Elmadağ:
A Neighborhood in Flux

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All the photographs, unless otherwise indicated, are taken by Tomurcuk Bilge Erzik in August 2003.

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Didem DANIŞ & Ebru KAYAALP

Introduction

How could we describe Elmadağ; as a neighborhood just next to Dolapdere or an old Armenian residential area? As the favorite business center of the 1960s or a place where most of Istanbul's tourism agencies are currently located? Could we describe Elmadağ in light of its inhabitants who have settled here through the internal migration flows from Anatolia or in light of Iraqi immigrants who have recently started living here? Is Elmadağ a neighborhood whose inhabitants can express their differences without encountering any difficulties or is it a neighborhood where social and class differentiations cause uneasiness among its inhabitants? Or is it possible that it is a combination of all of the above?

The focus of this research is to analyze the social and spatial transformations of a bounded area, the neighborhood of Elmadağ, which is located within the *mahalle*s of İnönü and Ergenekon in Harbiye. Elmadağ, situated in the southern edge of Şişli Municipality, is enclosed within the area among Cumhuriyet Street on the east, Dolapdere Street on the west and Yedikuyular Street on the south.

Historically Elmadağ is known as a non-Muslim neighborhood where a high population of Armenians, Greeks and Jews were dwelling together. Especially the Catholics of Istanbul established themselves in the neighborhood, with all of their institutions, such as schools, a church, a consulate, foundations and houses. However, the relatively homogenous character of Elmadağ as a non-Muslim enclave within the center of city started to change with the immigration of religious minorities to other countries after the Wealth Tax, September 6th-7th events

Photo 1.   Yedikuyular Street on the southern end of Elmadağ going down to Dolapdere.

and Cyprus Conflict as well as the emigration of people from Anatolia to Istanbul.

The most noteworthy factor constituting the social and cultural makeup of Elmadağ has been the perpetual migration flows. For that reason, our fundamental concern in this study is to analyze the dramatic transformation process that Elmadağ has been going through over a century under the presence of incessant migration flows from various areas. The impact of these migration flows is the underlying aspect in shaping the past, present and prospective position of Elmadağ. Therefore, we try to explain the spatial, social and cultural transformation of the neighborhood by mapping out the consequences of the various migration flows that it has been subjected to.

