

KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



“THE BALAT LIFE IS REALLY UNIQUE”

-

NARRATIVES OF PLACE AND BELONGING IN THE
HISTORICAL FENER-BALAT DISTRICT OF ISTANBUL

GRADUATE THESIS

MARINA OLT

March 2016



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Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences
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in
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“I, Marina Olt, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.”

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ABSTRACT

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Fener-Balat is one of the oldest districts of Istanbul and was home to Greek-Orthodox Christians and Jews for centuries. However in the last century the demographic composition changed fundamentally. After long having been neglected, recently the district has received increasing attention, especially due to historical housing there. This goes along with a wider interest in Istanbul's past and former minority quarters that emerged within the last decades. Most academic literature about the Fener-Balat district is concerned with issues of urban planning or architecture and there seems to be a lack of anthropological studies that focus on the personal meanings of places and the narratives of the residents living in the district. Thus what seems to be missing here is an anthropological perspective on Fener-Balat as place, i.e. as space filled with multiple meanings, memories and experiences. Based on

ethnographic fieldwork in Fener-Balat, this thesis explores the personal place-meanings and examines the ways, in which residents of Fener-Balat create meaningful relationships with their local surrounding. Therefore place narratives and belonging narratives of several residents of the district will be presented and discussed. This will give an insight in the shared and divergent ways in which residents define and describe their neighborhood space and express an attachment and belonging to place.

Keywords: place attachment, belonging, neighborhood, memory



ÖZET

“BALAT YAŞAMI BENZERSİZ”

İSTANBUL’UN TARİHİ FENER-BALAT SEMTİNDEKİ
YERE VE AİDİYETE İLİŞKİN ANLATILAR

Marina Olt

Yüksek Lisans

Kültürlerarası İletişim

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Mart, 2016

Fener-Balat, Rum-Ortodoks Hıristiyanlarına ve Musevilere ev sahipliği yapmış, İstanbul’un en tarihi semtlerinden biridir. Ancak geçtiğimiz yüzyılda demografik oluşumu tamamıyla değişmiştir. Uzun süre göz ardı edildikten sonra; özellikle de tarihi evlere ev sahipliği yapmasından dolayı son zamanlarda bölgeye gösterilen ilgi artmıştır. Fener-Balat’a gösterilen bu ilgi, aslında son on yıllarda genel olarak İstanbul’un geçmiş azınlık mahallelerine gösterilen ilginin bir parçasıdır. Fener-Balat bölgesiyle ilgili akademik literatürün çoğu, şehir planlaması ve mimarlık gibi konularda olduğu için, literatürde bölgeye antropolojik açıdan yaklaşan ve Fener-Balat bölgesini belleği, deneyimleri ve birden çok anlamı olan bir mekan olarak ele alan çalışmalar pek bulunmamaktadır. Etnografik alan çalışmasına dayanan bu tez, Fener-Balat sakinlerinin mekanla nasıl anlamlı ilişkiler kurduklarını

arařtırarak, bölgedeki kişisel mekan-anlam ilişkilerini inceler. Bu nedenle bu tezde, bazı Fener-Balat sakinlerinin mekan ve aidiyet anlatıları sunulacak ve tartışılacaktır. Bu araştırma bölge sakinlerinin nasıl ortak ve farklı yollarla mahalle mekanlarını tanımladıklarını açıklayacak ve mekana nasıl aidiyet ve bağlılık duyduklarını gösterecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: mekana bağlılık, aidiyet, komşuluk, bellek



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1 Introduction

“A place where story has been piled on top of story like a palimpsest”¹, was one of the first descriptions I heard about Fener-Balat, one of the oldest districts of Istanbul, located along the Golden Horn in the North and the Byzantine walls in the West. The statement refers to the rich history of this area, which has been home to diverse ethnic and religious communities throughout time. Since the end of the 16th century, Fener was mainly inhabited by a Greek Orthodox community and the adjoining Balat was one of the earliest and most important Jewish settlements in Istanbul. While today the population of the district has changed, the physical landscape of Fener-Balat is still dominated by the historical buildings of its former residents. Due to the fact that many of the mosques, churches and synagogues as well as traditional 19th century wooden or stone houses have remained, Fener-Balat provides a very rich and diverse physical texture today. Thus, like a palimpsest, where new text is written over old text, different architectural layers, as well as the stories and memories they carry, are piled up here and form the living environment for today’s residents. By describing a little walk through Fener-Balat², I would like to give a first insight into the district and its architectural palimpsest.

¹ John (name changed), written communication, 22nd March 2015; a palimpsest describes a manuscript page, where new text has been written over erased text.

² A detailed map indicating the route can be found in Appendix A.

1.1 A Walk through Fener-Balat

We start off at the waterside of Fener, from where we can see, isolated inbetween the busy traffic roads, the Bulgarian St. Stephen Church as well as some historical buildings that have survived a waterfront clearance of the 1980s. Turning our gaze upwards, we can spot the Phanar Greek Orthodox College, a magnificent red bricked building overlooking Fener-Balat.

We enter Fener through a little street that must once have been the Fener Kapısı, a big gate in the ancient city walls, of which in the area of Fener and Balat just some remnants remain. This entrance area with several little souvenir shops is guiding the way to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Fener, an important center of Christian Orthodoxy that is frequented by busloads of visitors year-round. But instead of turning left into its direction, we turn right from here and enter Yıldırım Caddesi³, on which several little cafes, antique shops and one of countless real estate agencies are located. Walking through this street is an experience to all senses: Greek can be heard from the Byzas Cafe, while men, discussing in Turkish, are sitting in front of a coffee shop on the opposite side of the road; the smell of Kokoreç⁴ from the street vendors mixes with that of freshly baked bread from a little bread factory and brewed coffee from the little cafes, of which most have just opened a few months ago. Visitors and locals stroll along the street, taking a look at the antique shops or shooting photos of the historical and colorful houses along the street.

³ Cadde is the Turkish word for street.

⁴ Kokoreç is a popular Turkish dish consistent of chopped grilled lamb offals.



Figure 1 : Cafes on Yıldırım Caddesi⁵

Following Yıldırım Caddesi further, we reach the quieter, residential part of this narrow and cobblestone street. The street is lined with those small bay windowed wooden or stone houses which are typical of the area. Some of the houses seem old and lopsided, as if they are about to collapse, others are nicely renovated and shine in bright colors. Walking through here appears quiet and calm in comparison to the busy initial part of the street; only here and there some people are sitting or standing along the street, engrossed in conversation - if we would go further uphill and move around the residential streets there, we would encounter these gatherings with ever more frequency: Groups of people sitting across from each other on the sidewalk, chatting, and children playing together outside on the road.

⁵ Own photograph, shot in August 2015.



Figure 2: Houses on Yıldırım Caddesi⁶

Where Yıldırım Caddesi is about to end, we turn left and get onto the parallel Vodina Caddesi, the main street connecting Fener and Balat. Having reached Balat by now, we follow this busy shopping street, pass the famous Ahrida synagogue, one of the oldest synagogues of Istanbul, and reach the Hacı İsa Cami, a lively little mosque and all day long a popular meeting point for many male residents of the district. Men are sitting in front of the building on little stools; some are involved in conversations, others are reading their newspapers, while stirring their tea, which creates a constant clinging sound. Taking one last turn here, we arrive at the Armenian church of Surp Hreşdağabet, which is known for healing miracles. In the west of this church we can see the ruinous building of an old Armenian school, which appears even more ghost like and abandoned due to being located opposite to a schoolyard from which cheerful voices of children resound. Here our little walk comes to an end, but of course

⁶ Own photograph, shot in August 2015.

these were just some of the streets in Fener-Balat and this description can only give a little and limited insight into a place, where there is much to see and to experience with all your senses.

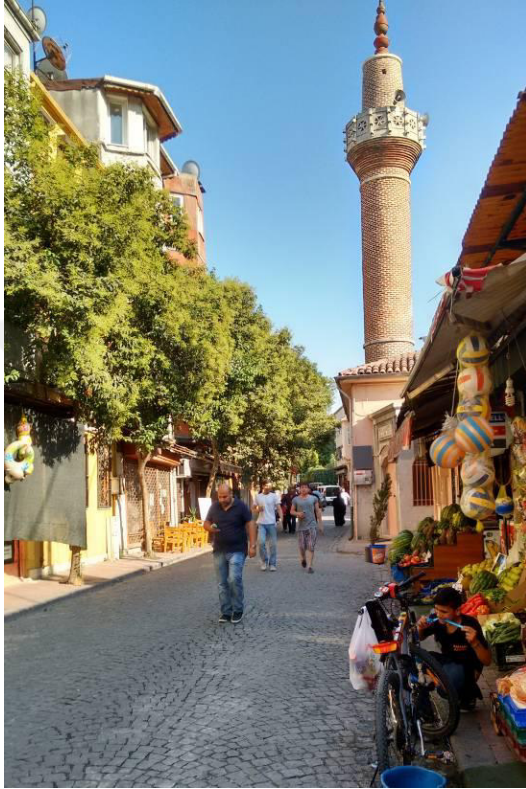


Figure 3: Vodina Caddesi⁷



Figure 4: Armenian School (left) and Church of Surp Hreşdağabet (right)⁸

1.2 Research Interest and Focus

This little mental walk might have given an impression of the architectural palimpsest, within which the residents of Fener-Balat are living. During my research I came across several different and also conflicting inscriptions and readings of this palimpsest of the urban landscape in Fener-Balat, emphasizing certain layers, while neglect-

⁷ Own photograph, shot in August 2015.

⁸ Own photograph, shot in June 2015.

ing others. Especially readings of the district as a place of a past religious tolerance and conviviality seem to form a dominant narrative surrounding Fener-Balat. Being interested in contexts of ethnic and religious diversity, it was this narrative which initially caught my attention and resulted in my scientific interest in the district.

Wondering to what extent these narratives of a past multi-religious and multi-ethnic coexistence matched the everyday life of the people living there today, I decided to conduct ethnographic research in the Fener-Balat district. After a first orientation phase in the field, which is also known as the “gathering stage” (O’Reilly 2012, p.41), the residents’ own place narratives became central to my concern. Thus, the focus of this thesis is on the ways in which today’s residents themselves talk about or remember the place they live in: How do they personally relate to their place of residence and what does Fener-Balat mean to them? How do they describe and express the living together today and in the past? Are the public narratives of a past religious coexistence of relevance thereby?

These central questions of my research⁹ are based on three main assumptions:

1. Space is socially constructed and relative: Space is not regarded as an absolute and fixed entity, but in following Martina Löw’s conceptualization of space (2015), space is understood as socially constructed and relative, fluid and constantly negotiated.

With regard to researching a residential district, this also questions understandings of neighborhood as a fixed territory or homogenous local community (Hüllemann et al. 2015).

2. Place is space inscribed with meaning: In contrast to general space, place is something particular, local and meaningful. In this way places can hold different meanings

⁹ The central research questions will be further clarified in chapter 3.4.

for different individuals or groups. These meanings can become apparent in the ways people talk about and remember the district they live in or include place into their life narratives (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003, pp. 13-18).

3. Place matters: Despite discussions about the reduced importance of locality in times of globalization and increased mobility and migration, local places are still of relevance for humans as they can provide a sense of belonging and local identity (Duyvendak 2011, pp.10-11). People can feel attached and emotionally connected to the locales they occupy (Low & Altman 1992, Scannell & Gifford 2010) and this “attachment to place remains remarkably obdurate” (Savage et al. 2005, p.1).

These theoretical approaches in the realm of space, place and neighborhood studies draw attention to the social construction and the subjective perception of space and place. In this way my focus on both Fener and Balat as one research field was also a choice based on my personal perception of space and was for example motivated by my interest in the multi-religious coexistence, which I saw best encompassed by choosing two minority quarters with different congregations. Understanding Fener and Balat as one coherent area might furthermore have been influenced by public narratives and discourses, where Fener and Balat were often mentioned in the same context¹⁰. People yet were often speaking of either Fener or Balat and seemed to regard them as two separate entities, while the borders between the different districts seemed fluent. Throughout this thesis the term “Fener-Balat district” will be used to indicate the rough geographic location of my field of research¹¹. But the demarcation

¹⁰ An example hereof is the media coverage of an EU renovation project that had been acted out there from 2003-2008 (Rehabilitation of Fener and Balat Districts Programme 2005a).

¹¹ In the Appendix A a map indicating the administrative borders of Fener-Balat district, which is officially termed as „Balat Mahallesi“, as well as a map that shows the district’s location in Istanbul can be found.

made by this naming does not have to be of relevance for the residents themselves.

This is important to be noted. As sociologist Schroer explains:

Denn immer wieder ist zu beobachten, dass nach der Herstellung der Räume durch Akteure und ihre Aktivitäten nicht gefragt, der Raum, in dem sich Soziales abspielt, vielmehr nach wie vor häufig vorausgesetzt wird. [...] Statt den medialen wie administrative Vorgaben zu folgen, wäre es dagegen die Aufgabe [...] sich etwa im Sinne einer ethnographischen Analyse städtischer Quartiere für die Deutungen und Aneignungsweisen der Bewohner zu interessieren, die sich täglich in diesen Räumen bewegen. (Schroer 2008, p.139)

In line with Schroer's postulations, I conducted ethnographic research in the district of Fener-Balat from February to August 2015 with a focus on the subjective perceptions and definitions of space and place. By doing participant observations and interviewing several residents of the district about daily life and special characteristics of their place of residence, I collected different narratives of place and belonging.

Thereby I got an impression of the multiple ways residents themselves perceive, define and relate to their neighborhood space and their place of residence. It should be noted here that, far from being exhaustive, the central aim of this thesis is to give an insight into the complexity and the manifold ways in which residents of Fener-Balat create meaningful relationships with their local surrounding.

1.3 Structure

In order to understand the collective and individual narratives in their socio-historical context, the next chapter will give an overview of the historical developments and socio-demographic changes in Fener-Balat. Thereby the traditional Ottoman "mahalle" (neighborhood) will be shortly introduced and discussed. In a further chapter the theoretical framework will be defined and the central concepts will be

introduced, thereby giving an insight into some of the literature concerned with concepts of neighborhood, space and place. Furthermore a short overview of the current state of research within Fener-Balat and other former minority districts of Istanbul is given. Here the central research question will be further clarified. This is followed by a short description of the course of research and the central ethnographic methods, before the results will be presented and analyzed.

In the fifth chapter two central concepts, “komşuluk” (neighborliness) and “mahalle” (neighborhood), will be clarified. Thereby the focus will be on behavioral aspects, taking a look at where and how social relationships among residents are established and how thereby the space of the mahalle becomes created and maintained. This will give some insights into the complex dynamics of the neighborhood space and stress the functions of komşuluk in creating a sense of community in Fener-Balat. In the sixth chapter the focus will be on the place narratives and the belonging narratives in Fener-Balat. Firstly two dominant forms of narratives centered around topics of komşuluk and community life in Fener-Balat will be presented and discussed. These narratives will furthermore be summarized and examined in the context of different belonging patterns. Afterwards these narratives will be related to cultural memories and public place images surrounding Fener-Balat. In a next chapter a smaller scale will be applied and the ways in which residents express their attachment to the historical houses they live in, will be presented and compared. In a last chapter the results will be summarized and evaluated.

2 Fener-Balat in Socio-Historical Context

In the present chapter an overview of the historical developments and socio-demographic changes within the Fener-Balat district will be given. While the description of the current situation of the district (chapter 2.4) is based upon personal observations and conversations in the course of my research process, the information about historical facts are derived from different written sources: Most literature on the history of Fener-Balat is confined to monumental architecture or touristic features¹² (e.g. Deleon c.1991, Clark 2012, Özbilge 2008). One of the most valuable contributions here is a book written by the tour guide Ahmet Özbilge. By describing a round trip through the area, the book gives detailed information about the history as well as the current situation of the district and its buildings. In recent years the literature on Fener-Balat has been augmented by memoirs and biographies, which give an insight into the everyday life of the district in the first half of the 20th century (e.g. Shaul 2012, Spataris 2004, Yoker 2012). Other contributions have been made in the field of architecture, urban planning and gentrification¹³ (e.g. Bezmez 2009, Ercan

¹² A more focused insight in the Jewish history of Balat is provided by Bornes-Várol's study of Balat as a Jewish quarter (1989). It is one of the first ethnographic researchs on the daily life in Balat. Based on field work and interviews with more than 70 informants, mostly Jews, who had been born before 1940 and who had lived in Balat, she tried to reconstruct the everyday life of Balat when it was still a predominantly Jewish quarter. In this way her work is a valuable contribution to the little literature one can find on the social and cultural life in the old districts of Istanbul. Unfortunately her work is only available in French, but Fassin and Levy (2003) provide an English translation of some fragments.

¹³ Gentrification is a multilayered phenomenon. Soytemel and Şen, though pointing to the fact that gentrification can take different forms in different cities, underline two general aspects of gentrification: Firstly, gentrification describes an influx of middle-class and higher-income groups into working-class districts. Secondly gentrification processes encompass the displacement of the original population of the district (Soytemel & Şen 2014, p.67).

2011, Soytemel 2015¹⁴). These works give an overview on processes of urbanization as well as on urban renewal and rehabilitation projects in Fener-Balat. Furthermore, Amy Mills¹⁵ (2010) research in Kuzguncuk, another former minority quarter in Istanbul, provides additional information on issues regarding the minority history or the traditional Ottoman neighborhood.

2.1 Fener-Balat in the Ottoman Empire

Fener-Balat is one of the oldest districts within Istanbul. Its history reaches far back until Byzantine times. In the Ottoman Empire the district was home to Rum¹⁶ (Greek Orthodox Christians), Armenian Orthodox Christians and Jews (Özbilge 2008, pp.89-90, 133). Since the early sixteenth century Fener, Balat and other residential areas of Istanbul had been organized in the form of mahalles. “Mahalle” (derived from the Arabic “mahalla”) is the Turkish word for neighborhood and constituted the smallest administrative unit in the cities of the Ottoman Empire¹⁷. According to Behar, the mahalle was a small residential unit of not more than fifteen streets, centered around a public square or a religious building (mosque, church or synagogue), and included some shops and other community buildings, such as a school or a public bath. Mahalles are said to have played an important role in the formation of a local identity and a sense of local cohesiveness and familiarity (Behar 2003, pp.3-4). Historically the mahalle is closely connected to the Ottoman “millet” system. Mil-

¹⁴ Soytemel’s research will be introduced in more detail in chapter 3.4.

¹⁵ Mills’ research will be introduced in more detail in chapter 3.4.

¹⁶ In Turkey there is a distinction between a Greek of Greece (Yunanlı) and a Greek of Turkey (Rum). Linguistically the word “Rum” means Roman and referred originally to a Greek of the Eastern Roman Empire, which is also known as the Byzantine Empire. In this thesis the term “Rum” or “Greek Orthodox” will be used interchangeably to describe Turkish citizens of Greek ethnicity and Christian Orthodox religion. The term “Greek” is used to describe citizens of Greece.

¹⁷ In 1927/28 there was a Republican municipal reorganization which brought some changes to the former system. Thus today’s administrative mahalles do not resemble these traditional mahalles, which were much smaller in scale (Behar 2003, p. 14).

lets¹⁸ constituted administrative groups, which were defined on the basis of religious belonging. The three main non-Muslim millets were the Jewish millet, the Rum (Greek Orthodox) millet and the Armenian Gregorian millet. Mahalles were organized along religious lines and each mahalle had its own local religious leader (Mills 2010, p.37). However mahalles did not constitute homogenous units in terms of language, ethnicity and socio-economic status and the borders between them were fluent (Behar 2003, pp. 4-5). There were some general differences in the location of the mahalle, which reflected the administrative and religious distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. Non-Muslims were generally settled along the shorelines, while the Muslim population was located on higher grounds. This explains the location of Fener-Balat along the southern shore of the Golden Horn (Interview Anagnostopoulos, April 2015).

Within the Ottoman Empire Balat was a predominantly Jewish quarter¹⁹, but also some Rum, Armenians and Muslims were rated amongst its residents (DeLeon c.1991, p.19). Furthermore Balat was also populated by various Jewish groups, which had migrated to the area over the course of time²⁰. These different communities like the Ashkenazim from central and Eastern Europe, the Sephardians from Spain and Portugal or the Romaniot Jews of Byzantium did not only have their own languages, but they also built their own synagogues, which they named after their town of origin²¹. Due to its harbor many of Balat's inhabitants worked at the port, as boatmen, porters

¹⁸ Today the term „millet“ means nation.

¹⁹ It should be noted here, that Balat (as well as Fener) was not a mahalle itself, but was subdivided into several mahalles, which Bornes-Varol (1989) lists and describes in her study.

²⁰ Due to different reasons like the repopulation of the city after the conquest in 1453, religious oppression in Europe and a devastating fire in 1660 in another Jewish quarter of Istanbul, from the 15th century onwards different Jewish migrant groups had settled in the area of Balat (Özbilge 2008, pp.89-90).

²¹ The Ahrida synagogue for instance, which is the oldest still existing synagogue in Balat, is named after its founder's hometown Ohrid in Macedonia (Clark 2012, p.128).

or sailors, others were wealthy merchants (Clark 2012, p.128; Özbilge 2008, pp.89-90).

The adjoining quarter of Fener, named after the lighthouse located at its coast, was home to wealthy and noble Rum families, especially since the Ecumenical Patriarchate²² had moved there in 1602. These so called Feneriots were highly skilled and educated, worked as merchants or held important positions at court, e.g. as ambassador or dragomen (interpreter). Thus Fener was mainly an upper-class, aristocratic area with ornamented wooden and stone mansions or palaces (Bezmez 2009, p.822; Özbilgen 2008, p.133). However, within the 19th century Fener and Balat started to lose their former glory. A devastating earthquake, repeated fires as well as the water pollution and the demolition of Feneriot mansions along the shore in the course of the industrialization of the Golden Horn caused many families to move to other districts of the city (Bezmez 2009, pp.822-823).

2.2 The Foundation of the Republic of Turkey and Turkification

Regardless of what he does, even if he works miracles, a non-Muslim Turk, that is a person of the Jewish or Christian religion, will not be considered a Turk. (Shaul 2012, p.124)

Discriminating state policies and public hostilities against religious minorities²³ within the transformation of the Ottoman Empire into the Turkish nation state had a sig-

²² The institution is also known as “Greek Orthodox Patriarchate”. However, in this thesis the term “Ecumenical Patriarchate” will be used, as the institution itself prefers this naming. The institution does not only regard itself as a center for Greek Orthodoxy, but understands itself as a spiritual center for a community of 350 Million Orthodox Christians worldwide (Interview Anagnostopoulos, April 2015).

²³ The term „religious minorities“ refers to the religious groups of Armenian Orthodox Christians, Rum (Greek Orthodox Christians) and Jews. Based on the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, these are the only officially recognized minorities in Turkey. Minority status in Turkey is thus only granted to the three former non-Muslim millets and is in this way connected to the preceding Ottoman distinction into the dominant Muslim millet and other non-Muslim millets (Akgönül 2013, pp.72, 78; Toktaş

nificant impact on the population of Fener-Balat and led to the departure of most of the district's non-Muslim residents. As there is no detailed information regarding these events in Fener-Balat, the present chapter will trace the general course of events within the wider scope of Istanbul²⁴.

With the foundation of the Republic of Turkey a national identity as “ethnically Turkish and culturally Muslim” (Mills 2010, p.8) was created, which excluded the non-Muslims from the nation and made them the target of an ethnic cleansing. The religious minority communities in Istanbul, and thus also the residents of Fener-Balat, became affected by linguistic and economic restrictions. The promotion of the Turkish language through initiatives such as the “Citizen, Speak Turkish” Campaign pressured minorities to speak Turkish instead of their own languages (Mills 2010, p.52). The economic discrimination towards religious minorities, aimed at weakening the influence and control of these groups over the nation's trade and finance sectors, encompassed the exclusion of non-Muslims from certain jobs as well as the levying of a Wealth Tax in 1942²⁵. Under these circumstances many Turkish Jews shortly after emigrated to the newly founded state of Israel (Özbilge 2008, pp.108-109).

On the 6th and 7th of September 1955 false rumors of Greeks having bombed Atatürk's birthplace in Salonica resulted in violent riots against Istanbul's Rum popula-

2006, p.205). Within this thesis the terms „religious minorities“, “minorities” and „non-Muslims“ will be used interchangeably to describe the groups of Armenian Orthodox Christians, Rum (Greek Orthodox Christians) and Jews in Turkey and the Ottoman Empire.

²⁴ While there does not seem to exist any historical documentation or any exact numbers regarding these events in Fener-Balat, there is a wide scope of literature generally concerned with issues of religious minorities in Turkey and the historical developments after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. Interesting readings are for instance: Alexandris 1992, Bali 2013 or Güven 2012.

²⁵ While the Wealth Tax was officially aimed at all wealthy citizens, it was mostly the minorities who became the target of disproportional huge amounts of taxes. This brought many to financial ruin and those unable to pay were sent to a work camp called Aşkale. The writer Eli Shaul spent his childhood years (1920-1937) in Balat, before he moved to Galata and then later on to Bat Yam in Israel. In his memoirs “From Balat to Bat Yam” (2012) he published excerpts from his journals, letters and articles. These not only depict the everyday life of Balat, but also provide personal insights into the perception of the Wealth Tax and other restrictive measurements against Jews and other religious minorities.

tion and their properties. In the aftermath of these events, many thousand Rum left Istanbul. Again in 1964, in the context of bloody conflicts between Greeks and Turks on Cyprus, those in Istanbul of Greek citizenship were deprived of the right to reside in the city and forced to leave the country - some with not more than 20 kilogram of luggage and the amount of 22 US dollars. Many others followed them and according to Mills, the Rum community of Istanbul decreased from 120,000 to 3,000 during this time. The deportation and the ongoing tensions in the course of the Cyprus issues caused an atmosphere of fear and insecurity and resulted in the departure of most of the remaining Rum of Istanbul within the following decade (Mills 2010, pp.54-55, Özbilgen 2008, p.146).

2.3 Urbanization and Urban Renewal

Even though there had been a mass departure of Istanbul's religious minorities, the city grew four times bigger between 1945 and 1975 (Mills 2010, p.57). In the course of increasing industrialization thousands of people from rural parts of Anatolia migrated to Istanbul in search for work. The result was an uncontrolled, rapid urbanization and the emergence of slum-areas. The Golden Horn became the industrial center of the city and Fener-Balat a home for working class rural migrants (Bezmez 2009, p.820-823). Due to unclear ownership as well as sales below value in the course of forced migration of the minorities many of the old buildings in Fener-Balat served the newcomers as cheap housing stock, whereby single-family houses were often subdivided and converted to accommodate more families for lower rent. These developments led to a decline of the physical conditions and the socio-economic status in the area (Mills 2010, pp.56-57; Gur 2008, p.236).

By the 1970s and 1980s the Golden Horn had become extremely polluted and foul smelling. It was an area that was avoided by most residents of Istanbul. Conditions worsened with the loss of working places in the course of the deindustrialization of the Golden Horn Area and massive transformations of the former industrial areas through a waterfront rehabilitation project in the 1980s. Even though this project encompassed the clearance of the polluted water of the Golden Horn as well as the building of green parks and wide roads for motor traffic along the shore, the project also resulted in the demolition of industrial and other historical buildings, such as remaining Feneriot mansions. These developments led to the departure of many of the wealthier working class residents, which then became replaced by poor migrants from Kurdish regions in the 1990s (Bezmez 2009, pp.820-821, Soytemel 2015, p.86).

Further changes to the district came about with the Fener and Balat Rehabilitation Project (January 2003 to July 2008), which was initiated by the European Union and the Fatih Municipality²⁶ after the district had been listed as a UNESCO world heritage site in 1985 (Bezmez 2009, p.823). In contrast to the declared aims of rehabilitation of the physical as well as the social structure, the project was not able to meet the social needs and demands and resulted in the mere physical restoration of 121 buildings and 33 shops in the Balat market area (Soytemel 2015, p.68). Furthermore gentrification processes and property speculations could not be avoided. In the aftermath of the project, Fener-Balat became attractive for tourism and the real estate market. Since then, an influx of middle and higher-income residents as well as international visitors occurred. Furthermore the project was paralleled by other private and state-led renovation plans such as the ‘Fener, Balat, Ayvansaray Urban Renewal

²⁶ Fatih Municipality is the administrative unit in which Fener-Balat is located.

Project²⁷. All this has led to a rise in rental and property prices, which puts the local population under pressure to leave this area (Ercan 2011, pp.301-303).

2.4 Fener and Balat Today

In the course of time Fener-Balat has gone through many changes. While the historical religious buildings are signs of a former multi-religious and multi-ethnic coexistence in this area, today the district has a predominantly Muslim population. The remaining churches and synagogues are surrounded by high wired walls and often services are no longer run due to a lack of members in the area. Next to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which is frequented by many international visitors, there is only a small community of Rum in Fener-Balat. The oldest and most prestigious Greek Orthodox school of Istanbul, the Phanar Greek Orthodox College, has experienced a drastic decline in the number of students since the 1950s (Interview Anagnostopoulos, April 2015). The Yanbol synagogue is the only active synagogue of Balat, but it is frequented by visitors from outside the district. The nearby Ahrida synagogue, one of the oldest synagogues of Istanbul, and the Armenian church of Surp Hiresdagebet are both not active anymore, but open to visitors.

Fener-Balat is predominantly a residential area, but the main streets are lined by cafes and all sorts of little shops. Most of the residents in the district are originally from cities like Kastamonu, Trabzon or Rize in the Black Sea region as well as from the Balkans and from Kurdish regions of Turkey. Thereby the former religious diver-

²⁷ In 2006, that means parallel to the Fener and Balat Rehabilitation Project, the area became target of another renovation project, the “Fener, Balat, Ayvansaray Urban Renewal Project” initiated by Fatih Municipality. The project’s plan included massive changes to the building structure and was based on controversial conversation methods. The project was further accused of ignoring property rights and thus received massive resistance from the residents. At the time of my research the project was put to halt (Deneç 2014, pp.170-177).

sity seems to have been replaced by a different form of diversity, which is based on place of origin and kinship: Localism plays an important role in Fener-Balat, as it does in the rest of Istanbul (Erder 1999), and often residents were described according to their place of origin, for instance as “Kastamonulu”²⁸. Lately Syrian refugees have also settled in the area and an influx of national and international middle-class residents can be experienced. Amongst Fener-Balat’s population are big differences in length of residence as well as in education level or income²⁹. Furthermore residents also complain about problems of crime and drug trafficking.

The demographic changes have also left their marks on the physical landscape of the district. Next to the remaining religious buildings, there are historical houses in different states, some even with an additional floor that has been added at a later stage, as well as a few apartment buildings that have replaced the former squatter houses. School grounds were turned into car parks and old community places, such as the open air “moonlight cinema” in Balat, have disappeared. Instead new cafes, boutiques and banks open to serve a changing socio-economic clientele of tourists, artists, intellectuals and other national and international middle class residents, who arrived in Fener-Balat within the last decade. Also film crews are no unusual sight in Fener-Balat, as the area has been the setting for countless movies and TV series. Fener-Balat is also a popular place for photographers and a growing number of tourists, which often praise the area’s authenticity and historical character³⁰.

This praise stands in clear contrast to Fener-Balat’s reputation as a rundown, conservative or dangerous district in some parts of the wider population of Istanbul³¹.

²⁸ In Turkish there exists as special suffix (-li, -lı, -lu, -lü) to express origin and nationality.

²⁹ See for example Gur 2015 for more detailed information here.

³⁰ For reviews on Balat by tourists see: TripAdvisor 2016.

³¹ Repeatedly people who were not residing in the district warned me to be careful in Fener-Balat or

Such descriptions seem to be connected to factors such as the problems of drug trade and criminal gangs or prejudices against people living in this area (e.g. against Kurds or Roma). Furthermore the rundown and non-renovated houses still give the district a feel of decay and abandonment, despite a growing number of renovated buildings. Moreover the smell of the Golden Horn, which lasted approximately until 2010, has long made Fener-Balat an undesirable place for residence. On the other hand the image of the district has improved. The EU rehabilitation project brought Fener-Balat increasing attention and media coverage. Against the background of a general rising interest in Istanbul's Ottoman history as well as in minority quarters the district is especially promoted through references to its cosmopolitan³² past.

As can be seen Fener-Balat is a district with a long history, having not only been home to diverse groups in the past, but also displaying a social complexity at present. This complexity was also reflected in the heterogeneity of definitions, meanings and interpretations of the place of Fener-Balat, which will be looked at on the basis of newer theoretical approaches in the realm of space, place and neighborhood studies. These concepts will be shortly introduced within the following chapter.

asked me, if I feel safe in the area.

³² The word cosmopolitan is often used to refer to Istanbul's multicultural past and is part of a wider movement interested in the Ottoman history of Istanbul. Cosmopolitanism is generally understood as world citizenship. It encompasses an open-minded, tolerant and respectful behavior towards otherness and rests on experiences with diversity. Being associated with privileged, elitist Western societies, the idea of cosmopolitanism is also often criticized for supporting hegemonic structures (Hannerz 2011).

3 Theoretical Concepts and State of Research

In this chapter the theoretical framework will be defined and some central concepts will be introduced, thereby giving an insight into some of the literature concerned with concepts of neighborhood, space and place. Furthermore a short overview of the current state of research in Fener-Balat will be given. This also includes the brief description of some ethnographic studies within other minority districts of Istanbul, as they provided useful ideas and comparative values for my research in Fener-Balat.

3.1 Fener and Balat as Neighborhoods?

During my research in Fener-Balat I encountered a social complexity and a heterogeneity of personal neighborhood definitions, which classical understandings of neighborhood seem unable to reflect. This not only questions the frequent labeling of Fener and Balat as “neighborhoods”, but also asks for new theoretical approaches in this field. In order to understand the changed perspective on neighborhood, first some of the classical conceptualizations of neighborhood will be discussed, before more recent approaches will be introduced.

