

NEW COUNTRIES OF THE METROPOL: A NETNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE SIGN-POLITICS OF TV SERIES SHOT IN BEYKOZ

[Metropolun Yeni Taşraları: Beykoz'da Çekilen TV Dizilerinin
Göstergepolitigi Hakkında Netnografik Bir Analiz]

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ABSTRACT

Country, in its simplest sense, expresses the distance from the center but this distance is not only determined by the geographical criteria. The country is also reproduced discursively with the development of transportation, communication, and increasing social wealth. The unique encounters that occurred in the changing social life of Istanbul have a significant function in metropolitan and country discourse. Being from Istanbul has been transferred to living in certain districts of Istanbul, while some districts have attained an objectionable representation simultaneously in actual metropolitan discourse. In recent years, Beykoz has hosted many serials as a lively film set in which this discourse is dramatized.

In this study, the image of Beykoz on Turkish television will be analyzed netnographically. The features of the district that were highlighted and pushed into the background during the TV show process will be evaluated. The images of the countryside produced in the

representation of the metropolis, which is aestheticized today, will be tried to be interpreted through the TV series shot in Beykoz. With the inclusion of the existing social fabric of the district in the meaning map of the "general audience", the usage of Beykoz in prime time TV series will be thematized/ideally typified. In addition, the advantages and disadvantages of (film) tourism, which is intended to fill the void of industrial production in the post-industrial period, will bring the geographical, social, and cultural structure of the district will be evaluated. The facts ignored by the project of transforming the district, which has become one of the frequent destinations of the TV series industry in recent years, into "Hollykoz" will be discussed by comparing current research data.

Keywords: Post-industrial city, film tourism, netnografic analysis, general audience.

ÖZET

Taşra, en yalın manası ile merkezden uzaklığı ifade eder. Öte yandan bu uzaklığın sadece bilindik uzaklık ölçütleriyle oluşturulduğu söylenemez. Ulaşım ve iletişim araçlarının gelişmesi ve artan toplumsal refah ile birlikte taşra söylemsel olarak da yeniden üretilmektedir. Metropol ve taşra söyleminde İstanbul'un değişen sosyal hayatının meydana getirdiği kendine özgü karşılaşmaların kayda değer bir işlevi vardır. Günümüz kent söyleminde İstanbullu olmak, İstanbul'un belli semtlerinde yaşamaya aktarılırken kimi semtler de eş zamanlı olarak sakıncalı bir temsile erişmiştir. Son yıllarda Beykoz, bu söylemin dramatize edildiği canlı bir film platosu olarak çok sayıda diziyeye ev sahipliği yapmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada Türk televizyonlardaki Beykoz imajı netnografik olarak analize edilecektir. İlçenin TV'de sergilenme sürecinde öne çıkarılan ve geri plana itilen özellikleri değerlendirilecektir. Günümüzde estetize edilen metropol temsilinde üretilen taşra imgeleri Beykoz'da çekilen TV dizileri aracılığında yorumlanmaya çalışılacaktır. İlçenin mevcut sosyal dokusunun "genel izleyicinin" anlam haritasına dahil oluşunu tespit etmek adına prime time dizilerindeki Beykoz kullanımları tematize edilecektir/ideal tiplendirilecektir. Ayrıca sanayi sonrası dönemde endüstriyel üretimin boşluğunu doldurması amaçlanan (film) turizminin ilçenin fiziksel, sosyal ve kültürel yapısına getireceği avantaj ve dezavantajlar değerlendirilecektir. Son yıllarda dizi sektörünün uğrak noktalarından biri haline gelen ilçeyi

“Hollykoz’a” dönüştürme projesinin göz ardı ettiği olgular güncel araştırma verileri karşılaştırılarak tartışılacaktır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Post-endüstriyel şehir, film turizmi, netnografik analiz, genel izleyici.

1. Introduction

Country, in its simplest sense, expresses the distance from the center but this distance is not only determined by the geographical criteria. The country is also reproduced discursively with the development of transportation, communication, and increasing social wealth. The unique encounters that occurred in the changing social life of Istanbul have a significant function in metropolitan and provincial discourse. From past to the present, Istanbul is the focal point of the political, economic, or cultural center-periphery divisions with its diversity that includes all the colors of the society. The city, which was a home for expatriate birds in the 1950s and attracts distant lives with its almost golden stone soil in the 1980s, has attained its present metropolitan structure with migration waves, as in every metropolis. This complex process has also redefined the cultural topography of the city. Being from Istanbul has been transferred to living in certain districts of Istanbul, while some districts have attained an objectionable representation simultaneously. It is quite interesting that the new urban discourse, which combines the average white-collar lifestyle with the current needs of the metropolis and nostalgic neighborhood culture, shares the same theme with popular TV series. In recent years, Beykoz has hosted many serials as a lively film set in which this discourse is dramatized.

