CITY AS A FIELD OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION; THE CASE OF KADIKÖY
DISTRICT IN ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

CITY AS A FIELD OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION; THE CASE OF KADIKÖY
DISTRICT IN ISTANBUL

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This thesis problematizes the cultural politics and field of cultural production in
metropolitan cities in Turkey by focusing on the case of theaters in Kadıköy District
in Istanbul by dwelling upon the argument that there are transformative relations and
interactions among theaters, communities, local governments, citizen and public
space. As oppose to approaches which handled them separately, in this study these
actors and settings are explored in interaction with each other as complementary
components of wider cultural field.

Drawing upon Bourdieu's approach to the cultural field, dynamics of field of theater
are examined with regard to power struggles, positions and position takings of the
actors involved in Kadıköy in interaction with the each other as, space, spectator and
Kadıköy Municipality as an important public actor in the District.

The analysis based on the field research shows the ways in which how the famous-
consonant, player-spectator, public-private contradictions determine the distribution

of power in the field and how local governments influence these contradictions through the redistribution of common resources of the city. An examination of the dynamics of change in the distribution of power in the field may facilitate the monitoring of consistency by carrying the expectations of the institutions to a more realistic ground while making urban-cultural planning.

The thesis makes a contribution to the policy making of the public authorities by underlining the importance of the transformative power of local governments emerging out of interaction with the other components in a field of cultural production by also pointing to constitutive role of such policies in the formation of public space.

Keywords: cultural policies, local government, community building, theater

ÖZ

KÜLTÜREL ÜRETİM ALANI OLARAK KENT;
ISTANBUL, KADIKÖY ÖRNEĞİ

YALÇIN, Bahar

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve

Yerel Yönetimler Anabilim Dalı

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Araştırma, İstanbul'da bulunan, Kadıköy İlçesi örneğine odaklanarak, Türkiye'deki büyük şehirlerde, kültür politikası üretimini sorunsallaştırmaktadır. Çalışmada; topluluklar, yerel yönetimler, kamusal alan ve vatandaş arasında birbirini dönüştüren bir ilişki etkileşimin var olduğu argümanı üzerinde durur. Genelde birbirinden ayrı ele alınan bu dört bileşen, araştırma içerisinde birbirini tamamlayan ve etkileyen faktörler olarak, geniş bir kültürel üretim alanının bir parçası olarak tiyatro alanı içerisinde ele alınmıştır.

Bourdiue'nun kültürel alana yaklaşımını kullanarak, Kadıköy'de yer alan aktörlerin iktidar mücadeleleri, pozisyonları ve pozisyon alma şekilleri, tiyatroların birbirleriyle, mekanla, izleyiciyle ve ilçedeki önemli bir kamusal aktör olan Kadıköy Belediyesi ile ilişkileri ile birlikte ele alınacaktır.

Saha araştırmasına dayanan analiz, ünlü-ünsüz, oyuncu-izleyici, kamu-özel çelişkilerinin ve yerel yönetimlerin bu çelişkileri, kaynakların dağıtılması yoluyla nasıl etkilendiğini göstermektedir. Alandaki güç dağılımındaki değişimin dinamiklerini incelemenin, kentlerin kültürel planlamalarını yaparken kurumların beklentilerini daha gerçekçi bir yere taşıyarak tutarlılıklarının izlenmesini kolaylaştırmada önemli olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Tez, yerel yönetimlerin, kültürel üretim alanının diğer bileşenleri ile kurduğu ilişki şekli ile birlikte ortaya çıkan kamusal alanlardaki dönüştürücü gücünün önemini vurgulayarak, bu alanda üretilen politikalara katkı sağlamayı hedeflemektedir. Bu katkı aynı zamanda kamusal alanın kültürel politikalar ile yeniden üretilmesinin değerlendirilmesi şansını sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: kültür politikaları, yerel yönetimler, topluluk oluşturma, tiyatro

To My Grandmother

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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AKM: Atatürk Culture Center (Atatürk Kültür Merkezi)

ANAP: Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi)

CHP: Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)

CKM: Caddebostan Culture Center (Caddebostan Kültür Merkezi)

ÇEKÜL: Foundation for the Protection and Promotion of the Environment and Cultural Heritage (Çevre ve Kültür Değerlerini Koruma ve Tanıtma Vakfı)

ÇOGED: Association of Children and Youth Theaters (Çocuk ve Gençlik Tiyatroları Derneği)

DOB: Turkish State Opera and Ballet (Devlet Opara ve Balesi)

Ed: Edited

Iss: Issue

İDEA: Atelier, Class, Event, Kitchen (İşlik, Derslik, Etkinlik, Aşlık)

İKSV: İstanbul Foundation of Culture and Arts (İstanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı)

KGM: Kadıköy Youth Center (Kadıköy Gençlik Merkezi)

KKM: Kozyatağı Culture Center (Kozyatağı Kültür Merkezi)

KTP: Kadıköy Theater's Platform (Kadıköy Tiyatroları Platformu)

LBTI: Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgression, Intersex (Lezbiyen, Biseksüel, Transeksüel, İnterseks)

p.   Pages

Pub: Publications

TAK: Design Atetiler Kadıköy (Tasarım Atölyesi Kadıköy)

TESAK: History Literature Art Library (Tarih Edebiyat Sanat Kütüphanesi)

TİYAD: Theater Producers Association (Tiyatro Yapımcıları Derneği)

TKP: Communist Party of Turkey (Türkiye Kominist Partisi)

TÜİK: Turkish Statistical Institute (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu)

Vol: Volume

X Center: Used instead of one of the centers of Kadıköy Municipality

Y Center: Used instead of one of the centers of Kadıköy Municipality

YEKON: Committee of Creative Industries (Yaratıcı Endüstriler Konseyi)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Cultural policies, which have become a supplementary constituent for politics and the economy, play a critical role in urban policy making processes in most countries including Turkey. The cosmopolitan cities, with their economic, cultural and demographic diversity and spatial opportunities, are venues as well as dissemination points of cultural policies. As an outcome of cultural policies, it is aimed that we/people build communities and transform the urban space through these communities and live in a more tolerant society.

Economically, the creative thinking environment facilitated by investments made in the cultural field is expected to nurture and expand today's creative class by feeding the culture industry. The necessary institutional arrangements are expected from local authorities to reach such targets. However, in most cases, the infrastructure to serve to cultural areas is not evenly provided by local governments or other public authorities. When we talk about a city or a locality, we do not only mention its spatial organization but also the social relations. Yet we know that it is not only political and economic conditions, but also, the physical amenities, spatial texture, and level of service provision in the city that affect the quality of urban life.

Hence, due to the existing social and regional injustices and the inequality of opportunity, cultural studies could even deepen injustices in a city without comprehensive policies. The results of this situation can be deemed from the fact that the cities that used to have a lively cultural and social life, have become the areas that consumed the city itself, since the essence that forms the cores of that life moved

away. Therefore, the policy dimension and force struggles are significant to evaluate the relationship between culture policies and cities. The critical choice is between two main visions of the city; on the one hand, there is this search for a city as a living space and place around the use value and there is restless motion and pressure pushing the cities toward other end as a source of exchange value and relentless rent seeking activities (Lefebvre, 1991, 68).

This study focuses on the city as a concrete space of use value(s) and on the production place of culture with social and spatial features of it. In this production, Kadıköy District in Istanbul is handled as a cultural production field. Before determining the components of the field with the help of Bourdieu's approaches, it is assumed that there are global perspectives about the relation among culture policies, cities and communities in the cities, and these perspectives are controversial since their relations with the neo liberal policies also determine some positions for these components. These global perspectives are critical in order to interpret position taking mechanisms and struggles of force in the field since it is impossible to isolate any metropolitan city from the trends of global strategies. The relation of local and global is also contradictory, and local examples could have potential to change the assumed positions and perspectives. Therefore, the second chapter of this study starts with some definitions and identification of connections between the cultural field and the wider public spheres of the cities.

International networks and projects do affect the cultural arena of the cities. However, they often lack the sensitivity to local differences and uniqueness. Behind this difficulty lies the determination of the relationships that define the local scale in terms of power and complexity compared to other scales (Şengül, 232). One of the reasons that make the local complex is related to the interaction of theory and practice which can beanalyzed comparatively easier according to other scales. Therefore, the challenges in the local appear more palpable.

In the study, it is aimed to discuss the position takings and type of struggle among the components of the city as a field for a cultural production. Both the general view about the cultural studies and position of cities constitute a framework before taking

a closer look at the field. The components of the field are determined as communities, local government, space and citizens in the study. Since the case study examined the private theaters in Kadıköy, these components will be discussed as community of theaters, Kadıköy Municipality, space and spectator.

In the third chapter, after evaluating the general framework, challenges that have specific connections with the case study will be discussed as the second part of theoretical framework. Therefore, theoretical framework can be observed both in chapter two and three as complement and contradictions of the field. Bourdieu's conception of field is introduced in the chapters as an effective tool of analysis of the cultural domain.

The fourth chapter provides a point of entry to the case study by focusing on the uniqueness of Kadıköy. The chapter then identifies some socio-spatial features of Kadıköy District in terms of general characteristics of population in relation to the concentration of cultural industry and activities in Kadıköy.

What makes the theater issue unique for Kadıköy and for the thesis is also critical. In the fourth chapter it is understood that some different facilities point out Kadıköy as a focus of interest both for cultural production and a living space for creative classes. However, what could not be easily understood is the policy dimension behind the socio-spatial organizations of the city. While some features – especially spatial ones - are instinctively occurring, some of them occur as a result of a policy making processes and the impact of its institutions. The main policy actor in the study is Kadıköy Municipality and its approaches and interferences to the field are critical to originate a transformation for other components related to their positions. The second issue is the theater's initiative to build a community, called Kadıköy Theater's Platform (KTP). Approaches and relations between these two institutions create a new field with its space and spectator. What makes this field different from the both global perspectives supposed and existing ones is related to its political attitudes. What the attitude is being against to pressure of populism and opportunism in the field. What is mentioned by the field is both in daily life and in the political sphere. Being a community not for only self-interests and to deal with communities instead

dealing with popular names in the theater field, changes the rules of the field in the Kadıköy example. Therefore, what this thesis seeks is to show the possibility of a alternativefield with its opportunities with a different spectator and various ways in the use of public spaces.

As the thesis focuses on Kadıköy District as a focal point of cultural production in Istanbul, the fifth chapter deals with the findings of the field research. Some detailed discussion of the emergence and development of private theaters in the district is provided by linking this trajectory to the public authorities; both central and local ones. Previously introduced approach is deployed to analyze the case of theaters in Kadıköy. The field study focuses on the correlation of private theaters, local government, space and spectator in Kadıköy. This correlation will be evaluated by describing their position takings and analyze the effect of transformation on these positions. Conditions and contradictions in the theoretical framework will help to criticize and observe different potentials that occur according to differences in position taking. Analysis provides us an understanding of the transformation and change in the field of theaters in the district, and it also gives some clues on how a distinctive form of public space is produced through cultural practices.

It must be noted that the private theater is just an example about how cultural practices could be studied by applying the field. However, the approach could be multiplied with different branches of art or any subject that can be a part of cultural policies just like sport clubs. Building a community, affecting the redistribution of public resources, using space and relation to citizen could be key components also for analysing different fields. The study also shows the role of a local government. This role is different from the role that global perspectives point out since they describe non-political institutions as local governments. However, in this study, it is seen that municipalities are important in the field with their political perspectives since this perspective creates institutions and re-distributes opportunities and resources. It is revealed in this study that there is a sharp contrast between being a part of an existing popular culture by supporting celebrities and rejecting the existing ones and opening the field to new comers. In this study, the field started to be shaped

again since a mayor and a team working with the mayor wished to change the rules of the field and open the field to new comers even though the existing ones resisted.

1.1 Aim of the Research

How should we understand the cultural field in city? While some groups see cultural field as a supplementary dimension, and therefore, secondary compared to economic and political dynamics of the city, some consider it as an antidote of discrimination and intolerance in society.

This study aims to analyse the components of a cultural production process and transformation in that field. The city itself is assumed as the basement of it. The main problem of this thesis is to evaluate interpretations of these components to the field of cultural production. What is the role of these components and how they get related is critical. Showing the role of local government as a public authority is especially vital in this respect since it is important to redefine the expectations and evaluation mechanisms about the role of public agencies in that field. Another critical issue is building communities especially in a branch of art. The study shows the difference between community based organizations and personal relationship based organizations in the theater field. It is seen that if a local government chooses to act with community based organizations instead of popular figures in order to create a public policy both the spatial and social organization of the city could change. Therefore, in this study, four components; theaters, local government (Kadıköy Municipality), space and spectator are handled in order to show their reactions, interpretations and correlations according to how they use their potential to redefine the existing cultural production field.

Beside the main problem, the study also asks questions about a general framework for the cultural domain. These start out with the following questions: what are the special conditions for a city that make it an appropriate ground for cultural production? What makes it unique? Another question is whether it is possible to break the pressure of mass media on the field and build new communities by

rejecting competition rules of the market. Yet another one is how the components of the field take position mutually in order to protect the uniqueness and break the pressure of populism and opportunism in the field. The final question is what the conditionals of establishing long term coherent policies are.

Regarding the main problem and these questions, it is aimed to emphasize the importance of the need for a consistent social approach and evaluate the effect of the components' positions for producing cultural polices. This evaluation should be done by considering the feasibility and authority of these components. As a hypothesis, if there is a common value about the need and consequences about theater -as a case-, from the state agencies to the spectator, it is possible to change the conditions of the field in order to prevent the city from being a part of the consumption society and produce a new field.

1.2 Methodology of the Research

The most important issue which is crucial for the improvement of the methodology is that I used to be a councillor and deputy mayor in Kadıköy Municipality between the dates 2014-2019. I have not taken any responsibility about the culture department as the deputy mayor or have not been in the culture commission in the council, or not been in any meeting about adult theaters. However, as a result of being a part of the administration, it could be said that observation is the main motivation and tool for this research. Besides observation, qualitative method is preferred for mixing the data that includes in-depth interviews, focus groups, maps, magazines, council resolutions, reports and other type of written materials.

Kadıköy District is chosen as a case study due to its special status in Istanbul as one of the spatially concentrated area of so-called cultural industry and production. A number of in-depth interviews were carried out with various actors of the theater field involving various theater groups and their representatives, municipal actors such as the mayor, the director of the Department of Culture as well as the other influential actors in the sector in Kadıköy.

There are two reports prepared and published by Kadıköy Municipality; "Kadıköy the Center; Spatial Strategic Plan Current Status Report"[1] and "Kadıköy Municipality Integrated Report"[2], which are both based on the data from 2017. These reports are used as resources for analyzing spatial features of the city and organizational and infrastructure capacity of Kadıköy Municipality. Besides them, World Culture City reports, statistics of Turkish Statistical Institute (TUİK), policy reports of Istanbul Foundation of Culture and Art (İKSV) and related comparative reports about the effects of cultural policies both in economic and social dimension were used.

The field study was done with 25 people. Moreover, in-depth interviews and focus groups have been used. These people are chosen from municipality officials, council members, art consultants, theatre owners, audiences, architects, the mayor and a representative from Istanbul Foundation of Culture and Art (İKSV).

Questions were prepared for each interview group and interviewee and different perspectives were gathered together. Discrepancy is considered in generations, resources, authority and approaches. Discussions around practical implementations and transformed policies with both supplementary and contrary arguments are aimed. Therefore, interviewees have been chosen according to snowball sampling. Only the municipality officials, consultants and spectators have been coded, while decision makers, theater players, architects and representatives of institutions are represented by their name since using the name of theaters and institutions is important for a clear understanding according to the scope this of research. As an observation from the interviews, all interviewees had high motivation to talk about the subject without hesitation.

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[1] Kadıköy Belediyesi, Mekansal Stratejik Plan Mevcut Durum Raporu: Merkez Kadıköy, http://www.kadikoy.bel.tr/stratejikplan/, 09.07.2019.

[2] Kadıköy Belediyesi, Entegre Düşünce Yaklaşımı – Kadıköy Belediyesi Entegre Raporu (prepared by ARGE), 11.01.2019, http://www.kadikoyakademi.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Dr.-Erkin-Erimez-Entegre-Raporlama-ve-Kad%C4%B1k%C3%B6y-Belediyesi.pdf, 09.07.2019.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF "CULTURE POLICIES AND CITIES"

This chapter will start from the argument that cities are the contested focus of field(s) of cultural production. What specifies "the field", according to Bourdieu; " is a separate social universe having its own laws of functioning independent of those of politics and the economy". (Bourdieu, 1993,162) In order to evaluate the "own laws and strategies of the field" with a case study, firstly some of the external and internal conflictions of the field will be tackled.

External ones are general political and economic discussions which draw a framework to understand the correlation of cultural and urban policies. After a general discuss about the defining terminologies and relations of these concepts with urban life both in spatial and social extent, some critical questions of Sharon Zukin's will be asked. Thinking about these questions means basically; to interrogate about if cultural studies is a tool for community building and has potential to create new perspectives forneo liberalism or supplementary for late capitalism.

Cultural policies are getting popular all over the world not simply because of social changes but also becausethey prove to be effective tools for economy. As Zukin claims (Zukin, 2000, 2):

> Large numbers of new immigrants and ethnic minorities have put pressure on public institutions, from schools to political parties, to deal with their individual demands. Such high culture institutions as art museums and symphony orchestras have been driven to expand and diversify their offerings to appeal to a broader public. These pressures, broadly speaking, are both ethnic and aesthetic. By creating policies and ideologies of "multiculturalism," they have forced public institutions to change.

These institutions articulate the economy in coordination with symbolic economy. "This is perhaps not surprising in the context of globalization, where late capitalism sees symbolic goods as niche markets and the arts and culture are big business—for local, domestic markets and for international and tourism trade." (Evans, 2003,2)

Just like other issues in social sciences, globalization brings out the local as if it is the main actor, therefore cities have become the center of cultural studies because of their scale and variety of services. Florida, gives reference to Jacobs in order to evaluate the relation with creativity and the city; "The diversity, of whatever kind, that is generated by cities rests on the fact that in cities so many people are so close together, and among them contain so many different tastes, skills, needs, supplies, and bees in their bonnets". (Florida, 2012, 190) This diversity is important because today it is claimed that there is a direct connection between the new dynamics of economy and creativity which is fed by diversity. Florida is one of the most significant theoreticians of creative industries related to urban policies. "Cities have always been important engines of economic growth, but they are assuming an even greater importance in today's knowledge-driven innovation economy, in which place-based ecosystems are critical to economic growth.". (Florida, 2012, 188)

Culture has become a contradictory issue both in politics and economy but it is not used as with its potential to change the basic rules of them. Zukin emphasizes its passive position in changing the rules; "These signals both an ideological and a behavioral revolution but one without overarching goals, movements, or shifts of power." (Zukin, 2000,263)

2.1 Terminologies about Culture Policies

2.1.1 Culture

Firstly the word "culture" itself need to be clarified that if it is about defining a common or an artistic area. Zukin claims that what we understand from the word has changed (Zukin, 2000,263):

> Ironically, the exhaustion of the ideal of a common destiny has strengthened the appeal of culture. Yet this is culture rather than Culture; it is both broader than the high culture of museums and social elites and more specific than the old definition of a society's generally accepted patterns of how to see, think, and act. In common American usage, culture is, first of all, "ethnicity": habits carried through space and time, refined through interaction with church and state, and asserted as a means of differentiation and independence.

It is understood that "culture" defines wide and shifting area. Another issue is that related to Zukin's definition, Graeme Evans emphasize the difference between art planning and cultural planning (Evans 2003,7):

> Arts Planning—the allocation of resources and distribution of public subsidy and facilities for a range of designated and prescribed arts activities—'art forms' (namely theatres, galleries, museums, concert halls, dance studios, arts and media centers, film exhibition, etc.), and the support of artists and cultural workers, including education and training. It takes place at national (*flagship*; arts policy), regional (regional or provincial arts area) and at local community and arts amenity levels.
>
> Cultural Planning—on one hand the 'art of urban planning' (Munro 1967) and also the wider integration of arts and cultural expression in urban society. It is also described as 'the strategic use of cultural resources for the integrated development of cities, regions and countries' (DMU 1995).

According to these definitions, even though they are used as compound "culture and art" policies, they have to be differentiated. Cultural planning composes the sphere of art with education, environment, training, social policies and it is related with the policy makers. In other saying all these spheres are resource for culture like in Figure 1. (Comedia, 1991, 78)

Symbolic sphere	Economic sphere	Political sphere
Social sphere	**CULTURAL RESOURCES/ PERSPECTIVE**	Environmental sphere
Educational sphere	Arts/cultural sphere	Training sphere
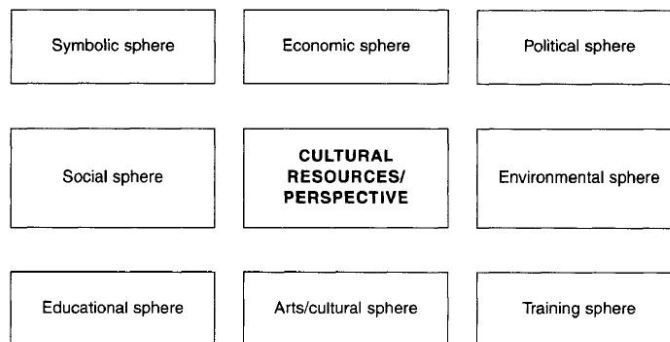
Figure 1 - 2.1.1 Cultural Resources

Therefore cultural planning has to be tackled with at the scale of urban planning. It is important to differentiate cultural planning from arranging cultural activities. According to this perspective both for states and local governments, culture departments should not only care about the arranging art activities but they also should be responsible for planning whole cultural resources.

Considering the culture in a wider scale effects also politics and representation strategies both in terms of minority groups and cities. Zukin claims (Zukin, 2000,263):

> Culture is also understood to be a legitimate way of carving a niche in society. Now that labor unions and political parties seem powerless to challenge social divisions, culture as "collective lifestyle" appears a meaningful, and often conflictual, source of representation. As something that makes implicit values visible, however, culture is often reduced to a set of marketable images. Instrument, commodity, theme park, and fetish: culture is something that sells, something that is seen.

Since the culture sells, it is also related to economy. In order to understand this relation terminologies about creative economies are also critical.

2.1.2 Creative Economies

What we understand from creativity is crucial in order to analyze its social conditionals. In other words, it would be also helpful to mention what it is not. It is

not intelligence or talent in an artistic meaning. According to Florida; "Although creativity is often viewed as an individual phenomenon, it is an inescapably social process." (Florida, 2012, 22) Therefore it is a result of social process and also related to other phenomenas. Florida claims that creativity in different fields has mutual relationships (2012, 20);

> The varied forms of creativity that we typically regard as different from one another—technological creativity (or invention), economic creativity (entrepreneurship), and artistic and cultural creativity, among others—are in fact deeply interrelated. Not only do they share a common thought process, they reinforce each other through cross-fertilization and mutual stimulation.

 "Cultural industries" and "creative economies" are also unclear terms that are mistakenly used in exchange for each other generally. While a critic, such as Florida, uses them by attributing a revolutionary meaning to them, another critic claims that they are new tools of colonialism and sources of inequality. From either perspectives, it is visible that; it is an inevitable concept.

According to British Council, creative economy toolkit (Newbigin, 2010,15):

> The "cultural industries" are as old as human society. Digital media and the hundreds of thousands of creative enterprises that have been made possible by digital technologies are, of course, new. So are many of the goods and services that an increasingly sophisticated global market demand. But the desire to create things whose value is not purely practical – things that are beautiful; that communicate cultural value through music, drama, entertainment and the visual arts; that communicate social position through style and fashion – these desires are as old as human society. There always have been, and always will be, people with the imagination and talent to make and do these things. And there will always be people who are prepared to pay them to do it. That is the basis of the creative economy.
>
> But when these ancient traditions of cultural work and cultural industry - designing, making, decorating and performing - began to be woven together with a wider range of modern economic activities – advertising, design, fashion and moving image media – and, even more importantly, began to be given much greater reach through the power of digital technology - that was the moment when the "creative economy", as most people use the term, was truly born.

If we talk about a kind of economic system which is called "creative economy "it has to be related to place, people and production relationships. Therefore, new concepts

and classes are argued just like "creative class" and "creative region". These concepts are mainly mentioned by Richard Florida Rainnie claims (2005, 140):

> Florida argues that it is not knowledge or knowledge ability that is important in the new economy, but rather *creativity*. Creativity is taken to lie in the hearts and minds of a few talented individuals for whom the search is now on. Regional development is about attracting and retaining these creative workers – not about attracting and retaining the companies that will then get the workers, but attracting the workers who will attract the companies.

Florida defines "3T" s of economic development: technology, talent, and tolerance (2012, 203). It is hard to define a number of workers of this class due to its flexible definition and work conditions. Florida's estimation about it; "The Creative Class numbers 300 million workers in the eighty-two nations for which data are available. This is double the 150 million I estimated in *The Flight of the Creative Class* in 2005*,* mainly because our data now covers more countries". He also adds; "The highest-ranking countries have close to one-half of their workforce in the Creative Class".(2012, 268) According to *The 2011 Global Creativity Index*[3] it is figured out density of creative class and technology, talent, tolerance and creativity index. It has seen that these indices are density is related each other however tolerance differs. Tolerance is related to the political and social conditionals that Florida do not matter these conditionals as a parameter.

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[3]Florida, R., Mellander, C., & Stolarick, K., *Creativity and Prosperity: The 2011 Global Creativity Index*, University of Toronto, Martin Prosperity Institute Report, October 2011.

The Global Creative Class Map

Rank
1st   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80th

Figure 2 - 2.1.2.1 The Global Creative Class Map

The Global Technology Index

Rank
1st   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80th
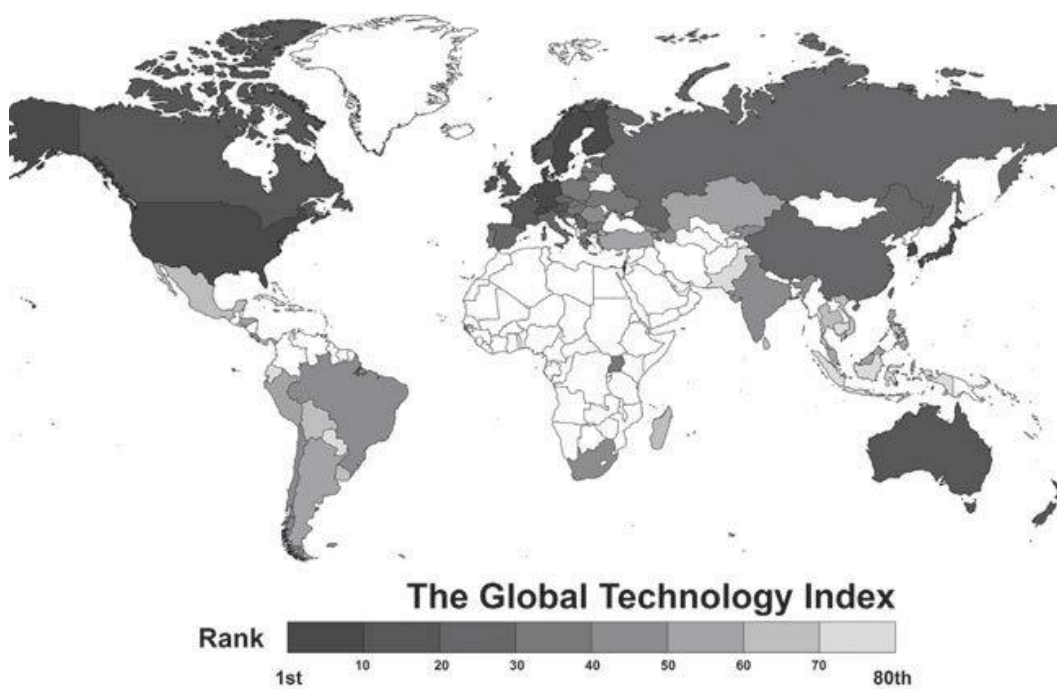
Figure 3 - 2.1.2.2 The Global Technology Index

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Figure 4 - 2.1.2.3 The Global Talent Index
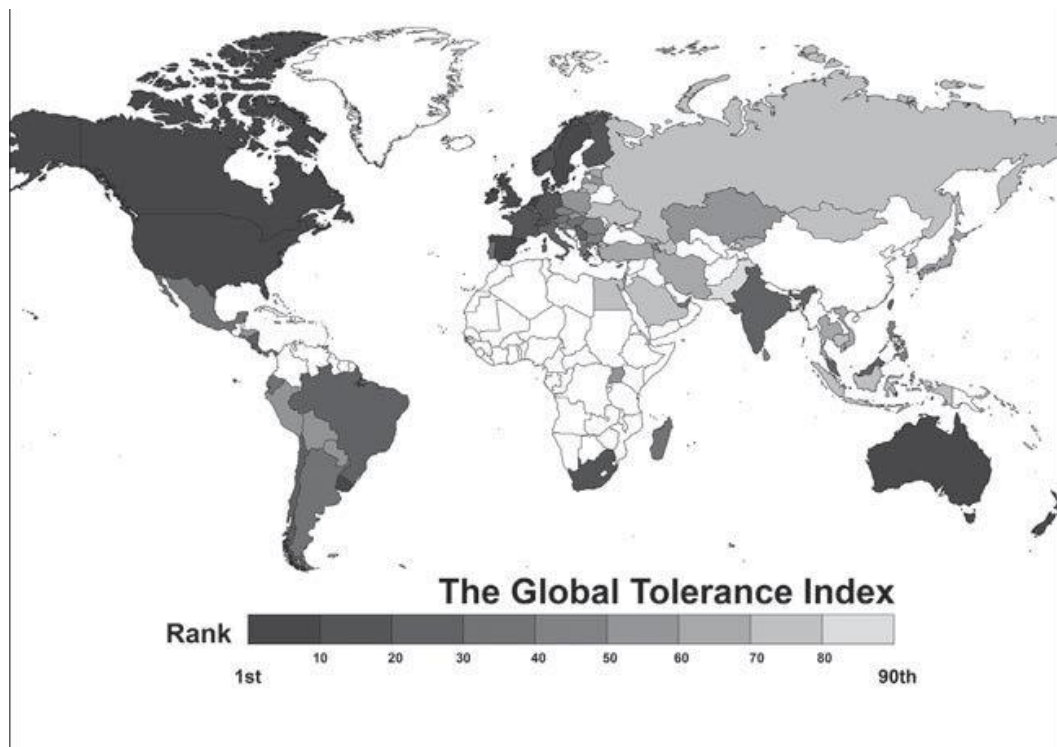
Figure 5 - 2.1.2.4 The Global Tolerance Index
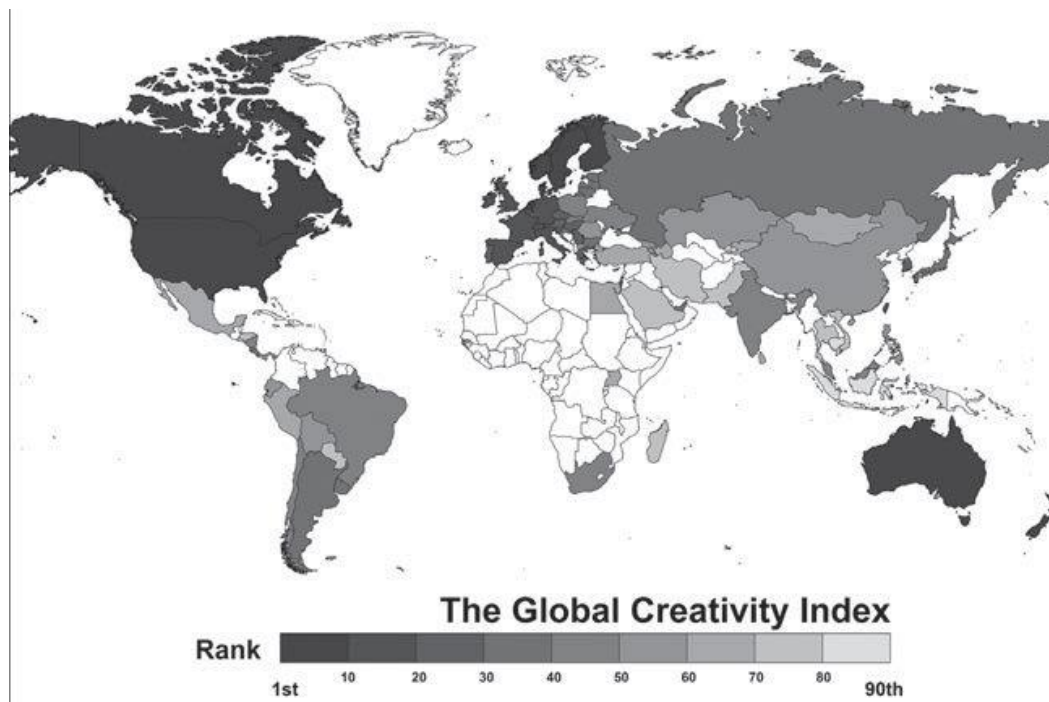
Figure 6 - 2.1.2.5 The Global Creativity Index

It is understood that Florida's creative class should be well educated and has to live in cities, preferably in cosmopolite cities with high range of opportunities. Therefore, the second issue is where these creative people will live. There should be also "creative regions" to live. According to Garlick (Rainnie, 2005,135):

> The creative region is one where innovative people come together and pool their ideas to generate non-linear solutions to issues that contribute to their local communities becoming better places. The creative region will be one that has the ability to generate and implement new ideas, by actively linking its structures and processes of innovation and learning to regional needs.

In the *State of the Regions Report,* it is also emphasized the relation between city, creativity and economy;(Rainnie, 2005,144, NE/ALGA 2002, 6.5)

> A city's tolerance and acceptance of diversity – its level of tolerance for a wide range of people – is key to its success in attracting talented people. Diverse, inclusive communities that welcome unconventional people –same sex households, immigrants, artists, and free-thinking 'bohemians'– are ideal for nurturing the creativity and innovation that characterize the knowledge economy.

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2.1.3 Tolerance of Space

As mentioned, Florida claims that there need three T's (Technology, Talent and Tolerance) for creative economies. Tolerance is crucial for the study because it is related to position takings of the components in a city. What we understand from tolerance is basically to obtain diversity. Florida claims; "The 2010 Tolerance Index includes three key variables—the share of immigrants or foreign-born residents, the Gay Index, and the Integration Index" (2012, 247) He also claims that there is a strong relations between life quality and tolerance; "The places that are most open to new ideas and that attract talented and creative people from across the globe broaden both their technology and talent capabilities, gaining a substantial economic edge."(2012, 233)

Why creative people choose these places or how do we understand that this is the place that we could improve our capacity? Florida answers; (2012, 245)

> Why would this be? For two reasons, each of which sheds further light on the role of diversity, openness, and tolerance in regional growth and development. Artists and bohemians not only produce amenities but are attracted to places that have them. As selective buyers with eyes for amenities, authenticity, and aesthetics, they tend to concentrate in places where those things abound. The second reason is even more important: the openness that gay and bohemian populations not only reflect but signal.

"Signals" need an effort, a social organization. He defines the signs as; "…a mix of ages, people of different ethnic groups and races, people with different sexual orientations and alternative appearances, such as significant body piercings or tattoos." (Florida, 2012, 293)

He emphasize; "This is not to say that great schools, good jobs, and safe streets do not also matter".(Florida, 2012, 303) Even he claims traditional communities are dissolved with a new generation, he impresses on need for communities; "Not surprisingly, the ability to meet people and make friends is one of the most important factors that determines our happiness with our lives and communities.".(2012, 290)

All these factors are crucial to discuss about uniqueness of Kadıköy with the threats of this uniqueness. Florida also warn about the gentrification threat; (2012, 281)

> Quality of place does not occur automatically; it is an ongoing dynamic process that engages a number of disparate aspects of a community. But like most good things, it is not all good—what looks like neighborhood revitalization from one perspective is gentrification from another; rising housing values often go hand in hand with the displacement of long-term residents, a serious problem that demands serious responses.

What Florida do not talk about the "production" and "reproduction" process of these qualities and its relations with redistribution of sources. The study aims to highlight the importance of distribution of power in the field while evaluating the quality.

Even thought, Florida's perspective seems like wonderland however there are serious critics mostly about the gap in cause-effect relationship of his theory.David Sawicki (Rainnie, 2005, 144) argues that Florida's casual style lies at the heart of the confusion he exhibits between causation and correlation and that this can lead to inappropriate policy. Florida, explains it as; "Our society is not just becoming more unequal, its inequities are being etched into our economic geography."(2012, 194) Another critic is about the scale of the region or cities. For Sandra Yin (Rainnie, 2005, 144), Florida rests his argument on cities or regions with a population of at least 1 million people. Therefore, while he talks about some creative focus, he does not offer any mechanism for redistributing wealth and arrangement for equal conditions for people in order to be a part of creative class. It is also shown in the table 1[4] of creative class distribution that they all gathered around cosmopolitan cities.

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[4]Analysis by Charlotta Mellander from various sources, but see in particular the European Science Foundation project, *Technology, Talent and Tolerance in European Cities: A Comparative Analysis.*http://www.esf.org/activities/eurocores/running-programmes/ecrp/ecrp-scheme-2001-2004.html, 03.05.2019, (Florida, 2012, 270)

Table 1 - 2.1.2.1 The Creative Class in Global Cities

Region	Country	Creative Class Share
Amsterdam	Netherlands	46.0%
Stockholm	Sweden	46.0%
Helsinki	Finland	44.0%
Oxford	UK	42.8%
Munich	Germany	42.2%
London	UK	41.2%
Cambridge	UK	41.2%
Malmö-Lund	Sweden	41.0%
Berlin	Germany	39.3%
Hamburg	Germany	38.2%
Hannover	Germany	37.8%
Oslo	Norway	37.6%
Ottawa	Canada	37.6%
Bonn	Germany	37.3%
Toronto	Canada	37.1%
Copenhagen	Denmark	36.8%
Stuttgart	Germany	36.6%
Leicestershire	UK	36.2%
Leeds	UK	35.3%
Paris	France	35.1%

This table shows us the importance of global cities both in designing cultural policies and capacity to manage creative economy. It also shows that globalization do not create a homogeneous world that you can live where ever you want. People are attacking to big cities and economy is formulated in these cities also. However inequalities are accepted as conditions of the field and creative economy strategies are shaped with results of these conditions, changing the conditions is not seen the matter. However, as Zukin has emphasized, cultural planning should be highly related to the question of what kind of society do we want to live.

2.2 Global Approaches to Culture Policies

It is known that in the globalization period, local policies are also part of global policies. In other words, while states delegate their policy making power to local especially for social and cultural policies, international organizations, unions or platforms, prepare policy notes for cities. Cities are also important since they are connection points to the world. Şengül claims (2009, 251):

> Globalization is an important dimension of the emerging debate on local reflections in Turkey, such as Istanbul, Turkey is about to assume roles in the new era we are entering into linking the city to the outside world. Within this framework, the referenced discussion develops within the framework of the conceptualization of the "network of global cities" in the international literature.

These networks publish policy notes and do lobby practices all around the world. For example one of these notes is "The World Cities Culture Report 2018"[5] the report has supported by Bloomberg Philanthropies compose 35 cities which are called "global cities". The report emphasizes that urban cultural policy is shifting towards more egalitarian and citizen-centered models and summarize these shifted paradigm like this;

• We are facing a changing world order, with often divisive national politics creating a more hostile environment towards migrants, refugees and minorities.

• World cities have power and agency to respond to these changes. They are working together through networks to share ideas and knowledge, and make progress that is not happening at the national level.

• Though cultural policy over the last 20 years has often worked to alleviate social pressures, it has also sometimes unintentionally contributed to them, but this is changing.

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[5] World Cities Culture Report 2018, Bloomberg Philanthropies, BOP Consulting, Mayor of London, http://www.worldcitiescultureforum.com/publications/world-cities-culture-report-2018, 09.07.2019.

• In response to contemporary global challenges, world cities are rebalancing their cultural policy – supporting and creating programs that are aimed at making their cultural offer more inclusive and citizen-centered.

• This policy focus towards inclusiveness requires a shift in direction: an 'opening out' of culture in which city governments are recognizing, redefining and supporting new forms of culture, in new spaces, with new technologies, by new makers, to be enjoyed by new audiences.

• For world cities to succeed it is not enough to simply have culture as the golden thread of urban policy. Culture also needs to be open – open to all people and new places, to different ideas and new forms – so that all citizens can see a place for themselves in the city, and can coexist and collaborate with their neighbors, rather than resent or distrust them.