Classical definitions of neighborhood encompass territorial as well as social dimensions. Hallmann for instance defines neighborhood as a physical territory or container, wherein people then built social relations: “a neighborhood is a limited territory within a larger urban area where people inhabit dwellings and interact social-

ly“ (Hallman 1984, p.13). In a classical sociological definition Bernd Hamm describes neighborhood as a „soziale Gruppe, deren Mitglieder primär wegen der Gemeinsamkeit des Wohnortes miteinander interagieren“ (Hamm 1973, p.18). Also more recent sociological works in this realm resemble Hamm’s understanding of neighborhood. Günther defines neighborhood as „ein Typus sozialer Beziehungen [...], die Einzelpersonen und Gruppen aufgrund ihrer räumlichen Nähe durch die gemeinsame Bindung an einen Wohnort eingehen“ (Günther 2009, p.447). Hamm and Günther display a stronger focus on the social character and understand neighborhood predominantly as a social community or network within a physical territory. However all three definitions have in common, that physical aspects determine social relations, i.e. the physical proximity of people living in a fixed territory seem to lead to strong social relations, while social conditions are not ascribed any influence on spatial definitions. The social space of the neighborhood is restricted by the physical limits. This shows a geodeterministic approach and thereby reflects an understanding of space as absolute and fixed, where space is merely ascribed a container function (Hüllemann et al. 2015, pp.27-29). Furthermore, as Hüllemann et al. draw attention to, conceptualizations of neighborhood can be highly idealized and romanticized in cases where the neighborhood is understood as one homogenous and united local community. It disregards the actual diversity and complexity of this phenomenon (Hüllemann et al. 2015, pp.24-26).

More recent approaches (Schnur 2008, pp.32-33; Hüllemann et al. 2015) criticize such geodeterministic neighborhood definitions and romanticized neighborhood images. Instead they suggest the usage of a relational concept of space, which originates in a new interest in space and place within the cultural and social sciences.³³

³³ Since around three decades the social and cultural sciences are experiencing a so called “spatial

The literature on space and place is complex and multidisciplinary (e.g. geography, sociology, anthropology, environmental psychology) with different theoretical backgrounds and approaches (Trentelman 2009). However most scientists seem to agree that space is not something naturally given and static, but that space itself is socially constructed and thus the result of social actions and relations. Constructivist approaches tend to see space as independent of any pre-given spatial structure (Hüllemann et al. 2015, p.30). Instead, the approach of Martina Löw (2015), providing one of the prevalent space concepts within the social and cultural sciences, considers a mutual dependence between the construction of space and pre-given spatial structures. According to Löw space is constructed through social actions and relations as well as through cognitive processes such as perception, imagination and memory. The social actions and cognitive processes create spatial structures, such as administrative borders. These can then in turn influence, determine and even limit social behavior and cognitive processes (Löw 2015, pp.158-172). Other sociologists also agree on this duality of space: “Im Raum materialisieren sich mithin soziale Prozesse und Strukturen, und als ein solches Artefakt wirkt der Raum dann wiederum auf diese soziale Prozesse und Strukturen zurück” (Neckel 2008, p.47). Where such structures are repeated over a long time and extend individual behavior, Löw speaks of “*Institutionalisierte Räume*” (Löw 2015, p.164, italics in original).

Transferring Löw’s conceptualization of space onto the concept of the neighborhood, neighborhood can neither be regarded as a fixed territory nor as a social group or community within some physical demarcations. Instead it has to be understood as a

turn”: Global changes, such as the emergence of a world market with global cities like Istanbul as well as worldwide migration flows and new information-, communication- and transportation-technologies altered the perception of space fundamentally. In the course of these developments, the concept of space has become revised and newly conceptualized in various disciplines such as geography, sociology or anthropology (Bachmann-Medick 2007, pp.284-290).

social phenomenon that originates in the manifold interactions and relations between residents and their social and physical environment. It is not a static and fixed entity, but constantly negotiated and constructed. In order to avoid any spatial presuppositions as well as any classical interpretations of the term neighborhood, I will not speak of the Fener neighborhood and the Balat neighborhood in this thesis. Instead I will refer to the overall Fener-Balat district to indicate the rough geographic location of where I examined the subjective and relational neighborhood spaces. Apart from this, within this thesis Fener-Balat will be looked at as “place”. Thus in the following the concept of place and some related place concepts will be introduced.

3.2 Place and Place Related Concepts

The literature on place is complex and multidisciplinary and there exist various definitions and approaches. From an anthropological perspective, which will be applied in this thesis, place is understood as space inscribed with meaning by individuals or groups (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003, p.13). Unlike space, place is something particular, meaningful and has a concrete locality. Margaret Rodman focuses on place as a social construct and explains: “Places are not inert containers. They are politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions” (Rodman 2003, p.205). In her article “Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality” (2003) she draws special attention to the multiple meanings places can carry due to the fact that everyone experiences place differently. In line with this, in this thesis Fener-Balat is understood and examined as a source of multiple meanings.

In fact, during my research I encountered multiple “Fener-Balats”. Depending on whom I spoke to and from which angle I looked, I experienced the district differently.

For each of my research participants the place of Fener-Balat seemed to have a personal and emotional meaning. In order to describe and theoretically ground these diverse forms, through which my research participants attached meaning to their place of residence and narrated the district they live in, different place-related concepts are deployed. These will be shortly defined in the following.

3.2.1 Place Attachment

The concept of place attachment, the bonding of people to places, was originally established in the realm of phenomenology and is currently one of the central concepts in environmental psychology. In disciplines such as urban sociology, anthropology and community studies place attachment is also frequently applied in order to examine the relationships between people and their homes, residential districts or cities (e.g. Tester et al. 2011, Corcoran 2002). Place attachment is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, which is reflected by a variety of definitions in the literature (Low & Altman 1992, Trentelman 2009, Scannell & Gifford 2010). In the context of the current study, a three-dimensional model, as developed by Scannell and Gifford (2010), will provide the conceptual framework. According to this model, place attachment is determined by three variables: person, process and place.

Place attachment can occur at the individual or community level (*person*). Thus people in Fener-Balat can feel attached to the district because of personal experiences within that place, for example due to personal childhood memories. On the other hand they might also feel attached to the district due to being a member of a group, e.g. the Greek Orthodox community, to which this place holds a collective meaning and represents a shared history. Scannell and Gifford stress the interrelatedness between individual and collective place attachment. According to them, shared symbolic meanings of places can influence the individual place attachment and individual

place attachment can also strengthen collective attachment to place (Scannell & Gifford 2010, pp.2-3). Groups and individuals relate to place through cognitions, affections and behaviors (*process*). Memories, beliefs or knowledge that people connect to their environment can make a place personally meaningful and lead to an attachment to place. Furthermore, place attachment encompasses an emotional connection to place and is based on positive place meanings and feelings towards place. Moreover an attachment and emotional connection to place also becomes apparent in a positive behavior towards place (Scannell & Gifford 2010, pp.3-4). In this way, people in Fener-Balat speaking about the historical feel and the uniqueness of the district or displaying a caring behavior such as keeping one's place clean can be understood as expressions or processes of place attachment.

Place, as the object to which people attach, has physical and social aspects (*place*). Thus on the one hand residents in Fener-Balat may get attached to the natural and built environment of their place of residence, or rather as Scannell and Gifford (2010, p.5) emphasize to the symbolic meanings of the physical landscape. Especially the historical houses within the Fener-Balat district seem to hold a symbolic meaning, as will be discussed in chapter 7. On the other hand, as chapter 6 will focus on, feelings of attachment may also originate in the social interactions and relations which residents experience in a place and are thus connected to other people who lived or live in the Fener-Balat district. This social attachment is closely related to feeling socially embedded and experiencing a sense of community. As such place attachment relies on both the physical and social bonding to places and is closely connected to feelings of belonging (Scannell & Gifford 2010, pp.4-5).

Belonging, however, also encompasses processes of exclusion and decisions about, who belongs to a place and who is excluded. Here Manzo draws attention to the fact

that some people's sense of rootedness and belonging rests on excluding others from place, for example certain ethnic groups (Manzo 2003, p.55). How in times of increased mobility, where local places seem to become less important (Duyvendak 2011, pp.7-8), feelings of home and belonging are negotiated and established, has been of focal interest for researchers in the last decade (Duyvendak 2011, Savage 2010, Savage et al. 2005). Thereby belonging has also been examined on the level of cities and urban districts (e.g. Soytemel 2015, Ottoson 2014). The results of a study on belonging in four different middle-class districts of Manchester (Savage et al. 2005) stress the importance of local belonging and place attachment, despite discussions about a decreasing significance of local places. Next to the place-based belonging of long-term residents ("locals"), Savage et al. discover a form of "elective belonging" amongst those who are new to an area ("incomers") and had moved to the district by choice (Savage et al. 2005, pp.80, 207).

As this chapter has shown, place attachment is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, whose concrete forms are always dependent on the respective interplay of the three dimensions person, process and place. With regard to studies on place attachment and belonging, Stevenson (2014) rightly criticizes a lack of attention towards the influence that public (politicized) place narratives and social or cultural frames of references can have on personal place meanings. In this way she argues that individual place attachment needs to be viewed in the context of wider social, historical and political processes (Stevenson 2014, p.42). In line with this, chapter 6.4 will give an insight into public place narratives and dominant cultural memories surrounding Fener-Balat.

3.2.2 Place Identity

Place attachment and belonging are closely connected to place-based identity processes. However, the term place identity has a twofold meaning. In the realm of urban planning and design place identity refers to place itself and indicates a distinctiveness of place due to its perceived unique features (Kaymaz 2013, p.745). Promoting Fener-Balat as “trendy design districts” (The Guardian 2015) can for instance be understood as ascribing the district a certain identity. In other disciplines such as environmental psychology place identity is associated with the person and focuses on the ways individuals and groups define themselves in relation to place. Thereby identity should not be understood as a fixed essence. Instead social identities are constantly (re)produced and transformed (Hall 1990, p.222). Against this background, place identity refers to the process of including the perceived features and the associated meanings of a place in the definition of the self (Scannell & Gifford 2010, p.3). Environmental psychologist Harold Proshansky defines place identity as,

those dimensions of self that define the individual’s personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behavioural tendencies and skills relevant to this environment. (Proshansky 1978, p.155)

According to Proshansky place identity refers to self-definitions that are connected to place and place-related affects, cognitions and behaviors. Sticking with the above example, in Fener-Balat there might be people who define and view themselves as trendy or fashionable by expressing belonging to and deciding to live in a place which is characterized as a “trendy design district”. Another example of how people identify vis a vis place are expressions such as “Londoner”. In Turkish such definitions by place are very common and, as mentioned in chapter 2.4, the residents of Fener-Balat were often introduced by their place of origin. People spoke of the

“Karadenizli” (People from the Black Sea region) or the “Siirtli” (People from the city of Siirt). In this way, as Kaymaz explains, a person becomes defined via the associations one has with a place, which can derive from personal experiences or public place images. He also stresses the reciprocal character of place identity processes: While place can affect self-identity, people also shape their physical environment in a way that represents themselves (Kaymaz 2013, p.745).

Memories play a crucial role in the negotiation of place identity, place attachment and belonging. Especially in Fener-Balat, one of the oldest districts of Istanbul, where the landscape is dominated by many remaining historical buildings, memories seem to be of particular importance. Due to this fact the concept of memory will be introduced in the following.

3.2.3 Memory and Place

Halbwachs (1992) uses the term “collective memory” to describe the memory shared by groups or societies. As collective remembering creates coherence and expresses belonging, every social group creates a shared memory of its own past that gives it identity and a feeling of continuity (e.g. family memory, national memory) (Climo & Catell 2002, p.4, Hoelscher & Alderman 2004, p.349). Thereby the past is remembered in particular and selective ways and relies on the social and cultural context. Halbwachs speaks of collective frameworks of memory, which he understands as “instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of the society” (Halbwachs 1992, p.40).

Jan Assmann (2008, 1995), developing Halbwach’s memory concept further, classifies the collective memory into communicative and cultural memory. According to

Assmann, communicative memory is informal and transmitted orally in everyday communications and interactions. It is limited to the recent past and does not reach further back than three to four generations, which encompasses around 80 years (Assmann 1995, pp.126-127). The memories residents of Fener-Balat shared with me in conversations can be understood as such communicative memories. Cultural memory, on the other hand, refers to events much further back in time, which cannot be transferred via personal communication. Thus it encompasses the memories that are stored in symbolic or objectified forms. They are sustained through cultural mnemonics or sites of memory, which are of material and non-material nature, such as texts, rites, monuments or landscapes (Assman 2008, pp.110-111). Examples of cultural memories in the context of Fener-Balat will be introduced in chapter 6.4.

With regard to place and space, physical environments can serve as such sites of memory. Halbwachs remarks: “every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework” (Halbwachs 1980, p.140). He explains: “We recapture the past only by understanding how it is, in effect, preserved by our physical surroundings” (Halbwachs 1980, p.140). Thus the physical environment of Fener-Balat, which is characterized by different religious buildings and many historical houses in different conditions, can evoke specific collective memories and represent symbolic meanings. These memories can, as Climo and Catell draw attention to, play a crucial role in the formation and anchorage of individual and group identities as they seem to link past and present and pretend a certain continuity (Climo & Catell 2002, pp.18, 21). For the members of the Greek Orthodox community for example the landscape of Fener-Balat might recall the glorious past of the Feneriots or of the Byzantine Empire. For others the landscape, composed of remaining churches, synagogues and mosques, might instead reflect the area’s cosmopolitan past under the Ottoman rule. Thus there

can be different interpretations and readings of the landscape. However, these different readings and memories can also compete for validity, which draws attention to the powerful dimension of social (i.e. collective) memory: “Social memory is inherently instrumental: individuals and groups recall the past not for its own sake, but as a tool to bolster different aims and agendas” (Hoelscher & Aldermann 2004, p.349). Thus in order to promote their own interests and legitimize their own actions, various players support their specific interpretations of a place and its past, while repressing and excluding other readings.

3.3 Interim Conclusion

In summary, a relational concept of space, as introduced in chapter 3.1, provides the basis for analyzing urban districts in their complexity and diversity, where different actors with different spatial usages, perceptions and interpretations come together in a shared urban context. With regard to discussions on neighborhood, the relational concept of space prevents the understanding of neighborhood as a mere physical territory or as a social group or community within some physical demarcations. Instead it defines neighborhood as a social phenomenon that originates in the social interactions between residents and their social and physical surroundings. Thus a neighborhood is not a static, material entity, but flexible and subject to different and competing interpretations and meanings.

As chapter 3.2 has shown, place is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon with material, social as well as symbolic dimensions. The anthropological understanding of place as “inscribed space” draws attention to the manifold meanings of places. These place meanings can serve as aspects of identity and selfhood. In this way,

place can play an important role in identity processes. Individuals and groups can feel attached to place. This as well as belonging to place can rest on experiences in place, personal and symbolic meanings of place or individual and shared group memories. By drawing on certain place memories, people can also express claims to place, while depriving others of their right to place. Attachment and belonging to place is thus also closely connected to processes of inclusion and exclusion. Furthermore individual and collective place attachment also needs to be viewed in the context of wider social, historical and political processes.

The more recent approaches in the field of space and place studies have also found entry into academic research in minority districts of Istanbul. Some central works in this realm will be introduced in the following chapter.

3.4 Place and Space Studies in Former Minority Districts of Istanbul

There is a growing academic interest in Fener-Balat and other former minority quarters of Istanbul. Within the last decade several studies have been conducted within these parts of Istanbul, which display a revised understanding of place and space.

One of the most recent studies in this area is that of the social anthropologist Kristen Biehl (2015) in Kumkapı, a former Greek and Armenian district located on the historic peninsula of Istanbul. Having been a centre for various migration flows, today Kumkapı is characterized by a vast plurality and heterogeneity of residents. In her ethnographic fieldwork Biehl examines the role of space in the context of difference and plurality. Suggesting a different spatial scale, she focuses particularly on housing and “home spaces” (Biehl 2015, p.597) and demonstrates how differences spatialize and how the interplay of multiple variables influence choice, access, usage and

meaning of home spaces (Biehl 2015, p.604). Her work gives insight into the range of manifold and diverse experiences in a shared urban space.

In her study of Kuzguncuk, a former minority quarter on the Asian side of Istanbul, Amy Mills (2010) focuses on the neighborhood (mahalle) as a space of belonging and familiarity, with special attention to memories of the past interethnic relationships and the function of the physical landscape in reproducing these memories. With regard to belonging and processes of inclusion and exclusion from the neighborhood space, Mills discovers the importance of two nostalgic narratives in Kuzguncuk: The narrative of the mahalle as the space of belonging and familiarity and the narrative of historic multiethnic harmony and tolerance (Mills 2010, p.64). She especially stresses the role of the physical landscape in reproducing these nostalgic narratives, whereby a collective memory of a past cosmopolitanism emerges (Mills 2010, pp.30-34) that not only masks the current social fragmentation and inequalities in Kuzguncuk, but also hides the state policies and public hostilities which led to the emigration of most of the minority communities. As such these narratives are not restricted to the local level, but also support a Turkish nationalism that seems cosmopolitan and inclusive (Mills 2010, pp.209-212). Thus with her work Mills not only stresses the importance of collective memories and nostalgic narratives, but also the constitutive role of the landscape for processes of belonging and boundary making in the social space of the neighborhood.

The district of Fener-Balat is often discussed in the context of the urban regeneration projects that have been acted out by the European Union (EU) and Fatih Municipality within the last decades. Most of the literature is to be found in the field of architecture and urban planning, where the merits and shortcomings of these regeneration initiatives are examined with a stronger focus either on the agenda and measurements

of the projects (e.g. Deneç 2014, Bezmez 2009), or on the analysis of the outcomes for the people living in the district (e.g. Gur 2015, Ercan 2011). A study from the realm of sociology, which analyzes the district in terms of the ongoing gentrification processes that followed the EU regeneration project, is that of Ebru Soytemel (2015). In her research, which was conducted from June 2007 to August 2008 in the quarters of Hasköy and Fener-Balat-Ayvansaray, she used quantitative as well as qualitative methods in order to explore the effects of gentrification on neighborhood belonging and the spatialization of class. Thereby she distinguishes between gentrifiers and non-gentrifying groups and analyzes different belonging patterns on the background of personal choice as well as socio-structural situation, such as education, financial position or migration history. Soytemel also mentions belonging and place narratives (Soytemel 2015, p.79-82), but does not further investigate them. Her results stress the impact of social and economic aspects on the form and intensity of belonging and reveal the negative effects of gentrification and urban interventions on belonging patterns in the Golden Horn Area. Thus, according to her findings, especially among low income families in Fener-Balat-Ayvansaray a sense of belonging is missing (Soytemel 2015, p.84).

With regard to Fener-Balat an increased academic interest in the district can be observed in the last decades. Thus there exists a growing literature in the realm of urban planning and architecture, but the anthropological perspective on Fener-Balat as place, i.e. as with meaning “inscribed space”, seems often neglected. Even though Soytemel mentions personal place narratives or nostalgic memories, she does not further expand on these issues, but rather places her focus on the impact of social and economic factors on feelings of belonging. However, as Mill’s research in Kuzguncuk has pointed out, place narratives and the symbols and meanings of places

are a crucial element of neighborhood belonging and place attachment. Furthermore Mills also calls attention to the importance of analyzing these narratives in the context of cultural memories and public place images. Biehl's research, in turn, shows the potential of focusing on smaller scales, such as home spaces.

Based on a revised concept of place, space and neighborhood, this thesis wants to contribute to the literature on Fener-Balat by giving a little insight into the district as "inscribed space". Thereby place attachment and place meanings are not understood as something quantitatively measurable. Instead, in following the anthropologist Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, it is assumed that these aspects can become apparent in the ways people talk about their place of residence: "The use of narrative to inform the anthropological understanding of place focuses on details of how local populations construct perceptions and experience place" (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003, p.16). Thus it is supposed that the narratives of residents about their experiences and perceptions of place can reveal personal place meanings. For this reason the place narratives and belonging narratives of residents are of central concern in this thesis and are discussed with special attention to the following questions:

- Which personal meanings does Fener-Balat as place hold for residents? Are their competing meanings of place? How does this reveal processes of social inclusion and exclusion in Fener-Balat?
- How do people express an attachment to place and which place meanings and memories are of relevance thereby?
- How do people define their neighborhood space and express belonging therein?

By discussing place narratives and belonging narratives of several residents in the district, this thesis wants to give an insight into the different meanings that are inscribed in the area, as well as the various ways in which people perceive, define and relate to their place of residence and their neighborhood space. Against the background of Mills' research, this thesis will not only investigate the personal experiences and memories of place, but also the collective and cultural memories as well as the public images surrounding Fener-Balat. Furthermore in a later chapter, as Biehl suggests, a smaller scale will be applied in order to explore how different residents express their attachment to the historical houses they live in. Before these results will be presented, first the different ethnographic methods that were applied will be introduced.

4 Methods

In order to gain insight into the complex dynamics within the Fener-Balat district as well as to explore the residents' personal narratives and interpretations of place, I used a combination of different ethnographic methods, such as keeping a research diary, doing participant observation and conducting open and semi-structured interviews with several residents of the area. Next to ethnographic research within the district, I also tried to get an impression about the perception of Fener-Balat in the public eye by browsing newspaper articles and other media as well as by talking to people living outside the district. During this research I lived in Fener-Balat from the beginning of February 2015 until end of June 2015. My stay was followed by some additional visits to the district in July and August 2015.

4.1 First Contacts

In the beginning of February 2015 I moved into an apartment with a young Turkish female student. However, as Breidenstein et al. remind, "der Zugang ist nicht bloß eine physische, er ist auch eine soziale Angelegenheit" (Breidenstein et al. 2013, p. 50). Thus after having moved into the physical space of the district, I also had to establish social contacts and find my way into the local communities. This was not as easy as expected. Arriving in Fener-Balat, I felt foreign and distant from the people around me. Furthermore I realized that in contrast to its multi-religious past, today the district's population seems to be dominated by a high percentage of Muslim in-

habitants. But still the religious communities of Jews and Christians appeared to me as a good first point of contact. They not only constitute concrete institutions with specific actors, but they are also connected to the multi-religious history that I was interested in. Thus I visited services at the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Fener and tried to contact the two synagogues in Balat. Next to that, I also did participant observations at street corners and in cafes as well as participated in the everyday life of the area via shopping in the stores along the main streets or visits to the weekly street market.

But still, access to the local communities remained difficult and contacts with people stayed on a superficial level. A turning point was when I became introduced to a couple working in the field of academia in March 2015. Both have lived in the Fener-Balat district for more than seven years now and are embedded into a local social network. They were very willing to share their contacts with me, introduce me to friends and neighbors and inform me whom to contact in regard to my questions. Thus the access to the social field for me as a young student proved to be the easiest way via an academic couple, who shared my research interest and in this way functioned as my “sponsors” (Breidenstein et al. 2013, p.53). However, I am aware that the contacts provided by a couple working in the field of academia can also constitute a pre-selection of possible research participants as these contacts can be determined by the couple’s social background.

4.2 The Qualitative Interview

As I was particularly interested in the stories and narratives of the residents living in Fener-Balat, qualitative interviews constituted a central method of my ethnographic

research. I began with an open, narrative interview style and when topics began to crystallize, I changed to semi-structured interviews.

Besides informal talks and conversations I conducted 12 audio-recorded narrative and semi-structured interviews³⁴. The interview partners were found by snowball principle, while trying to reach long term residents as well as newcomers to the area. Even though the social structures in Fener-Balat are complex, amongst newcomers a rough differentiation between two different groups can be made. On the one hand there are those newcomers with a relatively high socio-economic status and education level (e.g. academicians, artists, intellectuals). Often these people have lived in other urban contexts before and have moved to the district since the 2000s, when the interest in Fener-Balat by middle-class people increased. On the other hand there are those people, who have migrated to the district after the deindustrialization of the Golden Horn. In this period and especially since the 1990s Fener-Balat experienced a wave of migration from people of eastern and southeastern parts of Anatolia, many of them of Kurdish origin (see chapter 2.3). Amongst these newcomers are a lot of low-income families, which according to Soytemel's results lack a sense of belonging to the district (Soytemel 2015, p.84). Access to members of this group of newcomers proved to be difficult as they were most distant from my own social position and my initial network of contacts. Thus unfortunately contacts did not sufficiently establish within the short period of my research and their voices are not heard within this thesis³⁵.

³⁴ For more detailed information see the list of interviewees in the Appendix B.

³⁵ Here it should be noted that there had been contact to one member of this group of newcomers and an interview had been conducted. However this interviewee's statements were difficult to be linked and interrelated with that of the other residents. Thus his statements could not be taken into account in this limited thesis. Because of this, the aforementioned person is not included in the sample below. However, as this contact has influenced my overall impression, it is important to note this person here.

- Within the course of this research five interviews were conducted with residents, who were living in Fener-Balat before the major part of non-Muslim residents had left the area by the mid 1970s. Amongst them were one woman who had only temporarily lived in the area and one returnee who had lived outside of Fener-Balat for a period of time.
- Furthermore one woman was interviewed that had moved to Fener-Balat from the eastern parts of Turkey at the age of 14 in 1975 due to family reasons. With regard to her length of stay in the area, I considered her a long term resident of the area.
- Another four interviews were conducted with newcomers that had moved to the districts after 2000, displaying a high education level and stating that they had moved to the district out of personal choice.
- Additional insights into the situation of the religious minorities within the district were given by an interview with a young Greek Orthodox woman living in Fener-Balat and an expert interview with the director of the press office at the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Fener.

After some initial narrative interviews about the past and present daily life in the district, I developed an interview guide and proceeded with semi-structured interviews. This interview style seemed to work better in cases where a translator was needed. Especially topics of being neighbors and the experiences and memories of neighborliness had been a central subject during conversations and narrative interviews with residents. Because of this I also included concrete questions about these issues in the semi-structured interviews. Thus questions were centered on housing and topics of neighborliness and community life. I further asked my interviewees

about special characteristics and important places of Fener-Balat, as well as about their wishes for the future of the district. All questions were pre-discussed with my translator, a Turkish fellow student, in order to choose the proper Turkish expression. Due to my intermediate Turkish skills, in most interview situations a rough translation was sufficient and, where needed, a literal translation provided later on. The interviews were then transcribed and content analyzed³⁶.

The majority of interviewees seemed pleased with my interest in what they had to say and willingly shared their experiences, memories and thoughts with me. Thus the conducted interviews gave me interesting insights into people's subjective interpretations and personal meanings of place. Furthermore, to get an insight into my interviewees' actual behaviors - apart from the subjective interpretations, personal attitudes, thoughts and self-views which interviews opened up to (Schmidt-Lauber 2007, p.172) - I tried to combine interviews with further participant observations in my interviewee's daily living environments. In most cases the interviews took place at my interviewees' homes or in the shops and cafes they owned. With some interview partners I also did an additional walk through the district. This gave me interesting insights as the sensual perceptions pointed to issues that might have not been raised in an interview context. Moreover this gave me opportunity to learn about the preferred walking routes of my informants and the associations with and the former usages of certain buildings.

³⁶ Two exemplary interview transcripts can be found in the Appendix C. In this thesis in the quotations from the interviews linguistic errors were adjusted, unless this would have changed the content of the statement. Fillers such as "yeah" or "ehm" were omitted in favor of a better reading flow.

4.3 Embodied, Sensory and Reflexive Ethnography

Walking with people is a central method in embodied and sensory ethnography. These approaches emphasize ethnography as a practice that involves not only intellectual activity, but also the whole body and the senses. Thus it draws special attention to the multisensory and embodied nature of people's experiences and perceptions (O'Reilly 2012, pp.99-100; Pink 2008, 2009). As Pink (2008) suggests, in order know as their research participants do and to better understand people's emplaced and sensory experiences, ethnographers need to participate in practices with their research participants. In this way they get insights into otherwise unspoken meanings and memories. Such "place-making practices" could be eating, drinking or walking with others.

By attending to the sensoriality and materiality of other people's way of being in the world, we cannot directly access their 'collective' memories, experiences or imaginations. However, we can by following their routes and attuning our bodies, rhythms, tastes, ways of seeing and more to theirs, begin to make places that are similar to theirs, and thus feel that we are similar emplaced. [...] in doing so we are better enabled to understand how others remember and imagine through their own embodied experience. (Pink 2008, p.193)

Sensory ethnography is a central approach when researching people's experiences in regard to place and space. Thus during participant observation I tried to pay attention not only to the material and social, but also to the sensory nature of my field of research, as could be seen in the introductory walk in chapter 1.1. Written field notes were further combined with visual material. I took photos to document the visual environment as well as to provide me with a memory aid in order to recall my own sensory and embodied experiences within place³⁷.

³⁷ The photos which I have added in this thesis do thus not merely fulfill an illustrative function, but should be regarded as material which further demonstrates the argument as well as gives the reader an insight into the sensory (visual) nature of my field of research.

Embodied ethnographic research asks for reflexivity on the side of the researcher and the acknowledgement of his or her own subjectivity:

So, you are not just experiencing and observing phenomena in their natural setting, you are interpreting, analysing, seeking, sorting, shifting, and even affecting outcomes by your own presence. Reflexivity means being aware of all these issues [...]. We just need to be aware of the above limitations (and sometimes advantages – like your age, personality, contacts!) and to be honest about them. (O'Reilly 2012, p.222)

The collection as well as the analysis and interpretation of my ethnographic data are influenced by my own subjectivity. As such my research is conditioned by my own identity. Being a young foreign (German) student, for instance, made it easier to enter a group of intellectuals and young creatives than the socially marginalized groups in Fener-Balat. Being a woman, in turn, facilitated certain forms of interactions, such as visiting other women at home, and made impossible other forms of interactions, for instance entering men's coffee houses. In this way my research in Fener-Balat was influenced by my own identity, the spaces that were accessible to me, the place-making process that I was involved in and the particular people whom I had the chance to meet. With these considerations I would like to proceed with the analytical elaborations of my research.

5 Komşuluk: Creating the Social Space of the Mahalle

“Komşuluk” (neighborliness) and “mahalle” (neighborhood) are two central concepts when looking at the place narratives and belonging narratives of residents in Fener-Balat. The present chapter should thus serve as an introductory section where these two terms will be clarified. Thereby this chapter gives an insight into behavioral aspects and takes a look at where and how social ties among residents are established. This will furthermore give an impression of how the space of the neighborhood becomes created and maintained.

The term “mahalle” can be translated as “neighborhood”. Originally constituting the smallest urban unit in the Ottoman administrative system and organized along religious lines (see chapter 2.1), today the mahalle has officially stayed an administrative entity, though differently scaled. In a more general understanding, the term is used to refer to the residential spaces of the city. When asking residents in Fener-Balat about living together and special characteristics of their mahalle, I first had to realize that they do not share a uniform definition of the term “mahalle”. It is rather subject to personal interpretations than reflecting the official administrative borders. While one woman explained to me that her mahalle constituted only the street, she lived in, another resident declared: „Yeah, it is an area, Balat and Fener, it's same for us. It's mahalle” (Interview Zeynep, May 2015). Both defined their mahalle based on territorial limits, yet these limits differ as one set them very tight while the other one experienced the whole area as one single mahalle. Another resident in turn referred to the

people, when I asked him to define his mahalle: “People who know each other and who are in good relationship with each other, who say hi to each other, are called the people from mahalle” (Interview Murat, May 2015). According to this resident’s understanding, the mahalle cannot be defined by mere physical aspects. Instead it is a space that stretches out between the different residents, who stand in contact with each other. In this way, he displays an understanding of neighborhood that aligns most with Löw’s (2015) relational concept of space. From his perspective only those people who know each other and have a relationship with each other, make up the mahalle space. To be an insider or an outsider to the mahalle space is thus defined by social interactions such as greeting each other. These social practices, through which residents build relationships amongst each other, were generally referred to as komşuluk.

5.1 Komşuluk in Fener-Balat

Komşuluk, which can be translated as “neighborliness”, was a term I repeatedly came across when talking with residents about the Fener-Balat district. Interested in what this term exactly means, I started to ask people about it and most answered in a similar manner. They listed activities such as the sharing of food, lending a helping hand, trusting each other, valuing and caring about the neighbor, visiting each other and having good manners such as greeting. Komşuluk can thus best be summarized as a set of practices that are based on the inner attitude of being friendly and helpful to your neighbors. In this way komşuluk also seems to define the appropriate behavior amongst residents.

Doing research in Fener-Balat meant participating in these komşuluk practices, such as making visits to other residents or socializing on the street. A key event was thus when I first officially was declared a “komşu” (neighbor). One of my first visits within the district was to Hülya, a woman in her mid 50s who, driven by the interest in buying a historical house, had come to the district more than a decade ago. Hülya owns a little shop in Fener-Balat, which due to her outgoing and entertaining personality not only serves as sales room, but also as a popular meeting place for several people of the area. “Without Hülya, there is no Balat”, explained Zeynep, another woman of the district, “you have to see her every day!” (Interview Zeynep, May 2015). Visiting Hülya was an important part of the daily socializing for Zeynep and other people of Hülya’s local social network. Thus, on my first visit to Hülya’s shop many people dropped by and had a tea while exchanging the latest news. Being a newcomer, Hülya had to introduce me to these visitors and explained: “Marina, yabancı değil, komşu³⁸”. By calling me a komşu (neighbor), Hülya seemed to signal my belonging to her neighborhood. Through visiting this popular meeting point and living in the area myself I had participated in the komşuluk and become a member of her mahalle. Thus, after having moved to the district of Fener-Balat, it was not until I acted as a neighbor, that I really entered the space of the mahalle.

Based on these observations and experiences as well as relying on a concept of the neighborhood space as socially constructed, I regard komşuluk as a set of socio-spatial practices, which create the social networks that make up the mahalle space and define who is a neighbor. In the following the focus will be on the streets of Fener-Balat as an important zone for neighborly encounter.

³⁸ Own Translation: “This is Marina. She is not a stranger. She is a neighbor.” Participant Observation, 16th April 2015. The Observation Protocol can be found in the Appendix D.

5.2 Neighborly Encounters in the Streets of Fener-Balat

„Sokkakta khave keyfi yapalim!“³⁹, Aliye suggests on one of my first visits to her house on a sunny day in May. No sooner said than done: just a moment later we find ourselves sitting in front of her house on two little stools, each a cup of Turkish coffee in our hands. Our chairs are placed on the sidewalk, yet directed to the street so we can observe the hustle and bustle going on there: The neighbors' children are playing with marbles on the street, street vendors are loudly touting their goods and people pass by with heavy bags or little carts filled with food from the weekly street market. They greet Aliye and some stop for a little chitchat. A bit further up the street some women start to gather and sit down on carpets on the pavement.⁴⁰

In all my visits to Aliye (55), a woman who had spent most of her life in Fener-Balat, this activity was repeated: having a drink and sitting on the sidewalk while observing the comings and goings of people or having a chat with some of those passing by. In fact in Fener-Balat, with its narrow and cobbled streets, people sitting or standing along the sidewalks and street corners are not an unusual sight. “Balat is special”⁴¹, remarked Aliye with a certain pride and added that one could only do this here, but not in districts such as Kadiköy⁴² or Fatih⁴³.

