Gedikpaşa: A Neighborhood Shaped by the Footwear Market

Rabia Irmak Tanış

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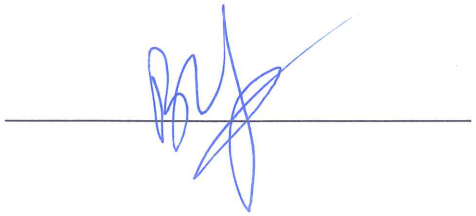
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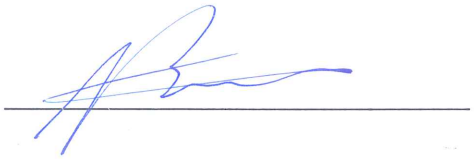


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Abstract

Gedikpaşa: A Neighborhood Shaped by the Footwear Market

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Associate Professor Berna Yazıcı, Thesis Advisor

This thesis focuses on a space of economic production, trade and labor. It examines Gedikpaşa, a neighborhood in the city of Istanbul's historical peninsula and its informal footwear market, which consists of small-scale and labor intensive shoe manufacturers, wholesalers of shoes and leather and material suppliers. The study builds on a field research and twenty-four in-depth interviews conducted with a range of economic actors in Gedikpaşa's informal market. The study draws on the literature on informal markets by highlighting the significance of social networks and trust relationships in the constitution of the market. It also seeks to contribute to urban studies on Istanbul by bringing a space of economic activity rather than residential areas to the center of analysis.

The thesis argues that Gedikpaşa's footwear market and economic actors have been transformed by the unpredictable, changing socio-economic conditions and macro political dynamics since the market's emergence in the 1960s. This thesis seeks to demonstrate, to survive against these changing conditions and dynamics economic actors have generated defense mechanisms allowed by the flexibility of informality. In doing so, they have ensured the continuation of the Gedikpaşa footwear market until today.

36,500 words

Özet

Gedikpaşa: Ayakkabı Piyasasının Şekillendirdiği Bir Mahalle

Rabia Irmak Tanış, Yüksek Lisans Adayı, 2019
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

Doçent Berna Yazıcı, Tez Danışmanı

Bu tez, bir ekonomik üretim, ticaret ve emek mekanına odaklanmaktadır. İstanbul'un tarihi yarımadasında bir mahalle olan Gedikpaşa'yı ve onun küçük ölçekli ve emek yoğun ayakkabı üreticilerinden, ayakkabı ve deri toptancılarından ve malzeme tedarikçilerinden oluşan kayıt dışı ayakkabı piyasasını inceler. Çalışma, saha araştırması ve Gedikpaşa'nın kayıt dışı piyasasından bir dizi ekonomik aktörle yapılan derinlemesine yirmi dört mülakata dayanmaktadır. Çalışma, sosyal ağların ve güven ilişkilerin piyasanın oluşumundaki önemini vurgulayarak kayıt dışı piyasalara ilişkin literatürden yararlanmaktadır. Konut alanlarından ziyade bir ekonomik faaliyet alanını analiz merkezine getirerek İstanbul üzerine yapılan kent çalışmalarına da katkıda bulunmayı hedeflemektedir.

Tez, Gedikpaşa'nın ayakkabı piyasasının ve ekonomik aktörlerinin, 1960'larda piyasanın oluşmasından bu yana öngörülemeyen, değişen sosyo-ekonomik durumlara ve makro politik dinamikler tarafından dönüştüğünü ileri sürüyor. Bu tez, değişen bu koşullar ve dinamikler karşısında hayatta kalmak için ekonomik aktörlerin kayıt dışılığın esnekliği tarafından sağlanan savunma mekanizmaları ürettiğini ve Gedikpaşa ayakkabı pazarının günümüze kadar devam etmesini sağladığını göstermeye çalışmaktadır.

36.500 kelime

To the memory of my father…

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANAP	Motherland Party
AKP	Justice and Development Party
İBB	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality
ILO	International Labour Organization
İOIZ	İkitelli Organized Industrial Zone
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

1

Introduction

> *An Amca[1] told me 'whenever Allah creates people without feet, Gedikpaşa ends; but,' he continued, 'as long as people have feet, it will be everlasting.'*
>
> – İsmet, Interviewee

This thesis focuses on a space of economic production, trade and labor. It examines Gedikpaşa, a neighborhood in the city of Istanbul's historical peninsula and its informal footwear market, which consists of small-scale and labor intensive shoe manufacturers, wholesalers of shoes and leather and material suppliers. It argues that Gedikpaşa's footwear market has been transformed by the unpredictable, changing socio-economic conditions and macro political dynamics since the market's emergence in the 1960s. As this thesis seeks to demonstrate, to survive against these conditions and dynamics economic actors have generated defense mechanisms allowed by the flexibility of informality. In doing so, they have ensured the continuation of the Gedikpaşa footwear market until today.

The study builds on a field research that I undertook in Gedikpaşa between November 2017 and 2018. During this one-year period, I conducted twenty-

1 Amca means in English is uncle. However, in Turkish this world is used also for unrelated older men.

four in-depth and semi-structured formal interviews with a range of individuals who have or had an economic life in Gedikpaşa. The analysis offered in the thesis draws on the literature on the informal economy, utilizing the importance it gives to social networks and trust relationships in understanding the constitution and working of informal economies. Furthermore, by focusing on a space of economic production, trade and labor such as Gedikpaşa, this study aims to contribute to urban studies on Istanbul which in recent years tended to take the examination of residential areas to the forefront.

In this respect, it is important to examine a place such as Gedikpaşa which has sustained its footwear market since the 1960s. Positioned as an historical district today, it reflects the characteristic of traditional manufacturing and trade relations with its informal market, thus stands as an important example to be examined. With these economic characteristics, Gedikpaşa deserves analytical attention, particularly in the current period when Istanbul was deindustrialized and economic production shifted from the central business areas to the districts in the periphery of the city. In addition, it is significant to analyze a historical neighborhood and its market at a time when urban renewal projects have increased in Istanbul's other historical districts. As has been widely acknowledged in urban studies that focus on Istanbul, the city has been witnessing a great spatial transformation especially since the 2000s. The silhouette of the city changes day to day with urban transformation or renewal projects, gentrification, mega-projects and demolishment of old neighborhoods. The majority of urban studies that focus on Istanbul's recent transformation focused on the transformation in residential areas. The urban spaces which are shaped spatially and socially by economic activities, have on the other hand, have remained in the background of analysis.

§ 1.1 Gedikpaşa: An Overview

Gedikpaşa's spatial structure started to transform from that of a residential area to a space of economic production and business area with the establishment of the shoe market at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s. For many years after its emergence, the Gedikpaşa footwear market and its

footwear production, met a significant portion of the domestic market's footwear demand. Today, however, the footwear production has spread to many other cities in Turkey. Thus, the production capacity of the Gedikpaşa market is much lower than in the past. Small and middle scale shoe manufacturing can subsist here with workplaces which are 20-30 square meters on average. However, it is important that Gedikpaşa is still seen as a center of the footwear sector. Even if some manufacturers have moved from Gedikpaşa to other districts in Istanbul or other cities, many of them maintain a showroom in Gedikpaşa. There is a daily service from the organized industrial zone in İkitelli to Gedikpaşa. Gedikpaşa is thus still perceived an important center of footwear market by many, including customers from the former Soviet Republics, Middle East countries and domestic market. In addition to this, production of many brands that have extensive branch network in terms of retail sales, started in the Gedikpaşa footwear market; such as the Ziylan Group, which includes shoe brands Flo, Polaris and Kinetix, Hotiç, İnci, Elle, Gezer and Jump. Moreover, several brands such as Bambi and Ayakkabı Dünyası make contract manufacturing in Gedikpaşa.

Gedikpaşa is not an official neighborhood which is bordered. It is an area located at the borders of Fatih Municipality which includes the Mimar Hayrettin Neighborhood and a part of Emin Sinan neighborhood. The neighborhoods of Küçük Ayasofya, Kadırga, Şahsuvar, Muhsine Hatun, Nişanca, Mimar Kemalettin and Beyazıt are the neighbor of Gedikpaşa. While the street of Yeniçeriler lies in the north of the Gedikpaşa, the neighborhoods Kumkapı and Kadırga are located at the south edge. Gedikpaşa is just a 3-minute walk from Grand Bazaar and a 7-minute walk from Sultanahmet Square. In other words, it is very close the touristic areas of the historical peninsula. Gedikpaşa is shaped by steep slopes on the north-south axis and by straight streets on the west east direction. While Gedikpaşa was a part of Eminönü Municipality, in 2008 Eminönü Municipality was abolished and connected to the Fatih municipality. Today, the number of inhabitant in this district is quite low. When the population census results are examined, the address-based population registration system demonstrates that the population of Mimar

Hayrettin neighborhood which is a part of Gedikpaşa is only 902 and in 2018.[2] In fact, today several neighborhoods which are in the borders of old Eminönü municipality, in other words historical peninsula share a similar transformation with Gedikpaşa, which were formerly residential areas, however now they are formed by economic activities. The population census data illustrates this situation at a period when the population of Istanbul increased between 1950 and 2000, while population census results was 123,056 in 1950, it decreased to 55,635 in 2000.[3]

Today, many districts in historical peninsula such as Laleli, Mahmutpaşa, Mercan, Nuruosmaniye, Sultanhamam, Tahtakele, Tavukpazarı are shaped by different economic activities which include different informalities. In some of these districts, as in the Gedikpaşa case, there are concentrations in the sale and manufacture of certain products. For instance, the silver shops are mostly concentrated in Tavukpazarı and fabric shops in Sultanhamam and jewelery in Nuruosmaniye. However, Gedikpaşa differs from these neighborhoods since the retail sales here are very scarce while the production and sale of footwear and supplies are made largely to wholesale. In addition, Gedikpaşa footwear market has spread to a larger area compared to other districts. In this regard, Laleli district is similar to Gedikpaşa since it used to be a residential area and with the shuttle trade it started to hosts clothing shops in which sales are made largely to wholesale customer as in Gedikpaşa.

2 Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Sistemi Sonuçları, accessed June 25, https://biruni.tuik.gov.tr/medas/

3 İbrahim Gökburun, "İstanbul'da Nüfusun Gelişimi ve İlçelere Dağılımı," *Journal of Anatolian Cultural Research* 3, no. 2 (2017: 113.



Map 1.1 Gedikpaşa in historical peninsula: Since Gedikpaşa is not an official neighborhood, this map is prepared according to spread of footwear market in this district.

Daily life of this district is also shaped by this sector or its visitors who have a trade relation with these economic actors. When one crosses the main street of Yeniçeriler to one of the streets of Gedikpaşa, one will see porters who carry cargo, boxes of shoes in front of almost every building, along plaster and machines noises. There are sometimes even boxes in front of the headman's (*Muhtar* office. [4] Thus, the whole space is marked by the footwear market and its informality.

4 During the field research, every time I went to Gedikpaşa, I tried to contact with headman to conduct an interview, thus I visited headman office. However, during office hours the headman was closed during except once and he had a job. He gave me his number for calling him later. However, I could not reach him since he gave me an invalid number.



Figure 1.1 Headman office of Mimar Hayrettin Neighborhood and shoe boxes.

Firstly, this thesis will outline the emergence, development and transformation of the Gedikpaşa footwear market from its emergence in the late 1950s until the present. It will examine the dynamics of this market defined by informality, labor-intensive production and wholesale trade, small and medium-sized enterprises. It will illustrate how a spatiality has been formed by a

market and its economic activities in tandem with macro socio-economic and political dynamics.

Gedikpaşa's footwear market emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The narratives of Gedikpaşa's economic actors analyzed in the thesis provide data on the historical formation of the market which is unmentioned in the written sources on Gedikpaşa. These narratives reveal that the departures of non-Muslims, who were former residents of the neighborhood, as a result of the policies of the nation-state, played a fundamental role in of Gedikpaşa's transformation from a residential area to the center of footwear production and trade. In addition, the rural to urban migration that took place at the time contributed to the formation of the market by providing the workforce for footwear production.

In the 1970s, the Gedikpaşa market produced for the domestic market. Indeed, until the 1990s, Gedikpaşa footwear market met a large part of the footwear demand in the whole of Turkey. In its history, the 1990s stand out as the heyday of the Gedikpaşa footwear market as underlined by the economic actors interviewed for this study. The main reason for this situation is that with the dissolution of Soviet Union there was an expansion of shuttle trade. The shuttle trade changed the customer base from the domestic market to the foreign market and economic actors in Gedikpaşa encountered a new customer group from former Soviet countries. Just as the 1970s was the heyday of Gedikpaşa for domestic market, the 1990s is very important with the rise of foreign market's demand. Moreover, this period was defined by most of the interviewees as the market's most productive period in all times since with the shuttle trade, demand for footwear production and wholesale increased.

Apart from the shuttle trade, the evacuation efforts of the municipality of Eminönü in the 1990s also affected the footwear market and caused numerous manufacturers to move from Gedikpaşa. In addition, the financial crisis in Russia (1998 and Turkey (2001 affected negatively the footwear market in this period.

Nevertheless, by the first half of the 2000s, the market recovered itself by according the effects of the economic crises and creating defense mechanisms against the consequences of evacuation efforts in the 1990s. However, the Gedikpaşa footwear market came face to face with a new evacuation effort

with an urban renewal project announced in 2010. Similar to what other historical districts in Istanbul faced in this period, the Municipality of Fatih tried to evacuate manufacturers in Gedikpaşa. At the end of the day, this project has not been realized. However, with the announcement of this renewal project, Gedikpaşa has started to be influenced by tourism and tourism investors.

Apart from these economic crises and evacuation efforts, the foreign policy crises and internal political crises in the mid-2010s negatively affected the footwear market. Furthermore, the deterioration of the financial situation of Turkey and the fluctuations in the exchange rate in recent years, has also penetrated the Gedikpaşa footwear market.

In sum, since its emergence, the Gedikpaşa footwear market and its economic actors have been shaped by unpredictable conditions and macro dynamics. In the meantime, the Gedikpaşa footwear market has generated defense mechanisms allowed by the flexibility of informality to survive until today.

As the last chapter will demonstrate, informality in Gedikpaşa occurs in different ways as a defense mechanism to ensure their sustainability by economic actors facing unpredictable conditions. In line with what is underscored in the literature on the informal economy, trust relationships emerge as a significant feature of this informal market as a protection mechanism, in other words as a defense mechanism. As Gedikpaşa footwear market includes different types of informality, trust relationship as a mechanism also occurs in different forms such as doing business together for a long time, recommendation of a new customer, testing the customer etc. It must also be mentioned that trust has been described by many interviewees as a phenomenon that no longer exists as it did in the past. However, trust is still significant for the Gedikpaşa footwear market, but it depends on the financial situation of the economic actors. While economic actors with good financial standing may choose not to engage with trust relationships, those who lack the means enter into trust relationships with their customers out of necessity.

Another main feature of the Gedikpaşa footwear market is the importance of the social networks also in line with what is underscored in the literature on the informal economy. In Gedikpaşa, these social networks take the form

of *Hemşehrilik*[5], kinship, and acquaintanceship. Gedikpaşa footwear market has witnessed the concentration of people from certain cities. Certain occupations in the market have been shaped by these concentrations. The thesis also illustrates that footwear manufacturing and footwear market in Gedikpaşa include different sub-branches which requires different expertise. The field work of this thesis has showed that division of labor/specialization has been shaped by master, journeyman and apprentice relationship which is a hierarchical form of craftsmanship process. I have asserted that this particular form of specialization has been different from what it used to be since economic actors cannot find new employees as apprentices and it is possible to open shops directly with economic capital regardless of their skills. In addition, the thesis touches upon the property changing hands in Gedikpaşa which is an indicator of capital accumulation. The properties owners, which consist of old non-Muslim inhabitants, economic actors in Gedikpaşa have started to change since investors who have not got an economic relation with market have recently purchased properties.

§ 1.2 Methodology

The data which is used in this thesis is based on a field research which took place between November 2017 and 2018. During this one-year period, twenty-four in-depth and semi-structured formal interviews were conducted with a range of individuals who have or had an economic life in Gedikpaşa. Twenty of these interviews were conducted with economic actors who are working in the footwear sector. For instance, seven of these twenty interviewees are footwear wholesalers, six of them are footwear manufacturers, one of them is an *Odabaşı*[6] who also owns a courier company, three of them are leather wholesalers one of which is also an *Odabaşı*, one tea seller in a *Han* who used to work as shoe manufacturer, one shoe material wholesaler and one *Han* owner who used to be a shoe manufacturer and wholesaler. Appendix B provides

5 Fellow-townsmenship

6 *Odabaşı/Odabaşılık* is a profession The term of *Odabaşı* can be translated into English as concierge. However, I think concierge does not fully cover the meaning of the *Odabaşı*. Hence, I use *Odabaşı* throughout this thesis.

more detailed information on the interviewees and their relationship with the Gedikpaşa footwear market.

The other four interviews were conducted with a grocery *(Bakkal* , two financial consultants and church officer who is looking after the tenants in the real estate of an Armenian church in Gedikpaşa. The purpose of these four interviews was to talk to people who could look at the footwear market from outside. In addition, I thought that conducting interviews with financial consultants would contribute to the understanding of informal mechanisms.

Due to the limited scope of a master thesis, I could conduct interviews only with employers, and not the employees. I used snowball sampling method to reach informants. While the oldest interviewee is 82 years old, the youngest is 23 years old. All interviewers are men; except Leman, a leather wholesaler and Ayşe, a financial consultant.

Instead of informants' names, I used pseudonyms to ensure anonymity. I must state here that these twenty-four interviews include sometimes more than one person's narrative since sometimes individual interviews turned into group interviews. In other words, for instance, the narratives of interviewees' guests also occur in these interviews.[7]

During the field research, all interviews took place in the workplace of interviewees, except two. One of these two was with Bekir, conducted at his brother's work place as his was not suitable for an interview due to noise of

7 Apart from these, one of my interview included two main informants who are partner in financial advisor office. For this interview I use Hüseyin and Levent as pseudonyms. At the beginning of the interviews, I informed the interviewees that their identity would be anonym in this thesis. Before starting the interviewees, I asked to their permission for voice recorder. Twenty of twenty-four interviewees allowed for recording. I took notes in the other four interviews. Apart from this, even though I had recorded twenty interviews, I also took notes after these interviews. The shortest interview was with Deniz, which lasted 35 minutes since when we started to interview, the father-in-law of his child who was with us during the interview, felt asleep. In addition to that, Deniz had work to do and I was so tired. It was very distracting to me that the person next to me was sleeping. At this moment, I thought that this interview might get worse in this way. I thought that the best solution in this situation was to finish the interview properly. For this reason, this interview took thirty-five minutes. We promised each other to interview in another day and we conduct new interview. The length of the other interviews ranged from one to two hours.

the machinery. The other one was with Mehmet, conducted in a tea shop (*Çay ocağı* of another informant. This situation provided me the opportunity to observe daily life in Gedikpaşa, including the routines such as the footwear manufacturing process, their cooking and eating practices, relationships with customers and the other economic actors.

Studying an informal economy brings challenges in terms of gaining access to people for carrying out interviews. For this reason, from the very beginning I did not think that I could do this fieldwork without some key persons, in other words without gatekeepers.[8] In this regard, my own life story helped me to gain access to the field. As a matter of fact, I know this neighborhood since I was a child because my father had worked as an *Odabaşı* in Gedikpaşa for forty years. Not only my father, but also almost all of his male relatives, including my uncle and my cousins had an economic relation with Gedikpaşa. Since the 1950s, they had all come to Istanbul from an Alevi Kurdish village, Hüsükuşağı in Pütürge, Malatya for working in Gedikpaşa.

On the other hand, Gedikpaşa was a place where female children were not included. For this reason, as a grown up woman, Gedikpaşa was rather a place where I just heard about when I was child, not a place I could be involved in the past. When I set out to do a field research, my origin and my father's past made it convenient for me to enter the field and I could be included in Gedikpaşa for the purposes of this thesis. At this point, I have to mention that I did not have any acquaintance with interviewees in my personal life before the field research.

At the beginning, in other words during the decision making process of this thesis, I planned a small research about Gedikpaşa as a preliminary study. Therefore, I prepared one of my course's term paper about an unrealized renewal project in Gedikpaşa. For this term paper, I conducted four interviews with economic actors in Gedikpaşa. During these interviews, I informed these interviewees that I was thinking of writing a master thesis about Gedikpaşa. Later, for my thesis fieldwork I conducted new interviews with these four informants. My first informant in this term paper's research is from my father's

8 Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007, 58.

village. I reached him by family member's acquaintanceship. He is an *Odabaşı* and a wholesaler of leather at the same Han. He is called by pseudonym Halil in master thesis field work. Through Halil, I met Ayhan. He was born in Istanbul but his father is from my father's village, too. He is an *Odabaşı* and small shareholder in the one of the biggest *Han*s in Gedikpaşa. Moreover, he has a courier company that sends products from Gedikpaşa to buyers. At first, Ayhan had a suspicion about me but when he learned my origin and my father, his attitude changed. He said to me "why didn't you say that you are the daughter of Mehmet *Amca* at first place?"

Ayhan arranged me an interview with the major shareholder of his Han, my third interviewee, called Gökhan in this thesis. Apart from these contacts, I found a Facebook group named Artisans' Association of Gedikpaşa, Beyazıt and Surroundings[9]. I communicated with president of this association, Bekir who is a shoe manufacturer. When I tried to contact him via Facebook, I recognized that he is also from my father's village. He did not know about my origin before the interview. After he learned, his attitude changed too. In this context, this term paper's fieldwork as a preliminary research provided an access point to this master thesis fieldwork. In addition to these, I have to mention that two informants from the preliminary research, Ayhan and Bekir, became the main gatekeepers of this thesis.

In November 2018, I started the fieldwork. During the research design process, one of the points that I had planned was reaching to a historical narrative from interviews as there was a lack of historical background of the establishment of footwear market in Gedikpaşa in the written resources. In this context, I decided to conduct interviews with *Odabaşı*s, tea sellers and shoe manufacturers. These actors have a past in the footwear market. Thus, I thought that these people could give me the historical background of the shoe market's establishment. Moreover, I thought that *Odabaşı*s and tea sellers could provide a broad perspective on Gedikpaşa since they can encounter everyone in their *Han*.

However, after the first interviews, I changed my research strategy and decided to interview people from different professions in order to vary sampling

9 "Gedikpaşa ve Beyazıt Çevresi Esnafları Derneği" in Turkish.

and understand different perspectives. Later, during the fieldwork, I realized that this was the right decision because considerable number of interviewees, who are not a *Odabaşı* or a tea seller, stated that they are not content with these professions, *Odabaşı*s and tea sellers, as they believe both get unearned gains thanks to the system in *Hans* that require shop owners to give 10% of their rent to the *Odabaşı*. They also complained about the obligation of buying all the tea and even water consumed in the workplace from the tea seller in the Han where they are tenants.

As I already mentioned my father's name became a key for me to enter the field and to establish a rapport with interviewees from my father's village. However, at the same time, I realized that it was something that made it difficult with the interviewees from other cities. Because, just as the people from the same village, town, city may sympathize to each other; those who are not from that place may also dislike the other party. Moreover, I realized that my father's profession might affect my building of rapport negatively since, as I noted above, many informants disliked *Odabaşı*s. In this regard, I did not say my father's profession at the beginning of interviews. Instead I just said that my father used to work in Gedikpaşa.

§ *1.3* Literature Review

This thesis engages and aims to contribute to two strands of academic literature: Urban studies, particularly those recent works that focus on Istanbul and the scholarship on informal economies. The discussion below provides a brief overview of selected studies within those literatures, pointing those most relevant for this study. Also, academic studies on Gedikpaşa will be introduced and this thesis' contribution to the body of work that exists on Gedikpaşa will be emphasized.

