A VILLAGE IN THE CITY?

PLACE-MAKING AND GENTRIFICATION

IN KUZGUNCUK, ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

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PLACE-MAKING AND GENTRIFICATION IN KUZGUNCUK, ISTANBUL

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Kuzguncuk is small-scale historic and a gentrified neighbourhood located in Üsküdar, Istanbul. Kuzguncuk is considered as a village by its residents even though it is a very central and urban neighbourhood. This thesis aims to analyse village reference in Kuzguncuk and how village reference is a medium for place-making process in the neighbourhood. In order to analyse village reference, the narrative of multicultural past and the narrative of the mahalle will be focused to uncover the relationship between village-reference and place-making process. Later, this thesis will situate place-making process and village reference to gentrification debate. Gentrification is still a 'hot' topic that changes by the restructuring of urban systems. In this vein, re-gentrification of already gentrified neighbourhoods has become a subject to the discussion. Kuzguncuk will be elaborated within the new gentrification debates. The data of the thesis is collected by six month ethnographic field-work and will be analysed through the narratives.

Keywords: place-making, gentrification, village, Kuzguncuk, Istanbul

ÖZ

Şehrin İçinde Bir Köy? Kuzgunuk, Istanbul'da Mekân Üretimi ve Soylulaştırma

Altınok, Ezgi

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Kuzguncuk İstanbul'da Üsküdar İlçesine bağlı küçük, tarihi ve ünlü bir mahalledir. Kuzguncuk mahalle sakinleri tarafından bir köy olarak kabul edilmektedir. Bu tez Kuzguncuktaki 'köy' atfını ve bu atfın mekân üretime ile olan ilişkisini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Köy atfını analiz etmek için, çok kültürlü tarih ve mahalle anlatılarına odaklanarak mekân üretimi ve köy atfı arasındaki ilişkinin analizinin yapılması amaçlanmaktadır. Daha sonra, köy atfı ve mekân üretimi analizi soylulaştırma tartışmalarına konumlandırılacaktır. Soylulaştırma, hala, birçok disiplinde tartışılan bir konudur ve değişen dünya ile yeni tartışmalar ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu bağlamda, soylulaştırılmış mahallerin yeniden soylulaştırılması tartışması ortaya çıkmıştır ve Kuzguncuk bu yeni tartışmalar bağlamında analiz edilecektir. Bu tezin verileri altı ay süren etnografik saha çalışması sonucu elde edilmiş ve Kuzguncuktaki anlatılara odaklanarak analiz edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: mekân üretimi, soylulaştırma, köy, Kuzguncuk, İstanbul

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INTRODUCTION

Üsküdar is one of the historical districts of Istanbul and it is one of the most important city-centres. Marmaray Station – subway connects Asian and European Shores of Istanbul – and transportation facilities such as ferries and buses give centrality to Üsküdar Square. It is used as transportation zone to travel Asian Shore neighbourhoods.

Kuzguncuk is a small-scale, historical and famous neighbourhood of Üsküdar District. It is nestled on Asian Shore of Bosporus and in between Bosporus Bridge and Üsküdar Square. (Figure 1) It is located in a valley where surrounded by historical cemeteries, small military zones and groves. These features characterize Kuzguncuk physically special and distinct from other neighbourhoods nearby.

Historically, Kuzguncuk was a Bosporus village in Istanbul. Topkapı Palace and nearby areas were the city centre in Ottoman Empire Era. Residential units that distant from city-centre were villages in terms of population and economic activities. Villages that located in Bosporus were called as Bosporus Villages. On European Shore, Ortaköy, Arnavutköy, Alibeyköy and on Asian Shore Kuzguncuk, Çengelköy, Anadolu Hisarı were the villages of Istanbul. "Kuzguncuk did not become an urban

mahalle until Istanbul expanded from historic peninsula northward and integrated Bosporus villages like Kuzguncuk transportation (and later via bridges) in the late 19th century." (Mills, 2008)

Figure 1. The Location of Kuzguncuk in Üsküdar District

Kuzguncuk is a gentrified neighbourhood where Cengiz Bektaş, an architect, renovated houses in the 1980s. Renovation of declining historic wooden houses and settlement of Bektaş' architect and artist friends gentrified Kuzguncuk. From the 1980s, pre-gentrification population and newcomers live in the neighbourhood together. In the mid-2000s, Kuzguncuk has started to change. More than twenty years after gentrification process, the cafes, bookstores and art galleries opened and changed Kuzguncuk that made the neighbourhood popular, visible and a consumption place in Istanbul.

The residents of Kuzguncuk consider the neighbourhood as their village even though it is not an actual village anymore. A village in the city? This thesis aims to understand village reference in Kuzguncuk. The narratives of 'village' will be analysed in order to discuss why and how Kuzguncuk is considered as a village. Place-making of the residents and gentrification process in Kuzguncuk will be discussed through the narratives of the village. In a broader sense, this thesis will

discuss the relationship between place-making and gentrification in Kuzguncuk with the lens of village reference.

In the remainder of this chapter, firstly the research questions and research interest will be introduced. Secondly, the background information on Kuzguncuk and Istanbul will be presented. Lastly, the content of the thesis will be presented.

1.1. The Research Questions and Research Interest

As it is briefly mentioned above, Kuzguncuk is historically a village and at the present times a gentrified urban neighbourhood in Istanbul. My interest in Kuzguncuk has begun with an article. (Mills, 2008) It was about multi-cultural past of Kuzguncuk. Mills' article is based on her PhD dissertation and ethnographic fieldwork that was conducted in the beginning of 2000's. Mills shows that two powerful narratives (multicultural past and the mahalle) shape the landscape of Kuzguncuk by inhabitants while they reveal and hide macro-level socio-political changes in Turkey after the establishment of the Republic. It was quite interesting to think about Kuzguncuk in this way.

With this curiosity, I made a quick web search about Kuzguncuk and found out the Facebook page of Kuzguncuk Neighbourhood Association. On that page, there was anger and sadness for the loss of the mahalle and a discomfort in the neighbourhood because of changes. This situation got my attention and my first question in this research was: what is going on in there? Kuzguncuk has undergone a change with the cafes in Kuzguncuk. In the mid-2000s, the numerous cafes had opened in the neighbourhood and they caused a change in Kuzguncuk. On the one hand, there was sadness over the loss of mahalle by residents; on the other hand, there were changes in the neighbourhood. In the first place, my research interest is evolved around both place-making process in Kuzguncuk and also understanding the changes within the scope of gentrification debates. I aimed to understand these two aspects and their relations.

Preliminary research, however, on Kuzguncuk (interviews and observation) showed something interesting. My informants stated that Kuzguncuk is their village. This information re-shaped the research questions of the study. In other words, I focused on the village reference and place-making process in Kuzguncuk. In this sense, my research question was about the relationship between village reference and how it is used as a medium for place-making. Supplementary questions focused on the reproduction of village reference, identity formation and perception of Kuzguncuk and Istanbul.

As this thesis evolved the research questions are evolved as well in order to understand Kuzguncuk and village reference in the neighbourhood. The combining abovementioned set of questions (village reference, place-making and also gentrification) enabled me to analyse Kuzguncuk more deeply. As a result of this combination, this thesis has three set of questions.

The first set of questions of this study is about the narratives of the village in Kuzguncuk. The analysis of the narratives of Kuzguncuk aims to understand village reference and its meaning in Kuzguncuk for the residents. How 'the village' is narrated and what are the features of village reference in the neighbourhood are questioned to understand dimensions of village reference. Also, what is told and what is left unsaid in the narratives of the village is questioned to understand whether there are differences in the narratives of village or not.

The second set of questions is the relationship between place-making process and village reference in Kuzguncuk. I intend to understand how and in what terms village reference is a medium for the place-making process in the neighbourhood. How the village reference is used for claiming place and how the village reference affects the relationship between the place and Kuzguncuk people. Besides, whether there is any link/or relationship between Istanbul and Kuzguncuk in terms of village reference and place-making process is questioned to answer these questions.

The third and final set of questions is about the relationship between place-making and gentrification in Kuzguncuk. What are the changes in Kuzguncuk after the mid-2000s and how these related to gentrification in Kuzguncuk? or can the recent changes be called as gentrification? Are there any linkages between place-making through village reference in Kuzguncuk with gentrification process? What is the role of narratives in the relationship between place-making and gentrification? Overall, the questions are asked to follow the changes in Kuzguncuk and understand them within the scope of gentrification and place-making.

1.2. Background Information

Istanbul throughout the history has been a home for different civilizations. "For many centuries, Istanbul enjoyed a privileged status as the seat of political and economic power." (Enlil, 2011) It was the capital of Ottoman Empire from 1453 to 1923 and now it is the face of Turkey to outside world. After the conquest of Istanbul by Ottoman Empire in 1453, Istanbul had become the capital of the Empire. Istanbul was, however, not only an administrative centre but also it was the centre of trade and commercial. By the mid-nineteenth century Ottoman Empire was transforming itself politically, economic and cultural. (Enlil, 2011) Reforms which established legal system independent from Şeriat – religious law – and attempts to secularization state and society were done in order to integrate Ottoman Empire to the world. "The 1838 Anglo-Turkish Commercial Treaty was a landmark in a series of agreements with different European nations through which the Ottoman markets were integrated with the expanding economies of the industrializing West (often motivated by competition between the various European Imperial powers to secure influence in the strategically important Ottoman Empire)." (Ibid) This treaty paved the way for expansion in foreign trade and made Istanbul an important zone for European trades. In other words, Istanbul integrated into the world economy. As a result of this treaty, Galata became a port for foreign trade and city started to expand in that direction with new tradesmen. Population increased and city structure had changed within new commercial zones.

In Ottoman Empire Era, Kuzguncuk was a village of the Jewish community who came to Ottoman Empire from Spain with the migration of Sephardim in 1492. It is told that Jewish community had accepted Kuzguncuk as a place before arriving Holy Land, Jerusalem. According to Inciciyan, "Jews recognized the Kuzguncuk as a region that was attached to the Holy Land and Jerusalem." (cited in Güven, 2011, p.366) Also, several times in my interviews Kuzguncuk residents told me that Jewish community wanted to bury in Kuzguncuk because Kuzguncuk is perceived as holy land. As a matter of fact, Kuzguncuk is recognized as Jewish village before the 17th century. (Ibid) In 17th century Greek population and in 18th century Armenian population settled in Kuzguncuk. There were few Muslim-Turks in those times.

Non-Muslim groups in Kuzguncuk held different occupations. "Greeks who began to settle in Kuzguncuk from the 17th century excelled as owners of the coffeehouses, as barbers and innkeepers; Armenians who began settling in Kuzguncuk in the 18th century were mostly jewellers and drapers. Jews worked as fishermen and greengrocers and specialized in sea transport." (Güven, 2011, p.367) Kuzguncuk is also known as Jewish fishing village in those times because of the main occupation of the Jewish community. Hagop Baronyan, Armenian Istanbulite who lived in the 1840s and humorist writer, in his book Istanbul Mahallelerinde Gezinti (2014), mockingly wrote that every person in Kuzguncuk grimaces all the time because of the smell of fish. Also, Baronyan added that every woman spent their lives with cooking fish. Although the main purpose of these sentences is teasing Kuzguncuk people it implies fishing was important for Kuzguncuk.

Jews, Greeks and Armenians recognized as the part of the Ottoman Empire Millet system. Millet system allowed non-Muslim communities "a considerable degree of autonomy in their internal affairs where each religious group was placed under the leadership of its respective religious head who was the administrative officer responsible to the state for his community and his community to the state." (Yumul, 2009) Under the millet system, non-Muslim communities enjoyed the legal protection and maintenance of cultural and religious practices in Ottoman Empire.

The War of Independence and establishment of the Republic of Turkey stirred up the decrease in the significance of Istanbul. The capital of the Republic of Turkey was now Ankara and amnesties which were located in Istanbul, mostly in Pera (now Beyoğlu), moved to the new capital. Investments in urban restructuring made in Ankara and other Anatolian cities in order to repair damages of The War of Independence. Improvement of Ankara and Anatolian cities was the priority of the new government. However, decrease in population in Istanbul and loss of significance of Istanbul were tried to overcome by new planning strategies. Henri Prost, French urban planner, invited to Istanbul for re-designing the city in 1939. Public transportation and railroads were constructed and expanded in those times. Bosporus villages like Kuzguncuk integrated to urban Istanbul as a neighbourhood. The Urban fabric of Istanbul had changed in the mid-1940s by new roads and transportation systems. (Enlil 2011, Tekeli, 1992)

While the urban structure of Istanbul had started to change in order to increase its significance, the establishment of the Republic of Turkey also influenced social life, especially non-Muslim communities in Istanbul. The Treaty of Lausanne, which was signed by Turkish Grand National Assembly and other nations such as United Kingdom, Italy, Belgium, Greece and so on that cover broad range of issues such as territories or Bosporus, was granted rights of Jewish, Greek and Armenian communities. Formerly Ottoman-Millet communities recognized as Non-Muslim minorities and "therefore were granted the same freedoms as other Turkish nationals of life, religious belief and migration, plus the rights of legal and political equality and to use their mother tongue in courts, found schools or similar institutions, and hold religious ceremonies." (Toktaş, 2005, p.398)

Creating a nation based on common values – culture, religion and language – was the main purpose of founding ideology after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. In this line of aim, various policies were implemented such as dress code, alphabet and language. The language policy aimed to increase literacy in the Republic and make the usage of Turkish language common nation-wide. Besides

state-policies, some initiatives held campaigns for widening the Turkish language. "Citizens, Speak Turkish!" was one of them. In 1928, students of the faculty of law of Istanbul University started this campaign and quickly it became popular nation-wide. (Toktaş, 2005, Mills, 2011) Mother tongue of non-Muslims –Greek, Armenian and Ladino - was not prohibited legally. However, the usage of a language other than Turkish questioned the loyalty to the Republic of Turkey and increased social pressure. (Ibid)

The Wealth Tax Law was introduced in 1942 and according to official declarations aim of this Law was "taxing extraordinary profits made under the special conditions prevailing during World War II, and reducing the amount of money in circulation." (Aktar, 2007, p.191) The peculiarity of Wealth Tax was even though by law every citizen had to pay the same amount of taxes, non-Muslim communities who were equal citizens before law paid a higher amount of taxes than Turks. The high amount of taxes put economic pressure on non-Muslim communities, eventually due to pay taxes they had to sell their properties. The ones who could not pay taxes sent off to Aşkale Camps and they had to pay their debts by labour. The foundation of State of Israel in 1948 and consequences of Wealth Tax caused emigration of Jewish communities from Istanbul.

The late 1940s and 1950s were the times of the beginning of migration flow from rural Anatolia to urban Istanbul. Industrialisation of Istanbul and lack of employment and poverty as consequences of machinery in rural agriculture were the reasons for internal migration. In order to find a job, people in rural migrated to Istanbul with the hope of job opportunities. 'Istanbul is the city where streets are paved with gold' phrase emerged in those times to indicate job opportunities in Istanbul. As a result of internal migration, migrants either settled in city-centres that were used to neighbourhoods of non-Muslim communities (such as Kuzguncuk) or built houses constructed with materials of poor quality within just one night named gecekondu in Turkish. Governments did not step into this process because simply it was profitable. Since the government did not have to spend money for settled them and salaries

could be minimized since most of the workers did not have to pay rents. So, it was profitable for industrial owners and government. (Erman, 2001)

6 September 1955 was the time Turkey, Istanbul and Kuzguncuk had a breaking point that changed so many things. On this day, a newspaper called Istanbul Express published the news that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's house in Thessaloniki was bombed by Greeks. This false rumour spread city-wide quickly. Demonstrations turned into violence and pogrom that Greek properties were burnt or destroyed. Beyoğlu was the most injured district in these events; however, every neighbourhood of non-Muslim communities' got its share from those violent acts. Kuzguncuk, also, had effected by 6-7 September Events. The common narrative is that no one attacked Kuzguncuk residents at that time. However, the demonstrators attacked churches and properties of non-Muslim communities in Kuzguncuk.

Nine years after 55 events, the tension between Greeks and Turks in Cyprus led to the deportation of Greek communities in Turkey to Greece. The government as a reaction towards violent incidents in Cyprus decided to deport Greek citizens and allowed them to take only 20 kg property and 20 dollars with them. They had to leave Turkey only within one day and they had to leave most of their belongings in Turkey.

Turkification process that started in 1923 as a way of building Turkish-nation ended in 1964 with the deportation of Greek masses. Wealth Tax, the establishment of State of Israel, 55 Events and 1964 were the major socio-political contexts that changed Istanbul and Kuzguncuk. The majority of non-Muslim community members of Kuzguncuk left the neighbourhood and Turkey after those events. When they left Kuzguncuk, either their houses were sold at very cheap prices to incoming internal migrants from Black-Sea region, the majority from Kastamonu and Rize, or the empty houses in Kuzguncuk were 'occupied' by internal migrants.

In 1960s population of Istanbul and gecekondu areas were increased dramatically because of the internal migration. Transition to multi-party system leads to

competition between political parties in terms of gained vote and trust of the population. Within this logic, property rights were used as election propaganda and gecekondu owners turned to property owners in those times. Legalizing ownership of lands gave way to commercialization of gecekondu settlements because property owners built modest multi-storey buildings. (Enlil, 2011)

From the late 1940s to late 1970s Istanbul had changed significantly in terms of population rate and urban fabric. The city expanded its territories and industrialization (legal and illegal) created job opportunities for internal migrants, yet eventually, this leads to increase in urban poor. Also, those times were a debate about villagers and urbanites were discussed heavily. Internal migrants were accused 'bringing their villages to the city' and not integrated themselves to city-life. (Erman, 2001) Village lifestyle had negative connotations when internal migration started in Istanbul. The perception of the city as the place of a modern lifestyle in contrast to villages created tension between urbanites and rural migrants. Those who 'brought their villages to city' were expected to assimilate themselves to the city-life and act as urban-people. (Ibid) That is to say, internal migration not only changed the urban structure in Istanbul but also created a tension between inhabitants of Istanbul that was based on lifestyle.

24 January 1980 Package was introduced by Süleyman Demirel and changed Turkish economy. Through this package, and with IMF intervention, import-substitution economy turned to the export-based economy. Market-led economy adjusted which characterizes by deregulation, provision of the private sector, privatisation, and a decrease in public expenditures. (Yüksel, p.11, 2013) 12 September 1980 military coup was also functioned as guarantor of the package and after the coup, these policies were implemented easily. These two dates are important in the history of Turkish economy because it was the year that neoliberal economy was implemented in Turkey.

"The "global city" vision and the ambitions of radically transforming the face of Istanbul date from the early 1980s. In the context of the gradual dismantlement of import-substitution policies and economic deregulation, which was mandated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order to receive loans, Istanbul was singled out to showcase Turkey's openness to (neo) liberalization and its commitment to becoming a major player in the global economy." (Karaman, p.519, 2008)

The aim of entering the world economy in the mid-nineteenth century was back on the agenda in the mid-twentieth century and Istanbul was, again, the main centre for this aim. After the military coup in 1980, Bedrettin Dalan was the first post-coup mayor of Istanbul and because of Dalan Istanbul experienced a major transformation in the city with a vision of 'global city'. Dalan's project mainly aimed to change Golden Horn (Haliç) and Tarlabaşı Boulevard. In short, the aim was to change and renovate historical peninsula and its nearby areas. Implementation of neoliberal policies gave Istanbul its renewed role in attracting capital and international finance. Industrial areas were moved out from city centres to Kocaeli (nearby province) and new commercial zones were built. The economy shifted from industrialism to service and finance sector and real-estate market has boomed. That is to say, with economic restructuring Istanbul's landscapes were changed and expanded with new suburban areas and commercial zones. On the one hand, new neighbourhoods were built based on finance and gated communities. On the other hand, historic neighbourhoods had become gentrified. Rising of new settlements areas like Caddebostan and lack of care of historical houses decreased rents in those neighbourhoods.

Gentrification and urban regeneration that are led by state administrations and motivations shaped/and still shapes Istanbul and urban transformation in the city. Turkey, like many other countries, is facing/faced gentrification process, especially in Istanbul. However, in academic literature, it gained its popularity later although gentrification processes were started long before academic discussions. (Islam, 2006, p. 12) On the one hand case studies about gentrification in different areas are

discussed in terms of reasons and outcomes; whether gentrification term and concepts are applicable to Turkey's cases or not also another topic of discussion. Gentrification in Istanbul started in the 1980s in Kuzguncuk and Ortaköy that it is considered as first-wave of gentrification. Then in second-wave of gentrification Cihangir and Galata were transformed and in the third wave of gentrification Fener and Balat were transformed by state-led policies. (Ergün, 2006) Cengiz Bektaş played a significant role in the gentrification of Kuzguncuk. Bektaş is an architect and author who settled in Kuzguncuk in 1979 with buying an old house. (Uzun, 2003, p.369) He renewed his own house and then started to renew other houses in the Kuzguncuk without any profit. After this renovation, artists or 'intellectuals' started to settle in Kuzguncuk. Now, Bosporus Law that prohibited construction in Bosporus neighbourhoods protects Kuzguncuk in a certain way.

While the economy was in transition to neoliberalism worldwide, cities also were affected by it. Cities have turned into a commodity to sell in markets, -urban entrepreneurialism- or they transformed to attract international investments and capital in order to be a part of world economy. By the time 1980s and mid-2000s, changes in the economy and urban structure changed Istanbul socially, economic and as landscape. In 2002, Justice and Development Party (AKP) won the elections with the promise of upheaval economy. AKP government has been maintaining 'global city' vision since 2002. They emphasise and give importance to change Istanbul in order to be a world city. The construction sector has become the main vehicle for the economy and as Balaban argues political actors gave support to the development of construction sector because investments in the construction sector are used as apparatus of economic resources. (2011, 26 cited in Aksoy, p. 33) Direct intervention of government, political and economic actors gave a new phase to urbanisation in Istanbul. Megaprojects, the creation of finance zones, new railroads and subway station and third Bosporus Bridge are few to mention changes in Istanbul. Landscapes of Istanbul are commoditized by the transition from use value to

exchange value that Istanbul has turned to a commodity to sell and attract capital into the world economy. (Ibid)

Transforming gecekondu areas and inner-city slums were the main agenda of AKP to achieve global city vision. While in 1970s gecekondu settlements were ignored, AKP government implemented new legislation in order to prevent gecekondu buildings with prison punishments and also gecekondu areas were criminalized by mass media and political actors. (Karaman, 2008) Transformation of gecekondu settlements created new areas for profit for real-estate market and it helps to 'beautify' city landscape. Building mass houses (TOKİ – Turkish Housing Development Administration) for settlement of displaced person after regeneration also another policy that adopted. TOKİ was established in 1984, however, after AKP government TOKİ has become 'effective' institution for housing developments in Istanbul. AKP expanded TOKİ's authority and used TOKİ buildings to settle displaced people from gecekondu areas. Yet, TOKİ buildings are not free to people who had to move out from their places. TOKİ's aim is to provide 'affordable' houses for urban poor and settle them in one area where TOKİ decide. (Karaman, 2008) The aim of slum clearance and TOKİ houses is providing profitable areas for new construction projects and replace urban poor from city-centres.

Istanbul is "the ruling party's global stage for projecting its image of Turkey to the world."(Mills, 2014) Istanbul has always been an important city for Turkey and after AKP government it became the backbone of the economy. The urban re-structuring of Istanbul has shaped within the line of AKP government's vision of Istanbul and capitalist investments.

Kuzguncuk, on the other hand, is one of the historical neighbourhoods of Istanbul. Non-Muslim community members lived in Kuzguncuk for centuries; however, socio-political changes in Istanbul and Turkey changed Kuzguncuk. The population changed after the emigration of non-Muslim communities because of Turkification process and immigration of Black Sea Region internal migrants. Urban fabric

renovated and the neighbourhood gentrified in the 1980s. Now, it is a small-scale, historic and gentrified neighbourhood in Istanbul. Its popularity increases day by day.

1.3. The Content of the Thesis

In the following pages of the thesis firstly I will introduce the theoretical framework of this thesis as Chapter 2. The analysis of the concept of place and place-making will be the first theoretical framework for this study. Secondly, gentrification discussions will be introduced as one of the theoretical frameworks of this thesis. Different explanations on gentrification will be discussed. Thirdly, defining neighbourhood is an important debate for providing a basis for analysis of Kuzguncuk. After these three theoretical frameworks, the contribution of the thesis will be introduced.

In Chapter 3, I will outline the methodology of the thesis. Field-work that was has conducted in this study will be introduced with the information on participants, techniques and analysis. Then, the fieldwork experiences will be introduced.

In Chapter 4, Kuzguncuk will be presented. In other words, it is a chapter for setting the scene of the thesis. Icadiye Street will be presented as for how Kuzguncuk is changed after cafes and reactions of inhabitants towards changes. Perihan Abla Street will be presented for how Kuzguncuk has become a popular neighbourhood via mass media and social media. Üryanizade Street is for gentrification process in the neighbourhood and Bereketli Street is also related to gentrification process. Finally, Bostan Street is presented in relation to Kuzguncuk Bostan and how Bostan is important for social interactions in the neighbourhood and property problems of minority groups.

In Chapter 5, 'Kuzguncuk was an actual village in the past': The Narratives of Multicultural Past, I will analyse the village reference in Kuzguncuk by focusing on the narratives of the past. The Wealth Tax, 55 Events, internal migration and the

narratives about those times are presented both within the data of this research and secondary data. Also, how the past of Kuzguncuk is narrated today by residents is presented. This chapter aims to discuss the past of Kuzguncuk and how it is related with village reference in Kuzguncuk and the role of the past in the place-making process.

In Chapter 6, 'Kuzguncuk is not a village anymore but it is like a village': The Narratives of the Mahalle, the narratives of the mahalle in relation to village reference in Kuzguncuk will be analysed In the sub-section of Knowing and Known friendship, collectivity and solidarity in Kuzguncuk and gossiping in the neighbourhood will be discussed. That is to say, it is about neighbouring practices on the everyday life of inhabitants. In the section of Culture in the Mahalle discussion will be based on how to understand the mahalle culture and its relationship with Kuzguncuk. In Place-Identity and 'Being One of Us' section construction of place-identity and acceptance of neighbourhood will be discussed. In Mahalle Life vs. City Life section will present comparisons of Kuzguncuk people between Istanbul and Kuzguncuk. It will present how inhabitants perceive Istanbul and Kuzguncuk through differences. This comparison's relation with boundary formation in Kuzguncuk will be discussed.

In Chapter 7, Village-ification: Re-gentrification in the Gentrified Neighbourhood, re-gentrification process in Kuzguncuk will be discussed. Firstly, how the meaning of village has changed throughout the time and through narratives will be discussed. Secondly, the idea of a village in the city will be discussed with focusing on the city aspect of village reference. Thirdly, the new phase of gentrification in Kuzguncuk, village-ification will be discussed.

Chapter 8, Conclusion, will be about concluding remarks of the research.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Place

The place has always mattered in social anthropology. Trobriand Islands are where Malinowski has developed a scientific ethnographic method or Bali is where Geertz challenges to enter the field since he was an outsider to that particular country; these are first things to learn in social anthropology. That is to say, places, distant or near, have a crucial role in the discipline of social anthropology.

