serving *rakı* and appetizers. The food was not a square meal on account of the idea that having a



dinner with the family was a social norm. To that end, services provided in *meyhanes* were organized as a pre-dinner entertainment and the customers – majority of whom were males- are supposed to leave the place at relatively earlier hours. In this way, forms of entertainment in *meyhanes* demonstrate masculine meanings and practices, unlike other entertainment practices taking place in that period. The following quotation from Vefa Zat –a famous barman of Istanbul and author of *Eski İstanbul Barları* (Early Bars of Istanbul), which is written on account of his professional experience, and collections of memories- conspicuously reveals this dimension:

“... caf chantants, cabarets, beer halls, *g zinos* and women employed in different positions at these venues... such entertainment practices including alcoholic drinks were not really common among Ottoman Turks; they were not used to these practices. There have never been such entertainment cultures until that period. The Ottoman Turks were only familiar with *meyhane*; and women were not welcome in these venues... Yet, the explosion of entertainment was being experienced in Pera.” (V. Zat, 2002, 64).

Although emergence of *meyhanes* does not correspond to the Westernization of Beyoglu through the flows of merchants to the district in 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>, these venues have always been regarded as indissociable from public life in Beyoglu. Despite this, *meyhanes* are proved to accommodate distinct entertainment practices especially in terms of gender relations.

#### *4.1.2 Decline of Beyoglu’s Night in Modern Turkey*

In line with the emergence of modern Turkey in 20<sup>th</sup> century, the glitzy image of the district was hardly maintained. In the decline of Beyoglu, discursive frameworks of Turkish nationalism regarding public life in Beyoglu as reminiscents of corrupt Ottoman heritage play a decisive role. Indeed, after the rural-to-urban migration flows in mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the urban image has

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<sup>9</sup> Reşat Ekrem Koçu (2015, 15) notes that cultures of meyhane date back to 17th century Ottoman Empire, regarding Evliya Çelebi’s itineraries having the first mention of meyhane at that period.

commenced to change outright. From then on, the district was increasingly deemed to be a site of urban decay re-inscribed by the cultures of migrant populations.

As Arus Yumul (2009, 66) says, newly found republic in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century purported a novel vision for a sense of cohesion and collectivity. In the name of Turkish identity, this vision was seeking for a societalization project on the grounds of homogeneity. For that reason, public life in Beyoglu –that owes too much to vivid nightlife- did not sit on well with the new political imaginaries. Consequently, the district's fame for being lively and playful urban space shifted to a reputation revolving around decadence, moral depravity and degeneration undermining the nationalist visions. (ibid, 67). Such discourses paved the way for discriminatory practices towards non-Muslim populations. Among many, a number of policies in relevance to foreign schools, non-Turkish languages and taxation functioned as mechanisms daunting the ethnic and religious minorities in Beyoglu.

In fact, these did not rigorously oblige the disappearance of nightlife in Beyoglu but gave a new direction to the nocturnal practices and meanings. Increasing importance of *gazino* cultures, owing to the inaugural of Taksim and Tepebaşı *gazinolar*, are the markers of this new period. As Beken (2011) indicates, entertainment practices in *gazinolar* were important gateways for Turkish nationalism and modern identity. As mentioned above, this sort of venues, which were typically characterized by musical and dance shows performed in front of the audience eating meals and drinking alcoholic beverages, were inspired by cabarets. Yet performances also bear the marks of coffeehouses and taverns, which combine Turkish and European styles of music. In this way, *gazinolar* were indispensable for performing the modern and Westernized Turkish identity. Incorporation of Turkish musical styles aside, *gazinolar* were the places of gender-mixed sociabilities of which ballroom ceremonies, receptions and concerts take place. These venues were reminiscent of Levantines' heritage in Beyoglu's public life. However, they facilitated a lively entertainment life enjoyed by the Turkish elites of newly found republic (see also Öztaş, 2011).

Nevertheless, shifting discourses on public life in Beyoglu decreeing how to entertain did not entirely erase the presence of non-Muslim heritage. In fact, the cultural heritage of non-Muslim populations was still prevalent until the outburst of 6-7 September events, in 1955, which was the time that Turkish populations were attacking and pillaging the properties of ethno-religious minorities<sup>10</sup>. Consequently, this citywide rioting resulted in the drastic decrease in the numbers of minorities. Undoubtedly, their escape noticeably reflected in the nightlife of Beyoglu. Erdir Zat (2013) explicates this process in this way:

“6-7 September events have resulted in substantial changes in entertainment life. The *raki* culture has heavily suffered from the crisis... Ultimately, Leter [one of the most prominent owner of a *meyhane* in Beyoglu, who was of Greek origins] was farewelled with a gorgeous and sad party. He had to close down his *mayhane*. Yet, this was not the end of everything... There are still Greek *meyhane* owners still present in Beyoglu’s public life, although not so many. The only Greek *meyhane* owner of Beyoglu, 90-year-old *Imrozlu Yorgo Barba*, is still running his business in the street where Lambo and Leter previously had their places.” (ibid, 45).

Concurrent developments in Turkey triggered waves of rural-to-urban migration as an outcome of economic restructuring. Although the first migration wave came into existence in 1950s, the population growth reached at its top rate in 1960s (see Özbay, 2009). These migrant populations were being employed in manufacturing enterprises. Indeed, the largest industrial employment of Turkey was located in Istanbul; and therefore, the city was increasingly bearing the marks of an industrial city (Keyder, 2008). These transformations were reflected in the changing socio-spatial arrangements. On the one hand, a new demand for housing led to emergence of new middle class neighbourhoods in response to changing lifestyles and needs of these classes. On the other hand, inner cities were providing housing opportunities for poorer urban populations (Keyder, 1999).

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<sup>10</sup> As Kuyucu (2005) states, 6-7 September events was conditioned by a set of socio-political developments; and that is why, it need not to be conceived as a spontaneous rioting. Here, Kuyucu (ibid) addresses to some structural factors, in terms of class, and the role of government as manifestations of nationalist discourses and practices.

Here, Tarlabası, Tophane, and some others, where are quite near to the lively entertainment of Istiklal Avenue, are crucial as they host large numbers of migrant and poor urban populations since 1960s.

These circumstances led to severe transformations in the public life of Beyoglu. Along with the urban decay of inner cities, nightlife had turned into a site for informal economy run by mafia-like networks. Indeed, after the increasing access to new media technologies in mid-1970s (especially TV), regular customers of the venues (particularly families and women) drastically disappeared (Öz and Özkaracalar, 2011; see also Eder and Öz, 2015). Henceforth, nightlife in Beyoglu has turned into a site famous for repulsion and danger due to attendant informal and underground urban economies. The constituents of this change in Beyoglu's public life were *gazinov*. Families' and women's decreasing interest impelled the formation of a lower class male-dominated entertainment culture and it replaced with *gazino* cultures. Before long, sex industry gained importance in the district.

In short, the district faced with inexorable transmutation in these periods. Despite the enduring liveliness, it falls apart from the former meanings of conviviality and shifted to urban decay. Owing to the cultural policies of early Republican era and the consequent economic restructurings, downwardly mobile urban populations and socially and culturally degraded minority groups replace the Western-like public life, cultivated by Levantines. Vivid cultures of gender-mixed entertainment turned into a feast of male-dominated entertainment, informal economy and an underground life.

#### *4.1.3 Globalization and Resurgence of Nightlife in Beyoglu*

1980s have been a turning point in the public life of Beyoglu owing to countrywide economic developments. Turkey had witnessed severe transformations as a result of deregulation, liberalization and integration into global markets. This process has had two profound repercussions in the economic, social and cultural realms; that is, rising consumerism in line with global lifestyles, and deepening inequalities and segregation. First, the explosive growth of finance,

real estate, advertising, media and culture industries served for proliferation of new professions and emergence of new middle classes employed in these industries. As Keyder (2011, 26) states, these developments bear the marks of de-industrializing global cities wherein new bourgeois and professional classes adopt global lifestyles and consumption habits. Second, however, manifestations of globalizing Turkey in public life of Beyoglu are not confined to rise of consumerism serving for both emergent middle classes and tourists. That said, globalization has also brought up reconfigurations of the class composition. As Keyder (2005) states, the deterioration of living conditions for poorer urban populations took place due to decreasing employment opportunities in industrial manufacturing and lacking mechanisms for social integration in terms of income, residence and cultures of consumption.

Public life and urban nightscapes of Beyoglu manifest these developments in diverse ways. On the one hand side, interests in the inner cities have resurrected; Beyoglu has unequivocally been the attraction point in the last decades. On the other hand, the district stands as spaces of severe poverty and urban informality inhabited by marginalized populations, among which Kurdish migrants and sexual minorities constitute the majority. In congruity with this economic and social polarization, there comes forward deepening poverty becoming much more visible at certain edges of the city.

Resurgence of public life in Beyoglu is quintessentially observed in certain neighbourhoods such as Cihangir, Galata and Asmalımescit as a gradual outcome of commercial and residential gentrification processes (Islam, 2005; Uzun, 2003). As Islam (2005, 133) indicates, new inhabitants of these neighbourhoods were socio-economically privileged segments of middle classes and of distinctive gender relations, cultural values and lifestyles. Consequently, numerous bars, cafés and restaurants were opened serving for these groups. That is to say, the rise of consumption places becomes the integral part of the gentrification processes in economic, social, cultural and symbolic terms (Zukin et al., 2009). One of the respondents who were formerly working at service and managerial positions in high-end restaurants of Nişantaşı and Etiler and started to work in a number of

restaurant-bars in Cihangir, narrates the involvement of urban entertainment in gentrification as follows:

“The service quality and food quality was terrible in Beyoglu. Turkish food may be of some good quality but if you ordered something from Western cuisine, you would get pasta with tomato sauce. I was not sure to come here. But after cafés and restaurants started to show up around here, burglary has disappeared. There are places serving 24 hours a day. Cihangir is a lively place. This is also reflected in the rental values. I know that, a house costing 80 thousands liras when I first came here cannot be purchased for less than 700-800 thousands in ten years.”

Likewise, gentrification in Asmalimescit traces a similar path. Indeed, proliferation of entertainment venues plays a leading role in the neighbourhood. As İnce (2011) indicates, the neighbourhood was formerly a deserted place with full of empty buildings. The inaugural of Babylon in 1999, a live music venue hosting numerous local and global representatives of alternative music, changed the fate of the neighbourhood outright. Following this, the neighbourhood turned into one of the liveliest spot of nightlife in Beyoglu.

In line with these developments, rise of tourism is also worthy to mention. Just as the city is increasingly appealing to tourist gaze, tourism has gained importance in the urban economy. Between 2000 and 2012, the number of tourists visited Istanbul has increased from 2.5 million to 9.3 million (see Istanbul Directorate of Culture and Tourism, 2015). Here, Beyoglu is the second destination of the city, coming after Fatih where boasts architectural heritage of Ottoman Empire and Byzantium. According to the Ministry of Tourism and Culture (2013), 17% of the tourists have preferred to stay in Beyoglu (see Figure 1). The rationale behind this is not only the historical spectacles of the district but lively atmosphere that present urban pleasures for tourist gaze.

Interrelatedly, local and international investors have increasingly been interested in making investments in entertainment sector and hotel facilities. In the meantime, Eder and Öz (2015) claims that Beyoglu is less attractive to large-scale

and luxury end of the industry due to the district's less sanitized atmosphere, less spacious real estate market and lower segments of the clientele in comparison to other entertainment clusters like Bosphorus and Nisantasi. Despite this, there is a noticeable increase in real estate activity mobilized by local and international capital investments in culture, retail, tourism and entertainment industries, as Adanalı (2011) denotes.

On the other hand, albeit the rise of consumerism favouring middle class lifestyles and tourist gaze, the district also incorporates the spaces of urban poverty. Tarlabası, an area adjacent to entertainment clusters in Beyoglu, is pivotal in these terms. This area, once a former working-class residential zone of non-Muslim populations which turned into an abandoned and dilapidated area after their leave, has always been home for immigrant populations since 1960s. All the same, the area was faced with a new wave of migration in 1990s, that is the arrivals of Kurdish populations as a gradual outcome of their displacement from their homelands for rising political tensions and armed conflicts. In addition, Tarlabası has also been home for Roma populations, transnational migrants and transgender women.

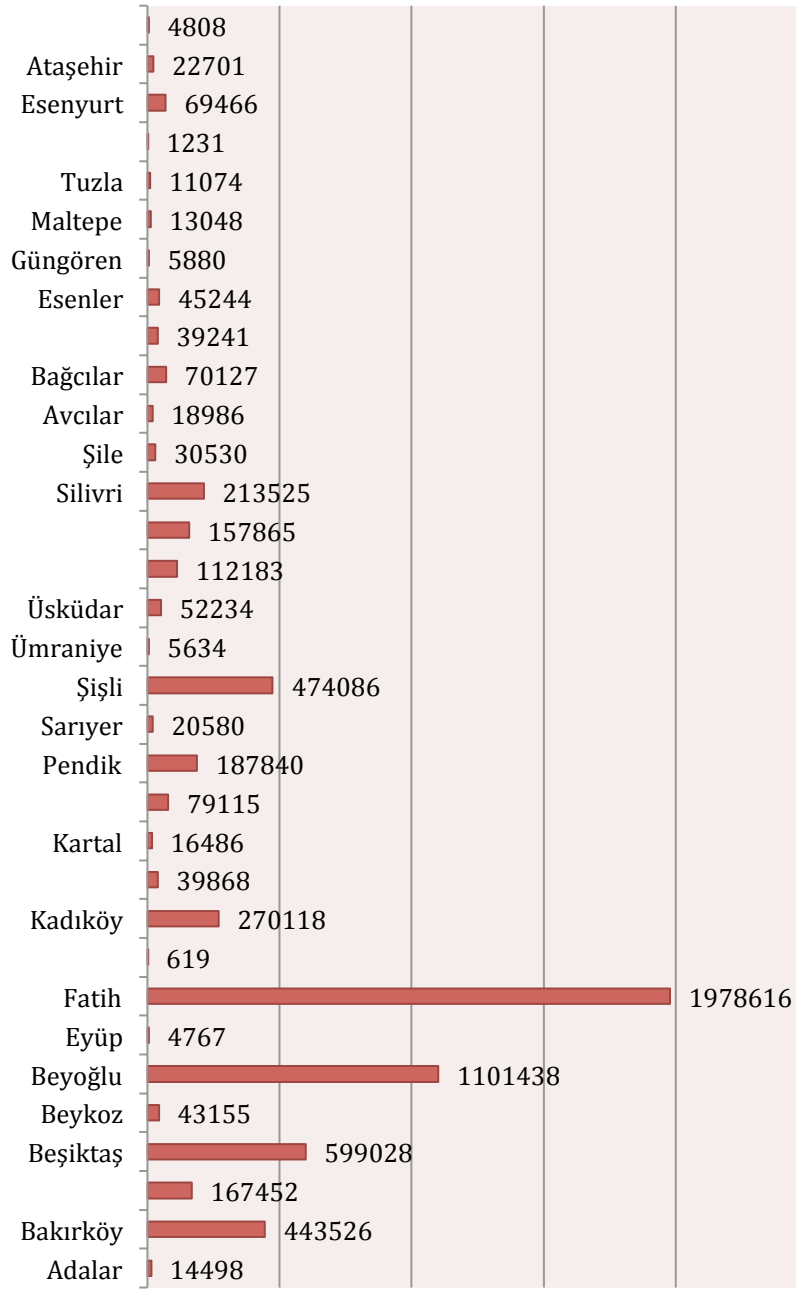


Figure 1: Number of Tourist Arrivals to Accommodation Facilities by Districts in 2013  
(Source: Ministry of Tourism and Culture, 2013)

As Ayşe Betül Çelik (2005) states, the wave of migration in late 1980s and 1990s presents different patterns in comparison to former waves of migration. Being characterized by forced resettlement due to armed conflicts aside, these migrant populations suffered from limited or lacking ties with individuals and families in their place of origin. In addition, having limited sources of skills and social capital,



these groups had disadvantages in labour and housing markets. Indeed, rising prejudices and discriminatory practices towards Kurdish ethnic identities reinforced their vulnerability. In that period, marginalized populations in the district are diversified with the arrival of sex workers and transnational migrants (Zengin, 2014, 366).

In line with these, the neighbourhoods inhabited by these migrants, such as Tarlabası, are considered and represented as slums. Dinçer and Enlil's (2002) study indicates that these neighbourhoods had turned out to be spaces of poverty which reaches at unprecedented levels among populations migrated in 1990s. Accordingly, 94% are employed in jobs without social security, more than half of the population are living under the poverty line and 39% are living under the hunger line. Under these circumstances, informal sector plays a crucial role in the survival of these populations. Indeed, their survival is unequivocally dependent to the nighttime economy of the district and they constitute the cheap labour force for the retail and entertainment sector (Alpman, 2014). In addition, their urban presence and survival relies on the informal (like street vendors, street musicians) and underground (like prostitution and drug-dealing) economies. For that reason, the area and its surroundings are rigorously associated with urban threats of danger and crime.

In short, the formation of public life in Beyoglu relies on contrasting urban images; that of extension of consumerism serving for middle classes and tourists, and of spaces of poverty, informality and underground economy. These faces of urban life are ostensibly incompatible with each other as the latter undermines the attractive and safe image of the district. Concomitantly, these dynamics provide a basis for cycles of devalorisation and revalorisation in the district (Smith, 1996, 65). That is, the public life in Beyoglu as sites for both globalized lifestyles and spaces of poverty produces the social and economic conditions of gentrification.

## 4.2 Multiple Compositions of Nightlife

The rising interests of new middle classes, the district's appeal to tourist gaze, and ever-presence of lower class cultural establishments, as illustrated above, yield highly fragmented and hierarchical organization of nightlife in the district. The hierarchical structure is indisputably informed by differential capital investments in economic terms. However, it is not confined to capital investments; social and cultural practices diversely inform dispositions in the hierarchical structures of nightlife. Interrelatedly, ongoing processes of gentrification mark the spatial formation of socio-cultural hierarchies.

To begin with, capital investments build physical landscape of nocturnal pleasures on the basis of investing in properties, entertainment activities and human capital. Economic capital, in this way, creates one of the main axes of differentiation in both material and symbolic terms. These dynamics are complexly manifested in design elements that appeal to visual image (e.g. decorations), aural sense (e.g. sound systems) and sense of tastes (e.g. menu), which affectively stimulates the feelings of pleasure seekers (Thrift, 2006). It also informs the capacities; size of capital is one of the main determinants of a venue's operational size which is directly linked to the size of properties. That is to say, a concert hall entertaining large audiences by hosting local or international artists, a glamorous restaurant-bar that organizes special events honouring local or international celebrities (such as barmen-barmaids, cooks, etc.), a local and independent restaurant gained a reputation on the basis of providing an 'authentic' experience, and a family-run entertainment venue serving for small numbers of tables are based on different levels and types of capital investments.

Besides, social and cultural factors are indissociable from hierarchical structures of nightlife. As Featherstone (1994, 398) argues, adapting Bourdieu's (1984) conception for diverse capital forms, culture gained significance insofar as inner cities have transformed into centres of service and tourism economies. As Bourdieu (1987) suggests, the social space is multi dimensional and complexly formed by diverse forms of capital. In this way of understanding, certain types

and forms of capital inform a social world in which people share certain patterns of dispositions, tastes and sensibilities. This paves the way for the idea that numerous cultural practices make a sense of place through accumulating cultural capital (Zukin, 2010, 60). For instance, the construction of *pavyon* cultures sets the precedent of this dimension. The association of *pavyon* with entertainment practices mostly enjoyed by allegedly 'rough' masculinities entails socio-cultural degradation of these entertainment clusters. Likewise, the ale-dominated entertainment cultures lacking distinctive cultural tastes and lifestyles may also be another example of the construction of low status night cultures. On the other hand, the 'classy', prestigious entertainment clusters may be formed through incorporation of certain design elements and tastes, which are symbolically or culturally marked with global lifestyles.

In line with the role of culture in meaning-making processes, the cultural economy is of relevance here along with the rising significance of ephemeral services, and cultural forms and meanings in the transition to flexible accumulation regimes, as Harvey (1989a, 285) denotes. Needless to say, how and in what way culture accrues value is informed by power structures rooted in gender, class, and sexuality (Grazian, 2009). Diverse cultural formations (either in the way of performing certain identities or distinct subcultural leisure styles of different class positions in terms of musical and culinary tastes) accrue different values in accordance to collective dispositions in these power structures. As mentioned above, degradation of some cultural elements, which are associated with *pavyons*, relies upon its association with hypermasculine youth cultures. Likewise, the construction of ale-dominated entertainment clusters as low status and less prestigious cultural forms is related to the role of cultural capital which sets the basis for the class distinction, as Bourdieu (1984) conceives.

Lastly, and interrelatedly, hierarchical structure of nightlife bear the marks of gentrification processes which results in spatial demarcations along the axis of Istiklal Avenue. These demarcations do not present rigidly bounded enclosures yet there are still social and cultural boundaries making immediate localities knowable to users of the district in distinct ways. Accordingly, Galatasaray High School,

where is located quite in the middle of İstiklal Avenue, is the symbolic marker of socio-spatial demarcations especially since 2000s. Along the İstiklal Avenue sloping downwards, areas below the Galatasaray High School (especially certain neighbourhoods like Galata, Asmalımescit, Tomtom, etc.) have been known for gentrified regions where upper echelons of nightlife are also located<sup>11</sup>. Adversely, areas above the Galatasaray High School hosts lower echelons of entertainment clusters which also incorporate variants of different ethnic, religious and sexual cultures<sup>12</sup>. Organization of lower echelons in this way stems from these areas' proximity to Tarlabası district that is associated with urban poverty, crime and urban decay as previously mentioned.

Taken together, these processes inform the hierarchical structure of nightlife in Beyoğlu and results in formation of four different components: Up-market venues, historically rooted venues, community-based venues and informal/underground networks-based entertainment activities. Up-market and historically rooted venues constitute the upper echelons of nightlife on the basis of types and size of capital investments, distinctive social and cultural practices, and their clientele mostly comprised of middle class populations and tourists. Community-based venues and informal/underground networks-based entertainment represent lower echelons, mostly based on lower levels of capital investments, low-status and less prestigious cultural practices, and lower class and/or marginalized clientele.

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<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that Cihangir and Firuzağa are the exceptions. Although these neighbourhoods would definitely be counted in the upper echelons of entertainment clusters, the location is noticeably nearer to lower echelons. This particularity would be understood on the grounds of the trajectories of gentrification in the neighbourhoods (see Uzun, 2003).

<sup>12</sup> Here, dispersal of certain subcultural geographies reflect similar demarcations. For instance, gay clubbing is a good evidence for this. Accordingly, in addition to high-end extensions of gay clubs in Harbiye, Western-like gay clubs and cafés serving for middle class gay men and tourists are markedly located downwards the Galatasaray or Cihangir. On the contrary, downmarket variants are located in areas upwards the Galatasaray (see also Durgun, 2010).

**Table 2** Components of Nightlife

Up-market venues	<p><b>Capital Investments</b></p> <p>Large-scale or medium-scale capital investments under global or local brands</p> <p><u>Logic of brand-making</u> for larger capital investments (innovation, quality, internationalism, professionalization and specialization), or <u>logic of uniqueness</u> for medium-scale capital (social, cultural and symbolic strategies)</p> <p>Significance of economic and cultural capital</p> <p><b>Aggregated Social and Cultural Assets</b></p> <p>Mainstream entertainment cultures</p> <p>Sense of exclusivity around middle class norms and values</p> <p><b>Location Preferences</b></p> <p>More sanitized, gentrified urban environments</p> <p>Acting as gentrifiers (especially corporatized actors)</p>
Historically-Rooted Venues	<p><b>Capital Investments</b></p> <p>Capital investments at lower levels</p> <p>Significance of Cultural capital</p> <p><b>Aggregated Social and Cultural Assets</b></p> <p>Logic of authenticity, mostly based on historical-rootedness</p> <p>Social, cultural and symbolic strategies to incorporate an authentic experience</p> <p><b>Location Preferences</b></p> <p>Arbitrary location preferences</p> <p>Seeking continuity</p>
Community-based entertainment	<p><b>Capital Investments</b></p> <p>Lower level investments in economic capital</p> <p>Significance of social and cultural capital</p> <p>Lack of distinctive economic, social and cultural assets</p> <p><b>Aggregated Social and Cultural Assets</b></p> <p>Significance of community relations</p> <p>Bearers of ale-dominated entertainment cultures</p> <p>Tendencies of alternative entertainment cultures</p> <p><b>Location Preferences</b></p> <p>Arbitrariness</p> <p>Significance of immediate localities attained its meaning through community relations</p>

Table 2 (continued)

	<b>Capital Investments</b>
Informal/Underground	Investments in social capital
Networks-based	<b>Aggregated Social and Cultural Assets</b>
Entertainment	Male-dominated entertainment cultures
	Significance of male authority
	Involvement of marginalized identities
	<b>Location Preferences</b>
	Streets
	Socially and morally legitimate forms located along Istiklal Avenue
	Unlawful and degraded elements located on the fringes

#### 4.2.1 Up-market Venues

Although the district is known as entertainment hub of the city, Eder and Öz (2015) demonstrate that investors show apathy towards making investments in the luxury ends of the sector in the district. This is mostly due to the reluctance or incapability of prevalent customer profile to afford higher prices, insufficient real estate markets due to lacking spacious properties and association of certain areas with danger and disgust.

Nevertheless, this does not lead to a sheer disappearance of corporatized actors serving for middle classes in Beyoglu's entertainment sector. Especially in the last decade, there emerges a noteworthy increase in the larger capital investments in nightlife of Beyoglu. In addition to international chains such as Mama Shelter, local chains like Midpoint, The House Café, 360 Istanbul, Otto Group, and Tektekçi opened branches in and around Istiklal Avenue. Indeed, some of them such as Otto Group, Hayal Kahvesi, and Tektekçi have initially flourished in Beyoglu and gradually opened branches in other places of Istanbul and other cities. Besides, there are also local venues organizing large-scale musical events,

and hosting international and local artists like Salon, Babylon, Garage Istanbul, Mask and so on. In addition to corporatized actors, there are also local and independent brands initiated by individual entrepreneurs. These venues are reminiscent of Western-like café cultures in a stylized manner. As noted earlier, their prevalence dates back to the gentrification of certain neighbourhoods since 1990s; yet they proliferated especially after 2000s.

In terms of the size of capital investments, up-market venues present heterogeneities; while local and international chains act as a corporate actor based on larger capital investments, their independent counterparts execute their activities with lesser capital investments. However, these venues share similar customer profiles and have identical interests in public life of Beyoglu. On that account, I dissect them together in a unitary category.

These venues largely serve for tourists and the upwardly mobile middle class populations mostly employed in professional positions in service or creative industries. Being aligned to global lifestyles, very typically at a pre-family life stage and of disposable incomes for pleasure seeking, these groups constitute the target audience of up-market venues. Corporate actors and independent venues provide numerous entertaining practices from musical events to culinary and alcoholic services to these groups.

In the case of corporate actors, organization of service provision is grounded on the logic of brand-making (Hollands and Chatterton, 2003; Chatterton and Hollands, 2002). This logic aggregates a number of strategies in order to reach at the top positions in the industry. Hence, it requires a package of service provision in a distinctive manner. This package is comprised of a number of strategies incorporating decorations, menu, music and technological infrastructure. According to the type of entertainment venue, one or more of these are pivotal in ensuring the highest quality. Capital investments in these fields are paramount as they serve for the brand's reputability in the market.

For instance, the manager of one of the largest concert halls in Beyoglu gives a good account for how investments in technological infrastructure are constituent for their reputation:

“We are struggling for being among the top 3 or 5 and have a distinctive stance. Here is a live performance place. There may be 2 concerts in a day. Except for ordinary concert events, we organize 40 concerts in a month. We are trying to develop the idea that there is for sure an event here even if not in any other places... In near future, we will open a second, and larger, concert place downstairs. We have one of the best three sound systems in Beyoglu. There are even some musicians who are eager to perform here on account of this. This will be the first criteria running through the second concert area. Having a good sound system is a part of having a good service quality”. (Interviewee managing one of the largest concert halls in Beyoglu)

As this quotation indicates, reputability is deemed to have a distinctive feature which is characteristic to one's own. The manager of this concert hall presents that they are striving for being knowable to anyone in the name of a 'place of concerts'. In his narratives, this depends on a certain mode of superiority which is measured in their capacities. Number of concerts and technological infrastructure are the primary determinants of making a 'place of concerts'.

Another strategy for generating a reputable image is making investments in innovation in pursuit of creating a sense of newness. Eder and Öz (2015, 293) addresses to symbolic dimensions –such as names and decorations of a place- that serves for the stylization of entertainment venues. In addition to that, my findings indicate that significance of generating a sense of newness is also manifested in the very entertainment practices and consumption patterns in diverse ways. This is especially evident in the narratives of one of the respondents. As a manager of a bar run under the brand of a bar chain in Beyoglu, he recounts the Beyoglu branch as a success story owing to the highest turnover. He explicates this on account of stylisation and serving tens of cocktails uniquely created under their brand, which offers alternatives to the habitual entertainment practices revolving around “beer and chips”:



“A positive energy haunts people in a place. We are aiming at this. This place always surprises people. We serve beer in an *ayran* bottle. We could manage to explain this in a way. We are not a beer place, beer drinkers are welcome, of course, but we expect them to try our cocktails... We are serving 140 different cocktails. Almost all of them are unique. We have developed their recipes. Our menus are public but people cannot duplicate the taste that much easily. There lies a work at high pressure and we always develop new recipes. We use high quality spirits. Whatever you see in the bar is being used in the cocktails. This is indispensable for a good service quality. On that account, we are chosen as the best bar of the last year. Our brand is awarded in the best bar category of Timeout Istanbul. It was not a big surprise for us but we are happy to hold that”. (Interviewee managing a branch of bar chain in Beyoglu).

The emphasis on prolonging endeavour to create numerous tastes stems from a certain mode of craftsmanship. Here, the attention to providing alternatives to ‘beer cultures’ demonstrates how the ‘sense of newness’ is undertaken. In Turkey, according to the national statistics, overall supply of alcoholic beverages in Turkey is predominantly comprised of beer (88.83%), wine (5.72%) and rakı (3.72%) (TAPDK, 2014). The consumption of alcoholic beverages is predominated by beer consumption. Therefore, the sense of newness is presented through organization of service provision different from ale-dominated entertainment cultures. Tens of recipes, in the words of the manager, are rooted in their motives to create a distinctive pleasure seeking. This indisputably diversifies the service provision; and concomitantly, enchants with middle classes’ individualistic pursuits of nighttime pleasures. This is the mechanism that affectively binds “consumers through their own passions and enthusiasms” (Thrift, 2006, 286).

Besides, involvement of global actors is also crucial in brand-making processes. A number of corporatized entertainment venues host international guests of DJs, cooks, designers, barmen/barmaids, and so on, who are remarkable celebrities in their expertise. By virtue of the attendant international guests, these venues create a sense of newness in line with their brand-making strategies. These strategies prompt the reputable image in cultural and symbolic terms. In symbolic terms, the presence of international celebrities in the production site communicates the

uniqueness of a venue crafted by a professional and celebrated ‘touch’. The efficacy is ensured by their presence itself, as their celebrity at an international level is the marker of it. For instance, Mama Shelter, a well-known hotel and restaurants chain of France sets an example for this. A branch was launched in Istanbul in 2013; and shortly afterwards, the media coverage of the venue frequently presented the place through the involvement of a celebrity designer and a cook in the establishment process. Accordingly, a newspaper article (Ertuna, 2013) defined the uniqueness of this restaurant-club on the grounds of its extraordinary design elements and unique tastes.

Moreover, international celebrities are not relevant only to the symbolic construction of brands but they also grant a prestigious and unique position through introducing global trends of nightlife, which is a form of efficacy serving for the instrumental ends. A barman, for instance, narrates the trainer role of these celebrities, which does not only help making one of the hippest club of Beyoglu but also his career development. He explicates that they perform the role of teaching global trends of consumption:

“The club I am working in is a good one. An exceptional venue that you can drink a good cocktail. This relies on the fact that different barmens are invited from US or Europe at least two or three times a year. This enriches the menu here. We serve good cocktails. We are sensitive to using fresh fruits in the cocktails. Each is of a unique recipe. You can never taste these cocktail in other places. We also host celebrity ooks from abroad. This contributes a lot. This is also good for us. We can have the opportunity to be able to prepare new drinks”. (Interviewee working as a barman in a club in Cihangir)

Besides, local and independent variants of up-market venues organize their service provision on the basis of a logic of uniqueness. Strategies to create a ‘unique’ identity rest upon diverse social and cultural characteristics. That is to say, thematic arrangements are prevalent in their organization of service provision. In the pursuit of uniqueness, these places develop strategies to generate an identity. To that end, they employ numerous social, cultural and symbolic

ingredients in relevance to that identity. These identities present a rich diversity which is not easily generalized. Yet, in general terms, it is quite common that they refer to cultural ingredients especially identified by culinary/alcoholic specialties and musical tastes. Accordingly, a number of venues are identified through the terms of place-based and cultural characteristics like “Mediterranean Cuisine”, “French café”, “Tapas Bar” etc. In this way, these assets are distinctive cultural claims fuelling a certain kind of uniqueness and authenticity; and consequently, they operate as marketable elements (Harvey, 2001). Similarly, some others are identified through the terms of cultural characteristics and/or musical tastes like “Jazz Café”, “traditional *meyhane*”, “reggae bar” etc. echoing the tradeability of “postmodern lifestyles” (Featherstone, 2007).

That said, service provision articulating identity claims is actualized through accumulation of cultural capital. To that end, thematically arranged venues select their staff by using an employment criterion. Employees’ capacities are appropriated as indispensable element of identity construction. Managers and owners of local/independent up-market venues frequently highlight their requirements for knowledge and skills in social and cultural characteristics. For instance, a manager of one of the hippest café-bar of Cihangir, sets an example for this. For him, the one who is also consumer of his services is a potential employee in his business:

“Once I have employed a guy as a dishwasher, but then I realized that he is really good and now, he works as a barista. He is able to learn new things. He had the vision. You can even realize his potentials through his dressing, how he spends. If a person is also the one who can consume the services being provided here... He knows the job from different angles”.

Differently, another manager of a fancy café-bar in Galatasaray mentions the significance of employees’ knowledge and skills in global tastes and lifestyles. For that reason, certain certificate programmes in diverse fields provides opportunities to satisfy a ‘service quality’:

“The cook has attended courses in private culinary courses. He studied meat dishes, brunch, dressing recipes and so on. He has learned all about the intricacies involved in the food we serve here. That contributes a lot.”

Entrepreneurs’ requirements here do not necessarily implicate professionalization of service provision. Instead, they demand the service staff to be socially and culturally familiar with services provided. The ‘service quality’ at stake refers to one’s capacities of being aligned with global lifestyles and consumption patterns. These dimensions actualize the blurring of boundaries between production and consumption sites in the employment patterns.

In short, up-market venues stand out as domineering force in urban nightscapes of Beyoglu. Owing to their innovative or cultural capacities, corporate power, and their appeal to middle class lifestyles and tastes, they represent the most glamorous segment of nightlife in Beyoglu. This is mostly apparent in the media representations of carousing in Beyoglu. Numerous articles on newspapers and magazines chronicle the currents of nightlife by referring to these venues. For that reason, up-market venues play a crucial role in the attractiveness of Beyoglu’s look and feel.

#### *4.2.2 Historically Rooted Venues*

Certain venues with deep roots in the history of Beyoglu’s public life are associated with a distinctive value. The way that these venues accrue value is not based on capital investments in their service provision. They are deemed to provide an authentic experience with their services or the atmosphere, owing to their cultural characteristics predicated upon Beyoglu’s historical heritage. On that account, they draw the interests of middle class revellers and are incorporated into the upper echelons of nightlife.

The promise of ‘unique’ experiences is the main trope of these venues; an idea of preservation of a local identity lies beneath this uniqueness. One’s own cultural power to maintain and reclaim own identity informs this particular mode of ‘uniqueness’. It implies ‘defiance’ of globalizing urban pleasures by means of being

predicated upon 'authenticity'. The main tenets of 'authenticity' thereby inform the distinctive characteristics of historically rooted venues, especially in comparison to other up-market venues. Sharon Zukin (2010) conceives authenticity of space as the qualities of things being there and fixed throughout their lifetimes. In this way, authenticity presents a distinct modality in the time of ephemerality of globalizing worlds. However, Zukin (ibid, 3) contends that the purports of authenticity have evolved from a quality of people into a quality of things, experiences, and spaces. An authentic space creates an experience of origins or past, and it has little to do with the origins other than its visual replication.

Conceived in this way, nightspots with distinct historical identities possibly commodify nostalgic features under the guise of unique look and feel, and aesthetic elements (Zukin, 2008, 745). This is especially true for traditional entertainment venues such as *meyhanes*. A journalist, who is working as a 'meyhane correspondent' and collecting stories of *meyhane* owners for a website sponsored by a leading alcoholic beverages supplier, provides a good account for these dynamics. In his account, historically rooted venues present a distinguishing fashion of amusement insofar as they bear the marks of 19<sup>th</sup> century Pera's legacies:

"I am attentive to *meyhane* owners who are working in this field for a long period of time. I like them to have a story. If they are old, this is a good sign. In the last years, there is this thing that people call modern *meyhane*. I don't like them. They don't have identities. They are trying to develop an identity claim as they don't have it. Beyoglu has a long history. Old *meyhanes* speaks a lot in this sense. Because this relies on the Levantines' heritage and only non-Muslims were allowed to run *meyhanes*, Beyoglu is the place that culture flourishes. Beyoglu is the place where the origins of *meyhane* cultures are rooted in. Here was the place that the best *meyhanes* are always located. The significance of Beyoglu in terms of *meyhane* culture relies on this heritage. The oldest ones are here and they do their best here."