1.3.1 *Urban Studies*

In the 1960s, there was a shift in the dominant paradigm of the urban studies since scholars began to interpret urban from a perspective that criticized the capitalist system. This new paradigm was named as urban political economy

in urban studies.[10] By the 1970s, urban studies were affected by neo-Marxists researchers. The studies of Henri Lefebvre, Manuel Castells and David Harvey greatly influenced the studies conducted in this period. In his studies[11], Henri Lefebvre took the production of to the center of analysis. He argued that while dominant group have always produced a particular space in history, capitalism produces space itself on a worldwide scale for ensuring its survival.[12] In this period, Manuel Castells examined the relationship between social movements and the urban in his book.[13] In his book, *Social Justice and the City*[14], Harvey correlated the relationship between spatial and social processes. In his later works, he examined spatial elements and capital accumulation processes. Harvey argues that the production, reproduction and reconfiguration of space are closely related to the capitalism's political economy. Because capitalism is in a loop, even if it has to destroy, it always tries to create a geographical landscape and it builds a new one for capital accumulation's continuity.[15] These studies which underline the intricate link between capitalism and production of space are relevant for this thesis which focuses on Gedikpaşa as a space of economic production, trade and labor.

By the 1980s and the early 1990s, the terms of globalization and the global city became key terms for urban studies which focused on the effects of finance and specialized service industries in the urban context.[16] In addition, various categories such as post-Fordism, deindustrialization, internationalization, urban entrepreneurialism, and gentrification were included by scholars

10 Tahire Erman, "Kent Çalışmalarının Geçmişi ve Bugünü: Hakim Paradigmalar ve Yeni Sorunsallar," *İDEALKENT*, no. 1 (2010: 35.

11 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

12 Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, 155.

13 Manuel Castells, *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979.

14 David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.

15 David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, 101.

16 For further information, see Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, 1991.

for describing and theorizing the ongoing urban transformation.[17] In the 2000s, as Theodore and Brenner state along with these concepts, the concept of neoliberalism started to be used in urban studies as a key concept to understand urban spatial change.[18]

Within urban studies on Turkey, the phenomenon of *Gecekondu*[19] occupied an important place in early studies. *Gecekondu*s are informal settlements that have emerged in parallel with the rural urban migration since the 1950s.[20] In this period, studies focused on the definition of *Gecekondu*, the population structure of its inhabitants, family typologies, urbanization and underdevelopment, integration of the population to the city, the relationship between industry and labor.[21]

By the 1990s, there was a shift of focus in studies on *Gecekondu*.[22] In line with the larger theoretical trend in urban studies, studies on Istanbul shifted from the concept of the industrial city to that of the global city.[23] Political and economic developments in Turkey are also closely related this shift.[24] In the

17 Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, "Neoliberalism and the Urban Condition," *City* 9, no. 1 (April 21, 2005: 101, doi:10.1080/13604810500092106.

18 Ibid.; For a more comprehensive analysis of the concept of neoliberalism, see Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, "Cities and the Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism,'" *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (June 2002: 349–79, doi:10.1111/1467-8330.00246; Berna Yazıcı, "Güncel Sosyal Bilim Analizinin Sihirli Anahtarı: 'Neoliberalizm'?," *Toplum ve Bilim* 128 (2013: 7–31.

19 Shanty house in Turkish.

20 Tahire Erman, "Gecekondu Çalışmalarında'Öteki'Olarak Gecekondulu Kurguları," *European Journal of Turkish Studies. Social Sciences on Contemporary Turkey*, no. 1 (2004, https://journals.openedition.org/ejts/85 .

21 Ayşen Şatıroğlu, "TÜRKİYE'DE KENT ARAŞTIRMALARININ DEĞİŞİMİ," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyoloji Dergisi* 3, no. 22 (2011: 348–51.

22 For futher information about the research in this period, see Sema Erder, *İstanbul'a Bir Kent Kondu: Umraniye* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1996; Sema Erder, *Kentsel Gerilim: Enformel Ilişki Ağları Alan Araştırması* (Ankara: Umag, 1997; Oğuz Işık and M. Melih Pınarcıoğlu, *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk: Gecekondulaşma ve Kent Yoksulları: Sultanbeyli Örneği* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2001; Gülten Kazgan, *Kuştepe Araştırması - 1999* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1999.

23 In this point, it is necessaire to remark that since this thesis examines Gedikpaşa in Istanbul, this part mention more on the studies about Istanbul.

24 In January 1980, Turkish government implemented liberal policies to restructure the economy. Eight months later, a military coup took place in the 12 September and until 1983 the

1980s, Anavatan Partisi (ANAP, or Motherland Party focused on metropolitan centers, especially Istanbul as a showcase of the era of the internationalism[25] when international banks opened branch offices in Istanbul. In addition to the international banks, trading companies and deluxe hotels opened in Istanbul as well.[26] During Bedrettin Dalan's eight years mayoralty, wholesale fresh produce market, large numbers of small manufacturers and the vicinity hosting shops of hardware/ industrial spare were evacuated from the districts located at the coast of Golden Horn.[27] The massive revitalization plan of Taksim[28] was also realized in this period with an aim of the transforming the city of Istanbul into a global one.[29]

According to Çağlar Keyder, in this period, the employment opportunities witnessed a shift from manufacturing to services, from the works which requires brawn to cultural capital, from local to global.[30] In this period, parallel the other global cities, Istanbul started to witness gated communities, globalized lifestyles, shopping malls, gentrified neighborhoods.[31] However, accord-

military administration ruled the country. With the election in the 1983, the center-right alliance of the Motherland Party started to govern the Turkey. This political atmosphere enabled the implementation of the liberal economic policies.

25 Çağlar Keyder and Ayşe Öncü, *Istanbul and the Concept of World Cities* (İstanbul: Friedrich Ebert Vakfı, 1993, 21.

26 Ibid., 26–28.

27 Ibid., 29.

28 This project included pedestrianization of Istiklal street and the opening of new Tarlabaşı Boulevard with the demolition of many historical buildings and relocation of many people.

29 Ayfer Bartu, "Rethinking Heritage Politics in A Global Context: A View From Istanbul," in *Hybrid Urbanism: On The Identity Discourse and The Built Environment*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad (Westport: Praeger, 2001, 134–36.

30 Çağlar Keyder, "A Brief History of Modern Istanbul," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey 4*, ed. Reşat Kasaba (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 517.

31 Ibid., 516–17.

ing to Asu Aksoy, the global city vision of Istanbul was not fully realized during the 1980s and the 1990s.[32] Çağlar Keyder describes this period as an informal globalization.[33]

After the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP, or Justice and Development Party [34] coming power, the aim of Istanbul's globalization gained a formal character since the state itself enabled this process with neoliberal policies.[35] In line with these changes, urban studies on Istanbul also began to utilize the concept of neoliberalism to explain Istanbul's transformation.[36]

Neoliberalism has been closely related to the policies implemented by AKP during its first period. Asu Aksoy states that in this period AKP government's main objective was improving Istanbul's global competitiveness and economic growth by implementing neoliberal policies. In doing so, there was a shift from the developmental state to globalist one.[37] As Yalçıntan et al mention that overaccumulation penetrates global cities under neoliberalism. In this regard, reproduction of Istanbul was realized with urban investments for capital accumulation and economic growth of the state. In this sense, urban investment emerged as the easiest and cheapest way to ensure economic growth and the construction industry provided a locomotive.[38]

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32 Asu Aksoy, "İstanbul'un Neoliberalizmle İmtihanı," in *Yeni İstanbul Çalışmaları: Sınırlar, Mücadeleler*, ed. Ayfer Bartu Candan and Cenk Özbay (İstanbul: Metis, 2014, 30.

33 Çağlar Keyder, "Arka Plan," in *İstanbul Küresel Ile Yerel Arasında*, ed. Çağlar Keyder (İstanbul: Metis, 2013, 31–34.

34 In 2002, Akp won the general elecations and came to power without the support of a coalition partner.

35 Aksoy, "İstanbul'un Neoliberalizmle İmtihanı," 30.

36 Fırat Genç states that the urban political economy approach and the notion of neoliberalism have come to forefront in urban studies even if research agendas and methods are different, the notion of neoliberalism follows the urban political economy approach in urban studies since the mid-2000s. See Fırat Genç, "Kent Çalışmaları ve Antropoloji," in *Kültür Denen Şey: Antropolojik Yaklaşımlar*, ed. Ayfer Bartu Candan and Cenk Özbay (İstanbul: Metis, 2018, 118.

37 Aksoy, "İstanbul'un Neoliberalizmle İmtihanı," 37.

38 Murat Cemal Yalçıntan et al., "İstanbul Dönüşüm Coğrafyası," in *Yeni İstanbul Çalışmaları: Sınırlar, Mücadeleler, Açılımlar*, ed. Ayfer Bartu Candan and Cenk Özbay (İstanbul: Metis, 2014, 49–52.

These policies of the state have caused effective transformation in Istanbul's spatiality. Urban studies on Istanbul have been influenced by this process.[39] Yet, as Yıldırım Şentürk states that urban studies focused more on the processes of housing. Thus, urban spatial structure and transformation has been examined mostly through the dynamics of housing. Social practices and economic activities shaping urban space have remained in the background even when they are significant aspects of urban change.[40] Şentürk states that in the period when Istanbul was defined by the discourse of an industrial city, there were studies on labor in the urban studies. He argues that the shift of conceptualization of Istanbul from an industrial city to a global city led to the loss of an emphasis on labor's and working life's significance in urban studies.[41] He mentions that daily practices of urban inhabitants, especially labor, are not given enough importance in shaping urban spatiality.[42]

Following Şentürk's critique, this thesis aims to contribute to urban studies on Istanbul by bringing a space of economic activity to the center of analysis by focusing on the case of the informal footwear market in Gedikpaşa.

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39 Asuman Türkün, ed., *Mülk, Mahal, İnsan: İstanbul'da Kentsel Dönüşüm* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014, For furher information about the studies in this period, see; Ayfer Bartu Candan and Biray Kolluoğlu, "Emerging Spaces of Neoliberalism: A Gated Town and a Public Housing Project in İstanbul," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 39 (July 21, 2008: 5–46, https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/S0896634600005057/type/journal_article; John Lovering and Hade Türkmen, "Bulldozer Neo-Liberalism in Istanbul: The State-Led Construction of Property Markets, and the Displacement of the Urban Poor," *International Planning Studies* 16, no. 1 (February 26, 2011: 73–96, doi:10.1080/13563475.2011.552477; Tuna Kuyucu and Özlem Ünsal, "'Urban Transformation' as State-Led Property Transfer: An Analysis of Two Cases of Urban Renewal in Istanbul," *Urban Studies* 47, no. 7 (June 8, 2010: 1479–99, doi:10.1177/0042098009353629.

40 Yıldırım Şentürk, "İstanbul, Kent Çalışmaları ve Unutulan Emek," in *Yeni İstanbul Çalışmaları: Sınırlar, Mücadeleler, Açılımlar*, ed. Ayfer Bartu Candan and Cenk Özbay (İstanbul: Metis, 2014, 135.

41 Ibid., 136; Yıldırım Şentürk uses the concept of "Mental Space" of Henri Lefebvre for the discourse of the shift of Istanbul, from the industrial city to global city. For further information about "Mental Space", see Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

42 Şentürk, "İstanbul, Kent Çalışmaları ve Unutulan Emek," 141.

1.3.2 *Informal Economies*

Most relevant for this thesis are studies related to economic markets, labor and informality. First, it is necessary to touch briefly upon the concept of informal economy which was first used by Keith Hart in 1971 in his ethnographic study on Ghana conducted in the 1960s.[43] In 1972, the International Labour Organization (ILO published a report about Kenya and this report also used the concept of the informal sector.[44] Thus, since in the 1970s, the term, informal economy started to hold an important place among scholars in the different disciplines.

Since its emergence, the concept of the informal economy has been defined in many different ways. For instance, Keith Hart described the informal economy in his research based wage-earning and self-employment in Ghana.[45] In the first years when the concept began to be used, informal economy was associated with "the third world"' and seen as something to be overcome by many economists, including employees of World Bank and ILO.[46]

Subsequent research showed that the informal economy was not only a reality in "third world" countries, but also a phenomenon in the global north. However, the existence of the informal economy in the latter was identified with migrant groups' survival activities.[47] Seeing the informal economy as a survival activity and associating it with poverty, is also the case for the countries which are defined as the third world.[48]

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43 Keith Hart, "Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 11, no. 1 (March 11, 1973: 61–89, doi:10.1017/S0022278X00008089.

44 ILO, "Eployment, Incomes, and Equality. A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya" (Geneva, 1972, https://www.ilo.org/public/libdoc/ilo/1972/72B09_608_engl.pdf.

45 Hart, "Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana," 68.

46 Keith Hart, "THE INFORMAL ECONOMY," *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 10, no. 2 (1985: 54.

47 Manuel Castells and Alejandro Portes, "World Underneath: The Origins, Dynamics, And Effects Of The Informal Economy," in *The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*, ed. Alejandro Portes, Manuel Castells, and Lauren A Benton (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, 23.

48 Saskia Sassen, "The Informal Economy: Between New Developments and Old Regulations," *The Yale Law Journal* 103, no. 8 (June 1994: 2289, doi:10.2307/797048.

However, informal economy is not a set of survival activities of the destitute people who live on the margin of society. Instead, it is a process that exists in both advanced industrial and less developed countries. Poverty and informal economy are different terms the first one is related with the process of distribution, the latter is a form of production's relationship.[49] Thus, informal economy is a fundamental politico-economic process rather than a marginal phenomenon.[50]

Portes and Castells define informal economy as follows "all income-earning activities that are not regulated by the state in social environments where similar activities are regulated".[51] Colin Williams and Jan Windebank propound to replace the term of unregulated with unregistered by stating Mark R. Warren's definition about informal economy[52] since the nature and the scope of informal employment are regulated by the State and it intentionally imposes lax enforcement or even give positive support for the legitimization of the informal economy.[53] Williams and Jan use the term of informal employment instead of the term of informal economy in which they refer to "the paid production and sale of goods and services that are unregistered by, or hidden from, the state for tax, social security and/or labour law purposes, but which are legal in all other respects."[54]

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49 Castells and Portes, "World Underneath: The Origins, Dynamics, And Effects Of The Informal Economy," 12.

50 Ibid., 14.

51 Ibid., 12.

52 Mark R. Warren, "Exploitation or Cooperation? The Political Basis of Regional Variation in the Italian Informal Economy," *Politics & Society* 22, no. 1 (March 17, 1994: 93, doi:10.1177/0032329294022001005.

53 Colin Williams and Jan Windebank, *Informal Employment in Advanced Economies: Implications for Work and Welfare* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998, 5.

54 Ibid., 4; For further information about literature of informal economy, see Jacques Charmes, "The Informal Economy Worldwide: Trends and Characteristics," *Margin: The Journal of Applied Economic Research* 6, no. 2 (May 28, 2012: 103–32, doi:10.1177/097380101200600202; Martha Alter Chen, "Rethinking the Informal Economy: Linkages with the Formal Economy and the Formal Regulatory Environment," in *Linking the Formal and Informal Economy* (Oxford University Press, 2006, 75–92, doi:10.1093/0199204764.003.0005; Anna Danielsson, "Informal Economies and Scholastic Epistemocentrism: A Reflexive Rethinking," *International*

Returning to studies in Turkey about market, labor, informality and space, firstly, I would like to mention a few studies that do not examine an informal economy but a market and a working area. For instance, in his research, Yasin Durak examines relations between employers and employees by considering the effects of religiosity in Konya Organized Industrial Zone. In doing so, Durak aims to depict the effects of religious socialization on labor process for understanding domination relations.[55] As another example in this context, Nevra Akdemir examines the production and labor processes in the Tuzla shipyards area through capital accumulation, flexible working, occupational accidents and informalization in relations of production.[56] On the other hand, even if the research of Bülent Şen et al. do not examine a market and a working area, they illustrate the interrelation between urban space and labor by examining bachelor rooms in Süleymaniye and poverty of inhabitants of bachelor rooms, in other words, migrant workers.[57]

Secondly, more relevant for this thesis are studies that focus on informal economy in different urban contexts in Turkey. For instance, Damla Işık examines the background of carpet manufacturing's informal economy by showing the importance of the trust, flexibility, secrecy, considering gendered

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Journal of Sociology and Social Policy 37, no. 13/14 (December 4, 2017: 773–87, doi:10.1108/IJSSP-10-2016-0116; Basudeb Guha-Khasnobis, Ravi Kanbur, and Elinor Ostrom, *Linking the Formal and Informal Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, doi:10.1093/0199204764.001.0001; Alejandro Portes and Saskia Sassen-Koob, "Making It Underground: Comparative Material on the Informal Sector in Western Market Economies," *American Journal of Sociology* 93, no. 1 (July 1987: 30–61, doi:10.1086/228705; Alejandro Portes, "The Informal Economy Perspectives from Latin America," in *The Underground Economy: Studies of Illegal and Unreported Activity*, ed. Susan Pozo (Kalamazoo Michigan: W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1996 ; Paul C. Godfrey, "Toward a Theory of the Informal Economy," *The Academy of Management Annals* 5, no. 1 (June 2011: 231–77, doi:10.1080/19416520.2011.585818.

55 Yasin Durak, *Emeğin Tevekkulü: Konya'da Işçi-Işveren Ilişkileri ve Dindarlık* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013.

56 Nevra Akdemir, *Taşeronlu Birikim: Tuzla Tersaneler Bölgesinde Üretim Ilişkilerinde Enformelleşme* (İstanbul: Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı, 2008.

57 Bülent Şen, Alim Arlı, and Ayşe Alican Şen, *Yoksulluğu Bölüşmek: Süleymaniye Bekâr Odası Göçmenleri* (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2016.

labor and effects of globalization in the weaving neighborhoods of Konya.[58] In doing so, Işık tries to explore gendered inequalities, exploitation and injustice by illustrating the relation between global market and the local one. On the other hand, in their research Mine Eder and Özlem Öz illustrate the contestation over urban space, its informal economy and urban poverty by examining the relocation of Kadıköy Tuesday bazaar in Istanbul.[59] Öz and Eder illustrate that bazaars provide the opportunity for upward social mobility of new comers with informal employments as a strategy of survival.

Most relevant is Deniz Yükseker's comprehensive analysis of the Laleli[60] market's informal economy, which is mostly shaped by the shuttle trade from Laleli to former Soviet countries.[61] Yükseker demonstrates how Laleli district has transformed with the effects of shuttle trade and examines the personal/social relationships that lie behind trust relationships of in its informal market. In doing so, Yükseker depict the connection between trust and gender relations. Yükseker's analysis also shed light several important points of Gedikpaşa footwear market.

This thesis draws on these studies on informal economies and particularly their emphasis on trust relationships and social networks in the constitution of markets.

Finally, it is necessary to refer to existing research on Gedikpaşa. One of them is the Berna Güler-Müftüoğlu's study which examines the labor relations, organization of manufacturing and contract manufacturing in Gedikpaşa footwear market based on the field work which was conducted in 1995.[62]

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58 Damla Işık, "Personal and Global Economies: Male Carpet Manufacturers as Entrepreneurs in the Weaving Neighborhoods of Konya, Turkey," *American Ethnologist* 37, no. 1 (February 2010: 53–68, doi:10.1111/j.1548-1425.2010.01241.x.

59 Özlem Öz and Mine Eder, "Rendering Istanbul's Periodic Bazaars Invisible: Reflections on Urban Transformation and Contested Space," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36, no. 2 (March 2012: 297–314, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2011.01076.x.

60 Laleli market is very close to Gedikpaşa footwear market. See Map 1.1

61 H. Deniz Yukseker, *Laleli-Moskova Mekiği: Kayıtdışı Ticaret ve Cinsiyet Ilişkileri* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2003.

62 Berna Güler Müftüoğlu, *Fason Ekonomisi: Gedikpaşa'da Ayakkabı Üretimi* (İstanbul: Bağlam, 2005.

In her research, Güler –Müftüoğlu mentions the shoe-manufacturing process and the peculiarities of shoe-manufacturing business in Gedikpaşa. Moreover, Güler-Müftüoğlu depicts a detailed picture of Gedikpaşa footwear market and its shoe-manufacturers in the 1990s. In this regard, her research provides a descriptive background for the present and the 1990s. The other is Mustafa Çağlayandereli's study which examines Gedikpaşa as a slum area by touching upon the economic relations based on a fieldwork conducted in 2003.[63] Çağlayandereli approaches Gedikpaşa as a deteriorated urban area and sees the footwear market a problem for the Gedikpaşa neighborhood. I find such an approach restrictive.

At this point it is important to remark the contribution of this thesis to the literature on Gedikpaşa. Firstly, this thesis contributes to knowledge about Gedikpaşa footwear market's current situation. Different from the two studies mentioned above, this study focuses on the why and how footwear market has started to shape Gedikpaşa by considering the changes that the footwear market underwent since its establishment in the late 1950s, to the present. Besides, it provides an analysis based on the economic actors' narratives and illustrates other internal dynamics of the footwear market which are not examined in these two research, such as its informality and trust relationship, by utilizing arguments used in the academic literature on the informal economy.

In doing so, the thesis argues that Gedikpaşa's footwear market and economic actors have been transformed by the unpredictable, changing socio-economic conditions and macro political Dynamics; while also ensuring the continuity of the market despite all these conditions and dynamics, by generating flexible defense mechanisms owing to informality, since the market's emergence in the 1960s, until today. Furthermore, by focusing on a space of economic production, trade and labor such as Gedikpaşa, this study aims to contribute to urban studies on Istanbul which tended to take the examination of residential areas to the forefront in recent years.

63 Mustafa Çağlayandereli, "Bir Sosyal Sorun Olarak Kentsel Doku Değişimi Ve Çökün̈tü̈ Mahalleleri: Gedikpaşa Örneği" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2005.

§ 1.4 Organization of Thesis

This thesis contains three more chapters. Chapter 2 examines the Gedikpaşa footwear market in three historical periods: It looks at the 1 the establishment of the footwear market at the end of the 1950s and its development until the beginning of the 1990s, 2 the heyday of the Gedikpaşa market during the 1990s, and 3 the developments in the 2000s. To do this, firstly the history of Gedikpaşa neighborhood as a residential area is examined. Then, why and how the footwear market was established in Gedikpaşa is discussed. The departure of non-Muslims from Gedikpaşa in this period is highlighted as a factor contributing to the transformation of the neighborhood. Secondly, the chapter examines the period of the 1990s, which is regarded as the heyday of the Gedikpaşa footwear market. The effects of shuttle trade, the evacuation efforts of Municipality of Eminönü and the financial crisis in Russia and Turkey are highlighted as the major dynamics which shaped and transformed the Gedikpaşa market in the 1990s. Thirdly, the 2000s are discussed by referring to the recovery of the market after the financial crisis. The municipality of Fatih's evacuation efforts, increasing tourism, the state's foreign policies and the recent economic recession are discussed as main factors impinging on the Gedikpaşa footwear market.

Chapter 3 focuses on Gedikpaşa footwear market's internal dynamics such as its informal economy, trust relationships behind it and the importance of social networks in this market. The chapter also discusses the main economic actors and their accumulation process.

The final chapter concludes the findings of this research and suggests certain points for further research.

2

From a Neighborhood to a Market: The Emergence and Transformation of the Gedikpaşa Footwear Market

Gedikpaşa's history dates backs the Byzantine period. The famous port of Byzantium which was Kadırga is located the south of the Gedikpaşa. Ruins from this period demonstrate that Gedikpaşa has been used as a residential area since this period.[1]After the handover of Istanbul from the Byzantine Empire to the Ottoman Empire, Gedikpaşa became one of the oldest Ottoman settlements in this city.[2] According to Byzantine sources, after the conquest of Istanbul, many *Rum*s were placed from Bursa to Istanbul by the empire. Gedikpaşa was one of the neighborhood where these *Rum*s were placed. In addition to this, some historians argue that in the beginning of the 17th century many Armenians who escaped from Celali rebellions, settled to Gedikpaşa.[3] The name of this district came from a bathhouse built in the 15th century by Gedik Ahmed Pasha who was the grand vizier and chief admiral of

1 Ayşe Hür, "Gedikpaşa," in *Dün̈den Bugün̈e İstanbul Ansiklopedisi 3* (Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994, 388.

2 Ibid.

3 Harun Özdemir, *İstanbul'un Semtleri: Gedikpaşa* (İstanbul: İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 2003, 5.