Mass media have vital importance in the internalization of central discourses by individuals in the world of meaning. The most conventional of these tools is television. The television screen, which occupies the living room of most houses, also contributes to the formation of the ego ideal of many people (Lacan, 2013). On the other hand, with the development of digital technologies and the ease of internet access, the practice of watching television has moved to smartphone screens and has become individualized. Primetime stories, watched individually or as a family, continue to be at the top of the reference points in "meaning maps". Beykoz, represented by its natural beauty, warm neighborhood life, an architectural structure that reminds of old Turkish movies, is one of today's TV series industry haunts. The district is used as an anonymous venue in the series, which broke many rating records. It is staged as the signifier of a chase whose outcome is hard to predict, a nostalgic Istanbul tale or a melodramatic tale of separate worlds. Significantly, the TV series shots are mainly crime, period series, and dramas. The district's demographic, economic, cultural, and architectural

features are used in a centrifugal relationship with the common urban discourse. The physical structure of the district is represented by a spatial escape from the security forces in the center. The desire to get rid of the anonymous and atomized relations of the metropolis plays a key role in identifying the district with a pure past (nostalgic escape). In melodramatic stories, Beykoz is represented as a class escape point that has become indifferent to economic conditions. An aestheticized provincialism, which is defined as the movement in the center as completely dependent but outside, is the common point of these different genres of productions. What is the relationship of these stories, which take place on the margins of ordinary life in the city center, to real-life in Beykoz? How is the district's demographic, economic, and cultural structure used in the production of a provincial discourse in the metropolis? What are the possibilities and risks of these representations in circulation in the formation of the cultural identity of the district?

In this study, the image of Beykoz on Turkish television will be subjected to netnographic analysis, and the features of the district that have been highlighted and pushed into the background during the transformation process into TV space will be evaluated. The images of provincialism produced in the representation of the metropolis, which is aestheticized today, will be tried to be interpreted through the TV series shot in Beykoz.

2.Three Istanbul and Beykoz

The industrial revolution has created a dynamism that allows industrial production relations to spread to all social layers. In the classical picture of modern society, production as the only power that needs to be constantly increased is mentioned with the connotations of the mass production line: standard, discipline, and planning. As Henri Lefebvre mentioned, industrial cities with "energy resources", "transport vehicles", "raw material resources" and "hand workers" (Lefebvre, 2017, p. 25) emerge as a spatial organization that will regulate these elements. On the other hand, the new opportunities offered by the productive organization and cultural climate of classical industrial cities attract a population with "authentic" lifestyles. As in all major cities, Istanbul, while collecting the energy resources around it, has put production relations at the center. The transportation opportunities it has had in the past have made Istanbul the only address in trade relations for a long time. Although it does not have raw material resources, Istanbul has always preserved its strategic value, except for short

circuits, thanks to effective management devices. Finally, it opened its doors to immigrants from Anatolia to provide the workforce to run all systems. In the 1950s and 1960s, the population of the city, which gained new roads with the "zoning project" of the Democrat Party, increased continuously. The population, which was 1 million in the 1950s, increased to over 2 million in a short time of ten years and passed the 4 million barriers in the 1980s. The heavy industry move in the 1960s caused the factory layout, personalized with soot, oil, and blue overalls, to become a part of the city's silhouette. New job opportunities in the cities have attracted the outsiders to an easier and more prosperous life, but it has been realized with bitter experiences that the lifestyle they are used to is not enough to hold on in the big city. While "railroads, created by urban capital, went where the interests of capital and urban industries took them, not where people actually lived" (Weber, 2017, p. 275) urban topography has witnessed a scattered concentration. Since it was not seen as a safe action, the individual migration wave, which started with the arrival of the eldest male member of the peasant families, became more settled with the introduction of families thanks to the material wealth and social status gained. In the words of Chicago sociologists, these new campuses, where proximity to "central business areas" was not among the priority plans, spread from the peripheries to the center, allowing new nuances to emerge in the inner texture of the city (Park and Burgess, 2016; Gül, 2013, p. 179-181). As it can be seen in *Gurbet Kuşları* (1960), anyone who comes to the city with great hopes cannot succeed in being permanent, but the "lumpen" (haybeci) type, who does not return to his village anymore, has created serious pressure on the perception of the city with his fellow countrymen. "While millions of provincials fill the countless places like Sadabat, Beykoz, Üsküdar's promenade village, the Bosphorus ridges, for which poems are written, with slums" (Kılıçbay, 2000, p. 96), they have also been turned into new objects of a discourse conflict that comes to the surface at every opportunity. "Industry Istanbul", which was articulated with the Fatih-Harbiye tension in the Early Republic, gives life to the district distinctions that reproduce this tension (Şirinevler-Ataköy, Tarlabası-Nişantaşı, Kültepe-Gümüşsuyu). A cultural polarization accompanies the economic cooperation between the old and new settlements connected by major roads. Urban peripheries, which are also the regions of "naturalness" and "peace" for the old inhabitants of the city, mean places to take shelter in the life-and-death struggle in the big city for those coming from outside. The increase in these new urban areas (slums), which are mostly shaped

