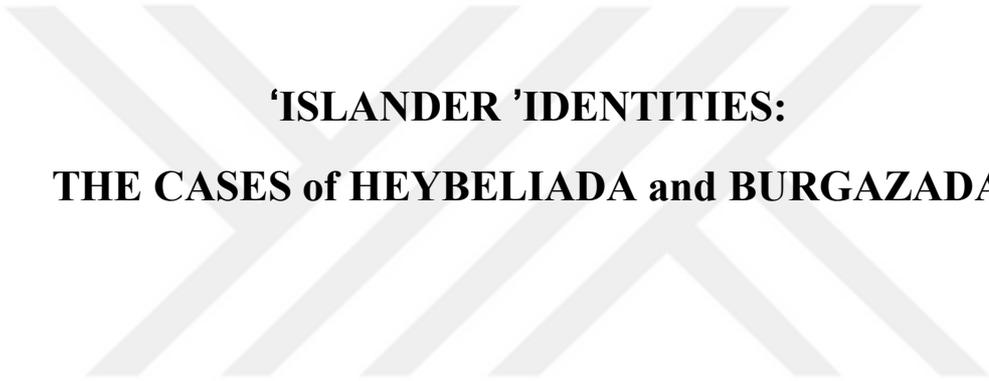


KADİR HAS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
PROGRAM OF ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN STUDIES



**'ISLANDER' IDENTITIES:
THE CASES of HEYBELIADA and BURGAZADA**

EYLÜL ŞENSES

MASTER'S THESIS

ISTANBUL, JANUARY, 2020



Eylül Şenses

Master's Thesis

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THE CASES of HEYBELIADA and BURGAZADA**



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MASTER'S THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Kadir Has University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Architecture and Urban Studies Master Program.

ISTANBUL, JANUARY, 2020

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the identity construction through 'living on an island 'in two of the Prince Islands, Heybeliada and Burgazada in Istanbul. Drawing on in-depth interviews with the inhabitants of both islands, it examines the meanings attached to the island and everyday spaces and practices through which identities are negotiated by various groups. An examination of the interrelations between theories of place and island studies is central to the research. The focus of the research is to analyze Heybeliada and Burgazada as places of belonging and identity, and examine the changing relations between the Islands and the mainland Istanbul.

Prince Islands, which have been a center of attention as one of the most preferred excursion places in Istanbul, have also attracted considerable interest lately due to the ongoing discussions on various issues ranging from urban planning, mass tourism, transportation, conservation, and animal rights, to the right to health and natural disasters. Another aim of the thesis is to uncover how all these issues affect the construction and negotiation of belonging and transform the meanings attached to the island. Methodologically, the thesis employs a multi-scalar and relational approach to space, place and belonging, examining identities with reference not only to the 'island 'as a physical place and an imaginary construct, but also to the domestic and public spaces in which inhabitants spend their everyday lives.

Keywords: island, identity, islander identity, belonging, place, Heybeliada, Burgazada, Prince Islands

ADALILIK KİMLİĞİ: HEYBELİADA ve BURGAZADA ÖRNEKLERİ ÜZERİNDEN BİR ARAŞTIRMA

ÖZET

Bu tez, İstanbul'daki Prens Adaları'ndan ikisi olan Heybeliada ve Burgazada'da, 'adada yaşamak' kavramı temelinde kurulan kimlik inşasına odaklanmaktadır. Bu iki adada yaşayan kişiler ile yapılan etraflı röportajlardan yararlanarak, adayla ve günlük yaşam alanlarıyla ilişkilendirilen anlamlar araştırılmış; adada yaşayan farklı grupların kimliklerini günlük pratikler aracılığıyla nasıl müzakere ettiği incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın merkezinde mekân teorileri ile ada çalışmaları arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkilerin incelenmesi yer almaktadır. Araştırmanın odak noktası; Heybeliada ve Burgazada'yı aidiyet ve kimlikle ilişkili alanlar olarak analiz ederek, Adalar ile anakara İstanbul arasındaki değişen ilişkileri araştırmaktır.

İstanbul'un en çok tercih edilen sayfiye alanlarından biri olarak bilinen Prens Adaları, son zamanlarda kent planlaması, kitle turizmi, ulaşım, kültürel mirasın korunması, hayvan hakları, sağlık hakkı ve doğal afetler gibi çeşitli konular üzerine devam eden tartışmalar nedeniyle dikkat çekmektedir. Tezin bir diğer amacı da tüm bu konuların adalardaki kimlik inşası ve aidiyet üzerindeki etkisini ve adayla ilişkilendirilen anlamları nasıl değiştirdiğini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Metodolojik olarak bu tez; mekân, yer ve aidiyet üzerine çok yönlü ve ilişkisel bir yaklaşımla, 'ada'nın kimlik inşası üzerindeki etkisini yalnızca fiziksel bir yer ve hayali bir yapı olarak değil, aynı zamanda sakinlerin günlük yaşamlarını sürdürdükleri ev ve kamusal alanlara referansla incelemektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: ada, kimlik, adalılık kimliği, aidiyet, yer, Heybeliada, Burgazada, Prens Adaları

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1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on the construction and negotiation of an 'islander identity' in two of the Prince Islands, Heybeliada and Burgazada in Istanbul. Drawing on in-depth interviews with a number of inhabitants from both islands, it examines the meanings attached to the 'island', and everyday spaces and practices through which individuals relate themselves to place. An examination of the interrelations between theories of place and island studies is central to the theoretical framework of the research. While the research investigates identity construction through a sense of belonging to place, it also tries to understand the ways changing relations between the Islands and the mainland Istanbul affect these processes.

Princes' Islands, which have been a center of attention as one of the most preferred excursion places in Istanbul, have also attracted considerable interest lately due to the ongoing discussions on various issues ranging from urban planning, mass tourism, transportation, conservation, and animal rights, to the right to health and natural disasters. Another aim of the thesis is to uncover how all these issues affect the construction and negotiation of belonging and transform the meanings attached to the island. Methodologically, the thesis employs a multi-scalar and relational approach to space, place and belonging, examining identities with reference not only to the 'island' as a physical place and an imaginary construct, but also to the domestic and public spaces in which inhabitants spend their everyday lives.

1. The 'Island' as a 'Place'

Islands have always generated considerable interest in terms of their physical features and the potential of the concept of the 'island' as a metaphor. Since islands are widely recognized as being enclosed, very-well defined and fixed places, the concept of the 'island' has become much more intriguing today, in our age when people, capital, information, and products are in constant motion, everything is getting faster, connected and more easily accessible each passing

day. While the concept of belonging to a particular place has been questioned more than ever before, the way the island is articulated by the residents as a place of belonging and identity has been a subject worth research. This introductory chapter provides a brief overview of the approaches on the concepts of 'place 'and 'island', drawing attention to their intersections. It then continues with a short description of the context of research, that is the Prince Islands of Istanbul.

As Staniscia argues, since “islands are physical entities in which the relations between space and the human communities that inhabit it are stronger, more noticeable, and easily detectable” (Staniscia 2016, p.52), they have attracted a significant research interest. Various scholars from several disciplines have questioned the critical relations between the island, place, and identity. I take Hay’s (2006) comprehensive review of the literature on the ‘island ’as a primary reference to discuss the literature. In his article ‘A Phenomenology of Islands’, Hay questions the possibility of a consistent theory of islandness (*nissology*) and analyzes three of the faultlines described within constructions of islands and islandness in the literature (2006, p.19). These faultlines are, respectively, the character of the border of the island; issues of island memory and identity in relation to outward and inward flows of people; and the adoption of the authenticity of the island by the ones who use the concept of the ‘island ’as a metaphor. Hay argues that although there is some incoherency within the developing faultlines of island studies, the concept of place might be used to establish a theoretical framework that can be applied for island studies. According to him, a phenomenology of place that takes identity as a central issue along with recognising differences is notably pertinent to island studies (Hay 2006, p.19).

In his discussion on the literature, Hay states that there are some conflicts even around a number of basic aspects of the definition of the concept of the island. For instance, it is mostly emphasised that island boundaries are hard-edged, although the character and the significance of the island edge, and the extent to which such boundaries are indeed hard-edged are still debated issues. There is also disaccord concerning to what extent islandness could endure the dynamism of accelerated population change following globalization, with island identities, originally pertaining to long lasting community relations, are displaced through the arrival of rich recreational, tourist or temporary populations, including part time summerhouse or retirement inhabitants (Hay 2006; Baglole & Weale 1974; Baldacchino 2004c; Royle 1999; Royle et al. 1990; Weale 1991).

There is no doubt that the concept of the 'island' provides a fertile ground on which we can discuss notions of culture and identity with reference to boundaries. According to Hay (2006, p. 21), islanders are more conscious of and more challenged by the reality of boundaries than most people are, and this is more the case as the islands get smaller. Yet, although the concept of the 'border' is one of the most widely discussed concepts in island studies, there are disagreements regarding the potentials and meanings of island boundaries. While many authors have stressed the tough and assertive boundaries of the island, some have argued that island boundaries are mobile and permeable. This is, indeed, a discussion that shows clear parallels with various discussions on the concept of 'place'. When the literature on 'place' is considered, one of the dominant approaches is the one where 'place' is perceived as a fixed point in space defined by fixed boundaries. People are thought to be connected and 'rooted' to specific geographies, and 'home' has also been conceptualized with this understanding. According to Relph (1976, p.41), home places are 'foundations of man's existence' which constitutes a framework for human actions and provides identity and security for people. It is the 'irreplaceable center of significance' and 'point of departure' from which a person departs towards the destination in life (Relph 1976 p.40).

In a similar manner, Harry Baghole (2003 cited in Hay, 2006, p.21), for instance, sees the coastline, which, for him, is a steady and constantly altering boundary, as an essential aspect of the island as a socio-cultural geography. People who live within this coastline, according to him, have a strong sense of community / collective home ruled by physical geography. For Peron (2004 cited in Hay, 2006, p.22) too, due to the immanence of the sea, island residents feel cut off from the others in the world. According to him, the nautical border around is consistently there, hard, gathering and dominant. As Hay (2006) argues, scholars who emphasize the hard-edgedness of the coastline are likely to highlight that a profound sense of physical restriction contributes to the creation of island identity. Turning to the conceptions of place, as Kılıçkiran (2014) states, in her review of theories of 'place', the essentialist understanding of 'place' sees the relationship between place and identity as isomorphic, meaning that identity and culture are determined directly by the territory conceived as 'place', which is usually the geographical origin. Hence, the boundaries of the place are imagined as the boundaries of culture and identity, which, in turn, leads to the belief that only a singular culture and identity can inhabit within the boundaries of a place (Kılıçkiran 2014, p.2). Another

significant implication of this view is related to how human movement is comprehended. The essentialist view of place posits the idea that people and cultures are rooted in places, indicating that culture and cultural identity is based on a fixed presence against a state of movement. As Kılıçkiran discusses, this leads to the idea that movement is the loss of culture and identity (Kılıçkiran 2010, p.28; see also Malkki, 1997). The stress on the hard-edgedness of the island boundaries that associate the island with a collective place of belonging seems to be rooted in such an essentialist understanding of place.

As Kılıçkiran (2010, p.31) also states, this understanding of place, and of cultures and identities, do not comply with the complex connections people have with many geographies across the globe today, through physical, imaginary and virtual relations. Hence another view of place and identity is seen to have replaced this conventional understanding, putting forward the idea that globalization and the accompanying migrations and displacements challenge any conventional notion of place as fixed and unchanging, and any conception of culture and identity as defined by boundaries of geographical locations. According to this view, places do not have distinguishing features anymore that make them particular among other places; and they no longer influence the processes of identity formation or support the existing identities (Morley, D.& Robins, K. 1995, as cited in Kılıçkiran 2014, p.2). Especially since the 1990s, many scholars from various disciplines have suggested that 'cultural identities' should be discussed with reference to the processes of movement, mobility, and migration that lead to the dissolution of geographical boundaries, instead of their fixities and stabilities. James Clifford (1997), for instance, argues that, in anthropology, 'routes' rather than 'roots', should now be central to the understanding of culture. In this view, culture should be considered as 'a site of travel' rather than permanence (as cited in Kılıçkiran 2014, p.3). This also leads to a new understanding of identity – that is, identity as a process, as something to be explored, flexible and mobile, rather than fixed (Kılıçkiran 2010).

Concordantly, in island studies, the conception of hard-edged boundaries and the resultant insulation are not very popular anymore. The leaning appears to be a less absolute denial of them than a more careful consideration of the complexity with which we form our impression of islands (Hay 2006, p. 22). As Terrell claims, islands are more different, various and complex places than usually assumed. Insulation does not describe the feature of life on the island; on the contrary, it can be claimed that islanders are usually more conscious of and related to the

global network of human communication than the rest could be (Terrell 2004, cited in Hay 2006, p. 22). As mentioned above, the shoreline, the edge where the land and the sea meet, is an important aspect of an island. In Dening's view (1980, cited in Hay 2006, p.22), the shore is a passage point, which ensures enhancement in islands. Ledwell defines the coastline as "a place of uncertainty and instability" (2002, cited in Hay 2006, p. 22). And according to Nicolson, although the image of tough boundaries and isolation, form a powerful sense of the island, images do mislead (2002 cited in Hay, 2006, p. 23). The status of the island, it seems, could be defined better by connectivity than isolation, while the evidently emphasized border is the greatest pervious of membranes, as thin as a wafer. By referring to the much-quoted dissertation of Hau'ofa (1993), who describes the ocean as a means that connects the Pacific islands within a lively environment of contact, Hay (2006, p. 23) argues that the boundary of the island is possibly more than merely permeable, and that it is indeed the entrance to roads and sea-trails spreading to other islands, forming an organic bridge to the rest of the world. Bonnemaïson (1985 cited in Hay 2006, p.25), similarly, describes the Melanesian islands as grounds of strong fundamental attachment established in routes of movement. In every generation, he states, identity is recreated and regained through traveling in the sites of unity and common identity.

In conjunction with these recent conceptualisations of the island, this thesis is based on a critique of the view that the island is a place defined by fixed boundaries and the islander identity is a fixed, unchanging identity that is protected by those boundaries and defined primarily by stability and permanence. Theoretically, in order to approach to the 'island 'as a 'place', I follow the 'relational 'or a 'progressive 'understanding of place that feminist geographer Doreen Massey introduced in the 1990s (Massey, D. 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1995). According to Massey, place is "formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location" (1992, p.12). Hence, many of the social relations that form a place "will be wider than and go beyond the area being referred to in any particular context as that place" (1992, p.12). This means that places are open and porous, rather than closed, and that the identity of a place is determined precisely by this openness and porousness. Identity, in such a conceptualisation of place, is constructed out of movement, communication, and social relations that always stretch beyond the boundaries of place (Massey 1992, p.13).

Massey argues that when we understand the social space as created out of wide, complicated intricacy of social processes and interactions at various scales, we can conceptualise place as a

particular part or a particular moment in the global network of those social relations (1994b, p.114). And if place is understood not as an insular enclosure but as a group of interactions that come together at a particular location, that is, a local connection in an expanded whole, then the identity of a place is also inevitably unfixed since those interrelations themselves are changing. In this understanding, then, it is not meaningful to define a place as the opposite of what lies beyond its boundaries- the establishment of the 'local 'is already partly made through the 'global', and therefore the 'local 'contains the 'global'. Accordingly, the specificity of the local place must be defined through the individuality of the connections with the outside, not through a binary opposition between inside and outside.

Another important aspect of this alternative understanding of place is the dimension of history. Massey is against the definition of a place with reference to a particular past, a specific time in history, that is imagined as something shared by all. This is also an understanding of place that is against the essentialist understanding of place which always relies on an origin in time and history, and which relates place with a feeling of nostalgia. Massey argues that this is an unavoidably "reactionary" understanding in political terms, that depends on the inertia of 'being 'in contrast to the dynamism of 'becoming'. She maintains that we should challenge any interpretation of place which is unique, and which is constructed on a singular past and only one account to tell. If we can think of place as a particular point in space that is formed out of relations, we can also think that place is a particular time in history which is formed out of many histories and many stories that accumulate there and gives it a particular meaning (Massey 2005).

Following Massey's conceptualisation of 'place', this study is guided by the belief that the best way to comprehend the specificity of a place is to examine the individuality of the interactions that converge at that location and how people interpret these interactions in their lives, together with the new impacts and social processes created by the gathering of those social interactions (Massey 1994b, pp. 110-122). Therefore, the 'island 'will be discussed through not only what is inside its boundaries but also through the interactions it has with the entities outside its boundaries. In this context, the analysis of the ever-changing relations between the island and the mainland reveals a crucial aspect. These relations and its interpretations by the residents, are important determinants of the social processes through which they negotiate their identities as an 'islander'. Therefore, understanding the way these relations affect identity construction,

everyday life, and the place attachment of the residents from past to present is one of the main objectives of this research.

Set against this background, this thesis aims to provide a discussion on two of the Prince Islands of Istanbul, namely Heybeliada and Burgazada, which are popular summer resorts and day trip destinations for Istanbulites, as well as places of routine and everyday life for their permanent inhabitants. Drawing on in-depth interviews with a number of inhabitants in both islands, it tries to understand the meanings they attach to these places, and how they negotiate their identities as 'islanders'.

The motivation underlying the research in this thesis is the growing academic interest in the Prince Islands today, particularly due to the ongoing urban transformation in the islands. In recent years, the Prince Islands have been the stages of controversial urban plans and applications carried out by the authorities. As it is well known, the controversial 1/5000 scaled master plan, which was prepared and carried into effect by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2011, was canceled after a seven-year long judicial process upon the lawsuit filed by the Chamber of Architects at the beginning of 2018. That plan, along with the 1/1000 scaled plan prepared by the Adalar Municipality, would carry the urban and ecological crisis in Istanbul to the Islands and cause a significant amount of increase in the population of the islands (Suvari 2017). Hence, it can be claimed that the cancellation decision prevented a burden that would be very hard to be carried by the cultural, historical and ecological structure of the islands.

Nevertheless, during the same period, Yassıada and Sivriada were broken off the wholeness of the archipelago and were zoned for construction. Yassıada, which was zoned for construction with the project of '*Democracy and Freedom Island*' in 2013, has undergone a severe construction process and now hosts a hotel with 125 rooms, 30 concrete bungalows, a 600-seated conference hall, mosque, museum and exhibition areas. Likewise, Sivriada was zoned for construction in 2017, and immediately afterward, destruction and excavation work started on the island. Although recently the Constitutional Court canceled all the planning and construction projects on Sivriada, opponent Istanbulites are still worried due to the current distrust for the authorities about the implementation of laws. Moreover, as a result of these construction activities, the habitats of precious and diversified living beings both overland and

underwater were extremely damaged. The ongoing destruction of the nature due to the construction and tourism activities and the pressure asserted by the increasing populations, have become a particularly important matter of debate. Along with the issues of preserving the coasts, forests, and habitats of the non-human population of the islands, the right to use such places by the islanders has also been a matter of academic and popular discussion. For instance, quite recently, considerable attention has been paid to the rental of one of the last public beaches of Istanbul, Madam Martha Bay on Burgazada, to a private operator. This situation created a great reaction both on the Islands and the mainland. Another highly disputed issue has been the deficiencies in the conservation of the cultural heritage on the islands. Büyükada Greek Orphanage, for example, which is the largest wooden building in Europe (and the second in the world), was chosen for the '7 Most Endangered Programme 2018 'by Europa Nostra. There are many other burning issues about the islands, like disputes over coaches and horses, mass tourism, forest fires, transportation, absence of effectual health service and so on. And parallel to such disputes, the civil society on the islands, which aims to have a say in all this, has gained strength in challenging the projects threatening their living spaces. Many civil initiatives, which had a great contribution in the cancellation of the aforementioned controversial urban plans, flourished over the years. The main objective of such initiatives is to ensure the participation of islanders and Istanbulites in the decision-making process about the fate of the islands. Thus, in such a context, questions like "who are the islanders?" and "who has a say in the fate of the islands?" gained importance, probably more than ever. Today, the diversity that the Prince Islands have is very critical since the islands host diverse ethnic groups and people from diverse social classes, along with newcomers, visitors, tourists, summerhouse vacationists, day-trippers, employees, etc. In such a context, this thesis aims to explore how the concept of the 'islander 'is interpreted, and how an 'islander identity 'is constructed and negotiated.

A number of theses have focused on the Princes' Islands to understand notions of belonging, identity construction, and cohabiting practices. One of the most recent works is on Burgazada (Çankaya 2016), which focuses on the urban population who immigrated to the islands from the mainland after the 2001 economic crisis, to understand identity construction as an abandoned and a new form of urbanity. Çankaya (2016) introduces the issues of 'islandness', 'the utopia of the island 'and 'right to desolation', and discusses the interest of the precariat in moving to the islands as a part of the problem of the right to the city. The research investigates the island's position within different urbanization practices that Istanbul lived through. Çankaya

draws on Deleuze (2005) who places the concept of the 'island' within the context of a universal whole valid for all islands: the deserted island. As an alternative expression to this conceptualization, she introduces the concept of 'islandness' in her thesis. Deleuze (2009 cited in Çankaya, 2016, p.1) states that what originates from the desert island is not creation but re-creation, not a start but a restart. Accordingly, Çankaya investigates the idea of rebirth in terms of the spatial and social forms of existence, particularly to Istanbul's islands. Çankaya suggests that the spatial signification of 'islandness' determines directly the existence of islanders, therefore this notion should be considered as a space-based network of relations, which also describes the life on the island and being an islander. All divisions and togetherness on the island find meaning through living on the island. The primary identity of everyone living on the island is categorized by how much and what kind of islander one is. Çankaya (2016) identifies two perceivable distinctions on the island based on the time spent on the island and the characteristics of it: 'yazlıkçı' (summer vacationist) / 'kışıkçı' (permanent resident) and old islander / new islander, and argues that the segregations among the population based on ethnic origins and economic status becomes legible under these two main distinctions. Another distinction remarked by Çankaya is property ownership. Being a householder or tenant on the island is a determinant factor in the interisland hierarchy. Although she conducted interviews with the residents of the islands regarding the categories of 'yazlıkçı' (summer vacationist) / 'kışıkçı' (permanent resident) and old islander / new islander, Çankaya focuses on the 'new islanders' who moved from the city center to the island following the 2001 crisis. Her findings show that these 'new islanders', who constitute five percent of the island's population today, reconstruct themselves and a sense of community within the subjective relations they have established in space. Hence 'islandness' appears as a response to the neoliberal city and the developing urbanism related to it. (Çankaya 2016)

Another thesis by Coşkun (2011) questions the socio-spatial states which Heybeliada have had from the 1950s to today, through the changing practices of daily life. This research offers a test of everyday life practices, based on Lefebvre's theory that suggests that the complex character of everyday life can be read through the analysis of the production of space. Coşkun carries out a sociological analysis of Heybeliada through everyday life practices and demonstrates various aspects of sophisticated processes and relations behind everyday routines. Coşkun identifies three different groups within the island: summer house vacationists, day-trippers and residents

which differ from the 1950s to the 1980s and from the 1980s to the present in terms of their relations with the island as well as their relations with each other. She also remarks that, in particular, three institutions, Sanatorium, Naval Academy and the Halki Seminary have been significant in the daily life of the island. The existence, the closure or relocation processes of these institutions caused changes in all areas / rhythms of the daily life of Heybeliada. Furthermore, Coşkun points out that 'the island 'has become an overarching category of identity for its inhabitants. The expressions related to the 'islander 'and 'islander identity 'emerge in all areas of daily life. Coşkun argues that while till the end of the 1970s, Greek Cypriots were assumed as the 'real owners 'of the island, today the Muslim Turks manifest themselves as the main owners / locals of the island and have formed an exclusionary, discriminatory discourse towards the Kurds (2011, pp. 170-176).

As such, it is seen that recent research has reported various meanings attached to the islands and the particular places on the islands by diverse groups of people, and demonstrated the self-definitions of the inhabitants through living on the island. However, they have not been able to determine significant changes in the meanings attached to the islands by the latest developments such as privatization of a few remained public spaces, controversial urban planning, natural disasters, transportation problems, mass tourism etc. Therefore there are still some interesting and relevant issues to be addressed. While Istanbul is under rapid urban transformations, the Islands experiences the impressions of the changing relations with the mainland through various processes. In light of recent events that I have mentioned above, there is now much considerable concern about the relation between the islands and Istanbul. The pressure on the islands has been increasing each passing day and the threat of '*becoming Istanbul* (*İstanbullaşmak*) for the islands has become one of the main considerations of the residents of the islands. As Istanbul is becoming uninhabitable due to the endless urban transformations, population pressure, mega projects, demolishing of nature, the Islands appears as an alternative for lots of Istanbulites. The idea of moving to the island -whether permanently or temporarily- has become more and more popular in the minds of the Istanbulites. Moreover, as I mentioned above, the amount of day-trippers has reached extreme numbers recently. Thus a lot more people visit the islands today, to experience what they can not find any more in Istanbul. However, while the demand towards the islands as a place of residence and excursion is increasing consistently, the land is very limited. This interest and pressure have the potential to destroy what creates this attraction in the first place (Adanalı 2019).

Furthermore, since limiting the number of cases allowed for an in-depth analysis, previous research has focused on particular islands. Hence there is still need for a comparison of the islands in terms of the meanings attached to the place and the processes of the construction of an 'islander identity'. Thus, in my research, I focus on two of the Prince Islands, Burgazada and Heybeliada. And, another important aspect of my research, which distinguishes it from the previous research, is that it focuses on domestic spaces along with public spaces. The private space of domesticity and home seems to be completely neglected in previous studies which have focused on public space and everyday life through which complex processes and relations become visible.

So far, this section has attempted to examine the interrelations between theories of place and island studies and provide an introduction of previous related researches. Now, I will introduce the scope of the research and ethnographic methods that I used in conducting the research. As stated above, the research investigates the identity construction through 'living on an island' in two of the Prince Islands Burgazada 'zengin ada' (the rich island) and Heybeliada 'memur adası' (the island of officers). These two islands were chosen for their relatively different historical and spatial contexts. First of all, due to their spatial features, daily life on these two islands is determined to a lesser degree by the day-tripper and tourist influx when compared with Büyükada and Kınalıada. Apart from that, as I will discuss later in-depth, what differentiates Heybeliada from the other islands is mostly related to the founded institutions on the island. After the 1950s, the Muslim population has begun to grow in Heybeliada due to the existence of the Sanatorium and the Naval Military College. Today, most of the locals have relations with at least one of these institutions. The secondary reasons for selecting Burgazada, on the other hand, are twofold. Firstly, the island, known as the '*rich island*', represents a distinct class status. And secondly, it is one of the rare places where people collectively resisted the 1955 riots, resulting in a mass migration of remaining Greek Orthodox from Istanbul (Duru 2016, p.161). As such, it represents an interesting case for the investigation of the construction of an islander identity, particularly with reference to the history of the place.

An ethnographic approach is central to the research conducted for this thesis. I collected the data that I present here through in-depth interviews and field observations during an extended course of engagement the two islands. The decision to use an ethnographic approach is based

on the belief that space, place and our interpretations of them in human relations could be analyzed only through rich ethnographic research (Hastrup and Olwig 1997, p.7). Hence, semi-structured interviews were conducted with people from each island, who are aged between 24 and 85 years and who have lived on the islands either temporarily or permanently. In the selection of the first informants, I used my personal contacts, and thereafter, to reach more informants, I adopted the snowball method. Primarily, the pilot interviews were carried out informally with various island residents from both of the islands. Although I suggested conducting interviews in their houses, according to the preferences of the informants, the interviews were conducted in various places such as cafes, associations, and houses. Before the interviews, I explained the research to the informants and obtained formal approval from them. The interviews were conducted in Turkish and took place in February–November 2019 in the two islands and mainland. I determined common issues after the initial reading of the transcripts, and structured the narrative of the thesis accordingly. I studied the content in detail in light of my research questions, interpreted the data within the framework of my theoretical approach, and tried to present a synthesis through the narratives of my informants.

The thesis is composed of four distinct chapters. In the remaining part of this introductory chapter, I draw a short historical background of the Prince Islands and continue with a short discussion on how I approach to the concepts of place and identity. In Chapter 2, I provide a brief history of Heybeliada, together with an overview of the contemporary situation on the island. Then I introduce my informants from Heybeliada, consisting of 10 residents of the island and I will provide a discussion on the ‘islander identity’ referring to their accounts. I will try to explore how they negotiate their identities in daily spaces as clubs, beaches, forests, institutions and also at their homes. Likewise, Chapter 3 focuses on *Burgazada*, and starts with a brief information and historical background of the island. After an introduction of my informants, I analyze common issues in the accounts of interviews in relation to the relevant theoretical framework. I examine the conceptions of islander identity in *Burgazada*, relating it to the issues of place, belonging and movement. The final chapter of the thesis gives a summary, brings together the key findings of the research and compares the islands in terms of the meanings attached to the place and the processes of the construction of an ‘islander identity’.

2. The Prince Islands: A Historical Background

In this chapter, I will give a brief historical background of the islands, considering the socio-spatial transformations Istanbul has lived through. The nine islands in the Marmara Sea, are aligned from east to west as Sedef/Terevinthos, Büyükada/Prinkipo, Tavşan/Neandros, Heybeli/Halki, Kaşık/Pita, Burgaz/ Antigoni, Kınalı/Proti, Yassı/Plati, and Sivri/Oxia. These nine pieces of land scattered around the island of Vordonisi, which sank in an earthquake a thousand years ago. Throughout history, these islands have witnessed significant incidents. There are monasteries and chapels on almost every hill and bay on the islands, dedicated to religious figures such as Jesus, the Virgin Mary, Archangel Michael, Aya Yorgi, and Aya Nikola, which made the islands of Istanbul known as “Priest Islands” in the past (Demiroğlu 2009, p. 13). After that, in Eastern Roman and Byzantine times, as a result of the expulsion of many statesmen, especially princes, the islands became known as “Princes Islands.” During the Byzantine period, Burgazada, Heybeliada, and Buyukada hosted almost the entire population of Greek fishermen and seafarers, while the majority of the Armenians were in Kinaliada. The islands were included in the Ottoman Empire territories following the Conquest of Istanbul. A growing number of people with different religions from the Ottoman Empire and wealthy Europeans discovered the Princes' Islands as a summer resort starting from the second half of the 18th century, as Istanbul developed the identity as a modern metropolis (Freely 2011).

The islands have entered a period of rapid development with the legal regulations recognizing the possession of foreigners with the rescript of Gülhane (Tanzimat Fermanı) in 1839. The ferry between Kadıköy and the islands started to serve in 1846, causing an increase in the preference of the islands as summer places and the rate of inhabitants within them. Finally, with the regulation of ferries in 1875, the connection between the islands and Istanbul settled into a more regular rhythm. In the late Ottoman period, prominent Turkish and Jewish families, along with some foreign diplomats and business people, began to settle in the Princes' Islands, especially in Büyükada. The Islands became a district of Istanbul in 1867, and in 1876 the district governorship was established. In 1894 the earthquake acknowledged as “The Small Turmoil” caused considerable damage on the islands. However, as Ergut and Erkmen (2011) writes, the earthquake did not interrupt the social and architectural revival of the Islands, continuing for half a century until then. Existing damaged buildings were repaired immediately, and in most cases, the scope of these repairs was not limited to restoring buildings; but also included changes, additional floors, extensions and constructing more comfortable new buildings. Besides the housing, new hotels, amusement venues and service buildings were also built;

hence the general building stock of the islands continued to rise. The vitality on the islands attracted commercial entrepreneurs. For instance, a prominent French hotel management firm then preferred Buyukada and made a significant investment to construct a monumental edifice, which would later be managed as the Greek Orphanage. While entering the new century, throughout a time when Empires' economy underwent troubled days, Prince Islands was one of the liveliest regions of Istanbul's architectural market. Renewal after the earthquake also gave momentum to urban regulation activities on the Islands. However, with the start of World War I, the revival period of the Princes' Islands has come to an end (Ergut & Erkmen 2011, p.21).

Since a lot of Greeks and other non-Muslim groups, being the majority on the islands till then, left the country with the founding of Republic; and the stationary period on the islands followed by the World War I endured for a while. As Ergut and Erkmen (2011) points out, during the mid-1910s to the 1930s period, the arrival of the Russian nobles who escaped after the 1917 Russian Revolution was the most significant factor that animated life on the islands. The Russian Nobles, Belarusians, as they are referred to, quickly adjusted to the pleasing way of life on the islands, and they contributed to the remobilization of everyday life during and after the war. The number of entertainment places gradually increased after the end of the war and in early 1940. Istanbul residents started to fill the growing body of beaches, restaurants, casinos, and bakeries on the islands. These venues, mostly managed by Belarusians, influenced the persistence and redefinition of the new identity of the islands which was shaped like a holiday resort at the end of the 19th century (Ergut & Erkmen 2011, p.22).

In the early Republican Period, besides the housing and entertainment places, the reconstruction process of the islands accelerated. Service structures as ports, schools, and hospitals were built, and steps were taken to ease the development of everyday life on the islands. Some of the most noteworthy service buildings of the time were the sanatoriums. After Heybeliada Sanatorium, which was the largest health facility on the islands and the first tuberculosis hospital in Turkey, starting to give service in 1924, sanatoriums opened in both Büyükada and Burgazada. By the 1950s, water and electricity were provided regularly, squares, streets, and coasts began to be organized on the islands. After World War II, the islands started to draw more attention, in terms of both the number of people and the growing of constructions. In general, the Princes' Islands, especially the beaches and green areas, evolved into an important summer resort and entertainment venue for all Istanbul residents (Ergut & Erkmen 2011, p.24).

The population advance brought about by the economic and structural growth in the 1950s paused after the tensions in the political environment of the 1960s and 1970s. Since the minorities, especially Greeks, left the country, the population of the Islands declined, and the rate of the Turkish population increased (Ergut & Erkmen 2011). Till 1950s, which marked the beginning of the execution of dismissive policies substantially towards minorities, Princes' Islands of Istanbul had been an ethnic, religious, cultural and political place, and especially well suited for happy non-Muslim minorities, consisting of mainly Greeks, Armenians, Jews (Bali 2009, cited in Coşkun 2011, p.3). However, the population of non-Muslims has been steadily declining with the process, which began around the 1950s. The execution of the Wealth Tax in 1942, the Istanbul riots took place on 6-7 September 1955, the orders of 1964 and the Cyprus Operation in 1974 caused them to leave the country.

The islands witnessed significant social and financial changes in the midst of the century, as in Sivriada, which was in demand to become an amusement and gambling venue by foreigner financiers, and Yassıada where many substantial trials ended up with turning into milestones in the Turkish political history. Yet, as Ergut and Erkmen (2011) points out, they have maintained the identity of being the holiday resort of Istanbul. In these years, when the population in the summer period has risen well above the winter period, the beaches representing the approach of holiday and entertainment grew in number on all islands. Furthermore, clubs had already been established on all islands since the 1960s; hence they contributed to spatial and functional aspects of the summer resort identity of the islands by generating water sports and recreation opportunities. Beginning from the mid-century, because the built environment of the islands had begun to expand with the newly constructed apartments, the disappearance of the cultural and natural heritage of the former eras on the islands started. In the 1970s, for the first time, the action was taken to preserve the islands, and the cultural and natural properties of the islands were put on the record (Ergut & Erkmen 2011, p.26).

In the meantime, along with the displacement of the non-muslim population, the waves of migration from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia have also significantly affected the social and spatial structure of the islands. As mentioned above, the islands hosted a significant non-Muslim population until very recently. Even after the decline of the non-Muslim population, each island is still referred to with a different ethnic identity. Kınalıada is associated with Armenians, Burgazada with Greeks, Büyükada with the Jewish, and Heybeliada with Turkish

people (Coşkun 2011, p.3). There are still significant Armenian and Jewish communities and Greeks on the islands, even though the majority of the population of the islands is Turkish.