Mehmed II.[4] In the 19th century, Gedikpaşa became a district which had a dense urban texture with its cosmopolitan demography and its theater, bazaars, taverns, coffee shops and 3-4 storied houses.[5] As many district of Istanbul, Gedikpaşa witnessed many fires; in 1652, 1655, 1719, 1726, 1752, 1858 and 1865 respectively. These fires, especially the ones in the 19th century, changed the construction types of Gedikpaşa from wooden to stone buildings. This situation provided a basis to multi storied buildings.[6]

From the 15th century to the first quarter of the 20th century, the majority of the Gedikpaşa's inhabitants were composed of Rums and especially Armenians. For instance, seventeen Armenian associations were founded in Gedikpaşa between 1844-1922. This number indicates that Armenian minority had a dense population in this district.[7] Written sources do not mention a significant change in Gedikpaşa during the 1960s. Until this date Gedikpaşa protected its residential area character. This change is actually about the emergence of shoe sector in Gedikpaşa since it is an important point to history and current situation of this district.

At this point, it is necessary to touch the history of footwear sector in Istanbul. During the Ottoman period, the leather sector was relocated from Saraçhane to the area between Sultanhamet and Beyazıt due to fire disaster. The shoemakers preferred Parmakkapı, Divanyolu, Uzunçarşı and Tavukpazarı neighborhoods in this area for production. After the declaration of Turkish republic, with the rapid development of trade, the shoe sector expanded towards Beyazıt, Gedikpaşa and Kumkapı, becoming an important reality for these districts.[8]

As one of these districts, Gedikpaşa's social and spatial structure started to change with the footwear sector. However, the written sources do not mention how the footwear market was established in Gedikpaşa and why it was

4 Ibid.; Reşad Ekrem Koçu, "Gedikpaşa," in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, XI* (Koçu Yayınları, 1973, 6070.

5 Emine Sağlık, "Gedikpaşa Çilavcı Sokak ve Çevresinde Sıhhileştirme Çalışması" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Istanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2000, 1.

6 Özdemir, *İstanbul'un Semtleri: Gedikpaşa*, 5–6.

7 Koçu, "Gedikpaşa," 6073.

8 Güler Müftüoğlu, *Fason Ekonomisi*, 92.

preferred by shoe makers. Starting from this, one of the important points of this part is conveying own voice of Gedikpaşa's economic actors to understand the questions that was not answered by written sources. Nonetheless, it can be said that interviewees filled in many gaps regarding establishment and continuation of the Gedikpaşa's footwear market. The common narrative among interviewed economic actors shed light to many details about shoe sector's emergence and continuation. According to interviewees who have spent at least 45 years in this area, the history of Gedikpaşa's shoe market started with construction of a *Han*[9] named Kiğılı *İş Hanı*[10] on the main street of Yeniçeriler by the end of the 1950s. Today, this *Han* is still an important center for shoe market of Gedikpaşa. The quotation from Halil, who started to work in Gedikpaşa when he was 8 years old in 1959 and is 68 now, illustrates this spread of shoe sector to Gedikpaşa:

> I went to Gedikpaşa İncil Primary School. Besides the school, I was coming to a shoe-manufacturer as an apprentice. Now, there is a Street called Medrese Çıkmazı in Beyazıt right across the Garanti Bank… It is where the shoe-manufacturing has started. Then, on the Street behind it, where we call Tavuk Pazarı, there were the manufacturers. Besides these, there were not any manufacturers around here. A long time afterwards the Kiğılı *Han* has been constructed, it turned into some sort of *Mezat*.[11] I mean the people who produce shoes were coming there early in the morning, selling their shoes, and then they were leaving. Because it was the first place the people who need shoes used to come. *Mezat*, I mean the center of wholesalers. He was coming in the morning, carrying his goods in his basket, selling them, and then coming back the day after. Then this footwear sector started to grow, and gradually started moving towards this area. When it started moving to this side, the non-Muslims started evacuating their houses. When they left, all these houses turned into working places. As they turned into

9 *Han* is a commercial building which consist of workplaces.

10 This *Han* was built by members of *Kiğılı* family. Kiğılı is also a famous brand in men's clothing.

11 In Turkish *Mezat* means an auction venue. However, in this case they refer a selling space likes bazaar.

working areas, the shoe-makers started manufacturing in small rooms. Gradually, Gedikpaşa turned into what it is today.

As Halil, the other interviewees illustrate that shoemakers and other sub-branches of footwear sector were only on the north of Yeniçeriler Street, the *Tavuk Pazarı* district. Interviewees who witnessed the first splash of shoe sector from street of Yeniçeriler's north to Gedikpaşa states that construction of this *Han* and the opening a *Mezat* in there, provided a selling space as a bazaar to everyone to sell their production even if these shoemakers were not tenants in this *Han*. The narratives of informants demonstrate that this *Mezat* provided shoe makers a common place and reinforced the shoe sector. In addition to this, this situation made Gedikpaşa attractive for shoe makers and generated a market in this neighborhood.

On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the increase in the working population which was a result of rural-urban migration was an important point in terms of understanding the spread of footwear production from the north districts to Gedikpaşa. The period between 1950 to 1985, rural to urban migration in Turkey started, reached its peak and slowed down. During this 35 years, there were three peak periods; the 1950-1955, the 1965-1970 and the 1980-1985 respectively.[12] Istanbul was similarly affected by these peaks. For instance, the migration also started in 1950-1955 and slowed down between 1955-1965.[13] When we examine the population of Istanbul, we see that it increased by approximately 3.5 million between 1945 and 1980.[14]

The main cause of the rural depopulation and urbanization was interpreted on mechanization of agriculture under favor of Marshall aid in the meaning of agricultural equipment and machineries; as the need of labor in the agricultural areas decreased with the use of tractor, therefore, the labor

12 Bahattin Akşit, "İç Göçlerin Nesnel ve Öznel Toplumsal Tarihi Üzerine Gözlemler: Köy Tarafından Bir Bakış," in *Türkiye'de İç Göç, Sorunsal Alanlari ve Araştırma Yöntemleri Konferansı* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998, 25.

13 Ferhunde Özbay, *Dünden Bugüne Aile, Kent Ve Nüfus* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2015, 136.

14 İbb, "Sayım Yıllarına Göre İstanbul Nüfusu, Sayımlar Arası Yıllık Nüfus Artış Hızı ve Yıl Ortası Nüfus Tahmini," accessed June 25, 2019, http://www.ibb.gov.tr/tr-TR/bilgihizmetleri/Istatistikler/Documents/demografi/t211.pdf.

potential in the rural areas preferred to migrate to urban areas.[15] However, rural-urban migration cannot be explained only by push factor of rural area, pull factors of urban was also an important reality.[16]

The example of Istanbul illustrates these pull factors. After the 1960; on one hand gathering of private manufacturing enterprises in Istanbul generated a labor demand that was supplied by new comers from the rural areas, on the other hand, need for housing of these new comers was provided by new shanty towns. This situation accelerated the growth of the city, and this time, generated a labor demand for construction sector. It should be stated that this construction activity became the starter employment of many newcomers. In the 1970s, Istanbul was an important place for private manufacturing establishments and many labor-intensive, small-scale manufacturing and commercial enterprises also located around the city.[17] Gedikpaşa is also an example of a location which hosts labor-intensive, small-scale manufacturing and commercial enterprises and generates pull factors to new comers. When I asked what their reasons were to come Istanbul, many of the interviewees said "For working in Gedikpaşa footwear market" or that their family members came to Istanbul for working. When they came, majority of them started to work in footwear sector as a child in Gedikpaşa or in Tavukpazarı before the splash of shoe sector to Gedikpaşa. The field research illustrates that even if there was an intensity of migrants from Malatya, Kayseri, Adıyaman, there were many immigrants from every city in Turkey until the late 1980s and early 1990s. Hometowns of the migrants who came to Gedikpaşa for working is another important point to understand the effects of migrations to this market that I will address in the following chapter. At this point, I want to return to the spreading of footwear market from Tavukpazarı to Gedikpaşa. In fact, the common narrative among economic actors who witnessed this period re-

15 Çağlar Keyder and Zafer Yenal, *Bildiğimiz Tarımının Sonu: Küresel İktidar ve Köylülük* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013, 146.

16 İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye'nin Göç Tarihindeki Değişik Kategoriler," in *Kökler ve Yollar: Türkiye'de Göç Süreçleri*, ed. Ayhan Kaya and Bahar Şahin (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007, 457–59.

17 Keyder and Yenal, *Bildiğimiz Tarımının Sonu*, 147–48.

marks that increased number of economic actors in footwear production market who migrated from rural to urban area, needed new work places when they became a master after their journeyman stages. The following quotation from Faruk, a shoe wholesaler who came to Gedikpaşa in 1965 for becoming a shoe manufacturer, expresses this situation:

> Let me tell you how it was when I first came here. On this side of that street over there, there was not any shoe-makers. Shoe-manufacturers were all in Tavuk Pazarı. Then you know the Kiğılı *Han*, on its bottom floor there were a *Mezat*, our shoe *Mezat*. At the location of Ayrancı *Han* there was an empty land. We used to take the stuff we manufactured to the *Mezat* and sell there. Then we would bring them back to the store and hand them over. Right over there, there was coffer seller Abdullah, here in Kiğılı there was Mehmet *Ağa*[18]. There were all masonry buildings. Then the workers became manufacturers and the many of the houses here turned into shoe-stores. On the above stairs of Kiğılı *Han* for instance, there was a dentist, there was a restaurant. Kiğılı family was staying on the top floor. Then, when the area started to be covered by the shoe-stores, everything left… My return was like… I was an apprentice first, then I became a master, a craftsman. I wanted to open a store, there was not any in Tavuk Pazarı, so we ended up coming here… We have always been living in Nişanca, in Kumkapı. We were all here, we did not know what is beyond this area.

Similar to Halil, Faruk depicts the splash and expansion of shoe sector in Gedikpaşa. Faruk depicts that Gedikpaşa was still a residential area in those years since I think it is important to understand how Gedikpaşa's character of residential area changed by footwear sector. During the interviews, I realized that significant number of informants who or whose family came to Istanbul in the 1960s and 1970s were inhabiting in Gedikpaşa or neighborhoods around it such as Nişanca, Kumkapı, Kadırga.

18 In Turkish, Ağa means landlord. However, it is used as an appellation for the ordinary people in the colloquial language.



Figure 2.1 Historical Masonry Buildings

This situation provided to collect narrative about Gedikpaşa's character of residential area by its inhabitants. These narratives indicate that Gedikpaşa was

preserving its building stock which consisted of 3 or 4-storey wooden and masonry buildings in narrow plots in the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s. The quotation from interview with Bekir who came Gedikpaşa from Malatya Pütürge in 1973 when he was 6 years old, illustrates daily life in districts with the effects of shoe sector in the 1970s:

> Back then, the shoe-workshops in Gedikpaşa were usually located in the basements or the entrance floors of triplex buildings. On the ground floors of almost every building, there was a shoe manufacturing place, small manufacturing. The families were living on the upstairs, and below there was the shoe production in small shops. This is what I have witnessed when I was a kid. Right in front of our door--not the apartment door but the door to the building—there was an old man manufacturing shoes in a small shop. When the production started to increase, people needed new spaces. Of course, this has also been more profitable for the property owners. Gradually, the property owners started to rent out the upper floors as well, they moved beyond the ground floors. As a result, the residency of people started to move to lower areas, towards Kumkapı. This is how it was when we first moved here. We came to Gedikpaşa, to one of the streets that reaches to Tiyatro Avenue.

Bekir indicates the shift from a Gedikpaşa where footwear production was done only on the ground or basement floor of buildings, to a Gedikpaşa where it spread to other floors with the effect of increased production. At this point it is important to understand this increase and Gedikpaşa's importance for shoe sector in Turkey. During the field work of this thesis, I witnessed a common emphasis on two periods from the informants who have been on this market since at least the 70s. One of these is dynamism of the shoe market in the 1970s and the other is the expansion of shuttle trade in the 1990s. For instance, a quotation from Celal, who is wholesaler of children's and baby shoes and has been working in Gedikpaşa since 1964, demonstrates this dynamism.

> In the 1970s, it was so lively, it was so good. And in Turkey, the only place where there was shoe manufacturing was Istanbul (Gedikpaşa. In terms of shoes, Gedikpaşa was appealing to all the people in Turkey.

> There were rare, couple of small shops in İzmir and other towns, but majority was here in Istanbul.

As most of interviewees, who were working at Gedikpaşa in these years, including Celal, the 1970s was the heyday of this district in the meaning of domestic market. They mentioned that in the 1970s while Gedikpaşa hosted the majority of the shoes production in Turkey, the Kiğılı *Han* provided the sales of these shoes to buyers from all cites in Turkey. In other words, according to them, Gedikpaşa supplied the majority of Turkey's shoes demand, in terms of production and selling. During the 1980s, as in the 1970s, the footwear market in Gedikpaşa was maintaining its dynamism for domestic market. The quotation from Mehmet, who works in his family's grocery shop in one of the main street of Gedikpaşa illustrates the 1980s.

> Gedikpaşa I remember… I can say that I came to Gedikpaşa when I was 7 years old. Since the grocery shop was 150 meters from our home, I used to come to the shop very often. Around these times, my times, manufacturing was working really hard, like an engine. Merchandizing was not that common… I mean it didn't exist. I mean it was not like what we experienced in the 1990s … there was not the liveliness that we lived almost every day of the week in the 90s, but since the manufacturing was not only done for here, because it was made all over Anatolia it was like an engine and I remember it was very exciting. So it can't be compared to the current things, I mean it cannot be compared to how things are nowadays… It was lively, incredibly lively. I mean the sound, the sound of hammers, fabrication was not that common, it sounded like a lullaby, but naturally you get used to it after a while.

Mehmet indicates the wholesale shoe stores were still few in number. Moreover, similar to the 1970s, he emphasizes the meaning of domestic market's demand for production capacity of Gedikpaşa. Despite these, when I asked interviewees about the 1980s, many of them state that unlike the 1970s and before, footwear sector in Gedikpaşa had some interaction with abroad in terms of customer groups and shoe models. For instance, some interviewees started

to go to shoe and footwear fairs in some countries during these years. However, as they stated the number of these manufacturers in Gedikpaşa was not significant. Moreover, early examples of shuttle trades occurred in the 1980s. However, it should remark that this interaction was not significant enough to change way of business in the 1980s. Nevertheless, it can be asserted that these new interactions generated a basis for the substantial dynamism in the 1990s.

On the other hand, it should also talk about Turkey's footwear sector in this period. While the labor-intensive nature of footwear production has started to decrease with the mechanization of production since the 1930s across the globe, lack of foreign competition in a closed market caused the delay of this process in Turkey since the 1980s.[19] In fact, the state played a leading role in the mass production and mechanization through the Sümerbank[20] leather and shoe factory[21] in Beykoz, Istanbul until the 1980s.[22] In the 1980s, Sümerbank established three factories in different cities of Turkey. In addition to this, private enterprises also opened manufacturing plants in İstanbul, Ankara and Manisa.[23] These investments targeted the domestic market rather than the foreign market, thus the majority of the manufacturing was carried out in the small–scale workshops. However, with the foreign expansion policies, the footwear sector opened the international competition that led to a gradual change in the sector.[24]

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19 Mustafa Özçörekçi and Emrah Öngüt, *Dünya'da ve Türkiye'de Deri ve Deri Ürünleri Sanayiinin Gelişme Eğilimleri ve Geleceği* (Ankara: Devlet Planlama Teşkilat, 2005, 195.

20 Sümerbank was established in 1933 as a bank, a State Economic Enterprise to help finance for the Rationalization and Modernization Program of Turkey. In addition to this, it played an active role in textile manufacturing through establish factories. For more information, See The World Bank, "Sumerbank Cotton Textile Rationalization Project Staff Appraisal Report," n.d.

21 Beykoz Leather and Shoe Factory is established in the 1810s as and during the last period of the Ottoman Empire it produced shoes for the military. In 1933, it is transferred to Sümerbank. In the 1980s, it produced for the army. In the 1998, the production of factory was terminated and it was transferred to private sector in 2003. For more information about Beykoz Leather and Shoe Factory, See Önder Küçükerman, *Geleneksel Türk Dericilik Sanayi ve Beykoz Fabrikası* (İstanbul: Apa Ofset Basımevi ve Ticaret AŞ, 1998.

22 Özçörekçi and Öngüt, *Dünya'da ve Türkiye'de Deri*, 195.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

§ 2.1 The Non-Muslims and Gedikpaşa

As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Gedikpaşa also had a population which consisted of mainly Armenians and *Rum*s and the written sources only remark that Gedikpaşa lost its population due to spread of shoe sector. However, these written sources do not touch on the other reasons behind this migration. It is also necessary to illustrate the fact that the migration of non-Muslims for understanding how and why footwear sector developed in this district. For this reason, during the research design process, I decided to understand of the departure of these non-Muslim minorities with the narrative of interviewees. From this point of view, I asked them the non-Muslim population, I said them there were many non-Muslims in Gedikpaşa before the shoe sector and I asked what they know about this issue. Most of the time they started to talking about non-Muslims before I finished my sentence or before I asked them the non-Muslims. It can be said that there is strong narrative about non-Muslims in Gedikpaşa. Except one interviewee, a 24 year-old Syrian men who came Gedikpaşa in 2010, all of the informants encountered this reality; in other words, they encountered the left of non-Muslims who were inhabitants in Gedikpaşa or they witnessed decrease in the number of their non-Muslims masters and co-workers. From this point of view, in this part, I talk about the Wealth tax law in 1942, the events of 6-7 September, Decree of 1964, the invasion of Cyprus in 1974, respectively.

As Dilek Güven mentions; after the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the ethnic homogenization of Asia Minor was perceived as an indispensable condition for establishing a successful nation state by the new Kemalist administration. In this sense, the assimilation of non-Muslim minorities such as *Rum*s, Armenians and Jews and the non-Turkish groups such as the Kurds should be examined a result of this homogenization.[25] In other words, as Ayhan Aktar emphasizes, every social group which could not be Turkified faced a discrimination policy during the single party administration.[26] On the other hand, the efforts which aimed to the ethnic homogenization was not

25 Dilek Güven, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları Bağlamında: 6-7 Eylül Olayları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2005, 174.

26 Ayhan Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve "Türkleştirme" Politikaları* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2001, 102.

only an aspect of single party period, but also in the multi-party period, this kind of efforts took place on by asserting these effort as a result of Turkey's foreign policy. These policies were visualized by many events such as the Wealth Tax law in 1942, the events of 6-7 September, Decree of 1964 and the invasion of Cyprus in 1974.

In this point, it is significant that Istanbul was the most affected city by these kind of events. For instance, as Ayhan Aktar refers, it was the Wealth tax that had affected Istanbul the most. This situation occurred not only due to economic reasons but also Istanbul's social, cultural and demographic characteristic which originated from its cosmopolitan aspects.[27] It is inevitable that Gedikpaşa was also affected by these events as a district on historical peninsula of Istanbul which also had a dense population consisted of non-Muslims mostly.

Wealth tax is one of the important points which affected the non-Muslims in Turkey. On the 11th of November 1942, the wealth tax law, no 4305, was adopted by Grand National Assembly of Turkey. According to the official government statement, the wealth tax declared as law to tax the extreme wealth derived from war conditions. However, the main goal of this law was to terminate the pioneering role of the Armenians, Greeks and Jewish in the economy.[28] According to Ayhan Aktar, this wealth tax law was not only an economic policy but also a cultural and political practice.[29] Çağlar Keyder also demonstrates that the tax rate of a person who was in the scope of Wealth tax and non-Muslim was ten times higher than the Muslim ones. For that reason, many non-Muslim businessmen who could not pay this tax was obligated to sell their business and properties. After the Second World War, many of them emigrated from Turkey.[30] I could not reach a narrative about wealth tax since none of my interviewees witnessed this period in Gedikpaşa. However, it is one of the significant realities to understand the current situation in Gedikpaşa and Turkey in terms of the numbers of non-Muslims.

27 Ibid., 140–41.

28 Güven, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları*, 108–9.

29 Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi*, 135.

30 Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2014, 144.

On the other hand, during the field research, I often heard the events of 6-7 September from the interviewees. On 6 September 1955, after the announcement on the state radio that the home of Atatürk in Thessalonica, where he was born, was bombed and publication this false news in the afternoon copies of one newspaper called Istanbul Ekspress, many people started to attack and destroy the houses, churches, shops and schools in the neighborhoods which were close to Taksim and were known as non-Muslims' residential and business areas. After a while many districts in Istanbul also witnessed this kind of destruction efforts.[31] According to an official Turkish source, 4,144 houses, 1,004 workplaces, 73 churches, 1 synagogue, 2 monasteries, 26 schools and 5,317 other premises which include factories, hotels, bars and so on were destroyed.[32] Gedikpaşa was also influenced by the events of 6-7 Septermber. According to records which are illustrated by Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, 21 people from Gedikpaşa and 132 people from Kumkapı received compensation for their damages.[33] As Dilek Güven illustrates; the events of 6-7 September in 1955 could be examined as a continuum from 1930s and 1940s in the sense of nationalization and homogenization of the economic life.[34] The events of 6-7 September caused emigration of *Rum*s, Armenians and Jews from Turkey with great migration waves.[35] The following quotation of Vedat, who has been working in the footwear sector since 1962, demonstrates the effects of these events.

> Oh, many people escaped from here, I know that. If I tell you the past, it would be a novel. There were *Han* owners, Zeki and Mehmet, I was tenant of them. They had been porters in front of a big *Han*. During these events, the man ran away, I mean the owner. They took care of this *Han,* but sometimes they collected and sent rent money to this man. After a while they did not send the rent money. The guy sends

31 Güven, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları*, 12–13.

32 Ibid., 34.

33 Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, "6-7 Eylül Olaylarından Sonra 'Hasar Tespit Çalışmaları' Üzerine Birkaç Ayrıntı," *Toplumsal Tarih* 81 (2000: 48.

34 Güven, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları*, 204.

35 Ibid., 176.

> news to someone three years later, he was scaring to come. The man who sent by him told that there were two guys who collect the rents.

The narrative of the Vedat not only demonstrates how non-Muslims were damaged by these policies, but also their properties were seized. The other important point which caused the Turkification of the population is the Decree of 1964 which was the annulment of one agreement that had been signed in 1930 between Turkey and Greece. This situation forced *Rum*s who had Greek passport to emigrate. As a result of this, one third of the *Rum*s in Istanbul emigrated from Turkey.[36] In addition to this, the war between Cyprus and Turkey in 1974 is an important point to understand the emigration of non-Muslims, especially emigration of *Rum*s. After this date, many people that had remained from the *Rum* minority left the country. For instance, the number of *Rum* population, which was about 100,000 in 1960, would drop around 7,000 in 1978.[37] During the fieldwork of this thesis, I witnessed that Decree of 1964 and the Cyprus war in 1974 are the events mostly attributed to the departure of non-Muslims from Gedikpaşa. For instance, the following quotation of Celal, who is wholesaler of children's and baby shoes and has been working Gedikpaşa since 1964 when he was 12 years old, depict this connection.

> For instance, when I came here in 1964, the people who have settled and were living here were citizens of Armenian descent. Jews were rare. Throughout time Armenian citizens also decreased in number. Instead of them, we, the ones coming from east, settled in Kumkapı for 10-15 years, we settled in certain parts of Gedikpaşa. Now, this disappeared totally. There were many Armenians and Greeks. They left throughout the 1960s, in 1964 some of them left to Greece. Then with the Cyprus incident in 1972, all of them, okay I will not say all of them, but many of them left. The remaining ones left throughout the 1980s… Still, there are some but really limited in number

Celal tells that he witnessed the non-Muslims inhabitants in Gedikpaşa when his first arrived. In addition to that, his narrative shows how the inhabitants

36 Ibid., 150–51.

37 Ibid.

changed from non-Muslims to newly arrived immigrants in Gedikpaşa and neighborhoods adjacent to it such as Nişanca, Kumkapı, Kadırga. Apart from these, there is an important point, as stated at the beginning, that the non-Muslims were not only living in Gedikpaşa but they were also working in there. In fact, as many interviewees point out, shoemaking was carried out by non-Muslims. Moreover, as Akın states that, "99% of the terms used in our sector are Romaic. *Polatka*, *Samolka*, *Limaki*, *Aramaki*, *Mastaria* are all Romaic terms" Similar to Akın, vast majority of interviewees remarks that the terms of shoemaking come from Romaic and Armenian language. Zeynel, a shoe manufacturer who has been working Gedikpaşa since 1964, states the existence of non-Muslims in Gedikpaşa in the aspect of inhabitants and workers:

> There were many. After all, Gedikpaşa (on the Wall there are headshots including a portrait of himself, he points at one of these this one is my master, I came to work with them when I was 16. For the period of *sayacılık*[38], he sent me to his *Sayacı*. After all we have learned this job from them. Armenians are the ones at the root of this profession. During this period of time, maybe 80% of the people here were Armenians. I mean this area was totally constituted of Armenians. Then, all of them left here, they went to Kurtuluş, majority went to the United States, to France, they have spread all over. Look, this was a house, it was the home of a friend of mine. For instance, he sold the house, he was an Armenian. Now, the area is all composed of workers.