Each migration wave leaving a remark from itself in the texture of the neighborhood has dramatically changed the resident profile as well as the economic, social and cultural panorama of the neighborhood. Elmadağ was first transformed radically with the two-sided migration
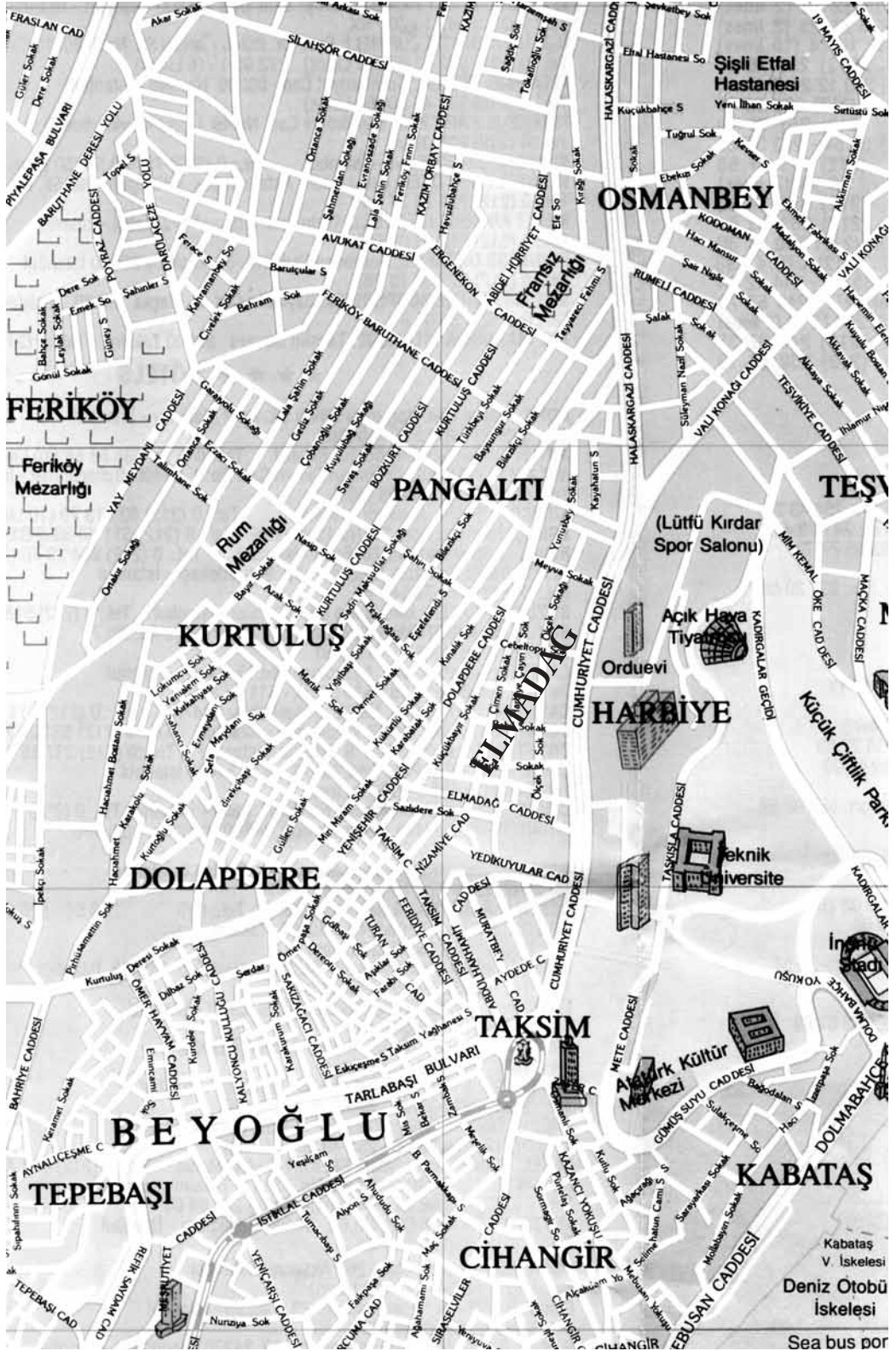
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processes between the 1950s and 1970s: while non-Muslim communities moved to other neighborhoods or left the country, the vacuum created by their absence was filled by emigrants coming from Anatolia. Internal migration that lost its pace after the 1960s, burst back to prominence after the mid-1980s with the deepening of political and economic problems breeding the popular unrest in southeastern Anatolia. This resulted in a massive Kurdish flow to Istanbul. One of the remarkable neighborhoods in accommodating Kurds in Istanbul in the last two decades has been Elmadağ. In addition to the internal immigration flows, many refugees and international transit immigrants have also flowed to Istanbul since the 1990s. Today Elmadağ also provides shelter to some of the Iraqis as well as transit migrants from several African countries who temporarily settle in Turkey in order to immigrate to third countries.

As a result of these internal and international immigration flows, the social profile of Elmadağ has become more heterogeneous. Hence, a main focus of our study is to scrutinize the socioeconomic characteristics of these various immigrant groups as well as their relations with others. Likewise, we try to discuss how the diversity and difference among the inhabitants of Elmadağ reflect to the social and spatial structure of the neighborhood. We analyze the 'feeling of belongingness' of people having different cultural backgrounds to Elmadağ and the social relations they establish with the other inhabitants of the neighborhood.

Parallel to these migration flows of the last five decades, a functional change has taken place in Elmadağ. After the 1950s, there was constant movement of shopping centers, business firms

and five star hotels in Istanbul along the Taksim-Harbiye-Osmanbey axis. In this period, Elmadağ attained a business center character along with its present residential feature. However, when Şişli-Mecidiköy became a central business district in the 1970s and then Levent-Maslak in the 1990s, Elmadağ lost its previous significance as a business area. In this respect, we also seek to examine the effects of this functional transformation on the neighborhood.