2. THE CASE of HEYBELIADA

This chapter begins by providing a brief historical background about Heybeliada and continues with a description of the current situation of the island. In the next part of the chapter, following the introduction of the participants of the research, the concepts of 'place' 'belonging' and 'identity' are analyzed through their accounts on meanings they attach to the place, and on their daily practices in Heybeliada. Finally, the opinions of the informants regarding possible transformation on the island are explained and examined.

2.1 The Past and the Present of the Island

Heybeliada, which was named as such due to its hills and valleys resembling 'saddlebag's, is the second-largest island of the Princes' Islands. The Greek name of the island, Halki, means "copper" and comes from the copper mines operated on the island in ancient times (Freely 2011). As I mentioned in the previous chapter, in Eastern Roman and Byzantine times, the islands of Istanbul were places of reclusion for priests while they were places of expulsion for the statesmen. As Türker (2003, p.14) writes that during the Byzantine period, apart from the clergymen, nearly all inhabitants of Heybeliada were Greek fishermen and seafarers as in Burgazada and Büyükada. With the conquest of Istanbul, islands were included in the Ottoman Empire. 110 years after the conquest, in 1563, it was recorded that the island had 81 inhabitants, and in the early 19th century, the population of the island was recorded as 800. The population remained limited for a long time until transportation became easier towards the end of the 19th century. In 1846, a ferry between Kadıköy and the islands started to serve, and later on, in 1875, ferry services were regulated and the connection between the mainland and the islands settled into a more consistent rhythm. In the meantime, with the establishment of Greek schools and the revival of monasteries on the island, the population began to increase. As Türker (2003,

p.14) maintains, with the rapid increase in the number of boarding students and teachers in Greek schools, the Greek population of winter times reached 3500. The interest towards Heybeliada by the Greek bourgeoisie of Istanbul, which became equal citizens of the Ottoman Empire with the Hatt-ı Humayun of 1856 and got wealthy rapidly, started to increase. Wooden and masonry kiosks were built to be used particularly in the summer months. However, after World War I (1918-1923), the Greek population of Heybeliada started to diminish parallel to the increase in the Turkish population (Türker 2003, p.15).

While Heybeliada remained as a small fishing town until the mid 20th century, later on, it experienced significant urbanization practices with the foundation of the Naval Academy and the Sanatorium. Due to the existence of these institutions, the Muslim population has begun to grow on the island after the 1950s. Migrations to Heybeliada from many parts of Anatolia, especially from cities like Ordu / Mesudiye, Tokat, Kastamonu, and Rize within that period, are worth to mention here. Today, the population of Heybeliada is mostly composed of Muslim citizens from these provinces (Coşkun 2011, p. 25). Waves of migration from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia also affected the present-day situation of the island. Migration to the island from Eastern Anatolia was closely related to the labor requirement for the abundant construction works on the island after the 1980s. In the meantime, the Greek population of the island rapidly declined due to the displacement of Greeks from Turkey in 1964, and the following immigration of Greeks of Turkish nationality. In 2011, the population of the Greeks was recorded as only 25 during winter months; while it could go up to 200 in summer (Freely 2011). The average population of the island in 2019 is 4.253 (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu 2019), and as a result of the prominence in summer tourism, this number reaches 20,000 in summer months (*Adalar Nüfus Bilgileri 2018*)

2.2 Participants of the research¹

	Name	State	Age	Other Location	Education	Occupation	Ethnic origin	Number of children	Number of residents	Marital Status	Household type
1	Fürüzan	Summer vacationist	85	Şişli	School of nursing	Retired nurse	Turkish	2	1	widow	Detached house
2	Nermin	Permanent resident	78	-	Secondary school graduate	Housewife	Turkish	1	3	widow	Detached house
3	Tülin	Summer vacationist	62	Beşiktaş	Bachelor's degree	Housewife	Turkish	2	changeable	married	Detached house
4	Oğuz	Summer vacationist	54	Bostancı	High school graduate	Tradesman	Turkish-Bulgarian	1	-	divorced	Detached house
5	Oya	Summer vacationist	54	Maçka	Bachelor's degree	Lawyer	Abkhazian	1	3	married	Apartment
6	Mehmet	Permanent resident	53	-	High school graduate	Worker / IMM	Turkish	2	3	married	Apartment
7	Şükran	Permanent resident	52	Beyoğlu	High school graduate	Housewife	Kurdish	2	3	married	Apartment
8	Melda	Summer vacationist	50	Beşiktaş	Bachelor's degree	Registrar's Office Manager	Turkish	-	changeable	unmarried	Detached house
9	Efe	Summer vacationist	28	Bostancı	Bachelor's degree	Self-employment	Turkish-Bulgarian	-	-	unmarried	Detached house
10	Melisa	Summer vacationist	24	Kurtuluş	Bachelor's degree	Graphic designer	Assyrian	-	3	unmarried	Apartment

Table 1. Background characteristics (informants in Heybeliada)

During my fieldwork in Heybeliada, I talked, through semi-structured interviews, to 10 people – female and male, of various ages. Three of these informants, Nermin (female, 78), Şükran (female, 52) and Mehmet (male, 53) are 'kışlıkçı', that is, they stay in the island all year round. Nermin (female, 78) was born in Heybeliada and left the island when she got married. Since her husband was a military officer, she lived in various cities in Turkey and came back to Heybeliada around 40-45 years ago. She is 78 years old and lives permanently on the island with her daughter and granddaughter. Şükran (female, 52), who is a housewife living in Heybeliada permanently with her husband and two sons, moved to Heybeliada from Beyoğlu in 1992 after her marriage. She did not know anyone from the island but her husband when she moved here. Mehmet (male, 53) moved from Tokat to the island in 1993 following her sister who had moved to the island before. He lives with her wife and one of his sons. He is a state employee.

¹ I have used pseudonyms throughout this thesis in order to protect the anonymity of the participants.

Another three, F ruzan (female, 85), Oya (female, 54) and Melisa (female, 24) are 'yazlıkçı', that is, summer vacationists. Oya (female, 54), a lawyer, lived in Heybeliada permanently between 1992-1994, then she left the island for some time and then came back. Now she lives on the island with her husband and son in summer months and during the weekends. F ruzan (female, 85) is a retired nurse. She has been living alone since her husband passed away. She moved to Heybeliada as a summer house vacationist 56 years ago. She lives in the ŐiŐli district of Istanbul. She moves to the island every May, and then returns to Istanbul in September. Melisa (female, 24), a graphic designer, has moved to the island every summer since she was born. I talked also to the son and grandson of F ruzan - OĐuz (male, 54) and Efe (male, 28), who used to be 'yazlıkçı' in the past. Now they visit the island only from time to time.

Oya (female, 54), OĐuz (male, 54), Melda (female, 50), Mehmet (male, 53), Melisa (female, 24) and Efe (male, 28) were engaged in waged work at the time of my research. OĐuz (male, 54) is a tradesman in Bostancı and runs his bakery. Efe (male, 28) is self-employed. Oya (female, 54) has her law firm with her husband. Melisa (female, 24) works in a design office as a graphic designer. Mehmet (male, 53) is a state employee and works in Kartal. Oya (female, 54), Efe (male, 28), T lin (female, 62), Melisa (female, 24), and Melda (female, 50) are the ones who have a university degree among my informants. Apart from Efe (male, 28) and Melisa (female, 24), all the informants had children. Efe (male, 28), OĐuz (male, 54), and F ruzan (female, 85) live alone.

2.3. Place, Belonging and Identity in Heybeliada

2.3.1. The Meanings of the Island

In this section, I aim to understand the meanings of living in Heybeliada for my participants. Drawing on their accounts, I try to interpret what the 'island' and being an 'islander' means to them, and how these meanings are reflected in their everyday socio-spatial practices.

While the meanings attached to the 'island' and the ways of identification through the 'island' vary, for almost all of the informants the 'island' is a significant part of their lives. The majority of informants have strong emotions for the island, and they all have a sense of attachment to it. A significant number of them describe the island as their 'home' and/or 'hometown' for various reasons. For instance, Oya (female, 54), defines the island as such because she feels happy

there, while Efe (male, 28) refers to the feelings of familiarity and freedom. Nermin (female, 78), whose father had moved to the island from Kastamonu in the 1930s, defines the island as her homeland mainly due to her roots in the island. She tells me that she had lived in many places after she left the island, but finally turned back to “her homeland”. She proudly tells the story of her daughter who divorced when her husband asked her to leave the island and live somewhere else. For Nermin (female, 78), there is no other place to live; she thinks that she is destined to be in the island. She senses an essential tie between herself and the island. She is not only accustomed to live here but also believes that she is rooted here. Her account reminds of the understanding of place through ‘rootedness’, according to which people believe they are naturally rooted in place. This also seems to be reflected in their understanding of culture and cultural identity. Like the majority of the informants, Nermin (female, 78) defines ‘island culture’ and ‘islander identity’ very rigidly and in relation to a quite nostalgic narrative. In her accounts, she mostly refers to the past, reflects her discontent about the current situation of the island, and voices her feelings over the disappearance of what she sees as ‘real islanders’ and ‘real island culture’.

Being an ‘islander’ mostly refers to an upper social-class identity and has various interpretations among the residents of Heybeliada. People on the island marginalize each other over an ‘islander’ identity and negotiate their identities within the context of an ‘islander identity’. As I explained earlier, according to some of my informants, there are some conditions that an islander should meet, as birthplace, attitude, the way of living, time spent on the island, etc. According to most of them, a stable existence on the island is the main condition for the ‘islander’ culture and identity. This discourse is mostly adopted by the old residents of the island. Defining themselves as ‘islanders’ is important especially to them. Nevertheless, the definition of the islander identity slightly changes in the accounts of informants. According to Nermin (female, 78), the ones who are born and have lived on the island through their lives are ‘the Islanders’. She and her family are all proud of being ‘islanders’. Since it’s written Heybeliada as birthplace on their birth certificates / identity cards, they are the ‘real’ Islanders. She states that there are many people bought and settled into the houses on the island, and who live on the island now; but they are entitled to an ‘islander’ identity:

"It is not clear where they come from, they buy houses and settle, I mean, they are not islanders. I think those who are born and live here are the islanders. We have a right, we're the islanders." (Nermin, 78)²

Hence, in her perspective, being an islander requires 'rootedness'. She associates the 'islander identity' with 'the beautiful life on the island 'in the past, and the old residents.

Nermin (female, 78) links 'being an islander' also to having 'prestigious jobs' like the old islanders did. She states that while in the past, there used to be elite, dignitary people on the island, the current residents of the island are '*ayaktakımı*', meaning 'vulgar'. Demographic change and the loss of well-known people who used to live on the island, have caused the disappearance of the 'real islanders 'and the identity of Heybeliada as a particular place:

"Being an islander was very good in the past, people of the island have changed, now, I can not find any islanders. For example, I had friends, lawyers, doctors, their wives... they all died... the houses remained." (Nermin, 78)³

Füruzan (female, 85), another of my old-aged participants, also talks about the 'islander identity 'as a thing of the past, but particularly relating it to the ethnic variety of the population. She associates particular ethnic groups, especially Greeks, with a way of living. She states that ever since the Greeks left the island, the island has lost its identity, which is, for her, associated with a way of life that was defined by leisure, fun, and happiness.

Tülin (female, 62) also expresses similar views, relating the islander identity to stability and ethnic origin. As she was born and raised in Gököy in Ordu, she does not have a strong sense of attachment to Heybeliada. To express this, she talks about the codes providing one with a sense of self-identification in the early phases of life, stating that the place where one is born and spends the early life has a determining power in the development of a feeling of belonging. Although she has not been to Gököy for 40 years now, she says that her heart is set on there:

"I don't identify myself as an islander. If you ask me now where I am from, I am from Ordu Gököy, it is interesting, I read it as follows: I think one is from wherever he/she was born and grew up till the age of 18, one always carries that emotion. For example, I left there in 73, and I have never visited for 40 years,

² "Evleri satın alıp, nereden geliyor belli değil, satın alıyor, yerleşiyor, öyle, adalı değiller yani. Burada doğanlar, yaşayanlar adalıdır bence. Hakkımız var, adalıyız yani biz." (Nermin, 78)

³ "Adalılık eskiden çok güzeldi, insanları değiştirdi, yok şimdi, adalı kimseyi bulamıyorum. Mesela avukat arkadaşlarım vardı, hanımları vardı, doktorlar vardı, hepsi ölen ölene.. gitti, evler şeyler hep kaldı, noldu belli değil." (Nermin, 78)

but my heart is there, so this is where I am from. But now if you'd ask Ahmet, Mehmet, (her sons) they would say that they are islanders. I think you're from wherever you spent your childhood and youth, and where your personality took shape.” (Tülin, 62)⁴

Similarly, Oya (female, 54) who says that she likens herself to an islander, also thinks that being an islander requires a stable existence on the island, meaning particularly that one grows up and receives school education there. She mentions the Heybeliada primary school, in particular, and states that the group of people who graduated from this school and lived their childhood on the island, are ‘the most ’islanders. Oya (female, 54) and Tülin (female, 62) who perceive ‘islander identity ’as something gradational, define it with adverbs like this – i.e. like ‘more’, ‘real’, and ‘most’, in relation to the notion of rootedness and the time spent on the island. Tülin (female, 62), like Füzuran, thinks that the ‘real islanders ’are the Greeks which used to outnumber the Muslims on the island. For her, the Greek inhabitants of the island were the real owners of the place, and suffered a lot when they were displaced. Nevertheless, she also adds that her children might be regarded as islanders now that they have lived here for 40 years:

“There were so many Greeks, but in time they slowly... They were the real islanders, I guess... They left gradually, especially after the events of September 6-7, then the young people probably could see no future here, the ones who could go, left. Older people who were forced to leave, died as soon as they left because they were indeed islanders, they became like fish out of water there, for example, they could not find the same atmosphere. They were probably the real islanders. But since we have been living here for 40 years, our children are probably islanders.” (Tülin, 62)⁵

As indicated previously, a significant part of the narratives about life on the island is told through comparisons between before and after the Greek inhabitants, who left the island following the dismissive policies applied in the second half of the 20th century. The plunders and violent acts towards the Greeks in Turkey on 6-7 September 1955 – namely the ‘6-7 September events – ’which marked an important faultline in the life on the island, is still a very

⁴“ Ben adalı olarak tanımlamıyorum kendimi. Bana şimdi siz nerelisiniz diye sorarsanız ben Ordu Gölköylüyüm, çünkü bunu da enteresan, şöyle yorumluyorum, bir insan 18li yaşlara kadar nerede doğmuş nerede büyümüşse oralı oluyor bence, o duyguyu hiçbir zaman içinden atamıyor, ben mesela 73te oradan ayrıldım, 40 yıldır da hiç gitmedim, ama benim gönlüm orada, oralyım ben yani. Ama şimdi Ahmet’e, Mehmet’e (oğulları) sorun adalıyım der. Çocukluk ve gençlik yıllarınızı, kişiliğinizin oturduğu dönemi nerede geçirmişseniz oralı oluyorsunuz bence.” (Tülin, 62)

⁵ “O kadar çok Rum vardı ki onlar hep yavaş yavaş.. Gerçek adalı onlardı herhalde yani.. Onlar hep kademe kademe, özellikle o 6-7 Eylül olaylarından sonra falan çok gidenler olmuş, sonra da zaman içinde gençler herhalde burada bir gelecek göremediler, gidebilen gençler gitti. Mecbur olup da dönen yaşı ileri olan insanlar, adada yaşamış olanlar gider gitmez öldüler, çünkü onlar adalıydı gerçekten, orada sudan çıkmış balık gibi, mesela aynı ortamı bulamamışlar, onlar herhalde gerçek adalıydı. Ama biz 40 yıldır yaşıyor olmakla, işte bizim çocuklarımız herhalde adalı...” (Tülin,62)

vivid and painful memory for my elderly informants. Nermin (female, 78), who was a teenager back then, remembers and describes the events as follows:

“There were the events of September 6-7. The year of 55. We were out of the cinema, strange people who came from outside got off the boats... The streets were full of horrible people... There was no ‘ülküçü’ then, they were neither fish nor fowl, I would not say Kurdish, nor anything else. They were tall, big people, with sticks in their hands...They toured all the streets, houses, we all hid in the house and took a few neighbours inside.” (Nermin, 78)⁶

Nermin states mostly ‘strangers’ came to the island after the Greeks left. It is clear that in her account, ‘strangers’ do not refer to non-muslims, or people from outside the country, but all the newcomers, regardless of ethnic origin or religion. After more than half a century, she remembers the Greeks longingly. Indeed, she states that she has recently written down all the names and houses of Greeks to create a record of the past. She recounts how happy she felt when the children of one of the Greek families who were displaced came to the island a few years ago and spare some time to visit her.

While longing for the old times and comparisons between then and present is prominent in the accounts of especially elderly informants like Nermin (female, 78) and Füzuzan (female, 85), some younger informants, Oğuz (male, 54) and Efe (male, 28) also have a similar approach. I had trouble sometimes understanding the times they were talking about. For instance, Oğuz (male, 54) mostly talked in the present tense although he was talking about the old times in the island. ‘Heybeli’ which he refers to, is fixed in the past - it is the island as it was when he was young. Efe (male, 28) and Oğuz (male, 54) have great nostalgia for the good old days of the island which represent a bygone happy and free time. Nermin (female, 78), Oğuz (male, 54), Füzuzan (female, 85), and Efe (male, 28) relate their identities with the ‘old island culture’ which they particularly associate with the former Greek population of the island, as opposed to the ‘others –’the newcomers and day-trippers, whom they perceive as threatening and unfitting. While they express an acute sense of nostalgia for the ‘good old days’ of the island, they cannot accept the new state of the place and its new agents.

⁶ “İşte bu 6-7 Eylül hadiseleri oldu. 55 senesi. Böyle dışarıdan gelen motorlarla tanımadık acayip insanlar indiler, biz sinemadan çıktık, yollar caddeler dolu, korkunç insanlarla.....Ülkücü yoktu o zaman, bunların ne olduğu belli değil, Kürt desem değil, o desem değil, uzun boylu, iri yarı insanlar, ellerinde böyle sopalar, bi şeyler.. Bütün sokakları evleri gezdiler, biz eve saklandık hepimiz, komşulardan da bir iki kişiyi aldık içeri.” (Nermin, 78)

As explained earlier, Efe (male, 28) is one of the informants who associates the islander identity with stability, the time spent on the island. For him being an islander means, living on the island for at least a generation, adapting oneself to, loving, and, most importantly, looking after it. According to him, it is not probable to keep up with the life in the island in a few months, which is the case of the newcomers; it requires time for adaptation. Besides 'feeling responsible' and looking after the island and people living on it is another measure for Efe (male, 28) in defining an 'islander'. Island culture requires to interfere when there is misbehavior, harassment, or damage to the nature. Explaining this, Efe tells me an incident from a couple of years ago. He got injured at night in the forest, far from the center, and the ambulance came for him. He asked them to make the initial treatment and leave him at the center, because he was not able to walk. They refused to take him, telling him that they did not want to be treated like a taxi. They said they could take him to Kartal, to the hospital, if he wished. Since he had similar problems several times before, he knew that the only thing he was supposed to do was to rest to get better. Besides he did not want to wait for the boat for hours, go across and turn back towards the morning. Thus, he did not want to be taken to the mainland. At this stage, when the medical team refused to drive him to the center from the forest and left him there, they had a dispute and ended up in court. He states that one of the reasons the health workers have left him in the forest in such a state is that they were not 'adalı', but 'Adanalı'. Here is what happened, in his own words:

"We got in a fight since they did not take me. However, if it had happened in the past, everyone would know each other and for example, in no sense one could have left Arzu's son Efe in that way. I mean it is a big shame, the whole island would blame you, if you did something like that. And not to just my family, but to all people, from the grocer to the pharmacist, you'd have to account for why you did something like that, therefore you couldn't do it. But now the generation has changed, for example, they were not from the island, but from Adana. They were all from Adana, so they told us that they could not serve like a taxi for us, so they left me there in the middle of the forest and we got into a fight, and such an event took place. If it was the old island, certainly there would not be such a thing. The police car passed, and he didn't let me in the same way. I asked, 'Just take me down, do the first-aid treatment', they said 'We are not a taxi, we can not take you down' and such an event took place. And I couldn't have predicted that such a thing would happen. If this happened in the old times, they would be beaten, it would make no difference whether they are from the hospital or the court. Now, such things do not happen. If they were corrected, they would never do this again. The ones from Adana would have to keep up with the island." (Efe, 28)⁷

⁷ "Beni almadıkları için kavga çıktı. Halbuki eskiden olsaydı herkes birbirini tanırdı ve hiç bir şekilde mesela sen Bahar'ın oğlu Efe'yi o şekilde bırakamazdın, bir kere çok büyük ayıp. Ayıp yani, seni bütün ada ayıplardı, öyle bir şey yapsan ve sadece bizimkiler değil, bunu duyan bütün esnaf eczacisinden bakkalına neden böyle bir şey yaptığının hesabını vermek zorunda kalırdı insanlara, yani yapamazdın yani böyle bir şey. Fakat şimdi öyle bir şey ki jenerasyon değişti, o gelenler mesela adalı değil Adanalıydı. Bu şekilde hepsi Adanalı'ydı yani, beni orada o Adanalı grubu, beni orada sana taksicilik yapamayız diye ormanın ortasında bıraktılar, ve bu yüzden kavga çıktı, mahkemelik olduk. Eski ada olsa böyle bir şey kesinlikle olmazdı, polis arabası geçti almadı aynı şekilde....."

In this narrative, it is clear that morals, which Efe (male, 28) relates to origins, have an important role in defining the 'island' and the 'islander identity'. When I ask him if it is possible to be both 'adalı' and 'Adanalı', he responds that it would take time, highlighting his view that to adopt to the culture of the place requires some stability.

Also, for another informant, Mehmet (male, 53), permanence is important in terms of identification as 'islander'. Mehmet (male, 53) thinks that it is now possible for him to be referred to as an islander after living on the island for many years. However, besides the role of stability, 'to be able to put up with the difficulties of the island' is also important to become an islander. Facing the difficulties of life on the island means to be present in the place not only in summer but also in winter. According to him, both 'yazlıkçı' (summer vacationist) and 'kışlıkçı' (permanent resident) are islanders, but 'kışlıkçı' is much 'more' an islander than 'yazlıkçı' since they suffer from challenges of living on the island, like storms and southwest both in summer and winter. For Oğuz (male, 54) too, being an islander is closely related to continuous presence on the island, and, accordingly, a continuous struggle with the challenges that life presents here:

"Wherever you come from, if you have settled there and live there both in summer and winter, if you try to catch the boat every day at 6.30 in the morning, if you come to the island at 6-7 pm by sailing 1,5 hours on the boat, you are an islander. This is what islanderness is, suffering from these..." (Oğuz, 54)⁸

Oğuz (male, 54) thinks that if one lives for a long time on the island, they start to keep pace with the atmosphere on the island and marginalize others on the basis of an overarching identity, which is constructed essentially in relation to the enduring difficulties of life on the island:

"If you live on the island for a long time, its unlikeable aspects are revealed. It has a melancholic atmosphere, so you're starting to get into that mood, your psychology is adapting to the island. For example, you're starting to otherise people. Talks like 'This is from us, this one is not' starts. You don't acknowledge summer vacationists and the outsiders as islanders. To be an islander, you have to face the difficulties. I mean, you have to experience the things like the wood, coal, stove, cold black frost of the island. But when

Yani sadece beni aşağıya götürün, ilk müdahaleyi yapın dedim, biz taksi değiliz seni götüremeyiz dediler ve böyle bir olay yaşandı. Ve ben böyle bir şeyin olacağını tahmin edemedim, eskiden böyle şeyler olsun, bi de döverler adamı yani, böyle bir şey de var, bakmazdır yani hastanedir, mahkemedir. Şimdi böyle şeyler olmuyor, bunlar olsa, hadlerini bildirseler bir daha böyle bir şey olmaz, Adanalılar adaya ayak uydurmak zorunda kalır." (Efe, 28)

⁸" Adalılık, hangi şehirden gelirsen gel, eğer oraya yerleşmişsen ve yaz kış orada yaşıyorsan ve her gün saat 6.30da sabah gemisine yetişmeye çalışıyorsan, akşam işte 6-7 gemisiyle 1.30 saat yol alarak adaya geliyorsan adalısın, adalılık budur yani, bunların çekilmesidir yani." (Oğuz, 54)

one comes from outside as a vacationist, they are not acknowledged as an islander, they say 'they're not from us'." (Oğuz, 54)⁹

Oya (female, 54) who is a former 'kışlıkçı' (permanent resident), now summer-vacationist, also states that being an islander requires to live on the island both in summer and winter, and to face the difficulties of life here. Temporality is another significant notion upon which the 'islander identity' is constructed. In winter, the island has a population which is one-third of the population in summer, and the living conditions are rather hard due to the weather and transportation problems. Thus, while daily practices of permanent residents and summer vacationists differentiate considerably, the dynamics of life in summer and winter are also quite different.

Temporality and permanence of the residence is an important determinant understanding social groups on the island. There are summer vacationists who mostly come to the island at the beginning of the summer and go back to their residences on the mainland when schools open in September. The permanent residents live on the island continually. Among my informants, while Şükran (female, 52), Nermin (female, 78), Mehmet (male, 53) are 'kışlıkçı', Füzuran (female, 85), Melisa, and Efe are summer vacationists, Oya (female, 54), Melda (female, 50), and Tülin (female, 62) do not think that they are involved in such categorization. Although they mostly live on the island in summer, they sometimes also come offseason. The condition of being temporary or permanent certainly affects the place attachment of some residents. The meanings of these two groups attach to the island are very different from each other. Oya (female, 54) explains this as follows:

"Principally, they differ as the summer vacationists and permanent residents. There's a sharp separation between the two, of course. Summer vacationists consider how to spend 3-4 months here. The others here are mostly tradesmen and employees from the state offices. Of course, this place becomes like their home. For the summer vacationists, it is not completely like that. Especially if they do not have a property, I think they would say 'after us, the flood'." (Oya, 54)¹⁰

⁹ "Adada uzun süre yaşarsanız sevmediğiniz tarafları ortaya çıkıyor. Melankolik bir havası var, dolayısıyla siz de o havaya girmeye başlıyorsunuz, biraz böyle psikolojiniz adaya uyum sağlamaya başlıyor. Ya ne biliyim, ötekileştirmeye başlıyorsunuz. Bu bizden, bu bizden değil muhabbetleri başlıyor. Yazlıkçıları adalı saymıyorsunuz, işte dışarıdan gelenler.. Sizin adalı olmanız için adanın o cefasını çekmeniz lazım. Yani odunuydu, kömürüydü, işte sobasıydı, soğuşuydu, ayazıydı, bunları yaşamanız lazım. Bir şeyler bittiği zaman o kıtlığı, yokluğu yaşamanız lazım ki siz de adalı olabilesiniz. Ama dışarıdan yazlıkçı geldiğiniz zaman, adalı değil bunlar, bizden değil." (Oğuz,54)

¹⁰ "Esasen yazlıkçılar ve her zaman kalanlar olarak ayrılıyor. İkisi arasında çok keskin bir ayrılık var tabii, yazlıkçılar burada 3-4 ayı nasıl güzel geçireceklerini düşünüyorlar. Öbürleri burada daha çok esnaf, resmi dairelerin çalışanları oluyor. Onlar tabii kendilerini, artık burası evleri gibi oluyor onların. Yazlıkçılar için ise tam anlamıyla öyle olmuyor, hele mülkü yoksa, tufan olsa çok da umurlarında olacağını zannetmiyorum." (Oya, 54)

On the other hand, according to Melda (female, 50), permanence or suffering the difficulties of island life has no importance, but loving, feeling and adapting to the island is the main measure for the definition of being an 'islander'. She defines this with reference to the day-trippers who, for her, do not care for the island and create significant problems for the island and permanent residents:

"Now when I look at the island, many different groups are living on the island. There are Easterners as well as the Westerners. I think everyone who lives on the island is an islander. The ones who disturb the islanders, I mean, the people currently living on the island, are the day-trippers. Very crowded groups come and pollute the island. They don't take care of the island, they have fun, walk around, sometimes start a fire, I mean they act unconsciously... I think, people who live here are the islanders whether they came 50 years or a month ago." (Melda, 50)¹¹

As also understood from Melda's (female, 50) account, along with the summer vacationists, another dynamic that affects the life on the island is the visits of day-trippers and tourists. Most of my informants have a favorable opinion about the tourists since they contribute to the economy of the island. However, they also state that the existence of tourists on the island changes the spatial practices of permanent residents. My informants say that they do not generally prefer to go out of their houses on weekends since the island become very crowded and that they prefer not to have any relation with the tourists coming and going. For instance, Oya (female, 54) prefers to go to her house in Maçka on the weekends when the island is full of people. Nermin (female, 78) is the only one who likes to communicate with the day-trippers - she enjoys talking to them and guiding them. Nevertheless, although she likes people visiting the island, she states that she is annoyed sometimes by the day-trippers. She particularly recounts the time when she was very disturbed by 'the junkies' who used to come to the island, drink alcohol and use drugs under the trees in the area called 'Değirmen'. Since traveling around Değirmen was unlikely for her while they were hanging out there, she says that she even called the police once to report them. Such exclusionist reactions to the day-trippers are prominent in the accounts of my other informants. For instance, Oğuz (male, 54) states that for him, it is not possible in summer to experience the beauty of the island which is already at a low ebb lately,

¹¹ "Şimdi ben adaya baktığımda çok farklı gruplar var adada yaşayan, doğulusu da var, batılısı da var. Adada yaşayan bence herkes adalı. Adada adalıları yani adada şu anda yaşayan insanları rahatsız edenler günübürlükçiler. Aslında onların rahatsızlığı da şöyle: çok kalabalık gruplar geliyor ve çok kirletiyorlar adayı, sahip çıkmıyorlar, eğleniyorlar, geziyorlar, bazen yangın çıkarıyorlar, yani bilinçsizce hareket ediyorlar... Burada yaşayan insan artık bence adalı, bir ay önce de gelmiş olabilir, 50 yıl önce de gelmiş olabilir. Mesela ben Ayşe Hanım'ı düşünüyorum, 2 ay adada kaldı, ama adayı o kadar özümsemi ki yani gerçek bir adalı gibi hissediyor adayı bence, onun için adayı seven, adada bir ay da bir hafta da yaşasa hissetmek önemli olan." (Melda, 50)

due to the slum dwellers - the '*varoş*' people - who come to the island. In a similar manner, Şükran (female, 52), although she seems to be glad with the tourists coming to the island, she states that she would like more 'decent' tourists to come to the island. What 'decent' means changes in the accounts of my informants. Şükran (female, 52), in particular, states that she is very unhappy with the 'invasion of the Arabs', and the local tradesmen favouring them over the local people. 'Disturbance' is one of the most mentioned notions while speaking of the day-trippers and especially Arab tourists. Oya (female, 54) tells me that she is very much disturbed by Arabic people on the boat to and from the mainland, which she has to take twice every weekday. For her, it is unpleasant to travel with them, because they speak very loudly and have spoiled, misbehaving children. For some of my informants like Melda (female, 50), though, all the day-trippers to the island, regardless of their being Arabic or Turkish, pose important threats to the environment of the place. Here is her account in her own words:

"(The culture of living) Not just of the Arabs, but even our day trippers 'are different. They come and make a barbecue, have a picnic in the woods, and set fire, this is the worst. (How the last fire started is) unknown, but probably it broke out due to these, as the previous ones. They leave without even collecting their garbage, I think that is one of the biggest disturbances of the island right now." (Melda, 50)¹²

While most of the informants have a strong sense of attachment to the island and positive feelings for the life there, few of them do not share such feelings. For instance, Şükran (female, 52) defines the island and her life there as being in a cave, an open prison, because she feels very isolated from Istanbul. This sense of being inside and incarcerated was also reflected in Nermin's (female, 78) accounts. However, unlike Şükran (female, 52), this does not affect her attachment to the island. It is possible to say that she seems to have accepted this as a normal condition of living on an island, and Heybeliada, to her, is homeland:

"I returned to my homeland. We can't live anywhere else anyway, we are used to staying in this open prison." (Nermin, 78)¹³

As mentioned above, while island life and island culture is an important source of identification for the majority of the informants, it seems that the meanings they attach to the island change

¹² "Ama işte bu günübirişikçiler... bırak Arapları bizimkiler bile farklı (yaşam kültürü) ... gelip ormanlık alanda mangal yakıp, piknik yapıp yangın çıkarıyorlar, en kötüsü bu. (Bu son çıkan yangın) bilinmiyor ama muhtemelen öyle çıktı çünkü daha öncekiler öyleydi. Çöplerini dahi toplamadan gidiyorlar, yani adanın en büyük rahatsızlıklarından biri şu anda o bence." (Melda, 50)

¹³ "Vatanıma döndüm. Başka yerde zaten yaşayamayız; biz alışmışız bu açık hava cezaevinde kalmaya." (Nermin, 78)

depending on various factors such as socio-economic status, personal histories, age, gender, property ownership, and the length of residence on the island. Among my informants, Tülin (female, 62), Melda (female, 50), Nermin (female, 78), Oya (female, 54), and Melisa (female, 24) who are all owners of the houses they live in, state that they feel very much attached to the island. Tülin (female, 62), Melda (female, 50), Oya (female, 54), and Melisa (female, 24) are also the ones who have more mobility and better socio-economic conditions. For them, living on the island is a preference rather than an obligation. For instance, Oya (female, 54) states that moving to the island is something she has done for herself, and that she sees this move as a very positive turning point in her life.