Places, although, are always intrinsic to social anthropology as a discipline, space and place debate has changed after 'spatial turn' in anthropology, i.e. "anthropologists have begun to shift their perspective to foregrounding spatial dimensions of culture rather than treating them as background." (Low & Denise-Zuniga, 2003) This shift provides new meanings to the notion of 'place' where all behaviour is located in and constructed of. Also, new interest in space/place is not just about material and spatial aspect of culture but also it is an acknowledgement of space is an essential part of the socio-cultural theory that now anthropologists reconceptualise their understanding about culture in spatial terms. In other words, interest in space/place is about locating culture in spatial dimensions to understand

the relationship between them and it provides conceptual frameworks about cities and spaces that individuals live and encounter in their daily lives. Interest in space and place is not accidental; "it is necessary for understanding the world we are producing and inserting our discipline into the heat of social and political debate." (Ibid)

2.1.1. Socially Constructed Place

Setha Low distinguishes construction and production of space. Construction of space stands for "spatial transformations through people's social interactions, conversations, memories, feelings, imaginings and use – or absences – into places, scenes and actions that convey particular meanings." (2014, p.35) On the other hand, social production of space refers to economic, ideological, social and technological factors that affect space formation. (Ibid) Low combines culture and economy as "spatializing culture" (2016) to show that both features are important in developing the sense of place. The combination of production and construction illuminates broader framework for understanding place and space; because the construction of space will add cultural affiliations on space and place-making while production of space is helpful for explaining material processes that produce spaces within economic and political ideologies. That is to say, a combination of them is providing a framework which social and material processes are together in.

Place as a socially constructed notion was recognized long before spatial turn in anthropology. However, it is important to "politicize this incontestable observation." (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997) This means questioning who constructs the place, "who has the power to make places of spaces? Who contests this? How are spatial meanings established?" (Ibid) To put it differently, both production and construction of space, together, constitute places and social lives in places; however, the crucial point is being aware of power relations in production and construction of spaces.

Space and place are interrelated; however, they are not referring to the same thing. As Tuan stated, "space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with

value." (Tuan, 2001, p.6) So, sense of place is the existential thing that arises from experiences and attachment of individuals to where they live. "To be is to be in place," said Edward Casey (2009, cit in Casakin & Bernardo, 2012, p.5) to explain how individuals perceived their relations with a place.

"Place attachment is the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space of piece of land that provides the basis for the individual's and group's understanding of and relation to the environment.... Thus, place attachment is more than an emotional and cognitive experience, and includes cultural beliefs and practices that link people to place." (Low, p.55, emphasis in original) So, developing sense of place – place attachment – is both symbolic and culture. It is developed through linkages between self and place via culture and emotions. In a similar vein, Tu-An argues that sense of place is developed by the love of place. In other words, it is the effective bond between individuals and places, topophilia. (Tu-An, 1972) Reasons for this love and ways of place-attachment can be different greatly among individuals and phenomenon like memory, dwelling, and ownership can create love and attachment to particular place. (1972)

Besides attachment to a place with emotions, ways of developing a sense of place are varied. For instances, gender roles in a society can play a great role to define one's place. Bourdieu examines Kabyle houses in terms of gender and its symbolic meanings. Bourdieu explains the structure of the house and items in it and what their meanings, i.e. what kind of meaning is attributed to them. The entrance of the house, human place, animal place, food storage, light part, dark part and so on is explained in a detailed way. He states that the house is organized according to set of oppositions: firewater, cooked – raw, high – low, light – shadow, day – night, male-female. This opposition can be observed in external world where public life is dominated by men and where women belong to a domestic/private sphere that is a place for intimacy and privacy. And that privacy is protected by men in terms of honour. However, men have to be seen in public life for their honour and avoid to be

seen as "the man of the home." In other words, structural and meaning division in the house in terms of items, light etc. is not separate from external world where this division is also accumulated by individuals.(Bourdieu, 2003) Or, as Pena's study shows pilgrimage can create sacred spaces and devotional practices cause attachment to a place via religion. In other words, sacred spaces can provide attachment to a place through religious practices and cults. (Pena, 2011)

Lived experiences, memories or feelings are the dynamics of place-making and social construction of space and place. These dynamics create a bond between people and their environment and lead to the development of sense of place. Ways of place-making and dynamics that shape sense of place not necessarily should be based on commonalities. That is to say "landscapes and environments are perceived and interpreted from many different and conflicting points of view which reflect the particular experience, culture and values of the viewer." (Blaikie, 1995) Conflicting memories in a place could lead to different place-making process among individuals. Multilayered place meanings and differences in sense of places are based on this issue.

2.1.2. Re-conceptualization of Place

Thinking places or 'local' as unified, static and isolated while thinking spaces or global as in constant flux is not sufficient to understand the connected world and people. Even though globalisation is not a new trend, relational understanding of place has become central understanding in social sciences in the last decade. Places in relation to wider relations, i.e. the direct relationship between local and global, provided a new conceptualization of place. Now, places are not static and isolated, on the contrary, they are dynamic and always in relation to wider relations beyond themselves as Massey advocates for a long time. (Massey, 1991, 2005) In the ages of a global network, the international division of labour and mobilized capital that seeks more profit in the world, the global economy has been more connected and cities are more competitive in order to be a part of global economy. Economic restructuring,

political actors and worldwide dynamics have influences on places and to understand a place it is crucial to ask "what this place stands for?" (Massey, 2009) This question enables to understand a particular place within broader networks.

Economic systems, modes of production, are important in development sense of place/place-making. Global capitalist economy and neoliberal urbanisation produce spaces for retaining maximized profit in all around the world. Nevertheless, the international division of labour and mobility of capital values and devalues places constantly. In this line of thought, David Harvey (1996) argues "the process of place formation is a process of carving out 'permanences' from the flow of processes creating space." (Harvey, p.261, 1996) "A permanence arises as a system of extensive connection out of processes. Entities achieve relative stability in their bounding and their internal ordering of processes creating space, for a time. Such permanences come to occupy a piece of a space in an exclusive way (for a time) and thereby define a place – their place – (for a time)." (Ibid)

Places provide something permanent among unstable flows of capital which shape and change spaces constantly. "Place had to be secured against the uncontrolled vectors of spatiality." (Harvey, p.292, 1996) However, it does not mean that place stands against flows or fixed in itself. Initially, Harvey's argument based on that place is a social construct like space and time. But he questions social forces behind this construction and he emphasizes tendency of people to draw boundaries – not necessarily physical boundaries – around their own place. Because, on the one hand, instability of capital flows creates anxiety that people start to questions their values and values of their places which lead to a tendency for securing their places. On the other hand, "people in places try to differentiate their place from other places and become more competitive in order to capture or retain capital investment." (Harvey, p.297, 1996) Closeness in place formation, therefore, stands for differentiating a place in order to secure there and be a part of the competition in the urban market. It leads to defining particularities of a place which is different from others, for instances, from other neighbourhoods or gated communities. "The less important the

spatial barriers, the greater the sensitivity of capital to the variations of place within space, and the greater the incentive for places to be differentiated in ways attractive to capital. The result has been the production of fragmentation, insecurity, and ephemeral uneven development within a highly unified global space economy of capital flows." (Harvey, p.296, 1989)

Doreen Massey (1991), contradictory to Harvey, proposes a framework to make the notion of place more dynamic and open in contrast to the reactionary and introvert sense of place. She asks "is it not possible for a sense of place to be progressive; not self-enclosing and defensive, but outward-looking?" (Massey, 1991, p.24) She questions understanding just capitalism and its developments shape a sense of place. She wants to broaden the debate and show that not just capitalism and money but also different factors shapes sense of place such as gender or being immigrant.

She proposes the power-geometry concept to understand flows and interconnections in the world. Different social groups will have different experiences of flows of capital. However, it is not just about who experiences it, but also it is about power dynamics that can weaken others' experiences and in general power relations underneath of interconnections. By thinking social relations, not just by focusing money or capitalism – it provides an alternative vision for the place, according to Massey. In this alternative vision, places are constructed by social relations experienced differently in a particular locus, i.e. meeting place. However, "a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street, or a region or even a continent."(Massey, 1995) This scope of thinking is the basis of her argument "a global sense of place" which allows seeing linkages between place and wider relations across the world. Then, the place is a site for negotiation, struggles, relations where different experiences and sense of places connect local to global and vice-versa.

Massey advocates that places are not static but dynamic, not bounded entities but open, have not single identities but multiple ones and finally, none of these denies the uniqueness of places. According to her, the uniqueness of a place is an outcome of the relationship between places and wider relations, i.e., a mixture of local and global, and "the globalisation of social relations is yet another source of (the reproduction of) geographical uneven development, and thus of the uniqueness of the place." She urges thinking places in relation to places beyond and gives progressive identity to places in contrast to insecurity-based closeness in the global capitalist economy. She adds "what we need, it seems to me, is a global sense of the local, a global sense of place." (Massey, 1995) Massey proposes an alternative vision of a place where it is open and constructed through different relations and senses. However, she insists on that her own frameworks are not about deconstructive method or dissolution of place within wider relations (Massey, p.140, 2005). She wants to propose an alternative positive understanding of place and to emphasize on history, geography and other social factors which can be observed in place that eventually enables political ground within places.

Alongside to discussions on place/place-making, with globalisation, social anthropology had to face an identity crisis. 'Peoples and cultures' (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997) conceptualization are one of the fundamental premises of social anthropology. Nevertheless, in a world where distant 'local' is living in near now, old conceptualizations in the discipline have become problematic, namely territorial understanding of places, cultures and identities. In other words, globalisation created turbulence in old conceptualizations social anthropology. Through post-colonial, post-modernist and feminist anthropology culture as a concept and methods of anthropology have become the subjects of critical inquiry.

"The representation of the world as a collection of 'countries', as on most world maps, sees it as an inherently fragmented space, divided by different colours into diverse national societies, each 'rooted' in its proper place." (Gupta and Ferguson, p.34, 1997) Discrete societies and cultures are taken for granted that, it is believed,

different societies have their unique cultures. Gupta and Ferguson challenge with this idea; i.e. they are against the perception of spatially localized culture. This line of thought conceptualises the world as if it is constituted by separate cultures which are the property of that territorialized societies. Naturalized links between people and places create certain unity between them and their culture. However, cultural territorialisation is the outcome of complex historical and political processes that should not be conceived as pre-given entities. They argued that the world should be seen as global space where power constellations and hierarchical relations constitute place rather than fixed entities in the world. In order to understand the deterritorialized world, territories should be understood not as an only grid but as multiple grids that "vary considerably by factors such as class, gender, race, and sexuality and are differently available to those in different locations in the field of power." (p.50) Gupta and Ferguson, in short, urge to think beyond culture and naturalized conceptualizations.

In a similar vein, Appadurai discusses how peoples and cultures are tied into territories and "natural environments" in anthropology. He argues that not only capital but also peoples, technologies, ideas and cultures flow around the world in the ages of globalization. Old conceptualizations, territory-based cultures and peoples, are not adequate to understand people and cultures in the flow; instead, disjunctions, differences and contradictions are important. Appadurai separates culture (noun) and cultural (adjective). Culture as a noun conceals rather than revealing and it is understood as a property of things. On the other hand, cultural as an adjective is a realm of differences, disjunctions, contradictions. His approach to using cultural is to emphasise differences, disjunctions and stray from the understanding of culture as a substance. Appadurai resists the noun form of culture that implies the idea of actual social groups as cultures. He suggests an adjectival approach to culture, which emphasises it's contextual, heuristic, and comparative dimensions and proposes culture as a difference. (1996)

The general tendency is thinking and conceptualizing the self with rootedness to land – nations. (Malkki, 1992) This naturalized conceptualisation is questioned with the recognition that "people are increasingly moving targets." The anthropological inquiry is now to put the territory-based understanding of culture, identity and societies in the centre of the analytical framework (similar to Gupta and Ferguson, Appadurai). She argues that sedentary understanding 'sedentarism' is "sinking 'peoples' and 'cultures' into "national soils," and the "family of nations" into Mother Earth." (Malkki, 1992, p.31) Commonsense ideas of soils, lands or nations are reflected in everyday discourse and social practices and it is not something inert. Sedentarism actively territorializes identities whether cultural or national. (p.31) On the other hand, anti-sedentarism aims to deconstruct territorial conceptualizations of self, other, culture or nations.

Malkki focuses on refugees and migration flows since refugees become pathological in a world of sedentary understanding, i.e. if the world is composed of rooted people in national soils, refugees become problematic. Her ethnographic fieldwork shows that place-making and identity construction of two refugee groups are different from each other. Those people construct different notions of homeland and relation with their current places. Malkki, then, argues that identities are multiple and there is no one point of origin. "To plot only 'places of birth' and degrees of nativeness is to blind oneself to the multiplicity of attachments that people form to places through living in, remembering and imagining them." (p.38, 1992)

The emergence of the critiques towards anthropological inquiries the discipline has become self-reflexive and questioned conceptualization used in academic works. On the one hand, scholars want to liberate space and place as an active agent in social life; on the other hand, some scholars want to move away from a territorial understanding of place, culture and identities. Both of the parties opened up debates in anthropology in terms of place. Combining culture and economy provides an extended framework to understand space/place and relationships with the place. However, it is not necessary to take culture and economy as separate entities since

they are embedded in each other in every sphere of life. On the other hand, anthropologist tries to overcome territorialized and fixed conceptualizations in the discipline and main critiques were held towards culture and place. The aim is to understand transnational economic and cultural flows in a global world/space and show differences, disjunctions in power relations. Naturalised conceptualisations of territories, attachment to soil, land, nations and so on, reproduced through everyday discourse and power relations. Critical anthropology both wants to change methods in anthropological inquiry and the way the world is perceived. However, territories are not discarded in these critiques; the urgent task is to look at how they are re-territorialized.

Above-mentioned scholars' conceptualization of notion of place is significant in order to understand the place and its connection to 'beyond place'. As Gupta and Ferguson (1997, p.8) argue place-making processes can be best understood through studying locality. They claim that rather than taking the 'local' as given, try to figure out the relationship between this fixed 'local' and "something lies beyond it (regional, national, international, global)". More than that important thing is to ask "how perceptions of locality and community are discursively and historically constructed" (Ibid). In a global world, not only capital flow around the world but also people, cultures and ideas flow. In a world-setting like this, understanding locality with its connection with broader issues/frameworks will provide a more extensive conceptualization of place.

To conclude this section, the notion of place is widely discussed topic in the variety of disciplines that it has multiple definitions and conceptualizations. Individuals' relationship with their environment is complicated and multilayered as well as place's definition. On the one hand, lived experiences and cultural/social affiliations have a crucial role to play for the development of sense of place that they are the foundations of a relationship with individual and place. On the other hand, production of places through economic structuring, politics or power relations is

significant to understand the creation of places that people inhabited. It enables to look at the links between local and wider relations.

2.2. Defining Neighbourhood

What neighbourhood is and how to study neighbourhoods is a debate in urban studies without a consensus on these questions. A wide range of literature on the neighbourhood is generally focused on four themes: definition of neighbourhood, neighbourhood as a community, neighbourhood effects and neighbourhood as contested space. (Martin, p.362) Martin argues that "we construct them, for purposes of our research or social lives, based on common ideals of what we expect an urban neighbourhood to be." (Ibid)

Neighbourhoods are not self-evident, in contrast "neighbourhoods are defined and created through social interactions and particular events (often conflicts), and the ideal of neighbourhood asserts a role for the "local" in a world increasingly characterized by extra-local interactions and exchanges." (Martin, p.362) Her conceptualization of neighbourhood is a site for contestation and policy. Galster, on the other hand, argues that "neighbourhood is the bundle of spatially based attributes associated with clusters of residences, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses."(p. 2112) In this definition, the neighbourhood consists multiple dimensions such as infrastructural characteristic, class status, environmental, sentimental, socially interactive and so on. (Ibid) Both Martin's and Galster's definition of neighbourhood implies the variety of dimensions of the neighbourhood and the vagueness of the term. (Martin, 2003)

Municipality Law of Turkey[1], on the other hand, defines neighbourhoods as administrative units within boundaries of the municipality where residents share similar priorities and needs that develop neighbouring relations. Legally-defined neighbourhood posts several problems; it defines neighbourhoods as points on the

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[1] Municipality Law No: 5393 https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5393.html

map within certain legal borders and also it implies social cohesion and neighbouring practices should be fundamentally integral to neighbourhood lifestyle. Yet, it shows that neighbourhoods, still, as units in a province are at stake and important. In other words, every district has its own neighbourhoods and every province is the composition of these neighbourhoods.

In Istanbul, mahalle (Turkish word for the neighbourhood) has its origins from Ottoman Empire administrative system. Mahalle in Ottoman Empire Era was a small administrative unit and according to Behar "ten or fifteen streets at most, grouped around a thoroughfare or perhaps around a small square, and one or two small mosques (or a church or a synagogue, depending on the ethnic makeup of the neighbourhood) defined most of the residential Istanbul mahalles." (2003, p.4) Each mahalle had its own religious leader and community; yet, the neighbourhoods of Ottoman Empire were not homogenous in terms of population (such as Kuzguncuk). Mahalle functioned as both residential unit and administrative unit that the residents of mahalle had to perform their duties to Ottoman Empire together. For instance, the collection of taxes forced the residents to act together since a neighbourhood had to pay the designated amount of the taxes and if one resident did not pay his share others had to pay his share too. This meant that the other residents had to pay a higher amount of taxes. (Tamdoğan, 2004) The regulations like the collection of taxes forced the residents to act together. (Ibid)

The regulations of Ottoman Empire Mahalle System are not implemented in the present times. However, still, mahalle has the meaning of acting collectively in the neighbourhood. In other words, "in Turkey, the traditional urban neighbourhood is a space which extends the interior space of the family to the residential street; it is a space of belonging and collectivity." (Mills, 2007, p.336) Collective lifestyle and strong social ties are the basis of social life in a mahalle and some physical features such as having a butcher, grocery store or barber as a local shop. One important indicator which is exemplified frequently greetings to each other on the streets. For instance, every morning neighbours say 'good morning' when they come across.

Neighbouring practices and being a proper neighbour in the neighbourhood are crucial aspects to develop relationships in the neighbourhood. In this sense, as Mills (2008) defined mahalle is a space of belonging and collectivity.

Even though mahalle has special connotations (belonging and collectivity) in the social memory of Istanbulites, the neighbourhood is a contested place that different affiliations shape the usage and the meaning of mahalle. In this sense, mahalle is not a homogeneous residential unit with singular identity and meaning. In this research, mahalle is studied and approached as "a mastery of the social environment because, for the dweller, it is a known area of social space in which, to a greater or lesser degree, he or she knows himself or herself to be recognized." (De Certaeu, 1998) and this "mastery" is shaped by contested meanings and different definitions of the mahalle.

2.3. Gentrification

Gentrification is discussed widely in the variety of disciplines since Ruth Glass coined the term in 1964. Gentrification concept conceptualized by Ruth Glass as an invasion of working-class areas by middle class and as a result of this process transformations of those areas more expansive and "elegant" places. (Glass, 1964)

> "One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages – two rooms up and down – have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period – which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupations – have been upgraded once again. Nowadays, many of these houses are being sub-divided into costly flats or 'houselets'. The current social status and value of such dwellings are frequently in inverse relation to their size, and in any case, enormously inflated by comparison with previous levels in their neighbourhoods. Once this process of gentrification starts in a district, it goes

on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed." (Glass, 1964: xviii-xix cited in Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008, p.4)

Since the term introduced by Glass, extensive literature on gentrification has developed. However, some argued that gentrification was a phenomenon before Glass defined it. For instances, Baron Haussmann's plan in Paris which was the destruction of working-class areas in order to built boulevard in the centre of Paris was a gentrification in the 1920s. (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008) Even so, gentrification is an on-going debate in the variety of disciplines that definition, reasons and consequences have changed within time.

2.3.1. The Causes of Gentrification

Most well-known and significant debate about causes of gentrification is in between "liberal humanists who stress the key role of choice, culture, consumption and consumer demand, and the structural Marxists who stress the role of capital, class, production and supply."(Hamnett, p.174, 1991) In other words, it is "theoretical and ideological battleground" (Ibid) between David Ley and Neil Smith.

Ley's thesis about gentrification involves three propositions: economics, politics and culture. On an economic level, Ley argued that decline of blue-collar workers and increasing in white-collar workers through developments in technology and changes in production process lead to transformation to "goods-producing society to service-producing society." (Hamnett, p.176, 1991) On politics, he argued that government plays an active role in post-industrial society which it leads to politicization of interest groups that "hold of the business lobby on the political decision". (Ley, 1980, p.241 cited in Hamnett, 1991, p.176) On culture, with transformations in production processes and division of labour, there is the emergence of a new class with different tastes that "consumption and statues orientated in pursuit of self-actualization". (Ley, 1980, p.242-3 cited in Hamnett, 1991, p.177) In other words,

Ley emphasizes demand and consumption aspects of service-class that emerge as a result of changes in the structure of production process and division of labour.

Neil Smith, on the other hand, focuses on the production side of gentrification and specifically his explanation of "rent-gap" theory. "The rent gap is the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use." (Smith, 1979, p. 545) According to Smith, gentrification occurs when potential ground rent and actual ground rent is wide enough. Potential ground rent stands for is the amount that could be capitalized under the land's "highest and best use" and actual (capitalized) rent stands for the quantity which is appropriated by landowners on the basis of present land use. (Smith, 1979, p.543) Actually,

> "[..] Gentrification is a structural product of the land and housing markets. Capital flows where the rate of return is highest, and the movement of capital to the suburbs along with the continual depreciation of inner-city capital, eventually produces the rent gap. When this gap grows sufficiently large, rehabilitation (or for that matter, renewal) can begin to challenge the rates of return available elsewhere, and capital flows back." (Smith, 1979, p.546)

In other words, it is a circulation of capital due to disinvestment and investment. Through suburbanization movement, inner-city loses its "charm" for investment until its capitalized ground rent does not correspond potential ground rent. This gap – rent gap – eventually makes inner-city locations again medium for profitable reinvestment. So that "actors" – housing market, mortgage systems etc. – could gain a higher profit from inner-city. As Smith states testing rent-gap theory requires serious data collection and measurements since the determination of land value is a historical process and land value is a different phenomenon than house prices. (Smith, 1987, p.464) However, I think it is a significant contribution to understanding the causes of gentrification in terms of investment and disinvestment processes, namely flow of capital.

Smith and Ley hold different sides of the explanation of the gentrification. Production-supply side, on the one hand, explains gentrification by capital flows and "see-saw" capitalism (Smith, 1982); on the other hand, consumption-demand side explains gentrification by consumer demand of 'gentrifiers'. (Ley, 1980) As these two arguments on gentrification presented as distinctive to each other, some scholars tried to synthesise economic and cultural explanation. Zukin (1987) argued that gentrification is a complex phenomenon which both of these explanations are complementary to each other for the better conceptualization of the term. Zukin (1989) explained gentrification through 'the artistic mode of production'. (cited in Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008) It is the conversion of cultural capital to economic capital. In the simplest sense, it is "an attempt by large-scale investors in the built environment to ride out and to control a precarious investment climate, using the culture industries as a tool for attracting capital". (Zukin, 1989, p. 176 cited in Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008) Gentrification, in this sense, can be explained both by cultural and economic structuring. Zukin's conceptualization of "the artistic mode of production" is an integrated explanation that opens up a broader debate about gentrification process in the various neighbourhoods.

2.3.2. The Outcomes of Gentrification

Along with the debates about the definition and causes of gentrification, the outcomes of gentrification are equally important discussions. Atkinson and Bridge (2005) listed positive and negative impacts of gentrification that are discussed by scholars. Positive impacts are listed as stabilisation of declining areas, increased property values, and reduced vacancy rates, increased local fiscal revenues, encouragement and increased viability of further development, reduction of suburban sprawl, increased social mix and rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship. (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005, p.5)

Negative impacts, on the other hand, are listed as displacement through rent/price increases, secondary psychological costs of displacement, community resentment

and conflict, loss of affordable housing, unsustainable speculative property price increases, homelessness, greater take of local spending through lobbying/articulacy, commercial/industrial displacement, increased cost and changes to local services, displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas, loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to rich ghettos), and under-occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas. (Ibid) The list of negative impacts is longer than positive impacts of gentrification. However, this list is important in order to understand how the impacts of gentrification are discussed in the literature.

2.3.3. Gentrification Mutated

Since gentrification is introduced by Ruth Glass in 1964, the extensive literature on gentrification has developed. The causes, outcomes and 'gentrifiers' widely discussed. (e.g. Smith, 1982; Ley, 1980; Zukin, 1982, 1987) After the 1980s with the changes in urban economic structuring and globalisation debates, gentrification debate also located in global context. In other words, gentrification has become a widespread issue around the globe rather than a process can be observed in London or New York. As Atkinson and Bridge (2005) stated;

> "As gentrification has become generalised so it has become intensified in its originating neighbourhoods, many of which have now moved into stellar price brackets and now resemble established elite enclaves rather than the ascetic pioneer gentrifier spirit of the 1960s and 1970s. This has led to a cascade effect down an international and regional set of urban hierarchies in which the saturation of investment motives in gentrified cities like New York and London have pushed towards neighbourhood changes in new regional nodes. At the same time the global 'south' has experienced massive expansion of inward investment with the functionaries of these economic advances moving to colonise disinvested central city neighbourhoods in cities like Shanghai and Sao Paolo." (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005, p.16)

Different regions, cities and neighbourhoods, now, undergone gentrification process and the gentrification has become a global strategy. (Smith, 2002) New conceptualizations of the term are discussed in the literature to understand gentrification in different parts of the globe. As Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) stated 'new gentrification' process are discussed as rural gentrification, new build gentrification, tourism gentrification, commercial gentrification, super-gentrification and studentification. That is to say, gentrification is mutated over time. (Ibid)

Loretta Lees (2003) argues that gentrification research "traditionally focused on economic and cultural appreciation of formerly disinvested and devalued inner-city areas by an affluent middle class." (Lees, 2003, p. 2487) By examining a building in Brooklyn Heights and its owners throughout time, Lees conceptualised super-gentrification.

> "By super-gentrification, I mean the transformation of already gentrified, prosperous and solidly upper-middle-class neighbourhoods into much more exclusive and expensive enclaves. This intensified regentrification is happening in a few select areas of global cities like London and New York that have become the focus of intense investment and conspicuous consumption by a new generation of super-rich 'financifiers' fed by fortunes from the global finance and corporate service industries." (Lees, 2003, p. 2487)

Super-gentrification is re-gentrification of already gentrified neighbourhoods by "financifiers". In other words, it is a gentrification of high-income groups which arise from global finance and service sector. In Lees' definition, gentrified neighbourhoods are re-gentrified by higher income groups than former residents (or gentrifiers). As new-comers' income rate increases, the neighbourhood turns to 'more affluent places' by those newcomers. The super-gentrification debate is important to discuss already gentrified neighbourhoods within the changes in urban economic structuring.

In brief, gentrification is a 'hot topic' since Ruth Glass introduced the term. The causes, actors and consequences of the process discussed widely in the variety of the disciplines. Also, new conceptualisations of gentrification are introduced as the urban systems have changed in the world. The various regions with their own patterns of gentrification are discussed by scholars.

In this research, gentrification is approached as an extension of capitalist urbanism. In other words, gentrification is a movement of the capital. Production-side explanations of gentrification look at the changes in housing stock and situate the gentrification into investment/disinvestment circles in cities. As Smith (1987) argues when the gap between actual ground rent and potential ground rent is wide enough to make a profit, the property owners or other actors such as real-estate agents, the state and so on take advantages of this gap. The obsolete and declining neighbourhoods that were gentrified in Istanbul were the most profitable neighbourhoods of the city. Not just because the houses were in the obsolete situation but also, they were profitable because of problematic history of properties in those neighbourhoods. As it is discussed in the previous chapter, gentrification started in historic neighbourhoods in Istanbul where old-residents were non-Muslim communities of Istanbul. Socio-political context of the 1950s and 1960s caused emigration of non-Muslim communities from Istanbul and their properties either occupied or bought at very cheap prices by internal migrants.