All these approaches show us that cultural policies are getting important for "social inclusion" policies. Moreover, what is understood from "culture" is more related to identity more than art activities. However, we don't know or it is impossible to make inferences from these reports that if these are a part of social-welfare state policies or fragmentary social inclusion projects. Implementation examples which are driven from the report at the web site[6];

- In Hong Kong, Rome and Moscow, mobile arts venues and libraries are used to bring culture closer to citizens in every corner of their cities, particularly those areas with traditionally lower engagement with arts and culture

- Projects in Montréal, San Francisco and Melbourne, have been developed in collaboration with, and in recognition of, indigenous populations to celebrate and fully acknowledge the cultures of First Nations

- A number of cities are working with migrants and refugees to provide cultural opportunities to marginalized groups, from support to refugee artist residencies in Paris to Brussels, to offering film screenings to refugees in parks, asylum centers and people's homes

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[6] World Cities Culture Report 2018, Bloomberg Philantropies, BOP Consulting, Mayor of London, http://www.worldcitiescultureforum.com/publications/world-cities-culture-report-2018, 09.07.2019.

- London has established the world's first Culture at Risk initiative – a hotline for venues at risk of closure due to rising rates, increasing development and shifting populations, and has been involved in saving 300 venues from grassroots music venues to LGBT+ spaces

- Stockholm's cultural administration has teamed up with media company Consigo on a project called Tactsenze, enabling the visually impaired to learn an instrument, an example of social inclusion through technology

- To respond to the needs of a growing ageing population Amsterdam's Age Friendly Cultural City programme focuses specifically on cultural provision for the city's older residents.

Another report from "Culture for Cities and Regions*"[7]; Future creative cities-Why culture is a smart local investment,* this one involve above 150 cities and regions and "tackle key cultural challenges at local level" just like: facing the demographic challenge; empowering audience; and developing better partnerships between local administrations and cultural and creative spaces. Report claims that; (2017, 7)

> …Cultural policy is no longer only about the management of the arts, its survival in a consumerist society or its dependency on state patronage. Culture is more than ever a tool to address local and global challenges, to connect people, to innovate, to acquire knowledge or to generate intercultural dialogue and collaboration – ultimately leading to more peaceful and united societies.

The main idea is that these two reports are similar, because both of them take "culture" as tool for uniting society but it shouldn't be oriented by the states. Since that there is a need for public support in order to popularize cultural services especially for disabled groups or supporting creativity, local authorities should be responsible. The key concepts in the report are (2017, 9-10):

> - Creative Spaces: o occupying former industrial sites with new economic or
> social activities; o making creative uses of heritage buildings that are difficult

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[7] Culture for Cities and Regions, Future creative cities, Why culture is a smart investment in Cities, 01.12.2017, http://www.cultureforcitiesandregions.eu/culture/resources/Future-creative-cities-Why-culture-is-a-smart-local-investment-report-from-Culture-for-Cities-and-Regions-WSWE-AWWFCD, 09.07.2019.

and costly to maintain; o supporting cultural and creative entrepreneurship (incubators, living labs, creative hubs, maker spaces);

- Attractiveness: o attracting creative talents, artists and maximizing the potential for local crafts by making workspaces available at lower costs; o attracting tourism or international investors,

- Well-being and quality of life: generating fun and entertainment through festivals and cultural events; o boosting the morale, confidence, and spirit of the local population by being a great place to live with a strong cultural offer and strong city / regional brand and identity;

- Social cohesion: o addressing social problems through artistic intervention with focus on enjoyment, self-expression, inter-community and inter-generational dialogue and skills development / training to prevent social exclusion, isolation and marginalization.

- Inspiring and driving territorial change: transforming the image or brand of a city from negative or industrial to creative and inspiring Changing citizens' perceptions of urban spaces through artistic interventions to encourage ownership, civic pride, and urban regeneration.

Therefore, local policy making is important for implementing these concepts. The mission which is given by these reports to the local policy makers is to be partner for entrepreneurships and civic initiatives in the cultural sphere, and provide infrastructure. However, this framework does not consider about that the cosmopolite centers could create its own barrier with its high rising house price and rents. So, in the condition of free market, consumption culture could play a big role for decision making processes for the events and increased individuality especially in creative class has potential to prevent sense of solidarity.

2.2.1 The Position of Istanbul Among "Global Cities"

Istanbul is a metropolis with about 16 million people and also a historical and cultural center. Even though it takes an important place with its historical and geographical specialties, it could not get important place in the worldwide reports with its statistics in cultural industries. This situation shows that state policies are also important beside the spatial conditions of the cities. In the final report of

Istanbul Creative Economy Workshop[8] that is coordinated by Funda Lena, for the Cultural Policy and Management Center talks about the consequences of another research; "Study on the Economic Contribution of Copyright Industries in Turkey"[9]According to this study, Turkey is not only stay behind, advanced European countries in terms of spending on culture but also behind that of other countries such as Colombia, South Africa, Thailand, Romania, Mexico, Argentina. The report claims that the problem is not only about lack of investment by government or the private sector in this field but also lack of demand is a problem. Of course, "demand" is an important factor since people cannot demand if they don't know about how cultural investment affect their life. Therefore, education system, social policies, creating equal opportunities is important for creating demand and it is not possible without state policies.

According to the 2013 World Cities Cultural Report[10], the data of Istanbul compared with some other important world cities are as follows:

-The number of public libraries for 100.000 people; 7 in Paris;5 in London; 4 in Toronto; 3 in Amsterdam; 3 in Buenos Aires; 3 in Tokyo; 3 in New York; 2 in Shanghai; 1 in Hong Kong; It is 0.3 in Istanbul.

-The number of bookstores for 100 000 people; 25in Buenos Aires; 23 in Hong Kong; 15 in Shanghai; 13 in Tokyo; 11 in Toronto; 10 in London; 9in Paris is;9 in New York; 7 in Amsterdam; 3 in Istanbul.

-The number of cinema halls for 1million people; 114 in Toronto; 85 in Paris; 77 in Berlin; 73 in London;64 in Sydney; 61 in New York;57 in Amsterdam;38 in Istanbul, 28 in Shanghai; 28 in Hong Kong; 25 in Tokyo.

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[8] İstanbul Yaratıcı Ekonomi Atölyesi, Final Raporu, (Project coordinated by Funda Lena), İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Kültür Politikaları ve Yönetimi (KPY) Araştırma Merkezi, http://www.yekon.org/public/yaratici-ekonomi-atolyesi-raporu.pdf, 09.07.2019.

[9] World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), Study on the Economic Contribution of Copyright Industries in Turkey, Creative Industries Series No. 8, https://www.wipo.int/export/sites/www/copyright/en/performance/pdf/econ_contribution_cr_tr.pdf, 09.07.2019.

[10]World Cities Culture Report 2013, Bloomberg Philantropies, BOP Consulting, Mayor of London, .https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/arts-and-culture/world-cities-culture-report-2013, 09.07.2019.

-The number of cinema tickets per person for one year;; 5,6 in Seoul; 5,3 in London; 4.9 in Paris; 4,8 in Sydney; 4,8 in Toronto; 3.1 in Amsterdam; 2,6 in Berlin; 2.2 in Tokyo; 1 in Shanghai; It is 0.8 in Istanbul.

These numbers show the relation between the infrastructure and demand. In the World Cities 2015 Report[11], we can see that Istanbul competes with other cities is more with the number of museum visitors and its historical sites.

There is not any information about Istanbul in the World Cities 2018 Report. It could be a reason that finding daily data is a problem for Istanbul. For the research I could only find only one inventory research which is prepared with the support of Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency. According to "Cultural Economy Inventory Study II" (2012), infrastructure of the creative economy in Istanbul are as follows in the report of YEKON[12];
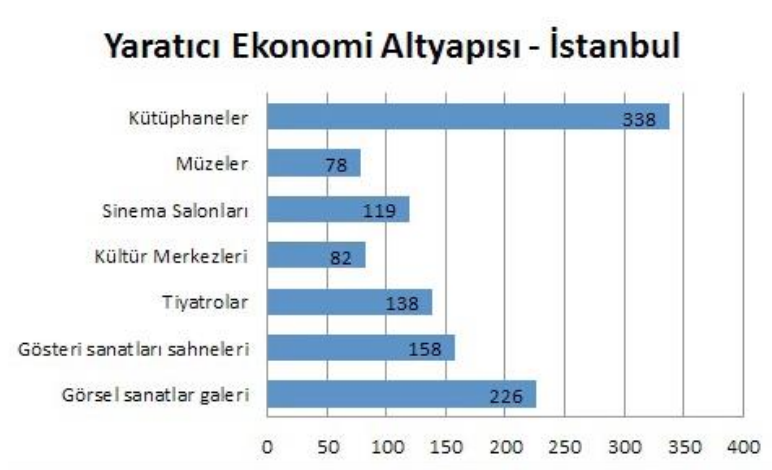
Figure 7 - 2.2.1.2 Infrastructure of Creative Economy in İstanbul

Both cultural ministry and Istanbul Metropolitan City Municipality do not give statistics or daily number about cultural infrastructure and followers. It is impossible

[11]World Cities Culture Report 2015, Bloomberg Philantropies, BOP Consulting, Mayor of London, https://www.bbhub.io/dotorg/sites/2/2015/11/WCCF_Report.pdf, 09.07.2019.

[12]İstanbul Yaratıcı Ekonomi Atölyesi, Final Raporu, (Project coordinated by Funda Lena), İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Kültür Politikaları ve Yönetimi (KPY) Araştırma Merkezi, http://www.yekon.org/public/yaratici-ekonomi-atolyesi-raporu.pdf, 09.07.2019.

to find out the numbers even from Turkish Statistical Institute (TUİK). Current data belongs to 2014 for household cultural activities expenditure in TUİK. Moreover we know that, according to TUİK (2011) half of those working in the creative sector live in Istanbul in Turkey just like other countries the most metropolitan city takes the power of creative class, 20% of households' spending on culture and entertainment services still takes place in Istanbul.

Difficulties for finding current data is also show that there is not a comprehensive study about even detecting infrastructure for cultural planning. It is obvious that without assessment it is impossible to plan any spatial or social organization.

2.2.2 Zukin's Questions

It is obvious that, cultural industries do not appear spontaneously. The conditions that make it possible also have potential to reproduce it. Therefore while creative cities are getting popular, with their creative class the other ones are discriminated if there would not be any redistribution mechanism. Zukin asks four critical question in "the cultures of cities" in order to emphasize the dual position of the culture (Zukin, 2000, 282-284);

> 1. How can we make culture more "democratic" when the city itself- as a cultural object, a representation - is being upgraded to appeal to more affluent people?

> 2. How can we make culture more ethnically diverse when we "cannot understand" the poor?

> 3. How can we make the city as a cultural object more accessible when cultural institutions still regularly create markers of social distinction?

> 4. Are cultural strategies of economic redevelopment really destroying the conditions for original cultural production?

These questions are also important for the problematic of the thesis since they also emphasize the redistribution mechanism and organizations in the cities. The following part includes the global approaches to communities and local government. They could be thought as tools for implementing cultural policies. Therefore, positioning of them is critical in order to answer these questions fairly.

2.3 Global Approaches to "Communities and Local Governments"

2.3.1 Communities

The relation between the cultural framework, place and citizens are important for analyzing the community building policies in the cities. In this relationship there is a production mechanism. Lefebvre claims that; "In its broad sense, humans as social beings are said to produce their own life, their own consciousness, their own world." (Lefebvre, 1991, 68)

Hence, the relation between the culture itself and cities are interwoven in a way that while people produce their cities, their behavior became culture of the city, instead the city itself producing a kind of behavior. Zukin asks in other way (Zukin, 2000, 264):

> Cities are identified with culture, moreover, because they so clearly mark a human-made sense of place and a human-size struggle with scale. Does all this not suggest that culture is, in fact, a common language? That the divergent and multilayered cultures of cities create a single, overriding identity: a public culture of citizenship?

The critical question is "do we understand the same thing from "a public culture of citizenship?" or "what do we understand from it?". The relationship between the citizenship and public space or the culture and the city are the also symbolize the relationship between spatial forms and social forms of the city. Harvey claims that we could not separate them from each other (Harvey, 1993, 50):

> Any overall strategy for dealing with urban systems must contain and reconcile polices designed to chance the spatial form of the city (by which is meant the location of objects such as houses, plant, transport links, and the like) with policies concerned to affect the social processes which go on in the city (i.e., social structures and activities which link people with people, organizations with people, employment opportunities with employees, welfare recipients with services, and so on). Ideally, we should be able to harmonize these polices to achieve some coherent social objective.

Defining the concept of "coherent social objective" is as harder as defining "a common language". Because these concepts sign out a policy making process which is different choosing the preconditioned options or making institutional arrangements. It is also the basic matter of redistribution of sources."Yet there is no single overriding vision of the city's public, no vision of how to balance the needs of the 'public' and of 'space' in the symbolic economy.". (Zukin, 2000, 266)

The notion of "public" is also contradictory issue that has wide range usage. Gerald E. Frug uses the term as a component or supplementary for community building in his book; City Making (Frug, 1999, 60):

> …Cities are valuable because they have the potential of offering something different: they offer the possibility of dealing with the problematic nature of group power by reinvigorating the idea of "the public". At present, the term "public" often refers to nothing more than the exercise of state power. The difference between public and private schools, for example, is commonly understood simply as distinguishing the schools run by the government from those that are run by nonprofit organizations. But the notion of the public need not be so limited. Two ingredients of a wider definition have already been mentioned: the idea of engagement in public life embodied in the notion of public freedom and the increase in the capacity to accommodate oneself to unfamiliar strangers that I have called community building. Another ingredient can be found in public parks and public streets: only in these kinds of public space do people come into contact with the diversity that characterizes our metropolitan areas in the ordinary course of daily life.

If the ownership of the place is not only the criteria for making any area "public" which has potential to bring strangers together, there must be some other criterions. Margaret Kohn presents three axes; ownership, accessibility and intersubjectivity (Kohn, 2008, 481):

> From this perspective, publicness is not the status of a place but rather a characteristic that it can exhibit to different degrees and in different ways. The paradigmatic public spaces – places like parks and plazas – meet all three

criteria. They are owned by the government, accessible with few restrictions, and encourage people to interact with others, perhaps even strangers. Other places such as community centers may be owned by non-profit organizations, but in so far as they are accessible to all community members and promote political, social and cultural activities, they also exhibit a high degree of publicness. Shopping malls, on the other hand, are privately owned and oriented toward consumption and spectatorship rather than intersubjectivity, making them much closer to the private end of the spectrum; nevertheless, even shopping malls may be appropriated by users for unintended activities.

Similarly, the usage of public spaces and city services has potential to create new encountering. Especially with the help of technology new participation or feedback techniques occur in the cities (Frug, 1999s.211):

> Cities need not limit themselves to the conventional list of city services when designing community-building efforts. Quite the contrary. Reframing the mission of city services in terms of community building is likely to stimulate ideas about new services that cities might provide. One way to think about potential new city services is to enlarge one's vision of the tasks cities already perform.

Therefore, transformation of production, representation, public space and demography brings out new services related to new communities. New hubs, maker spaces, co-working areas are the symbols of new city services especially for building creative communities. For these services also ownership is not the exclusive criteria. After discussing about creative economy, class, region; creative community comes as a supplementary part of the "ecosystem". Florida defines the creative community (Florida, 2012, 339):

> So after all that, how *do* you build a creative community? Certainly not all at once and from the top down—most of what defines and shapes creative communities emerges gradually over time. But that does not mean that strategy and public policy do not matter. Quite the contrary. Smart strategies that recognize and enhance bottom up, community-based efforts that are already working can help accelerate the development of creative communities…

Florida uses Jane Jacobs' term "Squelchers" as "overly controlling types who believe that they and they alone know what's best for their city or region".(2012, 315) As traditional leader of communities and he claims even there need in some case strong communities, new generation do not want to found strong ties that effect their lifestyle. Moreover, they want to decide to degree of relationship. Family,

neighborhoods do not create automatic ties. They prefer to be in creative communities in order to their profession. "When talented and creative people come together, the multiplying effect is exponential; the end result is much more than the sum of the parts. Clustering makes each of us more productive—and our collective creativity and economic wealth grow accordingly. (Florida, 2012, 193)

Rainnie criticizes Florida's communities since they are not inclusive and not open to different classes (Rainnie, 2005, 146):

> Strong communities, not the institutions within them, are the key to cohesion and the community itself must be the social matrix that holds us together. Communities need to be strong and cohesive while also accommodating mobility and change. Quite how is never made clear. For the new service class, Florida's policy is to have as few service class jobs as possible and to redirect people towards more creative work that adds value and is more rewarding!

There is a thin line between tolerance which means not producing pressure mechanism with traditional organizations and individualism. Another line is about options being a part of creative class. Is it an individual mistake not to be a part of this community, just like not being an entrepreneur in free market? Rainnie claims also about dividedness of society today (Rainnie, 2005, 145):

> Florida has disputed this interpretation of his argument and he does argue for cohesive, open and tolerant communities. But he also suggests that American society is balkanising into two segments with different economies, social and religious organizations, orientations and politics. One is cosmopolitan, open and creative. The other is a closer-knit, church-based older civic society of working people and rural dwellers. This growing geographic separation of the classes, between haves and have-nots, is being etched ever more deeply into American society.

As a result, community should be inclusive for different classes just like a city compose different services. However separated communities continue to grow up its cultural elite while some classes could never be a part of that sphere.

There are two critical issue; the first one is that cities are made by human beings and it is possible to reform it with the unity of spatial and social policies in order to achieve a "coherent social objective". According to that assumption, culture could be a "common language" that brings people together. The culture does not belong any

special group it is a common that is produced in every second. Second one is; even we are talk about a common there always be some "strangers" in order to be in relationship. However, these strangers should not feel themselves as strangers they have to be in equal positions and equal rights with the rest of the city. Diversity is a provision of communities that in other way people do not learn anything from each other. Frug, also emphasizes on the increasing capacity with diversity: "I seek to avoid the romantic sense of togetherness often associated with the term 'community' by offering a much more modest goal: the purpose of community building is to increase the capacity of metropolitan residents to live in a world composed of people different from themselves." (1999, 126).

These two assumptions are not contradictory; the first one is related to discourse policy making process the second one to instinctively relations. Policy could create both homogeneity and heterogeneity according to its coherent objective or political goal. Thus the important question is who rule the policy in other word who decides "who is the stranger"?

2.3.2 Local Governments

Since the matter is cities, the questions about policy making process indicate local governments. The global approaches to local government mainly give the responsibility of facilitation of desires in cities to them. Local governments should create mechanisms for policy making process they should not designate. In other words, according to this literature, there shouldn't be a "government" it should be "governance". Reddel defines the role of local authorities in governance system with compile the similar perspectives (Reddel, 2005,198-199):

> Amin & Thomas (1996: 257) pick out five elements of network governance for particular attention: a high level of interest representation and organisation; a spread of decisional authority and autonomy; the state as arbitrator and facilitator between autonomous organizations; a dense network of vertical and horizontal channels of representation and communication; and a reliance on iterative dialogue for conflict resolution and policy consensus.

> Lowndes & Wilson (2001: 631) argue that the local state is important in shaping the institutional conditions for democratic renewal and can facilitate the active promotion of the 'virtuous combination of civic engagement and good governance'. In this context, local governance arrangements must provide accessible pathways for citizen participation, and a practical deliberative and problem-solving orientation to community issues. Addressing network form and institutional design are thus fundamental to the development of democratic local governance.

These perspectives give administrative role to local governments rather than political organizations. However, the organization and policy cannot be separated. When the problems occurred, new terminologies have appeared like "empowered participation"[13], "associational governance"[14] which aim to make institutions more active to found democracy in local. Even Florida claims "I believe in markets but recognize government has an important role to play. That said, I don't advocate giving government a blank check." (2012, 320).

However even these concepts give more responsibility to local governments to design institutions, they still do not except or reject political being of these agencies. They deny because being a political organization seems like an obstacle. However Jane Mansbridge claims the discrepancy of dividing the issues as administrative and political; "They consider "administrative" all the issues that require only investigation and consensual decision. They consider "political" only the issues derived from conflicting opinions or interests." (Mansbridge, 2003). These kind of separations are in a harmony of neo-liberal strategies but it defect one of the basic rule of liberal theory; representation. All citizens choose some people according to their political party to make decisions for them. However now, it is said that; we need to participate directly so both the representation mechanism and political parties become unnecessary. The question should be there if the new participation mechanisms represent all society?

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[13]SeeFung, Archon and Wright, Erik Olin. Deepening Democracy Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance, The Real Utopias Project IV, Verso, 2003.
[14]See **Edt. By Smyth, Paul; Reddel,Tim; Jones, Andrew.** Community and Local Governance in Australia. University of New South Wales, 2005.

Governance theory is based on direct participation of interest or voluntary groups. Grassroots movements are also a part of governance. Even though in theory it seems decision making process involve wider range of group, these partnership groups have not been chosen by all citizens. "In particular, the elite sectoral interest principle of partnership is a direct threat to the power and influence of elected councilors." (Gedds, 2005, 27). However there always have to be decision makers to choose who will be the partners. Another critic is also related to representation; Harvey claims that, organized small group's domination to large groups and institutions could be tool for reproducing this situation. He claims (1993, 78):

1-different groups have different resources with which to bargain

2-large groups in the population are generally weaker and more incoherent than small groups

3-some groups are kept away from negotiation altogether.

Actually, all these critics accept human being "selfish", "full of desire" and live only for her/himself. This pre-admission does not let the possibility of any collective good. Therefore, in recent years there have been some changings about general perspectives of neo-liberal policies. According to Wiseman's chart, there is a shifting in public policy related to changing in the assumption.

Table 2 - 2.3.2.1 Public Policy After Neo-Liberalism (Wiseman, 2005, 61)

Key questions about political and policy assumptions, logics and practices	From neo-liberalism ...	... towards post-neoliberal politics and policies
Assumptions underpinning political and policy directions?	Competitive and acquisitive individualism	Rediscovery of importance of connectedness, creativity and time
Relationship between economic, social and environmental perspectives and goals?	Narrow economic and market logic	Valuing and linking social, environmental, economic and cultural perspectives, strategies and outcomes
Time-frame for thinking about policy outcomes and actions?	Short-term profit and consumption	Longer-term investment in sustainable, resilient communities and environments
View about distributional outcomes?	Inevitability of growing gap between winners and losers	Strategic action to strengthen inclusion and respect for diversity
Roles of private, public and community sectors?	Maximising privatisation	Reinvesting in community and public sector capacities, infrastructure and partnerships
Breadth and depth of democratic decision making?	Opaque and unaccountable bureaucratic and corporate hierarchies	Engaging and involving citizens and communities in informed, democratic decision making.
Key public sector roles and skills?	Contracting and risk management	Coordinating and connecting multiple sources of knowledge and expertise

Wiseman does not claim that these shifts occur in real life. He claims; "Real change depends on combining democratic processes and alternative priorities with investment in the organizational changes and advances in the skills and capacities needed to turn good rhetoric into reality." (Wiseman, 2005, 73)

This table has a relation with the other chapters of the study -especially the global perspectives- because of the terms (community, social inclusion, diversity, creativity etc.) and the expected role of local government. Therefore we discuss the cultural policies, local governments and cities in a global framework that served all over the world. In the book; "Community and Local Governance in Australia" (2005, 3) edited by Paul Smyth, Tim Reddel and Andrew Jones, these framework ha explained on three axes:

> Thus, we point first to the emergence of 'community' and 'social inclusion'
> as key terms in new social policy frameworks which break – rhetorically at

least – with the hyper-individualism of the neo-liberal regime. Second, in economic policy, through the influence of institutionalist and evolutionary economics on the 'New Regionalism' (NR), we show the parallel emphasis on the economic importance of the social dimension in the form of local net works and clusters – factors accorded no significance in economic rationalism. And third, in the 'post-managerial' governance approach to public administration there is the promotion of local modes of governance centred on negotiation, policy learning and networks rather than on hierarchical command or market relations. Here governments and communities seek new approaches and methods for citizen participation and more engaged policy processes.

Just like Zukin's critical questions, in the book Al Rainnie claims that even there seems a shift in theory all these policies make us forget about the welfare state (Rainnie, 2005, 137):

> First, although the proponents of NR would protest, the language of empowerment and self-activity can easily fit into a neo-liberal approach which allows the state to wash its hands of responsibility for less favoured regions, arguing that salvation now lies in their own hands. This reflects the shift in social policy from a Welfare Rights approach to one based on Individualistic responsibility, from the distributional to the competitive, from the collective to the individual.

All these arguments and contradictions about local governments are also related to state policies. Especially if local governments are not administratively empowered just like in Turkey, waiting for all strategies from local creates gaps and maintain unequal conditions. However, it is important to emphasize local's own initiative which could be separated from approaches of globalization or national state. Bayırbağ, emphasizes the mutuality and role of local government; "The rise of localities as new loci of policymaking, especially in the form of entrepreneurialism, should be understood as a proactive process, rather than a reactive one." (2009, 379) Therefore being passive also could serve other desired results, planned by global and central public institutions.

CHAPTER 3

CHALLENGES OF "THE FIELD"

A general framework which has shaped by neo-liberal policies is discussed in previous chapter. In this chapter, some challenges will be evaluated mainly related by the case study; theater as a cultural production field.

There are also contradictions and discussions more over inside the field of cultural production. In the study three approaches will be evaluated in order to better analyze the shifting policies in the case study. Bourdieu describes the artistic field as (1991, 30):

> The literary or artistic field is a *field of forces*, but it is also a *field of struggles* tending to transform or conserve this field of forces. The network of objective relations between positions subtends and orients the strategies which the occupants of the different positions implement in their struggles to defend or improve their positions (i.e.their position-takings), strategies which depend for their force and form on the position each agent occupies in the power relations [rapports de force].

Global strategies, position taking of local governments, our mindset about culture, etc. affect the occupants of the field. Moreover, there also come specific contradictions belonging to artistic field. One of these struggles is to consider the art without considering the artist. Bourdieu explains the dilemma (1991, 34):

> And by the same token we escape from the correlative dilemma of the charismatic image of artistic activity as pure, disinterested creation by an isolated artist, and the reductionist vision which claims to explain the act of production and its product in terms of their conscious or unconscious external functions, by referring them, for example, to the interests of the dominant class or, more subtly, to the ethical or aesthetic values of one or another of its fractions, from which the patrons or audiences are drawn.

Artistic activity, artist and the audience are main components of the field that all of them are musts in order to talk about art itself. Since "the work of art is an object which exists as such only by virtue of the (collective) belief which knows and acknowledges it as a work of art." (Bourdieu, 1993, 32)

It seems like a feedback mechanism that reproduce own situation again and again. That is the reason general approaches are taken also component in the study. Other designated components are about the city facilities which will be tackled in the next chapter. Bourdieu describes a cycle (1993, 31):

> One of the major difficulties of the social history of philosophy, art or literature is that it has to reconstruct these spaces of original possible which, because they were part of the self-evident givens of the situation, remained unremarked and are therefore unlikely to be mentioned in contemporary accounts, chronicles or memoirs.

However, Bourdieu does not talk about an eternal circle, he claims the change is possible and has potential to trigger other changes. (1993, 30)

> It follows from this, for example, that a position-taking changes, even when the position remains identical, whenever there is change in the universe of options that are simultaneously offered for producers and consumers to choose from. The meaning of a work (artistic, literary, philosophical, etc.) changes automatically with each change in the field within which it is situated for the spectator or reader.

In case study, it will be evaluated that how the changes in position takings affect the field and is related to other positions and what king of struggles there inside the field. Moreover, their relation with the political approaches since "…change in the space of literary or artistic possibles is the result of change in the power relation which constitutes the space of positions". (Bourdieu, 1993, 32) In the case study it has seen that power relations have changed with a new management in the municipality. Building a community and open the field to new comers is also started a new struggle. The case study aims to uncover these new field had been created with new power relations and positions of components in this struggle.

Before evaluating these positions in the case study, two topics will be analyzed. Firstly "star system" which gives clues about the relations between culture

infrastructure and populism secondly tension between the performance and spectator will be discussed in order to improve a better understanding to position taking mechanisms in the case study.

3.1 Star System

In the book "Fall of Public Man", Sennett claims the presence of personality "subtracts" political content and gathers narcissism atomization and alienation. He associates the "star system" in artistic field and political field (2002, 288):

> In terms of social structure, however, there is a connection between politics and the arts today, one directly created by the culture of personality. The connection lies in the consequences of the star system in both realms. In all ages there have been famous performers and obscure ones, and people have wanted to see the former more than the latter. The "star system" refers to the profits which accrue by maximizing the distance between fame and obscurity, such that people lose the desire to see a live performance at all if they cannot see someone who is famous.

Related to Bourdieu's dilemma about the relations between artistic charisma and the artist her/himself, Sennett emphasizes "popularity" could become more important than artistic quality itself. Moreover, this system does not occur instinctively, it has been created by the market in order to make profit. He explains the system with an example of young pianist (2002, 299):

> It is estimated that there are eight hundred classical pianists in New York trying to have full concert careers; there are five concert halls in the city which "count"; in a given year, from thirty to thirty-five of the eight hundred will appear solo in these halls. Of the thirty, at least half are so well known that they appear year after year. Around fifteen new pianists get a hearing in New York each year, the hall often paid for by themselves; it is very difficult for them to fill up even a small auditorium like the Recital Hall of Carnegie Hall, and the wise pianist will have distributed many free tickets to friends of friends and to every conceivable relative. These new pianists get a paragraph in the *Times* which describes them as "promising" or "accomplished," and then they sink back into obscurity.

According to Sennett, conditions that create the star system is related both infrastructure and agency system. What I mean from the infrastructure is number, size and locations of the halls. Agency system is a market system that contacts the

halls and the stars. Sennett claims, there is a contrast density of halls and scale of them (2002, 289):

> The number of concert halls in New York has been decreasing steadily since 1920; the number of newspapers has been decreasing steadily since 1950, and the space allotted to music reviews of new artists has grown less and less. There are also fewer agents, and they make their money on big names. Further, although audience attendance has grown *in total* for serious music in the city, it has done so through the increasing sale of tickets at the major halls and houses—and their size has been increased— while attendance at minor halls like MacMillan Theatre of Columbia University has in general dropped off.

Thus, the system also creates "star cities" that you can find every think there, they are cosmopolitan and you can only be a star in those cities. Sennett explains why they try to survive in big cities (2012, 289):

> In western Europe (with the exception of southern Germany), as in America, more aspiring musicians forsake residence in smaller towns, where there are numerous opportunities for playing steadily before a receptive public, for the capital cities, in which they have less opportunity to play, to a more jaded public, on the long-shot chance they may make it big.

The system has created and being reproduced with urban cultural policies of course if there is a policy. By the way not having a policy is also a policy that market rules the conditions. Therefore, the audience, artist, artistic performance, halls, cities, media, all components of a field that creates stars in order to make profit with small number of performances, according to Sennett. Moreover, all of them occur in cosmopolite cities because it seems only possible with city facilities and audience. Similar conditionals are valid for theaters; they need to come to light from the shadow of celebrities.

3.2 Being Spectator

Another dilemma is about the spectator who also decides the performance is an artistic performance or criticizes it and according to Bourdeiu "All critics declare not only their judgment of the work but also their claim to the right to talk about it and judge it". (1991, 36) However with the Rousseau perspective it is not a correlated

activity that spectator's role is passive and it is open to influence from the performance. This perspective is understood by his letter to *M. d'Alembert on the Theatre*.

According to Rousseau coming together in a public area means is not an interaction on the country for him especially in cosmopolitan life people live in crowded place with strangers but they have masks, they do not represent their political identities. Margeret Kohn, analyzes Rousseau's perspective with her "publicness" image based on intersubjectivity, in her article;"Homo spectator public space in the age of the spectator". Theater is an example of coming together, however, Kohn claims (2008, 468):

> For Rousseau, the theater was a paradigmatic example of a certain type of collective experience, one that functioned as an ersatz for public life. It simulated something akin to public life by bringing strangers into contact with one another, but this commonality was based on an illusion.

One of the reasons why Rousseau does not see the theater a collective work of a society is because its commercial nature which exacerbates inequalities and encourages invidious comparisons. (Kohn, 2008, 468) It seems that for Rousseau it is important to join anything in public space instinctively and without paying is important so ownership as a degree of publicness is critical for him. Therefore, Rousseau warns about its political power but not as a tool of public authorities but a tool for elites. "For Rousseau, the theater inculcated a kind of inertia and passivity that had consequences in the political as well as the cultural domain. He feared that elites could use the theater to depoliticize citizens rendering them acquiescent to their role as spectators and unfit for political participation." (Kohn, 2008,469) Political participation is the most critical issue for Rousseau so people should not try to behave some others, they should be in a clear mind to represent themselves. It is important to indicate that Rousseau's arguments about theater and warning are mainly about an opening a theater hall in a small town. He claims that cosmopolitan life has already open to indicate and cosmopolite city itself became a scene so theater could not make extra effect on it. However, in small towns, with theater people could

be exposed to different lives directly so this exposition has risk to challenge their life style.

Rousseau's critics are similar to critics about "mass media" and "popular culture". In the article, Margaret Kohn, brings three objections to this similarity (2008, 480):

> First, theater, unlike film and television, does provide the opportunity for a certain kind of interaction between the audience and the performers. Improvised theater is particularly interactive but even scripted performances are very responsive to the signals sent by a live audience. Second, plays and films and even television may be quite successful at fostering debate and discussion, either by exploring political themes directly or by using techniques that unsettle the audience and encourage them to question their passivity and complicity. Brecht would be a good example of the latter. Finally, the collective nature of the experience of viewing a play or film provides an opportunity for discussion because, unlike television viewed at home, people meet together and have a shared text in common. According to this perspective, the subject–object relationship in the theater is a precursor to the intersubjectivity that emerges after the performance.

According to Kohn, it is possible to change the meaning and expectations of the term "spectator"; "The term spectator, then, would not suggest the theater so much as the characteristics that Rousseau associated with it: passivity rather than inter subjectivity; hierarchy rather than equality; and commercial rather than civic orientation."(2008, 480) So it is about to create alternative forms to create publicness.

Rousseau's approach and the Kohn's options show us that spectator is a basic issue that for a theater as audience or consumer but also it provides its publicness and political influence.

CHAPTER 4

UNIQUENESS OF KADIKÖY

In the research, the relation between city, creative communities and local government will be problematized with reference to the Kadıköy example. Kadıköy is one of the central and well-established districts of Istanbul with its historical sites and multicultural background. The district became more popular after Gezi protest in 2013. Because of the politically interventions just like spatial inhibitions and demographical changes, people left the Taksim, Beyoğlu districts which are used to be cultural center of Istanbul in the European side and some of them moved to Kadıköy, or choose the district for socializing. In this chapter certain spatial features and properties of Kadıköy will be analyzed according to some criteria that Florida asks for determine the uniqueness of the city or quality of the place (2012, 280):

> *What's there:* the combination of the built environment and the natural environment; a proper setting for pursuit of creative lives.
>
> *Who's there:* the diverse kinds of people, interacting and providing cues that anyone can make a life in that community.
>
> *What's going on:* the vibrancy of street life, café culture, arts, music, and people engaging in outdoor activities—altogether a lot of active, exciting, creative endeavors.

In a global magazine; Time Out, Kadıköy is serviced in the 50 coolest neighborhoods in the world in 2018.[15] The Magazine put the district at 43th number after asked more than 15,000 people around the world. The specialties of these neighborhoods

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[15]Manning, J., Wertheimer K. and Time Out editors, The 50 coolest neighbourhoods in the worldhttps://www.timeout.com/coolest-neighbourhoods-in-the-world, 09.07.2019.

are that travelers feel themselves like local people and seem cool. What the magazine claims about the Kadikoy;

> Located on the Marmara Sea coast on the Asian side of Istanbul, the Kadıköy district has soared in popularity over the past few years. Hundreds of new bars, cafés, restaurants, design studios and shops have opened here, making the area a must-see for those really wanting to get a feel of how the city hangs out these days, with a more relaxed vibe than the bustling European side.

In this cheapter, it will be analysed that what are the characteristics that make Kadıköy unique and why people, especially creative class, are attracted by it. Therefore firstly, Kadıköy's spatial, historical, social and economic features will be analyzed than local government's facilities will be held on. In the third part interviewer's image about Kadıköy will be discussed and synthesized with spatial data's.

4.1 Socio-Spatial Features of Kadıköy

4.1.1 History and Geography

Kadıköy is a district in Anatolian side of Istanbul. Its southern border is Sea of Marmara and is placed at the entrance of Bosphorus. In this part datas and statistics, tables and maps are used from "Kadıköy the Center;Spatial Strategic Plan Current Status Report"[16].

Kadıköy has 21 km of coastline between Haydarpaşa and Bostancı and total area is 25,20 km2. The historical center of the city is among Haydarpasha Bay and Moda Cape. It has founded by a pioneer group of Megara, at about 685 BC. Until the conquest of Istanbul, it remained a village covered with vineyards and ties. In the second half of the 19th century, Kadikoy's non-Muslim population increased

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[16]Kadıköy Belediyesi, Mekansal Stratejik Plan Mevcut Durum Raporu: Merkez Kadıköy, http://www.kadikoy.bel.tr/stratejikplan/, 09.07.2019.

significantly. In 1860, 1,500 Greek, 900 Turkish and some Levantine were living. Following the Greeks, Armenians, Levantines and finally Jews were settled.

According to Kostantinos Svolopulos, the total population in Kadıköy in 1885 reached 22,769. The second important historical refraction was experienced by the exchanges during the Republic period. As a result of the exchange, the Greek population decreased significantly. The third important breakthrough occurred in the 1950s with the intensification of migration from Anatolia to Istanbul as a result of the economic transformation with the transition to the multi-party system after 1950.

Figure 8 - 4.1.1.1 Pervethic Map from 1930

There are 1239 registered monuments in the district. The neigbourhoods; Rasimpaşa (339 units) and Caferağa (290 units) stand out as the richest neighborhoods of the district in terms of the registered work.
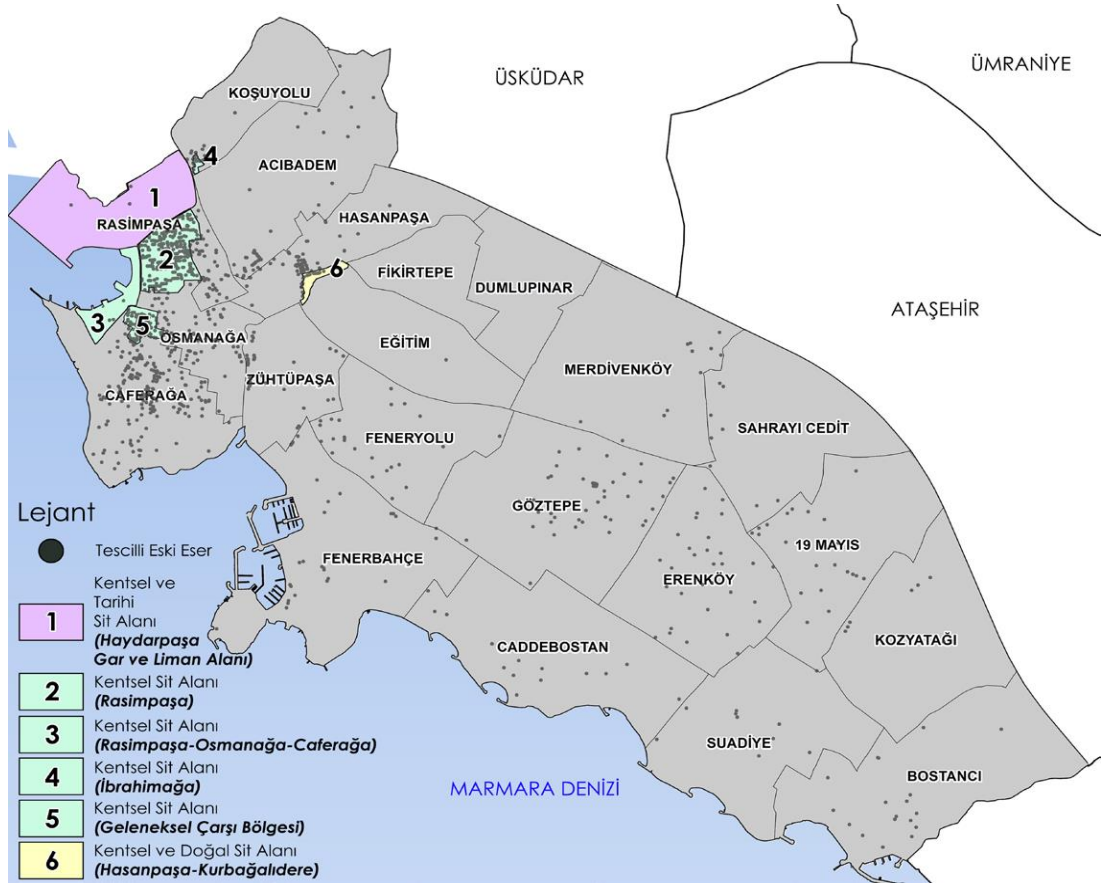
Figure 9 - 4.1.1.2 Protected Areas and Historical Monuments

4.1.2 Demography

According to integrated report which is prepared by municipality, based on 2017 data base;

Demographics of Kadıköy;

• Total Population– 451.453

• Female / Male Ratio – %53,08 / %46,92

• 32% of population is between 25-44 years of age.