Unlike Oya, Mehmet (male, 53), who has lived on the island since 1993, does not feel attached to the place since he thinks he will eventually leave the island, even though he likes living here:

“I’m not permanent here, I have been always about to leave. I have thought to leave here every year for 20 years, but for the last few years, I realized that I can’t go without retirement. I have always thought I’d go.” (Mehmet, 53)¹⁴

Similarly, Şükran (female, 52), who moved to the island in 1992 after her marriage and has been living here ever since then, does not feel attached to the place. She does not characterize herself as an islander since she has never adapted to the life on the island. She defines moving to the island as a negative turning point in her life since she had to quit her job in Istanbul and has never been able to get back. As explained earlier, she says she feels trapped rather than attached. Indeed, the notion of 'islander identity' does not mean much to her and she still feels like an outsider among the people of the island:

“I think islander identity is nothing. When you see someone outside, you rejoice as if you were close, but when we come together everyone acts in a weird way.” (Şükran, 52)¹⁵

Some of the informants, like Efe (male, 28), and Oğuz (male, 54), who once felt attached to the island, say that they have felt alienated on the island lately. In Oğuz’s case, the main reason for this is the feeling that he lost his sense of familiarity. Due to the aforementioned demographic

¹⁴“ Ben kalıcı değilim, hep gidiciyim. Ben yıllardır her sene gittim buradan, 20 yıldır her sene gittim buradan, ama son bir kaç yıldır anladım ki ben emekli olmadan gidemeyeceğim. Hep gidicem diye düşünüyorum.” (Mehmet, 53)

¹⁵ “Adalılık bence hiç bir şey değil. Dışarıda gördüğünde birbirini gerçekten ayy çok candanmış gibi görüp böyle samimi seviniyorsun ama bir araya geldiğinde herkes bir garip.” (Şükran, 52)

change on the island, he feels alienated and 'disturbed 'by the new residents and day-trippers. He does not consider the island as a source of identification for himself now, as he used to do in the past. He explains this as follows:

"I don't identify myself as an islander. Because I'm alienated from the island, I don't want to go there. I go there only from outside, I mean from the sea. I don't want to go on land, I do not want to take a boat, because there are also very disturbing kinds of people. For example, you can't read your book there, it's not possible, someone comes and throws his arm and crashes into your shoulder, the other one starts to laugh as at the top of her/his lungs at your foot, the other screaming and talks by squalling. I mean, it's a disgrace, there's an incredible unmannerliness." (Oğuz, 54)¹⁶

While the feelings of alienation and estrangement is mostly caused by the demographic change on the island, another reason seems to be the privatization of public spaces. As I will discuss in detail in the following sections, there is, today, only one free beach left on Heybeliada and one should pay to get in one of the commonly used pathways in Değirmen Cape. Efe (male, 28) says that he and his friends started to feel alienated since some parts of the island have been subdivided, rented or privatized. He thinks that their right to freely move on the island has been violated. He explains this as follows:

"Now, since these developments started and they divided the island to parcels, we are already alienated. It was the end of high school, the beginning of college. Because the places we entered freely, the forests we wander... I mean we used to dive into the forest, walk around with blood on our legs. We loved having these activities. We would get lost, stay there. There were some places untouched. We would go to different places like a bug and look at the view from different points. Then, this opportunity was taken from our hands. Those parts of the island started being sold, and some of the beaches too. First, they were letting islanders to use them, but then they started not to. I mean, because life got more expensive, I guess they have a point in their own way." (Efe, 28)¹⁷

As it is apparent in his account, the notion of 'freedom 'is prominent in his attachment to the island. When he started to be excluded from some parts of the island, the feeling of attachment

¹⁶ "Yok, kendimi adalı olarak tanımlamıyorum. Soğuduğum için işte adadan soğuduğum için, yani gitmek istemiyorum. Ancak dışarıdan, denizden gidiyorum yani. Karadan gitmek istemiyorum, motora da binmek istemiyorum, çünkü orada da çok rahatsız edici tipler var. Yani kitabınızı okuyamazsınız, mümkün değil, biri gelir kolunu atar omzunuza çarpar, öbürü avazı çıktığı kadar kahkaha atmaya başlar kulağınızın dibinde, öbürü ciyak ciyak bağırarak konuşmaya başlar. Yani rezalet bir durum, inanılmaz bir görgüsüzlük var. (Oğuz, 54)

¹⁷ "Şimdi bu gelişmeler başladığından beri, adayı parsel parsel böldüklerinden beri zaten biz bir soğumuştuk yani, işte lise döneminin sonları, üniversiteye başlangıç falan. Çünkü adada girdiğimiz, özgürce girip çıktığımız, ormanlarında dolaştığımız, yani biz ormana dalarlardık, bacaklarımız kan içinde kalırdı, öyle dolaşırdık, bir yerlerden çıkardık illa ki, seviyorduk yani bu tarz etkinlikler yapmayı, kaybolurduk, kalırdık, balta girmemiş yerler olurdu. Farklı farklı adanın abuk sabuk yerlerine girip böyle böcek gibi, manzaraya başka başka açılardan bakmayı seviyorduk. Sonra o imkan bizim elimizden alındı, işte satılmaya başlandı adanın yerleri, işte girdiğimiz plajlar kimi yerler yine öyleydi ama adalıları alıyorlardı, almamaya başladılar. İşte sadece yani, çünkü hayat pahalılaştı, onlar da kendine göre haklı aslında." (Efe, 28)

was negated. He and his friends lay claim to the island and construct the islander identity on this claim.

So far, this section has focused on the meanings attached to the island on the basis of the narratives of the informants and the ways they negotiate their identities within their understandings of 'islander identity'. I will now move on to discuss another significant aspect of the 'islander identity', which is the way the island is compared and contrasts with mainland Istanbul.

2.3.2. The Mainland vs. the Island

In the previous chapter, I pointed out that the island is an important point of reference in my informants' narratives of identity and self-representation. Furthermore, throughout my fieldwork, I noticed a continuous comparison between mainland and island, which is also significant in this identification process. Thus to understand the interpretations of 'islander identity', which are also reflected in my informants' everyday routines and social activities, it is essential to analyze the island's interrelations with Istanbul. The spatial, social and economic changes Istanbul went through over the years have had different impacts on the Princes' Islands, including Heybeliada. This section will attempt to introduce these processes and will continue by analyzing the identification processes of the informants through these interrelations.

Istanbul, which served as a capital city of empires for nearly sixteen centuries, lost this position after the Turkish nation-state was founded. While Ankara evolved into a symbol of the new Republic, and also of secularism and enlightenment, Istanbul appeared as a depraved capital of the degenerate Ottoman Empire (Bartu 1999, p. 33). Since Istanbul, which hosted the non-nationals and foreigners, had a cosmopolitan nature, it was supposed to be purified from the point of view of Ankara, the state capital. This strain between Ankara and Istanbul continued until the 1980s when Turkey embraced an approach of economic opening and the old capital became the focus of a liberal economy (Keyder 1999), enhancing the appeal of the former Ottoman capital.

In 1950, after years of one-party rule, the Democrat Party won the election with the votes that mostly came from peasants and took over the government from CHP (Keyder 1999), the party

that had been single-handedly ruling the country since the Republic was founded. Prime Minister Menderes launched a new elective populism and had absolute support of the people who migrated from the villages to the cities, principally to Istanbul. As such, migrants could have the chance to settle in the new neighborhoods and occupy land unlawfully. Providing access from these new settlement areas to the city center, where these newcomers of the city could work, was a critical aspect of physical urban planning. As Keyder (1999) points out, with an agenda of demolishing old neighborhoods, Menderes accomplished two things. Firstly, he eliminated the dense structure of residential districts where the remaining non-Muslim community had been living. Secondly, emergent slum areas were connected to the center with new roads, particularly with the one linking the old city to the suburbs via the airport (currently known as E-5). As a result of this process, in the midst of the 1970s, with a population of nearly four million, Istanbul was a dirty, shabby and gloomy underdeveloped country metropolis. Even the wealthy neighborhoods had problems with lacking infrastructure and bleak facades. (Keyder 1999)

This situation changed by the crisis of national growth and the liberalism introduced following the military coup in 1980. After that Istanbul took its place on the path to global marketing. Bedrettin Dalan, who was appointed by Turgut Özal as the mayor of Istanbul, approached to the city with a completely new understanding, aiming to 'transform Istanbul from a tired city whose glories resides in history, into a metropolis full of promise for the 21st century '(Bartu 1999, p. 34; Keyder and Oncu 1994, p. 409). As Keyder states, the old structure of the city was cut through new boulevards; old industry areas were demolished, new parks and waterside spaces were constructed, and inducements were made for industry to leave the city and move to the outskirts further the urban area. Following Dalan's reconstructing, Istanbul was ready to undergo another phase of spatial metamorphosis, much more in line with the necessities of the new global age (Keyder 1999).

2002 marked another milestone in this context as AKP (Justice and Development Party) took the power following the election in November. Since the AKP was highly dedicated to neo-liberal approaches, Istanbul was further transformed to become more appealing for business and investment. As Keyder (2010a) points out, since the 1960s until the beginning of the new millennium, the city had expanded through unregulated practices mainly conducted through the unofficial occupation of public domain and residential buildings on old agricultural areas.

However, during this period, there was a need for a new attitude that would build up the legal basis of this expansionary impetus. Thus, the administration decided to clear the city, yet this time it was done through a policy of urban regeneration. TOKİ (Mass Housing Administration), which was a recently authorized organization, demolished the remaining slum areas in the apparent districts of the city, under various covers such as conservation of heritage, lack of readiness for earthquakes, environment consciousness and formation of green areas (Keyder 2010a).

While one of the aspects of public polarization which unavoidably pursued economic liberalism was urban regeneration, another one was ethnic sensitivities. Deprived Kurdish villagers, who were dismissed from their lands during the war between the Turkish military forces and Kurdish insurrection in the southeastern and eastern districts of Turkey, were the latest immigrants in Istanbul. When they came to the city, employment opportunities for unqualified labour were decreasing, and the authorities were no longer tolerating the land occupation. Therefore, people of Kurdish origin could not construct unauthorized houses for themselves and were obliged to rent in remote and destitute districts. In line with all the political consequences of this situation, the difference between the suburbs and inner-city started to grow more apparent. Meanwhile, Istanbul was physically re-formed accompanying the interest of the flow of capital and transnational enterprise (Keyder 2010b).

All these processes that Istanbul went through in years have had various reflections on the Princes' Islands. The social and spatial structure on the islands has changed in parallel with the phases the mainland has undergone. Those ever-changing relations between the mainland and the islands have a strong effect upon the meanings attached to the islands. The informants interpreting the islands referring to the 'mainland' and comparing one's life with those in Istanbul is very prevalent among the islanders. It is apparent in the narratives of some informants, namely Tülin (female, 62), Melda (female, 50), Oya (female, 54) and Mehmet (male, 53), that they think of their lives on the island as an alternative to the chaotic life in Istanbul. According to them, the ones who prefer to live on the island are in need of a calm, intimate and peaceful life among nature. For instance, Oya perceives the island as her runoff area from the chaos of the mainland, calling it her 'heaven'. She feels isolated when she is on the island, and says that this is her own choice. She needs this because she wants to put her

mind at rest. Likewise, Melda tells me that being on the island means being free from the chaos, noises, and restrictions of Istanbul. She expresses her feelings as follows:

“In my opinion, ‘being an islander ’means freedom. The moment you break out of the city and set foot here, the city remains behind you as a dirty place. It arouses that feeling in me. When I get off the ferry onto the island I feel freer, being away from all that noise of the city in this quiet environment is good for me.” (Melda, 50)¹⁸

Mehmet also compares the island life to life on the mainland, and he voices this as follows:

“Since I do not want to live on the mainland, I put up with that ride every day.” (Mehmet, 53)¹⁹

For my informants, social relations and spatial practices on the island are also mostly different from those in Istanbul. According to Oya (female, 54), for instance, friendships are more spontaneous in the island; they are warmer, and face to face relations are prevalent. Oya refers to a duality when she compares the island with Istanbul; the island means nature and entertainment, while the mainland is culture and education.

Some of the informants, like Efe (male, 28), Oğuz (male, 54), and Melisa (female, 24), are uncomfortable about the dissolution of the distinctness between the islands and Istanbul recently. Oğuz, for instance, complains that contrary to the past, no more differences remain besides more fresh air and less noise in the islands.

On the other hand, this identification through comparison with Istanbul is not always positive. According to some of the informants, the island is deprived of alternatives and facilities in Istanbul and it negatively affects the social and economic life of people living on the island. For instance, Şükran (female, 52) feels very isolated from Istanbul and defines her life on the island as a life in a cave, an open prison. According to her, the most remarkable difference between the island and the mainland is that in Istanbul, there is a diversity in everything including social environments, social activities, and the products. Then again, on the island there are no alternatives in line with everyone's budget. Thus, she describes her life on the island as in a ‘kör nokta ’(blind spot). She also states that there is no health service after 5 pm on the

¹⁸“ Adalılık özgürlük bence, şehirden kopup da şuraya ayak attığımız anda, şehir arkanızda kirli bir mekan olarak kalıyor, yani ben de o hissiyatı uyandırıyor, vapurdan inip de adaya indiğim anda kendimi daha özgür hissediyorum, şehrin bütün gürültüsünden kopup sakin sessiz ortam çok iyi geliyor.” (Melda, 50)

¹⁹ “Karşıda yaşamayı istemediğim için ben bu sıkıntıya katlanıp her gün bu yolu çekiyorum.” (Harun, 53)

island. If one has an emergency, they must cross over to Istanbul. However, if the weather conditions are not proper, one has no chance of accessing the health service. Due to a similar reason, Nermin (female, 78) also defines the island as an 'open prison'. Although she emphasizes her attachment to the island, she feels isolated from Istanbul due to the difficulty of transportation.

“I am glad to be here, but... this is how people come to see this place, they love it while passing through this street. I say “don't get amazed like that”, this is an open-air prison. Fast ferries, etc... are often cancelled. You can't attend to your appointment, for instance you need to go to the sanitary service but you can't. The ferries don't work so you can't make it to your appointment.” (Nermin, 78)²⁰

Fürüzan (female, 85) states that on the island she is surrounded by water and feels away from the land. She feels as if she is in a foreign place, while coming to Şişli makes her feel at 'homeland'. Even so, she goes to the island every summer since she has a house there. She explains it as follows:

“Well, I feel isolated, because I like Istanbul more. I don't like the island very much. I feel like I'm in a foreign place. My feet are in the sea, like I am away from the land. As if I were in a foreign place. When I come here (Şişli) I draw a breath, I mean, as if I came to my homeland. But I don't feel this feeling on the island I'm go to the island, just because I have a house there. I swear, I would not go, if there was no house.” (Fürüzan, 85)²¹

The accounts of the informants, presented in this chapter indicates that the meanings attached to the island and the processes of constructing the islander identity is very much related to the contrast between the mainland and the island and their ever-changing relations. The 'islander identity' is not only constructed through the physical boundaries of the island but is also negotiated through the various boundaries of everyday spaces within the islands. The processes of identification and the meanings attached to 'place' are formed through the daily routines and social relations established in everyday places. Therefore, in the section that follows, I will briefly represent the significant places on the island, and examine the way people perceive them and perform in them.

²⁰ “Burdan memnunum, memnunum da.. Burayı gezmeye gelenler böyle görüyorlar, bayılıyorlar bu sokaktan geçerken. Bu kadar bayılmayın, burası açık hava cezaevi diyorum. İDO'lar vs. ikide bir iptal, randevuna gidemiyorsun, sağlık için bir yere gideceksin gidemiyorsun, işlemiyor ki vapurlar randevuna gidesin.” (Nermin, 78)

²¹ “Valla ben İstanbul'u daha çok sevdiğim için (izole) hissediyorum. Ben adayı fazla sevmem. Sanki yabancı bir yerdeymişim hissine kapılıyorrum. Ayaklarım denizde olduğu için, hani karadan uzaktaymış gibi. Yabancı bir yerdeymişim gibi; buraya (Şişli) geldiğim zaman ohh.ferahlıyorum yani böyle, sanki vatanıma gelmişim gibi. Ama adada bu hissi duymuyorum.....Gidiyorum, ev var diye. Yemin ederim, ev olmazsa gitmem.” (Fürüzan, 85)

2.3.3. Everyday Life and Spaces



Figure 1. Map of Heybeliada (Adalar Vakfı, 2014)

So far, the research has focused on the interpretations of the island regarding various aspects and the processes through which the 'islander identity' is constructed. In the following section, I will discuss how my informants see and experience their surroundings and act in it. Furthermore, I will try to understand how they negotiate their identities with reference to these places. While examining specific places and their interpretations by my informants, I will also try to explain their daily routines and how each one perceives everyday life on the island.

Similar to their accounts on what it means to be an islander, my informants' accounts on daily life on the island are also mainly constructed through a comparison between the past and the present, and between the island and the mainland. For instance, most of my elderly informants take the 'old island' as a reference point while defining current daily life on the island. Most of the accounts are made with comparison to the old days. Nermin (female, 78) remembers old times as very lovely and happy; however, for her, this way of life is over since most of her friends died. Formerly she had a game group with whom she used to play cooncan in a casino

next to the pines – now it is closed. After the game, they would go down to the seaside, and come back around 2 am. Now, due to her age and the disappearance of familiar faces, she rarely goes out of the house; she watches TV, reads the newspaper and archives the pieces she likes. She says that there is currently nothing on the island except cafes -‘gazinos’ in her words. Similarly, Şükran (female,52) also spends much of her daily life in her house. When she goes out, she stays within the local area /neighborhood mostly; she lives in a small social circle. She goes out very rarely and spends most of her time at the house dealing with the housework. She goes to the bazaar every Wednesday and sometimes goes out to see her neighbors. She is not interested in, nor has a relationship with the people outside her own neighborhood. Since there is no other alternative, neighbors visit each other in the houses. She states that the island is too neglected and is gradually getting worse. She associates that situation with the governing problems and according to her, there is a possibility that the conditions were made difficult on purpose. The high expenses of transportation and living force people to migrate from the island. These 'luxury' – in her words – conditions and the lack of social activities make life on the island quite hard. She accounts this as follows:

People are migrating, they don't want to live here. Transportation is expensive, housing is expensive; everything is like a luxury. So you have to be retired to live here. Even kids 'ferry trip for Istanbul is a huge cost. They pay a transportation fee as much as our rent. Imagine, 3 people are going to Istanbul from here, it is the same amount of rent. I think they made the conditions were difficult on purpose. And there are no amenities here, ever! There are no social activities. Yesterday at 9 o'clock, we went down and the island was dead. Even the market was not open, we could not find bread to buy, too bad! (Şükran,52)²²

Oya (female,54), who is a summer vacationist and a member of the Water Sports Club, is quite the reverse; is very happy about the life in and the daily activities on the island. She also does not go to the cafes frequently and spends her time mostly at home or at a friend's house. However, in her case, in contrast to Şükran's, this practice is based on preferences, rather than economic restrictions. Oya and her family mostly meet with friends at their houses and gardens, and have a good time. The island is a place of fun and tranquility for her. Another informant who mostly prefers to stay home when he is not working is Mehmet (male, 53). He works in

²² 'İnsanlar göç ediyor, yaşamak istemiyor, ulaşım pahalı, oturma pahalı. Yani her şey lüks gibi. Yani emekli olup burada oturacaksın. Çoluk çocukların bile İstanbul'a gidip gelmesi dünya masraf. Kira geliri kadar yol parası ödüyorlar, 3 kişinin gittiğini düşünün buradan bir kira bedeli. Koşullar zorlaştırılmış bence. Ve hiç aktivite yok burada, hiç! Sosyal hiçbir şey yok. Saat 9'da dün es kaza indik, ada ölmüş, market bile yok açık, ekmek bulamadık almaya, çok kötü!' (Şükran, 52)

Istanbul on weekdays. He and his wife prefer to spend time at home, or at the doorsill with the neighbors. He says that the calmness of the island is satisfying enough for him; he does not need to go to public spaces like beaches or cafes frequently. He rarely goes out for a walk or to visit friends in their houses.

Therefore, as illustrated above, domestic and public spaces, their use, and the meanings attached to them by people living on the island are in a wide variety. For instance, while Şükran (female, 52) associates daily life on the island with deprivation, for Mehmet (male, 53) it is both a challenge and a source of peace, and for Oya (female, 54), spending days on the island is a joy. Besides, daily life on the island changes a considerable extent from season to season. As previously stated, while relatively fewer people live on the island in the winter, the population increases significantly during summer. Daily practices of summer vacationists change substantially when they come to the island, as they also change the daily practices of the permanent residents. Leisure activities and places where permanent residents, summer vacationists and day-trippers practice them are separated in general. This segregation is most visible in where people go swimming; beaches and the club. For instance, Füzuzan (female, 85) tells me that well-situated people become a member of the club and rarely go to the beaches outside. While summer house vacationists usually go to the seaside through the forest, permanent residents usually do not go for a swim in the sea. Indeed, when I ask my informants about the places they go on the island, the answers are mostly a couple of significant places and they differ according to various aspects such as socio-economic conditions, age, temporality, etc. This section moves on to consider these spatial practices and segregations within the places on the island. Therefore, regarding the accounts of the informants, this part is divided into six main sections; cafes, club, beaches, forests, institutions and homes.

2.3.3.1. Cafes

As discussed above, among my informants, it is a popular idea that cafes at the seaside are almost the only alternative, although they are not cheap. Currently people spend more time at houses than they ever did before. Contrary to the current situation where there are only a few free beaches or recreational areas available, I am told that the above-mentioned old places were

more in number. There are not many attractive and free alternatives for daily activities left on the island, cafes at the seaside are mentioned as almost the only possible places of socialization besides houses and streets. Among the informants, Füzuran (female, 85) is the one who frequently goes to these cafes at the seaside. While she spends most of her time at home in winter, mostly watching television, in summer, she spends time on the island with her friend/next-door neighbor at the doorstep, and goes down to the cafes at the seaside almost every day. She always goes out with her neighbor/friend and they do a tour, walk together. On the other hand, Şükran (female, 52) who moved to the island in 1992 and has been living there permanently, states that since there is nothing to do there, she can't enjoy life on the island. She adds that she cannot go to these cafes at the seaside to drink tea due to the high prices, and she prefers to stay at home. She and her neighbors, who are all housewives, can't afford to spend time in these cafes, and even though there are some among them who may afford it, they also do not go since the others cannot. Thus they meet and spend time at houses. Even in summer, she prefers to stay at her home, if she goes to swimming after that, she comes home, drinks her tea while watching the view from her balcony. Furthermore, as expected, there is also a slight segregation among the users of the cafes; different groups of people prefer different cafes.

2.3.3.2. Beach

Starting from the midst of the 20th century, the islands began to appear in the newly-emerging tourism sector. The Princes' Islands, especially the beaches and green areas, evolved into a prestigious summer resort and entertainment venue for all Istanbul residents. While the population in summer started to rise well above the winter period, beaches which represent the notion of holiday and entertainment increased in number. Since then, beaches are one of the most significant places in social and daily life on the island.

In this section in the context of the beach, I aim to examine the processes of boundary construction through which views of relations and identities are negotiated. I will analyze the beaches of Heybeliada through the practices of boundary construction and exclusion of 'the other'. Furthermore, I will introduce two prominent discussions concerning the beaches. In the accounts of my informants, one of the main concerns about the beaches is coexistence, while the other is their privatization/rental. However, before further examining these, it is crucial to

introduce beaches, my informants' preference for beaches, and spatial practices at those beaches.

The beaches hold an essential place in the accounts of most of the informants. As Gülen states in his book *Heybeliada*, the most popular place to have a swim on the island has been where the 'plaj' is located today. Then comes the gravel shore (Asaf), further ahead the sandy area called "Çınar" and "Kablo" with a large, sandy beach near Burgazada. The entire coast of the Çam Harbor was also a natural beach. The most famous place to swim for the Beylik and Tepe neighborhoods was "Şafak" where people preferred especially due to its proximity to the houses (Gülen 2018). Most of my informants have specific places that they go to swim, and the beaches they prefer vary by lots of factors such as class, temporality-permanence, age, etc. For instance, Oya (female, 54) and Melisa (female, 24) go swimming only at the club, Oğuz (male, 54) goes only to Asaf Beach and Şükran (female, 52) goes to German Bay due to various reasons. Since "Şafak" belongs to the military, among my informants only Nermin (female, 78) could go swimming there, since her husband was a military officer. She says that she has tried every place to swim on the island, but never swum from the port in her life since it was not her genre.

The beaches are one of the prominent sites where most stories take place about the disparity of the newcomers and day-trippers in the narratives of my informants. Severe complaints in terms of coexistence are based on the conflicts they have at the beaches since the differences between various groups on the islands become quite visible there. Most examples are about those who came recently from Eastern Turkey watching and disturbing women at the beaches. Oğuz (male, 54), for instance, states that contrary to the time when he was young, going to swim became almost impossible for him. He says that he is disturbed by people with whom he has to use the beaches in common. He explains it as follows:

"The beaches are filled with women in chadors like cockroaches. Why do they come, what are they looking for? I don't understand at all. You don't swim; you cover chador up to your eyes, are you looking for men? Why are you here? Okay, men are here for watching the women, I can see all of them looking at my wife's ass. I mean I see it. But why are the women here? I say this all the time, what are you doing here? Why is this allowed? I mean, it is impossible to use the beaches for swimming. They are horrible, disgusting people. All of them wear shorts; there is no one else with a swimming suit but me. They wear hasemas, or

underpants and bras to swim, it is disgusting. There are some who go in the sea to pee, or else, pardon my language. It is impossible.” (Oğuz, 54)²³

Efe (male, 28) who also reflects discomfort he feels about the ‘inappropriate’ behaviors of the newcomers and day-trippers, says that those who misbehave should be warned rigorously, and if needed, they should be chased out of the island as the old islanders used to do in the ‘good old days’. According to him, there must be norms of behaving on the island and adopting a particular attitude towards the ones who misbehave is a requirement of the ‘islander identity’. He tells me a story that in his father's childhood, Arabian people who had started to live in Heybeliada were dismissed and exiled to Büyükada. He thinks that this is why behaviors like harassment, impudence, etc. had not occurred back then. As in Efe’s narrative, longing for the past greatly manifests itself in some informants’ narratives about the beaches.

Apart from these dismissive narratives that dwell on the past, another prominent account is about the rental of the beaches. As mentioned in the introduction, the rental of public spaces is in itself one of the main concerns of the informants. In this regard, beaches especially come to the fore since the number of free beaches decreased over time, and today there is only one beach on the island (German Bay) that one can enter without paying.

In this section, I will introduce the beaches of Heybeliada through the narratives of my informants regarding these topics mentioned above.

Kablo Beach

Kablo Beach, which took its name from the electrical cable that transmits electricity to Burgazada, was mentioned by the informants as where day-trippers go mostly. Efe (male, 28), Nermin (female, 78), Mehmet (male, 53), and Şükran (female, 52) tell me that they used to go there; however, none of them go anymore due to the entrance fee. Efe says that they started renting the island by dividing the coasts like Kablo, which previously had free public access.

²³ “Sahiller karafatma gibi kara çarşafılarıyla dolu, ne için geliyorlar oraya, neye bakmaya geliyorlar onu da anlamış değilim. Madem sen denize girmicen, böyle kara çarşafı gözlerini bile kapatıyorsun, erkeklerin bir taraflarına mı bakıyorsun. Neye geldin yani? Hadi erkekler kadınları seyretmeye geldi, gayet güzel ben görüyorum yani karımın kışına bakıyorlar, hepsi bakıyor, görüyorum yani. Ama kadın niye geliyor? Hep aynı şeyi söylüyorum, ne işiniz var burada? Niçin izin verildi bunlara? Yani sahillerde artık denize girmek imkansızlaştı, korkunç, iğrenç tipler. Hepsi şortlu, hiç mayolu kimse yok benden başka. İşte haşema paşema neyse o iğrenç şeyler ve donla sütyenle giren pislikler...Afedersiniz işemek için girenler, bilmemne girenler. Mümkün değil.” (Oğuz, 54)

Then the Kablo Beach gradually became inaccessible for him and his friends. First, the managers of the beach started to let only the 'islanders' enter for free. Then they began to take money for lounge chairs and now the entrance is completely subject to payment. Mehmet (male, 53) tells me that he feels offended to live on the island and having to pay to swim. Although it is said that the beach is supposed to let islanders get in freely, in practice, this does not function very well all the time. Especially taking their visitors to the beach can create problems for the residents. Mehmet (male, 53) explains this with these words:

“This is not right. I don't know who will claim it but nobody does anything. Every incoming residents occupy a space and demand entrance fee to let you in. As islanders, we feel very offended as we give this money. (Giving islanders free entry) depends on the approach of the man there. Sometimes they say “I do not care if you are an islander, I pay rent for this place”. If I have visitors, for example, ten visitors. When I take these ten people to this beach, the manager says that 'you are not all islanders', and expects us to pay. In order not to get in this fight I don't prefer to go there.” (Mehmet, 53)²⁴

This exclusionary practice that segregates 'islanders' works based on familiarity and face to face relations. As Mehmet (male, 53) says, managers of the beaches are also mostly people living on the island so although they do not know everyone, they may distinguish the islanders. Regarding this issue, Nermin (female, 78) also says that it is apparent in one's posture; they would understand who is an islander, and who is not. They may ask who you are or where you live on the island.

The density of day-trippers is another factor which specifies the preferences of many informants. For instance, Mehmet (male, 53) does not prefer to go swimming at Kablo Beach since there is a density of day-trippers. The beach is too crowded, and the sea becomes nasty and blurry, especially on weekends. Thus, he prefers to go to the German Bay.

Asaf 'family' beach

Another significant beach on the island, where people must pay to enter, is Asaf. While Nermin (female, 78) is very annoyed that people must pay to benefit from there, this application is the main reason Oğuz (male, 54) chooses this place to go swimming. Therefore, my informants

²⁴ “Doğru değil, doğru bulmuyorum, kim sahip çıkacak bilmiyorum ama hiç kimse şey yapmıyor, her gelen bir yeri çevirmiş ver parayı gir, adada oturup da para vermek çok zorumuza gidiyor.....(Adalılar ücretsiz girmesi) Karşı tarafın şeyine bağlı. Bana ne kardeşim adalıysan, ben buraya kira veriyorum gibi şeyler de oluyor. Adalı da olsam, misafir geldi, 10 kişi geldi bana misafir, 10 kişiyi ben adalıyım deyip de, 10 kişiyle oraya gittiğin zaman adam hepten bu kadar hepsi adalı değil gibisinden, o kavga riskine girmemek adına ben gitmiyorum.” (Harun, 53)

have various opinions regarding the renting of the beaches. While they are mostly opposed to this practice, some of them have different ideas. Nermin (female, 78), Şükran (female, 52) and Mehmet (male, 53), who are all 'kışlıkçı' (permanent resident), complain about the rent of the beaches, while Oğuz (male, 54) is in favor of the rentings and Tülin (female, 62) looks at it in a positive light.

"I mean, I get angry. For example, -imagine that- I am putting two tables in Asaf, and collecting money from everyone, otherwise, I don't let people in the sea! Have you bought the island?! Who are you?!" (Nermin, 78)²⁵

According to Oğuz (male, 54), Asaf is the only remaining place where one can go swimming in peace. The entrance is paid, one can bring their food to the place. No single men are allowed, and as he says, they do not let 'inappropriate' people enter. Last year Asaf was closed and Oğuz was miserable, and since he did not want to swim from any other coast on the island he bought a boat despite his economic problems. Asaf reopened recently and continues to serve.

The German Bay

The German Bay was mentioned as where mostly 'islanders' go swimming. Şükran (female, 52), for instance, who spends much of her daily life in her house, goes to the 'German Bay' to swim during the summer. German Bay, the only place one can go to swim for free, is a place she feels comfortable besides her house. Due to the economic restrictions, she does not go anywhere else but there. From her house it takes 45 minutes to get there. According to her, as a person who lives on an island, spending that much time to reach the sea is quite unreasonable. She puts it as follows:

"You can't go to the sea in summer, everywhere has an entrance fee. I have to take 45 minutes to walk to go swimming. It is a pity! Just because I don't have money, I can't go to the club or beach, I can't go to any other places. I give 50 liras per day, so think about it! If I go 4 people, and more than one day in a week. In this way, I must give money only for the beach and I shouldn't eat or drink anything. Are you kidding me? I live at the seaside and there is no place for me to go for a swim?" (Şükran,52)²⁶

²⁵ "Yani sinirleniyorum ya, Asafa iki masa koyuyorum ben, herkesten para alıyorum, sokmuyorum denize insanları böyle bir şey olabilir mi! Satın mı aldınız adayı! Kimsiniz siz?!" (Nermin, 78)

²⁶ "Yazın denize gidemiyorsun, heryer paralı. Benim denize gitmem için 45 dk yürümem lazım, niye, yazık değil mi. Benim param yok diye ben kulübe giremiyorum, veyahut da bi plaja gidemiyorum, veyahut da öteki bir tarafa gidemiyorum. Benim bir gün gitmem 50 lira demek, ee ben 4 kişi gittiğimi düşün ve haftanın kaç günü gittiğimi düşün, yemicem içmicem ben denize para vericem, yani bu olacak iş mi ki deniz kenarında yaşıyorum ama gidecek bir alanım yok, ne kadar kötü." (Şükran,52)

Mehmet (male, 53), who does not go swimming frequently due to lack of time, also prefers to go to German Bay to swim since the day-trippers do not know it and it is therefore not as crowded as the other coasts. According to him, the islanders mostly go there to swim, as does he.

Çam Harbor

Çam Harbour, the biggest of 4 ports in Heybeliada, was called as 'Port Saint Maria', probably due to the church located on the hill upon the port. (Gülen 2015, p.11) Çam Harbor was one of the most preferred shores to go swimming on the island. Before 1924, there used to be a small, wooden 'gazino' called "to mageftiko vunaki" (Magical Hill) at the headland where the Sanatorium building is currently located. Another 'gazino', which was very popular, was in the middle of the port. The 'gazino'-restaurant which had an ornate porch covered with roof tiles, a pier at the shore, a wooden house beside and a pool at the garden, was bought by the Sanatorium in 1960 and was demolished (Gülen 2015, p. 18). Next door to 'Terk-i Dünya', at the bottom of the bay, there used to be another small 'kır gazinosu' with tables sprinkled among the pines and with a restaurant at the shore. This place would function as a tavern at nights. It serviced until the 1970s when it was demolished, being replaced by three buildings and a large pier (Gülen 2015, p.19). At present, there are a few snack bars and a football field at the bay. In 2018, The Religious Affairs Administration declared that an Islamic Education Center would be established on where the first-degree protected area containing Çam Harbor and the Sanatorium are located (Doğan 2018). The fate of the Çam Harbor has remained uncertain. According to Nermin, as most of the other coasts, Çam Harbor has already been rented for a long time and one should pay an entrance fee to get in. (Figure 2) She reflects her reaction to this practice as follows:

"And there was this place, Çam Limanı. There used to be a hospital, the bay was hollow, the sea over there was so beautiful. It was sold recently. Everyone can make money from there who put only a few tables and chairs. And nobody speaks a word! You go there, sit and eat something, and you have to pay for place too. Here, there is only us, who hasn't been sold!" (Nermin, 78)²⁷

²⁷" Sonra şey vardı, Çam limanı.. Orada da hastane vardı, orası oyuktu, denizi çok güzeldi....Şimdi yeni verilmiş, ama bu zamana kadar, orası da kapanın elinde kaldı. İki masa atan, çalıştırıyor orayı, kimse kimseye bir şey diyemiyor. Giderken oturtuyor seni, yiyorsun içiyorsun orada, para ödüyorsun oraya. Burada satılmadık bi biz kaldık!" (Nermin, 78)

Tülin (female, 62) tells me that in her sons' childhood, Çam Harbor was untouched, empty; she felt as if it belonged only to her and her family. One of their boats used to stay at the Harbor and they used to go down there by bikes chairing the kids. Today, by contrast with the past, one can not go there freely. Tülin (female, 62) does not consider this use entirely negative. She thinks that due to overpopulation controlling the cleanliness of the coasts would be impossible, so renting them is reasonable.

“Eventually, in all these years, fifteen years, all the bays here even the small ones which were public before, have enterprises nowadays. Maybe this way is better. Because as the population increases, it got more difficult to keep these areas clean. In the past, only islanders used to go these bays, clean around and leave. Now in these crowd, if everyone who goes there leaves trashes, it would be impossible to go there. At least these operators probably do this with the permission from the city halls. Therefore they are keeping there clean, maintaining, serving the visitors. After all, I think it's good to have them here. It is a matter of supply and demand. Since the island is having these many visitors, having all these enterprises is convenient. From now on there is no bay/beach that we can enter freely including Çam Limanı.” (Tülin 62)²⁸



Figure 2. “Adalılara Ücretsizdir” (“Free for the Islanders”). (Adalar Savunması, 2019)

2.3.3.3. Water Sport Club

²⁸“ Neticede, bütün bu yıllar içerisinde, 15 yıl içerisinde, o herkese açık olan minik minik koylar dahi bugün itibariyle tamamen işletmeler haline dönüştü, belki daha iyi oldu, çünkü nüfus bu kadar arttığı zaman oraların ne temizliğini kontrol edebiliyorsunuz, eskiden adalı insanlar gider, çöpünü falan da toplayıp dönerdi, şimdi bu kadar kalabalıkta her giden orayı pisletirse, zaten orayı kullanmak bile mümkün olmaz, en azından bu işletme sahipleri herhalde belediyelerden falan müsaadelerle bunu yapıyorlar, temiz tutuyorlar, bakıyorlar, bir hizmet veriyorlar, neticede bence fena olmadı yani. Hani arz, talep meselesi, bu kadar patlama olduğunda böyle bir şey olması uygun oldu bence. Şu an itibariyle Çam Limanı dahil hiçbir rastgele gidebileceğimiz bir yer, benim bildiğim yok.” (Tülin, 62)

Together with the beaches, one of the most significant entertainment places on the islands in the midst of 20th century were rapidly increasing sport clubs. In 1950, the Anatolian Club which has served since the late Ottoman period in Büyükada and entitled as such during the Republic Period, advanced its accommodation capacity with a new building and later on rehabilitated the beach facilities, adjusting to the requirements of the timely beach resort. Following this, since the 1960s, clubs were established on each island, helping to increase water sports and recreation opportunities on the islands. These clubs contributed to spatial and functional aspects of the summer resort identity of the islands which has been ongoing since the 19th century (Ergut & Erkmen 2011). Heybeliada Water Sports Club which enables especially the summer vacationists form a community among themselves, was established in 1984 at the Değirmen Cape. In particular, people with a certain economic and cultural capital have been members of this club (Coşkun 2011). In Mehmet's words, the club is where the elites of the island go. Among my informants, only Oya (female, 54) and Melisa (female, 24) are currently members of the club and Nermin (female, 78) used to swim there in the past. Melisa tells me that besides her house, she spends most of her time at the club. She goes there to swim, sunbathe and chat with her friends in the daytime, and at night she returns to the club to spend time, drink, and/or dance.