Disinvestment in the historic neighbourhoods and investment in the newly-emerged neighbourhoods in Istanbul created affordable housing stocks in the historic neighbourhoods. Gentrification process, however, released rent-gaps in the gentrified neighbourhoods. Testing rent-gap is not an easy task as Smith (1987) and other scholars argue and in this thesis, the aim is not testing rent-gap. However, the increase in rent prices in the gentrified neighbourhoods is the simple indicators of this process. As a consequence of the gentrification, working-class population (pre-gentrification population) was displaced by higher income group in the most of the gentrified neighbourhoods. Also, re-gentrification of already gentrified

neighbourhoods and becoming "more affluent neighbourhoods" by higher income groups (Lees, 2003) is an important discussion that enables to discuss changes in the gentrified neighbourhoods. In this sense, gentrification is not an end product but on-going process that shapes by changes in the urban systems. In other words, already gentrified neighbourhoods are also an extension of capitalist urbanism that can easily become an investment zone.

Cultural dimensions in the gentrification process are not passive in the process. However, explaining gentrification process with just looking at the taste of so-called middle class does not explain gentrification in great detail, especially in Kuzguncuk case. Cultural dynamics of the re-gentrification process in Kuzguncuk reveal itself in the place-making process of the residents of Kuzguncuk. The relationship between the place and the residents develops around cultural affiliations (e.g. the perspective of the mahalle, the mahalle life or culture in the neighbourhood). This relationship shapes the re-gentrification process in Kuzguncuk in terms of the creation of the image of Kuzguncuk. In this sense, the place-making process of the residents of Kuzguncuk affects the re-gentrification in Kuzguncuk and the cultural dimensions of the gentrification can be observed in the ways of the place-making process.

In this thesis, both economic and cultural dynamics of gentrification are important aspects to discuss the re-gentrification process in Kuzguncuk. However, these dynamics situated in and evolve along the place-making process.

2.4. The Contribution of the Thesis

Gentrification since the term coined by Ruth Glass (1964) has discussed in the literature in the variety of the disciplines and it is still discussed intensively. Gentrification in Istanbul, also, has discussed in the variety of the disciplines in terms of the causes and outcomes in gentrified neighbourhoods such as Kuzguncuk, Cihangir or Galata. (e.g. Uzun 2001, 2002; Ergün, 2006; Islam, 2006) The contribution of this thesis is a small contribution to gentrification debates in Istanbul.

Firstly, this thesis argues that gentrification is not an end-product; in contrast, already gentrified neighbourhoods are open to changes and discussions. In this sense, as the urban structure of Istanbul changes, every sphere of the city has affected by those changes. Kuzguncuk, an already gentrified neighbourhood, is not an exception to this situation. In other words, the already gentrified neighbourhoods of Istanbul and changes in those neighbourhoods enable open-up new debates on gentrification.

Secondly, place and place-making have discussed in the variety of the disciplines for years. (e.g. Massey, 1991; Gupta & Ferguson, 1997; Low, 2014) Like gentrification, it is a 'hot topic' in the literature. This thesis looks at the relationship between place-making and gentrification process and aims to create a linkage between these two debates. The place-making process has the variety of dimensions. Different affiliations, contested meaning and local/global factors affect the place-making process of individuals. However, as this thesis argues place-making process can play a significant role in the gentrification process. Also, the place-making process in a neighbourhood can illuminate the re-gentrification process.

In this sense, this thesis aims to make a contribution to new debates on gentrification by looking at the role of the ways of place-making in the gentrification process.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Ethnography

The ethnographic research design was the main methodological framework of the thesis. Ethnography and ethnographic methods are defined diversely and do not have a well-defined meaning. (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p.2) However, there is an "emphasis on a researcher's 'first-hand experience' of a setting and on observational methods." (Mason, p. 55, 2002) So, it is about being in the field and making observation within the field. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) listed five general features of ethnographic methods. Such as;

> "1) People's actions and accounts are studied in everyday contexts, rather than under conditions created by the researcher – such as in experimental setups or in highly structured interview situations. In other words, research takes place 'in the field'.

> 2) Data are gathered from a range of sources, including documentary evidence of various kinds, but participant observation and/or relatively informal conversations are usually the main ones.

3) Data collection is, for the most part, relatively 'unstructured', in two senses. First, it does not involve following through a fixed and detailed research design specified at the start. Second, the categories that are used for interpreting what people say or do are not built into the data collection process through the use of observation schedules or questionnaires. Instead, they are generated out of the process of data analysis.

4) The focus is usually on a few cases, generally fairly small-scale, perhaps a single setting or group of people. This is to facilitate in-depth study.

5) The analysis of data involves interpretation of the meanings, functions, and consequences of human actions and institutional practices, and how these are implicated in local, and perhaps also wider, contexts. What are produced, for the most part, are verbal descriptions, explanations, and theories; quantification and statistical analysis play a subordinate role at most." (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p.3)

In this sense, ethnography is the data collection in the 'natural' setting and the study of the social world of targeted groups. The activities of studying about the world of people require participation in a daily life of the communities over a long time. Ethnographic research focuses on certain practices of a small sample of people such as a neighbourhood rather than studying larger samples. Participant observation and informal conversations in the field are essential features of fieldwork that enable the researchers to collect data within the field.

I conducted ethnographic research for this thesis. The time span of the research was from the beginning of July 2016 to the end of December 2016. I spent almost six months in Kuzguncuk both in summer and winter seasons. From October 2016 to the end of the research I worked in one of the cafes in Kuzguncuk due to collect more data and be able to participate more deeply in everyday life of Kuzguncuk. I did not rent a house in Kuzguncuk or live in Kuzguncuk in practice. The obstacle was the rent-prices. Because the rent prices were higher than I can afford, I lived in my aunt's

house in another neighbourhood of Üsküdar. The neighbourhood I lived in very close to Kuzguncuk that it took fifteen minutes by car to arrive Kuzguncuk. This enabled me to commute Kuzguncuk easily on a daily basis.

Data collection methods of this research were semi-structured interviews, participant observation and informal conversations. In the first place (the time before I started to work), I conducted semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews contain open-ended questions and provide a certain amount of flexibility to the researcher. In order to have this flexibility, I conducted semi-structured interviews. After asking demographic questions (age, occupation, etc.), my first question was "please tell me about Kuzguncuk". With this question, I aimed to find out what my informants will tell me about Kuzguncuk. Then I asked my questions on the line with their answers. I conducted ten semi-structured interviews with six women and four men. Age span was the early thirties to late sixties. They were mixed-income group (middle-income group to higher income group) and five of them were born and grow up in Kuzguncuk while the others settled in Kuzguncuk later, i.e. 'newcomers'.

I found my informants either through cafes (the owners of the cafes are mostly the residents of Kuzguncuk) or through acquaintances. I contacted some of my informants through mutual friends and conducted interviews. However, one of my informants was the muhtar (local headsman of the neighbourhood) and I conducted an interview with him in his office. Also, I found another informant via Facebook. That informant was the admin of a Facebook page about Kuzguncuk. I messaged that page and luckily, she accepted to meet and conduct the interview. So, the interviewees of this thesis have contacted through different ways.

The information that I got from the interviews provides me with an insight into how Kuzguncuk is perceived and what issues are told about Kuzguncuk. However, the data was very similar to each other in these ten interviews that I could not 'get anywhere' deeply about my research. Observation enables the overcome this issue to a certain degree. From the beginning of the research, I observed Kuzguncuk and take

notes what I observed. The aim of the observation is to understand social setting in the neighbourhood. In other words, I looked for daily life practices in the neighbourhood; for instances, greetings in the neighbourhoods or local shops men's daily interactions. Observations are great tools for glimpses in the social setting of the field. Even though the information that one gains through observation is very limited, it enables to understand patterns of daily life in the neighbourhood. Time-span of my research enabled me to observe seasonal changes in Kuzguncuk. For instance, while summer times local tourists came to the neighbourhood to great extent in the winter times streets are emptier and residents of Kuzguncuk were on the streets usually. I walked and wandered in Kuzguncuk a lot during my research in order to make observations. I observe different settings in the neighbourhood and it enabled me to recognize familiar faces in the neighbourhood. Eventually, participant observation was an effective method in my research that I made observation every time I had been in Kuzguncuk. My field notes were not always 'well-defined' field notes that are told in research books. I used my field-notes as semi-field dairy and for questions, I wanted to pursue in the research (or when I realised a new question).

Observations and semi-structured interviews provide me with some information about my research and the goal of my research. However, I was not truly a participant observant in Kuzguncuk until I started to work in a cafe. "Fieldwork based on participant observation is a two-way street: just as I had expectations of the people (that they would share their experiences with me and honestly answer my questions), so they had expectations of me (to be honest and forthcoming about myself and my motives)." (Angrosino, 2002, p.13) On the one hand, the researcher aims to gain and collect information through participant observation from the people; on the other hand, the researcher has to be 'proper' to collect data and satisfy the expectations of the informants. Working in a cafe enabled me to perform participant observation in Kuzguncuk and also enabled me to collect data from informal conversations. Through informal conversations, I had more detailed information

about the daily life of Kuzguncuk. Due to ethical concerns, I always told that I was making a research that's why I started to work in that cafe.

The research of this thesis is based on six-month ethnographic fieldwork with different methods. To sum up;

- Ethnography is a work of small-sample groups that participation is required in a certain time period. Qualitative methods, in this sense, are chosen in order to meet with the goal of the research.
- Data collection methods were semi-structured interviews, participant observation and informal conversations. Field-notes were used to keeping the record of observations and conversations.
- Participants of this research were mainly people who live in Kuzguncuk, i.e. residents of Kuzguncuk expect three women who just work in Kuzguncuk. Occupations of the participants were varied such as painter, media worker, muhtar, housewife or cafe-owners.

3.2. Field-Work Experiences

3.2.1. Gaining Access

Gaining access in the field-work is one of the most challenging parts of the research. It, mostly, relies on the negotiation and re-negotiation throughout the research. In other words, "access is not simply a matter of physical presence or absence. It is far more than the granting or withholding of permission for research to be conducted." (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p.43) Before I went to the field, I had very naive assumptions that 'truth is out there' waiting for me to be collected (even though in every research courses and books, the reality will be different is indicated). As an inexperienced student, I either underestimate the obstacles or cannot cope with the obstacles easily. As "Feldman et al. (2003: vii) suggest that it often comes 'as a rude surprise' to researchers who have not anticipated the difficulties that could be involved." (cited in Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 41).

The 'rude surprises' were harsh while I was trying to gain access to Kuzguncuk. In the very beginning of my research, I arranged a meeting with a person whom I contacted in preliminary research. However, on the interview day, that person did not show up and did not return my calls. This happened to me several times in my research that was de-motivated me. That is to say, I was not expecting this situation. Another unexpected thing was 'kicking out' from the cafes and workplaces and the refusal of the interviews because of the students. Kuzguncuk, in social sciences, does not get attention like Cihangir or Karaköy that I thought that there will be no 'exhaustion' because of the researchers. However, I did not consider the students of faculty of architecture who generally study Kuzguncuk. Due to the urban fabric of Kuzguncuk, Ottoman wooden houses, architecture students are sent to Kuzguncuk to make interviews and research houses. So, Kuzguncuk was also 'hot' destination for the students and I was rejected several times because of the previous experiences of Kuzguncuk residents.

The challenges I faced in gaining access to the field were something I was not prepared for and they continued until I started to work in the cafe. Working in a cafe opened up the new phase in my research. In order to overcome the obstacles, I decided to take this opportunity. I saw the advertisement of the job on the Facebook page of the cafe. I hesitated in the first place for several reasons. Firstly, the cafe was on the second floor and I was not sure how this will affect my observations and development of the relationships with the residents. Secondly, working in a cafe as a waitress requires fulfilling the workload. Since they would not hire me to just do my research I had to find the balance between the workload and the research. Finally, I did not work as a waitress before that not to get the job was always an option in this situation. With these hesitations, I decided to talk about the job and luckily I got the job.

Gaining access is hard and sometimes a long journey in the field that is unfamiliar to the researcher. Being a 'stranger' to the field and dynamics in the field could leave out the researcher. I was able to overcome the obstacles by working in a cafe that

enabled me to make participant observation and gain information about daily life and encounters in Kuzguncuk.

3.2.2. Fieldwork Identities

The classical account of ethnographic works until 1970's situated the researcher as if she was not the part of a social world. Those accounts neglected social world, biases or 'world-views' of the researcher that could easily affect the research. The discussions on the anthropological works and production of anthropological knowledge gave a new phase to ethnography and it turned to self-reflexive discipline and method. By self-reflexive conceptualisations, the researcher has become an active agent in the research process. In other words;

"[..] We are part of the social world we study, and that there is no escape from reliance on common-sense knowledge and methods of investigation. All social research is founded on the human capacity for participant observation. We act in the social world and yet are able to reflect upon ourselves and our actions as objects in that world." (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p.18)

Participant observation requires having several identities in the field. Besides, the researcher identity she has certain ideas, world-views or political stance when making the research. It is impossible to reach 'ultimate' objective research process and being self-reflexive made aware of the role of the researcher.

Before my family moved to Ankara in 1997 because of the bounded duty, we lived in Balıkesir, Diyarbakır and Cyprus. In Ankara, we lived in several lodgements and changed several houses. Even though, for twenty years I lived (and actually grow up) in Bahçelievler neighbourhood and nearby districts I never fully developed a sense of place or attachment to the neighbourhood. I always consider the places as something replaceable by the new ones and do not develop 'a need' for the sense of belonging to a neighbourhood. To put it differently, I never felt the absence of place-attachment in my life. With this background, studying a neighbourhood with strong social ties

and attachment was challenging to a certain extent. I never felt like in my life as my informants' feels towards their neighbourhood. In the beginning of the research, I tried to so hard to 'understand' them and what they tell me. However, this situation pushed me to think about Kuzguncuk more detailed way.

Besides the background of the researcher, several identities have to be 'performed' in the participant observation. In the beginning of the research, I was a total stranger to the neighbourhood and I had to get used to looks on me. I had to be polite in order to gain access and I had to express myself very clearly when I encounter with the residents. Working in a cafe, however, changed my identity in the neighbourhood. I did not become, immediately, one of them but I transitioned from total stranger to 'outsider within'. (Collins, 1991, cited in Rich, 2009, p.834)

Finding the balance between identities of the researcher and the waitress was I had to work on a daily basis. The first week of my waitress experience was about learning the job since I could not risk losing the job. From then on, I was the waitress Ezgi who conducts a research about Kuzguncuk. Even though, I told that my purpose of being a waitress (conducting research), my waitress identity in Kuzguncuk was the dominant one. Because of this, my interactions have developed on more 'intimate' basis that enabled me to collect the data I want. Developing friendships in the field is the easier way of gaining access and pursue the research; however, in the writing process, sometimes it gives hard-work to talk about unpleasant things about the field. The sense of 'betraying' the friends creates an emotional burden. However, I did not use any information could harm (may harm let's say) my informants and I was never told: "do not use this information" while I had conversations and interviews.

To conclude this section, fieldwork experiences shaped the data collection methods of this thesis. I never planned to work in Kuzguncuk; on the contrary, I planned to return to Ankara in September 2016. My naive assumptions and underestimation of possible obstacles gave different directions to the research. Eventually, I was able to conduct ethnographic fieldwork based on participant observation.

Chapter 4

A WALK IN THE STREETS OF KUZGUNCUK

"Streets are pathways to the mahalle." (Mills, 2004) Not only connects physical landscapes, they bring social worlds together. While I was doing this research, it is told to me frequently I should walk around the neighbourhood and then I would probably feel and sense neighbourhood life in Kuzguncuk. I should say that it was a really good advice and gave me a lot of insights about Kuzguncuk. Wandering in Kuzguncuk enabled me to observe the looks of elderly men who spent time in coffeehouses – places mostly dominated by men to socialise – that trying to figure out who I am and why I am coming on a daily basis, or observe women in the streets who socialize with their friends, or witness a debate between an inhabitants and a visitor upon Kuzguncuk.

Kuzguncuk's streets are always crowded and always in the action. They are the playground of old and new and they constantly shape each other. Colourful historical wooden and stone houses stand near relatively newly-built apartments. Local tourists, new residents and old residents always interact and legacy of Kuzguncuk's history is always on the streets. In this regard, Kuzguncuk will be introduced through streets, however, not through all of the streets. Selected streets are chosen due to they reflect past and present of Kuzguncuk.
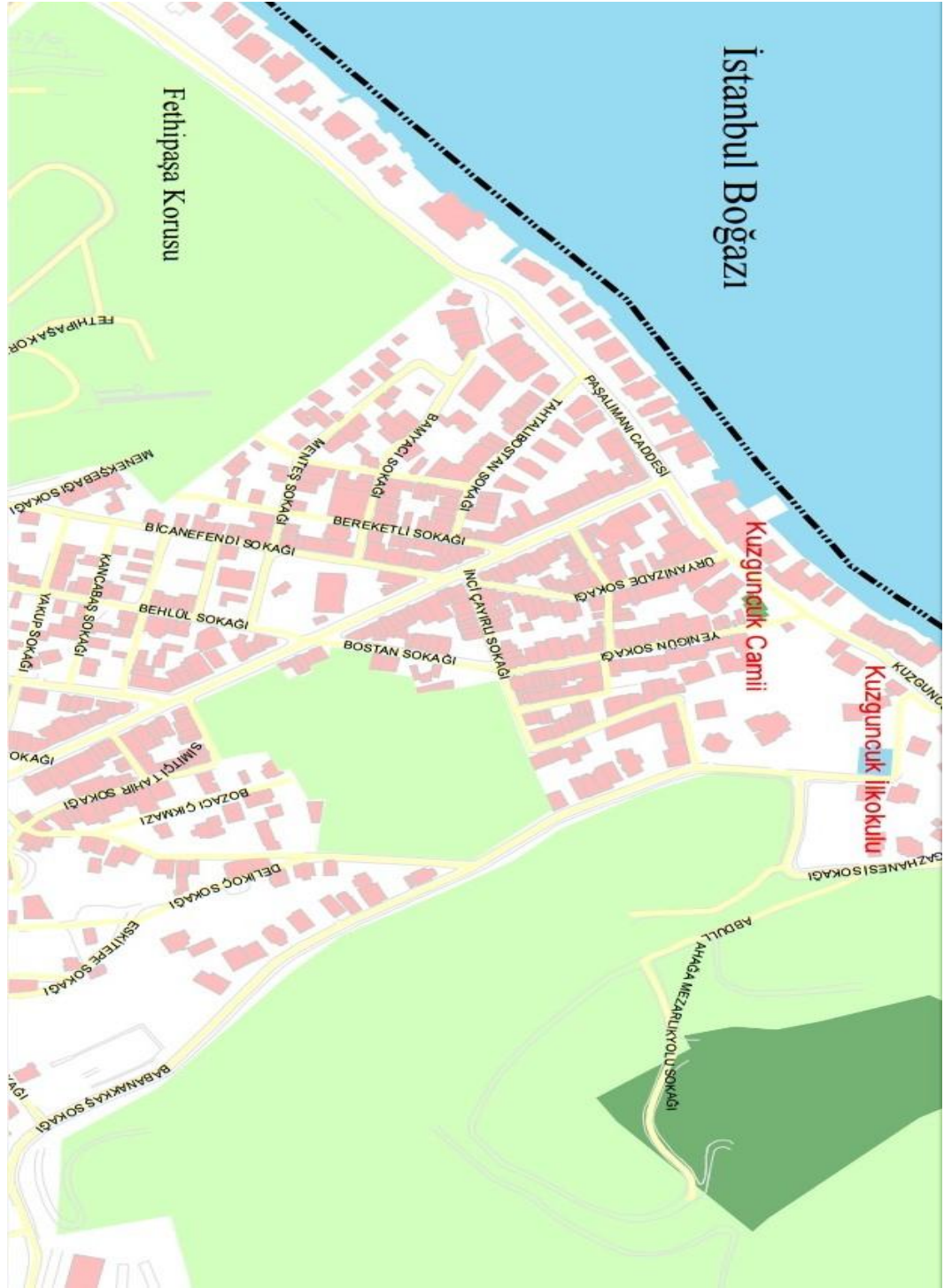
Figure 2. The Map of the Streets of Kuzguncuk

4.1. Icadiye Street

Icadiye Street is the main street and heart of Kuzguncuk. It connects neighbourhood from Bosporus to nearby neighbourhoods. Icadiye Street divides neighbourhood into half and every street is connected to the Icadiye Street. Since Kuzguncuk nestled in a valley, Icadiye Street also provides a view of 'hills' of Kuzguncuk. At some point in this street, Kuzguncuk ends and Icadiye neighbourhood begins according to legally-defined territories of Üsküdar Municipality. However, separation of two neighbourhoods is not crystal-clear. As a matter of fact, some inhabitants live in Icadiye neighbourhood or had to move to that neighbourhood because of rent prices in Kuzguncuk. Yet, it is not considered as moving out of Kuzguncuk, just means 'living in the hills' of the neighbourhood.

In the beginning of Icadiye Street, there is Bet Yaakov Synagogue. Bet Yaakov Synagogue was established in 1878; however, some records argue that there was a permission record for synagogue dates back 1862. This very old synagogue opens for worship since 1870's and it is still used for praying by Jewish people. Bet Nisim synagogue is now closed due to a decrease in the religious community, however, it is renovated and opened as a museum.

Behind Bet Yaakov Synagogue a church and a mosque are standing side by side which constitutes the most iconic image of Kuzguncuk. "The church opened on 11 May 1835. The inscription on the church tells us that it was rebuilt in 1861 the costs being met by Bedros Agha Shaldjian."(Kuzguncuk Sinagogu Vakfı, n.d.) In 1952, Kuzguncuk Mosque started built next to this church. It is told that priest of the church gave permission to construct a mosque on the church's property and it is told that Armenian population in Kuzguncuk gave moral and material support in the construction process. However, this does not true. The land which Mosque is built on did not belong to Armenian Church. It was a land of a Jewish people and it is sold to a Muslim person after migration of Jewish people. That Muslim person gave his property to Mosque. (Mills, 2008) Nonetheless, the story of church and mosque told

as if in the previous form. Also, in Icadiye Street there is a Greek Orthodox Church, Aya Pandeleimon.

Figure 3.The Photo of Armenian Church (Left) and The Mosque (Right) in Kuzguncuk[2]

I remember Kuzguncuk from my childhood. It was a quiet neighbourhood with historic wooden houses and in the Icadiye Street, there was an only butcher, grocery stores, stationeries and local shops. On Bosporus Side, Ismet Baba Tavern and

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[2] The photos are taken by the author unless it is stated otherwise

Çınaraltı Cafe and in the beginning of Icadiye Street Dilim Pastanesi were famous and old-dated places. Ismet Baba Tavern before 1950's was a tavern of a Greek man called Todori Papaispiro.[3] Mr Ismet Dökmecier, in the first place, bought this tavern to use as both storage unit and coffee house. In 1960, it turned to Yalı Gazinosu and finally, in 1981 after Mr Ismet passed away, his sons dedicate this place to him and change the name as Ismet Baba Tavern. Now, the third generation of Mr Ismet runs Ismet Baba Tavern. Dilim Bakery opened in 1977[4] and since then it is in the same place. It is still famous for its pastry products.

I have not been in Kuzguncuk until April 2016. It was quite shocking to see changes in Kuzguncuk. Even though I knew cafes have opened, it was beyond my expectations. Icadiye Street was full of people, tables of cafes and cars. Now, more than forty cafes are in business and besides cafes, there are bookstore and art galleries.

Boutique cafes can be defined as unique and small-sized cafes that provide 'intimate' atmosphere for their customers. They, by definition, are not franchised chain-stores like Starbucks. The cafes of Kuzguncuk in this sense are boutique cafes with small capacity and intimate atmosphere. Interior and exterior designs are designed in this line of thought and also the cafes are not chain-stores. The cafes are usually ground floor of houses in Icadiye Street except for the cafe I worked – it was on the second floor of a house. They have small-capacity approximately thirty people due to the size of the properties in Kuzguncuk and in order to increase the capacity sidewalks are used.

The first three cafes of Kuzguncuk are run by women who are the residents of Kuzguncuk. They decided to either use their own properties or rent a place in the neighbourhood to run the cafes. These cafes opened in the mid-2000s (2004 and onwards) and they are still the most famous cafes of Kuzguncuk. Those three cafes

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[3] The Offical Website of İsmet Baba Tavern http://www.ismetbaba.com.tr/

[4] The Offical Website of Dilim Bakery http://dilim.com.tr/

started a new phase in Kuzguncuk that after them the cafes opened one after the other in the neighbourhood. The menus of the cafes are various however home-cooked meals are the dominant ones. Those home-cooked cafes' menus change on a daily basis and serve mezes or stews. Other than those cafes, there are hamburger and pizza cafes, bakeries, third wave coffee houses. The common product of the cafes is the breakfast menus. Kuzguncuk is one of the destinations for the local tourists and people who wanted to have their breakfast outside. In this sense, the cafes serve breakfast in the morning in order to attract customers.

The cafe I worked was run by a woman and opened in 2015. The owner of the cafe does not live in Kuzguncuk; however, she wanted to open this cafe in Kuzguncuk because of the characteristic features of Kuzguncuk. This cafe was in the Icadiye Street and the property owner told that it was a house of a Greek family in the past. Because it was a house in the past, the cafe had two separate rooms. The big room had the capacity of ten to twelve people and the smaller one had the capacity of eight to ten people. In order to increase the capacity, the sidewalk is used and a table served on the sidewalk. The cafe I worked served vegetarian/vegan meals and organic products were used for meals. Like the other cafes, this cafe served breakfast menu. The breakfast menu and breakfast meals were the most sold out meals in this cafe.

Figure 4. The photo of interior design of the cafe I worked

The interior design of the cafe aimed to be different, unique and authentic than the other cafes. In other words, it was one of the boutique cafes in Kuzguncuk. Different colours and items (armchairs and decorative items) were used for attracting customers and create an intimate atmosphere.

Besides cafes, a bookstore, a handcraft store, art galleries, butcher and grocery stores are on the Icadiye Street. A village market runs by a family who came from Black-Sea region after internal migration. Every Saturday, fresh vegetables and fruits are brought from a village in Black-Sea region and are sold to customers in the neighbourhoods. Another restaurant works as a local restaurant and runs by a family members from Black Sea region. These internal migrant families used their origins to run business in Kuzguncuk.

The cafes changed Kuzguncuk. They did not only create a job opportunity for residents of Kuzguncuk but also increased the visibility of Kuzguncuk in Istanbul. This brought attention to Kuzguncuk and turned it into a leisure zone for Istanbulites who can visit and consume in the neighbourhood. However, not everyone is happy about cafes. Actually, the neighbourhood is divided into half as supporters and deprecators. One party argues that it is good to have cafes in the neighbourhood and another party argues that it causes crowd and spoils Kuzguncuk.

Discomfort from cafes in the interviews reflected several times in the interviews. Turgut, Edip and Cemal[5] are in their sixties. They are the children of internal migrants who settled in Kuzguncuk in the times of migration flow. However, they all were born and grow up in Kuzguncuk. Turgut complained about how houses are not suitable to be a cafe in Kuzguncuk.