When I asked informants the number of non-Muslim workers in Gedikpaşa, majority of informants, as Zeynel, remark that they started to work in Gedikpaşa, as an apprentice of a non-Muslims master. Similar to Zeynel, these interviewees assert that the Muslims in Gedikpaşa learned shoemaking process from *Rum*s and Armenians masters. In addition to this, Zeynel points out the shift from a non-Muslim residential neighborhood to a new Gedikpaşa which was shaped by footwear sector through transforming houses to workplaces. Bekir gives a significant example about this shift:

38 Saya means the shoe-upper, Sayacılık is branch who create shoe-upper by bonding the pieces of natural or artificial leathers and textile products according to the shoe model.

After the 1980s, the non-Muslim population here diminishes significantly. The population diminishes because we witness their departure, we know it from our neighbors and so on. Then the schools, the active Armenian schools here, start to be closed down. There was a middle school, there were couple of schools. These schools are like homes, the transition happens here, they turn into *Han*. For instance, one of these schools is now a *Han* and it is called *Okul* (School *Han*. As an architectural structure it still exists but now there are shoe manufacturers in it. Each time I go there, I imagine children running on the halls. But now there are boxes of shoes on these corridors. It is neglected and what not. Of course, this is something sad. Even though this population is supposed to be here, even though the school should still be operating, they have been left behind. This is not something good.



Figure 2.2 Mesrobian School as Okul Han

Transformation of Mesrobian School to *Okul Han* in the 1980s is a striking example which clearly illustrates the transformation of Gedikpaşa. One of the

interviewees of this field research Kenan, who is working in the Armenian church that is the owner of the *Okul Han* building, said that once this school had 600 students. As Bekir, interviewees who witnessed that period indicate that, the 1980s were when the number of non-Muslims inhabitants was almost completely reduced. During the field research, I realized that there are still a few non-Muslim economic actors in Gedikpaşa. As a matter of fact, three of the twenty-four interviewees in this field work are also Armenian. However, they came to Gedikpaşa from other cities in Turkey.

§ 2.2 The 1990s: The Heyday of the Gedikpaşa Market

As I mentioned above, during the field work of this research, I realized that two periods were emphasized by interviewees which are the 1970s and the 1990s. The liveliness with the shuttle trade in the 1990s was specifically stated by all interviewees even if they were not in Gedikpaşa at this time. This period was very significant in that the footwear sector has changed in many ways. The main reason of this situation is that with the dissolution of Soviet Union, there was expansion of shuttle trade which reached the peak. This situation changed the customer base from the domestic market to foreign market and economic actors in Gedikpaşa encountered new customer groups from former Soviet countries. Just as the 1970s was heyday of Gedikpaşa for the domestic market, the 1990s is very important with the rise of foreign market's demand. In her Book Yükseker mentions that the footwear demand of Laleli market, a center of shuttle trade, was started to meet by Gedikpaşa market which had met the footwear needs of Anatolia.[39] In this period, the small-scale shoe manufacturing in Turkey was articulated to the transnational shuttle trade market.[40] Moreover, it should be stated that this period was defined as the most productive period of all times by most of the interviewees. Ayhan, who is *Odabaşı* and has a transport company, demonstrates the earlier stages of shuttle trade in Gedikpaşa:

39 Yükseker, *Laleli-Moskova Mekiği*, 100–101.

40 Ibid., 104.

> The shuttle trade had a really positive impact. Back then, it was Dollar and Mark instead of Euro; we have seen what Mark is. The trade was really really frequent here, it was really good back then. We used to have Romanian, Bulgarian customers – or people from other closer areas- who come here in the morning and get back in the evening by buses. There used to be people who come here for a daytrip, fill their sacks with shoes and slippers, and give them to the buses or bus firms in Aksaray.

As described above, shuttle trade significantly affected the currency and pace of Gedikpaşa's shoe market. Economic actors who were producing and selling for domestic market until then became open to foreign markets, especially Russia. In fact, narratives of interviewees demonstrate that although not intense, the first examples of shuttle trade were seen in Gedikpaşa in the late 1980's. However, with dissolution of Soviet Union, shuttle trade became primary source of income in Gedikpaşa. Until the shuttle traders, credit account by ensuring with check, document and sometimes just promise was highly used in doing business with customers from domestic market. Shuttle trade has changed the way of doing business in Gedikpaşa. Gökhan, who had started to work in the 1970s as a manufacturer, became a wholesaler and then retired, currently shareholder one of the biggest *Han*s in Gedikpaşa, explains one of the ways of that have changed:

> There used to be sales based on promissory notes. Then, after the shuttle trade, together with it, there has been a shift to cash money. Cash money replaced it. And this offended, dissatisfied the customer from Anatolia. They did not sell them during that period, instead they sold to Russians, to shuttle traders. People saw the dollars, got awaken. As a result, they leaned towards other places in Anatolia. Manufacturing has also spread to other places; to İzmir, to Antep. Well, for instance, there used to be kids' footwear in İzmir but it was not that common. Now, there are not any customers left in Anatolia, they made people estranged. Also, in comparison to here, the costs are lower in those areas.

It is clear that shuttle trade caused a tendency from the credit account to sale for cash in Gedikpaşa. This is not to say that payment on credit account became a payment method that was no longer used. Contrary, buyers who came from foreign market, especially from former soviet republics were accustomed to payment on credit account overtime by economic actors in Gedikpaşa. This adaptation is examined more broadly in the following chapter. Over and above this, As Gökhan and many interviews state, people from shoe sector in Gedikpaşa started to prefer doing business with the foreign market rather than with the domestic market. Therefore, this situation led to spread of footwear sector in several cities. Apart from this, the change of customer group affected several points in Gedikpaşa such as the product range, spatial changes. The following quotation from Bekir depicts these changes:

> Naturally, the spaces are also becoming more valuable. Those abandoned places are turning into more well-groomed shops, they are being rented for higher prices. In that sense, they are becoming more upper-class. While there used to be mediocre productions, now there are more modern productions that are following the global fashion trends and targeting the Russian customers. So, by this way, this area is opening to the world…. This happens a little bit in a hustling manner; it is not conscious; the footwear sector of this area is opening to the outside world.

As I mention above, Gedikpaşa neighborhood has witnessed many spatial impacts since the establishment of its footwear sector. Shuttle trade is one of them which generated significant spatial impacts on this district. With the increase in the demand of footwear products with shuttle trade, the footwear production in Gedikpaşa has spread also to south of the neighborhood, to Kumkapı. Besides that, as Bekir remarks shops, buildings became more well-groomed and rental of this shops started to increased. Many interviewees state that dollar was often used as the currency to rent a shop in Gedikpaşa at that time. Apart from spatial impacts, as I mentioned above, some economic actors started to go footwear fairs in some countries in the 1980s, as Bekir says, many interviews emphasize that with the shuttle trade, in other words with the shift of customer group, majority of the shoe manufacturers started to follow world

fashion. It is frequently said that in the 90s, unlike in the 1980s, vast majority of shoemakers have started to attend the shoe expos in Europe to be aware of footwear fashion trends. Despite these impacts, shuttle trade also gave rise to spread of shoe production from Gedikpaşa to some districts located at periphery of Istanbul in that period, besides Anatolia. Halil illustrates this spread:

> After the fall of Soviet Union, a huge boom began here. With the shuttle trade, something abnormal happened. The people started coming and buying everything. As a result, everyone here started to grow and industrialize… Because the *Han*s had all been converted from houses, the working spaces were so small, like 10-20 meters, basements, lacking air etc. The ones who expanded their production left this market. Where did they go? Some of them went to Zeytinburnu. Well, to Merter… They built factories far away. Step by step, the footwear sector expanded significantly.

In the 1990s, the high demand of shuttle trade, an increase of economic growth caused by intense production, generated mechanization in some parts of the footwear production at Gedikpaşa. The workplaces, *Han*s, in Gedikpaşa had been converted from house to shops in the narrow parcel. These new workplaces are 20-30 square meters in average, and the largest ones are not bigger than 50 square meters, according to interviewees. These spatial features of Gedikpaşa were not fully convenient for big machines used in the manufacture of shoes. All these reasons led growing manufacturers to leave Gedikpaşa. In other words, shuttle trade provided increase scale of footwear production and investments of capital. As Deniz Yükseker states in her book, a news headline of Cumhuriyet newspaper from 1996 clearly illustrates this situation "Shoes entered the suitcase, industrialized."[41]

In the 1990s, there was another important circumstance affecting the Gedikpaşa footwear market. As I mentioned in the literature review part, Bedrettin Dalan who was the mayor of Istanbul metropolitan municipality aimed to

41 Ibid., 103; Hülya Genç, "Ayakkabı Bavula Girdi Sanayileşti," *Cumhuriyet*, 1996, 9.

evacuate small-scale manufacturing establishments which located in the historical peninsula and in the Golden Horn.[42] For this purpose, in 1985, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality assigned a district for the construction of an organized industrial zone in Ikitelli, which was located in the periphery of Istanbul in that period.[43] The construction of this organized industrial zone started in 1986, however, its construction was completed in the middle of the 1990s and the early 2000s. Aymakoop and Aykosan are industrial estates about footwear and its subsidiary industry, built within the Ikitelli organized industrial zone for gathering footwear market together. While Gedikpaşa locates in the historical peninsula, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality's evacuation efforts involved the manufacturers in this districts, however, the construction of the organized industrial zone continued until the mid-90s. From these years on, manufacturers in Gedikpaşa were forced to move to the organized industrial zone by Eminönü municipality. Even if its construction was completed, transportation to the Organized Industrial Zone was insufficient and the infrastructure such as electricity, sewage, telephone line, water were not established.[44] In addition to that, interviewees state that there was a lack of subsidiary industry. For this reason, even if economic actors preferred moving to workplaces larger than the one at Gedikpaşa, they did not move to Ikitelli for a long time. When his opinion about the Organized Industrial Zone asked, Ayhan states that:

> Organized industrial zone could not have any impact over here. You know there is this saying: The mountain gave birth to a Mouse. Everyone in this area had shops in accordance with their own capabilities, their own financial situation. We used cooperatives. Well, in areas like Dericiler Sanayii, Aymakop, Istoç, we had shops. We gave them all away. We sold them for nothing. There was not an efficient infrastructure, but they tried to dispatch us to there; there was no transportation.

42 Keyder and Öncü, *Istanbul and the Concept of World Cities*, 29.

43 İkitelli Organize Sanayi Bölgesi, "İ.O.S.B. GENEL BİLGİLERİ," accessed June 25, 2019, http://www.iosb.org.tr/v3/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=7&Itemid=25.

44 Fulya Çiğdem Aydoğan, "Çekiç Gedikpaşa'dan Göçüyor," *Cumhuriyet Dergi*, no. 624 (1998: 8.

Irmak: Were there people who left this area during that period of time?

Ayhan: Yes, there were, but they got disappointed and came back… There has been a return back to here, there has been people lost their jobs, there has been people bankrupted. Let me tell you this: The people in our sector should not be separated from each other. The leatherman should be next to the shoe-manufacturer, the transporter should be next to the shoe-manufacturer, the porter should be here. We are all interconnected to each other. When you cut the connection, when you cut the chain, we all go down. We all need to be together.

When I examined the answers of interviewees about the Organized industrial zone, it can be said that the one of the main reasons for moving to the organized industrial zone was Municipality's efforts for evicting shoe manufacturers. They did not go on their own will, they forced. Besides, large numbers of shoe manufacturers who moved to organized industrial zones in that period, either went bankrupt or returned Gedikpaşa by minimizing their business since as Ayhan mentions; togetherness and closeness of different shops and sub-branches such as leather shops, material shops, footwear wholesalers, carriers are the important points for continuity of a market. However, this eviction included only shoe manufacturers. At this point, I want to touch the eviction efforts in more detail. The quotation of Levent, who has been working in Gedikpaşa as a financial consultant since 1987, shows efforts of Municipality in this period:

Aymakoop, Aykosan has been established in the organized industrial zone, in this kind of places. Back then it was not under the administration of Municipality of Fatih; it was under control of Municipality of Eminönü. The Municipality of Eminönü introduced some sanctions for the manufacturers. First, it forced them to get licenses. Then, it said now you should move to the organized industrial zone. They told that we will provide shuttles etc. The municipality introduced sanctions such as power take-off, cancellation of licenses etc. but it could not succeed no matter what it tried. But we can say that if there were 1500 manufacturers, now there are 100; it came down to 10% of the initial number.

As Levent expresses, municipality of Eminönü forced the shoe manufacturers to move from Gedikpaşa to Aymakoop and Aykosan by imposing sanctions. In this point, it is important to keep in mind that footwear production improved, gained speed and mechanized thus with the shuttle trade, Gedikpaşa became insufficient with its small square meter workplaces for the shoe manufacturers who increased their production. Many informants assert that growing manufacturers already preferred to go to new places where they could find larger workshops without forced displacement. However, the eviction included all the manufacturers even if they had not enough financial possibility to leave Gedikpaşa. The field research demonstrates that at the end of the day, all these economic actors who preferred or were forced to go, left Gedikpaşa. This situation reduced the number of shoe manufacturers in Gedikpaşa. Nevertheless, significant number of manufacturers resisted to this force displacement. For instance, one of them Vedat, illustrates this kind of resistance and his juridical process:

> We were here, they sealed our shop off. I ripped the seal, and I was taken to the court. So many people… I was in the building across the street, working, they followed me. When they sealed off, I ripped the seal and kept working for couple of weeks. I asked Hüseyin, my current *Odabaşı*, find me a working place in a basement. Hüseyin said this place is okay. I checked, it does not face the Street. So, I rented it. I went to the court. The judge talked about ripping the seal off, but they did not do anything.

The solution which Vedat found for escaping evacuation, preferring workshop in basements, is a frequently used solution as a defense mechanism to struggle State's sanctions such as evacuation effort or revenue officers. However, as Vedat says, there were no legal sanctions for those who resisted to stay here after the lawsuit was filed. Similar to Vedat, interviewees say that after a certain period of time, all sanctions of the municipality stopped since the mayor of the previous period could not be re-elected in the 1999 local elections. Even if these sanctions stopped, interviewees state that brother of this mayor bought buildings and built a hotel in this city block during this period. It can be said that this evacuation is not only about moving the manufacturing out of the

city to the organized industrial zone, but also about tourism. One of the main reasons of this situation was the location of Gedikpaşa since it is very close the touristic area of the historical peninsula such as Grand Bazaar, Blue Mosque, Hagia Sophia etc. and with the shuttle traders, its location became more important. On the other hand, it should be noted that in the 90s, the emphasis on making Istanbul a global city included the transformation of historical urban areas into tourism centers. In addition to this, Laleli district, which is very close to Gedikpaşa, was considered as the center of shuttle trade and this neighborhood hosted many hotels for shuttle traders.

On the other hand, if I return the consequences of the eviction, the narratives of the interviewees illustrate that many economic actors who increased their production thus needed larger square meters and those who were forced to displacement even if they had not enough financial possibility also preferred other districts such as Zeytinburnu, Merter and Güngören, instead of Ikitelli. There are many reasons for this situation. Firstly, as I mentioned above, Aymakoop and Aykosan were not fully completed and therefore not available to everyone. Moreover, Municipality forced only shoe manufacturers to move but not the subsidiary industry; thus, material shops, leather and footwear wholesalers stayed at Gedikpaşa. Secondly, these districts were more accessible than Ikitelli in terms of transport, as these manufacturers still had to visit Gedikpaşa frequently even if they moved, in order not to break off the market.

Another important point in the 90s was the change of migrant groups who came to work in Gedikpaşa. As in all metropolises, the number of internal migrants, who came from the cities where the Kurdish population is denser, increased. Unlike previous migration waves, this time, migrants came due to forced migration. During the war in the 1990s, the predominantly Kurdish population were forced to migrate from the Eastern and South-Eastern provinces to cities in the region as well as the big cities in western regions, especially to Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir.[45]

As I said in the introduction of this thesis, Gedikpaşa footwear market is a market that is shaped by the unpredictable, changing socio-economic conditions and macro political dynamics. One of these unexpected situations was

45 Keyder and Yenal, *Bildiğimiz Tarımının Sonu*, 161.

the shuttle trade affected the Gedikpaşa market positively, as a result of the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Termination of the evacuation efforts when the previous mayor lost the elections was also unpredictable. Another unpredictable situation was the Russian financial crisis in 1998 which affected development of Turkey's exports negatively.[46] For instance, while Turkey's volume of shuttle trade was 8.842 million dollars 1996, it decreased to 2,255 million dollars in 1999.[47] During the field research economic actors' narratives also illustrate that the positive impact of shuttle trade reversed with the Russian financial crisis in 1998. Another negative impact of this financial crisis for Gedikpaşa was that domestic market's demand tended towards other footwear markets in Turkey, since economic actors of Gedikpaşa had preferred to produce and sell for foreign markets rather than the domestic one as I mentioned above.

§ 2.3 Gedikpaşa in the 2000s

Three years after the Russian financial crisis in 1998, this time Turkey witnessed a financial crisis in 2001. Interviews mention that, only quite a few economic actors were bankrupted because of these crises. However, at the same time they argued that these crises eliminated those who were forward-looking and those who were not. Moreover, the period of economic recovery did not take too long. Ayşe who has been working as a financial consultant in Gedikpaşa since 2003, exhibits the during and post-economic recovery:

> I came here after the 2001 financial crisis has taken place, during the recovery phase. Back then, there was this enforcement of municipality as part of the renewal project. This was an area where anyone who buys 1 or 2 machines can start manufacturing in neglected places with bad working conditions. Of course there was a work load. Why are the suppliers here as well? Laleli is so close. This was very good because there

46 Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, "UZUN VADELİ STRATEJİ VE SEKİZİNCİ BEŞ YILLIK KALKINMA PLANI 2001-2005" (Ankara, 2000.

47 Sinem Yapar Saçık, "Türkiye'de Bavul Ticaretinin Dış Ticaret İçerisindeki Yeri ve Büyüme-Bavul Ticareti İlişkisi," *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences* 12, no. 4 (2013: 809.

> were spaces both for sale and purchase. Even in a small room, there was shoe manufacturing. But then, when the business started going well, some firms could not fit in these places and some of them moved to Ikitellli while some others closed the shops down. Not just the enforcement of the renewal project but also the hotels, small hotels, appeared attractive to the property owners. This also accelerated the transformation, there was a flow of tourism. Of course, now it is a painful period of time.

Ayşe's quotation demonstrates that footwear sector in Gedikpaşa was able to recover since the only thing the shoe makers needed for production was their labor and sometimes low budget machines. Moreover, as Ayşe illustrates Gedikpaşa was still important for shoe production and had a business volume in 2001, as material and supplier shops and shoe makers were very close to each other.

Another important point that Ayşe refers is that going of shoe makers from Gedikpaşa by virtue of different reason. This going can be separated into two; those moving by consent and going by forced displacement. The first one was a moving of growing manufacturers from Gedikpaşa to a new district or organized industrial zones to increase their production as in the 1990s. The second was displacement of manufacturers to organized industrial zones by municipality. Gedikpaşa was within the borders of the Municipality of Eminönü until 2008. Then, the Municipality of Eminönü was connected to Municipality of Fatih. According to an interviewee Gökhan, who is a shareholder of one of the biggest *Han* in Gedikpaşa, this affiliation was linked with the urban renewal projects in historical peninsula. One of these renewal project, Gedikpaşa urban renewal project was announced by Municipality of Fatih in 2010. In fact, such urban renewal projects were announced in many historical districts of Istanbul such as Sulukule, Tarlabaşı, Süleymaniye. In exactly the same way in other districts, Gedikpaşa urban renewal project based on the Law No.5366, the "Law on Conservation by Renovation and Use by Revitalization

of the Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Immovable Property"[48] that was declared in 2005. This law provides the municipalities more power by allowing them to determine urban renewal areas and to announce urban renewal projects within their borders. With the authority of this law, if a district is declared as a renewal area, property owners can be forced to choose among options offered them by the municipality. Local governments, Municipalities attained extraordinary power in terms of declaring a district as an urban renewal area by means of this law. Moreover, properties in the district where the renewal project is declared can be expropriated urgently within the scope of this law. In doing so, the aim of the state in the urban renewal projects, met the expectations of the tourism industry, since the central government of Istanbul made an investment equivalent to the annual budget of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism within scope of the 2010 European Capital of Culture.[49] Such projects cannot be considered independent of the capital accumulation regime of AKP. As a matter of fact, this law does not include objective definitions or designating areas as transformation zones. For instance, it include definitions such as 'blight', 'earthquake risk' and 'obsolescence' however, these are unclear definitions.[50] The only determined criterion is that "the renewal areas have to be bigger than 50.000 square meters."[51]

The address based population census demonstrates that Municipality of Eminönü had only 32.557 inhabitants in 2007[52], just before it was connected

48 Kültür Varliklari ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, "Law on Conservation by Renovation and Use by Revitalization of the Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Immovable Property (5366," accessed June 25, 2019, http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/TR,43250/law-on-conservation-by-renovation-and-use-by-revitaliza-.html.

49 Aksoy, "İstanbul'un Neoliberalizmle İmtihanı," 35–37.

50 Kuyucu and Ünsal, "'Urban Transformation' as State-Led Property Transfer: An Analysis of Two Cases of Urban Renewal in Istanbul," 1489–90.

51 Tuna Kuyucu, "Hukuk, Mülkiyet ve Muğlaklık: İstanbul'un Kayıtdışı Yerleşimlerinin Yeniden Yapılandırılmasında Hukuki Belirsizliğin Kullanımları ve İstismarları," in *Yeni İstanbul Çalışmaları: Sınırlar, Mücadeleler, Açılımlar*, ed. Ayfer Bartu Candan and Cenk Özbay (İstanbul: Metis, 2014, 78.

52 Yerel Yönetim Portalı, "Eminönü Ilçesi Nüfus Listesi," accessed June 26, 2019, http://www.yerelnet.org.tr/ilceler/ilce_nufus.php?ilceid=198640.

Municipality of Fatih. Indeed, it can be said that as one of the interviewees of this thesis which is Gökhan asserts, this affiliation may relate to the urban renewal projects to be carried out on the historic peninsula.

If I return Gedikpaşa urban renewal project, after the announcement of this project, as in the 1990s, municipality forced the manufacturers to move from Gedikpaşa to Ikitelli organized industrial zone by getting a document signed. In addition to this, Municipality pedestrianized the streets in Gedikpaşa[53] and Laleli where significant goods transport used to carry out, during the day. Halil depicts this period as follow:

> If we hosted the Olympics of 2018 or 2019 – I cannot recall- if Turkey hosted it, none of the shopkeepers would be here, they all would have been evacuated. Because before that, the municipality made many of the manufacturers here sign some deals. They took their signatories on deals making them promise they will evacuate their places. The people from municipality was coming and getting signatures of whoever they see; no matter they are registered or not.

At the end of the day, Gedikpaşa urban renewal project did not take place. When I examine the web site of Municipality, there is no information about whether the project has been canceled. In 2017, I tried to contact the architecture company and Municipality via email for getting information about the current situation of the project but neither Municipality nor the architecture company returned my mails. When I asked the interviewees why this project did not realize, I could not get an answer from anyone except Halil as you can see his answer below. However, even if it has not been realized, It is important that only the announcement of the project affected this neighborhood and changed the values of the properties in the district.[54] Moreover, many *Han*s were transformed to Hotels, that is to say Gedikpaşa started to come under the influence of tourism. Nevertheless, Economic actors turn some crisis into

53 Fatih Belediyesi, "Alt Laleli ve Gedikpaşa Yayalaşıyor," accessed June 26, 2019, http://www.fatih.bel.tr/icerik/5547/alt-laleli-ve-gedikpasa-yayalasiyor/.