Places of swimming are one of the prominent places that class differences can be observed. However this preference of place also depends on other factors, such as the age of the user, personal preferences, etc. For instance, while Oya (female, 54) goes to swim only at the club, her son (20), who is also a member of the club, sometimes prefers to go to German Bay, Kablo Beach etc. since some of his friends cannot afford the club. On the other hand, Tülin (female, 62) and Melda (female, 50) are not a member of the club as expected due to their higher socio-economic standards. Contrary to expectations, Tülin (female, 62) and her family do not go to any of the beaches or to the club, they prefer to go to swim by boat. She says that they have never needed the club since they are very crowded family. Here is her voice:

"But how do we live on the island? We are not members, but there is a water sports club. We have never been a member because we've always had a boat. With relation to the social situation, in Turkey there are better ones now with motors etc. in general. The kids grew up and they started to get interested in boats, so we had very classy sailing boats. Then, they went abroad and sold them. Now, we have a small boat to pick us up from the land and carry us to anywhere in the island so that we can swim. This is what we do on the island, and nothing else. We don't go to beaches because there is no need for that. We always use the boat, it was more pleasurable when kids had their boats. Because we always use the boats, we are by ourselves. For a period when they were learning how to swim, they went to the club a lot. We did not want that, there

was no need. We liked the privacy, if this place was windy we would go swim on the other side, we went fishing etc. That has been the life we've had.” (Tülin, 62)²⁹

2.3.3.4. Forest / Picnic Area

Değirmen Cape

'Değirmen Cape Picnic Area 'was named after the Byzantine mill remainings on the cape. In the recreation area which was organized in 1981 for Atatürk's 100th birthday, there are the entrance, control and information booths, cafe, buffet, water tank and fountain, landscape navigational facilities, picnic units, sofas and rain shelters. Similar to the case of the beach, the primary concern of some informants about the region known as 'Değirmen', is the renting of the area and the entrance fee people must pay. The region had been rented by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry to individuals. As at the beaches, in theory, people should pay to get there unless they are islanders. Nermin (female, 78) puts her anger to the authorities on this subject as follows:

“They bought 'Degirmen'. when people walk through the gate, a man on that side and another on this side, they make everyone pay to enter. Isn't it a pity?! Group of 8-10 people come, you take money from everyone! Shouldn't they travel around the island? Shouldn't they walk these roads? Where will they look at and visit on this island?!” (Nermin, 78)³⁰

Melisa (female, 24) who walks her dog everyday through Değirmen cape, also reflects her feelings about the renting of one of the main 'pathways 'of the island together with the picnic area. Here is her voice:

“There's a place called 'Değirmen'. We used to go there a lot. Now, someone bought it and even when you pass...For example, he wants money from me even when I pass through the road. I hate that place. I have to go through there. I have to take that path. Now, should I walk across the island

²⁹“ Ama adada biz nasıl yaşıyoruz, biz üye değiliz su sporları kulübü var, hiç üye olmadık çünkü bizim her zaman bir sandalımız vardı, biraz böyle sosyal duruma bağlı olarak Türkiye genelinde de değişti bu, biraz motorlu şeyler çıktı, daha iyileri çıktı, tekneler çıktı bilmem neler, çocuklar büyüdü, bir ara böyle çok şık yelkenli teknelerimiz oldu çünkü tekneye merak saldılar, sonra yurt dışına gittiler, sattılar, şimdi küçücük bir tekemiz var, bizi karadan alıp istediğimiz adanın herhangi bir yerinde yüzmemizi sağlayacak, adada biz bunu yapıyoruz, başka da bir şey yapmıyoruz, plajlara gitmiyoruz, gerek yok çünkü, hep tekneyle biz çıktık, çocukların tekneleri varken daha keyifliydi.....Hep sandallarla teknelerle çıktığımız için biz bize oluyoruz, o yüzden bir dönem, yüzme öğrendikleri dönemde çok yoğun gidiyorlardı kulübe, istemedik, ihtiyaç olmadı, biz özel daha çok sevdik, burası rüzgarlıysa gidip öbür tarafta yüzdük, balığa çıktık filan, böyle bir hayatımız oldu.” (Tülin,62)

³⁰“ Değirmen'i satın almışlar, kapıdan içeriye girerken bi adam o tarafta, bi adam bu tarafta, herkesi parayla sokuyorlar.Günah değil mi ya! 8-10 kişi geliyor, bir grup toplanmış herkesten para alıyorsunuz! Bunlar adayı gezmesin mi? Bu yollarda yürümesinler mi? Bu adanın neresine bakacaklar, gezecekler ya.” (Nermin, 78)

for 20 minutes? So I don't even want to go through there. I say I'm an islander, I never pay. But I don't even like to say it, because this is a road, a path on the world, the forest.” (Melisa, 24)³¹

Efe (male, 28), another informant against renting, narrates the process that they contended with the boundaries with the authorities. He and his friends demolished and broke the boundary elements like walls and fences several times. Cameras were put there to identify them, and they were caught eventually; some of his friends were about to end up in the court. Since everyone knows each other and they are all ‘islanders’, the charges against them were dropped after they apologized.

“At that time, we were doing a lot of exuberance, burning, breaking the walls they made. My friends have been in court, we went to court many times... Yes, we were breaking because they were building walls in front of the place that we were drinking, looking at the view and liked very much. So we were breaking those walls, we were going there to smash them. How many times did we break them... After that, they put cameras there and caught us. The road at ‘Değirmen ’was open. We were entering and leaving from wherever we wanted. It was toll back then but it was open. Then, suddenly they started putting up walls and fences around. We were breaking these walls as well as the ones on the Big Tour Road. They did the same on that road. We were watching the view there and then, we were not able to see the trees behind the fence, it was like a prison. We were breaking these, kicking, pushing, lifting, whenever we were walking through there when we were drunk. Then they realized, they caught us and told my friend’s father about it and we stopped doing that. If we were not from the island, a lawsuit would be filed. Since both sides knew each other, everyone just apologized and they did not sue my friends. A lawsuit was filed against me due to other reasons. You see, they tried to close the island and our freedom was gone.” (Efe, 28)³²

On the other hand, unlike most of my informants, Tülin (female, 62) looks at these rentings in a positive light, stating that the fee expectation is rational due to requirements about maintenance. However, according to her, preventing public access completely is unacceptable. She tells me that the authorities once tried to carry out dismissive spatial applications in the

³¹ “Değirmen diye bir yer var. Eskiden oraya çok giderdik, şimdi orası, belediyenin değil, orayı satın almışlar ve sen oraya girerken bile.. mesela ben buradan yoldan geçerken bile benden para istiyor, oradan nefret ediyorum, zorundayım, oradan geçmem lazım, benim o yolu kullanmam gerekiyor, şimdi ben adanın öbür tarafından mı yürüyeyim, 20 dk. O yüzden oradan geçmek bile istemiyorum. Ben adalıyım diyorum zaten, hiçbir zaman para vermiyorum, ama onu demek bile hoşuma gitmiyor, çünkü burası yol yani, dünyanın yolu, orman orası.” (Melisa, 24)

³² “Biz çok tabii o zaman taşkınlık yapıyorduk, yakıyorduk, yıkıyorduk, kırıyorduk onların yaptıkları duvarları. Anıllar mahkemelik oldu, biz kaç kere mahkemeye çıktık... Yani kırıyorduk. Çünkü bir geliyorsun, adam senin o manzaraya baktığın, içki içtiğin, hoşuna giden yerin önüne tel çekiyor birden bire, duvar çekiyor yani. Biz de o duvarları kırıyorduk, gidip parçalıyorduk, ondan sonra kamera koyup bizi tespit ettiler, yakaladılar falan. Kaç kere kırdık ya.....Değirmen Burnu’ndaki yolu, o yol açtıktı istediğin yerden istediğin yere giriyordun çıkıyordun, yine paralıydı, ama yani açtıktı, sonra onun önüne birden bire tuğlalar örüp oraya tel çekmeye başladılar, duvarlar örüp. Biz o duvarları mesela yıkıyorduk, büyük tur yolunu aynı şekilde, koca koca teller çektiler, yürüdüğün yerde manzarayı, ağaçları görürken birden telin arkasından ağaç görememeye başladın hapisane gibi, biz onları kırıyorduk hep işte, her geçtiğimizde kafamız güzelken indiriyorduk bir tanesini, tekme atıyorduk, itiyorduk, kaldırıyorduk...Sonra farkettiler, yakaladılar, Anıl’ın babasına gitti konu falan filan, biz de yapmamaya başladık.....Eğer adalı olmasaydık (dava) açılacaktı, ama tanıdık olduğu için herkes özür dilendi sadece, onlara açılmadı, bana başka konulardan açıldı. Yani öyle, adayı kapatmaya çalıştılar, bizim tabii özgürlüğümüz gitti.” (Efe, 28)

cape. The residents of the island achieved to resist and forced the authorities to step back. Here is her voice:

“After the government was elected, one of their first operations was- the front side of the island is Değirmen Foreland, which is a big picnic area and open to everyone. It is sometimes being tapped and they provide a service, letting people in with a prize from front door and back door, cleaning the garbage and earning their money. But when this government was elected, firstly they started an operation like this; they shut the Değirmen road. They did not block the entrance, but all the area in the left side, the road that reaches the sea and the picnic area was surrounded by almost 2 meters high wooden fences, and they locked the door. Then they claimed that they made a camp site for the students coming from Anatolia and İmam-Hatip High Schools. But it did not work, of course. They came and tried to set up camps. The islanders were furious, so it had to be given up on. They could not even dismantle them, they had to cut them. Because there was such a strong reaction, they had to give up.” (Tülin, 62)³³

The narratives of the informants have shown that, there has been a continual negotiation processes between the authorities and the users of the place, through the boundaries of Değirmen Cape. So far, the section has focused on the practices of boundary construction mostly through dismissive methods and narratives in recreational places on the island as cafes, beaches and picnic areas. The following part will discuss the significant institutions and their interrelations with daily life on the island.

2.3.3.5. Institutions

As previously stated, what differs Heybeliada from other islands is the existence of essential institutions as Halki Seminary, and Naval High School. Furthermore, the reason that Heybeliada is regarded as ‘halk adası’ is mostly related to Naval High School and Sanatorium. Foundation and closure of both had a significant effect on the demographic structure of the island. After the 1950s, the Muslim population began to grow in Heybeliada due to the existence of the Sanatorium and the Naval Military College. As Coşkun (2011, p. 25) states, most of the locals today have relations with at least one of these institutions, having worked in the

³³“ Onlar (hükümet) geldikten sonra, gelir gelmez yaptıkları ilk icraatlarından biri, adanın şu ön tarafı Değirmen Burnu, büyük bir piknik alanıdır, ve her yer herkese açıktır, zaman zaman işletmelere verirler onlar da ön kapıya arka kapıya şu anda da öyle, bir ücret karşılığında insanları alırlar, fakat bir de hizmet verirlerdi, işte çöpleri toplarlar,.. aldıkları parayı hak ederler. Ama onlar ilk gelir gelmez şöyle bir uygulama başlattılar. Değirmen yolunu, girişi kapatmadılar fakat, sol taraftaki bütün alanı, yani denize oradan inip de ulaştığımız alanı, tam o eski değirmenin olduğu piknik alanını çok yüksek iki metreye yakın ahşap çitlerle boydan boya kapattılar, bir de kapısına da kilit vurdular... Sonra orayı Anadolu’dan gelen, işte imam hatip okullarından falan gelen öğrencilere kamp alanı yaptık dediler... O şeyi yürütemediler ama tabii, geldiler kamp kurmaya falan kalktılar, adalıların çok çok tepkisini aldılar, o yazın sonunda o şeyden vazgeçmek zorunda kaldılar, hatta sökemeditler bile, o çitleri böyle keserek kaldırdılar, çok büyük bir tepki karşısında dayanamadılar.” (Tülin, 62)

construction and stayed afterwards, or possibly came as a patient, doctor, military or administrative officer.

2.3.3.5.1. The Naval High School

The Naval High School, which was founded in 1773 under the name of Mektebi Bahriye, later moved to Kasımpaşa, Haliç and in the midst of the 19th century, it returned to Heybeliada. In 1923, following the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the school took the name of Naval Academy. When the Naval Academy moved to Tuzla in 1985, the school in Heybeliada became the Naval High School (Freely 2011, p. 123). Following the attempted military coup in 15 July 2016, the military schools, military high schools, including Heybeliada Naval High School, and non-commissioned officers' preparatory schools were closed with a Decree-Law (KHK). (Bianet 2017) Afterwards, the introductory class of Naval Academy School began to give education in Heybeliada.

These institutions and their routines have had great importance in the lives of people on the island. The presence of the marines, ceremonies, marching bands on national holidays are significant circumstances in respect to identify Heybeliada. The Naval Academy / High School has had great importance in the social life on the island and it also affects the feelings attached to the island. For instance, Oğuz (male, 54) says that the sense of confidence and peace he felt on the island when he was young also arose from the presence of the Naval Academy. They had confidence in the military and there had not been even a robbery on the island. According to him, the presence of the military was necessary with respect to maintaining the order. He tells me longingly that military police used to stand, watch and turn those who are not 'presentable', away at the port. Here is his voice:

"There were even soldiers, the military policemen, to stand on the harbor and decline the people they did not like. Now it doesn't seem very democratic, but we were happy because it needs to be done as these two cultures are worlds apart. On one side, there are women with bikinis, removing the straps to tan their backs; on the other side there are women with burkas. It is impossible to bring these two mindsets together, and they should not come together either. So, don't we have the right to live on the islands? No. Just like I don't have the right to come into your suburbs, it is that simple. If I go there with my short or mini skirt, you are going to harass me, and if you come here, we will harass you, simple as that. They would never let the chadors in, not in a thousand years. Once they came, it would be like "back off, back off, back off, back

off, come on now, walk away, walk away, walk away". They would return to the ferry, go to another island, but could not enter any of them." (Oğuz, 54)³⁴

This narrative of Oğuz (male, 54) reflects his essentialist view of place that relates people and culture with particular places. He perceives the mobility of people 'belonging' to different places as problematic. Thus he sees the military on the island as the inspector of that undesirable mobility. As it is understood from this narrative, Oğuz (male, 54) regards the military as the protector of the social order and the social boundaries of the island as well as an administrator deciding who would be allowed into and who would be excluded from the island. According to him, relocation of the Naval Academy to Tuzla in 1985 also contributed to the disruption of the order on the island. After its removal, the school in Heybeliada served as the Naval High School for 31 years until the coup attempt in 15 July. After that, the visibility of mariners at public spaces, which had become almost a symbol for the island, almost ended. Tülin (female, 62) accounts it as follows:

"By closing these schools, they destroyed one of the most important features of Heybeliada. Those people, students of the Naval High School, the officers, the mariners accorded very well with the island. When spring comes, they dress white like a swan. It is one of the most important features of the island, which contributes to the delightful nature. Now they do not want to be seen in their uniforms. The politics affected them in that way. Even if there are mariners on the island, we do not see them anymore in those beautiful uniforms. It is a very big absence. It is in the past as a nostalgia, very sad." (Tülin, 62)³⁵

2.3.3.5.2. The Sanatorium

The Sanatorium was built in 1924 at "Yeşil Burun", which makes up the eastern cape of the "Çam Limanı" (Çam Harbor), on a cliff upon the sea (Freely 2011). According to Gülen (2015), even before the foundation of the Sanatorium, consumptives used to come to Heybeliada to recover since they needed fresh air and rest. Due to that, the first hospital of tuberculosis in

³⁴ "Askerler bile, inzibatlar vardı, iskelede dururlardı beğenmedikleri tipleri geri çevirirlerdi. Şimdi biz bunu biraz pek demokratik görmüyoruz fakat, mutluyduk çünkü böyle yapılması gerekiyor, çünkü iki kültür arasında dağlar kadar fark var, bir tarafta bikinili, bikinisinin sırtını yakması için çıkartmış bayanlar, öbür tarafta kara çarşaflılar, yani bu iki zihniyeti zaten bir araya getirmek imkansızdır, gelmemesi de gerekiyor. Yani bizim adalarda yaşamaya hakkımız yok mu? Yok. Benim de sizin varoşlara girme hakkım yok, bu kadar basit. Ben oraya girsem mini eteğimle şortumla, siz beni taciz edeceksiniz, sen buraya gelersen biz seni taciz edeceğiz, bu böyle....Kara çarşafılı sokmazlardı, asla öyle bir şey yok, geldiği zaman hemen geri, geri, geri, geri, hadi yürü, yürü, yürüüüü. Vapura tekrar biniyor, başka adaya gidiyor aynı şekilde, hiçbir adaya giremiyordu." (Oğuz, 54)

³⁵ "Yalnız tabii bu okulları kapatmakla, adaya dair, Heybeliada'ya dair çok önemli özelliklerden birini de yok etmiş oldular. Şimdi o insanlar adaya çok yakıştırlardı, Deniz Lisesi'nin öğrencileri, subayları, Bahriyeliler. Bahar geldiği zaman kuğu gibi bembeyaz, çıtır çıtır giyinirler, kışın da ona göre. O adaya çok hoşluk katan, adanın en önemli özelliklerinden birisi. Artık onlar genel siyaset kapsamında askerler hiçbir yerde üniformalarıyla pek görünmek istemiyorlar, o onlara da o şekilde yansıdı, belki varsa dahi biz onları artık o güzel üniformalarıyla falan görmüyoruz. O çok büyük bir eksiklik, nostalji olarak geçmişte kaldı, o üzücü bir şey." (Tülin, 62)

Turkey, the Sanatorium, was built in Heybeliada. It was established by Doctor Tevfik İsmail Gökçe as a small hospital with 16 beds. According to Gülen, the Sanatorium developed in time and became one of the most remarkable health institutions in Turkey, and a symbol of the island along with the Navy School. Due to the Sanatorium, lots of families, including doctors, nurses, pharmacists, officers, became the residents of Heybeliada. Lots of people from Heybeliada benefited from the Sanatorium's medical service and had the chance to work there (Gülen 2015). The Sanatorium served for 81 years and was closed in 2005. The Ministry of Health cited the financial difficulties to justify the closing and moved the Sanatorium to Süreyya Paşa Hospital of Chest Diseases in Maltepe. In October 2009, a fire occurred in the idle building and it caused considerable damage. (Gürgan & Ulus 2011)

In the accounts of my informants the Sanatorium hardly plays a significant part. They referred to it mostly due to concerns about the lack of medical service on the island. Only Nermin (female, 78), as stated previously, reflects her discomfort about its closure since the island lost its "prestigious" people such as doctors, nurses and officers. Besides, Mehmet (male, 53) says that the residents of the islands wanted it to be closed since they did not want to travel with ill people on the ferries, however now they want it to be opened again.

There are ongoing discussions about the fate of the Sanatorium building. In 2014, Doğuş Gayrimenkul declared to the public that they would renew the Sanatorium and turn it into a health complex (*T24 2013*). Although the architectural project was prepared and some visuals were published, no implementation was done until today. Meanwhile, The Religious Affairs Administration have been organizing camps for a while now at the facilities of Kızılay on the island. In 2018, the Administration announced that an Islamic Education Center would be established on a 200-acre area, which happens to be the first-degree protected area containing Çam Harbor and the Sanatorium (Doğan 2018). This attempt was justified by the Religious Affairs Administration with the claim of an education center with enough capacity lacking in Istanbul. According to the account of Haydar Bekiroğlu, General Director of Management Services in Religious Affairs Administration, the Training Center, which will be built on a land of more than 200 acres, will host youth activities (Tarcan 2018).³⁶

³⁶ Within the scope of this, the organizations of 'Gençlik Koordinatörleri' (Youth Coordinators) will be actualized; students staying in the dormitories of Turkish Religious Foundation and of Credit and Dormitories Institution (KYK), students of International Program in Theology, students from East and Southeast of Turkey who are

According to the information shared by ‘Adalar Savunması’ (NGO Islands Defence), a plan was prepared for the transfer of the buildings and the land of Sanatorium, which is currently allocated to the Ministry of Health and owned by the State Treasury, to the Asset Leasing Company of the Undersecretariat of Treasury. The plan was sent to Istanbul Regional Cultural Heritage Preservation Board, yet ‘Adalar Savunması’ also pointed out that this attempt would break off this land from Heybeliada and the wholeness of islands (*Bianet 2018*).³⁷

Besides, according to Emen, people living on the island want the Sanatorium building to become a hospital so that they can have access to health service on the island (2018). The lack of health services on the islands make some of the residents feel very insecure. Melisa reflects her discomfort about this issue as follows:

“What I do not like most about the island is the absence of a hospital, the fact that I don’t feel safe there. For example once I was very sick, needed a hospital nearby all the time, serum, doctor, etc. Since I felt bad there and I had some panic attacks, I stayed in Istanbul for a week.” (Melisa, 24)³⁸

2.3.3.6. Homes: Spaces of domesticity

As stated previously, although there are quite a few studies focused on space and identity at the islands, most studies in the field of urban studies and architecture have only focused on public space; the domestic space has not been dealt with sufficiently in previous studies. In this section, I would like to explore how the “islanders” relate with their domestic space on the island and interpret/associate the concepts of ‘home ’and ‘island’. Before proceeding to examine the views

victims of terrorism, students who are had education in A and B group of Quran Courses, students come from abroad are planned to be provided training for belonging and values. Within the scope of activities for disadvantaged groups, it is planned to be used in order to carry out training and coordination activities for disabled people, people running religious services in nursing homes, providing moral support in hospitals and coordinators working in the fields like fight against addiction (‘Diyanet Heybeliada’ya Eğitim Merkezi Yapacak’ 2018).

³⁷ Meanwhile, according to Adalar Savunması, while the election results in Istanbul were discussed and the new management was yet uncertain after the local elections on 31 March 2019, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality poured concrete to the earth road in the protected area at Çam Harbour and the camping area in Kızılay, without reporting to the Municipality of the Islands or to the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board. Adalar Savunması claimed that Çam Harbour had been prepared for Religious Affairs Administration (Adalar Savunması 2019).

³⁸ “En sevmediğim özelliği hastane olmaması, kendimi güvende hissetmemem. Mesela ben bir ara çok hastaydım, yanımda hastane gerekiyordu, yani bana sürekli serum, doktor falan lazımdı, o yüzden orada kötü hissettiğim için biraz panik atak yaşamıştım ve bir hafta İstanbul’da kalmıştım.” (Melisa, 24)

of my informants on 'home', it is important to explain the main ideas about home described in the related literature. In this respect, I acknowledge Mallett's comprehensive review on 'home' which illustrates the interdisciplinary discourses concerning the meaning and experience of the word (Mallett 2004).

As Mallett (2004) argues 'home' is a resource-rich word which may refer to complicated, interrelated and time to time conflicting socio-cultural concepts relating to the connections of people with each other –particularly family–, and with places, spaces and things. 'Home' may indicate a dwelling or a lived space of interplay between people, places and things. According to Mallett, while the boundaries of home may or may not be permeable, home can be unique and/or more than one, transferable or untransferable, steady and unchanging and/or movable and changeable. The 'home' is likely to be identified with "feelings of comfort, ease intimacy, relaxation and security and/or oppression, tyranny and persecution" (Mallett 2004, p.84). One may or may not link 'home' with family. It can signify the identity of one and sense of self. One may see his/her body as home. Belonging and/or a sense of alienation and disaffection may be formed through home. As Mallett maintains, it can be given and/or made, familiar and/or unfamiliar, an ambiance and/or action, a relevant and/or irrelevant notion. It may be essential and/or unessential to presence. Home can be an intellectual construct and/or an experience of existing in the earth (Mallett 2004). Therefore, as Mallett's review reveals clearly, 'home' may have various meanings, may be defined in many different ways and considered in relation to diverse notions.

Apart from Melisa (female, 24)³⁹ I have done all the interviews in the houses of my informants from Heybeliada. The dwellings have a great variety in age, location, typology, ownership, and use frequency. Before proceeding to examine the meanings they attached to their domestic space and their spatial practices, I will briefly introduce the houses of my informants. Then in the following part, I will examine daily routines, the negotiated boundaries of their domestic spaces and their attachment to the place, together with the relationship between the meanings they attach to their home and to the island.

³⁹ I interviewed Melisa in a cafe in Karaköy where she works.

Füruzan (female, 85) bought her house 60 years ago from a Greek person and since then she has lived there with her family during summer months. She estimates the age of the house as 160. Şükran (female, 52) has lived in her current house since 1992. Her husband's family built this four-story apartment block in the 70s, and they live in the building together. Each story belongs to a person from the family, except one flat with a tenant. When Şükran moved to the island, she directly moved to her current house. Since then, she has lived in the same building with her husband's family (Figure 4). Nermin (female, 78) lives in her house with her daughter and granddaughter, while her sister and nephew live at their opposing house. Both of the houses are their family houses. The newer building was built in 1954 in the place of two wooden houses. As claims the older one is at least 120 years old. In Nermin's childhood, since the majority used to be the Greeks, theirs was the only Turkish house in the region. Nermin's father bought them from Greeks while they were leaving (Figure 5). Tülin (female, 62) and her family live in two opposing houses. When Tülin moved to the island after her marriage in 1981, they started to live in that house (Figure 6) with her husband's family. Some years later, they also bought the opposing house (Figure 7) and began to live in both. Mehmet (male, 53) and his family has lived in their current house for 12 years; the house is the 4th house they settled in on the island. He assumes that the building was built in 1967 as twin apartment blocks. He is a tenant in the flat and his landlord lives on the upper floor (Figure 8).

There is a strong relationship between the meanings my informants give to the experience of living on the island and the meanings attributed to the housing spaces on the island. I sometimes have difficulty in understanding the transitions between these two concepts in the narratives of the informants. Besides, as I stated before, while defining the life on the island, most of my informants draw on comparisons between the island and the mainland. This is also the case for the dwellings on the island which are mostly described by how they differ from the ones on the mainland.

One of the essential aspects of the houses on the island declared by some informants is that they provide experiences different than the ones in Istanbul do. Most of the informants have different experiences and feelings about the houses on the island. For instance, Tülin (female, 62) explains her feelings for her two houses on the island as follows:

"We live with the house, as a matter of fact, these houses are more like a breathing organism. It is very enjoyable. I love to climb these stairs with bare feet, for example, to touch that wooden texture. We have placed these plastic boards, but it was an immediate decision. The original is still underneath; this is

removable you know. It was tough to clean; there were some crooked parts. But very old wooden planks, to walk on them, these quite high ceilings, it is very pleasurable to live in these houses. It is nice to think about; you wake up in the morning in a comfortably spacious space, it is very nice. I would recommend it. But there are lots of people who don't like it. Some people don't like old things. Here I am cleaning, for example, but dust gathers in 2 hours" (Tülin, 62).⁴⁰

In the narratives of Tülin (female, 62), her houses are an essential agent in their lives. These two houses have played a very important role in their social relations, daily practices, hobbies. For instance, she stated that living in such houses enabled them to know most of the artisans and tradespeople on the island. Thanks to the house which has technical problems chronically, it has been good for their relations with the tradespeople on the island. That also demonstrates that they invest money in these houses enduringly. She tells about the influence of the houses make to their lives by giving this example:

"For example, due to the fact that our children live in the houses like this, they had lots of hobbies. They had places to practice those hobbies; for example, Ahmet, is doing carpentry now. For a time, he was interested in repairing tiled stoves. There were two remaining old artisans who repair stoves. When those stoves are broken –they are piece by piece–, the pieces are disassembled, a special slurry is prepared with fire bricks and it is reassembled, glued... I remember very well that we had allocated one of the rooms for this for a few years. When he developed a passion, there was already a lot of resources. I never forget, once a foreign guest came to visit the house. I opened one of the rooms, there were bricks, mud, etc. It was like a hobby room or something. In these type of homes, children have such freedom and comfort" (Tülin, 62).⁴¹

She perceives the house as a social space and identifies it as a family space. She defines it upon family identity rather than a personal identity or personal usage. The two houses have hosted family members, relatives and friends almost every day in the summertime. As she describes it, the houses are open to guests all the time, and Tülin (female, 62) and her sister-in-law, are

⁴⁰ "Evle beraber yaşıyoruz aslında, bu evler ev olmaktan öte canlı bir organizma gibi, nefes alan...çok keyifli hakikaten, mesela şu merdivenden çıplak ayakla çıkmayı çok seviyorum, o ahşap dokuya dokunmayı, şu plastikleri koydurduk ama bu böyle bir karambole geldi, aslında orijinali duruyor, bunları söküp atabiliyorsunuz biliyorsunuz, temizliği falan zor oluyordu, şeydi böyle araları açılmış, ama o çok eski tahtalar, onlara basmanın keyfi, çok böyle yüksek tavanlı evlerde yaşamak çok keyifli bir şey. Düşüncesi de güzel, sabah uyandığınızda gözünüzü açıyorsunuz ilave bir nefes alacak şey, çok keyifli, tavsiye ederim yani. Ama sevmeyen insan çok var. Bazı insanlar eskiyi sevmiyor. Burada ben temizliyorum, 2 saat sonra tozlar dökülmüş mesela..." (Tülin, 62)

⁴¹ "Mesela çocuklarımızın da böyle evlerde yaşıyor olmalarından dolayı bir sürü hobileri oluşmuştu. O hobileri de uygulayacak mekanları olurdu, mesela şimdi tak tuk sesini duyduğunuz Ahmet marangozluk yapıyor şu anda. Bir dönem çini soba tamirine merak salmıştı, adada çini soba tamiri yapan iki tane eskiden kalma Rum usta, şimdi günümüzde hiç kalmadı.. Şimdi o sobalar bozulduğunda, böyle parça parçadır, parçalar demonte edilir, özel bir çamur hazırlanır ateş tuğlalarıyla falan, o yeniden birleştirilir, içinden yapıştırılır falan. Mesela birkaç sene odalardan birini bu işe tahsis ettiğimiz çok iyi hatırlıyorum. O merak salıyor, merak saldığı zaman öğrenme kaynakları çok zaten. Hiç unutmuyorum, bir yabancı misafirimiz geldi evi gezdiriyoruz böyle, odalardan birini açtı tuğlalar, çamurlar,.. hobi odası veya benzeri başka şeyler falan. Bu tip evler, çocuklara öyle bir özgürlük ve rahatlık da tanıyor yani. Mesela birkaç sene odalardan birini bu işe tahsis ettiğimiz çok iyi hatırlıyorum. O merak salıyor, merak saldığı zaman öğrenme kaynakları çok zaten. Hiç unutmuyorum, bir yabancı misafirimiz geldi evi gezdiriyoruz böyle, odalardan birini açtı tuğlalar, çamurlar,.. hobi odası veya benzeri başka şeyler falan. Bu tip evler, çocuklara öyle bir özgürlük ve rahatlık da tanıyor yani." (Tülin, 62)

in charge of that organization. She defines her role as the coordinator of this order through which the houses function any time as a meeting point for friends and family. Therefore as the host of these two opposing houses which are important focal points in the family, relatives and friend networks, Tülin (female, 62) spends most of her time at the houses. She explains this as follows:

“We are a very crowded family, all living together. Our personal life is very dynamic due to my husband’s occupation and social situation. In summer when we come here, the crowded setting resonates here too. There is always a working situation in here. For instance, next week there will be a meeting here and we will have guests from America, a husband and a wife. Enis and his wife are coming from Germany, the couple from America is also bringing a friend with them. They feel perfectly comfortable about this. They say “I am coming and I might be bringing a friend,” without checking with us first. Two of my friends are coming and they are going to stay for a few days. This is the situation; I am the main host in here and my sister in law Fatma is too, and Melda is with us. When we are not here, the system is not working. So that’s why we can’t just say ‘Let’s go about today ’in this mess.’” (Tülin, 62)⁴²

The number of chairs and tables ready for use at the open spaces where the houses connect directly is the indicator of that openness to the guests all the time (Figure 9). Besides, in the houses which have great numbers of bedrooms and beds “everyone sleeps wherever they want to”, therefore mostly there are no fixed rooms for particular members of the family.

As I stated before, various factors affect the meanings attached to the home and the sense of “belonging” felt towards the houses. Seasonal use of houses is another aspect that has an effect on the place attachment. For instance, for Füzuran (female, 85) who lives in Şişli in winter and spends summer months on the island, both are her houses, but the one in Şişli is the 'home'. For her, the things that belong to her two houses (summer-winter) are apart from each other. She does not even take clothes from one to the other. Contrary to the house in Şişli, there is not any precious thing in the house on the island since it is not reasonable to leave them alone during the winter. According to her, the only criteria in the spatial organization of the summer houses is comfort; apart from that, there is no need to give close attention. She adds that it is common

⁴² “Biz çok kalabalık bir aileyiz, hep bir arada yaşıyoruz, bizim şimdi özel kendi hayatımız biraz, eşimin mesleğinden, iş durumundan ve sosyal durumundan ötürü zaten çok hareketli bir hayatımız var. Şimdi yazın da buraya geldiğimiz zaman çok kalabalık bir ortam, o durumlar buraya da yansıyor tabii. Mesela burada da her zaman bir çalışma ortamı, mesela önümüzdeki hafta sonu bir yandan bu toplantı var, bir yandan bir karı koca Amerikadan misafirlerimiz geliyor, Enis’le karısı Almanya’dan geliyorlar, Amerika’dan gelen karı koca arkadaşımız bir arkadaşımı davet ediyor, ve kendilerini bu konuda çok rahat hissediyor yani, ben geliyorum ama arkadaşımı da getirebilirim bize sormadan davet etmiş, benim 2 tane arkadaşım geliyor ve kalmaya geliyorlar bir kaç gün kalmak üzere. Bu ortam, evin ana hanımı benim diyelim, görüncem Fatma da buna dahil, Melda de bizimle beraber, bizim olmadığımız ortamda bu sistem yürümüyor zaten, o yüzden biz kalkalım da bugün şuraya gidelim buraya gidelim diyemiyoruz bu hengamenin içinde.” (Tülin, 62)

that summer houses as the second house are not given attention as the first house, even her richest friends are not that attentive to their summer houses. However, Tülin (female, 62) thinks that it is not accurate to state that summer houses are not given attention. Rather than giving attention, it is about considering the requirements of lifestyle.