The respondent quoted above portrays the nocturnal currents of Beyoglu particularly focusing on the *meyhane* life. He produces a comprehensive body of

knowledge on *meyhane* cultures in a web site. The ways that he represents *meyhanes* are fundamental for making meaning of urban pleasures in traditional venues. Viewed from this lens, his articulations regarding the identity of a place as equivalent to historical rootedness illustrates how authenticity is indispensable. In his account, symbolic and cultural representation of historical rootedness is a self-reliant value which makes a difference in the entertainment life.

*Imroz Meyhanesi* is one of those which acquired reputation on the grounds of historical rootedness. Being one of the most popular and the oldest *meyhane* owned by a Greek Istanbulite, Imroz was first launched in Krepen Arcade in 1952. After a fire disaster in the arcade, the *meyhane* was moved to Nevizade in 1982 and is still located there. Today *Imroz Meyhanesi* is famous for this historical heritage. This venue highlights its historical rootedness through numerous photographs from its past on its wall (see Figure 2). Indeed, it is reflected in the manner of entertainment in this place. Yorgo Barba, the owner of this place, insistently preserves certain traditional elements of *meyhane* cultures like avoidance of music. *Meyhane*, according to him, is a place for conversation (*muhabbet*) and he is determined to carry on these traditional elements:

“No, there is no music here. It is even not allowed to sing here. This is our own rule. Even if a person sings here, others would start to hee-hawing. We don’t want music here. Singing is absolutely now allowed. If you like sing, you should choose another place. If you are here, you should be having a conversation [*muhabbet*], have your meal and drink your *raki*. That is all.”

Avoidance of music in Yorgo Barba’s place is ostensibly a bold attempt disregarding the customers’ demands. Priority of *muhabbet* over musical amusement is the primary motive; he conforms to the traditions without making any concessions. As a result, Imroz constructs an authentic identity promising an experience of ‘historical *meyhane*’. This dimension can be construed as an aesthetic code of authenticity which is traded as a commodity on its own. These elements functioning as cultural and symbolic registers of a place do not only construct the

authentic identity of this place but also commodify the historical legacies of Beyoglu in novel forms.



Figure 2: Imroz Meyhanesi (Photograph by Adem Erkoçak, 2014; reproduced with permission)

#### 4.2.3 Community-based Venues

Different from economically and culturally distinctive variants of nightlife, a considerable number of venues entertaining lower or lower-middle class segments of society (such as low status service workers, students, etc.) are also prevalent in Beyoglu's nightlife. These venues, typically individually/family-owned, are less likely to be characterized by polished decorations and distinctive culinary or alcoholic services. Instead, the entertainment practices are largely characterized by ale-dominated cultures. More importantly, community relations (including loosely structured ones based on friendship, subcultural formations –such as folk music based *türkü barı*- or political identities) have a central role in the formation of pleasure seeking. Indeed, these relations pave the way for a fashion of cultural and political identities in these venues.

In the community-based venues, entertainment practices are not marked with distinctive tastes and lifestyles; managers and owners pay a particular attention to customer relations attributing importance to emotional connections. That is to say, making investments in social capital is prior to other dynamics; many of the respondents address to their lifelong careers as a constant struggle for cultivating a customer group on a regular basis. Their narratives make an emphasis on trust relations and friendliness which blurs the distinction between customer relations and other social ties. For instance, the owner of a small pub in lower echelons of entertainment sector sets an example for how personal relations is central to commercial life in community-based venues:

“Our customers prefer to come to us on a regular basis. I have been working in this sector for 16 years; I have grown up doing this. Friendly relations with the customers are more important than anything else.”

Likewise, another respondent also puts forward his years-long experience in this sector which results in customer loyalties:

“Over the course of my 12-years in this business, I can tell you that people come to have fun. I have brought all of my social relations, personal contacts to this place. They are here because they are familiar with what I have offered them. This is the place that I have established through bringing all my contacts that I have acquired throughout my career.”

Given the centrality of personal relations, entertainment here is organized outrightly different from individualistic course of middle class cultures; instead, these venues seek to find a certain mode of ‘stickiness’ (Thrift, 2006, 288) that stimulates emotions and generates commitment. By the same token, emotional ties form the basis of reputability of a place as it facilitates reputation through word-of-mouth at local levels.

Community-based venues’ reputability on the basis of personal relations is distinct from becoming known for authenticity, as in the case of historically rooted entertainment, on several accounts. Organization of entertainment in favour of



these social ties does not lead to an aesthetic element stylizing a pleasurable experience. Despite certain cultural characteristics attributed to community relations, they are not manifested in specialized services and complex set of knowledges and skills in culinary, alcoholic or musical tastes. Conduct of pleasures is rather informed by a quality of people instead of quality of things, experiences or spaces. That is to say, community relations lend pleasure seeking its character as a social code.

This particular mode of sociality marked with social, cultural and political character of communal ties informs community-based entertainment in diverse ways. Insofar as certain places are meeting spot of different identities, services in these venues are comprised of certain elements showing sensibilities of these groupings. These sensibilities might be informed by ethnic, political and/or sexual identities; and they are symbolically and culturally reflected in the styles of these venues. Consumption habits, here, largely shape these venues; and concomitantly, these venues also cater for a place for identity formation on the grounds of cultural characteristics of groupings. Consequently, this paves the way for discerning such spatial formation in terms of alternative nightlife spaces (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003, 89). Some of these venues dedicatedly underline the political alignments of their clientele. In line with this, pleasure seeking in these venues is laden with certain political contents. That is, thematic parties in solidarity with particular social movements (like Kurdish movement, LGBT communities, etc.) are now and then prevalent in some venues. These events concurrently inform the identity of these venues. Besides, the emergence and proliferation of *türkü bars* are noteworthy to mention here. As Beşiroğlu (2011) states, these entertainment venues have been presenting an expressive site for ethnic and religious minority groups (particularly Kurds and Alevis) to practice their identities through especially musical appreciation. Indeed, they also provide a social and spatial domain to establish social networks in a solidaristic manner.

Departing from these dynamics, involvement of social, cultural, and political identities may also go beyond the bounds of single entertainment sites and come to identify an area through these terms. For instance, particular entertainment

clusters are associated with alternative forms of pleasure seeking outright. *Mis Street* is a pivotal example for this; the street's fame for 'leftists' entertainment cluster' dates back to intensification of consumption places, which are particularly serving for social circles of politically oppositional groups. In recent years, this fame has become much more evident after queer presence and re-launch of an historical patisserie (İnci Patisserie<sup>13</sup>) in the street after its eviction. From now on, the street plays a role in the organization and mobilization of political opposition. One of the inhabitants running a *meyhane* in the street narrates how the street is imbued with political meanings in this way:

"The politicization of this street is rooted in Sokak Kahvesi. There were not places other than it before ... purchased this small coffeeshop. ... was already active in politics while he was a university student. In time, places develop certain identities. This is true for this place. In time, people politically aligned to leftist movements started to show up around here. Other places have also established in this way. In return, this place turned out an area where people come together before and after demonstrations. Indeed, some people prefer here to escape from police violence. They know that people would welcome them."

Such an urban atmosphere interweaving nighttime carousing and political opposition opens up a space for plurality welcoming socially, culturally, and politically alternative practices and meanings. Among the inhabitants of the street, this plurality is appropriated as an indispensable value. For this sake, nightlife in the street is driven by particular value orientations of like-minded people that is not intelligible in economic terms. For instance, another respondent, who runs a *meyhane* business, narrates his commitment to be part of the street referring to political symbols that permeates into the nighttime revelling. For him, street musicians playing leftist anthems while passing by the street is charming enough and a good indicator of the street's political identity. In order to exemplify how the

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<sup>13</sup> İnci Patisserie is a historically rooted bakery which had been serving for 68 years on İstiklal Avenue. After the arcade that the patisserie is located in is purchased by a conglomerate to be reconstructed as a shopping mall, the bakery is forcefully evicted in 2012. As the bakery is of an iconic stance for its historical roots, the eviction has triggered public debates. Followingly, the patisserie is re-launched in Mis Street by its owners (Hürriyet Daily News, 2012).

alternative cultures are permeated in the production and consumption sites of nightlife in the street, he speaks of his neighbours running a queer place servicing only for women. He attributes value of diversity and plurality to the street on these grounds; and he states that he would never relinquish his determined presence there even in exchange of economic benefits:

“I would never prefer to run a business in a more advantageous location. This is a street where leftists, Kurds, socialists, LGBT, all the alternative groups show up. I enjoy running a business among like-minded people.”

Entertainment clusters informed by political identities do not only present cultural domain of alternative lifestyles. Oppositional identities incorporating political belongings of different identities are actualized through togetherness in socio-spatial terms. These entertainment clusters becomes a site where individuals come together, interact with each other, and construct and perform their subjectivities which are derived from their belonging to each other. This creates a sense of solidarity; hence, venues taking part in this political alignment play an indispensable role in the formation of solidarity through organizing entertainment practices of alternative lifestyles. In turn, Mis Street embodies an irreplaceable value which is not easily abandoned.

In short, urban pleasures organized in community-based venues are largely marked with belongings. Entertainment here is not only produced as a commodity but it also takes on its meanings through social, cultural, or political belongings. Pleasurable moments in community-based venues do not only serve for enthusiasms of individualistic life courses. Different identities and values are also cultivated in the currents of community-based entertainment. Therefore, alignment with diverse communities opens a space for generation of diverse meanings in spaces of night across these venues. Conceived in this way, community-based venues do not only come to contain plural practices and meanings. There lies upon a potentiality for the cultivation and negotiation of differences. Hence, spaces of night across these venues pave the way for socio-cultural formation of differences.

#### *4.2.4 Informal/Underground Networks-based Entertainment Activities*

In the organization of nightlife in Beyoglu, informal/underground networks have their roles in two ways. First, informal networks are organized in the form of survival economy. Still, some other forms organized through mafia-like networks are intriguingly assembled in Beyoglu's nightlife. These faces of informal night accommodate an underground economy; and stays away from a survival economy due to economic activities coming out of drug dealing, sex industries and gambling.

Socially and economically marginalized populations, especially inhabitants of Tarlabası district, take the lead in the survival economy of informal networks. Here street vendors, street musicians, drug dealers and prostitutes (especially of transgender women) are crucial actors in these informal facets of Beyoglu's nightlife. As Abdou Maliq Simone (2010) argues, streets provide material sources for these patchwork-like formations. Yet still, these networks accommodate certain heterogeneities in their organization. Socially and morally more legitimate components of these networks are aptly present in more conspicuous edges of the streets. Indeed, they get benefit of this presence through their visibility to, and interactions with pleasure seekers. Street vendors<sup>14</sup>, for instance, widely earn their lives by trading typically stuffed mussels or rice with chickpeas in the avenue on every weekday. A mussel seller, who is living in Tarlabası and opening a stall for more than a year in Istiklal Avenue, told me that he works on the same point everyday. A workday of him starts at 7 o'clock in the evening and prolongs till 5 o'clock in the morning. He mentioned the possibility of intervention by municipal officers until midnight; and after that, he peacefully sells mussels to pleasure seekers on the way back to their home.

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<sup>14</sup> Kurdish populations in Tarlabası area predominantly organize street vending in Istiklal Avenue through kin or kin-related relations (Yılmaz, 2006). Its ethnic-based structure is a debated issue that frequently appeared in mass media (see Payçu, 2012). Under the circumstances of social and economic marginalization (Dinçer and Enlil, 2002), street vending provides spatial and material sources for their survival.

On the other hand, socially and morally less legitimate components of informal networks are leaned to be located on the fringes of the district. Drug dealers' and prostitutes' relatively inconspicuous urban existence stems from "generative capacities of darkness" (Edensor, 2015). Darker sides, nonverbal forms of communication and localities indirectly tied to Istiklal Avenue reflect the pursuit of invisibility in nocturnal public life. *Bayram Street*<sup>15</sup> is a good example for this. This street is the only street wherein transgender women live together and make a living as prostitutes<sup>16</sup>. In fact, it is not apparently street prostitution as transgender women deal with the lower-class male customers through staring out of the windows. Likewise, an underground economy claims a place on the fringes of Tarlabası district. Here, a handful of young men is present for drug dealing. After getting dark, they get a chance to perform drug dealing in a greater amount of anonymity as street lighting is broken off. Darker edges of the streets and abandoned shops provide them with an inconspicuous setting for a deal.

The urban presence of illicit and morally degraded activities is endowed with equivocal meanings. On the one hand, these components are not apparent in the public life of Beyoglu. Although they are seemingly located at the very heart of nightlife, they are not directly tied to the flow of fabulous crowd in Istiklal Avenue. For instance, in order to arrive at *Bayram Street*, one needs to pass by other alleys. Similarly, Tarlabası Boulevard operates as a socio-spatial boundary between entertainment hub and drug-dealing activities. Nevertheless, these demarcations are not rigorous enough as they mingle with more formal, legitimate and lawful facets of nightlife. The backstreets that link Bayram Street to Istiklal Avenue do also face Nevizade, one of the liveliest parts of nightlife in Beyoglu. Likewise, the area of drug-dealing is located on the spot across the down-market entertainment clusters. In this way, unlawful and degradable constituents of

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<sup>15</sup> Transgender women's use of that street bears the marks of historical legacies of brothels in the district. *Bayram Street* is next to *Abanoz Street* where first brothels have showed up in 1960s and 1970s (Zengin, 2014, 362).

<sup>16</sup> As it is argued in another study of Aslı Zengin (2011, 126), while inconspicuous fringes of the city facilitates the urban existence of prostitutes, it also makes women more open to violence as women are devoid of any protective mechanisms.

informal networks are tied up with the urban atmosphere in ways that undermine the image of safely and respectfully carousing, at least in certain parts of the district.

Apart from these, some other services provided by informal networks are also prevalent while they are not confined to survival of underclass. In fact, having an organic unity with sex industries and drug markets, they furnish illicit faces of carousing revolving around sex, drugs and money. Moreover, they are organized under the rubric of power relations that is decisively ruled by masculine authority.

*Pavyons* are the typical exemplars accommodating sex-related services. These venues are low status and less prestigious extertainment venues; yet the rationale behind this is not the fact that they are providing low-cost services for low-income groups. In fact, their clientele may be comprised of cash-rich groups; but less prestigious position of these venues stems from culturally degraded components forging entertainment cultures in these venues. Above all, entertainment cultures in *pavyons* are characteristically predominated by male-dominated clientele and the entertainment here consists of sexualized forms of service provision. Accordingly, a handful of women employees –called as *konsomatris*- in each *pavyon* is typically present to accompany male customers. Their primary role is not necessarily prostitution –although it is also prevalent- but to boost circuit drinking. In this way, they serve for the profit-seeking interests of entrepreneurs. Concomitantly, on the demand site, these venues incorporate gender-mixed entertainment forms for hyper-masculine clientele by commodifying women's presence in these venues.

Prevalence of this sort of venues actually dates back to the public life of 1970s' Beyoglu. As mentioned earlier, the interplay of nationalist discourses and practices, rapid industrialisation and urbanization, and technological advancements in media had some severe influences in Beyoglu's public life. Transformation of *gazzino* culture into a male-dominated entertainment is one aspect of these developments. In the meantime, it should be noted that these facets of nightlife in Beyoglu has dramatically diluted especially after late 1990s and 2000s. Hence, they are not remarkable elements of nightlife, although there are

still fewer *pavyons*. Arif's place is one of them located near to Taksim Square. He has been working in *gazin*os and hotels since 1974 and runs his own business since 1982. His narratives set the precedence of socio-cultural degradation of *gazino* cultures and its transformation into sexualized and masculinized entertainment culture. As he states, his venue, once regularly visited by government representatives, families and women (especially to women's matinee in the afternoon), has drastically declined. At the time that I met him, his venue was more likely to be serving as a pavyon consisting of sexualized services. 10 out of 30 employees were women working as *konsomatris*. He told me that many of them were not citizens of Turkey; even without work permits.

Apart from these, there exists venues providing an assembly of sex, drugs and wager, although less frequent. *Halil Dayi*'s business provides an astonishing example for this. He runs a casino in the guise of a teahouse at the very heart of nightlife in Beyoglu. His business is located in a dilapidated building of a street wherein fancy bars and boutique hotels are flourishing. The clientele of his business is "the scum of the earth", in his words, comprised of "pimps, burglars, drug dealers"; yet an informant working in a fancy hotel across *Halil Dayi*'s place also told me that he saw business men happened to be present there for gambling. Even, having seen a top model jeep in front of *Halil Dayi*'s place, it is rumoured that a drug lord visited his place for laying a wager. In *Halil Dayi*'s place, a number of services are provided to ensure the customer satisfaction. As *Halil Dayi* states, "we serve whatever the clients demand. Except for drugs, of course." Indeed, the informant reported that, once a businessman was present for wager, *Halil Dayi* arranged a sex worker conforming to the demands of that businessman.

Apparently formal appearance of his place as a teahouse aside, wager in *Halil Dayi*'s place is not enacted in a manner of sheer clandestinity. Indeed, many of the inhabitants whom I talked to in the street were aware of the goings-on in that place. The way that they narrated *Halil Dayi* and his place conflated the feelings of fear and respect. Besides, they were giving a portrayal of him by embroidering his life story. Many rumours were circulating his relations with drug lords, involvement in drug trafficking and his role in mafia rule. They bespoke his

survival and making a huge amount of money in these illicit relations. Regardless of the fact that these narratives are real or imagined, they serve for a construction of an image on the grounds of authority and power. This is the primary mechanism that paves the way for *Halil Dayi*'s legitimate presence in the street. This legitimacy is not grounded on legislative frames but on tacit rules in reference to his masculine authority.

Notwithstanding this legitimacy, *Halil Dayi* mentions his avoidance of any sort of clashes that would potentially attract the public's, and relevantly police's, attention. Although he maintains 'good' relations with police, he pays an effort to keep calmness, just as he defines it as a fundamental rule of his business:

"The police of the state is present everywhere. Even here. Even if there is a fight among clients here, then police would come over this place too. This is primary rule. There should not be anything that would draw someone's attention".

As *Halil Dayi*'s place illustrates, informal networks involve disparate processes and relations in the service of particular pleasure seeking. Unlike other forms striving for one's survival, an organization of urban pleasure revolving around sexuality, substance use and money is at stake. Here, both the clientele and the driving mechanism in this organization are bluntly different. The unsophisticated, illicit, or socially and culturally degraded clientele aside, service provision is organized through the terms of masculine power relations. Yet, stemming from its underground nature, there is a tendency towards secretive fashion in diverse ways and forms.

#### **4.3 Crossing the Boundaries**

The idea that hierarchical structure of nightlife is constituted through these four distinct patterns does not uphold a claim of strictly ordered segregations, which eschews the possibilities of crossing the boundaries. In fact, the portrayal of the nightlife in this way is open to be negotiated and remade in the everyday practices. This idea stems from the understanding of space as assemble of moving bodies and



practices (Amin and Thrift, 2002, 26). The spaces of night accordingly can be moulded by 'unexpected juxtapositions' (ibid, 40) obscuring the structured patterns. As Massey (2005) asserts, the processual formation of urban spaces is marked with dynamism; they can never be viewed as finished and fixed entities. This grants undecidability to a certain extent. In turn, allegedly distinct and sharply contrasting practices and meanings may be amalgamated.

In the night scene of Beyoglu formed by socio-spatial demarcations, some components irreducible to certain entertainment clusters are definitely prevalent, for they combine different elements in nocturnal hierarchies. It is evident that some venues incorporating distinctive elements of up-market clusters concomitantly present some others apparently associated with community-based clusters or underground faces of night. On that account, the boundaries are being blurred or rejected. However, these amalgamations do not lead to invalidation of these patterns presented above. On the contrary, actors in the night scene of Beyoglu make to renegotiate the boundaries.

#### *4.5.1 Adjustments on Public Appearances*

The owner of an entertainment complex in a three-floor building running a *meyhane* and pub provides a good account for the dimension of adjustments on the appearances. In fact, the entertainment venues of his own might be credibly classified as a component of up-market clusters. This relies on the fact that the service provision is based on the logic of uniqueness up for middle class clientele that seeks for individualistic course of entertainment. The services are organized by certain thematic arrangements in which some cultural contents are embedded. Particularly mentioning the stylistic elements of his *meyhane*, he presents the venue marked with distinctive cultural claims. He probed the uncommon sorts of *mezes* (small amount of meal mostly being served with alcoholic drinks in *meyhanes*), which are indeed unique tastes of Anatolian cuisine. He also mentioned the musical styles being played in an extraordinary fashion, including Western mediterranean or Latin music. For he himself was an amateur dancer specialized in these musical styles, he also organized special events of these musical themes.

By means of these cultural elements, he claims a 'unique' identity in a non-traditional fashion, chiming with middle class consumerism. A certain mode of nighttime revelling incorporates a cultural formation which is directly concatenated into middle class lifestyles and values.

On the other hand, his venue diverges from a middle class setting and extends into a site where he keeps ties with some political and cultural communities. He is politically aligned with leftist politics; even, he provides support by hosting a number of events with an outward political content. The ways he gives support is mostly based on opening up his place; yet, in some occasions, he even helps out financially. At the time that I was conducting the fieldwork, for instance, a solidarity party for a leftist political party had been held in his venue. The party was organized for fundraising of a political campaign. By that means, he does not only make room for formation of political solidarities across leftist circles but shares his profit, as in the case of fundraising activities. Likewise, he welcomed a group of refugees with African origins. In this case, he opened up his venue for the weekly gatherings of this group. This group, mostly of 10-15 people, was using the place to form a civil initiative for solidarity among African refugees. They were weekly gathering on Sunday mornings, a time period of which the venue's customers are minimized in size. The respondent insistently told me that this was not cooperation with some economic benefits. Although he admits that they slightly made contributions at the times that the venue stands idle, it remains limited. He instead narrated it as a practice of support for an economically precarious and socially isolated group. In his words, this was more of a support in a 'solidaristic fashion' which he loses 'nothing in return'.

It is true that this case illustrates how communal bonds are juxtaposing with distinctive stylistic elements. Yet the portrait of this respondent in the night scene of Beyoglu does not simply depict a mixture of the categories combining up-market and community-based clusters' characteristics. He does not unreservedly negate the established patterns of nightlife in Beyoglu. In reality, he develops certain strategies to maintain the venues' status in the guise of a middle class social setting.

These practices are the reminiscent of what Goffman (1959) calls 'the presentation of self' involving a set of strategies to manage the social guise visible to others. Goffman (ibid, 13) suggests the notion of 'front' for understanding how one presents one's self. It implies the visible part of the self, which is open to be manipulated in pursuit of communicating a certain kind of impression.

The respondent's strategies bear the marks of these manipulations adjusting the social guise, or the front, of his venue. For doing so, he adjusts the ways of appearances, especially in his relations with the group of refugees. Above all, he avoids the conspicuous presence of refugees. For that reason, their presence in the idle times lessens the concerns about their presence. In other times, they were not likely to be out there as a customer due to incapacities to dispose an amount of money for entertainment but, it is evident that, they may show up as an applicant for a job in his venue, for instance. In this case, the respondent hardly maintains his devotion to act with solidarity.

At one time that I have met him at his venue, that was the case: two members of this community had got in his place in pursuit of asking about the availability of any positions. It was more of a small talk rather than a job interview. Shortly after, one of them was accepted as a dishwasher. Afterwards, the respondent turned to me and explained that he was disposed to recruit him although he cannot employ him in any service position directly in contact with the customers. The reason behind was not about the skills, knowledge or experience of the applicant; he avowed: "People do not like to see a refugee working as a waiter or something else here." Thus, he tactically preferred to employ him at the 'backstage', that is kitchen, rather than the fronts of his venue.

#### *4.5.2 Renegotiating the Boundaries*

Another example of crossing the boundaries is about the embodiment of sexualized services in an amply gentrified and corporatized space of night. A branch of the highest-end restaurant-club in Beyoglu, offering a distinctive fashion of nighttime revelling, is germane to this dimension. Above all, the venue

can be credibly construed as a marker of corporatized entertainment cultures. The fashion of nightlife is predominantly organized through the logic of brand-making; the venue strategically creates a sense of newness through spatial characteristics and distinguishing stylization. Being located in a penthouse of a historic building, the venue offers a unique view of urban landscape involving the views of Bosphorus and Golden Horn. Besides, in addition to outstanding stylistic elements in culinary services and decorations, the venue presents myriad late-night events with the involvement of international DJs, musicians and dance shows.

In line with this, artfully sexualized presentations of nudity are integral part of strategies to generate a sense of newness. The venue commonly offers late night shows of erotic dance performances. These shows are mostly performed by women yet male strippers are also prevalent although more rare. It should be noted that these shows stand far away from ‘intimate’ forms of interactions between the audience and the dancers. Rather than incorporating some forms of intimacy such as lap dances, they are more likely to be marked with artistic expressions of nudity and eroticism in the dance performances. On that account, the venue is quite knowable and appreciated by virtue of these erotic dance shows yet the venue is not recognized as a strip club.

In Istanbul, the staged performances of nudity and eroticism are barely a part of mainstream entertainment life and located at a liminal space. Being mostly resided in Harbiye, they are spatially segregated from the public life of Beyoglu. Besides, they are typically involved in *pavyon* cultures.<sup>17</sup> As it is mentioned above, *pavyons* are certain kind of entertainment venues in which women employees are accompanying male customers in pursuit of boosting binge drinking. Given that women’s presence takes on a commodity supplied for a male-only client base, erotic displays of women’s body become a part of this mode of service provision.

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<sup>17</sup> According to a news report that chronicles the striptease clubs in Istanbul, many of these clubs are in fact derivations of *pavyons* mostly taking place in and around Harbiye. For that reason, semi-naked dance shows in these venues are typically performed by women who are working as *konsomatris* in these venues (see Hürriyet, 2010).

In this respect, these clusters of sex-related businesses present low-status eroticized services.

Considering this, the fashion of erotic shows in a gentrified and corporatized setting can be construed as a practice of crossing the boundaries. This case parallels the recent debates on the transformations of adult entertainment in Western urban contexts. In the body of literature, the idea that displays of nudity and eroticism is resided in socially 'marginal' and morally 'corrupting' practices of night is being immensely challenged. Recent studies address to the mainstreaming of adult entertainment due to the increasing presence of these venues and their legitimation in the mainstream nightlife (e.g. Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Hubbard et al, 2008). These changes in the nightlife do not only extend beyond the liminality of adult entertainment but entails the shifting meanings of nudity and eroticism in the night scene. As suggested by Hubbard (2009, 725), for instance, overtly sexual displays do not simply take on an unruly hypermasculine form disrupting middle class norms and values. In fact, they are of a market diversity including some settings for exclusively corporatized and/or gender-mixed audiences. Thus, these transformations are entangled in normalization of eroticized night scene to a certain extent.

The embodiment of eroticism and nudity in that gentrified and corporatized setting is plainly distanced from its counterparts in *pavyon* cultures in this respect. This is clearly evident in the reactions; erotically performing bodies at the disposal of an audience are not narrated with a judgment of obscenity and vulgarity. Quite the contrary, some elements of adult entertainment in dance shows are appreciated for lending glamour. For instance, a Beyoglu-based woman, working independently as an artist, depicts these shows as charming performances. For her, they stand out from the 'skirty' shows. This is immediately due to the idea that these forms of eroticism are only a piece of the entertainment. More importantly, in her account, a 'randy' crowd of men does not outweigh the venue so that she takes 'the opportunity to enjoy the show' as a woman.

This is the foremost imperative that translates the erotic embodiments to the corporatized entertainment cultures. For that reason, a number of mechanisms are deployed in the venue portrayed above, in pursuit of preventing the entrance of hypermasculine homosociality, namely *maganda*. In addition to exclusive pricing policy restricting undesired social classes, strict arm policies are also prevalent so that allegedly ‘randy’ male-only groups are not allowed to enter. This in turn generates a sense of exclusivity so that crossing the boundaries is renegotiated through facilitating demarcations from undesirable gender and class practices.

#### 4.4 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I present the construction of nightlife in Beyoglu, which is shaped by hierarchically fragmented character. The night scene of Beyoglu incorporates deeply fragmented character marked by socio-economic and socio-cultural differences; these dynamics are also reflected in spatial terms. Accordingly, the social organization of nightlife is comprised of four construct of entertainment clusters which are marked with distinct entertainment cultures, class positions and spatial demarcations.

Accordingly, the corporatized and or local/independent clusters present a social site where middle class lifestyles are cultivated and performed. Distinctive design elements in menu, decorations and tastes are the symbolic and cultural markers of these middle class social spaces. Interrelated, the historically rooted venues may also be discerned as an integral part of middle class social spaces. However, different from corporatized and independent venues, they claim a unique identity through ‘authenticity’ on the grounds of their historical roots in Beyoglu’s public life.

On the other hand, there are also community based entertainment clusters which are fundamentally providing low cost and low status services. Due to incapacities to incorporate distinctive design elements (in both economic and cultural terms), these clusters are more likely to be aligned with lower or lower-middle class social space. Indeed, some cultural and political affiliation with certain identities and

lifestyles also cater for a capacity of subcultural formation (such as *türkü bars* or political culture in *Mis Street*). Lastly, mostly street-based informal/underground networks based activities are also present and come to shape the public life in Beyoglu. In fact, there is a huge variety of practices characterizing these networks: Some are more conspicuous by virtue of their legal legitimacy and allegedly immoral characteristics (such as street vending, street music, etc.); however, some others are inconspicuously struggling to take place in street life in.

## CHAPTER 5

### IDENTIFYING THE PARAMETERS IN BEYOGLU

A couple of months before the 2014 municipal elections of Turkey, AKP's candidate for Beyoglu's municipal mayorship<sup>18</sup>, Ahmet Misbah Demircan who has been municipal mayor since 2004, gave an interview to a national newspaper (Vatan, 2013). He addressed to increasing property values and rising numbers of hotel facilities, entertainment venues and tourists. In his words, these indicators were apparently satisfying to a certain extent; and concomitantly, unveil what sort of transformation ruling elites are craving for in Beyoglu's public life. Demircan put forward the idea that 'Beyoglu finds its route' to facilitate a viable urban development. The following quotation from that interview, perhaps, gives a good account for how urban development is appropriated in Beyoglu's government regimes:

"We set the route of Beyoglu as "tourism, culture and art" 10 years ago. There are large numbers of hotel investments in Talimhane, Taksim, Galata and their surroundings. Nowadays, similar activities can be observed in Karaköy, Perşembepazarı and Salıpazarı."

Such articulations, among many others, rely upon a distinctive political rationality based on establishing a novel mode of urbanism which is characterized by consumerist ideologies. Municipal mayor Ahmet Misbah Demircan speaks of that language laden with bed capacities of hotels, occupancy rates, average amounts of money spent during promenades (of both tourists and Istanbulites), recent rates of property values, magnitude and scope of large-scale investments, etc. The emergent mode of urban government, in the last decade, incorporates this sort of

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<sup>18</sup> According to results of municipal elections in March 2014, 47.82% of the voters have casted for AKP in Beyoglu. 35.19% have casted for CHP while 7.28% for HDP and 4.89% for MHP (YSK, 2014).



evaluative schemes and establishes a number of instrumental mechanisms that are amenable to these calculations. In this way, the urban government in Beyoglu is absolute revelation of neoliberal restructuring that takes place in the modalities of state action and remakes the district.

Shifting meanings of inner cities into an attractive site resulted in substantial changes in urban government. Accordingly, Beyoglu is constantly presumed to furnish a convivial urban atmosphere especially in reference to nocturnal pleasure seeking. The district is deemed expedient to furnish “entertainment machine” (Lloyd and Clark, 2001) in the urban restructuring of Istanbul. Urban imaginaries seeking to increase the attractiveness of Beyoglu refer to the districts’ cultural heritage, particularly taking place along the Istiklal Avenue. Yet the presence of urban poverty, dilapidated buildings and areas associated with urban decay in the district is considered to be the primary obstacle for economic, social and cultural revitalization of the district. To that end, local authorities have incorporated a distinctive political rationality into the urban government of Beyoglu, in pursuit of generating economically and culturally convivial urban atmosphere by obliterating the components that potentially undermine this image.

In this chapter, I present that the symbolic and cultural heritage of the district is deemed expedient to create a convivial urban atmosphere. In this urban imaginary, the discourses of developmentalism give rise to a vision of improving ‘culture-oriented’ tourism. This leads to the proliferation of a political project giving priority to a set of calculations and styles of thinking that vocalize the ‘urgent needs’ revolving around bed capacities, amounts of money paid by consumers, property values, etc. Interrelatedly, this vision sets forth the attractiveness of the district –in the eyes of tourists and middle class segments- as a prescriptive norm.

In what follows, I illustrate the legal reforms, development plans, planning practices and a number of urban transformation projects that give rise to neoliberal political rationality in Beyoglu, especially since 2000s. In fact, this vision has been put into practice since economic liberalization and globalization of

Turkey, yet a comprehensive programme has been introduced in the last decade. From then on, the advent of a novel form of political rationality in this way informs a set of mechanisms guiding neoliberalism in Beyoglu and the formation of new subject positions on the grounds of entrepreneurial discourses.

For understanding these dynamics, I will first present earlier forms of entrepreneurial discourses and practices actualized in late 1980s and early 1990s. Afterwards, I will move to AKP period in which neoliberal political rationality has evolved into a concrete and comprehensive project. In this context, I aim to identify the parameters of neoliberalism in Beyoglu that envision upgrading the district by virtue of improving ‘culture-oriented tourism’. Lastly, I aim to present the repercussions of these discourses and practices in the public life of Beyoglu that concomitantly paves the way for both displacement and dispossession, and novel forms of subject positions.

### **5.1 Earlier Forms of Entrepreneurialism in Beyoglu**

Neoliberal urban agenda, in fact, dates back to the second half of 1980s which was the time ruling elites were putting into words re-making Istanbul as a global city. In pursuit of this, a set of legislative reforms has been enacted in that period. The primary motives were recasting local governments to play a role in physical and economic development in cities. The enactment of municipal law in 1984 has been a decisive moment. With this law, municipalities had a legal authority to implicate development plans in their territories. Besides, their financial resources have been ameliorated in order to facilitate efficient restructuring process. This development informs a turning point from managerialism to entrepreneurialism in urban government regimes (O. Balaban, 2013, 62; Uzun, 2007, 133), echoing David Harvey (1989b).

With the advent of this legal reform, municipal authorities have increasingly developed certain projects for economic revitalization and upgrading the urban image. Beyoglu hosted a number of them and has been an archetypal model

through these projects<sup>19</sup>. Construction of Tarlabası Boulevard in 1988 and pedestrianization of İstiklal Avenue in 1990 are the most prominent ones but there are also many others (see Erman and Coşkun-Yıldar, 2007). The primary aim was to eradicate the marks of the city's industrial past that contributes to the district's reputation as a site for decadence. The presence of lower class cultures and prostitution were intended to be replaced with middle class lifestyles, families and tourists. For that reason, especially Tarlabası Boulevard<sup>20</sup> facilitated symbolic and spatial segregation between neighbourhoods in Tarlabası (inhabited by poorer populations who are associated with crime, prostitution and poverty) and İstiklal Avenue (where a lively public life takes place). In addition, the pedestrianization of İstiklal Avenue also contributed to attracting crowds of different identities, cultures and socio-economic backgrounds.

These developments helped to increase the conviviality of the district and to upgrade the urban image. The emergence of gentrification processes, which first appeared in certain residential areas like Cihangir and Gümüşsuyu and then extended to some other areas like Asmalımescit, demonstrates the efficacy of these strategies (Ozus and Dökmeci, 2005). In addition, the flourish of creative and culture industries marks that transformation (Durmaz, 2015). In the meantime, upshot of these processes is also manifested in the entertainment sector and nightlife in the district. As mentioned above, increasing numbers of entertainment venues would be recounted in relevance to the earlier forms of entrepreneurial practices.

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<sup>19</sup> Here, it is worthy to mention the prevalence of public-private partnerships that emerged in this process. While developing these strategies, the municipality was working in cooperation with Beyoglu Beautification Association which is established by the owner of a high-end clothing brand which has a number of properties on İstiklal Avenue (Erman and Coşkun-Yıldar, 2007).

<sup>20</sup> Tarlabası Boulevard was considered to offer solutions to congestion problems. To that end, Tarlabası Street was transformed into a four-lane motorway by demolishing 1100 19th century buildings and displacing 5000 residents. With the construction of boulevard, local authorities were expecting a development of offices and hotel buildings in the area. However, the boulevard could not be a solution to the congestion problems and the area could only be an attractive zone for investors to a certain degree (Kocabaş, 2006).

Concomitantly, these practices resulted in the symbolic and spatial segregation between street life in Istiklal Avenue and Tarlabası area. As Zengin (2014, 366) argues, Tarlabası Boulevard rapidly reinforced ghettoization of the neighbourhoods in Tarlabası where predominantly deemed to be of slum dwellers inhabited by Kurdish populations, transgender women and transnational migrants. Hence, rather than facilitating urban restructuring outright in the district, these entrepreneurial strategies helped the cultivation of contrasting urban images illustrated in the previous chapter by means of partial and place-based transformations. Undoubtedly, these practices were efficient enough to revitalize especially the public life in Istiklal Avenue, yet they failed to reach at the urban development goals in the district. Resurgence of public life was confined to a handful of gentrified zones.

## **5.2 The Revamp of Neoliberal Political Rationalities in 2000s**

In spite of the initial steps mentioned above, a comprehensive programme paving the way for neoliberal urban restructuring was initiated in 2000s, after AKP came into power in 2002. Having control of central and local governments (including both Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Beyoglu Municipality) in preceding years, the ruling party presented a political ambition to establish neoliberal political rationalities. In this reformulation, urban restructuring is of a central role for developmentalism and wealth creation through real-estate-driven growth (Aksoy, 2012). The advent of development strategies, under the rule of AKP, reflects an attempt to inaugurate these mechanisms in urban government regimes. Enactment of legal reforms, development plans and planning practices are prevalent in service of these attempts.

Incorporation of the neoliberal political rationalities into Beyoglu was first inaugurated through legal reforms at national level. In 2005, the Municipal Law No. 5393 which redefines the role and responsibilities of municipalities was enacted. Accordingly, the municipalities were given the right and authority to make decisions in relevance to urbanisation and urban development. This law played a significant role in change of urban government regimes as it introduced

the urban transformation and renewal projects<sup>21</sup> within the realm of municipal authorities' field of operations (Türkün, 2011). Indeed, this law attracts public concerns and critiques as it fails to define the criteria for requirements of urban renewal (see *ibid*, 68).