by the material resources provided by unskilled labor. Informal workers' aesthetic preferences of the city-village synthesis, have led to the cultural introversion of the old urbanites, who hold certain expertise in the production relations of the city and carry out formal relations, and to certain points of the city. With natural population growth and new immigration waves, Istanbul's continuous expansion, which has a population of over 10 million, integrates the peripheral regions with the old city centers. New-urban regions show more development than their predecessors, owing to some members being more articulated with the global economy. In particular, it can be said that the post-industrial network of relations that emerged in parallel with the global and national change process after 2000 added another region to the urban topography: "Post-industrial Istanbul". While the pull created by the expansion of the city between regions is accompanied by a push created by cultural and symbolic differences, the discourse of urbanity follows a centrifugal path (Keyder, 2013).

With the juxtaposition of different economic, social, and cultural segments of Istanbul, Beykoz has a unique value where the change of the city can be followed simultaneously. The empire houses the resort districts of "old Istanbul" such as Beykoz Kanlıca, Göksu, and Anadolu Hisarı, which is the customs point of Istanbul. These quarters, which meant a change of mood for the aristocratic families of Imperial Istanbul, were identified with the real Istanbul for the urban middle class produced by the Early Republic, with their classical architecture, and orderly and quiet life. On the other hand, raw material and logistics advantages that will meet not on the natural beauty needs of the developing city have made Beykoz one of the centers of industrial production in Istanbul. Although the Paper Factory, one of the first industrial enterprises, could not continue its activities, the Shoe Factory continued its activities for a long time with various revisions (1810-1999). The activities of the Şişecam Factory (1934-2002) and the Spirits Factory (1930-2008), which were established in the Republican era, attract a serious labor force from Anatolia to the city. With the establishment of workers' settlements such as the Paşabahçe, the district gains a second texture (Alnıçık, 2008; Koçak, 2014). On the other hand, the decentralization process, which started with the loss of the cultural discourse of organized-industrial capitalism, created an identity problem for Istanbul and Beykoz, as in all world cities. Dissolution of the old industrial organization and other sectors that developed in connection, such as the opening of the forest lands that lost their forest quality in the district, the strategic location of the region,

and the natural beauty caused a new elite class to prefer Beykoz in the "post-industrial" period. The establishment of these new settlements, which can be considered the first examples of urban gentrification, such as the Acarkent and Beykoz Mansions, created a "post-industrial" texture in the district for the third time (Şentürk, 2019, p. 435-436). It is important that the district, which aims to fill the productive gap experienced with the closure and relocation of factories after 2000, as an investment area for sectors such as tourism, logistics, health, and education, becomes a lively plateau for TV series and movie shootings. This development is very pleasing for Beykoz to get a share of the film tourism cake, which is a rising branch of the tourism sector, but the effect of the new resource input on the social structure of the district and the representation of Beykoz reproduced in the indicator universe is a problem that should be considered.

3. Method

In this study, the digital ethnographic method and ideal typological analysis were used. Digital ethnography/netnography is a new approach used in the analysis of digital community forms that have emerged with the development of the internet and the access of different participant profiles. Digital ethnography, which is based on the fact that conventional ethnography treats the local community in line with its unique perception of time and space, aims to trace the cultural patterns shaped by computer-based social interaction. Beyond ethnography, which tries to analyze linguistic signs formed by in-group traditions and face-to-face encounters in a limited space, netnography focuses on the shared culture created by the networked, discontinuous and indirect communication of online communities. According to some observers, considering the subjective experience and meaning maps of users in terms of the limitations of the platforms they take place in and the roles they assume cause a distinction or even a contradiction between their online and offline identities (Turkle, 1994). One of the problem areas of the netnographic approach, which tries to make sense of the online community structures of the participants with techniques such as online interviews, content analysis, and network analysis, is the representation of the physical environment in digital environments. Socio-economic change in the post-industrial society and developments in information technologies have transformed local community structures and caused a radical change in the perception of regions beyond the community. In line with social media

platforms, travel sites, and conventional and digital advertising activities, natural or cultural regions are recoded as touristic destinations and made suitable for visits (Karczewaska et al., 2019).