Elmadağ is located in one of the urban centers of Istanbul, namely Taksim, which is the hub of Cihangir-Tarlabaşı-Harbiye triangle. Within the multi-nuclei panorama of Istanbul, Taksim area is distinguished by its rich social diversity concerning the people who inhabit, work or stroll here. Cihangir is a recently gentrified area preferred by people with high economic and cultural capital; Tarlabaşı-Dolapdere is a slum area inhabited by the urban poor; Feriköy-Kurtuluş has historically been inhabited by various non-Muslim communities. Within this socially and historically divergent region, Elmadağ has a more ambiguous and heterogeneous structure. Demographically, the settlement of different immigrant groups in various historical periods and functionally, the transformation of residential sites especially near to Cumhuriyet Street into work places have influenced the social and spatial structure of Elmadağ. In order to envisage the future of Elmadağ, which is a lower-middle class neighborhood squeezed among these disparate districts, we map out the business and residential tendencies within this neighborhood and its position in comparison to other pieces of the fragmented urban structure in Istanbul.

Our study has five main sections: In the first section, we explain the methodology that we

followed while conducting the fieldwork as well as writing the ethnography. It is pertinent to note that rather than adopting mainstream or let's say prescribed methodologies we preferred to use the 'method', which was simultaneously formulated with our incessant questions in the framework of our academic knowledge and practical difficulties in the field. In the second section, we attempt to discover the historical emergence of Elmadağ as a neighborhood in the 19th century, which has not been studied up till today. We believe that the transformation Elmadağ has been going through today can no means be apprehended without historical explanations. In the third chapter, we analyze the migration flows from and to Elmadağ. In this regard, we explain in detail the reasons and consequences of the exodus of non-Muslims from the neighborhood, the immigration of Anatolian people in 1950s, Kurdish immigration starting after mid 1980s and international immigration accelerated after 1990s to the neighborhood. We not only try to single out the differences among these migration flows which have been characterized by different political, economic and social factors but also show how Elmadağ has been influenced and molded through these migration dynamics. The fourth chapter focusing on the functional transformation of Elmadağ discusses two questions. The first point is about the business and residential inclinations of the neighborhood, whereas the second issue discusses the questions 'who move in and out the neighborhood and why' to give an idea about the future of Elmadağ. Lastly, in the conclusion we present the inferences that we draw out of this study and we try to discuss the projections about the future of the vicinity.

* * *

The motive behind our decision to conduct a study on Elmadağ is to discover the social and historical richness of Elmadağ, which has remained unexamined until today. We think that such a study necessitates an interdisciplinary perspective, which blends sociological, anthropological and historical approaches. Besides, we believe that a research on Elmadağ may present the possibility of finding out a connection between micro and macro perspectives and may provide an opportunity for new conceptualizations in urban studies. As 'insiders' of Elmadağ, we are also motivated by the desire to bring to light the history of the neighborhood that we live in and the effort to understand the transformations that we observe in our daily lives through an academic perspective. Indeed, the topics we aim to focus on in this research have been the questions that we try to answer as inhabitants of Elmadağ as well as social scientists.

Being subject to incessant local, national and international immigration processes and thus experiencing a rapid and severe urban transformation, Istanbul reveals a complex structure. It is possible to understand this complex structure through a micro scale examination of Elmadağ in light of macro dynamics. We believe that an ambitious effort to understand Istanbul in its entirety necessitates a modest study focusing on its fragments, even though such an approach carries its own handicaps too, such as getting stuck in a narrow perspective. Yet, we try to overcome this problem by adopting a comparative perspective such as presenting the differences between the neighboring districts, as well as analyzing the micro transformations with reference to the macro dynamics. Besides, we believe that the analysis of various social networks and patterns within a limited territory has its advantages such as the manageability of the research and the discovery of some social patterns and transformations that coexist in a heterogeneous neighborhood such as Elmadağ. Urban studies conducted in Turkey have generally focused more on the transformation of peripheral settlements and shantytown dwellers[1]. We believe that our research in Elmadağ can pave the way for a better understanding of the overall transformation of the city by shifting the focus to the inner city areas in the urban studies.