> Although those cafes are creating a job opportunity, they are using public spheres jauntily that harms the neighbourhood.

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[5]The names are pseudonyms due to the protection of the privacy of the informants

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Edip complained about cars and crowd in the neighbourhood after cafes have opened.

> Our guests' cars are so noisy and blocking the streets. There are a lot of people who came here because of those cafes and now it is a very crowded. You know what I mean?

Cemal did not say much. Actually, he could understand why people choose to come here in leisure times.

> People want to take fresh air in the crowded city and be relaxed that's why they are coming here. But there is a discomfort in the neighbourhood because of the mass of people.

Duygu is in her forties was not born and grow up in Kuzguncuk, however, she lives in Kuzguncuk over twenty years. She knows the times before cafes have opened. In the interviews, Duygu wanted to have a paper and pen. Then, she started to write every cafe's names on paper to show how many cafes are there. After she listed every cafe said;

> Fifty-two [she laughs]. There are fifty-two cafes. Some of them are our friends but it is too much. Kuzguncuk is so small for have that much cafe. Interestingly all of them can have customers.

That three elder generation of Kuzguncuk and Duygu thought that cafes are not ruining or neighbourhood will be taking away. However, change in population on weekends and things like noise and crowd making them unhappy about the situation. Certain discomfort towards cafes creates dissatisfaction and complaints in the neighbourhood.

However, this discomfort is not common in the neighbourhood. Some people are happy with this situation. Didem is in her beginning of the thirties and was born and grow up in Kuzguncuk, also her mother too. Her mother is a descendant of Black Sea migrants and after she got married, they continued to live in Kuzguncuk. Didem,

also, after she married decided to live in the neighbourhood too. Didem's situation is a little bit different because Didem's father owned a cafe after the cafes have opened in Kuzguncuk. Her ideas about cafes did not change after her father owned a cafe. She insists that she always loved having cafes in Kuzguncuk.

> I can say that neighbourhood is divided into two about this issue. But I always favour on those cafes and after my dad opened one of them, I still support them. It is nice to have something to eat in the neighbourhood.

So, some people support the changes in the neighbourhood some others do not support and fear it will cause losing the neighbourhood. However, losing neighbourhood is not referring to displacement from Kuzguncuk. It is thought that cafes and crowd in the neighbourhood will change neighbourhood life in Kuzguncuk and eventually will be full by "strangers".

4.2. Perihan Abla Street

Perihan Abla Street is named after famous TV series Perihan Abla – Sister Perihan in English. The show was on air in the late 1980's and Perihan Abla lived in this street in the show. Generic song of the show starts with some people telling their problems such as fighting with their husbands, burning the food, feeling sad and afterwards, they all say when we got this problem Sister Perihan comes to help us. The plot of the show is based on this. It is about collective lifestyle and neighbouring practices in the neighbourhood. In every episode, a character's problem was becoming everyone problem and with collective work and solidarity problems were solved. Perihan Abla show increased the popularity of Kuzguncuk in terms of neighbourliness and it was the first media tool to represent Kuzguncuk in this way.

In the beginning of Perihan Abla Street, there is a restaurant called Ekmek Teknesi (Bread Boat). Ekmek Teknesi was another TV series which had shot in Kuzguncuk in 2002. The plot of the show is similar to Perihan Abla. It is about a man who is a bread maker in Ekmek Teknesi and his family. Their story and daily life are reflected

in their neighbours and neighbourhood life. It portrays collective life in the neighbourhood with solidarity and love among neighbours. Ekmek Teknesi, like Perihan Abla, increased the popularity of Kuzguncuk in terms of neighbourliness.

In this sense, Perihan Abla Street is the street of Kuzguncuk that increased the popularity of Kuzguncuk through mass media. However, in the present times, Kuzguncuk gained its popularity, not through mass media but social media. Blog websites, social media pages like Facebook and Instagram and other media tools increase the popularity of Kuzguncuk. Kuzguncuk Life Instagram page is one of the examples of those social media. That page posts photos of houses and streets of Kuzguncuk. It has a lot of followers and defines itself as the meeting point of lovers of Kuzguncuk. In Facebook, also, there are some pages dedicated to Kuzguncuk. Kuzguncuk Muhtarlık page and Kuzguncuk Neighbourhood Association page announce events, problems and obituaries in those pages. Besides these two, "Kuzguncuk" and "Kuzguncuk, News from Our Village" pages share photos and sometimes memories from the past of Kuzguncuk. Also, there is a page called "Storyteller of Kuzguncuk". In that page, the admin shares her memories in/and about Kuzguncuk. Those memories are mostly based on neighbouring practices in old times of Kuzguncuk.

Simple Google search of Kuzguncuk, with writing Kuzguncuk in the search bar, bring websites and news about Kuzguncuk. Listelist, famous websites that publish galleries about almost everything, is in the second row of search. Gallery about Kuzguncuk is titled as "The loveliest mahalle of Istanbul with 14 entries". It tells the story of Kuzguncuk and praises all the time. Mahalle culture is one of the entries that it says mahalle culture is still living in Kuzguncuk. Hürriyet Newspaper, also, published a news about Kuzguncuk that titled as *Anatomy of a Bosporus Village*. The content of the news or blogs is very similar to each other. They talk about multi-cultural past of Kuzguncuk, mutual tolerance and peaceful environment, mahalle culture that is still alive unlike other neighbourhoods and how lovely Kuzguncuk is.

The books about Kuzguncuk also increased the popularity of Kuzguncuk. The famous book of Buket Uzuner, *Kumral Ada Mavi Tuna*, took place in Kuzguncuk. Mehmet Ünver in his books, *Bir Kuzgun Yaz* and *Izansız Mahalle*, tells the stories of Kuzguncuk with the real residents of Kuzguncuk. He talks about the 1960s and how the neighbourhood has changed after those years. Cengiz Bektaş, also, wrote books about Kuzguncuk which were called as *Kuzguncuk* and *Hoşgörünün Öteki Adı*. Gülsüm Cengiz and Zakire Büyükfırat wrote Kuzguncuk in their books. The newest book about Kuzguncuk is *Benim Kuzguncuğum* which is written by Ismail Aksoy. Aksoy presents characters in the neighbourhood. Except for Uzuner's book, all of the books about Kuzguncuk are written to present Kuzguncuk and mahalle life in this neighbourhood. The documentary called Kuzguncuk Hatıraları (Memories from Kuzguncuk) is based on the stories of some old Kuzguncuk residents. In this documentary, different people talk about their memories of their childhood and Kuzguncuk. Social life is narrated in this documentary.

The popularity of Kuzguncuk in media started with Perihan Abla TV series and Ekmek Teknesi in the 2000s increased that popularity. At the present times, the usage of social media and the print media cause the increase of visibility and popularity of Kuzguncuk because of Kuzguncuk can be represented in the variety of ways in the city.

4.3. Üryanizade Street

Üryanizade Street is where gentrification started in Kuzguncuk. Kuzguncuk is considered as one of the first places in Istanbul that gentrification was started – the first wave of gentrification in Istanbul. In this case, Cengiz Bektaş played a significant role. Bektaş is an architect and author who settled in Kuzguncuk in 1979 with buying an old house in Üryanizade Street. (Uzun, 2003, p.369) He renewed his own house and then started to renew other houses in the Kuzguncuk without any profit. "In 1980's his artist friends and those associated socially with them followed, buying the old houses in the area, while the original population was pleased to sell

them and move to modern neighbourhoods in the city." (Ibid) Afterwards, the population started to change in the neighbourhood that artists and upper-middle class people were started to live there.

Figure 5. The renovated houses in Üryanizade Street

Along with the renewal of the houses, new-comers started to organize social activities in the neighbourhood with local inhabitants that leads to the mobilisation of residents and awareness of the value of Kuzguncuk. (Uzun, 2003, p.370) In other words, Bektaş was a pioneer and played an active role in renewal in the neighbourhood and with him, his friends and other artists, architects – middle-class – started to live there and made changes in the neighbourhood. 'Intellectuals' who came to Kuzguncuk after gentrification has changed some features in the neighbourhood. Didem told me about changes with "intellectuals" in the neighbourhood. She argued that newcomers opened a space for youth of Kuzguncuk and diminished gossips of the elder generation.

Intellectuals came to the neighbourhood and actually they make some changes in here." [After I ask her what kind of changes] They came here and challenge with the old uncles in the neighbourhood. The gossips in the coffee houses did you see his son kind of gossips but they stand against them. This created a new space for us [youth] in the neighbourhood. So, now, we can easily hang out in the streets even drink alcohol in the streets

Ayşe is fifty-one years old and born in Kuzguncuk. Her grandmother settled in Kuzguncuk 1920's. Her mother, uncle and her siblings all were born in Kuzguncuk. Because of Ayşe's father occupation – a military officer -, they travelled in Turkey but always 'came back to Kuzguncuk'. Ayşe told that she feels that she belongs to Kuzguncuk. Now, she and her mother live in Kuzguncuk. She told me that;

Cengiz Bektaş renovated houses and it is a good thing. With this renovation, intellectuals started to settle in Kuzguncuk. They were real intellectuals, now wannabes settle in Kuzguncuk. They wanted to live in a real neighbourhood without knowing what a neighbourhood life is

Bektaş argues that what he did in Kuzguncuk is not a gentrification. It was an improvement of the neighbourhood. He claims that he only wanted to raise awareness about neighbourhood and neighbourhood life in the mind of residents. Even though he claimed that he settled in Kuzguncuk for experience and live in a neighbourly environment, he said that he bought his house in Kuzguncuk by selling his former house in Göztepe (another district in Asian shore). The house in Kuzguncuk valued almost half of the price of the house in Göztepe. It indicates real-estate prices between two neighbourhoods and Kuzguncuk was less expensive than Göztepe. Bektaş gives this information, comparison of rent-prices between two neighbourhoods, to explain in order to live in a neighbourhood like Kuzguncuk can be realized by reasonable prices when he settled in Kuzguncuk.

Uzun argues that "the transformation in Kuzguncuk resulted in increased public awareness, the public identifying itself with space, the taking of space as a reference

point for identity, the development of feelings of pride and belonging, the achievement of social unification and conscious conservation of the environment. There has been a positive impact in the city and this case is often cited as a positive, stimulating example." (Uzun, 2003) Ali, on the other hand, believes that what Bektaş did just a renovation of the houses, not the mahalle life.

> Cengiz's work was good; he renovated old houses. Actually, he made Kuzguncuk popular. But we were like this long before he came and made all the changes. We had mahalle life long before him. He did not change anything in this manner

According to Ali, Cengiz Bektaş changed just houses and renovated them. However, social life did not change and they had mahalle life in the neighbourhood always before and after Cengiz Bektaş. Renovation of the houses in Kuzguncuk provided a protection by law. Because of Bosporus Law which was introduced in 1983, construction is forbidden in Kuzguncuk. All of the constructions should be made in accordance with original construction plans.

Tomris settled in Kuzguncuk in the beginning of 2000s because of her husband's duty. She loves Kuzguncuk and appreciates the protection of old houses and the mahalle life. In one of our conversations, she told me one of her memories about renovation of houses and protection law;

> It is very nice to protect these houses. Old houses... In Istanbul, all the historical places are destroyed but Kuzguncuk is protected by law. But I do not understand how some people did not appreciate this. One day I heard someone who I know was angry and said [......] "we could sell this houses and made fortune". Can you believe that... I got so angry. They just think money not the beautiful things in life

In the news published in 2004, a Re-Max consultant explained that after protection law Kuzguncuk and some other places turned to investment areas that they became attractive places for people who want to live in "old Istanbul". People either can buy an old house and restore it and sell or live in it. A house without restoration was sold 200.000 TL and a house with restoration was sold 650.000 TL. Protection law caused

Kuzguncuk turns to an investment area because people could buy a cheap house and sold much higher prices and urban renewal projects could not happen there because of the law. In other words, what Cengiz Bektaş pioneered in the 1980s when he renovated houses in Kuzguncuk caused both mobilisations of artists or 'intellectuals' to Kuzguncuk and also releasing the rent-gap. Releasing the rent-gap is still a going-on-process that as Kuzguncuk has become more popular rents increase. One day, a cafe owner, that cafe's worker and I were making breakfast. That cafe owner started to talk about she wanted to hand over the cafe to someone else. After I asked her why she told me that;

> The property owner of this cafe told me that she wanted to increase rent price to 8.000 Turkish liras. Now, I am paying 3.500 TL. [....] I cannot afford that money and this property does not worth that much. I just cannot deal with this, I will go.

Real estate prices are boomed as Kuzguncuk gentrified. Property owners took/and are taking advantage of changes in the neighbourhood. Üryanizade Street is where gentrification started and the increase in real-estate prices despite the initial intention of Cengiz Bektaş when he decided to renovate his house.

4.4. Bereketli Street

Alongside with Üryanizade Street effects of gentrification, both physically and socially, can be observed in Bereketli Street. Bektaş argues that he moved to Kuzguncuk for neighbourhood life in Kuzguncuk and he wanted to boost social life in the streets. For instance, in the past, this street was used for street theatres and stairways in the street used as seating. Cengiz Bektaş, again, was a pioneer for these events and also a wall was painted with children collectively in Kuzguncuk. He renovated houses in the street which was lack of care. Now, colourful wooden and stone houses are lined up and getting attention from people. A lot of wanderers and brides/grooms are taking photos on this street due to it has beautiful historic houses.

Figure 6. The photo of the houses before (Right) and after (Left) the renovations in Bereketli Street. The photos are retrieved from the book of Cengiz Bektaş and from KuzguncukLife Instagram Page

In the first days of this research, I was wandering in the neighbourhood. It was Saturday and it was crowded. A lot of people came to cafes and were taking photos in front of the wooden houses. In this street, I witnessed a quarrel between two young girls who took photos and a woman in the apartment. Girls were taking photos in the entrance of wooden houses that its entrance and stairs covered with flowers. Woman in the apartment was cleaning windows and she said;

Woman: You will break flowers, do not take photos there. Leave!

Girls: It is not your business. Is this your house? (Snidely)

Woman: The owner of that house entrust me the house. I said leave why are you arguing with me. (Yells)

Girls: Can you be more polite?

> **Woman:** We had enough of you. You come to our neighbourhood and take photos all the time. We do not want you in this neighbourhood. Just leave. You do not care about people in these houses, you do not care if it bothers us or not. You are rude. Do not argue with, just leave! (Yells)

I was there, listening to this fight and realize how deeply Kuzguncuk people are annoyed by people who come to their neighbourhood. However, the current situation is a predictable outcome of cafes and gentrification. Renovated houses are used as 'natural background' for taking photos and the cafes try to attract consumers to run a business. Yet, the discomfort of Kuzguncuk people is obvious.

Ayşe, also, complained about photographers in Kuzguncuk;

> They came here to take photos all the time. But they are disrespectful. One day I was walking in the Icadiye. I saw a young man is taking photos. He took a photo of a cat and he took the photo of pharmacy without asking permission. Then he turned to me and wanted to take the picture of me. I said "no! You cannot photograph me." What are we, a circus monkey? They do not beautify their neighbourhoods but they come here to consume Kuzguncuk. It bothers me a lot.

Not just amateur photographers, but also wedding photographers are all over the Kuzguncuk but especially in the Bereketli Street. Brides and grooms come to Kuzguncuk, mostly in the weekends, with their friends for taking their wedding pictures. They block the streets and even the entrances of the houses. Didem complained about them;

> There are a lot of wedding photographers. They are sometimes like a nightmare. The problem is that they are very rude. Sometimes I cannot enter into my office and sometimes I cannot enter my home. And when I asked them nicely to step aside they answer rudely. So, I intentionally ruin their photos that I block the photographers. We have to cope with this situation

4.5. Bostan Street

Bostan Street takes its name from Kuzguncuk Ilya's Bostan – Market Garden - and it is located in near Bostan. Bostan has an important place in the memories of people in Kuzguncuk in terms of childhood memories and struggles for protecting Bostan. "Kids of Kuzguncuk are growing up playing in the garden" is a common statement to tell bostan's place in the lives of residents. In almost every interview and casual conversations, I heard the same statement such as;

> I grew up in Bostan. We played games with our friends and now our kids are playing in there

Bostan is a place for both socialising and it is an important mark for being from the neighbourhood. Now, Bostan is used for special occasions in the neighbourhood. Every 6th of May, Hıdrellez is celebrated in Bostan. In 23th of April, kids of Kuzguncuk celebrate the holiday in Bostan by playing games all day. Every summer, movie nights are organized for neighbours by Kuzguncuk Neighbourhood Association. Residents of Kuzguncuk, also, by lot can have a chance to plant vegetables in Bostan. Annually this lot is made and parcels are distributed to residents. Plantation creates a social activity among residents. In other words, Bostan represents a part of social life in the neighbourhood and it has a unifying role in Kuzguncuk.

On the other hand, protests were held against construction in Bostan for several times. It was a collective work that provoked awareness in the neighbourhood and as Kuzguncuk Neighbourhood Association puts it "instigated collective memory of a neighbourhood". Ayşe told that;

> We tried to protect Bostan. There were several protests that held in the neighbourhood. Participation was high even my mother (she is very old) participate the protests. Everyone has a feeling of "I saved the Bostan". [She laughs]

Kuzguncuk Neighbourhood Association established in 1997. As Ayşe stated it is established in order to be organized in the neighbourhood for making changes because sometimes individual efforts cannot be effective. Kuzguncuk Neighbourhood Association became a popular association after the protests. As it is stated above, Association is now an active group that organize events in the neighbourhood. However, not everyone is 'sympathetic' to the Association. Several times, I heard complains about Association. I could not interview with the president but members of the Association such as Ayşe. Muhtar sometimes complains about the Association.

> Neighbourhood Association is established in order to be organized in the neighbourhood. Now it is run by those intellectuals, architects and so on. They think that they know what the best is for Kuzguncuk and they ignore me and my recommendations. But Kuzguncuk people chose me. I am the muhtar of Kuzguncuk for twenty years. They chose me in this case they are happy with my work. Sometimes I tried to do something about Kuzguncuk but Association is criticizing. But that work has to be done for the sake of Kuzguncuk. [He was talking about the construction of underground water pipes in Kuzguncuk. Association stopped the construction because a piece has found that may have a historical asset. However, Muhtar believed that construction should continue because it is best for Kuzguncuk]

The tension between muhtar and Association is based on 'who knows the best for Kuzguncuk'. The Association and muhtar believe they are the one who acts for the sake of Kuzguncuk and criticizes each other. Either way, both of these parties are valued Kuzguncuk and tension arise from this.

The protests for the protection of Bostan increased awareness in the neighbourhood. However, the protests revealed the history of problematic property issue in Istanbul. Bostan was used to the property of two Greek families, Soro and Dodo family. In 1951, bostan is registered for the first time as private property and Bostan's one part six parcels was given to Istro Soro that made parcel became the private property of Istro Soro. Other parcels were given to other Christian families. After Istro Soro died

in 1951 bostan passed to his son, Ilya. However, in 1966 Vakıflar Dairesi – General Directorate of Foundations – registered parcels except for Istro Soro's parcel to its property and in 1977, Ilya's parcel also was registered the property of Foundations. Ilya did not know and he operated Bostan until 1984. After Ilya died all Bostan turned to the property of Foundations. Bostan was rented to Mehmet Haberal and he wanted to establish firstly hospital and then a private school. Kuzguncuk Neighbourhood Association and residents held protests and struggled legally. When Haberal's rent contract has ended Üsküdar Municipality bought bostan. Kuzguncuk Neighbourhood Association as a solution came to an agreement with Üsküdar Municipality. Although it is officially property of the municipality, residents own and embraced Ilya's Bostan as their own place. (Morgül, 2004; Mills, 2004)

Bostan's history in terms of property ownership reveals problematic issues of minority history in Turkey and in Kuzguncuk. As Amy Mills showed that actually, relatives of Ilya were living when those protests were held. However, Kuzguncuk Neighbourhood Association did not contact with those relatives and they owned the protests even though it was a collective work. Nevertheless, Ilya's Bostan not only a place for socialisation and collectivity but also it is a place that reminds of the multi-ethnic history of Kuzguncuk.

Memory is an important way of the development of sense of place either good ones or bad ones. In this case, childhood memories of Kuzguncuk residents in the Bostan lead to 'nostalgia' to the childhood and the past times. Appropriation to the past increases the sense of place in Kuzguncuk. On the other hand, the Neighbourhood Association uses "place-frames" (Martin, 2003) for establishing common ground in the neighbourhood for collective action. In the protests, the Association used the discourse of the protection of green areas and also the narratives of mahalle in terms of the past and the present of the neighbourhood.

4.6. Conclusion

Throughout my research, I walk around Kuzguncuk. Every street gave me a dynamic and a story about Kuzguncuk. This chapter aimed to present Kuzguncuk and give detailed information about dynamics in Kuzguncuk. With the aim of 'setting the scene', different dynamics in Kuzguncuk is presented. However, these streets also demonstrate the relationship with the place in the neighbourhood.

Icadiye Street is the street where I worked, interviewed and spent most of my time. It is the heart of Kuzguncuk. The cafes shaped and are shaping landscapes and social life of Kuzguncuk. There are different opinions about the cafes that while some argue that the cafes spoiled the neighbourhoods, others argue that having cafes in the neighbourhood are a good thing. Individual opinions and experiences of the cafes differentiate the relationship of the residents with their neighbourhoods. In this sense, Icadiye Street reveals contested meanings of the place in Kuzguncuk.

Perihan Abla Street is 'the media face' of Kuzguncuk. Perihan Abla TV Series and later Ekmek Teknesi made the neighbourhood popular in Turkey through mass media. However, not only mass media but in the present, usage of social media increases the popularity and visibility of Kuzguncuk. The residents, also, use media tools to express 'their love' of Kuzguncuk and memories in Kuzguncuk. Facebook and Instagram pages that are dedicated to Kuzguncuk, the books and personal social media usage are reproduced popularity of Kuzguncuk. That is to say, not just local tourists or visitors increase popularity and visibility of Kuzguncuk, but also the residents are active actors in this process.

Üryanizade Street is where the gentrification has started in Kuzguncuk by Cengiz Bektaş. As a consequence of the gentrification process, 'intellectuals' settled in the neighbourhood and pre-gentrification population and newcomers live side by side. The rent prices had increased after renovations and gentrification process. Like in Icadiye Street, differences in experiences in the neighbourhood differentiate the perception of the gentrification process. For instances, Ali believes that just the

houses had changed and renovated but social life is the same as a pre-gentrification period. On the other hand, Didem who is a youth of Kuzguncuk believes 'intellectuals' provided a space for youth by decreasing gossips of the elders. Ali and Didem's thoughts on changes in the neighbourhood differ in terms of how these changes affected their daily lives. These differences lead to differences in the relationship with their neighbourhood.

Bereketli Street is used for photo-shooting by local tourists and wedding photographers. The renovation of the houses in gentrification process created beautiful and colourful wooden houses on this street. The photographers take advantages of it and use these houses as 'natural' background. Local tourist, i.e. 'outsiders', creates a tension in the neighbourhood. The residents of Kuzguncuk complain about outsiders and sometimes fight against them (like that woman yells at the girls). Bereketli Street not only reveals the tension between the inhabitants and outsiders but also reveals the perception of public spaces of Kuzguncuk by its residents. Reactions to outsiders draw the boundaries of Kuzguncuk and define the insiders and the outsiders.

Bostan Street and Bostan reveal not only the collective work in the neighbourhood in order to protect their common value but also the problematic history of Turkification process in Turkey. Neighbourhood Association of Kuzguncuk embraced and used 'place frames' which were a discourse of collective mahalle life and protection of green areas, for the creation of basis of activism in the neighbourhood. The protests brought attention to the neighbourhood and also in Istanbul. However, the history of Bostan shows the problematic property hand-over issues after the establishment of Republic of Turkey and Turkification process. Association did not mention this history and the protests took place in the line of Association's discourse about Bostan. On the other hand, Bostan shows that how memory is important in the place-making process. Kuzguncuk people associate Bostan with their childhood memories and believe that it is their common value in the neighbourhood. These meanings create a special meaning of Bostan and after the protests, its value is increased in the

neighbourhood. That is to say, Bostan demonstrates the importance of 'place frames' (Martin, 2003) of Associations that leads to the creation of specific meanings and also the role of memories for creating linkages between feelings and places.

In the following chapters, two powerful narratives in Kuzguncuk will be discussed in relation to village reference and place-making process. However, as this chapter presented place-making process in Kuzguncuk has different and various dynamics. That is to say, the narratives and abovementioned the ways of place-making explain Kuzguncuk in greater detail together.

Chapter 5

'KUZGUNCUK WAS AN ACTUAL VILLAGE IN THE PAST'

The Narratives of Multicultural Past

As it is discussed in previous chapters, Kuzguncuk was a village in Ottoman Empire Era and it turned to an urban neighbourhood after Istanbul's landscape has expanded and transportation facilities increased. Yet, Kuzguncuk is recognized as a village by its residents even today. Village reference in Kuzguncuk is based on 'being an actual village' in the past. This fact is told in my every interview and it underlies village-claim in present. More than that, the history of Kuzguncuk reveals broader socio-political and historical events that both Istanbul and Kuzguncuk experienced. In this present chapter, the narratives of multicultural Kuzguncuk will be discussed.

5.1. The Wealth Tax and 55 Events

The Wealth Tax Law was the beginning of the end for non-Muslim communities in Istanbul. The burden of taxes changed Kuzguncuk and Istanbul forever. Non-Muslim communities had dispossessed and even they had to pay taxes by their labour in Aşkale Camps. In Amy Mills' work, two women who were born in Kuzguncuk then emigrated to Tel Aviv told those times and how Wealth Tax had a direct impact on their family and lives.

"During the Wealth Tax, they took my father to the military; they took all the men in my family to Aşkale.... We remained no food, no money --- these things really scared me. I put it in my mind that one day I'd go to Israel. After I came here, the rest of my family moved from Kuzguncuk to Galata." (Mills, 2008, p.394)

The consequences of Wealth Tax were poverty and desire to migrate from Turkey. Establishment of State of Israel in 1948 provided a destination for migration. The other women gave more detailed account of those times;

"About the Wealth Tax ... I was born in 1937; in 1939 Germans came out, until 1945. Turkey didn't enter the war, but Turkey was getting ready. In 1940, my mother would tell me to turn off the lights. To on the window so the light wouldn't be seen. We had no bread, to show the Turkish people because there was anti-Semitism. And they wanted money. Those who couldn't pay the tax were sent to Aşkale. My aunt's husband went to Aşkale. My father... had a shop selling printed scarves and fabric. He had to pay the tax. He came to an agreement with the muhtar, who adjusted the tax so he could pay. My father was respected, and he knew the muhtar. We lived in a two-floor house, lived on one floor and rented the other. We rented the shop, and my father paid the tax. If he'd been young or had nothing to give, he would have gone to Aşkale too..." (Mills, 2008, p. 394-395)

Aktar (cited in Mills, 2008) argues that Wealth Tax was not anti-Semitic because it burdened all non-Muslim communities, not just the Jewish community. However, as above quotation shows for some Jewish community members, it was an anti-Semitic policy. This woman's father's relationship with the muhtar saved him to go to Aşkale Camps and but as she told if he had nothing to give his fate will be the same as others. In Kuzguncuk, what left unsaid is crucial as what is said. Because of the Wealth Tax, almost all properties in Kuzguncuk handed over to Muslim Turks and mostly to internal migrants who had started to settle in Kuzguncuk. However, this issue never told in my interviews, like in the case of Bostan protests.