• 44% of population has a graduate degree

• 54% of population is married

• 70,8% of population is at A and B income group while 29,2% of population is at C and D income group

According to spatial strategic plan; 12% of population is between 0-14 years of age, %70's is between, 15-64 years, %18's is over 64 years.

%10 of the population lives alone, %65 of alone people is women and lonely people live in generally; Caferağa, Göztepe and Bostancı districts.

The population of Istanbul is 14.804.116 and 2.156.043 (14% of the population) people's father's birthplace is Istanbul. This rate is 33% in Kadıköy. At the same time, it is known that 6.584.068 (44.4%) of the urban population of Istanbul has born in Istanbul. This ratio is 47% of the population in Kadıköy.

4.1.3 Economy

According to the data of the Chamber of Commerce, there are 23,877 firms operating in Kadıköy District in 2016. According to activity types; trade, services and construction sectors constitute 86% of the economic activities in Kadıköy. The manufacturing sector continues its importance on the district's economy, although it is proportionally low compared to other activities. As a result of the positioning of important public hospitals in the district and the concentration of private hospitals, the development trend of the health sector in the district continues.

The share of the service sector in the field of economic activities is 36%. %44 of service sector is creative industries. It can be said that the service sector has a more balanced distribution within the district.

BİLGİ TEKNOLOJİLERİ ve İLETİŞİM

Bilgi Teknolojileri ve İletişim Sektörünün Osmanağa-Caferağa Bölgesi, Hasanpaşa-Eğitim ve Koşuyolu Mahallelerinde kümelendiği görülmektedir. Ayrıca 19 Mayıs ve Kozyatağı Mahallelerinin D-100 Otoyolu sınırında yoğunlaşma gözlenmektedir.

EĞİTİM

Eğitim Sektörünün ilçe genelinde mekansal olarak homojen bir dağılım gösterdiği görülmektedir. Ancak kümelenme Merkez Mahalleler olan Rasimpaşa, Osmanağa ve Caferağa Mahallelerinde gözlenmekte ve Bağdat Caddesi aksı boyunca devam etmektedir.

ULAŞIM ve LOJİSTİK

Ulaşım ve Lojistik Sektörünün en yoğun kümelendiği bölgenin Hasanpaşa-Eğitim Mahallelerinin kesiştiği bölge olduğu görülmektedir. Bu bölgeyi Osmanağa-Caferağa Bölgesi ve Koşuyolu Mahallesi takip etmektedir.

SAĞLIK

Sağlık Sektörüne ilişkin kümelenmenin Bağdat Caddesi aksı boyunca sürdüğü ve özellikle caddenin Caddebostan Mahallesi sınırları içerisinde maksimum seviyeye ulaştığı görülmektedir. Osmanağa-Caferağa Bölgesi ve Koşuyolu Mahalleleri de ikinci ve üçüncü derece yoğunluğun gözlendiği bölgeler olarak nitelendirilebilir.

KREATİF ENDÜSTRİLER

Kreatif Endüstrilere Sektörüne ilişkin kümelenmenin Bağdat Caddesi aksı boyunca sürdüğü ve özellikle caddenin Caddebostan Mahallesi sınırları içerisinde maksimum seviyeye ulaştığı görülmektedir. Osmanağa-Caferağa Bölgesi ve Koşuyolu Mahalleleri de ikinci ve üçüncü derece yoğunluğun gözlendiği bölgeler olarak nitelendirilebilir.

FİNANS

Finans Sektörünü kümelenmesi Merkez Mahalleler olan; Rasimpaşa, Osmanağa ve Caferağa Mahallelerinin kesiştiği bölgede en fazladır. Bu kümelenme Hasanpaşa ve Eğitim Mahallelerine doğru devam etmektedir. Sahrayıcedit, 19 Mayıs ve Kozyatağı'nı ise kümelenmenin en fazla olduğu 2. bölge olarak nitelendirmek mümkündür.

Figure 10 - 4.1.3.1 Sectoral Distribution

Maps clearly show that historical center and Bagdat streethave been significant trade centers. Bagdat street which is also known standing on "Bagdat way"is situated within the old trade axe between Europe and Asia. Creative sectors are concentrated on the historical center again; Caferağa and Rasimpaşa neighborhoods. The center neighborhoods compose also the highest number of associations respectively; Osmanağa (185 units), Caferağa (100 units) and Hasanpaşa (78 units).

Kadıköy District; with its geographical location, existing historical and cultural values, as well as the density of accommodation, catering and entertainment sectors, it is a center of attraction for the tourism sector. According to the data of the Ministry

of Tourism, the distribution of facilities with tourism investment certificate and tourism operation in the neighborhoods which are Rasimpaşa, Osmanağa, Caferağa.
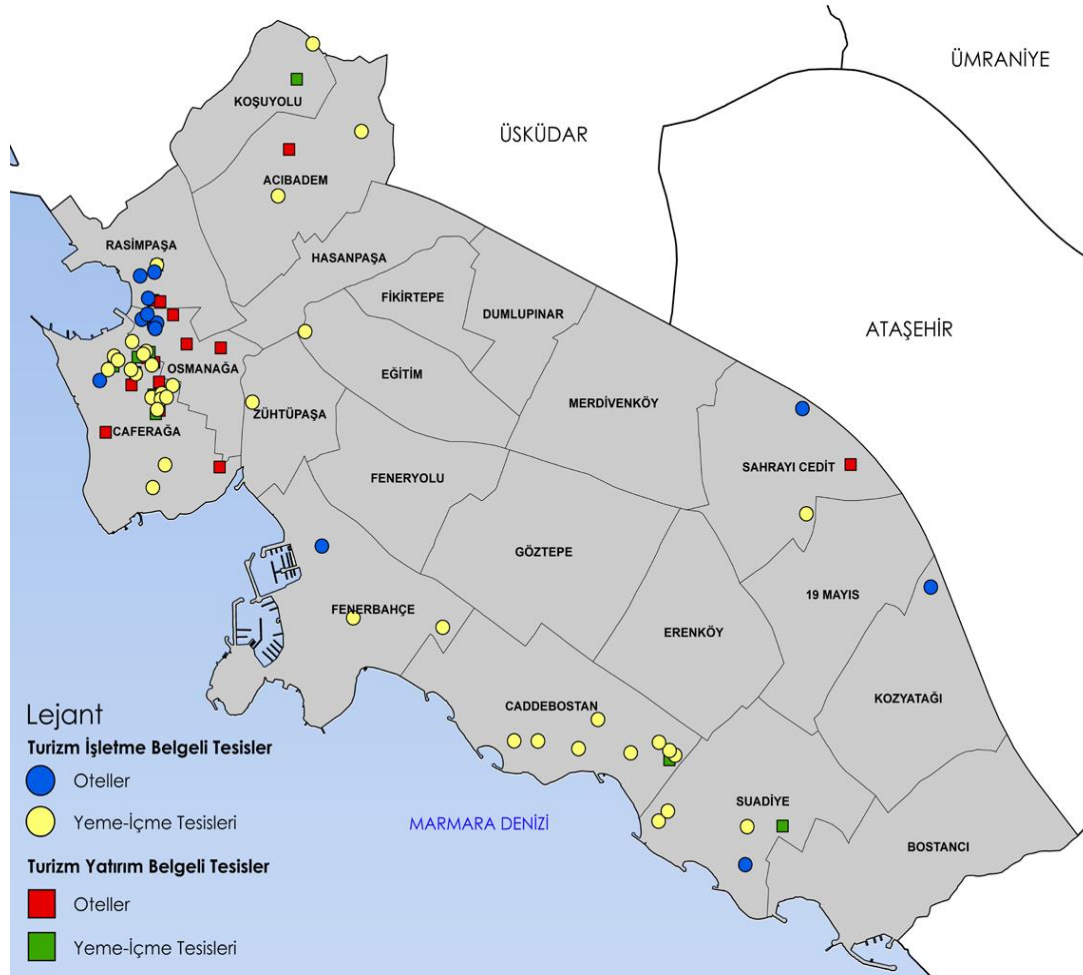
Figure 11 - 4.1.3.2Spatial distribution of Tourism Sector

4.1.4 Value of Property

Beşiktaş district is the is the highest average housing sales value in Istanbul (TL / m²) (11,500.00 TL), it is followed by Sarıyer (8,750.00 TL), Bakırköy (8,600.00 TL) and Kadıköy (8,000.00 TL). When we look at the neighborhoods of Kadıköy, Caferağa neighborhood is the neighborhood that has the highest fourth house sales price (10,200.00 TL), the first three consist of Fenerbahçe, Ceedebostan and Suadiye.

When we look at the housing rental values; the average housing rental value in Istanbul (TL / m²) is the highest in the Beşiktaş district (37.00TL) again. Than it continues, Sariyer (30.00TL), Beyoğlu (29.00TL), Kadıköy (25.00TL). Caferağa is in the 3rd place in the Kadıköy neighborhoods and the average rental price is 32.00 TL per square meter.

4.1.5 Transportation

Kadikoy is located at the intersection of the central transportation vehicles. It is a connection point for public transportation. Two metro line, metrobus line, ferries intersect in center of Kadıköy.
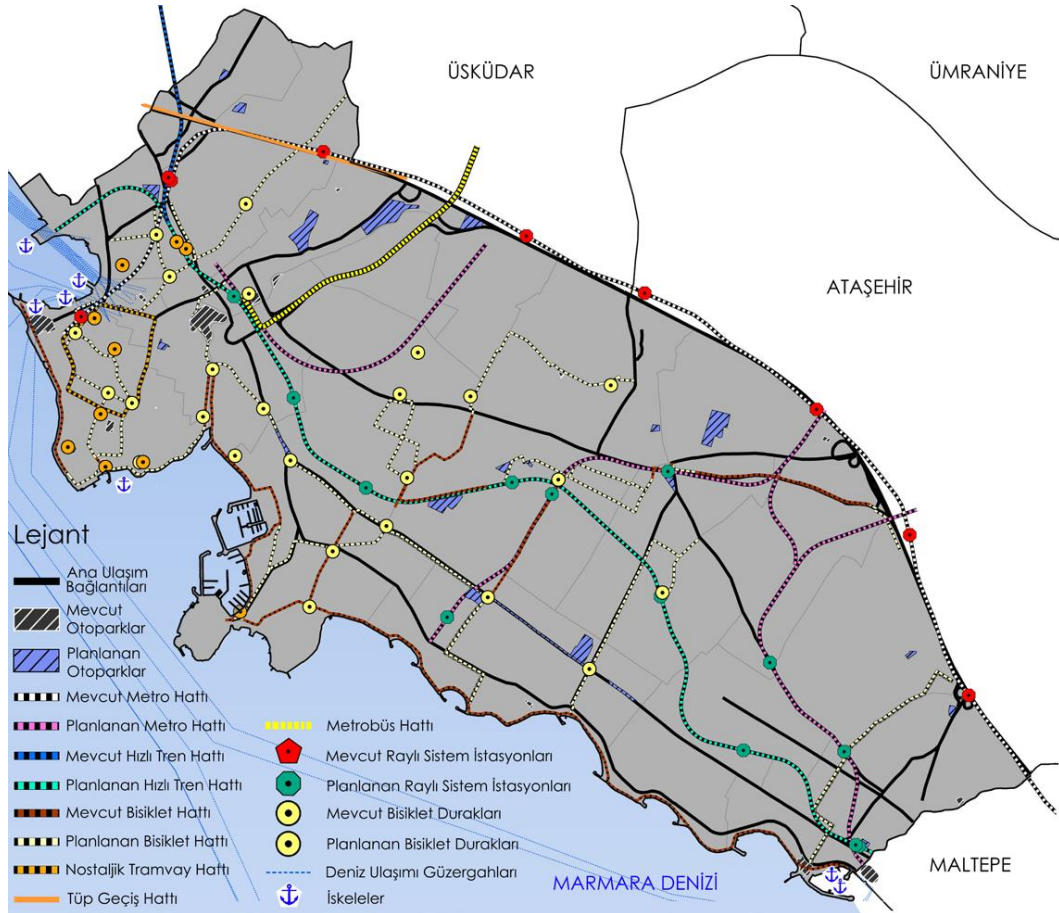
Figure 12 - 4.1.5.1 Transportation Projects

4.1.6 Religion

There are 82 religious building in Kadıköy. Of these facilities, 62 (76%) were mosques, 6 (7%) masjids, 1 (1%) cemevi, 11 (13%) churches and 2 (2%) synagogues. It is understood from the map that churches and synagogues are stand in historical center that Greek and Armenian people used to live mostly.
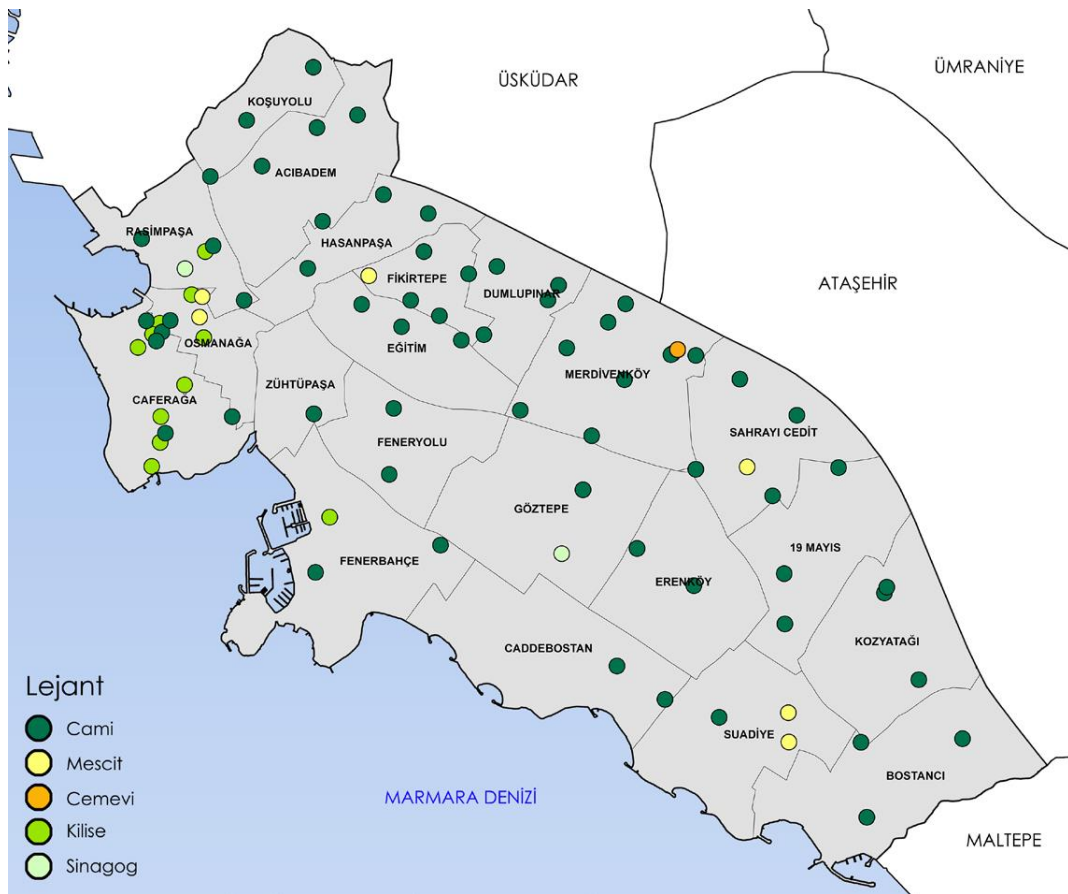
Figure 13 - 4.1.6.1 Religion Facilities

4.1.7 Social and Cultural Facilities

There are 76 socio-cultural facilities in Kadıköy. They are; 13 (17%) cultural centers, 3 (4%) art centers, 39 (51%) theater, 16 (21%) cinema and 5 (7%) museums. Cultural centers serve 562 people, cinemas with a capacity of 7.520, theatres with a capacity of 2.320 people.

Osmanağa and Caferağa Neighborhoods, are the neighborhoods where the social and cultural activities are most intense. 43% of cinemas in Kadikoy and 66% of theaters are located in these neighborhoods.
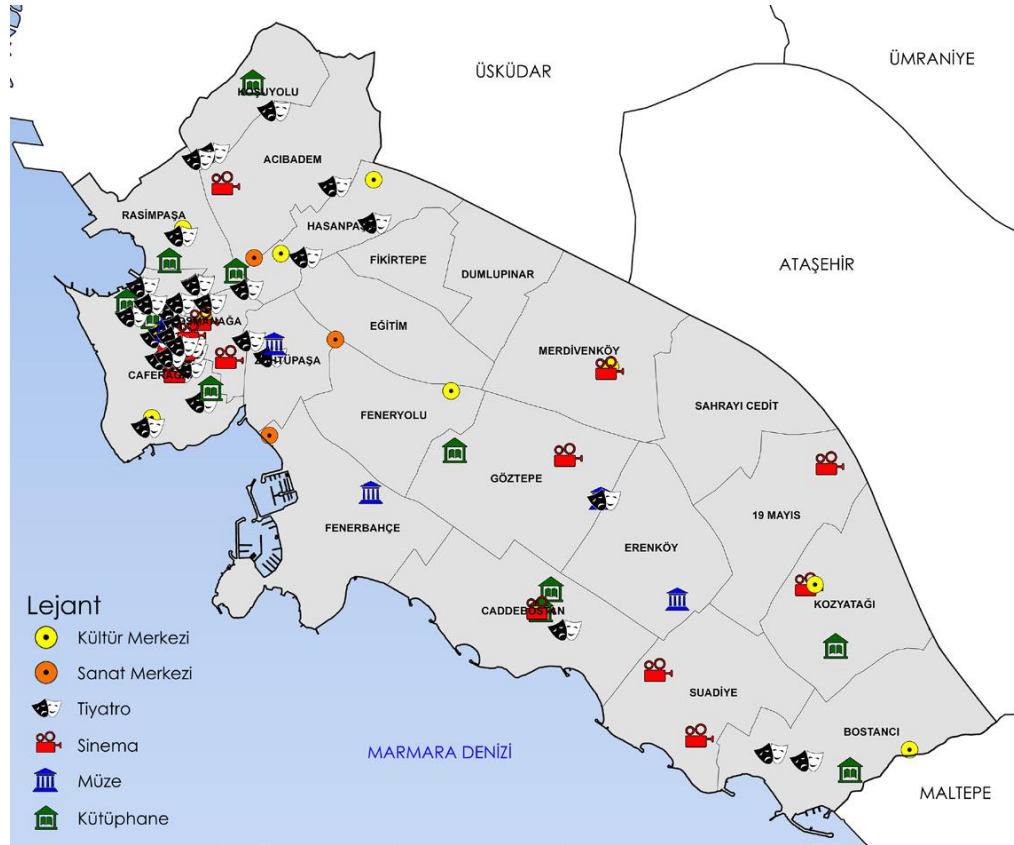
Figure 14 - 4.1.7.1 Social and Cultural Facilities

Figure 15 - 4.1.7.2 Art Ateleiers and Craftsmans List in Yeldeğirmeni/Rasimpaşa Neighbourhood

Yeldegirmeni neighborhood is an urban protected area in Rasimpaşa and Osmanağa districts, nearby the Haydarpaşa station. In this neighborhood there are more than a hundred plastic art ateliers. There is not a specific number in spatial strategic plan because they take their license for atelier as "storage". It is a result of limitations in order to take an atelier license. So it is only possible to find out real numbers with side analyzing. There is a survey which has done by Kadıköy Municipality, Design Atelier Kadikoy(TAK), in 2014, on map 8.

Same problem is occurring also for theaters many of them cannot take theater license but they take art atelier license. There seem 39 theater halls in the report. According to interviews with culture department of Kadikoy Municipality, there are 85 private theater group in Kadikoy and 25 of them has own theater hall some of them not like hall but atelier. The Figure 16 is prepared by municipality for theaters in order to make them known.

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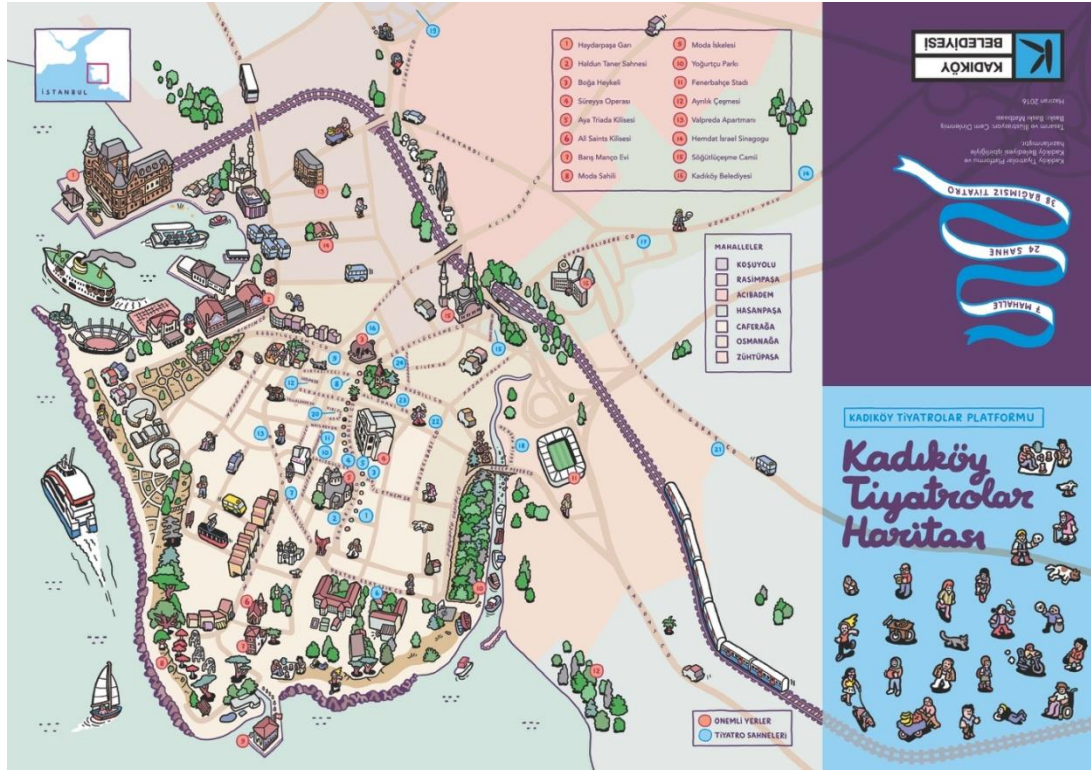
Figure 16 - 4.1.7.3 Kadikoy Theatre's Map

4.2 Kadikoy Municipality Cultural Facilities

Kadıköy Municipality was established as a district municipality in 1984 and has governed by social democrat parties since 1989. After Selami Öztürk served as a mayor for 20 years between 1994 and 2014, Aykurt Nuhoğlu was in office between 2014 and for 2019 local elections and currently Şerdil Dara Odabaşı is the mayor of the Kadikoy Municipality. Since 1989, municipal council has been dominated by the councilors elected from CHP list. The study will focus on 2014-2019 period so while analyzing the facilities it will be separated as before and after 2014. There are many facilities in different areas but only the main ones which are a part of art planning will be considered.
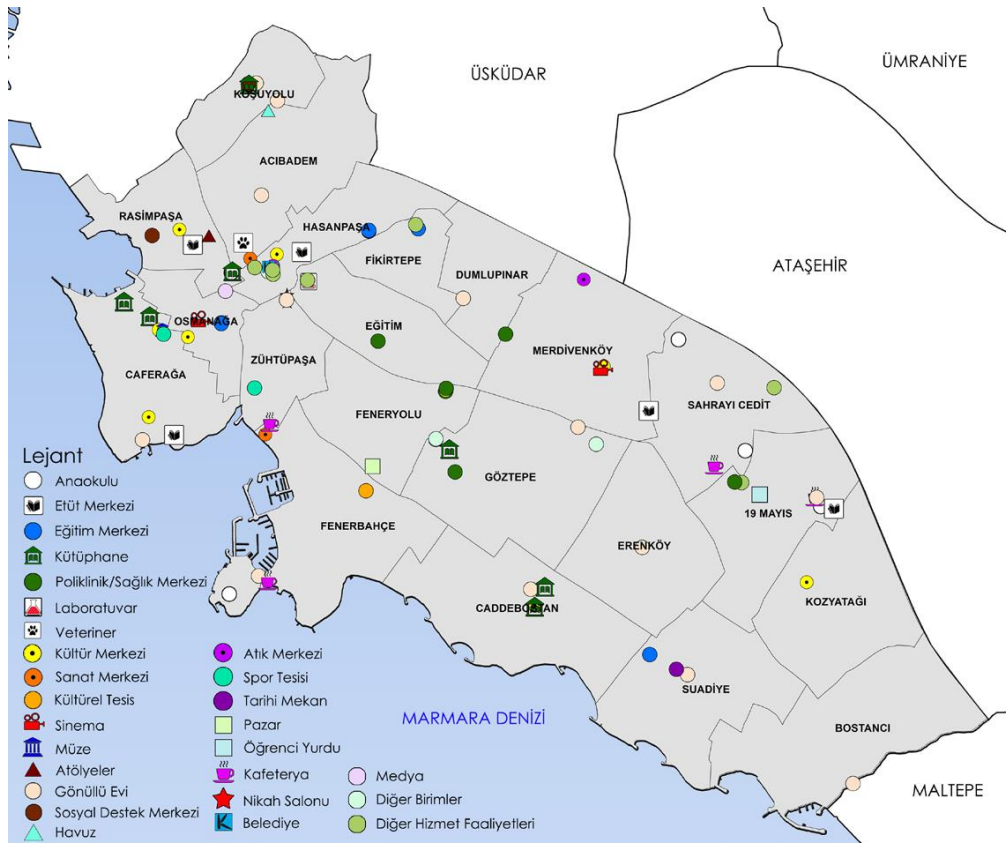
Figure 17 - 4.2.1 City Services of Kadıköy Municipality

Kadikoy Municipality's investments which are done before 2014 are;

Caddebostan Culture Center (CKM): This center is the biggest center of the municipality with its capacity. Beside the saloons, there are also cinema halls, art gallery, and shopping units. There are one big and two small saloons. Big one's capacity is 656 people, each small one with 125 seats.

Kozyatağı Culture Center (KKM): The center consists of two different building stand side by side. One of these buildings is a shopping mall called "Kozzy". Inside these shopping malls there is a saloon and gallery which has the capacity 360 seats. Municipality hired the mall, cinemas inside it to professionals. Culture Department of municipality responsible only the theater and gallery part. The other building has two salons; one of them has 200 people capacity, the other has 90 people. The building is also used for meeting of municipality council.

Barış Manço Culture Center: The name of "Barış Manço" comes from a very famous Turkish musician who used to live in Kadikoy. There is also "Barış Manço" museum in Kadıköy, founded by municipality and his family. The location of this center is in Caferağa, near by the historical market so it is more available than others especially with public transport. It is also the first culture center of the municipality so it also oldest one and technical features are not as good as CKM or KKM. It has a gallery for exhibitions and a saloon with 143 seat capacity.

Halis Kurtça Culture Center: "Halis Kutça" is the name of a bureaucrat who has worked in education sector. The center stands in Merdivenköy district, the region that around center is economically lower income group according to Kadıköy in general. Center has used to host theaters, exhibitions and meeting. However, its concept has been changed after 2015, and a renovation project has been implemented in order to alter the center into a "children culture center". From January 2018, the center only serves to children with its 148 seats capacity salon ant 3 ateliers inside.

Sureyya Opera House: The building stands on Bahariye Street which is main shopping and cultural axes of Kadıköy's center. Designed and built by the politician Süreyya İlmen Pasha, it was originally established in 1927 as the first musical theatre on the Anatolian part of Istanbul. However, it was used as a movie theatre until the building underwent a functional restoration and reopened by the municipality as an opera house by the end of 2007. The capacity of the opera house is 570 seats. The ballroom on the second floor can accommodate 500 guests. The building is hired by municipality for 40 years and there is a protocol between municipality and "Istanbul State Opera and Ballet" for orienting the programs. Opera and ballet performances are staged three days a week at the venue. The house hosts also events like arts exhibitions and festivities. This is a special example that municipality hired and restored a building and allocate state institutions. Its special because in general these kinds of special and big investments are done or supposed to be done by state agencies in Turkey. Sureyya Opera is still the only building for operates in Anatolian side and if municipality has not restored it, Istanbul State Opera and Ballet, would not find any place for performing in that side.

Yeldegirmeni Art Center: The center is a restoration project again. Kadıköy Municipality dispossesses the French church; "Notre Dame du Rosaire", after restoration the center has been used mainly for jazz concerts, seminars and movie shows by collaboration with embassies. It has two salons, one of them is with capacity of 201, the other one is 114. The building has opened in march 2014, before the elections.

Design Atetiler Kadıköy (TAK): TAK is an also restoration project, it was also opened in 2014 before the elections. Both the Yeldegirmeni Sanat and Design Atelier are also a part of "Yeldegirmeni Rehabilitation Project" which has been done by Kadıköy Municipality and the Foundation for the Protection and Promotion of the Environment and Cultural Heritage (ÇEKÜL). It could be said that these projects change the both spatial conditions and social life in the neighborhood and many of the art ateliers and cafeterias have opened after the rehabilitation. TAK has opened there in order to supply a creative learning atmosphere for; design, research and participation activities.

Children Art Center: The center has opened, in 2009, 30 trainers give art courses to 3500 children per year, free of charge.

History Literature Art Library (TESAK): The building of library used to be municipality building where stands coast line with a beautiful view of European side and Haydarpasa Station. The building with new functions opened before the elections. However now the building is not used only a library but also used for conservation programs about literature and philosophy.

Festival organizations; There used to be many organizations but as a big scale organization there are two theater festivals one of them for adults (started in 2003), the other for children (started in 2002). These festivals still continue at summer time at open-air amphitheater, inside the "Özgürlük (Freedom) Park" which is the biggest park of Kadikoy.

All these centers still stay with the same name except Halis Kurtça Culture Center' which turned into "Halis Kurça Children Culture Center". As a result of

organizational and visional changes which will be discussed in next chapters, the techniques of preparing program for these centers are evolved. New investments and festival programs have been added after 2014 which are;

Kadıköy Municipality Academy: The building is a historical kiosk which has been donated to the municipality in order to be used for public services. It used to be a residence for the mayor before 2014. After the elections new mayor did not use the building as a residence; then the place was turned into a think tank which allows the local government to collaborate with academicians and researchers to develop policy approaches. Five principal actions define the Academy; research topics directly related to day to day business of the local government, think tank function developing innovative ideas, reporting/dissemination of "hot" topics and best practice, such as climate resilience, elderly and child friendly cities, urban transformation etc., educative and training actions and it has a library and working space. There are about 7000 books in the library, the theme of the books are urban politics, local governments, city planning, architecture, ecology, especially the source about Kadıköy and İstanbul.

Co-working space IDEA: The building has used to be a municipality-operated restaurant. Then municipality has decided to repurpose the building; Academy and TAK worked together on repurposing project for creating a space for free lancers. In the end four main functions has described; one flat is co working space (İŞLİK), aims to bring together free-lancers, creators and innovators from a diverse background to construct a new generation public space. People make an application here, they also write a motivation latter if he/she wants to contribute to development for a public service and pay 400 TL for per month, use locker, meeting room, internet, working area etc. Another flat is free to use for learner. The flat also give opportunity for training and educative activities. And the kitchen of the restaurant is preparing for gastronomy education with Yeditepe University. The whole project aims both to create a comfortable and cost effective co-working place and to connect public sector and creative industries.

Restoration Projects: 6 Restoration projects has been implemented since 2014; Caricature House, Suadiye Art Atelier, Youth Art Center, Rasimpaşa Social Services Center, Haldun Taner Museum, City Council and Cinemateque building.

Caricature House: The building of Caricature House, constructed in 1906 and used for residential purposes for a long time, was designed and restored after being purchased by Kadıköy Municipality to acquire a new function and it was inaugurated on September 30, 2016 where in Hasanpaşa opposite of the municipality building. It aims to contribute to the development of cartoon art, to bring caricatures to citizens from all ages and to carry out educational workshops in order to convey cartoon art to future generations. Moreover, panels, conferences and exhibitions are organized and with an archive - library cultural heritage of universal and local history of caricature is preserved.

Youth Art Center: The kiosk has expropriated by the municipality and restored in 2016. It has planned as children art center. The building has 6 lecture room, a performance hall with 90 audience capacity and a exhibition hall. The center is in Hasanpaşa where income level is lower according to Kadıköy's average. Marmara University (State University) Faculty of Fine Arts has also been used the building for two years because of unsuitable physical condition of the university.

Sinematek/Cinema House: Sinematek Association which was active between the years 1965 and 1980 had introduced numerous classics of world cinema to an enthusiastic audience in Istanbul. This association became a role model for the project than having banded together a group of academics, translators and film critics with published works in the field of cinema, municipality is laying the foundation for an institution for film culture. The preparations of such an institution began last year. The new building will have film theater of 200 seats. In this space near Yoğurtçu Park, not only film screenings will be held but also a film archive will be collected, exhibitions will be opened, conferences, seminars and workshops will be organized.

Kadikoy Theater: The Theater currently being constructed; and according to schedule, it will be finished in December, 2019. The scene of the theater will be a

black box with different options, 400 people can see a performance. There will be another salon that about 1000 people at same time can use the area. The decision and production process of the building will be detailed in next chapters.

Festival Organizations: Beside the theater festivals, environment festival with civil associations, it has done 2017 fist. The 2018 Environment Festival was attended by 28,000 people for 4 days and 61 associations contribute. 3rd "Record Days" has done in 2018 and 27,000 people visit the record stands and join the concert activities.[17] "Haydarpasa Book Days" is an important cultural activity for Istanbul. It has done in 2016 and 2017 at Haydarpasa Station. It was important to use the station as a public space because station has not been used since 2012. In 2017, 180 publishers had been the area, 980 artist and writer gave talks and signature events, 325,000 people visited the Station during 9 days.[18]These activities are large scale ones that promote people to contribute public life and also attain records, books etc.

It has been seen that Kadıköy Municipality has supported cultural activities both in the name of infrastructure and organizations in each period. However there are some characteristic changes after 2014. These changes are; new investments are done for specific purposes and these purposes became diversified; such as co-working spaces, cinematech buildings. Moreover, these new investments are not integrated any trade units. Big scale investments have been done as a part of trade unit so their investment cost comes from there; the municipality gives opportunity to build a shopping center and the firm that build the shopping center also build saloons for the municipality. However, after 2014 there any area has not turn into trade function and municipality has built or bought the buildings with own sources without any dept. According to performance reports of the municipality in 2014 when the new management elected there were 80 million TL dept, while the management leave the municipality in 2019

[17]NTV, Kadıköy Plak Günleri'nden kareler (27 bin kişi katıldı) https://www.ntv.com.tr/galeri/sanat/kadikoy-plak-gunlerinden-kareler-27-bin-kisi-katildi,jdbiclZXF0GNhP3u5zUQcQ/V28qPZbaVk6DszJkF8U_KA, 09.07.2019.

[18] Karakaş G., Dokuz Günde İki Milyon Kitap Satışıhttp://www.milliyet.com.tr/dokuz-gunde-iki-milyon-kitap-satisi-gundem-2467903/, 09.07.2019.

there were not any dept. There have been also organizational and institutional changes after 2014 but they will be tackled in the next chapter.

According to integrated report which is prepared for the municipality recently by a professional firm:

> Kadıköy Municipality is aware that cultural and social development is important for development of a society. Kadıköy has become an important center for cultural and artistic activities in Istanbul. Kadıköy Municipality host a lot of cultural and social organizations in its premises. Kadıköy attracts a lot of people from different districts of İstanbul. Cultural and social support is not limited to organizations, municipality also provide training for children and young people on music, drama and cartoon. It organizes public meetings and seminars on historical issues, literature, social development, health related issues, innovations to support social and cultural development. It develops places like İDEA to increase social interactions, to bring people from different backgrounds and to support collective thinking and decision making.

Report shows also number of organizations and audience of events has been growing considerably in recent years.

NUMBER VISITORS OF BOOK EXHIBITION

NUMBER CULTURAL ACTIVITIES ORGANIZED BY KADIKÖY MUNICIPALITY
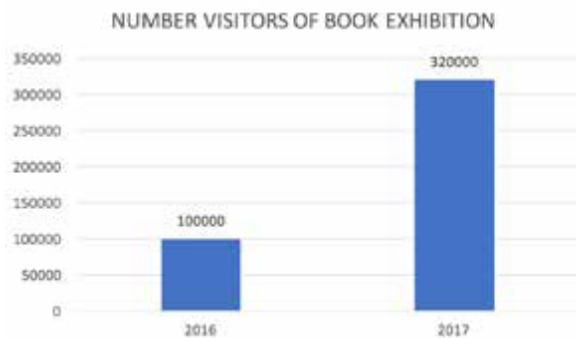
Figure 18 - 4.2.2 Numbes From Integrated Report

Another feature that I think crucial for the scope of study is about municipality's reaction related to the diversity in the city. It is hard to measure it since it is about "quality". However, it is possible to give some examples in order to evaluate the municipal approach to the issue. The Municipality has provided a place for LBTI's banner in 8 March on billboards in 2016. It was written on them "I'm lesbian, bisexual, transgression, intersex: I am everywhere in parliament, at school, here!"[19] After this banner some people who thinks that municipality damage the "traditional order" of the society, called the municipality; to threaten, warning, shouting and abusing. Some conservative media and press foundations have indicated society also with news[20]"deviant municipality".

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[19] Kural, B., Kadıköy Belediye Başkanı'ndan 8 Mart Afişleri Açıklaması, https://bianet.org/bianet/lgbti/172694-kadikoy-belediye-baskani-ndan-8-mart-afisleri-aciklamasi, 09.07.2019.

[20] Yeni Akit, CHP'li belediyeden sapkın afiş!,https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/chpli-belediyeden-sapkin-afis-141828.html, 09.07.2019.

Figure 19 - 4.2.3 Kadıköy Municipality LBTI Banners

Mayor of Kadıköy Municipality has given a reaction to the accusation as; "Do not repress the people, everybody should be allowed to express themselves."It should also be emphasized that the municipality has found "social equality department" to support the repressed groups to find proper channels of representation.

CHAPTER 5

THEATER AS A CULTURAL PRODUCTION FIELD IN KADIKÖY

Theoretical framework deployed in this thesis is argued that cultural sphere could be considered as a field and in line with this understanding, power relations; reproduction and redistribution mechanisms will be discussed with the basic occupants of the field; theaters, local government, space and spectator. The relationships between these occupants and transformation inside the occupants have capacity to reconstruct the field. In other words, as Bourdieu claims; "It goes without saying that, in both cases, change in the space of literary or artistic possibles is the result of change in the power relation which constitutes the space of positions". (Bourdieu, 1991, 32)

Therefore, in the case study, there is a story about changing of a field with its relations. Approach of local government after 2014is critical for power relations and to open the field to new comers. Even municipality build some other institutions for different branches of culture, relations with the platform of theaters (KTP) and support for founding it differentiates the field of theater. This relationship also creates spectator improvement projects and a big investment called Kadıköy Theater which is a black box venue which has planned with theater players.

As mentioned in the methodology section, 25 depth interviews were carried out with various actors in this field ranging from various officials from Kadıköy Municipality, academicians from artistic board of the municipality, the mayor; Aykurt Nuhoğlu, deputy mayor Onur Temurlenk, city councilor Ümit Demirtaş, employees from different departments and positions to founder and player of private theaters,

spectators, Özlem Ece, director of cultural policy studies, Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (İKSV), Özgür Bingöl and İlke Barka who are the architects of 'Kadıköy Theater".

It should be noted that numbers of the theater in Kadıköy has been doubled since 2014 and they recently founded an umbrella organization "Kadıköy Theater Platform" in order to improve relations and corporation among themselves and with the municipality. Process of founding the platform gives some clues about changed position in the field. Therefore, there is not a story that was started by an individual which affects the others. Instead, there is an interwoven story about occupants. Organization of platform and projects which are done by platform and the municipality, are junction points that symbolize a differentiated field.

In order to understand relations in different levels and positions all interviewers answered questions about the theater, local government, space and spectator. Since the aim of the research analyze the effect of changed positions, all the interview also focus on historical evolution of behaviors.

Theaters have not only chosen from members of the platform. One of the theaters has interviewed; Karma Drama had left the platform. Generation has been also taken into consider, Enis Fosforoğlu for example has been an actor for 40 years in Kadıköy while others are also mid-aged or younger. Some of them have their own place and some of them do not have. Conflict of generations and popularity are the key points while analyzing the position takings of theaters.