Tülin (female, 62), who does not live permanently on the island and comes mostly in the summer months, does not think that neither they are summer vacationists nor the house is a summer house. Here is her voice:

“Because we are not summer house vacationists and this is our own home, we have never closed it entirely for 40 years. A house where we can come any time... We went back to Istanbul after two years to pass the winter, yet returning to Istanbul has never been a notion in our lives because the island is very much inside our life. On a weekday, for example, we say, “Let’s go to the island.” The house is always open; it is only a matter of lighting the heating stove. We have also got central heating made, but it is not enough on its own. We still use the stove, I mean, we use both of them at the same time, only then it is warm enough. Anyone who trusts themselves to light the stove can come here” (Tülin, 62)⁴³

Similar to Tülin (female, 62), Oya (female, 54), who mostly lives on the island in summers, also does not see her house as a “summer house”. Her account demonstrates the significance she attaches to the house:

“I prefer to see people here on the island but I do not want to host all the people. Because it is not a summer house. Even though I don’t like it very much, I can give the key of my summer house to a friend, to someone. But here is not like that, this is my home. It is not a summer house, it is not different from my winter house (on mainland)” (Oya, 54).⁴⁴

Another factor that contributes to the place attachment of the residents is having a “detached” house, since it is independent from the others. This is emphasised in the accounts of most informants. This is also why Füzuzan (female, 85) claims she chose this house to buy. After living in 3 different houses as tenants, since she did not want to live with the landlord's furniture any more and wanted to be able to organize the house as she wished, she decided to buy a house,

⁴³ “Biz yazlıkçı olarak değil, ev kendi evimiz olduğu için biz evimizi hiçbir zaman kapatmadık, bütün bu 40 yıl boyunca, istediğimiz her an buraya gelip ulaşabileceğimiz bir ev...2 yıl sonra İstanbul’a döndük (kışın yaşamak üzere) ama İstanbul’a dönmek diye bir kavram bizim hayatımızda yok, çünkü ada hep bizim hayatımızın içinde aslında, hafta içinde bir gün mesela haydi adaya diyen herkes.. Ev hep açık, gelen tek bir soba yakmaya bakar, buraya da bir kalorifer yaptırдық gerçi o da tek başına yetmiyor, yine şu soba mesela geliyor, hem kalorifer hem soba aynı anda yakıyoruz yani, ancak ısıtıyor, yani kendine güvenen ben o ısıyı yakarım diyen herkes kalkıp gelebiliyor.” (Tülin, 62)

⁴⁴ “İnsanları burada görmeyi tercih ediyorum ama ağırlamayı istemiyorum tabii ki, bütün insanları. Çünkü hani yazlık değil. Ben yazlığımın, çok hoşlanmasam da yazlığımın anahtarını bir arkadaşşıma, birilerine verebilirim, burası öyle değil, burası benim evim. Yazlık değil burası, kışlığımın bir farkı yok.” (Oya, 54).

and this was the only detached house available, so she selected this one. Apart from having a detached house, for her, having control of the spatial organization of the house also makes a difference regarding the attachment to the house. Likewise, for Efe (male, 28), living at the detached house contributes to the sense of freedom and thus his attachment.

Nermin (female, 78) also feels more attached to her house since it is detached and belongs to them entirely. The two opposing houses inherited from Nermin's father are both 'home' to her. She would never want to move out of the house, nor she has another place to go. The supreme resource of her attachment is that the houses are both ancestral. Her brother had sold his share of a flat years ago. She still feels sorry that they did not rebuy it and it now belongs to someone out of the family. She would like to build a new house instead of the current one, but she is very much against the idea of the flat for land method since they do not want to share their family land with strangers. Her daughter also argues against this idea. Previously instead of buying a flat from another building for a lower price, she had bought the flat that her aunt sold to a stranger in the building to take the family property back. The primary motivation of these attitudes is keeping the home/land in the family. The 'home' is not transferable for them.

The place attachment is also very much related to the property ownership for most of the informants. Although Şükran (female, 52), who associates 'home' with shelter and gathering the family, is not very happy about the smallness of her house and the lack of private space for her sons, she has an attachment to her house since it is her house. She emphasizes this as follows:

"I am peaceful at my home, thank goodness. Yes, my house is small but I feel at peace there. I feel relaxed, at least I am in my own house. I don't know, as everybody says, it is my home. When I come home, I find peace, that's it" (Şükran, 52).⁴⁵

The time spent in the house is also an important determinant for some of the informants. For instance Mehmet (male, 53) who is a "kışlıkçı" (permanent resident) and tenant in the house, defines his house as a hotel, although he likes it. Due to the time spent on the way from the island to his work on the mainland, he cannot spend much time at home. Here is his voice:

⁴⁵ "Evimde huzurluyum, yani rahatım çok şükür. Evet evim ufak mufak ama evimde huzur buluyorum, rahatım, en azından kendi evimdeyim.....Ne bileyim yani, herkes der ya, aman benim evim, kendi evim. evime geldim, huzur buluyorum, işte bu." (Şükran, 52)

“There are advantages of living on the island, but there are more disadvantages. I come here, sleep in my house like a hotel, get up in the morning and go to work. It's been like this for 21 years. I come and go in the dark, if there is no daylight as in the summer” (Mehmet, 53).⁴⁶

Another significant feature that contributes to the place attachment of the informants, both towards their home and to the island, are semi-public spaces that most of the houses have on the island. These places create possibilities for encountering, sharing and contacting with natural assets of the island.

Semi-public / in-between spaces

All of the informants have an open / semi-open space where their homes connect directly, and these places are significant for their social and daily life. For Şükran (female, 52), her balcony which has a lovely view is where she spends most of her time in summer. She prefers her balcony to somewhere else on the island for financial reasons as elaborated above. Mehmet (male, 53) prefers to stay at home in his days off and spends time in his garden. He says that there are times that he does not set foot outside for two days. Füzuzan (female, 85) spends most of the time at the patio, Oya (female, 54) is mostly at her garden or balcony. Nermin (female, 78) uses the street between her two houses as a patio, sits and hangs out there frequently and eats meals there sometimes. These semi-open / open spaces are where they mostly host their guests and friends. By means of these places, there is a close relationship and a movement between the inside and outside all day long.

According to the accounts of Nermin (female, 78), Füzuzan (female, 85), and Şükran (female, 52), doorstep is commonly used as a meeting space for the neighbors on the island. Nermin (female, 78) and her family meet with neighbors mainly at the doorstep. Neighbors and passers-by come together at the doorstep, eat, drink, and have a chat; they also host their guests there when the weather allows it. They use the doorsteps and the street between their two houses as the open space of their house. Doorsteps facilitate social communication.

“When we come out here, all people come by, they join our conversation... My door is a ‘gazino’ (cafe).” (Nermin, 78) For example, we cook two packs of pasta with tomatoes in summer months. We take out our

⁴⁶ “Adada oturmanın avantajları var, dezavantajları daha çok. Ben buraya geliyorum, otel gibi evimde yatıyorum, sabah kalkıyorum işime gidiyorum, bu 21 yıldır böyle. Karanlıkta gidip karanlıkta geliyorum, yazın böyle aydınlık yoksa.” (Mehmet, 53)

saucepan and the plates, to everyone who pass by... everyone eats it. So we have such nice things here.” (Ayşe, Nermin’s nephew)⁴⁷

Fürüzan (female, 85) also spends time with her friend/next-door neighbor at the doorstep. (Figure 10) They visit one another every day as they are “a single house”. Here is her voice:

“We are like one house. Either she comes to me, or I go to her. We sit together at the doorstep, [or] in the garden.” (Fürüzan, 85)⁴⁸

Mehmet (male, 53), who does not prefer to go out of the house, also spends time at the doorstep (Figure 11) with his family and neighbors. They have a chat and snack at the area located between the twin houses until 1-2 am.

My informants have different spatial and social relations with their neighbors, and their related accounts highlight the concepts of privacy and security. Nermin (female, 78) lives on the ground floor, and only they can use the backyard of the building, not the neighbors at the upper flats. A wall separates their garden from the next-door neighbors. “Ayağımı at, geç eve.” (Set your foot in, and you’re home) (Figure 12) She remarks that no one can enter the neighbor’s house outside her knowledge. Landlords who are abroad may have a fear that tenants or the Syrians may occupy their houses, so some do not want to rent out the apartments. However, since she reassures them about her control over the place, they decided to rent out the flat. The tenant is an Assyrian family with whom they got along very well last summer, and they will rent it again.

Tülin’s first house, not just thresholds as patio and stairs, but also inside of the house is very much open to what goes on outside. While Tülin (female, 62) tells about how old their neighborly relations are, she refers to the day-long open doors as an indication of close ties and an environment of trust. During our interviews, several times, her neighbors who were passing by, yelled her through the open door and started a small talk without sitting down. Doors are open all day long, and the boundaries of privacy are drawn by a cloth hanging down from a

⁴⁷“ Biz buraya çıktık mı, bütün millet buraya geliyor, muhabbetimize katılıyorlar...Benim kapı gazino. (Nermin, 78) İki paket makarna yaparız, domatesli yazın mesela, tencereyi de alırız, tabakları, gelene geçene.. herkes yer onu bitirir. Böyle güzel şeylerimiz var yani.” (Ayşe, Nermin’in yeğeni)

⁴⁸“ Bir ev gibiyiz zaten, ya o bendedir, ya ben ondayımdır, ya da kapının önünde otururuz. Bahçede otururuz.” (Fürüzan, 85)

rope bonding two sides of the exterior door (Figure 13). Besides, in her second home across the street, the boundaries of privacy are determined by the dense ivy at the ivy-mantled patio which directly faces one of the busiest streets on the island. She puts this as follows: “Here I can see everyone, but no one can see me.”⁴⁹ (Figure 14)

Fürüzan (female, 85) thinks that she has privacy in her house, however on the balcony and the garden, her neighbor has invaded her privacy. According to her account, he pretended as he cleaned the shared space and disturbed them by spying out even though all the neighbors know about this and get angry at him. As a way of protection from his gaze, she closed the gap between the railings on the balcony. On the other hand, when the possible tenants of the lower floor come to see the flat, these next-door neighbors question them and want to be sure whether they have a young man in the household. Since they do not want young men around their daughter in law, they deter them from hiring the flat. She states that she does not understand this attitude, since the women hang around the island, in the public space very freely in bikinis. Here the different experiences/manners belonging to public space and domestic space come in view.

Fürüzan tells me that she has had difficulties getting along with her neighbors on the island. Before her current neighbors, who are Kurdish as mentioned above, she used to have a Greek neighbor. Although she has a very good and nostalgic narrative about the Greek residents in general, she defines her ex next-door neighbor as a terrible person and a “Turcophobe”, although she was married to a Turkish man. She narrates the conflicts they had on the shared space as follows:

“There were times that I did not want to go to my summer house. She did not give me peace. We were adjacent, so I had to pass through her door. She did not even let me pass through her door, although it was the path.” (Fürüzan, 85)⁵⁰

As exemplified above, Fürüzan (female, 85) narrates the conflicts she has had with her neighbors and their “bad behaviors”, associating these with their ethnic origins. For instance, according to Fürüzan, her Kurdish neighbors also got her property unfairly. Although all the

⁴⁹ “Burada ben herkesi görüyorum, ama kimse beni görmüyor.” (Tülin, 62)

⁵⁰ “Evime bile gitmek istemediğim zaman oldu. Yazlığa gitmek istemediğim zaman oldu. Huzur vermedi, evimde oturmaya rahat vermedi. Çok bitiştik. Onun için kendi kapısından geçmek mecburiyetindeyim. Kendi kapısından bile beni geçirmedi. Yol olduğu halde.” (Fürüzan, 85)

garden belongs to her, the Kurdish neighbors shared it among themselves and now they do not let her in her property. She says that they even do not let her have fruits from the trees in the garden, in so much that they cut down a tree to avoid her to get in there. According to her, Lazs, another group of “newcomers” are also impossible to get along with. She says that her Laz neighbours appropriate the small plot at the entrance of that long street and almost do not let anyone pass. They cook and eat there in turn with lots of tables and chairs, thus passing through there is hard for the others. Here is the case, in her own words:

“There is a small plot of our land on our way to our street. They have also occupied that land. They almost do not make you pass, they put tables, they put chairs. They put bottled gas, they cook there, they sit and eat there in turn. You can’t pass there, you see the food which they eat. So they are dirty people, they ruined the island. The island is being driven off since they arrived.” (Füruzan, 85)⁵¹

Another informant and F ruzan’s grandson Onur (male, 28), also mentions his discomfort about the occupation of that mentioned area by the neighbors. The neighborhoods stretch out the boundaries of the domestic space and practice some domestic activities such as cooking, eating there. In their accounts, the cultural difference between new and old residents comes to the fore again as a cause of the island losing its identity.

The boundaries of domestic space

The boundaries of domestic space change depending upon various factors, and in the case of islands the seasonal changing boundaries is especially a common phenomenon. In summer the boundaries of the domestic spaces expand. Particularly in the old wooden houses, the places actively used are changed according to the season. In winter, due to the difficulty of warming, they use only a minimal part of the house. Apart from the seasonal conditions, the boundaries of domestic spaces are also determined by the needs.

Nermin (female, 78) lives in two adjacent and separate flats, (Figure 15) each of which has one room, a toilet, and a kitchen. She did not change the original plan, did not pull the wall down and combine the two flats because she thinks that it is more functional this way; she can use both sides of the wall to put the wardrobes, bars and cupboards. They use both of the houses

⁵¹ “ stelik de bizim benim sokađa giriřimizde ufak bir arsa var, o arsayı da kabullenmiřler, neredeyse seni geirmiyorlar, masaları koyuyorlar, iskemleleri koyuyorlar. T p gazı koyuyorlar, orada yemek yapıyorlar hepsi. Oturup orada yiyorlar, sırOya. Geemezsin, yedikleri yemekleri g r yorsun. Yani pis insanlar, adayı berbat ettiler yani . Ada adalıktan ıktı bunlar geldiđinden beri.” (F ruzan, 85)

for domestic activities and since the houses are tiny, they use the doorstep of the flat for storage purposes with the objects as cupboards, hangers and baskets. Besides, there are ornaments and lace used for hiding electricity meters.

Inside the flats, there are also changing boundaries that determine privacy depending on the conditions of family members. In both apartments, there is a multifunctional use. For instance, the room in one flat is used both for daily activities like cooking, watching TV, sitting, and reading; it is also used as a bedroom and the sofas are converted to beds. Users of places are also changing, and they change their sleeping places at times. They mostly spend time in that flat and currently, Nermin sleeps at the room which also functions as a living room. On the other hand, at the other flat, her daughter and/or granddaughter sleep depending on the schooldays of the granddaughter (19) since she stays at the dormitory in the weekdays. Recently, they reserved this flat for the granddaughter as her bedroom. However, refrigerator, washing machine, and the unpacked boxes remained from the dowry of her mother are also placed in this second flat, which is used almost like a storehouse. She is not very comfortable sharing her room with white goods since they are used anytime by the other members of the family; she thinks that they invade her privacy. While Nermin (female, 78) says that she does not have problems with privacy, her daughter and grandchild seem to need some. However, her daughter calls the house “dullar pansiyonu” (hostel of the widows) and says that since they are all women, they do not have a problem with privacy. In her view, coming into view of a male person determines the boundary of privacy. Being surrounded by women resolves this need.

In summer, they mostly spend the day on the street, socialize with the neighbors and the passersby. For Nermin (female, 78), who currently spends her days mostly at home, the control of space is not limited to the boundaries of the house. She narrates how she dismissed the two men observing the houses on the street and protected the street and the other houses. As she narrates, when she saw two men on the street examining the houses, she went out to the street with her nightdress, threatened them by calling the police and got rid of them.

Appropriation of the houses

The informants appropriated their houses according to their needs and the current situation of the family. For instance, some have changed the organization of the houses they bought from the non-Muslim residents, according to their needs. Besides, since houses of some informants are small, they had some solutions/strategies to create space. Converting the balcony to a bedroom, using the doorstep as part of the house, or uniting rooms are some of those solutions.

Fürüzan (female, 85), who estimates the age of the house as 160, bought it 60 years ago from a Greek person and has been renovating the house ever since she moved in. The house used to be two digits where two separate families lived. Thus, there used to be two doors, two kitchens, and two toilets. The balcony had a door opening to the bathroom. They pulled down the wall and merged the two bathrooms and two kitchens, making one of each. Recently she renovated the floor of the lower floor, which has been rented out mostly, built separate drainage for that floor and a wall inside. Even though she is happy with the current organization of the house, she wants to open a door from the living room/bedroom which goes directly to the bathroom as it used to be since she is now old for walking around to go to the bathroom.

When Nermin's (female, 78) family bought the two opposing houses, they made some changes, especially at the older one. The current room at the back used to be the kitchen and at the entrance, there used to be a wall dividing the stairs from the hall. Similar to Fürüzan's (female, 85) house, there used to be two entrances. Thus there are two doors at the façade, but one of them is nonfunctional right now (Figure 16).

In the old wooden houses of Tülin (female, 62), Fürüzan (female, 85), and Nermin (female 78), what is common is that everything is ancient. Tülin (female, 62), who has lived in two houses bought from Greeks, says that they have tried to preserve the houses as much as they can. However, as they could not adapt to the very narrow and lengthy toilets in both of the houses, they changed them according to their needs (Figure 17). In front of one of their houses there used to be a grocery store. After the grocer quit working, they did not rent it out again and converted it into a study, a meeting room which also hosts academic conferences etc (Figure 18). As she states, most of the residents of the island do not know what is there since the front façade of the building is now ivy-mantled. She wants to create a passage towards the inside since it requires to walk around to make service there, however she is concerned since the building was documented.

As in the case of Tülin (female, 62), living on the island creates some limitations about changing the spatial organization and decoration of domestic space. For instance, Şükran (female, 52) had closed the balcony to create a sleeping and studying space for her two sons (26 and 20 years old) and they paid the penalty to the municipality for that transformation (Figure 19). Şükran (female, 52) defines life on the island as frustrating because of the limitations of the required modifications of houses. As she states, there is a very compelling permission process, including bribe and using networks. Moreover, renovating the furniture on the island is a luxury since they must pay very high transportation prices to bring them to the island and then to the house from the port. Thus she wants to throw away/change some of her furniture since they are ancient, but she cannot afford it. So the decoration of the houses is mostly fixed to a time.

2.3.4. Opinions Regarding Transformation

As previously stated, the islands have been the subject of controversial master plans and reconstruction activities, mainly since the beginning of this century. Due to the plans and operations described above, the Princes' Islands have become a hot topic lately. According to most of my informants, as many districts of Istanbul, it is very likely that the islands would undergo radical reconstruction processes. In parallel with the debates on such topics, citizens initiatives such as Adalar Savunması (Islands Defence) and Dünya Mirası Adalar (World Heritage Islands), formed of people who want to get involved in these processes, emerged in recent years. According to Adalar Savunması, the 1/1000 plan prepared by the Adalar Municipality, as well as a 1/5000 plan made by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IBB), would have carried the urban and ecological crisis experienced by Istanbul to the Islands (Suvari 2017). The plan prepared by IBB was canceled in 2018.

Most of the informants were extremely critical and nervous about the aforementioned urban plans and applications. The prevailing opinion is that any decision made by the authorities for the island would have negative consequences. The current situation of Yassıada, which had already experienced reconstruction surreptitiously in recent years, and the Istanbul silhouette seen from the island, has a significant influence on that idea. Even though some would prefer living in houses with better conditions, they are against the possible implementations of master plans described above. For some of my informants, the biggest threat is that the islands may

“become Istanbul”. F ruzan (female, 85) says that the island’s “village-like” characteristics should be preserved.

While almost all of the informants are rigorously against the possible construction activities, none of them think that they can influence what is to be done. For instance, Őukran (female, 52) states that she should have a right to speak on the subject; however, she does not think that there is a respondent or anyone who cares about her opinions. She also remarks about the contradiction between the strict permission processes on the modifications in the houses they have faced and the arbitrary reconstruction plan implementations. Here is her voice:

“You're not allowed to repair your own house. But then they zoned the island for construction. Why? Do we really need it? Enough is enough! It is a pity.”(Őukran, 52)⁵²

3. THE CASE of BURGAZADA

This chapter is subdivided into four sections. The first section will provide a brief historical background and a description of the current state of Burgazada. Then in the next part, I will

⁵² “Sen kendi evini onarmaya bile gittiğinde ona bile m saade yokken, ama gel efendim ben burayı imara a ayım. Niye?  ok mu lazım yani, bu kadar da yapmayın ya, g nahtır yazıktır bence.” (Őukran, 52)

introduce my informants and give a short overview of their personal histories to set light to the next phases of the research. In the third section, I will describe how the 'island' and the 'islander identity' are interpreted by the informants and analyze their daily routines through which the identities are negotiated in some particular places of the island. The last section will attempt to discuss the ideas of the informants concerning the potential transformation the islands may go through in the future.

3.1 The Past and the Present of the Island

When looking from the mainland, Burgazada is the second of the Prince Islands that are lined up against Maltepe and Kartal on the Anatolian side. It is the third largest island among the six inhabited islands. As Pinguet (2018) states, during the Byzantine Empire, the island was first named Panormos, meaning "sheltering harbor". Then it started being called Antigoni, originated from the name of a general of Alexander the Great. It is said that the son of the general, Dimitrios Poliorkites, who fought against the Thracian and Macedonian armies in the Sea of Marmara to provide free entry to the Bosphorus, gave the island his father's name (Pinguet 2018).

As Duru (2011) remarks, thirty various ethnic and religious groups like Jews, Armenians, Rum (Greek Orthodox), Sunnis, Alevis, Kurds, Suryani Christians, Levantines, German Catholics have lived in Burgazada. Throughout the Byzantine, Ottoman Empire, and in the early years of the Turkish Republic in the 1920s, Rum Greek Orthodox constituted the majority of the island population. Starting from the 19th century, the islands became the resorts of Ottoman, French, and British elites. For instance, the Austrian Catholic Chapel and a dwelling for nuns and clergymen were constructed on the island. German architects and gardeners, who were employed under the Ottoman Empire, got estates on the island and used them as summer resorts. Later, in the early years of the Turkish nation-state, Sunni Muslim elites started to come to the island in the summer months. Duru (2011) also maintains that in the 1930s, Sunni Muslim captains who were mostly from Ordu and Trabzon moved to Burgazada due to employment opportunities and economic reasons. In the mid-1950s, there was explicit stress among Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus, and on 6-7 September 1955, properties of non-Muslims were attacked and plundered in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. Later on, in 1964, Christians with Greek citizenship were banished, and in 1974 Cyprus was invaded by Turkish military forces. These events caused the Greek Orthodox minority to migrate out of Turkey (Duru 2011). Therefore the Greek

population of the island has begun to decrease. Nevertheless, as Duru (2011) points out, the events that happened on 6-7 September 1955 did not influence Burgazada. By contrast with all other islands and the mainland, residents of Burgazada acted with solidarity and defended the island in collaboration with the local police. The outsiders were restrained from stepping on the island to attack the houses and shops of non-Muslims, by keeping guard at the harbors and bays (Duru 2011).

As Duru (2011) states, from the 1940s on, Jews from the mainland and Heybeliada bought estates in Burgazada. Besides, in the 1950s, Kurdish and Zaza Alevi moved to the island from Erzincan, Sivas, and Dersim due to financial causes, and their families came with them. They worked as construction workers, coachmen, gardeners, and portages (Duru 2011). According to Atayurt and Morgül (2016), today Alevi are the most populous group on the island in summer and winter, holding most of the service sector on the island. In the same period, while the native Greeks living on the island were active in the sectors such as viticulture, fishing, floriculture and fishing net production, they also engaged in restaurants that had an important place in the “out-of-home” social life of the island (Atayurt & Morgül 2016). As Duru argues, the Kurds are another group that works in low-income jobs, such as commissariats. During the 1990s, Sunni and Shafi, Muslim Kurds came to the island in the summertime for the menial jobs needed at this time of the year. Several of them brought their families as well (Duru 2011). As Çankaya (2016) states, they are at the bottom of the class and origin pyramid, as in the whole country. Armenians and non-Alevi Turks constitute the minority in this distribution (Çankaya 2016).

According to Duru (2011), in more recent times the Jewish community felt uneasy due to the increase of the tension between Turkey and Israel, displayed by the attacks to the synagogues in Istanbul in 2004, in addition to the Gaza and Mavi Marmara occasions. Therefore, few of them sold their houses on the island or did not rent summer resorts anymore. Although the Jewish community in Burgazada is rather at ease, their discomfort endures. As Duru (2011) maintains, starting from the 2000s, Armenians came to Burgazada from Kınalıada since they were not pleased about the rise of day-trippers there. Besides, from the same period on, people began to come to the island from Central Asia, from Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan to work as stablemen or couriers for a short time. (Duru 2011).

The population of the island changes dramatically by the season. As Duru (2011) states, in the summer months the population advances in comparison with winter, which marks a change from around 1500 to 15,000. In the summertime, rich, upper-middle-class, academics, business people, authors, journalists, artists, architects, lawyers move to their own summer houses or rent one themselves. When the summer is over, the schools open and they turn back to their houses on the mainland. Depending on the climate in the rest of the months, they occasionally come to the islands at the weekends (Duru 2011).



3.2 Participants of the research⁵³

	Name	State	Age	Other Location	Education	Occupation	Ethnic origin	Number of children	Number of residents	Marital Status	Household type
1	Serpil	Ex-summer vacationist, new permanent resident	60	Kızıltoprak	High school graduate	Retired	Turkish	1	1	Divorced	Apartment
2	Birgül	Ex-summer vacationist, new permanent resident	58	Şişli	Bachelor's degree	Housewife	Turkish-Bulgarian	1	1	Divorced	Apartment
3	Feride	Ex-summer vacationist, new permanent resident	62	Samatya	Secondary school graduate	Housewife	Turkish	2	2	Married	Apartment
4	Şule	Ex-summer vacationist, new permanent resident	44	Ataşehir	High school graduate	Housewife	Turkish	-	2	Married	Apartment
5	Aslıhan	Ex-summer vacationist, new permanent resident	52	Beşiktaş	Bachelor's degree	Retired fund manager	Turkish	1	1	Divorced	Apartment
6	Maria	Old summer vacationist	66	Kurtuluş	Secondary school graduate		Greek Rum	2	-	Widow	-
7	Seçil	summer vacationist	26	Koşuyolu	Bachelor's degree	Research Assistant	Turkish	-	changeable	Unmarried	Detached house
8	Yiğit	summer vacationist	29	Zekeriyaköy	Master degree	Economist	Armenian	-	2	Unmarried	Apartment

Table 2. Background characteristics (informants in Burgazada)

During my fieldwork in Burgazada, I talked, through semi-structured interviews, to 8 people – female and male, of various ages. Four of these informants, Serpil (female, 60), Feride (female, 62), Şule (female, 44), Aslıhan (female, 52) used to be “yazlıkçı” (summer house vacationist) in Burgazada for years and recently settled there permanently. The primary reason underlying the permanent habitation for most of them was seeking a calmer lifestyle and escaping from the everlasting construction activities in Istanbul. Unlike the others, Birgül used to be a “yazlıkçı” in Heybeliada before she moved to Burgazada permanently. The ones who settled recently in the island to live all year long had different relations with the island before they moved. Feride (female, 62) and Serpil (female, 60), since they had been summer vacationists for a long time, already knew lots of people before they moved permanently; Şule (female, 44) only knew her husband and some of his friends, Aslıhan (female, 52) had only a few friends, and Birgül knew no one. Only Maria (female, 66), who was a summer vacationist until 1976 on the island, does

⁵³ I have used pseudonyms throughout this thesis in order to protect the anonymity of the participants.

not live in Burgazada anymore. Since that day, she visits the island once a week. The informants were aged between 26 and 70, and they were all born in Istanbul, on the mainland. Most of them have another house and relatives in Istanbul. None of the informants above 30 years of age, who are all women, were engaged in waged work at the time of my research. Maria (female, 66) helps her son in running his coffee shop in Beyoğlu. While some of these women were divorced or widowed, some are still married. The spouses of some of the women are employed, working in Istanbul, some are also retired. Most of the women in this study had children. Only two of my informants are under 30 years old. Seçil (female, 26) and Yiğit (male, 29) are both “yazlıkçı”, unmarried and they have been coming to the island in the summer months since they were kids. Both were engaged in waged work at the time of my research.

Serpil (female, 60) is divorced, retired, and lives with her dog in Burgazada all year round; she regularly visits her daughter and mother on the mainland. Şule (female, 44) came to the island as a “yazlıkçı” in 2004, then got married and they moved to the island permanently 6 years later. She lives with her husband, two dogs, and a cat. Feride (female, 62), who had been a summer vacationist since her childhood, recently moved to the island permanently. Her two sons left the house years ago, and now she lives with her husband. Aslıhan (female, 52) lives alone; she sometimes visits her son who lives in Istanbul. Birgül (female, 58), who has been a housewife throughout her life, got divorced recently and now lives with her cat. Maria (female, 66), who was a summer vacationist until around 40 years ago, lives in Istanbul with her son and once a week visits her friends on the islands. Seçil (female, 26) sometimes goes to the island with her parents and grandparents, and at times on her own. Yiğit (male, 29) lives with his father on the island in the summer months.

3.3 Place, Belonging and Identity in Burgazada

3.3.1. The Meanings of the Island

In the previous chapter on Heybeliada, I stated that the ‘islander identity’ is mostly regarded as an upper-class social identity on the islands and the self-identification through the ‘island’ is very common. This phenomenon applies to Burgazada as well, and both the ‘island’ and the ‘islander identity’ are interpreted diversely.

In the accounts of the informants, their attachment to the island is frequently manifested. For Serpil (female, 60) and Feride (female, 62), who had spent the summer months on the island throughout their life till they moved to the island permanently, the island meant a lot of things. When they were children, they mostly spent their out-of-school time on the island, made friends, had a good time, and felt free. Later on, they came to the island with their families and children in the summer months, and at later ages, they finally moved to the island permanently. For the majority of my informants, who moved to the island permanently after coming to the island as summer vacationists for years, Aslihan (female, 52), Serpil (female, 60) Birgül (female, 58), Feride (female, 62) and Şule (female, 44), this move meant an escape from the chaos of the metropolitan city and the everlasting construction processes in Istanbul. They all state that since they moved to the island permanently, they have lived peacefully, and they are all happy to live in Burgazada. Feride (female, 62), who used to be a summer vacationist and moved to the island permanently three years ago, states that when she moved to the island, she felt at peace. All these women, except Şule (female, 44), think that moving to the island permanently was a turning point in their lives. For instance, Birgül (female, 58) defines her life on the island as her third life since she got divorced one year after their move to the island. Here on the island, she lives her own life. She defines being on the island during the divorce process as fortunate and explains that the island had been like therapy for her. She describes this case as follows:

“I’m living my third life here. It was also very good that the change in my marital status coincided with (my move) here. I live a completely different life here, I mean, I live my own life. When I came here, I was married, then I divorced. But I’m glad that I was here during the divorce process, it was a big chance. You know, they say that there’s a reason for everything, and when I think about this, I guess this was the reason why we came here suddenly, we came for it. Here has been good therapy for me.” (Birgül, 58)⁵⁴

Most of the informants define the island as their home. For instance, Serpil (female, 60), who came to the island in the ’70s in her childhood as a summer vacationist and moved permanently in 2016 states that, the island has always been ‘home ’for her. She defines not just her house on the island as ‘home ’but also the island itself as a piece of land, due to the daily face-to-face

⁵⁴“ Ben 3. Hayatımı yaşıyorum burada çünkü. Yani o benim kendi, özel medeni halimdeki değişikliğin buraya denk düşmesi de çok iyi oldu. Bambaşka bir hayat yaşıyorum, kendi hayatımı yaşıyorum yani. Buraya, evliydim geldiğimde, sonradan boşandım ama iyi ki boşanma sürecinde burada oldum, iyi ki. O bir kısmetmiş. Yani herşeyin bir nedeni vardır derler ya, ben de neden buraya patdadanak geldik diye düşündüğüm zaman, bunun için gelmişiz. Güzel tedavi yöntemiymi burası.” (Birgül, 58)

interactions and the sense of security she feels on the island. For her, the move to the island permanently meant coming back home. Although she spent less time on the island compared to Istanbul, she felt that the temporary one had been the mainland, and she always wanted to be on the island. Therefore, one may argue that the time spent at a place is not necessarily determinant of its substantiality for the resident. While the ones who spent their childhood on the island mostly see the island as their 'home', Maria (female, 66), who also had been a summer house vacationist in Burgazada till her 20s, does not think that the island is 'home' for her now, because she left the island a long time ago and since then she only visits once a week. Due to the same reason, she does not define herself as an 'islander' anymore.

The island life and the 'islander identity' are described in significantly different ways by the informants from Burgazada, as in the case of Heybeli. Maria (female, 66) thinks that being an islander requires a state of stability and, therefore, according to her, the ones who live there all year long and the old summer vacationists are the islanders. While most of the residents acknowledge the past Greek residents of the island as the 'real islanders', Maria (female, 66), who was once one of them, does not define herself as an islander since she left the island and does not live there anymore.

For those who had lived on the island since their childhood, the most striking change the island has gone through is the decrease of the non-muslim population. Feride (female, 62) voices her discontent due to the diminishing of the non-muslim population and states that she has felt alienated due to the departure of the Greeks. Serpil (female, 60), in a similar manner, says that the most dramatic case she experienced on the island is that the island passed into other hands. She says that she misses the former state of the island, as all the old residents of the islands do. While the reason that her father had brought them to the island was the presence of the Greek community and their joy, they are now gone. Along with this strong nostalgia over the Greek population, longing for the good old days of the island was something I repeatedly heard, especially from my informants who have spent the summer months throughout their lives on the island. The changes the island underwent since their childhood, was a common topic in their accounts and they define island life mostly through a comparison between the present day and the past.

Furthermore, being a resident of long standing is one of the prominent criteria for identification as an islander for the majority of my informants. As I discussed earlier, while there is not an agreement among my informants about who an 'islander 'is, almost all of them accept previous Greek residents who had mostly left the island a long time ago, were the real islanders. For instance, Serpil (female, 60) associates the islander identity with having experienced the past of the island and having lived with the previous, non-muslim residents. She claims that she still lives with them in mind and thinks of them often. Here is her account:

"I think, being an islander means living here with its past. I have lived with the Greeks and Armenians of the island. I still live here with them, I mean, they are still on my mind." (Serpil, 60)⁵⁵

As exemplified by Serpil's account, 'islander identity 'requiring living on the island for a long time is a common idea on the island. Birgöl (female, 58) who used to live in Heybeliada as a summer vacationist since she was five and moved permanently to Burgazada in 2011, also states that, if she had not lived in Heybeliada before, she probably wouldn't be acknowledged as an islander by the residents of the island. According to her, even though one can define herself/himself as an islander, people who associate the islander identity with the time spent on the island would not approve of it. Yet, in her case, while some acknowledge her as an islander, some do not.