54 Emlak Kulisi, "Gedikpaşa'da Kentsel Dönüşümle Binalar 2.5 Milyon TL'ye El Değiştiriyor!," accessed June 26, 2019, http://emlakkulisi.com/gedikpasada-kentsel-donusumle-binalar-25-milyon-tlye-el-degistiriyor/200996.

an opportunity. For instance, as I stated above, municipality pedestrianized the streets in Gedikpaşa. At first, this situation seemed to be negative for a place where the goods were transported by trucks during the day. However, it was completely reversed by a defense mechanism created by carriers. They took advantage of the legal gap and started to use the electric vehicles which are smaller than trucks to carry the cargo and facilitated the work of these transporters in the narrow streets of Gedikpaşa.



Figure 2.3 An electric vehicle to carry goods.

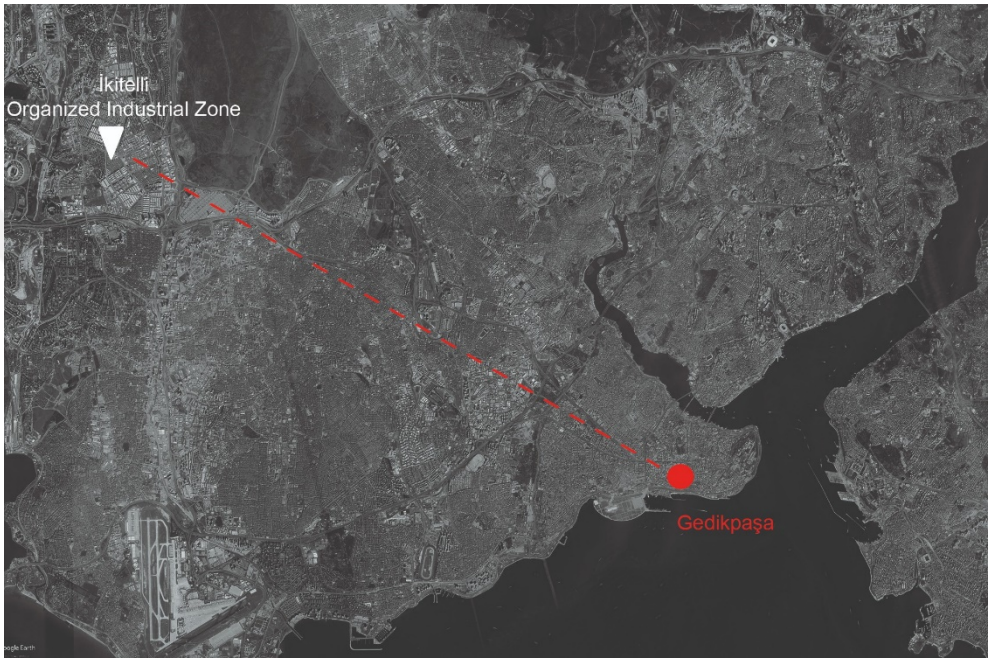
As I mentioned above, manufacturers forced to eviction by Municipality, however, the picture was not like in the 1990s, Municipality did not impose any other sanction to footwear manufacturers who signed eviction form. Never-

theless, a substantial part of the manufacturers moved from Gedikpaşa to Aymakoop, Aykosan and the other districts such as Zeytinburnu, Güngören. Besides that, there are also many manufacturers who do not prefer to move from Gedikpaşa as in the 1990s. Zeynel explains the reasons of his decision:

> Even if they cover İkitelli with gold, what would I do there; it is in the middle of nowhere… For instance, if I have a customer in İkilitelli, and asks me to bring some model of shoes immediately, it takes at least 2-3 hours; but here it is just 15 minutes. To be honest, I personally said I would neither go to İkitelli nor to any other place. If I quit the job, I would rather do it here. This was also what I said back then, and I did not go. Most of the ones who left came back eventually. Many of them went to Merter and bankrupted. Look, here we have the shops of some of the friends who left, and they keep paying their rents in case they would come back. You know, this place is like home, like family to us. Here is the center. People can find whatever they cannot find in any other place, whatever they cannot find in Konya, in Antep, they can find here.

As Zeynel remarks the importance of closeness and centrality, I heard similar things almost from all manufacturers who were interviewed and they assert that, even if it is not like the 2000s, today, Gedikpaşa is still more comfortable place than the organized industrial zone and the other districts for finding the material needs of manufacturers. Many firms in the organized industrial zone often come to Gedikpaşa for supplying their material needs by using regular shuttle between Aymakoop, Aykosan and Gedikpaşa. In addition to these, a significant part of shoe manufacturers in Gedikpaşa are selling their products to wholesalers in Gedikpaşa and Laleli, and this situation makes them more dependent on Gedikpaşa footwear market. Moreover, informants state that Gedikpaşa is a place where people are comfortable with its informal character and everyday life habits of shoe manufacturers are shaped by this informality, whereas organized industrial zones are more formal. According to economic actors in Gedikpaşa, this kind of formality is not accordant with everyday life habits of shoe manufacturers. In this point, based on my observation I can say that Gedikpaşa has an atmosphere of freedom to all kinds of economic actors

in there. For instance, they can visit other parts of the historical peninsula during lunch break, or they can go fishing at the seaside after work. Because of these reasons, many economic actors who moved, prefer other districts where they could be more comfortable than organized industrial zone, even though they were not as comfortable as they were in Gedikpaşa. It can be said that this situation generated the spread of footwear sector in many districts in Istanbul.



Map 2.1 İkitelli Organized Industrial Zone and Gedikpaşa

Aside from this, as Zeynel, many interviewees say that lots of economic actors who moved from Gedikpaşa keep their old workplace. One of the interviewees of this field research who is Akın is also one of these economic actors. He moved his manufacture to organized industrial zones in 2011 but he also kept his old workplace as the center of his business. When I asked the reason, he told me that it is important to have a connection in Gedikpaşa and thanks to this workplace he could come Gedikpaşa more often. At this point, I can say that only people who have financial possibility took their old workplace. Based on my observations, I can say that a substantial part of the shoe manufacturers in Gedikpaşa do not have sufficient economic capital to move from there with

their limited production capacities and they are economically dependent on their customers, the wholesalers. On the other hand, as Berna Güler-Müftüoğlu states, the number of non-product businesses such as wholesalers and showrooms has started to increase since the 90s.[55] Güler-Müftüoğlu predicts that this situation would increase the rents and cause move of the small-scale manufacturers from Gedikpaşa in the long term.[56] Today, even if the number of manufacturers has decreased considerably compared to the past, the reason is not the increase in rents; the decrease is rather a consequence of evacuations took part during the 1990s and the 2000s. In fact, even if tourism marked up the values of the properties for sale, the rentals in Gedikpaşa are still cheaper than organized industrial zone and other districts. If it is necessary to depict the geographical distribution in the district, I would say that while wholesalers and showrooms are located in the ground floor of *Han*s on the main streets which are at the north side of Gedikpaşa, while workshops spread to the upper and basement floors of these *Han*s. There are still workshops on the ground floor of the *Han*s located on the roads leading down to Kumkapı, namely in the southern side of Gedikpaşa.

At this point, I want to touch the customer base of the footwear market in the 2000s and 2010s. As Ayşe illustrates, after the financial crisis in 1998 and in 2001, Gedikpaşa footwear market recovered in the first five years of the 2000s. Interviews illustrate that many shoe manufacturers had been displaced from Gedikpaşa came back after a while. Until the 2010s, Gedikpaşa footwear market remained dynamic and found new shuttle traders from countries such as Georgia, Bulgaria, Armenia and Turkic Republics. In addition to that, there was an increase of shuttle traders from Russia, though not as much as before. However, a Russian warplane was shot in 2015. This situation caused a crisis in the shuttle trade[57]and the narratives demonstrate that Gedikpaşa was also greatly affected. Not only shooting down of a Russian warplane but also bomb attacks in Istanbul affected the shuttle traders. However, informants remark that Gedikpaşa can easily adapt to different markets from Balkan countries

55 Güler Müftüoğlu, *Fason Ekonomisi*, 226.

56 Ibid.

57 Rengin Arslan, "Rusya'yla Gerginlik Sonrası Laleli'de Bavul Ticareti Krizde," *Bbc Türkçe*, accessed June 26, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/12/151209_laleli_rengin.

and the Middle East. Based on my observation, I can say that a significant portion of Gedikpaşa footwear market's customer base consists of those from middle eastern countries. In addition to that, I can assert there are still significant number of customers from post-soviet states including Russia, even if not as much as before.

Another important point in the 2000s and 2010s is the change of the economic actors who are working in Gedikpaşa. It became a market not only for migrants but also immigrants who have varied since the 1990s. For instance, immigrant Turks who migrated from Bulgaria. During the field research, many informants stated that there were many people who had come from Bulgaria in the l980s and the 1990s working in Gedikpaşa, and with the expansion of the shuttle trade during the 1990s their language became an advantage. Today, similar to Turks who came from Bulgaria, Syrian immigrants' language is an advantage for the customer from middle east. In the one-year field study of this thesis, I witnessed immigrant workers in the sub-branch of footwear sector not only from Syria, but also from African countries, Uzbekistan, Armenia, and many other countries.

Recently, Gedikpaşa was faced with a new unpredictability. In August 2018, within a few days, Turkish lira decreased in value against U.S dollar. On the 10th of August, the day in which the Turkish lira depreciated sharply, I was at Gedikpaşa to conduct interview with Can and I had the chance to observe the footwear market. There was a sense of uncertainty about the future. Everyone was going in and out of each other's workshops. One of the main reasons for this uncertainty was the price of many products, materials in the footwear market is being charged in U.S dollars and many material shops did not sell material due to unpredictability in this day. Increase in the dollar's exchange rate created uncertainty not only in the prices of materials and subproducts, but in footwear prices as well.

> I think in our market this thing called deferment (*Vade* started becoming so common during the last 5 years; I am talking about the domestic market. I actually think these recent economic incidents are kind of beneficial for the sector. I actually want it to get even worse. Because, you know, there is this song in Turkish classical music; it says 'the seas do not calm down without getting rough first'. So, a profession

> does not get better without seeing the bottom. And also, there is the issue of demand; demand is low, supply is high. Deferments such as 18 months are too long for footwear. People are not selling houses, so they say go to the bank, withdraw the money and give it to me. What this influences right now are the deferments.

In the following months, the fluctuation in the exchange rate were continuing. From August 2018, to the last interview of this thesis in November 2018, I was witnessing that the crisis was an important conversation piece in Gedikpaşa. Akın, one of the last interviewees of thesis, told me the above quote in this context. As you understand, this crisis is a solution for him. As a matter of fact, unpredictable conditions, the crises arise from these conditions and perception of these crises as a solution are not only peculiar to this last period as it is not to Akın. I mentioned several times that the economic structure and the economic actors in Gedikpaşa have been transformed by different unpredictable changing socio-economic conditions and macro political dynamics such as eviction efforts, impacts of state's foreign policies, financial crisis in the countries of customers, etc. Somehow, several economic actors could maintain their existence and the market existence by generating different mechanism of defense. I can assert that these unpredictability is essential characteristic of Gedikpaşa footwear market which has shaped this market since its establishment.

Finally, I want to talk about the expectations of economic actors about what will happen to Gedikpaşa in the future. During the fieldwork, I asked interviewees that what would happen to Gedikpaşa in the future. thesis I witnessed a duality. On one hand, some of the interviewees remarks that there is a market disruption by the economic and political developments in recent years. On the other hand, many of them remark that Gedikpaşa is still important center for sale even if it is not for production. In addition to that informants determine that Gedikpaşa started to sell to Balkan countries and middle east market. Nedim, who is shoe wholesaler, supports this view:

> Well, I think here is so good in terms of sales, but not in terms of manufacturing. But it is the center of the footwear sales… The factories either have showrooms here, I mean sale venues where they exhibit

> their products, or they give their goods to some other shops that sell the products of the factories wholesale. I mean it, here is the center. Instead of visiting factories in Merter or İkitelli one by one, all of the factories have spaces here… As far as I can observe, the area is becoming more hotel-oriented, it is leaning towards tourism. This area will be touristic; this is what they foresee about it… There still may be sale but manufacturing will definitely disappear.

Like many others, Nedim points at, Gedikpaşa hosts several different showrooms and customers can find many products from different shops. According to them, this is really an important spatial feature in terms of saving time for customer. Moreover, most of the informants state that Gedikpaşa has become a habit for many customers. Majority of the interviews assert that Gedikpaşa footwear market will continue except the manufacturing even if it will become a tourist destination.

3

Internal Dynamics of the Gedikpaşa Footwear Market

The field research of this thesis demonstrates that informality, trust relationships and social networks, positions of economic actors in terms of their craftsmanship and economic capital accumulation processes have played an important role since the establishment Gedikpaşa footwear market,. It can be said that there is an interrelationship between market and features which shape each other and provide their continuity. From this point of view, in this chapter, I will examine Economic Actors, Informality, Trust and Market, Social Networks and Property Owners respectively, by showing the narratives of interviewees.

§ 3.1 Economic Actors

Before I decided to write a master thesis about Gedikpaşa, I had no idea about how many different sub-branches there were in the footwear market. I had thought that a manufacturer could produce a shoe on his own. During the field research of this thesis, I learned that for making a footwear, at least five people who specialize in different branches have to work in a manufacturing workshop. Moreover, not only manufacturing, but also footwear market's other sub-branches include several specializations. Thus, economic actors' positions, their economic capital and craftsmanship are important to understand

the Gedikpaşa market. In discussing these aspects, I compare the past and present conditions of craftsmanship process and economic capital's accumulation. However, before this, I want to depict the market through Bekir's following quotation:

> Footwear is so rich in that sense, it contains numerous diverse professions. At first look, an outsider can think that a shoe is manufactured by a single person. But there are diverse professions included even I, as someone involved in the business for 40 years, cannot count them all. All of them require different specializations. I mean someone who can make one of them cannot make the others. It requires serious craft knowledge. In order, there is the leather, then the factories where leather is processed, bedding, coloring… Even all these have separate craftsmanship included. In addition to these, there is the sole as a separate branch. The sole is made with a model and making the model itself requires a professionalization: You inject diverse chemical substances into it etc. Besides these, there are the heels; what we call *Ökçe* in colloquial speech. The heels also constitute a distinct branch and it has separate lines of professionalization too. Then the shoe manufacturer purchases all these and starts the process which turns them into a shoe. Meanwhile, there is the packaging; the process we call box. Laces, the accessories used in the shoes… These are all separate branches. A shoe manufacturer cannot produce a shoe once and for all. A good metaphor for all these can be an orchestra: There is an orchestra and there is a maestro leading it. The maestro is supposed to bring together all the materials necessary for making a shoe, to design the model in his mind… He has to think what he is going to do, how he is going to do, which sole, how high the heells will be, where he will market the product… He has to plan all these and act accordingly. He will buy all the equipment such as the leather separately. Then he needs to have the leather cut; this is another job. The cutter cuts the leather and the lining. There are certain professions such as giving shape to the leather, *Kampre* is a separate profession. Then there is *Sayacılık*. It is the fine sewing of the upper part of the shoe that covers it all with accessories after the pieces of leather are cut.

Bekir demonstrates that division of labor/specialization is a crucial aspect of the Gedikpaşa footwear market. As Berna Güler-Müftüoğlu illustrates, these different parts of the shoe-manufacturing process of small and medium sized manufacturers are made by other masters who are *Sayacı, Foracı, Frezeci* in their own workplace. [1]These specializations in the shoe market, especially in the shoe manufacturing's different branches are shaped by the master-apprentice relationship. This relationship is established in a hierarchical way. Apprenticeship is the lowest level in this hierarchy in terms of craftsmanship process. It is an educational period when apprentices learn skills of their journeyman and master until they became a Journeyman. Journeyman is in the second level and mastership is at the top of this hierarchical structure. In fact, journeyman and master are at the same position in the meaning of their skills, however, journeyman is an employee of the master. When a journeyman opens its own workshop it can became a master. That is to say being a master requires not only craftsmanship but also sufficient economic capital for becoming an employer.

At this point, I want to talk about the professional background of the interviewees. As I mentioned in the methodology part, twenty of twenty-four interviewees who are employers have a past in the footwear market, even if some of them are currently working as an *Odabaşı* or as a tea seller. For instance, it can be stated that except Salih who is an immigrant from Syria, other nineteen interviewees were included the Gedikpaşa footwear market between 1958 and 1997, namely, they've been in this market for at least 20 years. Except the certain interviewees who have always been wholesalers, other interviewees passed through the apprenticeship and journeyman stages in a manufacturing workshop before opening up their own manufacturing workshops or wholesaler stores. Over time, the market enabled them to accumulate their economic and to become craftsman. The quotation of Akın who came to Gedikpaşa in the 1990s when he was 16 years old, depicts a picture of this period.

> Gedikpaşa is the living Academy of footwear. Here in Gedikpaşa, if he someone really likes what he is doing and listens to the advices of his masters in order to improve himself… In the counter, I was in the

1 Güler Müftüoğlu, *Fason Ekonomisi,* 97–99.

> manufacturing department, I was a journeyman. We call the worker ranked below the journeyman as armpit. For instance, when I was a student under armpit, I used to think that there is a lot to experience, a lot to learn here. Someone who works as an armpit or advanced from apprenticeship to armpit, apprenticeship is also included in this. I consider apprenticeship as primary school. I started footwear apprenticeship when I was 6-7 years old. I mean, after you complete the primary school stage by apprenticeship, you get promoted to armpit… Then, if you devote yourself and if you have a good journeyman, if the master in the shop is a good one, then journeyman in the counter is the teacher and the owner of the shop is the president for you. If you devote yourself, there is no chance that you will not graduate. This is how I see all these… I always say it; God bless this business. My all capital is this market. Now, in my position I say I am Sakıp Sabancı. They ask "how?", My friend, I came from Urfa only with a shirt but today our friends, our kin, what we are all doing are obvious.

Akın's sentence which is "My all capital is this market" is a significant example which contains several points about the importance of craftsmanship, and economic capital in the Gedikpaşa footwear market. Moreover, it is demonstrative example of his analogy about him and Sakıp Sabancı. After working as a journeyman in different workplaces, as I mentioned above, Akın opened his own workplace in 2000. Today, he is still a shoe manufacturer but he expanded his business and set up two new workplaces in Ikitelli Organized industrial zone. He uses the workplace in Gedikpaşa as an office where he does not manufacture. In fact, Akın is not the only one who has a success story in the Gedikpaşa market. During the interviews, the vast majority of the interviewees frequently remark that they have come to this point by having financial difficulties.



Figure 3.1 Two journeymen and an apprentice are manufacturing women footwear in a workplace.

Seventeen of the twenty interviewees in my sample started working in the footwear market as an apprentice when they were younger than 18 years. Three of these interviewees did not remember exactly how old they were when they started working, but the other fourteen interviewees' average age of starting to work is thirteen. Berna Güler-Müftüoğlu's research demonstrates that the

69.6% of her sample started to footwear manufacturing when they were between seven and fourteen years old.[2] In addition to this, Güler-Müftüoğlu states that during the field research, she encountered at least one child worker in each workshop.[3] Thus, it is obvious that, child labor was a reality in the market. As I mentioned before, several informants came to Istanbul to work in the Gedikpaşa market. They stated that working in Gedikpaşa at that age was a necessity for them to survive in the city. However, this does not mean that all the interviewees who started to work at an early age started working at that age because of their family's financial situation. According to economic actors, shoe manufacturing was a favored profession. In addition, according to them, starting work at an early age allowed them to acquire skills and economic capital.

In this regard, it is important to talk about the current situation in Gedikpaşa. During the field work, even if I did not conduct interviews with employees, I observed the employees of interviewees. Based on my observations, I can say that I encountered a small number of child workers and majority of them are generally Syrian. The number of child workers change in different periods. For instance, I observed that the number of children in Gedikpaşa increases during the summer vacation. Except these child workers, I can assert that employees, apprentices, porters, salesclerks etc., are generally younger than 30 years old and older than 18 years old. Apart from the apprentices from Turkey, there are a lot of apprentices who came from Armenia, Syria, Turkic republics. Journeymen are generally in the age range of 30-60 years. Based on my observation, I can say that majority of journeymen are people from Turkey. However, I witnessed considerable number of journeymen from Syria. It can be asserted that there is not an intense child labor, as in the period when the interviewees were included in the market.

On the other hand, in their research which was published in 1993, Sema Erder and Kuvvet Loroğlu state that apprenticeship of children is no longer a function of craft transfer or education, but instead apprenticeship has become

2 Ibid., 136.

3 Ibid., 174.

"hidden wage labor.[4] In addition, in her research[5], Gül Özsan argues that when it comes to research on tradesmen, craftsmanship and apprenticeship, ethnographic research is dominated by perspectives that do not go beyond patterns such as "traditional master-apprentice relationships" and "traditional apprenticeship". According to Özsan, narratives, which emphasize the traditional apprenticeship has lost, serve to strengthen the current hegemonic position of masters and to reproduce the myth of lack of apprentices. Özsan argues that masters also do not prefer to transfer their professional knowledge to a stranger. Instead of this, they prefer to transfer their knowledge to a family member. Based on my fieldwork, I would say that the narratives of the masters were generally not reluctant to work with apprentices and transfer their knowledge to them. However, an interviewer who is working with his son, said that he did not train apprentices from outside because the apprentices could leave him in the lurch when they find a new master who pays more. He even mentioned that he did not let his apprentices to lunch outside in order that they could not find another master. Nevertheless, other five masters who are shoe manufacturers did not think negatively about training apprentices. In this point, I have to touch that even if it is not as in the past family labor has an important place in Gedikpaşa footwear market. Based on her fieldwork, Güler-Müftüoğlu states that the 60% of manufacturers in her sample work with their family member in their workshop.[6] In this thesis sample, six of twenty employers work with their family members. In addition to that, majority of informants' family members have/had an economic life in the footwear market.

At this point, it is necessary to discuss apprenticeship. Great number of interviewees also state that they cannot establish traditional master-apprentice relationships since they cannot find sufficient apprentices to employ. Interviewees also mention that the next generations do not prefer to work in the

4 Sema Erder and Kuvvet Lordoğlu, *Geleneksel Çıraklıktan Çocuk Emeğine: Bir Alan Araştırması* (İstanbul: Friedrich Ebert Vakfı, 1993, 12.

5 Gül Özsan, "Etnografi ve Tarihin Ara Yüzünde: Çıraklık Hakkında Mit ve Anlam Haritaları," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 142 (2017: 56–78.

6 Güler Müftüoğlu, *Fason Ekonomisi*, 141.

footwear market as in the past, especially in the labor-intensive jobs. According to them, this situation deteriorates the master-apprentice relationship. They mention that their children also do not prefer to work in the Gedikpaşa market. Numerous economic actors changed their jobs from manufacturing to wholesale for continuing in the market since their children did not prefer to learn the manufacturing. Indeed, this does not mean that next generations do not work at all in the footwear market. They work in the market, but even if they do, they are included in the market and continue their professional life in different ways than the previous generations. Vast majority of interviewees assert that the manufacturing part of market will be danger in the future. However, as it is mentioned above, there is a transfer of labor-intensive work between previous and latter migrants. This situation maintains the manufacturing in Gedikpaşa. The following conversation with Bekir clearly explains this situation:

Irmak: How does Gedikpaşa survive? How does it protect itself?

Bekir: It actually cannot protect itself.

Irmak: How does the production here persist?

Bekir: Migration helps it to persist Now, the Syrian migration, Armenian migration, Uzbek migration, Uzbekistan. If there was no migration, maybe this profession would have been much more… I mean it would not become extinct here, but it would have been much harder, much smaller. The migrations feed this profession. And the profession feeds migration. By the way, I forgot about the black citizens. They too, I mean this profession conduced to their presence here, I mean the professions that sprang from footwear. Now, this is an important dimension in terms of answering your question: Migration, this area is very favorable for migration. A while ago, I went to Teşvikiye, everything is so expensive, accommodation is expensive, food is expensive; it is impossible for a migrant even to walk there. To begin with, psychologically, the dressing would be a problem. They would not be able to live there. In this sense, this area is suitable for migrants to find shelter; migrants such as people from Malatya, Kayseri, Rize and also from

> Mozambique, Armenia. This convenience makes it possible for them to settle here, and enables continuity. So, I mean it is because of migration all these activities persist.