Time dimension is a critical issue especially for analysing local government's position because there is an administrative and political change in 2014 with local election. Even though the same political party won the election, mayor and council member changed after 20 years. Therefore, some of the interviewee (I-3,5,6) are chosen from those who have worked in Kadıköy Municipality more than 15 years. Since the municipality is the authority for redistribution of spatial and social resources, its political perspective and organization capacity is critical to change the power balance in the field.

Space will be discussed in different layers. Firstly, the space is where performance occurs; theater halls and rehearsal areas. The form and location of the space inintersubjectivity with spectator and in relation to the neighborhood. Second layer is making space for theater. Theater is a branch of art that is highly related to public space. Any performance could be shown in the street or in a high equipped hall. Third and the most important layer is about publicity of space of theater both with allocation policies and as a source of public space. However, in both of these situations the space would be reproduced. With the change of envision of theater and spectator the space changes and changed space gives new opportunities to participants. Designing process of "Kadıköy Theater" will also be analyzed as a result of re-position takings of the other occupants and an example of producing a public space.

Spectators are chosen from participants of a project called "My "Neighbor Theater" which is done by the platform and the municipality. They are in different ages and have different professions. There are three main issues about the spectators is changing in profiles, evaluation methodology and intersubjectivity with the performance. Spectators as individuals have capacity to affect evolution of art not with only commenting on it but also participate to the process of production. This participation or correlation could break the effect of mass media and popularity based on market demanding.

In this chapter; changes in the position takings of theaters, local governments, space and spectator will be discussed respectively and with the prevalent relations among them and uniqueness of Kadıköy. Interviews will be supported by information provided by the newspapers and related publications. Since Turkey has a centralized power of state, firstly the basic relations between center and local will be explained with the supportive interviews in that field. The overlook to central approaches is critical to compare with the local ones and also to take into consideration the reflections in local.

5.1 Relations with the state

5.1.1 Center-Local Relations

Istanbul is as a so-called global city and an arena of various state agencies in the cultural field as well at both central and local levels. These various agencies with different interest in the city and in the field of cultural sphere do not pay attention to work coherently. It should be emphasized that in the cultural field there has not been a clear-cut division of labour between central and local government agencies in thefield of cultural policy. Many services at the local nature have been under the responsibility of the central government. However, in many cases cultural services and facilities which are under the responsibility of central government agencies are in most casesnot properly provided since the lack of necessary budget and facilities. In such cases, municipalities become active to provide such services as they see them an area relevant to their responsibility to the local population. On the other hand, for the municipalities so called social services are getting as important as infrastructure investments because central government do not care for social city services just like nurseries, social centers, sport activities, art programs etc. In Turkey; education, health and security system belong to central government, local governments also create supporting institutions these main services. However, there is not any budgetary organization for these services. So central government has budget, ministries and organizations for them but the same time local government –if they want- make budget and institutions also.

In turn, municipalities fill the gaps in order to better the condition of the services provided to citizen because it is important for elected people to be re-elected and also implement polices according to political perspectives of people who has elected them. However, this situation creates unnamed problems and variable practices at same times, create collision between municipalities and central government agencies in the cultural field. It is unnamed because while in some cases both center and local do the same services in same city, some other case both of them do not. Variable practices damage having the right of equal options.

Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (İKSV), published a report in 2016; "Cultural Planning for Local Governments"[21]. In the report, it is talked about cities have multi-cultural structures so local governments have to be inclusive all culture. Moreover, they are also responsible to build a new civil society that live in peace with diversity. Thesis of the report are similar the global reports but it emphasizes on coordination of structures and comprehensive policy making process. Coordination is proposed both between center and local and among local structures.

One of the interviewees; Özlem Ece who is the cultural policy director of IKSV, talked about the process of preparing the report why they need it and what was the aim;

> Our relationship with municipalities is more related to infrastructure services such as using their halls. We don't seem to have any connection with the İstanbul metropolitan municipality. It is shaped by supply-demand relations and according to our needs. These are because IKSV is a cultural institution that organizes activities, but I would like to communicate with all the districts in the field of cultural policies. That's why we prepared the report for cultural planning. When the short-term event-based demands from the municipalities begin to come, we have prepared the report to tell them that it is a planning issue that needs to be planned in the longer term and that we need to develop strategies instead of singular activities. In general, the municipalities build a cultural center and then they cannot prepare a program than call us to cooperate with them. Since this is constantly repeated, we have tried to explain there is a need for planning else with the report.

Report[22] gives examples from different cities in order to show how they create organization charts and institutions (2016, 37):

> It is observed that in the cities where New York, Amsterdam, Seoul, culture departments of local governments take responsibility for the planning process. In Seoul while Department of Culture has responsible for administrative process, creation of the content of the plan has left to a study group from, Seoul Institute which consists of experts from the private and private sector. In the case of Tokyo, the planning unit of municipality is responsible for this process and they are in contact with the municipality council. Art and culture committee make suggestions to the plan. Tokyo

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[21]İKSV, Yerel Yönetimler İçin Kültürel Planlama, Şubat 2016, https://www.iksv.org/i/content/227_1_yerel-yonetimler-2016.pdf, 09.07.2019.

[22] İKSV, Yerel Yönetimler İçin Kültürel Planlama, Şubat 2016, https://www.iksv.org/i/content/227_1_yerel-yonetimler-2016.pdf, 09.07.2019.

indicates, one of the difficulties they have faced is that adapting the policy to the process. In Toronto, municipal team of policy and programs takes part in the process. All municipalities indicate that they care to involve the widest possible number of stakeholders in the planning processes.

Another feature for cultural and arts activities carried out by public institutions in Turkey symbolizes polarized political life and lifestyle differences. The names of the cultural centers and activity programs show us a certain lifestyle is reproduced or propagated by these activities. So projected purposes of cultural policies – which provide unity- are not seen on the country they could became a tool for discrimination in the society. Even artists are separated whether who accepted to visit Tayyip Erdoğan's palace and who did not. Ece said that:

> These issues are always sacrificed to the hottest politics and trigger more conflicts at that time, whereas the opposite must happen. Municipalities need to produce solutions at these points regardless of their religion and language preferences. Programs need to be developed to emphasize the common side. It's important not to belong to a group but to everyone who lives there.

Who does prepare the programs for local governments, who do choose the artistic performances; are there concrete criteria that can be put forward? These questions are important to analyze the power of public authority which can use its power in order to support specific artists ideologically or commercially. Being supported by public institutions is vital because in Turkey cultural infrastructure is mainly owned by public authorities; municipalities or ministries.

It is widely circulated view that after the regime change in Turkey with the referendum 16th April 2018, culture and arts institutions would transfer to local governments.[23]This kind of delegations seems empower local authorities which seem as a more democratic process in the first sight. However, it should be noted that without structural changes such delegation could increase the unequal and abusive conditions. Ece emphasizes the necessity to coordination:

> This is one of the most fundamental issues that there is not coordination. This is the biggest problem in terms of cultural policies. In the process of decentralization, the transfer of authority is not fully completed. I think there

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[23] Anadolu Ajansı, Kültürel tesisler yerel yönetimlere devredilecek, https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/kultur-sanat/kulturel-tesisler-yerel-yonetimlere-devredilecek-/1295874, 09.07.2019.

are serious resources allocated to culture but there is a need for the upper mind to organize how to distribute it.

While all the international and national reports emphasize the importance of local governments' role in cultural planning they do not talk about regional inequalities that local governments have potential to reproduce these inequalities. This situation is similar to criticism of Florida in the manner of cause-effect relationship. By the way this criticism does not the change the fact that the effect of local governments is crucial for city's cultural life even in countries just like Turkey in that central government has main authority for basic services. However, Aykurt Nuhoğlu, mayor of Kadıköy, claims that cultural services are basic services of state but it doesn't implement it:

> For a very long time, the state has been moving away from the duty of providing the common needs of the people, because of political turmoil. Art and culture oriented services should reach to even remote corners of the country. However, currently such services and facilities are generally in the large cities and central districts of them. The society is actually pushing for and demanding the cultural services in everywhere. At the moment, however, I think such demands are largely ignored. In my view this situation should change quickly. Likewise, music, literature and theater facilities should reach tothe most remote corner of Anatolia. They need to be introduced to the citizen. If you do not allow them to meet the citizens, a citizen may not know about art and express a need about art. You have to make citizen feel the richness that would be created in his/her life with the art. How can a human think about something he doesn't know? What is the cause of the state? The reason of being of state is not only to meet the minimum needs, but also to create the future, to design the world of the future. As the powers of local governments increase at these points, society will have a more dynamic structure.

What Mr. Aykurt claims is that there is also comprehensiveness problem about both satisfying and generating the demands. Beside the lack of comprehensive policies, another critical issue is about organization. As it is seen from the reports all public institutions in local level has a structure or institutional design in order to implement cultural policies and provide regular relations with artists. In Turkey since cultural policies are used as political source, politician could be superabundant in this field. Organizational structure and corporate culture are important for planning otherwise mayor could be the only authority for decision making mechanism just like other issues. Both mayor's and municipality council's political and cultural perspectives

are important and this is irrefutable because people elect them in order to represent and implement policies behalf of them. However, there is a big difference between establishing cultural policies and deciding hall allocations for centers as it is discussed in theory chapter.

In conclusion, local governments are important for cultural planning both for creating local policies and community building in local. However especially two critical points are important for this case; firstly, there must be coordination between all structures and put local policies as a part of comprehensive policies in order to prevent regional and spatial inequalities. Second one is to differentiate cultural planning and art planning just like Evan has mentioned. Culture department organizations in municipalities and regulating relations among mayor, municipality council commissions, bureaucracy, artists and citizens are critical in order to define cultural policy.

5.1.2 State-Theaters Relations

In terms of ownership there are three foundation types of theater professionally in Turkey. "State theaters" are financed, staffed and regulated by the Ministry of Culture. "City theaters" are run by metropolitan municipalities, municipal theaters by district municipalities and facilities, finance and professional staffs are under the responsibility of the municipalities. Finally, private ones which are established by individual entrepreneurs or by the players themselves on individual or cooperative basis.In this thesis we will focus on the private theaters in Kadıköy and Kadıköy Municipality does not have a so-called municipal theater.

It should also be noted that private theaters could use "financial aid" which is given by the ministry of culture according to some conditions. This is thesole relation between state agencies and private theaters in order to improve the art. It has some specific conditionals as mentioned. The conditionals are mainly about number of performances. However theaters are not pleasant these aid program generally. This is an issue emphasized by various interviewees;

Enis Fosforoğlu, who has also worked in the committee of aid, argued that;

> One of the most important regulation of the republican period is the law enacted to support private theaters. There would be turbulences every year, the juries were discussed, but this law continued despite everything. Now I'm going to say unfortunately it continues. Agencies have been established for the last 10 years. They shifted the real support to the agencies, not the theaters. Partner agencies established. For example, four years ago they did not give it to Genco and Ferhan, they gave it to me, and then they wanted it back and claimed that they has given it to me wrongly. I went to court and just won the case. I proved all the plays that I played, collected the documents from the halls that I has played, brought my players as witnesses and won the case against the Ministry of Culture. The Agency shows to the Ministry of Culture, art activities and the theaters within it. They give the agencies three times the support they can get. An unrecognized rent turns to culture art, unfortunately. These agencies also captured the cultural centers of Anatolian cities inexpensively.

The agencies are market organizations that establish the relations between theaters and venues. Since the majority of venues belong to public institutions, political inclination of agencies also become important. Enis Fosforoğlu used to be a member of committee that designates the list of theaters for financial aid. He was there because he was a representative of an association of theaters; he claims he could not be happy with the associations;

> We have closed many associations. At the time there was a theater producers association, (TİYAD), I was a term presidency. I tried to make people happy but I became unhappy. At that time I was called to the jury of the state support. I said 'Put the difference between the theaters for competition, but do not put the difference for existing'. The most equitable state support was distributed that year, although the AKP government.

Choosing artist from the association for designate the aid is one of the reason of discussion about theater associations. Since committee member could also choose their theater for aid, the association seems create a privilege by sending a representative to committee. It is an important issue that shows the risks about if associations distribute the sources. Gossips about using associations in a beneficial and opportunist way have demolished these associations. Other concerns about the aid that Esin Aslan raised on this issue in the following way;

> There are actually some groups in the platform that received support in the last year as children and adults, but to get such support they had to to perform certain number play per a year. However, you're not giving this guy a stage to

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> play. Let's say that the cost of a game 40 thousand pounds that you have given 20 thousand liras. But you have to spend over 20 thousand liras to get that number of plays, they are not considered at all. If they can't fill and show 20 performances at the end of the job, they get that grant back.

Nevzat Süs pointed out another problematic dimension with regard to receiving aid, similarly with Enis Fosforoğlu; he claims that the financial aids not canalized into to the theaters directly and also claims conditions do not make reasonable to take the aid;

> The profile changed there, even a cosmetologist can apply and get support like a theater right now. The man I know works on the electrician who works on the stage electrical equipment; he has applied and received support. It always depends on with personal relationships. I'm not personally applying. I have a right to apply. It may look like I'd get it, but I don't want. I guess it was 2010 when I got the last support from ministry of culture. I took extra credit to catch the number which is waited. If I didn't get credit, I had to pay back what I got from the government. I ended up this process with economical damage.

Damla Özen Kılıçoğlu complains about the taxes and lack of comprehensive regulations which would be more beneficial than financial aid;

> They appropriate funds for private theaters. They give it to you do not have tax debt. However I cannot consider a private theater without tax debt because our tax bracket is 18% which is as same as very luxurious restaurants. We seem like a limited company according to law regulations. They either think that we're crazy and do not need money, because we don't make TV shows and do a private theater. Like the Dadaists.

There are also some problems about the selection criteria for funding as it is said "personal relationships" and also "celebrity dominations" that interviewees talked about without giving specific names. As a result, this support seems to be also an obstacle for theaters to come together since it creates both competition and suspicion. Even our focus is local relations in the field, the relation type of the state is important to differentiate the example of local ones and to show a problematic relationship that do not serve to the purpose of improving the art and prevent theaters to act together.

5.2 Position Takings of Theaters

In order to better understand the capacity and working system of theaters which are focused on the research, their profile will be analyzed. According to Cultural Affairs Department of Kadıköy Municipality, while there were 35 private theaters in the District in 2014, currently there are 85 private theaters performing in the area and about 25 of them have their own premises. There are also performance ateliers inside them. Some of them work as also a cultural/social center. It depends on the space and achievement of the teams. In the study, different profiles have been taken into consideration. Differences are mainly based on generation, location, being a part of the platform and relation with Kadıköy. They are;

AltKat Art Theater: (Caferağa, Moda) One of the founder and member of KTP, Nevzat Süs;

> We have been doing theater in Kadıköy for 7 years in our own premises. We started to theater in Kadıköy. We're playing a boutique scene, but, of course, we are trying to reach different parts of Turkey. We have a group of 20 people; we have a stage with a capacity of 50 people.

Pat Atelier: (Caferağa, Moda) One of the founder and member of KTP, Esin Aslan;

> We are working on more street and circus arts. Most of the artists inside us from the Pantomime Department of Istanbul University, we have also from theater department. We do more work in festival organizations. We has opened this workshop 8 months ago, we are preparing for the season. Our number is not certain, if there need is 60 people to work in a festival, we have 60 people, both domestic and foreign friends we work here, but the main staff of about 25 people. We use these atelier but we are a team that works in the streets and parks when we can't fit here.

AltKat Art and Pat Atelier hired basement floor of a passage together with a third theater. The passage is near by the Mehmet Ayvalıtaş Park situated in the middle of Bahariye and Moda. They use common places and work with solidarity.

Moda Stage: (Caferağa, Moda) One of the founders and member of KTP, Kemal Aydoğan;

> I used to run "Oyun Atölyesi". I was both a founder and a partner of the theater that was found in 1999. However we, 11 people have separated in 2012. Inside these 11 people there were teller, 4 player, scene designer, light

designer, manager of cafeteria. We hired this place and spent here about 3 million TL to refurbish the place. We as11 people put one third of the money, for the rest we have borrowed and paid for five years. We have no other resources expect our performances here. In about a month there are about 50 different activities. There are 3 salons and capacity of one of them varies between 233 and 700 people. When the telescopic tribune closes, the audience can be 700 people. The scene can go up to 20 meters if it is wanted. We don't have anything fixed. We also avoid fixed ideas. It was a risk because it was a big investment for an alternative idea. However, we did and we became a locomotive for others. Our generation see that it is possible so it creates horizontal relationships among us. We opened there in 2013 after Gezi protests. Inside the protests, young people who flee from the police, used to come here while construction continues there. In the evenings of protests, there used to be about 200 people gathered here.

Description of Kemal Aydoğan is critical since Moda Stage has been a role model for new theaters and new approaches which will be examined in this chapter. The passage shows the difficulties of founding a big scale investment. Moreover, he did not talk about only a place for theater, he talks about a community center with cinema, seminars and training programs. It is important for the discussion about potential of creating public spaces with private theaters.

Karma Drama: (Hasanpaşa) Used to be a part of KTP, recently left, Damla Özen Kılıçoğlu,

I graduated from the Department of Theater at the State Conservatory of Istanbul University. Together with my husband Togay Kılıçoğlu, we decided to establish our own theater in 2009. We founded Karma Drama in 2009, and in 2014 we opened the place where we are now. We've been traveling before and we used to be in Beyoğlu. In 2013 Gezi protests has triggered us. Even if we could not find the criteria of our dreams, we wanted to have a place, than we came here. Of course, these are all about economy. So we found a place on this side street, which is one click away from the center. We have a hall for 35 people.

Karma Drama is the only theater does not have a place in Bahariye or Moda. They describe themselves as "Neighborhood Theater". Why they left the platform will be evaluated in the chapter. Gezi protests become prominent also producing the field especially as a reason to choose Kadıköy to strike.

Nazım Hikmet Culture Center: (Caferağa, Bahariye Street.) Member of KTP, Tunç Tatoğlu;

> My relationship with theater has begun in high school like lots of performers. Then he continued with the young actors' community at the university. As Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), we have started to open Nazım Hikmet Culture Centers to provide space for the producers of the culture and art Currently there are 4 center in Turkey. I am one of the founders of this place and I am also in charge of coordinating. The center has opened 16 years ago. There is a stage inside called "Nazım Stage". We have a team that makes theater for children; there is a team called "Oyun Sandalı" in here also. Altkat Art used to use this place. They worked here first then, opened up their places.

Nazım Hikmet Culture Center is also an example of community center. Some of the meetings of platform are done here. It also refers a political party as claimed.

Enis Fosforoğlu Theater; (Used to be in Caferağa, currently closed) One of the founders and member of KTP, Enis Fosforoğlu;

> I resigned from the state theater in 1980 and opened a theater in Kadıköy. I celebrated my 40th anniversary in Kadıköy during the period of Aykurt Nuhoğlu. It could be possible for a private theater to remain open for 40 years with my perseverance and interest of the Kadıköy audience. It continued despite all political ups and downs and economic challenges. Now I'm a bit far from Kadıköy, I moved to Prince Islands to live there.

All the interviews are done in their place except Enis Fosforoğlu since he has moved to Prince Islands and the theater has not its own place anymore. In this part it will be evaluated respectively; their perspectives about theater as a field of production, with the story of founding KTP and expectations of them.

5.2.1 Approaches to Theater

It is seen that Kadıköy became an important location for new generation of theaters especially after the Gezi protests. However, theaters are not a current issue for Kadıköy. The city has a historical legacy in this area. Enis Fosforoğlu, who is a witness of the recent past of evolution of the theaters, tells about the process;

> Kadıköy is a liberated region in the name of culture and art. Kadıköy is the place where Afife[24] first appeared on the stage and was taken from the stage

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[24] Afife Jale who is the first Muslim actresses in Turkey, has get on the Apollon stage (current Rexx Cinema) in 1920

by the gendarmerie. It is a destiny that prolonged the intervention of present-day power to the artist. However, the artist must be free. If you feel free you can create. In Kadıköy, theater has always kept alive thanks to people's interest in theater. Private theaters for a period of time only played with the concern of making money, vaudeville theaters increased. It took some time for Kadıköy to catch the contemporary theater. The Kadıköy audience wants variety, there used to be also, Arthur Miller, across to vaudeville. Kadıköy's spectator is a spectator who keeps his horizons rich, but also gives importance to art.

Even though Kadıköy's spectator is important for all theaters, the address of theater used to be European side till a recent time. I-5 who has been work for the municipality more than 15 years, claims that there were stand ups in Kadıköy in the past.

Social changes directly affect cultural life or culture could be a tool for social changes. The military coup in 1980 is an important breaking point for Turkey. After the coup, new economic and social system promoted individualism and consumption has also affected the cultural life of Kadıköy. Tunç Tatoğlu emphasizes the change;

Bahariye Street was a place where Tevfik Gelenbe, Gazanfer Ozcan, Enis Fosforoglu has stages there, but later on, they left their place to cinemas that used to show sex movies. When we found a cultural center here, this street has changed. However, there was still not much theater. Currently people used to talk about that theater is over but now all the theaters are full in Kadıköy.

As it is mentioned, culture and arts are highly related with the social and economic changes but theater has a special role to reflect all these changes. This role makes it a political tool all the same time. In the book, "Governing the Local"[25] which is composed of interviews from Kadıköy, Nevzat Süs describes a mission for theater;

They are afraid of the theater throughout history and do not want to be done because it has a connective function and a critical look. This is a struggle for enlightenment in a sense. It's not just a ritual that the audience comes and watches the performance. We want to create a progressive movement in Turkey. We give this struggle through our own theater.

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[25] The book has published by Kadıköy municipality, 2018. It composed interviews.

In the interview with Nevzat Süs it is asked that isn't the "struggle" a huge mission for theater and is it true to give these kinds of direct political missions to a branch of art. He answered as follows;

> Of course there is no point in imposing more than needed, but it can be a factor in the struggle for enlightenment. Theater can change emotions and minds of people. You look at life from one perspective and by using aesthetic tools; you recreate it and create a sense of pleasure in the spectator. You can change the spectator. The works that do not have any message or philosophy will of course be done. May be people will go them and be relax. There's no point in targeting it. But when we think of Kadıköy locality, there is not much such kind of theaters. Mainly there are theaters that have philosophy.

Moreover, it is always a conflict that entitling missions to art is a danger for its artistic quality. As an experienced actor; Enis Fosforoğlu claims that;

> Giving a role just because you're a party militant, is a mistake. It is necessary to synthesize the theater with political views, but it is necessary not to lose the art. The theater, of course, stood on the left, because the artist would say a word and that word would be in opposition. However if you put your political opinion in front of the theater then this view does not become artistic. They must be connected.

Another specialty about the theater is its publicity which also makes it a part of politics. Nevzat Süs commented on it;

> By nature, there is publicity in the essence of theater. It's not an individual art, it's a collective art, and it's not possible without an audience. Someone can write a poem and one person can read it. But in the theater, both the audience and the player must be together.

What is understood by "publicity" is important; it can be used in different contexts. For example, since theater itself is a public space with its audience, it involves publicity or it could involve since it reflects the public life. As a third option its publicity could be related to the fact that it is done for the sake of public as a cultural service. All these options also depend on the organization type of a theatre, whether it belongs to state or any public authority and works with allowance or commercial. Kemal Aydoğan defines a type of theater and he called it; public theater;

> I have the idea of a public theater; I don't prefer both theater with allowance and commercial ones. I define public theater as an autonomous structure, it should not be forced to make money. For example, the appropriated theater is familiar to this, but it is also a civil service, there are managers, governments

and decision-makers with the influence of the government. The public area is not belongs to one person, it belongs to everyone. So if theater is a public area it must be free from the manipulation of both the state and money. Than theater could make people argue about problems, give them information, meet them different lives. Theater makes people ready to accept variety because it is more acceptable to meet differences in the stage than face in real life. For example talking about LGBTI people in the stage could make the audience familiar with this idea. It makes street more comfortable and make people ready to face with their differences. Another component of publicity is that; considering the theater as a community. There is also a community around a performance being built. 200-300 people are looking at one thing, how to look and how to communicate with spectator became very important questions when we set up the scene here. Is it a spectator that is looking at a single point, or a two-sided journey?

Therefore there is a perspective about theater which emphasizes its publicity in different levels and gives it a mission about social comprehension and progression. It is similar to what expected from cultural policies in cities. However, this situation is related about political vision of founder of theater as they mentioned and it means not that all theater groups behave like this even though they talk about in rhetoric. The groups are in different scale and different popularities. Popularity is highly related being on TV. The special thing about Kadıköy, as interviewee' claims even their scale bigger and has popular names inside the groups; collectivity is a significant approach for them. The income of the theater is not based on "a star" inside the group. Therefore on one side there are "names", they are popular and their income is higher they are mainly older and "bigger" (not in scale of their team or stage, in the scale of domination the field with their popularity), on the other side there are "theater groups", teams and even though their income level depends, some of them became an alternative for main stream. So what are the differences in their approaches, I-1, senior official of culture department of Kadıköy Municipality explains;

Of course, big theaters are intended to make money. I won't say it all, but many of them, I can say. You'd be very surprised when you heard who it was. You understand that money is really important to them, and some of the stars that you've made bigger in your mind, have deflated. For the new theaters, the income is of course important, but they play mainly for spectators. Just like the differences "Recep İvedik" and "Another Cinema". Of course, I don't want to humiliate them all. But the theater is changing, going in a different direction. This has already happened in Europe. Some of the theaters I think live in their recent periods. They're going to disappear somehow. The new

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theater is different; we understand it from young audience there is not a wall between spectator and the performance in the stage. The big theaters do not have such a young audience.

With regard to how she defined the new theater, she replied that:

> They have different types of playing. They use black boxes. The decor is not important and their scripts are different.

Since theater is a reflection of life it is dynamic and is affected by the current trends. Since the audience also desires to meet different realities on stage. Kemal Aydoğan defines the change;

> The old dramatic theater patterns are breaking. No one believes the illusion produced by the theater anymore. Rather people understood that it was an illusion; do not want to be tricked. Somehow 'do not cover it in such a manner that we already know that you are there' they say. There is a desire to bare a kind of genuine and simplicity. I think searching for an alternative world has been effective for these desires. It has changed in the world, written texts that I read in my school has also changed that none of the dramatic theater items still remain. The new generation, the new thought, the new philosophy, the new materialists, the feminists are designing a world other than the world so far. There are other transcripts, interpretations, about male domination and class. On the one hand, food, oxygen goes out of our hands so there is a search for a new life. In the theater also there is a search for a new life.

Aydoğan, gives clue about what has inspired new theater, it seems a call for a new life, or a new society so it breaks the rules of old one. One of the results of breaking the rules; popular figures of past lose their incidence. Tunç Tatoğlu claims they also lose their tradition since they do not leave any tradition;

> In our country, we know that the famous actors did not leave a tradition. I know they didn't leave anything not only tradition. Slowly they leave their group and pass through to one-man games. This is also related to the artist's livelihood problems. They are on the stage with their own poetry collages, but they don't risk playing copyrighted games. More new, copyright scripts are being played in KTP, writers from abroad are brought, groups are writing their own games. People respect those people (famous actors), find something from their life stories, come and watch, but I don't call them theater. This is a talk show, a demonstration. I don't think they will be in the future of the theater, they just exist for themselves.

Being famous is not related to generations, it also related to mass media. There are also famous young actor and actress. Mert Fırat is a well-known actor and he also founder of Moda Sahne, one of his speech[26] that organized by KTP, he claims;

> Being famous is nothing to dream about. While you're in the process, or suddenly in one day you can become a celebrity. Part of our profession, especially TV series side, the audience has only 2 months of memory. There's no way he can get to know you if you stay away from the screen for more than two months. Two months later, they ask 'who was this?' even you play in the area of Turkey's highest rating series. Three months after, they can't even remember the name of the series. So we shouldn't trust it. Popularity is a misunderstanding. We all gathered around in a misunderstanding. Sometimes we can use that misunderstanding in something useful. This cannot be planned and no one can foresee it.

Popularity becomes a reason for spectator while choosing the performance just like in the case of Sennett's pianist. People have limited time and budget and they desire to spend it on a right address. So who defined the right address? Mass media is a tool; is there any other tool for stratification of artistic quality of the performances? Damla Kılıçoğlu points out another confliction in the field; lack of criteria to achieve to theater;

> It is like football, because there are leagues in theater also. However football does not have a school in the academic sense, but there are conservatives and not comes from conservatives in theater. If there is no need to education for it than they could shut down all the conservatories, otherwise it is difficult to define and put in a frame this as a job. I don't know which one is right. Actually, the audience's role is very important, but the audience's criterion cannot be applied because, they applaud everything if they see famous face on the stage. We have reached a point just like this because there are no one writes down real critics. You can print a column about your task with only money on newspapers. Only way is the audience will discover it instinctively, and this is a very challenging way. And there's something like this in the leagues; on one side there is "Zorlu Center", we can't be a rival to it. So, if you ask that are you rivals to Zorlu Center or to taverns in Kadıköy, I say to the taverns in Kadıköy. Because the things you'll be watching in Zorlu Center and there are completely different.

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[26]Alp, L., Mert Fırat: Ün Dediğin Bir Yanlış Anlama, http://www.gazetekadikoy.com.tr/kultur-sanat/mert-firat-un-dedigin-sey-bir-yanlis-anlama-h13849.html, 09.07.2019.

The conflict seems more about the approaches to theater as art. Social changes affect the play on the stage. However, artistic concerns are always important to differentiate theater form a "show" or "mass media". Enis Fosforoğlu is an actor that has a critical view both old and new generation;

> The theater is a loom that weaves all kinds of fabric. The important thing is the quality of the fabric. May be the masters of the theater, do not know the new ones and think about where they're coming up. On the other hand you cannot be an actor when you find a stage to stand on in. If they empower themselves in the artistic sense, if they put more carefully on the stage, they come to the fore. I went to a meeting of the KTP, a young man came and asked me who I am in the entrance of the meeting. I have made theater for 40 years in Kadıköy, if he claims that he makes theater in Kadıköy he should not ask me that question. Because we read theater history, everyone should continue their education under their own conditions. What I respect the culture more than talent. I mean, the type of artist who claims "They don't understand me" is over. You should explain yourself. You should read and upgrade your equipment. Like a doctor, you have to know the cultural health of your people. If you see yourself in the giant mirror, you turn into dwarf.

All the challenges about generations, star system of mass media, livelihood struggle of actors, conflictions between ego and collective mind are interior components of the field of production of theater and different approaches brings out different position takings. Founder of theater's intend to improve the publicity and collectivity, reveals a new organization in Kadıköy; Kadıköy Theater Platform (KTP).

5.2.2 Kadıköy Theater Platform

It is mentioned that Theaters in Kadıköy defined theater as a collective organization with the potential of innovating the social life. As a result of this kind of position taking and the collaboration with the local government, they found Kadıköy Theater Platform (KTP). It was founded in January, 2016 and announced with the first organization of the platform; march, on the Universal Theater Day, 27 of March.

In their web site[27], there are 35 members of the platform and they defined themselves as;

> We believe in the knowledge of the developer and changer of art and in particular the theater. We're here to contact and to solve the problems of theater all together. Kadıkoy is a starting point and we hope to be transformed into a huge platform where the works in every place of the country. The only aim of our journey is to find solutions to the problems of stage and stageless theater together with the creation of a deep-rooted culture and art policy in Kadıköy. For this reason, we carry out some of our projects in cooperation with Kadıköy Municipality.

One of the interviewees, Esin Aslan who is also in charge of secretariat of the platform, claims that there are 25 of the theaters in Kadıköy has its own stage and 23 of them are member of the platform.

In his part it will be analyzed firstly foundation process and organization type of the platform. Then the challenges inside and expectations. Different expectations and communication problems could create some conflicts in every group so in order to understand the reliability of a group, it is important how to overcome these kinds of cases. Therefore, attitude of member of the platform, municipality representatives and one group which left the platform will be covered together.

5.2.2.1 Foundation Process

One of the interesting points for the case study is many of the interviewee tells a foundation story with a bit differences however they all put their self on the center of the story. It shows us that also they appropriate that they feel inside in the process. One of the common points is the role of driving force of the mayor, Aykurt Nuhoğlu. Stories about the process;

Mert Fırat claims;

> It all started in the 2014 local elections with the change in Kadıköy Municipality. At that time we were talking about,"Why don't we have a

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[27]Kadıköy Tiyatroları Platformu, http://www.kadikoytiyatrolari.com/hakkimizda/, 09.07.2019.

theater policy? What can we do for the formation of cultural policy?" We went to visit the new mayor Aykurt Nuhoğlu, we talked about the Kadıköy Theater Platform. The mayor also said they could give support and found such a step very positive. "Identify common problems and needs then let's talk," he said.

Enis Fosforoğlu claims;

> 4-5 years ago, when Aykurt Nuhoğlu was elected, we went to visit him with Ali Erdogan. Since I am an artist who always voices general troubles, Mr. Aykurt said that "I see that you do not want anything for yourself, if every day one theater comes and want something, I cannot cope with it, also they cannot, so found a platform for common problems". I passed this meeting to young theater players with Ali Erdogan.They set up the Kadıköy Theater Platform and, despite all the difficulties, they survived and grew. Aykurt Nuhoğlu gave the first acceleration.

It is also understood from the passages that, different theaters, visit the municipality and they also search a new way for communication with the municipality.

Nevzat Süs claims:

> In fact, the organization of theater, really difficult in terms of Turkey coexistence. It has always been tried and tried. A lot of formation, association, foundation, union, whatever you find, have found but none have been long-term. I don't know how long KTP will be, but for the moment we are in our fourth year, this is a good thing, a good time frame. In fact, it was also desire of Mr.Aykurt, he has said to us; "Do not come one by one, come here all together".

Esin Aslan claims; "Actually, the first step has taken by Mr.Aykurt. So he is in a very valuable point. We were a group of 15-20 theaters. If there was not this kind of step we wouldn't get grow."

Kemal Aydoğan claims;

> Previously, there was such a thing as the Association of Theater Producers. It was a place where the bosses met. There used to be nothing here except how to distribute state aids. They conducted lobby activities. There was a gossip mechanism. For the first time, the first year of the platform we make meetings in every week. That was incredible. The municipality showed that; it is an institution to be contacted, but they said "if you come one by one, we couldn't do anything." For the first time, the actors showed such a will. We discussed, there were differences opinions, but there was a wish to overcome the issues.

It is seen that municipality is an important figure for the foundation process. The position taking of the municipality politically will be discussed in the next chapter.However observations of officials and policy makers of the municipality, about the foundation process will be transferred here. Firstly senior manager of culture department (I-1) indicates the role of the municipality and their department to bring theaters all together in a meeting;

> They were coming one by one. This structure (KTP) is very important because there is not any example like it. The mayor's wish was that the theaters came together with common demands instead of demanding us to buy plays. We did not know exactly how it would be the municipal contribution to necessities, but we had some ideas. In this context, we started from the theaters in Kadıköy. We have visited all of them one by one. We have asked them what they want, we want them to forget to sell their plays but we can do anything all together except buying plays. When we visited them they feel very happy and claim that nobody had come to visit them from municipality till that time. And they were much more open, they spoke. We received their requests, their common requests; they want publicity, they want to appear on the billboard, signage and festivities. We said okay, then said that we need to have a meeting where you all come together. We talked one by one, but when we came together, we will tell you the common wishes of all the theaters, signage, festivals, the greatest wish of the theaters." We had our wishes also however these wishes have overlapped to a large extent. Then we did our first big meeting in that context. I think it is a successful meeting, the mayor also contributes the meeting. Almost everyone spoke, both big theaters like "Baba Sahne", "Duru Sahne", "Oyun Atölyesi", and the others which do not have their own stage, are all joined. It was 10th of Journey; 2016.Foundation process has started with this meeting. In fact, they took each other's addresses and phones; they hadn't done it before and decided to clarify the platform.

According to interviews, it seems that in both sides there is a wish to redesign the relations between municipality and theaters. While these relations used to be based on theaters' wish to sell their plays or demand saloons to play; yet now with the platform it has aimed to do something together. Not buying performances is important in that it will be evaluated in the next chapter as a critical part of culture policy of the municipality.

The first organization of the platform was preparing a march on 27th of March. I-4 who works in culture department more than 5 years claims;

> The platform was established immediately after the great theater march. March 27, 2016 for the first time a march occurs in the world theaters in

Kadikoy. It's very important because I guess it hasn't done in any districts, and that was the biggest wish of the players, and we gave the first support there, they took a walk.

After the platform has founded than the main problem is the organization of it and also relations with the municipality. It is important that in order to be a civil and independent organization, municipality or, any group inside them shouldn't dominate all the organization. Municipality defined its role as observer in first meetings, then it has not contributed to regular meetings. Deputy mayor, Onur Temurlenk defines their roles;

> At first, we were always being interlocutor, at the meetings, but we didn't want to be the only addressee. We said; "We are attending your meetings, but we are not meeting with you, we are watching you, we are observing your own formation process." Because they were supposed to be their own organization, then they created their inner workings themselves and we observed that stage. After those processes have overcome, we sought ways to work together. Sometimes we put ourselves in their place; sometimes they put themselves in our place. So, they like a public manager consider the number and capacity of the halls, facilities, took the situation assessment.

Beside the officials and directors, councilors also contributed the meetings. In the municipality council, every year commissions are founded with election. Ümit Demirtaş has been a member of "culture, art and tourism" commission for 5 years. She defines the platform process;

> There were big problems and I was scared when the first meetings took place. Artists are different people, first I think; this platform is a false job, it is not possible. You face accusations, they claim "you give the halls to him and you don't give it to me", and they want to have priority as Kadıköy's theaters to allocate the halls. "The big theaters are already finding the place, they do not need, we need, as the municipality, you have to take care us!" They claimed. I think they were right. There is no need to give a lot of day to popular ones, theater in Kadıköy should be supported. Of course, audience also seeks for quality. It needs a balance. Then this platform works perfectly and a mutual common language has found. It has become pleasant and beautiful work is being done. Asking their opinion was very important. We have learned from each other, at a very good point at the moment.

Therefore, after first meeting and finding out a common language the questions have appeared about the aim and position of the platform, there should be an institutional design to define decision making mechanisms. Esin Aslan gives information about the institutional process as being secretariat of the platform for a long term;

In fact, we're not an institutional structure, our name is "platform" not foundation or association. We have no legality. We are the people who have meet in the name of the theater, criticize each other when necessary, go each other's plays, cooperating with each other, let's say that my light exploded before the performance, when I say I need to light, somebody find out it, or when the state apply censorship or oppression against to the theaters, we come together and see how we get out of it. We were talking about these kind of problems so we said that we have to do more than talking about it and started to produce projects. In this process we have done a lot of projects with municipal partners. We were a little stronger since the municipality behind us. If not, can we do again but maybe it would be more difficult, we do it not with 15-20 teams, but with 4-5 teams. When we prepare our projects and take them to the municipality, we have evaluated them with the academicians and we have chosen some of them in order to apply. There are some projects that have been continuing for 3 years. Our issues are bigger now exploded light, finding ticket, etc. Now we can respond in bulk when something happens, we think we are a force. We're not official, but a power. Since it is known that in Kadikoy, theaters come together to do something.

The academicians with whom Aslan talked about are member of artistic board of municipality. They are –two people (I-7 and I-8)- in charge of designate the criteria of theater plays for municipality's saloons and theater festival. Their academic profession and interest are critics on theater and dramaturgy. They have also role in juries just like Afife Jale Prize. Therefore, they also have relations with the municipality. Their impressions about the platform are very positive and constructive; they even further claim that the process of demands is not solely based on platform's demands and municipality's confirmation bur rather it is evaluated through the discussions; and it should be noted here that not all the suggestions are simply accepted and confirmed. I-8 claims;

Firstly, they don't fight in KTP. Because the aim of these people are clear, they comes to idea of to give something not to take. They offer their requests to the municipality and the municipality offers us. For example, some of their requests were found to be inappropriate. The reason is that it does not directly benefit the public but it directly benefits them. But those issues were all agreed with them.

I-7 claims; "They had brought us suggestions as a package. 'My neighbor theater', the festival 'theater before sleep' are the projects that we agree on them, they have been still continue."

Approach of the platform is not to be on demanding position. Trusting each other is a mutual process so they also feel themselves responsible for provide an honest communication. Tatoğlu impresses the trust each other with experiences;

> The municipality did not know what it will meet with the platform at first, the previous experiences were not good, it used to be beneficiary. When we started to go with more structured reports, we could talk each other. They realized we were not trying to take advantage of them. If local government would transfer resources, it should transfer the sources to the art, I have no hesitation about it but there must be a logical method for it. I cannot say that "the municipality has to support me whatever I do".