In the process of creating the research universe of the study, Beykoz was represented in primetime series of 6 major channels (Kanal D, ATV, Star TV, Show TV, Fox TV, TRT 1) between 2006-2020. It has been tried to analyze the representation of Beykoz in the general audience by focusing on the most-watched and influential broadcast generation of television. On the other hand, the circulation of the TV series on Turkish television and the anonymous existence of the venues used in the productions make the construction processes of this representation difficult. On the other hand, the inflation of the TV series and the anonymous existence of the spaces used in the TV series make the construction processes of this representation difficult. In this context, in the process of creating the sample, the posts under the title of "Places where television series are shot in Istanbul" on the wowTurkey internet blog, which shares images from different locations in Turkey, were examined. There are a total of 2500 notifications between July 2006 and February 2020 under this title, which is based on the visual and address sharing of different places in the series by different users. From these notifications, those about Beykoz were taken and classified according to channel, broadcast, and content. Then, the images and addresses on the Google map search engine were confirmed and observed. Finally, TV series were thematized into three categories.

3.1.Series, Explosion in Beykoz

One of the results of welfare policies in industrial society has been the massification of leisure time. Non-productive practices became widespread among all social classes; film and travel have become the main leisure activities. Film-induced tourism, which is located at the intersection of watching movies and traveling, has been a popular form of tourism in recent years (Beeton, 2005). The global film industry reached a capital volume of 234 billion dollars in 2020 (Businesswire, 2021); worldwide box office revenues approached 50 billion dollars in 2019 (McClintock, 2020). The globalization of the film industry has made a wide audience aware of the existence of different locations in the world. In this context, experiencing the locations where popular TV series and movies are shot is a rising tourism trend. According to UNWTO-Awarded Research Agency data, it is estimated that 80 million tourists worldwide

are influenced by movies in determining their travel destinations (Koumelis, 2018). In 2018, 50 million tourists visited Los Angeles, the heart of the film industry; 3.59 million tourists left a revenue of approximately \$2 billion to the film campus area in West Hollywood (Travelagent, 2018). On the other hand, the high audience ratio of the Lord of the Rings film series shot in New Zealand and productions such as Batman Begins, Die Another Day, and Game of Thrones shot in Iceland in recent years have started an influx of visitors to these remote and exotic places of the world. A similar momentum in terms of the expansion of the film and TV series sector is also valid for Turkey. According to the data of the Ministry of Culture, General Directorate of Cinema, the total size of the film industry exceeded 7 billion TL in 2019. On the other hand, an income of 976 million TL was achieved with the number of spectators exceeding 59 million (Cultur Ministry, 2019). Productions produced for the 6 big competing private television channels in Turkey, which started private television broadcasting in 1990, have exceeded the limits of the domestic market in the last 10 years. Turkish productions reached an audience of 700 million and the export of 500 million dollars was realized in a total of 146 countries, including the Middle East and Balkan countries, as well as the countries of South America and the Mediterranean (Uştuk, 2019). According to the Latin America Market report published by the Ministry of Culture in 2018, experiencing the serial places they watch is one of the reasons for visiting 200 thousand Latin American and Caribbean tourists in the past (Ministry of Culture, 2018, p. 57). It is estimated that the TV series watched were effective in the fact that about 3 million of the 14 million tourists who visited Istanbul in 2019 came from the Middle East countries (Istanbul Culture and Tourism Directorate, 2019, p. 6).

In addition to these dizzying numbers, the series wars in prime-time in recent years make it possible to encounter a series of TV sets almost everywhere in Istanbul. These series are not located in a single place. Different scenes in a series are shot and montaged in different parts of Istanbul, and the textural differences of the city become a spectacle whole in mediatic representation. With its different architectural-social segments, Beykoz has become one of the haunts of the Turkish TV series and film industry in recent years. Despite the rare experimental productions in TV series after 2000, Beykoz is the background for most of the stories in the genre of nostalgia, detective, and comedy-drama. Beykoz hosts different stages of many productions with its architectural and socio-cultural patterns from different states of

Istanbul. In the kitsch stories of old Istanbul, the fact that Beykoz is an old summer resort is highly utilized. Reşat Nuri Güntekin's famous work *Çalıkuşu* is located in Göksu district, the summer resort of old Istanbul; Some scenes of "Öyle Bir Geçer Zamanı" and *Karadayı*, tell about a family tragedy in the 1970s with the socio-political conditions of the country, were shot in Anadolu Kavağı, and many of the battle scenes of the *Diriliş Ertuğrul* series, which tells about the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, were shot in Riva. It is very interesting that the natural beauties of Beykoz host the action scenes of the crime-adventure genre and the hiding-shelter scenes of the criminals, as well as the old Istanbul stories. The love nest in Riva, which is remembered for the evasive scenes of the *Aşk-ı Memnu* series, has hosted illegitimate deliveries and conflicts in many productions.