According to Aslihan (female 52), the issue of the 'islander identity 'is still very controversial on the island, especially among elderly people. Although she is slightly critical about the ones who lay claim to the island and externalize others through time spent on the island, she does not think that she has a claim to comment on in this dispute, since she has lived on the island for just a few years. Besides, she associates 'islander identity 'with taking an active role in solidaristic collective activities such as fire extinguishing, earthquake disaster countermeasures, contributing to the people's assembly, etc. She explains her perspective as follows:

"There is a behavior saying that "We are the islanders; we own the place." I am watching them discuss, I have never intervened. Who am I to say something, I have been here for only five years. But there is this thing, people who were born here or spent their childhood here, the ones who witnessed the development and watched what has happened, one of them says that his primary school teacher said this to him. There is a primary school up there. "This is not how a real islander would do" etc. Now the young people are

⁵⁵ "Burada yaşamak, buranın geçmişiyle beraber yaşamak bence adalılık. Ben şimdi bu adanın Rumlarını yaşadım, Ermenilerini yaşadım, onları yaşadım, bunları yaşadım. Burada ben hep hala onlarla yaşıyorum, yani hala hafızamda onlar var." (Serpil, 60)

looking after it, of course, the ones who live here. There was a fire, for example, the young people put the fire out, burning their hands and feet. When there was an earthquake, we established neighborhood disaster volunteers. Some non-governmental organizations were found, disaster volunteers solidarity association... The islander situation of someone who tries to put the fire out and someone who only comes and goes in the summer is different from each other. I mean, some get their hand on fire, some cry at home. To say which one is more of an islander- One of them is on the island for 70 years maybe, the other is 10-15 years or let's say that he was born, and he is living here for 30 years but gets his hand on the fire. You are going to decide which of them is the islander. What is an islander? I see it as showing respect to the people, the environment. I mean to keep this place clean, to respect each other's opinion. This is how I see it, and because I see it that way, for now, I feel like it is. I will stay here as long as this idea is alive." (Aslıhan, 52)⁵⁶

On the other hand, Feride (female, 62) describes 'island' life as being made up of the daily face-to-face contact and strong communication between people and associates the islander identity with 'peace'. Şule (female, 44), who came to the island as a summer vacationist in 2004 and started to live permanently on the island in 2010, thinks that the 'islander identity' is related to 'modesty'. Birgül (female, 58) defines the islander identity as knowledge, adopting, and loving of life on the island. According to her, there is a rule, a way of living on the island, and not everybody can manage to do it. Here is her voice:

"Living on the island is something. There are rules, there is a way of living on the island. In my opinion, not anyone can easily live on the island. We need to know, love and embrace life on the island. Of course, eventually you claim the island, try not to disturb the peace and have the urge to struggle for it, etc. But first, you should internalize living on the island. I hear that a lot of friends come here, buy a house, they either stay during a winter or not and they say "I can't do it anymore" and leave. There is already a saying for this, 'the island spits out the ones she doesn't like. 'They don't know how the island is, and after that they don't ever come back again. Because living on the island is harsh; the climate is rough; transportation is difficult and expensive. There are no grocery stores here like the ones in Istanbul. There are 2 or 3 grocery stores, and they try to rip you off as much as they can." (Birgül, 58)⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Biz adalıyız, buranın sahibi biziz tarzında bir davranış biçimi var. Ben tartışmalarını seyrediyorum, hiç girmedim araya, daha ben neyim ki, 5 senedir buradayım işte. Ama şöyle bir şey var: burada doğmuş ya da çocukluğundan beri burada olanlar, işte yıllardır buranın gelişimini takip eden insanlar, olanı biteni seyredenler mesela diyor ki birtanesi mesela ilkokul öğretmenim bana şöyle demişti, yukarıda ilkokul var...İşte gerçek adalı böyle yapmaz falan, şimdi gençler şeye sahip çıkıyor tabii, burada yaşayanlar... yangın oldu mesela yangını şey söndürdü, gençler söndürdü, elleri ayakları yana yana. Deprem olduğu zaman afet gönüllüleri kurduk, birtakım STKlar kuruldu burada, afet gönüllüleri dayanışma derneği...Burada ateşi söndürmeye çalışan halkın adalılığı ile yazın gelip giden insanın adalılığı birbirinden farklı. Yani kimi ateşe elini sokuyor, kimi ağlıyor evinde. Şimdi hangisinin daha çok adalı olduğunu, hani biri 70 senedir belki adada, ötekisi 10-15 sene veya doğduğunu varsayalım 30 senedir burada yaşıyor, ama ateşe elini sokuyor, buna sen karar vereceksin kimin adalı olduğuna...Adalılık ne? Adalılık insana saygı gösteren, yaşadığı yere saygı gösteren insan demek aslında; yani şurayı kirletmemeyi bilen, karşısındaki insanın düşüncesine saygı gösteren bir şey olarak algılıyorum ben. Ben öyle algıladığım için de öyleymiş geliyor şimdilik...Bu düşüncem kırılana kadar da burada kalacağım. (Aslıhan, 52)

⁵⁷ Adada yaşamak bi şeydir ya, bi olaydır yani, bi kuralı vardır, bi usulü vardır adada yaşamamanın, adada herkes kolay kolay yaşayamaz bana göre. Adada yaşamayı bilmek, sevmek ve benimsemek lazım, bence adalılık budur. Adaya sahip, tabii ki dolayısıyla sahip çıkarsın, düzenini bozmamaya çalışırsın bunun için mücadele etmeye gerek duyarsın, falan filan ama öncelikle adada yaşamayı özümsemek lazım. Bi sürü, bi sürü arkadaş, duymuşumdur, gelirler ev alırlar, ev alan da var, adaya. Bir kış ya oturur, ya oturamaz yapamam der gider, zaten bi laf vardır: Ada

According to Birgöl (female, 58), internalizing the life on the island is the priority, and thereby islanders look after and strive for the island. There have been a lot of people who could not manage to live here since the compelling life on the island, due to its climate, transportation, high costs, and lack of alternatives, is tough. Besides, 'loving nature' is a criterion for her to adopt people on the island. She relates the life on the island with living and loving 'nature' and thinks that it is not reasonable for people who do not like it to live on the island. According to her, the ones who are supposed to live on the island, are people who already love nature and she puts her feelings about the ones lacking the love of nature as follows: "They are nature haters, I do not understand why they live on the island."

For Seçil (female, 26) being an islander requires spending some time on the island, keeping in step with the daily life of the island and also becoming familiar to the other residents of the islands. Here is how she describes it:

"I think all people who have spent a certain time on the island can be acknowledged as islanders... If one could stay here and socialize, become familiar to people... I think one can do this also in a short time, or on the contrary maybe after 15 years of living on the island you may still not be familiar, though he/she may be an islander in his/her own way... But if we know him/her, I think she/he is an islander now. In other words, I think everyone stays on the island and is able to keep in step with the local order, or how can I say, to daily life, can be defined as an islander. But I do not acknowledge as islanders the ones who come and say "Oh, I like this place, this is my place.", and I do not like them." (Seçil, 26)⁵⁸

On the other hand, for Yiğit (male, 29) the islander identity is directly related to being non-muslim. He says that it is strange for him to think people with regular turkish-muslim names as islanders. He explains it as follows:

"In my opinion, being an islander is being non-muslim, I see it in this way. For example, if they ask me 'Do you know Ata from Burgazada?' I would say 'Ata? What is Ata doing on Burgazada?' This is what I

sevmediği insanı tükürür derler, öyle de olur. Nasıl olduğunu bilmezler, bi daha da gelemeler. Çünkü adada yaşamak serttir, iklimi serttir, ulaşımı zordur, pahalıdır. İstanbul'daki gibi marketler yoktur adada, işte 2-3 tane bakkal vardır, ve o da seni alabildiğine kazıklamaya çalışır.(Birgöl, 58)

⁵⁸ "Bence belirli bir süre geçirmiş insanların hepsi adalı olarak sayılabilir...Burada kalıp sosyalleşebilmişse, eğer insanlara artık tanıdıksa...Bence bunu kısa sürede de gerçekleştirebilirsin, belki 15 senede halen tanıdık da değildir, ama kendi içinde adalıdır o da... Ama biz onu artık tanıyorsak bence o insan artık bir adalıdır. Yani, adada gerçekten kalıp o lokal düzene, lokal demeyeyim de, ne diyeyim, gündelik hayata ayak uydurmuş herkes bence adalı olarak tanımlanabilir. Ama gelip de "ay ben burayı çok sevdim, burası benim yerim", diyen insanları ben adalı olarak saymıyorum ve sevmiyorum." (Seçil, 26)

would directly think of. Why would Ata be on Burgazada? Or Mert? I mean the name...it must be strange, I mean I thought like this.“ (Yiğit, 29)⁵⁹

Besides, while he thinks that the islander identity is not connected to time spent on the island or to type of the residency, it is very much related to the routines and continuity through which the island culture could be adopted. Here is his account :

“I think the ones who have a friend on the island are also an islanders. For example I have a friend... since 2001 he comes to the island every weekend. He comes and stays at my house, or another one's, I mean he is an islander. Being an islander does not mean having a house or coming to the island as a summer vacationist. In a definite period of time, if one comes routinely either throughout all summer or for 10-15 days to the island. People who know that culture are the islanders.” (Yiğit, 29)⁶⁰

As I understood from my informants' accounts, while there are several factors through which the 'islander identity' is described, acknowledging someone as an 'islander' is mostly not easy. For instance, Feride (female, 62) states that they need time to embrace the newcomers; they tell them that they are not 'islanders' yet. Serpil (female, 60) also mentions this attitude and says that, unfortunately, they act so. Besides the ongoing dispute on the 'islander identity', another topic mentioned by some informants is which island one is from. For instance, by some residents of the island, Birgül (female, 58) is acknowledged as 'Heybelili', a Heybelian, and not 'Burgazlı' (Burgazian) since she had spent much more time in Heybeli. Likewise, through the comparison of the amount of time spent on an island, Maria (female, 66) states that she used to define herself as 'Burgazlı' (Burgazian) although she also had lived in Büyükada and Kınalıada before.

Apart from that, some of the informants say that they have an identity and name on the island besides their official names. Due to face to face relationships and the strong communication within the small community, they are known for their skills and sometimes called by those names. Şule (female, 44), for instance, is known as the 'animal lover', 'rescuer of cats and dogs'

⁵⁹ “Adalılık bence; benim için gayrimüslim adalılık, ben böyle bakıyorum. Mesela bana derseler ki, Burgaz adada Ata'yı tanıyor musun? Ata mı? Ata'nın Burgaz adada ne işi var? Direkt aklıma bu gelir; Ata'nın Burgaz adada ne işi var? “Mert'i tanıyor musun?” Mert mi? Yani isim garip olmalı şey olmalı, yani bana öyle gelmişti. “ (Yiğit, 29)

⁶⁰ “Çünkü adalı olmak, adada arkadaşı olan da adalıdır bence. Mesela benim bir arkadaşım var. 2001 den beri ama adam her hafta sonu adada. Geliyor benim evimde kalıyor, onun evinde kalıyor , adam adalı yani. Adalılık bence bir ... Adalılık demek, adada evi olmak ya da yazlıkçı olarak adaya gelmek değil. Belli bir zaman diliminde ama bütün bir yaz içinde ama on gün ama onbeş gün, adalıdır bence adaya rutin olarak gelen. Bu kültürü bilen insanlardır adalı, anlatabiliyor muyum? ” (Yiğit, 29)

on the island. Feride (female, 62) is sometimes called 'muhtar' (mukhtar) since she knows and talks to everyone. Birgül (female, 58) is known as the 'embroidery teacher' by everyone on the island. Although she did not have any background in embroidery nor had such a purpose, unintentionally, she created such an identity on the island. She has been embroidering since 2000 and likes to practice and teach it; thus, she made a name for herself on the island.

In this section I have concentrated on the meanings attached to the island and the interpretations of the 'islander identity' by the informants through different factors such as stability, solidarity, familiarity, ethnic origin, facing up to difficulties, and the relations to nature. I will now be turning to the understanding of the 'islander identity' through the comparison between the island and the mainland.

3.3.2. The Mainland vs. the Island

In the previous section, I explained various themes through which the 'islander identity' is defined by the informants. Besides those factors mentioned above, as it is in the case of Heybeliada, the comparison between the island and the mainland is another prominent issue on the identification of the 'islander'.

Even though most of the informants prefer not to visit Istanbul very often, as expected, they are not completely disconnected from it, and their accounts contain lots of references to 'Istanbul'. The majority of the permanent residents among my informants go to the mainland at least once a week for a course, for sports or to visit their relatives. Most of them think that they are neither isolated nor very well connected to the mainland; besides, all are happy about that situation. They think that whenever they want, they can reach the mainland easily. For example, Birgül (female, 58) likes to be isolated, and rejoices when there is fog and she is not able to see even the Kaşık island. She feels like she is inside a lantern or the Truman Show. She puts her feelings as follows:

"I feel both isolated and not. I mean, I love being isolated, so when there is fog, I'm very happy. When I can't see the opposite island, not even Istanbul, but not being able to see Kaşıkadası makes me happy. I feel

like I am inside a lantern, in the Truman show. So I like it. But at the same time, I'm not isolated. I can contact Istanbul at any time, I'm not far away.” (Birgöl, 58)⁶¹

Likewise Aslıhan (female, 52) was pleased with the isolation the island provides. However, she tells me that it was not the case for the previous tenant of her current house. She explains this as follows:

“The tenant before me declared to me that she was leaving because she felt isolated. But I have met with her, she was a corporate communicator, she was working from home, home-office. She said “I felt very isolated.”, these are her own words. She bought a house in Maçka. “I felt so lonely” she said, “while I was on the bus heading to Maçka after the Beşiktaş ferry, I was smelling the people at the bus thinking “Thank god, people!””. While I was trying to escape from there, she was trying to go back... “It was also a process” she said, “try it and see”. She ran back to Istanbul. She stayed here for a year. I don’t know if I am going to run back like that after my 33 years of career. But let me tell you something, I worked there for 19 years, at the end of this 19 years, I had about 4 years of day-off that I had not used. I couldn’t leave, I just couldn’t leave because of work.” (Aslıhan, 52)⁶²

Feride (female, 62) states that she feels isolated from Istanbul, however this is not due to transportation since they can go to Istanbul whenever they want. Serpil (female, 60) also says that they do not live on the island as if they are imprisoned. On the contrary to the accounts of some informants on Heybeli, the ones in Burgazada do not feel trapped on the island. Besides, while the informants feel isolated from Istanbul as much as they want to be, according to Birgöl (female, 58), some mainlanders perceive life on the island as incomprehensible. Her friends who live on the mainland sometimes visit her on the island as well as she visits them in Istanbul. She states that her friends especially wonder how she can live on the island. She expresses the unfamiliarity of some of her friends to the island as follows:

⁶¹ “Hem öyle, hem değilim. Yani izole olmayı seviyorum, yani sis olduğu zaman, her taraf, karşiki adayı göremediğim, İstanbul’u değil, şu Kaşık’ı dahi göremediğim zamanda ben çok mutlu oluyorum. Fanusun içinde, Truman showda gibi hissediyorum kendimi. Dolayısıyla seviyorum, ama aynı zamanda da değilim yani, istediğim anda da hemen İstanbul’la bağlantıya geçebilirim, uzak değilim.” (Birgöl, 58)

⁶² “Benden önceki kiracı bu sebeple (izole hissettiği için) gittiğini beyan etti bana. Tanıştım ben hatunla, ama kurumsal iletişimeydi benden önceki kiracı, evden çalışıyordu, home ofis. Çok izole hissettim kendimi dedi, aynen kelimeleriyle söylüyorum. Maçka’da bir ev aldı, almış.. ondan sonra, o kadar yalnız hissettim ki kendimi dedi, Beşiktaş motorundan inip Maçka’ya otobüsle çıkarken, “Allahım insan diye” otobüsün içinde insanları kokladığımı fark ettim dedi. Ondan sonra, yani dedim bu kadar olabilir, ben ne kadar oradan kaçmaya çalışıyorsam siz oraya geri dönmeye çalışıyorsunuz .. O da bir süreç dedi kadın, bir de siz deneyin bakalım dedi. O böyle bir koşarak İstanbul’a geri kaçtı, kaçmış. O bir sene kaldı burada, kalmış. Ondan sonra, benim bu 33 senelik çalışma hayatımdan sonra öyle geriye kaçacak mıyım acaba bilmiyorum. Ama benim şey, sana şöyle söyleyeyim, 19 sene ben Ak Portföy de çalıştım , 19 senenin sonunda yaklaşık 4 senelik iznim birikmişti. Gidemiyordum, iş yüzünden gidemiyordum..” (Aslıhan, 52)

“Most of my friends who wonder how I live on the island, came here to visit me. Because no one could believe that living on the island is possible. I have friends who don't even know how to get to the island.” (Birgöl, 58)⁶³

People who do not live or visit the island may think that since they are islands, they are further than they are in reality. Birgöl's narrative is a good example of that perception. Her classmate at the embroidery course in Üsküdar, felt very sorry when she heard that Birgöl commutes to the class from the island, even though she commutes from another city, Bursa. The idea of being on an island and disconnected from the land makes her friend perceive it further away than its actual physical distance.

About the island, many informants mostly enjoy the closer and stronger ties between people and the noise-free, peaceful atmosphere in contrast to the mainland. Serpil (female, 62) describes the reason for her affection towards the island as being the daily face-to-face interactions she experiences on the island. Contrary to her life on the mainland, she knows everybody on the island, people who are part of her life, the garbage man, the water vendor etc. For her, another significant feature of the island is 'safety'. She feels at home and safe on the island. Aslıhan (female, 52), who had spent 30 years of her life in a very stressful, demanding, and fast-paced job in Istanbul, defines life on the islands as calm, loose and patient. She sees life on the island as the complete opposite of her previous life that she was tired of. Here is her voice:

“People want to relax here. For example, when you order a beer, it comes half an hour later, let it be so... Let it come half an hour later, so what!” (Aslıhan, 52)⁶⁴

Besides, Birgöl (female, 58) states that she is glad that she has strong relations with the non-humans, living with the bird sounds and the trees, which make the air breathable. Her window is the only slight boundary between her and 'nature' unlike on the mainland. As she states, just by opening the window, she gets delighted by the quietness, and the energy that emanates from 'nature.' She says that there is nothing that makes her unhappy on the island; whereas, when she goes to the city, she becomes dazed. She emphasized the nature of living on the island

⁶³“ Çoğu, adada nasıl yaşadığımı merak eden arkadaşlarım mutlaka gelmişlerdir. Çünkü kimsenin aklı kesmiyor, adada nasıl yaşanır. Adaya nasıl gelinir onu bile bilmeyen arkadaşlarım var.” (Birgöl, 58)

⁶⁴“ İnsanlar burada relax olmak istiyorlar, Bira istiyorsun mesela yarım saat sonra geliyor, olsuun yarım saat sonra gelsin, nolucak yani...” (Aslıhan, 52)

characterized by calmness, stillness and strong social relations, contrasting it with the life in Istanbul.

As I mentioned above, while the majority of my informants feel a strong attachment towards the island, their connection to the mainland is comparatively weak. For instance, Feride (female, 62) states that she feels very much attached to the island, and upon moving to the island, she lost her sense of belonging to Istanbul.

“I think Istanbul does not belong to us any more. Istanbul does not belong to me.” (Feride, 62)⁶⁵

The accounts of the informants, indicate the association between the meanings attached to the island and the ever-changing mainland-island relations. As in the case of Heybeliada, this duality is a significant reference for the processes of identification of the informants from Burgazada. As well as the negotiation processes realized between inside and outside of the island's visible boundaries, the way people perform the daily routines and interact in everyday places also shapes the course of identification and the interpretation of the ‘place’. In the section that follows, I will briefly illustrate the important places on the island, the boundaries of which and analyze how people perceive them and perform in them.

3.3.3. Everyday Life and Spaces

⁶⁵ “Bize ait değil artık gibi İstanbul, diye düşünüyorum. İstanbul bana ait değil.” (Feride, 62)

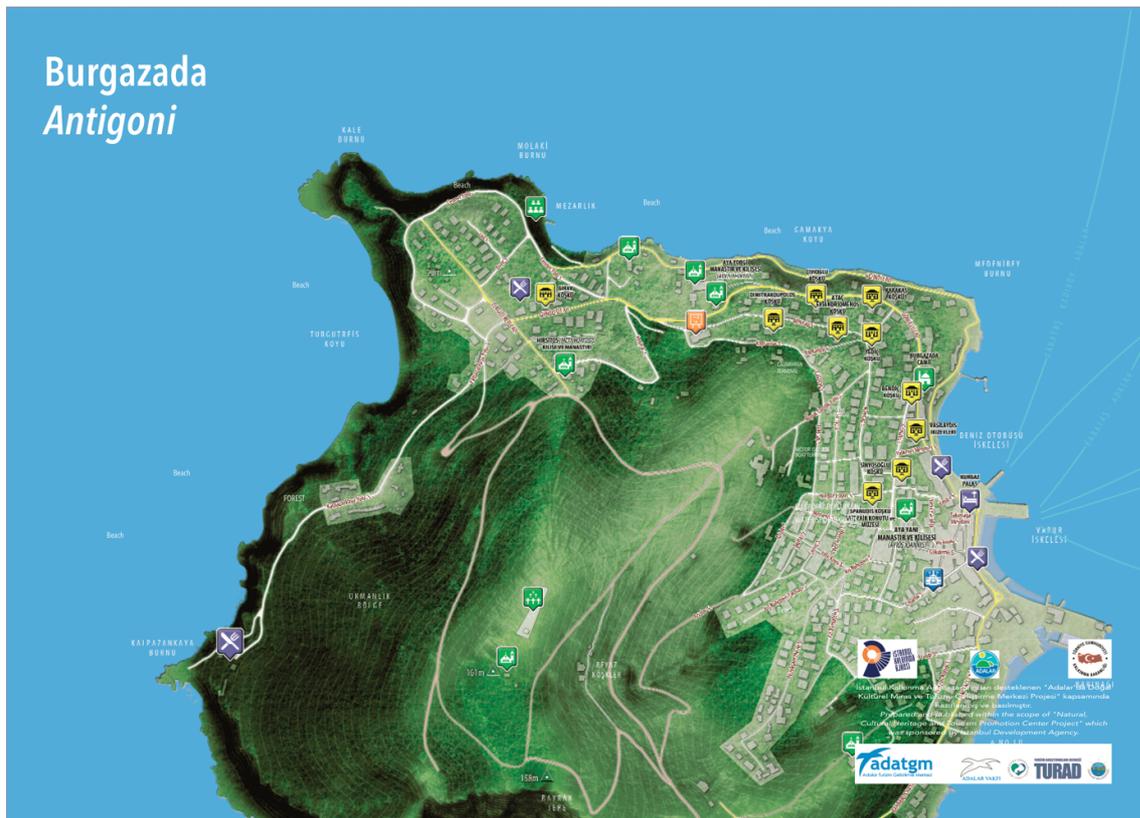


Figure 3. Map of Burgazada (Adalar Vakfi, 2014)

The previous section has described the meanings attached to the 'island' and the interpretations of the 'islander identity', concerning the accounts of the informants. The chapter aims to introduce the particular places on the island and the daily practices through which the identities are negotiated within these public and domestic spaces. When thinking of Burgazada, most referenced places by the informants are beaches, clubs, institutions, volunteer centers, restaurants and the outdoor market. According to Serpil (female, 62), since the island is small, the most remote places on the island are 20 minutes away on foot. Thus they can go anywhere on the island quickly; however, they mostly spend time in specific places.

As I discussed before, the descriptions about life on the island are mostly made through a comparison between the past and the present. According to most of the informants, one of the significant changes is that while the socio-cultural life on the island is becoming dull, the island is getting more and more crowded. These complaints were made often against a memory of the island life in the past when there was much more lively life and no such disintegration between people on the island. As most of the informants state, even young people are dissociated from each other as "yazlıkçı" (summer vacationist) and "kışlıkçı" (permanent resident) unlike in the

past. While another visible disintegration is between people who support the ruling party AKP and the others. The ethnic identities are also determinant in these spatial dissolutions. Therefore various groups on the island are associated with particular places on the island by most of the informants and these places and their usage change by the seasons. For instance, Jewish people, who are not quite visible on the island and mostly do not prefer to socialize with the other groups, spend time mainly at the synagogue, club, and home. (Çankaya 2016) Their participation in public space outside of the synagogue and club is minimal and they mostly leave the island by the beginning of the school year. Even though some do not have school-age children, they also leave with the others/their friends. The accounts of Birgül (female, 58), who lived in the street mostly populated by Jewish people, explained her observations on their daily practices as follows:

“Jews generally want to be close to each other. They gather around a street or a neighborhood. Their criteria is to stay close to the synagogue and their clubs. They want to live their conservative life on the island and stay out of the crowd. They are wealthy people. When we turn from here, the mansions right up on the hill are theirs mostly.” (Birgül, 58)⁶⁶

Aslıhan (female, 52), who lives on the street known for its Jewish residents, also states that she is one of the few non-Jewish people living on that street. Serpil (female, 60) tells me that Jewish residents are also very few in number compared to the past since they ran away after the earthquake in 1999. Many of them went to their luxurious houses in the suburbs like Kemberburgaz or moved to other cities like Bodrum, Muğla. As I will discuss later, besides the Jews, the Greeks of the island mostly spend their time in the club, while Alevis are mainly around the djemevi. In the accounts of some informants, the segregation among different identities is manifested transparently. For instance, Feride (female, 62) states that she avoids going where people from Erzincan and Muş go on the island. She thinks that they do not have anything in common to talk about or share. Here is her voice:

“I never go where they go... Actually, there's no reason, but I don't like it. Because there's nothing to share with them, nothing to talk about.” (Feride, 62)⁶⁷

⁶⁶ “Yahudiler genelde, aynı şeyde, birbirlerine yakın olmayı istiyorlar, bi sokak ya da işte bir mahalle etrafında toplanıyorlar. Onların da kriterleri havraya yakın olmaları ve kulüplerine yakın olmalarıdır. Çok fazla insan içinden geçmeden bir an önce kendi evlerine gidip gelmek, yani o konservatif yaşamlarını adada da..bu sokakta. Çoğunluk buradadır, ve bu taraf. Zaten kalantor kesim, yani varlıklı kesim, bu işte buraya sapıyoruz ya sapmadan düz yolu çıktığımız zaman oradaki sağlıklı villaların hepsi, çok hani zengin aileler. Genelde Yahudi, Musevi aileler.” (Birgül, 58)

⁶⁷ “Onların gittiği yere hiç gitmem...Aslında belli bir nedeni yok ama, ya sevmiyorum.. Onlarla ortak paylaşacak, konuşacak hiçbir şey olmadığı için.” (Feride, 62)

Apart from the dissolution among some ethnic and religious groups, there is also spatio-temporal disintegration between the day-trippers and the residents of the islands. All informants say that they do not have any relations with the tourists/day-trippers. There are noticeable spatial boundaries between the inhabitants and the day-trippers. Islanders do not prefer going out on the weekends, and they isolate themselves from the day-trippers. Feride (female, 62) for example, either does not go out to the sea or goes to the beach very early in the morning and comes back before they arrive. Feride states that day-trippers go everywhere on the island, contrary to the “kışlıkçı”, “yazlıkçı”, etc. According to Serpil (female, 60), compared with Kınalıada, Burgazada inhabitants do not come across many day-trippers since the beaches are at the backside of the island. Birgül, Aslıhan and Maria explained their thoughts about the day-trippers as follows:

“Now in Kınalıada day-trippers have become a part of our daily lives. As the beaches here are behind the island, we don't see them much. We usually prefer not to go out on the street when it is the weekend due to the day-trippers. That's how we isolate ourselves. People, of course, have very natural rights, such as swimming in the sea or spending weekends here, but we love to isolate ourselves on the other hand.” (Birgül, 58)⁶⁸

“Well, there is this thing which is so bad. First of all, thank God the Arabs are not coming here. I never go to Büyükada for instance, I mean if I don't have to. I went to a public office to get my address changed. I live here now. Then, I had to shop for some things that can't be found here, went to the bank to get things done. I never go there if I don't have to because it is filled with Arabs. Most of them come here for the day. Some buy houses, but they are the rich ones. Have you been to Büyükada lately? Don't! I mean you know the road after getting off the ferry, climbing up to the clock; that place bursts with people. There is no place to live or breathe; you go, do your business and escape; that's all. Same as here, here there are no Arabs but on religious holidays, when the ferry is free, the islands swarm with people. For example, in 2016, after the July 15th coup attempt, that's why I said it's political, the transportation was free to keep people in the streets for about a month and a half. Do you remember? This place was bursting at the seams. I mean, people were sitting on the streets. Because people don't see it that way, I am talking about that group of people; they don't see it as a political scape. They say let's go to the islands because it's free, normally it's 5.20 TL with IstanbulKart. Once they come, they come as 20 people. Grocers refer to them as “useless crowd” because they don't shop, they bring everything with them. They buy a coke, two loaves of bread, a couple of olives and that's it. There is no one among them that shops like us, and they eat and drink on the streets. I especially try not to use the Eminönü ferries, because there was no place for me to sit many times.

⁶⁸ “Şimdi Kınalıada'da birebir yaşıyorsun adaya gelen günöbirlikçileri. Bizde plajlar işte adanın arkasında, işte o 6numara da olduđu için, aslında onları aslında fazla çok görmüyoruz. Günöbirlikçilerle.. Ya genelde adalı mantığında, yani Heybeli'de de büyüdüğüm süre zarfında da, burada da keza, hafta sonu oldu mu biz sokağa çıkmamayı tercih ederiz, günöbirlikçilerden dolayı. Böyle de bi, kendimizi soyutlarız yani. Çok sıcak bakmıyorsun, insanların tabii ki denize girmek ya da işte hafta sonlarını değerlendirmek gibi son derece doğal hakları vardır ama, işte diyoruz ya soyutlamayı da seviyoruz bi yandan.” (Birgül, 58)

It's horrible. I remember one time I had to stand for an hour and a half on the way to Eminönü." (Aslıhan, 52)⁶⁹

"Day-trippers! Yeah, that's trouble. For example, the ones who come on the weekends. Of course, you will come, it belongs to everyone. But for example, they eat and throw out the rubbish, they do barbecues, these are not good, you need to clean up after. Now it is even worse, it wasn't that much before; Burgazada was the one with the least of such people. Büyükkada, Heybeli, especially Kınalı are even worse." (Maria, 66)⁷⁰

Daily practices and the frequently visited places on the island mostly change by the seasons. The arrival of the summer vacationist in summer months dramatically alters the everyday life of the island. As mentioned above, the winter population of the island rises tenfold and becomes 15,000. The regular routes of my informants change seasonally. While in winter, Serpil (female, 60), Birgül (female, 58), Şule (female, 44) and Feride (female, 62) mostly spend time within their own house, friend's houses, the volunteer center, grocery stores and cafes/restaurants. In summer they mostly hang around in the club or beaches. For instance, in winter, Birgül often goes to her friend Serpil's home to have a coffee, and in the summer months, her most common destination is the beach called '6 Numara'. She spends most of the day at home in winter and at the club in the summer like most of the summer vacationists usually do.

Daily routines and socializing practices of the informants are very much different than they were on the mainland. According to the accounts of my informants and my observations, the

⁶⁹" Şimdi şey çok kötü oluyor. Birincisi Allahtan buraya Araplar gelmiyor Mesela Büyükkada'ya hiç gitmem ben çünkü, yani çok mecbur kalmazsam, mesela bir kamu işi, mesela ikametgahımı değiştirmek için gittim, ben artık burada oturuyorum. İşte, ondan sonra, alışveriş yapmak zorunda kaldım, burada olmayan bir şeyleri oradan aldım , bankaya gittim orada bir işlerimi hallettim , mecbur kalmadıkça gitmiyorum çünkü orası ağzına kadar arap dolu. Arapların çoğu günübirlik gidiyorlar geliyorlar. Ev alanlar da var ama onlar da zaten, şey zenginleri yani. Büyükkada'ya gittin mi yakında? Gitme! Yani yazın o vapur çıkışında falan yokuştan yukarıya saatin olduğu yere çıkılıyor ya , orası böyle mahşer yeri gibi. Yani ne yürüyecek bir yer var ne nefes alacak bir yer var , giriyorsun işini görüyorsun ve kaçıyorsun, o vaziyette bütün. Burada da ; buraya arap gelmiyor fakat bayramlarda , asıl adaların şeyi o oluyor, ücretsiz ulaşım geçtiği anda insan kaynıyor. yer gök, ben mesela 2016 da 15 temmuz esnasında- onun için dedim siyasi diye- 2016 da 15 temmuz civarında , 15 temmuzdan sonra sokaklara çıkın diye yaklaşık 1.5 ay kadar ücretsiz vapurlar , hatırlıyor musun ? Burada yere basacak durum yoktu. Yani şu yolların üstünde insanlar şöyle şöyle oturuyorlardı. Çünkü insanlar onu şey olarak görmüyor , yani o kitle diyelim , sen bunları kesersin artık, o kitle şey olarak görmüyor , bunu siyasi bacağı olarak görmüyor, bedava diyor adalar diyor , hadi gidelim diyor , çünkü buraya 5 lira 20 kuruş İstanbul kartla geliş. Bi geliyorlar 20 kişi beraber geliyorlar , onun maliyetine , kuru kalabalık diyor mesela bakkallar onlara çünkü alışveriş yapmıyorlar, çünkü yanlarında getiriyorlar , hadi bir kola alıyor , iki tane ekmek alıyor , bir de işte ne bileyim iki tane zeytin alıyor , bundan ibaret , bizim gibi alışveriş yapan yok o gelenlerin içinde ; ve sokaklarda yiyorlar, içiyorlar. Ben özellikle Eminönü vapurlarını kullanmamaya gayret ediyorum , çünkü defalarca ayakta kaldım . Korkunç. Ben bir buçuk saat ayakta gittiğimi biliyorum buradan Eminönü'ne." (Aslıhan, 52)

⁷⁰" Günübirlikçiler, evet o sıkıntı. O zamanlar da vardı ama şimdi daha çok, cumartesi pazar mesela gelenler, tamam tabii ki geleceksin, herkese ait orası, nereye gelecek adaya gelecek yine, ama mesela yemek yiyorlar, pislikleri atıyorlar, mangal yapıyorlar, bunlar güzel değil, toparlayıp atacaksın. Şimdi daha da berbat, eskiden o kadar değildi; ki Burgazada en az böyle kişileri alan adaydı, Büyükkada, Heybeli hele Kınalı daha çok." (Maria, 66)

inhabitants of the island easily come across each other, have a chat, and even instantly decide to drink coffee and visit each other, etc. They all state that as soon as they go out, they see someone to greet and chat with. Mostly the coincidental encounters have been the way of making friends. My informants tell me that they meet with their friends anywhere, at the houses, on the street, at the club. The movement between interior and exterior spaces at the houses of the informants is more than it was in their homes in Istanbul. All the informants living on the island permanently go out at least once a day and they mostly spend a considerable amount of time out of their houses. They do not go out to arrive somewhere but to go for a walk in the fresh air, enjoy the day, walk the dog, etc. None of them have precise times that they go out because they do not have to get to a place on time. Besides, they never feel insecure when they are out, contrary to what they feel about the mainland. Living on the island also means 'safety' for most of the women. Birgül (female, 58) thinks that one of the greatest things about living on the island is that she does not have to restrict herself about what time she is outside, she can go out whenever she wants; here is her voice:

"There's no particular time that I restrain myself. I go swimming early in the morning. I do not limit myself in terms of time. The best part of living on the island is that you can go out at any moment you want." (Birgül, 58)⁷¹

As exemplified by Birgül's account above, they feel free from the time constraints to be on the street that are imposed on the women in the metropolis through the fear of harassment, and they feel safer on the island. The notion of 'safety' comes to the forefront in the accounts of all informants.

Face to face communications and social relations are determinant in their choice for shopping places. The majority of my informants have specific/favourite places that they shop, and these shops are mostly the same. For instance, Birgül (female, 58) prefers a specific fruit seller because she appreciates the mutual trust she has with the shopkeeper. While Feride (female, 62) states that she goes to a specific grocery store since the shopkeeper is a very 'old' islander, Serpil (female, 60) goes to the same place because she is accustomed to it. Since there are no stores or recreational places on the island, most of the informants go to the mainland to buy clothes or for recreational activities like cinema.

⁷¹ "Öyle bir kendimi kısıtladığım bir zaman yok. Hani denize girme derseni.. onda bile ben sabah erken girerim gibi.. kısıtladığım bir zaman yok. Zaten en güzel tarafı da kafanın estiği andan dışarı çıkabiliyor olman burada."(Birgül, 58)

So far, I attempted to give a brief overview of the daily practices of my informants and the spatial disintegration among several groups on the island based on their accounts. In the next section, I will focus on the abovementioned particular places and the spatial practices within them through which the residents negotiate their identities.