Even though it is said that platform is not a legal association, they have been more than three years and they have made large scale projects. Therefore, there need to be an organization inside to cope with these works and also provide continuity. They do not have representatives who are chosen but they have facilitators or secretariat who are identified as a result of natural selection. Aslan continues to tell the process;

> In fact, there is natural selection, if I'm busy, I'm outside of İstanbul, I assign the works to Nevzat, and we arrange it among us. However, three or four teams in this process in weight, but the whole platform awares of this. We communicate in our own correspondence. We announced common needs just like; "the banner has arrived, as you can get from that point". We used to work mail system, and now we use whats up as a decision-making mechanism.

The platform is not a civil organization that some professionals work for daily job. So they take responsibility by voluntarily however even there is much advantages of this organic, horizontal type of organization, it has potential to create unequal responsibilities inside platform. Tatoğlu, points out the critical issues for their organization;

> You can't get make anybody run after these jobs except Esin, it cannot be done with money. Everybody tries to do something. I don't know if there is a model, so I don't know if there is a model made with private theaters. You need to have a stubborn people. Telling about to need of organizing is not enough, there must be an insistent that makes the things go beyond cheating on it. We are adults, so all discourse in this process should not underestimate our intelligence. Meeting every week was a test, foundation process of the organization used to be warmer days, they were more exciting but important thing is the continuity. Now the platform has stood up from crawling but now at this stage there could be a possibility in case of a comfort that since

someone is doing the jobs in the name of platform so we have to configure these stages.

In the theory part there was a critique of Harvey about institutions; he claims that once these institutions organized than they have turned into closed mechanism. Therefore, it is important to understand how the new ones are articulated into organization, are there struggles for it. Aslan describes it;

> For example a newly opened stage, let's say the "Boğa Sahne", came to us, we tell them how we work; 'everyone will put his hand under the stone, you must work in a project, you have not any other obligation except to come to meetings, if you want to produce a project we could work on it together.' If they are not playing in Kadikoy and taking part in the program once a year, we are telling them that "you should find a platform where you are. Because we are a platform within the boundaries of Kadikoy, if you want, we support you, we transfer our own experiences, if you want.

5.2.2.2 Conflicts Inside the Platform

It is impossible to maintain any organization process without conflictions. In order to specify the aim, approaches, principles and works these conflictions would be also useful. In other words, without challenges, there should be some suspicious about the democratic structure of the platform. Of course, it is important to find out new paths to overcome these issues. However, some times, there could be some conflictions which are impossible to find out a common way. According to interviewee's some subjects are seem as it is impossible to find out a common point since the arguments are aimed totally different organizations, some conflictions are about ethical problems and some of them seems are some are caused by communication problems.

The aim of the platform and expectations from platform shows difference according to groups. While some of them talks about the need of a professional organization for theaters in order to solve the problems of profession, some claims that aim of the platform should be produce projects together. Therefore, in the end, the second aim overrides. "Our aim is not to establish a professional organization. Our aim is to provide more production-oriented, project-producing and contact with society." (Nevzat Süs)

Another assumption for the aim from Damla Kılıçoğlu;

> I don't remember a contact with the municipality in the previous settings. Then the management changed and we were happy when our door was knocked. Then we were asked to come together, to be a union of power. But here we had to put our problems clearly. It was possible to bring out the problems about agencies which compose more than 10 groups and make arrangements for them. Other than that, taking a step towards our license, Kadikoy Municipality could have been a pioneer on this side. When the state of emergency was declared in 2016 after July 15th the coup attempt, the pressure increased on society and the theaters began to circulate. So, I said to the platform that we are a force here, the pressures will increase; many of us cannot take license as a theater since the law accepts only big Italian halls. We said that let's research it and find out a legal solution. For example, we received a certificate as art studio, but they wanted a text with signature from us, claims that we will not make any performance or concert here. Of course, this is not possible. Because the certification of art studio is suitable for painting, sculpture, tailor but it is not for us. We looked at abroad, in order to find out how they solved it for example they calculate the account of the cubic meter and indicate the number of audiences. The solution point may not be the local government, but we wanted to do something permanent about it, but we could not.

Even though the problems that Kılıçoğlu claims affect many of them, as it is mentioned; the idea of making projects together has accepted in general. Moreover, some groups explain the reason of being inside the platform since it is not work a professional organization. Tatoğlu claims that the important thing for them is coming together in order to produce not as an interest group that organize for demanding something;

> We joined to platform a while later, and if it has worked as a professional organization, we wouldn't be interested. We weren't much involved if we were only dealing with issues such as personal rights, the definition of the player, the constitution, the law of labor. I'm not saying that these problems do not exist, but we said that we want to be here to do more projects together. This was in fact an area where the spatial and publicity problems of the theaters were discussed. "My neighbor is Theater" was one of the turning points for the platform.

"My neighbor is theater"[28] is a spectator improvement program that brings together people who settle down on same district on a theater, in their district. It is not a

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[28] Kadıköy Tiyatroları Platformu,http://www.kadikoytiyatrolari.com/benim-komsum-tiyatro-3-donem/, 09.07.2019.

theater training program for amateurs but it aims to make people more conscious spectator, motivate to the critical thinking and show the back stage of theater. The platform and the municipality are partners in that project. The municipality pays the education fee for trainers and theaters organize education programs in their place. In the program; the way the theater takes from the past to the present, the process of staging a performance, the preparation process of a theater artist, light, costume, makeup, puppet, director, decor, actress, author, designer is told.

Figure 20 - 5.2.2.2 Banner of "My Neighborhood is Theater" Project

One of the important things about this project is that it also causes a confliction. Aydoğan said about the confliction that;

> For example, in the process of "my neighbor is theater" we have wanted that the participants should be a part of theater life, so the seminars should not be in unrelated halls but they should be in our place. Because we want them to meet with our life and create a group of spectators that could defend our lives, 20 years later, if it is needed. Some also argued that this could happen in any hall. There has occurred a contradiction about between training performance and inviting theater life. In the end it is accepted to take them into theater life. The groups without stage and atelier use another one's place.

It seems that theater with their hall has more advantages to implement the project however location of the venue is also important. Another confliction about the project is about its publicity and unequal conditionals and reflection between

neighborhoods. Damla Kılıçoğlu emphasize on the unequal spatial and social conditionals;

> I am the name mother of "my neighbor is theater". It was suggested as the name of the project; "Theater in public space", I objected it since it seems vary official just like a tax office name, it didn't say anything, but the name of 'my neighbor is theater' is warmer. It's a beautiful project. That's why we were very excited about the project, but we did a final meeting that led us to the leave from the platform. We published a report after the first attempt has made. We have worked with another theater in here. The neighborhoods to come here were Fikirtepe, Merdivenköy, and Eğitim neighborhoods. We made publicity in these districts. However, we felt themselves a bit alone for publicity of the projects. We even hung a banner in the mosque. But we had to be more visible, more publicity. We knew that these districts are harder than the others but we were voluntarily taking them.

As it has mentioned neighborhoods of Kadıköy are not similar, there are disadvantaged regions especially the region which composes Eğitim, Dumlupınar, Fikirtepe where have affected by urban renewal project which has been managed by Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning. Kılıçoğlu continues;

> Before starting the second round, we have prepared a preliminary critique and interpretation for it. I made conversation than our colleagues didn't want to review the project than we left the platform. It is very related that this is about what we expect. I've spoken with clarity; "I understand very well, financial support of the municipality is important to get through these days but let's do our work, qualified." The new people who we have reached with the project would be our audience. But it didn't. 30 teams have left the platform before us. And then we left without conflict and debate.

The project has a financial source for the theaters as Kılıçoğlu mentioned since the municipality pays the education fees. However, both municipality and theaters claim that it is not a kind of aid and not too much, more symbolic for the training services. It is claimed that about 30 teams have left the platform. However, their reason is not about the project, one of the reasons that both members of platform and artistic board claim is about economical expediencies. Süs claims;

> We say that our aim is to get not an economic benefit but a social benefit. Social benefit means more audience, giving more people chance to access to theater, to make children's theater ethically and gain favor in theater and art. Those who didn't look from these perspectives, has left.

The relation with municipality has also created some different expectations; as Aydoğan claims;

> Those who left, probably thought that this platform would put pressure on municipality and we would get profit, but some of us said, 'No, the municipality belongs to public, the municipality should be the structure that regulates the place where we work, we may have our wishes but it should serve to public. Let us use it as an area where we can solve problems for theater. We said that we should talk about art politics, what kind of relationship with the municipal theater should, let us describe it.

Observations of the artistic board, as I-8 claimed;

> The KTP was initially rattled, one group has left. There was a question in the minds of the first entrants to the KTP, 'what will be our profit?". After all, I think there is an influence some of groups they insist on the idea; 'we will not interest in what we get here, but what we will give here'. Then some of them left the platform. Some of them came back because they noticed that KTP is a strong organization.

Another conflict comes from political conditionals of Turkey. Censorship to freedom of speech affects also freedom of being on stage. Therefore, how to reflect these censorships becomes a trick for all democratic organizations. Aslan gives an example of arresting a player;

> We know each other, when a player has arrested, we give this situation a reply together. Regardless of our political structure, we can be in different political corners, everyone is in different political structures, we come here only for the theater and do not reflect anything political.

Even though Aslan claims that they do not reflect any thing political, even coming together for a march or being against to censorship itself a political reflect. In other words, it is impossible and unreasonable to separate political process from social and spatial process especially if they affect the public space. However how these affects will be reflected is a contradiction that while some of them think that it is appropriate, some of them find it not appropriate or deficient. Tatoğlu claims that some of them lead the group when there needs a reflection;

> A common attitude was taken when Baris Atay's play was banned; passages from his text were read in different theaters. A very quick reflex cannot be shown on these subjects but a reflex is shown. Or sometimes, 15-20 groups show a reflex, others define their position them according them.

However, T. and D. Kılıçoğlu claim that it was not a right attitude, T. Kılıçoğlu claims;

> One of the ruptures was after the ban on the play of Barış Atay, the platform said; "We are with Barış Atay everyone will hang the poster of the banned play and read the text on their stage. But important thing was not Barış Atay himself, they could ban any play of us. The platform should oppose the prohibition of the theater play, but the platform wanted to be with Barış Atay in a repressive way. The platform should not dominate. It must protect, taught about rights.

D. Kılıçoğlu continues; "Here is not a political organization. There can be people from every political view. By manipulating it and speak harshly just like; 'this text will be written' has disturbed. I have already tired of the government in power."

These contradictions are inside the platform, as a result of them some groups left just like Karma Drama. However, during the interview, they claim that even there were some conflicts, they care the platform and has many friend continue as member of platform. It is obvious that there are challenges for any organization; it is not only about profession. Therefore, any organization needs also a kind of behavior as a total of political perspective and profession ethic so there should be some of them outside the totality. However, there are also challenges comes from outside the platform. Especially conflicts of approaches which are analyzed in the previous part cause these challenges. It is asked if there are any structures that are resistant or negative to the platform, I-4 claims there is a pressure on them;

> Actually, many theater groups have permanently established in Turkey. Turkey Theater Association was established, but no one has been finalized. All have separated with destruction. Therefore, some of the big theaters have reacted somewhat to this platform since bad experiences. However innovative ones have more adopted.

It is a trust problem that people do not want to waste their time they want to be sore if it is a redundant task or not. But there is another issue that I-4 said that;

> There have been rumors that they (KTP) decide everything. A perception emerged as the theater platform decided on all the theater policies in the municipality. More precisely, these perceptions have created. This had a negative effect. This was a bit of a hijacking of other theater groups, but this was reduced by putting the cooperative process on their minds, last year.

Members of platform have also become uncomfortable since these rumors, Tatoğlu claims; "It has said that 'the platform found a kingdom,' but the platform uses little of the hall of the hall may be %3 of our play are on municipal halls." Süs claims;

> There has been a residence but not from the Kadıköy's groups, from some group that plays in Kadıköy. They are some popular or currently popular groups that have popularized since their surname, or as a result of the TV shows. They have applied pressure to the municipality. They're still practicing especially in the field of children's theater.

Popularity could be a family features that when people noticed familiar "surnames", they could choose these groups. However, as interviewees claim using popularity as a pressure tool and choose to get in contact directly with the municipality, not being a part of platform, have adopted mainly groups which comes to play Kadıköy, from different place. It is not contradictory since popularity needs to be alone and differentiate itself from the others, as Sennett claims while telling the star system. Aydoğan differentiates Kadıköy's groups; "In my opinion there is not much popular theater in this area in Kadikoy. It doesn't go into a platform process if it fills up a night in the Zorlu Center. These are mostly groups with a more democratic sentiment and a kind of political idea, in Kadıköy".

Even though, Kemal Aydoğan claims there are not much popular theater in Kadıköy, actually there are Moda Stage, Oyun Atelier, Baba Stage, Duru Theater etc. in Kadıköy that has popularity. However, their popularity does not depend on popular names. Some of them symbolize alternative and innovative theater so this symbolism also brings out popularity. It could be said that star system is creative just like capitalism that crises in the system also have potential to reproduce it. However, these reproducing mechanisms are about the position taking of these theaters. Will they continue as a part of equal relations or feel themselves differentiated? Kemal Aydoğan claims that their experiences bring them to this point so they are searching for equal relationships;

> Of course, this is something about our world view and our political line. I was very bored being little brother in the past, so we sought ways to make the equal relationship. While acting as much as possible, we acted knowing that there was someone else's presence. Because everyone has an idea but when the older brothers and sisters claims that "you do not know", no one has no

> power to fight them because the audience is already with them. The fact that we had them deciphered brought us here to the point that together in a horizontal relationship. It was very auspicious that at first 60 theater came together and we never said; "we are the theater with the biggest feature of this place, we have 1500 square meters and potential of the audience."

What we talked about the pressure with popularity, social media is an important tool. When a popular figure tweet something like "the municipality do not give us a stage" an individual problem become a popular problem. The audience of these popular figures calls the municipality account for "how they don't give the stage". The municipality has exposed to these tweets however Onur Temurlenk claims that KTP became an important figure to preclude it:

> For example, for the theater festival last year we took the play of a group anddid not take this year, it has evaluated by the artistic board. Against it, even as it is an individual reaction it used to become a public reaction. However, the structure of the KTP'in blocked such reactions.

According to I-8, member of artistic board, tweets have declined but not because of the KTP because they do not accept KTP totally, they behave just there is not a platform just like this;

> Those who threat with tweeter are discontinued. The ones in the platform have not already said "I'll twit". I do not think that the change in the attitude is a result of platform. In the meeting, they behave just they do not know anything about platform, they say "we are not here, what is the platform". However, we know that they know about it but do not accept. They are actually semi-popular and they earn a lot of money with tricky ways generally with the municipal premises.

Therefore, popular culture issues are not about only audience's choose it is also about using it is a tool for pressure or privilege. So, the platform has also an attitude against it and defines a new culture depends on not cruel competition but depends on solidarity. Süs claims;

> Doing a collective work is a cultural issue. If a person does not come from such a tradition, he/she cannot intimidate such an idea, no matter how famous he is. We have many celebrities within us, but they have this belief in this tradition. Players who play in large bank ads can be found in the platform and fit into common decisions.

Tatoğlu also claims the unity inside the platform and advocate that its organization type also supports that unity;

Nobody judges anyone. There are people who can criticize each other politically, everyone respects each other and listens to their problems. It's not just about theater, it's someone's illness, it's a livelihood problem, people are trying to figure out how we can find a solution this kind of problems. This is a different experience. There were also those who said that the platform should be institutionalized or something and we did a workshop. I think it should stay that way for me. Moving to another structure can bring different problems.

It is obvious that even though there were some different ideas about the probable structure and behavior of the platform, there is an extraordinary organization here and its institutional process is critical to provide its uniqueness while prevent it from being ordinary association. In order to create common language about process of platform, there has been a workshop as Tataloğlu said. In his interview in the book, "Governing the local" Süs claims;

Turkey has not been ability to act together or to organize for 15 years. Even existing structures get into piece. In such an atmosphere, theater actors, theater groups are moving together and try to find solutions to their problems. There has been always a try for organizing among actors. According to the law, there is no profession as actor. As such, we are trying to create own organization. The platform is a kind of roof, a uniting force. But the there were moments when platform has been weak. Then we organized a workshop, we wanted to give momentum to the movement. We want to activate all groups on the platform.

According to result of the workshop[29] principle of the platform;

- Works for getting together with the spectator and opening the channels of interaction

- It plays an active role in the development of the culture / art policies of local governments and in the projects especially in the field of theater.

-Produces solutions for problems that theater artists or groups live / may live

-By the nature of the theater, it shares his opinion and reaction to the problems of social life which is the basis of artistic production, with the society and appropriate channels.

-Produces and implements social responsibility projects in the field of production

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[29]Kadıköy Tiyatroları Platformu, http://www.kadikoytiyatrolari.com/kadikoy-tiyatrolari-platformu-calistay-sonucu/, 09.07.2019.

. Open the channels of cooperation and solidarity with the professional organizations operating in the same field

- Establishes close contact with possible initiatives which takes KTP as an example for the implementation and development of different localities.

5.2.2.3 Effects of the Platform

KTP has created some qualitative changes with the approaches of theaters inside it. One of them is displacing position of some unquestionable structures and creates a new one. Temurlenk compare the new structure with the old ones;

> There is always a risk of not being inclusive for all structures. There are some unquestionable structures which fed themselves from the popular conflicts in Turkey, since they have been off to be inspected, they could not develop. The KTP process provided a mutual development. Those who think that they are alone in the field, also begin to develop when they encounter other ecosystem with also competition of course.

Displacing positions means also creating new positions and development in the field also affect the other branches of art. Süs claims;

> The platform created a sheltered environment for other theaters. Not necessarily to come to the platform but they may prefer to come to Kadikoy. Because there was created a culture and art field, it also affected other branches of art. The sculptor, the painter, they opened more workshops.

Another result is about change the relation between theaters and the municipality which will be mainly analyzed in the next chapter. Mert Fırat claims[30]; "In the past, the municipality was a place where only plays were sold, but it has become a place where we developed a common strategy...We started to talk about culture policies."

Cooperative is another result which appear with encourage of making successful projects in platform. Aydoğan talks about the motivation of cooperative;

> As a result of this journey we take with the platform, 12 theaters came together and established this cooperative to produce jobs in different contexts. We are one of the founders. There are also groups outside Kadikoy.

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[30]Yereli Yönetmek: Kadıköylüler Anlatıyor (ed. by Yalçın, B, Yavuz, E.B., Çapa, E., Alp L.), Kadıköy Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2018, p. 34.

> It was established to carry out a number of works from festivals to training plan programs. It has founded five or six months ago.

As an observer of the process I-8 claims; "The cooperative is something else, of course, but the success of the KTP has encouraged this initiative". Not all members of the platform have got involve into the cooperative but according to interviews there is not e division among them because of being or not being in the cooperative. From one of the groups that not involved; Tatoğlu claims;

> We do not exist in the cooperative; we do not know what will happen in the end. But it is also a model, all these models are all models are socialistic models, unifying models. KTP did it. We can talk, I can criticize someone's play, we do not fight for it or I do not need to pretend myself as if I like the performance. It is important listen each other as a good person and not as a theater actor. If people understand that you're not acting on a secret agenda, they say let's think about what he is saying. But this relation is only possible if you have chance to test people in daily life so organizations are important to bring out these people in also their daily life.

"Daily life" is critical issue since we take some others into our daily life as a result of family, school, job requirements. However public life should provide opportunities us to meet some other people and observe their daily life also. It is important to be a tolerant society. On the country we only meet with people who do similar thing with us. If communities bring people together not to demand the same thing but to produce commonly, people could get chance to meet each other in their daily life. All the changes have a mutual relationship with change on personal attitude. So, this is a process interrogate not only what kind of cultural field or society we want but also what kind of individuals we want. Aydogan has told the transformation of himself;

> I used to have a kind of conceit. I used to claim that I do not have something to talk to him since he belongs x political party. This is because we used to have not any relations before to know each other as a person. I have been changed in this sense. I mean, appeal, but accept it. You don't have to think the same thing with him, but he's got a presence and that's what we call interaction. The platform taught me the way to do business together again. It filed the narcissistic elements in me, acknowledging the existence of another. You can say you don't like their theater. You would have known that from expression before you had a relationship. Now the contact has begun, acquaintances evolved and actually a lot of work has produced. We said we shouldn't drown in differences.

All structure creates new expectations, new positions and new challenges. Lastly it will be talked about future plans or expectations from the platform. There both political expectations which are related with qualitative developments such as culture of doing together without caring individual profits and populism and also tangible projects. Tatoğlu talks about tangible projects;

> The international festival, which will advance us, may open up another area with international contacts. For example, there could be found an academy which can change the fate of this work. With open-air scenes, performances, Kadıköy itself could be a stage. Because what we always say; every place could be a stage. Actors need a field for discussion on text or with directors in order to feed themselves. If there were a field just this, method of enjoyment and entertainment changes and a new type could emerge. At the moment there is another type of comedy programs on TVs in AVMs, it is called family comedy but it has no future.We have to create the sense of the performances in Halis Kurtça, in Moda Stage are good ones.

Lastly, Temurlenk hopes that kind of organizations also change the political atmosphere in Turkey;

> We are going through a period that the things that should be visible are invisible in the country in all areas. Of course, this lack of visibility does not mean that the society does not notice it, society is seeing the right people in the right names in some way, I think. Only problem is; populism, this is not only the problem of us it is in the entire world, it is like a virus of politics. People build up relationships on populism. I think the platform will change this populist understanding. I think that the studies carried out here will not change with the concern of populism, but because it is created with the concern of changing the dynamics of the society, it will change the politics and the people themselves. The KTP is the most important, lasting, non-static structure in the formation of public policies. A theater actor should not only establish his relationship with the public by supply-demand, but he also should be able to speak about how these stages should be evaluated, and even the skills of public officials who will make these assessments and involved in political processes. Passive participation is reforming the existing order and does not change permanently. You must force it to change permanently. For example, it is important to challenge political parties and to have people in the municipal councils to have a voice in these matters.

5.3 Position Taking of Local Governments

Position taking of local governments is related with how to distribute and redistribute the sources which are both spatial and social. In our case what makes a local

government different from an art institution is any government which is chosen by people has responsibility to perform a "social coherent objective" as Harvey claimed in theory section. This objective should be a compass for designates the position. However, in the global theories "local governments" are talked about as organization institutions and not a part of political process. In this chapter it Kadıköy Municipality's transformed approach after 2014 to the field will be discussed related with the other three components (theater, spectator and space).

In the part of "uniqueness of Kadıköy" it is analyzed that cultural investments and provide infrastructure for cultural events have been important for years. However, in last 5 years, they have increased in number and the investments have done for specific target and function. While the halls which have done before 2014 constructed inside shopping malls in order to create an economic model for building them, after 2014 they have built with municipality budget and managed with municipality without any unrelated trade activity.

Using budget efficiently, having management capacity and qualified human resources are all related with the efficiency and publicity of any investments of municipalities. Moreover, differences in political vision of elected bodies even they are in same political party affect all these efficiency and publicity. In the previous part actors/actresses have also emphasized the motivation of change and differentiated approach. However, the limitations, delegation of authority, general approach to the municipalities and expectations from it are all crucial and struggle for the position taking mechanisms of municipalities in the field.

Therefore, it will be discussed; expectations, approaches, polices for delivering sources. Transformed relationships will be analyzed with the reflections of interviewees.

5.3.1 Municipal Approaches

There are different approaches about how the municipalities should take a position in cultural production field. Should they work as an art institution that organize events and aimed the quality or should they only provide infrastructure? Moreover, who should make the programs? Will the artists themselves or officials decide the schedules and allocations? How does the municipality organize to get in relationship with artists? However, these questions and expectations from municipalities are all related with art planning and it is mentioned before it must be a part of cultural planning. Therefore, it is important to take a look for general approaches about probable positions of a municipality.

I-1 claims that as an academician her motivation to work with municipality as a senior official is to create a structure works like IKSV;

> Each district has its own indicators, in Kadıköy; the level of education is high, the intellectual level is high. I have seen that what have done there are not appropriate activities for the level of this district. According to my researches, people from Kadıköy were the big dimensions of the audience of the activities on the European side. We started to create policies here, with the mayor. I think that İKSV is a good example; we can do so well in Kadıköy Municipality. What I mean as work well as IKSV is to carry out appropriate works there.

However, Özlem Ece, claims that municipality should not work like IKSV or any art institute, they should make cultural policy planning and provide enough infrastructure for art institutions;

> If you ask me here, the role of the municipalities should remain as an equal relationship with the actors in the city. In other words, it should not include numerical targets, such as the audience, so much activity, such as opening up a cultural center. I think it's more important to look at what we think of art in solving problems. Instead of planning an event, we can see how we can produce more creative solutions to current problems with art.

Another approach from artistic board; I-7's view shows similarity with Ece's view;

> An institution that does public service cannot have a motivation as I will find the best quality in art. Therefore, if you're going to do this, you need to employ professionals here. Then you become an art institution, not a public. However, municipality is a social art institution.

Another counter argument comes from I-6, that claims it is a responsibility of municipality to bring together high-quality works with people;

> When a general populist approach increases, the difference between municipalities' approach is also decreasing. Why is that? Known concepts; equality, everyone should be treated equally. Art, however, is something about quality. Equality cannot be a concept in art. Then it became there is no such thing as classification, there is no such thing as a good artist-bad artist. These are now being forgotten. When it was started to be forgotten, it is said that all the theaters should be treated equally. How to be treated equally? One day we will give the halls to him, another day the other. Looks fair, but is it fair? I don't think it's fair. Why, because the right of the qualified is defeated. Secondly, we do not give qualified work to audience and we are damaging the education of the audience.

Another approach of I-6 about the mission of promoting creativity and productivity with again qualified structures;

> Municipality' task is to support and promote. Support who? If we are talking about the merit; first it should support the creators; the writers, the composers, then the performers. Look, we're opening a competition for composition; we're opening a competition for drama writing, which is to support creativity. The second is to provide facilities, to produce spaces, to make galleries. These places should be of good quality. You'll make everything beautiful; you'll make your buffet nice, it will be served there in the best way, the seats will be beautiful, people will miss going to that place. Aesthetically beautiful is not always expensive, most of the time the ugly is the same money. Who gives ugly things same money; public institutions and municipalities? In Turkey, there is a war between nice and useful. The task of the municipality is to bring them together.

It is an aim to meet people with qualified and good works and every institution should put this target however there are challenges are about both unequal distribution of source and tools. I-8 claims that it is a long-term process;

> Turkey's financial and human resources are not enough to meet everybody to qualified ones at that moment. It doesn't even exist in western societies that have invested heavily in this. They can meet the majority with the best we can meet the minority with the good. But the way to meet the majority with the good again related meet the minority with the good, so that this minority can reach a majority with their demands. This majority must be an organic majority, not dictating. One of Mr.Aykurt's approaches is not to be afraid of his own people.

It is seen that even inside the municipality there are different approaches about the position taking of the municipality. However especially in Turkey, policy of

municipalities is mayor oriented so mayor's approach is important for policy making and implementing process. Therefore, before analyzing organization schema and transforming the attitudes to the relations with theaters, a general approach of Kadıköy Municipality with cultural policies will be quoted with the mayor, Aykurt Nuhoğlu;

> There are necessities for life. Culture and art are one of them. Of course, if you can't feed your children, your priority becomes to feed your children. But we must not bring society to this point. At the same time, we need to create an environment where people can live well and create a social system that people can use their own preferences in life with culture, art, education and sports opportunities. We should not leave people without choice. Then the society could develop. The main purpose of our policy is to make people spend more of their daily lives with more choices and look forward to the future with more hope. We want to make people familiar with philosophy, theater, literature, poetry, all branches of arts in Kadikoy. We want children to meet with art and sports to draw new ways for their future. 2500 years ago, Socrates said that if you want to raise good people, your children should be interested in sports and music. We think this is still valid.

Another approach of Nuhoğlu is about community building;

> I think it's a duty of local government to support the organization of society. If we are talking about the fulfillment of local needs, one of the most important needs is the organization of society. To be organized in each subject paves the way for better relations with both nature and the state. If you have social organizations, you can better protect and use every area you have. You can use it to appeal to more people. Our aim is to support the arts and to ensure the development of the people by increase their relationship with art. If you only make a field available to certain groups, the audience will also be only certain groups. You narrow it down. We are not only to please the current audience, but also to include new spectators. Especially, we have to increase the interest of children in theater. We are not satisfied with the present, but we have to increase this interest.

It has seen that the mayor cares social justice and gives importance to cultural polices as a tool for building welfare with communities. This perspective adjusts with the theaters in KTP. It is important to underline this coherency is critical to make transformations in the field and build a new community. Historical background of the relations explains the importance of this coherency.

5.3.2 Historical Background of Relations Between the Municipality and Theaters

Kadıköy Municipality has culture centers which are used by theater groups and a theater festival for both children and adult. In this part, historical background of relations with theaters, allocation policies both for centers and festivals and decision-making process will be quoted from the interviewees; I-3, I-5 and I-6. They used to work on organizing relationships with theater in different levels before 2014. Now they still work on their department. Therefore, their observations are important for transformation on position taking of the municipality after the election. I-6 is an important figure for cultural studies in Turkey, he has worked as executive bureaucrat in different levels on the. He provided consultancy services both for Selami Öztürk and Aykurt Nuhoğlu.

Kadıköy municipality used to have an amateur theater group in Kadıköy Youth Center (KGM) between 2001 and 2004. Marmara University used to be a partner in that center. Then the municipality has decided to found a professional theater group which means "city theater". I-3 and I-5 are witness of this process and they still works on municipality. I-5 used to have made theater professionally and also worked with the amateur group in KGM before he has employed in municipality. His employment reason was to work on founding process of city theater of Kadıköy and also organize theater training in districts. I-5 summarized the process;

> Our first aim was to set up the city theater (municipal theater). We analyzed the statutes of the state theaters, the city theaters and the Bakırköy Municipal Theater. We prepared a report for Kadıköy, we have presented to the director of us than she corresponded with the ministries. A certain period has passed than it is said that we could not get approval from the staff from the ministry. What were told to us, except for the metropolitan municipalities, any municipality could not have a staff as actor. We asked the situation of Bakırköy Municipality since even they are also district municipality has own municipal theater than we learned that it was an expectation that has done because of political reason during ANAP government since the Bakırköy Municipality also belongs to ANAP. When you set up a theater in the name of Municipal Theater, it should be a building with its own staff, not like a theater set up by municipality's employees. That's why we didn't go any further both in founding the theater and training in districts because of staff problem. I worked in the x cultural center of municipality for a long time, amateur group called "tiyatrom" (my theater) has continued there, I have

worked a while on tiyatrom to prepare performance and as the hall manager there. We took part in festival organizations.

I-3 is older than I-5 and he was inside "my theater" and he still works on amateur theater in x center. I-3 also lots of memory about the center;

> I came here (x culture center) in 2007. We were at Kadıköy Youth Center (KGM), we used to work with Marmara University. In 2001-2004, the KGM was very good. There were around 400-500 young people, about 20 groups, theater was one of these groups. He became a victim of politics, organized youth groups and the existence of anarchist groups created problems in the municipality, they distributed the project. We came here in 2007, a high school pillar and some secondary schools have added to amateur studies since 2009.

These two expressions show the importance of political figures and decisions effects the process. While trying to "not to be politics" became itself a political behavior that, lead to collapse a structure in order to prevent any political organization. Moreover, if the local and central governments belong to same party, it means that there could be some privileges. Another important issue about approach to allocation policies since it is way for distributing the sources. I-5 claims about it;

> We have made a lot of performance both for adults and children's in x center with the name of Tiyatrom. X center was a field where the amateur groups perform both their plays and their rehearsals. We had problems with the theaters playing in there frequently. There were some names which are popular and they use the center as their own hall. We didn't do anything in the first year, we just met. At the beginning of the season, we invited them to e meeting and we introduced ourselves again, we explained why we were there. We wanted to talk about how we should prepare the program. All of them demanded their own days as in the previous season. Then we asked them where and when the amateurs will play, they told us to play Monday. We objected it but they replied as "we gave our years to theater".

It seems that there is not a policy about allocation but there is a tradition about the center that it has been controlled by some groups with an agreement of the municipality. I-3 claims that; "There were some specific groups there about five groups have demanded the center when it has opened, that they have been using there till Aykurt Nuhoğlu has chosen as mayor."

What is maenad by using the center is not only hire the saloons for the performances. It is more like to use it as their own halls, as an address. I-5 claims that they use the spatial advantages also;

> In the X center of municipality, they all had their own storage, the shower in the backstage was even being used as a warehouse and they had their own keys. A backstage area with hot water and a shower with good conditions according to that period but they were used as a warehouse. We tried to fight as much as we could; we tried to take two sessions on Saturday for amateur groups.

It is understood that allocating the center to some specific groups was a managerial decision that the staff of the center had not an authority to redefine the relations. I-5 explains both the generations and popular-amateur conflict inside;

> Our problem is not only for "Tiyatrom", but since we also came from amateur theater, we want to include all amateurs. In other words, we claimed that if we were going to give this hall to specific names, we would like to have another hall and give it to amateurs. That was a very contentious, but we failed. We were young, we were new, but they were "masters", they were old, experienced. However, they did not have any hall if municipality did not allocate the center. So, they used their force and popularity. Municipal administration did not want to be opposite side of them. So even we has interfered anything, it did not change because they used to have connect with the mayor of the term.

These conditionals are specific to the x center and it could be said that every center has own specific conditionals since there were not a separated culture department before 2014. Since the expectations from the municipalities in general, I-6 claims that it has been always a problem to decide who would take the halls, who would make the program and decide the groups.

> When the Y center has established, the mayor wanted me to design the programs of the center. I said that it is not my job, we searched a staff and found a woman as a supervisor and manager. Criteria have been set; a program has been prepared by giving priority to those whose quality has been accepted. I just gave them suggestions for principles. I claimed to give opportunity to the award-winning, praised by the critically acclaimed theaters. Let's give the opportunity to those who are more amateur if the times left empty. As a result, the municipality must provide this opportunity. But it is also not right to provide the same place with the best and poor quality.

I-6's approach is different. In the previous part, it has seen that he claims the quality is a responsibility that municipality has to reach it. Therefore, according to him quality is not possible if amateurs or new groups which has not proved themselves yet and professionals and well-known ones should not use the same venues since it affects the quality of the venue. However, there had been some changes about programs of the culture centers after 2014, except Süreyya Opera House. Its organization has not changed, I-6 describes the organization of it;

> Süreyya Building is an exception from the emergence of this issue. The possible functions of the building have dedicated by restoration board as the opera and classical art concerts. A protocol was made with the Turkish State Opera and Ballet (DOB) until the end of June 2020. Municipality organizes only music concerts one day a week. So we said how to do it, we cannot decide as the members of the municipality. It's a professional job. We have created an art committee and this board determines the programs of these chamber music concerts. From this board, all activities performed here except the opera are going through, an annual catalog is prepared and nothing is done except for the activities in that catalog. It is a place that people have never complained about why you don't give the halls to x group, or give to y group. There's an ongoing complaint about other centers.

Artistic boards or chambers seems a probably solutions that after 2014, municipality found a board for theaters. I-6 claims that the board has thought before 2014, just like the ones in Süreyya Building but it couldn't find;

> We always tried to make the art committee. We've told a lot of people, but they don't accept why; nobody wants to break the heart. But when there was not an art board, the elections not used to be subjective at all, it was determined by looking at the people who won the Afife Jale award, in consultation with the around.

What I-6 claims there has always been an occupation to determine some criteria. Beside the cultural centers, festivals are important connection points with theaters. Festivals have been occurred in open aired amphitheater inside a park. I-5 told the story of the festivals;

> The festival began with the Association of Children and Youth Theaters (ÇOGED). In 2002, ÇOGED was in the installation stage, they offered us the festival. So, we have started children's theaters' festival. We did the follow-up of the festival of three people from the municipality; the association said it would be with the sponsor. The municipality only gave place, the open amphitheater in the Freedom Park It has continued with sponsor for 7 years

than they couldn't find any sponsor and the municipality started to buy the performances.

It is critical that in a different time again a community has started it as a common project with the municipality. However, the differences between ÇOGED's perspective and KTP's are; the ÇOGED has wanted to show performances free with the help of sponsors or municipality as a sponsor and it has also determined the criteria of the performances to choose. I-5 continues to tell about the process;

> I would say it wouldn't have been a festival if ÇOGED did not come to us. The association wanted to be able to bring quality children's theater to a place however it is closed down about a year ago. During the process some rumors began accepting the performance to the festival as if; ÇOGED does not accept the groups if they are not a member of them.
>
> In fact the association formed criteria, people who make these rumors should have discussed these criteria with the association.There was a board formed by ÇOGED in the elections of the performances and I was in that board on behalf of Kadıköy Municipality. The most recent, we used to present the list to mayor's private assistance department.

It is critical that having a relationship with associations and organized groups has become driving force in that time also. However, being a part of source delivering by deciding to receive the performances has discriminate the association. After children's festival in the amphitheater, municipality realized that infrastructure is suitable so they also started adults. I-5 said that;

> When the children's festival was held in 2002, we talked about why we don't do the adult theater festival. In 2003 we started the adult theater festival. We planned the festival of children's theaters in July and the festival of the adult theaters a month later in August. It is name is "enjoy theater under the stars". First years there was a sponsor. First year we had chosen 8 theaters. We also aimed to bring the theaters which are active on European side to here. However, in those process two theaters which have been eliminated by us since they have already use municipalities' halls continuously, again entered the list with administration decision. So, we have started with 10 theater groups. Since sponsor gave the money, administration said us, "Why you choose the group, already sponsor gives the money why do you eliminate?" Then, next year group number increase 17. When sponsor has gone, they said us; we would not do it again, the festival is over. However, actors –the celebrities of Kadıköy-, came to the mayor's room, they talked and convince him to continue with municipal budget. So, it continues.

It is again seen the since theaters could affect the municipality, as a pressure groups in that example, the festival continues. There could be different approaches about the

organization of the festival but it is important to make a festival in order to diffuse the art and it is a result of being in a connect with theater groups.

In the allocation policies both for venues and the festival, there are two different aims; one is to give chance to amateur and young groups and support them, another one is considering the quality of the works. It is a contemporary question that which one is the mission of municipality. Another confliction is about who decide the programs and with which approach. These questions are also related with how the municipality takes position in that field and how it organizes its scheme.

5.3.3 Change in Organization Scheme – Who Participate the Process?

"Participation" is a concept that both is used by diversity in cultural studies and also used in governance. Onur Temurlenk talks about principles of participatory institutional design for the municipality;

> As the needs increase in the society, new organizational structures are needed to meet them. New organization structures should also be attended by people but this should not be finger-lift participation, but participants should take responsibility and there must be accountability.

How the participation occurs in the process is related about the municipality's internal affairs and institutions. Organization scheme and delegation system should be appropriate for an inclusive system. If there is not a system than personal relations become important as it used to be. After the election new departments are found just like media and public relationships, sports and youth, strategy development, urban design, social support and culture. There used to be a culture department before 2014 but this department mainly used to work for social supports since there was not a differentiated social support department. All the art activities and culture centers are organized by the office of private secretariat of mayor. Before being deputy mayor, Onur Temurlenk used to be private secretariat of Aykurt Nuhoğlu, he claims;

> The office of private secretariat used to be responsible for cultural centers. They were followed by a coordinator which works for the office. There was a one-sided relationship. That structure was not suitable to develop, create new

policies. People used to demand something and those demands were met or not. It was a functioning system but it did not have a goal of how we build corporate policies through these centers and how these policies are implemented here. So, we changed the organizational structure. The department of culture was created with the meaning of today, the social support services were separated from the culture department, the cultural centers were connected to the cultural department, and these decisions have taken in the council.

This separation is also demand of council members. Ümit Demirtaş who has been in culture and tourism commission of the council for 5 years, claims that she offered it in the council; "The first thing as a conciliar I suggested was to found a separated culture department Because Kadikoy had to have a separate department. This was my first suggestion and it has accepted. When this happened, I entered the commission without hesitation."

Temurlenk claims that there is a challenge between standard organization type of the municipalities and expected flexibility from a culture department;

> While I was the private secretariat, I temporarily managed the culture department also. Then I-1 has get in charge. Beside an administrative organization, a culture office also has considered with employees who gained experience in certain areas within the institution. On the one hand, we established mutual relations with organizations such as IKSV. The current relationship was always at the level of help-giving, promotion. Instead, we have come to the point of making projects together. The municipality learned a lot from these relations, we learned the logic of their work, the way of preparing the program, the division of work between them, the hierarchy, and the relations between the units.

Another structure that is defined by the municipality is the artistic board for theaters works as consultancy not as official in municipality. Two academicians have defined there as it has mentioned before. Nuhoğlu has told the system;

> The current status of the Department of Culture was established in 2014 after we took over the municipality. As the new units were opened and the festivals started to be organized, as the events increased, this directorate grew very large and turned into a huge structure. It was a matter of discussion about how this structure should be managed. In order to be able to determine the right policy in the hall allocations, we have received support from the universities in the selection of performances in both adult and children's theater to be equal and efficient. We have created commissions from experts in these areas, so that we can benefit from the accumulation of knowledge and we want to develop our own knowledge.