Wealth Tax created mistrust among non-Muslim communities. In the work of Güven (2011), a Jewish man who lives in Israel now told about those times;

"My mother and my father for instance. My mother, may she rest in peace, was from Kuzguncuk. In those years, there were approximately three to four thousand Jews in Kuzguncuk. For instance, there is a five-hundred-year-old Jewish graveyard in Kuzguncuk. There were Jewish schools in Kuzguncuk. But I can say this: Jews are the people who live with their suitcases packed. Let me tell you that my father didn't buy a house in Turkey. Although Allah forbid, there was nothing as bad for the Turkish Jews as in Germany or Russia, my father always lived with a feeling of anxiety. He thought that maybe one day they would say, "Take your belongings and go away". He didn't buy a house for a long time. House means dependence. You cannot leave your house easily. Later, my father bought an apartment. But getting over this feeling of mistrust is a matter of thirty or forty years. The Wealth Tax is the exact example of this feeling of mistrust. What is the Wealth Tax? For instance, my grandfather was a grocer in Kuzguncuk. One day an official came and said, "You will give such-and-such an amount of money". There was no legal reason for that. And my grandfather saw that his goods in the grocery store would have to be sold completely in order pay the money. Why did the Jews come to Israel after the Second World War? One reason is Israel itself. It was an option, a place of shelter for the Jews. And the other reason was the Wealth Tax for the Turkish Jews. Because, those people said, they even took my underpants. So what should I do? When trust is gone, it's gone." (Güven, 2011, p.369)

To ease the burden of Wealth Tax and to pay the debts, non-Muslim community members had to sell their properties. The properties of non-Muslim communities had handed-over to Muslim residents of Istanbul. In other words, the dispossession of non-Muslim communities started with Wealth Tax implementations. In the narratives of this research, Wealth Tax has never told by informants and residents. However, unlike Wealth Tax 55 Events are narrated in my every interview. It is told as 'horrible events but in Kuzguncuk nothing happened.'

My interviewees, actually, did not experience 55 Events or they were so little that they had little recall about what happened in those days such as Nazım. Nazım is the person I met in the Icadiye Street. It was a strange meeting that I was wandering in

the neighbourhood to make an observation and hoping someone to talk about Kuzguncuk. Nazım came to me and started a conversation. He suddenly talked about Kuzguncuk and the past of Kuzguncuk. He is over his seventies and remembers a little multi-ethnic past of Kuzguncuk. He said that;

> Kuzguncuk is really different from the city. There is a peaceful environment in here. Do you know the past of Kuzguncuk? With this kind of past you learn to be respectful and love differences. Yes, that mosaic is lost but embracing those times is very important and not to forget it, of course...... I was little when this horrible event [55 Events] happened, but I remember no one gets hurt in Kuzguncuk. Everybody protect each other, of course, there won't be anything in Kuzguncuk. We are all siblings in here and our fathers and mothers protect their neighbours, their siblings

Heroic stories of how neighbours protected each other are the common narrative in Kuzguncuk. Ayşe told me one of these stories;

> In the street of Perihan Abla, Sister Viki [beloved figure of Kuzguncuk who will be mentioned later] lived. She told me that she never regrets to live in Turkey and Kuzguncuk but she cannot forget how she got scared in 55 Events. Their next door neighbour was a Muslim doctor and when they heard masses were coming to Kuzguncuk that doctor yelled Viki Sister's father and throw him a Turkish flag to hang their window. Right after they hang the flag masses entered the street and the doctor yelled at them 'look at the flag they are Turk, get out of here'. I cannot imagine what could happen if they couldn't hang the flag. Churches and synagogues harmed, of course, but not people

Solidarity among neighbours is embraced and praised when 55 Events mentioned. Yet, Ayşe and Tomris, just two of the total interviewees, told me that some people in Kuzguncuk not attacked but cooperate with attackers by showing properties. Tomris, with the impression of despise, said;

> Yes, of course, no one attacked Greeks or Jews because they were their neighbours and friends. But this does not mean some people did not show their houses to

attackers. [Who are they? Do you know them personally?] Yes I know them, everybody knows them but I do not want to give names

In a similar manner, Ayşe also did not want to give names but told that 'everybody knows them';

We know those people. Actually everybody knows. They are not many but there is a fact some people in this neighbourhood cooperate with attackers. Horrible.. Horrible thing.

5.2. Internal Migration

While Wealth Tax, 55 Events and 64 Events caused emigration of non-Muslim communities from Istanbul, the city was a destination of internal migrants due to job opportunities. "As the result of chain migration and the tendency of migrants from the same region or village to cluster in the same neighbourhood" (Erman, 1998) the internal migrants who were mostly from Black-Sea Region – Kastamonu and Rize – started to settle in Kuzguncuk. Those newcomers either bought houses in very cheap prices or just 'occupied' empty houses.

How internal migration changed Kuzguncuk socially is something that I could not discuss in my interviews and find an answer through my observations. The 'new' old Kuzguncuk residents are the ones who settled in Kuzguncuk or the descendants of Black-Sea migrants in present. However, previous works about Kuzguncuk demonstrate what happened in those times. (Mills, 2008; Bektaş, 1991) An interview which Mills conducted in Tel Aviv with Kuzguncuklu Jews summarizes environment of those times. A middle-aged man in Tel Aviv who grew up in Kuzguncuk stated that;

"What can I explain about Kuzguncuk before I came into the world?. . . In the 1930s it was mostly Jews, Greeks, Armenians, not too many Muslims... In my childhood, it began to change. Why? In the 1950s in Turkey urbanization started, from villages, migration influenced of course, definitely. The Black Sea people, and the people

from Anatolia, they came to Kuzguncuk, Muslim Turks. In my childhood there was still a population of Greeks, Armenians, Jews, but not the majority; the majority were Turks. The foundation of Israel in 1948 caused Jewish emigration. Jewish people in Kuzguncuk also moved to more upper-class neighbourhoods in Istanbul... By the middle of the 1970s, only ten families or so remained in Kuzguncuk. People began to come from other places to fill the synagogues in Kuzguncuk. There were clear cultural differences – cultural and life differences between city people and newcomers. The problems maybe came from due to village and city difference more than religious difference. All the Jews, Armenians, Greeks, Muslims in the city had lived among each other sharing the same culture; difference. They were all city people." (Mills, 2008, p.393)

According to this Jewish man, differences between newcomers and old residents are based cultural differences not the religious ones. Even in the 55 Events, some members of non-Muslim communities believed that attackers and their collaborators are not Istanbulites but 'those who came from Anatolia';

"[V]ery dramatic, very sad in Kuzguncuk, and Jews were also affected by these events. But in Kuzguncuk, Greek houses were pillaged and vandalized with stones and it was done by people who came from Anatolia, although some of the Turks here showed them the way, saying this house is Greek, throw it over there, this house is Jewish, don't throw a stone here. These are sad things but they were done by those who came later. In Kuzguncuk, whether Muslim, Greek Armenian, Jewish, there was a good relationship between them, there was a good feeling of brotherhood and sisterhood." (Jewish Kuzguncuklu man, Mills, 2003)

A Greek butcher, also known as the only butcher who sells pig products in Istanbul, who born and grew up in Kuzguncuk but now lives in another neighbourhood in an interview for newspaper[6] said that;

"We were living in Kuzguncuk, both my mother and father were from Kuzguncuklu. In our time there were two churches, two synagogues and also an Orthodox church.

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[6] Gazete Duvar, https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/hayat/2016/09/07/istanbulun-son-domuz-kasabi/

We were hearing ezan from Ortaköy. In those times, people who came to Istanbul recently, especially people from Kastamonu, started to call us gavur. Before that, there was no such thing."

Changes in population and urban structure (gecekondu settlements) due to internal migration were discussed widely in the literature in the 1970s and 1980s. "The cities were the places of modernizing elites" and rural migrants were expected to adopt urban lifestyle and values and eventually be 'true urbanites'. (Erman, 1998) As above quotations demonstrated differences were not based on religion but cultural and social practices between city-people and rural people. While city-Muslims were accepted as fellow neighbours, rural-Muslims were the people 'who brought their villages to the city.'

Viki Abla was the beloved figure of Kuzguncuk who born in Kuzguncuk and lived there until she died in 2015. Viki Abla's mother was Greek and father was Jewish. Also, her husband was a Muslim man. She, always, mentioned as one of the evidence of multicultural past of Kuzguncuk. In *Kuzguncuk Hatıraları* documentary Viki Abla stated that;

> Everybody loves me in this neighbourhood; they show me respect and consider what's best for me. They see me as a good friend and sister, that's mean they like my friendship and that's mean I am a good neighbour for them.....I can sit in coffeehouses as a woman because they know me and they know what kind of woman I am. They cannot say anything to me and of course, they do not say... I love Kuzguncuk.

Viki Abla is remembered with love and respect in the neighbourhood. Almost in my every interview, she was mentioned as a great woman. Yet, she was the one also complained about how she cannot walk around without staring eyes of men in the neighbourhood anymore.

> "When I was 14-15 years old we had beautiful groupings. We dressed our swimsuits and we went to sea [swimming in Bosporus]. Now I am trying to fit in the

neighbourhood when I got dress. I feel like monitored. But we have to live together in here. We used to develop friendships regardless our religions. For instance, I am married to a Muslim man and I am Jewish. Greeks, Jews and Turks, we were all living together in here. Just Armenians used to live in the hills. Today, I am trying to continue that environment.... I can easily sit in the coffee-houses [male dominated places] because people in these coffee-houses remember old times in Kuzguncuk but newcomer women cannot do that... If I had a chance to born again, I would want to have my life again. I am upset just one thing. There are so many strangers and even I feel like a stranger in the neighbourhood. They find our freeness is weird... There are silent restrictions in the neighbourhood when I do what I want they look at me in a different way." (Bektaş, 1991, p. 107-109)

Socially Kuzguncuk has changed as Viki Abla stated. Mehmet Ünver told changes in Kuzguncuk in his book *Bir Kuzgun Yaz*. As Amy Mills told when this book published in 2002, it caused debates in the neighbourhood because he mentioned how those newcomers' attitudes affected women in the neighbourhood. In Kuzguncuk, those things should not be spoken. (Mills, 2008)

The narratives of non-Muslim community members of Kuzguncuk about new-comers show the effects of the internal migrants in Kuzguncuk. Those effects are narrated in the line of differences in the cultural practices, not the religious one. The reaction of "they brought their village to the city" in Istanbul had taken place in Kuzguncuk too, as the narratives show.

5.3. The Narratives of Mutual Respect and Peaceful Village of Three Religions

The documentary of *Kuzguncuk Hatıraları*[7] starts with ezan and church bells as it shows Kuzguncuk landscape. Even though they have never simultaneously heard in the neighbourhood it was a good rhetoric for representing the idea of Kuzguncuk is the place where church bell, ezan and hazan can be heard together.

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[7] Güven Özdemir, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=synx8oSoWvI

"Kuzguncuk is a neighbourhood that three religions lived side by side peacefully and respectfully for centuries." This is the common idea and narrative about the past of Kuzguncuk in present times. Religious sanctuaries that stand side-by-side strengthening this narrative that works as material evidence. In my interviews, those sanctuaries are told as in Chapter 4. It is believed that the church gave its property to build the mosques; however, this does not true about those sanctuaries. Yet, this false information is intrinsic to the narratives of the past. As Ali stated;

> Did you see the church and mosque stand together? For centuries people live here peacefully. Their religion did not matter. Kuzguncuk is a peaceful village. We respect each other.

In *Kuzguncuk Hatıraları* documentary, one of the residents of Kuzguncuk call sociologist on a duty to study Kuzguncuk. Because he believes that this peaceful environment of three different religions is 'something very different from the other neighbourhoods in Istanbul.' The narrative of Kuzguncuk as a village of mutual respect and peaceful living of different religion is embraced and reproduced by both old residents and newcomers. It is a popular narrative that increases the love towards Kuzguncuk.

My interviewees did not experience multicultural times of Kuzguncuk, besides having one or two non-Muslim neighbours. However, it embedded in the narratives so powerfully that it is always told as if the first-hand experience. Ali stated that;

> In the past, everyone was celebrating each others' religious holidays on the street. Now, there is no such thing. But every Ramadan – the religious month of Islam when Muslims fasting – Jewish community organizes fasting dinner. You see, we are living peacefully regardless of our religion.

Celebrating different religious holidays together in the neighbourhood is common narrative and social 'evidence' of multicultural times of Kuzguncuk. However, today besides Jewish community's fasting dinner, there is nothing left behind from that era. Narratives of multicultural times of Kuzguncuk are so powerful that even newcomers

embraced and told those times. 'Once upon a time Kuzguncuk' is a popular opening statement to talk about multicultural Kuzguncuk, which I frequently listened to in my research. For instance, Tomris never experienced a multi-cultural era of Kuzguncuk except having a few neighbours from minority groups. However, she always heard about those times from her friends in the neighbourhood.

> I am living in Kuzguncuk for nearly 20 years and I never experienced multi-ethnic past of Kuzguncuk. But it is told that when men came to the neighbourhood by the time they went their homes, they got drunk. Because they stopped by their friends they drink with them. I really wish to live in those times

What Tomris told is a very popular story about the past of Kuzguncuk which her friends in the neighbourhood, probably, heard this story from someone else but did not experience because consuming alcohol in the street belonged to the era that Greek Taverns in the business in Icadiye Street. Yet, like Tomris, Ihsan also embraces multicultural past of Kuzguncuk as a newcomer. He is in his mid-thirties and only lives in Kuzguncuk for five years. Ihsan considered himself as Kuzguncuklu and be a part of Kuzguncuk community. He tells the stories of Kuzguncuk past as if he experienced it in first hand.

> Kuzguncuk has a long history, multi-ethnic history. This is the place where people live in peace. Three different religions lived here in peace. Neighbours from different religions always protect and love each other. It is wonderful to have such a neighbourhood. And it is proud to me to live and be part of this neighbourhood

Yusuf is also one of the newcomers. Before Kuzguncuk, he lived in several neighbourhoods in Istanbul. Then he decided to settle in Kuzguncuk because he loves the culture and history of Kuzguncuk.

> Kuzguncuk has a culture. It has a history. Different religions lived here. I'm sure you see the church and mosque. The church gave the property to the mosque. They are still standing side by side. Kuzguncuk is a rare neighbourhood in Istanbul. I love to live in a place with the history

One day when I was working in the cafe, a beloved figure of Kuzguncuk came to eat something. Oğuz was born and grow up in Kuzguncuk. He is in his mid-thirties and a popular person in Kuzguncuk. He was complaining about the things in the neighbourhood and it brought my attention and I asked him why;

> Just because we are living in the same neighbourhood, they try to take advantage. [Like what?] They come to drink a tea. It is just 2 TL and they gave 100 TL. Its fine but they expect that I will say 'ok this is in the house'. They want to discount as if they bought something expensive because we are both Kuzguncuklu. I hate this. Really! They are lack of manner. The worst part is they are richer more than us. Indigenous Kuzguncuk people were gone; those people call themselves as Kuzguncuklu. They are not real Kuzguncuklu.
>
> **Me:** Indigenous Kuzguncuklu? Who are they?
>
> They are the real members of Kuzguncuk. Of course, I am talking about Jewish Greek and Armenian people who lived here before us and for some time with us. They know the manner; they are polite and good people. They were not like these new Kuzguncuklu. My advice is that do not believe them if they say 'I am Kuzguncuklu'

It was the first and only time I heard about indigenous Kuzguncuklu. Minority groups were always told in my interviews as elder and old population of Kuzguncuk. However, Oğuz did not accept people who call themselves Kuzguncuklu and live in the neighbourhood almost fifty and sixty years. Oğuz is not a member of minority groups in Kuzguncuk nor defines himself as indigenous Kuzguncuklu. His point is to emphasise that Black-Sea migrants who settled in Kuzguncuk after 1950's should not be considered as Kuzguncuklu, simply because real Kuzguncuklu has now gone from Kuzguncuk. Even though Oğuz was an exception for this research, it was quite interesting to hear a perception of non-Muslim communities as 'indigenous Kuzguncuklu', not just in stories about multicultural past of Kuzguncuk.

Neighbouring practices and friendship of members of different religious communities are the basis of the narrative of mutual respect in Kuzguncuk. Even though it does not reflect the current neighbourhood life, the nostalgia of past multicultural era is powerful and reproduced in great extent in the neighbourhood. This past is connected to the present neighbourhood life and it is argued by residents they still had that 'spirit.'

4.4. Conclusion

Kuzguncuk was an actual village in the Ottoman Empire Era and until Istanbul's landscape had expanded that turned villages into an urban neighbourhood. Village reference, now, told in Kuzguncuk based on this history. It provides a 'legitimate' base to identify Kuzguncuk as a village. That is to say, when I asked why they considered Kuzguncuk as a village, the first response was, always, "Kuzguncuk was an actual village in the past." Kuzguncuk was an actual village in the past; however, it was not a village of the current population. The history of Kuzguncuk bares a lot of stories and things that left unsaid in present.

The past of places is multilayered and open to multiple readings. (Massey, 1995) In Kuzguncuk, multiple readings of the past shape the present of Kuzguncuk. Different narratives portray the past of Kuzguncuk accordingly and what has been said and has not been said play a crucial role in the narratives of the past. For instance, Wealth Tax dispossessed non-Muslims community of Kuzguncuk while internal migrants owned properties of that community which this historical time (that shaped Kuzguncuk's present) is left unsaid completely by newcomers. However, the impacts of this tax could be read from non-Muslim's perspectives which will tell a different story about Kuzguncuk and Istanbul. Or, social change when internal migrants settle in Kuzguncuk is different in narratives.

Kuzguncuk as the village of mutual respect and multicultural population of Kuzguncuk resonate today through the narratives of the past. The current population, even though did not experience that multicultural era of Kuzguncuk, the narratives

connect them to the Kuzguncuk's past. Positive stories that are told and reproduced by both old residents and newcomers construct Kuzguncuk's image. This image, however, is not the image of the past only but also it is the image of the present. Kuzguncuk is recognized as the village of the mutual respect today even though the majority of the population is the Muslim-Turks.

Re-claiming and re-shaping the past constitutes the present of Kuzguncuk and residents attached themselves to their neighbourhood with this history. In this sense, village reference becomes a medium of place-making through the history of Kuzguncuk.

Chapter 6

'KUZGUNCUK IS NOT A VILLAGE ANYMORE BUT IT IS STILL LIKE A VILLAGE'

The Narratives of the Mahalle

After the 1950s, the population and the landscapes of Istanbul have expanded. Transportation facilities and the development of newly-built neighbourhoods transformed Kuzguncuk from a village to an urban neighbourhood. At the present times, Kuzguncuk is a very central urban neighbourhood. However, the residents of Kuzguncuk, still, consider Kuzguncuk as a village. This present chapter will discuss the narratives of the mahalle and its relations with the village reference in Kuzguncuk.

6.1. Knowing and Known in the Neighbourhood

Social ties and friendships that are built through neighbouring practices are two significant parts of social life in Kuzguncuk. Besides neighbouring practices in Kuzguncuk, there are other reasons for these ties: living together for so many years and being relatives or fellow townsmen. Elif is in her mid-thirties. She was born and grew up in Kuzguncuk like her mother. As she told me her entire life was spent in

Kuzguncuk and she never thought of leaving this neighbourhood. Her love to Kuzguncuk is based on her social life in the neighbourhood.

> I was born and grow up in Kuzguncuk, also my mother too. I grow up with my friends from the neighbourhood in the streets and we never leave Kuzguncuk. For instance, I got married and still live in here. I mean, we know each other for many years.

Elif is not an exception. It is common in the neighbourhood that living for many years with same people. Like Şafak who is sixty years old and living in Kuzguncuk for fifty-nine years;

> My family moved to Kuzguncuk when I was one year old from Black Sea region. I have been living in here for fifty-nine years and I never think moving out of Kuzguncuk. Kuzguncuk is like love for me and I would never think to leave it. We grow up with same people and we are like a family in here. This makes Kuzguncuk different from other neighbourhoods

Elif and Şafak emphasised the years that they lived in Kuzguncuk and how their friends and neighbours also lived with them throughout these years. Growing up together and knowing each other for so long create social ties and acting as if they are a family in Kuzguncuk as Şafak stated in above quotation and several times in the interview. Secondly, people who born and grow up in Kuzguncuk, even elder generation, are descendants of Black Sea migrants who moved in Kuzguncuk in 1940's or 50's. Hemşehri, fellow townsmen, is an important concept in Turkey and it creates bonding between people. Also, homeowners who generally are from Black Sea region are calling their family members or friends into mahalle and rent their houses to them. Yusuf moved to Kuzguncuk in 2009 because he and his wife love Kuzguncuk. According to Yusuf, strong social ties are based on being fellow townsmen and bonding between fellow townsmen. In other words, as he informed me fellow townsmen protect each other in the neighbourhood and sell or rent their

houses to their townsmen. This creates a special bonding beyond neighbouring practices. As Yusuf said,

> In my apartment, my wife and I are the only ones who come from outside. They are all from the Black Sea. And you cannot find a house in Kuzguncuk easily because they call their acquaintances and sell or rent their houses to them

Acting collectively is another aspect of the mahalle and Kuzguncuk. Collectivity means helping each other, sharing daily lives or it can be defined as "one's problem becomes everyone's problem". Collectivity in a mahalle had been important in Ottoman Empire era because a mahalle had the responsibility to Empire collectively. (Tamdoğan, 2002) Residents of mahalle had to act together in terms of taxes or crime and social life. Although this situation is not valid in urban Istanbul, traditional neighbourhood means acting collectively in a mahalle.

Tomris and her husband moved to Kuzguncuk in the beginning of 2000s because of her husband's bounded duty. In the first place, they did not settle in Kuzguncuk. When I met with Tomris, she started to tell their story immediately and told me that even though they had to move in Kuzguncuk because of bounded duty, they love Kuzguncuk and become Kuzguncuklu in years.

> We came to Kuzguncuk when my husband opened an office in here. We rent this place (a flat in Icadiye Street) and it was in the very obsolete situation. But neighbours helped us. Some brought stairs and some brought sinks and other stuff. We remade it thanks to their help. [..] I was really happy when they help us. I realized that we came to a different neighbourhood. It was actually like a village. Since then I love village-ness of Kuzguncuk

Tomris' idea of village life and village-ness of Kuzguncuk are based on solidarity and collectivity in the neighbourhood. Although she never lived in a village, she resembles Kuzguncuk to an actual village because of collectivity in the neighbourhood. Yusuf, also, told a memory to explain why Kuzguncuk is considered a village due to solidarity among neighbourhoods.

One day I forgot my wallet in my house but I realized it when I was about the pay the money. I was in the X market and I regularly go there for shopping. I told the situation and İhsan Abi (brother) said that it is not a problem and I can pay whenever I want. He does not know my name maybe but he sees me regularly and knows I am living here. You cannot build such a trust in any other neighbourhood in Istanbul but in here as long as they know you are from this neighbourhood, it is fine and they will be there for you when you need help

Friendship, solidarity and strong social ties in the neighbourhood determine village-ness of Kuzguncuk. In other words, these aspects lead to a perception of Kuzguncuk as a village in the eyes of residents. Mahalle or village means acting together, being a good neighbour and even a brother/sister. Many years of friendships and being a kid of the mahalle strengths social ties strongly.

Ayşe believes that mahalle life is almost over in Kuzguncuk in contrast to above-mentioned people. According to her, there are 'just crumbs of mahalle life' in Kuzguncuk today.

Dreamy Kuzguncuk had ended in the 1960s and I also just catch it in the end. Kuzguncuk is different from other neighbourhoods but it has just crumbs of mahalle life. Mahalle has special and unique characters. Now, it is gone but I know from memories of my elders, in the past those characters lived in Kuzguncuk... Being a mahalle member means that knowing your neighbours. When they sick you help them and be there for them. Newcomers do not know how to be a neighbour. They move to Kuzguncuk on a whim but closed their curtains, put security alarms and do not interact with their neighbours. This is not neighbourliness

Ayşe emphasises the importance of neighbourliness and solidarity between neighbours in the mahalle. Like others, she defines Kuzguncuk in these terms. She told me a story to express her idea of mahalle.

One day our Melahat Sister's son got really injured when he fell out of his bike. He was ten years old maybe. Melahat Abla's neighbour Feraye saw the accident and immediately left her house and grabs the boy to take him to hospital. She was still

wearing her babydoll, by the way. Feraye holding the boy and boy's mother and father follow her behind until Numune Hospital. When they reached the emergency room, doctors took the boy. Then the doctor came and called boy's mother. Melahat Abla went to the doctor and doctor said "not you lady, I'm asking the mother of the child" and pointed Feraye. [She laughs]. See, that's what means to be a neighbour. The doctor thought Feraye is the mother.

Gossiping is also important in the social life of Kuzguncuk people. As a matter of fact, it is a love-hate relationship in the neighbourhood. On the one hand, everybody gossips. It is a way of building social interactions among residents. First time I felt like a member of Kuzguncuk is the time when someone gossiped with me about a person in the neighbourhood in a daily conversation. On the other hand, gossiping make people uncomfortable because every action of residents can spread easily and quickly and it feels like their life is watched all the time.

Tomris was very complainant about gossiping in the neighbourhood. She gets angry about violation of privacy and boldness about comments on her life.

> Gossiping, of course, is very common in here. Everybody says something about an issue that does not their concern. One time, I dyed my hair in a hairdresser. The distance between my house and hairdresser, literally, just five minutes. Before I went home, my husband already knew that I dyed my hair to this colour. Someone, I do not want to say his name, shouted to my husband and said 'your wife's hair is now this colour'. I could not believe it. Why someone does such a thing? It is not his business.

Ayşe thought that gossiping and watched by neighbours are 'normal' things in the mahalle.

> I'm used to watched by neighbours. It is a common and normal thing in the neighbourhood. Mahalle life brings these kinds of things. I do not know, I think people who do not grow in a neighbourhood like this think this is rude and not normal. Now, newcomers moving in but they always close the curtains, they do not interact with neighbours. But it is not a mahalle life.

Gossiping is inevitable in Kuzguncuk and time to time I gossiped when I was making this research. However, gossiping and spreading false rumours create uncomfortably and conflicted environment as I observed in my research. Economic interests, for example, can lead to spreading false rumours in the neighbourhood; or, gender-based perspectives lead to gossiping in terms of the place of women and men in the work environment. That is to say, gossiping is not always 'chit-chatting' between friends but sometimes it can lead to the creation of upsetting environment in the neighbourhood.

Social life in Kuzguncuk that is constituted by solidarity, friendship and coherence determine the reference of the village. However, gossiping is, also, inseparable part of social life in Kuzguncuk. Even though Didem argued that after 'intellectuals' settled in gossiping had diminished (see Chapter 4) it is, still, important for social interaction and social life. In other words, besides friendship, collectivity and solidarity in daily social lives of residents, gossiping is an important aspect of village-ness of Kuzguncuk.

 Knowing and is known by neighbours are integral part of mahalle life and social life in the neighbourhood. Village reference is also defined by interviewees in relations to neighbouring practices in the neighbourhood. In fact, village-claim in Kuzguncuk can be summarized in Ali's words;

> We are all siblings in here... sisters and brothers. We value Kuzguncuk and we want to protect what we have in here. A mahalle without knowing each other or protecting each other is not a mahalle. In Istanbul, people do not know each other although they live in same buildings. If you have something urgent what you are going to do? You cannot go to your neighbour... It is sad. But Kuzguncuk, it is different. You can count on your neighbours for everything. We maintain the mahalle culture and we want to maintain it for our children too... Our guests come here to feel old Istanbul and take a breath from city life. With cafes, Kuzguncuk has become more popular and some people are not happy about it. But I get those people; I mean people come to Kuzguncuk in their spare times but in the past, it was a silent village. Now noises

of these cars are so annoying. They have to be more respectful, we are living in here we do not have to expose those noises. I do not know, I think I understand also those people who complain about these cars and crowd... Kuzguncuk cannot change easily as long as we protect it and I think we will no matter what. We love here and we love each other.