3.3.3.1. The Clubs

In Burgazada, there are two clubs that require membership. They are called 'Büyük Kulüp' (Big Club) and 'Küçük Kulüp' (Small Club) by the people on the island.

As I will discuss later in detail, the clubs mostly serve a particular socio-economic class and/or ethnic groups on the islands. The clubs which are both self-enclosed and require membership, are adjacent but detached from each other and have no transition in between. According to Birgül (female, 58), they are so close that one may not realize that they are two different clubs, and she only realised it after a very long time.

Besides, according to Seçil (female, 26) regardless of which club, being a 'klüplü' (member of a club) contributes to one's islander identity, making them 'more' islander.

Burgazada Water Sport Club

The Water Sports Club, known as 'Küçük Kulüp' (Small Club), was established in 1963 on Burgazada. According to its official website, the reason for the idea of forming a water sports club on Burgazada is to ensure that the children of the families living on the island and of the summer vacationists spend time gaining useful skills and thus get away from bad habits and avoid wasting their time during the long summer holiday. However, as Çankaya (2016) indicates, rather than a sports club, it is mostly used as a social club. As the informants state, to be a member of the club, one should pay the fee and would also need references from a full member of the club. As Çankaya (2016) states, the Greeks form approximately 70% of the club in the summer months, and the rest is composed of the Turkish population. The characteristic feature of the members of the club is that they belong to the middle and upper classes. It can be

said that a small part of the Alevi population, who live on the island in winter, are also included (Cankaya 2016, p.69).

Serpil (female, 60) and Şule (female, 44), who belong to the middle-upper class, mostly spend their time within the boundaries of the club which provides a self-enclosed sociality. For instance, Serpil spends her days in summer between home and the club where she also feels at 'home'. She spends time with her childhood friends, swimming, stitching and chatting. Even though the club is closed in the winter, social groups formed within the club maintain its continuity with meetings on the weekends and the canteen of the club is also open on the weekends and hosts them. While some of the informants in this study go to the club in the summer, Birgül (female, 58) and Aslıhan (female, 52) do not prefer to go there. For instance, Birgül (female, 58) states that swimming in just one restricted area on an island does not seem reasonable to her.

On the other hand, the club is the place where the segregation between “yazlıkçı” / “kışıkçı” and thereby class distinction becomes visible (Çankaya 2016). Birgül's narration affirms it by claiming that 'kulüpçüler'(members of the clubs) mainly does not get into touch with people outside the club and she does not like this dismissive practice. Similarly, Aslıhan (female, 52) mentions the spatial isolation of the people who go to the club. However, her reason for not enrolling in the club is economical. Since she did not ensure her stability on the island, she did not want to pay that significant amount of money in the first place.

While the club serves mostly the summer vacationists who are the members of the club, non-members can also get in if they pay the entrance fee and have references from the club. As I understand from the accounts of my informants, it is not very likely 'kışıkçılar '(permanent residents) and the day-trippers get in the club. Yiğit (male, 29) explains the factors determining the suitability for getting into the club as follows:

“The day-trippers can not enter the clubs. Let me tell you this; they look at the appearance, behaviours, clothing of a man. They look at the door, someone has come, he wants to enter and he will give 70 liras but is he.... to enter the club? ...How can I say? If he has someone from the club or an islander with him...it is not a problem, they would let him in. This reference is more important (than his appearance).

One should not stir up trouble inside, or should not make people say “where does he come from?!”... So they take precautions in advance.”⁷²

Seçil (female, 26) explains that, although some of her friends are not members of the club anymore, they still go there when they rarely come to the island because the club signifies a ‘safe place ’for all of them. It is a place where they can be isolated from the disrupter and molesters who are, according to her, mostly people among the day-trippers. Here is her voice:

“Most of my best friends are not members of the club any more. Because they come to the island very rarely, and they do not want to give that much money to the club. But we still go to clubs in the evenings, they can also enter the club. Generally, if we want to eat dessert we go to the patisserie, but if we want to drink we go to the club. And this is about creating a safe space for ourselves. Because, for instance, in the summer, as I go down wearing shorts, a man comes after me and says, “Where are you going?”. Who is that person? A day-tripper! Then I enter the club, he comes after me but the security says “Sorry, we can not let you in.” So, this creates a safety related problem because there are lots of perverts in Turkey.”⁷³

Burgazada Sea Club

‘Burgazada Deniz Kulübü’ (Burgazada Sea Club), ‘Büyük Kulüp’ (Big Club), in other words, is known as the Jewish club. It is said that, apart from paying the membership fees, one may be from the Jewish community to be a member of the club. Moreover, as discussed above, along with the synagogue, the club is one of the few places that Jewish residents go. Since both of the places are self-enclosed, and the movement of the Jews is mostly restricted among those places and their houses, they are not generally visible on the island. ‘Büyük Kulüp ’does not only create segregation among certain socio-economic classes as the water sports club does, but also excludes those who are not from a particular community. Yiğit (male, 29) who used to be a member of the ‘Küçük Kulüp’ (Small Club), tells his experience about entering the ‘Büyük Kulüp ’(Big Club) and his feelings as follows:

⁷² “Günöbirlikçiler klüplere giremez, bizim klübe de giremez. Şunu söyleyeyim sana; tip, hareketler, giyimden o adamın, bakarlar kapıdan, biri geldi, içeri girmek istiyor, yetmiş lirayı da verecek ama o insan içeri girmeye şey mi? nasıl söylesem?...Eğer yanında klüpten tanıdığı ya da adalı herhangi bir varsa...bu bir sorun değil alırlar. O referans daha önemli (görünüşünden). İçeride sorun çıkartmamalı ve şey hani böyle, “bu nereden gelmiş ya” denmemeli yani anlatabiliyor muyum?... En başından önlemi alınıyor...”

⁷³ “Benim en yakın arkadaşlarımın çoğu klübe artık üye değil. Çünkü çok nadir geliyorlar, klübe o parayı vermek istemiyorlar. Ama akşamları biz yine klübe gidiyoruz beraber, onlar da klübe girebiliyorlar. O yüzden genelde şeydir; eğer tatlı yiyeceksek pastanede otururuz, ama herhangi bir şey içeceksek biz klüpte otururuz, o da yine kendimize birspace yaratmakla ilgili. Orası çünkü yine hani, bizim peşimizden yazın, ben şortumla aşağıya inerken adam diyor ki “nereye gidiyorsun?”. Yani, kim bu? Günöbirlikçi. Sonra ben, klübe gidiyorum, peşimden geliyor, güvenlik diyor ki “Sizi alamayız kusura bakmayın” yani bu şekilde bir güven problemi oluşuyor çünkü Türkiyede sapık çok.”

“By the way, there are two clubs on the island. One is the big club, which belongs to the Jews. And then there is our club. In our club, every person is welcomed indifferent to their ethnic identity, religion, etc. A local person can also enter. (I do not have an example right now) but one can enter if he wants. For example, there are people, summer vacationists, that pay 70 liras and come with us. There is a friend of ours like that, a ‘kışıkçı’. But there is no chance of doing that in the Jews Club. You should have a Jew friend with you at the gate to enter, for one thing. And another thing is, you should give information about your identity, where you live and so on. We have a friend from St. Joseph and another Jew friend who are very close friends, they spend summer together, etc. One day they told us, let’s come to the club and we will hold a match. Four people from us and four people from them, we all know each other. Outside, there are no limits to the conversation. For example, we all sit together and chat, not every day but maybe once in a month when we run into each other. Anyways, they said to come to our club, and we will hold a match. OK, we prepared, we picked up our clothes, we will enter through the Gates of the club. 4 Jewish boys, and us as 4 Armenians. We entered the club, and we are going to pass through the ticket office. The boys told our friends are here to hold a match. Your identifications? I was then an islander for 17, no 20 years. This incident happened 2 or 3 years ago. Nobody ever asked me for any ID. The Jewish boy I am with already knows me, I am an islander, what ID? There is no such thing as identification, I don’t have it with me, none of us do. “We can’t let you in without identification.” Then I said to the kids, let’s not enter. I am an islander; I don’t have to provide identification to go anywhere on the island; this is unacceptable. He said, go and get your IDs. I said no way I am bringing any ID. I didn’t enter. After that, any conversation we had with those boys is over, no club, no match, or anything.”⁷⁴ (Yiğit, 29)

“There are also these groups on the island. For example, Jews are between each other; Armenians are between each other, Armenians and Greeks are between each other, but Jews are never with Armenians, nor the islanders or the Greeks. They are a separate group themselves. They are downright isolated from us. How do I know this? It cuts to the quick unavoidably. I am a person with such a character. I feel the urge to react... You can feel that these people are more in unity among themselves; they are more intimate within themselves but isolated from other people. And this also reflects on the women-men relationships. I know it by experience, a Jewish girl and a Turkish or Armenian boy are not to be together. It is OK if they are 22 or 23 years old because there is no marriage, but impossible if they are 27 or 28.”⁷⁵ (Yiğit, 29)

⁷⁴ “Bu arada adada iki tane klüp var. Bir büyük klüp, bu büyük klüp Yahudilerin kulübüdür, bir de bizim klüp var. Bizim klüp dediğin klüpte şey fark etmez, etnik kimlik, din, Hintlisi osu busu isteyen her insan girebilir oraya. Oranın yerlisi de oraya gelebiliyor, varsa 20 lirası verecek o da girebilir. Yani orada siz kimsiniz, böyle bir şey yok. (Öyle bir örnek şu an) yok ama istese girer yani. Bizle beraber mesela 70 lira verip giren adam var, yazlıkçılar. Bir arkadaşımız var öyle kışıkçılardan. Ama Yahudilerin klübünde öyle bir şey yapmanız mümkün değil. Kapıda yanında Yahudi bir arkadaşın olması lazım seni içeri sokması için, bir. İki, içeri girerken kimlik bilgilerin , oturduğun yer, her şeyi içeri vermen gerekiyor. En son, bir gün bizim arkadaşımızın, Sen Josef’den, bir arkadaşım var Yahudi, onunla çok samimiler bunlar, yazın da beraber takılıyorlar falan .Bir gün bize dediler ki , gelin bizim klübe maç yapalım , dört biz dört onlar, ama biz çocukları da tanıyoruz , onlar da bizi tanıyorlar, dışarıda öyle böyle sohbet muhabbette bir sınır yok, mesela hep beraber oturur konuşuruz, her gün değil, ayda bir kere denk gelirse belki, neyse gelin bizim klübe maç yapalım, peki biz hazırladık, üstümüzü aldık, bunların klübünün kapısından içeri gireceğiz, dört tane Yahudi çocuk, dört de biz, biz hepimiz Ermeniyiz. Girdik klübe, gişeden geçeceğiz, çocuklar dediler ki “arkadaşlarımız maç yapmaya geldiler”. Kimlikleriniz? Ben o zaman 20, yok 17 senedir adalıydım, 2 -3 sene önce oluyor bu, bana o güne kadar hiç kimse kimlik sormadı. Zaten oraya gelen Yahudi çocuk beni tanıyor, adalıyım ben, ne demek kimlik. Kimlik mimlik yok, benim yanımda kimlik yok, hiçbirimizin yanında kimlik yok. “Sizi kimlikleriniz olmadan içeri alamayız.” Ben bizimkilere “girmeyelim” dedim. Ben adalıyım , benim adada hiçbir yere kimlik verme zorunluluğum yok, ne demek, kabul edilebilir bir şey değil bu. Kimliklerinizi gidip getirin dedi. Ben kimlik mimlik getiremem buraya dedim. Girmedim ben. Ondan sonra, o gündün sonra o klüpte ne o çocuklarla maç ne başka bir şey, hiçbir şey, muhabbet sohbet bitti...” (Yiğit, 29)

⁷⁵ “ Adada gruplar var. Mesela Yahudiler kendi aralarında, Ermeniler kendi aralarında, Ermenilerle Rumlar kendi aralarında...Ermenilerle Rumlar beraberdir ama Yahudiler kesinlikle ne Ermenilerle, ne yerlilerle, ne Rumlarla, kesinlikle. Onlar ayrı bir gruptur kendi aralarında. Bildiğin soyutlanmışlardır bizden. Bunu nereden biliyorum. İster istemez insanın içine oturuyor. Ben böyle bir karaktere sahip bir insanım. Ben tepki koymak zorunda

3.3.3.2. Beaches

Burgazada is a rather small island, therefore apart from the beaches of the clubs, there are a couple of beaches and bays one can go bathing. Kalpazankaya, Altinumara, and Çamakya beaches and Madam Martha Bay are the ones commonly mentioned by my informants. Besides, as Feride (female, 60), who is not a 'kulüpçü' (member of a club), states, one of the best things about Burgazada, unlike the other islands, is that it is possible to swim everywhere. Therefore one is not limited to the beaches or clubs.

Madam Martha Bay

Martha Bay is one of the first places that comes to mind when the residents think of Burgazada. Martha Bay took the name of Martha Arat, one of the first ballerinas of Turkey. The bay is a first-degree natural, archaeological site, enclosing 56 acres. According to a newspaper article by Sönmez (2019) it was exchanged with another estate belonging to the 'Public Treasury' in 2006 and was transferred to a foundation called Silahtarağa. The General Directorate for Foundations who gained control of the area after the transfer rented the bay to a business for 15 years in exchange for 15,000 liras per month. The formal approval process of the concert area, beach, restaurant, and café has continued. The bay will be wired and there will be an entrance fee (Sönmez 2019). However, there has been significant opposition to this application from both the residents of the islands and the Istanbulites, protests and gatherings were organized against it, and the fate of the bay is yet unclear.

The majority of the informants oppose renting the bay where they all have visited regularly in the present or past, and most of them have strong feelings about it. Serpil (female, 60) thinks that the beauty of the bay arises from its untouched state. Feride (female, 62) thinks that Martha Bay is the most beautiful place in Burgazada and it meant a lot to her since her kids almost grew up there, her friends used to live there, and they had great memories; therefore, she defines the current situation as unbelievable. Most of the informants are against the boundaries created

kalıyorum yani.....Onu hissedebiliyorsunuz, bu insanlar kendi aralarında daha birlik, daha kendi aralarında daha samimi, ama dışarıya karşı daha mesafeli duruyorlar. Bak bu mesela, kız erkek ilişkilerinde de var, ben kendimden biliyorum, bir Yahudi kız bir Türk, Ermeni hiçbir şekilde (birlikte olamaz)... Bu 22, 23 yaşındaysa ok. çünkü o zaman diyorlar ki, zaten 22, 23 evlilik yok, ama 27, 28 ise mümkün değil." (Yiğit, 29)

by authorities at the beaches and think all the bays should be open to the public. Although most of the informants are annoyed by people coming to Martha Bay, some of them think that everybody has a right to swim there freely. Feride (female, 62) describes her thoughts as follows:

“That's a terrible thing. It shouldn't be at all, I think all the coasts should be open to the public. Although I am uncomfortable with these people myself, they have the right to swim in the sea, why should they pay an entrance fee. I don't want them to pay. Especially Martha Bay, I do not want them to privatize it. I still can't believe it.” (Feride, 62)⁷⁶

The season-based differentiation between the users of the places on the island is also apparent in Martha Bay. According to my informants, the users of the bay are generally the day-trippers/tourists, especially groups of people coming with their tents. Besides, Serpil (female, 60) and her friends, ‘kışıkçılar’ (permanent residents), as they define themselves, prefer to go there in the winter months, not in the summertime. Although they do not go as much as the day-trippers, they are opposed to the renting of the bay.

According to Seçil (female, 26), the ones who came and stayed in Martha Bay in the first place, 7-8 years ago, were a nice, respectful and harmless group consisting of ‘hippies’. They did not pollute the environment and did not cause any problems. She says that although they did not communicate much with the residents of the island, they were recognized by the islanders. They used to come to the island every summer and go to work on the mainland from the island and come back to their ‘house-like’ tents towards the evening. Since she defines ‘islander identity’ through familiarity and participation and accommodation to the social life on the island, it is little wonder that she acknowledges them as ‘islanders’. She says that she still sees and recognizes them on the island. According to Seçil, most of them rented houses on the island and live there now. As she maintains, after some time, Martha Bay caught on, more and more people started to come, and according to her, those were not nature conscious and respectful people as the old ones were. Eventually, since a group among them sold drugs to the teenagers from the island, they were beaten and discarded from the island by some residents. Seçil narrates the incident as follows:

⁷⁶ “Çok kötü bir şey o. O hiç olmamalı, bence bütün kıyıları halka açık olmalı. Her ne kadar bu gelen insanlardan ben kendim rahatsız olsam da onların da denize girmeye hakkı var, ücret ödeyerek niye girsin; girmesini hiç istemiyorum. Hele Marta Koyu’nu, benim çocuklarım orada büyüdü, arkadaşlarım çünkü orada oturuyordu, çok güzel günlerimiz geçti, hiç istemem oranın özelleştirilmesini. Hala inanmıyorum gibi.”(Feride,62)

“Then it (the bay) became popular; and something like this happened: There was a group selling drugs to teenagers on the island. Naturally, people on the island want to protect their children. When this happened, I guess they were the kids of the coachmen, I do not remember exactly, a group of people beat them. Then all the tents were packed up, they were all discarded. In the middle of the night they called for a boat and sent them to Istanbul. Because you can not sell drugs to our kids. This is indeed a protective instinct. So, I can not comment much against it.” (Seçil, 26)⁷⁷

Seçil (female, 26) states that the members of the club, including herself, never go swimming at Martha Bay. According to her, only the ones who are not members of the club go there. Besides, since the users pollute it carelessly, she is in favor of the renting of the bay. She thinks that making people pay for the bay, can cause them to care more about it. Here is her voice:

“I think a little bit like an elitist about this topic. For example, I’m ok with the entrance fee for the bay because when you give people something for free, I think it is about the illiberalness of our society or their disrespect to the environment, they use it rankly. I have witnessed that so many times. Since I was abroad this year, I couldn’t follow up on the updates, but it (the application) is well done. Everyone should not come, really! Since when everyone comes, beautiful people do not come, bad people come. The ones that came in the first place were beautiful people, so we, the islanders did not say ‘no’, but then the control was lost...”(Seçil, 26)⁷⁸

Likewise, according to Maria (female, 66) who visits the island one day each week, this application is appropriate. She thinks that people should behave and keep the island clean. Otherwise these applications are inevitable. On the other hand, Aslıhan (female, 52) has complex thoughts about it since she acknowledges the right of free public space for everyone, but also, she thinks that day-trippers could be disturbing. She explains her thoughts as follows:

“It was talked about that Martha Bay has been rented for 15,000 TL, but Martha Bay solidarity and its being carried to social media has been very effective. There is a price to swim everywhere else here. Now you have to pay a price to swim there too. There are both positive and negative aspects of this. The negative aspect is that it is challenging for indigent people. Yet, if you say it is difficult for indigent people, on one side it is good that indigent people do not come here. It depends on how you look at it. It is not easy to explain people coming with free transportation. I am not racist or anything, but you should see it. Come here some time when transportation is free. You have seen here now as it is, you should see it then too. I mean, it gets weary. Martha Bay should not be privatized, because it is one of a kind. It is free, you can take sunbeds and umbrellas but if you don’t want to, you can lay on the stones and swim for free. It was discussed that it should be totally privatized and paid, but they tried to prevent that from

⁷⁷ “Sonra popülerleştiler; şöyle bir şey oldu. Adadaki çocuklara uyuşturucu satan bir grup oldu orada. Şimdi adadaki insanlar da kendi çocuklarını korumak istiyorlar. Bu olay ortaya çıkınca, faytoncuların çocuklarıydı galiba hatırlamıyorum, bir grup insan gidip bunları dövdüler. Sonra bütün çadırlar, hepsi toplatıldı, hepsi kovuldu, gecenin köründe motor çağırıldılar, İstanbula gönderdiler bunları. Çünkü adada sen bizim çocuğumuza uyuşturucu satamazsın. Hani şey onlar, gerçekten bir koruma içgüdüsü. Ben de ona çok bir şey diyemem.” (Seçil, 26)

⁷⁸ “Ben bir tık daha elitist düşünüyorum galiba bu konuda. Ben mesela oranın paralı olmasına o.k.im çünkü insanlara bedava bir şey verdiğinde, yani bence bu toplumumuzun kültürsüzlüğü veya doğaya olan saygısızlığı ile alakalı, iğrenç kullanıyorlar. Ben iğrenç kullanıldığına o kadar şahit oldum ki. Ben bu sene yurtdışındaydım , Ağustos’ta döndüm ya, bu yüzden bu sene hiç takip edemedim ama şey, iyi olmuş yani. Herkes gelmesin, gerçekten! Çünkü herkes gelince, güzel insanlar gelmiyor, kötü insanlar geliyor. İlk başta gelenler, dediğim gibi, güzel insanlardı, biz adalılar onlara hayır demedik ama sonra ipin ucu kaçınca...”(Seçil, 26)

happening. We went there last week for example, the weather was beautiful and we spent time until sunset. People were laying on stones and grass, there are some parts with grass and some parts with stones. Young people, both boys and girls, were laying with bottles of wine in their hands, watching the sun go down. They live pleaurably. It is nice that there are some places like that, because we can never stop capitalism. If only we could, but we can't. Everything becomes a subject for money, but it is good that there are some places people can say "This is our place." Think of it like Gezi, they were planning to build a shopping mall there and earn money from it, but they couldn't. Although it will be an issue again in the future. It is about your point of view. (Aslıhan, 52, former summer house vacationist, now permanent resident)⁷⁹

6 Numara

One of the most visited beaches is 6 Numara. Rumour has it that a ship which had '6' written on it, grounded there, and it took the name of '6 Numara'. As Madam Martha Bay, it is mostly visited by the day-trippers in the summertime, rather than residents of the islands. It is a common swimming destination for Birgül (female, 58) who does not prefer to go to the club. Birgül (female, 58) mostly goes early in the morning and turns back before it gets too crowded and loses its charm.

Yiğit (male, 24), who used to be a member of 'A.S.S.K.' (Burgazada Water Sport Club) until recently, states that he never prefers to go to the beaches on the island. Although he is not a member anymore, he enters the club by paying the fee or prefers to sail his friends' boat. The last time he was on a beach, he went to '6 Numara' since his friends came from outside the island and did not want to pay the entrance fee for the club. He says that he will not go there any more, since he thinks that the users of the beach, the day-trippers, are disturbing and he

⁷⁹ Martha koyunun 15 bin liraya kiralandığından bahsedildi, ama işte o Marta koyu dayanışması, ortalığı şeye, sosyal medyaya taşınmaları vs. anladığım kadarıyla, bayağı faydalı oldu. Şimdi burada her yerde denize girmek parayla. Orada da parayla. Ha bunun iyi tarafları da var kötü tarafları da var. Kötü tarafı, parası olmayan için şey, zor. Ama diyeceksin ki "parası olmayana zor".. Parası olmayanın gelmemesi de iyi bir taraftan da. Yani şimdi o hangi taraftan baktığına bağlı bir şey. Çünkü o bedava ulaşım esnasında gelenlere bunu anlatmak kolay bir şey değil. Böyle ırkçı şey falan öyle değilim. Ama gelip bir görmen lazım . Bir ulaşım bedava olduğu zaman kalk ve buraya gel. Sadece o zaman gel ama, şimdi bu halini gördün, bir de o zamanki halini gör. Yani gerçekten yorucu bir hal alıyor. Eee, Marta koyunun özelleşmemesi lazım. Çünkü orası tek ..Ücretsiz, istersen şezlong ve şemsiye alıyorsun ama istemezsen taşların üzerine kendin yatıp bedavadan denizine vs. giriyorsun. Plajı kapatıp, tamamen paralı hale getirmek söz konusu idi. Onu engel olmaya çalıştılar...Biz mesela geçen hafta gittik . hava çok güzeldi. Orada güneşi batırdık. İnsanlar böyle, taşların üzerlerine yatmışlar, işte çimenlerin üzerine ..çimen olan yerler de var taşlık olan bölgeler de var. Oralarda ellerinde şaraplar, kız erkek karışık böyle çimlerin üzerinde güneş batırarak, keyifli keyifli yaşıyorlar insanlar.. En azından birkaç tane yerin olması iyidir. Çünkü kapitalizmi hiçbir zaman durduramıyoruz, keşke durdurabilsek ama durduramıyoruz . Her şeyden para kazanılmaya çalışılıyor ama biraz da insanların " burası bizim ya " diyebileceği bir yerlerin kalması iyidir bence.. Gezi gibi düşün , yani, orayı şey yapacaktı, AVM yapacaktı, ve oradan para kazanacaktı, olmadı ..ileride tekrar gerçi gündeme gelecek ama ..şimdi sen buna ne yönden bakarsın , öyle.. "(Aslıhan, 52)

does not want to swim where they are. He expresses in words the segregation that people experience in daily practice on the island. Here is his voice:

“Last time I went to a beach (on the island) was 4 years ago. There is a place called ‘6 Numara’ in the vicinity, but I won’t go there again. Because there are people coming from outside... The local people of the island, summer vacationists and the externals, they are not at the same cultural level, they are people of the same place. There were men swimming with underwear, I do not have to see a man swimming with his underwear.” (Yiğit, 29)⁸⁰

Similarly, as discussed earlier, Seçil (female, 26) who only goes to swim at the club, does not prefer to go to the beaches, especially to ‘6 Numara’. She states that she is very likely to be harassed there by the outsiders, therefore she does not go there.

3.3.3.3. The Volunteer Center

Another venue where Birgül (female, 58), Serpil (female, 60), Feride (female, 62), and Şule (female, 44) spend time is the ‘volunteer center’. ‘Burgazada Gönüllü Evi’ (The Volunteer Center) was established in 2015 after 6 years of volunteer effort by mostly women from the island. The main purpose of the center was declared by Yüncü (2015), the head of the center then. It was to provide free courses to the residents of the island, create a collaboration and learning environment. Another objective explained by Yüncü, was minimizing the segregation between the people from different islands. She explained it in the interview done by ‘Adalı dergisi’ (Islander magazine) as follows:

“It is a problem that we encounter everyday: you are from Büyükada, I am from Burgaz (Burgazlı), he is from Kınalı (Kınalı), the other is from Heybeli (Heybelili). There are reproaches and discriminations like “There is an investment and interest there, but not here...” There is an open conflict and lack of appropriation. And it's not a problem to be underestimated. The discourse we want to place on this subject will be: “We are islanders.” In the long term, we want to open a volunteer center on each island and make Burgaz the center.”⁸¹ (Yüncü 2015)

⁸⁰ “En son 4 sene önce gittim (plaja). Altı numara diye bir yer var bizim orada, ama yine de gitmem. Çünkü oraya dışarıdan çok insan geliyor. Dışarıdan gelen insanlar... Şimdi adanın yerli insanları, adada yazlıkçı olan insanlarla dışarıdan gelen insanlar... aynı kültür seviyesinde değiller, aynı yerin insanı değiller, anlatabiliyor muyum? Adanın o gittiğim yerinde, donla denize giren adam var, ben mecbur değilim donla denize giren adamı görmeye.” (Yiğit, 29)

⁸¹ “Her gün karşılaştığımız bir sorun, sen Büyükadalısın, ben Burgazlıyım, o Kınalı, beriki Heybelili. İşte oraya yatırım ve ilgi var, ama buraya yok gibi serzeniş ve ayrımcılık... Resmen bir çekişme ve sahiplenme eksikliği var. Ve küçümsenecek bir sorun değil. Bu konuda oturttuk istediğimiz söylem: Biz Adalıyız olacak... Uzun vadede ise her adaya bir gönüllü evi açmak ve Burgaz’ı merkez yapmak istiyoruz.”

This is the place where I could get in touch with a significant part of the informants within my research. Many of the women spend 2-3 days of the week there, chatting, stitching, and taking various courses. The volunteer center takes up a significant amount of time in the lives of these women, mostly in winter months. The most frequent destination of Serpil (female, 60) in winter is between home and the volunteer center. It is the place where Birgül (female, 58) feels most comfortable other than her house. Besides, the volunteer center provides space for her to share her occupation with the other women and that embroidery practice becomes an essential part of the socialization and daily routines. Birgül (female, 58) explains this practice through which she has developed an identity unintentionally as the embroidery teacher of the island.

3.3.3.4. Cafes /Restaurants/ Bars

Most of the informants have favorite local places on the island, and the rest go to such specific places since their friends do. Indos Bar is a place where some of the informants like Birgül (female, 58) and Feride (female, 62), who are not a club members, go often with friends and drink a cup of coffee or a beer. According to Seçil (female, 26), the non-club members generally go there and the club members prefer the clubs to have a drink. Besides, Seçil adds that the 'hippies' of Martha Bay, a group of 10-15 people, used to go to Indos Bar, drink some beer and then disappear in the island without any interaction with the residents.

Serpil (female, 60), Feride (female, 62) and Şule (female, 44) prefer to go to Çümen Café due to its waterside location and beautiful view along with its dissimilarity from the other 'coffeehouse-like' places. Besides, they name it as 'excursion spot' since it is very close to the port; therefore, people that get off the boat pass directly through there. Some cafes and restaurants are also associated with specific groups of people by my informants. For instance, Çümen Café is referred to as the place of 'kışlıkçı' (permanent resident) and the other one, 'Burgaz Café', is the place of 'yazlıkçı' (summer vacationist).

Seçil (female, 26) also states that, together with her friends, she usually goes to specific places, such as Hakan's Tea Garden, Yasemin fish restaurant, etc. Their preferences have been shaped by the trust relationship and familiarity with the owners of the places. Here is her voice:

“You know the owner and you feel comfortable since everyone is familiar. For instance, on the island, you never know if one would rip you off or not. But if you know them, you know that they wouldn't. That's why there are only three places that we go to drink raki.” (Seçil, 26)⁸²

Due to the presence of tourists and day-trippers on the islands, in many places the prices may be regulated higher compared to the mainland. Therefore, the familiarity with the owner of the place gives a sense of safety in terms of economy for the people who have an everyday life on the island. For instance, one of the reasons Kalpazankaya, which is nearly 45 minutes walking distance from the center of the island, is not a popular place among my informants is lack of affection among the staff and my informants. According to the majority of them, the prices are excessive since it is regulated for the day-trippers/tourists. Seçil (female, 26) states that the residents of the island do not like the managers and the staff of the restaurant in general, therefore they do not prefer to go there. Besides, the news about them using violence against their customers made all of my informants avoid this place.

3.3.3.5. Forest / Picnic Area

For the forest on the island, two related issues become prominent in the accounts of my informants: fire and day-trippers. As the other islands have, Burgazada has also experienced several fires during recent years. However, the one that broke out in 2003 around the dumpsite at Bayraklı Mevkii on the top of Burgazada and spread to many points with wind-fueled flames was very much destructive for Burgazada. As Kılıç (2015) states, since there was no helicopter to interfere with the fire, the fire continued for hours. When the fire was extinguished, about 40 hectares area and 11 houses were already burned. Mostly related to the memory of that fire and to the recent fires breaking out from unknown causes, my informants mention the pinetum on the island with deep concern. Although Burgazada, compared to Heybeliada, has rather small and few areas suitable for having a picnic and therefore it is not preferred as much as Heybeliada as a picnic site by the day-trippers, it has experienced several fires believed to be started by the picnickers recently. In the accounts of my informants, the day-trippers who have picnics on the island are held accountable for the past and potential fires, and this is given as one of the foremost reasons that they are not very well received on the islands. Here is the voice of Yiğit (male, 29):

⁸² “Sahibini tanıyorsun, kendini rahat hissediyorsun, herkes tanıdık .Orada şeyi biliyorsun, mesela adada seni kazıklayıp kazıklamayacaklarını bilemezsin. Ama eğer tanıyorsan seni kazıklamaz. O yüzden bizim raki içtiğimiz bile sadece üç yer vardır.”

"On the one hand, people have the right to be there, but on the other hand, they foul, make a mess, start a fire, and leave, as said. They start a fire- the island burnt a couple of years ago. For example, day-trippers started the last fire. Therefore, I don't want them here. It can be privatized or whatever. There are thousands of places in İstanbul to swim; they can go and swim there. They can come, walk around, sit, drink, but swimming? No. Or maybe I am not thinking correctly."⁸³ (Yiğit, 29)

Besides, the act of participation in fire extinction has been an important topic related to the 'islander identity' and the cohabiting practice with the different groups on the island. As mentioned above, Aslıhan (female, 52), who thinks of the participation to such solidaristic collective activities as a determinant of the 'islander identity', states that the permanent residents are the ones (permanent residents) mostly taking part in the fire extinction. On the other hand, according to Seçil (female, 26), when it comes to the fate of the island, due to the inadequacy of the infrastructure services, all the residents of the islands, either permanent residents or the summer vacationists, have to act in unison. Here is her voice:

"This summer, a fire broke out on the island, and we were the ones who extinguished it. I think it is also important about the island that you have to do everything all together and yet you do. You do not say, 'I am a summer vacationist, so I will not take care of it.' For instance, I went there and quenched the fire, watered the trees, and the outer sole of our shoes were burned. Because there are not enough fire trucks. For instance, those fire trucks came from Maltepe, and they were wonderful and very helpful. However it took them two hours to arrive. In those two hours, the whole island would have burned. We already had a huge fire in 2003. It came up to the upper street of my house. The island was ruined. Therefore people are very sensitive about this." (Seçil, 26)⁸⁴

3.3.3.6. Religious Buildings

Presently, in Burgazada, there are three churches, one Rum Orthodox monastery, one Austrian Catholic Chapel, one mosque, a djemevi, a synagogue, one Muslim, and one Rum Orthodox cemetery. According to the accounts of my informants, some groups on the island, such as Alevi and Jews prefer spending time at and around the religious buildings that belong to their religion.

⁸³ "Bir yandan insanların oraya gelip girme hakkı var ama öteki yandan da gerçekten söylendiği gibi ortalığı pisletip, dağıtıp, yangın çıkarıp gidiyorlar. Ateş yakıyorlar, ada bir kaç sene önce yandı.... Mesela (son) çıkan yangını günübirlikçiler yaptı. Ben şimdi doğal olarak bu adamı istemiyorum isterse özelleştirsin ne yaparsa yapsın. İstanbul'da denize girecek binlerce yer var, gitsinler orada denize girsinler. Gelsin gezsin tozsun, baksın, otursun içsin ama denize girip, yok yani, ya da belki çok yanlış düşünüyor da olabilirim..." (Yiğit, 29)

⁸⁴ "Bizim adada yangın çıktı bu sene, biz yangın söndürdük ya. Adada mesela bence bu da önemli bir şey, adada herşeyi bir arada yapmak zorundasın ve yapıyorsun. Sen orada "ben yazlıkçıyım ben dokunmayacağım" demiyorsun. Ben gidip yangını söndürdüm mesela, ağaçları suladık, onların böyle şeyin sönmelerini engelledik; ayakkabılarımızın altı yandı çünkü adada yeterince itfaiye aracı yok. O itfaiye araçları mesela Maltepe'den geldi. Maltepe'nin itfaiye ekibi mükemmel; çok yardımcı oldular bize. Onların gelmesi iki saat sürdü, iki saat içinde o yangın eğer böyle olsaydı, bütün ada yanardı. Biz zaten 2003 senesinde çok büyük bir yangın atlattık. Benim evimin üst sokağına kadar, yani oraya kadar geldi. Yok oldu, ada mahvoldu. öyle olunca insanlar çok hassaslar bu konuda ve şeyi istemiyorlar. Dört kişi tutuklandı o yangında." (Seçil, 26)

The synagogue was established in 1968, with the need that arose with the increase in the population of Jewish summer vacationists in the 1960s. As the other synagogues on the Prince s' Islands, it only serves in the summertime. As mentioned above, the Jewish residents of the islands mostly do not spend time outside of their club, home, and synagogue.