The magnificent mansion of Bahri Baba of Poyraz Karayel is located in Mahmut Şevket Paşa Village; Some important scenes of *Kurtlar Vadisi Ambush* are shot in Bozhane Village and Yeni Mahalle Village. On the other hand, because Erler Film studios are located in Kavacık, many locations in Beykoz are the venues for the TV series *Arka Sokaklar*, which has been on the air for 15 seasons. It can be said that the central district of Beykoz has a special place for comedy-dramas. The traditional neighborhood texture of this place has been the scene of productions such as *Aramızda Kalsın*, *Pis Yedili*, *Kertenkele*, *Fazilet Hanım ve Kızları*, and *Tutunamayanlar*, which are about romantic love relationships and class distinctions. On the other hand, farmhouses and ostentatious buildings in Kanlıca, Riva, and Polenezköy, which reflect "post-industrial Istanbul", are used to represent the upper classes in dramas such as *The Güneşin Kızları*, *Siyah Beyaz Aşk*, *Cesur ve Güzel*. It should also be emphasized that Beykoz Shoe Factory is a special place in today's TV series industry. The old factory area, where many series plateaus were constructed, has been the venue for high-rated TV series such as *Hatırla Sevgili*, *Istanbullu Gelin*, *Karadayı*, *Vatanım Sensin*, *Küçük Kadınlar*. It can be said that the set environment in the Shoe Factory, with its well-detailed and comprehensive decorations, offers a Hollywood atmosphere for the TV series industry.

The physical and sociological reality of these locations is anonymized in the fictional universe of the serials. Of course, at the end of the credits, which usually passes quickly at the end of the episodes, it is not expected that the real places mentioned with a thanks section will be noticed by the audience without special attention. Sign order of these productions reduces the

reality of Beykoz to a simple signifier of the narrative, The actual time of the metropolis and the district, where fracture, continuity, and changes are fused, is subjected to an imaginary country. This image of the country produces a "blind spot" in Beykoz's representation as well as a "special interest" that will make the district familiar and attractive.

3.2. Themes

As a result of the TV series analyzed, three main themes were determined: nostalgia, melodrama and crime. The main representatives of these themes and the main plot are summarized below; The indicator order they point to has been tried to be analyzed.

3.2.1 Theme 1: A Little bit of nostalgia

While the temporality of modernity, which is identified with the here and now, finds its response as a fast and uninterrupted dynamism in urban life, it also inspires a longing for the calm and holistic life of an ideal past. MetropolitanLifee, "nostos (return to home) and algia (longing), nostalgia, has made a need for a "home that no longer exists or never existed" (Boym, 2009, p.14) into a cultural pattern. It is a mental construct that allows the ego to reach an idealized moment and to feel as a whole. On the other hand, it cannot be said that this fiction is completely buried in an abstractness of the past. On the contrary, nostalgia creates an integration with the outside world at the level of the sign with its unconscious satisfaction. Period stories evoke a sense of instant return for the old generations and while providing a break from the pressure of the current for the new generations, they create nostalgia loops in serial broadcasting. On the other hand, the fact that this longing and curiosity is shaped in line with the possibilities and demands of current conditions, not as in reality in the TV series, is because the culture industry reproduces the time-space relation. With its residences reflecting the historical ambiance of "Old Istanbul" and its geographical structure, Beykoz functions as an ideal representation space for the nostalgic cycle in TV series. While the historical residences, whose surroundings have changed considerably, are decontextualized within the sharp boundaries of the frame, their interiors are furnished with detailed post-production and made suitable for the intended time. While the absolute distance between the past and the present is closed by the mythical power of the sign, the audience gets the chance to participate in a retro-journey from their seats. It is quite interesting that millimetric rent calculations and urban transformation processes in post-industrial cities act together with the reflexes of