Interrelatedly, another legal reform also regulates municipalities' responsibilities. With the enactment of law on Conservation of Deteriorating Historic and Cultural Property (Law no. 5366), their responsibilities were extended. This law identifies the role of municipalities to implement the projects for reconstructing and restoring cultural and natural properties in conservation areas within the municipal boundaries. The law also encourages developing housing, trade, culture, tourism and social facilities which implicates renovation and revitalization. Here, one of the most significant dimensions of this law is the right of municipalities in conservation areas. Municipal institutions (or provincial administrations) carry the right to make a decision on implementing a conservation project<sup>22</sup>. As Dinçer (2011, 47) states, local authorities' position as the single decision-maker give rise to public concerns over avoidance of public interests.

Having based on these legal foundations, a number of urban transformation projects have been initiated, especially across Istanbul (Dinçer, 2011; Karaman, 2013a; Türkün, 2011). Yet local authorities faced with numerous obstacles in the implementation phases. Many local neighbourhood associations and other non-governmental bodies commenced suits against these projects; and this was leading to delays in the completion of projects. In order to tackle these obstacles, central

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<sup>21</sup> This dimension is shown in article 73 as follows: "The municipality, may adopt urbanization and development projects in order to re-construct and restore the ruined parts of the city; to create housing areas, industrial and commercial zones, technology parks and social facilities ; to take measures against the earthquake risk or to protect the historical and cultural structure of the city."

<sup>22</sup> Municipalities' right to make decision is shown in article 2 that regulates the identification of sites as follows: "The projects and phase-by-phase projects shall be put into implementation upon the decision by absolute majority of the full number of assembly members and the mayor in the case of municipalities and upon the approval by the governor in special provincial administrations."

government took some measures by making new amendments in legal frameworks (Karaman, 2013a, 3417). One of them was the 'Law Regarding the Transformation of Areas under Risk of Disaster', following the foundation of Ministry of Urbanism and Environment in 2011. This law presented the ministry with the authority to exempt project implementations from legal recourse on account of disaster risks.

Yet, more importantly, the foundation of Ministry of Urbanism and Environment in 2011 gave a new direction to the urban transformation projects in Turkey. From then on, rights and authorities to initiate urban transformation projects and plannings in relevance to these projects were subject to the approval of the ministry. Acting upon a supreme authority in development and implementation of urban transformation projects, the ministry has been the fundamental institution of central governments at the expense of decentralizing the decision-making processes (Erder and Incioglu, 2013; Guney, 2012). As Erder and Incioglu (2013, 26-27) demonstrate, the foremost outcome of this development was the extension of the size of the projects. With the enactment of a number of regulations, urban development plans conducted by the central government facilitated the involvement of larger and international capital investments.

Another arena steering the urban government towards neoliberal logic was Environmental Arrangement Plan which was approved by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2009. This plan asserts an urban restructuring process in the ends of transforming the urban economy outright into globally competitive, knowledge-based structure. To that end, main tenets of the plan address to necessities to change the demographic and economic structure of the city. These are revealed in the plan as follows:

“Decreasing the population growth and maintaining a sustainable population level, having in mind natural thresholds for sustainability in terms of the conflict of economic, ecological and social dimensions,

Giving priority to cultural activities based on historical values and art events which are supposed to provide touristic value; international connections that would contribute to international diplomacy, congress and tourism; initiatives efficiently serving for financial flows; and educational and high-tech investments,

Decreasing the other functions other than mentioned above although they are still present in Istanbul; these purports presume relocation of especially industrial activities which entails negative economic or social outcomes, environmental problems and pressures on urban services or social life” (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2009).

Taken together, these precepts present a vision for an urban restructuring whereby deindustrialisation and development of service and finance sectors take precedence (Aksoy, 2014). This plan in its own incites the substantial transformation of the city (Yalçintan et al, 2014). Accordingly, the economic structure of the city -32% of which is industries, %60 is services and 8% is agriculture- is estimated to be comprised of lesser industries (25%) and agriculture (5%) and more services (70%) in 2023. Transformation of urban economy is deemed to be characterized by decentralization of industrial activities and substitution of industries with services and finance<sup>23</sup>. Consequently, in this

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<sup>23</sup> These urban development strategies putting forward a transformation of urban economy are in a harmony with the Tenth Development Plan (approved by the parliament in 2013 for identifying development strategies for the period between 2014-2018). The development plan favours the urban image management and branding efforts in pursuit of increasing urban and regional competitiveness of diverse cities. In the Tenth Development Plan, the clause no. 897 acknowledges the potency of urban renewal for extending business opportunities and international competitiveness as follows: “Undertaking urban renewal with an integral system approach which responds to various needs such as revitalization, rehabilitation and restoration will increase implementation efficiency. Urban renewal with proper site identification in terms of land area and good planning has a potential to be an effective tool that both creates its own finance and offers more qualified, healthy and safer living places. Further- more, the business volume that is brought forth through the extent of the needs for urban renewal provides large business and investment opportunities for several sectors, especially materials industry. If required conditions are provided, Turkey has the potential to achieve significant international competitiveness in these areas by accumulating knowledge and expertise.” (Ministry of Development, 2014)

restructuring, the plan projects new developments of service and finance sector in formerly industrial areas.

Yalçintan et al (2014) demonstrates that urban restructuring is being enacted through four interlinked mechanisms. In the name of Environmental Arrangement Plan, planning practices frame the direction of restructuring towards post-industrial urban economy. In complementary to this, urban renewal projects play a significant role in location-based transformation of immediate localities where are deemed to be “urban decay”. These projects remake the city viable for residential, commercial and recreational use of affluent groups. A number of renewal projects for squatter housing settlements (such as Ayazma and Başbüyük) and inner cities populated by low class migrant populations (such as Sulukule and Tarlabası) are the exemplars.

Second mechanism is the transformation facilitated by large-scale public investments. By investing in networks of motorways (3. Bosphorus Bridge), rail transportation (Marmaray project) and air transportation (3. Airport), urban development is leaned to northern parts of the city. These projects also function as infrastructural investments in developing the capacities of people’s mobilities. Relatedly, a number of projects are developed by the partnership of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Ministry of Environment and Urbanism, and Ministry of Transportation, Maritime Affairs and Communications. These projects present development of a financial centre in Asian side of the city. Lastly, transformation encouraged by large-scale private investments is also prevalent in certain commercial centres. Development of private companies’ headquarters along the Maslak axis in the last decades is the significant example of this mechanism.

### **5.3 Governing the Affective Life of Beyoglu**

As Özbay (2014, 181) suggests, mobilities play a pivotal role in the restructuring of urban economy. In the economic development of the city and envisioning Istanbul as a ‘global city’, discursive frameworks refer to strategies to incorporate the flows of capital, knowledge and people. Hence, the idea of increasing the



attractiveness of the city carries the equal weight with attracting investments and people. This leads to the idea that culture, arts and tourism are also indispensable dimensions of the city's attractiveness. Inner cities with symbolic and cultural significance are appropriated in the developmentalist political agenda of the city in this way. This is especially true for Beyoglu as the district is recognized in relevance to its functions for 'culture-oriented tourism' in the Environmental Arrangement plan. Based on the idea that the district accommodates historical spectacles and a variety of cultural practices across day and nighttime places, the plan envisages the district with its capacity to increase Istanbul's 'reputability' and 'attractiveness' at a global scale. In line with this, Environmental Arrangement Plan urges a need for benefiting from this cultural heritage, in a sustainable way, by means of governing the affective qualities of Beyoglu through renewing the historical heritage and developing projects for increasing tourist attraction.

These discourses are intricately reflected in action plans, conservation plans, urban transformation projects, and so forth –concerning the public life in Beyoglu. They present a form of knowledge and a set of practices identifying the 'urgent need' of remaking the district as a reputable and attractive site. There immanently lies the concern of affective life in Beyoglu, which is known as a resource to improve the desirability of the district. Echoing Anderson (2014, 26), governing bodies come to promulgate the idea that Beyoglu has a distinctive affective capacity to attract people and investments. These capacities, taken as a value-conducive competence in economic terms, become the targets of intervention. The affective qualities of the public life -namely in terms of attractiveness, desirability, etc.- becomes the indispensable element of tourism economy, entertainment industry and consumerism (Miller, 2014). In that regard, the affective life turns out to be a resourceful domain where the public life is harnessed to improve the desirability and attractiveness (Anderson, 2012).

### *5.3.1 Creating a Safe and Attractive Public Life*

The Beyoglu Municipality amply appropriates these currents of entrepreneurialism. The report of Strategic Action Plan (Beyoglu Municipality,

2015), which is based on a fieldwork conducted with the representatives of the municipality, convincingly provides an insight into the way that Beyoglu is appropriated in neoliberalizing Istanbul. The report, which covers the period of 2015-2019, plainly illustrates the immediate measures and identifies the blueprints for remaking the district. Accordingly, the making of neoliberal Beyoglu is predicated upon two interrelated conventions: that of attractiveness, which implies the lure of tourism investments; and that of orderliness that takes on the safety of middle class urban pleasures.

A number of representatives performing administrative roles in the municipality clearly present a vision of attracting tourism investments and developing urban transformation projects in the report<sup>24</sup>. The primary concerns are specified as ‘investments in tourism’, ‘investments in urban transformation’, ‘advancing employment opportunities’, ‘investments in coastal area’, ‘establishing schools for vocational tourism training’ and ‘investments in culture and arts’ in order. Such a vision goes through the ordinances demanding urban development through tourism economy. As it is mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the district’s performance in this urban imaginary is being calculated through bed capacities, occupancy rates, money spent by tourists and Istanbulites, etc. Competence to host larger numbers of consumers (most typically in the name of tourists) becomes a matter of the utmost importance. Concomitantly, tourism capacities are the most concrete indicator of Beyoglu’s competence. A representative of Licensing Department in Beyoglu Municipality whom I interviewed provides a good account for the idea that numbers of hotel investments are the immediate measure:

“The social life in Beyoglu is immensely becoming more attractive. This is especially of credence in the eyes of hotel investors. Tourism investors’ increasing attention relies on their will to be a part of revived Beyoglu. We are also happy with these developments.”

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<sup>24</sup> The Strategic Action Plan for 2015-2019 does not provide the narratives of administrators but brief description of their accounts in bullets.

Beyoglu is the second important tourist destination of Istanbul, coming after Fatih, as it is mentioned in the previous chapter. Beyoglu's significance in tourism economy is absolutely not a new phenomena; the district has already been an attractive site for tourism investments. However, in the last years, Beyoglu is attracting larger capital investments in comparison to other parts of Istanbul. The report of 'Capacity of Accommodation in Istanbul' published by Hotel Association of Turkey (2013) reveal that Beyoglu presents second largest accommodation capacity in terms of bed capacities, number of rooms and number of hotel facilities; %19 of hotels are located in Beyoglu. More importantly, the report indicates that Beyoglu has attracted the largest capital investments, which resulted in greatest increases in number of hotels, number of rooms and bed capacities. These dynamics demonstrate that ongoing transformations serve for the ends of remaking the district towards 'culture-oriented tourism'.

Besides, the precepts of remaking the district are also based on the 'orderliness' of Beyoglu. The report of Strategic Action Plan (Beyoglu Municipality, 2015) asserts that the foremost threats against the urban development are 'disordered' faces of the district relying on 'informal populations' predominantly resulting from migration and dilapidated buildings. The report stays away from identifying 'informal' populations except for addressing to migrant groups. Yet a representative of Municipal Police Department, whom I have interviewed, presents an insight into how 'disordered' elements of Beyoglu are identified. In the words of respondent, Beyoglu is of a 'chaotic' atmosphere due to its 'cosmopolitan' character. The wording of 'cosmopolitanism', here, does not imply a feast of differences and plurality but 'underclass' populations earning their lives through informal and underground economies in Beyoglu (see 4.1.3 Globalization and Resurgence of Nightlife in Beyoglu). He speaks of street vendors, beggars, drug dealers and street prostitution representing the villains of the urban pleasures. The informal or underground activities undertaken by socio-economically excluded populations are deemed to be inappropriate to carouses of a historical leisure zone. They are seen as a source of 'disorderliness' that triggers the feelings of unsafety and criminal threat.

It is a widely acknowledged idea that policing strategies serve for the discipline and control of the undesired groups in the society for the sake of the safety of privileged classes (see Burke, 2004). Along with the rise of entrepreneurialist discourses, the portrayal of underclass populations as ‘rough’ and ‘dangerous’ becomes much more bolder and intense (Smith, 1996, 212). The narrative of municipal representative mentioned above is predicated upon these political rationalities. Indeed, he delightedly mentions the squads regularly patrolling the streets 24 hours a day. His narrative brings back zero tolerance to informal activities undermining the orderliness of the district.

However, it is worthy to consider that, although existing regulations strictly prohibit any sort of informal activities –including street vending- in streets, these formations contrive their way through certain tactics: For instance, Strutz and Çavuşoğlu’s study (2016, 266) on street vendors demonstrates that informality is extended to the relations with municipal police. Establishing a good rapport with officers through interpersonal ties or bribery, street vendors acquire a greater capacity and legitimacy to perform their activities in the streets. Thus, despite the account of zero tolerance to informal activities, urban informality insistently maintains its presence in public life of the city.

In that meantime, the question of how policing strategies could function as law enforcement forces is of credence here. As Burke (2004, 8) confirmed, the efficiency of policing is not purely rooted in the right of punishing for criminal behaviour. The existence of law enforcement forces has a symbolic affect in maintaining legal order. The conspicuous presence of policing, either it be municipal police or security police, takes a crucial part in actualization of disciplined community order. The ‘orderliness’, here, is predicated upon symbolically maintaining the emotional situation of safety.

The establishment of a subdepartment in municipal police forces, which is specialized in tourism affairs, is a concrete manifestation of this dimension. These forces, inaugurated by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, are comprised of two patrol squads which are assigned to be policing in two prominent tourist

attractions –Historical Peninsula and Beyoglu. At the time that I was conducting the fieldwork, 28 workers were carrying these roles in total. The remit of these squads are satisfying the needs or finding solutions to the problems of tourists. A member of these forces, whom I have interviewed, told me that they perform a wide variety of deeds seeking to assure the amusement of tourists in a serene way. She said that they come to tourists' aid to work out any sort of conflicts concerning paying bills, defrauding, etc. More importantly, immediately accessible presence of units (which are remarkable enough by dint of yellow uniforms) serves for the symbolic construction of tourist-friendly urban atmosphere.

### *5.5.2 Beyoglu as a 'Project City'*

In the making of 'neoliberal Beyoglu' under the guise of 'culture-oriented tourism', urban transformation projects are the foremost technologies. The district goes through a wholesale transformation by means of urban transformation projects, which are predominantly inaugurated by the Beyoglu Municipality; yet the transformation is also undertaken through private investors.

In this process, Beyoglu Conservation Plan<sup>25</sup> sets the precedence for 'regimes of practices' (Dean, 1999) in neoliberalization of Beyoglu as it intelligibly identifies the domain and problematized aspects of public life. The plan frames the transformation of the district into an attractive site for tourists and affluent groups. Stemming from Municipal Law and Conservation Law, Beyoglu Conservation Plan report clearly illustrates that the main goal is to increase the attractiveness of the district by means of improving the functions of tourism and commerce. To attain this goal, obliteration of the units with manufacturing and warehouse functions, achieving a visual unity by means of portraying the historical and cultural heritage of the district and establishing a pedestrian-

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<sup>25</sup> Beyoglu Conservation Master Plan was prepared by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and implemented by Beyoglu Municipality. Aksoy and Robins (2011) suggests that such cooperation between the institutions derives from the shared political affiliation of these distinct governmental bodies. On account of the fact that municipalities are ruled by AKP, metropolitan municipality and Beyoglu Municipality develop similar urban development goals in a harmony of each other.

friendly urban setting are set as the primary objectives. Here, there lie the purports of revitalization and upgrading under the guise of image transformation. Aksoy and Robins (2011, 12) asserts that this is an attribute of a new identity and function which gives a priority to real estate development. In this development, embellishment of the district through deindustrialization and emphasizing the historical and cultural heritage are deemed to characterize the district. The aims to upgrade the district, in service of tourists and affluent groups, thereupon capture the essence of Beyoglu's commitments to 'globalizing Istanbul'. On that account, the plan sits on well with the guidelines set by the Environmental Arrangement Plan of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality.

Here municipal government shows an unprecedented compliance with neoliberal rationalities as the plan recasts the city in a harmony with benchmark of upgrading the urban image. The current mayor of Beyoglu Municipality has declared, in an interview, that "In the period from 2014 to 2023, we will have renewed the two third of Beyoglu" (Vatan, 2013). The sprawl of transformation to that extent is rooted in the implementation of a number of projects in Tarlabası, Kasımpaşa and Okmeydanı. In fact, these projects are located across diverse places and put into work disparate objectives. Therefore, their relevance to the public life in Istiklal Avenue varies. Herein, urban transformation project in Tarlabası is of vital importance due to the proximity and socio-cultural connections of these areas to the public life in Istiklal Avenue. As previously mentioned, low-status commercial and residential use of these areas is widely recognized as part of the public image of the district. To that end, the implementation of these projects is regarded as having a capacity to upgrade the urban image along the avenue. In addition, there are some other projects serving for the entrepreneurial agenda: privatization of Salıpazarı Port and Taksim Pedestrianization Project.

Each has its own convictions stemming from diverse socio-historical contexts and spatial characteristics. Poor housing conditions, unoccupied buildings, dilapidated areas, economic and cultural revitalization, creating a tourist-friendly environment and so forth are the most prominent rationales behind these projects. Despite this

diversity, taken together, these projects serve for the neoliberal rationality undertaken in Beyoglu.

Urban transformation project in Tarlabası intervenes into the residential areas located in three neighbourhoods: Bülbül, Çukur and Şehit Muhtar. The area, where was formerly working-class residential zone of religious minorities in 19<sup>th</sup> century, has been populated by migrant populations since 1960s. Even as Kurdish populations, transnational migrants and transgender women have settled down in the last decades, the urban image of the area has plainly decayed for being associated with crime and poverty (Dinçer and Enlil, 2002). In response to that, the project is presented as the rehabilitation of that slum area. In addition to poor housing conditions, a large proportion of vacant buildings causing dilapidation of the area is being raised. According to a research conducted in the implementation area, approximately 30% of the buildings are abandoned (Kentsel Strateji, 2010). In the project, being executed by a private construction company (GAP İnşaat) and headed by Beyoglu municipality, parcels are being merged and larger residential (52%), commercial (12%), office spaces (14%) and tourist facilities (17%) are going to be created. In doing so, it is considered that the project will bring physical renewal, economic revitalization and social development in the area.

Apart from these, Taksim Pedestrianization Project (which is planned by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and executed by a private company Kalyon İnşaat) modifies the most important node of Beyoglu, Taksim Square, by creating a pedestrian area. For doing so, all the roads going through the square have been replaced with underground tunnels. The project is presented as an opportunity for easier access of pedestrians to the square and a solution for congestion problems (Today's Zaman, 2012). It involves rearrangement of the pedestrianized area by placing urban furnitures. Moreover, reconstruction of historical buildings with a symbolic value in the urban fabric is also planned. One of them is the replica of Topçu Barracks which was demolished in 1940. The building is planned to be serving as a shopping mall. The other is Atatürk Culture Centre which is planned to be reconstructed as a new opera house. The project, especially construction of

Topçu Barracks, has triggered public debates, been protested by masses (as it is widely known as ‘Gezi Park Protests’) and a number of NGOs filed a lawsuit against it; and thereby, the implementation of the project has been cancelled by the court (Radikal, 2013a). Yet the construction of underground roads has been completed.

Finally, privatization of Salıpazarı-Karaköy Port, which is also knowned as Galataport Project, brings along tourism-oriented transformation along the coastline of the district. Salıpazarı-Karaköy Port has been one of the most significant centre for trading in 19<sup>th</sup> century and first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the gradual process of economic restructuring, extension of industrial activities towards Marmara region and construction of newer ports in the peripheries of the city diminished the role of the port (Erbil and Erbil, 2001, 186). Followingly, privatization of the port and its regeneration as a cruise port has been put on the agenda in late 1990s. For the port is located at a very critical point adjacent to prominent tourist attractions in historical peninsula and Beyoglu, regeneration project has been raised as a profitable strategy. Besides, extending the port area for accommodating larger cruise ships and other facilities such as shopping malls and hotels is also included in the project design (Erbaş, 2007). After one of the largest conglomerate of Turkey, Doğuş, wins the tender in 2013, the project triggered substantial change in the area. Along the axis from Karaköy to Beyoglu, investors envisioning these areas to be on tourist routes have launched many numbers of hotels, restaurants and cafés/pubs.

Although these projects play a pivotal role in the transformation of Beyoglu, revitalization of the district is not rooted only in them. In this process, the role of private investments at diverse scales is worthy to mention, which makes the transformation much more palpable around every corner of the district. In the last years, there is an increasing real estate activity conducted by private investors. The fashion of transformation is not undertaken as a comprehensive upgrading of a locality but, rather, as a building-based renewal conducted by corporate purchases. Indeed, market-driven transformations become palpable in the built environment of certain localities such as Galata, Pera and Tomtom. Yet, numerous



buildings are increasingly purchased along the axis of Istiklal Avenue and Tophane.

The purchases are frequently conducted with the purpose of establishing boutique hotels, shopping malls, retailers and entertainment venues. In this way, these real estate developments mark the ongoing transformation of Istiklal Avenue, thereby commercializing the public life along the avenue (Adanalı, 2011). However, this transformation is becoming palpable on the main street and side streets differently. Big capital investments, mostly conducted by the Dutch firm VastNed, UK-based EEPFL and Kazak Capital Partners (Sarıçayır, 2013a), predominate the transformation on the main street. These companies purchase buildings and lease them to global clothing brands such as MANGO, H&M and Zara. There are also some other investments in entertainment sector; chain restaurants such as Midpoint, Shake Shack have appeared in Istiklal Avenue.

On the other hand, side streets are less likely to be marked with global brands. Instead, locally-based big investors purchase buildings to launch businesses, mostly hotels and restaurants. An article, appeared in a monthly business magazine *Capital* under the title of “Bosses Having a Passion for Historic Buildings” [*Tarihi Bina Tutkunu Patronlar*], provides a good account for the rising interest of prominent entrepreneurs in real estate sector of Beyoglu (see Capital, 2012). Investors’ inclinations to own a property are presented as a corporate strategy to gain prestige. Offering a list of entrepreneurs who have recently purchased properties in Beyoglu, the article states that many prefer to launch, especially, glitzy boutique hotels and restaurants while fewer also prefer to establish head offices in the district. Here, Talimhane, Galata, Salıpazarı and Perşembepazarı come to the fore with the boom of hotel investments.

In this transformation, Beyoglu Conservation Plan plays a regulatory role seeking to maximise the real estate investments by means of attributing the functions of tourism, services and commerce to specific localities. Accordingly, Talimhane, Galata, Salıpazarı and Perşembepazarı are identified as ‘hotels zone’. In addition, the parcel-level focus of the plan identifies many buildings as TSC Area (Tourism-

Service-Commerce Areas) along the axis of Istiklal Avenue and Karaköy. By doing so, the plan conditions the rise of these real estate developments and serves for the aims of removing the manufacturing activities and warehouses (which were prevalent in Talimhane, Galata, Salıpazarı and Perşembepazarı), and extension of consumption places.

In a parallel vein, a number of urban design projects conducted by the local authorities bolstered the real estate developments in the district. The one developed by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and implemented by Beyoğlu Municipality in Galata is an example of urban design projects. Galata, which has been inhabited by migrant populations since 1950s after non-Muslim populations have gradually left due to social and political pressures in that period, turned out to be populated by lower-middle and lower class migrant groups. Having said this, the area attained functions of manufacturing and warehouses owned and run by these populations (see Ötkünç and Coşkun, 2012). In the meanwhile, Galata begun to attract new middle class populations<sup>26</sup>; a number of art galleries, designers' shops and workshops and various creative industries launched businesses in the area (ibid, 95). Yet, in 2000s, the transformation of the area has changed in character as metropolitan municipality has publicized an urban design project in 2004. Accordingly, a number of streets were pedestrianized and the use of streets by motor vehicles was restricted. In addition to sponsoring a number of cultural events (such as festivals, workshops and art projects), renovation of building facades was also included in the project (see Radikal, 2004). From then on, there has been a boom in real estate investments; the area now boasts numerous boutique hotels, residences and office buildings (Ötkünç and Coşkun, 2012).

The case of Talimhane sets another example; it epitomizes tourism-oriented transformation by being designated as 'Business Development Zone'. The area,

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<sup>26</sup> These developments, in fact, are relevant to revitalization of Beyoğlu by means of pedestrianization of Istiklal Avenue in 1990s. They are seen as the repercussions of new middle classes' rising interest in inner cities in late 1980s and 1990s (Islam, 2005, 130-131).

which is the first example of grid-planning in Istanbul planned as residential area for middle and upper-middle classes, have faced with a decline since 1960s<sup>27</sup>. With the advent of aspirations to turn Istanbul into a global city, the area attracted authorities' attention due to convenience of the area to primary tourist attractions like Congress Valley and Istiklal Avenue. In 1994, the area was designated as 'tourism zone' by Ministry of Tourism. In 1999, it has been counted in the 'conservation areas' on account of existing early Republican architectural styles. Yet Talimhane area has substantially begun to transform since 2004. An urban design project, initiated by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Beyoglu Municipality, was implemented to rehabilitate the building facades and to pedestrianize the area (see Özdemir and Kızıldere, 2012). Since then, there has been an increasing tourism activity with rising numbers of fancy hotels, restaurants and shops. Talimhane, henceforth, is being recognized as 'hotels zone' derived from its former industrial functions.

In short, urban transformation projects and penetration of global and local capital investments are interwoven mechanisms that lead to transformation of the district into consumerism. Here, urban transformation projects play economically, socially and symbolically formative role that reinforce and encourage real estate developments in the urban landscapes of Beyoglu.

### *5.3.3 Espousing Conservative Values in Beyoglu?*

Having in mind that the neoliberal government is chiefly led by the political bodies with some roots in Islamist politics, there remains a noteworthy question to be answered: To what extent Islamist or conservative currents of governing bodies are reverberated in the process of neoliberalism in Beyoglu?

As a matter of fact, the disclosure of conservatism is essentially observed in the realm of social policy steering the social care and social assistance towards family

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<sup>27</sup> As a result of massive migrations to Tarlabaşı, middle class residents have left the area and it had turned into small-scale car repair shops. Afterwards, in 1980s, Talimhane became famous for entertainment zone of, especially, queer subcultures and prostitution (Öztaş, 2010, 95).

and community-based provision of services (Kaya, 2015). On that account, this transformation is deemed to be blended with conservative values putting forward the ideal of moral and religious order on the basis of familialism and communitarianism. Indeed, this new mode of societal order idealizing family and community in social protection chimes with neoliberal political reason advocating budget cuts, privatization and market rules (Beşpınar, 2014; Buğra, 2012). Yet, when it comes to the politics of space in Beyoğlu, there exist some tensions. On the one hand, the public life in Beyoğlu becomes a site where the new societal order is symbolically constructed. On the other hand, greater emphasis on the developmentalist agenda on the basis of culture-oriented tourism attributes a value to secular lifestyles and practices.

In Turkey, the structure of social protection is historically based on family ties under the circumstances of inadequate public spending on social services (Buğra and Keyder, 2006, 212). Given that, a set of reforms in the realm of social provision that are promulgated under the AKP rule increasingly delegates the roles of social protection to the informal networks of service recipients. This in turn creates a socio-political domain where social protection and social care are undertaken through technologies of family and community relations (Kaya, 2015). The centrality of family networks is mostly due to the policy frameworks directing the care of children, elderly and disabled people to be provided in family. In practice, this results in the regulation of gender relations identifying women as immediate care providers (Acar and Altunok, 2013; Beşpınar, 2014; Buğra, 2012). Given that women's participation to labour force is decreasing and their social positions are increasingly identified in family settings, these regulations substantially reinforce the traditional gender regimes. Another mechanism of delegating social protection to community relations is about the charities. Buğra and Keyder (2006, 222) suggest that religious charities mostly organized by local governments and/or NGOs play an extensive role in the mechanisms of poverty alleviation. In this mechanism, the state largely acts as a guiding body; central state does not contribute much to the funding and local states are the central actors in formation and mobilization of charitable funds (Eder, 2010).

This restructuring of social protection and care do not only present a set of measures in pursuit of minimizing the share of public spending and in return of – mostly women’s- family labour and voluntary work. It concurrently presents a morally-religiously informed societal order. The appeal for a ‘strong family’, for instance, does also call for the family setting as an ideal way of living in harmony and coherence (Kaya, 2015, 60). In this respect, women’s bodies and practices are extensively subject to direct political interventions in the sense that they bear the marks of this new societal order. The attempts of making amendments in legislation of abortion and restricting cesarean deliveries, in addition to some discourses promoting three children and condemnation of pre-marital and queer sexualities are the absolute revelations of this dimension (see Acar and Altunok, 2013). Likewise, restrictions on alcohol consumption, though not prohibited, are another example of establishing moral order. In addition to prohibiting the late-night purchase of alcoholic beverages from shops and restricting the public appearance of alcoholic drinks (including advertisements), substantial increases in tax levies on alcohol consumption together are the exemplars of strict regulations the practice of drinking alcohol (Evered and Evered, 2015; see also Chapter 6).

Besides, the mechanisms of poverty alleviation being supplanted by charity organizations are fundamental in making of a religious society (Gürçan and Peker, 2014, 75). For instance, Karaman (2013a) argues that these mechanisms are fruitfully utilized in generating a new urban subject abiding by religious norms and values. On the grounds of a fieldwork in a working class neighbourhood where an urban transformation project is also implemented, he demonstrates that municipal aids create a sense of indebtedness in the perceptions of urban poor. These practices bring up a capacity to lean aid recipients’ “common sense” to AKP’s cultural imaginaries and follow the promoted conservative codes in the daily life (ibid, 12).

To the extent that neoliberal and conservative political reasons are entangled with each other, the ways that public life in Beyoglu is taken by ruling authorities are of some ambivalence to an extent. This is mostly due to the socio-political

trajectories of the district where religious and secular circles are contesting with each other.

Above all, it can be credibly stated that Beyoglu is the heartlands of secular lifestyles and practices. It is the site from where nocturnalization of urban life distinctively marked with drinking cultures and new sociabilities across different genders have springed (see the previous chapter). Zubaida (2011, 146) demonstrates that these social and cultural contents have historically stood at odds with Islamist politics; for that reason, Beyoglu has laid open to the Islamist political struggles. For instance, with the Islamist political parties –namely Refah Party- came into power in Istanbul in 1994, various cultural practices interrelated to nightlife (such as drinking alcohol and entertainment) became contested and gradually restricted. In that period, Beyoglu was targeted by the new mayor. Although he could not dare to ban alcohol, he made rules to restrict public consumption of alcohol (through prohibiting consumption of alcohol in open areas). Another example comes from the following year, the time that Refah Party became the strongest party in parliament. In this case, the demands for building a mosque in the place of Gezi park have become bolder; the Islamist circles were deeply enthusiastic in reinscription of Taksim Square with an Islamic landmark. As Gül et al (2014, 68) claims, this was a symbolic attack against values and practices embodied in the public cultures of Beyoglu. Yet these attempts could not be actualized.

When it comes to AKP's rule in 2000s, the nature of political interventions to the public life in Beyoglu has dramatically changed in character. As it is illustrated above, an assortment of entrepreneurialist discourses and practices presents a vision of urban remake with the ends of gentrifying the district as a whole. In this context, some form of wholesale transformation in the district bear the traces of revanchism at a symbolic level; yet it stands far away from the reinscription of district in an Islamist fashion. In fact, the political project of Islamization in Beyoglu is supplanted by a conservative symbolism surfacing from the architectural styles (Aksoy, 2014, 40). The proposal of reconstruction of Topçu

Barracks<sup>28</sup> in place of Gezi Park provides an insight into this shifting political reason. The revival of this building symbolically represents the aim of restoring the Ottoman memory. Thus, its reconstruction is linked to the combat against secularist ideologies of which Gezi park embodies the will to erase the Ottoman heritage (Gül et al, 2014, 68).

That said, the shift in political reason toward neoliberal conservatism entails the reconciliation with the practices and meanings apparently associated with secular lifestyles and values. This is obviously apparent in the discourses of Beyoglu's current mayor Ahmet Misbah Demircan. He himself portrays a political image thoroughly departing from a sharp Islamist cause. Instead, he presents an entrepreneurial image deeply enthusiastic in upgrading Beyoglu. He narrates an excessive greed for transforming Beyoglu; in doing so, he frequently mentions another district, Nişantaşı where is known as secularist district consisting of high-consumption functions, as a metaphor that sets a model for upgrading Beyoglu. His words of 'Nişantaşı Make-up' in identifying the desired status of urbanism in Beyoglu present the discursive framework that inherently delineates the ultimate ends: an exclusive and classy urban atmosphere.

In this sense, the conservative authorities do not simply show discontents to an exuberant public life involving various entertainment activities and nightlife. They see instrumental capacities fitting with their development goals in the Beyoglu's night. On these grounds, the local government shows an interest in partake of nightlife in 'upgrading Beyoglu'. This can be plainly deduced from the extension of entertainment spaces in quantitative terms. According to a news report (Cumhuriyet, 2013), the number of venues licensed to sell alcoholic drinks has quadrupled in the 10 years period, from 2004 to 2013, under the AKP's rule.

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<sup>28</sup> The building was being used as a military unit in 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire and demolished in 1940s for the purpose of constructing a park, namely Gezi Park or Gezi Promenade, which is currently used in the same way (see Gül et al, 2014).

Considering these, I am not suggesting that local politics performed by Beyoglu Municipality invalidate the conservative currents of AKP. It is obvious that AKP's local and central governments carry out neoliberal political reason with some differential approach. At the level of policy implementations, this creates certain inconsistencies in a sense, as in the case of the policies concerning alcohol consumption. While central government aims at regulating the practice of drinking alcohol on the basis of a moral compass for society, Beyoglu Municipality withstands an alcohol-friendly urban policy. This in turn results in a lasting credit for Beyoglu's urban meanings associated with nocturnal pleasures and drinking cultures. Indeed, regulations of alcohol consumption, which are rooted in the conservative political reason, are intricately linked to the processes of neoliberal transformation. As it is demonstrated in chapter 6, especially the tax hikes on alcohol drinks are concatenated to the exertion of economic pressure over downwardly echeloned entertainment clusters.

#### **5.4 Displacement, Dispossession and New Subject Positions**

Transformation of urban governance into a neoliberal modality in Beyoglu has drawn remarkable attention in the last years. Many authors address the transformation of socio-spatial relations in this rise of neoliberal governance (e.g. Dinçer, 2011; Eder and Öz, 2015; Gül et al, 2014; Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010). Mostly focusing on one or more cases of entrepreneurial practices, they suggest that strategies for urban redevelopment generate segregation, displacement and dislocation of economically or socially deprived groups. In addition to these, there raise new subject positions acting upon entrepreneurial regimes in compliance with neoliberal government. New discursive frameworks generate a normative vision re-articulating subject positions by appealing to the Levantines' heritage as an ideal model.

Debates concerning displacement and dislocation chiefly address the case of urban transformation in Tarlabası area. For instance, in their study on urban transformation projects (including the one in Tarlabası), Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010) argue that property transfer from vulnerable inhabitants to investors is



enacted by legal, coercive and financial powers. Indeed, they state that the tenure structure of the area reduces opportunities for getting benefit of economic revitalization and social development for poorer and disadvantaged groups, namely tenants. Correspondingly, Dinçer's study (2011) lends support to these findings by examining urban transformation in historic city centres (including the case of Tarlabası). She argues that local and central governments play a key role in outrageous recast of urban spaces into the heartlands of profit-seeking as these governmental bodies are furnished with unprecedented authorities. On that account, she argues that local populations are deprived of economic and political power to fight against their displacement.

Undoubtedly, societal effects of neoliberalization in Beyoglu are not confined to project implementation areas but they penetrate outright into the public life. Ongoing transformations, which are particularly enacted by building-based capital investments, are dispersed in character; it is not undertaken in immediate localities. For that reason, unlike in the case of urban transformation in Tarlabası, displacement of former inhabitants is more inconspicuous. Nevertheless, significant media appearance of some shopkeepers who are forcefully displaced provides a convincing account to portray the processual and eventful transformation along the Istiklal Avenue. Evacuations of Laterna Café and Inci Patisserie, among many others, are the most prominent examples indicating how real estate developments become disruptive (see T24, 2015; Radikal, 2012a).

The property-use patterns in real estate markets are reconfigured towards the corporate consumption through a number of mechanisms. In addition to the financial power of corporate actors, reconfiguration of property-use patterns is being facilitated and legitimated through legal mechanisms. Here, there exist two recent regulations concerning disaster risks and property relations, which provides legal basis for reconfiguration of property-use. Above all, Law on Conservation of Deteriorating Historic and Cultural Property, which is publicly known as "Disaster Law", is the primary mechanism. This law gives the right and authority to a property owner to dictate to their tenants that they leave the property in the case that the property is approved to have a risk of demolition in

earthquake disaster. On that account, many property owners receive certifications of disaster risks in pursuit of making higher profits after reconstructing the building. Second mechanism derives from the amendments in the Law of Obligations enacted in 2012. Accordingly, a property owner is entitled to dictate the tenants' leave after a 10-year-long rental agreement expires. Hence, the law gives a legal authority to the property owner who seeks to make agreements with larger real estate investors. In both cases, property owners are not obliged to compensate economic losses of the former tenants.

Restructuring of real estate markets and transformations of built forms, on these grounds, create lucrative opportunities for speculative investment, and introduce new spaces of corporatized consumption subject to the market discipline. There are certain outcomes of this process. Eder and Öz's study (2015), having a glance at entertainment sector in the reconfiguration of property-use patterns, suggests that this is a rise of corporatization and commodification of public life in Beyoglu. They see the obliteration of diversity and multiculturalism under the guise of displacement of low-end venues.