He also explains if the commission has a duty for controlling the overall system;

> Actually, I don't like the word control. The system should be set up so well that the system should be self-monitoring. However, you should be able to measure efficiency and whether services actually reach their audience. You should be able to observe how the activities are good or how dialogue with the citizen is happening.

In the study specific policies about the theater has analyzed but this subject could generalize for the other branch or art and as a culture policy approach. Actually, the municipality claims that they started with theaters because there was a problem there for the other branch of art, the municipality has already not been in an action so there has not many problems. In order to meet with problems, you should do something in that field. I-1 has given information about the process;

> There are many theaters in Istanbul but here the same groups used to perform the same plays, this was not the right. The mayor has wanted an urgent change in the policy was related to the theaters, and then he wanted to apply it gradually in music and visual arts. First of all, we thought together with the mayor, we determined that; we don't offer options and we're not fair in the existing situation. Then we tried to be fair but not equal. The first year, a board was established, in particular the theater to be consulted to this board. We had two young academics on this board. The Board was formed from theater academics rather than theater actors to be impartial, and young people preferred to follow the innovations in this field. They were the academicians who wrote about all the world theater festivals.

Academicians claim that at first the municipality wanted them to choose the performance but they choose not to evaluate them aesthetically but putting with standard criteria. I-8 told of about the criteria;

> The main complaint was that; we have learned later that all the venues of the municipality were used by three to five people and almost hundreds of applications were not taken at all. What requested from us was to decide who can and can't get involved. However, we reject to choose according to our own wishes and likes and suggested a permanent policy. We have developed a series of criteria which could be implementing in any time and every people, to be objective, because this is a political place and we have experienced the difficulties of being a political place here. Some people who could not include in the system because of these criteria have blasted away Mr.Aykurt.

Other official actors are culture center managers who used to work as supervisor for their centers since all center has differentiated dynamics and policies. In the new

organizations duty of these managers apply a holistic cultural policy according to their center's specialties. Manager of x center; I-2 explains their position;

> The artistic board explains the reasons and makes recommendations for the performances. Their professional approach is not like saying "this performance is so elite" or not. Their comments are more likely "this group is new, but it is advisable to be supported" but they do not dictate. This is good for us because we were under a lot of pressure. The groups looking for the old order used to come and ask for the halls, some of them even hit my table. Artistic board was a method that protects us and provides a qualified presentation. It started to be measurable. We measure it by the number of spectators; we measure by the number of cancellations. We share the reasons for the cancellation, if we took any minutes down; we share it with other centers.

What I-2 claims that there were 62 events and 6324 participants in January, 2014 however there were 203 events and 14069 participants in January, 2019 according to their reports.

One of the important things is about employee's legal position. In the past municipalities could only have staff in situation of worker and civil servant. As it is mentioned before when the municipality wanted to found it is own theater it was a legally prohibited since the situation of employees. However, now municipalities have option to work with art directors or any profession which is related to the field but they could not have signature authority as director. Therefore, new personals also employed in culture services. It is important that staff policy is also affect directly the quality of the work.

In the process of establishing a new process; beside the decision makers, officials and consultancies there are also different institutions, artists and citizens itself. Participation is related also to come together with different actors and being responsible to each other as Temurlenk has mentioned. Nuhoğlu defines the process;

> We talked about each field with related people. We talked the theater with the actors, the statue with sculptors, the music in the same way. As everyone gathered and held meetings, people in the municipality also increased their knowledge and experience on these issues. Culture office is important since it became an address for artists. I remember an issue very clearly about the actors, they used to come one by one, we talked with them than they organized and came together. Our friends from the cultural department provided regular communication with them, and I participated in the term

> meetings, and sometimes our deputy mayors attended. If you open a path anyway, people are walking towards the light. Of course, we had relations with institutions other than us. We worked with IKSV, DOB and State Theaters and consulates in such a wide range. We talked to every institution about art. We are pleased that these institutions prefer Kadıköy. We invested a lot in this area.

Another issue is about showing a single attitude as an institution. Municipality is a big organization with about 3200 people works in different departments. Even the system is, oriented according to mayor, if there is nor a dictatorship it is hard to constitute a common approach with all personals in every degree. It needs a process to found an institutional behavior. Süs claims;

> The mayor may like the theater very much, see art as a tool of changing man. But when we look at the other servants, there may be problems. In other words, although the mayor says as much as he wants, there may be aesthetic concerns or conflictions about the legal procedures in the subunits. In the previous period there was not a culture directorate. Founding the department and bring a person from the field of art solved many problems.

Institutional structures and organization schema of municipality is important that they should be design according to approach. If the approach is to create personal loyalty, the system should be depending on personal relations. However, if the approach is to break the loyalty than an organization with tangible criteria which also allows participation is needed.

5.3.4 Allocation Policies

The theaters are subject of this study but it is also a hard-core issue for the municipality. It could be said that the municipality faced with the need of cultural policy since allocation problems for the theaters. It has occurred because of changed position of the municipality because if the new administration has continued the same policies of the previous one there would not be any technical problem. Nuhoğlu claims;

> When we came to the governance in the municipality, suddenly the demands of the theater actors about the salons began to come. I asked how it was done and older officials said that the mayor was using the authority and the office of private secretariat mediates the process. I didn't want to use such authority

as the mayor because I thought it was not right to decide when and where the theaters will play. We had to have an art policy.

Therefore, what will be the criteria of allocation should be result of an art policy. There must be some approaches to clarify what this policy will serve and there should be a common understanding about the basic principle among the people who parts of the organization. Artistic board has an important role in allocation policies and they have continued their consultancy in the process since their approach about municipality's position and administration's approach are familiar as I-7 claims;

> Mr.Aykurt's approach was very special and important for us, he said that; "I had watched Genco Erkal when I was young, he was also young and he has given a chance or opportunity to be Genco Erkal today, and I want to give people the opportunity to do something good in the future.". For example, this was an incredibly impressive sentence for me. We are already educating young people; this was a call for them. Therefore, we have made mathematical arrangements so that people who have never apply before, or applied but cannot find a stage but have a sparkle could also find place in the programs. We did not make an artistic choice.

I-8 explains the mathematical system that they used for evaluating;

> At the end of the first year, we found an electronically application system for theaters. We designed the form. We asked the questions in the form order to find out if the groups have needed criteria. Our evaluation period used to take a month, but in the new system, it has finished in two days. After we switch the system, it becomes clear and transparent. However, and we have never put any of the criteria in curatorial, artistic or aesthetic because we believe that; the public itself cannot act as an art authority. In the past, the unit managers were acting in this way, which was not really their job. Although this is our business, we have already announced that we will not act with an artistic criterion. We also announced our criteria too in the web side while we are taking applicants both for halls and festival. According to us public should decide the artistic values in the place where the public authority is, whether it comes or not. For us, the criterion is to open up all the venues as much as possible to everyone, but not to equal distribution to all. It is not something like we give the hall to Genco Ekral once and give to any x person also once. At the end of the day, we got acquainted with all the venue managers and got information about who was more interested by the audience and collected data. Mr.Aykurt wanted us to give opportunity to young people. We try to keep a ratio between young people and popular ones.

As it has discussed the approach part there are different expectation from municipalities and also different position according to aim of municipal policies. Allocating is a problem actually is not a new concept for the municipality. As I-3 and

I-5 has mentioned that they had been complaining about it about 20 years ago. Especially the X center has a critical role in order to understand the transforming. I-3 is still working there. In the interview, I-3 and I-2 who has been the manager of the center since 2015 were together. I-2 talked about the painful transforming process;

> When I got here, the building was allocated to four theater groups, and they used their warehouses. Firstly, we emptied the warehouse. We made it available to everyone. First, they did not take their belongings from the warehouse; some of them came to my room and threatened me. They said, "We kept this place alive; our labor makes popular these place." I said; "You use all the infrastructure and staff of a public hall in the center of Kadikoy unrestricted and you have exploited this place". Then they went to show a long process, questioning, needling, reaction, resistance.

As officials and consultants claim there was not such a thing to eliminate the people who used these halls but decrease the performance number in season and do not let them to use the hall as a warehouse. I-1 claims;

> In our venue, the theater actors used to have their décors, clothes, special items and even their letters and magazines came to our x center. In addition, while we had to empty the warehouse and we get in a discussion of this is not their own space; this hall belongs to the public. We have split with the manager of the x center and brings into charge I-2 since the older one did not take an initiative with us in that process. In fact, with the advice of the board we make a smooth transition. The organizations had a chain of interrelated relations in the units. These people aren't easy people either. They're all popular, they go to the newspaper, they're on TV and popular in social media. It's not important for me, but I tried to be careful since to protect the mayor also politically. That's why we made smooth transitions. Most changed our policy in allocations. In particular, CKM was a large cultural center, it was preferred because it had a hall of 657 people and the scenes used to allocate free of charge. So someone was making huge gains. We thought that these gains were not correct because they paid money even if they wanted to use the scene of another public institution.

What is the political problem is not something about creating a tension with the mayor and the public but also create a tension between the mayor and his political party. Since mayor candidates are defined by political parties, in Turkey especially in big cities parties are more active to designate the mayor especially in the districts that citizens of it obviously attached to a party, like Kadıköy were social democrat parties have taken more than fifty percent of votes of course it depends on political conditionals but there is an assumption that whoever CHP shows as candidate, win

the election even percentages change.[31]For example the party did not show Nuhoğlu as a candidate, even he claims for pre-election with party members, central committee of CHP do not accept it. Nuhoğlu has showed reaction to the process of determining the candidates and claimed from the central committee what are the criteria that they decide candidates.[32]

Therefore, party leaders could be an address to complain about the mayors and it seems that these kinds of complains also maintain populism, position taking of Kadıköy is critical there since these kinds of complains do not change the process. I-7 quoted an example that she has witnessed;

> Something happened that I couldn't believe in my ears; an important academician and theater player who does not know that I'm a consultant, said angrily; "Kadikoy did not give me the stage, I'm going to Ankara, and talk with Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu (leader of CHP) I will complain". I asked, "why are you so upset, they will give it to young people, to your students?" He answered; "It is not suitable to give them without giving it to me".

By the way the Nuhoğlu accepts that some of them try to make a pressure but it is not a generalized problem and it is solved with sincerity.

> Some bristle up and asked "why is our play not chosen". In fact, our aim is not to be an authority to choose the performance however the number of halls is certain, when the demand is over, some of them have to be stay out. We had to put up a criterion, but it's hard to put it. On the one hand, there are famous theaters, although some of them want to play more in the hall. We tried to implement a system as fair as possible. At first, they thought their demands would be accepted immediately, or even if they didn't, they immediately tweeted. These reactions made me sad because our aim was not to eliminate, we wanted more people to use the halls. They can use the power of public opinion in a negative way against the administration if necessary. We are not angry with them, these are very exception events, 99% of the theaters have not experienced such things. This happened in the first years, and then did not happen again. At the end of the job, they believed our sincerity. Even if mistakes were made, they believed it was not done consciously. We were not particularly opposed to anyone. We wanted to meet the people with art in diversity.

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[31] Aykurt Nuhoğlu has taken the 72.45% of votes in 2014, Şerdil Dara Odabaşı has taken 65.99% in 2019.

[32]Açar A., Kadıköy Belediye Başkanı Nuhoğlu'ndan 'başarısızlık' yanıtı, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/yerel_yonetimler/1223682/Kadikoy_Belediye_Baskani_Nuhoglu_ndan__basarisizlik__yaniti.html, 09.07.2019.

What is understood from problems are; the halls are allocated specific people and a couple of them try to use their popularity when the allocation system has changed however their popularity is actually related with, they have been using the municipality hall for years. One thing is also important that was impressed by the I-1's and I-8's quotation; is manager of the units. Since the municipality is a big institution, it takes time to change an approach and sometimes if you do not change the approach you have to change the position of officials. Another important thing is about centralize the policy of allocation with the artistic board not only with the initiative of the officials in that unit. I-6 claims that even the officials have some expertness they do not decide merely:

> Of course, the work can go to demagoguery, but in the end, someone will decide. If the art committee's decision-making process is continued in a stable manner and if people know that the people in this board are professions, then they agree that the decision-maker is not composed of municipal officials, public employees. Because, officials shouldn't decide on by own, in my opinion. I'm a public servant here; I'm not considered an expert. I don't decide for any program lonely. There may be a musician in charge here by chance, but he shouldn't decide also. Of course, people on this board should also be fair.

However ethical cares are not only for create diversity or prohibit the privileges but there is also a problem about getting unearned income from the public hall by the organization firms. I-7 explains the problem;

> For example, Y center's director has positioned herself as the general art director. If the municipality gives such a position, we expect that the person brought to that position will have an accumulation that can be opened to all branches of art. But as far as I understand, the business has solved with an organization agency and all the demands of the firm had been accepted and the remaining demands had been ignored. This is really an easy solution. An organization firm is the representative of 6-7 maybe 10 theaters, and it is making a production, going towards monopolization.

The benefit from the allocation system is not only captured some of the theater groups but also by organization firms so KTP as a civil organization of theater is also threaten the system and change the existing atmosphere. Since the system circulated itself when the allocation mechanism changes, I-8 claims that at first, they couldn't find new applicant because nobody used to trust the transparency of the system;

When we opened the application for everyone, we looked at that there was no such application. The quality we wanted did not occur. We started to call the known theaters, but they say that "we do not apply there for years since they have not even responded us". Since we cannot explain ourselves, we say indirectly "this time, it will be different, they will evaluate". This process was not so easy. We insisted on increasing applications. Then they applied, they were surprised when they accepted. Then the number of applicants and qualification has so far increased. Because it was understood that there was a referral system in the middle and it became transparent. We made the selection of the festival held in summer and we did very carefully. We have collected numerical data and impression data for the previous period.

This argument shows also opening the doors for different groups bring out also quality. I-8 claimed that they do not explain themselves what is mean is name of the artistic board member has not announced. It is because to prevent them probable pressure on them. Changing allocation and rent of halls do not interest only theaters but firms etc. Therefore, different pressure groups get in to subject. I-1 described the process as "painful", however the system is accepted by large groups and also audience according to interviewee's feedback;

Passing through a fair distribution system with charges was a painful process. But we all know that every innovation is painful. How did we get the justice in collections? With the advice of the board, we didn't ignore the audience's expectations about popular performances. But there are young theaters that we think; they will have a very important place in the art life of Istanbul in the future. If we are doing public service, we should give the young ones place, because we are giving it free in that time. It wasn't right to exclude them and to place big theaters which already have potential to charges.

Allocating the halls freely is another discussion that could be taken as a part of allocation policy.

Charges of the salons are also critical for the allocation policies. It is as important as the time and number of the allocation and should be a part of same strategy. There is a general idea about municipal service that as they must be free of charge. However, being free of charge for every organization is not a fair and sustainable system. So, there must be again some criteria about charges. I-8 claims that as the artistic board, they have developed a three stepped strategy for overall allocating system combining it to improve the spectator;

> We said that the municipality is implementing very incompatible rent policy with the public strategy. When we arrived, for example, they were giving the CKM to the general assembly of companies and renting them for 300 liras. However, in that setting the halls are rented for 10 thousand or 20 thousand liras. We told you why you're dismissing this place. At first companies were removed from the program. These halls have become art, especially theater and music. We wanted to change the entertainment rents for TV programs. For example, if you're renting 300 liras to the theater, you can rent them for 5,000 liras for a TV show. It was fixed first, decision was taken in council. But at one point it soared that in some cases it did not protect the artist while protecting the municipality. Since the decision was fixed, some unforeseen circumstances could not be met. We've left companies out, but some artists are also stand out. We then proposed a strategy based on some variables and parameters. This strategy was a mathematical formula, it was a bit complex.

It is a small-scale example of letting private sector to use public's features and create privilege by break the rules of market. According to liberals' public institutions should not many features since they use it in order to create privileges just like the previous example. However, there could be another option that arranges to create privilege from these features for the public. I-7 explains their suggestion;

> If a group plays in the stage of Kadikoy municipality, the ticket price should be slightly different from the private stages since this is public place. This is directly reflected in the public's budget. We aimed to make people watch more performance with same budget, so we put the upper limits as ticket sales figures. If the group doesn't agree with the limit, we want it to pay a higher rent.

I-8 continues;

> If a theater does not want to contribute to the public service with its work, then it accepts that it uses the stage commercially. Then it will give its value commercially just like renting an area from private sector. We have prepared formulas and application excels. It was a little hard to tell. The third step is; a quota will be reserved that you cannot rent the entire hall as you wish, the municipality has the right to use the space allocated within months in order to meet people with theater. The adoption process of this strategy took too long. After this, Mr. Aykurt asked for the approval of the KTP for implement this strategy. This was presented to the KTP, they discussed it and accept unanimously. It is a very important project but a long-term project.

The point of discussing with KTP is important that shows that there is a process about policy making together. Sharing the needs and strategies with KTP is also important to prevent the misunderstandings which could create unnecessary obstacles

during the process. Tatoğlu claims they approved the strategy since it is behalf of the public;

> They offered us a method of renting, and we found it right. It was a right decision on behalf of the public, because it was the hall of the municipality, not a private enterprise. We've been very positive, but some players outside the platform have made it problem. Even at the meetings where these were discussed, the municipality called us and I joined a few of them.

Süs also claims; "This system would allow both theater fair conditionals and people to go to the theater at a more affordable price. Those who oppose it were mainly the productions, famous names, those who want to economic benefits."

These issues are manipulative that easily used as to show the municipality covetous. Even though municipality try to do a sustainable circle among theaters and spectator according to their afford, it got reaction especially popular ones since they do not want to limit the ticket price, municipality asked them higher rent. I-8 talked about a meeting in the municipality;

> When the rents of the hall rose, we met with celebrities, actually they came to the municipality. We did not step back. We believed this very much, and we've been writing this for three years. After KTP was convinced, the others also were convinced. First of all, the staff told me that this was not applicable and I showed them how to apply the system. The project would integrate the young people in the university, the municipality and KTP. By using the service facilities of the municipality spectator from the disadvantaged regions that had not heard the name of theater would be come to stages with this project.

Another thing which is about the charges is about buying performance. This is the main economic relationship with municipalities and theaters in Turkey. Similarly, to aid policies of state, selling plays to municipalities both serves discrimination and decrease the quality. I-1 claims, Kadıköy Municipality has differentiated itself from others by not buying performances, except festivals;

> All the municipalities in Turkey buy performances to show it freely to the audience. I think it's just like; coal distribution as a social aid. It was difficult to explain this to the theaters, but we made it a policy with KTP. This is one of our most important policies. It is not because we don't have money or we try to avoid giving money. So if your theater is good you could sell it in Kadıköy already, if you cannot sell in Kadıköy, anywhere you cannot sell it. Maybe if we were a different district, we has to buy, as I said, each district

has a situation of its own. But maybe we thought that this policy would go to other counties.

Some of the theaters could manipulate it as if buying the plays is the main support so if a municipality wants to support the art than it should buy their play. I-8 claims;

> Some of the theaters come and claim that they sell their play for 25 thousand liras to x municipality and asked why we do not take it and support the theater and art. As if it was the support of art, he actually wants to support himself. There were people who thought themselves as art itself.

Not buying the performances in order to show free to audience is supported by theaters in KTP generally because they are also against especially free staging. Süs claims;

> Previously in Kadikoy, and other places, the theaters had been accustomed to go to the municipalities, sell their plays for free staging to the audience. We have destroyed this perception here. We said that the municipality should not support in this way. We are also against its free festivals; meantime we are playing at the festivals. We thought that the municipality should support this issue by creating audience, not by buying games, and we tried to do so. But the habits do not disappear as you know. This also applies to local authorities that apply to artists. Deviations from the theater's own ritual occur when local governments say in a populist way that I should do something that will turn into a free play.

The theater festival of municipality in summers is still free since it has a tradition but people has started take a free invitation card written on sitting numbers in order to respect to the theater's ritual. Aslan emphasize the difference between doing a job for municipality and demanding free staging are different from each other;

> There are many theaters inside and outside of Kadikoy, which benefit from selling the plays, but we are a larger majority who against it. We're also doing business for municipalities. This is not something that bothers us, but we were experiencing difficulties in terms of the audience to be completely free of work. We have overcome it a bit. We surpassed it by organizing own festival. In our festival people could watch the play 20 liras which is 70 liras during the year. 20 liras is only the tax money, and we tell people about the tax money when they comes to it.

The festival is organized by KTP and all private theaters open their doors to different groups in festival. Municipality supports the publicity of it. It is important that to be organized instinctively and without leading of the municipality. Another possible affect the field of production of theater is if your boss became a state agency even

you are private theater it possibly affects independency of texts. Tatoğlu claims, aid of public institutions is prone to abuse;

> You know that relationships with municipalities in Turkey, based on utilization. Someone asked; "I gave 11 play and the municipality chosen two of them why?" So, if you have already prepared 11 children's play, that's mean is that you turned this place into a livelihood factory. Why municipality should take whatever you do? Everyone is trying to keep their relations good with municipalities, including singers, because no one trusts the audience and counts on municipalities. However, we trust the audience in Kadikoy, we say that our sponsor is the audience, not the municipality. The municipality could do improvements about our infrastructure but we do not have a worry about selling plays. In fact, everyone should do their job and not be in need of each other, otherwise there is a risk that artists would divide into political being of municipalities.

It is obvious that since the municipality is a state organization which distributes the sources, the principles about distributing it and also conditions of creating new sources are main indicators of its position. It is easy to popular things in this field since the nature of the field is prone to it. However, doing popular thing, buying performances, paying huge amounts of money for them is not mean that, sources of public is distributed fairly or this distribution improve the art itself.

5.3.5 Conceptualizing the Culture Centers

Conceptualizing is one of the features that also affect the allocation policies. Strictly described concepts preclude the interests. Managers could decide easily if the allocation is probable according to concept. I-1 claims about conceptualizing;

> We thought with the managers that every unit should have characteristics features. Unit managers also understood that different centers should not do the same activity and these centers should have a character. For example, jazz was not followed on this side; it used to be on European side. However, with "Yeldeğirmeni Art" jazz has started to be followed from Kadıköy. Even jazz festival has planned there. Now there are tiny mink jazz cafes, clubs started to opening in Yeldeğirmeni. If you have a target you can change it if you work according to it. We have changed the perception that;" the municipality makes the cheapest; the poor quality, does not understand this work" together with the efforts of your friends.

I-6 claimed that, the idea of need to conceptualize there was before the culture department established. For example, the name of "Yeldeğirmeni Art" is given for this purpose to show that it is not a culture centre.

> The name has given as "Yeldeğirmeni Art" not given as "cultural center". It was a consciously decision in order to differentiate the building. When you call it a cultural center, things get very complicated. Since the concept of this culture composes everything in it; from sport to folklore, from stitch sewing to child education. The character of other cultural centers does not occur because everything is done there; just like volunteers' courses, foundations organizations and political meetings. Of course, this is a need, which means that this type of space is needed. But when it does, you cannot meet the needs of theater and music in these venues.

As I-6 has claimed it is a need that people need to come together in order to produce something, training or organizing which should also be supported by the municipality as a part of cultural policies. However public buildings are limited in order to satisfy the needs. Infertile and unfair programming is also problem for common needs. One of the spectators, I-11 claimed that these centers could be used more efficiently; "I think every unit of municipality should be open to the public for 7 days and 24 hours. I am volunteering, for example, I can do educational projects here. These units should not be open for only on certain days and hours. All existing spaces need to be used". This claim is contradictory with I-6's approach;

> For example, people used to go listening classical music to Cemal Reşit Rey. Then they started to allocate the centre to the union meeting, the party meeting etc. Now even if the best group comes to stage there, they do not fill the hall, it has lost its character, the audience left there. Look, Süreyya Opera House is always full. Because there is clarity in people's mind. There is also a rehearsal here; in Süreyya and the orchestra and opera have many rehearsals. It's more rehearsal than representation here. Now they ask for a performance for children in Süreyya since it is useful for children, ok but these desires are endless, if you do it than you cannot protect the prestige of this place. These places must have an identity and should not fall below a certain quality. Of course, it is related with the number of salons.

As it has defined in the approaches part, these kinds of differences have occurred since different expectations from municipalities position. However, both approaches are against to allocate the halls without any strategy and create privileges by using facilities of municipality and emphasis the need for professionals to prepare some criteria according to main objective of municipality. There occurs another common

demand that there need more public space both for organizations and performances. These kinds of demands are increasing collaterally with the investments because people do not demand if they do not aware or these facilities.

One of the main conceptualizing -or it could be said repurposing- project is about children theatre. One of the culture centers is turned into children culture centre as it is mentioned before. This repurposing is also a result of working on children theatre policy. The problems that are defined as children theatre were both spatial and conceptual with the workshops.

Children theatre is another field so the study does not cover it however what makes it different will be emphasized. The most crucial thing is about ethical problems that since the subject are related with children. Therefore, the artistic board do not interest in about criteria about children theatre. It has own board that include psychologists and child development experts. The councilor, Ümit Demirtaş tells why there need a board with an example;

> I went to the children's theaters a lot. We took the children who in the disadvantaged regions of Fikirtepe to theaters with the culture commission. I've always voiced what catch my attention with the advantage of being on this commission. For example, I didn't like a few games in children's theaters. In a game I've become uncomfortable because the actor was being teased with a kid in glasses. I took a look and noticed that there were a lot of children with glasses who around me among the audience. I shared this with our culture director. Then, I have learned that plays started to read by psychologists before the screening was presented. This was very important for me. I have participated in to the children's theater workshops that municipality organized, every day for three days. Among its results; best of all, Halis Kurtca Culture Center turned into children's cultural center; it has also talked in the workshop. As the commission we had an observation, we claimed it in the workshop; children cannot see in the big seats, they stand up, sitting on their knees, the workshop also discussed the psychological effects of these large seats to children. It is said that; the child feels safer in the appropriate seat, could not be comfortable when sitting in a large armchair, could not concentrate them to play. These were reconciled and small seats were built for our children's culture center. May be these are seeming small things, but they're very important.

However, discussion among the groups and tension between the board and player are surplus. In the study there is not any interview about the groups or board for children but there are some impressions about the process. Impressions of I-8;

Another issue about children's theater is to promote the children to get into stage, provide trainings about theater. I-3 has been continued to go to schools for training and youth people comes to x center to make theater for amateurs. I-3 claims; "They don't need to be a theater performer; they learn to be a good person. Today, children who graduate from us do many different jobs, but the theater brings a lot to their lives. For example, the technical supervisor of this center was my student."

5.3.6 "Kadıköy Theater" as a New Theater Building

In the chapter of "uniqueness of Kadıköy" it is talked about the facilities of the municipality. Kadıköy municipality is building a new stage in the form of "black box" with opportunity of 360 degree watching, 400 audience capacities and 8200 m2 closed space area. The building will also have rehearsal place and saloons which are open to public 7/24. Building specialties will be held on in "space" part but the process of how this building has designed and has been agreed on is important to describe the position of the municipality. The first thing is of course to decide to build a theater building. As it is told, these kinds of investments are done by public in Turkey however in the investment programs of the state stages are inside cultural centers and not with a big capacity and insufficient technological equipment. Nuhoğlu explain how they decide to build it;

> Before I became the mayor, I had an interest in the theater and I was disturbed by the fact that the theater was located in shopping malls, in a remote location, not cared. The problem is not only being inside the hall, but I think structure of the theater building also must have an artistic value, it must be detached. When we found an area that we could build a structure, I saw other people except me had a wish to build a theater. It has been long-lasting project that our officials went to Europe and examined the halls there. It will be a building where art will be spoken, written and lived together with a theater cafeteria under the stage. There will be an art building. Late Güliz Suriri has looked in my eyes and said that "You have done something very

important, for the first time in 100 years a municipality is building a detached theater". I became very happy and sad in same time because by this time, these buildings had to be done more.

There was an idea about building a theater but it was not decided if it would be an Italian stage or a black box. In this deciding process it is claimed that dialogue with different authorities has shaped the project. I-8 told about the process;

> The way to build a new theater building gives an idea about the management of Mr.Aykurt. Because there happened something like that; Mr.Aykurt said that "we will do a theater building" while we were in a meeting at the Youth Center and asked us to look at the project. We noticed that the project has an Italian stage. We made a suggestion that; if you have such a space here, not do only the Italian stage, you could do a black box also, so that the first time in Turkey a black box was designed from the beginning of the project. If you want to use Italian stage it is possible in black box to use the stage as Italian at any time. Mr. Aykurt wanted us talk with architects. We went to see them. I even offered them to visit 10-15 stages in Belgium to understand the structure of black box than they went on the trip. It was then re-projected and is now being made as a black box. Mr. Aykurt did not tell us; "you are not even an architect; it is not your business". Until that time, we had used to say; "There is not any theater building that has designed by asking theater actors in Turkey". All the buildings were converted buildings except Atatürk Culture Center (AKM). This was a very important process for us.

Beside the consultants, theater player has also contributed the process and they offered some technicians for the stage, sound, light etc. Süs claims;

> Friends who work in municipality also changed their perceptions. What we call "stage" what comes to mind is Italian stage. It also legally defined as Italian stage. But the theater has changed. This is the case all around the world. This new novel is taking place in Turkey. In the municipality, they turned the new scene into a studio type because they saw it. In fact, a very serious interaction has been achieved in this sense.

It is mentioned before Moda Stage has become a role model for both the theaters and municipality in some ways. Aydoğan express that it is extraordinary for a public institution and politicians to claims the need of advice;

> Mr. Aykurt as a civilian man without using the force of his office come and watches the performances. He asked us for meetings three times, and he asked us how we were doing and he said what you would offer us when we run our own places. This is an incredible approach because in Turkey the public authority is like 'father', knows everything. However, he comes and asked us if they are missing something.

Architects of the building are Özgür Bingöl and İlke Barka also told the process in the study as interviewees. They claimed that this process is important for them especially since the participation of actors and common aim to create a qualified structure. Bingöl gave information about the process;

> We have made meetings; there were about 40 people in this meeting. We can define the actors as follows; from each discipline Kadikoy municipality staff, we are designers, theater actors and decision-makers who carry out the process, the mayor, deputy mayors; Başar Necipoğlu, Mehmet Şengün. All decisions were commonly taken around a table in these 5-6 hours meetings. We can say; if the administration is not sincere about it, these processes do not walk. For the first time in our 20 years of experience, we encountered an administration that took this job seriously, such as the Municipality of Kadıköy, organized the meetings, took part in these meetings, hosted, and believe in process sincerely. In general, everyone says this in the name of 'politically correctness' but the actual situation differs. In fact, most of the time they do not want to bother and say "you are the designer, this is your job". For the first time, a municipality has managed the process as meticulous as us. Those meetings could have been that way, or it wasn't something that could happen with our and the actors' initiative. We have seen that if main owner of the work, who is responsible for initiating and ending the project, believes where we can carry the process. We've also been very comfortable as a designer. Because it is so absurd to claim that we know everything.

Bingöl claimed that these meetings shaped the design and organization of the building;

> We asked all the details; the make-up areas, the wet volumes needed, also the details of the toilet. In some cases, we had concerns about the field capacities behind the stage, and in our discussions with the theater player, they commented that these areas were not bad. According to their comments, we decided to all spatial organization. But in general, the interpretation of the theater was as follows; "We are very pleased that you have put up a hall that provides more space for freedom than we have requested" they said. These comments were also pleasing for us.

The architects do not only design the building they also continue to work as consultant during the implementing process, Barka emphasize the importance of it;

> There is another very important issue, as project author, we are currently in the process of implementation. We are trying to be at this stage in each of our projects, but it is very important that the Municipality asked it from us and officially we are in the process of building. I think this is a very important meticulousness shown by the Kadikoy Municipality.

Another important feature is about choosing materials and even furnishing the structure. Since there is a prejudice about public buildings just like public do the most unqualified by spending unnecessary money. Changing this perception with good example is also important for position taking of a public institute. Bingöl describes the public buildings;

> When you look at the halls produced by the public; you go to the conference room, you listen to the sound of the ventilation, you go to the theater room does not warm up or it is overheating. For many cultural centers, you can say that without going further; there will be, composite panel covered cladding facade, granite stairs, shiny pipe aluminum staircase, cafeteria that smells like burned oil hood buildings. This experience showed us that we could do it in other ways instead of building such buildings. In other words, we are not just people who criticize this situation; it can be done, as long as the public institution has the intention to do it.

The building symbolizes the wish of theater players get into real with their contribution. The municipality did not make any financial aid but build up a big scale investment. Many actor and actresses contributed the sod-turning ceremony. Mert Fırat claimed[33];

> It is a project that we all contributed. Scene of us were visited. We shared our knowledge; this process made this building a common for us. In this sense, the municipality received consultancy in many areas from theater actors, architects and acoustic designers. And the municipality had a huge contribution to make the hall more functional. In general, the project of the halls is performed independently from the players. However, this project was made by the idea of many artists. I believe that it will never be empty and will continue with innovations. It is very valuable to make such an investment in this period when people are pumped and despised.

5.3.7 Comments on Kadıköy Municipality's Position

In conclusion Kadıköy Municipality with its decision makers and officials has aimed to found a culture policy. It was a part of political vision and also a need for finding out answers to problems in practice. It is not mean that everybody agreed on a

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[33]DHA, Tiyatro dünyası Kadıköy'deki temel atma töreninde buluştu, http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yerel-haberler/istanbul/merkez/tiyatro-dunyasi-kadikoydeki-temel-atma-torenin-40980544, 09.07.2019.

success or all results have been estimated. For example, in the interview, I-6 claimed that Y Center used to be more qualified in the past and even there are an artistic board now there are not much changing in programs. Moreover I-3 claimed that even it is good that the X center opened to new and young groups, older ones used to bring more audience. Therefore, there is a need for balancing it. Another criticism from Özlem Ece who thinks about municipality itself should not behave as art institution;

> Kadıköy municipality seems to have its own local cultural policies remotely; it attracts my attention in this sense that an active municipality allocates resources and strategy to this area. I have begun to draw more attention in the last period than anything I have in mind before. If we are going to talk about Kadikoy, my criticism would be instead of wasting the energy to do so much artistic activity it could open the right capacity with the right infrastructure.

It seems as the municipality has made also investments on as infrastructure and with competition to promote productivity. Tatoğlu claims;

> We talked about; the number of written play texts is less, after talking about it, the municipality made a competition about theater texts. I didn't know if they were played or not. The municipality noticed that the theater could change the culture and art map of a local.

There also some fields that have not entered yet or not get results. Policy is a process that should renew itself with changed conditionals and get results after insist on its continuity. I-8 claims that they could not work on amateurs, efficiently;

> There is an area that we cannot touch; the professional theater was well organized but the amateur theater could not organize well. There are university clubs, employee theaters, and theater groups. We said that let's work about them next year. There have been several attempts on this issue, but we couldn't find an addressee.

I-7 summarizes what the municipality did and differentiated its position;

> I want it to stay written in somewhere so much; the municipality supports the theater but does not establish a theater. Give its support as the venue, which is the most important needs of the theater in Turkey. It heard this request, and it is doing it as black box. Secondly, we did not buy a play. Apart from the festival, however its criteria were set. Except for important days and commemorations, any play was never taken and we were always against it. This policy is important and differentiates when compared to other municipalities. All of this is the result of a resistance, and we know that it was not easy to show this stability for decision makers since we have witnessed.

What are the conditions of the stability? Temurlenk claims that it was an important approach to not improve personal relationships to create a system; "No one in the municipality has established a special relationship with any theater. Platform has taken as addressee. As such, they did not produce splash points that would disrupt the structure." Nuhoğlu claims what they did is not important only with their results but people need to discuss these subjects. The study also aims also to improve new questions and new perspectives especially while evaluating the municipal approaches;

> People need to know what the purpose is of the local government as a result of art and culture policies. We need to know what kind of community structure we want. The more people to go to the theater; to the cinema; does not only mean increasing art customer. Selectivity is also increasing and if the selectivity of the audience increases, the art itself can develop. An objective interpretation of a play can provides further development of that play in the future. These issues need to be discussed more. How should be the relationship with public institutions and art, how decision-makers should be and how should they affect the production of art or should they, what will happen when the political change experienced than? Art should not be shaped according to the idea of a political party; art belongs to society. We bring it up to a point in Kadıköy, and those who come after us will hopefully get a better point.

5.4 Space as a Medium of Position Takings

How we define the space is related which purpose we use the space. It is talked about while theater is changing; the space of theater is also changed. Even the purpose is the same; performing a play, the way of performing differs according to changed space. Therefore, there is a mutual relationship between theater and space since the nature of the theater art.

It is talked about in the allocation policies on previous chapter, who use the space is also important about the publicity of that space. As it is emphasized on theoretical part, owning by the public agencies mean is not this place has high degree publicness. For example, a public place is used by some specific groups, blocks the others to use the space even it is not prohibited legally. In the same time any place belongs to private entrepreneurship could be used by public, freely and also be center

for socializing. Some of the theater centers are described also in the study as a society center with their cafeterias and supportive events like meetings or cinemas.

Since theater has potential to gather people, it creates publicness itself. However, the space where both player and audience, stand has a mutual relationship with the performance. Urban life is also related with the performance space. Changes in urban life both spatially and socially affect the nature of the art. Changed nature creates changed texts in changed stage. Access to a theater or want to access, is about the culture of urban life which is improved by cultural and urban policies.

In this part, firstly it will be overlooked urban space itself; Kadıköy. Since the features about the city have showed; it only will be analyzed with its potential and treat for theaters. Then the space that are used by theaters and its relationship with urban life will be quoted by the players and the spectators.

5.4.1. Kadıköy as a Changed Space and Place

In the chapter; "uniqueness of Kadıköy", it is told that Kadıköy has a potential with its multicultural, historical background and accessible, aesthetic, spatial conditionals. These specialties have been for years but some political and cultural differences about experience the urban life make Kadıköy a focus. Kadıköy has not been any time a slum so talking about revitalization mean is not a radical change in Kadıköy but it is more likely to getting popular. Popular also since has been separated life styles in the cities. Where people socialize became a reflection of life style and self-expression. Ece claims;

> There are places where people go in Istanbul and do not go in any way. Actually, similar people go to similar places. The political polarization environment also creates this. This overlaps when you overlap these diverging fields with the voter profile. Kadikoy's income level, education level is high, when you look at the CHP voters match the profile. Besiktas displays a profile similar to Kadikoy, the surroundings of Sisli are probably similar. White-collar, young, CHP mass intensified, with the influence of universities and institutions are concentrated in these areas. I think that Kadikoy Municipality is trying to open space in the field of culture and art very actively and developing a strategy in this field. There is a revival of

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cultural life, but it is more difficult to say about cultural life or the culture of eating and food.

There is not a single factor that affects cultural life of the city moreover there is not a calculative result also. It could be said that results are also needed to discuss if they are shaped by a cultural policy or market conditions. From different statues and professions people's feelings about living in Kadıköy promote the idea of that Kadıköy has become an attraction center especially for theaters. However, while some of them are happy from this situation, some of them are worried. Every district of Kadıköy does not feel the same density pressure. The historical center; especially Caferağa/Moda and Rasimpaşa/Yeldegirmeni are the neighborhoods that all transportation axes and art activities intersect there. Therefore, when people talk about "Kadıköy" they mainly talk about this core center. According to police reports, about 2.5 million people visit the Kadıköy at the weekend. All these people of course not come here for cultural activities. Some of them use the district as a transfer point, some of them comes there for shopping, walking near by the sea side, socializing, dinner etc.

Mukhtar -elected local authority for neighborhoods- of Caferağa, Zeynep Ayman emphasized the importance of cultural facilities since they effect the demography and behavior of visitors; "If people come here only to drink beer, it could couse some problems but if they come here to watch a theater and drink their beer after the show it is ok." However, it is hard to pretend negative effects of density in any way.

There are a couple of reasons for choosing Kadıköy both to live and visit, that interviewers express. The first one is about feeling "free". It is about general atmosphere of Turkey that people feel pressure on them because of their life styles. State and municipality agencies can become a tool for reproducing the conservative life style with not giving license to bars, limit the public transport etc. I-11 answers the question of what is in Kadıköy;

> There is freedom, art and there are not community pressure people can live whatever they want. I think it is a privilege. I could not walk around in Sultanbeyli as relax as Kadıköy. I moved here 10 years before, day by day people rush into here. I think the first reason is public transport is increased and improved; marmaray, metrobus, metro comes here. Second reason is the

pressure on another district. Today people do not feel themselves good in Beyoğlu and other districts. Moreover, Kadıköy became artistic brain of Istanbul it is one of the places that art and artist live there.

Comparing Kadikoy and Beyoglu is prevalent because Beyoğlu used to be known as the culture center of Istanbul. It is still important but both political improvements and rack-rent has changed the demography. D. Kılıçoğlu claims;

> We used to live in European side but when our householder increased the rent we came here because our family has been living there. Beyoğlu is not a place for living anymore for a long time. However, I remember that while Atatürk Culture Center (AKM) was active in Taksim, many people flock from Kadıköy to the center.