While Aliye regards the habit of sitting and socializing along the street as a unique feature of her district, it also seemed to me, that a large part of the everyday life of the residents is going on in the streets⁴⁴. Not only in Aliye's and other residential

³⁹ Own Translation: “Let's have some coffee pleasure on the street!”; Participant Observation, 12th May 2015. The Observation Protocol can be found in the Appendix D.

⁴⁰ This is a summarized and translated extract of my participant observation on 12th May 2015. The Observation Protocol can be found in the Appendix D.

⁴¹ Original: „Balat özel“. Participant Observation, 28th June 2015.

⁴² District of Istanbul located along the Asian shore of the Bosphorus in the west and along the shore of the Marmara sea in the south. The district is known as the cultural center on the Asian side of Istanbul. Probably Aliye mentioned this district here, because she knew that I had lived in Kadiköy before I had moved to Fener-Balat.

⁴³ In this case “Fatih” does not refer to the Fatih Municipality, but to the Fatih district, located south-west of Fener-Balat.

⁴⁴ My main research time was in spring and summer. Thus my observations, on which the following descriptions and interpretations are based, refer only to this time of the year.

streets, but also in the main streets and shopping areas, one can always see children playing on the road or people sitting in front of shops and cafes, engrossed in conversations. In this way the streets of Fener-Balat not only function as means of transportation and passage, but constitute a space for social meetings and gatherings. Hohm defines the street as “eine[n] multifunktional genutzten öffentlichen Sozialraum” (Hohm 1997, p.10). Thus, depending on how the street is used, various spaces can emerge: For the playing children of Fener-Balat the street turns into a playground and for street vendors pushing handcarts with various vegetables, fruits or other goods, the street becomes a sales area. Moreover, for some families living in very small apartments, the street is turned into an extended, outside living room with sofas placed on sidewalks. For Aliye and other people in her street the sidewalk constitutes a space for encounter. With reference to Pink (2009, 2008) the social and sensory activities of sharing a cup of Turkish coffee and sitting together at the sidewalk can thereby be understood as place-making practices which constitute the street as a place for social meetings and gatherings.

Especially the sidewalk as the interspace between the roadway with its motorized vehicles and the private space of the house seems to enable a space for contact and interaction. At the doorstep people do not have to open the doors to their private homes for others, but are still in a homely environment and atmosphere. Aliye explained to me that she would never go unannounced to her neighbors and would not visit their homes except for a Quran reading or a wedding. The street, however, as was observable in all my visits, constitutes the space where she interacts with other residents on a daily basis. Here she exchanges the latest news or shares food with her neighbors. The street is hence one central place in Fener-Balat where the *komşuluk* is

acted out and feelings of belonging and familiarity amongst neighbors are created⁴⁵.



Figure 5: Conversations from Street to Window⁴⁶



Figure 6: Sofas placed on Sidewalks⁴⁷

The street as a space for encounter between different residents was also enacted by Zeynep, a woman who had moved to the district four years ago and who runs a little cafe there now. When talking about the relationship with her immediate neighbors, she explained:

⁴⁵ However, understanding the street as a zone of contact and encounter does not only include harmonious interactions and encounters, but can also encompass conflicts and arguments. Thus more than once I experienced arguments and fights in the streets of the district. Furthermore the presence of residents and local shop owners on the street or the observation of the street by residents from their windows can also be experienced as a form of social control, especially by younger residents. A young student for example complained about feeling watched when walking to or from home and missed some kind of anonymity and privacy. Hohm calls this the ambivalent role of the street: as a public social space it might enable communal activities, but also facilitate social control (Hohm 1997, p.9). Furthermore this draws attention to the existence of social norms and rules of propriety that seem to determine neighboring practices.

⁴⁶ Own photograph, shot in August 2015.

⁴⁷ Own photograph, shot in March 2015.

With that locals, the shop owners, there is a cheeseshop near my house, and [...] that side is a bakery, and we have a very good relationship with them, but we are not like this: they are not coming to my home and I am not coming to their home. On the street, just on the street, it is very nice. They love me and we love them. They are good people. [...] But, we have some friends around Balat, [...] For example last night we went to [the tavern] with [my friend] and her husband and her daughter together [...] we have some neighbors, like us, but with locals it is difficult. They are good, they are good persons, but they cannot make a relationship, because our lifestyle is different. Our houses are different, so we are using Alcohol, and we are relaxed. So we are making relationship from street to window. (Interview Zeynep, May 2015)

Zeynep seems to speak here of two forms of neighbors. On the one hand she has her network of close social relations with those residents who have similar habits (friends); on the other hand she has also neighborly relationships with other people of the district, whom she does not resemble in lifestyle (locals). However, due to this difference in lifestyle and habits, with locals *komşuluk* in the form of visiting each other at home is ruled out by Zeynep. Here relations differ not only in intensity and closeness, but also in divergent forms of shared activities and meeting places that depend on different habits and tastes. For Zeynep and her friends, who are drinking alcohol, the tavern is a place where they go to meet and spend time together, while for others this might not be a preferred meeting place. Also financial issues might be important. A coffee in Zeynep's café, for instance, might not be affordable for everyone within the district. In other cases aspects such as gender can restrict the access to gathering spaces as many coffee houses were only open to men. In contrast to this, as the example of Zeynep suggest, the setting of the streets in Fener-Balat seems to provide possibilities for establishing a *komşuluk* and having neighborly interactions even across various differences.

The case of Zeynep, implying the existence of a wider network of neighbors as well as a network of closer friends in Fener-Balat, illustrates, "dass sich innerhalb einer

gebauten Nachbarschaft unterschiedliche Beziehungsnetzwerke überschneiden oder mehrere Beziehungsnetzwerke parallel zueinander an einem Ort bestehen können” (Hüllemann et al. 2015, p.31). These different networks originate in the socio-spatial interactions in different spaces and places, which depend on structural aspects such as taste, lifestyle, gender, age or socio-economic status. The example of Zeynep furthermore demonstrates the possibility of being an outsider to one space and an insider to another: The locals Zeynep speaks of might be outsiders to her friendship network in Fener-Balat, but at the same time she regards them as members of her wider network of neighbors. Belonging is thus not something fixed, but is constantly negotiated depending on the situation and perspective.

As this chapter has shown, the mahalle can not be understood as one fixed territory or community, but needs to be regarded as a complex and fluid web of social contacts which are created by socio-spatial practices (komşuluk). Furthermore, the definition of one’s mahalle can be subject to personal interpretation (as the initial section of this chapter 5 has shown), but also be influenced by structural factors, such as administrative borders, age, gender or socio-economic status. As this chapter has furthermore demonstrated, komşuluk holds an important function in creating social relations, community sentiments and feelings of familiarity in Fener-Balat. Talking to residents, in their place narratives komşuluk was furthermore repeatedly expressed as a crucial characteristic of the district. In this way komşuluk plays an important role in creating an attachment to the physical and social living environment, as will be further discussed in the following section.

6 Place Narratives and Belonging in Fener-Balat

In the previous chapter the focus has been on behavioral aspects. Thus an insight has been given into the activities through which people create their neighborhood space and their belonging to that space. Furthermore the street has been discussed as a central location for komşuluk practices in Fener-Balat. The present chapter now deals with the narratives and stories through which people express their belonging and attachment to place. When speaking with people about their experiences within the district, two dominant forms of narratives about komşuluk and community life in Fener-Balat became apparent. While the first group of narratives was predominantly expressed by stable long term residents, who resided most of their life in the district, the second form of narratives was found with residents who displayed a certain mobility. They had lived in other urban districts before they chose to move to Fener-Balat. Due to one of them not being a newcomer, but a returnee, I would like to refer to the second group not as newcomers, but define them as mobile⁴⁸ residents.

In the following two chapters these two groups of narratives, the nostalgic memories of four long term residents and the place narratives of three mobile residents, will be presented and discussed. In a further chapter these narratives will be summarized and examined in the context of a classification of belonging narratives by Savage et al.

⁴⁸ “Mobile” refers here to (voluntary, not forced) geographical movement. The people summarized under the term “mobile residents” had already lived in other urban districts and had, according to their own statements, moved to the Fener-Balat district by choice. Thus they had been able to choose to move from one locality to another. In this way, they are understood as being opposite to stable residents and people fixed in place.

(2005). In a last step the cultural memories of the mahalle and of cosmopolitanism in Istanbul will be introduced, in order to contextualize the individual place narratives in the wider frame of cultural narratives. Thereby the possible interrelations between individual narratives and cultural memories or public place narratives will be demonstrated.

6.1 Nostalgia for the Old Komşuluk in Fener-Balat

Hüseyin (55): During the 60s, when I was a kid here, the Rum were in the majority. And because of this - probably they were the reason, the komşuluk was that good. They would go outside, in front of the buildings, sit in front of the houses and have tea and talk and it was more of a lively place. People would go and come to each other, but now it's like a huge apartment building and people who live in that place don't know each other. (Interview Hüseyin, May 2015)

When talking about the daily life and the komşuluk in Fener-Balat, most of the older, long-term residents, like 55 year old greengrocer Hüseyin, started to speak about earlier times, their years of childhood and young adulthood. They contrasted these times of the “old komşuluk” with complaints about today’s missing neighborly relations. For them the komşuluk and the associated sense of community seem to be a crucial feature of their place of residence, which they see in decline with the loss of their old neighbors and the arrival of rural migrants within the second half of the 20th century.

Residents like Hüseyin (55), Ahmet (85) or Gülhan (>80) have already lived in Fener-Balat before the politics of “Turkification” and other circumstances such as the founding of the state of Israel or the Cyprus Conflict had caused most of their non-Muslim neighbors to leave the area. Consequently their stories about the old neighborly relationships are full of examples of religious conviviality and include, for in-

stance, stories of sharing food on religious holidays with people of the other communities.

Ahmet (85): They [the Rum] gave away buns, New Years and Christmas buns, and eggs in a red muslin⁴⁹. They came to our doors, knocked them and gave away the food, and we, too, went during Kandil⁵⁰, to their doors, and gave them Kandil Simit. (Interview Ahmet, May 2015)

These and other stories give the impression of a past of tolerant and harmonious co-existence of different groups in Fener-Balat. Sema (64)⁵¹, who has spent her childhood years in Fener-Balat (mid 1950s until mid 1960s) and who has lived with her seven siblings and her parents in a small two-room apartment, also remembers Fener-Balat as a place of togetherness and close neighborly relations, where ethnic-religious belonging or socio-economic differences were of no importance:

It was a very nice community, this you know Balat and the Fener, [...] cosmopolitan, you know, the Greeks, Armenians, and Turks and also Kurds and different dialects and you know there was no separation between rich and poor. [...] there was a businessman across us, and very friendly with my mother and they used to take my sisters out, when they would go out. You know just like a family member. It was such a nice friendship neighborhood. (Interview Sema & John, April 2015)

Also Ahmet and Gülhan, who have lived in Balat for more than 70 years now, mentioned the friendship like relationships the families had with each other. Both still remembered their non-Muslim neighbors by name and shared with me childhood memories of soccer games, family visits or gatherings on the doorsteps with friends.

Having spent most of their life in Fener-Balat, the long term residents I spoke to

⁴⁹ This is an Easter tradition for Greek Orthodox Christians.

⁵⁰ “Kandil“ or „kandil gecesi“ (blessed night) is a religious celebration in Islam.

⁵¹ Sema cannot be regarded as long-term resident of Fener-Balat as she has only temporarily lived in the district. But her narrative of the past Fener-Balat reflects the place narratives of other long-term residents I spoke to. Thus Sema’s statement is mentioned here as an example of how residents, who lived in Fener-Balat before most non-Muslim residents had left the area, remember the daily life in the district.

seem to be deeply entrenched in their place of residence. As such they display an attachment to place that is rooted in the past and that is grounded in the nostalgic memories of specific people or experiences, such as drinking tea in front of the buildings with former non-Muslim neighbors or exchanging food with people of the other religions. All these memories seem to form a collective memory about the “old komşuluk” in Fener-Balat and express nostalgia⁵² for the sense of community and togetherness that was experienced back then.

Hüseyin, Ahmet and Gülhan also expressed sadness about the loss of their former neighbors, but the exact circumstances of their departure stayed mostly unmentioned. When asking about it, I only got some unclear answers such as: “No there was no problem. They left nicely” (Interview Gülhan, May 2015). It seemed the story of the emigration of non-Muslim residents in the course of Turkification policies was not part of the collective memory of the old komşuluk and thus narratives about the warm neighborly relations dominated. These results resemble Mills’ findings in her research in Kurzgucuk. With view to the place narratives of older residents in Kuzguncuk she observed: “Though memories of living with past neighbors are clear, the circumstances of their departure remain clouded in ambiguity” (Mills 2010, p. 100) and “[n]arratives that describe the 6-7th September riots are unusual, and they transgress the norm. What remains emphasized is the neighborliness and the past is remembered as a civilized time” (Mills 2010, p.130). According to Mills, this denial or omission of the violent events and the forced emigration is made to obscure differences and tensions, which would counteract their collective memories of tolerance and harmonious coexistence (Mills 2010, p.122). Thus, with regard to Mills findings

⁵² Nostalgia (from Greek *nostos* = return home, and *algia* =longing) is the strong desire and sentimentality for a period or a place of the past. Nostalgia encompasses feelings of loss and displacement as well as romantic ideas and positive memories. (Boym 2001, pp. XIII–XV)

it becomes apparent, that this phenomenon is not specific to the district of Fener-Balat⁵³.

Radical changes to the district, such as the loss of former non-Muslim neighbors and the influx of new residents with different lifestyles and customs, seem to be perceived as a threat to the identity and character of the mahalle, destroying the sense of social cohesiveness that had been experienced by the older residents. Hüseyin for example complained about a missing sense of collectivity and explained: “There was togetherness back in the old times. But now that's not the case, everybody is so individual“. Later he added: “People are like this, there is no love and respect for each other anymore and people lock people out“ (Interview Hüseyin, May 2015). As such social changes can also lead to a decline of one's place attachment and cause instead, as Hüseyin's statement suggests, feelings of exclusion and displacement.

In the example of Aliye, exclusion by her next-door neighbors even took a material form. Aliye had moved to Balat at the age of 14 due to marriage. As she explained, her next door neighbor, a Greek Orthodox woman whom she just referred to as “Madame”, had been like a mother to her when she came to the district at so young of an age. According to Aliye, their komşuluk was characterized by spending many hours in the shared garden area, but this changed with the arrival of the new neighbors, when the Madame left: “There was a garden, and in the garden was a door, but they, the ones next door, they built a wall. I am so unhappy. I always called them [the old Rum neighbors], I loved them. They acted more neighborly” (Interview Aliye,

⁵³ Furthermore these narratives of a peaceful and cosmopolitan coexistence are also part of a wider collective memory in Turkish society as will be further discussed in chapter 6.4. The denial and omission of the violent events and the forced emigration of non-Muslims is a complex phenomenon and can thus not be discussed in more detail here due to the limited scope of this thesis. „The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey“, edited by Esra Özyürek (2007) might give interesting insights here as the book also deals with memories of traumatic events and the administered forgetting of certain memories in the Turkish context.

May 2015). Thus in the case of Aliye, the social changes, i.e. the arrival of the new next-door neighbors, also took a physical shape through the erection of a concrete wall in the formerly shared garden area. This demonstrates how far social changes can also materialize in physical space. As geographer Neckel remarks, “[d]ie soziale Realität schreibt sich in die physische Welt des Raumes geradezu ein” (Neckel 2009, p.47) and in this way social exclusion became an embodied experience for Aliye.

Ahmet, who has been born in Fener-Balat in 1930 and since then has lived in the district, also seemed to feel kind of displaced from his mahalle. He expressed thoughts about selling his house and leaving the district as many others living in his street had done already. Especially issues of order and cleanliness seemed to be of importance to him and he displayed problems of coping with the physical degradation of his place of residence. Thus after speaking in detail about the cleanliness and refined manners of the Rum and Jews, which he described as “very clean people, civilized and educated people” (Interview Ahmet, May 2015), he complained about the rural newcomers as being dirty and uncivilized:

Back then it was really good, but today I am not happy. – M.O.: Why?
– Because of the dirt, because of the incivility, the newcomers are all uncivilized. There is no cleanliness [...] But look, go to my house now and look, it is whiter than white. [...] The house is like this and the garden also, very clean. (Interview Ahmet, May 2015)

Ahmet has strong memories about living together with his former non-Muslim neighbors and the past physical state of his place of residence. But as Cattell and Climo remind: “Memories are not replicas or documentaries of events, they are interpretations. Human memory is highly constructed and individual’s sense of self and identity results from narrative constructions integrating past, present and future” (Cattell & Climo 2002, p.13). In this way the example of Ahmet illustrates how far

memories can be selective and influenced by the present situation. At the time of my research, Ahmet seemed to be particularly disturbed by the perceived missing cleaning behavior of his current neighbors. Under these circumstances he describes his former neighbors with a strong emphasis on their cleanliness and refined manners, idealizing, it seems, their behavior to strengthen the contrast. Furthermore by describing his house as a very clean house, he does not only differentiate himself from the newcomers, but he also creates a certain continuity between past and present which seems to help him maintain a positive self-image.

What becomes apparent in the narratives of Ahmet and other long term residents is a distinction between the “desirable” and “civilized” non-Muslim neighbors and the “unpleasant”, “dirty” and “uncivilized” newcomers. Thereby long term residents often referred to these groups in terms of ethnicity or religion as for instance Hüseyin, who pointed out: “the Rum [...] - probably they were the reason, the komşuluk was that good” (Interview Hüseyin, May 2015). Gülhan, who has lived in Fener-Balat since the 1940s, explained in a similar manner: “Back then the life was better. Why? Excuse me, but now it’s all full of Gypsies [Roma] and Kurds. And it’s not nice anymore” (Interview Gülhan, May 2015). While this might point to racial prejudices, this kind of statements also seems to indicate an urban bias against rural migrants (Mills 2010, p.128f.) and reflects an “urban-peasant duality” (Eder 1999, p.162). This has to be seen in the context of rapid urbanization of Istanbul and an influx of rural migrants in the second half of the 20th century. In these developments, “[u]rban problems were seen through a perspective in which the immigrant peasants who refused to become properly integrated and urbanized [= civilized] were blamed” (Eder 1999, p.162). In line with this, the newcomers, i.e. the rural migrants who came to Fener-Balat, are described as the cause for the physical degradation as well as the

decay of the old komşuluk traditions and with it the loss of this sense of community and collectivity. In this way the nostalgic memories, as Mills suggests in her study in Kuzguncuk, can serve as a way "to compensate for a present malaise, for a lack of community and a need for identity in place" (Mills 2010, p.67).

Savage points here to the fact that nostalgic remembering is also used to express belonging and define borders between insiders and outsiders of the mahalle space (Savage 2010, p.117). By remembering the "old komşuluk" and by nostalgically retelling stories of living together with non-Muslim residents, like for example the drinking of tea in the shared garden area, the sitting together in front of buildings or the exchange of food with people of the other religions, the older, long-term residents identified themselves as the real locals and members of the mahalle-space. They presented themselves as the ones that can remember (insiders) in distinction to those who came later and cannot remember (outsiders). In this way it becomes apparent how the long term residents presented here express, as Manzo (2003, p.55) suggests, an attachment and belonging to place by stigmatizing others and denying their belonging to place.

In summary, the nostalgic memories and narratives that were displayed in this chapter can be understood as attempts to search for stability and identity in times of rapid changes. The telling of nostalgic narratives of the old komşuluk seems to be a way to cope with the situation at present in Fener-Balat, which is characterized by severe changes such as the loss of former neighbors and friends, the rapid influx of new residents with different lifestyles and the physical degradation of the district.

6.2 Fener-Balat as a Place for Community and Familiarity

Zeynep (35): Komşuluk exist now only in these old districts such as Balat. Actually the komşuluk is over now. Due to the modern life and incredible migration Istanbul is very crowded now. People don't trust each other, because they live in big apartments very crowded and people don't know each other. [...] Even people living in the same apartment don't greet each other [...] But in these little places everyone knows everyone. (Interview Zeynep, May 2015)

While for many of the long-term residents in Fener-Balat the komşuluk seems to be lost, Zeynep, a woman in her mid 30s who has moved to the district four years ago, paints a very different picture. She considers Balat and other “little places”, i.e. the historically grown, small scaled districts of Istanbul, as the last places for komşuluk and its related values of familiarity and trust. Thus, as if the historical buildings have stored the neighborliness that the older residents remembered, and as if the maintained small physical structure preconditions strong social relations, she regards Fener-Balat as a place where this sense of community still exists. For her this seems to be a dominant characteristic of Fener-Balat, while in contrast the apartment becomes associated with modern life and anonymity.

Murat (55), who had spent his childhood and youth in Fener, reflected a similar perspective when explaining the reasons for his return from Nişantaşı⁵⁴ to Fener in 1999:

I wasn't comfortable in the apartments, I didn't like the concrete houses, I didn't get used to it, I didn't like their komşuluk in the apartment [...] nobody said hi to each other, nobody greeted each other. (Interview Murat, May 2015)

You know, Nişantaşı is a very individual place. I mean cold and aristocratic. People don't greet each other. But here it is not like this. When I walk from here [Fener] to Balat I talk to 30 people. I know everyone. To live here is really nice. (Interview Murat, April 2015)

⁵⁴ Nişantaşı is a modern district on the European side of Istanbul. It is known as one of the most exclusive and luxury residential and shopping areas of Istanbul.

Murat compares his social life in Fener-Balat to the social relations in his former apartment building in Nişantaşı. Thereby, like Zeynep, he draws an image of the apartment that represents the physical building as a place of missing social relations. In this way for both Zeynep and Murat the apartment seems to be a symbol for anonymity and isolation. When Zeynep and Murat criticize the “apartment lifestyle” and explain their preference of living in Fener-Balat, they not only display the ability to move to the district by free will and choice; but they also demonstrate a repertoire of experiences, for example having lived in an apartment in Nişantaşı - a district many other residents of Fener-Balat would not be able to afford to live in - to which they can compare and distinguish their current place of residence. Pott explains: „Räumliche Unterscheidungen und Verortungen erlauben die Betonung von Einzigartigkeit und Abgrenzung“ (Pott 2007, p.41). As such place-based comparisons and distinctions serve to stress unique features of the self. With regard to this, Zeynep’s and Murat’s statements can also be understood as a way to identify themselves through references to place. In this way the perceived features of their place of residence become included in their definition of self, which becomes especially apparent in another statement of Zeynep:

Yeah, for us [me and my husband] you are human. Are you human or not? You can be everything, you can be from AKP⁵⁵, you can be from HDP, you can be Christian, you can be Jewish, you can be Atheist. It's, it's no matter for us. You are human or not? [...] the important thing is this. And you can feel that thing in this place. You cannot feel this in the modern part of the city. (Interview Zeynep, May 2015)

By describing her place of residence as being surrounded by an atmosphere of tolerance and respect even though religious or political differences might exist and by simultaneously characterizing herself as tolerant and human, Zeynep describes her-

⁵⁵ AKP and HDP are political parties in Turkey. AKP was the ruling and HDP was an oppositional party at the time of my research.

self via references to place and thereby declares and legitimizes her belonging. Other mobile residents expressed a similar perspective on the living together in Fener-Balat. Hülya, who had come to Fener-Balat in 2001, explained to me:

Well even though he [the store owner across my shop] is supporting the AKP, we can still talk about this⁵⁶. This is the mahalle. We are trades people; we know each other. So there are no fights inbetween us, no conflicts. [...] This is the mahalle. It has its own balances. (Interview Hülya, April 2015)

Zeynep's and Hülya's statements speak of a tolerant living together in the area. At the same time they also display an awareness of living in a place with its own identity and special atmosphere. When talking about the district with Hülya, she spoke affectively about the extraordinarily warm relationships, but she also referred to a certain historical atmosphere, which had impressed her a lot: „The churches, the synagogues, these little mosques - the Golden Horn is the most beautiful area of this large city. [...] Thus what I love most is its historic fabric“ (Interview Hülya, May 2015).

Also Zeynep seems to be deeply attached to the district. To her especially the people living in the district and the neighborly relations amongst them give the place its unique identity:

Normally komşu has to be near the home or same street, but here it's different. [...] The Balat Life is really unique. Very unique. You cannot find any place in Istanbul like this. It's impossible, impossible. There are really nice places, for example like Çengelköy, Beylerbeyi in some places of Sarıyer⁵⁷, but that places changed, majorly changed, so [...] a lot of snob people live in there, so mahalle-life was changed. It looks very similar, but it's not same. The unique thing, I think, about Balat [...] a lot of local people live in here still. That's very important I think. (Interview Zeynep, May 2015)

⁵⁶ Hülya was supporting HDP at the time of my research. The emphasis on political issues might also be due to the fact, that my research was conducted in the last months before the general elections in June 2015.

⁵⁷ Çengelköy and Beylerbeyi are two small historical districts on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus. Sarıyer is a historical district in the north of the European shore of the Bosphorus.

According to Zeynep, Balat is unique due to the fact that it has kept its special character, which she traces back to the people who still live in the district and practice the “mahalle-life”, i.e. people who know and support each other and regard each other as komşu. In comparison to the initial quote of this chapter, where Zeynep explains that the komşuluk exists only in the little, historical places, which seemed to refer much to the physical structure of the district, here she concretizes her statement: According to her, also in some of these historical, small-scaled places, which have a similar landscape to Balat, the communal life has changed, due to the fact that the people changed. Only in Balat where the locals have stayed, the mahalle life and with it komşuluk still exists. Thus not only the maintenance of the physical mahalle landscape, but also of the social mahalle, i.e. of the people who practice komşuluk and built networks of support, are crucial for preserving the traditional mahalle-life. When asked, she described these locals to me as Kurds and people originally from the Black Sea region. Consequently the locals, with whom she associates the mahalle-life, are not the people, whom the older, long-term residents of the previous chapter relate to the old komşuluk and community life. For the long-term residents, Zeynep's locals constitute the newcomers, which they see as the cause of the decay of the earlier communal life in Fener-Balat. What becomes apparent here, are two different perspectives on the current place of Fener-Balat, which will be further discussed in the following chapter.

6.3 Belonging Narratives: Nostalgia and Elective Belonging

As can be seen so far, there seem to exist two different forms of place narratives in Fener-Balat, through which attachment and belonging to place are expressed. Firstly there are the nostalgic narratives of stable long-term residents about the old

komşuluk and the friendshiplike relations with their former non-Muslim neighbors. These narratives are connected to memories of specific people and events of earlier times, such as drinking tea in the shared garden area, sitting together in front of the buildings or exchanging food with people of the other religions. However, these collective memories about the old komşuluk and community life do not include memories of the departure of the non-Muslim residents in the course of Turkification policies. Instead, the rural newcomers that arrived in Fener-Balat within the last decades are blamed for the physical degradation as well as the loss of community sentiments and komşuluk traditions. Through the nostalgic telling of stories and memories, long-term residents seem to express belonging to their place of residence and define themselves as the real locals, the ones who can remember the “real” Fener-Balat. This seems to be a way to cope with the radical changes within their place of residence and to retain a positive self-concept.

In the narratives of the mobile residents, Fener-Balat, as one of the oldest, small-scale districts of Istanbul, is represented as one of the last places where komşuluk - practices and the associated sense of community and familiarity still exist. In these narratives the current place of residence becomes distinguished to apartment blocks in modern parts of the city as well as compared to other historical, small scaled districts, whose population have changed within the last years. Such comparisons and distinctions serve not only to underline the uniqueness of Fener-Balat, but also to express local belonging and define one’s identity with reference to place. Furthermore they characterize their speaker as a mobile person, who has a repertoire of experiences to compare to and who has chosen to move to Fener-Balat. Even though these mobile residents have not lived in the district as long as the long term residents, they still have a strong idea of their place of residence and display an emotional at-

tachment when speaking about the special qualities of Fener-Balat, such as an atmosphere of historicity or tolerance and community.

In summary, for the first group their place of residence has lost its special characteristics, such as the sense of community that is encompassed in the concept of *komşuluk*. In contrast, for the mobile residents that I have interviewed, Fener-Balat is still experienced as a place of community and familiarity, which in the case of Zeynep is even connected to just those people that long term residents see as the cause of the decay of the *komşuluk*. What becomes apparent here are two different forms of local attachment, which resemble two belonging narratives that Savage et al. (2005) have explored in their research concerned with the interrelatedness between global changes and local belonging. For this study Savage et al. conducted 182 interviews with residents of four different middle class districts around Manchester, England (Savage et al. 2005, p.15-16). In a more recent article Savage expands on these findings and describes the distinction between a belonging expressed by “nostalgia” and an “elective belonging” as such: “In the former one's place of residence appears to have lost its magic [nostalgia]. In the latter, by contrast, one's residential area embodies magical qualities and is articulated into an enchanted landscape [elective belonging]” (Savage 2010, p.116).

According to Savage, nostalgia was mostly found amongst older, long-term residents with a historical, biographical attachment to place. These complained about a loss of community and nostalgically remembered how things used to be. In this way, Savage argues, they claim belonging to place and search for a stable identity in times of increased mobility (Savage 2010, pp.116-117). This resembles, as the previous expositions have shown, the narratives of older residents that I had interviewed in Fener-Balat. Elective belonging, understood as the counterpart to nostalgia, is a form

of belonging which had been expressed by mostly well-educated and mobile people, who had decided to move and settle in an area based on choice and in comparison to other districts. According to the findings of Savage et al., these “elective belongers” were not that interested in being embedded in a local social network or to feel part of a local community. Instead the fact that the symbolism or identity of a certain place fit their own personality, lifestyle and values was decisive for their choice to live in a certain area and in this way they deliberately chose to belong to place (Savage 2010, pp. 116-118). Here, “[b]elonging is not that of an individual to a fixed community rooted in place, but rather, one in which the place becomes valuable to the individual” (Savage et al. 2005, p.80).

In the case of “elective belonging” similarities can be recognized with regard to the narratives of the mobile residents in Fener-Balat. Like the elective belongers in the study of Savage et al., Murat, Zeynep and Hülya are well-educated and mobile individuals, who had chosen to move to the district, be it because they were unhappy with the isolated and anonymous social life in the apartment (Murat, Zeynep) or be it because they were interested in the historical houses of the district (Hülya). Furthermore all three seemed to identify via the characteristics that they associated with the place of Fener-Balat, such as being community oriented, tolerant or human. Unlike Savage et al.’s findings, however, they display an interest in the local community life and are socially engaged within the district. Murat organizes concerts, birthday parties, henna nights and children’s theatres in his garden for free. Zeynep supports a Syrian mother and her two little children with things such as clothes or diapers, while Hülya was also known for helping the needy with material goods. As such, they express a strong attachment to as well as an active social engagement in the place of Fener-Balat.

As could be seen, the place narratives of long-term and mobile residents in Fener-Balat display similarities to the belonging patterns of Savage et al. At the same time discrepancies also become apparent, as the mobile residents displayed here seem to show a stronger interest and engagement in the local communities.

6.4 Cultural Memories in the Context of Fener-Balat

Belonging and place narratives of the residents in Fener-Balat have to be seen in their specific socio-cultural context. Therefore in the present chapter two dominant cultural memories surrounding Fener-Balat will be introduced and related to the narratives presented above.

6.4.1 Cultural Memory of the Mahalle

Balat is a mahalle. Semt is a word for a district, it's a lifeless word. But mahalle has a meaning. (Interview John, May 2015)

The close-knit geographically small area with neighbors who perform the cultural practices of mahalle life is now fairly rare, but it remains an important, present idea in popular culture. (Mills 2010, pp.148-149)

As could be seen in the previous chapters, when speaking to people about their place of residence, they also made references to the mahalle in general. Zenyep for example mentioned the “mahalle-life”, while Hülya was explaining “the mahalle has its own balances”. When talking with Hülya about how she defines the mahalle, she explained:

In the mahalle there are rich ones, there are poor ones, there are educated ones, there are uneducated ones, there might be class differences, but all live in the same mahalle. This is one of the characteristics of the mahalle: it is not dedicated to one group or one person. It is a place where all live together. (Interview Hülya, May 2015)

What these statements as well as the initial quotes of this chapter indicate is the existence of a strong collective idea of the mahalle. In her research on Kuzguncuk, Mills (2010) explores this phenomenon and demonstrates how the concept of the mahalle is an integral part of cultural memory⁵⁸ in Turkey. According to Mills there exists a growing collective nostalgia for the traditional mahalle as a space of familiarity, social cohesion and warm neighborly relations. Based on the image of the Ottoman mahalles of Istanbul (see chapter 2.1) with its small, one or two-story houses and local shops, the idea of the mahalle refers to a time before urbanization and the building of big apartment blocks changed social life in the city (Mills 2010, pp.22, 66). In this way the cultural memory of the mahalle seems to rest on a conceptualization of neighborhood, which is highly idealized and where the neighborhood is understood as one local community displaying cohesion and solidarity (Hüllemann et al. 2015, pp.24-26). Thus the countless TV series, movies, nostalgic memoirs or advertisements concerned with the mahalle are, in some opinions, creating and reproducing a “mental construct” rather than depicting the real neighborhood relationships of the past (Altın 2008, p.219).

In the statements of my interviewees, it becomes apparent that the collective nostalgia for the mahalle is also present in the context of Fener-Balat - a district where the traditional mahalle landscapes seems to have remained. On the one hand people seem to associate the cultural idea of the mahalle with Fener-Balat and on the other hand they also reproduce the image of Fener-Balat as a place for mahalle-life themselves. As such the memories of long term residents of the close social ties and the old komşuluk in Fener-Balat reflect and reinforce the nostalgic image of the mahalle as a

⁵⁸ Understood less institutionalized than Assman (1995, 2008) might have in mind, in this context I use the term “Cultural Memories” for all collective memories that exceed oral everyday communication and are transmitted via written or other media, such as movies or commercials.

space where people knew and supported each other. Hülya and Zeynep, in turn, reproduce and transfer this image to the context of the present Fener-Balat by distinguishing the district from other modern parts of the city or praising the komşuluk, the mahalle life or the balance of the mahalle.