Conceived in this way, neoliberal restructuring of real estate markets rules as a hegemonic power that socially and culturally reigns over everyday life in Beyoglu. Departing from this conception, the novel form of urban government is conceived as coercive forces, direct control and domination rooted in the economic and political power of corporate and/or municipal actors. These forces establish a market-driven mechanism favouring the uses of the district by affluent groups while disdaining and displacing incompatible components.

The discursive frameworks identifying what is in/compatible, in/appropriate and un/desirable are formed along with reconfiguration of property-use patterns. Insofar as real estate markets are restructured and public life in Beyoglu is transformed into corporatized consumption, a normative vision is formed. This normativity idealizes a convivial urban image, which is attractive to tourists and middle classes. Correspondingly, it envisions subject positions appropriated

differentially in accordance with their congeniality to the attractiveness and conviviality.

In constitution and circulation of the images of normative subject positions, entrepreneurial actors play an influential role. Launching businesses serving for affluent groups, these actors show sympathy to entrepreneurial dreams of remaking Istanbul as a high-end consumption site. Indeed, as they are increasingly present in the public life of Beyoglu, they partially steer this transformation towards corporatized and commodified urbanism. From this vantage point, they incorporate economic and political power to generate the normative meanings of everyday conduct in public life of Beyoglu.

Current president of Beyoglu Beautification Association, Nizam Hışım who runs a number of businesses in Beyoglu is one of these. He is designated as a ‘real estate emperor’ by a columnist (see Erciyes, 2011) on account of the fact that he owns the branches of several global brands (such as Nike, Swatch, Superstep) along the Istiklal Avenue. Indeed, he had purchased three historic buildings to launch boutique hotels in Cihangir, Galata and Karaköy in recent years. He plays a formative role in the real estate market of the district. In an interview, he proudly narrates how his hotel investments in Cihangir revitalized the area; and he adds, “I am always doubtful about having an interest in a building. If I do so, the building price immediately increases” (Habertürk, 2015).

As a Beyoglu-based entrepreneur who gained noticeable power in the commercial life of Beyoglu, Nizam Hışım has been performing as the chair of Beyoglu Beautification Association since 2009. On that account, he frequently gives statements reflecting on ongoing transformations in Beyoglu and what dramatic changes need to be made. In his statements, he often raises concerns of economic revitalization and development especially along the Istiklal Avenue. For instance, in an interview, he sets forth the nostalgia for Beyoglu’s past, having in mind the district’s ‘flamboyant’ past owing to the Levantines’ heritage in 19<sup>th</sup> century:

“The length of Istiklal Avenue is 2600 meters. During the avenue’s flamboyant times, there were shops in the first floors and aristocratic families were living in upper floors. Upper floors were mostly owned by merchants. Everyone left after the problems burgeoned; the buildings were abandoned and trade started to decrease... If this is so, we subsequently slip down. People don’t come here. Families don’t come here although Beyoglu provides much for tourists to see and do some shopping” (Vatan, 2011).

In his words, the Levantines’ heritage implies a convivial public life inhabited by affluent groups. It sets an ideal model for the future prospects of Istiklal Avenue. He craves for a vivid urban life, which would serve for the benefit of him for obvious reasons. Yet he considers that the currents of urban life need to be reconfigured by obliterating the undesired elements. Here, he plainly puts forward the class composition of users in the Istiklal Avenue that need to be substituted by affluent groups. He praises the urban transformation project in Tarlabası for it contributes to these ends, as follows:

“At the time that here [Beyoglu] attracts A, B or C segments, side streets are freed from fustiness, when there is no street vendors or glue sniffers; restaurant qualities are advanced and car parking opportunities are provided... From now on, you cannot make money out of trading in Beyoglu. Here commercial values are increasing here... Tarlabası project is the most significant step of this process that will change the fate of Beyoglu.” (Milliyet, 2013).

Nizam Hışım regards that Beyoglu is in need of a lively urban atmosphere, yet such liveliness is apparently distinct from the existing one portrayed as a mixture of disorder and repulsion in his account. He complains about the obsolete images of back alleys furnished with low-class venues, street vendors and beggars. Instead, he fantasizes a spatial reconfiguration whereby distinctive cultural tastes, sanitized urban environment and display of historic spectacles fascinate well-off groups. To this respect, he expresses his gratitude for the urban government putting into work these development goals and strategies.

Nizam Hışım's narratives, reflecting the investors' and property-owners' interests along with the advances in upgrading Beyoglu, capture the gist of urban development approaches. Here, the quest for increasing the attractiveness of Istiklal Avenue informs the normative subject positions. There underlies a strong desire to regulate the urban crowd in alliance with this normativity. As the urban crowd is incorporated into an assembly of middle classes and tourists, the subject positions are identified in accordance with their relations with the segments of the crowd. The cultural heritage of the district, relying upon the urban memories of Levantines' Pera, informs this normativity. Undisputably, the class composition presents the main determinants due to the idea that certain components undermining this urban image are considered in class terms.

### **5.5 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter presents how neoliberal rationalities are set in Beyoglu. Correspondingly, ruling authorities envision remaking the district in the way that the urban economy is substantially structured by culture-oriented tourism. The Environmental Arrangement Plan, prepared by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2009, is a concrete manifestation of these developments. In congruity with this, Beyoglu Conservation Plan reveals the gist of neoliberal transformation. They present together a vision that presupposes a new urban identity; accordingly economic restructuring is characterized by less of productive functions and increasing commercial capital investments serving for middle classes and tourists. In making advancements in the districts' attractiveness, the cultural heritage of the district plays a central role. That is to say, the affective life of Beyoglu involving a convivial public life is embraced as both an object of knowledge and an instrument to incorporate the district into market rationality.

These imaginaries of making Beyoglu more attractive in the eyes of middle classes and tourists lead to a wholesale transformation of Beyoglu. In this process, urban transformation projects are the fundamental mechanisms. The transformation of socio-spatial relations is actualized through these projects, which results in displacement and marginalization of undesired populations. Being mostly defined

in class or class-relevant terms, certain groups of inhabitants are being obliterated from the public life of Beyoglu. These socio-spatial demarcations can best be understood through the terms of a discursive universe promoting subject positions in accordance with the occupation of social space in increasing consumerism and corporatization.

Concomitantly, the formation of that discursive universe is also laden with some affective dynamis. While the construction of subject positions in terms of attractiveness, desirability and safety, emotional discourses seem to be central. The rational knowledge of neoliberalism is not only about number of tourists, expense amounts or property values but also how people feel about Beyoglu. In that regard, neoliberalism take on the meaning of governing the affective life in Beyoglu. In the rise of these affective discourses, some symbolic divisions come to emerge identifying the distinctions between attractive and inattractive, desirable and undesirable, and safe and unsafe.

Needless to say, these dynamics are reverberated in the currents of nightlife in Beyoglu. The following chapter aims to illustrate the mechanisms that translate the neoliberal discourses into reality, particular focusing on the repercussions in the night scene of Beyoglu.

## CHAPTER 6

### TECHNOLOGIES OF GOVERNING THE NIGHTLIFE

This chapter dissects the neoliberalization of nightlife with a particular focus on technologies of power coming into practice across spaces of night in Beyoğlu. In complementary with the accounts seeing neoliberalization through coercive forces of –especially- state actors, I present that neoliberalization of nightlife is actualized through convergence of different lines of power relations (Mayer and Künkel, 2012). In understanding these dynamics, neoliberal technologies are the vantage point; I aim to illustrate the mechanisms that ultimately serve the formation of neoliberal subjectivities forged within the discursive universe of consumerism, safety and orderliness in Beyoğlu's nightlife.

The set of mechanisms guiding the neoliberal transformation of nightlife in Beyoğlu can be discerned in three distinct mechanisms: changing dynamics of property markets, tax hikes on alcohol consumption and policing strategies. Some are directly attacking on the economic viability of venues while others are direct political interventions. Indeed, the enactment of neoliberal power does not merely imply direct control of nocturnal conduct. As suggested by Miller and Rose (2008, 102), neoliberalization is carried out through the conjoint involvement of direct and indirect mechanisms. Changing dynamics of property markets and tax hikes on alcohol consumption are exemplars of indirect mechanisms. They ultimately function as “powerful means of governing at a distance” (ibid, 18). As in the case of tax hikes on alcohol consumption, these mechanisms may also draw upon apparently disparate objectives, which eventually come to avail to these regulatory schemes (ibid, 20). Besides, policing strategies represent direct mechanisms of controlling spaces of night. They are employed in a manner bearing the marks of coercion, domination and oppression (Rose, 1999).

These mechanisms together act upon neoliberalization of nightlife through convergence of legal, disciplinary and security apparatuses, as conceived by Foucault's (2007) works. These analytical distinctions between mechanisms of power present differences in the practices of governing in terms of how particularly power over bodies, places and population is exercised. In this view, first, legal apparatuses involve an excessive exercise of power, which may even take on violent acts and coercive forces. The legal system is conceived as limiting, punishing and/or forbidding forces. Disciplinary apparatuses, secondly, are complex set of discourses and practices that regulates and governs the bodies through institutional interventions. They involve systems of monitoring and surveillance that is functioned to regulate bodies, behaviours and actions. These set of practices are deployed to constitute an effective and productive social life. Finally, apparatuses of security are another form of power having an influence over the society, the population as a whole. The government of social life as a totality incorporates some mechanisms directing and conditioning general behaviours and tendencies in social life. These ruling forces are not simply derived from external and direct intervention to people's practices. In Foucault's (ibid) conception, apparatuses of security create and regulate a milieu in which particular courses of actions act upon governing discourses:

"The apparatuses of security work, fabricate, organize, and plan a milieu even before the notion was formed and isolated. The milieu, then, will be that in which circulation is carried out. The milieu is a set of natural givens – rivers, marshes, hills – and a set of artificial givens – an agglomeration of individuals, of houses, etcetera. The milieu is a certain number of combined, overall effects bearing on all who live in it... Finally, the milieu appears as a field of intervention in which, instead of affecting individuals as a set of legal subjects capable of voluntary actions – which would be the case of sovereignty – and instead of affecting them as a multiplicity of organisms, of bodies capable of performances, and of required performances – as in discipline – one tries to affect, precisely, a population." (Foucault, 2007, 36-37).

By conceiving security mechanisms in this way, Foucault illustrates a broad concept of technologies of power that conceives the instruments of governing life



which are not limited to external coercive forces (Lemke, 2007). This conception paves the way for understanding capacities of power relations that do not necessarily forbid, punish or limit, and train and control through direct interventions, but steering life forces in social life.

Viewing through this lens, I present that three distinct mechanisms condition the neoliberalization of night in Beyoglu through power dynamics of legal systems, discipline and security. First, by means of wholesale transformation through urban transformation projects, a socio-spatial milieu is cultivated in property markets that steer people's tendencies towards upscaling entertainment venues to survive economically and culturally. It constitutes a self-government structure for upper echelons of nightlife mostly serving for affluent groups and tourists; up-market venues are decidedly conditioned to optimize the feel and look of their venue, in order to conform to neoliberalizing Beyoğlu. This mechanism simultaneously exerts economic pressure over downmarket venues through dramatic increases in rental values. They function as an instrument hindering the economic and social viability of downwardly echeloned entertainment clusters in Beyoglu's spaces of night. Indeed, there exist legally-based mechanisms embedded in these processes which paves the way for the displacement of entertainment venues.

Second, tax hikes on alcohol consumption, setting the precedent of governing at a distance, epitomize the power dynamics through legal systems. The excessive increases in taxation of alcoholic drinks act upon spaces of night as an indirect show of force by state actors. I suggest that this mechanism draws upon the sovereignty of state actors having an influence over neoliberalization of night although there lies disparate programmatic objectives.

Finally, policing strategies are the precedent of the interplay of disciplinary and legal mechanisms that regulates the movement of bodies across spaces of night. This mechanism act upon governing the size and qualities of crowd in streets through two distinct strategies: (i) regulations of street tables (ii) and obliterating 'unwanted' contents, such as prostitution and drug dealing.

## 6.1 The Dynamics of Property Markets

Enactment of the entrepreneurial practices, especially those of urban transformation projects in Talimhane and Tarlabası, and Galataport project in Karaköy, triggered a real estate activity along the Istiklal Avenue. These developments resulted in drastic changes in the real estate sector, as it is demonstrated in the previous chapter. The foremost outcome of these developments is substantial increases in property values across the urban spaces of Beyoğlu. According to a newspaper article (Milliyet, 2011), Istiklal Avenue's high street shops are ranked second among the highest rental values of Istanbul, coming after Nişantaşı. Besides, upward trends in property values across diverse side streets of Beyoğlu are also reported on account of rising interests in purchasing historic buildings to launch businesses.

In the transformation of nightlife in Beyoğlu, upward trends in rental values have a pivotal role. This constitutes a socio-spatial milieu in which the actors of nightlife are implicitly forced to enjoin a vision of entrepreneurialism. The upward trends in rental values form a self-government structure requiring the optimization of feel and look of one's venue in congruity with the neoliberal discourses. Insofar as the actors of night scene in Beyoğlu conform to the neoliberal discourses, in both economic and cultural terms, they acquire economic power and cultural legitimacy to survive in Beyoğlu's night. Otherwise, this mechanism runs through spaces of night as a disruptive economic pressure that undermines the viability of entertainment venues. That is to say, the way that real estate markets condition socio-spatial transformation has a multivalent character. On the one hand, real estate markets function as a self-government structure, in which proactive agents are seeking for improving their 'affiliation'. On the other hand, these dynamics take on economic forces excluding downwardly echeloned entertainment venues.

Such multivalency is conjointly informed by the hierarchical structures of nightlife. For the upper echelons of nightlife in Beyoğlu, real estate markets channel the night-time economy as a self-government structure, for up-market venues have a distinctive capacity to optimize themselves to the neoliberal

government regimes in both economic and cultural terms. Conversely, for lower echelons, developments in real estate markets function as exclusionary mechanism.

Ever since the hype of ‘upgrading Beyoglu’, these developments in real estate markets jointly infiltrate market-driven calculations into spaces of night across upper echelons in Beyoglu. This process takes on a neoliberal mode of subjectification by means of which individual actors are responsabilized to optimize themselves to self-entrepreneurialisation (Rose, 1999). Diverse actors in Beyoglu’s nightlife can hypothetically take part in the ‘upgrading Beyoglu’ through serving for more affluent groups of night time revellers. The neoliberal mode of subject formation is premised upon this presumption, which concomitantly obliges individual entrepreneurs to conform to the ideals of ‘upgrading Beyoglu’.

Entrepreneurs of nightlife in Beyoglu express wariness of these circumstances; they are actively seeking for opportunities to maintain their ‘affiliated’ position. Adopting certain strategies, they strive for improving their desirability in neoliberalizing Beyoglu. The term of ‘desirability’ has two interrelated credence here: One’s improved status of desirability in the nocturnal scene renders one’s affiliation possible. Insofar as they embody a charming and glamorous image, they attain a vigorous entitlement to serve urban pleasures for middle classes and tourists. This grants them economic power to survive under the circumstances of upward trends in rental values. On that account, their investments in ‘desirability’ in the eyes of affluent groups are converted to economic capital.

The foremost duty of being ‘desirable’ to others is relevant to the design elements. Nigel Thrift (2006, 284-286) argues that consumers’ encounters with the commodity have become central to value-conducive strategies in capitalism. In pursuit of a satisfactory encounter, the commodity is developed to mobilize the consumers’ forethought. Here, Thrift (ibid) suggests the pivotal role of design composition, which generates a ‘rapid perceptual style’ of a thing. Among entrepreneurs of nightlife in Beyoglu, the dimensions of mobilizing consumers’

forethought are central to strategies to optimize themselves to ‘upgrading Beyoglu’. Entrepreneurs crave for displaying a convincing ingenuity to be ‘desirable’, which are conjointly manifested in culinary, decorative, and musical styles of a venue. These attempts conspicuously reflect motives to create an atmosphere imbued with distinctive lifestyles. Indisputably, these motives are not solely dependent to economic privileges; capacities to hold allure derive from a certain mode of taste-making that is rigorously linked to cultural capital. Under these circumstances, managerial positions gain a strategic importance to act upon taste-making roles, especially for business owners devoid of entrepreneurial experience to invest in cultural capital.

One of the respondents working as a manager of a restaurant-bar in Cihangir gives a good account for these dynamics. His narrative illustrates entrepreneur’s greed to improve their image which eventually lends the manager’s role its character:

“There is a glamorous side of this business. They want celebrities to show up, to have a quality service. They [the owners of entertainment venues] want their venues to be updated, to level up. I don’t want to abase myself. When I first started to work here, there were only 2 options of wines in the menu. Now there are almost 20 different wines. We serve here Turkish and Italian cuisine. Medditerrenean cuisine is always preferable. I am always for Turkish cuisine. But this doesn’t mean that we offer kebab. Turkish cuisine shouldn’t be reduced to döner and kebab. We here offer *karnıyarık*, *ekşili köfte*. I have contributed to this sector a lot... In this business, bosses have the money. They are the owner of the capital but here we know the way that things are going on”.

Optimization of entertainment venues to the hype of ‘upgrading Beyoglu’ is taken as a practice of ‘updating’, ‘levelling up’, or even capturing a sense of higher class. As this quotation indicates, particular agents acting upon managerial roles flatter themselves based on the idea that they have an indispensable position in allegedly ‘updating’ a venue. Such a vanity derives from one’s possessiveness about a venues’ distinctive design elements combined in services and look. For instance, the manager quoted above articulates the elements of services -in high quality-

and distinctive tastes -with a combination of global and local cultural elements- as a product of his own 'excellence'. This eventually leads to the idea that he is there 'knowing the way' of claiming the right to 'upgrading Beyoglu'.

However, the optimization of selves to the emergent 'city of culture and tourism' are not confined to embodying distinctive cultural tastes. Entrepreneurs employ diverse cultural strategies to attract wider groups of middle classes and tourists. This creates a normative cultural order informed by smart attire and chart music. Mainstreaming of nocturnal pleasures promises urban hedonism under the rubric of consumerist discourses (Shaw, 2010, 899). It unifies wider groups and is in congruity with profit-oriented provisions (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003, 85). This is especially evident in the narratives of a DJ who is also a shareholder of multi-storey entertainment complexes located at Istiklal Avenue. He tells how he is leaned to arrange the musical styles in line with commercial viability in this way:

"This is one of the most prominent locations in Istiklal Avenue. The surroundings are full of tourist attractions. Millions are passing by this place in a day. We hog the limelight as there are so many tourists around. This is a great opportunity for a business. We don't have to attract people. We have to provide what they would like. We are here offering latin music on Wednesdays. A Cuban group performs. On Thursdays, people come here for world music, like Balkans and reggae music. Frankly speaking, these stem from the business concerns. At first, I was preferring jazz music on Tuesdays, which are more of my own taste. But it didn't work. One should definitely take this as a commercial activity."

The respondent's venue, quoted above, is on the verge of Istiklal Avenue where global and local chains of restaurants and retail stores are increasingly appearing. Given that the location is also on the way of tourists strolling around the cruise ship port in Karaköy, he narrates these specificities in two different ways: Strategic importance of this locality results in a great opportunity to 'hog the limelight', in his own words, yet this is also conditioned by astronomic rental values. Under these circumstances, economic viability takes priority over any other matter such as cultural tastes and aesthetic preferences.

Apart from these, the way that lower echelons of nightlife in Beyoglu are conditioned by recent developments in real estate markets are entirely different. The rationale behind this is the fact that these components of nightlife are economically incapable to optimize their look and feel in line with the rise of rationalities favouring 'upgrading Beyoglu'. They present distinct lifestyles and entertainment practices which run counter to the ideals of 'upgrading Beyoglu'. Unlike the upper echelons of nightlife, they are destitute of optimizing themselves to the terms that they serve for affluent groups by appealing to them in cultural terms.

For that reason, upward trends in real estate markets take on the meaning of economic forces hindering the capacities to survive in Beyoglu. This is especially evident in how they perceive the changing patterns of property uses along the Istiklal Avenue. The respondents mostly running businesses in down-market entertainment clusters narrated the future prospects through uncertainties. Many address to increasing numbers of hotel buildings around their businesses, which would possibly encourage the property owners to increase the rental. Indeed, it is frequently stated that property owners avoid making rental agreements for longer periods. For instance, according to one of the respondents running a *meyhane* in Mis Street, rental agreements had been made for a ten-years period until the 'hotel boom'. Yet, in recent years, property owners barely make agreements for more than 5 years:

"Probably, our life span would not exceed 5 years in Beyoglu. This is the time that our rental agreement will be terminated, no further! Entrepreneurs have nothing to say if not a property owner. Before, we tried to have an agreement for 10 years. Until quite recently, the contracts had been signed in this way. Yet the property owner didn't find it reasonable. He was dreaming of better opportunities in the near future. Only if we could pay a higher rent, he would be persuaded for a long term contract."

Likewise, another respondent running a pub in Mis Street articulates similar concerns moving him to hopelessness in these turbulent times. He directly address

to recently launched hotels around his business so he regards that someone might be interested in his place very soon:

“The building at the opposite side has been purchased. So did the one next to us. Hotel businesses will be established there. We have no idea about our future. Everyone sees great opportunities here; no one is likely to have contracts for more than 5 years”.

Indeed, these concerns do not only stem from uncertainties depending on the respondents’ vulnerability in the tenure structure. Some of the respondents have already experienced displacement. A respondent who was formerly running two venues, a regular pub in Imam Adnan Street and a *meyhane* in Turnacıbaşı Street, is one of them. He had to close down the *meyhane* in Turnacıbaşı as a result of the purchase of the building by a local hotel investor. Moreover, he also told me that an international hotel chain is planning to purchase the building in Imam Adnan Street so the property owner pronounced that he had to empty the shop in a couple of weeks.

Considering the experiences of displacement of downwardly echeloned venues, I suggest that the dynamics of property market may also involve the exercise of expulsion and coercion. Here, there are some uses of sovereign power that bears the legitimacy on the grounds of legal mechanisms. As it is presented in the previous chapter, amendments in legislations concerning ‘Conservation of Deteriorating Historic and Cultural Property’<sup>29</sup> and ‘Law of Obligations’<sup>30</sup>, property owners acquire a legal legitimacy to force the tenants to leave their

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<sup>29</sup> According to the law, if a property owner claims officially certified disaster risk, s/he has the right to force their tenants to leave his/her property. This grants an opportunity of making profits to property owners by means of renewing the building after the expulsion of tenants (see previous chapter for details).

<sup>30</sup> This law grants the property owner to force the tenant to leave the property after the expiration of 10-years-long rental agreement. Because property owners are not responsible for making up for the tenants’ economic losses, if it is a case, this law paves the way for avoiding renewal of rental agreements.

properties (see previous chapter). These legislations disempower the tenants to claim their rights against the property owners. In that regard, the property markets converge the forms of self-government and economic conduct with legally based obligatory mechanisms.

In short, these mechanisms within the property markets function as forceful means of incorporating down-market entertainment clusters into capital accumulation in the hands of larger capital investors. Incapacities to survive in this transformation, whether it be imagined or real, stem from the tenure structures as down-market clusters are economically incapable to compete with investors. Indeed, legal mechanisms are also tied to these processes in ways that facilitate the displacement of certain entertainment venues.

## **6.2 Tax Hikes on Alcohol Consumption**

Recent regulations of taxation on alcoholic beverages also have an indirect influence in neoliberalization of Beyoglu. In fact, the tax excises on alcohol beverages are enacted for concerning financial regulations at a national scale. Hence, they apparently act upon disparate objectives. Accordingly, in tandem with Turkey's budget deficits in the last decades, the governments are largely appealing to taxes laid on consumer goods, called as 'indirect taxes', in pursuit of closing these deficits. In addition to value added taxes excised on various consumption goods at different rates since 1985, Special Consumption Tax (*Özel Tüketim Vergisi – ÖTV*) is introduced after Turkey's financial crisis in 2001 (Zenginobuz et al, 2010). Being levied primarily on certain consumption goods and services such as oil fuel, telecommunications, passenger cars, tobacco products and alcoholic beverages, these taxes are efficient enough to close the budget deficits<sup>31</sup>. Because these products and services are provided with tax labels and markers requiring registration of production and distribution, tax liabilities concerning production and consumption of them are easily monitored. Hence, tax

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<sup>31</sup> The rate of indirect taxes exceeds the half of all tax revenues in Turkey. This ranks Turkey second, coming after Chile, in share of indirect taxes all over the World; and it is construed as ill-conditioned situation (World Bank, 2014).



levies on these products and services assuredly provide short-term increase in tax revenues (TÜSİAD, 2012).

The tax levies particularly on alcoholic beverages also reflect the conservative orientations of the ruling political party AKP. The ruling authorities have enacted regulations on public displays of alcoholic beverages including consumption and advertising since 2005. The tax burdens have incrementally increased in this process; tax hikes have reached at six times of 2005 ratings (see Evered and Evered, 2015). As a matter of fact, AKP representatives lean such tax policies on health concerns asserting that these are not deriving from prohibitionist agenda but protective attempts. However, the critiques assert the contrary referring to considerably lower levels<sup>32</sup> of alcohol consumption per person in Turkey (ibid, 13). Indeed, although tax levies for the sake of public health are supposed to demand higher tax rates for stronger alcoholic beverages<sup>33</sup>, the tax regulations do not regard the alcoholic strength of beverages in Turkey. This results in higher tax burdens especially on beer and wine. Turkey is one of the countries levying the highest taxes on alcoholic beverages. Turkey is ranked second coming after Finland in taxation on beers, third coming after Finland and UK in taxation on wines and fifth coming after Sweden, Finland, UK and Ireland in taxation on distilled alcoholic beverages (see Ernst & Young, 2011).

The excessive increases in taxation of alcoholic beverages rely upon the monopoly of state rule. Conceiving the exercise of tax hikes as a ruling practice of state, I suggest that it operates as a centrally commanded form of power that has an influence –at a distance- over spaces of night. Such an emphasis on ‘governing at a distance’ (Miller and Rose, 2008, 20) is significant due to the fact that tax hikes

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<sup>32</sup> In Turkey, consumption rate of alcohol per person is 1.4 litres. Turkey is at the bottom of list for alcohol consumption among OECD countries (OECD, 2016).

<sup>33</sup> It is widely supported that increasing tax excises on alcohol consumption is an efficient tool to combat against social costs of heavy drinking such as alcohol-related diseases, traffic accidents, etc. However, the excises are typically banded according to the levels of alcoholic content (Cnossen, 2007).

are not directly draw upon ‘upgrading Beyoglu’ yet they come to have an indirect influence over spaces of night. In fact, tax hikes are differentially experienced by different components of nightlife in Beyoglu. In the eyes of up-market clusters, tax hikes are undertaken with less of concerns due to several reasons. Above all, corporatized venues get the benefit of lower purchase prices due to the fact that they make higher amounts of purchases. The benefits drawn upon larger operational size by corporatized entertainment venues aside, participants running businesses in up-market clusters recounted that they have the flexibility to reprice the goods and services in conformity with tax hikes. In fact, they are definitely complaining about increasing tax rates on alcoholic beverages; however, they are less likely to be overburdened with tax hikes. Conversely, participants running businesses in down-market clusters narrate changes in tax policies as a threat for their economic viability. Their narratives demonstrate that they are devoid of flexibilities to reprice the goods and services on account of the fact that they are serving for segments of the society with lesser disposable incomes. Consequently, they are doomed to minimize their profit margins. For instance, a respondent running a *meyhane* and a regular pub in Bekar Street provides an insight into what extent their profit margins are narrowed:

“They have gradually raised the taxes; now they really overcharge. Drinking has turned out to be a luxury. The managers have to refrain from making profits. Let me tell how it works: In 2005, a barrel of beer costed 65 liras; and we priced 4 liras for a pint. It is now 8 liras, which means a twofold increase. Yet we pay 365 liras for a barrel. Because we couldn’t reflect it in prices, we had to refrain from our profits.”

Likewise, another respondent running a pub in Mis Street handles these dimensions by raising similar concerns in this way:

“ÖTV is one of the most significant burdens for us. We have to reflect it in prices. For the small scale businesses like us, this is especially true, because we don’t have any economic advantages of purchasing higher amounts of alcohol. It is definitely true that our customers wouldn’t be likely to pay higher prices. If this is so, we have to minimize our profit margins. We only seek to go on our life.”

Heavy tax burdens are never explicated as untenable circumstances. Instead, there lies an emphasis on efforts to survive economically. These circumstances are linked with uncertainties that come along rising property values, as it is illustrated above. They function as economic forces that prompt the perceptions of disaffiliation in both material and emotional terms.

### **6.3 Policing Strategies 1: Municipal Regulations of Street Tables**

Another mechanism is the municipal practices in purpose of regulating the uses of streets by the entertainment venues. Unlike the others illustrated above, certain regulatory practices are put into work as interplay of disciplinary and legal mechanisms. These practices act upon coercive forces in order to regulate the movement of bodies across spaces of night in Beyoglu. Through the regulations of street tables, the ruling authorities seek to discipline the uses of streets by limiting the entrance of massive crowd.

In 2011, Beyoglu Municipality has inaugurated a directive prohibiting the use of street tables and chairs, which are put along the side streets of Istiklal Avenue. In light of this directive, municipal police had immediately taken action to remove tables especially in Mis Street and Asmalhescit, which has even taken on the meaning of 'street fighting for tables and chairs'. These regulations raised concerns about the fate of public life in Beyoglu, for many entertainment venues have been adversely affected by these developments. It has been reported that thousands of service staff lost their jobs as a result of drastic decreases in venues' turnover (see Doğu, 2012). Afterwards, the municipal government took step back and proposed location-based regulations concerning the physical characteristics of each street. From then on, certain localities (like Asmalhescit, Mis Street and Kuledibi) are partially or entirely permitted of street tables under varying circumstances, while many others are not. Moreover, municipal interventions are still prevalent now and then, on account of the venues' alleged violations of existing regulations (see Utku, 2014).

Meanwhile, these regulatory practices do not command only the down-market entertainment clusters; certain localities hosting upper echelons of entertainment life, especially the clusters in Asmalımesit, have also been subject to these mechanisms. Current president of BEYDER (Beyoğlu Association of Entertainment Venues) Tahir Berrakkarasu reported in an interview that almost a hundred entertainment venues have been closed in Asmalımesit as these regulations resulted in substantial decreases in turnovers. He notes that many of the customers, among whom youthful groups constitute the majority, tended towards other districts viable for youthful pleasure seeking in both material and cultural terms, such as Kadıköy and Beşiktaş (Habertürk, 2014).

Eder and Öz (2015, 298) present that these regulatory practices are immediate reflections of urban transformation of Beyoğlu. Accordingly, the attempts to remove street tables illustrate the neoliberal motives to sanitize the urban crowd and make the spaces of Beyoğlu more productive and effective. Through obliteration of ‘messy crowd’ in some spots of Beyoğlu’s night scene, upper floors are expected to be open to newer investors in entertainment investors. Indeed, the presence of ‘outrageous’ crowd is deemed to be in contrast to desired urban atmosphere. On that account, among the circles of corporatized entertainments, these practices are discerned in sympathy. For instance, a manager of an Istanbul-based restaurant-bar chain bluntly admits the outcome of this transformation. Yet, in his narrative, these regulations are inevitable in pursuit of a pedestrian-friendly urban environment. As a winner of this process on account of the fact that his business is spacious enough not to feel the need of expanding their area towards the street, he advocates for the regulations, as follows:

“Tens of businesses had to be closed down as an outcome of these regulations. But we aren’t touched by them. We have a large space in front of the venue. I am definitely sad about bankruptcy of the venues. Yet a sort of regulation was needed. People should be walking around in a comfortable way.”

In addition to these, I suggest that the actions of municipal authority bear the marks of urban informality, echoing Ananya Roy’s (2009, 826) conception.

Although the concept of ‘informality’ is widely used for addressing to unregulated, illegal and survival activities of urban poor and marginalized populations, Ananya Roy represents the informal demeanours in the very state action, which substantially come across in the non-Western urban experiences. In her account, urban informality marks the sovereign power of the state holding the authority to determine the contours of il/legality. On that account, she claims, “informality is not an unregulated domain but rather is structured through various forms of extra-legal, social and discursive regulation” (ibid). She contends that its sovereign character provides the legitimacy and ascendancy.

Incipient regulations to remove street tables predicate upon urban informality relying on the idea that municipal authorities act as the sole actor to identify the contours of legality. Until 2011, the time that the municipal directive is enacted to remove street tables, Beyoglu municipality had been collecting occupancy taxes from the entertainment venues. The taxes were calculated according to the number of tables placed in the streets. Afterwards, the use of streets for placing tables started to pass as illegal and the municipal authorities imposed sanctions for those disobeying the rule.

In the enactment of removing street tables, Beyoglu municipality announced that their attempts are to regulate the excessive crowd restraining the pedestrians’ access. These points are also reverberated in the interview I have conducted with the representative of Beyoglu municipal police. The representative stated that they are decisively going through this issue to the ends of regulating the urban crowd. He denoted that their aim is to create a pedestrian-friendly urban environment whereby people joyfully promenade and have fun.

In fact, these points are also voiced by many of the respondents; the managers and owners of entertainment venues recognized the pitfalls of the messy crowd. Yet, in their narratives, there come forward the complaints about the lack of standardised criteria. Because the restrictions are flexibly set in accordance to the physical and social characteristics of each street, there lies a sort of indeterminacy. One of the respondents running a pub in Imam Adnan Street gives a good account for this.

His experiences also demonstrate how these practices, conducted by municipal police, function as economic sanctions:

“I used to pay 60 liras for each table. It makes 600 liras for 10 tables for a month. Before long, they ceased to collect these taxes. The municipal officers started to take photos inconspicuously. At the times that I go to the administration building, they just show me the photographs and ask me to pay fines. The last time I went there, they told me that I have run into a debt of 4900 liras”.

In addition to the heavy burden of pecuniary fines, the respondents frequently mentioned vaguely defined requirements which hardly determine the ways that uses of streets are allowed. Such indeterminacy leads to the perceptions of these regulations as intimidating techniques. On account of devolving clear standards, the punitive actions function as an informal tool for daunting the ‘messy’ crowd in both psychological and economic terms.

#### **6.4 Policing Strategies 2: Regulating ‘Underground Night’**

As Don Mitchell (2003, 177) eloquently illustrates, cities under the rubric of neoliberal urbanism seek to attain an ordered urban landscape by means of eliminating the social content that undermines the charming sense of public life. Craving for ‘orderliness’ is essential in economic terms –as it is precisely relevant to property values- and in emotional terms –as a city’s appeal to affluent groups depends on the extent that it promises safely pleasurable moments. On that account, policing strategies are tenaciously acting upon the ‘orderliness’ of streets in nocturnal city. In the case of neoliberalizing Beyoglu, these strategies are apt to serve the purpose of creating a safe urban atmosphere; informal and/or underground networks-based activities come to the fore as they purportedly accommodate corrupt ways of lives and practices. Undeniably, this is not to suggest that growing discontents with these facets of nightlife are new but, with the preeminent reign of neoliberal government, these regulatory practices went through a new phase distinctively marked with intensity and harshness (Smith, 1996, 212).

Especially prostitution and drug-dealing represent the menaces to moral order; these activities are deemed to be villains disturbing safe enchantments of middle classes and tourists. This stems from the discursive construction of deviance and disorder, which are considered to be instances of individualized contexts rather than structural explanations, reflecting Mitchell's (2003, 178) elaborations on social construction of homelessness. These set of activities are merely taken as imagined or real criminal acts without any attention to the idea of survival practices under the circumstances of severe poverty and marginalization. Indeed, as he argues (ibid, 2002), these constructions are predicated upon discursive frameworks that single out certain actions and behaviours -rather than groups of people or territorial units- for designating unlawfulness or immorality.

A series of police interventions in one of the backstreets of Istiklal Avenue where is known for street prostitution provides insight into these dynamics. This process has instantly embarked upon a murder of a transgender woman earning her living as a prostitute. Following this, security units and municipal police cooperatively intervened in the ongoing in that street; many buildings were forcefully emptied out and sealed in order to obliterate these groups from that street. The events bursted out of the hatred crime but police forces articulated the latency of unlawful acts that helps them legitimate these people's forced eviction. Chief of Beyoglu Police explains this 'legitimacy' as follows:

"The police entered into these buildings of that street by wearing masks. There were drug dealers, glue sniffers in these buildings. I have met two women there. I asked them if they were tenants, they told me that the buildings were abandoned... This is a place of drug-dealing and murders. When the police take some measures, people complain about us. Our concern is to provide the security here and its surroundings. If there are dilapidated buildings here, they will be sealed. See what else I'll be doing." (Radikal, 2014)

The rationale behind these was allegedly unlawful occupation of residential and commercial units by 'marginal' groups, namely prostitutes and drug dealers. Chief

of Beyoglu Police Ünal Altınır's statements to press indicate the legal legitimacy of these practices as follows:

"If we didn't take some measures, these buildings would be demolished. We emptied these buildings. This was the demand of property owners and their lawyers. They complain about the inhabitants as they don't receive any rental payment. We even sealed a coffeehouse there. I'm putting this place in order. I am not sealing any workplace and private home in an illegal way." (Radikal, 2014)

The pursuit of 'orderliness', in the quotation above, points to neoliberal imaginaries in two interrelated ways. 'Orderliness' is appropriated as a lively urban atmosphere actualized by means of incorporating dilapidated buildings into commercial life. Interrelatedly, the underground activities -mostly comprised of commercial sex contriving its way in these dilapidated areas- represent the menaces to 'ordered' urban life. Ultimately, these set of practices are urged to be 'put in order'.