preserving the historical texture. The symbolic journey provided by the serials contributes to the derivation of an urban romanticism that identifies itself with gentrified regions instead of the urban topography formed by property relations and spatial organizations that are closed to itself. (Jager, 2015, p.124). For the general or intellectual audience, who tries to return to the old times as spaces to "breathe" besides the urban renewals, these productions offer a point of view in which contradictory realities are tamed. "Hatırla Sevgili" (2006-2008) heals the traumatic memory of the 1960s in a love triangle. "Öyle Bir Geçer Zamanı" (2010-2013) The political turmoil of the 1970s becomes a family disaster and one of the components of the emotional flood of impossible love relationships. "Karadayı" (2012-2015), which tells about Mahir's struggle for rights, who stands like a castle to protect his neighborhood in the district against strong and dark men, inspires hope in the audience with the old-time struggles where the right eventually wins. Reproducing the representation of "Old Istanbul", these serials provide relief from the pains of political memory while turning the forgotten virtues of neighborhood life into a viewing object for anonymous communities. These productions carry Beykoz into a sign-space by cutting material features such as its textural diversity, demographic structure, and distance from the chaos of the city and pasting it to the concept of "Old Istanbul."

3.2.2 Theme 2: The Meeting Point of Separate Worlds

While metropolitan life hosts the construction of multi-story and closed lives, it also evokes a longing for "natural spaces". Moreover, this search for naturalness is not limited to geographical conditions. In the discourse of modern urbanism, a kind of exoticism is attributed to spontaneous settlements and even ghettos, where unplanned and material disadvantages are tried to be overcome with communal solidarity networks. The distorted construction and old communal patterns that remain on the periphery of the urban transformation process, especially in high-income groups, represent a longed-for community form rather than a class inadequacy. The melodramatic stories of the TV series offer emotional satisfaction as well as an embolic escape for the metropolitan lifestyle who wants to experience the "natural life" outside.

The neighborhood provides socio-cultural protection against the isolating and anonymizing struggle of the metropolis, as "proximity and neighborly contact are the basis for the simplest

and most elementary form of association with which we have to do in the organization of city life” (Park, 2016: 43). At this point, some neighborhoods of Beykoz are represented in TV series as self-sufficient and adapted to the city, maintaining old neighborhood relations. For example, “İki Aile” (2006-2008), which is about the chain of events that started when a divorced woman and a man with children bought the same house to start a new life, brings family ties and neighborhood solidarity to the TV screen. The series, which tells about the transition from a broken family story to a large and happy family, is almost a contemporary replica of Ertem Eğilmez's movie Bizim Aile (1975). Another TV series project that highlights the longed-for feelings of neighborhood life is "Keep Between Us", which was broadcast between 2013 and 2015. One of the remarkable details of this production, which focuses on the kebab chef Bahattin Usta and his extended family from Gaziantep, is the "family house", a vivid example of old mansions. It is an interesting detail that the reruns of the series, in which the main purpose of protecting the house from the intense competition and individualizing effects of the city, became popular in the social isolation environment caused by the Covid-19 epidemic. The topography of the district, which brings different textures side by side, provides serious physical advantages for melodramatic stories, where class differences are the main starting point.

Centering on an unfinished love story and a broken family, the TV series "My Mother" (2007-2009) uses the various neighborhoods of Beykoz while montaging the opposite lives of marketer Zeynep and her ex-wife, deputy Musa. It is filmed in Beykoz, Çamlıbahçe, the "slum neighborhood" of "Pis Yedili" (2011-2014), which tells the story of the survival of a group of young people who find themselves in a high school where rich children are educated as a result of the closure of their school in the slum. The burning slums of "Fazilet Hanım ve Kızları" (2017-2018), based on the idea that the shortest way to go through a grade is through marriage, are located in the Hekimbaşı neighborhood on the hills of Beykoz. Another interesting detail is the family's passing from this slum, which is rarely shown in the second season, to the magnificent neighborhood in Sarıyer. The gentrified spaces of the post-industrial period also gain representation within the boundaries of the district. The flamboyant mansion of the TV series "Brave and Beautiful" (2016-2017), which brings together a feudal desire for revenge and impossible love, is the farmhouse of the Simavi Family in Polenezköy. A villa in Öyümce District is used for Bolat's house in the romantic comedy "Sen Çal

Kapımı" (2020-), which tells about the relationship of a workaholic and depressive businessman Serkan Bolat with a poor but lively young girl Eda.