The research process was enjoyable for us both academically and personally. Mainly it afforded us the opportunity to get acquainted with diverse inhabitants of Elmadağ, who were largely unknown to us before. It was gratifying to open a dialogue with people we would normally never come into communication with. Unfortunately, we encountered the usual social

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[1] Within the abundant bibliography on shantytowns in Turkey, one can specifically look at Işık & Pınarcıoğlu (2001), Kazgan (1999), Şenyapılı (1998), Erder (1996).

scientist/writer dilemma, and found ourselves unable to encapsulate the sum of our experiences within our text, or rather, to have our text be a true reflection of our observations. Academically it was also enjoyable because we were able to draw upon our academic training and background, but without the normal confines of an academic thesis or research. Thanks to the grant provided by l'Institue Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes, we had the freedom to be more creative in our research process, while still drawing upon the tools of our academic background. We hope the reader can also share the excitement and interest that infused this project.

Chapter 1 : Methodology

'If your approach to research is a cold, professional one, then the beginning and the end of your work is predetermined to a large extent. But if your relationship to the research goes beyond such a framework then research becomes an adventure with no preceding knowledge as to where it would begin and end' (Tekeli, 1992, 1). Our research adventure in Elmadağ started in a similar atmosphere: as inhabitants of Elmadağ we were participating in the everyday life of the neighborhood but as social scientists, we had an inevitable academic interest. Our attempt to leave behind the 'cold and professional approach of an academic research' -which is taught as a sine-qua-non principle for a 'scientific' research- became plausible with our inhabitant status in Elmadağ. Having the opportunity to focus on details or practices in our everyday lives and sharing the usual inhabitant problems with the others in Elmadağ, we made an effort to overcome the limitations of strict theoretical frameworks. We did not allow our preceding academic knowledge to impede our research and thus end up with 'predetermined' conclusions. Rather than attempting to prove our theoretical knowledge with our observations on Elmadağ, we first tried to 'see' what was going on in this neighborhood and then to formulate it through the lenses of our theoretical accumulations. Otherwise, why is there a need of bothering ourselves with the fieldwork?

In shaping and designing this project we very much dealt with the questions of how ethnography should be written as well as how fieldwork should be thought about. We are aware of the fact that ethnography is in the midst of a political and epistemological crisis and trying to get out of it through new writing techniques[2]. Although we admit that all these techniques try to reestablish a better ethnography, we do not disregard the problem that different modes of writing can easily reduce the problem to an ethical issue by falling into humanism by i.e, 'being a better anthropologist who let the Others speak'. Believing that the problem is more important than this, our concern becomes that of challenging the sovereign status of researchers by questioning the very constitution of their subject positions and problematizing the relationships between them and the 'Others'.

Who are we?

Edward Said suggests that in the ethnographic writings there is someone -an authority- who speaks and analyzes everything except her/himself. But who speaks? For what and whom? (Said, 1989, 212). It is the anthropologist, who goes to the non-Western countries, learns the

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[2] James Clifford, in his article 'On Ethnographic Authority', examines four different modes of authority: experiential, interpretive, dialogical and polyphonic. The experiential and interpretive modes tend to suppress the dialogical dimension of fieldwork by assigning full control to the anthropologist. Dialogic texts which are composed of dialogues between the ethnographer and a native informant have 'the effect of transforming the cultural text into a speaking subject, who sees as well as is seen, who evades, argues, probes back' (Clifford, 1986, 14). However, there is a frequent tendency for the native to appear as representative of her/his culture in these texts (Clifford, 1988, 44). Clifford proposes 'polyvocal ethnographic writing' as an alternative in which anthropologist's voice is one of many voices which serve to represent the cultures. Polyvocalic ethnography is composed of quotations and there is not a privileged informant as it is in the dialogical ethnography. However, in this alternative text the authoritative authorship can not be totally eliminated, since in this case the ethnographer takes up the role of the 'editor' who designs the order of text according to her/his will. In the last instance, it is the ethnographer who chooses the natives s/he would talk and the quotations s/he would cite in the text. Also one can criticize this type of ethnographic writing by asking to what extent the ethnographer can pluralize the voices within the text or to what extent such an attempt can be useful for the effacement of authoritical stance.

language of natives and stays there in a period of time without giving up the role of the observer by 'distancing' her/himself from the native people. Or it is the one who makes ethnographical work at home by interpreting the cultures of natives from the perspective of her/his own culture.