Gentrification is actualized through the reworkings of gender and class relations that complexly remakes social divisions between and within different identities (Bondi, 1991). From this vantage point, prostitution<sup>34</sup>—which is apparently associated with disordered urban life due to imagined or real connections with low class cultures, drug-dealing and other crimes- consists of relations and practices imbued with 'undesired' masculinities and femininities. A 'prostitute body' symbolically represents dirt, unhygiene, and immorality which is doomed to exist on the fringes of society and city (Zengin, 2011, 77). For that reason, their presence in the nocturnal city is in a stark contrast with urban imaginaries to create a glamorous and safe urban atmosphere (Karakuş, 2014, 122). Chief of Beyoglu police's will to cleanse the dilapidated buildings stems from this idea; these settings are considered to be amenable to 'immoral' relations and practices.

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<sup>34</sup> In Turkey, prostitution is not banned but police forces employ diverse disciplinary tools to regulate sex industry. Even, diverse state actors are appealing to illegal methods to bring the prostitution under control and exclude sex workers from everyday life (Zengin, 2011).



Unquestionably, attempts to eliminate prostitution from male-dominated entertainment venues are also at stake yet, in this case, they are of complexities; policing methods in these venues are not marked with that of intensity and harshness unlike the street-level prostitution. In fact, sexualized services and commercial sex may be decidedly present in these venues, say in *pavyons*. This relies on certain mode of indulgence by police forces. As I mentioned above, underground networks-based entertainment activities are organized around a male authority, which is rooted in economic power and personal charisma. This entails privileges in relations with police forces; and eventually, gives a relative autonomy to provide services beyond the legality. This is evident for the one of owner of a *pavyon* whom I have interviewed. In the middle of the interview, a member of police forces had showed up but the respondent did not avoid explaining unlawful elements. The respondent was performing in a bold manner; he complained about excessive levels of penalties for employing *konsomatris* women who are not holding work permits. He narrated that a significant number of women working in his place are non-Turkish citizens and not holding work permits.

These observations do not give evidence to the existence of bribery or any other sort of deal between the respondent and the police but it is a concrete manifestation of how regulatory practices are differential. I suggest that underground networks-based entertainment venues get benefit of masculine power in both symbolic and economic terms, which generates a sense of authority rendering extralegal practices possible.

## **6.5 Concluding Remarks**

Insofar as Istanbul has been witnessing the rise of neoliberal political rationalities seeking for increasing the attractiveness of the city, Beyoglu presents a strategic importance in this restructuring. Local authorities undertake a vision of an upgrade from a historical leisure zone to a lively setting serving for affluent groups and tourists, as it is presented in the previous chapter. From this vantage point, this chapter demonstrates that neoliberalization of night is actualized through a

network of practices running through the dynamics of property markets, tax hikes on alcohol beverages and policing strategies.

The ways that these have an influence on spaces of night are complexly differentiated according to the positions of different entertainment clusters. Accordingly, upmarket venues are conditioned to adjust themselves to 'upgrading Beyoglu'. To the extent that they serve for diverse groups with distinctive lifestyles, they contrive their way in spite of upward trends in rental values and increasing tax burdens on alcoholic beverages. On the other hand, the entertainment clusters across lower echelons of nightlife are less viable in both economic and legal terms. Increasing rental values and tax hikes undermine their capacities to survive economically. Indeed, local authorities and police forces put into practice punitive mechanisms particularly targeting for lower echelons and underground networks.

This process is intricately concatenated to the making of 'culture-oriented tourism' purported by the local authorities. Yet seeing this transformation as being executed by direct interventions of state actors inadequately portrays the neoliberalization of night in Beyoglu. Particular mechanisms indirectly going through neoliberalization create a certain mode of 'responsibilization' and 'self-government', which play an influential role in this process. These dynamics, in addition to some punitive mechanisms, act upon neoliberalization of night scene. On that account, technologies of neoliberal governing take on the polymorphous character of power, in which legal, disciplinary and self-governing techniques are enmeshed.

## CHAPTER 7

### AFFECTIVE DISPOSITIONS: AFFILIATION AND MARGINALIZATION IN BEYOGLU

This chapter examines how and what forms of subjectivities are elicited along with the process of neoliberal transformation of Beyoglu. As it is demonstrated in chapter 5, governing authorities hold out for a vision of remaking the district with a direction towards ‘culture-oriented tourism’. These dynamics give rise to a discursive universe in which individual and collective dispositions are generated (Keil, 2002). As suggested by Miller and Rose (2008), this discursive framework creates a neoliberal value structure implying a normative vision. This vision identifies subject positions according to differential congeniality of different components. That is to say, dividing practices classify diverse groups and practices in terms of desirability and undesirability. The meanings of un/desirability are generated in the everyday interactions between the actors of different components of nightlife; they are rooted in the socio-cultural and socio-economic hierarchies of Beyoglu’s nightlife which are also manifested in market segments of night economy. Taken together, all of these meaning-making processes come to forge diverse dispositions in nocturnal Beyoglu.

Adopting Miller and Rose’s (2008, 98) analytical tools, I present that the ‘affiliation’ and ‘marginalization’ are two starkly contrasting images of these normative divisions across different components of nightlife. In the hierarchically structured and polyvalent formation of pleasure seeking in Beyoglu’s night, I suggest that the ‘affiliated’ spaces of nocturnal euphoria imply those which are considered as favourable in Beyoglu’s urban imaginaries while ‘marginal’ spaces stem from the incapacity for befitting these imaginaries. This division is predicated upon the gist of neoliberalism that urges an urban remake in pursuit of attracting tourists and middle classes. Thus, normative meanings of ‘affiliation’ stem from the

middle class lifestyles and values. Insofar as middle class urbanism sets the basis for the neoliberal discourses, the dispositions in Beyoglu's night that make room for middle classes and tourists are comprehensively included in the spaces of affiliation. Conversely, the spaces of marginalization incorporate the entertainment practices incompatible to this middle class quiddity.

Viewing through this lens, I suggest that upper echelons of nightlife, in the name of up-market and historically rooted venues, represent a legitimate affiliation to the neoliberalizing Beyoglu. Affiliated disposition of up-market and historically rooted venues results from the fact that they provide urban pleasures for cash-rich consuming groups and incorporate a lively and attractive urban environment in diverse ways. For instance, up-market venues draw on their innovative capacities and/or 'unique' characteristics that offer alternatives to cultures of 'beer and chips'. Their presence brings along safe, sanitized and large-scale events and pleasure seeking. Indeed, owing to their operational size and corporate power, corporatized entertainment serves the image-building of the district by means of media coverage. Similarly, the presence of historically rooted venues generates a lively and unique atmosphere. These places furnish public life in Beyoglu with unique characteristics as they incorporate an authentic experience of pleasure seeking by means of diverse social and cultural characteristics in gentrified edges of Beyoglu. Having been organized by the logic of 'brand-making', 'uniqueness' or 'authenticity', upper echelons of nightlife in Beyoglu present a fruitful ground for festivities, which perfectly suits with individualistic enthusiasms of middle classes and tourists.

This links upper echelons to the making of 'neoliberal Beyoglu'; they come to bear the normative meanings identifying what is un/desirable in a larger scale. Ultimately, they present the norms of 'marginalization' across spaces of night in Beyoglu. In the meanwhile, these meanings are not made from fixed categories. As it is illustrated in the previous part, up-market clusters are constantly craving for capturing the gist of desirability. To the extent that boundaries between 'the desirable' and 'the undesirable' are destabilized, they develop micro-level strategies to reinforce the demarcations. This is definitely an unfinished process

and calls for constant efforts to regulate the moments at which demarcations are blurred.

In this respect, I will first illustrate the affective dynamics of ‘marginalization’ and what elements of lower echelons are associated with these meanings. I present that cultural degradation and fear are set as the basis of the meanings of ‘marginalization’. Followingly, I will present the socio-spatial strategies of upper echelons in pursuit of ensuring the ‘affiliated’ dispositions. In this context, I demonstrate that cultivating a sense of exclusivity is the immediate mechanism to establish and maintain the ‘affiliated’ disposition. Secondly, I will move to the emotional discourses of ‘marginalized’ subject positions and examine how their subjectivities are conditioned by neoliberal discourses and practices.

### **7.1 The Discourses of Marginalization in Affective Economies of Beyoglu**

The process of making the meaning of ‘marginality’ is in fact a product of everyday life. In the complex dynamics of nightlife that certain patterns are unmade and remade, transgressions and renegotiations of boundaries create a domain where these discourses are generated and circulated. In this way, myriad normative meanings are created in accordance with a neoliberal value structure. This normativity identifies the precepts of un/desirability in terms of safety, conviviality, glamour and attractiveness of distinct night venues.

In this meaning-making process, the discourses of ‘marginalization’ are informed by what Sara Ahmed calls as ‘affective economies’ (2004a). Accordingly, emotions are cultivated as a form of capital in the very relations within and between the ‘affiliated’ and ‘marginal’ spaces of nightlife (ibid, 44). In these emotional investments, proximity and encounters across the social spaces generate diverse impressions; and this gradually entails negotiation of boundaries between allegedly ‘affiliated’ and ‘marginal’ positions (Ahmed, 2004a, 51; Ahmed 2004b, 27-28). These impressions generated by encounters between bodies imply a performative character relying upon flexibility and fluidity of emotions; yet these encounters are also getting patterned on the grounds of cultural repertoires,

individual/collective memories and ways of life (Wetherell, 2012, 4); and consequently, these patterns bring some bodies into alliance (Ahmed, 2004b, 33). In these alignments, for obvious reasons, the narratives voiced by 'affiliated' spaces are more privileged (Wetherell, 2012); hence, their discourses play a formative role in meaning-making processes.

In Ahmed's (2004a) conception, performativity is central to the construction of affective meanings. People, practices and places are signified by some emotions through performative utterances. This understanding paves the way for dissecting how meaning-making processes are informed by emotional subjectivities. For instance, the meanings of desirability, attractiveness and safety in the night scene of Beyoglu are constructed through the reiteration of utterances. These practices are imbued with affective dispositions that come to define and regulate what is legitimated and valorised. They constitute the normative vision identifying the distinction between affiliation and marginalization in neoliberalizing Beyoglu.

Accordingly, the lower echelons of Beyoglu's night –that is, community-based clusters and informal/underground activities- are discerned as 'marginal' as a gradual outcome of these processes. The rationale lies behind the idea that these components of nightlife undermine the attractiveness of the district. Community-based entertainment venues, and socially or morally illegitimate components of nightlife (revolving around prostitution, gambling and drug-dealing) are taken as affective practices that fail to accrue value. Indeed, they are allegedly imbued with socio-cultural practices giving rise to concerns over a viable urban atmosphere. However, these subject positions do not constitute a homogeneous and unitary form. There are multiple dispositions; diverse impressions are generated and they have myriad implications of emotions. Indeed, interplay of gender, class, and ethnicity inform this multiplicity.

In this respect, community-based clusters are taken as precedents that aggregate inappropriateness in terms of class, ethnicity, and gender; they are denounced as '*ineligible pleasures*'. Low cost and low status service provision and ale-dominated entertainment in community-based components of nightlife are considered as 'ill-

suited' and 'unrefined' in the quest for a lively and attractive urban atmosphere. Indeed, presence of male-dominated clientele and sexualized forms of service provision in *pavyon* cultures evoke feelings of contempt. Besides, some others take on the meaning of '*spaces of fear*' along the lines of gender, class and ethnicity; informal networks and underground economy are decidedly considered as a threat which should be eradicated from the urban life. There come forward certain residential areas like Tarlabası regarded as a threat against a lively and attractive urban atmosphere. Especially, the underground economy organizing prostitution, gambling and drug-dealing is associated with danger.

#### *7.1.1 'Ineligible Pleasures' Generating Emotions of Disgust*

Nocturnal crowd in Beyoğlu is recurrently classified through cultural hierarchies. Certain entertainment practices are judged taking particular sensibilities as touchstone. These sensibilities imply a mode of propriety informed by middle class values and lifestyles; and the 'ineligible pleasures' accommodate a cultural distance from it. The precepts of 'eligibility' are informed by a set of qualifications to ensure a sanitized and globalized urban pleasure for middle classes and tourists. Thus, the lack or insufficiency of these qualifications prompts intense affects of disgust or contempt.

For instance, a manager running a branch of a bar chain in Galatasaray mentions low class entertainment sector in Beyoğlu in this way. His narrative stems from the symbolic stance of Galatasaray High School that socio-spatially demarcate upper echelons from lower ones. Departing from this, he discerns that entertainment clusters upwards the Taksim Square (where lower echelons are largely located) are deprived of competence to accrue value due to their less sanitized, less qualified service provision:

"There are really good places in Beyoğlu. In fact, there are two Beyoğlus, the one above and the one below Galatasaray. Entertainment life and clientele are differentiated in this term. Venues towards Taksim Square, except for Cihangir, are of poor quality. They attract a crowd who don't know what to drink, who are

ready to drink whatever they get because of these venues. There are venues there serving beer in dirty glasses, yet still they are full of people.”

His narrative demonstrates a spatial distinction from certain entertainment clusters characterized by deficiencies in service quality. Being located in downward areas, he proudly claims up-market position. Yet, concomitantly, relying on the idea that low-status entertainment clusters mobilize a large crowd of pleasure seekers devoid of fussiness and rigour, he shows disrespect for these entertainment clusters. In his account, these entertainment clusters barely meet the requirements of hygiene and are starkly contrasting with upper echelons of Beyoglu’s nightlife.

Another respondent running a multi-storey entertainment complex in Tünel sets another example. He portrays down-market entertainment clusters as an assembly of cultural practices deficit in distinctive tastes. Popular musical styles in Turkish language are regarded as a marker of his disdain.

“There are venues releasing music at full blast. They want everyone to listen to Serdar Ortaç. This is openly disgusting. There is full of music with Turkish lyrics performed by those with terrible voice. People don’t have to be subjected to this. Do I have to listen that music?”

Likewise, a restaurant-bar owner in Cihangir addresses this issue as follows:

“Take clubs releasing their music to the avenue. This is terrible. If you have this music and having an announcement at the door claiming Turkish music, this would be enough. If this music is loud enough so that people passing by your venue can hear it, that is not cool”.

Another respondent, a manager of a café-bar in Cihangir, denounces a ‘massive crowd of idle-lookers’ carousing in diverse places along Istiklal Avenue. He plainly refers to community-based entertainment capturing this ‘crowd of idle-lookers’. Moreover, he urges the necessity to eradicate these entertainment clusters from the public life of Beyoglu as follows:



“There is a huge crowd of idlers in Beyoglu. These people go to awkward places which really should be disbanded. These are strange pubs. I mean *türkü bars*. There are so many of them spreading strange music in the streets... Or, take *pavyons*. Awkward ways of relations. Women are being sold to men. These all make Beyoglu look quite dirty”.

He directly recounts certain components of community-based entertainment as filthy. He regards that these sorts of entertainment are incongruous with public life in Beyoglu. Apparently, he sets forth different motives, i.e. ‘awkward’ musical tastes in the case of *türkü bars* and prostitution in *pavyon* cultures. By all means, he directs feeling of disgust towards them.

As Sara Ahmed (2004a, 86) states, disgust depends on proximity between bodies and is felt as “sickening invasions”. As this term implies, the border between the unpleasant subject and the disgusting object is blurred; and the feeling of disgust seeks for maintaining these borders to ensure ‘purity’. In the narratives quoted above, entertainment practices associated with masculinized low class cultures are allegedly “sickening invasions” that threatens the existence of globalized lifestyles and practices. They are implicitly seen as the bearers of cultural trajectories associated with rural-to-urban migrant populations: *Türkü bars* are sites for ethnic and religious minorities among migrants; *pavyons* are residuals of male-dominated entertainment cultures of migrant populations; and popular musical tastes evoke a lack of distinctive lifestyles. Hence, these faces of nightlife in Beyoglu are ‘awkward’ enough to be obliterated from the urban image. This is not only because of the fact that they are less likely to be comprised of cash rich groups but, instead, these forms of entertainment cultures are markers of another phase once the district was associated with urban decay of inner cities. Musical styles in Turkish language, *türkü bars* and *pavyons* are only the exemplars addressing the decline of inner cities. A strong desire for their disappearance, hence, generates positions for ‘eligible’ pleasures by means of socio-spatial distancing from cultural trajectories of the city’s industrial past.

### *7.1.2 Spaces of Fear*

Apart from 'ill-suited' and 'unrefined' components of nightlife in Beyoglu, there are also some other impressions imagined as potentially harmful. These impressions do not address to certain entertainment venues but to particular groups of people dispersed among the urban crowd. Yet, fear of crime is not dissociated from spatial dynamics. As suggested by a number of studies (e.g. Dutta, 2009; Tulumello, 2015), discourses on fear in particular spatial contexts are predicated upon the binary oppositions such as 'people like us/people unlike us', 'safe/dangerous' and 'order/disorder'. In this formation of 'spaces of fear', gentrification processes play a crucial role. As mentioned earlier, gentrification of certain neighbourhoods (such as Cihangir and Asmalimescit) created safer enclosures whereby up-market entertainment clusters are located in the last decades. It brings along "differential organization of fear" (Ahmed, 2004a, 68); that is, fear influences people's mobilities differently. Proliferation of up-market venues in gentrified zones is an outcome of this process; and this is increasingly encouraging newcomers. Along with this, fear is concurrently associated with immediate localities. This calls up the 'situatedness' (Pain, 2000) of feeling of fear, as certain localities are imagined or experienced as a site for fearful disorder. Concomitantly, spaces of fear are taken as an urban problem, in a broader context, which undermines the attractiveness of throughout Beyoglu.

Given that the district is frequently represented through marginalized populations earning their lives from the underground economies of Beyoglu's nightlife, chance encounters lead to the wholesale erosion of the urban image. One manager of a restaurant-bar gives a good account for this: "Beyoglu is a place for everyone: Full of burglars, drug dealers, and prostitutes. These are all dreadful enough to daunt top-line people and places". The respondent has been working at managerial positions in different high-end entertainment clusters across Istanbul. He recounts that transformation of Beyoglu, although fragmented in character, was convincing enough for him to run venues serving for upper segments there. Yet, for him, this transformation is still in progress which needs to advance towards every nook and corner across the district. Certain elements associated with underground faces of

Beyoglu, as he regards, represent the menaces which daunts cash-rich groups with higher living standards and cultural capital.

There lies a set of dualisms identifying oppositional categories of 'fearful' and 'feared'. These categories are informed by taken-for-granted cultural constructions in which 'fearful' identities are associated with criminal acts and/or harmful practices (Pain, 2001, 900). These identity categories stem from a stereotype embodying intensely sexualized underclass masculinity; and perceived as a threat for women-friendliness of throughout Beyoglu. In these discourses, there lies a normative vision that constructs subject positions in terms of gendered congeniality to night-time carousing. Here, the hegemonic forms of middle class cultures are set as ideal model and certain subject positions are judged to be undesirable. The undesirable elements are mostly identified with oversexualized forms of certain masculinities, which is a reminiscent of *maganda* in Ayşe Öncü's (2002) account.

Ayşe Öncü (2002) presents that formation of such stereotypes revolving around *maganda* is rooted in globalization and rise of consumerism in urban leisure styles. Accordingly, sexuality –mostly heterosexual cultures- has considerably emancipated from traditional family life and attained a certain kind of autonomy in consumerist urban life. That is to say, extramarital sexualities increasingly come to be practiced in middle class niches which are most typically characterized by youthful urban lifestyles; and nocturnal pleasure seeking is definitely viable for sexualisation of urban lifestyles.

However, emergence of *maganda* as a stereotype of 'rogue' masculinity is the foremost outcome of this process, as Öncü (ibid) argues. The term is circulated to designate a sexually incited hypermasculine gender identity. Uses of the term also illustrate the concerns for urban space discerned as being occupied by low class youth with allegedly 'bumpkin' origins. *Maganda's* presence in urban life, particularly in middle class settings, takes on the meaning of invasion which terrifies middle class inhabitants. Imagined or real experiences of sexual harassment, molestation and aggression lie behind the idea of invasion. The

*maganda's* socio-spatial access to middle class cultures is not only taken as incompatible but it is deemed to be threatening middle class values and tastes. One of the informants running a club in Galatasaray recounts the rationale behind that idea, as follows:

“I don't think that all the people in Beyoglu are dignified enough. They are not our clients but they are everywhere, at street corners, in *pavyonlar*... Take Tarlabası: I have just passed by there... I saw some guys molesting a woman... They should be displaced if at all possible. No one would like to come to such a dodgy area looking for fun.”

Tarlabası sets an example here due to the area's reputation for being home of a community disorder. In fact, Tarlabası is located in a socio-spatially isolated spot and relatively distant from up-market entertainment clusters. Such a distance cultivates a sense of safety within socio-spatial boundaries of up-market clusters. Although 'disorder' and 'danger' is merely associated with certain localities, as in the case of Tarlabası, immediate presence of 'disorder' and 'danger' is straightforwardly taken as threat disrupting the 'peaceful' image of the city. This reputation is certainly linked to the organization of nighttime economy in Tarlabası. Above all, the inhabitants, living under severe poverty (Dinçer and Enlil, 2002), are largely employed in entertainment industry. More importantly, the district is frequently represented through transgender women, transnational migrants and Kurdish populations earning their lives from informal or underground economies in Beyoglu's urban nightscapes.

Another respondent sets forth the similar dynamics without directly addressing to concrete localities. His account portrays the image of a 'ruff' masculinity which potentially causes pains, fighting, injuries and especially sexual harassment of women, as follows:

“It is good to see distinguished people around here. Think that you are walking around with your girlfriend. You would never come to a place that you would probably get in dreadful events. There full of drunken guys in Istiklal Avenue. People are molesting. If you respond, they would be into fighting.”

As mentioned earlier, in the fragmented formation of urban spaces, social and cultural exclusion of (especially youthful) low class communities create a safe environment for nighttime revelling in up-market clusters. However, this does not eradicate the ever-presence of undesirable groups which are predominantly characterized by allegedly 'rogue' masculinity. In fact, male-dominated (even, more typically male-only) youthful groups contrive a certain mode of nighttime revelling through binge drinking at street corners, street prostitution and –for economically more privileged ones- *pavyons*. This form of pleasure seeking enacts an embodied masculinity in street cultures; and concomitantly, it sets ground for the portrayal of the 'ruff' masculinity in the perceptions of 'spaces of fear'.

As Linda McDowell (2005) states, masculinities are constructed through the interplay of material and discursive processes. Along with substantial transformations into service-based industries, new subject positions emerge and inform the gender normativity. Discourses and practices surrounding the hegemonic masculinity predicate upon the increasing significance of economic and cultural capital; and they de-emphasize the embodied gender practices under the guise of physically 'hard' masculinity. These precepts concomitantly cultivate social and cultural distinctions among men in novel forms. Values of respectability and propriety are endowed with highly educated men employed in professional positions. On the other hand, those employed in low-wage and precarious service jobs, and even unemployed others represent the lower echelons deemed to be marked with worthlessness and disdainfulness.

Portrayal of 'ruff' masculinities in the male-dominated entertainment cultures results from these transitions of gender normativity in post-industrializing urban milieu. Once low class masculinities are engaged in "the body-reflexive technique of 'hard' masculinity" (Nayak, 2006, 822), it raises the concerns of potential danger and harm. Disdaining registers do not merely stem from the socially and culturally illegitimate or degraded practices of prostitution or *pavyon* cultures but they also accommodate expectations (and sometimes lived experiences) of excessive behaviours from them. Low class entertainment clusters associated with this male-dominated pleasure seeking are conjointly recognized as 'spaces of fear'

relying on the idea that they make room, or at least cling to, allegedly 'fearful' entertainment practices.

### *7.1.3 Making of 'Affiliated' Spaces through a Sense of Exclusivity*

Up-market and historically rooted entertainment clusters ensure their 'affiliated' disposition through cultivating a sense of exclusivity. Given that the nightlife in Beyoglu has a polyvalent character amalgamating different trajectories (see chapter 4), there reside some uncertainties in the nocturnal Beyoglu. The ample grounds feeding these uncertainties are the close proximities to the spaces of 'marginalization'. Public life in Beyoglu is moulded by 'throwntogetherness' (Massey, 2005, 151) that escalates the chances of encounters. However, this inevitability of encounters does not easily cultivate mutual respect and cultural recognition. As Massey (ibid, 181) asserts, the 'throwntogetherness' inescapably entail negotiations with others. The strategies of cultivating a sense of exclusivity are the immediate mechanisms to negotiate the 'throwntogetherness'.

In understanding these dynamics, Valentine (2008, 334) argues that encounters do not occur in a realm of free-floating bodies. Different trajectories that bear the marks of material and cultural conditions shape the very nature and meaning of encounters in urban space. Accordingly, imagined or real threats against one's well-being or autonomy decline the possibilities of respect and recognition. The perceptions of economic or cultural threat are ubiquitous in up-market and historically-rooted clusters of entertainment. Spatial proximity with community-based venues or underground activities at varying degrees gives rise to concerns of redrawing the boundaries.

This consecutively entails the power struggles over the control of spaces. In that sense, the actors of upper echelons of nightlife develop numerous strategies to furnish a sense of exclusivity in which middle class urban pleasures are demarcated from undesirable elements by avoiding *maganda* identities. For doing so, strict door policies are the immediate mechanisms; one of the respondents

bluntly illustrates their entrance criteria portraying oversexualized masculine identities as stereotypical undesirables, as follows:

“I am intolerant to the presence of *kuro* [a synonym for ‘*maganda*’ in this context] around here. If there are five guys say, molesting women, they will be dismissed without hesitation... Immediate suspects are always male groups. We have this rule. A male dominance in a venue would create a sense of unsafety.”

Strict door policies are largely used in late night entertainment venues. Because late night entertainment practices are mostly based on binge drinking and musical events, respondents organizing late night events stated that they inevitably employ bouncers at least at weekends. The rationale behind this is the fact that the number of boozed clients reaches at highest numbers. This requires regulatory practices, for some of binge drinkers may be inclined to disturb others. The primary concern is the risk of sexual harassment; they regard that male-only and male-dominated groups are the prime suspects. On that account, the respondent quoted above presented that disproportionate presence of male customers is always at odds with a safe atmosphere. He sees male groups as immediate suspects.

At first glance, this narrative is ostensibly class-neutral yet portrayal of prime suspects in the name of ‘kuro’, as it is the case above, illustrates how the undesirable is informed by ethnic and class identities. In fact, ‘kuro’ is a Kurdish word with a meaning of ‘son’. However, its colloquial use as another word for *maganda* demonstrates that sexually incited, aggressive, and ‘rogue’ masculinities are imagined to be comprised of lower class migrant populations.

Strategies to generate an exclusive environment are not confined to strict door policies. There are some others such as pricing policies. They are prevalent to set boundaries between those who are economically capable to afford and those who are not. Moreover, these venues accommodate niche entertainment cultures furnishing a number of social, cultural, and symbolic markers in their menus, music, and decorations. These markers tacitly situate up-market venues within the

bounds of middle class lifestyles and tastes. By the same token, it conveys a message of 'out-of-place' for the undesirables. The manager of a fancy restaurant-bar in Cihangir reveals how he could manage this:

"We serve good quality food and wine. This, in return, attracts a certain customer profile. Before I started working here, there were various groups of clientele. Prices were low and service quality was quite poor. I have changed all of these: prices have increased, the menu has changed, and so we gradually began attracting the sort of types who deserve to be here."

Driven by investments in cultural capital, avowal of uniqueness and authenticity is, by definition, class relevant. Mobilizing cultural capital, these venues cultivate niche entertain cultures for variants of middle classes; and concomitantly, this serves for a sense of exclusivity to undesirable classes and groups. As it is articulated in the narrative quoted above, demarcation between "people who deserve" and "people who do not deserve" is an absolute revelation of sense of exclusivity. It implies distinction in class terms which reaches at the judgement that lower segments of society are not entitled to be present. Hence, class distinction is imagined to lead to spatial boundaries strictly demarcating the undesired classes. These demarcations are not actualized through coercive forces but, here, investments in cultural capital inform the precepts of cultural belonging.

Another strategy for creating a sense of exclusivity is to prefer gentrified and sanitized edges of the district. Many of the respondents running businesses in the upper echelons of the industry frequently denoted that gentrified areas are viable for their business interests to attract middle class customers. However, it is worthy to note that up-market venues have a considerable capacity to stimulate gentrification processes. Especially corporatized venues require larger sizes of properties to provide services to wider groups, due to the nature of their operational size. This delimits their opportunities; yet they lay on their corporate power to take risks in their location preferences. Consequently, there are a number of examples that large scale nightspots are incorporated into the transformation of certain dilapidated areas. The manager of a bar chain, who



states that their customer size may reach at 2000-3000 people at weekends, sets a good example for this. He explicates how their choice of a deserted, dilapidated and dead-end street is viable for them; and consequently, how their presence transformed the street in this way:

“This place is quite in the view of people and this was beneficial for us. It was really difficult to find a place in Asmalimescit. We were establishing a brand new place. We were not eager to create this venue in an area where people are already going. We believed that people will come wherever we are. And we did this. This is the most important side of our success. Otherwise, that wouldn't be our success. We showed up here and brought this street to life. We really did so.”  
(Interviewee managing a branch of bar chain in Beyoglu).

Up-market venues may function as the catalysts for making or unmaking different edges of the city. The dead-end street, which the informant is mentioning above, had been a lively place wherein a trendy club was located a decade ago. In those days, this street was famous for alternative music events until the club was closed. Just after the appearance of another bar chain, the fate of this street has drastically changed outright, once again. Recovery of conviviality in the street stems from the corporate power which was forceful enough to attract the delightful mob. Currently, this street is known as a lively entertainment hub owing to a number of nightspots launched one by one. An enormous crowd is extravagantly flowing into that street with the purposes of nighttime revelling.

In short, this set of practices illustrated above indicate that the socio-spatial demarcations across the spaces of night are loosely structured and open to be made and remade in everyday practices. The spaces of night are thus endowed with unfixity and fluidity; however, these dynamics concurrently evolve into restlessness and call for constant struggles over urban space.

## **7.2 The Feeling of ‘Out-of-Place’ across Spaces of Marginalization**

In line with the neoliberalization of Beyoglu, the actors of night across ‘marginalized’ spaces are distinctly aligned with a particular feeling of out-of-

place. This feeling is explicitly rooted in their wariness of the wholesale transformation of Beyoglu towards growingly gentrified and corporatized leisure zone. Their narratives bear the marks of an account of this process, in which they are subtly identified through the terms of undesirability. Moreover, they concomitantly enunciate the mechanisms that situate them in uncertainty and insecurity. In this sense, they narrate a set of affective mechanisms that condition their incipient disaffiliation to neoliberalizing Beyoglu.

The emotional attachments to their lived experiences are simultaneously inseparable from their reality in which they make sense of themselves (Ahmed, 2004a, 193). In that regard, the uncertainties they experience in the ongoing transformation override the ways that they situate themselves. The narratives demonstrate that these uncertainties conditioning their subjectivities are rooted in two interrelated processes: Changing economic dynamics and direct political interventions, as illustrated in the previous chapter, are the immediate mechanisms guiding them to be situated in sheer uncertainty. Besides, they also express their concerns over cultural dynamics; the mood of losing their affiliation to Beyoglu's public life is linked to the discourses of their 'ineligible' disposition in social and cultural terms.

The urban transformation projects remaking the district and increasing interests of corporate actors in Beyoglu's commercial life entailed some real estate activities which results in the increase of property values. These dynamics are manifested in the shortening rental agreements, as it is illustrated in the previous chapter. In addition, the municipal regulations of street tables lessened the capacity of small shop owners prohibiting the use of outdoor tables. These dynamics give rise to concerns of economic viability of the nocturnal actors running businesses in lower echelons of nightlife in Beyoglu.

"There are many companies in the industry. House Cafes, Kitchenettes. With the help of larger capital investments, they have corporate identities. For that reason, people like to have fun there... On the other side, there are these table regulations. We got to be incapacitated by these developments. In the end, we

won't be able to pay for the rents and we will go up in smoke. After these chains show up, the rentals have dramatically increased... I don't know how much longer I will be able to pay for the rental... Mostly the students are here. We have to serve at lower costs."

The increasing presence of corporate actors and punitive mechanisms of the municipality are deemed to be economic threats hindering their economic survival in the public life of Beyoglu. In this respect, they narrate incapacities to provide low cost services for lower income groups. Indeed, these economic threats are discerned as disruptive forces which are immediately manifested in the rental values. Insofar as the public life is transformed into a corporatized site, they barely believe that they could take a chance on survival in economic terms.

These conditions lead to a shared affective disposition, in which downwardly echeloned actors deeply face uncertainties. For instance, a manager of a pub in Mis Street recounts that he hardly sees the ahead of himself as an actor providing low cost services in Beyoglu. For him, as a tenant in Beyoglu, it is impossible to resist against gentrification and corporatization of public life.

"All these things are uncertain. Here [Beyoglu] may exclude me and all the other shops struggling to survive while serving at lower prices. If I was the owner of this shop, I may resist. Yet we are paying what we earn. We cannot look to our future in Beyoglu."

Besides, these affective dispositions do not merely predicate upon the economic obstacles. The narratives demonstrate a wariness of their 'ineligible' disposition in social and cultural terms. For instance, one of the respondents running a *türkü bar* in Imam Adnan Street recounts how his venue is getting undesirable in the setting transforming into a glitzy 'hotels zone':

"A person like me can't survive here for more than 2 or 3 years. There are investors around purchasing buildings to establish hotels. Hotels are their favourite. They don't want small business owners here. If a businessman offers 5 millions to the property owner, he would definitely ask me to move. It is

unquestionable that we will leave when hotels will dominate here. That investors won't let us be here. Take an investor putting millions on a hotel business. And we will keep selling beers for 8 liras. He would be complaining about leftists, Kurds, anarchists revelling in my place. We, in return, would turn out to be strange guys daunting tourists”.

As Anderson (2014, 113) suggests, emotions are contextualized within the social structures that permeates into the ways that collective affects are patterned in particular ways. Under the circumstances that Beyoglu's night is gradually transformed into an exclusive middle class setting, a set of mechanisms guiding this transformation are the affective mechanisms conditioning the emotions of lower echelons of Beyoglu's night in this way. In the context of corporatization and the rise of middle class normativity, downwardly echeloned actors barely present hopeful emotional discourses; they articulate exclusionary practices which are not welcoming themselves as an integral part of the nocturnal publicity in Beyoglu. In economic terms, these feelings are rooted in the incapacities to resist against corporate actors. In cultural terms, they reflect the incompatibility with the social norms of attractiveness in the eyes of middle classes and tourists.

In that meantime, it is credible to discern that emotional discourses both reflect and construct the social reality insofar as it shapes the subjectivities within social context (Lupton, 1998, 40). On the one hand side, the emotions are the socio-cultural outcome of a set of relations; the emotional discourses inherently represent power relations. The feeling of out-of-place, in that regard, reflect the social positioning of community-based entertainment clusters providing low cost and low status services. In the wholesale transformation of Beyoglu, their disposition is translated into a 'marginalized' position insofar as these entertainment clusters are incompatible with middle class quiddity. This, in turn, results in the direct and indirect mechanisms cultivating emotional discourses; the downwardly echeloned clusters hardly find place and hope in neoliberalizing Beyoglu.

On the other hand, emotions of marginalized clusters are also an affective quality guiding to a particular form of presence and capacity for action: “Life is conditioned in the sense that such structures of feeling may motivate action, or become part of the conditions for actions” (Anderson, 2014, 129). On that account, Ahmed (2004a, 202) suggests that emotions are also about the future, which is of myriad possibilities to act in a particular way. Viewing through this lens, there lies the question of how the feeling of ‘out-of-place’ under uncertain circumstances conditions the actions of ‘marginalized’ clusters. The narratives quoted above may evoke incapacities for action in an insurgent fashion, yet the following chapter examines the ways that how these feelings structure the actions of marginalized subjects.

### **7.3 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter illustrates the processes involved the restructuring of subject positions along axis of affiliation and marginalization. These dispositions are extracted from the ‘moments of contact’ (Ahmed, 2004b) found within a neoliberalizing nightlife district. Affiliation to neoliberalizing nightlife is predicated upon individualistic course of pleasure seeking. It ensures a socio-spatial setting furnishing pleasurable moments to middle classes and tourists. Others presenting urban pleasures in stark contrast to, or threatening, affiliated spaces – in both economic and cultural terms – are thus deemed to represent marginal positions.

These formations are manifested through affective terms, which are reminiscent of Sara Ahmed’s (2004a, 2004b) elaborations on collective feelings. Dispositions are, in fact, alignments of different bodies shaped by the ways that certain actors feel about the other. Indeed, affiliated spaces acquire their legitimacy by nestling within the contours of these alignments. The sentiments of affiliated subjects bear the marks of neoliberal value structures in which these subjects have the privilege to identify what is undesirable. Accordingly, undesirability is defined through the terms of distinctive cultural tastes linked to spaces of fear; that which is real or imagined.

In the growing body of literature regarding neoliberal government regimes relating to public life, as in the case of Beyoğlu, are considered to be increasingly manifested in spaces of wealth, consumption and corporatization (e.g. Adanali, 2011; Eder and Öz, 2015). Indisputably, these transformations are actualized through workings of normative standards, which generate a discursive terrain. That is to say, neoliberal restructuring coincides with hegemonic discourses which become palpable in everyday life (Keil, 2002). It is from this vantage point that the creation and circulation of normative meanings in affective terms are indispensable elements of neoliberal restructuring. Insofar as the rise of neoliberal political rationalities in Beyoğlu is concerned, transformation is legitimated and approved through emotional accounts. Concomitantly, these processes cultivate disaffiliated and marginalized subjectivities which are also surfacing from emotional discourses of 'feeling out-of-place'.

## CHAPTER 8

### POLITICS OF NIGHT: CRAVING FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION

In the neoliberal restructuring of Beyoglu steering the nocturnal pleasures towards a corporatized, sanitized and gentrified form of entertainment, certain components of nightlife which are marginalized and excluded are not passive recipients. In fact, diverse elements in the night scene of Beyoglu respond to neoliberalization of night through a spiral of individual and collective acts. This chapter examines these acts that potentially open up a space for advancing alternative claims to, or mitigating the currents of, 'neoliberal Beyoglu'. For doing so, I present the assemble of creative practices in everyday life, which serve for material and emotional survival, confronting oppression and marginalization, or the emergence of collective action in response to neoliberal disruptions of nightlife in Beyoglu.