6.2. Culture in the Mahalle

As I was expecting to hear something called Kuzguncuk culture, my interviewees stated and emphasised what they have in Kuzguncuk is mahalle culture. Ali expressed mahalle culture in Kuzguncuk as;

> In Istanbul, you cannot find a place like Kuzguncuk anymore. They forgot how mahalle life was like. They forgot mahalle culture. Mahalle culture has not died in here or changed. We still maintain the mahalle culture, actually try to maintain. But no, I do not believe at all, mahalle culture has not lost but our guests changed. In the past, we knew who was coming to whom. We knew our guests but now we do not know. So how can we trust if we do not know them? Time has changed and Istanbul has changed

Mahalle culture, neighbourhood culture, refers to 'way of life' in every neighbourhood in Turkey. Mahalle culture has not any precise definition, but everybody knows when they see it. (Galster, p.2111, 2001) It does not indicate a particular place's culture; in contrast, it encloses every mahalle. Mahalle culture as a way of life means coherence, solidarity and collectivity in mahalle. It is a lifestyle of knowing neighbours and developing neighbourliness where one can identify with herself upon their mahalle. Mahalle culture not only refers a way of life but portrays the mahalle. In a mahalle with mahalle culture, local shops such as market, butcher or bakery are the ones where consumption is taken place not Malls. Streets are the playground of children of the mahalle whereas adults also socialise in the streets. It is a place of where everybody knows each other and helps each other in troubled times. In short, it is a place like Kuzguncuk.

Every interviewee that is mentioned in this thesis related village reference in Kuzguncuk with mahalle culture. Old residents, who live in Kuzguncuk more than 10 years, argues that Kuzguncuk has still mahalle culture in Istanbul because they did not forget their traditional values and more importantly they protect(ed) it. Newcomers, on the other hand, argue that their motivation and reason to settle in Kuzguncuk are for living in a neighbourhood with mahalle culture.

Kuzguncuk cultivates nostalgic images of the past neighbourhood life which are related to "good feelings". Kuzguncuk as a place where Istanbulites can enjoy, experience and consume mahalle culture, or a village-like neighbourhood with traditional values, give an identity to Kuzguncuk. The popularity and reputation that stem from this common and popular idea are city-wide. In this regard, living in Kuzguncuk creates differentiation, a different lifestyle in the city. Therefore, Kuzguncuk stands as "famously exceptional" (Mills, 2008) in contemporary Istanbul.

Kuzguncuk, however, is not an exceptional neighbourhood in Istanbul. Mahalle culture may/can be found in any other neighbourhood. Forgetting your wallet while shopping may not cause a problem in another grocery store in another neighbourhood unlike Yusuf's argument about social life in Kuzguncuk. Nevertheless, "Kuzguncuk remains famously exceptional, however, for retaining its 'typical' mahalle characteristics that continue to make it attractive to gentrifiers as well as local tourists and consumers of nostalgic print media about Istanbul." (Mills, 2008) Constituted image of Kuzguncuk via social media and mass media, (see Chapter 4) the representation of village life in the neighbourhood to 'outsiders', gentrification process and motivations of newcomers in relation to mahalle culture created the image of Kuzguncuk. This image of Kuzguncuk is a portrayal of long-lost mahalle culture in Istanbul.

Mahalle culture is not a neutral concept in contrast to common sense thinking. Like the concept of culture, power dynamics in the society is embedded in mahalle culture. However, nostalgic feelings towards mahalle culture shadow embedded

problems. Since mahalle culture is defined in relation to friendship, collective lifestyle and solidarity and also it is related with past times of Istanbul in comparison to the current situation of the city, mahalle culture turns something to demand and cry for in urban Istanbul.

6.3. Place Identity and 'Being One of Us'

Before I started to conduct my fieldwork one of my friends who grew up in a village warned me about possible obstacles in the entrance to the neighbourhood. He said that if they consider Kuzguncuk as a village I may have difficulties to find a person to talk with because in villages strangers are not always welcomed friendly. They will become suspicious about who was I am and I should bear this in my mind. Honestly, I thought that this will be a minor obstacle since Kuzguncuk people are friendly towards 'strangers' but it turned into a challenge for me. It was not easy to find informants and made interviews and it was not easy to ignore suspicious looks over me. As it mentioned before, I started to work in order to eliminate obstacles. However, my personal challenge gave me an idea of how acceptance works in the neighbourhood.

'We are all siblings in Kuzguncuk' statement has limits in terms of who belongs and who does not belong to Kuzguncuk. Place identity and being 'proper' for the neighbourhood are two criteria in Kuzguncuk for being within the symbolic borders of Kuzguncuk. As Elif stated,

> One cannot easily be Kuzguncuk. We do not sense feel newcomers as one of us. Actually, younger people mostly think this way, older ones are more understanding. Being born and grew up in here are important

Construction of self in spatial terms and with relation to place constructs place-identity. Place identity discussion has started at the end of 20th century and it is dealing with the place, identity and interpretations of it, in other words, meanings. Attachment of individuals to specific location stems from the value and meaning that

they give to that location. It is an important discussion because constructing self-identity, not just individual or social process but also it is related to the physical world that surrounds us. Being from a particular place is one of the components of self-identity and has a particular meaning in everyday life relations with others. Individuals transform space to place with interpretations and meanings and that leads to the construction of place-based identity. Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff defined place identity as;

> "It is a sub-structure of the self-identity of the person consisting of, broadly conceived, cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives. These cognitions represent memories, ideal feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behaviour and experience which relate to the variety and complexity of physical settings that define the day-to-day existence of every human being. At the core of such physical environment-related cognitions is the 'environmental past' of the person; a past consisting of places, spaces and their properties which have served instrumentally in the satisfaction of the person's biological, psychological, social, and cultural needs." (Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff, 1983, p. 59)

So, place-identity is a multidimensional process that involves emotional attachments, given values, memories and experience in the daily life. Attribution of meanings to the physical world around us becomes a part who we are and how we define ourselves. In short, a part of identity construction consists place that we live in. Mahalle provides "durable sense of local identity and cohesion. At least ever since the middle of the sixteenth century, and in the absence of accepted family surnames, many of the artisans and the ordinary folk of Istanbul were known or nicknamed as 'from such and such a district (semt) or mahalle.'"(Behar, p.4) As a matter of fact, in contemporary Istanbul mahalle identity is still valued.

The identity of Kuzguncuklu is important and is valued by residents. As it is mentioned above, one cannot be easily Kuzguncuklu. Elif deeply cares about who

should be considered as Kuzguncuklu and who should not. Being born and growing up is her first criterion to be considered as Kuzguncuklu. However, if one takes pains with Kuzguncuk and tries to protect it that individual can be Kuzguncuklu either. Especially, this aspect is related to people who settled Kuzguncuk after gentrification.

> Not everyone is accepted as Kuzguncuklu. [..] Those intellectuals can be considered as Kuzguncuklu. [After I asked why] Because they want to protect Kuzguncuk and they work on it. They try and do not spoil Kuzguncuk. So we accept them as one of us and Kuzguncuklu.

Ayşe who is the one of the old Kuzguncuklu believes that discussions about old and new Kuzguncuklu are redundant.

> People always say I'm old Kuzguncuk but you are new Kuzguncuklu. This is redundant. Some people are old Kuzguncuklu and lived here for many years but they do not do anything for Kuzguncuk. Yet, they degraded the new ones while the new Kuzguncuklu tries to make something good for Kuzguncuk. It does not matter how many years' people live in this neighbourhood. The important thing is how they treat well Kuzguncuk

Ayşe values not the years but the actions to 'protect' Kuzguncuk. Place-identity in Kuzguncuk not only a thing that an individual owns but also it is a tool for membership to Kuzguncuk. In other words, having Kuzguncuklu identity is more than place-identity that one relates itself. It is about being a member of the neighbourhood. My informants who settled in Kuzguncuk in later times, newcomers, did not define themselves as Kuzguncuklu. However, common phrases like "we", "us" or "they" are always used. Even though they did not perceive themselves as Kuzguncuklu – as an identity-, they feel like a member of Kuzguncuk. This issue is related to "being one of us" understanding. If a person can fit into the mahalle, that person becomes a member and a neighbour in Kuzguncuk.

The cafe that I worked in Kuzguncuk for this research is run by a woman with a headscarf. After I started to work in there I learnt that in general Kuzguncuk people do not love that cafe because since it is run by a woman with headscarf "they do not trust where their money will go". In other words, as Tomris explained to me;

In Kuzguncuk we do not love these kinds of places [associated with religion]. Because of who knows our money will go and whom it will help. I mean it can go to religious cults. There are three/four cafes in Kuzguncuk, we see their customers with a headscarf and religious beards. Kuzguncuk cannot accept those kinds of people but with these cafes, they can come to our neighbourhood

Being a villager in Kuzguncuk is determined firstly by prejudices. Leyla is in her mid-twenties. She does not live in Kuzguncuk however she works there and six days of a week she is in Kuzguncuk. She was one of my friends in the neighbourhood and helped me quite a lot during this research. Although I did not make 'official' interview with her, our daily conversations and her memories in the neighbourhood helped me to observe and informed about specific issues. When I heard about thoughts on headscarf and the cafe I worked in, I asked about her this issue and she told me her experience;

I went to X cafe firstly with my friend. [both of them do not wear headscarf] and owners of the cafe were very friendly to us. We talked all night, they sat with us on our table. It was really nice and we love there. Because I loved there so much I wanted to go with my mother. She wears a headscarf. When we went there, they did not even look at our face like I never talked and met with them. They were very hostile to us. But then I went there again with my friend. They were friendly again. I really do not understand sometimes these people. They do not know my mother and do not know how nice she is but just because she has headscarf they think that they have a right to being rude.

In order to be a member of the neighbourhood, one has to fit into Kuzguncuk. However, Kuzguncuklu identity can erase differences among members of mahalle. One of the Kuzguncuklu passed away and he was one of the beloved figures of the

neighbourhood. Although I did not know him, in that day everyone was talking about this lost and when I talked about him with Latife, who was born and grew up in, she said that;

> He was a right-wing supporter and nationalist person and he was a close friend of my husband even though my husband is a leftist person. In another place, they would hate each other but in here he was our brother and we loved him much

Place-identity and acceptance of the neighbourhood work in a complex way. Being born and grow up in Kuzguncuk is a crucial thing to be considered as Kuzguncuklu in the neighbourhood. However, if a person 'fits' into mahalle s/he can be considered as Kuzguncuklu either. Yet, even though one does not consider himself as Kuzguncuklu, that person can act as a member of Kuzguncuk and accepted by neighbours and once a person accepted as a neighbour their religious identity or political affiliations do not matter. They develop friendship among the neighbourhood.

The idea of "we are all siblings" is powerful, however who are those siblings are an issue that is negotiated. Being a villager in Kuzguncuk village, or being a proper neighbour to the mahalle, has its own boundaries and it is challenging who belongs to and not belongs to that village.

6.4. Mahalle Life vs. City Life

> When I go to Istanbul I am getting tired. There are so many people and so much traffic, noise. Everyone is angry and unhappy. Did you notice that? ... I cannot keep the pace of Istanbul. They ruined it actually. In the past Istanbul was a beautiful city now they built ugly buildings and they ruin its history. It is changed. In my youth, it was not like this. You never experience that Istanbul. I wish that it would remain the same. But ... But we are lucky. Kuzguncuk is not like Istanbul. Everything is so slow in here. We do not need to rush everything in this mahalle. We still have old values. In the city, people forgot these values. [What are those values?] Neighbourliness, respect and togetherness... In the city, people do not know each other in same

mahalle. They all forgot what the mahalle life was like. In the past, everything was different in Istanbul. But I am very happy for maintaining this life in Kuzguncuk.

Above statement of Şafak is a summary of how Istanbul is perceived in Kuzguncuk. Pace, sadness and not knowing neighbours common features that define Istanbul among Kuzguncuk people. Even though most of Kuzguncuk people never lived in another neighbourhood other than Kuzguncuk, the comparison is made through observation in Istanbul. In other words, the comparison between Kuzguncuk and Istanbul is made by within spent time in Istanbul. Halide, who is in her forties, was born and grew up in Kuzguncuk. She never lived in other neighbourhoods of Istanbul. However, since her workplace is outside the neighbourhood, she has to make daily visiting Istanbul. She shares similar ideas with Şafak about Istanbul and she said that;

> Being away from Ali Ağaoğlu is a very good reason to settle in Kuzguncuk. [She laughs] People come here and settle in Kuzguncuk in order to escape from city-life. They see that Kuzguncuk is silent and peaceful. They find things in here that they cannot find in another neighbourhood like neighbourliness, history and culture. You cannot find apartment-culture in Kuzguncuk. Yes, there are apartments but not apartment culture. Houses are beautiful and the neighbourhood is beautiful. Why wouldn't one move to Kuzguncuk?

Apartment-culture means living in a building without knowing your neighbours and living individualistic lifestyle. It is used as an opposite to mahalle culture. Besides pace of Istanbul, it is emphasised that in Kuzguncuk there is a collective lifestyle but in Istanbul it is individualistic.

Newcomers compare Kuzguncuk and Istanbul with experiences when they were living in other neighbourhoods. Differences between Kuzguncuk and Istanbul for them are the reasons they moved in Kuzguncuk. Yusuf's comparison is not only between Istanbul and Kuzguncuk but with his actual village in Ankara and

Kuzguncuk. Similarities between these two were the main reason he wanted to settle in Kuzguncuk.

> I grow up in a village in Ankara. Throughout my childhood, I was on the streets of my village. We, children of the village, were spent time mostly in the streets. In the nights I never remember I ate in my home. My friends' mothers were calling me and we ate together, or they were coming to us for dinner. When we got hungry, randomly, we were going to someone's house. I moved to Istanbul and I lived other districts first like Şişli, Kurtuluş. Then, I moved to Kuzguncuk and the reason that I moved here is I found a neighbourhood life just like my village. When I want to drink tea I can ask my neighbours and they give a cup of tea, for instance. Everybody knows each other and say hi. Kuzguncuk is not like other districts, the modern city has different features. But Kuzguncuk is like my village in Ankara and that's why I love here so much. [..] This neighbourhood is safe. I travel a lot because of my job but I do not worry about my wife when I went on business trips because I know she is safe in here.

In Kuzguncuk, there is no police station because of low crime rates. Yusuf told me, very proudly and happily, once a police station was built in Kuzguncuk but due to low-crime rates, it is closed. Then he stated that Kuzguncuk is 'that safe'. Ayşe disagrees about this issue;

> They keep telling and start to believe what they say after a while. We are not happy about police-station that is closed. There are so many strangers in the neighbourhood and I think it will much safer if we have a police station in the neighbourhood.

The image of Istanbul in the eyes of Kuzguncuk people are based on certain themes: unsafe, crowd, noises, not knowing each other. As a matter of fact, Istanbul is narrated as opposite to Kuzguncuk. The narrative of the city life and Istanbul is similar to gated-community narratives in the city. Gated communities are defined as "walled or fenced housing development[s] to which public access is restricted (…), and usually characterised by legal agreements (tenancy or leasehold) which tie the residents to a common code of conduct." (Blandy et al., p. 2, 2003 cited in Yip,

p.223, 2012) After 1980s Istanbul started to become the commercial centre of Turkey when political economic structures had changed, i.e. neoliberal policies adopted. The increase in population and development of commercial zones in the city led to the development of gated communities in Istanbul.

Baycan-Levent and Gülümser identify four types of gated communities in Istanbul. Gated towers are the first typology of gated communities in Istanbul that developed with commercial zones in European shore of Istanbul. Security, prestige and benefits of these towers are the reasons that high-income group decided to settle in. The second type is gated villa towns in the periphery, mostly on the northern side of Istanbul. Those villa towns provide same facilities like gated towers to the high-income group. Again security, prestige and benefits are the main reasons that people move there. Third and fourth typologies of gated communities are gated apartment blocks and mixed-settlement areas in the periphery. In these typologies, gated communities are mixed in terms of income group. Unlike first two gated communities, in those settlements areas, middle-income groups have become targeted customers. However, security, prestige and benefits are, still, main reasons to settle in gated communities. (Baycan-Levent & Gülümser, 2007)

These four types of gated communities can be observed in all over Istanbul. According to a research of Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu (2009), main reasons to move in gated communities both for the high-income group and the middle-income group is the security. Geniş' research in Kemer County (high-income group gated community) shows that residents of Kemer County defined Istanbul as "alienating, chaotic, crowded and polluted with an unpleasant socio-cultural heterogeneity and lacking infrastructure" (Geniş, 2007, p.773).

Kuzguncuk is not a gated community. It has no walls that separate inside and outside or has no security personnel in the entrance; however, safety and security compared to Istanbul are significant themes and motivations of loving and moving to Kuzguncuk. Moreover, the narratives of mahalle life and urban life (apartment

culture) differentiate Kuzguncuk and Istanbul. These narratives are 'othering' Istanbul and my interviewees stated that "they are not like the city". We are not like the city idea forms the boundaries of Kuzguncuk and defines the inside and outside of Kuzguncuk. In other words, even though Kuzguncuk is not a gated community, it has invisible walls and territories are built through narratives.

Territorial understanding of the world and culture was the basic premise of social anthropology for a long time. However, globalisation debates force to re-conceptualisation of concepts in social anthropology. (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997; Malkki, 1992; Appadurai, 1996) Anthropologists used to study distant societies with distinct cultures and peoples; however in a world where peoples, cultures, technologies and ideas are in the constant flow (Appadurai, 1996) "distant local" lives right beside anthropologists. Challenges with territorial understanding do not mean that there is no territory at all or territories are insignificant in global times. In contrast, re-conceptualization of territories and borders enables to trace re-territorialisation, identity formations and new conceptions of place in the global times. In this regard, now meanings of territories, identities and places are multiple and in contrast to sedentary understanding and there is no one point of origin for identity and place-formation. (Malkki, 1992)

Scholars, however, generally approach borders and territories at the nation-state level. Nation-states, transnational corporations or migration flows that distort territoriality are general topics in the literature. Nonetheless, as Agnew argues every socially constructed space is a place or territory. (Agnew, 2015) The practice of territoriality can be on a lower scale such as "gated communities or green belts inside cities" (Paasi, 2009) Paasi argues that "borders should not be seen solely as phenomena located at the edges of territories but rather 'all over' territories, innumerable societal practices and discourses." (Ibid)

> "We are all cognizant of the fact that borders create (or reflect) difference and
> constitute the separation line not only between states and geographical spaces,

but also between the 'us and 'them', the 'here and 'there, and the 'insiders and 'outsiders'. Borders retain their essential sense of sharp dislocation and separation, a sharp cut-off point between two polarities." (Newman, 2006)

Territories are everywhere. Territoriality and borders embedded in daily life and relations between people. ''The construction of boundaries at all scales and dimensions takes place through narrativity'' (Newman and Passi, p.195 cited in Islam and Karaman). That is to say, boundary formation and territories are in the everyday life of individuals and they are effective even in micro scale, i.e. boundaries and territories do not necessarily relate with nation-states. These boundaries are reflected through narratives and they define who is an insider and who is an outsider. Exclusion and inclusion are at stake and so power relations. "Boundaries are the point where group similarities end and differences begin." (Southerton, p.173, 2002)

Territories of Kuzguncuk that are built through narratives show itself not only in the narratives about Istanbul but also how Kuzguncuk people appropriate public spaces of Kuzguncuk. The distinction between public space and private space is a thin line in Kuzguncuk. Public spaces of Kuzguncuk are considered as "theirs"; i.e. private property of residents of the mahalle. One peculiar practice of this is that outsiders, people who come to Kuzguncuk as visitors, called as guests. Guest means a person who comes to visit an individual's own house or any private property. Naming outsiders as guests imply home-ownership of Kuzguncuk people and it implies neighbourhood is 'theirs'. 'Guests' narrative is brought up in several discussions. However, it is mostly come up in discussions about changes in Kuzguncuk. The tendency is to think mahalle did not change but guests are more crowded than ever and guests have changed. Şafak when he talked about daily visitors always used 'guest' phrase and he was complaining about cars and crowd.

Our guests' cars are occupying streets and sidewalks. They do not think if they are blocking someone or not and sometimes they are rude. Our mahalle is now crowded, we do not say so much but I wish they be more careful and respectful.

Kuzguncuk gets attention and becomes a destination for leisure times in Istanbul. Every weekend, Istanbulites come to the neighbourhood for wandering or for cafes. In other words, 'guests' are always coming to Kuzguncuk. This creates disturbance in the neighbourhood and as Şafak said common sense in Kuzguncuk is that 'guests' should be more respectful since they come to their neighbourhood.

In most of the houses, especially in the historical ones, there is a warning about if a picture of their houses is taken without permission there will be a legal procedure. Yusuf argued that;

Of course, no one sues or takes a legal action but it is so annoying. There is always someone at your door or window taking photos. What if I want to sit naked in my home or walk around in my towel? They never think about this kind of stuff

Neighbouring is reciprocal visiting between members of households and it is something common in mahalle life. Neighbouring practices constitute social ties and collectivity. Performing neighbouring practices is crucial in order to be a member of mahalle and develop a relationship with other residents. Mills defined neighbouring practices in Kuzguncuk as opening home spaces to neighbours. (Mills, 2007, p.336) However, in Kuzguncuk neighbouring practices are not limited to home spaces. Streets and Kuzguncuk as a whole are spaces for neighbouring in the daily life of Kuzguncuk. Especially, after cafes have opened and since mostly run by residents, neighbouring practices are extended to the streets. Socialization in the streets and putting a table and chair in front of houses are common practices in Kuzguncuk. 'Stopping by' to neighbours when wandering or going somewhere and chit-chatting constitute general social practices. In other words, as De Certeau puts it in Kuzguncuk neighbourhood and neighbouring practices are "progressive privatization of public spaces". (p.11, 1998)

Neighbouring practices and usage of the streets are not just in narratives. Icadiye Street can be blocked to traffic in order to Kuzguncuk people use it for their will. For instance, to celebrate Republic Day (29th October) dancer boys (köçek) were invited to the neighbourhood. They danced all day in Icadiye Street with blocking Icadiye Street. Of course, not only köçeks but residents also danced in the streets that day. In 23th of April, students of Kuzguncuk Elementary School march with marching band in Icadiye Street and celebrate the holiday. Residents, also, attend this celebration on that day. After marching ends in Icadiye Street, in Bostan celebration continues.

Another example which I found quite interesting and impressive is a funeral. It was a sunny Saturday and for Kuzguncuk sunny Saturdays mean 'guests' will come with great number and cafes will be full of customers. On a day like this, a beloved figure of Kuzguncuk passed away. As soon as I went to the neighbourhood, I heard people talk about this loss. In the midday, when Icadiye Street had full of people, funeral brought to the neighbourhood. His friends wanted to take helallik (good wishes to a dead person) from his neighbours. The cortege was very crowded and they march in the Icadiye Street behind the funeral. I remember the faces of 'guests' mixed with shock and sadness. However, Kuzguncuk people did not care and despite the fact that Kuzguncuk was crowded they continued to do their funeral and sent their respects to their friend.

That funeral resonates through my research since I was puzzling throughout the research to understand why Kuzguncuk is a village. That funeral and usage of Icadiye Street despite the crowd indicated that Kuzguncuk people, still, want to maintain and hold onto village-ness of Kuzguncuk. One way to this is an appropriation to public spaces of Kuzguncuk. That is to say, Kuzguncuk people own every part of the neighbourhood not just their private properties.

The comparison between Kuzguncuk and Istanbul in terms of mahalle life and city life is an important aspect of village reference in Kuzguncuk. Differences between the city and the mahalle built territories of Kuzguncuk through narratives. The

perceptions of my interviewees of Istanbul and Kuzguncuk are not only similar to gated-community studies but also reveal how they perceive Kuzguncuk's public spaces as 'their' private spaces. The 'guests' narratives and usage of public streets for their own purposes are reflections of this perception. By 'othering' Istanbul, Kuzguncuk people differentiate themselves and their mahalle as a village in the Istanbul.

6.5. Conclusion

Kuzguncuk is not a village anymore. It has become an urban neighbourhood due to the expansion of Istanbul's districts and development of transportation facilities. As a matter of fact, Kuzguncuk is very central neighbourhood which is located near to one of the centres of Istanbul, Üsküdar Square. However, *'it is still like a village'*. The narratives of the mahalle demonstrate why and how Kuzguncuk is likened to a village by the residents of Kuzguncuk.

A traditional neighbourhood, the mahalle, is a place for solidarity, collectivity and friendship. In the mahalle, neighbouring practices define social life and those practices are 'a must' in order to be a member of the mahalle. The narratives of the mahalle are evolved around the neighbouring practices, identity, culture and overall collective lifestyle in the neighbourhood in Kuzguncuk. However, these narratives are not only based on local dynamics in the neighbourhood, but also the perception of the city as a place for individualistic lifestyle is included in the narratives. The differentiation of Kuzguncuk from Istanbul on the basis of daily lifestyles strengthens village reference. The narratives of the mahalle, in this sense, not only differentiate urban neighbourhood and the mahalle but also provide a linkage between mahalle and village. As the narratives of the residents reveal Kuzguncuk is a *real mahalle* in Istanbul and therefore *it is like a village*.

The narratives of the mahalle create the identity of Kuzguncuk as a village because the mahalle and the village are associated with each other in terms of collectivity in the neighbourhood. Being an actual village provides a basis for village reference; however, the narratives of the mahalle provide a basis for the reproduction of the idea of the village in Kuzguncuk.

Chapter 7

VILLAGIFICATION

Re-Gentrification in the Gentrified Neighbourhood

In the previous chapters, two powerful narratives that shape Kuzguncuk landscape, the narratives of multicultural past and the narratives of the mahalle are discussed in relation to place-making process and village reference. Firstly, village reference is about the history of Kuzguncuk. As an actual village of non-Muslim communities (Greeks, Jews, and Armenians) in the past is the basis of village reference. The narrative of mutual respect of three religions is a powerful narrative that increases place-attachment of residents and also connects the history of Kuzguncuk to its present. Secondly, the narrative of the mahalle as a place for collectivity and solidarity relates Kuzguncuk as a village. The mahalle, a traditional neighbourhood, is based on a collective lifestyle in the neighbourhoods in social memory of Istanbulites. In this respect, mahalle life and village life are likened by residents that leads to village reference become a medium for place-making through identifying Kuzguncuk as the mahalle in the neighbourhood. Also, the comparison between Istanbul and Kuzguncuk, the differences between city-life as an individualistic lifestyle and mahalle-life as a community-based lifestyle lead to the construction of the narrative mahalle.

This present chapter aims to connect the narratives and place-making in Kuzguncuk to the debates of the re-gentrification process in the neighbourhood. In order to create this connection, firstly the changes in the meaning of the 'village' will be discussed and secondly, the city aspect of village reference will be discussed. These two sub-sections aim to contextualise the village reference in Kuzguncuk in order to discuss re-gentrification. Thirdly, re-gentrification in Kuzguncuk will be discussed.