6.4.2 Cultural Memory of Cosmopolitanism in Istanbul

This district is a unique showcase of the cosmopolite integrity of the Ottoman Empire. (Balat & Fener Tour 2014)

The Fener-Balat quarter, once the little Greece of Istanbul, is now one of the city's trendy design districts and regaining the international feel of its past. (The Guardian 2015)

In the Ottoman Empire and in the first 40 years of the Republic Balat was a multilingual, multireligious, multicultural and lively microcosm. (Yoker 2012, pp.209-210, own translation)

“Multiculturalism” or “cosmopolitanism” are words one frequently hears with reference to Istanbul’s past. After having long been denied in the course of Turkish nationalism, with more liberal forces coming to power in the 1980s growing interest in the city’s Ottoman history and former minority quarters emerged⁵⁹ (Özyürek 2007, p.2, Mills 2010, pp.18-20). In this time Kurdish separatism and other movements concerned with minority issues as well as a growing political and cultural Islamist movement questioned the secular and monolithic national identity⁶⁰. In the course of these developments the Ottoman past, remembered as a political system, which “enabled people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds to live in peace and harmony” (Bartu 1999, p.40), became constructed as the foundation for a shared and more inclusive Turkish identity (Çolak 2006, pp.587-589). “The Ottoman legacy was

⁵⁹ These developments of the 1980s and 1990s resulted in an increase of Turkish literature in the realm of memory studies and minority histories as well as other works concerned with the “multiculturalism” or “cosmopolitanism” of the Ottoman Empire and early Republic (Dufft 2009).

⁶⁰ This national identity was described as ethnically Turkish and culturally Muslim in chapter 2.2.

used to invoke a collective cultural memory by constructing a nostalgic narrative of Turkey's shared past. [...] This was a deliberate attempt to reconstruct the present” (Çolak 2006, p.587). Çolak indicates here the existence of “collective frames of memory” (Halbwachs 1992, p.40). Thus the Ottoman past is remembered and reconstructed in particular and selective ways, which are determined by interests at present. Furthermore, in the course of economic liberalism in the 1980s and due to ambitions to develop Istanbul into an international center for trade and tourism references to a cosmopolitan or multicultural past became useful for city marketing and for stressing the cultural heritage of Istanbul (Bartu 1999, p.32, Öncü 2007, pp.234-238). As can be seen, cultural memories of cosmopolitanism in Istanbul are used in different contexts and can serve different interest groups.

Having been home to religious minorities, which are seen as the carriers of the city’s cosmopolitan character, especially former minority quarters such as Fener-Balat or Kuzguncuk become associated with the cultural memories of cosmopolitanism in Istanbul. This is particularly because their landscape (e.g. mosques, churches, and synagogues) still reflects the past coexistence of different religious communities in a shared urban space. The risen interest in Istanbul’s cosmopolitan past has also led to an increase in restoration works in these parts of the city (Mills 2010, pp.20-21). In the realm of tourism references to Fener-Balat’s past as minority district and its cosmopolitan legacy are frequent, as the first two introductory quotes to this chapter suggest. The third introductory quote points out that biographical writings concerned with minority history and past multicultural coexistence in the district (e.g. Shaul 2012, Yoker 2012, Spataris 2004) contribute to this image as well. In fact “cosmopolitan” was a word I often came across when talking to people about Fener-Balat. Sema used this term to describe the past Fener-Balat as a place of togetherness and

close neighborly relations, where ethnic-religious belonging or socio-economic differences were of no importance (see chapter 6.1). Murat, when asked how growing up in Fener-Balat was, explained: “It was very cosmopolitan. People spoke eight, nine languages” (Interview Murat, April 2015). Also Zeynep described Fener-Balat as „very cosmopolite” (Interview Zeynep, May 2015) and later on seemed to circumscribe a cosmopolitan feel when talking about a tolerant atmosphere in the district (see chapter 6.2). Furthermore the memories of long-term residents, for instance the sharing of food on religious holidays or gatherings on doorsteps with Rum neighbors, draw an image of a past religious coexistence and tolerance in Fener-Balat. Thus as can be seen here, their memories are also part of a wider collective cultural memory of cosmopolitanism in Istanbul.

As shown so far, there exist two dominant forms of place narratives amongst those residents of Fener-Balat I spoke to. While long term residents express a nostalgia for the old komşuluk and the past community life, mobile residents tend to praise Fener-Balat as a place for community and familiarity at present. These different perspectives indicate different belonging patterns. Long-term residents, who display a certain rootedness in the area, define their belonging and their local identity via references to the past. Mobile residents express belonging by referring to the special features they associate with the district at present. With regard to the socio-cultural context we can see how the long term resident’s nostalgia for the old komşuluk with their former non-Muslim neighbors is part of a wider collective nostalgia for the past of the city, for the lost minorities and the traditional community life of the mahalle. This newly arisen collective nostalgia for Istanbul’s past in turn has increased the interest in minority quarters in Istanbul such as Fener-Balat. This seems to have brought mobile residents to the district in search for these lost forms of community life, which they

miss in the isolated apartment-blocks, but seem to have found here. Thereby, as indicated by Scannell and Gifford (2010, pp.2-3), a certain interrelatedness between individual and collective place narratives (or place attachments), seems to become apparent: The individual narratives about komşuluk and the present or past community life seem to reinforce the public place narratives and the symbolic meanings of Fener-Balat. At the same time these individual narratives might also be influenced by the public narratives and cultural memories of the past tolerant and cosmopolitan mahalle-life.

Thus far the focus has been on narratives which are predominantly concerned with social aspects of place, stressing the community life, the sense of cohesiveness and the komşuluk within the district of Fener-Balat. However, residents also displayed an attachment to the physical features of Fener-Balat as the next chapter will demonstrate. Here the focus will be upon the different ways people express their attachment to and identification with the historical houses they live in, thereby demonstrating different meanings that are connected to these forms of buildings.

7 Historical Housing and Place Attachment

Houses can become poetic expressions of longing for a lost past, voices of a lived present, and dreams of an ideal future. (Bertram 2008, p.9)



Figure 7: Houses on Kiremit Caddesi⁶¹

As mentioned earlier, many historical houses have remained in Fener-Balat, which have been the focus of much attention recently. The EU rehabilitation project and the accompanying media coverage have led to an increased interest in privately funded renovations as well as growing academic investigations, especially in the realm of

⁶¹ Own photograph, shot in May 2015.

urban planning and architecture. Streets with rows of old, colorfully painted houses are the scene of innumerable photos, which one inevitably comes across when researching Fener-Balat – a place where „[o]ver half of the buildings date to the pre-1930 period and give the district its characteristic atmosphere“ (Rehabilitation of Fener and Balat Districts Programme 2005b). As such the houses are seen as a unique feature of Fener-Balat and are surrounded by a certain nostalgia. Furthermore, as Betram demonstrates in her book “The Turkish house”, the historical Ottoman house is seen as an integral part of the traditional mahalle, and is in this way also an important part of Turkish cultural memory (Betram 2008, p.220).

Talking to my interviewees, many spoke affectively about the special nostalgic atmosphere of the historical houses and displayed a strong emotional attachment towards them, which is best illustrated by a statement of Aleksandra. Aleksandra is a young Greek Orthodox woman, who has lived in Fener-Balat for more than 15 years now. When I asked Aleksandra, what she likes most about the district, she explained:

I'm loving that, seeing the old houses. I'm like feeling, this was, it was a Greek person, that was living in here and I'm seeing the house, like many histories, it's saying many things to me. Like when you see the architecture of the house, the building, and when you touch them, you say: okay it was a history here and there were people like me and they were living in this. It makes me like to feel, like you know, like you, how can I say to you? You feel something in, heart, like you know, it was like this: it was a nice and known place, it was sophisticated maybe. (Interview Aleksandra, April 2015)

Aleksandra displays a strong emotional connection to the old houses and it seems hard for her to express her feelings towards them in words. For Aleksandra, these houses seem to have absorbed and retained something of their Greek Orthodox residents. As such she feels especially connected to these historical buildings due to being remnants of members of her Greek Orthodox community, which had lived there

in earlier times. To her the houses speak of the former glory, when a Greek Orthodox elite had lived in the area and the place was “known” and “sophisticated”. In this way the houses seem to serve as sites of memory, as they are able to store certain group memories, here of the Greek Orthodox community and its Feneriot past.

While for Aleksandra these buildings hold a special meaning due to having been home to members of her Greek Orthodox community, in other cases, such as that of Murat, the houses can also be connected to personal and autobiographical memories and experiences. Murat was born and raised in Fener-Balat. It is the place where he had spent his childhood and young adult years, but when a fire destroyed his family’s house in 1980, he left the district. Two decades later he returned:

M.O.: So when did you return? – M.: In 1999. [...] I restored the house, I bought it in 1998, the restoration took one year, because it is a very nice house there [...] I mean an old house. It’s a house I know from my childhood, a house I love. There studied two Rum friends of mine. They lived there [...] I liked them very much. They were my friends. I was so sad, when they left, I cried a lot. – M.O.: When did they leave? – M.: In 1978. They sold it to a man, to a family they sold it. And it was always in my mind: One day I will return and buy this house. Years later I returned, I gave the man a lot of money, and I bought it. (Interview Murat, April 2015)

The house Murat bought, renovated and lives in today is a house he knows from his childhood years. Greek Orthodox friends of his, which he remembers very fondly and affectionate, had lived in it when he was a child and because of them, as Murat explained, he had chosen this particular houses. This indicates that Murat has a personal, autobiographical connection to the house, which not only refers to the physical setting, but also to the people and the social relations that this place signifies for him.

Like Murat, many of the residents I interviewed were house owners and lived in historical, renovated buildings. For both mobile and long term residents, their own

house seemed to be a place of special importance within the district and was connected with strong emotions. As chapter 5 has already shown, the street is the public place for contact and community in Fener-Balat, while for my interviewees the house seemed to determine the private sphere of home, thus a “distinctive sort of place with which people have strong social, psychological and emotional attachments” (Duyvendak 2011, p.27). These forms of attachment to historical houses as home spaces are the focus of the present chapter. While so far with the example of Aleksandra and Murat a short insight into an attachment through group or personal memories has been given, in the following there will be a more detailed look at two different cases where residents without any linkage through group bonds or personal childhood experiences negotiate belonging and express a certain attachment to the historical house they live in⁶².

7.1 “So Then We Became Feneriots”

John, a US American, and his Turkish wife Fulya, both working in the field of academia, moved to Fener in 2008. When I asked when and why they moved to Fener, John told me their arrival story and explained the conditions and circumstances by which they finally ended up in a district to which they had no preceding personal connection. According to him, they selected the district due to its central location as well as because of their interest in the old and back then cheap houses around the area. His wife Fulya told their arrival story a bit differently, with a strong focus on the discovery of their house:

⁶² I also heard of people, who were not content with living inside one of these old houses of Fener-Balat. However, the people I spoke to mainly talked about their house in a positive manner. Thus in the present chapter the focus will be on different forms of belonging and place attachment, but will not deal with the existence and lack of it as such. Here I would like to point to the research of Ebru Soytemel (2015) on belonging patterns in the Golden Horn area, which might give interesting insights on this aspect.

There was a party [...] it was 2005, November, [names a famous author] was there and so forth and they said: [...] ‘You are working at [names the place they work] and you're not still buying a house? You should buy a house.’ And you know I was never feeling close to buying a house in this neighborhood and yeah bakalim[we will see], kismet[destiny] and so forth, but [John] of course started looking for it [...] I was in the back and my shoelaces, my shoelaces became lose. I couldn't walk and so I had to kneel down, and you know, to tie them and then looked up, saw the tree, beautiful, and then saw the cumba [bay window] of this house, the ghost house [...] We came in, it was almost dark, probably five, six you know winter time [...] so this was still here, I mean this old stairs and we went up and I saw these two niches and, Marina, this is really interesting, you can feel it, I mean my shoelaces stopped me, I saw that and I felt: This is it. Without proper looking for a house, how can you be sure? It was so interesting. (Interview Fulya & John, May 2015)

Fulya experienced the process of finding the right property as a very mystical event. While in John's version, the couple had decided to settle in the district actively and based on rational choices, Fulya stresses that fact that it was “kismet” (destiny) which brought them to the house. Fulya's detailed narrative description of the first encounter with their house seems to speak of a magical atmosphere. In discussions on space and emotion the cultural scientist Gertrud Lehnert uses the term “aura” to refer to this special feel or ambience, that spaces can create, and speaks of “Räume [...], die Aufmerksamkeit erzeugen und die wahrnehmende Person ergreifen“ (Lehnert 2011, p.16). In this way it seems, that the aura of the house had taken hold of Fulya. Thus for her this mystical connection to the house was crucial in the choice of their place of residence. However, in both, Fulya's and John's version, the couple was in the position to select their place of residence freely and self-determined, without any prior personal relation to the building or the district. This indicates again a form of elective belonging and attachment as classified by Savage et al. (2005).

In all our discussions John displayed great interest in the history of the district. He also expressed his and his wife's belonging with references to the area's past: "So we moved into it in 2008. That's what, only seven years ago? So then we became Feneriots in 2008" (Interview Fulya & John, May 2015). By using the term "Feneriot", he seems to indicate that he is particularly interested in the historical period when his place of residence had been home to an educated Greek Orthodox elite.

John's interest in the area's past is also reflected by the couple's house. Having been completely burnt down, they rebuilt the house, which once belonged to a member of the Greek Orthodox community, with great attention to historical details. They showed me photos of the renovation process, described the former wall decorations and explained who used to live in such a house in earlier times. However John and Fulya were not the only ones who privately restored or rebuilt historical housing in Fener-Balat. In fact they seem to belong to a wider group of "gentrifiers", as Soytemel (2015, p.64) calls these people in her research in the Golden Horn Area, who have no former connection to the place and move to the district to restore or "save" the historical houses there. According to Soytemel and Şen these gentrifiers are "using historic preservation as constitutive of the new 'elite' identity" (Soytemel & Şen 2014, p. 80). Thus it appears that the house does not merely serve in a functional way, but rather symbolizes a certain lifestyle and constitutes an expression of self. This is part of a phenomenon, often rooted in industrialized, Western societies, where the selection of a home constitutes the choice of a certain lifestyle (Duyvendak 2011, p.11) and is seen as a biographical project (Hüllemann 2015, p.69). As Savage explains: "One's residence is a crucial, possibly the crucial identifier of who you are" (Savage et al. 2005, p.207). However, as Biehl illustrates in her study in Kumkapı,

access and usage of housing as well as the selection of a certain district or building is dependent on many different factors such as gender, age, ethnicity, socio-economic status and other aspects (Biehl 2015, p.602). Furthermore this is also connected to symbolic and cultural codes and different tastes (Soytemel & Şen 2014, p.80).

With view to Fulya's arrival story, where others advised the couple to buy a house in the district, it seems that in John and Fulya's social circles traditional historical houses seem highly valued and constitute a preferred form of housing. As Bertram explains, for many intellectuals in Istanbul the traditional Ottoman houses are symbols of a time when Istanbul was dominated by a cultural and intellectual elite, a time before the city had lost its position as capital and before the rapid urbanization in the second half of the 20th century had changed the character of the city (Bertram 2008, p.242). Agreeing with others, who talk about the "peasantization" of Istanbul (Eder 1999, p.162), John explains that this was a time before demographic changes had turned "*Istanbul Beyefendis*⁶³ into *Köylüs*⁶⁴" (Interview Sema & John, April 2015). The term "Istanbul Beyefendisi" or "Istanbulite" carries a specific meaning, which might be best explained by the words of Sema, a woman who had lived in Fener-Balat in her childhood and with whom John and I had done a walk through the district. She explained: "We have a saying, like we say 'Istanbul Beyefendisi', we mean Istanbul is like a statue of being intellectual or being well-mannered" (Interview Sema & John, April 2015). And later she added: "Those days [in the 1950s], when you came to Istanbul in one year you became Istanbul Beyefendisi, now people come from other areas unfortunately - say if you come from village, you make Istanbul as village" (Interview Sema & John, April 2015). Thus the lifestyle of this ideal-

⁶³ Istanbulite, Istanbul Gentleman

⁶⁴ Villagers

ized figure of the educated and civilized Istanbul Beyefendisi has become extinct in their eyes.⁶⁵

According to John many of the “Köylüs”, i.e. the new rural migrants, have “no sense of Istanbul. They are not Istanbulus, they don't come from an Istanbulu background, they can't relate at all to even, you know the Ottoman past, let alone, you know, anything before that” (Interview Fulya & John, May 2015). From this perspective the city loses its specific characteristics, because the majority of the people who came from rural areas and live in Istanbul now, do not know the historical value of the city, and thus also that of the old traditional houses. Here, the urban-peasant divide becomes apparent again, demonstrating how John, similar to the long-term residents described in chapter 6.1, expresses his belonging through distinctions from residents of rural origin.

In the case of Fulya and John it becomes apparent how the location and the historicity of their house is a central feature of their lifestyle and crucial to their sense of personal identity. While Fulya expresses a personal attachment to their house due to a mystical and special atmosphere that she experienced, John seems to relate to district as a former Greek Orthodox settlement and upper-class area. Both also reworked this past through restoring a historical Rum house with attention to historical detail. In this way they distinguished themselves from other residents, by declaring to pay more attention to the historical value of Istanbul and protecting the houses from physical decline. Furthermore, the act of restoring and living in historical houses seems to be part of a lifestyle in certain intellectual circles of Istanbul.

⁶⁵ See Tanyeli 2008 for further information on this aspect.

7.2 “This House Is Healthy”

Aliye lives together with her husband in a small three-story house with a bay window in one of Fener-Balat’s residential streets. The house had been renovated by the EU rehabilitation project nine years ago. In the ground floor there is a little sitting room for guests, filled with a small sofa and a red patterned covering, a white table and a little electronic heater. Here we sat down on my first visit to her house. With the background of John’s claim of the absence of historical awareness amongst many rural migrants, I asked Aliye, who had come from Diybarakır in 1975, whether she valued her house for its historical and nostalgic nature and whether she preferred it to a modern apartment. She replied:

Well, I prefer to live here. Why? My relatives for example, they say: ‘Oh do you still live in this house?’ They look down on me because I live in such a house. [...] But these houses give us health. For example I am a diabetic and in the concrete houses it is harder for me. But this one gives oxygen, this house is healthy. Because I know that this house is healthy. (Interview Aliye, May 2015)

According to Aliye, she prefers to live in her old house due to health reasons, while she did not mention any historical value. Aliye is a diabetic and as such she regards the old houses with their wooden building material as healthier than modern buildings. But at the same time “the current social and physical condition of a house can be a bitter reminder of[...] discrimination” (Biehl 2015, p.603). This becomes apparent, when Aliye explains that she is looked down on by her relatives, because she lives in such an old house. Also Aliye’s daughter, who since her marriage lives in a more modern part of the city, said to me that she did not understand why so many foreigners seem to love the area, while she and others rather tried to escape from here. It seems living in one of the old historical houses in Fener-Balat is not a preferred

lifestyle in Aliye's social environment. Thus, different to the social circles of Fulya and John, where restoring and living in historical houses seems to be the appreciated lifestyle, in Aliye's case these historical houses are negatively viewed and moving into modern buildings seems to be a status of prestige. But unlike Fulya and John, Aliye was not able to choose the district and the house she lives in today. She had moved to Balat at the age of 14, when she married her husband, who had bought and chosen the house before. Still Aliye seems to identify with the house she lives in via references to its suitability for her health conditions. This might also be a way to justify her settlement in such a house against those who look down on her due to her housing situation. In this way she might be able to maintain a positive self-concept.

As mentioned earlier, Aliye's house had been renovated by the EU rehabilitation project. As such her house had received appreciation not only through material improvements to the house, but also symbolically, by being one amongst only 121 houses that had been selected for renovation works. According to Aliye, the houses were also chosen with regard to the house owners' personality. As such she connected the selection of her house to the appreciation of her personality, which she defined as being outgoing and friendly to tourist and strangers:

A: When UNESCO⁶⁶ did this, UNESCO chose me. [...] There are many photos of us. The majors, they chose me, because I am friendly.
–M.O.: According to what did they choose? – A: According to what? Because I live here the longest and because I act clean hearted towards everyone.[...] For example, they did not invite my next door neighbors to the meetings any further, but they invited me, because I love talking to foreigners. (Interview Aliye, May 2015)

⁶⁶ The EU led Fener and Balat Rehabilitation Project is often known and referred to as a UNESCO project by the residents of Fener-Balat, because UNESCO was involved in the initial stage.

In this way Aliye sees herself in an outstanding position against her neighbors as well as she regards herself in an important position within her mahalle⁶⁷. This is also reflected in another case, where she described herself as caretaker of the order of her mahalle and concluded: “Look, ours here is the cleanest mahalle. Because of me” (Interview Aliye, May 2015).

The example of Aliye shows another form of relating to the historical house. Aliye has a different social background than John and Fulya, thus living in historical houses is not a preferred lifestyle in her social circles. Aliye was furthermore not in the position to select the house she lives in now. However via making references to her house’s building material and its good effect on her health, she seems to find a way to identify with the house and legitimize her settlement, for example against any disrespect of others towards her housing situation. Unlike John, Aliye never spoke of any historical value or the historicity of her own or other houses in the district. Instead she experienced the choice of her house for renovation works as an affirmation of her important role within her street. In this way the house also confirms her in her local identity as caretaker of the mahalle.

⁶⁷ For Aliye the mahalle constitutes only the street she lives in.

8 Conclusion

Fener-Balat was initially described as a palimpsest of different stories. By presenting and analyzing several narratives of place and belonging this thesis has given an insight into some of these stories. Thereby different ways, in which residents of Fener-Balat define their neighborhood space, express their belonging and attachment to place and create meaningful relationships with their local surrounding, have become apparent. The cases presented in this thesis indicate that the mahalle is not only a space that is subjectively defined, but also constantly negotiated and socially constructed through socio-spatial practices of komşuluk. The mahalle seems to be furthermore consistent of several parallel or overlapping neighborhood networks, whereby the streets of Fener-Balat play a crucial role in enabling neighborly relationships across various differences and networks. In this way these results argue for an understanding of the concept of neighborhood as relational and socially constructed.

This thesis has furthermore shown that in Fener-Balat place attachment and belonging is often expressed by references to physical, social and symbolic features of the district. Especially komşuluk, community life and historical housing appeared to be central elements in the place narratives of residents and seemed to be regarded as crucial characteristics of the area. With view to narratives centered on topics of komşuluk and community life, two different forms of narratives became apparent. On the one hand there are the narratives of long-term residents, who express nostalgia for the old komşuluk with their non-Muslim neighbors. On the other hand there

are the narratives of mobile residents, who praise Fener-Balat as a place for komşuluk and community life at present. While these two forms of narratives seem contradictory, they should both be understood as ways of expressing local attachment and claiming belonging to place.

Based on claims for discussing individual place narratives in their socio-cultural context, this thesis has furthermore presented two dominant collective cultural memories, namely the cultural memory of traditional mahalle life and the cultural memory of cosmopolitanism in Istanbul. Due to having retained much of its historical physical structure, Fener-Balat is especially surrounded by these two cultural memories, which merge here into a narrative of multicultural, tolerant and closely-knit neighborhood relations in the past. Hereby a certain interrelatedness between the individual place narratives and the public place narratives became apparent. The individual narratives seem to reinforce and reproduce the public place narratives and the symbolic meanings of Fener-Balat. At the same time these individual narratives also appear to be influenced by the public narratives and cultural memories of the past tolerant and cosmopolitan mahalle-life. Against this background, the initial introductory questions can be replied. Here it was asked, whether the public and mediated image of Fener-Balat as a place of past multi-ethnic and multi-religious coexistence is also of relevance for today's residents of the districts. With regard to the indicated interrelatedness between the personal place narratives and the cultural memories of traditional mahalle life and cosmopolitanism in Istanbul, the question can be affirmed. The cosmopolitan past of the district, directly or indirectly, seems to play an important role in many of the narratives presented in this thesis.

By means of applying a smaller scale, this thesis has also demonstrated the importance of physical aspects for feelings of attachment and belonging to place. Being

an important part of residential life, the historical house has been discussed as a physical object that can hold manifold meanings. As has been shown with two examples of house owners, the house can be crucial for one's sense of self. In both these cases, residents had expressed an attachment to the historical houses they lived in, though in different ways and based on different symbolisms and meanings they associated with these buildings. These divergent symbolic meanings seemed to be also dependent on the respective social background of the house owners and point to an influence of social factors on place narratives and belonging narratives. With regard to further differences in narratives of people with different lengths of stay and degrees of mobility, this seems to indicate the interplay of various factors in the context of personal meanings of places. Thus, it would be interesting to further investigate the various interrelated factors that seem to shape experiences in Fener-Balat. In this way a deeper and richer understanding of the meanings and narratives of place would be enabled.

The central aim of this thesis was to give an insight into Fener-Balat as place, i.e. as space inscribed and filled with different meanings, memories and experiences.

Thereby it was of central concern to demonstrate the residents' own narratives of place. But while the voices of some of the long-term residents and some of the mobile residents have been presented here, the voices of those newcomers that have a lower income and a predominately rural background are, due to the explained reasons, not included in this thesis. However, they have been mentioned in several place narratives where they were accused of being the cause of the decline of the district or criticized for lacking historical awareness. Against this background it would be important to also investigate their experiences in Fener-Balat and to examine whether amongst these residents feelings of belonging and attachment exist as well. Thus

while this thesis has given insight into some of the narratives of the palimpsest of stories in Fener-Balat, there are, as suggested, many more waiting to be explored.



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Appendices

Appendix A: Maps and Photo of the District



Figure 8: Overlooking Fener-Balat⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Own photography, shot in May 2015.



Figure 9: Location of Fener-Balat in Istanbul⁶⁹

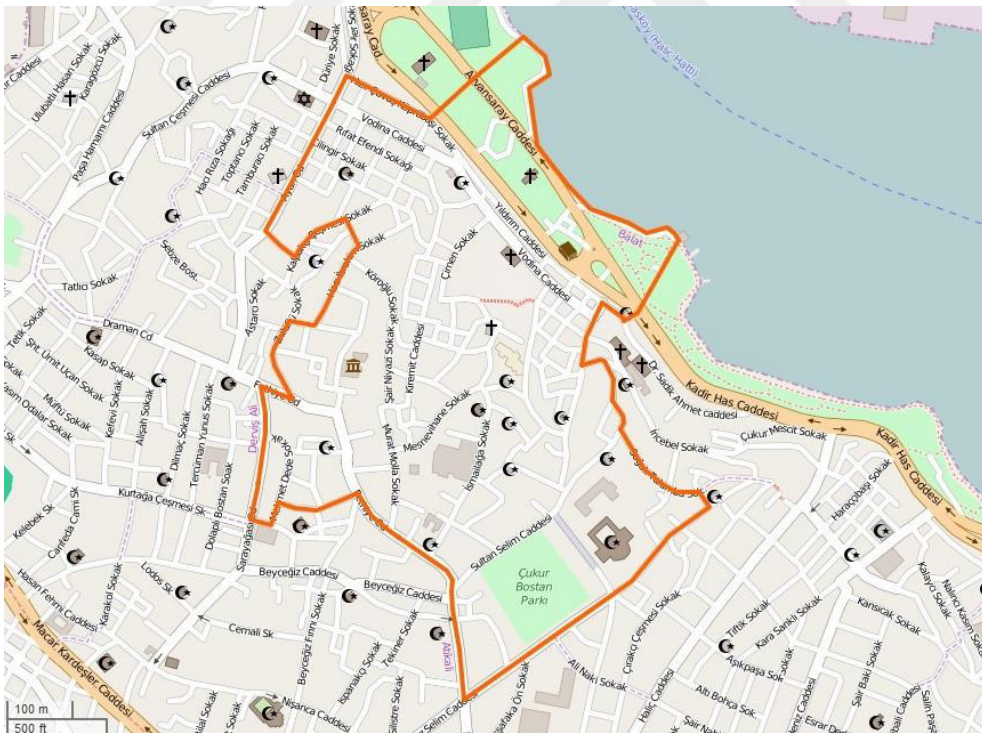


Figure 10: Administrative Borders of the "Balat Mahallesi"⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Screenshot from www.openstreetmap.org, accessed: 1st March 2016.



Figure 11 : A Walk through Fener-Balat⁷¹

⁷⁰ Screenshot from www.openstreetmap.org, accessed: 1st March 2016.

⁷¹ Own additional drawings, based on a screenshot from www.openstreetmap.org, accessed: 1st March 2016.

Appendix B: List of Interviewees

Interviewee (Pseudonym & Year Of Birth)	Date of Interview	Since when in Fener-Balat?	Occupation
Ahmet (*1930)	14th May 2015	Born and raised in Fener-Balat	Retired, he had built ships at the harbor of Balat
Aleksandra (*1989)	19th April 2015	Since 2000 in Fener-Balat	Works in the field of education
Aliye (*1961)	6th May 2015	Since 1975 in Balat	Housewife
Anagnostopoulos, Dositheos (Real name)	21st April 2015	Has gone to school in the Phanar Greek Orthodox College	Director of the Press Office at the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Fener
Fulya (*1957)	16th May 2015	Since 2008 in Fener-Balat	Works as University Professor
Gülhan (*before 1935)	14th May 2015	Came to Fener-Balat at the age of 14	Retired, her husband had worked at the harbor
Hülya (*1964)	25th April 2015 15th May 2015	Since 2001 in Fener-Balat	Shop Owner
Hüsseyin (*1961)	14th May 2015	Born and raised in Fener-Balat	Fruit and Vegetable Store Owner
John (*1941)	26th April 2015 16th May 2015	Since 2008 in Fener-Balat	Works as University Professor
Murat (*1961)	25th April 2015 14th May 2015	Born in Fener-Balat, lived here until he was 20 years old, returned in 1999,	Journalist
Sema (approx.*1951)	26th April 2015	Lived in Fener-Balat from 1954 until 1964	Architect
Zeynep (*1980)	15th May 2015	Came to Fener-Balat four years ago	Cafe Owner

Appendix C: Two Exemplary Interview transcripts

List of Transcription Rules:

Speaking simultaneously	=
Stopping or being interrupted before finishing a sentence/ thought	-
Para-linguistic or nonverbal expressions/behaviors	(takes a deep breath)
Long vowel	soooo
Pause while speaking	(.) = short pausing (..) = longer pausing (...) = long pausing
Emphases	I need !this! book.
Incomprehensible Turkish/English word	[Incomprehensible English/Turkish word/sentence]
English Translation of a Turkish word/ sentence/ paraph	[Trans.: intimate]
Anonymized information	[names her place of work]
Said while laughing	@...@
End of a sentence	.
Question	?
Notes on the conversation situation	<i>comes in</i>

Please note: All names used are pseudonyms.

Interview Transcript Nr. 1

Date: 15th May 2015

Person: Zeynep (*1980), since four years in Fener-Balat, has opened a coffee shop with a friend in Fener-Balat

Setting: Zeynep's café

Interviewer: Marina (M)

Interviewee: Zeynep (Z)

Please note: All translation has been provided by myself. Important Turkish paragraphs were proofread by a Turkish Native Speaker. Where this is done, it is indicated in a footnote.

Introductory Information: The interview took place in the café, which Zeynep had opened with a friend a month ago. I had not announced myself or informed her before on my interest in conducting an interview with her. Still, Zeynep immediately agreed on participating and being audio-recorded. In the whole time of our interview, no one – except someone asking for something – entered the café and so we had a quiet and ideal interview situation. The interview language was mainly English, but I had explained Zeynep that she can use Turkish, whenever she feels she cannot properly express her thoughts in English.

M: First, your year of birth? Hangi senede doğdunuz? [Trans.: Which year are you born in?] 00:00:17-1

Z: (.) My birth, 1980. 00:00:24-0

M: 89? 00:00:28-8

5 Z: No no, 19 (.) 80. 00:00:31-1

M: Anladım, tamam. Nerelisin? [Trans.: I see, okay. Where are you from?] Where are from, where -? 00:00:33-6

Z: I am from Istanbul. I was born here, but my family came to Istanbul from [names a city located in the Black Sea Area]. 00:00:42-1

10 M: [Repeats the name of the city]. I will go there in summer, for a wedding. 00:00:45-0

Z: Yeah, it's a very nice city. 00:00:46-2

M: Yeah? 00:00:46-2

Z: Yeah. I think they came maybe 60 years ago to Istanbul. 00:00:51-1

15 M: Ah okay. 00:00:51-7

M: When did you come to Balat? 00:00:55-0

Z: Four years ago. 00:00:57-2

M: Four years ago. The question: !Why! did you come to Balat? Why did you choose !Balat!? 00:00:59-6

20 Z: Because I was living in modern part of the city, very modern part of the city. Do you know the Kamyon Shopping mall or? 00:01:07-5

M: A yeah, ja, Med-, met- 00:01:09-6

Z: Levent. 00:01:09-6

M: Levent yeah 00:01:09-6

25 Z: I was born there, and I lived there for around more than 30 years, so (..) I don't like that relationships. It's not samimi [Trans.: intimate]. And you don't feel safe. So I came to here and I saw-, when I saw here, I felt like (.) I'm in village. I'm in village in

Istanbul and in very central place, in very central part of Istanbul. So I wanted to live here in old house. So (.) maybe we looked (.) for three months, we searched, we
 30 looked a lot of, we saw a lot of houses and we !found!. And we moved to here and a lot of people, my family and friends, talked to Can⁷²: “Don't worry!” Because at the first time, Can didn't want to come to here. 00:02:23-2
 M: Ah okay, why? 00:02:24-3
 Z: Because he is- do you know the "Beyaz Türk" [Trans.: White Turk], what does it
 35 mean? 00:02:29-2
 M: No. 00:02:29-9
 Z: Ah it's (..) it is, it is, it is, he is like a “plaza man”, you know. 00:02:36-0
 M: Ja. 00:02:36-2
 Z: And he has some afraid⁷³ about this place, some people, it is very cosmopolite, it's
 40 !not! suitable for him. 00:02:48-6
 M: Okay. 00:02:49-5
 Z: And he think, okay Zeynep wanted this too much, but I think maybe one or two years later she will, bor- she will boring, we will left. okay. !But! - 00:03:03-8
 M: Did he think? 00:03:04-9
 45 Z: Yeah, yeah yeah, of course. He said, Zeynep cannot live here. 00:03:08-5
 M. Did he?! 00:03:09-3
 Z: So !but now! he loves here. 00:03:12-7
 M: Ja? Funny. 00:03:14-7
 Z: Ja, we don't want to go to somewhere, to anywhere. So this is small and samimi
 50 [Trans.: intimate] and I feel (.) I feel really safety in here. When I am, when I am in here, for example I was alone for ten days last week, he went to Iran and my-, a lot of-, there is a lot of shops near my home in that street and every day they ask to me: “Are you ok, do you need anything? If, if, if, you can feel wrong something at night time, call, call us, Zeynep!” 00:03:58-8
 55 M: Oh nice. 00:03:59-3
 Z: “And close your windows, lock you doors”, like this, it is impossible in Istanbul. So I'm, I'm, I'm very happy here. 00:04:08-8
 M: And in Levent it was not like this? 00:04:10-5
 Z: No, eh my family came to there; they came to Istanbul, maybe 60 years ago,
 60 maybe more. And they moved to Levent, minimum 50 years ago or 55 years ago and they are very old there, by the way our street names is, our surname's. 00:04:35-0
 M: Oh really? (laughs) 00:04:36-2
 Z: Yeah really (smiles), eh because my grandfathers made a lot of things in that place, they made mosque and ways and waterchannels, or a lot of things. So they
 65 name of street our surname. And when I was a child, it was beautiful. There was a lot of houses and gardens, it was safety, but !now! our house renovated, and now there is 17, no 27 flat. 00:05:13-3
 M: Yeah, that's- 00:05:14-6
 Z: Insane there! so yeah (.) And my mum sees maybe nine or ten flat in that
 70 apartment, she doesn't know all apartment, yeah, so- 00:05:32-1
 M: Of course, jaaa. 00:05:33-8
 Z: Yes it's (..) it's very bad and I know a lot of people in that street eh there is a lot of old people, but !now! I think they don't know me. 00:05:48-6
 M: Ah okay it has changed. 00:05:50-7

⁷² Can is her husband.