In understanding the forms of struggles against the marginalization and exclusion, neoliberal restructuring is taken as a framework in which acts of defiance are framed. However, this does not lead to the idea that collective actions are precisely conditioned by structural determinants. As it is widely suggested, the formation of collective action is a gradual outcome of processes in which individuals come together and act collectively in a historical context (della Porta and Diani, 2006). Thus, Melucci (1996, 20) asserts that

“instead of taking it [collective action] as a starting point, we should examine that very datum in order to discover how it is produced, and disassembled its unity so as to reveal the plurality of attitudes, meanings, and relations that come together in the same whole of the phenomenon”.

For doing so, he suggests scrutinizing the interplay of structural preconditions and the processes that actors construct their collectivity (Melucci, 1995). In such a view, Melucci (*ibid*, 44-45) illustrates that the construction of collective action is predicated upon three moments: attribution of meanings, actualization of relationships, and a sense of commonality. Accordingly, collectivities are rooted in the ways that they are appropriated in a particular sense with respect to the ends, means and actions. Certain relationships are extracted from these shared meanings and beliefs; and thus, these relationships lead to a network formation of a collective identity. In the actualization of these relationships, individuals' motives do not only stem from the calculations of costs and benefits but also emotional investments which plays a role in one's binding to collective identity. Taken together, these elements set the basis for the formation of collective action defying a normative framework.

In that meantime, Melucci (1996) does not underestimate the significance of external conditions. He asserts that any form of collective action takes place in a "reference system" (*ibid*, 26), which imposes on the actors a normative practice. In this sense, collective actions are conceived as the attempts to entail 'a breach of the limits of compatibility' within a system of meanings and practices (*ibid*, 30).

Conceived in this way, the question of how and in what way the limits of compatibility are broken, or mitigated, remains to be answered. Any form of collective action that potentially asserts its own claims and actualizes its own norms is by no means distinct from the power relations; the political mobilization complexly relies upon existing power relations. Carl Death's (2010, 240-242) approach is an efficient tool to explore these dynamics. He correspondingly suggests that counter movements emanate from some discursive horizons of which they are being directed against certain practices or meanings. In so far as power puts some normative standards and create new subjectivities and identities, counter movements re-appropriate these categories. However, this is not to suggest that political opposition goes through the predetermined set of relations at an objective level. In fact, counter movements reinvent their own collective identities in the very practice of transgression or demand-making.



In the meanwhile, the issue of the actors' intentions in collective action is worthy to pay attention. In the frameworks illustrated above, people's beliefs, ideas, values and norms in an organized fashion are central to the conception of collective action. People's political struggles are designated as intentional acts. In complementary to this understanding of collective action, Bayat (2010) extends the boundaries of collective action into ordinary practices of everyday life granting them a transformative power at a societal level. He proposes the notion of 'social nonmovements' comprised of the everyday practices of noncollective actors. This conception implies that social nonmovements 'embody shared practices of large numbers of ordinary people whose fragmented but similar activities trigger much social change' (ibid, 14). Bayat (ibid, 19) states that social nonmovements are the collective mobilization of people on an action-oriented basis which is more likely to be quiet and inaudible. Their practices carried out by large number of people have a normalizing and legitimizing effect which advances potentials for social change (ibid, 20). Indeed, as he argues, collective actions of social nonmovements imply that 'a societal mobilization is already under way' (ibid, 22).

Viewing through this lens, I dissect the collective actions in neoliberalization of night as a processual formation at three levels: Creative capacities reworking the process of neoliberalization, ventures of collective action, and their potentials for contentious politics. At first level, I present atomized individuals' creative practices alleging a breach of consumerism and corporatization, and how different actors of nightlife are interlaced with these creative capacities. These moments lead to the second level, at which some network formation embarks upon bolder attempts to initiate an institutional body for collective action, namely BEYDER. Although this formation mobilizes a considerable number of actors in the night scene against neoliberal restructuring, I demonstrate that it fails to cultivate collective sentiments in an efficient way. Despite this, acts of defiance revolving around nightlife in Beyoglu are engaged to contentious politics, which is directly and influentially linked to Gezi Resistance.

## 8.1 Creative Practices Reworking Neoliberal Night

In response to direct and indirect mechanisms regulating the nightlife, a novel fashion of nighttime revelling has become widespread in the last years: Boozing in streets. As it is illustrated in chapter 6, tax hikes have resulted in substantial increases in the prices of alcoholic beverages. In addition, the prohibition of street tables by Beyoglu municipality repelled the outdoor entertainment. Under these circumstances, a greater number of people, among whom youthful groups with lesser disposable incomes constitute the majority of this crowd, use mostly the side streets to have a drink with friends. This is not to suggest that street drinking is a new phenomenon coming after strict regulatory practices; instead I mean that it has astonishingly become more intense and common practice among nighttime revellers. It makes the nocturnal Beyoglu a citywide pub in character. One can immediately come across a few, or more, groups of people enjoying drinks with friends at any corner. However, the street revellers are more likely to gather in specific spots around Mis Street, Cihangir, or Galata. For some, this is a transient stage to go tipsy before going to a club or bar; yet for some others, this is itself a way that people have fun for long hours.

### *8.1.1 'Social Nonmovements' of Boozing in the Streets*

The practice of boozing in the streets can be plausibly discerned as what Asef Bayat (2010) calls 'social nonmovements', in which people undertake collective action while going through their everyday lives. Street corners, here, are 'zones of relative freedom' (ibid, 25) where large groups of people come to establish a network to escape from neoliberal and conservative regulatory practices of ruling authorities. Large groups of people organize, in a disorganized fashion, a collective action through ordinary way of carousing in the streets. This collectivity quietly encroaches the spaces of night, which are being disrupted by strict regulations of alcohol consumption and prohibition of street tables. In response to these neoliberal and conservative currents, massive invasion of streets by ordinary nighttime revellers manifests a collective will to take back the spaces of night in

Beyoglu. Concomitantly, this is a struggle for gaining autonomy from disciplinary techniques of neoliberal power.

These struggles can be regarded as creative practices in two terms: (i) challenging economic constraints in increasingly corporatized and gentrified nightlife of Beyoglu; and (ii) place-making strategies alternating high-ends segment of entertainment life.

Above all, it is true that people make use of streets to take the opportunity of consumption at lower costs. During the fieldwork, I had encounters with many numbers of people adopting this strategy for cheaply going tipsy. For instance, a group of university students I have met, who were devoid of regular incomes except for their family support, were gathering in Mis Street. For them, this was not a long-lasting activity; they were carrying on partying in the street before attending to a late night party in a club. Because this activity was an ordinary way of a night out on a regular basis, they already had an engagement with a few suppliers. Having a deal that secures a reduced price, they were preferring to buy drinks from them. By that means, they enjoy a party in a club afterwards by having drinks in small quantities, or even none. Viewing through an economic framework, this can be construed as a breach of consumerism. Young people remake the streets of Beyoglu, where they are entertained with boozing at lower rates.

However, these creative practices cannot be reduced to strategies to consume at lower rates. In addition to economic strategies, boozing in streets takes on place-making strategies against corporatized cultures of night. This dimension is especially evident in certain spots where street boozing is characterized by the festivities of urban spectacles, such as in Cihangir and Galata. In most cases, people appropriated public squares or square-like open spaces where are distinguishingly related to an urban landscape. For instance, Galata Tower was a prominent destination of boozing in the streets as the location presents an enchanting urban atmosphere. Likewise, certain locations in Cihangir offer the feast of having drinks across bosphorus view and historical peninsula. In these

cases, boozing in the street goes beyond utilitarian ends and extends into an aesthetic and expressive practice of nighttime revelling across architectural and natural heritage of Istanbul. Indeed, in some occasions, live music mostly performed by street musicians may also be involved in this form of entertainment.

These practices can be considered as a replica of high-end entertainment venues with a nice view or association to urban landmarks. Yet, in contrast to these venues excluding certain segments of society through excessive pricing policies, boozing in the streets opens up a space for everyone. This way of place-making resides in an alternative form of nocturnal culture seeking to acquire the collective consumption of urban spaces. That is to say, it is an act of defiance against remaking Beyoglu for affluent groups and tourists. Concomitantly, it advances people's claim of autonomy from corporatized cultures of night.

#### *8.1.2 Alliances and Oppositions*

Responses to boozing in the streets are intricately variegated. Certain components such as community-based entertainment clusters, which are more likely to be binded to these youthful groups, play a respectful and supportive role; they are socio-economically associated with this organization. However, other components mostly taking up-market positions show apathy, and even hostility to street boozers, particular in certain localities such as the vicinity of Galata Tower. Being backed by local residents, this practice has been discursively marginalized; and with support of municipal authorities, blemished.

Apparently, this forms of nighttime revelling is an alternative to institutionalized entertainment cultures in bars and clubs. Thus, one may possibly discern that this practice undermines the commercial interests of night venues. However, quite the contrary, venues, particularly across community-based entertainment clusters, take their part in the extension of nightlife towards the streets. In fact, people preferring to be in streets purchase alcoholic drinks from these venues. This is especially the case when it is later than 22.00 due to the ban of late-night sales of alcohol in shops. This legislation regulates the consumption of alcohol by

restricting the purchase in shops after 22, yet the sales in bars and clubs are not prohibited. Indeed, the prices are quite negotiable; people take the opportunity to get a drink on the cheap. Thus, this is a win-win game. The revellers save a little amount of money and venues make sales without their tables being occupied. On that account, entertainment venues, especially those running their business through community relations, welcome people drinking at streets. For instance, the owner of a pub in Mis Street points out this phenomenon in an affirmative way. In his account, this is a particular way of nighttime revelling ‘belonging to Beyoglu’, which he also gets benefit in economic terms:

“There are many of them around here [in Mis Street]. As I said, this may not be ordinary in Nişantaşı but this is the way Beyoglu is. Here is the place that things are blended with each other... For instance, there is that prohibition of alcohol after 10. People come also to me and buy some. I give them. I sell them at 1 or 2 liras cheaper liras. They buy 6-7 bottles of beers.”

Neoliberal restructuring of Beyoglu entails corporatization and gentrification of nightlife, as previously demonstrated. This process puts some pressure on segments of society demanding low cost services in entertainment sector. In so far as nocturnal pleasures in Beyoglu are being presented to cash-rich groups and tourists, others are hindered to engage in it. The proliferation of alcohol cultures in streets is a concrete manifestation of this process. Concomitantly, people with limited sources get around these barriers. This is, in fact, the outflow of alcohol-dominated cultures fed by community-based entertainment venues. For that reason, the narrative quoted above embraces it as some particularity of Beyoglu, in contrast to Nisantasi. In his words, unlike Nisantasi as a social and cultural hub of privileged classes, ‘things blended with others’ reside in Beyoglu. In speaking of blending, he means the co-presence of different socio-economic and socio-cultural groups enjoying the night in Beyoglu. He is inherently aligned with the less privileged; his venue provides low cost services. Thus, he sees this as relocation of some parts of his clientele.

However, some others across entertainment clusters do not approve the practice of street boozing. In fact, in the view of some up-market components of nightlife, which are distinctively serving for socio-economically privileged segments of society, street boozers are not welcome. The rationale lies behind the fact that these groups are socio-economically and socio-culturally dissociated from the up-market currents of night. The street boozers are more likely to conjure up menaces to the hygiene, peacefulness, and safety in their views. They are seen as essentially enmeshed in buzzing and chaotic faces of Beyoglu's night. A respondent running a restaurant-bar in the immediate vicinity of Galata Tower provides an insight into these dynamics as follows:

"In the last years, people boozing in the streets have increased in Beyoglu. From an external perspective, it looks nice, a street atmosphere like a festival. Yet the truth of the matter is quite the contrary. They are not only boozing and singing. There are strong smell of urine, street fighting, and beer bottles floating in the air. Beyoglu does not deserve such an atmosphere."

The disapproval of street boozing had especially addressed to people's gathering around Galata Tower. This is the most prominently due to a number of reasons. First, the area is a charming tourist destination owing to unique architectural styles, numerous fancy consumption places, and the location's convenience to other tourist attractions. Second, the area has turned out to be a gentrified residential and commercial area where people employed in creative and culture industries are increasingly favouring (see Islam, 2005). Under these circumstances, this area is the archetype of 'neoliberalizing Beyoglu' where discourses of orderliness have triumphed over the urban spaces. The narrative addressing to public urination, binge drinking and street fights is associated with the disordered and unsafe aspects of public life. Therefore, street boozing allegedly incorporating these urban practices is condemned to be incompatible with 'imagined' Beyoglu.

The growing discontents with boozing in streets are also echoed by the local residents. Indeed, the involvement of some public figures, among local residents,

gave rise to a public debate concerning the street boozing, especially in Galata. For instance, a prominent columnist, Ayşe Arman, published a letter of a local resident (*mahalleli*), who is also another journalist Neyyire Özkan, in her column. In the letter, she was complaining about the street boozers identifying them as ‘molesters’: “[these young people]... come out of ‘an innocent meeting’ and turn to ‘molesters’... After the midnight, with the passing of the time towards the morning, these meetings turn to loudly voiced singing, brawling and swearing” (Arman, 2011). More importantly, another columnist, Amberin Zaman, played a much more influential role in making this issue a public debate by means of publishing a series of articles concerning these ‘disquieting’ practices. She herself, as a local resident based in Galata, joined these debates writing that:

“The issue is not about alcohol. The square is all our own. I am for singing, boozing, playing guitars and dancing. I would also like to join. The issue is about getting out of kilter. Since last year, when the weather got warmer, a group of people started brawling, playing darbuka and guitar around Galata Tower till 4 or 5. The inhabitants became unable to sleep. Not to mention the streets that turned into public toilets.” (Zaman, 2012)

The rise of these voices ostensibly puts forward the concerns over the community order which is being undermined by the late-night noise, public urination, and so forth. In this public debate, the arguments sensitively highlight that they acquiesce boozing in streets without any constraints. The concerns were more likely to be an objection to ‘disordering’ behaviours excessively disturbing the residents.

However, these concerns were influential enough to mobilize police forces for obliterating the practice of street boozing from Galata. Since 2012, police forces have been keeping a shark lookout at the street boozers, particularly in the vicinity of Galata Tower (Radikal, 2012b).

The authorities defended the zero tolerance of boozing in streets of Galata on account of the local inhabitants’ complaints about ‘disordering’ behaviours (Radikal, 2012b). In this context, the rise of concerns taking the form of a public

debate raised by prominent journalists provided the basis for the legitimacy of these violent measures. However, it is worthy to mistrust these regulations due to authorities' reluctance to find a middle ground. For instance, an article published in an opponent political e-magazine sets forth the idea that the intents of municipal authority stand far away from finding a resolution on the basis of compromise. The critiques assert that authorities have no thought of toilet cubicles or time regulations but, instead, disruptive measures with the intents of uprooting street boozers from the spaces of night (Özgür, 2012). Thusly, these practices form a unity with direct political interventions aiming at eliminating street boozing.

In short, street boozers, who are collectively acting to open up alternatives to corporatized and gentrified spaces of night fail to form alliances on a strong basis. Apparently, community-based entertainment clusters are the sole source of solidarity and support. Other actors are more likely to be indifferent, and even inhospitable, to the practice of boozing in streets. This, in turn, results in marginalization and exclusion, as in the case of Galata. However, owing to the mobile character of this practice, street boozers acquire new spaces here and there across spaces of Beyoglu.

#### *8.1.5 From Reworking and Resilience to Resisting?*

I examine people's boozing in streets as creative practices in a defiant fashion that develops in response to disruptive forces of neoliberal rationalities cultivating a corporatized and gentrified culture of night. Yet the capacities of this fashion to diminish or mitigate the effects of neoliberal restructuring need to be elaborated. The question is that: To what extent is it credible to discern ordinary people's everyday acts as resisting practices? In line with the debates bringing forward the reservations about anticipating 'resistance' in the very everyday practices (e.g. Bayat, 2010; Katz, 2004), these practices can be seen as an integral part of the processual formation of political struggles.

In doing so, Katz's (2004) analytical tools to elaborate oppositional practices are useful. Rather than pleading convictions of a resistant activity in every moments



of ordinary life, she suggests analytical distinctions between oppositional practices. Correspondingly, 'reworking' denotes a set of practices seeking to make a viable life. The practices of reworking 'tend to be driven by explicit recognition of problematic conditions and to offer focused, often pragmatic, responses to them' (ibid, 247). Hence, she does not suggest that reworking undoes particular social relations but, instead, she contends that they remake these relations through redirecting sources. From this vantage point, boozing in streets can be construed as a practice reworking neoliberalization of night. Such a practice remakes the spaces of night in Beyoglu retooling streets to create a viable place for nighttime revelling.

The ways that community-based entertainment clusters are associated with this fashion of reworking is another mode of opposition which Katz (2004, 244) calls 'resilience'. Everyday encounters of street boozers with actors in community-based clusters lead to a formation of some relationship on the basis of reciprocity. These relations are seemingly predicated upon a supply of products; thus, it enables the recuperation of economic difficulties experienced by marginalized entertainment clusters. Besides, there inherently lies a mutual support. Given that street boozers are of some vulnerability due to violent political interventions of police forces, they regain alternative spaces of street boozing, which are adjacent to community-based entertainment clusters, such as Mis Street. By that means, alliances with community-based clusters facilitate the viability of these reworking practices but in the way of re-negotiation through these resilient acts.

Conceived in this way, these creative practices set apart from a conception of resistance. However, as Katz (2004, 251) asserts, resilience and reworking should not be dissociated from the advances of resistance. In fact, the potentials of critical consciousness to form collectivity and to defy against specific conditions presuppose these ordinary practices.

Here, Bayat's (2010) understanding of 'street politics' is intriguing to dwell on this process. He provides an insight into the political implications of streets arguing that everyday encounters at the street level potentially resides in the mutual

recognition. The experiences of streets may incorporate a spiral of resilience and reworking going through ordinary lives of people. Concomitantly, they are infused with other modes of practices and meanings:

“Streets, as spaces of flow and movement, are not only where people express grievances, but also where they forge identities, enlarge solidarities, and *extend* their protest beyond their immediate circles to include the unknown, the strangers. Here streets serve as a medium through which strangers or casual passersby are able to establish latent communication with one another by recognizing their mutual interests and shared sentiments.” (Bayat, 2010, 12)

If this is so, the political significance of streets lies behind some ambiguity; it relies on potentials that would evolve into concrete collective action and political struggles. Bayat (2010, 63) conceives this through the notion of ‘passive networks’. He views it as a network formation, which is being actualized through ‘instantaneous communication among atomized individuals’. Thus, the term of ‘passivity’ do not lead to an inactive situation but a bundle of actions leading to formation of shared identities or interests.

Viewing through this lens, advances of creative practices are binded to the emergence of oppositional practices in a stronger, and sometimes institutionalized, ground. As Katz (2004, 242) insists, they are only the beginning of defying acts. Indeed, they make way for bolder attempts.

## 8.2 Craving For Collective Action

The foremost attempt to form a resistance in nightlife was actualized through Association for Entertainment Venues in Beyoglu<sup>35</sup> (Beyoğlu Eğlence Yerleri Derneği – BEYDER). In the last years, a network of practices acts upon spaces of

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<sup>35</sup> As a matter of fact, the association was established as an initiative in 1998 and turned into a legal entity as an association in 2002. At those times, BEYDER was acting as a peaceful association to establish a dialogue between the entertainment industry and the Beyoglu Municipality in pursuit of developing solutions to the subjects matter.

night in ways that directly or indirectly putting economic pressure on lower echelons of nightlife, in particular. Gradual increase in rental values attuned to ongoing process of urban transformation and excessive tax hikes on alcohol consumption are already the immediate mechanisms that intensely bear economic threats for these entertainment clusters (see Chapter 6). However, municipal regulations of street tables in 2011 are marked with a turning point; neoliberalization of night has become palpable through these direct political interventions. In this respect, the role of BEYDER to act as an organization concerning problematic issues in the entertainment industry evolved into a political opposition. However, although the association turned into an insurgent political actor struggling against the practices of municipal authorities, the association was not forceful enough to form a collective identity on a strong basis.

BEYDER responded to the neoliberal regulations through protest cycles. The discontents with the prohibition of street tables were the leading concern of these protests. The association was struggling to unveil ‘the hidden agenda’ beneath these regulations; the representatives of association were raising concerns of being displaced in line with the ‘great transformation’ of Beyoglu. For instance, the spokesperson of BEYDER, Tarkan Konar, stated in a press release that:

“The thing that people are boozing in front of the shops is not about religion and conservatism. The venue owners, shops, all the commercial life are changing hands in Beyoglu. The operation is the first step of this process. The venue owners got pushed for cash day by day. One day, many numbers of venue owners will have to leave the district”. (Arkitera, 2011)

BEYDER’s protests had strongly resonated, especially by virtue of media coverage. In so far as nightlife in Beyoglu has a distinctively remarkable significance in Istanbul’s entertainment industry, the association’s claim to represent Beyoglu’s night scene saliently prompted a public debate. Over the course of protest cycles, many numbers of columns, news reports and critiques have been published, which in turn helped extending the debates about neoliberalization in Beyoglu. Yet these developments were not efficient enough to

be regarded by the decision makers; municipal authorities avoided coming to an agreement in a way.

As Death (2010, 245) suggests, the fashion of interactions with political authorities, which is ostensibly marked with disregard or ignorance, is significant in understanding the formation of codes of conduct, not only in terms of possibilities of success but also of the processual formation of collective identity and action. A course of collective action and a collective identity are mutually interdependent. The cultivation of insurgent subjectivities has a performative character actualized through disparate protests; and political actions are also expressions of these subjectivities. BEYDER's political mobilization face with perceived impossibility of success in that regard. This is widely evident in both the narratives of the members, as well as of the outsiders having reservations about BEYDER. These reflections are mostly rooted in perceived incapacities; the respondents give an account of BEYDER's weakness. 'The logic of number' is the foremost subject matter (della Porta and Diani, 2006, 171); the lack of strength is plainly measured by the size of movement. For instance, a pub owner in Mis Street who is of great sympathy for, and active participant of, BEYDER, frankly admits that:

"BEYDER could not recruit many of the entertainment venues of Beyoglu in general. For that reason, we fail to obtain results from the meetings with the municipality. It is not influential. Noone cannot refuse to pay taxes. The only thing we can do is to make the issue visible in media. Yet these are not efficient enough".

Incapacities to recruit a larger crowd of actors in Beyoglu's night are frequently mentioned by the active members of BEYDER. However, it is misleading to an extent. One of the respondents who is performing some administrative roles in BEYDER told me that there are more than 500 members on paper, although less than 100 would be counted as active members as subscription fee-payers and no more than 20 members actively taking part in decision-making. This situation

leads to the idea that BEYDER recruits a considerable number of individuals although the members show apathy toward acting collectively.

The apparent inability to form a collective identity on a strong basis relies on emotional dis/investments. In this context, as Jasper (2011, 296) asserts, moods are very central to these processes. The political opposition is driven by moods and energies. This idea implies that collective identities go beyond the formation of shared interests on the basis of cost-benefit calculations (Melucci, 1995, 45). Emotional energies generated in the course of political action helps cultivating political subjectivities, which in turn encourage (or discourage, in some occasions) the formation of collective identity.

In the case of BEYDER seeking to establish collective identity against the neoliberal transformation, emotional investments are apparently obstructed in two ways: First, the nature of relations between different actors in Beyoglu's night is moulded by mistrust. This in turn creates *deadlock over the making of solidarity*. Second, the evolution of BEYDER into a political opposition entails some *predicaments*. Some actors avoid the fear of stigmatization and punitive mechanisms, which may become more intense in the case of participating in the collective action. In these ways, BEYDER fails to establish a powerful site to cultivate a collective political subjectivity forcefully fighting against neoliberalization of night.

#### *8.2.1 Deadlock over the Making of Solidarity*

Many numbers of managers or owners of entertainment venues believe that BEYDER hardly represents the shared interests of entertainment clusters in Beyoglu. Yet their mistrust is not directly based on BEYDER itself but the ways that different actors see others in the Beyoglu's night scene. This is mostly provoked by the fact that the relations among the managers/owners of entertainment venues are characterized by intense competition. Every single manager/owner acts from own commercial interests; thus, their course of action is predominantly framed by a constant greed to attract greater number of customers.

Given that, any entertainment venue, especially the one having considerably large group of customers, is inherently rival of another venue in its vicinity. Having based on these dynamics, the perception of other managers/owners is shaped by endemic mutual mistrust; hence, the nocturnal actors fail to establish collective sentiments in a solidaristic fashion.

The managers/owners frequently narrated that the competition is actualized through indirect or informal ways. For instance, they intensely perceive the threat of filing a complaint to municipal representatives, mostly practiced by neighbouring venue owners. They see others as contestants continuously making efforts to find their corporate frauds. They fear that, in the case that a trickery issue is found out, it may be reported to the municipal representatives. This is largely a fear of material damage through pecuniary fines; however, venues' licenses may be temporarily invalidated for a couple of days depending on the subject matter.

For that reason, managers or owners tactically avoid being seen as a 'money-making' spot by others. In case that they attract others' attention, they may apprehend it as a risk of fostering enmity. The narrative of a DJ working in a downwardly-echeloned venue, which is mostly serving for leftist circles and students, sets an intriguing example for this dimension. The respondent was firstly reluctant to tell the fact that they were third-ranked in supply of beer in Beyoglu. Shortly after, she explained that this was a trade secret earnestly imposed by the venue owners. Indeed, they had set an intricate way to conceal the fact that they purchase exceptionally large amounts of barrels of beer. To that end, the venue owners had rented a shop across their pub. The workers in the morning shift are supposed to transfer the estimated amount of barrels to the pub. The primary concern is to avoid being seen by the neighbours so that the workers perform this task at quite early time in the morning. The respondent told me that the venue owners are acutely sensitive about the confidentiality of transfers from the secret store. The concerns about confidentiality are rooted in the will to stand far from the eyes of other venue owners.

The relations laden with deep suspicion toward other venue owners are also reflected in the managers/owners' unwillingness to share information about their financial situation. During the interviews, the respondents firmly restrained from talking about turnovers, delivered rentals and so forth. Only a former restaurant-pub owner who had career move to another sector provided an insight into these dynamics. Accordingly, the rental values are commonly registered at lower rates than actual values, which facilitates tax evasion. The respondents avoid giving precise information about rentals due to this informal character of real estate markets. She states that the venue owners would definitely keep it as a secret, as it would be potentially employed as a corporate fraud.

The relations between venue owners, which undermines the possibility of trust relations in this respect, translates into a generalized mistrust toward the attempts for collective action chiefly inaugurated by BEYDER. The narratives demonstrate that the political mobilization in Beyoglu's night scene can by no means be a form of action fighting for collective ends; BEYDER's boldness against municipal authorities is allegedly unconvincing as it is deemed to be representing the protestors' individual interests. For instance;

"I have never been convinced about their sincerity. Before long, all their members were filing complaints to municipality because of other venues' excessive use of street tables. How can I trust them if they are only to their own benefits."

Likewise, another respondent parallels the alleged shortcomings of BEYDER in a similar fashion:

"The venue owners deal with how many customers others have. That is why they seek to uncover others' fraud and file a complaint. If they stop this, that organization would run properly. What can we expect from an organization having members who are constantly cooking other's goose?"

These narratives stem from an impression that the protestors themselves were also the ones filing complaints to municipality as a tactic to compete with others. However, they do barely ensure a precision; the respondents do not present

evidential support. In fact, these accounts rely on the generalized perceptions towards the venue owners. Thus, established relations among the actors of Beyoglu's night precondition the perceptions towards BEYDER's political mobilization. On the grounds of intense competition, managers/owners cast suspicion on a course of collective action.

### *8.2.2 The Predicaments of Politicization*

The incapacities to form a collectivity on the basis of trust aside, there is also another hindrance to an effective political mobilization: increasing politicization discouraging others to participate. BEYDER was decidedly addressing to municipal regulations guiding to increasing corporatization and gentrification in Beyoglu. In so far as BEYDER presented an open dissent against local governments ruled by AKP, its political stance gradually crystallized into 'political opposition to AKP'. This way of understanding gave rise to concerns about BEYDER; some managers/owners of entertainment venues –explicitly or implicitly- expressed their hesitations about joining BEYDER.

The concerns about BEYDER were essentially based on the idea of potentials to be punished by Beyoglu Municipality. Having a critical bearing on neoliberal policies of local government is deemed to be a way of making BEYDER (and its members) open, defenseless and vulnerable to some punitive techniques. On that account, a sheer distance from the association becomes a tactic to avoid these potential threats, to an extent. A respondent who is also performing administrative roles in BEYDER complains about these dynamics that hinders the recruitment of a larger crowd, as follows:

“We have lost many people's support insofar as we BEYDER appeared as standing in resistant position against the municipality. Many people have reservations about us. They believe that the municipality will certainly give a response. As such, we barely represent the all of the entertainment industry in Beyoglu.”



The perceptions regarding that becoming a member of BEYDER makes the one open to punitive techniques are in fact predicated upon some lived experiences. The experiences of Tarkan Konar, as a former president of BEYDER, set the precedent. In 2013, his venue was closed by municipal police just after an hour of one of BEYDER's press releases issued by him. The rationale was the use of two street tables placed in front of his pub. This practice was construed as a way of psychological intimidation of the members of BEYDER, for municipal forces had been serving monetary penalty for that kind of faults until that time (see Sarıçayır, 2013b). In this respect, the idea that 'the municipality will respond', as it is quoted above, is not only a perceived threat but of some credibility.

These dynamics do not of course absorb the discontents with the practices of Beyoglu Municipality. Many numbers of managers/owners of entertainment venues, across the clusters directly influenced by regulatory practices, present the disapproval of neoliberal transformation. In this sense, these mechanisms do not directly entail the formation of political subjectivities abiding by neoliberal discourses and practices. Despite this, the political authority of local government functions as a disruptive force eroding the capacities of collective action. Acting as a ruling authority, municipal forces come to avail of its executive power; thus, the fear of being punished becomes a forceful resource intimidating the development of a collective insurgence.

"We have a very strong authority against us. They don't leave a space for struggling against it... Above all, we have to get on well with this municipality. They are authorized for licensing and many other things. We appear as their opponent, they wouldn't let us survive here."

As a matter of fact, the narratives do not always depict the pertinence of fear from ruling authorities. Many give an account of incapacities to form a collective struggle in an oblique way. Yet, some narratives, as quoted above, frankly state that ruling authorities are strong enough to weaken the collective mobilization. In spite of a critical political stance, interactions with a powerful political authority

leads to a frantic desperation leaving not so much room for collective political mobilization.

### **8.3 Potentials of Contentious Politics in Gezi Resistance**

Although the actors in Beyoglu's night fail to establish collective sentiments to fight against neoliberalization of night, the potentials of contentious politics are not entirely annihilated from the night scene. It is evident that entertainment clusters played a strategically significant role at the time of outpouring of massive discontents against ruling authorities during Gezi Park protests.

In May 2013, a relatively small-scale occupy movement had turned out to be a nationwide protest waves, in which a wide variety of groups were massively and collectively opposing the AKP policies. At the outset of protests, a number of activists were demonstrating against the construction of Topçu Barracks as a shopping mall in the place of Gezi Park. For the park was located at the very centre of Istanbul's lively entertainment hub and was serving as a public space, activists' resistance aimed at preventing its demolishment for business interests (Kuymulu, 2013, 275). In that process, the police intervention on May 30 in a brutal way has been a turning point; it was annoying enough that resulted in the evolution of protests to a countrywide uprising outcrying the discontents of people to the ruling party AKP. Followingly, the massive demonstrations across many cities were organized with the help of social media. And this process led the way to the spread of massive protests across urban Turkey. From then on, the Gezi Resistance was no longer only an opposition to a neoliberal disruption of public spaces but took on an uprising against conservative and authoritarian rule of AKP. In this process, although the protest waves have extended into many cities, Beyoglu was of a symbolic stance; the district was one of the hubs where the protests were intensified.

In this context, some entertainment venues actively took part in the recruitment of resistance, and acquired a 'protester-friendly' status by virtue of their active role during the Gezi Resistance. For actors of Beyoglu's night, these moments were

influential in reinvigorating the capacities of political mobilization. Despite the fact that they were devoid of a sense of collectivity and courage for political mobilization, the outburst of people's discontents with ruling authority have been the moment that these constraints have been subverted. However, it is worth mentioning that the active involvement of some actors in Beyoglu's night was individually driven acts rather than a collective fashion. Indeed, the incorporation of entertainment clusters into Gezi Resistance was laden with some ambivalence. In so far as the protest waves were lasting for weeks and involving vandalism, there were also moments conflicting with the commercial interests of entertainment venues. Thus, the commitment of managers/owners of entertainment venues to the Gezi Resistance was unsteady and vulnerable, although they were strongly for.

In this sense, there exist contrasting images of 'Gezi Resistance' in the eyes of the actors of entertainment life. One of them represents the initial stage characterized by the massive participation of people; the actors of Beyoglu's night acted upon a supportive role in this process. Conversely, they also present another image in a stark contrast to this political mobilization in the preceeding weeks. In spite of rare frequency and inefficiency, they hardly allied with these groups.

#### *8.5.1 Entertainment Venues as a Space for Establishing Solidarity*

'Gezi Spirit', a phrase that frequently appears in public discourses, incorporates disparate groups of people and their discontents "crying out all their issues with AKP government" (Navaro-Yashin, 2013). Baydar (2015) suggests that the protests themselves have been a practice of place-making. Concomitantly, these practices helped creating links and solidarity across different groups (Farro and Demirhisar, 2014, 184). Alongside crying out the discontents against the ruling party, the protesters were pursuing to extend and reinforce these relations through these spatial strategies.

The use of social media<sup>36</sup> and forums in public parks were commonplace in the communication and exchange of ideas among the protesters. In the meanwhile, it is worth mentioning the entertainment venues, most prominently the ones in Beyoglu, at the outset of protests that was forcefully subject to police violence. The street protests, extended into the Beyoglu as a whole, similar to many others districts, were violently attacked by the police forces. At these moments, some entertainment venues were acting in solidarity with the protesters in cases that some were severely injured by, or trying to escape from, tear gas bombs. In this way, some entertainment venues became a shelter and a first-aid unit at these harsh times. Indeed, especially some venues were knowable as a 'friendly' place to the protesters by means of circulation through social media. Thus, Beyoglu's 'protester-friendly' venues acquired an iconic stance as 'resistant places' in public discourses.<sup>37</sup>

The entertainment venues' active involvement in the organization of protests brings to mind what Foucault (2007) calls 'border elements'. The term, in his account, implies tactically re-appropriated elements 'which have been continually re-utilized, re-implanted, and taken up again in one or another direction' (ibid, 282). Conceived in this way, the entertainment venues immediately serving for disparate consumption and leisure activities are re-appropriated as a site for

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<sup>36</sup> The insufficient media coverage of protests and brutal police violence, as well as alleged misrepresentations of the protesters have been the critical moment that triggered people to show their discontent towards the ruling party (Buğra, 2013). In so far as the protesters were convinced with the idea that they could hardly be informed through conventional media, they were likely leaned to use the social media for flows of information and coordination (Demirhan, 2014; Varnali and Gorgulu, 2015). However, this also entailed harsh reactions by government especially against Twitter. Following the PM's statements identifying Twitter as a menace for society, the parliament urgently took on the agenda the need for legislations for regulating the Twitter-like social media platforms (Tunç, 2013, 161).

<sup>37</sup> It is evident that the 'resistant places' are not limited to the ones in Beyoglu. However, the entertainment venues in Beyoglu attracted a considerably larger attention (e.g. Radikal, 2013b). This might be a result of the fact that the outburst of the protests was Beyoglu-based and the district maintained its central role during the waves of mobilization. One of the most prominent slogans of the resistance, 'Everywhere Taksim, everywhere resistance' is a good indicator for the centrality of Beyoglu.

solidarity with the Gezi Resistance. By that means, the actors of Beyoglu's night did not only participated in the political mobilization but they also played a significant role in strategies to deal with police forces.

Many numbers of managers/owners of the venues have told stories about their creative practices in support of the resistance movement. Some were definitely heroic stories which may be possibly embroidered. On that account, the extent that these narratives portray what role the venues played is surely disputable. Yet, more importantly, these accounts present the extent that the actors show a sympathy for the massive uprising, and of their attempts to be a part of it. The respondents gave a proud account of their involvement in the unprecedented political mobilization of Turkey. This also reveals that what different social groups were advocating notably overlaps with the beliefs and ideas of actors in Beyoglu's night. They present shared interests and great cultural affinities with the protesters. For instance, the owner of a venue where was transformed into a temporary dispensary recounted his constant commitment to support protesters, saying that:

"The police violence was not fair. A man was shot on his head and came to have a shelter in my place. I was into supporting him because he joined the protests in support of the ideas that I also have... Because my place is quite at the corner, all the protesters were likely to take shelter in my place. Many number of times, I let them take a seat and served them something in order to save them from the police".

Another respondent expressed the strong feeling that these struggles were their own; thus, they were determined to be a part of it.

"On the very first day, the employees asked me to join the Gezi protests... Many of them left here to join the demonstrations. We stayed in our place just in case that they were in need of anything. Even, that was the case. We kept here open to all the protesters. We also invited a doctor and provided some first aid kits, mats and tents that we had previously stored after concert events. We have sent food

packages consisting of water, cheese, olives during the occupation of the park. We were into being part of it for many of our friends were joining the protests.”

The commitment of the actors of entertainment life, as quoted above, was in fact based on the motives of Gezi Resistance. The movement, as mentioned above, was sudden outburst of massive protests in a disorganized fashion. Yet it is still credible to discern some common motives voiced by different groups. As Kuymulu (2013, 276) suggests, there is a clear urban agenda claiming the right to the city in the initial stage of protests. The policy formations in the neoliberal urban imaginaries seem to be the subject of the protests at this stage. Nevertheless, there have been shifting political focus to claims of individual and collective freedom in preceding stages of protests.