Following the arguments of Said, we claim that the researcher should interrogate her/his position as well as problematize the aim and execution of the project as prerequisites of an ethical question. Thus the class, cultural background and the attitudes of the researcher should be examined. Bearing this in mind, we can describe ourselves as well-educated, middle class women currently living in Elmadağ. We should admit that being female researchers facilitated our communication with the interviewees; while women interviewees shared the most intimate stories of their lives with us, men were more receptive to our requests to interview by perceiving us as less threatening than our male-counterparts. However, we also experienced some disadvantages or lets say difficulties of being women researchers in the fieldwork when we faced some events, which created tensions and emotional subversions on our parts. Especially while 'listening to men's stories on women', we, as feminists sometimes fell into an ethical dilemma of whether to reveal our sincere feelings, or whether to listen to them while disregarding our very 'subjective' feelings. The question of whether to be honest to ourselves or to others remained an unsettled and controversial problem throughout this project.

We have never assumed that we are unified, coherent subjects having full access to the knowledge of the other people. On the contrary, throughout this research we confronted the fact that our identities are fragmented and contradictory. Indeed, this experience served to amplify our self-awareness and provided an opportunity for us to confront some of our less-manifest characteristics. While conducting the fieldwork, we became aware of the fact that our long education process has already shaped us as modern western subjects and conferred upon us a pre-given privilege of 'being respected' that positioned us apart from our interviewees. Rather than involve ourselves in a futile endeavor to

deny this special and distant position -which could easily end up with a naïve but unethical claim of 'we are just like you'-, we acknowledged the fact that we do not share the same historical, social, economical and cultural experiences as our interviewees. We were even conscious of the fact that posing questions to others signifies an authoritative stance, in other words, a position of power. Therefore, we tried to question the position of authority, which is often taken-for-granted by many researchers. For us, the only way to achieve this is always to interrogate our subject positions, our 'privileges' and our 'status'.

There were many reasons behind our motive to examine the neighborhood[3]. One of the main purposes was to learn more about the place in which we live. As mentioned above, it has been easy for us to involve in participant observation during our daily lives. We thus observed not only other people living in Elmadağ but also ourselves as the inhabitants of this neighborhood. In other words, we turned our gaze to ourselves along with the others rather than distance ourselves and relegate the other inhabitants to a position of 'objects of study'. In this sense, we are neither an outsider nor an insider, but both simultaneously, as Trinh T. Minh-ha expresses it:

'The moment the insider steps out from the inside, she is no longer a mere insider (and vice versa). She necessarily looks in from the outside while also looking out from the inside. [...] She refuses to reduce herself to an Other, and her reflections to a mere outsider's objective reasoning or insider's subjective feeling. She knows, [...] that she is not an outsider like the foreign outsider. [...] Not quite the Same, not quite the Other, she stands in that undetermined threshold place where she constantly drifts in and out. Undercutting the inside/outside opposition, her intervention is necessarily that of a deceptive insider and deceptive outsider. She is this Inappropriate Other/Same who moves about with always at least two/four gestures: that of affirming 'I am like you' while persisting in her difference; and that of remind 'I am different' while unsettling every definition of otherness arrived at [...]' (1997, 217).

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[3] We have already explained these reasons in the Introduction part of this project.

Our position of 'both-in-one insider/outsider' (Minh-ha, 1997, 217) also enabled us to challenge the basic binary opposition in the social sciences, i.e. the distinction between the subjectivity and objectivity of the observer. For us, the assumption of the researcher as some kind of independent objective or corrupted subjective observer should be abandoned. We reject the association with one of these binary pairs, such as subjective/objective insiders/outsiders. But rather, we situate ourselves in an in-between position that provides us with new perspectives of seeing social transformations, which cannot be grasped by either an outsider or an insider position. In brief, we admit that the attitude of 'persistently holding an in-between position' which was offered and adopted by Oğuz Işık and Melih Pınarcıoğlu (2001) in their path-breaking research in Sultanbeyli has guided us in our study in Elmadağ.