These melodramatic productions, which combine their class differences with romance and have almost the same story, fiction, and even cast, have formed a series of cycles despite being the victims of tough rating wars. One of the reasons for this situation is the search to overcome the increasingly sharp class distinctions. These melodramatic productions, which bring together class differences with love and have almost the same story, take and even cast, have formed a series of cycles despite being victims of tough rating wars. One of the reasons for this situation is the search to overcome the increasingly sharp class distinctions. These stories, which are based on the accidental experience of the lower-class world of the main character, who does not have a social life apart from the busy work schedule in the plaza and the resting hours in the studio apartment, exhibit the centrifugal proximity of metropolis and its country. Simultaneously appealing to the logic of similarity and difference operated by the audience, the dramatic structure brings together the contradictory socio-economic textures of Beykoz in a stereotypical narrative, serving both the naturalization of class tensions and the reproduction of relief and hope arising from the overcoming of this tension semiotically.

3.2.3 Theme 3: The city in the backstreets

Beykoz is one of the districts with the lowest crime rate in Istanbul. According to the data of the district police department, it ranks 35th among 39 districts in terms of the number of crimes committed (Beykoz Guncel, 2021). Considering the linear relationship between metropolitan life and crime, this situation is quite interesting. It can be said that the distance of the district from the center and the ongoing communal ties are effective in the low crime rate. On the other hand, distance and communal ties have an encouraging function as well as a preventive function. The distance that produces uncontrollability and anomie, along with the liberation from borders, can bring social relations into an uncanny environment. The effect of distance and communal ties in the organization of crime has been emphasized in many crime studies. However, there are many reified detective and horror films in the memory of the average audience that tell the calamities that being away from the city brought to the heroes. The reproduction of crime causes certain parts of cities to be identified with illegal activities. The crime-based solidarity of the lower classes in the urban peripheries or transition zones

also paves the way for the formation of a kind of criminal community in modern cities (Whyte, 2019). However, the socio-economic vacuum that emerged with the dissolution of organized capitalism gives rise to “hyperghettos” in which different layers are stacked in urban centers (Wacquant, 2015). At this point, regardless of current crime data, it is worth considering why Beykoz's geographical conditions and neighborhood culture are used as a movie set for crime-detective series.

First of all, it can be said that Beykoz's distance from the city center and the forest lands it owns make it an important address for the chase and conflict scenes of the crime dramas. The forested lands in Riva and Polenezköy are used in the scenes of hiding and abduction in many TV series; The conflict between legal and illegal forces is dramatized in these regions. The TV series "Arka Sokaklar" (2006-), which is about the guerrilla-style organization of crime in the city, is a production that deserves to be mentioned for both Turkish television and Beykoz. Rıza Baba and his team, who constantly go around the circuit to catch all organized and common criminals in Istanbul, have turned many areas of Beykoz, especially Kavacık, into chase areas. These ideal cops, who are always closest to the crime scene, taste their moments of loss and victory in Beykoz while continuing their pursuit from the city center to the borders in most episodes. In the production of the living quarters and gang scenes of organized crime leaders, real spaces are used beside the plateaus in the Kundura Factory. Beykoz has a special function for "Kurtlar Vadisi" (2003-2005), with its political references, cult lines, and characters that have become popular icons. While a luxury villa in Mahmut Şevket Paşa is preferred as the home of crime lord Mehmet Karahanlı, Beykoz grove is used for the conflict scenes of the series. The preferred place for the kidnapping scene of little Umut, which will be the beginning of the whole series of events in the TV series "İçerde" (2016-2017), is again a shanty house in Beykoz, Merkez district. In one part of the series, Beykoz SK 1908 stadium is chosen for the showdown of two illegal groups during a football match. The Headquarters in the TV series "Suskunlar" (2012-2012), the prison in the TV series "Umuda Kelepçe Vurulmaz" (2016-2017), and the set of illegal betting games in the series "Pusat" (2007), the Shoe Factory is still the favorite place of crime scenes. Crime dramas, which strip the ideal neighborhood life from a romantic point of view and reconstruct it in a "barren, chaotic and rough" environment, contribute to the strengthening of the lower class origin crime stereotype. Revealing the "mysterious lifestyle" of the crime scene/community, these

productions reinforce the stereotyped criminal-innocent distinction despite the layering of their stories and tricky shooting techniques.

It is rather difficult to define the character of the post-industrial urban discourse, as the post-modern bonfire melts into all meta-narratives. It can be said that the discourse, which interweaves, revises, and synthesizes the old urban-new urban discourses with the multiple alternatives of the consumer society, combines an eclectic urban sensitivity with the search for a late modern identity. The post-industrial urbanity discourse, which combines a nostalgic perception of the city with a protective love of nature, and wants to breathe in the calm and solidarity environment of the neighborhood while struggling in the competitive and opportunistic universe of the metropolis, becomes naturalized through TV series and settles in our semantic maps. Beykoz, as the epicenter of the series that satisfies the nostalgic desire for the past, as well as staging the mobility inherent in the metropolis, is used to dissolve the dilemmas such as past-current, class distinction-solidarity, norm-crime in an aestheticization. The use of Beykoz's structural features to represent an ideal-city/urban as well as a crime hotspot is very meaningful in terms of observing the new forms of the country in the metropolis.