As I mentioned in other chapters, Gedikpaşa had been an important center for shoe-manufacturing, however, it lost its importance with the spread of production, including mass, to other districts. Nonetheless, even if not as before, shoe-manufacturing continues and manufacturers seek for ways to survive in Gedikpaşa. In this regard, the conversation with Bekir demonstrates that migration is a defense mechanism for surviving. Deniz Yükseker states that migrants who are economically excluded from the formal markets are able to hold the Laleli market owing to its informal character.[7] Similar to Laleli case, I can assert that Gedikpaşa provides a basis to hold an economic activity for migrants. On the other hand, migrants are seen as cheap labor for the informal economies especially labor intensive, low-wage manufacturing sectors in Turkey.[8] Since migrant workers agree conditions such as working without social security coverage, long working hours etc., which are refused by workers from Turkey.[9] In this regard, exploitation is an illustrative characteristic of migrant life and work.[10] From this point of view, it has to be realized that continuity of Gedikpaşa is closely related with the working conditions of migrants.

Apart from these, interviewees assert the way of being master is also changed, they assert that economic capital replaces craftsmanship today. In other words, while formerly, rising in the market required craftsmanship and economic capital which could be accumulated by passing through the apprenticeship and journeyman stages over time; currently, people who have the economic capital, can become workshop owners. Erhan explains this situation as follows: "Now, if you have money you can open a shop easily, it is not like how it is used to be. In the past, I used to know which leather to buy for which shoe.

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7 Yukseker, *Laleli-Moskova Mekiği*, 243.

8 Gülay Toksöz, Seyhan Erdoğdu, and Selmin Kaşka, "Irregular Labour Migration in Turkey and Situation of Migrant Workers in the Labour Market" (Ankara, 2012, 23.

9 Ibid.

10 Nazlı Şenses, "Rethinking Migration in the Context of Precarity: The Case of Turkey," Critical Sociology 42, no. 7–8 (November 28, 2016: 980, doi:10.1177/0896920515606503.

The new generation does not know. There is not supply and demand anymore, now there is supply after demand."

Indeed, this is not something that has happened in recent years. During the field work, the vast majority of interviewees state that the positive economic environment of the shuttle trade in the 1990s led to the rise of numerous economic actors, including those who had not got economic and craftsmanship in footwear market. Interviewees remark that numerous people were included in the market in this period and they rose. Even if they did not become a shoe manufacturer, they could be footwear and leather wholesalers. According to them, this period changed the way the market works. İsmet, one of the interviewee of this thesis started to work in Gedikpaşa market by this way in the 1990s. He is a leather wholesaler now. He explains the other aspect of the rise of economic actors in the 1990s by depicting the difference between past and present:

> In 1998 for instance, when we were selling a product, we used to call a porter and ask him to deliver it for the transport. Today, 80% of these porters own cars that worth 300-400 billion. They are the owners of their own businesses, they sell fake shoes. They usually turned into big capital holders. Of course, the porters of nowadays also have cars; one owns a Corsa, the other an Astra. At least they have cars.

It can be said that this quote is very illustrative example which compares the porters in the 1990s and present since while the cars of the porters in the 90's are 300-400 thousand liras, the prices of the cars owned by current porters start at 40-50 thousand liras. During the fieldwork, I asked the interviewees that can the employees such as porters, apprentices, journeymen open their own workshop of manufacturing or own wholesale shop by specializing. The response I received from almost everyone was the same that they can open their workplace, however they cannot maintain their work. According to them, the main reason for this is that there is no longer a business environment for craftsmanship. That is to say, absence of the craftsmanship obstructs the continuity of these people. Apart from these, another reason why the next generations do not desire to become skilled and to work in labor-intensive

works is that rising vertically is more difficult than before. Orhan's statement below gives an example of this situation:

> Well, it is true, nowadays a worker remains as a worker. Even if he gets professionalized, what will happen? They guy becomes the artisan of the years, for instance, if there were the old prices, he might have got 1000-15000 liras in a week, but now he works for 1700-2000 liras monthly. Anyway, there is no staff being trained in the sector anymore.

Orhan asserts that employees do not prefer to specialize since they cannot receive salary as before since their craftsmanship cannot turn into economic capital under the current circumstances. This situation provides a basis of demand for migrant labor since migrants accept of labor-intensive works which are not accepted by next generation. Migrants are hereby open to be exploited.

§ 3.2 Informality

Informality is one of the specific characteristic of Gedikpaşa which shaped its footwear market. It can be said that informality is an everyday phenomenon for this market. On one hand, it is a very visible issue, on the other hand it is an issue that is not much talked about. During the field research of this thesis, it is also one of the most difficult topic in the meaning of speaking with informants. However, since informality was one of the most important realities in Gedikpaşa, after a while, the interviewees had mentioned this issue themselves before I asked; or when I asked them, they responded without hesitation. In this part, I will examine various types of informality in Gedikpaşa market.

Being unregistered is one of the informality types in Gedikpaşa. When I asked to interviewees approximate percentage of unregistered businesses in Gedikpaşa, I always received different answers about it. Moreover, it is meaningless trying to reach statistical information about the percentage of unregistered business, since it is unregistered as the name implies. But majority of the interviewees' estimations demonstrate that at least 50 percent of the businesses in Gedikpaşa are unregistered. The following quotation of Halil gives a similar percentage:

> At least the 50% or 60% of the shopkeepers here are off the books. The shops at the bottom floors of the *Han*s, the shops with front facades are registered, but the ones on the upper floors are unregistered. It is hard for these to be registered, because there is not any continuity here anymore. Because there is no continuity, the people work here for three months during the winter, and work for 2 or 3 other months during the summer. So, they work for 4 or 5 months during the whole year and they don't for the remaining 7 months. This is how it works. So how can they work if they are also registered during these remaining 7 months? Money for the accountant, for withholding etc. It is impossible for them to pay.

Besides the percentage of unregistered establishments, Halil depicts a spatial distribution. Not only, Halil, but also substantial part of the interviewees depicts this kind of distribution. Based on my observation on the field, I can say that the economic actors who were unregistered or even if registered who have an informal side, positioned in workshops which are in the basement or upper floors of *Han*s.

The another point hat Halil mentions is seasonal working conditions of Gedikpaşa's footwear market is a reason of informality. During my one-year field work, I observed the prevalence of seasonal work. For example, I observed that shoe manufacturers start to produce summer shoes in March and continue their production in April and May. Then they do not make much production until September, so they take a break. In August, this time they start to produce winter shoes and continue this production for several months. This period can be shortened or be extended depending on coldness of weather. For instance, during the winter months of 2017-2018, the weather was very warm and there was not much snow in Istanbul. In this period, I was in Gedikpaşa and I observed that economic actors were affected by this situation since the weather was not cold and people did not buy winter shoes. It indirectly affected the manufacturers, wholesalers and the materialists as well. During the field research, I had the chance to visit some of the interviewed informants and to observe their workshop in different periods. I witnessed that these manufacturers worked at full capacity, however I witnessed they stopped their production. In parallel with this, I witnessed fluctuations in the

number of employees in these workplaces. Manufacturers in Gedikpaşa generally do not have the capacity to produce extra goods and wait for them in the following year, since they are small business owners and working at small square workplaces. In November 2018, when me and Bekir were walking to a new interviewee's workplace for conducting interview, I asked how his work was going. His answer to this question demonstrates the relationship between weather and unpredictability straightly; "We're like farmers, we need rain. Delayed rain can do more harm than good". If I continue with this analogy I can say that using irrigation provides a farmer an independency against weather, however, economic actors in Gedikpaşa do not have enough capital to build an irrigation system. As Halil, many informants assert that it is very difficult to be a registered business in a market where such stagnations exist. According to them, being unregistered is a defense mechanism. Apart from this, informality in Gedikpaşa is not just defined by being unregistered. The following quotation of Kenan illustrates other types of informality.

> Around here, 80% is off the books. They officially declare a lower rent than they actually pay, they pay low insurance… For instance, if there are 10 people working in a shoe-store, only 1 or 2 people are registered for the insurance purposes. And they might be paying their insurance premiums from their own pockets. They do not even ask Syrians about registering them for insurance. For instance, if they say there comes a tax inspector to Gedikpaşa right now, many of the shops would be closed down. Many of the manufacturers are unregistered.

As Kenan states that reporting the rental fee lower than the it should be, reporting the profit lower than it should be to avoid tax, working without social security are the other types of Gedikpaşa's informality. At this point, it should remark that working without social security is very common in Gedikpaşa market. However, interviewees state that this situation was much rarer in the past. In her book based on the field work which was made in 1995, Berna Güler-Müftüoğlu also remarks that most of the employees work outside the social

security system.[11] Güler-Müftüoğlu also mentions that seasonal variation causes employers avoid to register their workers for the social security.[12] Interviewees assert that today, the number of insured employment increased compared to the past. This is in fact related to the way of doing business in a market based on piece rate system. The workers in footwear manufacturers receive their wages every Friday on the basis of the number of shoes they produce. Therefore, the way of doing business is different from other market where workers receive fixed and monthly wages. Akın, who was a manufacturer of in Gedikpaşada, now produces in the organized industry, but also keeps his old workplace in Gedikpaşa as an office, demonstrates this difference:

> We still have problems about insurance, but this is about the nature of the work, about the fact that it is based on piecework. The guy is working on piecework basis, if a journeyman works well during the weekend, he can earn 2000 liras. Someone with insurance cannot earn this money. For instance, he made 300 pairs of shoes… And let's say a journeyman earns 5 liras on a piece… You multiply it with 1500 liras, it makes 6000 liras monthly. In the factories everyone has insurance.

In addition to what he says, many informants assert that workers prefer to work without social security system since they can get the payment of social security system from their employer as an extra price. Moreover, some informants state that even if working without social security is a negative situation for employees' social rights, it can be something that limits the workers occasionally. One of the interviewees compared having social insurance to get handcuffed. Interviewees assert that being out of social security system provides employees to change their work whenever they want, that is to say being out of social security system means not having a labor contract thus they can change their works without waiting where they can earn more wage or they can work under better conditions. This situation facilitates immigrant workers' access to Gedikpaşa market. One of the informants of this thesis, a Syrian refugee, Salih explains this situation as follows: "And also, the advantage of

11 Güler Müftüoğlu, *Fason Ekonomisi,* 194.

12 Ibid., 132.

Gedikpaşa is that there are no bothers like social insurance, alienation or discrimination. You go, say *Bismillah*[13], and start working right away" Salih demonstrates accessibility of being included in Gedikpaşa footwear market for immigrants. In this point, I must again remark the sample of this research since as I already mentioned in the part of the methodology, during the field research of this thesis I did not conduct interviews with employees, I chose a sample which consisted of shoe manufacturers who are employers, owner of leather or footwear wholesale shops, *Odabaşı*s, tea sellers, financial consultants etc. Thus, I cannot make an overarching comment about how employees interpret working without social security system since I reached only one side of Gedikpaşa's economic actors.

Apart from the informality which was mentioned above, the ways of doing business between customers and economic actors are also shaped by informality. Based on my observation and narratives of interviewees, I can assert that trade between economic actors and customer are also largely unregistered, regardless of economic actors are registered or not. Even if customer pays cash for the products, the economic actors do not bill or show price more than it should be to avoid tax. In addition to that, open account is a frequently used payment method and which is built on trust relationships I will touch on the following parts. As I said at the beginning of this part, informality is a reality which is found in the different parts of Gedikpaşa footwear market. At this point, lastly I want to talk about the attitudes of treasury officials on the informality in Gedikpaşa. Zeynel's narrative in the following quotation below represents these attitudes:

> 1972 is when I started working as a master, as a *Sayacı*. I started paying taxes here. Until when? Approximately until 2013 I have paid my taxes, and I retired. I covered the costs for my family. Then I got retired. We sometimes talk around here… The chiefs from the revenue office used to ask me are you the one to make the state rich, this is enough, how can you endure this? They used to tell me to quit and that they will not bother me. They used to tell me to quit, to work off the records. Then I did. Since then, I am not paying taxes. And at least I own a small

13 Some Muslims say Bismillah when they starting a work.

business. Many of the larger enterprises do not pay taxes, they have never paid. I at least have paid my taxes for a minimum of 30 years

Irmak: So, are you saying that the state is ignoring all these?

Zeynel: Why? Because they know everyone has financial difficulties, so they do not strive. Today, for instance, here… If you go to a shoemaker, he might not have 5 liras in his pocket. He definitely does not have it. They are working under harsh conditions.

As Zeynel says, vast majority of informants assert that state overlooks informality in Gedikpaşa. Not only being unregistered but also working without social security, informal trade and other types of informality are overlooked by the state. The vast majority of interviewees remark that they have not seen a finance officer for many years. However, it cannot be asserted that State has completely avoided to prevent informality. Ayşe, is a financial consultant in Gedikpaşa, explains these two different attitudes of the State as follows:

There used to be many, but now there is the cheque system. In this cheque system, the Ministry of Finance is auditing the firms through the money transfers. So, it unavoidably made the firms taxpayers to begin with. Then, in order to be able to make electricity subscription it asks your lease. When you sign a lease, it then informs the treasury. So it became more like obligatory.

Irmak: What is the state's stance towards informality? Does it ignore it at all?

Ayşe: Of course, of course. The state in Turkey knows about the informal economy and lets it be to a certain extent. This is also why the economic crisis is passing by relatively easily. The informal economy is giving a relief to it… Because it is so obvious that the state does not intervene. There are huge shipping businesses on the avenue below Laleli. Their places are obvious, but nobody intervenes.

Ayşe demonstrates that being registered by check payment systems, stipulation of rental agreement for electricity subscription are the registration mech-

anisms of the state to prevent informality. Nevertheless, the presence of courier companies which is mentioned by Ayşe also illustrate state's overlooking attitude since these courier companies generally provide the transportation of unregistered commerce's products. Moreover, during the field research, informants mention that there is an increase in the number of popular brands' imitation products which are manufactured and sold in Gedikpaşa. According to them, this situation is also overlooked by the State.

Eventually, it can be asserted that as I highlighted previously, even if economic actors have become registered in some ways and become tax payers, it is difficult to ensure their continuity against unpredictable conditions, thus they use different methods which are informal to survive. As a matter of fact, informal economy provides a space to move around for action to these economic actors in case of unpredictable events. Mehmet illustrates the market's ability to survive clearly:

> The main issue here can be this: The main characteristic of the economy is that it is based on, what we call, a system of store credit. *Tikko para*[14], cash money does not work; so the checks and promissory notes step in. Now, during this economic crisis, many of the larger enterprises were saying that they are working with cash money; take your goods, give the money. Most probably, when the suppliers of raw materials, the sellers of heels and soles say we also want cash money, then a shrinkage, a depression can take place. But believe me, if they say open account, the enthusiasm would not be lost. I understand that the prices would fluctuate, but I believe a new formula can also be found. One common characteristic of the shopkeepers here is their cleverness, sharp minds, they adapt to new conditions so easily. Their adaptation capacity is high. They experience the crisis, yes, but they think about it and find a middle ground. He would, for instance, talk to the suppliers of raw materials. So, I do not think here it will wear off so much. The only problem we sometimes observe here is forgery. Fake products resulted in an unjust increase in the amount of rents here;

14 Tikko Para is used instead of cash money in colloquial speech.

> like a 35-40% increase, more than they deserve. Maybe they can request a reciprocal discount from the property owners. Well, a formula will definitely be found. But when I am talking, I also feel that they may say 'let the rates, prices remain the same and we will do our own business'. They do not want the prices fluctuate a lot. Is it 6? Let us stay there. Is it 7? Let us stay there, but let us stay fixed, let us know the margins… There is something magical about it: I mean it looks as if it is falling down, it is shaking but it also knows how to get on its feet from where it fell or even without falling. In 19994, we actually thought that we came to a dead end. When Ahmet Çetinsaya told that he is sending us away, we thought things will never get better again. I thought if we should live the area. But it managed to rise from its ashes. They resisted, moved to backstreets, moved under the counter. At the time of this resistance, the mayor of the time, Ahmet Çetinsaya, lost the elections and this turned into a new beginning.

The interview with Mehmet was conducted in October 2018 and the fluctuation in the exchange rate was an important issue during the interview. The statement above started from this point and continued on the adaptability of economic actors in Gedikpaşa. From what he says, it can be asserted that this crisis may change the way of doing business in the market from an open account to cash as a defense mechanism. Mehmet's quotation, especially the sentence "there is something magical about it" summarizes how the market sustains by defense mechanism in a space where they move around.

§ 3.3 Trust and Market

In the markets which are shaped by informal economy as in the Gedikpaşa case, trust is one of the essential feature that sustains these informal markets. The absence of any contract between economic actors in informal economy

causes devoid of protection mechanism. For the unpaid worker or middleman, their ability to receive payment depends of payer's promise.[15] In such cases, trust provides a protection mechanism. From this point of view; during the research, design and field research period of this thesis, trust was one of the concepts that I was focusing on. During this research, I was trying to understand trust as a mechanism in different parts of Gedikpaşa market since it contains various types of informality. In parallel with these various types, it also contains different trust mechanisms for these informalities. For instance, economic actors constitute different trust relationships during the employment procedures, making business on open account, renting a workplace etc.

One of the situations that require a trust relationship is doing open account transaction. During the trade between customers and tradesmen in Gedikpaşa open account is a very common payment method, which is risky since it does not rely on any contract that prove the trade. As I mentioned in different parts, Gedikpaşa's footwear market served to the domestic market and open account business was prevalent until the expansion of shuttle trade. With the shuttle traders from foreign markets, cash money business gained more importance than open account business. However, over time, customers from abroad were also used to do business on open account. Today, Gedikpaşa's economic actors still do business with different customer bases from domestic and foreign markets on open account. These businesses are generally unregistered and base on trust relationships. During the interviews, I asked the interviewees how they build the trust and I reached different answers, in other words different ways. While some of the interviewees said there was no such thing as trust anymore, the others said that trust is still the most important thing in the market. Deniz Yükseker also illustrates a similar answers in her research about Laleli market which conducted in the 1990s.[16] In this

15 Alejandro Portes and William Haller, "The Informal Economy," in *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*, ed. Neil J. Smelser and Richard Swedberg, 2nd ed. (Princeton University Press, 2005, 407.

16 Yükseker, *Laleli-Moskova Mekiği*, 211.

section, I try to touch these ways, but before that I would like to illustrate importance of trust by using a narrative of economic actors. In this context, Zeynel depicts clearly this importance:

> Our business is all about trusting each other. I am currently working for Laleli with open account. I am purchasing products with open account. This is a question of conscience. There are those times when the market owes me 40-50, 70 millions (thousands [17] There are times I owed 100 billions (thousands in Laleli. So what is happening here? I think at the moment Gedikpaşa is the day of honest people. The honest people are the ones involved in this trade. Without trusting anyone, without knowing them… I have a leather-man, and I have been working with this same guy at least for 30 years now... Seriously, people get to know each other better when they work together. But listen, no matter how good I am… For instance, I am giving jobs… But if he at some point bogs down, this influences me as well. The places that I am buying from with open account are also getting influenced by me. So, this goes on and on.

In this point first of all, I want to touch the chain metaphor of Zeynel. I heard this metaphor many times from other interviewees, which points out that the importance of the dependency of different economic actors to each other in Gedikpaşa. The main point of trust according to Zeynel is that importance of length of work between economic actors. As a matter of fact, interviewees state that the longer it takes for economic actors work together, the easier it is to build a trust relationship. In other words, open account business and being familiar with customers are interrelated. Zeynel shed light on several points about the trust relationships in the Gedikpaşa market, however, it is also important to understand how this trust relationship is built when doing business for the first time with a new customer. Yaşar, who is slipper manufacturer in Gedikpaşa since 1964, explains how he does business by open account with a new customer:

17 In 2005, six zeroes were removed from the Turkish Liras. For instance, two million Turkish liras transformed to two Turkish liras. This transformation caused a confusion in the daily language of many people. In this case, Z also confused with the amount of Turkish liras.

> Now, it is like... Let's say, he is coming from another town and he owns a shop. They say you can ask; for instance, if people shop from another store, they ask. Then they say 'well, this guy is okay, he is a good guy, don't avoid from him.' This is how it works.
>
> Irmak: So, do you mean they give reference for him to you?
>
> Yaşar: Yes, this is how it works; reference. For instance, I would not give it to someone I do not know.

Recommendation is a very common thing that I witnessed in many informants' narratives. As Yaşar tells, if new customers are recommended by trustworthy economic actors, it provides doing business to these new customers with economic actors. However, recommendation is not a key element only for new customers from outside the market. Economic actors take advantage of the recommendation as well. For instance, shoe manufacturers can start to business with new material shops, wholesalers of leather or shoe wholesalers by virtue of recommendations from their old customers. It is necessary to mention that these recommendations are closely related with the social networks. Portes argues that in economic life, networks are significant since they can supply capital and knowledge, at the same time, they restrain personal interests' unlimited pursuit.[18] On the other hand, economic actors in Gedikpaşa can do business with the people they do not know and have no recommendations at all. Can, who is shoe manufacturer, illustrates an example of how he does business with completely new customers:

> I look at professional experience, instincts, the behavior of the person and whether or not he is knowledgeable about the literature of the profession. Even the words they choose is vital. For instance, if someone comes and asks me to give him 500 *tane* of shoes saying, the manufacturers like me can understand that he is a stranger. Because we do not say *Tane* we use the term *Adet*[19] when we refer to the pairs of shoes.

18 Alejandro Portes, "Economic Sociology and the Sociology of Immigration: A Conceptual Overview," in *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*, ed. Alejandro Portes (Russell Sage Foundation, 1995, 8.

19 *Tane* and *Adet* both mean pieace in English.

> The number of shoes they ask is also important. Because there are series of production. In each one of these series there are 8 pairs of shoes. The people who are knowledgeable about this business ask shoes in the number of multiples of eight. You can easily identify the ones who act as if he is knowledgeable even if he is not, they give themselves away while talking… You have to be alert. For instance, there was a woman from Georgia, she bought 32 pairs of shoes from me. Then, a week later she brought the money. I understood that she could not come in a short period of time. I thought that she will come back, buy some more shoes on credit, then she will disappear. Then she came back 3 days later and asking 200 pairs of shoes. I figured what was going to happen, so I did not sell her on credit. Then she brought back the other 32 pairs she bought earlier.

Can demonstrates the importance of professional experiences, in other words craftsmanship to build a trust relationship with a new customer. A substantial part of the informants, including Can, state that their professional experiences enable them to understand doing business with correct customer by open account. In the example about malfeasance, Can asserts that he understood the aim of the Georgian woman. During the field research, I heard several examples about getting rid of being defrauded in their words *Batak Yemek*. On the other hand, I heard many failure stories from several economic actors who were defrauded. These economic actors also have professional experiences. But sometimes, they have to trust their new customers even if they are not sure about them. At this point, it is important to understand motivations behind this situation. İsmet demonstrates why they have to do this:

> These are all grounded in financial situation, in the necessities. What do I mean by necessities? For instance, someone comes from Armenia… Or he comes from Russia. You do not know who he is. He says that he will buy 5 thousand dollars' worth goods but will pay 2500 now and the remaining 2500 when he comes back in a month. You do not know the guy. But in order to save the day you give the shoes and get the 2500 dollars. This is some sort of desperateness.