⁷³ Here Zenyp seems to mean the word fear.

75 Z: Yes it's changed and the people there are like a stranger, so jaa I don't like that.
00:05:59-0
M: Yah I see, I see. Hmh and eh, you !worked! in Levent or did you change the job
now and now you- like how was the story? 00:06:09-1
80 Z: No, no, no I changed, I changed. I was, I was a [...] manager in very hughe
company. I was in corporate business live for (.) around 14 years, so I worked a lot of
company (.) beautiful company, I made a lot of ah very good jobs, !but! (seems to
laugh sarcastically), I was not happy, because I cannot challenge with bad peoples,
you know. and in Turkish business life is really wild. 00:06:48-5
M: (coughs) I can imagine, yeah. 00:06:50-5
85 Z: Yeah, It's really wild and the last two years, I felt (..) horrible. I was like a, I was
like a bird with broken wings, because (takes a deep breath), there is (.) a lot of bad
people in business lifes, so eh I lost my health, it was about the stress, I'm a [names a
desease], now so. One day, really in one day I left my job, I decided I don't want to
do this. I don't want to, too much money, eeh I can be a simple, I can live a simple
90 life, but I want to be happy. So eh I worked in Levent, [...], and my last work is in
[...], it's very close to airport. Aaand one year ago I left my job. So coffee was my
passion, yeah I am interested in coffee about maybe five or six years and we travelled
too much with Can. Eh when I, we found the money, two, two Kuruş money, we
bought plane ticket and we went to [Incomprehensible word]. 00:08:13-4
95 M: Nice (smiles). 00:08:13-6
Z: We saw a lot of places around the world and I visited a lot of coffee shops - *a man
comes in the shop and asks shortly for something, then he leaves again* - I visited a
lot of coffee shops around the world, especially one and half year ago, I, I went to
eeh West of USA, San Francisco, L.A. and somewhere. 00:08:40-4
100 M: aaaah nice 00:08:41-3
Z: And I saw amazing coffee shops and I taste amazing coffees and my mind was
changed totally and I said, I have to do this. So I'm here. 00:08:53-2
M: Yeah nice, nice. And then you kind of found each other, right? Like [names the
friend with whom Zeynep has opened her coffee shop] and you, he was - 00:08:58-5
105 Z: Yeah yeah, it's it's very similar story. 00:09:00-6
M: He explained a bit like this, it's @really funny@ (.) ok ehm so you just opened a
few months ago, right? Or a month, I mean I came right after- 00:09:11-2
Z: I think (.) one and a half months ago, it's very new 00:09:14-6
M: Nice, ehm again back to your house here, where do you live right now here? Like
110 is it an old house or ehm? 00:09:22-7
Z: Sorry? 00:09:23-0
M: Where you !live! here in Balat? Where do you live? Like- 00:09:27-6
Z: Here yeah, it's in [names the street she lives in]. 00:09:30-2
M=in the street where Aleksandra's church is? 00:09:30-1
115 Z: Ja it's the front of the Aleksandra's church. 00:09:33-6
M: Ah okay, because she mentioned like eh - (.) what !kind! of house is it? 00:09:39-3
Z: It's an old house, I think it's around 140 years old, yeah it's very old, but it's
renovated, you know. 00:09:50-8
120 M: Mhm, did you renovate it? 00:09:53-1
Z: No, no, no it was. 00:09:53-6
M= Okay it was before. 00:09:54-2
Z: It was with Avrupa Birliği [Trans.: European Union]. But we changed something,
but it's very old house, it's five floors and we are not using the, under the floor, we

125 are not using that. It's four floors, it's small, but we [Incomprehensible word].
00:10:19-1
M: And you, the two of you live there together, no one else? 00:10:21-6
Z: Yeah, yeah, yeah, no, we are just, I'm living with my husband and my dog, just.
00:10:24-9

130 M: Yeah nice, and you like the house, and the old house and- ? 00:10:29-8
Z: Yeah, yeah yeah. 00:10:30-4
M: Nice, ehm next, who are your neighbors, like in your-? 00:10:37-3
Z: Who are? Eh there is a lot of locals and eh on the other side of the street there is a church, but it's not working, but there is a lot of Christian family lives in 00:10:52-6

135 M: Yeah? really? Ah okay. 00:10:54-4
Z: Yeah with the Aleksandra's, I think there is maybe five or six families in that church, so- 00:11:01-3
M: Ah okay, are they living inside or around? 00:11:03-4
Z: Inside, inside and around. It's very complicated. And there is, a yeah four or six

140 Christian families and the, the other, there is Muslims and locals, I think a lot of people from eh West side of Karadeniz [Transl.: Black Sea Region]. 00:11:24-0
M: Hmh ah okay, okay, okay. Ehm and ehm how would you say is the relationship with your neighbors, like-? 00:11:33-1
Z: Ah, yeah, weh have a good relationships, but not like this. With that locals, the

145 shop owners, there is a cheese shop near my house, and other side is a tea shop, that side is firm [Trans.: Bakery], and we have a very good relationship with them, but we are not like this: they are not coming to my home and not coming their home ehh on the street, just on the street, it is very nice. Yeah, it's very nice. They, they loves me and we loves them. yeah, they are good people, and the other sides, there is a reall

150 huge supermarket and ehm (...) one plate and glass, that shop, we are not in relationship with them, because they are not good people, one of them is selling [incomprehensible word], you know, and ah the other one is not good, we, we, eh our friends came to us last year from Russia and Ukraine and when we were in work, they went to there, that market and they bought two tomatoes, two tomatoes and then

155 they paid !7! Turkish Liras. 00:13:00-3
M: Ah @ are they crazy?! Oho. @ 00:13:02-2
Z: Yes, and- 00:13:03-1
M: How can they do it? I don't know? 00:13:04-9
Z: Because you know, they are tourist and they don't know anything and she told me,

160 eh when I came to house from work, and she said: "Zeynep, I'm sorry, but is it normal, because I paid 7 Turkish Liras for just two tomatoes. And went to that market and I shout and I said: "[incomprehensible Turkish word] and our relationship was !finished!. Yeah. And, but, we have some friends around !Balat!, it's like eh [names Hülya's sister] and Hülya and Fulya or eh [names two more friends], like this. Eh for

165 example last night we went to Meyhane with [names Hülya's sister] and her husband and her daughter together. 00:13:52-0
M: To the Agora or which one do you mean? 00:13:54-8
Z: No, to Vasili. Troya, şey [trans.: I mean] Troya Hotel. Eh we have some neighbors, like us, eh, but with !locals! is difficult, they are good, they are good person, but they

170 cannot eh make a relationship because our lifestyle is different. Our houses are different, so. We are using Alcohol, and we are relaxed, so we are making relationship from street to window. 00:14:33-8
M: I see, eh, just more like that. When you say locals, whom do you mean? Like thee Turkish, Turkish people from the ehh, or- because I don't really- 00:14:46-1

175 H= Kurdens, Kurdens 00:14:46-7
M: Ah okay, aha and- 00:14:49-3
Z: Do you know after eh, the, the, eh, Aleksandra, explained to you, in eh 50s there was a horrible night in 6th and 7th September, so after that, a lot of Christian and eh Jewish people left from here, so a lot of people came to here, especially eh West-
180 Karadeniz [Trans.: West-Black Sea Region], from West-Karadeniz, Kastamonu, Karabüyük, like this. Yeah, yeah, so there is really amazing⁷⁴ population from Kastamonu, [incomprehensible Turkish word]. So I think our house, I think, it was maybe Jewish house, a hundred years ago and then the family from came to- Karabüyük our house owners from Karabüyük also. 00:15:48-1

185 M: Ah okay and then you came. I see, I see. When you said like you know Hülya, [names Hülya's sister]- her name? 00:15:54-2
Z: [names Hülya's sister] 00:15:56-2
M: Yeah, for example, would you call them - are they friends or would you also say to them "Komşu"? 00:16:00-8

190 Z: Komşu. 00:16:01-6
M: Komşu. Okay, that's interesting. 00:16:03-7
Z: Yeah, yeah. They are all komşu. And there is a really very nice community here, you know. A lot of Turkish and from the other countries. We are making sometimes komşu parties, and- 00:16:19-3

195 M: Yeah? 00:16:19-1
Z: Yeah, yeah yeah, we are, we made eh a komşu boat trip together, yeah yeah, the community is very nice, we are eh socializing together in here. For example, they are coming to here and sometimes we are going their shops and studios. 00:16:43-9
M: Yeah like Hülya I was sitting there, and all the time komşus @came in and out,
200 you know@ jaja that was interesting. 00:16:50-8
Z: (laughs) It's very popular, "Hülya olmazsa, Balat olmaz". Everbody knows Hülya. 00:16:57-3
M= (Laughs) Ja öyle mi[Trans.: Is it like that?]? 00:16:57-4
Z: Everybody loves Hülya and everybody loves Hülya, because she is the oldest, ja
205 in here and eh everybody loves here, you have to see her everyday: "Hi". Yeah, I am talking with her, when I am talking with her I am saying: "Hülya Abla, you have to open one Café please, because- 00:17:23-6
M: It's true. 00:17:23-9
Z: Yeah, "you have amazing potential and you have ready customers, minimum 50
210 customers per a day, because you are giving free tea and coffee and something to everybody !all! day. So you have to sell!" 00:17:43-0
M: (Laughs) it's true. 00:17:43-7
Z: "You have to make the money.", she says, "I cannot sell, Zeynep, What can I (.) what can (searching for the right words) what can I (..) want some money to them."
215 "Hülya Abla, you have to do this, please!" It's like a, ahm I forget that in English, the old people lives in there or something. 00:18:07-9
M: Eh yeah yeah, I know what you mean 00:18:11-0
Z: It's like a social house and the, a lot of people it's like, have mental problems, and Gypsies. A lot of people, uh, comes to there: "Hülya Abla, please, give me a food, give me a money, I'm hungry, I need the shoes!" Hülya Abla always like this.
220 00:18:35-8
M: Yeah? Oh okay, nice. 00:18:37-5

⁷⁴ Here she seems to mean this word in the sense of huge, big.

Z: "I buied shoes for you and okay come with me for eating something like this." 00:18:41-0

225 M: Oh she organizes stuff? Oh okay, I didn't know, I didn't experience yet. 00:18:45-4

H= Yeah, yeah, yeah, always. 00:18:43-8

Z: She is not eh making money in there, she spent a lot of money when she is in there. 00:18:52-8

230 M: Yeah, yeah, I like that her shop is also called [names the title of the shop] because it fits when she sits in her chaaair and then she tells and you know. 00:18:59-8

Z: She is very good story teller by the way. 00:19:01-9

M: Oh she is so good! Even if I don't understand everything, I see the ways she tells, you know it's like (laughs). 00:19:07-6

235 Z: Yeah yeah she is amazing storyteller. 00:19:09-4

M: @ Ja it's nice@ But hm, okay they are komşu. And then I'm wondering the word "mahalle"- 00:19:16-3

Z: The word "mahalle", evet? 00:19:17-6

M: What does it mean? Is it just a street? Is it an area? Like or is Balat-? 00:19:22-3

240 H= Yeah, it is an area. 00:19:22-5

M: Yeah, how big-? 00:19:23-7

Z: Balat and Fener, eh it's !same! for us. It's mahalle. 00:19:29-3

M: It's the mahalle. And the komşu are from -? 00:19:31-4

Z: Komşu is everywhere from Fener, from Balat, from Ayvansaray, somebody.

245 !Whole! mahalle, everybody is komşu. 00:19:40-1

M: Ah that's interesting. 00:19:41-1

Z: Normally komşu has eh to be near the home or same street, but !here! it's different. 00:19:49-8

M: Aaah okay, interesting. like just here? 00:19:52-9

250 Z: For example you are our komşu. 00:19:53-7

M: Yeah true, yeah, nice, (laughs). But like just here you think, in Balat? 00:20:00-1

Z: Jajaja, in Balat. Yeah. The Balat's life is really unique. Very unique. You cannot find any place in Istanbul like this. Its impossible, impossible. There is really nice places, for example like a Cengelköy, Beylerbeyi in (..), some places of Sarıyer, but

255 that places ehh changed, ehh majorly changed, so there is a lot of snob people live in there, so mahalle-life was changed. It's it looks very similar, but it's not same. The, the, the unique thing, I think, about Balat, there is a lot of local people lives in here still. That's very important I think. 00:20:53-2

M: True, true, yeah. 00:20:54-1

260 Z: The other places, the locals left. They selled their homes and they left. But in Balat different. Everybody, eeeeh a lot of people wanna change this, you know, maybe you- Hülya Abla explained. 00:21:10-4

M: Yeah not, not so much. 00:21:12-2

Z: They are trying to change Balat. And that people, ehh (..) occupying eh about their mahalle. 00:21:25-0

265 M: Aha, how do they try to change it? 00:21:27-3

Z: Because, you know there is a lot of poor people lives in here, in this area. 00:21:32-8

M: Yeah, I realized. 00:21:33-6

270 Z: And the people coming from somewhere and they are paying amazing moneys to their houses. So they're thinking I can buy normal flat, maybe three or four flat with this money and I can rent that houses, so I can live better. So they are selling their

houses. 00:22:02-2
M: The poor people in here, they sell their houses? 00:22:04-7
275 Z: That moneys are amazing for them. 00:22:07-0
M: Ja I can - because the prices are !rising!, yeah, I saw. 00:22:09-9
Z: When we came to here, for example the rentals, eh whole house, about whole house, renovated whole houses, it was four years ago, it was 800 Turkish, from 800 Turkish Lira to eh maybe 1000 Turkish Lira. It's amazing, it was very cheap. But
280 !now! same house for rental, 5000 Turkish Lira. 00:22:38-1
M: Wow, four times more. 00:22:39-9
Z: It's like a Bebek. It's, it's bullshit. 00:22:42-9
M: Ja it is. 00:22:43-7
Z: It's balloon. It's fake. Because somebody came to here, and they rented and they
285 bought a lot of houses and shops in Balat and they closed (..) for make a eh manipulation. And the prices was changed last a year, last one year. Everything happened in a year. 00:23:08-3
M: Oh my God, okay. 00:23:09-5
Z: Yeah from 2014 to 2015. 00:23:12-6
290 M: Now I understand. 00:23:13-0
Z: Yeah it's very close. We were shocked. Four years ago you can eh buy a whoole renovated house in, how much, maybe 150.000 Euros, now same house, one, maybe one and half million Turkish Liras. 00:23:40-4
M: Crazy. 00:23:41-0
295 Z: Yeah it's crazy. That you house, that you can see. (Points to the house opposite side), is one million- 00:23:44-7
M: With the wooden? (Points to a house) 00:23:45-9
Z: No, no no that side. (Points to another house) 00:23:48-3
M: Ah that one (sounds surprised)? 00:23:48-7
300 Z: That side, it's, it's more than one million. 00:23:52-1
M: Oh my goodness. 00:23:53-7
Z: Yeah it's crazy. 00:23:55-8
M: So there are people, buying the houses and then they wanna sell them for a lot of money to ? 00:24:00-3
305 Z: There is somebody buying all houses and shops and they are closing, so eh when you are searching house or shop, you cannot find. 00:24:11-6
M: Ah, I see. 00:24:14-1
Z: You have to pay more. It's fake. i think it will finish, but I don't know when. But it's fake, it's not normal. 00:24:20-8
310 M: Okay you think they won't get through with it? 00:24:22-2
Z: Yeah, yeah, somebody has a plan about Balat and Fener. 00:24:27-1
M: Yeah, ah interesting. 00:24:28-7
Z: It's like a Tarlabası or Sulukule. 00:24:33-5
M= Yeah I heard. 00:24:33-8
315 M: Yeah I heard with this, also the projects, the "rennovation projects" they call. Yeah, interesting. Okay back to my other questions, ehm "komşuluk", the word, what does it mean to you, or what does it mean, what is it? 00:24:53-2
Z: "Komşuluk" eh, I explain in Turkish. 00:24:56-3
M: Mhm tamam. 00:24:56-6
320 Z: Hm "komşuluk" şu demek: eh aynı yerde yaşadığım insanlara güvenebilmek demek, yani komşunuz şenin evine çok rahat gelebilir ve Türkiye'de şey yoktur, böyle randevuzlaşmazsın, ya telefona acarsın ve: "Kız, sana geliyorum, çay koy!"

Komşuluk budur, kendine böyle hissedebildiğin, işte bir yere giderken, anahtarını bırakırsın, arabayı bırakırsın, ya da onun bir şey ihtiyacı olduğunda işte
325 hastalandığında örneğin eh ailesinden önce hemen sana gelir çünkü bilir ki sen ona yardımcı olursun, yemeğini paylaşırsın, evini paylaşırsın, komşuluk budur ve eh komşuluk artık sadece Balat gibi çok eski semtlerde. Artık komşuluk bitti. Bu modern hayatla birlikte ve inanılmaz göçle birlikte İstanbul artık çok kalabalık, insanlar bir birine güvenmiyorlar, çünkü çok büyük apartmanlarda çok kalabalık
330 yaşıyorlar ve kimse kimseyi tanımıyor. eh Tanımayınca de güvenmiyor, hatta aynı apartmanda yaşayan insanlar birbirine selam bile vermiyor, çünkü kimse onun ne olduğu ne de kim olduğu bilmiyor. O bir yabancı ve katil olabilir, hırsız olabilir, her türlü olabilir. Ama bu küçük yerlerde, herkes birbirini biliyor. Mesela iyi olanı da biliyorsun, kötü olanı da biliyorsun. Eh az önce söyledim, kötü olanla
335 ilişki kurmuyorsun, ama iyiyle ilişki kurabiliyorsun. Biz burda işte seyahat ederken biz evin, arabanın anatahrı Peynirçiye bırakıp gidiyoruz⁷⁵. 00:26:44-2

[Trans.: “Komşuluk” means this: to the trust the people who live in the same place, and the neighbor can come to your house easily, and [incomprehensible Turkish],
340 you open the phone and: “Hey, I coming to you, put on some tea.” This is komşuluk, to feel like this, and when you go somewhere, you leave they keys at them, or if they need something, for example because he/she is sick, she/he comes to you, before he/she goes to the family, he would go to you. Because he knows that you will help, you share your food, you share your house, this is komşuluk. And Komşuluk
345 exist now only in these old districts such as Balat. Actually the komşuluk is over now. Due to the modern life and incredible migration İstanbul is very crowded now. People don’t trust each other, because they live in big apartments very crowded and people don’t know each other. And when they don’t know each other, they don’t trust each other. Even people living in the same apartment don’t greet each other, because
350 you don’t know who that person is. He/She could be a stranger and murder or a thief, it could be every kind of person. But in these little places everyone knows everyone. For example, you know the good ones, and the bad ones. As I said before, with the bad ones you don’t built up a relationship, but with the good ones you do. When we go travelling, we leave the keys of the house and the car at the cheeseshop.]

355 M: Güzel [trans.: Nice]. 00:26:44-5

Z: Eh when we came back to here, absolutely, my car eh, my car's place changed, really to !more! safety place. Yeah, they are changing. Ya da Kar yağıyor ve işte araba donuyor. Bir iniyroum, ehe böyle sileceklerimde gazete kağıtları sarılmış, cana yapmasın diye. Komşum yapmış. Kendi arabasını yaparken, benim ki de⁷⁶.

360 [Summarized Trans.: When there is frost on the car, the neighbor does not only cover his own car with newspapers, but also hers] 00:27:17-8

M: Ah güzel. [trans.: Nice] 00:27:18-9

Z: Bu komşuluk. Bu sadece artık eski İstanbul'da [Trans.: This is komşuluk. This is now only in the old İstanbul]. 00:27:25-7

365 M: Burda var o zaman? [Trans.: So it exists here?] 00:27:27-4

Z: İnsanlar burda birbirini tanıyor. Herkes birbirinin kim olduğunu, ne olduğunu, siyasi düşüncesini, işini eh biliyor, bir şekilde biliyor. Ve bunun için de güvenebildiklerini seçiyor, güvenemedikleri ile seviyeli bir ilişki kuruyor, ama eh hani birinin yardımı bunu ihtiyacı olduğu yinede, herkes koşuyor. Çünkü bu, ja

⁷⁵ The Turkish in this paragraph has been proofread.

⁷⁶ The Turkish in this paragraph has been proofread.

370 komşuluk bunu gerektirir. Komşuluk böyle bir şey⁷⁷. 00:27:58-3
[Trans.: Here people know each other. They know what people do and who they are, they know their darkest thoughts, they know this. And because of this, they chose the ones they trust. With the ones they trust they built up civilized relationships, but whenever someone is in need, everyone comes to help. Because komşuluk asks for
375 this. Komşuluk is something like this.]
M: Evet, güven ve- [Trans.: Yes, trust and-] 00:27:58-8
Z: Evet 00:27:59-3
M: Güzel. [Trans.: Nice]. Mhm. 00:28:00-9
Z: Eh mesela, bizim karşımızda bir aile yaşıyor, eh onlar AK Parti destekliyorlar, eh
380 ve biz nefret ediyoruz AK Parti'dan. [Trans: For example, across us lives a family, and they support the AKP, and we hate the AKP]. 00:28:15-5
M: Ah Ak Parti mhm, ofis burda, benim ev yanında. [Trans.: Ah the AK Party, there office is here, next to my house]. (Laughs) 00:28:20-5
Z: Gezi Occupy Zamanında [Trans.: In the times of the Gezi Protests] we was very
385 active with my husband. 00:28:25-7
M= Yeah Hülya also. 00:28:26-4
Z: Yeah, we, too. And the topic you knows, right? So because we went every day and every night and (.) he knows also and benim kocamı [incomprehensible Turkish word], ya böyle bağırdı, küfür etti. Geziye gittiği için işte. Eh ama bir gün onun
390 annesi hastalandı ve benim kocam gidip yardım tekliff etti. Dedi ki "ben size hastaneye götürebilirm, arabam var, [incomprehensible Turkish word] yardımcı olabilirim", kadın işte çok teşekkür etti ve sonra oğlu işte eşimi gördüğünde dedi ki işte böyle: "Çok teşekkürler, gecen gün annemle ilgilenmişsin. Sağol" falan. Bu komşuluk. 00:29:14-7
395 [Trans.: He shouted at my husband,[...], he swore, because he had gone to Gezi. But one day his mother got sick and my husband went to her and offered his help. He said: "I can bring you to the hospital, I have a car. [...] I can be helpful." The woman thanked him a lot, and later her son, when he saw my husband, he said like this: "Thank you very much. Yesterday you looked after my mother. Thank you" and so
400 on. This is komşuluk.]
M: Ah tamam, o zaman o[Trans.: Ah oaky, then - you mean like they, they vote for AKP, but it doesn't matter because you just like- 00:29:22-9
Z: Yeah, yeah yeah yeah, for !us! you are human, are you human or not. You can be everything, you can be from AKP, you can be from HDP, you can be Christian, you
405 can be Jewish, you can be Atheist. It's, it's not matter for us. Eh you are human or not, yeah it's the, the important thing is this. And you can feel eh that thing in this place. You can not feel this in modern part of city. 00:29:55-1
M: Ja. Ehm, what do you like about Balat and what do you !not! like about Balat, are there things? 00:30:05-8
410 Z: Hmh, I said yani komşuluk [Trans.: neighborliness], [incomprehensible word] eh simple life, I like this. Güven seviyorum. Ne sevmiyorum? Eh, burda çok eğitimsiz insan var,[Trans.: I love the security. What do I not love? Here are very uneducated people] eh sometimes they are dangerous, I don't like this, so I cannot change this. I am trying, really, I'm trying, I'm touching the child, I'm talking with them, eh but
415 sometimes I feel really "çaresiz"[Trans.: helpless], because, çok sey görüyorsun, hiç bir şey eh [incomprehensible word], burda çok iyi insanlar var, burda çok kötü insanlar var, yani [Trans.: You see many things, [...], there are very good people in

⁷⁷ The Turkish in this paragraph has been proofread.

- here and there are very bad people in here], some people using the child for sell a drug, for example, and you can see this, but you cannot make anything, so (takes a
420 breath) you are seeing a lot of things about the Gypsies child, they are desperate, I think. Like this, it's not my personality; it's not about my personality, but insan olarak Balat'ta sevmediğim bir şey bu [Trans.: as a human this is a thing I don't like in Balat]. 00:31:34-5
- M: Bu, evet, aynın [Trans.: Yes, I agree]. 00:31:36-2
- 425 Z: Yani burda çok kötü şeyler var, bunu çok canlı görüyorsun, ama genelde hiç bir şey yapamıyorsun o kötülüğün karşısında , sadece: you are watching. [Trans.: I mean there are very bad things here, you watch them very emphatically, but in general you don't do anything about it, you are only watching]. 00:31:48-8
- M: Ja, when I moved here, and I realized at night when I was sleeping till, like at two
430 or three o'clock there were children outside on their own and this was for me frist, oh wohw, but yeah eh. 00:32:02-6
- Z: I'm talking always the child girls, with the girls, I'm saying always: "Girls look if somebody wanna touch to you, don't except this. Eh don't go somebodies car and house, please! please, please, don't, don't, don't". I'm always saying this, because it's
435 you know. 00:32:38-3
- M: ja, I, I thought about it also, yeah. 00:32:39-8
- Z: I am supporting !one! Syrian family in Balat, for one and half years, and I'm collect, I'm collecting cloths, and foods and money from my friends and family. I'm not giving money, she has a two girls, they are so sweet, I think they are four or five
440 years old and she has one baby boy. I'm not giving money, I'm buying something for pampers for babyboy and the shoes and clothes and some food from market and I'm always giving something to them. And that girls are really sweet and that woman is not like other Syrian peoples, you know. I'm giving something from one and a half year and she didn't come one time. She didn't come to mine and she didn't want from
445 me anything, really. If I give something and "Teşekkürler". If I not, it's okay. So (.) that girls are so sweet I said, I, I hear one day in this street and one man wanna !touch! her face like this and she escaped and he said, "Dönerleri yerken iyiydi. Ben sana döner aldığım zaman, iyiydi, zilli, şimdi bana işte bir şey vermiyorsun yanağında"⁷⁸ [Trans.: It was nice when we ate Döner. When I bought you Döner it was nice, shrewish girl, now you don't give me anything from your side] (..)I
450 shocked. I was like ice(..) He gave to that child Döner and he wanna touch to her. 00:34:39-7
- M: Woah, oh god. 00:34:40-6
- Z: Yeah, I said: "What, don't touch to her. ! Don't ! !touch! !to! !her!. You can not touch to her. Don't. You cannot, can you make same thing to child with eeeeh, Turkish child with mother? Try! You cannot to her, so you cannot to her." He said: "But she is eating a lot of things from me" - So (.) !so! ? I don't like this in Balat, there is really - ah that girls, my girls (she points to the window) *In that moment the two girls are playing outside of the café.* 00:35:21-2
- 460 M: Oh gosh, swееееet! 00:35:22-6
- Z: Yeah they are twins. (Laughs) 00:35:23-1
- M: Oh really?? (laughs) (...) oh she is really sweet. Do they also live here in a house somewhere? 00:35:32-5
- Z: Yeah, backstreet. 00:35:33-2
- 465 M: Yeah I heard like the government is providing them houses or is, I don't know -

⁷⁸ The Turkish in this paragraph has been proofread.

people say ya they get houses, but I don't know. It's not like this? 00:35:42-6
Z: No, no, no. There is some camps you know in the east side of Turkey, !but! in the cities, in the big cities for example in Istanbul, government are not eh supporting them I think. Maybe the municipality eh gives a food, maybe I'm not sure about this,
470 but I saw in somewhere, they are paying their rentals themselves. For example her father is a, he is working, working in firm, kaçak ama, ucuz, ucuz iş [Trans.:at the baker, it's illegal, but cheap, cheap work]. They are working in the inşaat [Trans.:constructions] and somewhere, but kaçak [Trans.: illegal], they are not official. The don't have a passport. 00:36:33-8
475 M= No, no they get less money and stuff. 00:36:34-7
Z: Less money, maybe 500 Turkish Lira. It's not enough for life, so but they are working and they are paying rental fee and their houses are !amazing! It is not suitable for the human. Yeah, when I walk, walking with my dog, I fell really very bad because my dog's accommodation is better than that people, really. And I fell
480 really bad. I'm shame. 00:37:18-9
M: Yeah I know what you mean 00:37:26-6
Z: I think the bad thing is this, major thing is this about Balat. 00:37:31-2
M: Do you have like places that are important to you, like which places do you like, which ones are important, where do you love to go? 00:37:41-6
485 Z: Ah (seems to be an easy to answer question, seems happy about this question) Yes we have. I like Vodina Cafe. And I like her backyard, it is very nice for summertime, it's my favourite. And now I like [incomprehensible Turkish name] place "Perispiri". 00:38:00-5
M: Ah what's the name? 00:38:06-4
490 Zeynep writes it down for me.
M: Ahis it like a Cafe? 00:38:12-4
Z: Yeah yeah it's like a restaurant; it's in end of eh Patriarchate street. 00:38:17-7
M: Ah I might have seen. 00:38:19-1
Z: Ya it's near the Troja Hotel. Aaaand where? And I have a lot of places in nearby,
495 Fatih for Kebap and you know, we loves shoreside, but weekdays, not weekends. 00:38:37-7
M: @jaaaaa same@ 00:38:39-9
Zeynep: @ It's a nice place, especially in summertime.@ and (..) yeah like this and "Vaisli Meyhane" [Trans.: Vasili Tavern], is the same building Troya Hotel. It's very
500 nice place. And "Hüseyin'in yeri", of course. 00:38:57-3
M: Ah what's this? 00:38:58-6
Z: Hüseyin'in yeri, it's here, Meyhane [Trans.: Tavern], It's very local meyhane. 00:39:04-2
M: Is it close to Hülya's shop? I think she mentioned it then. 00:39:08-0
505 Z: Ama şey [Trans.: But], it's it's in this street, it's very close. It's in Vodina eh (.) it's here, it's very close to here. It's a local meyhane, it's a "mahalle meyhanesi" [Trans.: neighborhood tavern], it's not so delicious, but it's it's pretty you know, and eh that that feel is very nice I think, especially in summertime, we are wearing our shorts and Tshirts and we are taking cigarette and phone and key just and you can go to
510 meyhane, with 300 metres and yeah yeah it's safety. (.) Agora is also very nice, but it is !so expensive!, I don't like. And they (.) hmh (..) ah o tarihi dokuya zarar verdi düşünüyorum, çünkü orda sur duvarları vardı ve onlar yıktılar, orayı yaparken, eh ve ben o yüzünden ondan çok hoşlanmıyorum. Mutfak güzel, çok pahalı, ama Balatın dokusuna eh zarar vermiş olmaları sebebiyle, bundan çok hoşlanmıyorum. [Trans.: I think they damaged the historical texture, because there were the ancient walls and
515

- they knocked them down, and because of this I don't like it very much. The kitchen is nice, but very expensive. But because they damaged the texture of Balat, I don't like that very much.] 00:40:34-8
- M: Mhm, zarar verdi?[Trans.: They damaged it?] 00:40:36-3
- 520 Z: Of course, of course, eh the interesting thing about Balat, I think, I saw a lot of people in four years, a lot of people came to here from Çihangir, Galata and Nişantaşı, Beşiktaş, somewhere. Ehh, if (.) buranın dokusuna saygı duymuyorsan, eh burası seni kabul etmiyor [Trans.: When you do not respect the texture here, then you won't be accepted here.] Ve you have to leave from here, yeah, really it's the
- 525 interesting thing I think. Buraya saygı duyorsan [Trans.: If you show respect here], you can live here, but the other way it's impossible, !but! this is !not! any pushing or ehm mobbing (.) it's the nature of Balat, I don't know how, but buraya saygı duymuyorsan [Trans.: if you don't show respect to here], you are unhappy in here. Because the people are not loves you, so eh. 00:41:45-4
- 530 M: You kind of have to adopt to the place and the people, you cannot just come and do your own thing, you mean? 00:41:52-5
- Z: Yeah, yeah, interesting. 00:41:54-7
- M: Yeah I had the same impression. That's true. Okay en son soru [Trans.: the last question]. What would you wish for the future of Balat? What do you think, how
- 535 should it develop or how-? 00:42:07-5
- Z: Hmjaaa (seems to be hard to answer). I think Balat, hm, has to be changed, but not too much. Eh it has to be changed little. Eğer [Trans.: If] some good brands and some good designers and some good places comes to Balat, eh ehhh Balat win a lot of
- 540 thing about that, people. But it has not to be like a Çihangir or Karaköy. 00:42:44-8
- M: Oh Karaköy ya, crazy. 00:42:47-6
- Z: And my, another wish is about Balat, (.) I wish the government cannot come to here like Tarlabası or Sulukule. I feel really bad, because I know they have a lot of plan about here and because I was marketing manager of the very huge company and I
- 545 saw a lot of projects and designs about the city and I know here they have amazing plans, about here. Especially about the shore side. I think, I wish, inşallah [Trans.: So God will.] 00:43:30-7
- M: I read an article yesterday ehm or let's say- about it that they ehm, they can take the houses from people ? For “Restoring” and then they sell, make them more pricey and - I couldn't believe it, it's like their property and they (.) take it from the people, I
- 550 was shocked. 00:43:51-9
- Z: Yeah yeah yeah it's (..) 00:43:53-4
- M: Eh ya I know. 00:43:56-1
- Z: And they made the same thing in Tarlabası also. 00:43:57-7
- M: Yeah I heard, Sulukule also. 00:43:59-3
- 555 Z: The, the, the place totally changed, the changing is really bad. In Turkey, you know, they cannot make a renovation. Yıkıyorlar[Trans.: They knock it down], the are making new building. 00:44:16-4
- M: ja, ja, ja that would be awful here, I think. 00:44:21-0
- Z: Yes of course, saçmalık. Şey [incomprehensible Turkish paragraph] Yani inşallah
- 560 Balatı kaybetmiyoruz, çünkü bu değişim, bu hızlı değişim, bu şekilde giderse, biz de Balat'ta yaşamayacağız, çünkü we cannot afford it, you know [Trans.: This is nonsense. [...]] Hopefully we won't lose Balat, because this change, this rapid change, it if goes on like this, we will not live in Balat, because we cannot afford it.]. 00:45:10-6
- 565 M: Yeah, it's scary. 00:45:11-0

- Z: Ja the rental fees are amazing, the houses prices are amazing, the shops' rental fees are amazing, so who will live in here? 00:45:22-6
- M: Yeah who of the ordinary people should pay this? 00:45:26-1
- Z: Yeah so they wanna make like a Karaköy or Çiğir, but I wish they can't.
570 00:45:32-4
- M: Yeah inşallah [Trans.: So God will]. What do you do like this? (knocks on wood and makes a kissing sound) 00:45:38-1
(Zeynep demonstrates) Haha okay I learned. Okay ja thank you, that was !super!
interesting for me. 00:45:44-1
- 575 H= Ya you're welcome.