4. Hollykoz or Final Destination?

In 2015, with the cooperation of Beykoz Municipality and Istanbul Development Agency, a project called "Sağım Solum Dizi: Hollykoz" aims to revive the interest in film tourism in the district came to the fore. With a booklet introducing the venues in the serial traffic in Beykoz, information about the cinematographic venues of Beykoz was given and the effect of the serials on the formation of local memory was revealed. Based on the idea that "the places will eventually penetrate the scenario and impose their own story on the scenario" (Şahin, 2015 p.5), the project presents its natural beauties, cultural values, and new places waiting to be discovered to the attention of the visitors. Places used in popular TV series are added to the tourism destination of the district as new venues waiting to be visited. In the booklet, the physical conditions and social texture of Beykoz are placed in an idealized urban discourse accompanied by aesthetic photographs, while the sharp differences between the social structure of the district are left out of the frame.

Although the new post-industrial sectors have a large capital volume, it cannot be said that they are as generous as the old industrial organizations in the mass distribution of resources. The fact that these sectors, which benefit from the opportunities of advanced technology, do not need mass labor, causes them to isolate themselves from the social space in which it is located. Flexible organization and lack of social security have made labor vulnerable in neo-capitalist sectors. The fact that wealth is not shared with an organized distribution mechanism makes home and workplace not even share the same orbit. Regions that are physically close to each other but completely socio-economically isolated are proliferating in the post-industrial urban topography. The lower classes, who enter the living spaces created by the new capitalist upper and middle classes only on the condition of providing the needed informal labor temporarily, are pushed towards a hyper-ghetto in the intense and precarious competitive environment of the metropolis. In such an environment, where the old industrial partnerships are replaced by the pursuit of individual success or increasing sectoral capital, severe class segregation takes place. Los Angeles, one of the most important centers of post-industrial sectors and especially of film tourism, is one of the cities where these isolated areas become naturalized. While different demographic and socio-cultural patterns are arranged on the east-west axis of the city, average living standards and expectations are decreasing and the possibility of class advancement becomes increasingly difficult. According to a study conducted among Los Angeles residents, the increase in income inequality in the region creates a future concern for the lower-income group by 49%. Moreover, the problem that the lowest income group must solve is not just an unknown future. Fear of hunger (49%) and danger of homelessness (59%) are also other possibilities accompanying residents' lives (Foulsham, 2016). With its current social structure, West Los Angeles almost resembles a post-modern caste system. It is essential to accurately foresee the risks that the unequal income distribution caused by the post-industrial sectors may cause in a topography like Beykoz where different social fabrics come together. It should not be forgotten that it is an inconvenient attitude to accept the resources created by the film industry and tourism directly as one of the salvation recipes of the districts. At this point, the working life and demographic characteristics of West Hollywood, which is the epicenter of the film industry and tourism, are very meaningful in terms of seeing the social structure demanded by the new capitalist sectors. In West Hollywood, where the majority of the population serves the film industry and

related industries (67%), singles (61%) and childless couples (95%) make up the demographics (point2homes). West Hollywood, where the new middle-upper class residents are immersed in intense work and experience social life outside, has a stark contrast to the social structure of Beykoz, which has an economic life based on small business and informal sectors after deindustrialization, a family-dominated demographic and diverse social textures. Despite the heavy shooting traffic, the film industry does not have a significant weight in the district, except for the Kundura factory. According to the current situation research of the film industry in Istanbul, commissioned by the Istanbul Development Agency in 2017, the number of enterprises providing services in creative industrial sectors such as the film industry in Beykoz is 669, and the number of people employed is 6860. Considering that the employment rate of the creative industrial sector in Istanbul is 15%, Beykoz meets only 1% of the current employment (Kanburođlu, 2017, p. 18). On the other hand, a new capitalist transformation will certainly eliminate the physical and semiotic environment in the stories in which the different textures of Beykoz take place as an element of dramaturgical conflict. The dissolution and homogenization of the various and contradictory textures of Beykoz will cause the cinematic perspective to shift from here to other places. In this context, there is a need to go beyond proposing different destinations of Beykoz as “ideal venues” for TV series broadcasting and film tourism.

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