According to the accounts of my informants, Alevi people who are the most populous groups on the island spend time mostly at djemevi and its garden, which serves as a tea garden. On the other hand, as Seçil (female, 26) states, she spends time in the garden of djemevi, playing card games with her friends. The djemevi and its garden do not only serve to the Alevis; it is not self-enclosed, contrarily it works as a meeting point for any group on the island.

According to Aslıhan (female, 52), the non-Alevi Turks from Muş and Kurds are mostly at around the mosque and with their groups. She states that in comparison with the other religious buildings on the island, the mosque has more strict boundaries, and not everyone feels very welcomed there, including herself as a bareheaded Muslim woman. Here is her voice:

“Here, I have entered the synagogue, djemevi, churches, but not been in the mosque. There is something Islamic, you know, the door is not open, how can you enter? When required you have to veil yourself, and men are also a bit... Here, I like this: everyone is free, everybody is interested in their own religion, nobody has any harm to anyone. You know, I would like its door to be open as a house, and I would like to go in and get out and pray whenever I want.”(Aslıhan, 52)⁸⁵

3.3.3.7. Reunion

All informants talked about the event called Burgazada Reunion, actualized in 2002, impressively. This has been an occasion that affected all of them deeply. In this event, mostly non-Muslim/Greek people, who lived in Burgazada once and spread out in different countries and live abroad now, came together. Lots of people from all over the world responded to the call and came to Burgazada. It lasted about a week, islanders hosted them in their homes, or hotels by covering all expenses, restaurants were opened to them and they had great fun and

⁸⁵ “Burada, sinegoga da girdim, cemevine de girdim, şeylere de girdim, kiliselere girdim, ama bir kez camiye girmedim mesela. Orada genel bir islami bir şey var, hani kapı açık değil ki nereye giresin. Girmek gerektiği zaman, ne bileyim, örtünmen gerekiyor, işte böyle adamlar biraz şey yani. Ben buranın şey yapısını seviyorum, serbest herkesin dini kendine, kimsenin kimseye bir zararı yok ama hani ben de isterdim ki oradaki kapı da ev gibi açık olsun, ben de canım istediği zaman oraya girebileyim, dua edebileyim, çıkabileyim.” (Aslıhan, 52)

danced. Serpil describes this organization as 'terrific'. They were all impressed that all that people danced in the streets and had fun for a week disregarding heavy rains. Serpil (female, 60) and Feride (female, 62) gathered with their very old friends who had left the island years ago, that's why it was very dramatic for them.

For Şule (female, 44), it does not mean much since she has not lived on the island a long time, but she said it was a nice experience. On the other hand, although she did not know anyone and did not have a past in Burgazada, Birgül (female, 58) was so impressed and surprised. After her move to the island, 2-3 months later this organization occurred, and she and her ex-husband participated in it every night. She talks about these days with a great excitement as follows:

"A very elegant meeting took place and lasted about a week. People were hosted in homes; restaurants were opened for them. It was great fun; there were dances, etc. Everyone came together; they had missed each other. Hugs, kisses, things like that, it was very beautiful. It had a true impact on me. The roads were filled with people. Even the people who live on top of the island came down and danced the halay. It was pouring rain and that didn't stop anyone. It was a beautiful thing and I was very impressed. I have never seen or heard anything like that after again." (Birgül, 58)⁸⁶

Some people were hosted in their previous houses. Serpil gave the example of Saran's house. They gave the keys to the old residents who live in Greece now, for them to come and stay there.

3.3.3.8. Homes: Spaces of domesticity

During my study in Burgazada, I was able to visit only the houses of Birgül (female, 58), Serpil (female, 60), and Feride (female, 62). I could only talk to the rest of the informants on their home and some shared photos of their houses. Therefore in this chapter, I will mostly focus on the accounts of the abovementioned informants.

As it is in the case of Heybeliada, my informants attach various meanings to their houses on the island. Besides, the meanings attached to the 'island' and 'home' by my informants are mostly very much intertwined. For the informants who recently moved from Istanbul to the island

⁸⁶ "Çok şık bir toplantı yapıldı, bir hafta kadar sürdü, insanlar evlerinde ağırladılar, lokantalar onlara açıldı, büyük eğlenceler yapıldı, danslar edildi. İşte herkes biraraya gelmiş, özlemişler birbirlerini sarılmalar, öpüşmeler, şeyler, böyle, çok güzeldi yani. Beni çok acayip etkilemiştir gerçekten. Yollarda, herkes ama herkes, yani bütün adanın en tepesinde oturan insanlar dahi aşağıya indiler halaylar çektiler, göbekler attılar, yağmur yağıyor şakır şakır, o bile hiç kimseyi durdurmadı, çok güzel bir şeydi ve ben çok etkilendim. İyi ki dedim buradayız ve buna şahit olduk. Bir daha da öyle bir şey hiçbir yerde ne gördüm, ne duydum ne yaşadım yani."

permanently, Aslıhan (female, 52), Birgül (female, 58) Serpil (female, 60), Feride (female, 62), and Şule (female, 44), this move meant a transition from rush and stress to tranquillity and peace. Furthermore, 'peaceful' is the most common adjective they all use while describing their houses on the island. Their characterization of 'home' and life on the island are very much similar. For Serpil (female, 60), who had been summer vacationist since her childhood, permanently settling on the island means coming back home. For Birgül (female, 58), the move to the island also means that for the first time, she would have her own private home since she divorced after a very short time they moved to the island. Besides, for Aslıhan (female, 52), this movement means living separate from her 23-year-old son and letting him alone in the house on the mainland.

All the informants who live on the island permanently now specify their houses on the island as the place they feel at 'home', although most of the informants have other houses of their own, mostly former ones, in Istanbul. Feride, for instance, has a house in Samatya, Serpil (female, 60) has one in Kızıltoprak, Şule (female, 44) has two houses in Ataşehir and Ulus; Birgül (female, 58) has a house in Şişli. They all have first degree relatives, as a mother, children, siblings in Istanbul. While Feride (female, 62), Serpil (female, 60), and Şule (female, 44) own the houses they live in, Aslıhan (female, 52) and Birgül (female, 58) live in rented houses. The houses which had been used only in the summertime and owned by the residents were mostly restored when they decided to live there permanently. For instance, Feride (female, 62) used to keep the old furniture remaining from the former landlords till they moved in permanently, then they replaced them. Şule (female, 44) changed the whole organization and interior of the flat when she moved to the island permanently. Aslıhan (female, 52) rented another house and moved from the one she used to go on the weekends for the last five years when she decided to settle to the island permanently. Seçil (female, 26), who is a summer vacationist, lives most of the year in Koşuyolu in the house her family owns. Likewise, another summer vacationist Yiğit (male, 29), also lives in his family-owned house in Zekeriyaköy with his father.

Most of the informants live in flats, which consist of a living room, a kitchen, a bathroom, and one or two bedrooms. The present dwellings of my 'eski yazlıkçı, yeni kışlıkçı' (old summer vacationists, new permanent residents) informants, were mostly smaller than the houses they inhabited on the mainland. Thus they minimized the furnishing while moving to the island permanently. All the informants moved permanently to the island, brought some furnishing from their previous homes in Istanbul. For instance, Birgül (female, 58) carried most of the

furniture from her last house in Suadiye, but she only brought the ones to fit in that house and bought some other required items fit for the new house. Likewise, Şule (female, 44) brought a few things like tableware and paintings they like from the house in Ulus, left the large furniture there, and rented out as a furnished house. Feride (female, 62) bought new furniture for the house when they decided to move permanently and did not bring anything from her previous house from Samatya except for the dinner set and a pillow. The only thing she keeps from the previous homeowner is 'mezuzah'. Some of the informants have kept objects as reminders of the former residents of their houses and the island. Thus one may argue that their longing for the old residents of the island was not only manifested in words but also materialized by objects they keep from the previous furnishing of former residents in their houses. The house of Feride (female, 62) has mezuzahs at the 3 of the door sills. Inside the mezuzah, which is hung to the door sills by Jews, there is prayer and a little bit of earth on top of it. According to accounts of my informants, mezuzahs are mostly at the front-entrance door; they hang them as a blessed house. The earth inside the mezuzah represents the holy land. While going in and out, they touch and kiss mezuzahs, which are all different from each other. While they are passing through between public/private spaces, they still do this practice. While the former Jewish residents of Feride's house left the island, they took all their belongings with them but gave one of them to Feride (female, 62) by saying, "It gave me peace, I hope it would give you too." Thus, since then, she has kept the mezuzah hung at the doorsill of the balcony of her son's room, especially at a very nice place. Şule (female, 44) also kept the mezuzah that remained from the old residents. She changed the broken door and hung the mezuzah to the same position with the help of one of her Jewish friends. Apart from keeping it as a memory, another reason they keep the mezuzahs is that they value them due to the 'prayer' in it. Therefore it may be argued that displaying the mezuzahs for these Turkish Muslim women meant the respect and longing they felt to their previous owners of the houses.

None of the houses that I visited were extremely clean or neat; even the rooms of Serpil (female, 60) and Birgül (female, 58) were quite untidy. They, especially single women, tell me that they did not care much about the look of their living room or other rooms, they do cleaning and organizing only when it is necessary. Şule (female, 44), Serpil (female, 60), and Birgül (female, 58) have pets in their houses, so inevitably, there are some hair and untidiness. However, they do not worry about it and do not devote plenty of time to clean it. Therefore cleanliness or orderliness was not their priority. Functionality and their comfort is the most important thing for all of them since, to date, most of them had devoted a significant part of their time for their

families or work, raise children, keep the house proper, etc. Now, their comfort is the most important thing in the organization, furnishing, and maintenance of the house for most of them. For instance, Birgül (female, 58) tells me that unlike her previous homes, she decorated this house by paying attention mostly to the easiness of herself. Here is her voice:

"In my former houses, there were a dinner table for 12, a sitting group with double and triple sofas and two single chairs, sideboard with a mirror and glass. I had many things. Everything was in due form. I had everything that would be bought for a living room from a furniture store. Was I unhappy? No, I was happy, but now... 3. Life." (Birgül, 58)⁸⁷

As it is clear in Birgül's account, in her previous homes, welcoming guests properly and having proper household goods was very important. However, as I stated above, her priority in this house is her comfort. In her case, since she lived in her family house and then married and lived with her husband, this house meant that for the first time, she has her own house where she has total control.

"Yes, because it is mine. Everything in it is mine. Every nail, every nail that I drove, every lightbulb. It is true that those have come from my old house, but now since I have got the administration and supervision over them, I can turn all the lights on. I mean, I have control." (Birgül, 58)⁸⁸

Both Serpil (female, 60) and Birgül (female, 58) tell me that people whom they trust can come to their home, and they have access to any space, including the bedrooms. As they tell me, they do not attach importance to how it is perceived from outside. Therefore they do not clean or tidy their house when someone they trust comes home. Serpil (female, 60) closes her bedroom door if a total stranger comes to her house. On the other hand, the bedrooms are the most private spaces of houses of Feride (female, 62) and Şule (female, 44); they would pay attention to keep its privacy, close the door, tidy the wardrobe, etc. As I understood from her accounts, the number of people that Birgül (female, 58) lets her house is minimal. While one of the things that attract her about the island is close, face to face relationships and the spontaneity of social encounters; when it comes to the private space that intimacy is not favorable for her. As she states, she used to have lots of visitors, however after she disputed and got cross with some of her friends, she stopped having them in her house and decided not to be too familiar with people.

⁸⁷ "Eski evlerimde baya bayaa 12 kişilik yemek masası, 3lü, 2li , 2 tekli masa, büfem, aynalı büfem, camlı büfem...bi sürü bi sürü bi şeylerim, usulüne uygun yani, bi salonda neler olması gerekiyor, mobilya mağazasına git al, onlar vardı. Mutsuz muydum? Yoo, mutluydum, ama yani şimdi artık... 3. Hayat." (Birgül, 58)

⁸⁸ "Evet, çünkü benim. Her bir şeyi benim olayım. Her bir çivisi, her bir çaktığım çivi, taktığım ampül. Evet bunlar eski evimden geldi ama şu an yönetimi ve denetimi bana ait olduğu için, bütün ışıkları da yakabilirim, yani işte kumanda bende." (Birgül, 58)

Because she thinks that when she lets people involve her life a lot, it comes to no good. Since on the island, people drop by unexpectedly, after some time, she did not feel comfortable with it. Her door is always open to only the ones she trusts and loves very much. Therefore, apparently, in her case, there is a strong connection between 'yüz göz olmak' (being too familiar to someone) and taking them in her house. Here is her voice:

"There is something with the island, and I think it is the same for all the small places. People suddenly knock on your door, abruptly enter the house, I mean they may if you give them too much opportunity. That is not really my thing because I am comfortable at home. I am not always in the position of tidying around, but people - with their classic ala Turca mentality – can immediately check if your house is messy. I have a cat, my home may not be messy but may be dirty, they might talk about it somewhere. However, my door is always open to the ones that I trust, love and find sincere. I thought, "Wait a minute!" because of the other type of humans. If you give them the opportunity once, they may knock on your door any time, for example, at 11 p.m., and I frankly do not like it." (Birgül, 58)⁸⁹

As stated above, unlike in Istanbul, dropping in is a prevalent practice on the island. For instance, Feride (female, 62) says that her visitors are mostly the ones dropping by for a coffee while they are going on a walk, passes by, give a shout and come in. Such social practices and close relations are the common features distinguishing domestic space practices on the island from the ones on the mainland. Şule (female, 44) tells the difference in her social relations on the island and the mainland as follows:

"I got married in 2003. I lived in that apartment for 5-6 years, but I only knew my neighbor across. No one was looking at my face in the elevator, or even though they saw that I was coming, they used to close the door and ride the elevator up. Here, I greet the garbage man." (Şule, 44)⁹⁰

Contrary to the mainland, Şule (female,44) meets with her neighbors regularly on the island. She says that fortunately, her neighbors are animal lovers; all have pets in their houses. On the weekends, two neighbors (two couples) meet regularly and have dinner at one of the two houses. At her apartment, there is a shared garden that belongs to 12 flats in 2 blocks of apartments. They use it mostly, but all residents can use it as they want, there are no restrictions.

⁸⁹ Adada şöyle bir şey var, bütün küçük yerlerde böyledir bence. Pat diye çat kapı kapını çalıp çat dadanak giriverirler içeriye, gelebilirler yani çok fazla buna fırsat verisen. Bu da benim çok işime gelen bir şey değil. Çünkü rahatımdır evde, yani sürekli böyle birisi gelecek diye derleyip toplayacak halde değilimdir ama gelen insanlar klasik o alaturka mantığıylan gelip, hemen iki arada vuup bakabilirler yani evin dağınık mı. Evimde kedi var, dağınık olmayabilir, pis olabilir, ya bunun lafını edebilirler bi yerlerde. Ancak çok inandığım, sevdiğim ve samimiyetine inandığım insanlara her zaman için kapım açıktır ama .bür türlüünden dolayı bi dakika dur dedim yani. Bu çünkü bi kere o fırsatı verdiğin zaman, her an, gece 11'de de kapımı çalıp gelebilirler, ben bunu sevmiyorum açıkçası.(Birgül, 58; Heybeli'de eski yazlıkçı, yeni kışlıkçı)

⁹⁰ "2003'te evlendim, o apartmanda ben 5-6 sene falan oturdum, sadece karşı komşumu tanıyordum, asansöre binerken kimse suratıma bakmıyor veya benim geldiğimi gördükleri halde, binicem ben de asansöre, kapatıp çıkarlardı. Burada ben çöpçüye de günaydın diyorum. (Şule, 44)

She has parties sometimes in the garden when her friends come, and sometimes her downstairs neighbor hosts her friends. Feride (female, 62) and her neighbors are not intimate, but sometimes they visit each other for a cup of coffee. They visit each other on special days, for instance, to wish 'Hayırlı Yaz' (Have a nice summer), which is a common greeting ritual on the island. Serpil (female, 60) is very intimate with one of her neighbors. According to her, 'exchanging the keys of houses' expresses their intimacy. She puts this sincerity as follows:

"I am very close to one of my neighbors. I mean, our relationship. I have her keys, she has mine." (Serpil, 60)⁹¹

Most of the informants have shared spaces that they use with their neighbors. While the majority do not have problems sharing it, Birgül (female, 58) and Feride (female, 62) had problems with their neighbors about the non-human living beings, animals, and trees. In Feride's account, the neighbors stop her from feeding the cats in the garden. Thus she feeds them secretly in case they would harm the animals. One of Birgül's neighbors cut the plum tree in their backyard, and they always have arguments with the other one because of the cats.

Most of the women state that they feel safe at their home. For instance, Serpil (female, 62) feels very much safe since her flat facing the street, although due to the same reason, she thinks that she does not have privacy in her flat unless she closes the curtains. Thus, she has to close the curtains when she needs privacy in her house; otherwise, it is like an 'aquarium'. (Figure 20) Birgül (female, 58) thinks that she has enough privacy in her flat, however in the summertime at the balcony, she sometimes feels necessary to put the table as a boundary between her and the adjacent balcony where the neighbors are sitting, so that she will not be seen. On the other hand, although she does not want to be obsessed with it, she does not think that she is safe. She tells me the story that once she forgot the key and called the hardware man to change the locking. He did not struggle on the door, opened the front window in a minute with a screwdriver, and said that it is so easy to open such windows. Although she does not feel completely safe, she defines her home as her shelter. One may argue that the feeling of safety arising from living on the island outweighs the physical insecurity of the building she lives in.

The informants did not see much difference, only some, between the decoration of their homes and other families' dwellings that they were acquainted with in Burgazada. Birgül (female, 58)

⁹¹" Bir komşumla çok samimiyim. Yani ilişkilerimiz, anahtarını bendedir, benim anahtarım ondadır." (Serpil, 60)

states that houses of her Greek friends are mostly full of old furnishing/belongings; keeping old stuff and using handicraft draperies are common practices among Greeks. Besides, according to my informants' accounts, the most typical feature of Greek houses are the icons and the cross. On the other hand, particular characteristics of Alevi homes are Zülfikar sword and the pictures of Ali, which represents their religious identities. According to Feride (female, 62), as soon as one enters an Alevi house, it is inevitable for him/her to fail to notice them. As I discussed above, Jewish people have mezuzahs on their door sills. On the other hand, as my informants state that Armenian houses do not have any distinguishing features. My informants had not been in the houses of Kurds, so they did not comment on any differences. Some iconic objects represented religious identities in the houses of Serpil (female, 60) and Birgül (female, 58) like a few stylish framed Islamic calligraphy on the walls of the living rooms. They both have several amulets in their houses, and Serpil (female, 60) has a framed photograph of Atatürk rowing on a boat. Therefore one may argue that in this case, the domestic space has been a critical sphere to express religious and cultural identities. Besides objects representing the religious and ideological identities, other striking objects that Serpil (female, 60) has are lots of paintings depicting sea, boats, islands, and seashores.

Most of the informants describe the typical island house similarly: timber, mansion-like houses, and most of them do not think that theirs are the typical island house. Only Feride (female, 62) thinks that her house is a typical island house since it is small and surrounded by green space. She can see greenery through every window of her house. Birgül (female, 58) describes the 'island house' related to its suitability to only summer months and usage like a 'storage' house. She explains her view as follows:

"I do not think of this house as an island house. According to the idea that comes from my childhood, island houses are the houses that people come in summer. I mean, it is kind of a warehouse. Our old refrigerator, old washing machine, old oven, old broom, and even my old wardrobe is in my mother's home on the island. So firstly, it is about the goods for sure. Secondly, I think this is also very important, the island houses were built as summer houses and they are not suitable for heating, so there is a breeze. The wind comes in from the window, the curtains fly about, the house does not heat. Now, there is natural gas in the island houses too. I am lucky that I have access to natural gas and this house is restored. Otherwise, I would not be able to live on the island during winter. I would not live in a house that has a breeze and does not heat. So, this house is not an island house for me." (Birgül, 58)⁹²

⁹² "Bence bu ev ada evi değil. Benim çocukluğumdan gelen fikirle baktığın zaman ada evleri yazın gelinen evlerdir. Kışlık olarak zaten bilmiyordum, yazın gelinen evlerde de kışlık evlerdeki fazlalıkların geldiği evlerdi, o evler. Yani bi tür ardiye gibi, depo gibi olmuştur. Yani annemin şu andaki adadaki evinde, benim bile eski gardırobum oradadır. Eski buzdolabı, eski çamaşır makinesi, eski fırın, eski süpürge. Yani eşya olarak bi kere kesinlikle. İkinci olarak, bu da bence çok önemli ada evleri yine eskiye kıyasla baktığım zaman yine yazlık olarak yapılmıştır

3.3.4. Opinions Regarding Transformation

As the informants from Heybeliada, the ones from Burgazada are also very critical about the urban plans and applications which authorities have imposed on the islands in recent years. The dominant idea among my informants is that any decision made by the existing authorities for the island would have negative results. As in Heybeliada, the informants are mostly concerned about the island' becoming urbanized', in their words, as the mainland. Especially for Birgül (female, 58), Feride (female, 62), Serpil (female, 60), and Aslıhan (female, 52) who moved to the island to become distant to the crowd, chaos and dense housing, it is a very unpleasant possibility to think about.

The uniqueness of the islands is the main reason for the opposition of some of my informants to the urban plans projecting building density, mass tourism, and population growth. For instance, according to Yiğit (male, 29), what differs the islands from the other places in Istanbul or Turkey in general, is that it is the only remaining place where non-muslim citizens feel comfortable. Therefore he thinks that, far from doing such controversial projects, they should think over to preserve this relatively protected state of the islands. Likewise, Seçil (female, 26) thinks that the islands should not be treated like any other place in Istanbul since they still function as summer resorts, and they host many registered buildings.

While all of the informants are against possible construction activities, very few of them think that they can have an impact on what is to be done. Therefore none of them have participated in any related action against the aforementioned urban plans and applications. Here is the voice of Yiğit (male, 29):

"I have not thought anything to do against it because I do not think that it would have any effects. What can I do? Whatever the man who rules this country wants, will happen. I can burn myself out, and nothing will change. If he wants to zone the island for construction, he will, no matter what happens. I don't think anyone can do anything on any subject, so I have not thought about it."⁹³ (Yiğit, 29)

çoğunlukla ve bu evlerin ısıya, ısınmaya uygun ev değildir yani üfürürler. Böyle camından, çerçevesinden rüzgar alır, perde uçuşur. Tuvalete giderken üşürsün, ev ısınmaz. Şimdi artık ada evlerinde doğalgaz var, doğalgaz olduğu için, ama ben şanslıyım ki bu ev sıfırlanmış bi ev, eğer sıfırlanmamış olsaydı ben adada oturmazdım kışın. Yani o üfüren, ısıtamayacağım bir evde oturamazdım. Dolayısıyla bu ev bi ada evi değil bana göre." (Birgül, 58)

⁹³ "Hiçbir şey düşünmedim çünkü ben bunların karşılık bulacağını düşünmediğimden yani ben bunların şimdi ne yapabilirim? Adam, bu ülkeyi yöneten adam ne istiyorsa o olur. Ben kendimi yırtsam da bir şey değişmeyecek yırtmasam da, o adam orayı imara açmak istiyorsa kardeşim imara açar, şartlar ne olursa olsun. Ben bu konuda



4. CONCLUSION

I started this thesis with a discussion on the notion of ‘island’, focusing on the significance and potentials of the concept as a research subject, and the ways the boundaries of the island are conceptualized. While the predominance of the islands originated from “their epistemological

herhangi birinin, ben dahil, herhangi bir şey yapabileceğini düşünmediğimden, her hangi bir konuda hiç kimsenin bir şey yapacağını düşünmediğimden, aynı şekilde paralel olarak bu konuda da düşünmedim o yüzden.” (Yiğit, 29)

power as cognitive tools and their imaginative allure as vehicles for speculation” (Daou & Perez-Ramos 2016, p.7), the ‘island’ also evokes great curiosity as a geographical entity due to its physical features and its impressions on the relationships between people and space. In particular, the concept of ‘island’ provides a great opportunity to discuss ‘place’, and hence ‘identity’ and ‘culture’. Since the concept of ‘place’ has been understood conventionally in reference to static lifestyles within certain geographies, the 'island', the physical boundaries of which are clearly defined by the surrounding waters, emerges as an important basis to start questioning the views on ‘place’. Similarly, our way of understanding ‘identity’ and ‘culture’ has been shaped through how we see ‘place’, therefore contemplating on the ‘island’ as a place opens these concepts up for discussion.

The islands were conventionally thought to have solid and assertive boundaries through which the strong senses of belonging and relationships were established. However, other conceptions of the boundaries of the island have challenged this conventional understanding, putting forward the idea that those boundaries were in fact mobile and permeable. I have argued that such discussions in the island studies have parallels with numerous discourses on the theories of ‘place’. The essentialist views which determine the culture and identity through the boundaries of a geographical location and acknowledge a natural link between people and these locations are associated with these conventional views on the boundaries of ‘island’. In a similar vein, this view of the place has been replaced by different conceptions which put forward that in the era of globalization, migrations, displacements, and technological advances, places no longer have a role in defining cultures and identities. According to this view, the geographical boundaries of place have dissolved, and the culture, which was thought to be established through those boundaries, is no longer seen as fixed and stable. The framework within which I located my study is these intersections between the theories of ‘place’ and the island studies.

Against this background, I aimed to examine the ways through which the ‘islander identity’ is constructed and negotiated in two of the Princes’ Islands in Istanbul, Heybeliada and Burgazada, based upon the experience of informants from both islands. In addition to the potentials presented by the physical features of the islands, another factor making the study notable is the great amount of mobility which the Princes’ Islands have seen with the migrations, displacements, and emergence of vacationists, tourists and day-trippers. Therefore, questions such as how do various people who live on the island define themselves and others through ‘place’ in the context of the Princes’ Islands, have already been compelling points of

departure. Besides while the islanders are well-established as an important component in the recent discussions revolving around mass tourism, transportation, health, and controversial urban plans and applications carried out on the islands by the authorities, the question of who the islander is has become a more pressing issue.

The Princes' Islands are currently places of routine and everyday life for their permanent inhabitants, and also the only remaining inner-city summer resort in Istanbul (Salman 2014). The reason I chose Heybeliada and Burgazada as a research field is because daily life on these islands is determined to a lesser degree by the day-tripper and tourist influx when compared with Büyükada and Kınalıada. My informants consist of both old and current summer vacationists together with permanent residents, who are in a great variety of age, ethnic origin, and socio-economic class. The research investigated the ways people related themselves to the place, the meanings they attached to the 'island' and everyday spaces, together with the effects of the changing relations between the island and the mainland on these processes.

My ethnographic work with people from the two islands enabled me to see a variety of ways through which the island is articulated by the residents as a place of belonging and identity. The research has shown that for the inhabitants of both of the islands, living there is an important determinant while thinking of their identities. 'Being an islander' is described through various factors such as being an old resident, living on the island permanently or in a certain time of the year, behaving properly, being non-Muslim, belonging to a certain ethnic group or socio-economic class, etc. These determinants are also important in establishing relationships among people or different groups on the island.

As the determinants through which the 'islander identity' is constructed, the meanings attached to the 'island' vary by the informants in both of the islands. For most of my informants who are summer-vacationists, island is a place of ease and joy. Some of the old summer vacationists I talked to in Heybeliada perceive the island as the representative of the now gone "good old days" that they long for. Even one of the vacationists from Heybeliada preferred Burgazada to live while moving permanently from the mainland since she does not want to live on the island which is now very much distinct from how she remembers it. For the informants who were ex-summer vacationists and new permanent residents in Burgazada, the island is associated with calmness, close relationships and familiarity. By contrast with the permanent residents whom I

talked to in Heybeliada, being isolated from the mainland is a choice for them. Moreover, for the women and non-Muslim minorities, the island refers to a rather safe territory in Istanbul.

Women who participated in my study felt a certain sense of increased freedom in the public space on the island compared to the mainland. The way they dress, feel and move at the public spaces changes significantly on the island. In this sense, the island refers to a safer place for all the women I interviewed in both of the islands. Besides, as one of my non-Muslim informants states, the island is the only place in Istanbul where non-Muslim people can present themselves as they are, wear accessories indicating their religion.

Most of the informants identify 'islander' and 'island culture' in relation to the 'other' which is defined diversely by different groups / people. According to conventional view, societies have certain lifestyles and cultures shaped by the characteristics of certain geographies. Therefore, those outside of these well-defined boundaries are considered to be lacking in the cultural knowledge belonging to that specific place. Although this idea has been questioned for a long time, it is still widely accepted and is a common understanding as exemplified by the accounts of most of my informants. While some exclude the "day-trippers" as others, some think of 'other' as people belonging to a certain ethnic group. For the elderly residents 'the other' through which 'islander identity' is established mostly refers to the new residents of the island.

The contrast between the island and the mainland plays a significant part in constructing the 'islander identity' and 'island culture' for many of my informants. While describing the island, for better or worse, my informants mostly focused on what is absent on the island, such as the car traffic, pollution, shopping alternatives and crowd, rather than what exists. The island life is described by underlining the oppositions like nature and culture, fast and slow, permanence and temporality, deprivation and abundance, stress and pleasure, chaos and calmness, etc. While defining the 'islander identity', some exclude the outsider, the one who comes from the mainland and is ignorant of the island culture. Besides, in the island context this exclusion may have a literal meaning. I was told several times during the interviews that there have been people who were sent out from the island due to their improper behaviors.

Furthermore, the changing relations with the mainland affect very much the meanings attached to the island and the everyday spaces. Since Istanbul has gone through rapid urban transformations most of the Istanbulites suffer from traffic, public health problems, decrease of

the number of green spaces, noise pollution, and displacements. Due to that, some of my informants see the island as an alternative and a relatively protected living space; they have decided to spend more time on the island or moved to the island permanently. Besides, for the very reason, the pressure of mass tourism on the islands increases every passing day and that unregulated system of tourism contributes to the marginalization of the “outsiders” by the residents of the islands. According to the residents of the island, the day-trippers are responsible for the forest fires, environmental pollution, and harassment incidents. Therefore for some of the informants, both of the islands are places to be protected from “outsiders”.

The ‘islander identity’ is not only constructed through the physical boundaries of the island but is also negotiated through the various boundaries of everyday spaces within the islands; through the walls of the social clubs and institutions, as well as the fencing of rented beaches and picnic areas. Therefore, the research also focused on the everyday spaces including significant public spaces and the domestic spaces in both of the islands, examining how the informants negotiate their identities regarding these places of everyday life. In both of the islands there are self-enclosed clubs which require references and membership fees. These places create boundaries between certain groups on the island, and mostly dissociate people as regards socio-economic conditions and/or ethnic origin. The members of the clubs are mostly the summer vacationists and they hardly ever go to the beaches on the island. On the other hand, as stated above, in Burgazada, one of the two clubs is called “the club of the Jews” and clearly it is mostly accessible for specific users. The beaches on both of the islands are separated by their users and referred to as “beach of day-trippers / outsiders” or “beach of the islanders”. The entrance fee and the distance to the pier are the prominent factors designating such separation between the users of the beaches. On the other hand, allocating lands to the particular institutions and renting out “public spaces” such as beaches and picnic sites to managements which let people inside for a fee are increasing and controversial applications on both of the islands. Only the “islanders” can pass or get in freely in these rented beaches and picnic sites. For some of my informants, these practices of renting out public spaces lead their links that tie them to the island to break off and damage their attachment.

The other focus of the research was the domestic space where the inhabitants manifest their identities in various ways, such as displayed objects, daily practices, and social relations. Unlike the island and the other everyday spaces, the boundaries of home are defined by the inhabitants. The social interactions they establish around the private sphere form a large part of the social

life of most of my informants, and the boundaries between inside and outside are changed considerably based on the seasons. The boundaries of the domestic spaces on the island are generally more permeable than the ones on the mainland. Many of my informants spend their time at the semi-public / in-between spaces in their houses, where they can interact easily with the neighbors and passersby. Besides, the boundaries of the domestic space mostly stretch out to the street, and beyond.

Furthermore, the domestic practices of the summer vacationists and the permanent residents at their dwellings on the islands differ substantially. Interrelatedly, the meanings they attach to their dwellings vary. The vacationists spend less time in a day at home compared to the permanent residents. Especially the younger vacationists participating in the study, see their house on the island as a place for sleeping and spend most part of the day outside the house. On the other hand, the effects of living in this popular summer resort of Istanbul have been different for the relations permanent residents establish with their dwellings. Mostly due to the applications and prices towards tourists and day-trippers, home and the very surroundings become central for the lives of the ones with lower income, of necessity. By contrast with most of the others, they abstain from calling the island as a geographical entity, their home. As indicative of the strong sense of belonging towards the islands, the informants seeing it as 'home' was very common.

The research has shown that, within the visible physical boundaries of the islands, there are numerous boundaries in different scales. The islander identity is defined through the continual negotiation processes realized between inside and outside of these boundaries. Therefore we cannot talk about a definite description of an 'islander identity'; on the contrary, it is an ever-changing and fluid concept. While considering the island and the islander identity, one should analyze these processes and take into consideration the complex interrelations. It is essential to think of a place as "formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location" (Massey 1992, p.12). In keeping with Massey's view of place, one should see the 'island' as a location where these numerous interpretations and interactions are gathered, creating new impacts and relations, rather than a hard-edged and definite entity hosting a particular 'island culture'.

The identity of the island is constructed out of the social relations that are not restricted within its physical boundaries, but extend outside of them. It is essential to avoid seeing the boundaries

of the island as a separator between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’. Since “in the historical and geographical construction of places, the ‘other’ in general terms is already within” (Massey 1994, p.120), the outsider is already a part of the interrelations creating the ‘island’ space. Daou and Perez-Ramos (2016), drawing on the views of Shell, emphasize it as follows:

“The fundamental finitude of the island should not be understood as a secluding boundary condition that creates a dichotomy between itself and the constitutive other. Instead, the island might better be seen through the dialectics established by the word’s etymological roots: island as simultaneously “land surrounded and isolated by water” (from the latin insula) and “the moment where land and water blend” (from the Norse for “water-land”) (Shell, 2014) It is this dialectical tension that makes the island an epistemological and speculative device (Daou & Perez-Ramos 2016, p.8).”

In recent years, the Princes’ Islands have been the stages of controversial urban plans and applications carried out by the authorities, and the everlasting discussions on transportation and conservation. The termination of the horse carts on the islands has been a hot topic lately and the ‘islanders’, especially the ‘islander’ NGOs and the ‘animal lovers’ from Istanbul and Turkey have become the two sides of the discussion. It seems like the islands would be a subject of similar discussions in the days to come. However, as Massey argues, while discussing what happens in a specific place, all parties should withstand the attraction to claim ideas of the essence of their area and reject the easy alternative of asserting the ‘truth’ of a place; defining a place in such an essentialist way results in possession and exclusion (1994b). Therefore, adopting an understanding of ‘island’ constructed through such diverse social relations enables us to imagine new possibilities for a place.



Figure 4. Şükran's flat on the top floor at the apartment belongs to the family.



Figure 5. Nermin's Opposing Houses



Figure 6. Tülin's House_2



Figure 7. Tülin's House_1



Figure 8. Mehmet's House



Figure 9. Tülin's House_2_ The backyard



Figure 10. Füzuan's house_ The patio



Figure 11. Mehmet's house, The interjacent area between twin houses



Figure 12. The adjacent backyards of Nermin and her next-door neighbor



Figure 13. Tülin's House_1



Figure 14. Tülin's House_2_The patio



Figure 15. Nermin's adjacent two flats and the stairway landing used as part of the flats.



Figure 16. Nermin's House_2



Figure 17. Tülin's House_2



Figure 18. Tülin's House_1, Old grocery store, now it is a secret library.



Figure 19. The Balcony of Şükran



Figure 20. Serpil's Flat

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