Once again, İsmet's narrative depicts the fragility of economic sustainability in Gedikpaşa. Necessity, as a base of trust relationship, is a condition which put into words by significant majority of interviewees. In fact, when I asked them how do they trust their customers, firstly, a vast majority of the interviewees state that there is no such a thing as trust with the recent economic problems. I witnessed that almost every informant gave reference to past and compared past and present to explain difficulty to establish trust relationship. However, I realized that informants who are financially more independent than the small business owners prefer to do business in cash, therefore they don't need to establish this relationship in terms of payments. On the other hand, trust became a necessity to financially weaker actors such as shoe manufacturers. In other words, economic actors can or cannot establish trust in different reasons depend on their financial situation. For instance, Bahri who is the property owner of his material shop along with other properties in Gedikpaşa, interprets how he established trust in the past and nowadays in the following quotation:

> Before, for instance, I would give this guy[20] everything in the shop because I used to trust him. Now I cannot do that. Now the confidence among us is shaken. And it will never be fixed. There used to be no checks, no promissory notes. Everything was based on words, promises. For instance, someone was coming from Adana and buying it on credit. When are you going to pay brother? For instance, there was a customer, brother Vehbi, that I never forget. We would not even prepare promissory notes. If it was 20 million, he used to pay 20 million immediately. There was even no need to call him for it. There were tricksters too. But we would call their neighbors such as brother Vehbi and tell him 'brother Vehbi, Salih owes me 10 thousand liras and he does not send me my money'. Then he would go, spit on his face, get the money and send us. Now, people are just giving checks and say 'I cannot pay brother, what can I do?'. For instance, back then, if Çetin calls me and says 'Bahri, I am sending you a customer from Adana,

20 Bahri refered Çetin, a friend of him. He is owner of material shop like Bahri. He was with us during the interview.

give him some goods' I would not ask any money or anything. But it is not like this anymore. Neither Çetin would ask nor would I.

Similar to Bahri, the other informants who have been in Gedikpaşa at least since 1990s also gave comparative examples as I noticed in the above. Trust in informal exchange is constituted by shared identities and feelings and by the expectation that if someone defraud to other, he/she will be penalized by being excluded from the key social networks and from future works.[21] On the other hand, Deniz Yükseker assert that Laleli market has not got mechanism which impose legal and social sanctions.[22] Yükseker alleges that trust corresponds to reciprocal goodwill based on risk-taking, not sanctions of legal or social structure.[23] I can say that Yükseker's argument about the trust relationship in Laleli market shed light the current situation of Gedikpaşa footwear market's ways of building trust relationship. In this context, I can argue that social networks and shared feelings and identities in the past no longer exist today as in the past. Therefore, similar to Laleli Market, today, the trust relationships in Gedikpaşa footwear market build on risk-takin.

Another important matter is mentioned in the quotation of Bahri is the trust relationship among economic actors in Gedikpaşa market. During the field research, I asked the relationships of interviewees with other economic actors in the market and I received negative answers about this issue. Once again, interviewees frequently compared past and present to illustrate current relationships with each other. They state that they used to trust each other however, today they cannot trust since the market is more competitive than before. For instance, stealing of shoe models and customers are very common situations. According to them, this situation generated from the economic recession in the market.

21 Portes and Haller, "The Informal Economy," 407.

22 Yükseker, *Laleli-Moskova Mekiği*, 213.

23 Ibid., 214–15.

§ 3.4 Social Networks

> Bekir: (When he was taking me to meet another interviewee: Of course the fact that you are a student is among the reasons I help you. But what is also very important is that we are from the same village.

As I mentioned before, Bekir was one of the gatekeepers who provided me access to conduct interviews during the field research of this thesis. One day, when we were walking on the street to visit a new interviewee, he made this statement to me. His words show very clearly the importance of *Hemşehrilik* in Gedikpaşa since my father was from the same village with Bekir as seven other informants I was able to interview.

Hemşehrilik which facilitated my fieldwork is an essential fact in many ways in the Gedikpaşa market. In fact, not only *Hemşehrilik* but also other social networks such as kinship, acquaintanceship are still significant factors in the Gedikpaşa market.

In the period in which rural-urban migration became a significant reality in the 1950s, as Mübeccel B. Kıray asserts migrants to the city lacked the mechanisms that could meet their needs. Institutions that could provide vocational training and similar services, planned residential areas or authorities that could find solutions to their problems were absent to a large extent. Hence, migrants had to create and implement their own adaptation strategies.[24] In this context, *Hemşehrilik*, as a patronage relationship and an informal solidarity network became important for migrants to maintain their lives in the city.[25] Initially, these patronage relationships were relative-family collaborations, led by the oldest or most experienced person, to find shelter, to build a shanty, to start work in an informal sector etc. Later, these relations were replaced by larger and more organized protection networks.[26]

In this section, I discuss how economic actors are involved in the Gedikpaşa market to depict a sufficiently descriptive image of the social networks' importance. Except one informant who is a refugee from Syria, Salih, all 23

24 Mübeccel B. Kıray, *Kentleşme Yazıları* (İstanbul: Bağlam, 1998, 184–85.

25 Ibid., 185.

26 Ibid.

informants were incorporated to the Gedikpaşa market by their relatives, *Hemşehri*s or acquaintances. A substantial part of these informants whose family came to Istanbul from another city, began to work in the Gedikpaşa market owing to these social networks. In addition, many of these interviewees state that they also included their own relatives, *Hemşehri*s or acquaintances in the market. Berna Güler-Müftüoğlu also illustrates that 96.7% of her sample found a job in Gedikpaşa footwear market by virtue of their social networks.[27] However, it is necessary to mention the years in which economic actors were included in the market. For instance, while two of the interviewees have been working in the sector for the longest time since 1959, the most recent one, except Salih who has been working since 2010, has been in the market since 1997.

At this point, it is necessary to note that, as this thesis relies on interviews conducted only with employers and since the new economic actors in the market are usually employees given that being an employer requires craftsmanship and economic capital which could be acquired over time, the current situation of social networks' importance in obtaining a job in the market cannot be evaluated. Nevertheless, since Salih also brought his relatives to Gedikpaşa for work after establishing his own business, it can be estimated that being included in the market through social networks is still important in Gedikpaşa market.

On the other hand, in order to understand the importance of social networks, it is necessary to mention the migrations during the establishment of market at the end of 1950s, the 1960s and 1970s. The narratives of interviewees illustrate that, naturally, there were new comers from all over the Turkey; but there was a concentration of people from certain cities such as Malatya, Adıyaman and Kayseri in this period. It is clear that during the period of footwear market's establishment in Gedikpaşa, economic actors who came from these cities were probably first-comers to this neighborhood since informants illustrate that these economic actors became dominant groups in the Gedikpaşa footwear market in the following years. I can explain this situation that the spreading of footwear market to Gedikpaşa, generated pull factors such as new

27 Güler Müftüoğlu, *Fason Ekonomisi*, 136.

employment opportunity to the new migrants, especially migrants from these cities since they had a connection to the first comers. Faruk, came from Adıyaman, Besni in 1965, is an illustrative example for understanding the concentration from certain cities in that period.

> This area and our profession were in the hands of Armenians until we, the people from Besni have arrived. We came here, started working, and they started to leave gradually. For instance, when I used to work in Yıldırım *Han*, there were three Armenians. Then we came, when we expanded our business, they were not able to find workers anymore. So we, the people from Besni, took the control over here. We established associations etc. The people from Pütürge are, forgive me, *Oda-başı*s, porters… The production is under our control. For instance, the brands such as *Cabani*, *Besnili*… (*Cabani* is my friend from primary school, he was here, he prospered, and left. There are many among us who expanded their business. There is *Bellini*, the sons of my wife's uncle. I mean we all came into this area as shoemakers.

As Faruk states and I noted before, economic actors in the footwear market consisted of Armenians and *Rum*s before the 1950s.[28] During the peak periods of rural-urban migration in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the migrants who came from other cities of Turkey to Gedikpaşa learned the business from Armenian and *Rum* masters. At the same time, with the decrease in the number of Armenian and *Rum* population stemming from the state policies against non-Muslims and with the growth and the expansion of the footwear sector, these new economic actors started to dominate the market. Faruk's narrative demonstrates that his fellow citizens' concentration and domination in the shoe manufacturing in this period. In addition to this, as Güneş-Ayata asserts that, providing jobs to *Hemşehri*s is actually a way of establishing and protecting a sheltered area with internal solidarity for avoiding the competitive environment in the city.[29]

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28 In the previous chapter, I also mention that terms of shoe manufacturing come from Romanic and Armenian language.

29 Ayşe Güneş-Ayata, "Gecekondularda Kimlik Sorunu, Dayanışma Örüntüleri ve Hemşehrilik," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 51–52 (1990: 92–93.

Besides this, establishment of Faruk's hometown associations is an illustrative example for how people from Besni were densely employed in the Gedikpaşa market and their informal solidarity networks were formalized. On the other hand, in a sense, establishing an association means that there are fellow townsmen who became relatively wealthy to provide financial support for the continuity of association.[30]

Apart from this, quotation of Faruk also shows that how his fellow citizens and relatives gained economic capital, how they became wealthy and left Gedikpaşa as a consequence of their economic growth. Faruk is also an example of growing economic actors who is wholesaler of footwear and does not manufacturer anymore. At this stage, I want to give another example: Halil depicts the density of economic actors who came from Malatya, Pütürge by showing the solidarity relationships among them.

> The people from Pütürge know the real history of this area. Do you know why? Back then, a system of *Odabaşılık* has emerged. The destitute people coming from the villages were working as *Odabaşı*s and porters. And they are all from our Pütürge… We are among the first groups who arrived in Istanbul. These people who came from the village used to get sick or used to have some things to be solved. But they did not know anywhere here. When such things happened, my elder sister would help them. If it was about a doctor, she would take them to a doctor; if they needed a hospital she would take them there; if the kids needed to be enrolled to school she would take them there. She was providing some sort of a consultancy. Then, what happened… These villagers are usually related to each other. For instance, let's say, they think that my uncle is in Istanbul and if I go there he can arrange me a job. Then he comes to Istanbul and the uncle assigns him to jobs such as porterage or he would say go work with Ali. Actually the main reason the people from Pütürge is the majority in Gedikpaşa is the fact that many came from the villages and became shoe-manufacturers. They assigned newcomers to work with the leather-men, it is always

30 Ulaş Bayraktar, "Formelleşen Hemşehri Dayanışma Ağları: İstanbul'daki Hemşehri Dernekleri," *Toplumbilim*, no. 17 (2003: 8.

> that business. When you look at it, even though there are still people from Malatya, their number has started to decrease since 1980s and even 1990s. These people from Urfa, Bingöl and Diyarbakır started to increase. If you get out, you will see that 90% of the cart drivers are people from Urfa, Mardin, Diyarbakır and Bingöl. It used to be the people from Pütürge but it changed now; now they are the majority, there are newcomers. The people from Pütürge… Some of them got older, some of them started their own business. Majority of them started their own business, they accumulated capital and now run their own business. Now, the market is under the control of the people from the east.

Similar to Faruk, Halil's narrative not only illustrates the density of his fellow citizens, but also shows how these economic actors became dominant in certain professions such as *Odabaşılık*, portage in Gedikpaşa footwear market. In fact, it is necessary to mention that ethnic homogenization in certain professions is a very common situation not only in Gedikpaşa, but also in Turkey. Informal social networks such as *Hemşehrilik* is an important channel which provide the employment opportunity to *Hemşehri*s in more informal markets. [31] Ayşe Güneş-Ayata asserts that, providing jobs to *Hemşehri*s is actually a way of establishing and protecting a sheltered area with internal solidarity for avoiding the competitive environment in the city.[32] Ayça Kurtoğlu also illustrates that ethnic homogenization of a profession maintains and protects the field of this business by emerging a business community of *Hemşehri*s against the competition of others.[33]

Halil also depicts other informal solidarity relations of *Hemşehrilik* and kinship such as while men found job opportunities for their male *Hemşehri*s, women helped fellow townsmen in other issue such as education and health. Similar to hometown association of Besni, interviewees state that people from

31 Ayça Kurtoğlu, "Hemşehrilik Dernekleri, Yerel Siyaset ve Elit Stratejileri," in *Mübeccel Kıray İçin Yazılar*, ed. Fulya Atacan et al. (İstanbul: Bağlam, 2000, 311.

32 Güneş-Ayata, "Gecekondularda Kimlik Sorunu" 92–93.

33 Kurtoğlu, "Hemşehrilik Dernekleri," 312.

Hüsüküşağı, Pütürge who were working in the footwear market established a hometown association in Gedikpaşa in the 1970s.[34] During the field research, I saw coffee houses of different hometowns. It is a common occurrence that with the chain migration process, while fellow townsmen concentrate in the same occupational group, the coffee house of fellow townsmen are found in their working areas and provide the migrants to establish counseling relationships in their professional life.[35]

34 Over time, this association moved from Gedikpaşa. Today, this association continues its activities in Küçükçekmece.

35 Sema Erder, "Nerelisin Hemşehrim?," in *İstanbul Küresel Ile Yerel Arasında*, ed. Çağlar Keyder (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013, 201–2.



Figure 3.2 Coffee house of migrants from Malatya in Gedikpaşa

On the other hand, as Halil, the others interviewees' narratives also demonstrate that, dominant groups from certain cities, towns and villages in certain profession have changed since the establishment of Gedikpaşa's footwear market. Parallel to migration waves which are examined in the previous chapter, the number of working migrants who came to Gedikpaşa from cities densely populated by the Kurds started to increase in the 1980s and the 1990s. As Halil states they became dominant groups in certain professions while the economic actors from Malatya, Pütürge, Hüsükuşağı started to change their professions with economic growth. It can be asserted that there was a transfer of

labor intensive works from the predecessor migrants group from the cities such as Malatya, Adıyaman, Kayseri, to the new comers from the cities densely populated by Kurds. At this point, it is necessary to depict the inclusion of new comers in the 1990s to the market. One of them, Akın who came from Urfa in this period explains his inclusion:

> I started working as a shoemaker in Urfa when I was in the first grade. I was going to school in the morning shift and then to the shoe-store… There were shoe shops in Urfa just like the two streets of Gedikpaşa. When I was there, there were 100-120 shops. And my peers at the time were mostly apprentices or they were about to become journeymen. Two of our friends moved to Istanbul and we kept in touch. One of my friends, Mustafa, had arrived in Istanbul before I did. Towards the end of 1989, at the beginning of 1990, we as a group of 9 friends left Urfa and came to Istanbul; two people in every two days. We came here, we came but I was 15 or 16 years old. This is not an easy city. You are leaving your town for the first time, big city, there is no family…. Thanks to my friends, they welcomed me in Topkapı. We went, they said welcome etc. We took the Unkapanı-Taksim bus, and got out of the bus in Unkapanı. A 250 years old wooden house, we arrived at this house. On Monday, I came to Gedikpaşa with my friends. We went up to the Balıkçıoğlu *İş Hanı* on Cami Street. There was this master Remzi from Diyarbakır, he needed a journeyman, so we agreed. Then I started working on Tuesday.

Akın's narrative demonstrates many points about the new comers' world. He was included Gedikpaşa market by virtue of his friend from Urfa. This social network's solidarity can be considered a solidarity relationships of fellow citizens. However, unlike the former migrant groups, the solidarity network in his story was provided by his peers. On the other hand, as the case of Halil, Akın's story illustrates that those who came earlier met the need for shelter such as bachelor room and need for employment in Gedikpaşa market. Today, he is master in his own workplace. The common narrative among interviewees asserts that similar to Akın's story, many of the economic actors who came to Gedikpaşa from the cities densely populated by Kurds have also opened their

own workplaces by expanding their economic capital. In addition, similar to the transfer of labor-intensive works among the first migrants from the cities Malatya, Adıyaman, Kayseri and the latter migrants from Urfa, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Diyarbakır, Bingöl, this time, these latter migrants have given their turns to new immigrants from Syria, Armenia, Africa, Turkic Republics, and Afghanistan. Mehmet depicts clearly this transfer between previous and latter migrant groups:

> There is the fact, there used to be a considerable amount of people from Manisa, there were for instance people from Balıkesir, from western towns. Among the people from the east, I felt the dominancy of people from Malatya. During my childhood, this area used to smell like Malatya. If we compare these old times to today, I think the hegemony of Malatya has diminished. The dominancy of Adıyaman group has increased but now it is the people form Urfa Siverek that constitute the majority in our Gedikpaşa… Actually, during the 1980s, as I said there were local people, but also we should not forget that there was an influx from Moldovia. If we overlook this, we would be misrepresenting the colors of Gedikpaşa. The Azerbaijanis… A change took place back then. During the 2000s, instead of Moldavians or Azerbaijanis we can observe an influx of Uzbeks and Turkmens. The dominant group right now for instance is the Uzbeki group. The groups who work as assistants next to the people from Siverek are Uzbek groups. There is a transition there. In any case, for the last 20 years, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, Gedikpaşa cannot anymore be defined only by the citizens of Turkey; either from east or West. There are people from Soviet Republics working as translators, as assistants, even as bosses… So it is better to define the area with them. The number of people from Bangladesh has increased in the last two years. Syrians, likewise. Believe me, the dominant groups keep changing. Some of the Syrian residents did not like the neighborhood and moved to Balat-Fener area, to other places where there is more family life. People of different nations start leaving in areas where we consider inhospitable, below Kumkapı. It is as if there is a process of transition going on. Here is a step, the people who are fed up here go to other neighborhoods,

> other neighborhoods that are relatively classier, more decent. It is about being new, when you are new, I think you live around here. When a citizen, an individual awakens, he gets into the mood that 'I have to leave here, I deserve a better place, I cannot breathe here.
>
> Irmak: I think this is also about moving closer to where their economic activities take place.
>
> Mehmet: It is important, I agree with that but still, they leave the area totally. They say 'no, this area is not hospitable, how did I live here? They question these and then leave.

Mehmet's narrative indicates Gedikpaşa is still a temporary residential area for new immigrants. During the field research, many other interviewees' narratives demonstrate that migrants and immigrants who came in different periods, lived in Gedikpaşa when they first came to Istanbul. Depending on who came with them, economic actors stayed here in small houses if they came with their family or stayed in bachelor rooms if they were alone. I can say that Gedikpaşa enables to adherence of this newcomers to its market by providing not only need for work but also need for shelter. On the other hand, similar to the transfer of labor-intensive work, living in Gedikpaşa is also transferred from the previous to latter. As I mention in the methodology part, during the field research, I conducted interviews with economic actors who have their own work due to the limited scope of a master thesis. In this context, I could conduct only one interview with a Syrian refugee, Salih who is a shoe seller. I could not reach other immigrants. Nonetheless, based on my observation in the field, I can say that the immigrants from these countries are working as an assistant in all kinds of businesses such as porter, salesclerk etc. I can also say that these observations were not sufficient to talk about the solidarity relationships of these economic actors. However, I think that Salih, who sells imitation shoes and clothes, depicts the forms of solidarity relationships of these new immigrants:

> We came here because of the war. When it comes to shoes… Shoe-manufacturing is a profession that we inherited from our ancestors.

> Then we came here and started over from scratch. We were in the manufacturing sector back there. When we came here, in addition to keeping to work in the manufacturing sector, we also started selling the goods in our own store, both together. I have been here for approximately 8 years. I am in the footwear sector, but I could not get into the sector when I have first arrived here. I had hard times, I had so many problems. Let me tell you about these. Let me tell you how the background has been formed. When I came from Syria for the first time, I found a job in shoe manufacturing. I remember times that I stayed there for weeks. Because I was in the zero point when I first came here; both financially and emotionally. Because we do not speak Turkish; what are we going to do, where are we going to go? Okay, we understand your language, but we are still strangers, we do not know anything, so we are anxious. I mean, since we do not know what would happen, we cannot really do anything. Okay, so, I started working immediately and stayed there for a couple of weeks. Then there is Kumkapı right below Gedikpaşa. Then I stayed there for 6 months. Not with our families, we were staying at a bachelor room. I and my uncles… Approximately 15 people were staying in a house. Then my brother lost his job. I took my brother to work with me. We kept working together, standing back to back. I brought some goods from abroad, and wholesalers started to come… And then, after a short while, after 6 months, thanks to God, I established my own business… Then my uncle --as I said, we have been shoe-manufacturers since our ancestors, we were in the same business in our motherlands—was working in Gaziantep. He could not set things right somehow, because he was alone. All our connections are here. He wanted to produce in Gaziantep and send the shoes here but because of long distance we were not able to communicate. We brought him here from Gaziantep and now he keeps working in Gedikpaşa. He produces himself, and we sell and send from here.

Before talking about Salih's case, I have to mention that he is an example of a "success story" as distinct from the other immigrants in Gedikpaşa. He could transfer his social capital to economic capital to open a workshop himself

when he was very young.[36] During the field research, even if I could not conduct interviews, I met employees who are immigrants. Based on my observation, I have to mention that the number of employers who are immigrants is not significant in Gedikpaşa. Before I go back to the narrative of Salih, in order to better understand his narrative, I think I should mention the footwear sector in Syria. During the fieldwork, I heard from many interviewees that shoe manufacturing was a common profession in Syria before the war. Salih and the men in his family were also working in footwear sector in Syria as he states. When I asked him why did you come to Gedikpaşa, Salih said that the footwear market in Gedikpaşa and its informal character which provide access to the market were known in Syria. Thus, when the war started in Syria, he immigrated to Gedikpaşa with his relatives. As his uncle, some of his relatives preferred to stay in Gaziantep where there is also a significant footwear market. The narrative of Salih in the Gedikpaşa market depict an image which is very parallel with the narrative of the previous migrants. For instance, as he mentions at the beginning that sheltering in bachelor rooms with his relatives in Kumkapı, including his uncle to the Gedikpaşa market resembles the story of migrants who came in different periods. In addition, Salih's quotation illustrates solidarity relationships which are similar to other migrants' too. From this point of view, I can assert that social networks still play an important role for the new comers to the market.

§ 3.5 Property Owners

Apart from these, property ownership is also a significant indicator to understand the positions of economic actors and their capital accumulation processes. During the field work of this thesis, I asked the informants about property owners and how the properties change hands in Gedikpaşa. The common answers demonstrate that property owners consist of different groups who have come to work there until the 2000s. However, the answers also show that significant part of property owners are the first migrants who came from certain cities such as Malatya, Kayseri, Adıyaman. In addition to these, the heirs

36 He was born in 1995 and established his business in 2016.

of old non-Muslims inhabitants and Armenian churches own a significant amount of properties in Gedikpaşa.

First of all, it is important to talk about the properties of non-Muslims in order to see the whole picture better. As I mentioned in different parts of this thesis, Gedikpaşa had a dense inhabitant population and majority of its population consisted of Armenians and *Rum*s before the spread of footwear sector in there. However, it lost these inhabitants due to this spread and state policies against non-Muslims. This situation is surely significant to understand the change of property ownership. When I asked the non-Muslim property owners in Gedikpaşa to interviewees, I reached that many non-Muslim property owners are able to maintain their ownership. However, very few people talked about the non-Muslim property owners who were not able to maintain their ownership. Zeynel was one of the interviewees who talked about non-Muslims' ownership before I asked him. What he says shows the changing hands of properties under specific circumstances:

> In this area, they took over the places of Armenians, they came as tenants and turned them into *Han*s. You probably have heard about it, they took away their properties by forcing them to sign… For instance, there is an Armenian woman over there. She owns a 4-5 floor building and it is vacant right now. But she is afraid even to rent it thinking that something bad might happen.

It is undoubtedly that such a generalization cannot be made for all of the new property owners. Nonetheless, I heard similar things to what Zeynel says from five interviewees. I can assert that there is a similarity between property changing hands and migrant groups. Just as some migrant groups who came to work in Gedikpaşa became dominant in the market at different times, there is a similar situation with property ownership. The following statement of İsmet demonstrates the property ownership status of first comers in the market:

> The guy came here 50 years ago. He came 50 years ago and became an *Odabaşı*, then a tea-seller. Today, he owns half of the building. He passed away so his children are managing. The population here is mostly composed of the people from Adıyaman, Malatya, and some others from Kayseri. There are not so many people coming from other

towns. And these ones, when they came, worked as tea-sellers, porters. They worked day and night and started to own some stuff.

Similar to İsmet, numerous interviewees assert that the economic actors from Adıyaman, Malatya, Kayseri who came to Gedikpaşa in the 1960s, 1970s became the property owners in this period. As it is mentioned before, the number of migrants from Adıyaman, Malatya and Kayseri was higher than the other cities. It is clear that first migrants were able to rise economically and to acquire properties. Nevertheless, the changing hands of properties and their new owners cannot be limited only to the migrant groups from these cities. Although they are not as many as migrants from Malatya, Kayseri, Adıyaman, these migrant groups from different cities also have properties. The conversation below with Mehmet, whose family owns property in Gedikpaşa since the 1950s, describes the ownership of different groups. While İsmet asserts that people from Adıyaman, Kayseri and Malatya are generally the property owners in Gedikpaşa, Mehmet says that owners are not homogeneous.