In the process that the resistant movement has extended into a massive riot, the concerns about the conservative compass of society and the authoritarian rule in its actualization were pivotal (Yörük, 2014; Öncü, 2014). In that regard, Yörük (2014, 421) asserts that conservatism have resonated across the voices of protesters, mostly from the secular fragments of society. The objections against the proposal of banning abortion, constant discourses promoting a decent family life, strict regulations concerning the alcohol consumption and its visibility, among many others, were all ubiquitous. These elements provide the basis for the idea that Gezi Resistance contests the AKP's policy frameworks idealizing a societal order on the basis of religiosity and morality. On that account, a number of studies put an emphasis on the outstanding presence of some groups -such as women, LGBT and alevi- showing greater commitment to the political mobilization (Baydar, 2015; Ünan, 2015; Yörük, 2014).

Being framed by these dynamics, the Gezi Resistance is predominated by an assortment of cultural claims, which is deemed to be unsettled by the ruling authority. In this respect, Tuğal (2013, 167-169) suggests that ‘the impoverishment of social life’ has galvanized the masses into action; the resistance was chiefly characterized by incessantly outrageous objection to a monotonous life.

Viewing through this lens, the ways that the actors of Beyoglu's night are related to Gezi resistance was an extension of these claims. They saw the Gezi Resistance as an opportunity to express their anger at the regulations of street tables and alcohol consumption in support and solidarity with varying groups of protesters. Yet, differently, these motives stem from material threats, as it is demonstrated in the previous chapter. For that reason, apparently, they were determined to act in solidarity with the protesters, with deep and strong commitments.

### *8.5.2 Conflicting Moments with Gezi Resistance*

Although the actors of entertainment life set strong ties with the protester groups, they were also putting some reservations about the protests especially in the following weeks of the political mobilization. At the time that I have started the fieldwork in August 2013, that was the case that managers/owners were setting forth these concerns. During that time, the protests were still taking place especially in Beyoglu, although they had turned out to be rare and small in size in comparison to the massive participation in the first two weeks. From then on, the managers/owners of the venues were suspicious enough, stating that that sort of political action is barely marked with the 'Gezi Spirit'. More importantly, they were thinking that these protests were conflicting with their commercial interests.

In the perceptions of conflicting character of protests, the idea that associating Beyoglu with 'never-ending' protest cycles entails a bad reputation of the district as a 'site for chaos' was prevalent. For many, the circulation of information about any sort of political action through mainstream media and social networking sites was daunting ordinary people being there for entertainment purposes in Beyoglu. They contended that the insistent perpetuation of protests serves for the attribution of the meanings of messiness. Indeed, there was a rising concern over increasing 'vandalism' which, in their words, falls apart from the 'appropriateness' of political action. For instance, the manager of a venue, who also narrated his strong commitment to the protests at the initial stage, sets a good example for this dimension: "Nowadays, there are only strange guys around burning wheels especially on Saturdays. They don't seem to be related to Gezi protesters." In his

words, steadily emerging small groups portrayed a disparate image of ‘Gezi protesters’, which he was hardly approving. Besides, their allegedly ‘vandalizing’ practices on a regular basis were incompatible with his business interests; saturday nights, say, were supposedly the time of rush activities which the entrepreneurs expect some economic benefits.

Changing portrayal of ‘Gezi protesters’ into ‘vandalizing killjoys’ aside, some others were genuinely considerate to blame ongoing protests; however, they still had reservations. Like the case above, they were leaned to the idea that the everyday life in Beyoglu is severely exhausted by political conflicts. Yet, in this case, the pejorative depictions of protesters were definitely avoided; they were concerned about the use of violence by police forces which have turned Beyoglu out a chaotic site:

“Even if someone tweets saying that there is a TOMA in Tünel, no one prefers to be around and they cancel their reservations. Local people living around got used to it. I also live in Galata. Yet others who are not living around imagine that here is immensely chaotic. We have many clients living in the other side [of Istanbul]. They may be concerned about it.”

Readily available police forces were being conceived as menaces to Beyoglu’s convivial urban atmosphere. In this sense, the potentials of police violence embodied by TOMA (*toplumsal olaylarla mücadele aracı* - riot control vehicle) in Istiklal Avenue had a distinctive symbolic value. As mentioned above, disproportionate use of police violence against the protesters has been the most important aspect of public debates. TOMA was the most significant symbol bringing to mind the brutal police violence; and although the massive protests came to an end, there has been a group of police forces and a TOMA readily standing in Istiklal Avenue. The actors of Beyoglu’s night were uneasy about these policing tactics; they were for ending this ‘state of emergency’ and coming back to the convivial times of Beyoglu.



In short, although alliances between the nocturnal actors and Gezi protesters have been significant not only in terms of the recruitment of Gezi movement but reinvigorating capacities of contentious politics among the managers/owners of nightlife, there seems to be weak links. The actors of Beyoglu's night barely present a determined will to be in support and solidarity with the protesters. In so far as the resistance movement has lost its massified character and turned out to be conflicting with the business interests, they show apathy to the protests.

### **Concluding Remarks**

This chapter examines the ways that some forms of counter movements are formed and come to construct alternative discourses against neoliberalism in Beyoglu. In doing so, I present that BEYDER, a NGO established by a group of owners, managers or workers of entertainment venues, craves for collective action against disruptive practices of Beyoglu Municipality. I suggest that the political resistance constituted by BEYDER fails to counteract against neoliberal discourses and practices yet, still, some forms of counter movement are mobilized through creative practices and political contention.

In line with a series of municipal regulations (especially the prohibition of street tables), BEYDER has turned into a site of political resistance against these practices. The organization has constituted protest cycles, which has been influential in drawing the public attention to the practices of municipal authorities. However, it has not been forceful enough to construct collective sentiments in order to establish political opposition.

Despite this, I suggest that there still exist some possibilities of resistance. On the one hand side, the 'marginalized' actors of night scene mobilize their capacities to be engaged with some creative practices (such as boozing in streets). By that means, they come to be aligned with ordinary people's practices that pave the way alternatives to consumerism and corporatization. On the other hand, these alliances and solidary-making are also apparent in the contentious politics. Certain

night venues' strategic role in the massive uprising known as Gezi Protests is an example of this dimension.

Considering these, I suggest that, although counter movements in Beyoglu's night scene fail to give rise to alternative discourses and practices, these moments of resistance cultivate a performative realm that new solidarities across different parties come to emerge and be built.

## CHAPTER 9

### CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have examined how neoliberal political rationality is manifested in the entertainment venues in Beyoglu's night scene. I have presented the neoliberalization of night arising from entrepreneurialist discourses, practices and subjectivities. The urban government regimes in Beyoglu have transformed into entrepreneurialism favouring culture-oriented tourism as an indispensable development strategy. This has given rise to the discourses of attractiveness, desirability and safety, since the blueprints of 'culture-oriented tourism' put emphasis on the flows of people and capital into the public life in Beyoglu. The urban imaginaries of making Beyoglu's public life more open to tourists (and diverse consumer groups across Istanbulites) and capital investors inform the discourses of attractiveness, desirability and safety.

The proliferation of these discourses is intricately reverberated in Beyoglu's night scene. The foremost grounds for these developments are the formation of social divisions among the entertainment venues that identify what elements in the night scene are legitimated and promoted. In order to understand these divisions, I have employed Miller and Rose's (2008) analytical tools that point to 'affiliation' and 'marginalization' in the process of governing economic and social life. Accordingly, 'affiliation' refers to the construction of attractive, desirable and safe entertainment clusters, which are compatible with the norms and values of market rationalities, while marginalization is imbued with incapacities to be inflected with these meanings.

These divisions are grounded on the socio-cultural and socio-economic hierarchies of the night scene in Beyoglu. The discourses of affiliation represent upwardly echeloned entertainment clusters that consist of corporatized and

local/independent venues and historically-rooted entertainment venues mostly furnishing stylized and polished night-time revelling. Conversely, the discourses of marginalization identify the othered bodies, practices and places, which are directly or indirectly associated with downwardly echeloned entertainment clusters or mostly street-based informal/underground networks and activities. The identification of downwardly echeloned entertainment clusters as 'marginal' stems from the entrepreneurialist discourses socio-spatially distanced from the city's industrial past. The dominance of ale-dominated entertainment cultures, associations with working class cultures or migrant populations, the representations of aggressive and molesting masculinities, and the lack of distinctive middle class sensibilities set the basis for the construction of these clusters as 'marginal'. Certain images of cultures (such as *pavyon* cultures) or identities (such as *maganda*) are created and circulated in order to identify stereotypes of marginalized entertainment clusters. Besides, the marginalization of informal/underground networks relies upon their alleged incongruity with the orderliness and safety in 'neoliberal Beyoglu' due to the presence of street prostitution and drug-dealing that inconspicuously permeates into, and disrupts the women-friendliness of Beyoglu's public life. In short, I suggest that the construction of affiliation and marginalization relies upon the intersection of gender, class, ethnicity and sexuality.

Relying upon these discursive frameworks, I have also examined the process of wholesale transformation of Beyoglu's night scene, which is actualized through a network of practices. I have illustrated the technologies of neoliberal government that translates the market rationalities into the economic and cultural life of Beyoglu's night scene. To do so, I have dissected the power relations which have an influence over the entertainment venues in Beyoglu. In that regard, I have noted that these mechanisms guiding the neoliberal transformation are not merely restricted to the direct intervention of the governing bodies.

Building on a Foucauldian sense of power analysis, I have suggested that neoliberal political rationality creates a milieu in which self-interested entrepreneurial subjects act upon neoliberal discourses. Diverse relations and

practices within the dynamics of real estate markets set the precedent of this sort of governmentality. For instance, entrepreneurial subjects among up-market entertainment clusters act upon the market rationalities; they seek to optimize themselves for the discourses of attractiveness, desirability and safety through reformulating design elements, cultural ingredients, tastes, etc. In a similar vein, the property owners –especially among downwardly echeloned entertainment clusters- show interests of making rental agreements with large-scale capital investors. In pursuit of this, they are inclined to make short-term rental agreements with down-market venue owners. These together are a network of practices based on the ‘freedom’ that results in the expansion of up-market entertainment clusters at the sacrifice of downwardly echeloned venues.

In the meanwhile, I have also stated that this mode of neoliberal transformation is also supported by disciplinary and legal mechanisms, which have direct or indirect influence over Beyoglu’s night scene. For instance, certain legislations regulating rental agreements between the parties pave the way for the transformation in tenure structures by means of undermining the rights of the current tenants. Besides, the excessive tax levies on alcohol consumption are an example of the influential role of indirect mechanisms that serve the governing at a distance. The tax hikes exert the economic pressure on down-market entertainment clusters as these venues are incapable of serving for lower income groups at higher prices. They are instead forced to afford these extended tax debts through decreasing their profit margins. In that regard, despite being based on disparate political rationalities, tax policies function as economic forces against down-market clusters. Apart from this, the policing strategies such as regulations of street tables and policing street-based underground activities (such as drug-dealing and prostitution) turn out to be the disciplinary apparatus. This mechanism acts upon neoliberal discourses seeking to establish safety and orderliness, and governing the excessive crowd especially in Istiklal Avenue. On that account, it serves the regulation and discipline of bodies and practices that are not in conformity with ‘ordered’ and ‘safe’ Beyoglu.

In analyzing the neoliberal transformation in Beyoglu's night scene, I have also sought to understand whether and in what ways certain forms of counter movements come to emerge and act against neoliberal discourses and practices. I have shown that BEYDER recruiting the owners, managers or workers of the entertainment venues in Beyoglu has formed the body of collective action struggling to raise alternatives and political opposition to entrepreneurialist government regimes.

Despite this, I have suggested that the political resistance fails to counteract against neoliberal government on a strong basis due to their incapacity to establish a collective identity. I present that there are two distinct motives that undermines the possibilities of constructing collective identity. The first one is the competitive and mistrustful nature of relations between the actors of nightlife; they hardly come together and constitute a sense of solidarity due to seeing others as their potential contestants. The second one is the concerns over the threats of the municipality's punitive responses as an outcome of politicization. They fear that municipal representatives may actively respond to the political opposition through tactically issuing fines. Taken together, these undermine the construction of a collective identity among the actors of the night scene, yet this does not entirely diminish the possibilities of resistance; the actors of Beyoglu's night come to be aligned with certain counter movements through collaborating in particular creative practices (boozing in streets) and, even, contentious politics as in Gezi Park protests. On the grounds of these experiences, I suggest that the actors of the night scene in Beyoglu come to the fore and may play an influential role in establishing new solidarities and organization of a forceful political opposition against neoliberal/conservative political reason.

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This study aimed to understand neoliberalism in Beyoglu's night scene as a political rationality that creates regimes of truth on the basis of attractiveness, desirability and safety, and regimes of practices that put these into the domain of reality. It is from this vantage point that this study contributes to understanding

the link of market rationality with the affective dynamics and conservative political reason in Beyoglu' night scene.

As Miller and Rose (2008, 31) suggest, any kind of government relies upon some form of representation that elaborates a particular language in order to 'represent' the domain at stake. This representation captures the gist of reality in a particular way; and concomitantly, it also renders the political deliberation, scheming and argumentation out of this 'represented reality' possible.

In 'neoliberal Beyoglu', on the one hand, the nightlife as the domain at stake is represented through some forms of calculations, which are based on market rationality. The representation creates and promotes consuming subjects in the name of tourists and privileged class segments among Istanbulites. The vocabulary of bed capacities, occupancy rates, average amount of money spent, real estate values, etc. is the exemplar of this rational knowledge. In a similar vein, the construction of social divisions deriving from socio-cultural and socio-economic hierarchies of nightlife in Beyoglu among the actors of entertainment industry also reflect market rationality. The depictions of undesired, unwanted identities and cultures bear the marks of inconsistencies with consumerist lifestyles.

However, on the other hand, I suggest that the political deliberation, argumentation and scheming are also linked to **affective dynamics**. The very idea of attracting consumers and capital investors prioritizes affective capacities of Beyoglu over any other norm and value. The precepts of attractiveness, desirability and safety do not only imply the rational knowledge that is based on concrete calculations and measures but also vocabularies of governing the affective life. In that regard, emotions take on a central role in neoliberal discourses and practices. How people feel about Beyoglu becomes the object to be governed; ruling bodies pay attention to the affective dispositions, as they are value-conducive elements. It is deemed that the flow of people and capital could be increased insofar as affective dispositions in Beyoglu are governed and transformed into some feelings that consumer groups feel affiliated with Beyoglu.

It is from this vantage point that some normative distinctions identifying subject positions in terms of who is legitimate or not legitimate, desirable and undesirable, orderly and disorderly elements, etc. come to the fore. They together inform the affective registers of subject positions which are discursively created and promoted through policy documents, or public utterances of ruling authorities.

Likewise, self-interested entrepreneurial subjects speaking of neoliberal discourses represent the social divisions in emotional terms. The cultural construction of 'disgust' and 'fear' does not only marginalize some bodies, practices and places in Beyoglu's night but also creates the normative meanings of the neoliberal value structure. The neoliberal subjects in Beyoglu's night cultivate affective dispositions imaging 'other' bodies that are not conforming to neoliberal rationalities, thus discursively marginalized. These images of 'othered' bodies are laden with affective registers that delineate the boundaries between eligible and ineligible, or safe and unsafe in Beyoglu's night.

In speaking of eligibility, for instance, 'disgust' turns out to be the affective register that emotionally represents the community-based entertainment clusters. Certain entertainment practices, which are directly or indirectly associated with these clusters, are discursively constructed as cultural formations that are devoid of distinctive tastes and standards of sanitization. Allegedly 'disgusting' elements such as dirty beer glasses, musical performances with Turkish lyrics and/or without qualifications in music, or a wholesale degradation of a musical styles (such as folk music and *türkü bars* where are predominantly characterized by these styles) become the markers of marginalization. In that regard, the feeling of 'disgust' come to be a sense that emotionally informed the way of marginalization of these clusters.

Likewise, 'fear' is another affective register that emotionally represents informal/underground networks. Certain groups and places are directly associated with the feeling of fear due to the idea that they are dreadful enough performatively undermining the orderliness and safety of nightlife in Beyoglu. Especially the presence of 'male-only' groups which are also stereotypically



associated with *maganda* identities come to the forefronts. They are deemed to be the bearers of gender performances that disrupt the women-friendliness of urban atmosphere in Beyoglu's spaces of night.

On these grounds, the depictions of 'disgusting' or 'feared' bodies, practices or places set the precedence of emotional discourses which define the contours of marginalization in neoliberalizing Beyoglu. These affective dispositions come to the fore and help legitimating and approving neoliberalism in emotional terms.

The second point that this study contributes to is about **the relationship between neoliberal and conservative political rationalities**. The market rationality in Beyoglu's government regimes has emerged especially in the period of JDP's rule, which has its roots in Islamist politics and is characterized by a conservative political reason. This dimension is particularly manifested in the neoliberal arts of government in various realms such as Turkey's care regimes, redistributive policies, reproductive rights, etc (see Acar and Altunok, 2013; Beşpınar, 2014; Buğra, 2012; Karaman, 2013a; Kaya, 2015).

Considering the dynamics in Beyoglu's night scene, this study suggests that the neoliberalism and conservatism are intricately concatenated to each other. The linkages between them, borrowing Wendy Brown's (2006, 691) words in the American context, are an inadvertent convergence. This dimension is strikingly present in the conservative regimes of practices that directly or indirectly regulate alcohol consumption (such as substantial increases in taxes of alcoholic drinks, limiting the public visibility of brands in alcoholic beverage industry and restrictions on late night purchases of alcoholic beverages). These practices have an influence on the night time revelling in Beyoglu; they ultimately and indirectly serve for the transformation of the night scene towards more corporatized and sanitized one. Especially the excessive tax hikes on alcohol consumption plays an influential role. It is not an example of repressive practices that obliterate the alcohol-based entertainment life in Beyoglu, yet it has a differential influence over the spaces of night in Beyoglu. It functions as an economic force over downwardly echeloned entertainment clusters, for they are devoid of flexibilities to reprice

their goods and services in alignment with increasing tax rates. Conversely, others positioned in upwardly echeloned clusters take the advantage of flexibility to reprice their goods and services because there are serving for more affluent groups distinctively having more disposable incomes. On that account, tax policies (mostly rooted in the conservative regimes of practices) are inadvertently converged with the neoliberal arts of government in Beyoglu's night scene. They partake in neoliberal remake of Beyoglu's night scene which is designed to transform into a site for privileged class segments of the society.

In that regard, I identify the relationship between neoliberalism and conservatism as 'inadvertent convergence', borrowing Brown's (2006) account. In understanding how they suture up at certain points, 'inadvertence' implies a potential of contradiction, tension and ambivalence, although that potential do not invalidate the symbiosis and mutual reinforcement between them. In the case of Beyoglu's night scene, there still exists tension between conservatism and neoliberalism to an extent. The vision of creating an attractive site of Beyoglu in which diverse middle class consumer groups come to take part in nocturnal pleasures does not perfectly fit in well with the image of 'moral subject' promoted by the conservative reason. The portrayal of urban subject which can be marked with nighttime revelling, alcohol consumption, sexual desires, etc. is not a perfect match with the conservatism favouring family life, traditional norms and religious values.

On that account, the inadvertently convergent 'conservative neoliberalism' in Beyoglu is of polyvalence. The normative stance of bodily pleasures involving alcohol consumption and nighttime revelling are not eradicated outright. They are not hindered as they are deemed to be a fertilizer of urban development goals. The urban imaginaries of making Beyoglu an attractive site, the night scene (so secular identities and cultures associated with it) takes on the cultural and symbolic significance. Although, in the JDP's rule, the alcohol consumption is taken as a practice that needs to be regulated and governed, the extension of the spaces of alcohol spaces (through tripling the number of places where alcohol-related services are provided) by the local government in Beyoglu sets a precedent of this

dimension. By that means, these identities and cultures are accepted and proliferated insofar as they are deemed to be compatible with market rationality. Despite this, the conservative political reason is delicately and inadvertently linked to the market rationality and plays its role in neoliberal arts of government.

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Beyoglu is a dynamic site where contesting discourses emerge, conflict and have an influence over Beyoglu's night scene. As it is mentioned in the introductory chapter, recent terrorist attacks in Istanbul, as well as in many other parts of Turkey, are the notable examples that direct attention to novel forces having an influence over the spaces of Beyoglu. Indeed, they are apparently in stark contrast with entrepreneurialist government regimes of Beyoglu. Given that the terrorist attacks have directly targeted tourists groups (such as German and Jewish people) or have occurred in Istanbul's largest airport, the rise of terrorism substantially works against the development goals in Beyoglu, as well as Istanbul. Indeed, the association of Beyoglu with bomb blasts –for one of the attacks has occurred in a side street of Istiklal Avenue- seems to have given a new direction to the discourses of attractiveness, desirability and safety. From then on, the public appearance of everyday life in Beyoglu in this way has given rise to concerns over the safety of life and property. As it is mentioned in the beginning of this study, the initial outcome of this development has been the drastic decrease in tourism statistics and the withdrawal of local and global capital investments from Beyoglu's commercial life.

These developments pave the way for the rising concerns over the fate of public life in Beyoglu. From now on, a number of questions concerning how and in what way these developments will have an influence over the urban experience, whether they will be forceful enough to undermine the urban remake in market terms, into what way and form –if it is a case- increasing corporatization and consumerism will evolve, whether existing entrepreneurialist regimes will be successful enough to cultivate a regime of practices ensuring the attractiveness, desirability and safety remains to be answered. Given that, a better understanding

of these dynamics calls for a research taking into consideration not only the discursive formations in the urban government regimes but numerous socio-political dynamics in Turkey's national context, as well as largely in the Middle Eastern context. All these dimensions are worth of further research, although they have been opted out of this study due to its focus on a particular historical moment in which entrepreneurialist discourses lead the way.

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## APPENDICES

### A. CURRICULUM VITAE

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name-Surname: Haktan Ural

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Date of Birth: 14.09.1984

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#### EDUCATION

<u>Year</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Institution</u>
2016	PhD	METU Sociology
2010	MS	METU Sociology
2007	BS	METU Statistics

#### WORK EXPERIENCE

2009 – Still    Research Assistant in Ankara University, Dept. of Sociology

#### PUBLICATIONS

Ünsaldı, L.; Ural, H. (2015) Bütüncül bir Çalışma ve Zihin Pratiği olarak Bourdieu'den 'Parçalı Bourdieu'lere: Pierre Bourdieu Sosyolojisinin Fransa'daki Yeri ve Uluslararası Dolaşımı Üzerine, *Modus Operandi*, 1, 193-226.

Ural, H. (2015) Book Review: Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures, by Gul Ozyegin (eds), *Masculinities: A Journal of Identity and Culture*, 4, 106-110.

#### PRESENTATIONS

- Çabuk Kaya, N.; Ural, H. (2015) Femicide in Conservative and Neoliberalizing Turkey, *12th Conference of the European Sociological Association*, Prague, 25-28 August 2015.
- Can, E.; Ural, H. (2014) New Trends in Housing Patterns in Ankara: Tracing and Mapping Out the Changing Boundaries of Household Formations, *World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies*, Ankara, August 2014.
- Çabuk-Kaya, N.; Ural, H.; Can, E. (2014) Negotiating the Risk of Being Murdered in Turkey: Femicide in Everyday Life, *ISA World Congress of Sociology, Yokohama* (Japan), July 2014.
- Ural, H. (2013) Queer Domesticity in Turkey: Potentials for Challenging Shame and Fashioning a Gay Life, *4th International and Interdisciplinary Conference on Emotional Geographies*, University of Groningen, Netherlands, 1-3 July 2013.
- Çabuk-Kaya, N.; Ural, H. (2013) Acceptable Femininity Being Judged: Femicide in Juridical Records and Their Media Coverage in Turkey, *"11th European Sociological Association Conference Torino, Italy"*, 28-31 August 2013.
- Ural, H. (2011) "Queering Potentialities of Gay-Place Making in Turkey", 2011, Poster Presentation in *"State, Society and Economy in Modern Middle East" PhD Students Conference at SOAS-London Middle East Institute*, 7-8 May 2011.

## B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

### BEYOLU'NDA NEOLİBERALİZM VE GECE: EKİCİ VE GVENLİ GECE YAŞAMININ İNŞASI

Sayırsız eğlence aktivitesi barındıran ve kkenleri uzun bir gemiře uzanan Beyolu'nda, ok sayıda kimlik ve kltr 19. yzyıldan bu yana bir arada bulunmuř ve kentin canlı, kalabalık ve kozmopolit karakterini řekillendirmiřtir (bkz. Yumul, 2009). Bu baēlamda, hareketli bir gece yařamı ve bununla iliřkili olan farklı pratikler Beyolu'nun canlılıēı ve kozmopolit karakteri dolayısıyla tanınırlıēında olduka nemli bir rol oynar. Canlı bir kent imgesine bu sayede sahip olan Beyolu blgesi, kresel ve yerel kimliklerin sosyo-kltrel olarak ifade alanı olagelmiiřtir.

Blgenin kamusal kltrnn seyrini mercek altına alan alıřmalar, 19. ve 20. yzyıllarda Batılılařma, modernleřme, ulus devlet inřası ve kalkınmacılıēın ykseliřine eřgdml olarak sosyal, ekonomik, politik ve kltrel yařamdaki bir dizi dnřmn Beyolu'ndaki kentsel yařamı esaslı bir biimde deēiřtirdiēini belirtmiřlerdir (bkz. Aytar, 2011; Gl, 2009; Keyder, 2008; Yumul, 2009). Bununla birlikte, daha yakın tarihli geliřmeler doērultusunda kentin kresel lekli sermaye akıřlarına entegre olmasının Beyolu'ndaki kentsel yařamı řekillendirici rolnden de sz edilebilir. Hizmet sektrnn arpıcı bir biimde ykseliři ve kltr endstrisinin artan nemi bu baēlamda dikkate deēer sreler olarak ne ıkmaktadır (Keyder, 2011). Bu geliřmeler tketimci yařam tarzlarının daha nemli hale gelmesinde ve buna kořut olarak Beyolu'nun gece mekanlarında doērudan yansımasını bulmaktadır. Tketimciliēin ykseliři zel olarak tketim mekanlarının geniřlemesi ve konut alanları ve/ya ticari blgelerde mutenalařma srelerinde yaygın olarak gzlemlenebilir. Cihangir ve Galata gibi aēırlıklı olarak konut alanları olarak bilinen blgelerde mutenalařma sreleri bu geliřmelerin en arpıcı rneklerindendir. Ayrıca, zellikle 2000'lerden bu yana

Asmalımescit popüler eğlence mekanları sayesinde bir bölgenin mutenalaşmasının dikkat çekici örneğidir (Mert, 2010; İnce, 2011). Benzer şekilde, İKSV (İstanbul Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı) gibi kültür endüstrisinin prestijli aktörlerinin bölgedeki varlığı Beyoğlu'nu kültürel etkinlikler sayesinde uluslararası kültürel arenanın gözleri önüne taşımaktadır (Yardımcı, 2006). Tüm bu gelişmeler düşünülerek söylenebilir ki; Beyoğlu gece yaşamı sayesinde küresel ölçekte sermaye, insan ve fikir akışlarının düğümlendiği yerlerden biri haline gelmektedir.

Bu noktada, Newsweek dergisinin uluslararası edisyonunda İstanbul'un, özellikle Beyoğlu'na atıfla, dünyanın en 'cool' kenti olarak lanse edilmesini anmak gerekir. 2005 yılında 'Dünyanın en cool kenti' başlıklı bir makale yayınlayan ve İstanbul'u kapağına taşıyan dergi (bkz. Foroohar, 2005), kentin son yıllarda kültürel bir canlanma yaşadığını ve dünya standartlarında bir kent olma yolunda ilerlediğini belirtiyordu. Kent tarihsel mirası, kozmopolit kimliği ve canlılığına borçlu olarak kendine has özellikleri barındıran Batılı ve modern bir kent olarak tasvir ediliyordu. Bu bağlamda, Beyoğlu (özellikle de Pera Bölgesi) İstanbul'u 'cool' yapan her bir unsuru barındıran bir 'arketip' olarak betimleniyordu:

"Beyoğlu'nun yükselişi İstanbul'un bütünü için iyi bir metafor sağlıyor. Kente dair orijinal ve hareketli ne varsa burada da mevcut.. Her şeyin birbirine karıştığı yer olan İstiklal Caddesi de yeterince özgün bir yer" (Foroohar, 2005).

Buna karşın, Beyoğlu'nun yalnızca orta sınıf yaşam tarzları ve beğenilere hitap eden kentsel hazları bünyesinde barındırdığını söylemek bölgeyi oldukça eksik bir biçimde betimlemek olacaktır. Tüm canlılığıyla birlikte bölge aynı zamanda, çoğunlukla da farklı sınıf ve kimliklerden grupların bir arada bulunduğu İstiklal Caddesi'ne atfen, düzensizlik ve kaosla birlikte anılmaktadır (Ertep, 2009). Bölgenin 'kaotik' bir alan olarak bilinirliği sayısız kentsel pratiğin mevcudiyetine dayanmaktadır. Aytar ve Keskin'in (2003) belirttiği gibi, sokak satıcıları gibi enformel ekonomi ve uyuşturucu ticareti ve seks endüstrisi gibi yer altı ekonomisinin mevcudiyetinin yanı sıra, alt sınıflara ait eğlence pratiklerinin de Beyoğlu'nda yer alıyor oluşu, kentin pırıltılı kentsel imgesini 'bozan', 'aksatan' unsurlar olarak anlam kazanmaktadır. Ekonomik, kültürel ve sembolik sınırları

yeniden çizmeye yönelik sayısız sosyo-uzamsal stratejiye nazaran, Beyoğlu tüm bu unsurları bir arada barındıran, farklı etnik, dini, sınıfsal, cinsel ve cinsiyet kimliklerinin eğlence ve çalışma amacıyla bir araya geldiği bir bölge olma işlevini sürdürmektedir.

Bu nedenle, Beyoğlu'nun kentsel kalabalığı gece yaşamında yürürlüğe sokulan piyasa aklı çerçevesinde hem bir fırsatlar denizi hem de zorlu bir unsur olarak anlamlandırılmaya müsait bir zemin sağlar. Bir yandan gece ekonomisinin odaklı bir potansiyeli için önemli bir fırsattır ancak bazı 'istenmeyen' unsurlar bu potansiyeli köreltir. Beyoğlu'nun turizm odaklı kalkınma söylemleriyle yönetilmesinin önünü açan kentsel yönetim rejiminin kent yaşamına yönelik geliştirdiği söylem ve pratikler işte bu çerçeve içerisinde kentsel kalabalığı anlamlandırmaktadır.

Beyoğlu'ndaki kentsel yaşamı şekillendiren siyasal aklın temel motifi canlı bir kalabalığı ortadan kaldırmak yerine onu yeniden şekillendirmektir. 'Neoliberal Beyoğlu' işte bu siyasal aklın ortaya koyduğu yönetim sanatlarının bir sonucu olarak turistlerin ve diğer tüketici grupların hizmetine koyulan canlı bir kent atmosferini diğer her unsura tercih eder. Söz gelimi, Beyoğlu Belediyesi'nin mevcut belediye başkanı Ahmet Misbah Demircan günlük bir gazeteye verdiği bir söyleşisinde Beyoğlu'nun rotasını 'turizm, kültür ve sanat' olarak betimlemiştir (Vatan, 2013). Kentsel yönetim rejimi, bu doğrultuda, daha fazla sermaye yatırımı, turist sayısı ve İstanbulluları Beyoğlu'na çekecek bir dönüşümü başlatma hedefini benimsemektedir. Dolayısıyla, bölgenin kültürel ve tarihi mirası kentsel imaja bu yönde olumlu bir katkısı olabildiği ölçüde bu vizyon için kullanışlı bir unsur haline gelmektedir (Aksoy ve Robbins, 2011). Neoliberal stratejiler yerel yönetimlerin başat rolü oynadığı kentsel projeler ve/ya özel yatırımlar yoluyla mutenalaştırmayı hedeflemektedir. Hatta, turizm ve kültür odaklı kent ekonomisine geçiş sokak düzeyinde yerel ve uluslararası yatırımcıların emlak yatırımlarında da gözlemlenebilmektedir (Adanalı, 2011). Tarlabaşı Kentsel Yenileme Projesi, Atatürk Kültür Merkezi'nin yenilenmesi, Taksim Meydanı Yayalaştırma Projesi, Topçu Kışlası'nın yeniden inşası ve Galataport Projesi bu dönüşümün en önemli örneklerinden bazılarıdır.

Beyoğlu'nda son yıllarda gerçekleşmekte olan bu dönüşüm bağlamında, bu çalışmanın amacı neoliberal dönüşümün Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamına nasıl sirayet ettiğini anlamaktır. Eğlence sektörünün çeşitli aktörleri (işletme sahipleri, işletmeciler ve diğer çalışanlar) ve belediye temsilcileriyle derinlemesine görüşmelerin yanı sıra, kurumsal politika belgeleri, gazete haberleri ve söyleşilerin söylem analizini yaparak gerçekleştirdiğim bu çalışmada, neoliberal siyasal aklın gece yaşamında nasıl tezahür ettiğini anlamayı hedefliyorum. Neoliberalizmi Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamında bütünlüklü bir dönüşümü yaratmak üzere söylemsel bir evren ve bir pratikler ağı üreten siyasal akıl olarak inceliyorum.

Çalışmanın yanıt aradığı sorular şu şekilde sıralanabilir: Neoliberal akıl gece yaşamında hangi normatif anlamları ve standartları üretmektedir? Bu normatif söylemsel oluşumlar insanlar, pratikler ve mekanlar arasında nasıl ayrımlar üretmektedir? Belirli gruplar, pratikler ve mekanlar hangi biçimlerde neoliberal söylemlerle uyumlu –ya da uyumsuz- özellikler taşımaktadır? Gece eğlencesine kimler davetlidir? Kimler istenmeyenlerdir? 'Arzulanabilir' kent imgesinin yaratılmasında sınıf, toplumsal cinsiyet, etnisite ve cinselliğin şekillendirdiği sosyo-kültürel hiyerarşilerin rolü nedir?

Bu normatif söylemlerin oluşumunda muhafazakar siyasal aklın nasıl bir dahli söz konusu olmaktadır? Beyoğlu'nun seküler ve gece yaşamı odaklı bir tarihi eğlence bölgesi olduğu akılda tutulacak olursa, piyasa aklı nasıl bir Beyoğlu imgesini üretip dolaşıma sokmaktadır? Bu imgeyi inceleyebilmek için, Türkiye'de neoliberalizmin birbiriyle ilişkili iki boyutunu mercek altına alıyorum: Girişimcilik ve tüketimcilik söylemleri Beyoğlu'nun gece mekanlarına nasıl sızmaktadır? Ne ölçüde ve hangi biçim ve pratiklerle muhafazakar siyasal akıl Beyoğlu'nun neoliberalleşmesiyle ilişkilenebilir?

Bu normatif anlamların üretimi ve dolaşıma sokulması aynı zamanda neoliberal öznelliklerle ilişkilidir. Öyleyse, bu süreç içerisinde duygusal yatkınlıkların rolü nedir? Çalışmada neoliberalizmin tesir söylemlerinin (affective discourses)

çekicilik, arzulanabilirlik ve güvenlik söylemlerini nasıl duygusal terimlerle şekillendirdiğini açıklamayı hedefliyorum.

Ayrıca, bu çalışmada Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamında süregelen dönüşümde etkili olan neoliberal yönetim teknolojilerini anlamayı ve bu dönüşümünde rol oynayan formel ve enformel pratikleri incelemeyi hedefliyorum. Neoliberalleşmeyi çoğunlukla devlet aktörünün zorlayıcı güçleri doğrultusunda işleyen bir süreç olarak inceleyen yaklaşımlardan farklı olarak, (neoliberal) iktidarın zorlayıcı ve yaratıcı güçlerinin kesiştiği karmaşık bir süreç olarak değerlendiriyorum. Bu nedenle, Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamında insanların kendilerini ona optimize etmesini tetikleyen 'sorumlulaşma' (responsibilization) ve 'istenmeyen' unsurların yerinden edilmesinin nasıl bir arada işlediğini açıklamayı hedefliyorum.

Çalışmanın son amacıysa, belli aktörlerin gece yaşamının neoliberalleşmesine alternatif söylem ve pratikleri hayata geçirebilme kapasitelerini değerlendirmektedir. Bu kapasitelerin incelenmesi kolektif eylemin örgütlenmesi ve çeşitli siyasal mücadele pratikleri olduğu kadar gündelik yaşamın siyaseti ve onun ne ölçüde neoliberal süreçlere alternatif oluşturabildiğini de kapsamaktadır.

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Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamını piyasa aklıyla nasıl yeniden şekillendiğini anlamayı hedeflediğim bu çalışmada, neoliberalizmi bir hakikat rejimi üreten, belli pratikler rejimiyle bu hakikat iddialarını gerçekliğe tercüme eden ve bu doğrultuda hareket eden öznellikler üreten bir söylem olarak ele alıyorum. Yönetimsellik çalışmalarının kavramsal araçlarını kullanarak (bkz. Brown, 2006; Larner, 2000; Lemke, 2001; Miller ve Rose, 2008), Dean'ın (1999) 'yönetim analitiğini' neoliberalizmi incelemek üzere kuramsal çerçeve olarak benimsiyorum. Bu çerçeveyi takip ederek, neoliberalizmi üç düzeyde inceliyorum: kentsel gelişim hedefleri içerisinde Beyoğlu'nda canlı bir kamusal yaşam tahayyül eden siyasal aklın oluşumu, bu siyasal aklı pratiğe geçiren belli mekanizmalar ve özne pozisyonlarının inşası.