Interview Transcript Nr. 2

Date: 06th May 2015

Person: Aliye (*1961), since 75 in Balat, Housewife

Setting: Guest Room in Aliye's House

Interviewer: Marina (M)

Interviewee: Aliye (A)

Translator (T)

Please note: Translation has been provided by a Turkish friend who accompanied me on this appointment. During the interview situation she provided a rough translation. The Turkish transcriptions are my own and can thus be incorrect. However, where used as quotations in the text of the thesis, the Turkish had been proofread by a Turkish friend and translations were discussed together. In this manner all my Turkish interviews were conducted and analyzed.

Introductory Information: The interview took place in the home of Aliye. I had meet Aliye on a walking tour with two other research participants through Fener-Balat. Here she had invited me to come over to her house for a Turkish coffee some other day. My visit was unannounced, but Aliye was at home and seemed happy about our visit and my interest in what she had to say. My translating friend was a female fellow student of my university, which in this situation fitted very well. Aliye seemed happy to host two young woman. The interview setting was quiet.

In the beginning Aliye explains use that she has two name, one official, and one unofficial. I explain, that all information will be anonymized anyway. 00:01:38-8

T: Kaç tahrini doğdunuz? 00:01:42-1

A: Ben 61'de doğumluyum. 00:01:44-3

T: Nerde doğdunuz? 00:01:45-7

A: Diyabakır'da. 00:01:47-5

5 T: Ne zaman Balat'a geldiniz? 00:01:52-9

A: 40 senedir, tam 41 senedir ben Balat'tayım. 00:01:58-4

T: Neden? 00:01:59-3

A: @Evlendim@ (laughs) 00:02:01-5

M: Ah öyle mi? 00:02:02-9

10 A: Kaç yaşında evlendiğim, diye de yazarsen, gülerler. 14. 14 yaşında, ben- 00:02:09-6

T: She got married when she was 14 and that's why she moved to Balat. Because she got

- married to a person. 00:02:16-4
M: Okay, to a person that lived here? 00:02:18-0
T: Kocanız burda mı yaşıyordunuz? 00:02:20-1
15 A: Burda yaşıyordunuz. 00:02:21-3
T: Yeah, her husband was living her. 00:02:23-4
A: Koca benden daha önce buraya, bu evi almışlar. 00:02:26-7
B She came to the already bought house by her husband. 00:02:31-7
T: Bu evde sizden başka kim yaşıyor? 00:02:35-7
20 A: Bu evde benden eşim yani, çocuklarım büyüdüler. 00:02:39-4
T: Evlendi mi? 00:02:41-4
A: 39 yaşında bir çocuğum var, biz ondan 14,15 yaş mı büyüdüm yani onda, benim büyük. 00:02:54-8
B She gave birth when she was 15, so her oldest son or daughter - I am not sure - is 39
25 years old now and right now it's only her and her husband living in this house. 00:03:07-1
M: Are her children still living here in Balat? 00:03:09-3
T: Çocuklar hala burda mı oturu- Balat'ta mı yaşıyorlar? 00:03:12-8
A: Balat'ta şirketi var, iş yeri var. 00:03:15-4
30 T: Ama burda da oturuyorlar mı? 00:03:16-8
A: Yok. 00:03:17-4
T: Nerde oturuyorlar? 00:03:18-5
A: Biri[...], biri eh [...], [...]iki kız [...]. 00:03:26-3
Aliye explains that she likes my smiling face and that she remembered me from the first time, when we met on the street. 00:04:42-1
35 T: Bu evi UNESCO mu şey yaptı, yenlendi? (Aliye nods) 00:04:49-8
M: Interesting, ne zaman, ya hangi yıl? 00:04:52-6
A: 10 (.) kaç, ya o tarihi tutmuyor, on sene oldu, dokuz sene rahat dokul. Dokuz sene rahat. 00:05:00-1
40 M= years? 00:05:02-7
T: Mhm nine years before. 00:05:06-7
T: Eviniz, sen memnun musun, burda yaşamak komförlü mü? 00:05:11-3
A: Ben burda yaşamayı seviyorum. Ama eski komşularım olsaydı, daha çok sevecek. 00:05:18-0
45 B She would like it better, if she had the old neighbors that she had. 00:05:24-1
T: Peki diyor evlerin burdaki mesele bu yaşadığımız tarihi bir ev, nostaljik, eski, bu sizin için ayrı bir anlamı ifade ediyor mu? Mesele normal apartmanda yaşamaktan burda yaşamak⁷⁹? 00:05:36-3
A: Şimdi, burda ben yaşamak ben daha çok seviyorum. Neden? Benim mesele bu ev,
50 benim akrabalarım bilmeyenler diyorlar ki: Ah hala o evde mi yaşıyorsun?" Mesele beni küçük görüyorlar bu evde oturduğum için. Halbuki onlar küçük evlerde oturuyorlar ve evler şey değerli. Bu evler biz sağlık yani, ben mesele şeker hastasıyım, beton binada ben daha dert geçirdim. Ama bu oxygen veriyor, bu tavanlar, yani bu ev sağlık. Sağlıklı bu ev. Ben, çünkü ben biliyorum bu evin sağlığı olduğunu.⁸⁰ 00:06:14-6
55 T: She is saying, her relative are kind of looking down on her, because she still lives in that old house, but she is saying, yes she prefers living in this kind of house to an apartment, the newly apartment, because she thinks these houses are healthier. She has a diabetes going on, so she knows that this is better than the concrete ones, because these are probably wooden, right? 00:06:38-3
60 M: Ah maybe, I'm not sure. 00:06:39-5

⁷⁹ The Turkish in this paragraph has been proofread.

⁸⁰ The Turkish in this paragraph has been proofread.

T: I think so, or stone somehow, so you need to look for an architecture maybe, she thinks they are healthier for. 00:06:46-8

- 65 *Aliye explains that it is not clean in her house, when we come some other day, it will be clean, today she had been very busy.* 00:07:29-0
T: Böyle tarihi, nostalgic olmasını tercih ederin dediniz? 00:07:32-4
A: Ediyorum, çünkü sağlık bakımından 00:07:34-5
T: Yes because of the health reasons, she prefers these. 00:07:37-8
M: Oh she thinks the other houses make sick? 00:07:39-1
70 T: Neden bu beton house, ne farkı var? 00:07:42-1
A: Tahta, tahta, sağlıklı bir ürün. 00:07:48-8
T: Oh this is a wooden house. 00:07:51-6
A: Şimid ben mesela, Allah kurursun, kanserli bir hasta gelen burda beş sene yaşar, Allah kursun, hasta olan, yani kötü hasta olan, beş sene yaşar , betonlu binada iki ay yaşar.
75 00:08:08-0
T: Oh okay, she is saying in the new houses because there are the concrete, they are made out of concrete stuff, they live shorter in this kind of places, because wood is healthier to live, so she is saying, if a cancer person came and lives here, she can survive here for five years, but in the concrete ones maybe only for two months. So for
80 the health reasons, she prefers this. 00:08:34-2
M: Ah interesting, okay. 00:08:33-9
T: Diyor ki, -so the next question- 00:08:37-3
M: Yeah it would be interesting for me, that's like ehm- 00:08:40-0
T: Do you have any questions? 00:08:42-5
85 M: No it's more like if there are many tourists around here? If they walk her house, but she said already that she just laughs at them and smiles. 00:08:51-7
T: No, we didn't, we didn't ask this one, we didn't ask this one either. *Both are looking at the interview guide which has been written on a piece of paper.* I'll first ask this one. 00:08:56-9
90 M: It's kind of connected to what she already said, I think. 00:09:00-4
T: Gelen turistler ve böyle fotoğraf çekmeye geliyorlar ya, sizi rahtsız ediyor mu, diyor? 00:09:06-7
A: Olmuyorum. Ben hatta çekin diyorum. Seviyorum ben, yani ben insanları seviyorum ben. 00:09:14-5
95 T: She likes people that are coming and take 00:09:16-4
A: UNESCO yaptığınde burayı, UNESCO beni seçti. 00:09:17-9
T: When UNESCO first did it, UNESCO chose them (her) 00:09:26-6
A: Şimdi Belediye başkanlar, millet [incomprehensible Turkish word], turizm kültür başkanları falan falan, bizim hep resimlerimiz var, Belediye başkanları, beni seçti, ben
100 sıcak kanlıyım. 00:09:39-7
T: Neye göre seçtiler? 00:09:40-9
A: Neye göre, evlerimizin hem olduğu zaman bir de ben herkese karşı eh temiz kalplıyım 00:09:47-9
T: Ah böyle kural falan yapmadılar, böyle sizin gibi böyle evler olan bir süre insan vardı,
105 ama hepsinin evini yenilermediler. 00:09:55-6
A: Yenilerdilerdi, bizim mesela, benim yan taraf, fazla toplantıya çağırmadılar. 00:10:00-6
T: Aha öyle. 00:10:01-9
A: Ama beni çağırıyorlar. 00:10:03-3
110 T: Anladım, siz tabii daha böyle [incomprehensible Turkish word]. 00:10:05-3
A: Daha, yani yabancı insanları, daha insanları sevdiğim için. 00:10:09-4
T: Anladım. She is saying. They, UNESCO chose her, because she was more into the

- 115 talking to the people, the strangers. And for example her neighbor didn't want to talk to the strangers, or the strange, the tourists, you know the people coming from abroad. So when they had meetings here with the official people, they always invited her, but not for example, her neighbor, because she likes people, and she wants to talk to them about the place. 00:10:43-7
- M: And she said also her heart is eh, what did she say? 00:10:46-9
- A: Bir de eski olduğum için beni saydılar, (.) toplantı çok 00:10:52-8
- 120 T: Also she has been here for more years 00:10:55-8
- M: Than her neighbors, also? Ah interesting. 00:10:58-2
- Translator explains Aliye why she has to translate all the time.*
- T: Şimdi size komşularla ilgi soruyor, diyor ki; Bir tane Rum Madam - 00:11:26-1
- A: Madam V. 00:11:26-8
- 125 T: Onunla ilgi biraz daha açık anlatabilirsiniz [Incomprehensible Turkish sentence] 00:11:31-5
- A: Şimdi Madam V. ben gelin geldiğimde, 14 yaşındaydım, Madame büyüktü, yaşı büyüktü, yani, ben ondan komşuluk yani, bana annelik yaptı yani. 00:11:43-0
- 130 T: When she first came, she was 14 years old and the Madame was living there and she was older, so because she was 14, she kind of treated her as a daughter and helped her. 00:11:53-6
- A: Komşumun kızı [incomprehensible Turkish sentence], o burda, bu yan taraftaydı, bu bizim duvar burası daha ince, duvarımız bir, dedi ki @ "Aliye, Aliye! [incomprehensible sentence] Koş, Koş, Gel, gel!" @ 00:12:13-0
- 135 T: Rumca konuşuyor, siz de anlayabilirsiniz. 00:12:14-8
- A: Evet, bir kismet, ya ben unuttum, ama işte hani şaka olsun [incomprehensible sentence/word] bilmem, işte Rumca falan. Ben, biz, çok güzel günümüz geçti ama, o kadar güzel günümüz geçti. 00:12:29-4
- T: Güzel. 00:12:30-0
- 140 A: Ya ben yatıyordum burda, Almanya'dan gelen kızları onları Almanya'da yaşıyorlardı, gelipte işte hani bana kocam derdi, misal şaka, espri. "Kalk, niye bu saatta yatıyorsun? Khave iceceğiz" falan. Saat onda kahvemiz vardı, yani işte saatlerce yemek falan, yani çok güzel günlerimiz geçti. 00:12:54-8
- T: Tamam, the wall here in between houses, they are usually thinner. 00:12:58-8
- 145 M: This one especially? 00:13:00-6
- A: Ince. 00:13:01-0
- T: The ones that are touching each other, next to each other, the one in between is always usually thinner than the other ones. 00:13:09-7
- A: Incecik, yani, ince, burdan [incomprehensible Turkish word], kolon yani, böyle
- 150 kolon, [incomprehensible Turkish word] böyle ince. 00:13:15-6
- T: So when it's for example here, when it's like thin, they can hear each other, so what would happen for example Madame from the other room, the house, shouts her name, saying "Aliye, Aliye" and 00:13:30-7
- Aliye offers me to exchange telephonenumber* 00:13:53-8
- 155 T: She would speak in Greek and she learned via her and then she would just get back to her, everytime she shouted in Greek to her saying „Aliye Aliye“. So they had komşuluk as in the case where they would like see each other, they would have coffee together, they would have dinners together and they would spend time, quality time together, having fun. She was saying those times were better, for example her, the Madame's daughter would come from Germany, they were living in Germany. When they come from Germany, Madame would make fun of her, saying she is my husband, because they would always hang out together, so they would still keep seeing each other, when their daughters and other people came as well. 00:14:42-9
- 160 A: Siz neredesiniz? 00:14:45-6

- 165 *Aliye ask the translator where she is from. 00:14:59-7*
M: Can she tell a bit more about the eh komsuluk? 00:15:03-8
T: She gave the example as of, oh oaky, we didnt ask this one. (Points to a question on the interview guide)00:15:10-3
M: Maybe you get her into talking a bit, like give more example. So like she said the
- 170 ehm when the daughters were coming and she was here, they were ah, still like the whole family was kind of meeting, but did she go to the other side. 00:15:24-8
T: Almanyadan kızların geldiğinde nasıl, yani, daha böyle[incomprehensible Turkish sentence] ne, nasıl, ne kadar sık görüştünüz, ne kadar yakındınız? 00:15:33-0
A: Çok, çok, yani kızlar geldiğinde daha çok yani böyle 00:15:39-5
- 175 T: Birbirinizin evine gidip çıkıyor muydunuz? 00:15:41-5
A: Gidip çıkıyorduk. 00:15:42-1
M: Bence siz söylediniz, bir eh bahçede bir kapı vardı. 00:15:45-5
A: Bahçe vardı, vardı. Bahçede kapı vardı, duvar ördürler yanındakiler. Ben çok mutsuzum, ben onları arıyorum, ben onları çok seviyordum, neden? Benim , ya ne
- 180 bileyim, onlar çok komşuluktuk. benim bak, hemen hemen bir aydır yikiyorum, benim evime toz duman yağdı, komsular, ne bulsak, böyle silkeliyorlar. Ben bak, camı acıyorum , havali, yani temiz alan, ama onlar bunlar var ya , şakşakşak , evin süpürgesini silkeliyor. Ben o yüzden dedim ki, evi dağıttım, temelden darmadağın her tarafa dağılma, yıkamaktan artık eh bir ayda yeter, bitmem⁸¹. 00:16:28-6
- 185 T: They had a garden in the back, not any more, they still have the garden, but the differences is, with them Madame, they didn't have the wall, but with the newcomers. The new neighbors, they build up a wall, they divided, so she is saying, with her it was more komşuluk, because they were spending time in the garden and they were doing stuff together and they don't care about her house. For example she is saying she has to
- 190 clean all the time, because they are throwing stuff to the garden and here, and her house gets dirty, this wasn't the case with the Madam. 00:17:06-9
A: Ama madame bir mendil silkelemezdır. Aliye camı öp derdi. 00:17:14-0
T: She was more conscious about, the Madame was more conscious about her actions, how sh , like you know, she was more a community person. She would ask her first, can
- 195 I justlike throw my stuff here, for example and then if she said, I close my window, now you can do it, so that my house won't get dirty kind of. So that was their relationship, but they don't have such a communication with the new neighbors. 00:17:37-4
M: Interesting, interesting. One thing with the madame I was think, was she in her own, did she have a husband? Like did she have also? 00:17:44-5
- 200 T: Madam tek başına mıydı? 00:17:47-9
A: Yok, bir tane kız vardı, iki kız. 00:17:49-8
T: Kocası var mıydı? 00:17:50-2
A: Kocası vefat etti, hatta benim önceki perde min [incomprehensible Turkish] yapardı, [incomprehensible Turkish word], yani , iyi insandı. O da vefat etti erkenden, sonra
- 205 bayan çok yaşadı. Bayanı ben götürdüm, söyledim ben Balıklı Rum hastanesine, orda benim [incomprehensible Turkish word], orda işte kaybettik yani. 00:18:26-5
Translator mentions that this was a too long sequence in Turkish. In this way it is hard for her to remember everything spoken.
- A: Tekrar bak, hatırlırım size, mesela bunlar kızlar Almanya'da. Almanya'da kızlar olduğunu orayı bildirmedim, çünkü kilse yardım etmiyor o zaman. Kızlar Almanya'da olduğunu bildirmiyordu, ben kendi ismimle Balıklı Rumhastaneye yatırdım, ben ilgileniyordum,25 sene - 00:18:50-7
- 210 T: Kilise niye yardım etti? 00:18:50-8

⁸¹ The Turkish in this paragraph has been proofread.

- A: Şey, Rum kilisesi. 00:18:54-4
- 215 T: Burda yaşama masrafları, hastane masrafları 00:18:57-5
A: Yaşama, eh bazen yaşama masrafların de kilise yapıyordu. 00:19:02-1
T: Okay, Madame's husband died and they, she only had two daughters who were living in Germany, and when she get sick, the Madame got sick, she (=Aliye) was the one, who took her to hospital. And she didn't, the madame didn't let the church know about her daughters because then she would'nt get the church money, the church was also helping her with the living expenses here sometimes and also about the hospital money that she needed, the church was paying for it, that's why she was the one who took her and they kind of like hid the fact that she had two daughters living in Germany. 00:19:47-1
- 220 M: Ah i see, interesting. So she brought her to the hospital, and took care of her?
00:19:52-3
- 225 A: Kızlar evliydi, üç ay kızlar bakardı, alıp adaya götürdüler, Heybeliada'da, üç [incomprehensible Turkish word], onlar masraf görüldü, üç ayın dışında kilise yardım eder, akrabar 00:20:09-2
T: Her daughters would come here for three months and they would take her to the islands, Princes islands, to Heybeliada and they would live there for three months, and the girls would pay for the Madame's expenses but for the rest of the years, the church would help her live with the expenses. 00:20:31-8
- 230 M: So maybe now, when did the Madame die and what new neighbors? 00:20:35-3
T: Madame ne zaman öldü? Yeni komşular ne zaman geldi? 00:20:38-6
- 235 A: Madame eh, (..) en son Madame yedi sene oldu, yedi, sekiz sene oldu, sekiz. En son, kızı. Ama ondan önce de onun - kaç sene ya? Yedi sene biz Balıklı Rumhastaneye gittim ben, burun ameliyatı oldu, ondan sonra ben bir kaç sene onu ziyaretine gidemedim, düğündeyken, nişandeyken 00:21:10-6
T: [Incomprehensible Turkish sentence]? 00:21:11-6
- 240 A: Madam değil, Madame, Madame, huzur evinde yaptılar, şey huzur evinde, annesi, Madam V., az yattı orda, vefat etti, sonra kızı yattı orda, huzur evinde, ondan sonra o da biz, sonra burun ameliyatına gittik. Benim çocuklar de çok severdiler. V. Ablaya gidelim, V. ahlaya, anne ne olursun, gittik, aradık, genç kadını gösterdik, gittik, aradık, değişik bir kadın, sonra gittik, tekrar yani dedim böyle, böyle, ah dediler o vefat etti. 00:21:52-6
- 245 T: Madame didn't, she lived like in the old people houses, what do you call them?
00:22:02-8
M: Ah ya she explained it the last time a bit. 00:22:04-3
T: They take care of the old people, such an institution, she lived in that place for years and after she died, he daughter, Madame's daughter also lived there, so and then they all died in the hospital where she took them. But from what I am understanding, she lived there for a couple of years and her kids would love the Madame and they wanted to visit a couple of times, but she had also health stuff going on with her health issues, so they wouldn't get to visit a lot and when they went there, they pointed out another person and saying, no she died. 00:22:51-1
- 255 M: I see, I see, ok let's go on to the - what is the next? 00:22:57-2
T: This is the next question. 00:22:57-6
Aliye demonstrates some oft her English skills. 00:24:35-9
- 260 T: Diyor ki, sizin için komşuluk nedir, ne demek? Ne ifade ediyor size diyor? 00:24:41-8
A: Bizim için komşuluk, yani komşu iyi, gülyüzlü, kalp kırmamak, yani medenice davranmak, yani bugün mesele öyle ki hani, biri rahatsızsa ona gülyüzü, bir geçmiş olsun demeye, iyi davranma. 00:25:04-4
T: Komşu means like good manners. 00:25:06-8
A: Rahatsız etmemek, yani hani rahatsız etmemek, yani. Değer vermek. 00:25:13-8
T: Komşu means good manners, and valuing the other person, the neighbor, the other person and showing a smiling face. And when you know the other person is sick and,
- 265

- you know, still having good connections with that person and caring about the other person, and showing value and caring, she is saying. 00:25:37-9
- A: İkincisi, ben mesela bugün bir ihtiyaç varsa, yardım etmek, yani hani 00:25:45-1
- T: And when the other one is in need, helping. 00:25:48-4
- 270 A: El atmak. 00:25:49-6
- T: Giving a hand, a helping hand, helping the neighbors, that means komşuluk. 00:25:56-9
- M: I was wondering, now, komşuluk and there is the word komşu, who is a komşu, just the people that live next to the house or in the area or is from the whole mahalle a
- 275 person, can it be a komşu, who can be a komşu, can she? 00:26:10-0
- T: Are you asking me or her? 00:26:11-1
- M: Maybe she can- 00:26:12-0
- A: 25 sene bak, 25 sene onlara kilise yardım etti, 25 sene, ben güçlüydüm, ben bu evimi [incomprehensible Turkish words], bire gidip on da yapardım. [incomprehensible Turkish words] karşılık beklemeden, ama hiç bir şey, [incomprehensible Turkish word] yani. 00:26:29-8
- 280 T: She was super strong back in the old days and she was cleaning her, the whole apartment, her whole house and after she was done here, she would go to Madames house and clean her house as well. And she said: „I never expected anything from her“.
- 285 It was just something she was doing because they were in, they were komşu and they were good relationship. 00:26:53-2
- A: Ama onu da çok severdim. 00:26:54-6
- T: And she was also loving her a lot as well. 00:26:58-7
- T: Diyor ki, kim komşu? Kim komşu , yani bu mahallede yaşayan herkes mi komşu,
- 290 yoksa sadece- 00:27:05-5
- A: (speaks with little voice, whispers): „Merhaba, Merhaba“, tek burda, eh medeni, yani su ev alan, Selamik göçmen, seviyorum onu, gidip, geliyorum. Diğerleri: „Marhaba, merhaba“ yani öyle gitme, gelme ya. 00:27:20-1
- T: She is saying, just the one who lives across now, they 00:27:24-4
- 295 A: [Incomprehensible Turkish] düşün olur, giderim, öyle [incomprehensible Turkish word] kapı gitmem. 00:27:28-2
- T: They (the neighbors across) come from Greece, like were Greek immigrants. 00:27:33-9
- M: They are? Okay. 00:27:35-2
- 300 A: Burda iyi.
- T: And they are pretty nice, so they, she they still have a, she called them civilized, because they are talking to each other and still having a komşuluk. And she is saying the rest is just saying „Hi, Hi“, on the street, nothing more than that, and apart from that, if there is a wedding, or a like the quaran, the call it quran mendip, when the women gather
- 305 together in the houses and read the holy book, if that happens, and they invite her, she would go, but it was all. She wouldn't just unexpectedly go and knock their door and get in, but that was the case with those people and the Madame. 00:28:12-1
- M: But they are still here? 00:28:13-9
- T: Yeah, but they are göçmen. 00:28:16-5
- 310 M: Yah are they from the population exchange or ehm what? 00:28:20-2
- T: Do you want me to ask? 00:28:22-0
- M: It would be interesting, yes. 00:28:22-5
- T: Bu Selanik göçmenlerine ne diyor, hani ya [incomprehensible Turkish] m,i yoksa yeni mi? 00:28:29-2
- 315 A: Yeni bu. 00:28:29-8
- M: Ne zaman geldi? 00:28:31-5
- A: Bu yeni, on, on, dokuz sene, dokuz sene. 00:28:35-1

- T: Nine years. Do you wanna learn their names and maybe talk to them as well?
00:28:40-9
- 320 M: Maybe, yeah that would be nice. 00:28:44-1
A: Pardon, önceden de yine Selanit, önceden yine Selanit. 00:28:47-7
T: Ona taşınmadan önce, başka 00:28:50-4
A: O evin eski sahipleri de Selanit. 00:28:52-8
T: Ah the owner of the house, also from Selanik, from the Greece. 00:28:56-0
- 325 A: Ondan sonra alandı yine Selanik. 00:28:59-2
T: And afterwards who bought the house again from Greece. 00:29:01-6
M: Maybe she knows, if we can go there? 00:29:02-9
T: Diyor ki, onlarla da sonra konuşabilir miyim, tanıyor musunuz onları, onlara sorabilir miyiz şimdi diyor, ya da numarasını, adını, öğreniz de biz de gidip konuşabiliriz. (Aliye does not look pleased about this question). 00:29:12-4
- 330 A: Şey hani, mesela ne gibi bir şey soracaklar? 00:29:14-6
T: Böyle şeyler yine. 00:29:16-0
M: Komşuluk nedir? 00:29:16-8
T: Komşuluk nedir, araştırmak bir süre insan lazım. 00:29:19-4
- 335 M: Ama eğer - we don't have to do it, I think she doesn't feel comfortable with it. 00:29:23-3
T: Ama size sormayacaksanız, olsun diyor. 00:29:24-2
M= Problem değil. 00:29:25-4
A: (.) Ben bir teklif edim. O bayan hotel'de çalışıyor, Hotelde çalıştı, o bayan otelin müdürü, müdür oluyor, evde yoktur, pazar günleri evde dolu, eğer - hani ben derim, bir kız antep istiyor, pazar günü, yani ben kabul eders, telefona acartım, bana. Benim bana da numarasın [incomprehensible Turkish] 00:30:17-1
- 340 A: Ama komşulardan ilgili o bir şey fazla bilmez. 00:30:14-5
M: Tamam o zaman ben düşüneneğim, eğer iyi bir fikir, ya da yok. 00:30:22-2
- 345 T: Ok she is saying, she may not know a lot about the komşuluk. 00:30:25-3
M: Yeah I understood, it might be true, if she is not around.
A: Zaten kimse evlerini satılar, çıkar, yani ben dua ediyorum, inşallah onlar gibi temiz bir insan geliyor, o temiz, o öyle tak tik yapmıyor yani, yani [incomprehensible Turkish], dışarıda çoğu çocuk oturuyor, toz moz, şak, şak şak, yemek yaptık, masa acık, ben burda yemek yiyeceğim, burda yani ben o tuzu yiyeceğim 00:30:51-2
- 350 T: She is wishing that the - a lot of people start to sell their houses and she is complaining about the manners. 00:30:58-1
M: She wants them to sell the houses. 00:30:58-7
T: No she don't want them, she is complaining about the manners here with the newcomers, she is saying, you know I cook and I'm leaving my food here and they start like throwing stuff out of the window and they don't even care, if kids are sitting there or if people are eating, why do I have to eat 00:31:19-0
- 355 M: From the window out to the street or? 00:31:21-3
T: But what she means, they do the carpet, they take out the carpet and they do like this and the dust comes out on the food. So she is saying, a lot of the people, the newcomers, they don't have such manners, they, people used to have it like Madame, she would aks before, for example. 00:31:38-4
- 360 A: [Incomprehensible Turkish sentences] Bizim buralar önceden çok pis insanlar vardı, dağlık burda, su [incomprehensible Turkish sentecne] şeyler vardı, benim sesim, canlı sesim başbakana gitti, temizlettirdi. Polis geldi, polis [incomprehensible Turkish] 00:32:21-7
- 365 T: Ne zaman? 00:32:22-5
A: Kaç sene oluyor? Üç, dört sene oluyor, daha fazla oluyor. 00:32:28-3
T: Four years ago there was a street out there, it was quiet dirty. She is saying there were

- 370 dirty people living, and they were also hurting the people, when they called the police, they would also hurt the police, when they called the civilians, they would also hurt the civilians. And afterwards she complained and she is saying the prime minister helped to clean that place. I don't know, this is four years ago. 00:32:54-2
- A: Şimdi onlar beni görüyorlar, böyle yapıyorlar (she holds the hands in front of her, her eyes look down, humble). „Başbakanın yanında çıkan Abla“ diyorlar, böyle yapıyorlar, onlar benden şimdi böyle yapıyor, yani. 00:33:04-6
- 375 T: Because they saw her with the prime minister - the primminister came to the street, and they saw her with the primeminister and afterwards they met here to talk about the issues regarding the neighborhood. Afterwards the kid, the people who lived there saw her, they start to act accordingly and be nice to her, because kind of respect her, because of they saw her with the prime minister. 00:33:33-1
- 380 A: Ben yani herkese mahnevi desteklerim onu, ben [incomprehensible Turkish], onlar benden çekinsin 00:33:41-5
- T: She is supporting everyone. 00:33:42-5
- 385 A: Ben onları işte, biz de, toplantılarımız oldu, sonra eh toplantı olduktan sonra 00:33:49-6
- T: Ne ilgili toplantı? UNESCO zamanı mı? 00:33:52-1
- A: UNESCO'nun zamanında, yani ondan sonra, bu dağınık, hani buralarda var ya, bildirdi, polis geldi, dayak etti, sivil geldi, dayak etti, kimse başka çıkmadı, sonra
- 390 yüzler geldi, bütün dağınıkları topladı, temizledi yani, burası, önceden pisdi. 00:34:12-4
- T: She is saying, it was full of useless people, ah useless people, they were not living in an orderly way, they were living all over the place, and she help the neighborhood to clean the neighborhood in a way, with, in accordance with the police and the rest, the other forces and also after the prime minister it got cleaner she is saying. 00:34:44-3
- 395 A: O [incomprehensible Turkish] sizin, biz oranın her tarafına yani böyle, dağınık aile çocukları diyoruz biz. 00:34:56-4
- T: Ne diyorsunuz? 00:34:57-5
- A: Biz onları dağınık aile çocukları 00:35:00-6
- 400 T: They call themselves the children of the "dağınık" - let's get back to this word later - family. „Dağınık aile çocukları“ - that's what they call those people, who are kind of disturbing the people in the neighborhood and also like, messing up with the order of the street. 00:35:25-6
- A: ama temizlendi yani, temizlen-, sizin bile – [incomprehensible Turkish word] senin olduğun biri yani, sizi üzer, ben onların karşısına çok büyük çıkarım, hic çekilmem. 00:35:38-0
- 405 T: She is saying if you need , if there is anyone who is disturbing you, just let her know and she will help you as well. 00:35:48-5
- A: Ben sizin isminizi söylemeden onların karşısına var, onları böyle, yani şeyi çıkarım, döverim onlar, dövdürürüm, yani polise vererim, kendim onların karşısına, yan biri sizi rahatsız eder, cekinmeden bana söyle, beni bir anne, bir abla. (laughs) 00:36:06-3
- 410 T: She is saying, I would also support you if there is anyone. 00:36:12-2
- A: Sen gelsen, [incomprehensible Turkish]. 00:36:14-9
- T: I am very strong, I will get them deep down, if you need any. 00:36:24-3
- 415 T: I'm wondering if those kids are street kids, or who are they. Should we ask? 00:36:29-8
- M: Yeah, maybe. 00:36:31-9
- T: Bu dağınık aile çocukları kim, bunlar? 00:36:39-3
- A: Ya bunlar, yani baba içki içmiş, kendine sarhoş 00:36:44-7
- 420 T: Sonradan mi gelmişler buraya? 00:36:46-1
- A: Aile yani kopukluk, aile kopu. Yani böyle dışarıda yatarak büyümüşler yani, parkta