AKM used to be one of the symbols of cultural life of Istanbul. The building became also symbol of Gezi protests with the banner on it. Last year the center is demolished in order to build a new one which will contain also trade center inside. It is an ironic situation that after Gezi protests in Taksim Square AKM has demolished and a new mosque built up opposite of the AKM. The effects of protests are also important for Kadıköy because police blockade has a negative influence on social life in Beyoğlu also. Aydoğan claims;

> I think there are a couple of reasons together make Kadıköy attractive. Firstly, since every kind of interventions and press to Cihangir and Beyoğlu, people couldn't live there while they have been looking for a new habitat, they find out Kadikoy. However, it creates many problems that Kadıköy's population cannot take this pressure. Secondly municipality's dealing is different from classical municipality behavior, everybody finds out an area to tell about their ideas and projects, and people start to believe that they can do their projects in here with municipality. Lastly, of course the audience already used to live in Kadıköy.

The audience is important that without it, theater is impossible. It seems like citizens of Kadikoy used to be travel European side for cultural activities than activities travelled to Asian side. There are different audience types for different activities. However, these types also change with new perspectives to art. Aslan defines them;

> In here, people are in different styles, they all familiar to art. There is an audience stabile group who attends to State Theater and famous private theater with celebrities, in big salons like CKM. They have not used to be informed about our theaters, when they accidentally notice our stages they used to be surprised and not understand how we are doing theater in that

place. But now these people look for our theater with the maps that municipality published.

Accessibility is important not for physically but also socially. Social barriers can be just like not to be informed or meet. Therefore, city itself should be a meeting place with the activities. I-9 explains how she meet with the activities;

> I could not think any other place for myself in Istanbul except Kadikoy. I feel like even in 2001 while Yeldeğirmeni was a fusty place. I feel myself happy when I see a theater or even a banner of municipality about theater. The best thing for me is to go to theater by walking without making a program. People spend many time and money. I call the theater and ask if there is an empty seat, according to situation I go there. These are good for me I cannot be exist another way.

Being exist with the city is an opponent concept to being consumer of the city. Therefore, for some people, "living in Kadıköy" itself could be an attitude. Bingöl claims; "Moda is a life space that a group of architects choose to live there consciously. They choose there because of its spatial conditionals, building stock, urban structure and accessibility to every kind of city service and infrastructure."

This popularity brings new audience. However, these conditions –if they are not managed- create a treat for residents and damage the conditions which made this space popular. In other words, this popularity has potential to consume the city itself if it develops with the motivation of popular-consume culture merely. Ece claims about the disadvantages;

> We always talk about its advantages, but on the one hand, I follow that; It seems that Kadıköy is a small neighbourhood has started to evolve into increasingly becoming inevitable for its inhabitants. It is not a sustainable thing with crowds, parking problems, noise, environmental pollution, and I have the feeling that this population increase make it difficult to live there. Very difficult to explain; Let me continue to live here, but keep coming here, it is a need to find something in common. Let's set a common principle that we can continue to live together. This is always to the detriment of one side. The settled ones, with increasing rents, has to go through the process of gentrification. They leave their place to his new residents. Then the new inhabitants are forced to migrate with that attraction; Cihangir, Moda, maybe now migrates to Bomonti. In fact, a similar mass moves together in similar places, turning at certain points of the city. There is a need for cultural planning in terms of metropolitan and this cultural planning is not just an art activity planning. When these plans are not made, clusters and jams occur in

the city. Even though it may seem like a breathing space, these areas turn into areas that cannot breathe with time.

Therefore, changed spatial conditions also change the demography. In a city like Istanbul, managing these conditions with a district local government seems impossible so there is a need for holistic approach and coherent policies. However, what is done in Kadıköy with the position takings of the local government is to redistribute the source, also in the manner of space. This fairness of this distribution is about both to access the space and to use it in the same time. There may be another feature as a third step which is to right to shape the space.

5.4.2 Space of Theatre

The interviews have done in the place of theatre if they have, and it has observed that these spaces are also a living space not for only theatres but also people who contribute to trainings, use cafeterias, regular spectators and other placeless theatres. Another thing is about their place is since some of them they have converted it from storage or shops. Their story of being a "place";

> Karma Drama: We have a room for 35 people. This place used to be a shop. This street was very active because there used to be found a big open market here every Tuesday. But what we care about most is the flat feet. Accessibility is important for us. Age, physical conditions should not prevent access to here. We wanted to have a place in the flat foot life, whether it was the pedestrian way and the vehicle road, these are important for visibility. There have previously been sold water than perfume there. It has used as storage for the past two years. The ceiling height inside was important to us. We've completely built the inside. Access was convenient as was parking at both ends of the street.

Pat Atelier and Altkat Art: "The place was used as a warehouse for 25 years; the basement was transformed into a workshop and we rented there as three groups."

> Nazım Hikmet Culture Center: The garden of this place is a meeting place, they play chess, there are people from different life styles, you can see girls with turban with their lowers, because no one interferences them here. 70% of the events are free; there is a book house and library. They bring their children; they can come with their animals. We could say here has become a living space.

> Moda Stage: We organize seminars. We organize it and announced. For example, tonight we have "philosophy and human relationships" seminar. We give salon to "another cinema" and seminars about movies. We have made a tribune on to the street, opposite of the door; it is full in summer with people.

Theater place differently from other branches of art brings people in the performance. However, with the spread of boutique theaters these places become also a tool for gather people not for only performances. I-4 claims;

> People no longer go only to watch the play there, after play, they chat with the players, spends time. They can easily navigate the place. As there is a perception in Turkey; Italian scenes are untouchable, only open during perform hours. But now the alternative stages are more open to the audience.

The new stage which is building by the municipality is also considered an open place as 7/24 for people. Besides being accessible in any hour, access to every corner of the salon is also be a matter. Positions are not defined in these stages as audience does not sit a stabile place and actor does not use a stabile stage. The stage organization of the black box gives idea about the possible freedom of the player while using the salon. Bingöl talked about their design;

> We had this idea; can we actually build a very well-equipped hangar that can serve many theater groups? It must have highest level technology, which will allow any organization in different layouts with high level substructure and superstructure. Perhaps it will be the best in Turkey. We moved from the classic stage to the black box when the municipality looked hot in a hall that could host different plays and groups. In fact, there is one specialty in the hall that we don't see in other halls and black boxes; the player can play from different levels and get involved to performance from anywhere in the hall. So there is no specific line in which the player can enter and exit. Without seeing the player at all, the player can swing 360 rounds around the hall and enter the play from anywhere. Therefore, we are talking about a square prism and it is aimed to respond to all the demands of artists.

The possibilities of the space of course give impression to director and dramaturgies. However, it also attracts the spectator. This attraction is related both feeling inside the performance and also breaking the hierarchical order of Italian stage. As a spectator I-11 claims; "I think I'm in the play. In the other (Italian ones), it seems like a conference. Especially if you're sitting behind of the salon, you can't make a connection with the play. You're always in the scene at boutique theaters."

Another spectator I-10 emphasizes the conditionals of Italian stage is not equal;

> In the big scenes there is a situation; it divides people according to their financial situation. Because the ticket price in front of the stage and the price of the ticket that is behind, is different. In fact, it is very difficult to find a place, even if you find the place at the back, you are either sleeping in the warmth of the area or you are distracted. You can't make a connection. But 25-30 people are watching the plays with pure attention and no there is no discrimination; all the tickets are sold at equal price.

It is like trend that goes through big scale structures to small scaled one. Since in order to be active there is needed a small-scale venue. Being active is not only about for the performance times as it is mentioned. These boutique theaters are also a living place for players. Even though, public institutions should build up new stages and create needed infrastructure, it is important to have own space for a private theater. It is important because it gives flexibility for performances and rehearsal both themselves and the other ones that use there. Therefore, having a space is also a tool for relation to other groups. However, it has difficulties especially in the manner of managing financial problems. Süs claims;

> The reason of opening a stage is directly proportional to the artist's particular maturity. For example, young groups or amateurs do not need for such a stage. It requires an aesthetic saturation, which I think is proportional to the artist's self-development. In other words, I don't think a new beginner wants to open a stage.

Aslan points out the difficulties of own a place;

> Sometimes it needs to power. Sometimes you have to have a very serious request because you are doing a really hard job. So, it may be much simpler to write plays and put them on the stage, but this is more difficult because you are taking another responsibility. But of course, you make it a value, you rehearse, you provide the opportunity to stage or rehearse those who do not have the place.

All the groups in the stud claimed about the hardness of managing expense especially the rent. Except Nazım Hikmet Kültür Center the other ones pay rents. It differs 350 liras to 28000 liras depends on meter square and location. They do not have special conditionals for tax and some of them are already legally not in the situation of theater. However, they change the social life with their functions. They make storage a public space both living there and extract people to their place.

5.4.3 Publicity of Theater

Publicity is used for both effect of theater to public life among their place and familiarity. These two is also related each other. For example, nobody knows the name of the street that Nazım Hikmet Kültür Center stands on but people called this street as street of Nazım. Some of them become a landmark since people use them in their daily life. However, some of them recently get familiar. Festivals, theater maps and common projects increase their publicity. Contributor of the project "my neighborhood is theater"; I-11 claims that they notice these boutique theaters with the project;

> When called theater, it has been big stages in my mind till to the project. I've always been on those scenes. I came here "Altkat Art" first, I said, what kind of place is this there? Maybe I've crossed in front of it a hundred times, but I don't think there's a theater there. The first evening we came, we said what we are doing in this basement? Big mass doesn't recognize them. I am a person who is engaged in art and I have noticed that there are such theaters new. Later I learned that there were so many theaters in Kadikoy, just like this place, so I watched them. We've seen great performances around here.

I-10's approaches about to notice and access to these theaters again with equality perspective;

> It is difficult to reach these small stages, maybe those who live in Kadikoy know these places, they can reach since their financial situation better, but because the financial situation of people coming from outside Kadikoy is not enough, participation in the plays is not sufficient. The state does not support these theaters. This is due to what we are not able to go to them in such a vicious circle that they could not come to us.

Actually, there are two kind of publicity that theaters claimed. One of these is relation with the local, especially with the neighborhood where it stands and prioritize to serve to the people around. D. Kılıçoğlu called this "neighborhood theatre";

> I think the neighborhood theater is like a grocery store. A place with communication, intertwined with the neighborhood. Why the neighborhood theater, because when we moved here, our neighborhood surprised and said; "A theater came to our neighborhood" they said. There is the grocery store or the dry cleaning in the lower level of apartments why there won't be a

theatre? What is actually theatre should not belong to a specific class; it should be in every neighborhood. That's our perspective. First, we've been connected to our own street. For example, it is good for us to go on our Black Sea tour and reach the people there, it is beautiful, it is precious but it is a single shot you can do it once in a year but it is important to live together in a specific location and improve constant relationships.

The difference about the location of Karma Drama is as claimed; it is not on historical center of Kadıköy. The others are on Bahariye Street which is most important shopping and pedestrian axe of historical center. Therefore, neighborhood relationships have more importance for them. Kılıçoğlu continues;

If we had a flat foot somewhere in Moda or Bahariye St. it would be like to be on Istiklal Street. In other words, when you go to these streets, you don't feel like you are in a neighborhood, and you come in contact with people from all over the city. But this is in a neighborhood, the people we contact here, in the same time live here, so a lasting relationship is established. When you open a theater to a place like here, you must be able to root it.

It has asked how the neighborhood interaction is provided, she answered;

Togay and I have always sat on the sidewalk since the first day we started to renovate. We played backgammon, drank tea with our neighborhood and craftsman on the street. We know each person in every building. Tuesday and Friday, they go to the market and sometimes rest here, they use the toilet. We already know the shopkeepers. Theater is a collective work. We can all move together when there is a problem about the street. Sometimes people think that here is a café when they realize that there is theater, they surprised. We want to leave a legacy that shows that everyone can transform a place in their village in their neighborhood into a theater and the theater can be done anywhere.

However, being on a crowded street gives opportunity to meet with different people, has a different potential of being a part of public life. Performance artist could use the street like a stage and people who walk on the street could turn into spectator. As a performance artist Aslan told about her relationship with the public sphere;

In a situation that I want to give a message, I can go out into the street as a performance artist. The people of Kadikoy embrace the art in public space and do not let any interfere. I'm standing on wooden leg, and in the evening, I use the park in front of the workshop. In the evening when young people come to try it, I say them, try to come without alcohol. I also use alcohol, but you need to be awake on that thing. The next day they come without drinking to try it because they know we're stabile in there. In Mehmet Ayvalıtaş Park where in front of our atelier, the kids are wondering than we're starting to do

> a show in an instant. It just doesn't happen with the financial expectation. I know that when I reach them, they will reach me anyway.

Mukhtar of Caferağa is also one of the interviewees, since majority of private theaters in Caferağa neighborhood; it is asked that if there is connect with her. Mukhtar is a special position for Turkey that every neighborhood chooses its representative in the local elections. Mukhtar interested on problems of neighborhood and define a connection with public agencies. However, it is hard to define a neighbourhood for the districts like Caferağa because it has many visitors also. Another challenge for the mukthars is they are traditional institutions but with changed technology and social interaction create new institutions which could bypass them. Therefore, while theatre claim with the project, they affect the public life and integrated to the neighborhood, mukhtar claims older ones of the player who lived there have a connect but new ones do not with her. Ayman claimed;

> They have no contact with the neighborhood. Artists who have been living for a long time in the neighborhood are a bit more sensitive. When they have seen, they talk about it. But new comers do not add value added to the neighbors it is obvious that they brought to the culture. Maybe they're making public announcements, perhaps to publicize themselves, but I haven't seen such efforts as conveying this to the neighborhood.

This unconnected situation could be possible also what defines the neighborhood also changes. Therefore connections, representative mechanism and community interactions have also changed.

Publicity of the theater is related the position of theater. If it is a commercial tool that the way of publicity is different. However, if the aim is to create constant relationship and improve the spectator with the artistic quality, then it needs more effort. More relationship and coherent polices with different institutions are required. By the way it is a simple and basic thing to think theater is create a place and any place could create also a stage. This transformative potential of theater is important for development and diffusion of this art. I-11 told a story about his experience as a teacher;

> I was working in a village in Van in 1978, I said I will do theater, but they asked where you will do it, there are no electricity, no water, I teach five classes in a single classroom. Children, citizens, peasants, I found a play. We

have worked. So how are we going to exhibit? I pulled the trailer behind a tractor, in front of the school; we made two masts and curtains. Then there is no lamp. We hung the kerosene lamp. We set the school desks, in the nights we played there. People do not speak Turkish[34], we tell them with sign language and gesture. Then we began to tour the other village with the tractor. The children were riding behind the tractor, we were going. The theater is done everywhere; it is enough to want it.

This story is both dramatic and full of enthusiasm that shows the power of theater to bring people in any condition.

5.5 Position Taking of Spectator

The last variable is the spectator. All these variables are correlated so it is hard to say which one is the result and which one is the reason. Spectator is basic element of theater, it symbolizes individual. Differently from the other branches of art any theater artist could not say that "what think spectator I don't care" since the aim is to get interaction with spectator. Why censorships or pressures occurs on theater is related the nature of these correlations.

Interaction type differs according to performance. Watching without show any impression is also one kind of interaction. However, both in classical theater and alternative ones there is always a way for spectator to show reaction. Most well-known way is applauding. Spectator applauds if like something or to protest. If it is a comedy, then laughing is become important. The main difference from mass media on TV as it is mentioned is that possible relation with the audience. Even they do not show a reaction while the performance on going, they could show reaction after the play, by commenting at the lounge.

Artist gets the reaction as a feedback because all reactions has or should a meaning. That's way it is talked about "a culture" or "a ritual". Spectator is part of this ritual, so they should be informed about the rules of this ritual. It is said that for example watching a performance free and without ticket distributes this ritual. Of course, this

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[34] Since they speak Kurdish

ritual may change with new generations but changing it also need afford to improve the art. Change should not be a result of populist approaches.

Therefore, it is important to involve spectator in any policy development about theater. Performance-spectator correlation should also generalize like cultural policies-citizen also. Every institution should improve strategies according to tension, feedback and progress of this duality.

In this part the ritual of theater and changes in rituals will be embraced with effects of spectator improvement projects.

5.5.1 Ritual of Theater

Taking a ticket, being on time, finding your seat, close the phone, being quiet, do not eat anything etc. are the basic rules of watching a theater. We know them since we experienced it. These could chance in time for example in past there wasn't a rule like close the phone or make it silence. If you not experience it you do not know about these rules and if you do not obey them, people warn you. Therefore, buying a ticket does not let you to behave however you want. Meeting people with theater is important also make them familiar about these rules. Free or low-priced festivals are important for public institutions to meet people with the stage but if of course the rules are active on these performances. I-5 talked about the evolution of spectator with the summer theater festival;

> How the audience was; adult was more flood than children. When we left the doors open for the first time, there was a constant movement coming in. Then we said this is not true, we are doing wrong. We have to create culture; we said we should not take it after the play started. We resist. There have become a lot of discussion at the door; we heard so many insults, the parents made their children cry, the children cried since shouting of their parents not because they haven't entered the play. We tried to explain; "this is a theater culture, and you need to be here a little early tomorrow". We had a lot of discussions, but at the end of these discussions, the children were not included in the course of time, grow up and came to the adult theaters on time. More insightful mothers arrived early after a day. They started to come by looking the program. Some of them used to complain about the chosen theater. We were saying, "gentleman, this is your taste, but 1000 people are

watching it inside". Inside the core was eaten, because it was open air, it was smoking. Over time, these are over.

Theater player claims that disturbing the ritual is mainly occurs in free theaters which are sold to municipalities. Süs claims;

> The viewer who comes free never turns into a real audience. Because getting tickets, finding seats, being here by watching, all of them are ritual. When you go to a free game of the municipality, people enter, take out, chat... This situation is worse for children because children think that theater is something like that. A chaos environment is formed. Even the theater does not to face with them, it also thinks that once a year to sell the game is important financially. We actually changed it in Kadikoy.

The festival continues as free but people need to take a free invitation card as it is mentioned before. Even there are bed examples that defect the ritual however these public festivals give also opportunity to meet the audience with different groups. I-4 claims about the opportunity with an example;

> In the summer, there was a production in the festival that "We might be happy till today". We define these productions as alternatives. They are an alternative to mainstream. They can build closer relationships with the audience. They're not afraid, the audience is not afraid of them. With the alternative theaters, the audience started to think that they could criticize them. But there is that fear in old-style theaters and old-style games. What the artist has done is good, we respect it.

It seems that if there don't be evolution on rituals they could turn in to stereotypes and create a pressure on innovation in any scale. Therefore, it could be said that generation conflicts are not about to keep popularity, there is insist on also to keep "deserved" prestige. What the prestige is as I-4 claims;

> In the past, people used to stand up and clap, even if they did not like the play especially if the big artists play. But they don' do it anymore, it they don't like they are sitting up or coming out, they do not feel like they have to stand up. And people see themselves inside the play even more in new stages. This is the biggest feature of the black box scenes, the audience within the player, both on the same platform. In the past, it used to be played as if there was no audience; even the audience side is faded. Only the decor and actress were on top of the Italian scene. But now it's not, even a lot of games or even bright play. Audience could be a part of the play. This also attracts attention. That's why they're so high now on.

Participation is a magical word that it is the favorite in any subject. However, it needs some prerequisites. In order to participate, people should be informed about

the subject. The main problem for all cultural events is diffuseness. Importance of public institutions is to break the market rules there. Ece, told about the obstacles that caused by unequal distribution;

> There are many obstacles for the audience to reach the art in Istanbul there are material obstacles, there are physical obstacles, there are obstacles related to individual perception, such as the fact that it has never been in the inner world of art, it is obvious that a total strategy must be followed. But in order not to waste time waiting for it, cultural institutions should also strive in this direction. Coordination is important in this sense. IKSV, for example, is making a culture-art card for the students, making them a separate card for the students so that they can meet for the activities. Collaborating with municipalities, it is trying to carry more activities out of the center, which is a variety of ways to increase and diversify the number of viewers and to transform the relationship with the audience into a slightly different form. How can be the participant just like; before the festival, at the festival, to ask questions there, perhaps meet with the artist on another occasion.

Economic and social conditionals, political atmosphere designate the priorities for people. There cannot be a linear development about attract to these issues. Sometimes, there could be changes in profiles in a society. It also related with position taking of state institutions, it is important especially for accessibility. I-6 claims that there is a change in the profile as a result of education system;

> 30-40 years ago, university students were among the audience of theaters and symphonic concerts. Now, as universities' quality decreases, the quality of the secondary education is spreading to everyone, from public administrators to administrators.

There is not any daily statistics about who are the audience today in Istanbul. These kinds of statistics are important for policy makers. However, in the interview, theaters claim that mainly young people are interested in especially alternative works. However, in municipality halls it is observed that older people interested in especially popular and also older actors. Aydoğan claims;

> We want to know who the audience is, but we could not poll. We know from the ticket sold that 70% of students, seminars are full, so we know that they are interested in philosophy. Two in three of audience is women according to our observations.

Reaching or want to reach art is social organization that could appear as a result of cooperation of different factors. Education and university culture is important for

contributing of art events but economical features are also obstacle. As a young spectator I-10 claims the economical conditionals of participating the activities;

> It is very difficult to study in Istanbul and to live here. It is a great luxury to participate in these cultural events while trying to survive. So, there should be more place or they need to be expanded. It is a burden to go to state theaters and private theaters; Do students contribute to theaters or pay university fee, their smart ticket or eat?

Ritual of theater also depends on to diversity of relationship of spectator and theater. Therefore, improving spectator projects just like low priced ticket, reserve for people who do not meet with theater and develop the critical observation is important not only improve the spectator but also theater and enrich the ritual. I-8 claims;

> Spectator improvement project is the most important project to be taken by both public and special authority. Because this project is actually an antidote. It's not just a theater project; it's actually a social education project. When you show people something good that had never seen before, that people start to look for it. The problem is not having meet.

5.5.2 Spectator Improvement Projects

There have done three interviews with the participant of "my neighborhood is theater" projects. I-9 is participant of Karma Drama, she is engineer and 50 years old, she also writes blog, contribute the project from Rasimpaşa district. The other two are participant of Altkat Art and from Caferağa, I-10 is lawyer and 28 years old, I-11 is retired education official, 60 years old. Since Kadıköy has an educated retired group of people who resident there, generally they attract the trainings more than young people. Young people interested on professional events or some short time volunteering organizations. Aslan gave information about profiles of participants of "my neighborhood is theater";

> The first year the project consisted mostly of the middle age. The second year was mixed but we have mainly young people this year. There are lawyers, doctors, psychologists, mixed in group. Each group has 4-5 people over 60 years old. Ones, who think that it would be theater training, have got eliminated. There are people who has touched the theater in a way, follow all the games in Kadikoy and come with strong criticisms. At the end of the third year the profile returned to a profile who asks what time we will watch the play.

Different generations have different perspectives but they all claimed that the project has changed them as a spectator. In the project they have exercised the different source of theater that feed it. I-9 claims;

> It was a program that aimed to train conscious spectators. Damla has connection with faculty so she brought academicians from the conservatory, told the history of the theater, the makeup expert came to talk about the art makeup, a dance teacher showed the techniques of breathing, we have worked on text, reading theater, I did not want to go to the stage but Damla push me to stage. It was beautiful, we worked 3 months or so. We have shown the benefits of working as a group, we used to have social phobias and we exceeded them. Group Gündoğarken one day told about the music in the theater was a very full program. They recommended a lot of books. We watched the plays together. We went to other private theaters, went to the city theaters, then talked about it. In the end, we learned to watch more consciously. One of the most important things I learned was that we don't have to applaud after every play. That was a very important thing for me. I've had more of a theater experience. We watched a lot of games at that time, we have gone to theater, for 4 times a month. I learned the stages that I have not known. I have eliminated some of them in my head, each stage has its own way of interpreting, the directors have likewise, I have actually found stages close to myself. In this sense, it was very advantageous for me.

It seems as the project also provide publicity for other theaters since the participants go to them as a spectator as a part of education. They learn some skills that they could use in their daily life, I-11 claims;

> Last Saturday, they brought a mime, for example, they brought people and we take lessons from them who we couldn't meet or reach if there don't be a project like this. We learned how to breathe from the diaphragm, for example, a lot of people who have come to this age do not know how to breathe, and we learned how to use the sound. We learned about the history of the theater.

When it has asked what has changes after the project, they firstly talked about how they have been affected in their daily life and social life, I-9 claims;

> Coincidentally, our paths crossed with Karma Drama and became one of the turning points in my life. There are still friends we met there we have a whatsApp group. We share news about the theater. I think that there has been a change in my perspective on life after having received such an intensive education about art. It has become a need to go to the theater, I really feel bad when I don't watch a play. I feel the need to go to play on Saturday night, at least once a week. But you become selective also in time. I do not like all the plays that I have gone. I find myself reading about theater reviews, even I cannot go, I read.

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I-10 claims that her behavior has changed in her social life positively;

> In the past, I used to be colder and demure, I now began to reveal myself. When we were teaching with Nevzat Süs, in the meantime, whoever did not want to quit on stage, put them out at same time now. In the workplace, in my own life, I can come forward also after these courses. I do not matter anymore what will anyone say me when I say something to anyone, I don't have any worries. No fear of contempt.

Nature of theater; to be in front of the audience, work with a team, collaboration brings out socially confident people. Therefore, any training about theater is also a part of education of socializing, its aim not have to grow up artists. I-11 claimed in the interview that he thinks theater is a part of education, he talked about his observations about personal improvements of participants;

> Children learn mathematics, Turkish, social studies everywhere but it is different to swallow the dust of the scene. She learns to express herself if she stays on stage. Today people became lawyer, but they cannot express themselves, even a mayor could not express himself. All of the friends who participated were working in good places but could not express themselves at first, now they have become very good in 3 months. People who cannot express themselves do not understand anyone else. Most of the friends who came here now learned to use body language and voice. Even the mimics of people have changed. The first day everyone was sitting frightened. Now everyone laughs and fondly. We're going through so tense conditions that everybody needs to laugh. Everyone started to be more open to criticism.

Another change is about their attitude about theater. They claimed commonly they improved a critical overview. This overview is a challenge for popular theater. I-9 claims;

> This period, I went to a popular play that I normally do not buy tickets but I won ticket from instagram. I saw the difference very obvious. Consider them as sit-com. There is a beautiful woman, there is a comedy, there is a little love, there is a man with muscles but it is empty, when you go out, you do not remember any line or any sentence. I wouldn't go anyway, but after these trainings, I suppose I never go after realizing how important labor is in back of the stage.

I-11 claims; "I'm starting to think incredibly critical. We went to a play in the Emek Stage, after we made the evaluation of the scene, the decor, the tone of players, diction, director's approach. We've become a spectator, not a conscious audience."

I-10 claims about how her prejudice has changed;

> I wasn't interested in the kitchen watching the plays. Now my perspective has changed a lot. I also changed my prejudice when I was choosing the games I usually go to the games of well-known players. I don't do that anymore. But there is a problem with other players; some of them cannot make progress because they cannot make enough publicity. Now my prejudice about them has changed, I better understand the purpose of the decor, the sound changes in the play and the meaning of some tools used in the stage.

Participant are even they show difference in age, but not in education level. Mass of the participants has graduated from university. So, there should be some other tools to include people from different education level. Education level is also an indicator for economic conditions. All these conditionals become indicators for achieving art. I-11 claims as a teacher;

> The more people go to the theater, the higher the development in this country, the more people will learn to express them, to respect the other, the better their life will be. Therefore, it is necessary to spread more, not only the people who educated, but also need to go nor educated, should spread to different neighborhoods.

All projects need a process and also need to progress itself. Insisting on continuity is also critical since all them are long term projects. I-8 claims;

> If we could take "my neighbor theater" for another 6-7 terms, it would be about 2000-3000 spectator. Then, they also talk about the different issues and discussions, and the difficult audience to come to the fore. The audience side is important because there is no theater if there is no audience.

Beside "my neighborhood theater" there are also ticket arrangements as has mentioned before. Especially high school students have wanted to be a part spectator involvement project. However, it seems that there have made some organizations but not systemically and efficiently. Moreover, the municipality creates opportunities if there is a request and culture department arrange seat for the students in coordination with councilors. Demirtaş claims;

> The Department of Culture provided us tickets according the number of children that were taken, and even the service provided by the municipality. We have done it not only to children but also to mothers. We have the chance to get a cinema ticket, we took them to the cinema in the same way. We took young people who took study classes at the volunteer house. University students in the volunteer house at Fikirtepe prepare high school students for the university. We took them to the theater in order to motivate them every 15 days. I think we leave very good memories for the children.

Another high school activity is creating rehearsal place and support their amateur groups. However, as I-8 mentioned before there need system which work with allocation policies to improve spectator start from high schools.

5.5.3 Theater as a Social Objective

Interviewees emphasized the effect of theater to their social life with self-confidence and tolerance. What is aimed with the cultural studies in the worldwide also similar these effects that they described. There need coherent policies that any component not has potential to create overall changes but community-based attacks rush forward the society. Theater has potential to provide a basis for both player and spectator to socialize in a modern way. I-8 claims;

> Nor theater neither art cannot change the world directly. You may not be able to achieve a change in one as a result of the 6 months of training. But this is important in creating the human resource that will be the trigger of another financial size beyond the measurable financial size. I used to say that there shouldn't be bad theater, but now I have changed my idea because there is religion course in every neighborhood, society changes if only there is a theater in every neighborhood also.

Why it is important to access a theater and be spectator or what is the relation between "a coherent social objective" as terms of Harvey, and theater? All interviewees talked about a part of this achievement. Lastly, Aydoğan, describe the connective function of being around the stage;

> What I say about the effect of theater; a more comfortable and soft life, more expansion of the assumptions. We can say that people who greet each other have increased. I think this is very important and 200 people are watching something and you want to be a part of a community in here, and it is a place where you can live with someone. So, there's someone nearby you with his/her sweat, blood, breath, smell, and you sometimes even touch this someone that you don't know who is. We are building a game around the stage with our existence, and we experience it as a community, and we can develop an idea of not fearing someone who we don't know.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Large cities are the places of massive concentration of people significantly due to the impacts of migration from rural to urban areas. In the conditions of lacking adequate planning and consistent intervention of the state, the metropolises of periphery exhibit considerable contrast and contradictions. It is indeed a fact that such cities are places of diversity, cosmopolitanism and individualism; however, in a crisis-ridden environment they may turn to be places of intolerance, violence and tribal identities.

All these conflicts and contradictions become part of power struggles which in turn defines the cultural field and its components. In this study, these components are defined as communities-theaters, local government-Kadıköy Municipality, space and spectator and all these components, we claim, are related each other and transforming any of them triggers alteration in the others.

We showed that among others, strategies and interventions of the municipality in the cultural field is utmost importance with regard to the distribution of powers and positions in the cultural field in general; and the field of theaters in distinctive. Specifically, distributional policies of municipality in the field is highly critical as it activates the theaters as well as communities to take more active part to become more influential. Likewise, the strategies of theater groups to build a community rather than seeking personal contacts with the local government is another critical determinant of the transformation of the field as such a strategy provides them with collective agency in the field of representation of their interests.

Thus, these two determinants also affect the space and the spectator. The role of local government and communities in the distribution of power and changing dynamics of struggle in the field show differences within the case of the global perspectives. The reason of these differences is that the case defines and emphasizes a political transformation and the importance of policy dimension which determines the approaches of these institutions. Building new institutions or communities is part of a political program, not non-political interest group organization in this case. However, in neo-liberal or related approaches; political programs are ignored and policy makers define themselves as "not politician." So all programs, in specific problematic areas just like culture, environment, etc. have become eclectic ones which were improved by some interest or community based groups.

In this study, the approaches of components of the field have been evaluated. It is possible to think; theaters as a community, Kadıköy Municipality as a local government, space is the public space in the spatial organization of a city, spectator as an individual member of community. Hence, the same analysis could be possible for different fields with considering the special challenges according to the chosen field. The important thing here is to analyse if there is a harmony between the approaches and positions. According to case the study;

Private theaters have built a community as a social capital to act with solidarity and thus get in contact with the municipality institutionally. Their motivation was not to be a professional association. Rather, their claim was to improve both the art and the spectator by producing together. Another significant thing that defines their position is to protect their principles while negotiating with the municipality. Their relationship with the municipality is framed neither by market rules nor by the hierarchical political reasoning which leads to opportunism and populism. As a community they have some borderlines; like profession (being a private theater or making performance art), locality and place (being in Kadıköy) and participating to projects (taking responsibility). However, the borderlines are not related to political, social and feasibility differences. The community does not promise any benefits or privilege to their members as well. It is a fact that even they do not declare it, there

could be some political inclination inside the community. In the study, political reflexes are seen as important steps for the community. Since political inclination is not just related about voting a party, it is about approaches or feeling similar about a coherent social object, it could bring people together in daily life. Therefore, coherent social objectives, political inclination or however it is defined, is important for defining their position and analysing their practices or differentiate them from interest groups. Believing in art's transformative function, seeing spectator not a customer and municipality not a boss, are all related to the political approach of KTP which ultimately differentiated it from all others.

As far as recent strategies of the private theaters are concerned, we have seen that they chose Kadıköy as a prime venue more than any other district in Istanbul, partly thanks to the historical-geographical accumulation of the District as a suitable environment for such cultural practices with its secular middle class population, relatively high level of tolerance for diversity and distinctiveness, as well as for its central location and accessibility. In turn, one should admit that they contribute to the uniqueness of the District with their existence and practices.

Such a process itself within this wider socio-spatial context should be seen a political process as the emergence and development of private theaters have been made possible with the struggles and strategies of such theaters within the field of cultural production. It was why their building themselves as a community was vital as they only became a power pole with such social capital.

The case study also shows that the field in general and private theaters as a part of the field could not be understood on their own right without paying attention to the public institutions being active in the field. Kadıköy Municipality in this regard is a striking institutional force which made great deal of difference in the field.

The main issue for the local government is how to (re)distribute the sources in the field. In the field of theaters, these resources are vast including performance halls, permissions for public areas, publicity channels (billboards, social media, newspaper etc.) and also human resource dedicated to coordination of institutional relations.

Therefore, local governments have critical role for the reproduction and/or transformation of the power relations in the field. This does not mean that local government determines the all relations. However, with their recognized public authority status and resources, they provided them with considerable influence in the field.

In this context, the municipality has the critical role which could be quite determining whether the existing power relations in the field are to be re-produced or transformed in interaction with the wider power struggle in the field. Thinking municipality as a neutral facilitator would be nothing other than reproducing the existing power relations in the field. In the recent years it has been seen that Kadıköy Municipality had motivation in this field to shift the relations from personal and informal modes to institutionally regulated mode to overcome the favouritism. On the other hand, municipality also aims to establish more structured criteria going beyond personal and aesthetic concerns in the distribution of resources in the field.

The interventions of the municipality, however, went beyond the clarification of its position in the field. As discussed, the mayor's insistence on the collective representation of the private theaters vis a vis municipality, created a positive pressure on the representatives of the theaters to get more and better organized among themselves. Another insistence about the allocation policies and new approaches to theater place brings out the discussion of publicness of the theater place.

The critical thing about the space is how it is shaped and how it leads to shape. In the case study there are two options about the space of theater; one attaches importance to it and see as an integrated part of the art, the other is claim that; the art could be performed in any place and any place could be used for any purposes. However, the common point about them is the publicness of it. As it is discussed, publicness means not only in the manner of ownership but also accessibility and it also differs according to mutuality of relations. In the case study it is argued that it is possible; some halls which belong to municipality, in other words public institutions, could be used only for some specific private theaters and their spectators. Thus, what is the

difference between public hall and private ones? The difference is source of public is used for gain favour for someone. Publicness is also important as if it is thought theater itself as a source of public space.

Increasing number of theaters in some quarters of the city points to emergence of new public spaces in the District. As it is understood from the study such venues make various activities possible in the district other than theater related ones. The creation of such venues by the theaters should be seen more than emergence of new spaces of play performance and also new spectators.

In so far as spectator is concerned, it is indicated that they actas an individual in a way that her/his desires and expectations change according to what is presented to them. Spectator also changes her/his behaviour through their experiences. Whenever people achieve to obtain knowledge in order to evaluate certain issues, their view about the "good" and "bad" also alter.

Second issue about the spectator is the type of relation with the stage and the art itself. Not feeling as customer or someone who comes to entertain brings out critical thinking and feeling inside a play also give responsibility to think about different characters. It is similar to basic socializing practice that we have done in our childhood.

In the study it is asserted that the relation among these four components is intersubjective and interactions among them help to prove their positions. However, there is a power asymmetry among them and public institutions became key factor that triggering this transformation. Furthermore, there is also a uniqueness of place and its sustainability what make Kadıköy special and such uniqueness contributes to the formation of field as a distinctive entity.

The analysis has shown that in such a specific place like Kadıköy, protecting and further improving the socio-cultural diversity with the opportunities and facilities being provided to the public on fair grounds, we should be concerned with the long-term social objects of institutions and intended position of taking mechanisms in the field. We should also consider how the rules are described especially for the new

comers of the field in order to evaluate if the field is open for new improvements and how the sources are distributed and which relationships affect these distributions.

These analyses show us new avenues of creating new opportunities and public spaces by getting aware of the cultural practices as a source of formation of public space and of the city as a constellation of public spaces open to various groups. This requires us to start new discussions about the meaning and means of living together in an environment where local authorities and communities interact with each other to form such progressive public space and spheres.

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APPENDICES

A: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Interviewee	Institution/ profession	Position
Aykurt Nuhoğlu	Kadıköy Municipality	Mayor
Onur Temurlenk	Kadıköy Municipality	Deputy mayor
3-Ümit Demirtaş	Kadıköy Municipality	City councilor
I-1	Kadıköy Municipality	Senior official
I-2	Kadıköy Municipality	Culture center manager
I-3	Kadıköy Municipality	Cultural center employee
I-4	Kadıköy Municipality	Culture department employee
I-5	Kadıköy Municipality	Organization desk employee
I-6	Kadıköy Municipality	Culture center consultant
I-7	Kadir Has University	Art board member of the municipality

I-8	Okan University	Art board member of the municipality
Zeynep Ayman		Mukhtar of Caferağa Neighborhood
Nevzat Süs	Alt kat Sanat Tiyatrosu	Founder/Actor
Esin Aslan	Pat Atölye	Performance artist
Kemal Aydoğan	Moda Sahne	Founder/Director
Damla Özen Kılıçoğlu	Karma Drama	Founder/Artist
Togay Kılıçoğlu	Karma Drama	Founder/Actor
Tunç Tatoğlu	Nazım Hikmet Kültür Merkezi	Founder/Coordinator
Enis Fosforoğlu	Sahnesiz	Used to be founder/Actor for 40 years
I-9	Engineer (50 years old)	Spectator
I-10	Lawyer (28 years old)	Spectator
I-11	Retired senior trainer	Spectator

	(60 years old)	
İlke Barka	Bingöl-Barka Architect and Consulting	Architect
Özgür Bingöl	Bingöl-Barka Architect and Consulting/ Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University	Architect/Academician
Özlem Ece	İstanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts	Director

B: SAMPLE OUESTIONARE OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES

Seçilmiş belediye yöneticilerine yöne sorular;

1- Kısaca kendinizi tanıtabilir misiniz?

2- Düzenli olarak takip ettiğiniz kültür sanat etkinlikleri, sanatın özellikle ilgilendiğiniz bir alanı var mı?

3- CHP'li belediyelerin kültür sanat politikalarına diğer partiler belediyelerine göre daha fazla yatırım yaptığı hatta diğer hizmetlerinden daha çok bu etkinliklerle gündeme geldikleri gibi bir algı var bu konudaki sizin düşünceniz ne?

4- Kültür sanat etkinlikleri belediyelerin temel olarak yapması gereken hizmetler midir yoksa tamamlayıcı hizmetler olarak mı görüyorsunuz?

5- Seçilmeden önce Kadıköy Belediyesi'nin kültür sanat etkinliklerini takip ediyor muydunuz? Belediyenin kültür sanat politikaları konusundaki genel kanınız nasıldı?

6- Seçilmeden önce bu alanda yapmayı düşündüğünüz, kurguladığınız, aklınızda olan projeler var mıydı?

7- Seçildikten sonra belediyenin kültür sanat etkinliklerinin çalışmaları konusunda nasıl bir işleyişle karşılaştınız. Sizin olumlu bularak devam ettirdiğiniz ya da olumsuz bularak değiştirdiğiniz yapılar neler oldu?

8- Kadıköy belediyesinin şu anda bir kültür sanat politikası olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Bu politika ve bu politikayı oluşturmaya dönük çalışmalar, kimlerle ne şekilde oluşturuldu?