Neoliberalizmi bir siyasal akıl olarak ele alarak, gece yaşamının yönetimini belli hakikat iddialarının üretildiği ve dolaşıma sokulduğu bir süreç olarak inceliyorum. Beyoğlu'nda 'kültür-odaklı turizm'in geliştirilmesini önemseyen bir kent yönetimi rejimi ortaya çıkmaktadır. İstanbul'un kent ekonomisini küresel ölçekte rekabet edebilir, bilgi temelli bir ekonomi olarak yeniden yapılandırmayı hedefleyen bu yönetim aklı Beyoğlu'nda bu vizyonla uyum içerisinde bir turizm ekonomisinin gelişimini benimsemektedir. Kentin tarihsel olarak geçmişe dayanan kültürel mirası Beyoğlu'nda turist ve İstanbullu orta sınıf tüketiciler için çekici bir kamusal yaşamın tesis edilmesi için elverişli bir zemin sağlamaktadır. Bu kapsamda, Beyoğlu'nun nasıl daha çekici, arzulanabilir ve güvenli bir yer haline getirilebileceğine dair bir hakikat rejiminin ortaya çıkması söz konusu olmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, neoliberal yönetim insanların ve sermaye yatırımlarının Beyoğlu'na akışının nasıl artırılacağına ilişkin söylemsel bir çerçeve üretmektedir.

Bu düşünme biçimi belli pratikler sayesinde gerçekliğe tercüme edilmektedir. Burada, neoliberal teknolojileri mercek altına alarak siyasal bir projenin tutarlı, sistematik ve kusursuz bir şekilde işleyiş içerisinde olduğu iddiasını öne sürmüyorum. Neoliberal yönetimsellikten söz ederken bazı mekanizmaların doğrudan işleyişe müdahale ettiği, bazı mekanizmalarının da dolaylı olarak ve belli bir mesafe içerisinde ortamı yönetecek şekilde nüfuz ettiği karmaşık ilişkiler ağının söz konusu olduğunu belirtiyorum (bkz. Miller ve Rose, 2008). Dolayısıyla, neoliberal teknolojiler öz-çıkartı doğrultusunda hareket eden neoliberal öznelerin aktif olarak dahil olduğu ortamlar yaratarak da neoliberal dönüşümü gerçekleştirirler. Bu türden mekanizmalar doğrudan zorlama mekanizmaları içermediği ölçüde pozitif bir iktidar kavramı çerçevesinde incelenmesi gereken karmaşık süreçleri barındırır. Buna karşın, disiplin ve hukuki mekanizmaları da içeren doğrudan zorlayıcı güçlerin işe koşulduğu mekanizmalar da yönetim sanatlarının bir parçası olabilmektedir.

Bununla birlikte, Beyoğlu'nun farklı aktörleri arasında çeşitli toplumsal ayrımların da tesis edildiği söylemsel oluşumlar da söz konusu olmaktadır. Bu ayrımlar, orta sınıf yaşam tarzları, zevkleri ve beğenilerine göre gece yaşamı içerisinde farklı özne pozisyonlarının tanımlanmasının bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmaktadırlar.

Orta sınıf yaşam tarzlarıyla uyum içerisinde olabildiği ölçüde neoliberal Beyoğlu'na 'mensubiyet' pozisyonu inşa edilmektedir. Bunun karşısında, 'marjinalleştirilmiş' pozisyonlar istenmeyen, çekici olmayan ve güvenli olmayan kültürleri ve kimlikleri ifade etmektedir.

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Özetle, bu çalışma Beyoğlu'nu tüketici gruplarının gözünde daha çekici, arzulanabilir ve güvenli yapmayı hedefleyen kentsel yönetim rejiminin gece yaşamında nasıl yeni normlar ürettiği ve dolaşıma sokmayı hedeflemektedir. Çalışma, ayrıca, bu normlar çerçevesinde bölgede süregelen dönüşümün hangi mekanizmalar doğrultusunda gerçekleştiğini incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. Bu bağlamda, neoliberal siyasal aklın söylem ve pratiklerini mercek altına almaktadır.

Çalışmanın en önemli katkısı neoliberal siyasal aklın yerel bağlamlarda nasıl şekillendiğini incelemesidir. Larner (2000), Jeffrey v. (2012) ve Roy'u (2009 takip ederek, neoliberalizmi Türkiye'nin sosyo-politik ve sosyo-kültürel bağlamlarına uyarlanan, tercüme edilen ve yeniden kurulan bir siyasal rasyonellik olarak ele alıyorum. Bu yaklaşım girişimci söylem ve pratiklerin muhafazakar akılla iç içe geçerek hüküm sürmesini anlamaya yönelik güçlü analitik bir araç sağlıyor. Benzer şekilde, çekicilik ve güvenlik söylemlerinin Beyoğlu'nun toplumsal ve kültürel mirasıyla ilişkisini değerlendirmeyi olanaklı kılıyor.

Çalışmanın yapmayı önerdiği bir diğer katkı, neoliberal aklın Türkiye'de toplumsal yaşama nasıl sirayet ettiğini daha derinlikli bir biçimde anlamaktır. Neoliberalizmi (Beyoğlu'nu turistlere ve orta sınıf tüketici gruplarına satmaya yönelik olarak) rasyonel bir bilgi üreten bir siyasal proje olarak ele alıyorum. Bu bağlamda, piyasa odaklı düşünme biçimlerinin oluşmasında tesir ve duyguların merkezi rol oynadığını öneriyorum. Ayrıca, gece yaşamında neoliberal söylemlere koşut olarak inşa edilen toplumsal ayrımlarda duygu söylemlerinin (özellikle de tikslenme ve korkunun) başat bir rolü olduğunu öneriyorum. Böylelikle, çalışma neoliberal siyasal aklın düşünme ve hissetme biçimlerinin birlikteliğiyle oluştuğunu öne sürüyor.

Bunlardan farklı olarak, yakın zamanda Beyoğlu'nun kamusal yaşamının kaderini derinden etkileyebilecek bir dizi gelişme de söz konusu oldu. 2015 ve 2016 yılında diğer pek çok şehrin yanında İstanbul'un farklı yerlerinde sıradan insanları hedefleyen terör saldırıları gündelik yaşamda güvenlik söylemlerinin başka bir veçheye bürünmesine neden oldu. Burada özellikle Sultanahmet, Beyoğlu ve Atatürk Hava Alanı gibi doğrudan turistleri hedef alan saldırıları anmak gerekir. Neoliberal söylem ve pratiklerin Beyoğlu'na insan ve sermaye akışlarına verdiği öncelik düşünülecek olursa, bu gelişmelerin bu kentsel gelişim vizyonu ile ciddi ölçüde tezat oluşturan bir niteliğe sahip olduğu söylenebilir.

Söz konusu gelişmelerin yakın zamanlı olmasına karşın, ne türden toplumsal maliyetleri olabileceğine ilişkin bazı somut veriler mevcuttur. Bunlardan en önemlisi, turizm istatistiklerinde gözlemlenen radikal düşüştür; 2016 yılının ilk altı ayında önceki yıla oranla gelen turist sayısında %28 azalma olmuştur. Bununla birlikte, özellikle İstiklal Caddesi üzerinde çok sayıda işletme kapanmıştır (bkz. Tremblay, 2016). Bu gelişmeler girişimci (entrepreneurialist) yönetim rejimlerinin terror saldırılarından ciddi ölçüde etkilendiği/etkilenmekte olduğuna ilişkin önemli ipuçları sağlamaktadır. Buna karşın bu çalışmada sunulan analizin kapsamı dışında kalmıştır.

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Neoliberal siyasal aklı bir söylem olarak ele aldığım bu çalışmanın metodolojik yaklaşımını da söylem analizi oluşturmaktadır. Bu yaklaşımı kullanarak metinleri ve konuşmaları arzulanabilir olan/olmayan, çekici olan/olmayan ve güvenli olan/olmayan kategorilerini inşa eden söylemsel oluşumlar olarak incelemekteyim. Belli duyguları ve düşünceleri temsil eden bu söylemsel oluşumlar Beyoğlu'nun neoliberalleşmesine içkin olan anlamlandırma süreçlerini görmemizi olanaklı kılıyor.

Söylemsel pratiklerin analizi toplumsal dünyanın inşasının bir parçası olduğu düşünülen dilin içeriği ve organizasyonu ile ilgilidir (Gill, 2000; Potter and Wetherhell, 1995). Buradan hareketle, farklı söylemsel pratikler yoluyla gece

yaşamının inşasında rol oynayan kategorilerin nasıl tanımlandığıyla ilgileniyorum. Örneğin, Beyoğlu'ndaki kentsel yönetim rejimleri içerisinde kentsel gelişime koşut olduğu düşünülen bir kent deneyiminin dilsel olarak nasıl inşa edildiğini anlamayı hedefliyorum. Benzer şekilde, Beyoğlu'nun farklı aktörlerinin kendi benliklerini ve diğerlerini nasıl tanımladığını araştırıyorum. Bu sayede, gece yaşamıyla ilişkili insanların, pratiklerin ya da yerlerin nasıl betimlendiği ve tasnif edildiği, kısacası nasıl kavramlarla anlatılaştırıldığı analizin temelini oluşturuyor. Böylelikle, gece yaşamı içerisinde (arzulanabilirlik, çekicilik ve güvenlik söylemleri doğrultusunda) ne türden toplumsal ayrımların inşa edildiğini inceliyorum. Diğer bir deyişle, bu söylemler doğrultusunda meşrulaştırılan ya da değersizleştirilen kimliklerin ve kültürlerin inşasını anlamayı hedefliyorum.

Metodolojik yaklaşımımın bir diğer hususiyeti, söylemsel oluşumlarla özne pozisyonlarının inşa edilmesinde duyguların rolünü mercek altına almamla ilgili. Duygu ve tesir (affect) konularının incelenmesinde söylemsel pratiklerin yeri oldukça tartışmalı bir konudur. Özellikle kavramsal olmayan kuramın (non-representational theory) görüşüne göre, tesir yatkinlıklarını bireysel ya da kolektif ifadeler yoluyla anlamamanın bazı metodolojik sınırlılıkları bulunmaktadır. Bunun nedeni, bu görüşe göre, tesirin söylem ötesi, bireyselleşmemiş, anlatılamaz ve tanımlanamaz bir olgu olarak formüle edilmesidir. Bu nedenle duygu ve tesir (affect) arasında analitik bir ayrıma gidilmesi gerektiği savunulur (bkz. Massumi, 2002; Thrift, 2004). Bu türden bir kavramsallaştırma söylem analiziyle metodolojik bir mesafelenmeyi zorunlu kılar (Wetherhell, 2013).

Buna karşın, duygular ve tesir arasında bir ayrımı gerektiren formülasyon, özellikle feminist ve kültürel çalışmalarından araştırmacılar tarafından sorgulanmaktadır. Örneğin, Bondi (2005, 438) bu formülasyonun duygular ve tesirin gündelik deneyimlerinden kopuk bir kavramsal şema önerdiğini savunur. Ayrıca, tesirin tanımlanamaz, anlatılamaz özelliklerine yapılan vurgu araştırmacıyı araştırmanın nesnesini (yani duyguları) dışarıdan, mesafeli bir şekilde bilen rasyonel bir özne olarak konumlandırma riskini de beraberinde getirmektedir. Sara Ahmed, (2004a), bu metodolojik sınırlılıkların üstesinden gelebilmek için, tesirin sürekli hareketine ve belli insanlara, pratiklere ve yerlere yapışma

süreçlerine odaklanmayı önerir. Bu türden bir anlayış tesir ve duygu arasındaki ayrımı önemsiz kılar; böylelikle, duygusal öznelliklerin incelenmesi gündelik yaşamdaki tesir hareketleri anlamak için verimli bir alan olacaktır (Thien, 2005). Bondi'nin (2005, 444) belirttiği gibi, insanlar kendilerini ve diğerlerini hem hissederek hem de düşünsel olarak, hem tesir anlamında hem de duygular yoluyla sürekli yeniden anlamlandırır. Konuşma, eylemler, tesir ve duygular birbirinden ayrıştırılamayan süreçlerdir (ayrıca bkz. Wetherhell, 2013, 351).

Bu metodolojik yaklaşımı benimseyerek konuşma ve metinleri tesirlerin etkisiyle şekillenen anlatılar olarak ele alıyorum. Bu anlatılar anlatıcının kendisini ve diğerlerinin pozisyonunu açık eden konumlu bir performanstır. Söz konusu pozisyonların anlatılaştırılma biçimleri gece yaşamı içerisindeki toplumsal ve kültürel ayrımları anlamak için güçlü ipuçları sağlamaktadır.

Bu çalışmada incelediğim en önemli söylemsel materyaller politika belgeleri, gazete makaleleri ve söyleşiler gibi kurumsal söylemlerin yanı sıra Beyoğlu'nun eğlence mekanlarının sahipleri, işletmecileri ve çalışanlarıyla ya da belediye temsilcileriyle gerçekleştirdiğim yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlardır.

Politika belgeleri ve gazete makaleleri/söyleşilerinin metinleri kurumsal organların söylemsel pratiklerini mercek altına alabilmek için oldukça önemli araçlardır. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve Beyoğlu Belediyesi'nin politika belgelerini (örneğin Çevre Düzeni Planı, Beyoğlu Stratejik Eylem Planı ve Beyoğlu Koruma Planı) ve temsilcileriyle yapılan söyleşilerin yanı sıra, Beyoğlu Güzelleştirme Derneği ve BEYDER (Beyoğlu Eğlence Yerleri Derneği)'nin temsilcileriyle yapılan söyleşileri bu çerçevede inceledim. Bu sayede, Beyoğlu'nun kentsel yönetim rejiminde nasıl düşünme biçimlerinin kurumsallaştığı, hangi standartların, hesaplama biçimlerinin ve ölçütlerin benimsendiğini değerlendirme olanağı yakaladım.

Bunun dışında, araştırma katılımcılarıyla gerçekleştirdiğim yarı-yapılandırılmış mülakatlar gece yaşamının aktörlerinin söylemsel edimlerini gerçekleştirdikleri performatif bir alan oluşturdu. Araştırma katılımcılarının gece yaşamına ilişkin

yorumlayıcı repertuvarlarını (interpretative repertoires) ifade edecekleri bir mecra işlevine büründü. Böylelikle, gece yaşamına ilişkin aktörlerin anlamlandırma biçimlerini öğrenme olanağı edindim. Gece yaşamının aktörlerinin kendi ifadeleri, bir yandan Beyoğlu'nun 'gece'sinde inşa edilen toplumsal ayrımları, bir yandan da her bir aktörün bu ayrımlar içerisinde kendi pozisyonunu nasıl gördüğü ve bu pozisyonu sağlamlaştırmak, değiştirmek ya da yeniden anlamlandırmak için ne türden stratejiler geliştirdiklerini anlamak için oldukça önemli ipuçları sağladı.

Burada, yarı-yapılandırılmış derinlemesine mülakat tekniği kullanarak 43 katılımcıyla görüşme gerçekleştirdim. Görüşmecilerin çoğunluğu (27) eğlence yerlerinin sahibi ya da işletmecisiydi. Bunun dışında 10 görüşmeci güvenlik görevlisi (1), barmen/barmaid (3), garson (3) ve DJ (3) olarak görev yapan personeldi. Bunların dışında, eğlence mekanlarıyla doğrudan ilişkili olmayan, ancak gece yaşamının organizasyonunda çeşitli biçimlerde kültür aracısı olarak yer alan 2 farklı kişiyle de görüştüm. Son olarak, gece yaşamının düzenlenmesinde doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak rol oynayan 4 belediye temsilcisiyle de görüştüm. Görüşmeciler Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve Beyoğlu Belediyesi'nin zabıta ve ruhsat birimlerinde çalışan görevlilerdi.

Yaptığım görüşmelerde aktörlerin Beyoğlu'nun kentsel yönetimine ilişkin ne düşündükleri, kendilerini Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamı içerisinde nasıl konumlandıkları, kent yönetiminin kendilerini nasıl etkilediğini, edimlerinin nasıl sınırlandığını ya da önünün açıldığını anlamayı denedim. Bunun için, eğlence mekanlarının işletmecileri, sahipleri ya da çalışanlarının iş tarihini (daha önce hangi sektörlerde ve pozisyonlarda bulundukları, mekanlarının özellikleri (tarz, yer seçimi, fiyat politikası gibi), bölgedeki eğlence sektörüne ilişkin algıları ve kentsel yönetime ilişkin düşüncelerini öğrenmeyi hedefledim.

Niteliksel araştırma yöntemlerine ilişkin tartışmalarda sıklıkla öne sürüldüğü gibi (Gill, 2000; Potter, 2004; Potter ve Wetherhell, 1995), derinlemesine görüşme yapmak söylem analizi için oldukça verimli bir araç olsa da, mülakatların potansiyeline ilişkin bazı metodolojik endişeler de yok değildir. Öncelikle, görüşmeler araştıran ve araştırılan arasında yaratılmış, yapay bir etkileşimin

seyrinden oluşur. Bu yapaylığı aşmak ve görüşmelerde topladığım veriyi destekleyici ekstra veriler elde edebilmek için görüşmeleri katılımcıların iş yerlerinde, yani eğlence mekanlarında gerçekleştirme yoluna gittim. Böylelikle, görüşmecilerin hakkında konuştuğu pek çok unsuru doğrudan gözlemleyebilme ve görüşmecilerle daha somut bir düzlemle konuşabilme olanağını elde ettim. Görüşme sonrasında alan notlarını yazarak görüşmelerde elde ettiğim verileri bağlamsallaştırmayı olanağı elde ettim. Bu sayede, Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamının organizasyonunda hangi türden sosyo-ekonomik ve sosyo-kültürel ayrımın oluştuğunu betimleyebilme olanağım oldu.

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Gerçekleştirdiğim alan çalışmasında topladığım veriler doğrultusunda şunlar söylenebilir: Beyoğlu'ndaki kent yaşamına sermaye ve insan akışlarını merkeze alan kentsel gelişim stratejisinin en önemli unsurlarından biri, sermaye yatırımlarının ve tüketici gruplarının gözünde kent mekanının ne ölçüde 'çekici' ve 'güvenli' addedildiğidir. Buna koşut olarak Beyoğlu'nu turistlere ve diğer tüketici gruplarına daha açık hale getirmeyi hedefleyen bir kent yönetiminin çekicilik ve güvenlik söylemlerine öncelik vermesi söz konusu olmaktadır. Bu kapsamda, Beyoğlu'nda kültür odaklı turizmi başat bir kalkınma stratejisi olarak benimseyen kentsel yönetim rejiminde çekiciliğin ve güvenliğin normatif tanımları, gece yaşamına ilişkin farklı pozisyonların üretilmesinde en önemli referans noktalarını oluşturmaktadır.

Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamında çekicilik ve güvenlik söylemlerinin oynadığı en önemli rol, hangi eğlence mekanlarının meşru olduğu ve teşvik edildiğini tanımlayan toplumsal ayrımların oluşumudur. Gece yaşamı içerisinde hangi unsurların 'çekici' ve 'güvenli' olarak addedildiği, Miller ve Rose'un (2008) analitik araçlarını kullanarak açıklayacak olursak, 'mensubiyet' ve 'marjinalleşme' arasındaki ayrıma tekabül etmektedir. Bu söylemsel oluşumlar ekonomik ve sosyal yaşamın yönetiminde hangi unsurların Beyoğlu'na meşru bir mensubiyete sahip olduğu ve hangilerinin marjinal bir konumu işgal ettiğini tanımlamaktadır. Buna göre, 'mensubiyet' mekanları piyasa aklının değer ve normlarıyla uyum içerisinde

olarak cazip, arzulanabilir ve güvenli olarak addedilen eğlence yerlerini içerir. Buna karşın, 'marjinal' mekanlar bu değer ve normlarla tanımlanmaya elverişli olmayan yerleri içerir.

'Mensubiyet' ve 'marjinalleşme' mekanlarının çekicilik ve güvenlik söylemleri doğrultusunda oluşmasında, gece yaşamına içkin olan sosyo-kültürel ve sosyo-ekonomik hiyerarşilerin başat bir rol oynadığı söylenebilir. Bu kapsamda, 'mensubiyet' mekanları stilize edilmiş ve parlatılmış eğlence pratiklerinin sunulduğu, üst segmentte yer alan, şirketleşmiş ya da yerel/bağımsız mekanlar ve köklü eğlence mekanlarından oluşmaktadır. Buna karşın, 'marjinal' mekanlar alt segmentte yer alan eğlence yerleri ya da doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak enformel/yeraltı ağlar ve aktivitelerle ilişkilendirilen gece mekanlarından oluşmaktadır. Alt segmentte yer alan eğlence mekanlarının 'marjinal' olarak tanımlanması kentin endüstriyel geçmişiyle mesafelenen girişimci söylemlere dayanmaktadır. Bira tüketiminin domine ettiği eğlence kültürü, işçi sınıfı kültürü ya da göçmen grupları anıştıran kültürel pratikler, agresif ve saldırgan erkeklik temsilleri, seçkin orta sınıf zevk ve beğenilerinden yoksun olma gibi bir dizi unsur bu eğlence öbeklerinin 'marjinal' olarak addedilmesinin temelini oluşturmaktadır. Belli kültürlerin (pavyon gibi) ya da kimliklerin (maganda) imgeleri bu eğlence segmentlerini marjinalleştirici stereotipler olarak üretilmekte ve dolaşıma sokulmaktadır. Yanı sıra, enformel/yeraltı ağlarının marjinalleştirilmesiye 'neoliberal Beyoğlu'nun 'düzenlilik' ve 'güvenlik' söylemleriyle karşıtlık içerisinde olmasına dayanmaktadır: Seks endüstrisi ve uyuşturucu ticareti gibi unsurlar kentin kamusal kültürüne gizlice yerleşirken, güvenlik algılarını tersyüz eden ve 'kadın-dostu' kent imajını sarsan unsurlar olarak konumlandırılmaktadır. Kısacası, mensubiyet ve marjinalleşme söylemlerinin oluşumunda toplumsal cinsiyet, sınıf, etnisite ve cinselliğin etkin bir rol oynadığı söylenebilir.

Çalışmada, aynı zamanda, Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamında piyasa aklının değer ve normları doğrultusunda gelişen dönüşümün hangi mekanizmalarla gerçekleştiğini inceledim. Gece yaşamında piyasa aklının ekonomik ve kültürel yaşama tercüme edilmesini sağlayan neoliberal yönetim teknolojilerini mercek altına aldım. Bu bağlamda, Beyoğlu'ndaki eğlence yerlerine nüfuz eden iktidar ilişkilerinin kentsel



yönetimin aktörü olan kurumların doğrudan müdahalesiyle sınırlı olmadığını özellikle vurgulamak gerekiyor.

Burada, Foucault'nun analitik çerçevesine yaslanan bir iktidar analizi kullanarak, neoliberal siyasal aklın öz-çıkara dayalı girişimci öznelerin neoliberal söylemler içerisinde hareket ettiği bir ortam yarattığını savunuyorum. Özellikle emlak piyasası içerisinde çeşitli ilişki ve pratikler bu türden bir yönetimselliğin şekillenmesinde çok önemli bir rol oynuyor. Örneğin, üst segmentteki eğlence yerleri arasındaki girişimci özneler çekicilik ve güvenlik söylemlerine kendilerini optimize ederek piyasa aklı içerisinde hareket etmektedirler. Benzer şekilde, özellikle alt segmentteki eğlence mekanlarının emlak sahipleri büyük ölçekli sermaye yatırımcılarıyla kira ya da satış sözleşmesi yapmanın yollarını aramaktadırlar. Tam da bu sebeple, alt segmentte yer alan eğlence mekanlarının sahipleri kısa süreli kira anlaşmaları yapma eğilimi göstermektedirler. Bu iki örnek, üst segmentteki eğlence mekanlarının sosyo-uzamsal olarak genişlediği ve alt segmentteki eğlence mekanlarının ekonomik olarak barınmadığı ya da geleceklerinin belirsizleştiği, 'özgürlüğe' dayalı bir iktidar mekanizması olarak işlerlik kazanıyor.

Ancak, burada sözü edilen iktidar mekanizmasının işleyişinde disiplin ve hukuk mekanizmalarının, doğrudan ya da dolaylı bir şekilde, destekleyici bir rol oynadığının altının çizilmesi gerekiyor. Örneğin, taraflar arasında yapılacak olan kira sözleşmesinin işleyişini düzenleyen yasal düzenlemeler oldukça önemli bir hukuki mekanizma olarak işlev görüyor: Mevcut kiracının haklarını elinden alan ve mal sahibini kiracı karşısında güçlendiren düzenlemeler içeren bir dizi yasal düzenleme emlak kullanım haklarının büyük sermaye yatırımcılarına aktarımını sağlamaktadır. Ayrıca, alkol tüketimine yönelik ciddi vergi artışları, gece yaşamının yönetim teknolojilerinde dolaylı mekanizmaların nasıl etkin bir biçimde nüfuz edici bir rol oynayabileceğinin örneğini teşkil etmektedir. Alt segmentteki eğlence yerleri daha düşük gelirli tüketici gruplarına hizmet vermeleri nedeniyle ürün ve hizmetlerini yeniden fiyatlama konusunda esnek olamamaktadırlar. Alkol tüketimine getirilen vergi artışı bu eğlence mekanları için ciddi bir ekonomik baskı mekanizması olarak işlerlik kazanmıştır; çünkü ürün ve hizmetlerini aynı oranda

yeniden fiyatlayamayan bu mekanlar kendi kar oranlarından vazgeçmek zorunda kalmışlardır. Bu nedenle, bambaşka bir siyasi akla hizmet ediyor olmasına karşın, vergi politikaları özellikle alt segmentteki eğlence mekanları için ekonomik bir güç olarak işlemektedir. Bunun dışında, eğlence mekanlarının sokak kenarlarında masa-sandalye kullanımına yönelik düzenlemeler ve uyuşturucu ticareti ve seks ticaretine yönelik düzenlemeler disiplin mekanizmaları olarak düşünülebilir. Bu mekanizmalar güvenlik ve düzenliliği tesis etmeyi amaçlayan pratiklerdir; özellikle İstiklal Caddesi boyunca büyük yaya trafiğini düzenlemeyi amaçlamaktadırlar. Yukarıda belirtildiği gibi, kalabalığın yok edilmesi değil, düzenlenerek daha güvenli ve çekici bir kitleye dönüştürülmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Bu nedenle, 'düzenli' ve 'güvenli' Beyoğlu ile uyum içerisinde olmayan bedenlerin ve pratiklerin düzenlenmesi ve disiplin altına alınmasını hedeflenmektedirler.

Beyoğlu'nda gece yaşamının neoliberal dönüşümünü incelerken, ayrıca, hangi biçimlerde karşı hareketlerin ortaya çıktığı ve neoliberal söylem ve pratiklere karşıt bir tutum sergilediğine ışık tuttum. Bu kapsamda, Beyoğlu'nun eğlence mekanlarının çalışanları, işletmecileri ve mekan sahipleri tarafından örgütlenen BEYDER'i özel olarak anmak gerekmektedir. BEYDER, bölgedeki girişimci kent yönetimi rejimine karşı siyasal muhalefetin örgütlenmesi ve alternatif söylemlerin üretilmesinde başat bir rolü oynamıştır. Buna karşın, BEYDER neoliberal yönetim karşısında siyasal direnişi örgütlemekte yetersiz kalmıştır; çünkü, BEYDER bünyesinde güçlü kolektif aidiyete dayalı bir ortaklık yaratılamamıştır. Kolektif kimliğin inşa edilmesinin önündeki en önemli engelin gece yaşamının aktörleri arasındaki ilişkinin rekabete ve güvensizliğe dayalı olmasının yattığını ileri sürüyorum. Ayrıca, derneğin yaygın basın görünürlüğüne koşut olarak hızla politize olmasının bir sonucu olarak, belediyenin yıldırıcı taktiklerle dernek üyelerini cezalandırdığına yönelik bir algının yükselmesi söz konusudur. Bu nedenle, pek çok üye dernekten kopuş yaşamıştır. Ancak, BEYDER çatısı altında güçlü bir kolektif kimliğin ve kolektif eylemin kurulamamış olması direniş ihtimalinin tamamen ortadan kalktığı anlamına gelmemektedir. Beyoğlu'nda gece yaşamının aktörleri sokakta içki içme gibi çeşitli yaratıcı pratiklerle ve hatta Gezi Parkı protestoları gibi direniş hareketleriyle, en azından bireysel olarak, yeniden

ilişkilenebilecekleri ve işbirliği içerisine girebilecekleri ortaklıklar kurabilmektedirler.

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Bu çalışma Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamında çekicilik ve güvenlik söylemleri doğrultusunda bir hakikat rejimi üreten ve bu hakikat iddialarını gerçekliğe tercüme eden pratikler rejimi üreten bir siyasal akıl olarak neoliberalizmi anlamayı hedeflemektedir. Buradan hareketle bu çalışma piyasa aklının duygu söylemleriyle ve muhafazakar siyasal akılla bağlantılandığı noktaları anlamaya yönelik bir katkı sunmaktadır.

Beyoğlu'nun kentsel yönetim rejimlerinde gece yaşamı piyasa aklının temel alındığı belli hesaplamalar, düşünme biçimleri ve kriterler doğrultusunda temsil edilmektedirler. Bu temsil Beyoğlu'nda turistler ve çeşitli tüketici gruplarından oluşan tüketim öznelerini olumlayan bir söylemsel oluşumu içermektedir. Bu söylemin söz dağarcığı, bu nedenle yatak kapasiteleri, otel doluluk oranları, ortalama harcanan para, emlak değerleri gibi ifadelerden oluşmaktadır ve bu minvalde bir rasyonel bilgi üretir. Benzer şekilde, gece yaşamının sosyo-kültürel ve sosyo-ekonomik hiyerarşileri bu piyasa aklını yansıtmaktadır. 'İstenmeyen' kimlikler ve kültürler tüketimci yaşam tarzlarıyla tezat oluşturan unsurlar olarak kurulmaktadır.

Ancak; öte yandan, bu tezde, Beyoğlu'nun kentsel yönetim rejiminde şekillenen söylemsel şemaların aynı zamanda tesir dinamikleriyle de ilişkili olduğunu ileri sürüyorum. Tüketicileri ve sermaye yatırımcılarını cezbetmeyi her şeyin önüne koyan yönetici akıl Beyoğlu'nun tesir kapasitesini diğer her norm ve değer önüne koymaktadır. Çekicilik, arzulanabilirlik ve güvenlik standartları turizm kapasiteleri, çeşitli ekonomik göstergeler gibi somut hesaplamalar ve ölçümlerden oluşmamaktadır, aynı zamanda Beyoğlu'nun tesir yaşamının nasıl yönetildiğiyle de doğrudan ilişkilidir. Bu sebeple, neoliberal söylem ve pratiklerde duyguların merkezi bir yeri vardır. İnsanların (ister tüketiciler olarak ister yatırımcılar olarak) Beyoğlu'na dair nasıl hissettikleri hedef-nesne haline gelmektedir; yönetici

organlar değer üretici unsurlar olarak anlamını bulan tesir yatkınlıklarına (affective dispositions) özel bir önem atfetmektedirler. İnsan ve sermaye akışını Beyoğlu'na çekmek ancak insanların Beyoğlu'na bağlı hissetmelerini sağlayacak bir duygu yönetiminin sağlandığı durumda mümkün olabilecektir.

Benzer şekilde, öz-çıkarı doğrultusunda hareket eden girişimci özneler gece yaşamı içerisindeki toplumsal ayrımları duygusal terimlerle temsil etmektedirler. 'Tiksinme' ve 'korku' duygularının kültürel inşası bir taraftan bazı bedenleri, pratikleri ve yerleri marjinalleştirirken, bir taraftan da neoliberal değer yapısının normative anlamlarını üretirler. Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamında neoliberal özneler piyasa aklıyla uyumlu olmayan özne pozisyonlarını anlatırken tesir söylemlerine başvurumaktadırlar. Söz konusu 'uyumlu' ve 'uyumsuz' özneler korku/güven, tiksime/cazibe gibi duygusal terimlerle birbirinden ayrıştırılarak anlatılaştırılmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, 'tiksinç' ve 'korkunç' bedenler, pratikler ve yerlerin temsili neoliberalizmin duygusal olarak onaylandığı ve meşrulaştırıldığı bir söylemsel oluşum halini almaktadır.

Çalışmanın katkı sunduğu ikinci nokta neoliberal ve muhafazakar akıl arasındaki ilişkidir. Beyoğlu'nun yönetim rejiminde piyasa aklının ön plana çıkması kökenleri İslamcı siyasete dayanan ve muhafazakar bir siyasi yönelime sahip olan AKP döneminde gerçekleşmiştir. Bu durum Türkiye'nin bakım rejimi, sosyal yardım politikaları, üreme ve cinsel haklar gibi farklı alanlardaki neoliberal yönetim sanatlarına farklı halleri ve veçheleriyle görünürleşmektedir (bkz. Acar ve Altunok, 2013; Beşpınar, 2014; Buğra, 2012; Karaman, 2013a; Kaya, 2015).

Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamı içerisindeki dinamikleri göz önünde bulundurarak, neoliberal ve muhafazakar söylem ve pratiklerin karmaşık biçimlerde iç içe geçtiği savunulabilir. Wendy Brown'ın (2006, 691) ABD örneğini açıklamak için söylediği gibi, iki siyasi akıl arasındaki ilişki, hesaplanmamış bir uyum (inadvertent convergence) özelliği gösterir. Bu durum, alkol tüketimini düzenleyen (alkollü içkilerin vergilerindeki ciddi artışlar, alkollü içki endüstrisindeki markaların kamusal görünürlüğüne yönelik sınırlandırmalar ve alkollü içkilerin geç vakit alım-satımına getirilen kısıtlamalar gibi) muhafazakar

pratikler için özellikle geçerlidir; zira, bu pratikler Beyoğlu'nda eğlence yaşamı üzerinde hesaplanmamış (inadvertent) bazı sonuçlar doğurmaktadır. Özellikle vergi politikaları nihai ve dolaylı olarak gece yaşamının şirketleşmiş ve mutenalaşmış bir biçime doğru evrilmesini kolaylaştıran bir mekanizma olarak işlerlik kazanmaktadır. Aslına bakılacak olursa, bu pratikler Beyoğlu'nda (ya da başka herhangi bir yerde) alkol temelli eğlence yaşamını ortadan kaldıracak baskıcı bir niteliğe sahip değildir; ama, Beyoğlu'nun gece mekanlarına farklı biçimlerde nüfuz etmektedirler. Yukarıda belirtildiği gibi, eğlence sektörünün alt segmentinde yer alan mekanlar için ekonomik bir baskı olarak işlemektedir çünkü bu mekanlar artan vergi oranlarına paralel olarak ürün ve hizmetlerini yeniden fiyatlayacak kapasiteye sahip değildir. Buna karşın, sektörün üst segmentinde yer alan mekanlar ürün ve hizmetlerini yeniden fiyatlayarak karlarından vazgeçmek zorunda kalmamaktadır. Hatta, özellikle şirketleşmiş olan ve daha büyük ölçekli eğlence organizasyonunu örgütleyen mekanlar yüksek miktarlarda alım yaptıklarından avantajlı fiyatlarla işlemlerini gerçekleştirmektedirler. Bu sayede, vergi yükünü daha az hissetmektedirler. Bu sayede, (esasinda muhafazakar pratikler olarak değerlendirilebilecek olan) vergi politikaları hesaplanmamış bir biçimde (inadvertently) Beyoğlu'nun neoliberal yönetim sanatlarına eklemlenmektedirler. Beyoğlu'nun daha imtiyazlı sınıflara hizmet veren bir alan olarak yeniden yapılandırılması sürecinde dolaylı ama etkin bir rol oynamaktadırlar.

Buradan yola çıkarak, neoliberalizm ve muhafazakarlık arasındaki ilişkiyi, Wendy Brown'ın (2006) tabirini alarak, 'hesaplanmamış uyum' (inadvertent convergence) olarak adlandırılabilirliğini savunuyorum. Bu iki siyasal aklın belli noktalarda birbirini içine işlemesini açıklayabilmek için, 'hesaplanmamışlık' (inadvertence) terimi çelişkileri, belirsizliği ve gerilimi ima ediyor ama bunlar iki siyasal aklın birbirini karşılıklı olarak güçlendirmesinin önünde bir engel teşkil etmiyorlar. Örneğin, Beyoğlu'nun gece yaşamını göz önünde bulundurarak söyleyecek olursak, muhafazakarlık ile neoliberalizm arasında bir gerilimin olageldiğini söylemek mümkündür. Aslına bakılacak olursa, Beyoğlu'nun gece eğlencesine farklı orta sınıf tüketici gruplarını çekme vizyonu muhafazakar aklın teşvik ettiği

‘ahlaki özne’yle mükemmel bir uyum içerisinde değildir. Gece eğlencesi, alkol tüketimi, cinsel arzular gibi pratiklerle ilişkili bir kentli özne temsili aile yaşamı, geleneksel değerler ve dinsel normları önceleyen muhafazakarlıkla bir dereceye kadar tezat oluşturur.

Bu nedenle, ‘muhafazakar neoliberalizm’ Beyoğlu’nda çok değerli (polyvalent) bir biçim olarak Beyoğlu sahnesinde yerini alır. Alkol tüketimi ve gece eğlencesini de içeren bedensel hazlar, bu kapsamda, normatif olarak tamamen reddedilmezler. Kentsel gelişim hedeflerine hizmet ettikleri ölçüde teşvik dahi edilirler. Gece yaşamı ve onunla ilişkili tüm pratikler, Beyoğlu’nun çekici ve güvenli bir bölge olarak yeniden inşasında kültürel ve sembolik bir öneme haizdir. Dolayısıyla, yönetilmesi ve düzenlenmesi gereken unsurlar olarak öne çıksalar da, Beyoğlu’nun kamusal kültürünün parçası olarak teşvik edilmeye devam ederler. Alkol mekanlarının çeşitli düzenlemelere maruz kalmasına karşın Beyoğlu’nda nicelik olarak genişlemesi bunun en çarpıcı göstergelerinden biridir. Bu sayede, Beyoğlu’nda kendine yer bulan kimlik ve kültürler piyasa aklının değer ve normlarıyla uyum içerisinde oldukları ölçüde Kabul ve teşvik edilmektedirler. Buna karşın, muhafazakar akıl karmaşık biçimlerde süreçlerin içerisine sızarak neoliberal yönetim sanatları içerisinde rol oynamaktadır.

## C. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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### YAZARIN

Soyadı : Ural

Adı : Haktan

Bölümü : Sosyoloji

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : Nocturnal Neoliberalism in Beyoglu: The Construction of Attractive and Safe Nightlife

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans

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