Irmak: Where are the property owners from? Are they also among the people who got involved in the economic activities here?

Mehmet: Well, good question. Well, of course they are new comers. Some of them were owners of the houses which has been turned into *Han*s later on. They inherited from their fathers. I think the ownership of non-Muslims were more common here, but I guess it has decreased overtime. The building next to us belongs to an Armenian brother of ours, he is an Armenian from Kayseri, but as I said, they diminished in number. If you ask whether or not people from outside started purchasing properties here, of course some of the shoemakers made good amounts of money and purchased properties as a means of investment. This also happened. There are the ones who ran business here in the 1980s and 1990s, and they purchased properties by the money they had earned.

Irmak: Where are these people from?

Mehmet: I do not think they are a homogenous group, among them you can find people from every region. For instance, lately, I know

> some friends from Siverek or other towns in the southeast, who made good amounts of money and turned it into investment here.

In different parts of this thesis, I pointed out that in the 1980s and the 1990s, the number of migrants came from the cities with denser Kurdish population increased. The people from southeast and Siverek which are mentioned by Mehmet, are an example of this migration. It is stated that over time, there is a handover of labor-intensive jobs between former migrant groups who have already gained economic capital such as the ones from Malatya, Adıyaman, Kayseri and the latter ones. And I assert that there is a continuity of this hand-over between the former and the latter. In this regard as he remarks that the ownership of migrants who came from the southeast is also a sign that their economic accumulation has reached to a certain level. Additionally, Mehmet asserts that different people such as old inhabitants, economic actors, are property owners; not the people who are not relevant with here. However, I heard from many interviewees that in the last 10-15 years, the investors who are not related with the neighborhood have started to buy *Hans* in order to make them hotels. The following conversation with Hüseyin and Levent, who are partners in a financial consultance office explain this situation:

> Irmak: How do properties pass into other hands here? How has it been in the past and how does it takes place nowadays?
>
> Hüseyin: In the past, it was not so frequent but nowadays there are many incidents of properties being passed into other hands, it took a new shape.
>
> Levent: The properties which have not been sold for 40-50 years are now being passed into other hands particularly during the last 15-20 years.
>
> Irmak: Who buys these properties?
>
> Levent: The investors, the tourism investors.
>
> Hüseyin: Investors based in the tourism sector.

Levent: The investors who are looking for income. The prices have increased suddenly, they have increased unnaturally.

Hüseyin: You know there is a center of a circle, this area is the focal point of Istanbul. It is in equal distance to everywhere. There might be some exceptions, but in general, you can go where you want. It is in the middle of the historical peninsula.

Levent: There is also this issue, for instance, on this street of Hamam, there used to be the *Han*s being sold to 400-500 thousand dollars. I mean these huge *Han*s with 250 installations and 6 floors. They turned one of them into a huge hotel, and then the prices reached 5 million dollars. I mean if you buy it for 400 thousand dollars and spend some 300 thousand extra dollars, you can make this profit. So, it turned into a fight for profit. As a result, there have been so many purchases and sales, so many properties passing into other hands. Imagine, even today, for instance someone puts his property on the market and if some other person can buy it before so many others hear about it and the price increases, the buyer can sell the property for a much higher price in three months.

Hüseyin and Levent demonstrate that with the effect of tourism, real estate prices in Gedikpaşa have increased. As I talked about this in the previous chapter, even if Gedikpaşa's urban renewal project did not realize, even the announcement of this project changed the real estate market and many buildings were transformed to hotels. Moreover, interviewees told that economic actors can no longer buy property from Gedikpaşa since both their financial situation is not sufficient to invest as before, and property prices have increased.

4

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have examined Gedikpaşa neighborhood in the city of Istanbul's historical peninsula and its informal footwear market, which consists of small-scale and labor intensive shoe manufacturers, wholesalers of shoes and leather and material suppliers. In doing so, I have argued that while Gedikpaşa's footwear market and economic actors have been shaped by the unpredictable changing socio-economic conditions and macro political dynamics which over time and ensure the of Gedikpaşa footwear market by generating defense mechanisms with the flexibility of informality. Apart from this, one of the main motivations of this thesis is contributing to urban studies which examine the relationship among spatiality, economic activities and labor at a time when scholars take examination of residential areas to forefront.

For this purpose, at first, in introduction chapter, after the introduce, I have examined changing paradigms in urban studies and I have reviewed urban studies in Turkey. Secondly, I have mentioned briefly the concept of informal economy. And thirdly, I have touched the research which are related to informality, market and labor in order to indicate the contribution of this thesis to the literature.

After reviewing the literature, in chapter 2, I have depicted the transformation of Gedikpaşa from past to present in order to illustrate how a spatiality has been formed by a market and its economic activities with the effects of the changing socio-economic conditions and macro political dynamics. Written

resource and the narrative of interviewees have demonstrated that Gedikpaşa neighborhood, which had been a residential area since the Byzantine period, has been started to be shaped by the footwear sector as of the late 1950s and early 1960s and became a working area. As I have mentioned several times, this thesis has aimed to illustrate why and how the neighborhood of Gedikpaşa has been shaped by footwear market since established by using the narratives of its economic actors which is unmentioned in the written resources. The narratives of interviewees also demonstrate that the departures of non-Muslims, who were former residents of the neighborhood, as a result of the policies of the state, and the increase in the number of employees working in the footwear sector with the migration from rural to urban areas played a fundamental role in this process. In addition to that, this chapter has illustrated that until the early 1990s, Gedikpaşa footwear market, had met a large part of footwear demand in Turkey.

Since the 1990s, the customer base of the Gedikpaşa market have changed from the domestic market to customers from former Soviet Republics with the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USRR . Hereby, demand for footwear production and wholesale increased. This situation tended mechanization in the footwear manufacturing and increased the production capacity of market. Thus and so, Gedikpaşa has become to be insufficient for the economic actors who could increase their capital accumulation. In this way, footwear manufacturing spread to other districts in Istanbul. At the same time, tending of footwear manufacturers in Gedikpaşa from the domestic market to foreign markets caused the spread of footwear production to other cities in Turkey. Apart from this, the evacuation efforts of the municipality of Eminönü in the 1990 also affected footwear market and caused moving of numerous manufacturers from Gedikpaşa. In addition, the financial crisis in Russia and Turkey affected the footwear market negatively in this period.

Nevertheless, by the first half of the 2000s, the market recovered itself by according the effects of crises and the by creating defense mechanism against the consequences of evacuation efforts in the 1990s. However, it has also illustrated that Gedikpaşa footwear market came face to face a new evacuation effort at the end of the 2000s and the beginning of the 2010 since an urban renewal project was announced in Gedikpaşa and manufacturers were forced to

evacuate by Municipality of Fatih similar to other historical district of Istanbul in this period. At the end of the day, this project has not been realized. However, with the announcement of this project, Gedikpaşa has started to be influenced by tourism and tourism investors.

Apart from these, it has been examined that the foreign policy crises and internal political crises in the mid-2010s affected negatively the footwear market. In addition to that, deterioration of the financial situation of Turkey in recent years, has also penetrated the Gedikpaşa footwear market. From this point of view, the remarks of interviewees about the current situation and about what will happen to Gedikpaşa in the future have been cited in which they have interpreted these crises and foreign policy consequences as a positive development rather than a negative situation since according to them, the market can establish new rules, new way of business, in other words new defense mechanism which may bring the it to a better position than before. Moreover, they assert that Gedikpaşa neighborhood will be formed by footwear market even if it will become a tourist destination.

On the other hand, in chapter 3, I have spoken of Gedikpaşa footwear market's internal dynamics such as Economic Actors, Informality, Trust and Market and Property Owners. Firstly, I have examined economic actors and their economic capital accumulation and craftsmanship process, It has been illustrated that footwear manufacturing and footwear market include different sub-branches which requires different expertise. The field work of this thesis has showed that division of labor/specialization has been shaped by master, journeyman and apprentice relationship which is a hierarchical form of craftsmanship process. It has been asserted that this particular form of specialization has been different from what it used to be since economic actors cannot find new employees as apprentices and it is possible to open shops directly with economic capital regardless of craftsmanship. In addition to these, the continuity of Gedikpaşa footwear market, especially labor-intensive jobs such as shoe-manufacturing is closely related to the cheap labor of migrants, in other words exploitation of migrant labor.

This chapter has illustrated that informality in Gedikpaşa occurs in different ways as a defense mechanism to ensure their sustainability by economic actors in different unpredictable conditions. For instance, being unregistered

from financial system, reporting the rental fee lower or reporting themselves to financial system as no tax liability to avoid paying taxes, working without social security system, unregistered trade between economic actors and customer are the most commonly used ways. However, it should be remarked that all these forms of informality are related to the way of doing business in the market piece rate system, seasonal fluctuation of work density, open account payment system. In addition to this, this research has shown that it is a fact that the state largely overlooks the informality in Gedikpaşa footwear market and does not impose a sanction in recent years.

I have also examined how trust relationships were established since trust is significant feature of informal economy as a protection mechanism, in other words as a defense mechanism. As Gedikpaşa footwear market includes different type of informality, trust relationship as a mechanism occurs in different forms based on different points such as doing business together for a long time, recommendation of new customer, testing the customer etc. It can be asserted that trust has been described by many interviewees as a phenomenon that no longer exists. However, trust is still significant for the Gedikpaşa footwear market, but it depends on the financial situation of the interviewees. While economic actors with good financial standing may choose not to trust, those who do not have to trust their customers with necessity.

Another important point of this thesis is that illustrate the importance of the social networks which are *Hemşehrilik*, kinship, acquaintanceship. As I have stated in different parts of this thesis, I was able to get access into the field and I did not have any difficulties in the field work thanks to social networks. It has also been demonstrated that social networks are significant for inclusion of economic actors to footwear market. Over and above this, Gedikpaşa footwear market has witnessed the concentration of people from certain cities, countries in certain occupations since its establishment and has been shaped by these concentrations. In addition to this, it has been shown that there is a handover of labor-intensive occupations from the former group to the latter ones. In fact, similar to labor intensive work, habitation in Gedikpaşa has been transferred from the previous to newcomers.

In addition to these, property changing hands in Gedikpaşa which is an indicator of capital accumulation has been demonstrated. The properties owners, which consist of old non-Muslim inhabitants, economic actors, in Gedikpaşa have started to change since investors who have not got an economic relation with market have recently purchased properties.

In a nutshell, all these findings have been derived from the field work of this thesis, twenty-four interviews which were conducted with employer and non-participant observation have clearly demonstrated that footwear market has continued shaped the Gedikpaşa district with unpredictable conditions and dynamics and its defense mechanisms. Namely, this research depicts that how an urban area, a market has been affected by changing conditions and how it has reacted to these conditions since its establishment. In this regard, I hope this research makes a contribution to the urban studies literature. However, at this point, it is necessary to propound that only interviewing with employers due to limited scope of master thesis may have narrowed the points that this thesis wants to illuminate. From this point of view, future research about Gedikpaşa footwear market could complete this situation by conducting interviews with employees.

Appendix A Photos from Gedikpaşa



Man carrying goods with hand trolley & rolls of leather in a Gedikpaşa street.



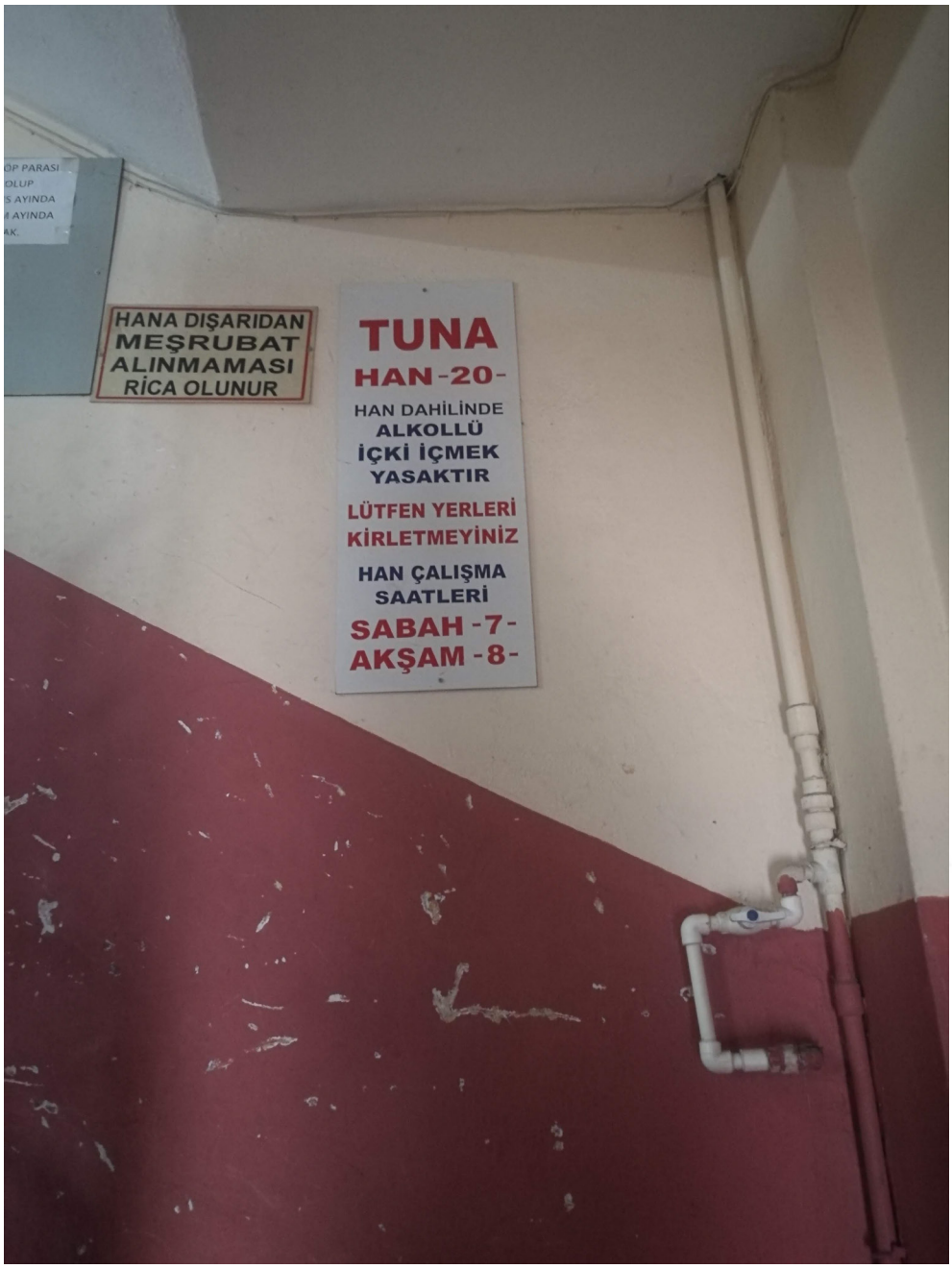
Packages in front of an Armenian church.



Hand trolleys and packages.



Slipper manufacturing in a workshop.



Entrance of a Han.



A lunch in a workshop.



A terrace of a Han where economic actors make barbecue.



A tea shop in a Han.

Appendix B Information of Interviewees

- Ayhan was born in Istanbul, in 1966. His father and mother were born in Malatya, Pütürge, Hüsükuşağı. After finishing high school, he started to slipper manufacturing. In the 2000s, he stopped manufacturing and replaced his father who was *Odabaşı* in one of the largest *Han*s in Gedikpaşa. In addition to this, his family is small shareholder of this *Han*. In addition, he has a transportation company which conveys the goods of tradesmen both in his and surroundings *Hans* from Gedikpaşa to cities in Anatolia. I met Ayhan through Halil. The interview with Ayhan was conducted at his workplace in November 2017.
- Bekir was born in Malatya, Pütürge, Hüsükuşağı, in 1967. Including his father, the men in his family periodically came to Istanbul for temporary work. In 1973, his father brought his family to Istanbul. His father was working as a mobile fruit vendor and a mobile yoghurt vendor. He started to work as a shoe manufacturer's apprentice when he was 10 years old. He is master in his workplace where they manufacture women shoes since the middle of the 2000s. I met him in 2017 via the Facebook group of an association, the "Artisans' Association of Gedikpaşa, Beyazıt and Surroundings". He is also the founder and president of this association, the interview with Bekir was conducted at his brother's workplace in December 2017.
- Celal was born in Istanbul, in 1952. His family came from Malatya, Pütürge, Hüsükuşağı to Istanbul in 1951. He is from the same village with Ayhan and Bekir. His father was a porter. In 1964, He started to work in Gedikpaşa. Today, he is a children footwear wholesaler. I met Celal through Ayhan. The interview with Celal was conducted at his workplace in December 2017
- Deniz was born in Malatya, Pütürge, in 1936. He came to Istanbul in 1959 to work with his brother, a footwear wholesaler in Gedikpaşa. He started to work in footwear sector when he was 12 years old in Malatya. I met Deniz through Ayhan. The interview with Deniz was conducted at his workplace in December 2017.
- Erhan was born in Urfa, in 1957. His family came to Istanbul to work in 1960 through their relatives. His father was shoe a manufacturer and Erhan was helping his father since 1968. He is the partner of a footwear wholesaler. I met

Erhan through Ayhan. The interview with Erhan was conducted at his workplace in January 2018.

- Faruk was born in Adıyaman, Besni, in 1948. In 1965, he came to Istanbul to become a shoe manufacturer through his sister's husband who was working in footwear production. Today, he is the owner of a shoe wholesaler shop. I met Faruk through Ayhan. The interview with Faruk was conducted at his workplace in January 2018.
- Gökhan was born in Istanbul, in 1960. His family came from Kayseri to Istanbul in 1956-1957. He had a workplace of shoe and slipper manufacturing. After he stopped making production, he became a wholesaler of shoe and slipper. His family is the major shareholder in one of the largest *Han*s in Gedikpaşa. I met Gökhan through Ayhan. The interview with Gökhan was conducted at his workplace in January 2018.
- Halil was born in Malatya, Pütürge, in 1951. Predecessor male members of his family had come and gone periodically to work in Istanbul since the time of Abdülhamid II. Halil's moved his family to Istanbul in 1958. At the age of 8 he started to work as an apprentice in a shoe manufacturer. After working in different parts of shoe manufacturing, he is now leather wholesaler and *Odabaşı* where his workplace is located. Halil is from the same village with my father. I contacted him through my relatives in 2017. The interview with Halil was conduct at his workplace in January 2018.
- İsmet was born in Ağrı, Doğu Beyazıt in 1967. He came to Istanbul due to forced migration in 1991. He entered Gedikpaşa market with the occasion of his acquaintances in 1997. He was shoe wholesaler. Today, he is leather wholesaler. I met him through one of my friends. I conducted two interviews with him. The first one was conducted in February 2018 and the second in July 2018 at his workplace.
- Kenan was born in Batman, Sason, in 1954. He has never worked in the footwear market. He has been working and living at an Armenian Church for 20 years. He is looking after the tenants in the real estate owned by the church. I met Kenan through Ismet. The interview with Kenan was conducted at this Armenian church in July 2018.

- Can was born in Malatya, Pütürge in 1968. He came directly to Gedikpaşa for working in the 1980s. He is a shoe manufacturer. I met Can through Bekir. The interview with Can was conducted at his workplace in August 2018.
- Leman was born in Istanbul in 1958. She joined the market with the occasion of her husband who came to Gedikpaşa for working at the leather wholesale shop of his relatives when he was 16 years old. He has his own leather wholesale shop. Normally Leman was insurer and had an insurance agent in Gedikpaşa. After her retirement, Leman started to help his husband. I met Leman through Bekir. The interview with Leman was conducted at her workplace in September 2018.
- Ayşe was born in Malatya in 1978. Her family came from Pütürge to center of Malatya. She came to Istanbul for getting married since her husband was living in Istanbul and working in Gedikpaşa. She is a financial consultant and she started to her carrier in 2001 in Gedikpaşa. I met Ayşe through Bekir. The interview with Ayşe was conducted at her workplace in October 2018.
- Nedim was born in Malatya, Pütürge. His father came to Gedikpaşa for working and Nedim's family moved to Istanbul in 1978. His father was a shoe manufacturer. Nedim is a shoe wholesaler. I met him through Ayşe. The interview with Nedim was conducted at his workplace in September 2018.
- Orhan was born in Malatya, Pütürge, in 1965. He came to Istanbul for working in Gedikpaşa in 1977. He was working as a shoe manufacturer's apprentice. He is tea seller in a small *Han* and takes care of the workplace as an *Odabaşı* in this *Han.* Apart from the workplaces in this building, he sells tea to the workplaces in other *Han*s where there is not a tea seller. I met Orhan through Ayşe. The interview with Orhan was conducted at his tea shop in October 2018.
- Rıfat was born in Niğde n 1963. His father was a shoe manufacturer in Niğde. His family came to Istanbul for their child's education in 1967 and his father started to work as a shoe wholesaler in Gedikpaşa. In 1976 he started to help his father's work. After returning from his military service, his father opened a shoe wholesale shop to Rıfat. In 1992, he moved his workplace to Laleli. I met Rıfat through Ayşe. The interview with Rıfat was conducted at his workplace in October 2018.

- Salih was born in Syria in 1995. His family came to Turkey because of the war in 2010. He was a shoe manufacturer in Syria and when he came to Gedikpaşa he started to working in a shoe manufacturing workshop. Later, he started to work as a salesclerk first in a footbed wholesale shop and then in a shoe wholesale shop, respectively. In 2016, he established his own business where he sells imitation shoes and clothes. I met Salih through Levent. The interview with Salih was conducted at his cousin's workplace in November 2018.
- Mehmet was born in Istanbul in 1978. His family came to Istanbul from Erzincan in 1920. The family has a grocery shop in the one of the main street of Gedikpaşa since 1951s. Mehmet has a PhD degree however he is working in his family's grocery shop. I met Mehmet through Orhan. The interview was conducted at Orhan's tea shop in October 2018.
- Hüseyin and Levent are two partners in a financial consultance office. In fact, I thought that I was going to conduct an interview with Hüseyin. However, the day when I visited Hüseyin at his office, his partner Levent was also there. Thus I conduct an interview with both of them at the same time. Hüseyin was born in Erzincan, in 1946. Levent was born in Elazığ, in 1971. I met them through İsmet. The interview with them was conducted at their office in October 2018.
- Akın was born in Urfa in 1972. In 1990, he came to Gedikpaşa for working under favor of his friend who came earlier. He is a shoe manufacturer in Organized Industrial Zone. However, he holds his old workplace in Gedikpaşa as an office and he visits Gedikpaşa 3 or 4 times a week. I met him through Ayşe. The interview with Akın was conducted at his workplace in Gedikpaşa in October 2018.
- Bahri was born in Diyarbakır in 1952. His family came to Istanbul in 1966, after earthquake in Varto. In 1981 he opened a hardware shop with the suggestion of his friend. He turned his shop to a footwear material shop in 1991. He is still working in this shop. I met Bahri through Levent. The interview with him was conducted at his workplace in October 2018.
- Vedat was born in Bulgaria, Varna in 1948. His family immigrated to Çorlu in 1950. In 1962, he came to Istanbul to start to as an apprentice since his relatives were working in the footwear sector. In 1972, he opened his own work-

place as a master. Today he manufacturers sandals for women during the winter season while his son sells these sandals at bazaars in the summer. I met Vedat through Bekir. The interview with Vedat was conducted at his workplace in November 2018.

- Yaşar was born in Siirt in1939. He started to work as a shoe manufacturer's apprentice when he was child in Siirt. In 1968, he came to Istanbul for working with his brother in Gedikpaşa. He is a slipper manufacturer. I met Yaşar through Bekir. The interview with Yaşar was conducted at his workshop in November 2018.
- Zeynel was born in Konya, Karaman in 1948. He came to Istanbul for working in 1964. He started to work as a shoe manufacturer's apprentice thanks to his relatives who were working in Gedikpaşa. In 1986, he founded his shoe manufacturing workshop. I met Zeynel through Bekir. The interview with him was conducted at his workplace in November 2018.

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