- orda burda, onlar hepsi. 00:36:54-2
T: Sonradan mi gelmişler, hep mi burdalarmış? Balat'ta evde mi yaşıyorlar, sokkakta mi yaşıyorlar? 00:36:58-0
- 425 A: Yok yok şimdi değil artık, şimdi, yani şimdi, onlar toplandı, hepsi toplandı. 00:37:03-6
T: Önceden? 00:37:04-4
A: Önceden var. Ben bana 00:37:06-6
T: [Incomprehensible Turkish] falan mi? 00:37:07-8
- 430 A: Yani isten tinerciler de vardı. Yani şey diyelim. Hapçı böyle. 00:37:14-1
T: Nereye gittiler? 00:37:16-9
A: Onları temizlediler. Şey, yani böyle büyük ellerden, polisler geldi artık n'aptılar onları, temizlediler. O sizin okulun oralarda da doluydu. 00:37:29-1
T: Doğrudur, şimdi okulunun etkisi ver, çünkü orda güvenlik var, şey var, ordan biz
- 435 bilmiyoruz. 00:37:35-2
A: Simdi, önceden önceden! doluydu, biz hepimiz - şey yaptı, işte Fener oraya yakın, Fener var ya , biz toplantılarımız oldu, orda yolun orda, hep belediyelelerin [incomprehensible Turkish] işte falan anket yaptı, canlı sezimiz gitti, benim, ben dedim korkmuyorum, ben Allahtan başka kimseden korkmuyorum; dedim, sen gitsin dedi.
- 440 00:37:59-8
T: Nereye gidiyor? 00:38:00-9
A: Başbakana, büyük ellere. 00:38:03-3
T: Sesini kaydetip gönderdi? 00:38:05-1
A: Ey tabii, çünkü orda genel müdürler geldi, sey eminyet [incomprehensible Turkish word] yani işte, media falan, kimse dedi ki ben korkuyorum, evime gitme, ben dedim, korkmuyorum. Bir canım var, kimse ona Allahtan - 00:38:19-7
- 445 T: They were all street kids, kids all over the place, including "tinerci", including the people who do drugs, they were the kids of the disfunctional families like whose parents were alcoholics or didn't take care of them and they were all over the place, from here to including, where the university, the Kadir Hasis street, yeah. 00:38:42-0
- 450 A: Her yer, her yer, her yer. 00:38:43-7
T: Everywhere. So everybody was scared to deal with them because they were scared they would follow them to home and then do something to them and she said, I'm not scared of anyone other than the god, so I'm juts gonna do this. 00:38:57-6
- 455 A: Bak en temiz mahalle bizim burası. Benden. (laughs) 00:39:01-0
T: She is saying the most cleanest street is this street because of her (laugh all three together). And she is also saying they record their voices and they send it to the prime minister. 00:39:11-9
A: Siz konuşun, ben bir kahve yapayım. *Aliye goes to the kittchen to prepare Turkish coffee for us.* 00:40:40-9
- 460 T: So they were the kids, like the mostly sons of the disfunctional families and they were causing disturbance in the street and a lot of people were afraid to get in and get out fo the house, this happened like couple of years back, she first said four years and then she said this is older, five or six maybe, but not sure. But this is also in accordance with what
- 465 eh the guy was saying at the glass place. She is saying, they come together with the municipality, with the officials and the municipality and the managers of certain places and all that official people came together and they would hold meetings in Fener and then a lot of people were afraid to deal with them. But she said, „I'm not“, so they recorded their complaints and send it to primeminsiter who is back then Erdoğan and afterwards with his help this places got cleaned up she is saying 00:41:49-5
- 470 M: But she doesn't know where they went? Thats what you asked? 00:41:52-9
T: Yes i asked and she said, they, they are moved, where I don't know, she said big places, but i don't know what it means. I don't know if its institution or not, so thats all

now. 00:42:12-9

475 *We talk about the difficulties of translating.*
T: and also she is saying a lot of people are selling their houses and she used that word, she said civilized, you know what tha means in her terms? It means where the komşuluk happens; because she said I hope like some civilized people will come because then it wouldn't be like them ,who live next door. She is complaining that they never ask her

480 when they do stuff that also affects her, but with madame that wasn't the case. 00:43:45-7
M: Ja okay, so with civilized person there is a komşuluk and with those people right now it's not a komşuluk? 00:43:52-1
T: Like also thinking the effects of your actions for the komşu, that the-, for example they build the wall without aksing her. And also the carpet thing. I don't know why

485 people do that, I never have it... she is saying the should aks before doing that. 00:44:25-5
M: I would now be interested in maybe those: Where are they from, the neighbors, what are they Turks, Kurs or? Mayb that tells us more and then why the komşuluk. - should I kind of like should, a no she is busy, we can not record 00:45:25-5

490 *We keep on conversating and Aliye listens and comments from the close-by kittchen. We talk about the price and the location of the flat that I live in. Then Aliye return and brings the Turkish Coffee. We start to talk about her current neighbors.*
A: Şey bu (..) Yunanistan. 00:50:49-5
T: Bunlar da mi? 00:50:50-5

495 A: Rum, Rum. 00:50:50-7
T: Ama aynı Rumlar Madame gibi değil? 00:50:54-2
A: Hankalı. 00:50:54-9
T: Bu şimdikiler? 00:50:56-4
A: Şimdikiler, şey ya yani Türkler. 00:51:02-6

500 T: They're Turkish. 00:51:03-2
A: Şimidikiler Turkish, ya. 00:51:04-6
T: Nerden gelmiş? 00:51:08-1
A: Kimi Kastamonulu- 00:51:08-8
T: Kastamonu is in the Black Sea. 00:51:14-6

505 A: Kastamonu, biri, ama Sinop, Kürd- 00:51:22-9
T: But the Kurdish of the Sinop. 00:51:25-3
A: Biri de Siirtli. 00:51:28-0
M: Where is this because so many have said it? 00:51:30-0
T: It's in the east East of Turkey like the really far East of Turkey. 00:51:34-0

510 A: Benim burda en çok Kastamonu, Karadeniz. 00:51:36-7
T: Usually Black Sea people. - Do you want me to ask of the? 00:51:46-0
T: Şimdi, komşuluk gitti, bitti komşuluk diyorlar mesela, neden öyle diyorsunuz? Ve ne değiştirdi, komşuluk bitti? 00:52:09-4
A: Komşuluk !bitmedi! komsuluk bitemdi, komşuluk sadece yani eski komşular yani

515 gibi değil. 00:52:19-0
T: It's just not like back in the old times. 00:52:21-2
A: Yoksa, komşuluk bitmez ya. Değil mi? 00:52:24-5
T: It won't end the komsuluk, the concept, she says. 00:52:27-7
A: Yani onlar yaptığından utansın, öyleydi. 00:52:30-1

520 T: They should be shameful for what they are doing. It's not about the komşuluk, it's just those people. 00:52:37-0
M: Aha, I don't get it. Sorry. 00:52:40-5
T: She is saying, -biraz zor konusabilmem, - she is saying the people who are not treating her in the, as in the, how the komşuluk would or how the komşu should, they should be

525 ashamed, shamed of themselves for not treating her how the komşu would, but in general

- the komşuluk would never end, she is saying. It's just specifically those people right now, that they are not acting. It's not because the komşuluk is gone. 00:53:15-9
- A: Diyor ki Aliye Abla onlara gittiğinde, dedi ayakabbarın tuzunu [incomprehensible Turkish word]. Beni çok tutarlar, böyle. Çok yani değer verirler, bana. 00:53:26-6
- 530 T: Kim? 00:53:26-2
- A: Bunlar. 00:53:27-9
- T: Burdakiler?. 00:53:27-9
- A: Hepsi hepsi bana çok değer verirler. Ben aferdersin, yani cöpü mü dökürler, bana çok değer verirler, ama ben onlara, yani ben o tozu onları silkelemiyorum, onlar silkeliyor.
- 535 İşte ben o yüzden biraz soğudum. Onlar deki tek kelime, onlar da Abladan soğumamışlar, Abla onlardan soğumuş. Onlar çok seviyor. 00:53:52-8
- T: They didn't for example, the rest of the, the neighbors here they still care about her and they still like her, but she got distanced, distand from them, because they don't eh act in a civilized way when they do the carpet thing, they don't ask about the stuff to her.
- 540 They still, the neighbors still treat her very well, and like care about when she goes to them, she is still like up, they hold her near, but she got distant from them, because they don't have manners in the komşuluk way. 00:54:33-9
- A: Ha onlar çok, !ben!, ben biraz, ben 00:54:37-9
- T: They like her a lot but she doesn't. 00:54:41-5
- 545 S Şimdi burda kahve içiyorsunuz, ama gelsine cam açık mı? Bir [incomprehensible Turkish] yani açık mı? Simdi ordan silkelerseler, toz içeceğiz. 00:54:50-4
- T: Now she is saying for example, if they do the carpet thing, the dust will come here because the windows are open. They wouldn't aks if, you have: „Aliye Hanım, do you have your window open, can we do this?“ And then you would just drink the dust, she is saying. 00:55:03-2
- 550 A: Haklı değil miyim? 00:55:05-1
- T: Am I right? 00:55:05-7
- M: Doğru, that wouldn't be nice (laughs). So all the neighbors came after her or does she know them from ealier times? I mean she lives here for 40 years now, could you ask?
- 555 00:55:17-7
- T: Kirk senedir burda yaşıyorsunuz, bu komşular, mese la şu an komşuların hepsi sonradan mı geldi, yoksa? 00:55:22-7
- A: Sonradan, sonradan. 00:55:23-7
- T: They all came later. 00:55:25-1
- 560 M: Was there like a time when a lot of-? 00:55:26-7
- T: Ne zaman? Yoksa hep mi [incomprehensible Turkish] onlar? 00:55:29-0
- A: Yok şimdi, tek burda, bu evin yan tarafı eski. 00:55:34-2
- T: Eski dediniz yani? 00:55:35-4
- A: Yani benden eski değil, benden daha sonra geldi, ondan sonra. Diğerli hepsi kiracı işte, [incomprehensible Turkish] ev almak, yani öyle eskiden. 00:55:47-7
- 565 T: Just one house in this direction is as old, not as old as her, but still quiet old, maybe 30 years, but the rest are all new, newcomers, who rented out the place, or maybe some new people who bought the place. But they are all new, she is saying. 00:56:05-6
- A: Ama evi baya pahalı vermişler, Rumlari, sen de mi kira?
- 570 *We speak about the place where my translating friend is living. And we talk about the old house in which I am living. Aliye thinks they let me pay to much rent. We talk for a while about these topics.* 00:58:44-6
- T: Simdi sizin onla konuşurken geçen sefer, bir cümle kurmuşsunuz, diyor ki neden böyle söylediy? Vermişsiniz ki? Bir tane Rumu demişsiniz bin tane Türkdten tercih ediyorum. 00:58:56-6
- 575 A: Ama gerçekten. 00:58:57-2
- T: Neden böyle dedi diyor? 00:58:59-1

- A: Neden böyle dedim, eh Rumlar mesela ben 25 oturduğum bir dedikodusu, kimsenin hakkında kötü konuşma duyunmuyorlar. 00:59:08-6
- 580 T: They lived together for 25 years and she never heard them saying a bad word about someone else, they never gossiped. 00:59:14-5
- A: İkincisi, eh mesela ben burda canım acık, ama medeniye yani, gel, "Aliye, camın acık. Ya ben toz silkeliyorum. 00:59:26-5
- 585 T: If they would be civilized, they would ask me, Aliye, you have your window open, could you please shut it down, so that I can do the dust thing. 00:59:35-7
- A: Üçüncüsünü de söyleyim: Yani ben onlara çok güveniyorum, bilmiyorum. Zarar gelmez. 00:59:42-2
- T: And she trusts the Rums more for some reason, but she doesn't know why. She thinks they would never harm her. She doesn't consider them dangerous. 00:59:52-7
- 590 A: Yani seviyorum ben, benim geldiğimden yan, gelin geldiğimden onların yanında ben 00:59:58-5
- T: Because when she first came here as a bride, when she was 15, she, they were the first people she met and they were the first people that she got to know. that's why. 01:00:11-2
- 595 A: Bebeği olduğunda vaftiz var, bilmem, onlar paskalya çöreği var, [incomprehensible Turkish]. (laughs) 01:00:17-7
- T: She liked the traditions as well, she is saying, when there there is a baby they do the 01:00:22-7
- A: Şey [incomprehensible Turkish word] kırmızı yumurta var, değil mi sizde? 01:00:26-0
- 600 M: Ay evet, evet. 01:00:26-8
- A: @ Ben neler biliyorum?!@ (laughs) 01:00:32-4
- T: In the Easter she would eat the Easter buns with them and she would also paint the eggs with them. 01:00:39-7
- M: Would she? Paint the eggs? Ah. 01:00:41-8
- 605 T: Yah yeah the red eggs, I know all the traditions she is saying, and also when the baby is born they take it to church to the vaftiz with the water and stuff. So she was always in-? 01:00:56-0
- M: Ah she came with them to the church and oh? 01:00:58-5
- B. Siz onlarla vaftize gittiniz mi kiliseye? 01:01:00-8
- 610 A: Gittim [incomprehensible Turkish word] Şimid kiliseye gittim, kiliseden - anne, Madame öldü ya, Madame orda işte ikram [incomprehensible Turkish] bile diler. 01:01:16-4
- T: She was like the, in the church, when Madame died, she was the person, who the people came and give their condolences, she was the one, as in 01:01:26-1
- 615 A: Burdaki, ama o şimdi kapalı. 01:01:28-7
- M: Küçük bir? 01:01:30-1
- A: Fırının yan tarafı, o kapalı şimdi. Ben şimdi hani cenazenin sahibi biz de cenaze diyorlar, sahibi bendim ya, hani [incomprehensible Turkish word] işte orda ikramlar, şey böyle. 01:01:44-6
- 620 T: She was the host of the, not the cemetery, of the afterwards, (*We discuss and conclude that party is the wrong word*). 01:01:56-7
- A: Siz de isim takıyorlar, ya isim takıyorlar, o isim takanak, takan kişi, ölene kadar onu unutmuyor, yani ona işte hediyeler veriyor, onu yani böyle, ne bilim, yani unutmuyor. 01:02:10-7
- 625 T: Kime isim? 01:02:11-6
- A: O bizde var, isim takıyorlar ya. Bunlar da öyleydi. İsim takıyorlar, yani mesela ben senin adını diyelim, Ayşe, ben seni, Allah kursun, ben öldükten sonra seni unutmuyorum, sen de beni öldükten sonra unutmuyorsun. 01:02:29-9
- T: Ah vaftiz anne, vaftiz [incomprehensible Turkish word]? 01:02:31-2

- 630 A: Hehehe, bizde de „kivar“ var, bak bunlar da öyle var. Bizde de „kivar“ var, sizde yok ama ya. 01:02:38-0
T: Yok. Siz birinin aile isim sizin taktınız, onu anlamadım. 01:02:44-0
A: ben takmadım, bunlar da öyle var. 01:02:46-3
T: Çocuklarına taktılar? 01:02:47-1
- 635 A: Hehe, onun mesele kilisenden geldiler, kahve yapardık, kahvenin yanında tatlı verirlerdi. Şey oranın papoaz evlenmeyen bir papoz, ne diyorlar ona? 01:02:59-7
T: Bilmiyorum ki. 01:03:02-7
A: Bak sor, o bilir. 01:03:03-9
T: Okay she is saying, I guess she is trying about why she loves the Rum people, because she is saying, they never forget about the people. For example in the church there is a name-giving tradition - I don't know - and when they give the name, they never forget about the person who gave them that name and also the one who got the name, never forgets about the other person. So she is saying, there is a tradtion and the church peple would come here and then they would have coffee together and she also said, there is a papoaz, the pope, the patriarch, the one who never gets married and she asked whats his name, maybe you know. 01:03:49-2
M: Bartholomew. He is the biggest leader, you know. 01:03:53-0
T: I don't know, the one who never gets married. 01:03:55-3
A: Bunların ayrı olur, Rumların ayrı olur, belki. 01:03:57-8
- 650 T: Evet öyle, galiba. 01:03:59-1
A: Ah bunların belki de ğil, ah. 01:04:00-9
M: Like the patriarch is the leader of the whole Orthodoxand the Rum. He is very old and he has a long beard, but maybe there a more, like he is the leader and then you have underneath different 01:04:14-2
- 655 T: O sadece en tepede Bartholomew biliyor, diyor başka farklı farklı var, onların hepsi bilmiyor. 01:04:22-2
M: So when did they come here and drink coffee, after the? 01:04:29-2
T: Madam yaşarken kilisedekiler buraya kahve içmeye geliyor yoksa sonra? 01:04:34-5
A: Madam yaşarken. 01:04:36-3
- 660 T: When Madame was living they would come to visit her. 01:04:41-3
M: And she was also there? 01:04:41-8
A: Sonra madam vefat ettiğinde ona gittik sandık yaptı,hani icine koyarlar. 01:04:56-9
There is someone at the frontdoor delivering water, so Aliye leaves the room for a moment.
- 665 T: She was the host of - what do you call it- she was the one to whom people came and gave their condolences after the Madame dies, she was the main person for them, she wasthe host in a way. 01:05:22-3
M: It's like a family really. 01:05:23-4
T: Yeah yeah yeah. 01:05:24-1
- 670 M: Wow ok, quiet close. Interesting 01:05:26-4
My translating friend and I exchange some thoguht about the interview situation. The Aliye returns.
A: @ Evet devaaam@ 01:06:15-4
T: Mahalle'nin nesini seviyor, nesini sevmiyorsunuz diyor? 01:06:23-3
- 675 A: Mahalle, mahallemdede yani herkes hani [incomprehensible Turkish sentence]. Mahallemi seviyorum, herkese beni saygıydı icin, beni böyle yani büyük tututlar icin, mahallemini seviyorum. 01:06:40-3
T: She likes the neighborhood, because people respect her, they consider her very highly, but she doesn't like the ignorant people, who don't behave in the - 01:06:56-0
- 680 A: Cahillik, cahilik 01:06:57-4
T: She calls them the ignorant people who don't behave in the civilized way with the dust

- stuff. 01:07:08-2
T: Bu mahallede diyor en çok hoş, en önemli bulduğunuz yerler neresi? 01:07:14-8
A: En önemli- bu mahalle'de mi? 01:07:17-8
685 T: Yoksa in general in Balat? 01:07:19-8
M: Balat, what is a mahalle and what is Balat? Tamam mahalle ne? 01:07:26-1
T: Mahalle is this one, just the street (..) for her 01:07:29-3
M: Ah mahalle sadece bir sokkak mı? 01:07:31-7
A: Hehe (nods). 01:07:32-2
690 M: Ah ben düşündüm, bilmiyordum, ben düşündüm mahalle bütün Balat. 01:07:36-2
A: !Değiiiiil! 01:07:37-7
T: O zaman sorayı bütün Balat gibi düşünün! 01:07:40-7
A: Balatın mı? 01:07:41-1
T: Balatın nesini seviyorsunuz, nesini sevmiyorsunuz? Neleri hoşuna gidiyor, neleri
695 gitmiyor? 01:07:46-2
A: Balatın yani turistik yerlerini seviyorum. 01:07:51-8
T: She likes the touristic places in Balat. 01:07:53-4
A: Çarşı, Giriş yeleri, yani 01:07:55-2
B= the market place, entrance. 01:07:57-0
700 A: Evleri yapıldı, boyandı. 01:07:58-5
T: The renovated houses, 01:08:00-6
A: Hani bazı evler temiz oldü, onları beğeniyorum. 01:07:59-8
T: They are very clean she likes them. 01:08:04-2
A: Ondan sonra, iyi olan insanları seviyorum, iyi olan esnafı seviyorum. 01:08:10-0
705 T: The people who a good and the owner of the. 01:08:11-1
A: Bizde esnafız, büyük esnaf benim oğlum. 01:08:15-5
T: Owner of the stores, who are also good and they are also the esnaf, the owner of the
shop. 01:08:20-5
S. Şeye kadar gidiyor, bizim, Yunanistana Dubai'ye, yani Almanya'ya [incomprehensible
710 Turkish] 01:08:29-4
T: Ne iş? 01:08:30-0
A: Biz fuar işini yapıyor, benim oğlumun şirketi bak, fuarı. 01:08:33-0
T: They do, her sun has a company, where they do the s fare, international
fares. 01:08:46-0
715 A: [Incomprehensible Turkish sentence] 01:08:52-8
T: I don't know it's over – in [names the place the shop is located], that street, there is a
ya. 01:08:58-1
T: Ehm, o zaman, so then what's the question? 01:09:04-9
A: Balatın ucak falan eh yani kalkıyor, oraya yani çok beğendim, çay bahçelerimiz
720 olduğu beğendim. 01:09:14-7
T: She likes the tea gardens, that opened recently, she likes them and she also likes there
is that one the sea plane kind a. 01:09:22-8
M: Ah yeah. 01:09:25-9
T: You can get it from there. 01:09:25-9
725 M: To Bursa for example. 01:09:26-8
T: Yeah, she likes that. 01:09:29-7
A: Biz akşamları gidiyoruz, çay içmeye. 01:09:33-4
T: Oh they go there. 01:09:36-3
M: Maybe can I put one more question in, like because I didn't know the word mahalle
730 means something else for her, eh where does she, in her everyday live, where does she
do the shopping and stuff like that. Does she go out of the mahalle or does she mostly
stay in the street in this area? 01:09:53-2
T: Diyor ki günlük yaşamımızda mesela alisverişe gideceğiz zamanları nereye

- 735 gidiyorsunuz? Nerde yapıyorsunuz bu mahalleden dışarıya çıkıyor musunuz? Balat'tan dışarıya çıkıyormusunuz? 01:10:02-3
A: Çıkıyorum, çıkıyorum. 01:10:03-5
T: Ama genelde mesela? 01:10:05-0
A: Ya genelde, şimdi ben tek kişi, eh alışveriş sebze pazar var , salı pazarı, Carşamba var. 01:10:13-1
- 740 M= Ah gidiyorsun ay. 01:10:13-3
S. Siz gidiyor musun? 01:10:14-6
M: Bir defa. 01:10:15-0
A: Carşamba pazar, ondan sonra pazartesi pazar, pazar yani taze, secerim ben, domates, salatalık, salatalık ikram edim size. 01:10:26-7
- 745 T: Yok yok, çok sağol. 01:10:42-6
A: Salatalık, yani yeşillik, ama marketten de öyle alışveriş yapıyorum. 01:10:48-4
B. Burdan ama, Balattan? 01:10:50-0
A: Balat'tan [incomprehensible Turkish], önceden benim çocuklarım mesela Carrefour'a, büyük alışveriş merkezlerine, yani şey uzak yerlerde. 01:11:00-4
- 750 T: She usually goes to the street pazars, that have open in certain days, but thats like for the vegetables and stuff, but before her kids would take her to the malls where they have the big like supermarkets. But now it's usually in Balat. 01:11:25-6
M: Ok last question. 01:11:25-5
A: Ama biz gideriz, gezeriz, Sultan Ahmet, Çarşı, (laughs); gezeriz yani, gezmek güzel. 01:11:35-7
- 755 T: Eh diyor ki Balat'ın geleceği için mesela ne gibi dileklerin var, nasıl bir yer olsun? Burası istersen nasıl gelişsin böyle? 01:11:45-2
A: Balat, karışık oturalım, eh eski burda eski olan ev sahibilerde medeniciye, evlerine gelip de alabilir, onların de o komşuluk yapmayı severdim. Ben [incomprehensible word], benim büyük eller de gitmiş. Ben [incomprehensible word], yani tek siz değil, gelip [incomprehensible word] yapıyor, ben mesela isterim, benim bir yan tarafım Madam alsın isterim, alsın isterim, yani, ben onlara [incomprehensible word] 01:12:16-0
- 760 T: She is saying I would like it to be multi – karışık. She said like the, no orderly, but different people all together , she said for example I would like, if the old owners of the houses come back and get their houses back, for example the Madame in the next house or for example the Germans coming and living here, she is saying we would adopt each other. (..) Do you have any other questions? 01:12:58-4
- 765 A: Yan tarafı al! (laugh all together) 01:13:19-8
T: Bitti. tesekkür ederiz. 01:13:32-9
- 770 We exchange telephone numbers.

Appendix D: Two Exemplary Observation Protocols

Observation Protocol Nr.1

Date: 12th May 2015

Place: Sali Pazarı - Aliye's House

Time: 12.20 – 19.30 o'clock

5 Heute hatte ich beschlossen, Aliye Abla zu kontaktieren und zu fragen, ob ich mit ihr zusammen auf den Markt gehen könnte. Ich hatte mir erhofft, dadurch zum einen zu sehen, wie sie mit den Nachbar*innen interagiert. Durch einen Besuch bei ihr erhoffte ich mir einen Einblick in die „mahalle“ zu bekommen. Zum anderen habe ich mich das letzte Mal, als ich alleine durch diese Straßen dort lief sehr unwohl gefühlt. Ich schien von allen Seiten beobachtet zu werden, vor allem auch von Männern angestarrt zu werden, von alten Frauen beobachtet zu werden und ich merkte, dass ich mich so unwohl fühlte. Deshalb erhoffte ich mir über diese Weise ein bisschen die „mahalle“ beobachten zu können und zu hören, was die Menschen bewegt.

10 Ich rufe Aliye gegen 11.30 Uhr an, und frage, ob sie heute auf den „Pazar“ geht und ich mitkommen kann. Gerade hat sie noch zu tun, aber sie ruft zurück, erklärt sie mir dann. 40 Minuten später ruft Aliye an und sagt: „Gel! Gel!“.

15 Ich hole sie an ihrem Haus ab und dann machen wir uns mit einem kleinen Wagen zum Ziehen, den hier irgendwie alle zum einkaufen benutzen, auf den Weg zum Markt. Wir laufen auch kurz an der Post vorbei, weil Aliye dort etwas erledigen muss. Hier und da wird jemand begrüßt. Dann kommen wir am Markt an. Ich werde überall als Gast vorgestellt und Aliye sagt den Verkäufern, sie sollen mir nur das Beste geben, ich sei ja ein Gast. Aliye hat es sich zur Aufgabe gemacht mir das billigste heraus zu handeln und schnell ist unser Wagen voll mit preiswerten Schöppchen. Gurken, Tomaten, Salat, Zucchini füllen unseren Wagen. Zum Glück ist es noch früh und auf dem Markt noch nicht viel los, so dass wir gut durch die Gasse kommen, die immer Dienstags sich in einen Straßenmarkt verwandelt. Auf dem Rückweg gehen wir noch kurz beim Bäcker vorbei, dann kommen wir auch an meinem Haus und der Hacı İsa Cami vorbei. Tatsächlich kennt sie den Besitzer des gegenüberliegenden Teeladens und erklärt mir, dass es im Haus nebenan oft Koranlesungen für Frauen gibt.

25 Wieder in ihrer Straße angekommen, sehen wir wie beim Nachbarn ein großes Paket geliefert wird. Was das denn sei, fragt Aliye neugierig. – Küchengeräte, heißt es da. Wir gehen ins Haus, packen unsere Einkäufe aus und machen uns daran etwas zu kochen. Aliye zeigt mir wie man Köfte macht und wie sie die Paprika brät. Wir unterhalten uns viel über ihre Kinder, was die so machen und wo diese mittlerweile arbeiten.

30 Im Anschluss zeigt mir Aliye ihr Haus und ich darf in alle Zimmer reinschauen. Sie zeigt mir auch ihr Bett, es ist aus einem schönen Holz und wirkt antik. Sie möchte es verkaufen, erklärt sie mir da. Sie zeigt mir auch den Garten, bei dem ja im Interview die Rede gewesen war. Er besteht mittlerweile aus grauem Betonboden.



Figure 12: Sali Pazarı (Tuesday Market) in Fener-Balat⁸²

„Sokkakta khave keyfi yapalim!“

40 Nach dem Essen macht uns Aliye Abla einen türkischen Kaffee. Sie zeigt mir wie
 das geht, ich darf mir eine Tasse auswählen, und dann setzen wir uns nach draußen
 vor ihr Haus auf die Straße. Sie holt den kleinen Hocker aus dem Gästezimmer und
 legt dafür meine Sachen daneben auf die kleine elektrische Heizung - eine richtig
 eingebaute Heizung gibt es nicht. Kein Wunder, dass ich mehr Miete zahle, denke
 45 ich mir, denn ich habe zumindest eine Heizung. Dann holt sie noch den anderen
 Hocker aus dem Flur, auf dem eine große, schwere Pflanze steht. Ich halte so lange
 den Kaffee auf dem Tablett, fast rennt sie mich dabei um. Ich darf ihre schwarzen
 Schlappen anziehen, sie sucht ihre weißen Schuhe, findet sie dann auch. Es sind
 weiße Lackschuhe mit einem Schleifchen verziert. Wir setzten uns nach draußen,
 50 rücken zunächst die Höcker zurecht, so dass wir beide auf dem Bürgersteig vor
 ihrem Fenster stützen und auf die Straße blicken können, dann setzen wir uns und
 nehmen den Kaffee in die Hand, das Tablett legt sie auf die Fensterbank.

Auf der Straße spielen drei Jungen, sie sind vielleicht so um die 10, 12 Jahre alt.
 Gegenüber von uns, auf der anderen Straßenseite befindet sich eine ca. drei Meter
 55 hohe Mauer. Dahinter stehen in einem Hof ein Pflaumen- und ein Kirschbaum. Die
 Jungen werfen den Baum mit Steinen ab, sie wollen etwas herunter bekommen. Ich
 denke erst, es handle sich um einen Ball oder so etwas, bis mir Aliye Abla erklärt,
 dass sie die Pflaumen essen wollen. Sie sagt zu den Jungen: „Lasst das doch, wartet
 nur der Besitzer wird kommen, passt bloß auf“. Dann heben zwei der Jungen den
 60 dritten an den Beinen hoch, sie machen Räuberleiter und er versucht den Baum zu
 schütteln, damit die Pflaumen herunterfallen, aber es funktioniert nicht wirklich.

⁸² Own potograph, shot in May 2015.

Aliye Abla schüttelt den Kopf. Ich sage „Oh biraz tehlikeli“ [Trans.: Oh das ist ein bisschen gefährlich] - „Evet tehlikeli“. Das ruft sie jetzt auch den Jungen zu und sagt, sie sollen das lassen. Nach einer Weile geben die Jungen auf und gehen zu der Gruppe Kinder bzw. Jugendlicher, die vor dem Haus neben uns sitzen. Auf der Treppe sitzen zwei junge Mädchen, sie scheinen so um die 13/14 Jahre alt zu sein. Auf der Straße am Straßenrand lassen außerdem zwei weitere Jungen im geschätzten Alter von 10-12 Jahren Murmeln rollen. Manchmal kommen die Murmeln bis zu uns, dann holt sie ein der Jungen zurück. Eine Frau in einem langen dunklen Gewand und Kopftuch kommt vorbei. Sie hat ein kleines Kind auf dem Arm. Wie alt das denn sei, fragt Aliye. – „Drei Jahre alt“, antwortet die Frau. Gegenüber im Haus, ebenso wie im Haus neben Aliye sind Frauen am Fenster und beobachten die Straße. Die eine wirft gerade einem Kind Schokolade zur Straße herunter. Ein junger Mann mit Hund kommt vorbei und redet mit der Nachbarin.

Kurz darauf kommt eine weitere Frau vorbei, es ist die Schwägerin ihrer Tochter. Die wohnt im Haus schräg gegenüber. Sie hat ihre beiden Kinder dabei und unterhält sich kurz mit uns, aber da eines der Kinder weint und trotzig ist, läuft sie bald weiter. Ein Fischverkäufer schiebt seinen großen hölzernen Verkaufswagen an uns vorbei die Straße hoch und grüßt uns nett. Eine weitere Nachbarin, die schon sehr alt zu sein scheint, läuft vorbei und beäugt mich neugierig. Ich denke, dass ich als „Yabancı“ [Trans.: Fremdling, Ausländer] erkannt werde. Aliye sagt: „Komşu, Marina, eski komşu, Kastamonulu“ [Trans.: Das ist eine Nachbarin, Marina, eine sehr alte Nachbarin]. Dann kommen wir ins Gespräch mit dem Nachbarsmädchen. Sie erklärt mir, dass sie in die 8.Klasse geht und seit der 5.Klasse Englisch lernt. Trotzdem traut sie sich nicht, etwas auf Englisch zu sagen. Sie erklärt mir lachend, dass Aliye immer die sei, die am längsten draußen bleibe, bis zwei oder drei Uhr nachts manchmal. Da kommen die Nachbarn von nebenan vom Einkauf auf dem Markt zurück. Sie haben volle Tüten dabei. Während die Frau die Tüten einfach vor dem Haus liegen lässt und sich zu einer Gruppe Frauen weiter oben in der Straße setzt, räumt der Mann mithilfe eines Korbs, der an einem Seil befestigt ist, die Einkäufe ins Haus. Dann geht er kurz ein Brot holen.

Plötzlich wird es laut auf der Straße, um die Ecke scheint es einen Streit zu geben. Aliye und ich schauen neugierig was da los ist. Eine Frau steht im Haus am Fenster und kreischt mit einem Mann auf der Straße. Mittlerweile sind viele Schaulustige heran gelaufen. Ich verstehe nicht ganz, worum es geht, aber anscheinend haben deren Kinder sich gestritten. Nach kurzem beruhigt sich die Lage wieder und wir gehen zurück zu unseren Hockern vor Aliye's Haus.

Aliye deutet zu einem Haus am Ende der Straße. Das habe ein Deutscher gekauft und renoviert, und einfach, obwohl es ja verboten sei, noch ein Stockwerk oben drauf gebaut. Sie erzählt mir auch von Syrern, die in einem Haus die Straße weiter hoch wohnen sollen. Wegen denen sei die Miete teurer, der Staat würde denen nämlich Geld geben. Aliye erklärt, dass diese Menschen ihr leidtun, denn die haben ja alles verloren. Viele Leute laufen an uns vorbei, die meisten haben Tüten in der Hand oder ziehen einen Wagen. Sie scheinen also wie wir heute auf dem Markt gewesen zu sein. Weiter oben hat sich an der Straßenecke eine Gruppe Frauen gebildet, die dort sitzen und sich unterhalten. Eine Gruppe Frauen mit Kindern läuft vorbei. Aliye fragt, ob sie auf eine Hochzeit gehen. Nein, nur die standesamtliche Trauung, erklären die.

So sitzen wir noch eine Weile am Wegesrand und unterhalten uns mit den ein oder

110 anderen, die an uns vorbei kommen. Es wird nett begrüßt und die neusten Neuigkeiten ausgetauscht. Gegen 19.30 Uhr breche ich nach Hause auf. Jetzt ist es auf der Straße auch schon etwas ruhiger geworden.