7.1. The 'Village': Shifted Meanings

Villages are small-clustered of groups or communities that located on the rural side of the cities. Villages can be different from each other in terms of kinship relations, religions (e.g. Alevi villages) or economic activities. However, having a smaller population than cities and being located on the rural side is the common aspects of villages. In Kuzguncuk, village reference has mutated over time.

Firstly, Kuzguncuk was an actual village of Greeks, Jews and Armenians in Ottoman Empire Era because of the location. It was far away from the city-centre (now Historical Peninsula) and was a Bosporus village like other villages. Kuzguncuk remained its village character until Istanbul expanded and transportation facilities connect Kuzguncuk to Istanbul. From the 1950s, Kuzguncuk turned into an urban neighbourhood.

Secondly, the village had negative connotations due to internal migration. Istanbul was the destination of internal migrants who were seeking jobs in the 1950s. Rural migrants who settled in Istanbul created a tension in the city. Increase in squatter settlements because of lack of housing stock in the city in those times changed the urban structure. However, differences in the city and the village life were the main tension. Istanbulites expected to rural migrants integrate themselves to urban life and act as urbanites. In other words, rural migrants had to outdistance their rural life. In Kuzguncuk, even though Kuzguncuk was a village, this tension was reflected in the narratives. Social change in Istanbul was experienced in Kuzguncuk as well. Old residents sometimes complained about newcomers such as Viki Abla's complains

about staring eyes or Mehmet Ünver's portrayal of 1960s Kuzguncuk. So, a village in the 1950s and 1960s not only refer to residential units but also refer to a lifestyle.

Finally, the village becomes a place with positive connotations in Kuzguncuk. After the mid-2000s, Istanbul had started to change in terms of the urban structure that gated-communities and urban regeneration programmes of the state changed neighbourhoods. The perception of the city-life has shifted into an individualistic lifestyle that eroded the characteristic of mahalle life in Istanbul. The present usage of the village reference is associated with positive connotations and it refers to mahalle life in Kuzguncuk. Mahalle life contains solidarity, collectivity and neighbouring practices in the neighbourhood and it associated with village life. This shift in the meaning is an outcome of differentiation of Kuzguncuk from Istanbul, i.e. mahalle life and city life differentiation. That is to say, as a result of the changes in the city, the residents of Kuzguncuk changed the meaning of the village reference in Kuzguncuk and created the meaning of the village as positive and nostalgia-driven social life in the mahalle.

Kuzguncuk has a long journey from being an actual village of non-Muslim communities in Ottoman Empire to being a 'village' of mixed social groups (descendants of internal migrants and newcomers) in Istanbul.

7.2. A Village *in the City*

The meaning of the village has mutated over time. Nevertheless, Kuzguncuk is a village in the city. 'The city' aspect is important to understand the context of village reference. Firstly, the village reference in Kuzguncuk is in the urban context not the rural, i.e. it is 'urbanized' village. Kuzguncuk, apart from the social life in the neighbourhood, has nothing similar to an actual village. Economic activities, urban fabric or kinship relations are on the basis of urban lifestyle. Even the distance of Kuzguncuk to the city-centres indicates the centrality of Kuzguncuk in Istanbul. Taking advantages of urban opportunities (schools, hospital, leisure activities etc.) is another aspect. In other words, Kuzguncuk is an urban neighbourhood in a

metropolitan city Istanbul. The residents are, of course, aware of the fact that they live an urban life. However, the meaning of the village is decontextualised in the neighbourhood. As it is stated above, positive connotations of the village life that is based on social life created the image of 'a village in the city'.

Secondly, 'the city' aspect indicates Istanbul. Kuzguncuk is a neighbourhood of Istanbul and as Istanbul changed, Kuzguncuk has changed. Thinking the village reference apart from Istanbul is misleading. Urban restructuring in Istanbul shaped/is shaping village reference in Kuzguncuk. Urbanism in Istanbul has its own characteristic. On the one hand, "the dominant approach to urban development in the institutions of urban governance and the accompanying official rhetoric shows similarities with most cities around the planet." (Lovering & Türkmen, 2011, p.74-75) Nevertheless, "the ethical rationale for these developments and the patently undemocratic style of urban governance through which they are being encouraged are in terms of an ostensibly Islamic approach to government and political culture." (Ibid) Since 1980's neoliberal policies were implemented in urban restructuring in Istanbul and making it a 'global city' had always a top priority. AKP government merged this priority with their political agenda. The close relationship between commercial construction companies and state apparatus transformed landscapes of Istanbul in the line of AKP government's vision of Istanbul. In other words, construction sector and state-led urban transformation policies are, together, with the same logic, transforming Istanbul. In other words, Istanbul is under construction. It has been like this for a long time and it will continue like this for a long time.

Kuzguncuk gets its 'distinctiveness' through this context. As a consequence of urban re-structuring by driven forces of capitalist urbanism and AKP government, Istanbul is reshaped regardless of the needs of the inhabitants. Among the various problems in the city-life, the loss of mahalle life is one of the popular discourses in Istanbul. As it is discussed before, the mahalle still lingers strongly in Istanbulites' social memory because the mahalle life was intrinsic to every neighbourhood in Istanbul not just to Kuzguncuk. However, the buildings have changed and people mobilized within the

city. Kuzguncuk is one of the luckiest neighbourhoods in Istanbul because it is protected by the law. The Bosporus Law prohibited the construction in Bosporus neighbourhoods. This law enabled the protection of historical wooden houses and Kuzguncuk has become a 'saved zone' in Istanbul where people can enjoy good-old Istanbul.

Kuzguncuk is considered as a village by its residents and the village reference is reproduced in great extent in the neighbourhood and in the city. However, it is important to think village reference in relation to Istanbul. Kuzguncuk is not a static place or a distant neighbourhood in Istanbul; in contrast, the local dynamics are shaped also by the 'external' forces. In other words, like Istanbul, Kuzguncuk is a dynamic neighbourhood which is shaped by not only by local context but also by wider contexts. In this sense, the city aspect of the village reference shows the interrelation between Kuzguncuk and Istanbul and how the image of 'village', i.e. the distinctive characteristic of Kuzguncuk, has shaped within the changes in broader context.

7.3. Re-Gentrification in Kuzguncuk

As it is mentioned before, Kuzguncuk is gentrified in the 1980s by Cengiz Bektaş. In this gentrification process, the similar patterns that are discussed in the literature are observed. Bektaş renovated houses, his 'followers' settled in the neighbourhood and the rent-prices have increased. The first gentrification process increased the popularity of Kuzguncuk and 'intellectuals' moved in the neighbourhood. Since then, pre-gentrification population and newcomers live side by side.

In the mid-2000s, Kuzguncuk has started to change. The cafes play a significant role in this change that they are the 'pioneers' of this change. The cafes are "not only provide spaces of consumption for residents and visitors to develop a lifestyle, but also provide visible opportunities for neighbourhoods to develop a new place identity." (Zukin, 2011, p.163) In this sense, Kuzguncuk has become a place for consumption and leisure for local tourists and residents. In this way, Kuzguncuk's

visibility and popularity have increased more than ever which enables Istanbulites to consume Kuzguncuk.

While the cafes provide opportunities for development of place identity (Zukin, 2011), the place-making process with the narratives of village plays a significant role in this change too. The increase in the visibility of Kuzguncuk means the reproduction of the narratives of the village in the city. This leads to the reproduction of the identity of Kuzguncuk as a village in the city. Not just the cafes, but also the various tools are used for reproduction of the village idea. For instances, the usage of social media and print media (Chapter 4) by the residents of Kuzguncuk causes the representation of Kuzguncuk to reaches out the numerous people in Istanbul. In this sense, not only the cafes but the residents' place-making process through village reference and expressions of their relationship with their neighbourhood by the media tools represent Kuzguncuk to the 'outside' world.

The main 'actor' in changes of Kuzguncuk is the residents of Kuzguncuk both who use the media tools to express their feelings towards the neighbourhood and the cafe owners. The cafes and the media provide a ground to the reproduction of village reference in its positive connotations and they reflect the village reference in the neighbourhood to the city. Re-gentrification of already gentrified neighbourhoods (Lees, 2003) opens up a new debate. The gentrified neighbourhoods, also, change over time and as this thesis argues Kuzguncuk is in the process of re-gentrification. Re-gentrification in Kuzguncuk is the villageification of the neighbourhood. Villageification, in this context, is not the creation of an actual village with its economic or kinship relations. It is the creation of in the line of the abovementioned meaning of 'a village in the city'. In other words, it is the creation of *the replica* of the village in the urban settings.

The replica of the village in the urban settings of Istanbul has become a popular and demanded way of life in the city. In other words, villageification of Kuzguncuk created an alternative place for Istanbulites to enjoy good-old Istanbul not just in

terms of urban fabric and boutique cafes but also mahalle life, i.e. 'village' life. Cultural dimensions, in this sense, play a role in the re-gentrification process of Kuzguncuk; however, they are just the pretty face of the gentrification process. In the first wave of gentrification in Kuzguncuk, the rent-gap (Smith, 1979) was wide enough to make a profit out the properties in the neighbourhood. As a result of this, the properties in Kuzguncuk had become an investment tool. In this second wave of gentrification, Kuzguncuk has become an investment zone by the increase in the property values and the cafes. To put it differently, in the first wave, the declining houses were the main tools for investments and making a profit. However, in the re-gentrification process, the property owners take advantage of the changes either through the increasing the rent-prices or through changing their properties to the cafes.

The changes in Kuzguncuk not only created the identity of Kuzguncuk as a village but also upsurge the economic barriers in the neighbourhood. As it is stated above, the property values have increased after the changes (the properties are sold to one million U.S. Dollars/Turkish Liras in the neighbourhood) and affordable housing stocks are declined in the neighbourhood that the new newcomers should be higher income groups than the old 'gentrifiers'. I do not have enough information about the income groups of the new gentrifiers; however, because of the abovementioned reasons, the assumption is that the profile of the newcomers will be higher income groups if the property owners do not stop taking advantage of the changes.

To conclude this section, Kuzguncuk has undergone the re-gentrification process. The cafes opened a new phase in Kuzguncuk and the residents play an active role in this process. Place-making through village reference and the narratives of the residents of Kuzguncuk created a replica of the village in Istanbul. This replica has become popular and demanded alternative in Istanbul. However, the economic interests of the residents shape a re-gentrification process that Kuzguncuk, again, became an investment zone in terms of cafes and the property values. In this sense,

the driven forces of making a profit out of the properties shape and steer the re-gentrification.

7.4. Conclusion

The village reference has a long journey in Kuzguncuk. Being an actual village of non-Muslim communities and being a 'village' in the city as the replica of mixed social groups is the beginning and the end of the village reference. The narratives of the village gave the new meaning to village reference. It is based on social practices and knowing the neighbours, i.e. all the positive aspects of community-based life.

The village reference, on the other hand, is reproduced and used in the urban setting. This has two implications; firstly, it implies urban lifestyle in an urban neighbourhood. The village is decontextualised and applied to the urban. Secondly, and more importantly, it implies Istanbul. On-going (never-ending) urban re-structuring in Istanbul has consequences and the loss of mahalle is believed that one of those. While in the past every neighbourhood was like Kuzguncuk, now Kuzguncuk has become a 'rare' neighbourhood. Kuzguncuk's distinctiveness, in this sense, is produced and shaped by Istanbul's urban landscape (even though a neighbourhood like Kuzguncuk can be found in Istanbul).

Kuzguncuk is gentrified in the 1980s by Cengiz Bektaş. The renovation of declining houses and the followers of Bektaş gentrified the neighbourhood. After gentrification, Kuzguncuk's population was mixed in terms of old residents and gentrifiers. Almost twenty years later, the cafe trend has begun and it is, still, going-on in the neighbourhood. The inhabitants took the advantage of the cafes and started to open their cafes in Kuzguncuk. In other words, the cafes created job opportunities. Yet, those cafes had to sell their products in order to earn money and the cafe-owners had to sell their neighbourhoods to attract new customers. As the cafes increased in number, Kuzguncuk's visibility and popularity increased evenly. So, the village reference got its audiences outside the Kuzguncuk. A neighbourhood with historical

buildings and with the values of long-gone mahalle life and with social and cultural facilities is a jackpot in Istanbul.

Kuzguncuk has undergone re-gentrification and it is villageification. The village reference is used and reproduced both by the cafe-owners for economic interests and also by the ones who do not like to have cafes in the neighbourhood. The support and the discomfort both come to the same thing, i.e. villageification of Kuzguncuk. The increase in rent-prices was an expected consequence. The property owners increased and even doubled, rent prices after the cafes (such as property owner of the cafe I worked).

The urban system in global level changes over time by capital flows or migration flows. The cities are shaped by new changes and under the pressure of integration to the world-system. Gentrification debate, also, changed as well as urban discussions. New terms and conceptualisations are introduced in order to understand different regions and different patterns. Urban restructuring in Istanbul not only created new neighbourhoods but also affected the old neighbourhoods in different degrees. Kuzguncuk is a gentrified neighbourhood that has undergone re-gentrification in the line of the place-making process of the residents. Using the village reference as a medium for place-making not only developed the sense of place of the residents but also it created the identity of Kuzguncuk as a village. However, the meaning of the village is situated on urban setting and shaped by urbanism dynamics in Istanbul. In this sense, villageification is the re-gentrification in Kuzguncuk and it is the creation of the replica of the village in Istanbul.

The place-making process of the residents of Kuzguncuk illuminates re-gentrification process in terms of the creation of the special identity of Kuzguncuk. Through cafes and the media tools, the place-making and the narratives of Kuzguncuk are reproduced and reflected in the city. This created a demand for Kuzguncuk, living in a neighbourhood like a village; however, the property owners look for economic interest that shape re-gentrification process in Kuzguncuk. Once again, Kuzguncuk

as a consequence of gentrification has become an investment zone and profitable neighbourhood.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

Üsküdar is one of the biggest (both in size and population) districts in Istanbul. It is located on Asian Shore of Istanbul and due to transportation facilities that connect different neighbourhoods, Üsküdar Square is very central and important square in Istanbul. Kuzguncuk is a neighbourhood of Üsküdar and it is very close to Üsküdar Square. In other words, Kuzguncuk is a very central neighbourhood. Kuzguncuk located in near Bosporus and nestled in a valley. Reputation and popularity of Kuzguncuk stem from mahalle life in the neighbourhood in city-wide and Kuzguncuk people claim Kuzguncuk is a village.

Kuzguncuk is a gentrified neighbourhood. In 1980s Cengiz Bektaş started gentrification process and his followers settled in the neighbourhood. However, old residents and 'gentrifiers' lived side by side. In the mid-2000s, Kuzguncuk has started change, again. The cafe trend has begun by one of the residents who opened a cafe on her property. From then on, the cafes opened side by side in Icadiye Street that more than forty cafes now are in the business.

In this thesis, I aimed to analyse why and how Kuzguncuk is considered as a village. Three set of questions were prepared in order to analyse village reference and its relations with other dimensions. The first set of questions was about the narratives of

the village. How and in what terms the village is narrated in the neighbourhood and what is left unsaid was questioned. The second set of questions focused on the relationship between place-making process and the village reference. These questions aimed to understand the role of the narratives of the village in the place-making. The final set of questions focused on the relationship between gentrification and place-making process. The aim was to analyse the recent changes in Kuzguncuk and the linkages between those changes and place-making. Overall, this thesis aimed to analyse the narratives of village, place-making and gentrification process in Kuzguncuk.

I drew my data from semi-structured interviews in the first place. After two months in the field, I decided to work in a cafe in Kuzguncuk. Working in there developed my relationship with Kuzguncuk people and provide more 'inside' information about Kuzguncuk. After I started to work I did not conduct 'official' interviews; however, through casual conversations, I could collect data. Ethnographic fieldwork, briefly, lasted six months from July 2016 to December 2016.

Two powerful narratives in Kuzguncuk are intrinsic to village reference. One of them is the narrative of mutual respect of three different religions. Kuzguncuk was an actual village of non-Muslim communities in Ottoman Empire. Turkification process, Wealth Tax and 55 Events, in other words, major socio-political events, caused to the emigration of non-Muslim communities from the Republic of Turkey. The current population of Kuzguncuk is the descendants of internal migrants who settled in empty houses of non-Muslim communities. However, in Kuzguncuk the multicultural past of Kuzguncuk is embraced and shared by the inhabitants. Being an actual village and reference to multicultural past of Kuzguncuk constitute one part of the village reference in Kuzguncuk. Through the history of Kuzguncuk, the inhabitants create the image of Kuzguncuk and connect themselves to the past. In other words, through the usage of village reference with the narrative of mutual respect, the residents develop sense of place and place-attachment. So, the history and the narratives connect the inhabitants to their place.

The other powerful narrative is the mahalle in Kuzguncuk. These narratives refer to everyday life in the neighbourhood; in other words, how and why Kuzguncuk is the mahalle but not the urban neighbourhood. The narratives of mahalle have several dimensions. One of them is 'knowing one's neighbours and is known by neighbours'. Neighbouring practices build social ties and friendship among residents. Solidarity and collective lifestyle in the neighbourhood were two themes that emphasised throughout the research. These aspects, of course, are related to neighbouring practices. The other is the culture in the mahalle. Kuzguncuk is considered as 'exceptional' due to mahalle culture and both newcomers and old residents embrace protection of mahalle culture in the neighbourhood. Also, Kuzguncuklu identity and being a proper neighbour in the neighbourhood are crucial dimensions of the narrative of the mahalle.

The comparison between Kuzguncuk and Istanbul due to differences in lifestyles is narrated in the narratives of the mahalle. People who born and grow up in Kuzguncuk compare these two by observation and daily experiences in Istanbul. Newcomers, on the other hand, compare their experiences in other neighbourhoods when they lived there. Safety, social life and culture are the themes that brought up from data. The appropriation of public space was also important for Kuzguncuk people. Not only private properties, home spaces, but also public spaces of Kuzguncuk are considered as 'theirs.' Local tourists, customers of cafes or anyone who visits neighbourhood is called as 'our guests'. Calling them guests implies that Kuzguncuk people are the homeowner and others are just guests. Also, the usage of streets gives information on how the residents own the public spaces of Kuzguncuk. Celebrating special events or the practices of funerals took place in the streets of Kuzguncuk regardless how crowd Kuzguncuk is in that moment.

The narratives of multicultural past and the narratives of the mahalle constitute village reference in Kuzguncuk. The first one provides a 'legitimate' base to claim that Kuzguncuk is a village. The latter, on the other hand, provides a ground for reproduction of this village-claim by indicating the differences between mahalle life

and city life, and also by drawing territories of Kuzguncuk. These two narratives of 'village' shape Kuzguncuk's landscape and identity.

All in all, the narratives are powerful tools to create/re-create the history and the present. Especially, shared narratives by a group create shared values, identity or commonalities. Place narratives, also, create shared history, values and in general the image of the place. They are based on individual memory and local history and "are not evidence of historical fact but are by nature subjective and partial because they are told from memory." (Mills, 2008, p.385) Subjectivity and memory are two significant aspects of place-narratives that shape the content of the narratives. In other words, place narratives are shaped by the questions of who told and how it is told.

The narratives of multicultural past of Kuzguncuk and the narratives of the mahalle on the basis of *'Kuzguncuk was an actual village'* and *'it is still like a village'* changed the meanings of the village over time. In a way, the residents of Kuzguncuk use the past of the neighbourhood to create a foundation for claiming Kuzguncuk is a village and they "use the past as a resource for collective identity, providing justification for land appropriation, practices, and beliefs." (Schely-Newman, 1997, p.402) On the other hand, the narratives of the mahalle reflect the present social life in the neighbourhood. The mahalle life is 'nostalgic' image of the past social life of every neighbourhood in Istanbul. It is nostalgic because common sense idea is that mahalle has a long-gone lifestyle in the city. Kuzguncuk cultivates this nostalgia that has a significant place in the social memory of Istanbulites.

The place-making process of the residents of Kuzguncuk through the village reference and the narratives created the replica of a village in the city. The cafes and media tools provide a ground for reproduction of this replica in the city. In other words, Kuzguncuk is re-created by the place-making process of the residents of Kuzguncuk and the various tools reflect this re-creation to the outside world.

Gentrification is widely discussed topic in the variety of the disciplines. The scholars held different positions in order to explain gentrification process. Some scholars explained gentrification within the perspectives of production-side, i.e. economic forces and the others explained it by the taste of middle-class and movement of this class. However, some scholars tried to combine both economic and cultural forces to explain gentrification process. In this research, gentrification is approached as a movement of the capital that gentrified neighbourhoods are used as an investment and making a profit. Cultural dimensions are, of course, important in order to understand gentrification; yet, economic forces are the main cause of gentrification in Istanbul.

After the 1980s, gentrification has mutated because 'old' explanations are inadequate to explain gentrification process in the new urban settings. Although new debates on gentrification broaden the discussions, the causes are still explained in the line of 'old' debates. In this research, re-gentrification of an already gentrified neighbourhood was the basis of the arguments because as this thesis argues Kuzguncuk, an already gentrified neighbourhood, has undergone a re-gentrification process. However, Kuzguncuk case shows that place-making process of the residents affects re-gentrification in the neighbourhood in great extent. Because, how they get into a relationship with their neighbourhood created an identity of Kuzguncuk. The cafes and the media tools provide a ground to represent their place-making. So, their place-making process turned to the representation of Kuzguncuk.

The popularity and reputation of Kuzguncuk increase day by day and this changes Kuzguncuk. However, the property owners took advantage of the changes by making a profit out of their properties. It leads to increase in the rent-prices that economic barriers have become hard to exceed. In this sense, Kuzguncuk can only be a destination for higher income groups because affordable housing stocks are declined in the neighbourhood. So, Kuzguncuk has become an investment zone once again. The investments and profit-making are not the same as the first gentrification process

(renovation of declining houses) but the new ways of profit-making are realized through properties and the cafes.

To conclude, this thesis aimed to discuss village reference in Kuzguncuk with the analysis of the narratives. The analysis of the data showed that there is a link between place-making and gentrification process in Kuzguncuk. The residents and their relationship with the place can be active actors that shape gentrification process. Kuzguncuk is a good example to analyse and observe this relationship. In other words, the residents of Kuzguncuk re-create the Kuzguncuk as *a replica of the village in the city*. This re-creation is an outcome of the place-making process that is evolved along the narratives of the mahalle life, i.e. cultural dynamics in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, the ones who took advantages of this re-creation in terms of profit are, again, the residents of Kuzguncuk. In Kuzguncuk case, both economic and cultural dynamics in the neighbourhood are shaped by the residents of Kuzguncuk. In this sense, re-gentrification does not necessarily cause by 'an outsider' but the residents can shape re-gentrification process in a neighbourhood.

The mutation of gentrification over time enabled to discuss the variety of patterns in the gentrification process in the variety of regions. The ways of place-making can illuminate the re-gentrification process in an already gentrified neighbourhood. In other words, the ways of place-making can be an active 'actor' and play a significant role in the gentrification process. The relationship of these two concepts can broaden the debates on gentrification and place-making. This thesis aimed to contribute to these possible further debates in the literature.

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Appendices

A. Turkish Summary/ Türkçe Özet

Üsküdar, İstanbul'un en büyük (hem sınır hem de nüfus açısından) ilçelerinden biridir. İstanbul'un Asya Yakasında yer alan Üsküdar Meydanı, farklı mahalleleri birbirine bağlayan ulaşım imkânları sebebiyle İstanbul'un çok merkezi ve önemli bir meydanı. Kuzguncuk, Üsküdar'ın bir mahallesidir ve Üsküdar Meydanı'na çok yakındır. Başka bir deyişle, Kuzguncuk çok merkezi bir mahalledir. Kuzguncuk, Boğazın yakınında ve bir vadi içerisindedir. Kuzguncuk'un şehir genelindeki itibarı ve popülerliği mahalledeki mahalle hayatından kaynaklanıyor ve Kuzguncuk halkı Kuzguncuk'un bir köy olduğunu iddia ediyor.

Kuzguncuk soylulaştırılmış (gentrified) bir mahalledir. 1980lerde, Cengiz Bektaş soylulaştırmayı başlatmış ve onu takip edenler mahalleye yerleşmiştir. Ancak, mahallenin eski sakinleri ve 'soylulaştıran' yeni sakinleri yan yana mahallede yaşamışlardır. 2000lerin ortasın, Kuzguncuk yeniden değişmeye başladı. Kuzguncuk'un sakinlerinden birinin kendi mülkünde açtığı kafeyle birlikte, kafe 'modası' Kuzguncukta başladı. Bundan sonra, Icadiye Caddesinde birçok kafe açılmış ve şu anda kırktan fazla kafe iş yapmaktadır.

Bu tezde, amaç ne için ve nasıl Kuzguncuk'un bir köy olarak düşünüldüğünü analiz etmektir. Bu analize yapabilmek için üç adet soru kümesi oluşturulmuştur. İlk soru

kümesi Kuzguncuktaki köy algısı ile alakalı anlatır üzerinedir. Bu sorular, köy algısı nasıl ve ne şekilde anlatılıyor ve bu bağlamda neler anlatılmıyor üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır. İkinci olarak, sorular mekân üretimi (place-making) ve köy referansı üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Bu sorular, köy anlatıları ve mekân üretimi arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamayı amaçlamıştır. En son olarak, sorular soylulaştırma ve mekân üretimi arasındaki ilişkiye yoğunlaşmıştır. Amaç, Kuzguncuktaki değişimleri analiz etmek ve o değişimler ile mekân üretimi süreci arasındaki ilişkiyi analiz etmeye yöneliktir. Genel anlamda, bu tez Kuzguncuktaki köy anlatısı, mekân üretimi ve soylulaştırma sürecini analiz etmeyi amaçlar.

Bu tezdeki verileri, ilk etapta yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar sayesinde elde ettim. Ancak sahada geçirdiğim iki aydan sonra ve yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar sonucunda elde ettiğim veriler birbirine çok benzer olduğu için Kuzguncuktaki bir kafede çalışmaya karar verdim. Kafede çalışmak, Kuzguncuklular ile olan ilişkimi geliştirmiş ve bu tez için daha detaylı bilgiler edinmemi sağlamıştır. Kafede çalışmaya başladıktan sonra, resmi mülakat yöntemini kullanmayıp günlük konuşmalarım ve sohbetlerimden bilgi edindim. Etnografik saha çalışması uzun süreli ve katılımcı gözlemlemeye dayalı bir nitel araştırma yöntemidir. Araştırmacı temel olarak çalışma yaptığı yerde çalışma yaptığı kişiler gibi yaşamaya çalışır. Bu yöntem 'yerel' olanı 'yerel' gibi anlamaya çalışmak üzerine kurulmuş ve gelişmiş bir yöntemdir. Katılımcı gözlem, araştırmacıya çalışılan yer hakkında gündelik bilgileri elde etmesini sağlayan ve mülakatlarda belki bahsedilmeyecek olaylara 'şahit' olmasına sebep olan etkili bir yöntemdir. Bu tezde, katılımcı gözlem metodu kullanılmış olup, günlük konuşmalar, resmi olmayan mülakatlar veri toplamak için kullanılmıştır. Özetle, bu tezdeki veriler altı ay süren (Temmuz 2016 ile Aralık 2016 tarihleri arası) bir etnografik saha çalışmasıyla toplanmıştır.