9- Kurumsal yapı içersinde kültür politikalarının oluşturulması sürecinde; belediye yönetiminin, kültür müdürlüğünün, akademisyenlerin, meclis kültür sanat komisyonunun, sanatçıların yerlerini nasıl konumlandırıyorsunuz?

10- Kültür merkezlerinin çalışma programları nasıl belirleniyor, bu konseptlerin belirlenmesi genel bir politikanın sonucu olarak mı gerçekleşti, bu

merkezlerin birim sorumlularının ve müdürlüğün programların belirlenmesindeki rolü nedir?

11- Tiyatrocular ile sağlanan iş birliğini nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz, bu ilişki nasıl gelişti ve neden sanatın diğer alanları ile bu düzeyde gelişemedi?

12- Salon tahsisleri konusunda anlaşmazlık yaşadığınız durumlar oluyor mu? Oyuncular arasında "ünlü" olanların kendi etkileşim kanallarını belediye ile ilgili süreçlerde de kullandığını düşünüyor musunuz?

13- Bu kadar çok kamuoyu tarafından takip edilen sanatçının yaşadığı bir ilçede yöneticilik yapmanın zorlukları var mı?

14- En büyük ölçekli yatırımlarınızdan biri "Kadıköy tiyatro" müstakil bir tiyatro binasının yapımına başladınız. Bu tiyatronun özelliklerinde ve böyle bir sahne yapma fikrinin nasıl geliştiğinden bahsedebilir misiniz?

15- Tiyatrocuların sahnenin projesi sürecine katılımı oldu mu? Size bu proje ile ilgili olarak geri dönüşleri nasıl oldu?

16- Sizin için tiyatro ne ifade ediyor, kentin hayatına ve insan hayatına neler kattığını düşünüyorsunuz?

17- Size göre "kültür ve sanata yatırım yapmak" nedir? Devletin ve genel olarak kamu kuruluşlarının bu alanda yaptığı çalışmaları nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Kadıköy'de yürütülen çalışmaları genel olarak kamuda yürütülen diğer çalışmalardan ayıran noktalar var mıdır, varsa nedir?

18- Size göre toplumun ortak değerleri ile kültür sanatın ilişkisi nedir? Birbirinin sebebi olarak mı sonucu olarak mı gelişir?

Çalışanlar ve idari sorumlulara yönelik sorular:

1- Kendinizden kısaca bahsedebilir misiniz?

2- Kaç senedir Kadıköy Belediyesinde çalıştığınızdan ve hangi görevlerde bulunduğunuzdan bahsedebilir misiniz?

3- Bu görevleri yürütmeye başladığınızdan beri gerçekleşen kurumsal değişimler neler oldu? Değişmesi gerektiğini düşündüğünüz ancak değişmeyen işleyişler var mı, varsa neler?

4- Kadıköy belediyesinin şu anda bir kültür sanat politikası olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Bu politika ve bu politikayı oluşturmaya dönük çalışmalar, kimlerle ne şekilde oluşturuldu?

5- Kurumsal yapı içersinde kültür politikalarının oluşturulması sürecinde; belediye yönetiminin, kültür müdürlüğünün, akademisyenlerin, meclis kültür sanat komisyonunun, sanatçıların yerlerini nasıl konumlandırıyorsunuz?

6- İKSV, DOB, Devlet Tiyatroları, konsolosluklar ile nasıl ilişkiler geliştiriyorsunuz?

7- Kültür merkezlerinin çalışma programları nasıl belirleniyor, bu konseptlerin belirlenmesi genel bir politikanın sonucu olarak mı gerçekleşti, bu merkezlerin birim sorumlularının ve müdürlüğün programların belirlenmesindeki rolü nedir?

8- Tiyatrocular ile sağlanan iş birliğini nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz, bu ilişki nasıl gelişti ve neden sanatın diğer alanları ile bu düzeyde gelişemedi?

9- Kadıköy Tiyatrolar Platformu'nu nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz? Belediye ile ilişkilerini nasıl bir kurumsal ilişki ile sağlıyorlar, düzenli toplantılar mı alınıyor, kimler katılıyor?

10- Bu ilişkide belediye ile platform ve sizin gözlemlediğiniz kadarıyla platform üyelerinin kendi aralarında yaşadığı en temel problem ne oluyor? Hangi konular daha kolay çözüm bulunan noktalar oluyor?

11- Salon tahsislerinde nasıl bir sistem uyguluyorsunuz, geçmişten bu güne farkı ne ve ne gibi zorluklarla karşılaşıyorsunuz?

12- Belediye ile birlikte gerçekleştirilen projeler neler? Bu projelerin size nasıl dönüşleri oldu?

13- Kadıköy'de kaç özel tiyatro bulunuyor, bu sayıdaki artışta belediyenin politikalarının etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

14- Kaç tiyatro platformun üyesi, üye olmayan ya da ayrılanların gerekçeleri neler?

15- Tiyatroları kendi çalışma sisteminizde nasıl kategorilere ayırıyorsunuz?

16- Şu anda yapılmakta olan "Kadıköy tiyatro" binasının fikrinin ve projesinin nasıl ortaya çıktığından bahsedebilir misiniz?

17- Tiyatrocuların sahnenin projesi sürecine katılımı oldu mu? Size bu proje ile ilgili olarak geri dönüşleri nasıl oldu?

18- Sizin için tiyatro ne ifade ediyor, kentin hayatına ve insan hayatına neler kattığını düşünüyorsunuz?

19- Devletin ve genel olarak kamu kuruluşlarının bu alanda yaptığı çalışmaları nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Kadıköy'de yürütülen çalışmaları genel olarak kamuda yürütülen diğer çalışmalardan ayıran noktalar var mıdır, varsa nedir?

20- Kültür sanat alanlarının tamamen yerel yönetimlere devredilmesi gibi gündemde olan bir konu var bu konu hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

C: SAMPLE OUESTIONARE OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH THEATER GROUPS

1- Kendinizden ve ekibinizin yapısından bahsedebilir misiniz? Nasıl bir araya geldiniz ve ne kadar zamandır beraber çalışıyorsunuz?

2- Kendi sahneniz var mı?

3- Neden Kadıköy'ü tercih ettiniz?

4- Bağımsız olarak tiyatro yürütmenin temel zorlukları neler?

5- Tiyatronun kent yaşamına etkilerinin neler olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz ya da kent yaşamının tiyatroya etkileri neler?

6- Tiyatronun sizler arasında kurduğu bir topluluk var bir de seyirci bir topluluk oluşturuyor. Tiyatronun insanların arasındaki ilişkiye nasıl etkileri olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

7- İzleyici profilinizi nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Sizin sahnelerinize gelen ile belediye salonları kullanıldığı takdirde gelen izleyici arasında bir profil farkı var mı?

8- Belediye ile ilişkileriniz geçmişten bu yana nasıl gelişti, kurumsal ilişkilerinizi nasıl kuruyorsunuz? 2014 yılından sonra bir değişim oldu mu?

9- Kadıköy Belediyesi'nin bir kültür sanat politikası olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

10- Salon tahsisleri konusundaki politikalar hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

11- Kamu kurumlarının izlemesi gereken kültür sanat politikası sizce nasıl olmalı? Kadıköy'ü ayrıştırdığınız bir nokta var mı?

12- Geçtiğimiz günlerde ülkenin yeni sisteminde kültür sanat kurumlarının tamamının yerel yönetimlere devri yapılacağına dair bazı söylemler duyuldu? Bu durumu nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

13- Kadıköy Belediyesi tarafından şu anda inşaatı devam eden Kadıköy Tiyatrosu konusunda bilginiz var mı, proje sürecinde görüşlerinize başvuruldu mu?

Kadıköy Tiyatrolar Platformu üyelerine yönelik sorular;

1- Platformun kurulma sürecinden ve gerekçelerinden bahsedebilir misiniz?

2- Kadıköy belediyesi ile platformun kurumsal ilişkisi nasıl kuruldu?

3- Kadıköy Tiyatrolar Platformunun başka ilçelerde ya da dünya üzerinde örnekleri var mı?

4- Diğer ilçelerde bulunan tiyatroların bu platforma benzer çalışmalar yürütmek gibi talepleri oluyor mu?

5- Platformun gerçekleştirdiği projelerden bahsedebilir misiniz?

6- Belediyenin bu projelerde aldığı rolü nasıl görüyorsunuz?

7- Platforma üye kaç tiyatro var zaman içerisinde bu sayılarda değişim (artma ya da azalma) oldu mu?

8- Platformdan ayrılan tiyatroların gerekçeleri neler oldu?

9- Platformda yürütülen çalışmaların izleyici de ve genel olarak Kadıköylülerde bir yansımasını gördünüz mü?

10- Platform tiyatroların rekabet etmesi yerine paylaşımda bulunması ve dayanışması için bir araç olarak görünüyor bu deneyimin oyuncuların kişisel olarak hayatlarında nasıl değişimler yarattı?

11- Platformun geleceğe dönük projeleri neler?

12- Kadıköy belediyesinde yaşanacak olan yönetim değişiminin kurulmuş olan ilişkilerde bir değişim yaratacağını düşünüyor musunuz?

D: SAMPLE OUESTIONARE OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH SPECTATORS AND DIFFERENT ACTORS

Seyircilere sorulan sorular;

1- Kendinizi tanıtır mısınız?

2- Benim Komşum Tiyatro programından nasıl haberdar oldunuz?

3- Programı nasıl tarif ediyorsunuz?

4- Program sizin hayatınızda neler değiştirdi?

5- Tiyatro izlerken programdan sonra farklı olarak gözünüze neler çarpıyor?

6- İzleyici olarak tercihleriniz değişti mi?

7- Diğer mahalleli katılımcılar ile ilişkiniz devam ediyor mu, birlikte oyun izliyor musunuz?

Kültür ve sanat politikaları alanında çalışanlara yönelik sorular;

1- Türkiye'de merkezi yönetimin ve yerel yönetimin kültür sanat alanına yaklaşımını nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

2- Yerel yönetimlerin bu alanla ilişkilerinin nasıl kurulması gerektiğini düşünüyorsunuz?

3- Alandaki temel sıkıntılar sizce neler?

4- Kadıköy Belediyesinin bir kültür sanat politikası olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Varsa bu politikanın temel unsurları neler?

5- Kültür ve sanat alanında yürütülen çalışmalara erişimin adil bir dağılımı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz bu adil dağılımın alt yapısı nasıl sağlanabilir?

Mimarlarla yapılan görüşmede sorulan sorular;

1- Kaç senedir Kadıköy'de çalışıyorsunuz, Kadıköy'ü tercih etme sebepleriniz neler?

2- Kadıköy Tiyatro projesi ile nasıl ilişkilendiniz?

3- Projenin ihtiyaç programı nasıl oluşturuldu?

4- Tiyatrocuların sürece katılımının projeye yansımaları neler oldu?

5- Belediyenin projenin hazırlanması sürecindeki rolü ne oldu?

6- Türkiye'de kamu binalarını genel olarak nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz, Kadıköy Tiyatro'yu bu yapılar içinde nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

E: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Tezde, İstanbul'un Kadıköy ilçesinin, bir kültürel üretim alanı olarak nasıl şekillendiği, bu alanda var olan aktörlerin birbiri ile ilişkisinin ve güç dağılımının nasıl geliştiği analiz edilerek ele alınmıştır. Bu ilişkinin ve güç dağılımının temel belirleyicisi olan yerel yönetimin alandaki konumunu ve yaklaşımını değiştirmesi ile diğer aktörlerdeki dönüşümü tetiklemesi ve yeni aktörlere alan açması ile karşılıklı olarak gelişen ilişkilerin üretim alanını nasıl dönüştürdüğü derinlemesine görüşmelere dayanan alan çalışması ile incelenmiştir. Alan çalışmasında, Kadıköy Belediyesi ile Kadıköy'de bulunan özel tiyatrolar ve bu tiyatroların örgütlendiği Kadıköy Tiyatrolar Platformu, izleyiciler ve kent mekanının etkileşimi, birbiri üzerindeki belirleyiciliği ve dönüştürücü gücü ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu çabanın, kültür politikaları ve kent ilişkisini ele alan çalışmalarda; kurumlara, topluluklara, kişilere ve mekana yüklenen sorumlulukların analizine yardımcı olacağı düşünülmekte ve tarif edilen alanlar dışında yeni alanlar kurgulama konusunda ilham verici olması hedeflenmektedir.

Çalışmada, "kültürel üretim alanı" Bourdieu'nun kavramsal çerçevesi kullanılarak tarif edilmiştir. Bu çerçeveye göre "alan" kendi kuralları ve ilişkilenme şekilleri olan bir evrendir ve bu evren kendi iç dinamikleri değişmeden kendini sürekli olarak üretir. Bu iç dinamikler de kolay değişemez çünkü alanın var olan güç dağılımı mevcut dinamikleri koruma eğiliminde olur, alana yeni güç dengeleri sokmak dirençle karşılanır. Alanın temel belirleyicileri kendine özgü süreçlerle gelişmektedir ancak bugün için özellikle kültürel çalışmalarda, küresel ölçekte çalışan politika üretim araçlarının, yerel dinamiklerde belirleyici olma çabası görünür olduğu için, alanın iç dinamikleri analiz edilmeden önce küresel araçlar; kurumlar ve terminoloji ile ilgili genel bir çerçeve çizilmiştir. Bu genel çerçeve içeresinde kültür politikaları ve kentler arasındaki ilişkilerin nasıl ele alındığı, bu ilişkilere yüklenen anlamlar ve eleştirel bakış açıları aktarılmıştır. Alanı tanımlarken yardımcı olabilecek kavramlar, kültür planlaması ile sanat planlaması arasındaki farklar, bu planlamaların ekonomi ile ilişkisi ve yaratıcı sınıf ile kentlerin toleransının ilişkisi ikinci bölümde

tanımlanmıştır. Bu tanımlar ile birlikte yayınlanan küresel raporlar, bu raporlardaki kentlerin yeri, yerel yönetim ve topluluklara yüklenen misyonlar; mevcut ekonomik sistemin nasıl bir kültürel üretim alanı tarif ettiği ve alanın dinamiklerini nasıl belirlediğinin bir örneği olarak sunulmuştur. Burada üzerinde durulan konu "kültür" daha önce anladığımız gibi bir yüksek sanat ile ilişkisiyle değil, artan göç ve kentleşme ile birlikte sosyal uyumun ve bir arada yaşamın formülleri içinde daha fazla gündeme gelmeye başlayan bir kavram olmuştur. Kentler de bu anlamıyla "kültür"ün yeniden üretilme alanları haline geldiği için kültür politikaları kentsel politikalara entegre edilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Bu noktada kentsel topluluklara önem atfedilmekle birlikte bu toplulukların kendi içine kapalı olmadan nasıl etkileşim kuracakları tarif edilmemekte, yerel yönetimlere de neoliberal politikaların uzantısı olarak politika belirleyicilikten uzak duran, alan açan ve kolaylaştırıcılık görevi üstlenen kurum pozisyonu verilmektedir. Bu tarife yönelik eleştiriler; sosyal uyumu ve içermeyi bir ihtiyaç haline getiren mevcut sistemin, bu sisteme yönelik eleştiri getirmeyen çalışmalar ile yeniden üretildiği, kültürel politikalar adı altında yapılan projelerin mevcut sistemdeki eşitsizlikleri daha da derinleştirdiği yönündedir.

Tez; yerel yönetimlerin alandaki pozisyonunun basitçe bir "kolaylaştırıcılık" ile tasvir edilemeyeceği, yaptığı ve yapmadığı tüm tercihlerle beraber alandaki güç dağılımını belirlediğini iddia etmektedir. Bu güç dağılımının nasıl belirlendiği de kentsel toplulukların oluşması ve beklentilerinin anlaşılması anlamında önemlidir. Tezde, yerel yöneticilerin tiyatro grupları ile tek tek iletişim kurmak istemeyerek örgütlü olarak gelmelerini talep etmeleri, tiyatro gruplarının kişisel talepler yerine ortak talepler üzerinde bir araya gelen bir topluluk oluşturmalarının ortamını yaratmıştır. Kişisel talepler yerine örgütlülüğü önemseyen bir tavrın gruplarda genel olarak benimsenmesi ve yerel yönetimle karşılıklı güven ortamının gelişerek kurumsal iletişimi sağlayacak mekanizmaların kurulması ile ilçede hem seyirciyi hem mekanı dönüştüren ve onların dönüşümünden etkilenmeye başlayan bir alan yaratılmıştır. Bu sebeple tez, kültür politikaları ve kentlerin ilişkilerinin tasvirinde ortaya çıkan aktörlerin sorumluluklarına, yaptırım güçlerine ve sürdürülebilir kıldıkları alana dair kendi çıkarımlarını aktarmadan önce bu alana dair farklı yaklaşımları ele almıştır.

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Teorik kısmın ikinci bölümünde, alanın iç dinamiklerinin kurgulanmasında etkin olabileceği düşünülen tartışmalar yapılmıştır. Bu tartışmalardan ilki sanatın kendi doğasına içkin bir tartışma olan popülarite meselesidir. Sennett'in siyasetin ürettiği "star sistemini" aktarırken kullandığı piyanist örneğinin, kültürel üretimin herhangi farklı bir alanına da uygulanabileceği düşüncesinden yola çıkarak, tiyatro alanını incelerken de akılda tutulmasının faydalı olacağı düşünülmüştür. Örneğe bakarsak; bir piyanistin, kısıtlı sayıdaki salonlarda performans sergileyebilmesi için popüler olması gerekir, bu salonlarda yer bulamadıkça da popüler olması mümkün değildir. Bu kısır döngünün bir sebebi alandaki yetenekleri keşfedecek ve bunu topluma aktaracak, tanıtacak mekanizmalar olmaması, yeterli sahne bulunmaması iken bir sebebi de izleyicinin performans ile kurduğu ilişkinin keşif amacı ve emeği içermek yerine halihazırda keşfedilmişten faydalanmak şeklinde olmasıdır. Tezde bu tartışma kamuya ait salonların kullandırılmasında popüler olanla alana yeni giren arasında nasıl bir denge tutturulması gerekliliği tartışmasına denk gelmektedir. Bu tartışma sırasında aslında popüler olanın da kamu imkanlarının adil olmayan kullanımı ile popüler olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır. Popüler olanın baskısı bir taraftan halkın ondan yana tavır alması ile güçlenirken bir taraftan da siyasetçiyi kendi popülerliğinden faydalandırma vaadi ile karşılıklı kazanmaya teşvik etmektedir. Çalışmada ortaya çıkan duruma göre; bir belediye başkanı kamuoyu gücü olmayan yeni tiyatro gruplarını güçlendirmek için salonlarda yer verdiği zaman, salonların daimi kullanıcısı olan popüler isimleri kızdırıp küstürdüğünde aslında siyasi bir riski de beraberinde almaktadır. Bunun sebebi popüler isimlerin kendi popülaritesini kullanarak yaptıkları bir karalama kampanyası sosyal medyada hızlıca yayılarak bir belediyeyi sanata düşman ilan edebilmesidir. Görüşmecilerden birinin ifade ettiği üzere "kendini sanat sanan" sanatçıların var olması, tüm dünyaya hakim olan popülizmin siyasiler ile sanatçıların arasındaki ilişkileri faydalanmacı bir zemine taşıması, seyirciyi seçici kılacak ve sanat politikalarını geliştirecek yatırımların azlığı, Sennett'in bahsettiği star sistemini alanın iç dinamiklerini belirleyen bir unsur haline getirmiştir.

Tiyatro, seyircisi ile var olan bir sanat dalı olduğu için, seyirci ile ilişki tiyatro alanın belirlenmesinde kritik rol oynamaktadır. Star sistemini var eden temel unsurlardan

birinin, starları talep eden izleyici olduğunu belirtmiştik. Burada izleyici mi bu talebi oluşturuyor yoksa karşılaşma imkanı bulduğu oyunlar mı onun beğeni ölçütlerini oluşturuyor çelişkisi gündeme gelmektedir. Rousseau'nun tiyatro ve izleyici arasındaki ilişkide, izleyiciyi pasif ve manipüle edilen tarafta görmesi ve onun bu eleştirisine karşı geliştirilen argümanlarla tiyatronun kamusallığının sorgulanması, çalışmadaki izleyici geliştirme programları ve izleyicinin talebinde gerçekleşen değişimleri anlamlandırmak açısından önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Kadıköy Belediyesi'nin salonların tahsis ve ücretlendirilmesi ile birlikte ele aldığı seyirci geliştirme projesi ve KTP iş birliği ile yürütülen "benim komşum tiyatro" projesi alan araştırması kısmında projenin farklı tarafları ile birlikte değerlendirilmiştir. Bu değerlendirme tiyatronun yaygınlaştırılması ve izleyici önündeki seçeneklerin arttırılarak beğeninin geliştirilmesi ile sanatın gelişmesi arasındaki ilişki açısından önemli görülmüştür.

Alan çalışmasının aktarımından önce tezin temel öğesi olan Kadıköy İlçesi; sosyal, fiziksel ve ekonomik verileri ile ele alınmıştır. Bu veriler, Kadıköy'ün sosyal ve kültürel hayatını daha ilgi çekici yapan, Kadıköy'ü yaşamak ve sosyalleşmek için tercih edilir kılan unsurların alt yapısını ve göstergelerini oluşturan veriler olarak incelenmiş, bölgesel ve fonksiyonel yoğunlaşmalara, tarihi dokunun bugünkü yerleşime etkisine ve kültür sanat alanında yapılan yatırımlara odaklanılmıştır. Bu yatırımlar, bir taraftan Kadıköy'de sayı olarak artan sanat atölyeleri, özel tiyatrolar, galeriler gibi kişisel girişimler iken bir taraftan da Kadıköy Belediyesi tarafından açılan kurumlar olarak, mekansal dağılımları ve fonksiyonları ile birlikte tanımlanmıştır. Merkezi hükümet ve İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye'si tarafından, tezin odaklandığı tarih aralığında bölgede hizmete açılmış kültür alanında yeni bir yatırım olmadığı için ayrı bir başlık açılmamıştır. Belediyenin 2014 sonrası açılan yeni kurumlarında, özel mülklerin belediye tarafından satın alınması ve restore edilmesi ile spesifik fonksiyonlar verilmesi ve bu yatırımların finansmanının ticari bir merkezin içinde kurgulanarak değil kendi işleyişi içinde kurgulanmış olmasına dikkat çekilmiştir.

Alan çalışmasına odaklanan 6. Bölümde, öncelikle Türkiye'de merkezi yönetim ile yerel yönetim arasında özellikle kültür sanat alanında nasıl bir ilişki olduğu konusuna odaklanmış bu ilişkinin net olarak tarif edilmemesinin kimi zaman hizmet tekrarlarına kimi zaman hizmet yoksunluğuna sebep olduğu vurgulanmıştır. Merkezi politikaların özel tiyatrolara destek mekanizmasının, belirli bir gösterim sayısı üzerinden maddi yardım olmasının da özellikle kendi sahnesi bulunmayan tiyatrolar için makul bir destek olmadığı ve tiyatro grupları içerisinde rekabetçi bir tutuma yol açtığı, yapılan görüşmelerde tespit edilmiştir. Maddi yardıma karar veren kurul içerisinde Tiyatro Yapımcıları Derneği temsilcilerinin olması ve kendi alacakları yardıma da karar veriyor durumda olmaları, gruplar arasındaki dayanışma ilişkilerini bozan ve husumet geliştiren bir etmen olarak sunulmuştur. Maddi yardım ile sınırlı bir ilişki, devlet kurumları ile özel tiyatroların nasıl ilişki kurmaması gerekliliği konusunda da bir örnek oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmada, Kadıköy Belediyesi ile tiyatro grupları arasındaki ilişkinin temelinde bu ilişkinin doğrudan maddi menfaatler üzerinden sağlanmamasının önemi vurgulanmaktadır.

Alan çalışması, Bourdieu'nun tarif ettiği anlamda "alanın" dört temel bileşeninin, alandaki pozisyon alma şekilleri, güç paylaşımları, birbirleri ile etkileşimleri ve alanın yeni dahil olanlarla birlikte dönüşümünü aktarmaktadır. Tüm bu tartışmaları kesen bir boyut olarak kamusal alanın farklı şekillerde yeniden üretilmesi konusu çalışmanın her adımında kendisini göstermektedir.

İlk olarak tiyatroların alandaki pozisyonu ele alınmış, tiyatroya yaklaşımları, yerel yönetim ile ilişkileri nasıl tarif ettikleri aktarılmıştır. Görüşülen tiyatro gruplarının kişi sayıları ve mekan kapasiteleri birbirlerinden farklıdır. Yaklaşımları, genel olarak tiyatroya toplumu değiştirme yönünde büyük anlamlar yüklemenin doğru olmadığı ancak tiyatronun, diğer sanat dallarından farklı olarak toplumu birebir yansıtan ve onunla ilişkiye geçen bir alan olduğu için doğası gereği toplumsal dönüşümlerin bir parçası olduğu yönündedir. Bir diğer ortak yaklaşım tiyatronun daha fazla izleyici ile buluşması ve sanatsal anlamda gelişmesinin desteklenmesi gerekliliğidir. Tiyatro gruplarının bu yaklaşımının yerel yönetim ile ilişkinin örgütlü olarak kurulması ve

kurulan ilişkinin sanatın gelişmesi adına kullanılması talebinin karşılık bulmasında etkili olduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

Kadıköy'de tiyatroların örgütlü olarak hareket etmeleri ve dayanışma gerçekleştirmeleri adına kurulan KTP'nin kuruluş sürecinde farklı beklentilerin bir araya geldiği ancak zamanla daha kişisel menfaat bekleyenlerin süreçten koptuğu, görüşmelerde iletilmiştir. Kurulum sürecinde belediye ilk çağrıcılığı yaptıktan sonra yönlendirme yapmak yerine daha izleyici durumda olmayı tercih etmiş zaman içerisinde kurumsal olarak ilişkiye girilen bir taraf haline gelmiştir. KTP için bir diğer aşama birlikte proje üretmek ve uygulamak olmuştur. Bu projelerin uygulanması sırasında fikir ayrılıkları ve kopmalar yaşansa da platformu bir arada tutan ve motive eden şeyin daha fazla birlikte bir şeyler üretmek olduğu dile getirilmiştir. Bu üretimin aynı zamanda tiyatronun yaygınlaşması ve izleyicinin gelişmesine hitap ediyor olmasının, dolaylı olarak tiyatroların da izleyici sayısını arttıracağı düşünülmektedir. Platformun yaşadığı bir diğer handikap tiyatro alanında gerçekleşen siyasi müdahalelere verilen reflekslerdir. Bu reflekslerde genel bir uzlaşı olduğu görülmekle birlikte her ne kadar kentsel bir topluluk, kendini herhangi bir siyasi yapıyla tarif etmese de bu durumun, günlük hayatta, mesleki alanlara müdahalelere verilen ya da verilmeyen refleksin de özünde siyasi olduğu gerçeğini değiştirmediğini söyleyebiliriz. Bu reflekslerin kendisi aynı zamanda bu alana dair bir politika oluşturmakta, bunun örgütlü olması da daha fazla ses getirmesini sağlamaktadır.

Platform; tiyatroların dayanışmasını sağlayarak daha iyi işler ortaya çıkarmalarını, bu iyi işlerin daha çeşitli olmasını ve daha fazla sergilenebilmesini, yeni grupların eklenmesini ve yerel yönetimlerle ilişkinin ücretsiz gösterimler için oyun satarak maddi kazanç sağlamanın ötesine taşınarak ilçede ortak bir sanat politikasının tartışılmasını sağlamıştır. Yaratılan bu dönüşüm, tiyatro alanında sanatından çok ismi ile var olan oyuncularda rahatsızlık yaratmış, onlar platformu tanımayan bir tavır ile yollarına devam etmişlerdir.

İkinci olarak, yerel yönetimin aldığı konum tarif edilmiştir. Kadıköy Belediyesi incelenirken 2014 ve 2019 yılları arasında belediye başkanlığını yürüten Aykurt

Nuhoğlu ve yönetim kadrosu ele alınmaktadır. Ancak görüşmelerde belediye personeli içeresinden önceki dönemlerde görev almış olanlarla da görüşülerek dönüşüm gerçekleştirilen alanlar değerlendirilmiştir. KTP'nin pozisyonu tarif edilirken bir anlamda belediyenin de pozisyonu tanımlanmıştır denebilir çünkü belediyenin süreçte gösterdiği en önemli tavrın tek tek gelen tiyatro gruplarını birlikte gelme konusunda motive etmesi sonrasında da platform ile kurumsal ilişki kuracak mekanizmalar geliştirerek siyasi baskılara rağmen herhangi bir tiyatrocuya özel bir mertebe kazandırmamasıdır. Bu noktada siyasi baskıdan kasıt, Türkiye'nin kutuplaşmış siyasi atmosferinin sanatçılar arasında da iktidara yakın olan ve olmayan olarak ayrışma yaratması, iktidara yakın olmayanların da CHP'li belediyeler tarafından desteklenmesi gerekliliği konusunda sanatın kendi doğasına uygun olmayan beklentiler yaratılmasıdır. Bu kutuplaşma ve popülizm atmosferinde sanatı siyasi manevraların bir aracı haline getirmekten kaçınmanın başlı başına siyasi bir duruş olduğu söylenebilir. Tezde de yerel yönetimin pozisyonu tasvir edilirken bu duruşun altı çizilmektedir.

Kadıköy Belediyesi ile ilgili yapılan görüşmelerde öncelikle yönetimin tiyatroya ve sanat alanına yaklaşımı, yerel yönetim ve sanat ilişkisini nasıl değerlendirdikleri tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Aykurt Nuhoğlu'nun siyasilerin sanata doğrudan müdahil olmasını doğru bulmadığını ve belediyeye ait alanlarda gösterilmesi için seçilecek oyunlara karar vermek istemediğini belirtmesi ve pratikte de bu düşüncesi ile paralel bir uygulama sergilemesi hem belediyenin pozisyonunu hem de alanın nasıl yeniden şekillenmeye başladığını anlamak açısından kritiktir. Kendisinin karar verici durumda olmak istememesinin arkasından kültür müdürlüğünün kurumsallaşması, sanat kurulu oluşması ve tiyatrocularla ortak toplantılar düzenlenerek, kurumsal muhataplığa önem verilmesi alandaki güç dengelerini değiştirmiştir.

Organizasyon yapısında yapılan değişiklikler yanında salon tahsis ve ücretlendirme stratejisinde yeni kurumsal yapıdaki yetki dağılımına göre değişiklikler yapılması ve bu strateji ile birlikte daha fazla insanın daha uygun fiyata daha fazla oyun izlemesini amaçlayan bir izleyici geliştirme programı hazırlanması izleyici ve oyun çeşitliliğini

arttırmıştır. Görüşmelerde özellikle üzerinde durulan değişim; bazı salonlar, belirli sayıda tiyatrocu ile özdeşleşmiş hatta onların kendi sahnesi gibi kullanılırken kimsenin ayrıcalıklı bir kullanımı ya da önceliği bulunmadığı, estetik kaygılar ile değil duyurulan nesnel kriterlerle bu dağılımın gerçekleştirilmesi olmuştur.

Kadıköy Belediyesi'nin yaklaşımı ile ilgili ön plana çıkarılan temel unsurlar; tiyatro festivali ve birkaç belirli bir anlamı olan gün dışında oyun satın almadığı ancak altyapı anlamında destek verdiği yönünde olmuştur. Hatta tiyatrocular için önemli olan kara kutu sahne sisteminin Türkiye'deki en önemli örneğini, tiyatrocular ile birlikte tasarlatarak projelendirmesi ve bu yatırımın gerçekleşmesi, tiyatronun gelişimi anlamında çok önemli görülmektedir.

Kurumun pozisyonu aktarılırken, adil dağılım ne demektir ne kadar gerçekleştirilebilmiştir, kamunun görevi imkan tanımak mıdır yoksa izleyiciyi en iyi ile karşılaştırmak mıdır, yerel yönetimler ne kadar kültürel organizasyon yapmalı bu onun görevi mi, bir salonda her faaliyet gerçekleşebilir mi yoksa fonksiyonlar bir kültürün yaratılması için özelleştirilmeli mi, gibi pek çok çelişki farklı tarafların düşüncelerinin aktarılması ile tartıştırılmıştır.

Alandaki yeri tartıştırılan üçüncü başlık "mekan"dır. Mekan konusu, öncelikle Kadıköy'ün kendisinin bir kent mekanı olarak nasıl algılandığı aktarılarak tartışmaya açılmıştır. Bu tartışma içeresinde kimileri için Kadıköy'ün toleransı ön plana çıkarken yani hayat tarzına saygı, özgür hissetme gibi duygular ağır basarken kimisi için artan kalabalıkla birlikte kent, yaşam alanı olmaktan çıkmaktadır. Kadıköy'de genişleyen kültür sanat hayatı ile artan kalabalık karşılıklı olarak beslenirken, kalabalığın tümünün ilçenin kültürel hayatı sonucunda var olduğunu söyleyemeyiz. Yeme içme mekanlarının artması, sahil kullanımının kolaylığı, kamusal alanda alkol tüketimi ile ilgili olarak İstanbul'un diğer ilçelerine göre daha az tepki olması, Kadıköy'ü sosyalleşmek için tercih edilir bir nokta haline getirmektedir. Florida'nın vurguladığı gibi mekanın toleransı ile artan yaratıcılık arasında karşılıklı bir ilişki olduğu gözlenmekte ancak ortak yaşama dair prensiplerin oluşmaması halinde toleransı yaratan farklılıkların zamanla ortadan kaybolmasının ve benzeyenlerin

kaldığı ya da terk ettiği mekanların Kadıköy'de de oluşması tehdidi, varlığını sürdürmektedir.

Mekan konusunun ikinci boyutu, tiyatronun hayata geçtiği mekanın özellikleri ve potansiyeli ile ilgilidir. Tezde görüşme yapılan özel tiyatroların kendi mekanlarının performans zamanları dışında da kullanıldığı, sosyalleşme imkanı sağlayacak etkinliklere ev sahipliği yaptığı fark edilmiştir. Mülkiyet açısından özel olsa da tiyatro yapılan mekanın, kamusal alan yarattığı, bulunduğu sokakta, mahallede insanların bir araya gelebileceği bir yer sağladığı görüşmelerde ortaya çıkmıştır. Burada tiyatro mekanının kendi içerisinde değişiminin de etkisi vardır. Geleneksel anlamda İtalyan sahneler oyun saatleri dışında kapıları kapalı alanlar iken butik sahneler ve kara kutu sistemler esnek olarak örgütlenmekte, oyuncu ile izleyici arasındaki mesafeyi yakınlaştırmaktadır. Bu yakınlaşma hem fiziksel olarak arada bir duvarın bulunmaması hem de oyun saatleri dışında da izleyicinin mekanda oyuncu ile vakit geçirebileceği, söyleşi yapabileceği etkinliklerin performanslarla birlikte tasarlanmasından kaynaklanmaktadır.

Tiyatrodan beklentinin değişmesi mekanı, mekanın değişmesi oyun metinlerini karşılıklı olarak etkilemiştir. Kadıköy Belediyesi'nin yapımı süren sahnesi, bu değişen ihtiyaçlara cevap vermeyi amaçlamış, kurum tasarım sürecinde tiyatronun değişen dinamiklerinin yansımasını önemsemiştir. Mimarlarının ifade ettiği üzere Kadıköy Tiyatro'nun sahnesine bir oyuncu her iki katta, 360 derecelik alanda oyuna dahil olabilmekte ve oyundan çıkabilmektedir. Bu da metin yazarlarına ve yönetmenlere oyunların dramaturgisinde yeni bir ufuk açmaktadır.

Tiyatronun mekana etkisinin bir boyutu da performansların mekanla sınırlı kalmak gibi bir zorunluluğunun olmaması, kentin sokaklarının, meydanlarının gerekirse sahneye dönüşebilmesidir. Bir taraftan kamusal hayat, metinlerin temel konusu iken bir taraftan bu metinler aracılığı ile çeşitlenen kamusal hayat izleyicinin karşısına çıkarılmaktadır. Görüşülen yönetmenlerden biri insanların sokakta LGBTİ bir bireyle karşılaştığı zaman verdiği tepkinin yıkıcı olduğu durumlar olurken bununla öncelikle sahnede karşılaşmasının, bu konuda geliştireceği tolerans için önemli olduğunu ifade etmiştir.

Son olarak tezde, izleyici; bir taraftan Rousseau'nun kaygılarında olduğu gibi izlediği ile şekillenen bir taraftan da önüne çıkan seçenekler ve erişimi arttırıldığında sanatsal kaygıları gündeme getirerek oyuna müdahale eden bir konumdadır. Erişimin arttırılması ve tiyatronun arka planı aktarılarak eleştirel bakış açısını geliştirmek, izleyicinin oyun ile etkileşimini arttırmaktadır. İzleyici bölümünde, öncelikle görüşmelerde üzerinde durulan, tiyatro izlemenin kendi ritüelinden bahsedilmiştir. İzleyiciden izleyiciye aktarılan ve performansın bir parçası, daha doğrusu uygulanmadığı zaman performansı olumsuz etkileyen bu ritüelin sabit kurallardan çok kendi içinde gelişim sağlayan bir kültür olarak ele alınması daha anlamlı olacaktır. Bu ritüelden kasıt, oyun sırasında bir şey yememekten, konuşmamaya, salona girip çıkmama gerekliliğine kadar bir takım fiziksel zorunluluklar getirirken bir taraftan da izleyicinin tepkisini göstermesinin bir yolu yordamı olarak tarif edilebilir. Ritüelin kendi içerisindeki gelişime örnek olarak, görüşmeler içerisinde eskiden izleyicinin beğense de beğenmese de oyunu alkışlamak gibi bir alışkanlığı var iken bugün beğenmediği oyunu alkışlamamanın normal bir tavır olarak ortaya koyulduğu iletilmiştir.

Çalışmada görüşülen seyirciler, "benim komşum tiyatro" izleyici geliştirme projesine katılarak tiyatron tarihinden, ışık-ses kurgusuna kadar arka planı hakkında bilgi sahibi olan kişilerden seçilmiştir. Amaçlanan da onların bu programdan sonra hem kişisel hayatlarında hem de tiyatro ile ilişkilerinde nasıl değişimler olduğunu diğer değişimler ile birlikte ele almaktır. Sonuç olarak, kişisel olarak özgüvenlerinin arttığını ve ilişkilerinde daha iyi diyaloglar kurduklarını aktardılar. Tiyatro ile olan ilişkilerinde de oyun seçimlerinde ve beğenilerinde geçmişe oranla daha seçici olmaya başladıklarını, yeni keşfettikleri sahnelerle birlikte tiyatroya gitme alışkanlıklarının değiştiklerinden bahsetmişlerdir.

Tezde, seyirci ve oyun arasındaki iletişim aynı zamanda tiyatroya sosyal ve politik anlamda yüklenen misyonlar açısından da kritik bulunmaktadır. Seyircinin politik bir kurum olan yerel yönetim ile kurduğu bağlantının, ücretsiz oyun izlemenin ötesine geçmesi ve seyirciye belli oyunların sunulması yerine seçicilik kazandırmanın

hedeflenmesi hem tiyatronun hem de sosyal bir amaç olarak eleştirel bakış açısının kazandırılması açısından önemli bulunmuştur.

Sonuç olarak, literatürde kültürel üretim ve kentlerin ilişkisi anlamında yapılan tartışmaların ve Kadıköy ilçesinin sosyal ve mekansal verilerinin sunularak genel bir çerçeve çizilmesinin ardından, ilçede bulunan özel tiyatrolar, yerel yönetim, mekan ve izleyici, Bourdieu'nun perspektifi ile kültürel üretim alanının özneleri olarak ele alınmıştır. Her bir öznenin dönüştürücü gücü üzerinde durulurken, yerel yönetimin konumu, kendi yetkilerini kullanma şekli ve oluşturduğu kurumlar bu dönüşüme ivme veren pozisyon olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu ivmenin alana yansımasında ise özel tiyatroların örgütlü hareket etmek yönünde gösterdikleri irade ve belirledikleri ilkeler önemlidir. Yerel yönetimin tavrı ve özel tiyatroların örgütlülüğü; alanda izleyici ve mekanla girilen ilişkinin yeniden tariflenmesine sebep olmuştur. Ayrı ayrı alanlarda yaşanan dönüşümlerin birbirini tetiklediği bu alan çalışmasının, özel tiyatrolar dışında, başka kentsel topluluklar ile benzer bir metodoloji ile ele alınabileceği düşünülmektedir. Bu şekilde ele alınan alanlar ile birlikte, kültürel politika üretiminde kentlerden beklentilerin ve yapılacak olan analizlerin daha gerçekçi ve çok boyutlu bir zemine oturmasına katkı verileceğine inanılmaktadır. Gerçekçi analizler yolu ile hem sanat hem de siyaset, kentsel politikalar ile birlikte gelişme imkanına kavuşacaktır.

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