Observation Protocol Nr.2

115

Date: 16th April 2015

Place: Newly opened Cafe in Fener-Balat and shop owned by Hülya

Time: 12.00 – 17.00 o'clock

Einleitende Informationen

5 Heute Mittag wollte ich eigentlich nur für ca. zwei Stunden in das neue Cafe, das am Wochenende in Fener-Balat aufgemacht hat, weil ich gehört hatte, dass das einem jungen Mann gehören soll, der jüdischer Abstammung ist. Ich fragte mich, ob er Fener-Balat unter anderem auch wegen der jüdischen Vergangenheit des Stadtteils als Ort für sein Cafe ausgewählt hatte. Aus diesem Besuch wurde unerwartet ein ganzer Nachmittag, obwohl ich in dem Sinne keine bzw. kaum forschersiche Tätigkeiten für heute geplant hatte. Ich wollte mich eigentlich nur noch einmal in ausgewählte Literatur einlesen, um ein Interview mit Aleksandra vorzubereiten, die sich eventuell für den Abend angekündigt hatte. Mit ein paar Büchern und Kopien machte ich mich also um kurz nach 12 Uhr auf den Weg zum Cafe.

Im Cafe (12.00 - 14.00 Uhr)

15 Draußen ist schönster Sonnenschein, ich grüße, meinen Nachbarn, den *Manav* (Obsthändler) und steure auf der Hauptstraße Richtung des Cafe. Es ist in weiß und warmen Holzfarben gehalten und oben hängt ein schwarzes Schild, das den Namen des Cafes verrät. Vor dem Gebäude sitzt ein älterer Mann - Ich trete ein und ein älterer Mann schaut mich neugierig an. Er sitzt links an einem hohen Tisch und löst Kreuzworträtsel. Dann laufe ich nach vorne auf den Tresen zu, wo eine junge Frau steht. Neben ihr steht ein junger Mann, den ich ungefähr in ihrem Alter oder etwas jünger schätze (beide sind vermutlich so Anfang, Mitte 30). Ich schaue kurz auf die Getränkeliste und muss stocken bei den Preisen: Neun Lira für eine Cappuccino - wer kann sich das hier leisten, denke ich erschrocken. Ich bestelle trotzdem einen Cappuccino: „Bir Cappuccino alabilir miyim?“ [Trans.: Könnte ich einen Cappuccino haben?] frage ich und setze mich dann auf den freien Platz am Fenster unter den wachsamen Augen des älteren Mannes, der mich aufmerksam und interessiert mustert. Ich lehne mich zurück und lasse die Atmosphäre auf mich wirken. Das Cafe besteht aus einigen kleinen Holztischen, Sitzbänken in dunklem braun, auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite befindet sich besagter höherer Tisch, daneben steht eine Maschine zum Kaffeerösten. Gegenüber zur Eingangstür befindet sich die Theke, rechts davon ist ein Regal mit kleinen Kaffeemaschinen, die zum Verkauf angeboten werden. Alles ist sehr schlicht eingerichtet, es gibt keine bis kaum Bilder an der Wand.

30 Ich sitze an meinem Platz, da kommt die Bedienung mit meinem Kaffee: „Bir şey sorabilir miyim?“ [Trans.: Kann ich etwas fragen?] frage ich. „Gibt es in Sirkeci oder Eminönü noch so ein Cafe?“, frage ich sie auf Türkisch, „das habe ich nämlich gehört“. Es ist schwierig mich auszudrücken, sie versteht es nicht ganz, nennt dann zwei Cafes. Letztendlich finde ich aber heraus, dass dieses Cafe nichts mit den anderen zu tun hat. Ich sage: „Sadece bu hafta sonu açildi, değil mi? Çünkü çok yakın oturuyorum“ [Trans.: Das Cafe wurde erst dieses Wochenende eröffnet, oder? Denn

40 ich wohne ganz in der Nähe.]. Sie nickt erfreut und fragt, wo ich her komme. Ich erzähle, dass ich aus Deutschland komme, an der Kadir Has Üniversitesi *Kültür*
Cahsmaları und *İletişim bilimleri* [Trans.: Kultur- und Kommunikationswissenschaften] studiere und dass ich zurzeit meine Thesis über Fener und Balat schreibe. Oh da
45 solle ich doch unbedingt zu Hülya Hanım gehen, die wisse viel über den Ort, antwortet sie daraufhin. „Oh von der habe ich schon von einer Freundin gehört“, sage ich. Sie erklärt mir, wo der „dükkan“ [Trans.: shop] ist und sagt mir ich solle dort mal
vorbei gehen, sie sei eigentlich immer dort. Dann will sie mich nicht länger aufhalten, damit mein Kaffee nicht kalt wird. Unser Gespräch verlief unter dem wachsamen und neugierigen Blick des älteren Mannes.

50 Ich packe nun meine Unterlagen aus und beginne Texte zu lesen, anzustreichen und mir Notizen zu machen, dabei beobachte ich ein bisschen, was um mich herum passiert. Es kommt eine junge, kurzhaarige Frau herein, steuert auf den älteren Mann zu und fragt: „Herr [Name des Besitzers]?“. Dabei schaut sie sich fragend um sich. „Burda [Trans.: Hier]“, ruft es von der Theke. Die junge Frau setzt sich vorne an den
55 Tresen zu den beiden und sie beginnen sich zu unterhalten. Ich denke zunächst es sei ein Jobinterview, dann erscheint es mir wie ein Interview einer Journalistin oder Bloggerin. Sie macht Fotos vom Cafe. Dabei positioniert alles schön, damit es gut aussieht auf dem Foto. Außerdem gibt sie dem Besitzer⁸³Tipps: Er soll auch ein wenig Essen anbieten, nur ein Sandwich oder Kahvaltı [Trans.:Frühstück]. Ob es Tee gäbe, fragt sie. Das sei hier schon auch wichtig. Und der Kaffeeeruch würde die
60 Leute schon herrufen, darüber sprechen sie auch. Ein anderer Mann steckt den Kopf durch die Türe und fragt: „Was sind denn eure Preise für den Türk Kahvesi“ [Trans.: Türkischen Kaffee]? Haben wir nicht, sagt der Besitzer daraufhin. Dann scherzen die beiden noch ein wenig, sie scheinen sich zu kennen. Der Mann, der die Kreuzworträtsel gemacht und mich neugierig beobachtet hat, setzt sich auch zu den dreien – er
65 ist der Vater des Besitzers, wie ich aus dem folgenden Gespräch heraus höre. Es wird viel über die Büyüka⁸⁴ gesprochen, weshalb das verstehe ich nicht. Nach kurzer Zeit kommt ein Mann, er scheint der Ladenbesitzer von Gegenüber zu sein, und bittet um Wechselgeld. Der Cafe-Besitzer sagt: „Wir brauchen selbst Wechselgeld“, und gibt dem Mann nichts. Ich sitze so da und lese, lausche ab und zu und lasse die
70 Gruppe sprechen und diskutieren. Dann kommt eine weitere Frau. Sie geht nach vorne, begrüßt alle und setzt sich dann auf den Platz neben mir.

Kurz darauf geht sie nach draußen, um zu rauchen. Zeynep, die Frau, die mich bedient hat schließt sich ihr an und die beiden unterhalten sich vor der Türe. Als sie
75 reinkommen, stellt Zeynep sie mir vor: „Das hier ist die Schwester von Hülya.“ - „Oh Hallo“ sage ich und wir begrüßen uns kurz. Sie gibt mir die Hand und sagt: „Ne kadar güzel bir tezin yazıyorsun!“ [Trans.: Was schreibst du nur für eine schöne Thesis!] . „Evet bakacagız“ [Trans.: Ja mal schauen] - sage ich verlegen. „Dann kennen Sie auch John und Fulya⁸⁵?“ frage ich. „Ja“ ruft sie und nickt zustimmend. Auch die Frau, die mich bedient hat, scheint die beiden zu kennen. Ich solle zum Laden gehen,
80 Hülya sei gerade dort, sagt mir die Schwester. Ich bin etwas unschlüssig und beschließe erstmal im Cafe zu bleiben. Dann höre ich wie Hülyas Schwester telefoniert. Daraufhin ist sie kurz weg, als sie zurück kehrt, setzt sich der Cafe-Besitzer zu ihr. Er scheint ihr mit einer Sache zu helfen.

⁸³ Zeynep scheint das Kaffee mitgegründet zu haben. Somit ist sie auch Besitzerin des Ladens. Sie wird hier aber namentlich genannt und daher nicht als Besitzerin bezeichnet.

⁸⁴ GröÙte der Inseln vor Istanbul.

⁸⁵ Das sind die beiden, die mir von Hülya erzählt hatten.

85 Ich beende meinen Kaffee und packe meine Unterlagen ein. Da betritt eine Frau das Cafe. Sie schaut sich laut staunend um. Ob das hier größer geworden sei, fragt sie. Dann beschreibt sie kurz, was vor der Renovierung wo stand usw. Ich stelle ich mich neben sie an den Tresen, um zu signalisieren, dass ich zahlen möchte. Da sagt Zeynep: "Das ist übrigens Hülya" – „Ach was!“, rufe ich überrascht und wir schütteln uns die Hand zur Begrüßung. Fulya (meine Kontaktperson, über die ich ja von Hülay
90 weiß) hätte gestern Abend angerufen und sie über mein Forschungsinteresse informiert, erklärt Hülya. Ich erzähle, dass ich zwei Tage vorher mit Fulya gesprochen hatte und erkläre ihr, dass ich gerade zu ihrem Laden kommen wollte. „Beraber gidelim!“ [Trans. Lass uns zusammen gehen]. Vorher wolle sie nur noch Ihren Kaffee trinken. Wir setzen uns gemeinsam raus auf die Bank vor dem Cafe und beobachten das Treiben auf der Straße. Kurz darauf begrüßt uns ein älterer Mann, der in einem ähnlichen Alter wie Hülya, d.h. ca. Mitte 50 zu sein scheint. Er stellt sich mir kurz vor und setzt sich zu uns. Hülya und er zünden sich eine Zigarette an, kurz darauf setzt sich auch der Vater des Cafe-Besitzers zu uns. Wir unterhalten uns alle ein bisschen. Der Kaffee wird gelobt und wir sprechen über das Cafe und über den jungen Cafe Besitzer, über den Drang junger Menschen ein solches Cafe zu eröffnen.
100 Ich werde gefragt, wo ich herkomme, wo ich in Balat wohne und was ich hier im Stadtteil mache. Der Besitzer des Bekleidungsladens auf der anderen Seite der Straße mischt sich auch in unser Gespräch mit ein und so unterhalten wir uns mit ihm über die Straße hinweg darüber, dass ein anderer Laden die Straße weiter hoch umgezogen ist. Ich freue mich, als mir bewusst wird, dass ich plötzlich so unverhofft in einer Runde von "Locals" vor einem Cafe in Balat sitze und das Gefühl habe ich gehöre hier irgendwie dazu.

Was mein Forschungsschwerpunkt sei, fragt Hülya: Ich sage Anıtlar [Trans.: Monumente]. Erst später soll ich merken, dass ich da einen falschen Ausdruck gewählt habe, denn gemeint hatte ich Anılar [Trans.: Erinnerungen]. Wie ich darauf gekommen sei, fragen sie und ich erkläre, dass ich eigentlich früher Kultur und Religion studiert habe im Bachelor und dass ich gehört habe, dass früher viele Juden, Armenier und Rum (Griechisch Orthodoxe) hier gelebt haben, jetzt aber fort sind. Hier frage ich kurz nach, welcher türkische Begriff *Musevi* oder *Yahudi* für Jude hier der richtige sei, woraufhin ich versichert bekomme, dass ich beide gleichbedeutend nutzen kann; auch der Vater des Cafe-Besitzers, der ja selbst Jude ist (wie er mir zu einem anderen Zeitpunkt erklärt), bestätigt das. Das veranlasst uns gleich über die Juden zu sprechen, es seien ja nur noch so wenige, und auch die Griechen, seinen in der Türkei nur noch so wenige. Alle sagen das mit einem etwas bedauernden Tonfall, dann erzählt mir der Vater des Cafe Besitzers, dass es immer noch eine kleine Gemeinschaft in der Synagoge hier gäbe, so ca. 70-80 Leute. „In der Ahrida Synagoge?“, frage ich. „Nein, nein in der Yanbol Synagoge“, erklärt er. Wo die denn sei, frage ich und erkläre, dass ich sie bisher nicht gesehen habe. „Da gleich in der Seitenstraße“, sagt er. „Danke, ich habe die immer schon gesucht und nicht gefunden“ erkläre ich.
125 „Schau das kommt ein *Ermeni*“, sagt Hülya, als ein jüngerer Mann auf einem Motorrad angefahren kommt und vom Motorrad steigt. Er begrüßt alle fröhlich und unterhält sich kurz mit uns. Hülyas Schwester erklärt, dass das Motorrad 40.000 Lira gekostet haben soll. Der Mann geht in den Laden, und die Schwester folgt ihm. Hülya und ich brechen nun auf. Ich verabschiede mich von den beiden Männern, die draußen sitzen bleiben und Hülya und ich laufen los zu ihrem Laden. Unterwegs kommen wir auch an der Yanbol Synagoge vorbei. Die Türe ist so klein und unscheinbar, dass man sie wirklich schnell übersehen kann.
130

Besuch in Hülyas Laden

Wir betreten Hülyas Laden. Er ist relativ dunkel, da die Straße sehr eng ist und der
135 Laden voller Sachen. Ich schaue mich ein wenig um: Überall stehen Bilder, Teller,
Tassen und anderer solcher Sachen. Besonders ins Auge stechen die vielen Bilder.
Die habe sie selbst mit einer bestimmten Technik gemalt. Der Laden wirkt sehr voll,
selbst auf ihrem großen schweren Holzschreibtisch, hinter dem sie sich nun auf ei-
nem ebenso schweren großen schwarzen Stuhl setzt, ist voller Sachen: Plastikobst,
140 Stifte, Malfarben. Vor dem Schreibtisch steht noch ein weiterer kleiner Tisch und
rechts und links davon zwei alte lange Sofas, die mit Deckchen belegt sind. Neben
dem Sofa, rechts vor dem Schreibtisch steht auch noch ein alter Sessel. Sie zeigt auf
dieses rechte Sofa und bittet mich, mich zu setzen. „Also was kann ich dir erzählen?“
145 sagt sie und überlegt. Dann beginnt sie verschiedene Kirchen aufzulisten, ich versu-
che sie mir schnell zu notieren. Da wird sie von ihrer Tochter angerufen, die arbeite
so viel, erklärt sie mir nachdem sie aufgelegt hat. Eine junge Frau und ein junger
Mann, die mir schon während des Telefonats aufgefallen waren, kommen herein. Ich
dachte zunächst es seien Touristen, dann merke ich aber, dass die beiden Hülya ken-
nen. Die Frau erscheint mir um die Anfang bis Mitte 30 Jahre alt, ebenso der Mann.
150 Die Frau hat um den Bauch in einer Art Tragetuch ein Baby geschnallt.

Hülya begrüßt die beiden und erst dann verstehe ich, dass sie die beiden kennt. Sie
fragt, was wir trinken möchten, dann geht sie für uns alle Tee irgendwo in der Nähe
ihres Ladens bestellen (also beim „Komşu“ [Trans.: Nachbarn] wie sie ihn nennt)
und kommt wieder. Das Paar setzt sich auf die Couch mir gegenüber. Hülya schaut
155 nach dem Baby, was in der Tragetasche der Frau an den Bauch geschnallt ist, dann
gibt die Frau ihr das Kind auf den Arm. Diese hebt es hoch und trägt es nach vorne,
wo sie sich auf ihren großen Stuhl setzt. Ein weiterer jüngerer Mann, ca. Mitte 30,
betritt den Laden und, begrüßt uns alle und setzt sich auf den Sessel neben mir. Die
beiden Männer unterhalten sich kurz und stellen fest, dass sie sich ja schon mal wo-
anders getroffen. „Ah ja genau“, die Frau nickt und scheint sich zu erinnern. „Da war
160 ich aber noch so“, sagt sie und formt mit den Händen einen dicken Babybauch. Jetzt
sei das Baby dreieinhalb Monate alt, erklärt sie auf Nachfrage. Dann unterhalten sich
beide Männer über Beruf und Haustiere.

Hülya knuddelt das Baby, macht Babylaute und spricht mit dem Kind. Das reagiert
165 mit einem freudigen Lächeln. „Sag mal ‚Anne‘ (Mama)“, sagt sie zu dem Kind. Die
Mutter des Kindes erklärt mir das sie keine Türkin ist, sondern aus Europa kommt
und wir unterhalten uns über Sprachen. Der Mann neben mir, den ich im folgenden
Can⁸⁶ nennen möchte, erklärt, dass das türkische Wort für Mutter, „anne“ ursprüng-
lich von dem Wort „anna“ abstamme, was ja einfacher zu sprechen sei. Das kleine
170 Kind schüttelt immer wiederfröhlich mit dem Kopf und Hülya scherzt mit ihm
„Nein, Papa, nein nein!“ sagt sie auf Türkisch. Während wir also alle so das sitzen
und das Baby anlächeln und es uns, unterhalten wir uns ein bisschen. Es geht um
einen George, dann meine ich, „Oh ich kenne auch einen George“. Ja hier gäbe es
viele Georges, dann werden noch ein paar andere englische Namen genannt und die
175 Runde stellt fest, dass es viele Ausländer hier in dem Stadtteil gibt. Wo ich herkom-
me, fragt mich die Frau. „Aus Deutschland“, erkläre ich. Daraufhin antwortet sie,
dass sie noch zwei andere Deutsche hier kenne, aber eine/einer davon sei wohl nur
noch einen Monat hier bevor der Aufenthalt endet. Hülya erklärt mir, dass in der
Nähe auch eine armenische Kirche sei und etwas weiter weg sei noch eine. „Wie?

⁸⁶ Can ist der Ehemann von zeynep, wie zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt herausfinden soll.

180 Die ist eine armenische?“, fragt einer der beiden Männer daraufhin. Ja die sei von dem Patriarchat an die Armenier gegeben worden. „Ermeniler Anadolu“ [Trans.: Die Armenier sind aus Anatolien], betont Hülya im Gespräch. Dann erklärt sie, dass diese armenische Kirche in Balat ein heiliger Ort sei und für seine Heilungsgottesdienste bekannt ist. Sie erzählt uns davon, wie sie diese Kirche einmal besucht hat.

185 Sie erzählt von einem Vorfall, den ich wegen meiner mangelnden Türkischkenntnisse nicht ganz verstehe und schließt diese Erzählung mit dem Satz: „korkuyorlar, şimdi daha çok Müslüman geliyor, cemaat gelmiyor.“ [Trans.: Trans.: Sie fürchten sich. Es kommen mehr Muslime, die eigentliche Gemeinschaft kommt nicht] Ich schaue sie erstaunt an, als sie sagt, dass das mehr Muslime kommen. Da meint sie:

190 „Also so wie ich eben“ – Hier frage ich mich, inwieweit sie mit „Müslüman“ religiöse Muslime meint oder doch eher Türken, die sie eventuell entsprechend als kulturell muslimisch versteht.

„Dedikodu var“ [Trans.: Es gibt Gerüchte] sagt sie dann. Sie erklärt, dass anscheinend Gerüchte umgehen, dass der Patriarch aus Fener hier in der Gegend alles aufkaufen will und so etwas wie einen Vatikan hier aufbauen will. Dann diskutieren sie wann die letzte große Auswanderungswelle der Rumlar war: 1974 sagt Baris („en son göç“). Dann erwähnt Hülya die Ereignisse von 1955 und schüttelt den Kopf. Was sie genau sagt verstehe ich nicht, nur: „baskı vardı, kalmamış, bitmiş“ [Trans.: Es gab Druck, sie sind nicht geblieben, es ist vorbei.]

195

200 Sie sprechen von irgendeinem Verein (*dernek*) und, dass Hülya dort hingegangen ist, obwohl viele ihrer Nachbarn gesagt haben, sie davon abhalten wollten – die genauen Details verstehe ich leider nicht ganz. Sie erklärt mir hierauf, dass es im Stadtteil auch von der AKP beeinflusste Leute gibt. Ja dahinten, Can zeigt in die Richtung meiner Wohnung, gäbe es doch diesen *Manav* (Obstverkäufer) - Ob er meinen Nachbarn, der ja auch Obstverkäufer ist, meint? - Auf jeden Fall spricht er davon, dass es dahinten konservativer sei und von Fatih her dieser Einfluss käme, aus der Richtung also. Es passt also schon, dass er von der Ecke meiner Wohnung spricht. Da bei der Draman Caddesi, das sei so eine konservative Pro-AKP Ecke. Ich sage, ja bei mir hinterm Haus seien AKP Fahnen, aber wirklich nur in dieser einen Straße.

205

210 Dann geht es weiter „Kürdler var“ [Trans.: Es gibt Kurden]. (Die Fahnen von deren Partei habe ich bereits am Anfang zum Wochenmarkt hängen sehen), z.B. den Elektriker Hamid. Sie sprechen darüber, dass die AKPler viel Propaganda machen. Dann diskutieren sie darüber welche Nachrichtenagenturen heute noch gut sind. Can meint er schaut eh kaum noch TV, wenn dann mal eine bestimmte Sendung auf Star TV, Vox oder so. Zeitungen nennen sie auch, z.B. die „Bugün“. Dann sprechen sie von der Sadet Partisi und dass diese zu einer anderen Partei dazu gehöre. Zu welcher habe ich jedoch leider nicht verstanden. Dann kommen sie auf Fetullah Gülen zu sprechen und diskutieren über diese Bewegung.

215

220 „Ach, wenn es wieder einen Krieg (-vielleicht hat sie auch Weltkrieg gesagt-) gibt, dann sei es ein Krieg wegen der Religion“, sagt Hülya. Der Mann, der der Vater des Kindes zu sein scheint, sieht sie an und zuckt verneinend mit den Schultern. Dann blickt er durch das Schaufenster auf die andere Straße der Seite und fragt, was denn da auf der anderen Seite los sei. Sie reden kurz über das dort befindliche Gebäude. Das Schaufenster steht gerade leer und wieder renoviert – es ist eine „emlak“

225 [Trans.: Immobilienbüro]. „Emlak, emlak, immer mehr überall emlak“, beschwert sich der Mann. „Ja und die Mieten steigen und steigen“ sagt Hülya. Hülya bringt das Baby zurück zur Mutter und erklärt „uslu çocuk“ [Trans.: Braves Kind], sagt Hülya.

230 Es lächelt Can an und die Mutter schnallt das kleine wieder in die Bauchtrage. Sie scheint aufbrechen zu wollen. Hülya verabschiedet sich herzlich, am Ende sprechen sie noch darüber, dass es eine Kinderkrippe in Balat geben sollte. Can verlässt mit beiden den Laden.

235 Dann sind Hülya und ich für ca. 20 Minuten alleine und unterhalten uns ein wenig. Ich kläre erst einmal gleich das Missverständnis auf und erkläre, dass ich statt „anit“ (Monument) „ani“ (Erinnerung) gemeint hatte. Aber natürlich interessieren mich auf die Gebäude und Monumente, füge ich hinzu. Als sie das hört, überlegt sie kurz und erzählt mir dann in Kürze ihre Lebensgeschichte: Sie komme ursprünglich aus Anatolien, habe lange als [...] gearbeitet und sei dann 2001 nach Balat gezogen.

240 Ich spreche die Häuser an und sie beginnt über und sie beginnt vom „UNESCO Projekt“, wie viele hier das Fener-balat Rehabilitation Project der Europäischen Union bezeichnen. Darüber habe sie auch ein Buch, aus dem sie mir Sachen kopieren könne. In diesem Projekt mehr als das Vierfache gewesen. Das sei ja schon ein großer Unterschied, erklärt sie, aber das Projekt in Fener-Balat hätte sicher auch mehr bekommen, wenn es gut gelaufen wäre, aber es sei nicht gut gemacht worden, erklärt sie. Dann sei als nächstes der Staat gekommen, „devlet el koydud“ [Trans.: Die Stadt hat Ansprüche erhoben/ beschlagnahmt]. „Die wollten ganz viel abreißen“, sagt Hülya, aber da haben sie eine „dernek“ [Trans.: Verein] dagegen gegründet. Und dieser Verein hatte Erfolg, zwei Mal sogar. Dann kommen wir auf verbotene Häuser zu sprechen und ich erzähle von dem Haus in Balat, in dem ich wohne.

250 Ich frage, ob ich das richtig verstanden habe, dass die Leute denken, dass Patriarchat hier Häuser aufkaufe. Sie bestätigt dies und erklärt, dass da aber doch eigentlich nur noch „birkaç aile“ [Trans.: ein paar wenige Familien] übrig seien. Die Leute würden übertreiben, das wäre dumm, aber die Leute fürchten sich, sie seien ungebildet. „Wenn sie (=die Griechisch Orthodoxen/ Rum) doch kommen würden!“, sagt Hülya, dann wäre Balat „daha renkli“ [Trans.: bunter]. Man könnte voneinander lernen.

255 Ich frage sie als nächstes, wer denn hier im Stadtteil so alles wohne. Sie erklärt, dass es Bewohner aus Kastamonu und Karabüyük am Schwarzen Meer gibt. Außerdem gibt es die Siirtli, d.h. die Leute, die ursprünglich aus der Stadt Siirt im Südosten der Türkei kommen. Bei denen könne man in zwei Gruppen unterscheiden, in die Araber, die seien reich, und die Kurden, die seien arm.

260 Warum sie nach Balat gezogen sei, frage ich sie als nächstes. Ihr wurde erzählt, dass hier alte Häuser sein, aus Holz, und sie solle sich hier eines kaufen, sagt sie mir. Sie kam 2001, als erste (- ich vermute, dass sie hiermit meint, dass sie als erste unter denen mit einem ähnlichen Lebensstil war -). Hülya kam als geschiedene Frau, d.h. ohne Mann und mit einer kleinen Tochter in den Stadtteil (-damit wollte sie mir erklären, dass sie als alleinerziehende Mutter und geschiedene Frau eine ganz andere Lebensweise hat, als viele der religiös konservativen Frauen im Stadtteil). Sie sei ja Feministin, da sei es hier anfangs schon schwer gewesen, aber sie hat das alles geschafft, erklärt sie mir.

270 Sie findet das mahalle-Leben in Balat sehr wichtig, also dass „herkes herkesinin cocugu ilgileniyor- kizimin öyle büyümediği istedim“ [Trans.: Jeder achtet auf das Kind des anderen, ich wollte, dass meine Tochter so aufwächst], dass es den kleinen Laden um die Ecke gibt usw. Dieser „yaşam biçimi“ [Trans.: Lebensstil] sei ihr wichtig. Nachbarn, so kommt es mir vor, scheinen ihr eh sehr wichtig zu sein. Und sie sagt so etwas in der Richtung, dass Balat eine der letzten mahalle ist. Sie hat Angst, dass wird durch diese Bauwut und diese Bauprojekte in Balat zerstört, und deswegen

280 sei es auch so wichtig wie die Wahlen ausgehen. Sie erklärt mir, dass, wenn AKP diesmal gewinnt sollte, es sehr schlecht aussehen würde. Sie erklärt weiter, dass alle, d.h. z.B. Feministinnen oder Alternative, der Kurdischen Partei ihre Stimme geben wollen, damit diese die Zehn-Prozent-Hürde schafft. Dann beschwert sie sich über die AKP, die seien ehrlos.

285 Jetzt geht Hülya noch einen Tee holen. Als sie wieder hereinkommt, frage ich ob sie noch ein bisschen Zeit hat oder ob ich störe. Nein nein, sie habe auch gerade eine Nachbarin gesehen, die komme gleich, so sei das am Abend, da kommen immer viele *komşular* [Trans. Nachbarn]. Die Türe hat sie gleich offen stehen lassen. Und kaum eine Sekunde später kommt auch schon die Nachbarin Esra herein. Aus dem folgenden Gespräch zwischen den beiden Frauen höre ich ich heraus, dass sie ein paar Straßen weiter lebt. Die Freundin wird mit als Esra vorgestellt, ama „Marina yabancı değil. Komşu.“ [Trans.: Das ist Marina, sie ist keine Fremde. Sie ist eine Nachbarin], sagt Hülya und erklärt, dass ich auch in Balat wohne (- ich finde das irgendwie sehr interessant, denn ich bin doch schon irgendwie ein Yabancı oder fühle mich zumindest so). Esra fragt mich, was ich studiere und ich erkläre „İletişim“. Sie nickt, und sagt, ja das habe sie auch studiert. Sie beklagt sich über Schmerzen im Knie, und reibt sich das Knie. Dann bringt der Nachbar wieder Tee, Esra lehnt ab und so trinken Hülya und ich alleine. Kurz darauf kommen auch die Schwester von 295 Hülya und Can. Er setzt sich wieder in den Sessel, sie sich auf die Couch gegenüber von mir, an den Rand zu Hülyas großem Holzschreibtisch. Sie beginnt dort mit den Utensilien von Hülya etwas zu malen.

300 Esras Türkisch verstehe ich leider nicht ganz so gut, wie das von Hülya. Es gibt „Romanlar“ (=Roma) in Balat, sagt Hülya und zeigt hinter sich. „Ja in Ayvansaray⁸⁷, oder?“ frage ich und sie bestätigt es. (-Irgendwie scheinen die mahalle Grenzen echt fließend zu sein, grad wie es so passt, gehört der oder der Teil noch dazu. Can spricht auch einmal von „Fener tarafında“ - also die Fener-Seite, vielleicht gehört Fener also irgendwie auch noch zu Balat dazu-).

305 Also wenn ich Fragen zu den Romanlar habe, dann kann mir Esra viel erzählen, deren „komşular“ (Nachbarn) seien nämlich Romanlar. Ich sage „Öyle mi?“ [Trans.: Ist das so?] und Esra beginnt von den Romanlar zu erzählen, die seien ganz nett, „ama çok farklı onlar“ [Trans.: Aber die sind ganz anders.]. Sie berichtet einige Anekdoten indem sie deren Aussprache des Türkischen nachahmt und dabei ihre Stimme verstellt. Sie spricht nasal und verzieht die Stimme zu einer Art Quäken. Die anderen 310 lachen. Sie erzählt es habe einen Einbruch gegeben, immer wieder erwähnt sie auch ihre Nachbarin. Die Nachbarin wohne wenigstens oben, sie aber weiter unten, sie bekäme immer alles mit. Sie erzählt, dass andere gefragt haben ob sie sich denn nicht fürchte, aber das habe sie nie. Sie erzählt eine Geschichte, als sie grade erst hergezogen war, es war nachts um zwei Uhr oder so und weil sie so direkt in der Nähe der großen Straße wohne, sei das Taxi nicht nach oben gefahren, könne es ja gar nicht. 315 Sie sei ausgestiegen und die letzten Meter zu Fuß gelaufen. Da sei ihr jemand gefolgt. Sie miemt wie sie schnell und furchtsam zu ihrer Türe gelaufen ist und schnell den Schlüssel umgedreht hat. Dann hebt sie die Hand und sagt auf Türkisch so etwas wie „Ay Abl⁸⁸, du bist gut nach Hause gekommen, jetzt bin ich beruhigt“. Der junge 320 Mann war ihr anscheinend gefolgt, um sie zu beschützen. (- Ich habe das Gefühl sie

⁸⁷ Das ist der Stadtteil neben Fener-Balat.

⁸⁸ Abl heißt wörtlich ältere Schwester, es ist aber auch die Anrede einer jüngeren Person an eine ältere Frau.

erzählt das, um zu zeigen, wie nett die Roma „eigentlich“ sind-). Die Roma seien Musiker, erklärt Esra, die gehen abends immer raus, wenn die anderen von der Arbeit kämen. Die gehen dann immer nach Beyoğlu ins Stadtzentrum. Und da „karşlaşıyoruz“ [Trans.: begegnen wir uns] auf der Straße in Balat, sagt Esra. „Cok enteresan onlar“ [Trans.: Die sind sehr interessant].

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Dann sagt sie noch: Hier sei „herkes aynen, cok seviyorum, tabii cizgi var, ama...“ [Trans.: jeder ist hier gleich, natürlich gibt es Trennendes, aber...] – mehr habe ich leider von dem Türkisch hier nicht verstanden, aber sie schien zu sagen, dass diese nicht so eine große Rolle spielen). (- Ob das wohl andere Bewohner*innen auch so sehen, frage ich mich hier).

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Dann kommt noch ein weiterer Nachbar. Er will sich nicht nach vorne zu uns setzen, da werde ja geraucht. Das scheint ihn zu stören. Er platziert sich also hinten im Raum. „Ach was setzt du dich denn so weit weg?“ sagt Hülyas Schwester und öffnet die Türe. Der Mann setzt sich aber trotzdem nicht nach vorne. Sie reden darüber, 335 dass irgendwer gestorben ist, dass irgendwer in Ümraniye Geburtstag hat und es wird gescherzt. Dann geht es wieder um Politik und die Nachbarn. Hülyas Nachbar sei z.B. AKPLer, aber das sei kein Problem für sie. Man spricht trotzdem, es sind ja nicht alle radikal. Sie erzählt auch über ihr Leben bevor sie nach Fener-Balat gezogen ist und wir kommen auch auf ihr Kind zu sprechen und dessen Beruf zu sprechen. Wir 340 kommen auf Serien zu sprechen. Welches es da denn gäbe, frage ich. Sie nennen bspw. „Şeref Meselesi“ und erwähnen, dass auch viele Werbespots, Filme und Serien in Balat gedreht werden.

Der Nachbar, der sich ans andere Ende des Raumes gesetzt hat, verabschiedet sich. Es ist 17 Uhr und auch ich beschließe zu gehen. „Ich hoffe ich konnte dir helfen, ich 345 weiß ja auch nicht, was du da so aufgeschrieben hast und was dir etwas nützt!“, sagt Hülya zum Abschied und verabschiedet mich mit Wangenküsschen. „Komm wieder - bekliyoruz“. Die anderen stehen auch alle auf und geben mir die Hand. Ich verabschiede mich und gehe.

350 Rückblickendes Fazit (Februar 2016): Insgesamt war dieser Forschungstag äußerst interessant und aufschlussreich. Er hat mir erste Einblicke in ein lokales Nachbarschaftsnetzwerk ermöglicht und war eine Art Schlüsselerlebnis, da mir hier bei meinen Beobachtungen auffiel, dass immer wieder von den „Komşular“, den Nachbr*innen die Rede war. Auch hat das gleichzeitige Hören, Verstehen und Sprechen sehr viel Konzentration verlangt. Ich habe hier als Gedächtnisstütze immer 355 wieder gesprochene türkische Sätze in meinem Notizbuch notiert – so konnte ich mir zentrale Aussagen besser behalten und auch im Nachhinein noch Wörter nachschauen, die mir zunächst unbekannt waren.