Bu tezde, teorik çerçeve üç konu üzerinden şekillenmiştir. Mekân ve mekân tartışmaları ilk teorik altyapı ve çerçeveyi oluşturmaktadır. Mekân, antropoloji disiplininde her zaman önemli bir yere sahip olmuştur. Antropoloji disiplinin ortaya çıkması ve gelişmesi her zaman bir mekân üzerinden yapılan araştırmalara

dayanmaktadır. Bir diğer deyişle, mekân antropoloji disiplinine, bu disiplinin doğuşundan ve gelişimden beri içkindir. Ancak, zaman içinde mekanın ele alınışı ve mekan üzerinden yapılan tartışmalar farklı yönlere kaymış ve şekillenmiştir. Bu tezde, mekan iki farklı bağlamda ele alınmıştır. İlk olarak, mekânın sosyal inşası tartışmaları bu tezin temellerinden birini oluşturmaktadır. İkinci olarak, mekânın yeniden tanımlanması üzerine gelişen tartışmalar bu tezdeki mekân tartışmalarının diğer temelidir.

Antropoloji disiplininde mekânın sosyal inşası tartışmaları zaman içinde şekillenmiştir. Bu tartışmaların temelini mekânın yeni tanımları oluşturmaktadır. Daha önce söylendiği gibi mekân her zaman antropoloji disiplinine içkin bir kuramdır ancak zaman içinde mekân sadece sosyal hayatın ve pratiklerin gerçekleştiği pasif bir çevre olmaktan çıkmıştır. Mekânın pasif olduğu algısı değiştirilmiş ve mekânın kendisi sosyal hayatın ve pratiklerin hem gerçekleştiği hem de onları etkileyen ve şekillendiren aktif bir aktör haline gelmiştir. Bir diğer deyişle, mekân yeni tartışmalarla birlikte sosyal hayatın tam içinde ve onu şekillendiren aktif bir olgu haline gelmiştir. Mekânın sosyal inşası tartışmaları çeşitli şekillerde gelişmiştir. Sosyal inşadan kastedilen şey ise bireyin mekân deneyimlerinin mekân algısını ve mekânı nasıl değiştirdiğiyle alakalıdır. Duyguları dayalı mekân algısı mekânın sosyal inşasına bir örnektir. Yaşam deneyimleri, mekâna atfedilen anlamlar veyahut hafızaya dayalı mekân anlatıları bireyin yaşadığı mekânla olan ilişkisini etkileyen önemli faktörlerdir. Ancak bu faktörler genişletilebilir. Örneğin, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı mekân deneyimler, kutsal aidiyetler ve atıflar, aidiyet duyguları diğer faktörlerden bir kaçıdır. Özetle mekânın sosyal inşasında, bireyin yaşam deneyimleri ve mekâna atfedilen bireysel anlamlar önemli bir rol oynar ve mekânın sosyal inşası tartışmaları bu faktörleri ön planda tutarak mekânı anlamaya çalışır. Ancak, bu demek değildir ki mekânın/ların sadece tek bir anlamı vardır. Farklı yaşam deneyimleri veyahut farklı anlamlar mekânın sosyal inşasını farklı yönlerde geliştirir. Bir diğer deyişle, her bir bireyin mekânla olan ilişkisi ve o mekânın sosyal

inşası çok farklı yönlerde gelişebilir. Bu bağlamda, mekân 'tartışmaya açık' anlamları olan bir olgudur.

Mekânın yeniden tanımlanması ve bu yönde gelişen tartışmalar, mekân ve mekânın dışındaki bağlamlar arasında bir ilişki kurmaya yöneliktir. Bir diğer deyişle, mekân her ne kadar artık aktif bir olguysa, bu tartışmalar mekânı mekândan öteye taşıyıp yerel ve küresel arasındaki ilişkiyi anlatmaya çalışır. Yerel ve küresel arasındaki ilişkinin tartışmaların temeli, küresel olanın aktif bir olgu ancak yerel olanın pasif ve statik bir olgu olduğu anlayışını kırmak içindir. Bu bağlamda, mekân (yerel) ve mekânın dış bağlamları (küresel) arasındaki ilişki karşılıklı etkileşim bağlamında açıklanmıştır. Düşünürler bu konuda farklı tartışmalar öne sürmüş ve mekânı farklı bağlamlara oturtmuşlardır. Örneğin, bazı düşünürlere göre mekân küresel etkiler sonucu 'kapalı' olmaya iterken, bazı düşünürler küresel etkilerin mekânı nasıl 'açtığına' dikkat çekmeye çalışmıştır. İki şekilde de, mekân pasif ve değişmez olarak algılanmayıp, aktif ve değişime açık bir olgu olarak öne sürülmüştür.

Mekânın yeniden tanımlanması tartışmalarının temelini küreselleşme tartışmaları oluşturmaktadır. Küresel dünya dediğimiz şey ise insanların, ekonominin ve hatta kültürlerin dünya çapında birbirine bağlı olduğu bir dünya sistemidir. Bazı düşünürler, böyle bir sistemde artık mekân dediğimiz yerel olanın yer aldığı olgunun, sadece yerel dinamiklerle açıklanmasının yetersiz kalacağını öne sürmüştür. Bu bağlamda, mekân ile yerel ve bu ikisine içkin diğer faktörler (kimlik ve kültür gibi) yeniden tanımlanmıştır. Bu yeniden tanımlanma mekân tartışmalarını geliştirmiş ve yeni tartışmalara zemin oluşturmuştur. Özetle, artık mekân sosyal hayatın içinde geçtiği ve onu şekillendiren aktif bir olgu olduğu gibi mekân ve mekân üretim süreçlerini sadece yerel dinamikler çerçevesinde tartışmak mekânı anlamak için yetersiz kalmıştır. Bir diğer deyişle, mekân dediğimiz olgu aktif ve yerelden öte ilişkilerle şekillenen bir olgudur.

Bu tezin ikinci teorik çerçevesi mahalle tartışmaları üzerinedir. Mahalle farklı disiplinlerde tartışılmış bir konudur. Mahallenin ne olduğu ve nasıl tanımlanması

gerektiği üzerinde mutabakat kurulamayan bir konudur. Ancak, Türkiye'de mahalle denilince akla gelen şey, dayanışma ve kolektif bir yaşamın olduğu mekândır. Bir diğer deyişle, mahalle tanıdık olan ve ait olduğun yerdir. Bu tanımlama, Kuzguncuk'u anlatması açısından önemli olduğu için mahalle bu tanımla ele alınmıştır. Yani, bu tezde mahalle bireyler kendilerine tanıdık olan ve ait oldukları yer olarak ele alınmıştır. Ancak, mekân gibi mahalle de farklı yaşam deneyimleriyle şekillenen bir yerdir.

Bu tezdeki üçüncü teorik çerçeve soylulaştırma tartışmalarıdır. 'Gentrification' 1964 yılında Ruth Glass tarafından ortaya atılmış bir terimdir. Glass, 'gentrification' sürecini kentin merkezindeki işçi sınıfı mahallelerinin orta sınıf tarafından 'işgal' edilmesi olarak tanımlamıştır. 'Gentrification' terimi Türkçeye soylulaştırma, mutenalaştırma veyahut seçkinleştirme olarak çevrilmiştir. Aslında, tam çevirisi soylulaştırmadır ve Glass bu tanımı yaparken ironi yapmaktadır. Yani, 'düşüş' halindeki işçi sınıfı mahalleleri orta-sınıf tarafından 'soylulaştırılmasıdır'.

Soylulaştırmanın sebepleri birçok disiplinde tartışılmıştır ancak en bilindik tartışma ekonomik ve kültürel faktörler üzerinden dönen tartışmalardır. Daha doğrusu, soylulaştırma sürecini ekonomik dinamikler açısından açıklayanlar ve kültürel dinamikler açısından açıklayanlar arasında geçen tartışmalar soylulaştırmanın sebepleri üzerine olan tartışmaların temelidir. Ekonomik faktörlere vurgu yapan düşünürler, soylulaştırmayı kapitalin bir hareketi olarak yorumlamıştır. Bu bağlamda, soylulaştırma en çok kar edilecek yerlerde ortaya çıkmaktadır. 'Düşüş' halindeki kent merkezindeki tarihi mahaller, mülk değeri açısından en çok kar edilebilecek mekânlardır. Çünkü tarihi binaların ucuza satın alınıp yenilenmesi ve sonuç olarak çok daha yüksek fiyatlara satılması kar açısından önemli bir yatırımdır. Yani, ekonomik faktörlere odaklanan açıklamalar kapitalin hareketlerini önem vermiş ve yatırım/yatırımsızlık çerçevesinde soylulaştırmayı ele almıştır.

Soylulaştırma sürecini kültürel faktörlere açıklayan düşünürler ise servis sektörünün ortaya çıkışı ve sanayisizleşme sürecinin bir çıktısı olan orta-sınıf bağlamında

konuyu ele almışlardır. Bu tartışmalarda, yeni gelişen orta-sınıfın yeni gelişen zevkleri sonucu tarihi ve kent merkezinde olan mahallelere ilgi artmıştır ve bu ilgi orta-sınıfın kent içinde hareketliliğine sebep olmuştur. Bu bağlamda, soylulaştırma sürecini etkileyen en önemli faktör orta-sınıfın yeni gelişen zevkleri ve kent içinde hareketliliğidir. Ekonomik ve kültürel faktörler birbirine zıt gibi görünse de zaman içinde bazı düşünürler bu iki faktörü birleştirerek soylulaştırma sürecini ele almışlardır. Bazı düşünürler, soylulaştırma sürecinde ekonomik ve kültürel faktörlerin birbirini tamamladığını bunun için ikisini de içerin soylulaştırma tartışmalarının yapılması gerektiğini düşünmüşlerdir.

Soylulaştırmanın sebepleri üzerine tartışmalar ne kadar gelişmiş ve önemliyse, soylulaştırma sürecinin sonuçları da o kadar üzerinde tartışılan bir konudur. Farklı düşünür soylulaştırmanın sonuçlarını farklı şekillerde ele almış ve sonuç olarak pozitif ve negatif sonuçlar üzerinden tartışmalar ikiye ayrılmıştır. Pozitif sonuçları ele alan tartışmalar bakımsız haldeki evlerin renovasyonu ve mahallerin 'yükseltilmesi' üzerinden ilerlerken, negatif sonuçları ele alan tartışmalar işçi sınıfının mahallerinden edilmesi (displacement) ve makul fiyatlı ev stoklarının azalması üzerinden ilerlemektedir.

Zaman içinde soylulaştırma tartışmaları 'evrimleşmiştir.' Yeni dünya düzeni ve kent sistemleri ele alındığında soylulaştırma kavramının evrim geçirdiği öne sürülmüştür. Bu bağlamda, soylulaştırma artık Anglo-Sakson dünyaya ait olmaktan çıkmış, dünyanın farklı bölgelerinde gözlemlenebilen bir süreç haline gelmiştir. Bunun dışında aktörler ve mekânların farklılaşması üzerinden yeni soylulaştırma tartışmaları öne sürülmüştür. Örneğin, studentification (öğrencileşme) tartışma mahallerin yükseköğretim öğrencilerin yerleşmesiyle değişimini tartışırken, greenification (yeşilleşme) kırsal alanlara göç eden orta-sınıf hareketliliğini tartışmaktadır. Bir diğer tartışma ise süper-soylulaştırmadır. Süper-soylulaştırma hali hazırda soylulaştırılmış mahallelerin daha yüksek gelir grupları tarafından tekrar soylulaştırılması sürecidir. Özetle, soylulaştırma ve bu sürecin yeni dinamikleri artık soylulaştırma literatüründe yer edinmeye başlamıştır.

Bu tezin amacı daha önce de belirtildiği gibi Kuzguncuktaki mekân üretimi, köy anlatıları ve soylulaştırma sürecini analiz etmektir. Bu bağlamda, bu tezin literatüre katkısı soylulaştırma ve mekân üretimi arasındaki bağlantıya dayanmaktadır. İlk olarak, bu tezin önerisi İstanbul'daki hali hazırda soylulaştırılmış mahallelerin de yeniden şekillenen kent yapısıyla birlikte yeni bir değişim sürecine girdiğidir. Bir diğer deyişle, soylulaştırma bitmiş bir süreç değildir; hatta soylulaştırılmış mahallelerin yeniden soylulaştırılması tartışılması ve üzerinde durulması gereken bir konudur. İkinci olarak, bu tez mekân üretimi ve soylulaştırma süreci arasında bir bağ olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Bu iki kavram arasındaki ilişki yeni tartışmalara zemin oluşturabileceği gibi yeniden soylulaştırma sürecini daha kapsamlı bir şekilde açıklamaya yardımcı olabilir. Genel olarak, bu tez literatürdeki yeni soylulaştırma tartışmalarına mekân üretimi kavramını eklemeyi amaçlayıp literatüre bu yönde bir katkı sunmaktadır.

Bu tezin, teorik çerçevesi mekân, mahalle ve soylulaştırma tartışmaları etrafında kurulmuştur. Bu teorik çerçeve, anlatıların analizinde kullanılmıştır. Bir diğer deyişle, Kuzguncuktaki köy anlatıları analiz edilirken yukarıda anlatılan teorik çerçevelerden yardım alınmış ve bu anlatılar bu çerçeveye konumlandırılmıştır. İlk olarak, Kuzguncuktaki iki güçlü ve önemli anlatı mahalle sakinlerinin köy atfını anlamak için analiz edilmiştir. Bu analiz daha sonra soylulaştırılmış mahallelerin yeniden soylulaştırılması tartışmalarına konumlandırılmıştır. Aşağında daha detaylı anlatacağım gibi, bu teorik çerçeve ve saha çalışmasından elde edilen veriler bu tezin argümanlarını oluşturmuştur.

Kuzguncukta, iki adet güçlü anlatı mahalledeki köy referansına içkindir. Bu anlatılardan birincisi, üç farklı dinin karşılıklı saygısı anlatısıdır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde, Kuzguncuk gayrimüslim halkın yaşadığı gerçek bir köydür. Türkleşme politikaları, Varlık Vergisi, 55 olayları, başka bir deyişle, sosyo-siyasi olaylar gayrimüslim halkın Türkiye Cumhuriyetinden göç etmesine sebep olmuştur. Kuzguncukta yaşayan şu anki nüfus, iç göç hareketiyle İstanbul'a gelmiş ve gayrimüslim halkın boş evlerine yerleşmiş göçmenlerin neslinden gelenlerdir.

Ancak, Kuzguncukta Kuzguncuk'un çok kültürlü tarihi mahalle sakinleri tarafından benimsenen ve paylaşılan bir tarihtir. Eskiden gerçek bir köy olması ve çok kültürlü geçmişe yapılan atıflar Kuzguncuktaki köy atfının bir kısmını oluşturuyor. Kuzguncuk'un bu tarihi sayesinde, mahalle sakinleri hem Kuzguncuk'un imajını yaratıyorlar hem de mahallenin geçmişiyle bir bağlantı kuruyorlar. Başka bir deyişle, Kuzguncuk sakinleri mahallenin tarihi ve bununla bağlantılı anlatılar sayesinde mekânları ile bir ilişki geliştiriyor ve kendileri ile mahalle tarihi arasında bir bağ kuruyorlar. Böylelikle, Kuzguncuktaki çok kültürlülük ve karşılıklı saygı anlatısı köy atfıyla birleşip mekân üretiminde bir rol oynuyor.

Kuzguncuktaki bir diğer güçlü anlatı mahalle anlatısıdır. Bu anlatı, Kuzguncuktaki günlük hayata atıfta bulunan bir anlatıdır. Bir başka deyişle, bu anlatılar Kuzguncuk'un neden bir kentsel mahalle olmayıp (urban neighbourhood) ancak bir 'gerçek' mahalle olduğunun anlatısıdır. Mahalle anlatısının birden fazla boyutu vardır. Bunlardan biri komşularını tanımak ve komşuların tarafından tanınmaktır. Komşuluk pratikleri, mahalle sakinleri arasında sosyal bir bağ ve dostluk oluşmasına sebep oluyor. Mahalledeki dayanışma ve kolektif yaşam biçimi, bu araştırma boyunca sürekli vurgulanan iki temadır. Bu temalar komşuluk pratikleriyle alakalıdır. Diğer bir boyut, mahalle kültürüyle alakalıdır. Kuzguncuk, eski ve yeni sakinleri tarafından hala mahalle kültürüne sahip olduğu düşüncesi ile 'istisnai' bir mahalle olarak kabul ediliyor. Ayrıca, Kuzguncuklu kimliği ve mahallede uygun bir komşu olmak mahalle anlatısında çok önemli sayılan bir boyuttur.

Yaşam şekillerindeki farklılar vurgulanarak yapılan Kuzguncuk ve İstanbul karşılaştırması mahalle anlatısının bir diğer boyutudur. Kuzguncukta doğan ve büyüyen mahalle sakinleri, Kuzguncuk ve İstanbul karşılaştırmasını gözlem ve mahalle dışındaki gündelik deneyimler üzerinden yapıyor. Diğer taraftan, yeni yerleşen sakinler diğer mahallelerdeki deneyimlerini karşılaştırarak Kuzguncuk ve İstanbul arasında bir kıyas yapıyorlar. Güvenlik, sosyal yaşam ve kültür temaları vurgulanmaktadır. Bir diğer boyut ise, mahallenin kamusal alanlarına bakış açısıdır. Kuzguncuk, mahalle sakinleri tarafından 'onların' olarak kabul ediliyor ve bu anlayış

mahalledeki sadece özel mülkleri değil kamusal alanları da içine alıyor. Bu anlayış kendini birkaç şekilde ortaya çıkarıyor. Bunlara örnek olarak, Kuzguncuk'a gelen yerli turistlerin, kafe müşterilerinin ya da sadece Kuzguncuk'u gezmeye gelmiş insanların misafir olarak addedilmesidir. Dışarıdan Kuzguncuk'a gelen insanların misafir olarak kabul edilmesi, Kuzguncuk sakinlerinin ev sahibi olduğunu ima ediyor ve kamusal alanları nasıl sahiplendikleri açısından bilgi veriyor. Ayrıca, kamusal alanların kullanımı bu konu hakkında fikir veriyor. Özel günleri kutlamak için (mesela 29 Ekim kutlamalarında İcadiye Caddesinin ulaşıma kapatılması ve mahalle sakinlerinin caddede kutlama yapması) veyahut cenaze pratiklerinin Kuzguncuk'un kamusal alanlarında gerçekleşmesi birkaç örnekten biri. Bir diğer deyişle, Kuzguncuk sakinleri mahalledeki kamusal alanları kendi ihtiyaçlarına ve isteklerine göre kullanıyorlar.

Çok kültürlü tarih ve mahalle anlatısı Kuzguncuktaki köy atfını oluşturan iki önemli anlatıdır. Çok kültürlü tarih, Kuzguncuk'un köy olarak kabul edilmesine 'meşru' bir taban ve sebep oluşturuyor. Mahalle anlatısı ise, kent yaşamı ile mahalle yaşamındaki farklılıkları vurgulayarak ve Kuzguncuk'un sınırlarını dışarıdan ayırarak köy atfının yeniden üretilmesine bir taban oluşturuyor. Bu iki köy atfı anlatısı Kuzguncuk'un kimliğini şekillendiriyor.

Sonuç olarak, anlatılar geçmişi ve günümüzü yaratmaya ve yeniden yaratmaya olanak sağlayan çok güçlü araçlardır. Özellikle, bir grup tarafından ortaklaşa oluşturulmuş anlatılar, ortak değerler, ortak kimlikler veyahut "ortaklaşmaya" olanak sağlar. Mekân anlatıları da ortak tarih, ortak değerler ve genel olarak mekânın imajını oluşturmaya sebep oluyor. Mekân anlatıları, bireysel hafızaya ve yerel tarihe dayanan ancak tarihsel olgulara bir kanıt oluşturmayan anlatılardır. Çünkü mekân anlatıları doğasında hafızaya dayanan bir anlatı olduğu için bireysel (sübjektif) ve yarımdır. Bireysel olması ve hafızaya dayalı olması mekân anlatılarının bağlamını şekillendiren önemli boyutlarıdır. Bir başka deyişle, mekân anlatıları kimin anlattığına ve nasıl anlattığına göre şekillenen anlatılardır.

'Kuzguncuk bir zamanlar gerçekten köydü' ve 'Kuzguncuk hala köy gibi' düşüncelerine dayanan çok kültürlü tarih ve mahalle anlatıları, 'köy' tanımı yeniden şekillendirmiştir. Bir yandan, Kuzguncuk sakinleri mahallenin tarihini kullanarak ve yeniden anlatarak Kuzguncuk'un günümüzdeki imajı için bir temel oluşturuyorlar. Diğer bir yandan, mahalle anlatısı Kuzguncuktaki sosyal yaşamı yansıtmak için kullanılıyor. Mahalle yaşamı İstanbul'daki bütün mahalleleri kapsayan nostaljik bir imajdır. Mahalle yaşamı artık nostaljik olarak kabul ediliyor çünkü genel kanı artık mahalle yaşamının İstanbul'da kalmadığıdır. Kuzguncuk, bu bakımdan, İstanbulluların sosyal hafızasında önemli bir yer tutan mahalle yaşamı nostaljisini besliyor ve yeşertiyor.

Kuzguncuk sakinlerinin, köy atfı ve anlatıları ile şekillenen mekân üretimi süreci kent içinde bir köy taklidinin üretime sebep olmuştur. Kafeler ve medya araçları bu taklidin şehir çapından üretilmesine bir taban oluşturmaktadır. Bir başka deyişle, Kuzguncuk mahalle sakinlerinin mekân üretimi sonucu yeniden üretilmiş ve yeniden üretim çeşitli yollarla şehir çapında yansıtılmaktadır.

Soylulaştırma, farklı disiplinlerde fazlasıyla tartışılmış bir konudur. Soylulaştırma sürecini açıklamada birçok farklı teorisyen farklı açıklamalarda bulunmuştur. Bazıları, soylulaştırmayı ekonomik dinamiklere odaklanarak açıklarken; bazı düşünürler soylulaştırma sürecini orta-sınıf hareketliliği ve bu sınıfın üretim alışkanları üzerinden açıklamıştır. Bu tezde, soylulaştırma süreci kapitalin hareketliliği olarak kabul edilmiştir. Soylulaştırma sürecinde kültürel boyutlar ne kadar önemli olsa da, ekonomik boyutlar İstanbul'u ve soylulaştırılan mahalleleri şekillendiren temel güçlerdir.

1980lerden sonra, soylulaştırma tartışmaları değişmiştir. Çünkü yeni dünya düzeninde eski açıklamalar soylulaştırma süreçlerini açıklamaya yetersiz kaldığı düşünülüyor. Soylulaştırma konusundaki yeni tartışmalar her ne kadar bu konuyu genişletip, yeni açıklamalar sunsa da genel olarak açıklamaların temel hala 'eski' tartışmalara dayanmaktadır. Bu araştırmada, soylulaştırılmış mahallelerin yeniden

soylulaştırılması ilk çıkış noktasıdır. Bu tezin de önerdiği gibi Kuzguncuk, zaten soylulaştırılmış bir mahalle, yeniden soylulaştırma sürecini yaşamaya başlamıştır. Ancak, Kuzguncukta mahalle sakinlerinin mekân üretimi süreci yeniden soylulaştırma sürecini büyük ölçüde etkilemektedir. Çünkü mahalle sakinlerinin mekân ile geliştirildiği ilişki Kuzguncuk'un imajını ve kimliğini yeniden şekillendirmiştir. Kafeler ve medya kanallarının kullanımı Kuzguncuk'un şehir çapında temsiline sebebiyet vermiştir. Yani, mahalle sakinlerinin mekân üretim süreci Kuzguncuk'un bir temsili haline dönüşmüştür.

Kuzguncuk'un ünü ve popülerliği gün geçtikçe artmaktadır ve bu durum Kuzguncuk'un değişimine sebep olmaktadır. Ancak, Kuzguncuktaki mülk sahipleri mülklerini kar etme amacıyla kullanarak mahalledeki değişimlerin avantajlarını kullanmaya başlamıştır. Bu durum, Kuzguncuktaki kira ve mülk fiyatlarının artışına sebep olarak, mahalledeki ekonomik bariyerlerin yükselmesine sebep olmuştur. Bu bağlamda, Kuzguncuk ancak yüksek gelir grubundan insanların taşınabileceği bir mahalle haline dönüşmüştür çünkü makul fiyatlı ev stokları gün geçtikçe bitmiştir. Yani, Kuzguncuk ilk soylulaştırma sürecinden sonra tekrardan bir yatırım yeri haline dönüşmüştür. Bu yatırım şekilleri, ancak, ilk soylulaştırma süreci ile aynı değildir. İlk süreçte, bakımsız evleri ucuza satın alıp renovasyon sonucu çok karlı fiyatlara satılmasıyla Kuzguncuk bir yatırım aracı haline dönüşmüştü. Ancak, bu ikinci soylulaştırma sürecinde, mülk değerlerinin artışı ve kafeler sayesinde Kuzguncuk bir yatırım aracı haline dönmüştür.

Sonuç olarak, bu tez Kuzguncuktaki köy atfını mahalledeki önemli anlatılar üzerinden analiz etmeyi amaçlamıştır. Saha çalışmasından elde edilen veriler, mekân üretimi ve soylulaştırma süreci arasında bir bağlantı olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Mahalle sakinleri ve onların mekân ile geliştirdikleri ilişki soylulaştırma sürecinin aktif aktörleri olabilir. Kuzguncuk, bu ilişkiyi ve bağlantıyı incelemek ve gözlemlemek açısından güzel bir örnektir. Bir başka deyişle, Kuzguncuk sakinleri, Kuzguncuk'u bir kent içinde bir köy taklidi olarak yeniden üretmiştir. Bu yeniden üretim, mahalle anlatıları etrafında gelişen mekân üretimi sürecinin bir sonucudur.

Diğer bir yandan, bu Kuzguncuk'un köy olarak yeniden üretiminin kar etme açısından avantajını yaşayanlar, yine aynı şekilde mahalle sakinleridir. Kuzguncuk örneğinde, mahalledeki hem kültürel hem de ekonomik dinamikler mahalle sakinleri tarafından yeniden şekillendirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, yeniden soylulaştırma hareketinde her zaman bir 'dış' faktöre ihtiyaç yoktur. Kuzguncuk örneğinin de gösterdiği gibi, mahalle sakinlerinin kendileri aktif aktörler olarak bu süreci yeniden şekillendirebilirler.

Soylulaştırma tartışmalarının geçirdiği evrim değişik bölgelerdeki farklı yönlerde ilerleyen soylulaştırma süreçlerini açıklamaya olanak sağlamıştır. Mekân üretim şekilleri soylulaştırılmış mahallelerdeki yeniden soylulaştırma süreçlerini aydınlatabilir. Bir başka deyişle, mekân üretim şekilleri soylulaştırma sürecinde aktif ve önemli roller oynayabilir. Mekân üretime ve soylulaştırma arasındaki bağlantılar ve ilişkiler bu konudaki tartışmaları genişletebilir ve yeni tartışmalara zemin oluşturabilir. Bu tez, bu bağlamdaki olası yeni tartışmalara bir katkı sunmaya amaçlamıştır.

B. Tez Fotokopi İzin Formu

<u>**ENSTİTÜ**</u>

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ☐

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

<u>**YAZARIN**</u>

Soyadı : Altınok

Adı   : Ezgi

Bölümü : Sosyal Antropoloji

<u>**TEZİN ADI:**</u> A Village in the City? Place-Making and Gentrification

in Kuzguncuk, İstanbul

<u>**TEZİN TÜRÜ:**</u> Yüksek Lisans ☐   Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla   tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınsın. ☐

2. Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullancılarının erişimine açılsın. ☐

3. Tezim bir (1) yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olsun. ☐

Yazarın imzası ....   Tarih ....