Fieldwork

We fundamentally based our research on in-depth interviews with the old and new inhabitants of Elmadağ. Faced with the fact that no historical study was available on Elmadağ, we first tried to map out the historical processes and transformations of the neighborhood by investigating certain institutions in this district. In this regard, we met with the officials of Surp Agop Hospital, Surp Agop Foundation, Artigiana Resthome, Notre Dame de Sion High School, Caritas Organization and the Vatican Consulate. At this point it is necessary to note that our goal was neither to conduct an oral history research nor uncover merely the history of Elmadağ. Rather we intended to go beyond both of these aspects without ignoring the importance and necessity of an historical analysis. Therefore, history is not the single most foundation of our work but one of the pillars upon which it stands and which inspires our sociological imagination.

In the second phase, we conducted in-depth interviews with our target group, the old and new inhabitants of Elmadağ to examine the neighborhood's social structure and to gain insight about its transformation. Prior to the field survey, we implemented a pilot survey by interviewing the neighborhood headman, several real estate agents and shop owners. We employed the in-depth interview technique for its flexibility, although this method is more difficult and

time consuming compared to other research techniques. We believe that unforeseen dimensions of personal experiences and social diversity might be revealed through this method.

The survey's target group may be segmented into six different groups. The first group includes non-Muslims, the oldest inhabitants of Elmadağ who have lived there for years. People who have emigrated from different regions of Anatolia and settled Elmadağ with the migration flow after 1950 constitute the second group. Kurds who settled in Elmadağ during the rapid internal immigration movement of the post-1980s form the third group. The fourth group includes international immigrants from Iraq and various African countries who have settled there with the aim of moving to a third country. The fifth group, which can be defined as the temporary population of Elmadağ, is comprised of university students, single wage earners and bohemian bourgeoisie. Finally, the last group consists of Muslim and non-Muslim individuals who have left Elmadağ and moved to various neighborhoods of the city for different motives. The sample is selected from these six groups and the sample size is forty-four. It is important to note here that the Gypsies dwelling especially in lower side of Elmadağ for long years, is another significant group that should be taken into consideration. Yet, in our study we were unable to conduct interviews with the members of this group due to the difficulties arising in the fieldwork. The most apparent obstacle is the difficulty to single out the members of this group in the neighborhood since many of the people neither like to be defined as Gypsy nor call themselves as Gypsy. Therefore, we try to compensate the lack of information on Gypsies by taking the ideas of other inhabitants about them. In brief, although our study is short of any analysis about the experiences of Gypsies living in this neighborhood, we make several observations and arguments about how other inhabitants in Elmadağ consider them and their presence in the neighborhood.

However, it is pertinent to note that we have neither assumed that each of these six groups constitutes a homogenous entity in itself nor considered the interviewees as the sole 'representatives' of their groups. As Trinh T. Minh-ha rightly suggests 'there can hardly be such a thing as an essential inside that can be homogenously

represented by all insiders; an authentic insider there, an absolute reality out there, or an uncorrupted representative who can not be questioned by another uncorrupted representative....'(1997, 217). Otherwise, we would have fallen into the trap of freezing the identities of these people by drawing a one to one correspondence between them and the group of people that they were assumed to represent. Sometimes the overlapping of several groups necessarily led us to formulate our questions within macro frameworks other than within the trajectories of designated discussions. For instance, we came upon an Armenian family dwelling in Elmadağ whose members demonstrated almost all the features of Kurdish political immigration of the late-1980s. As we will discuss in the following pages, we evaluated their experience within the context of Kurdish immigration rather than as Armenians living in Elmadağ for years. Therefore, the complexity of our research reflected in this example was dealt with by adopting different perspectives such as explaining some events in terms of periods rather than merely in terms of ethnicity.

Interviews began with questions related to the demographic characteristics and socio-economic status of the respondents. We investigated residential mobility patterns and asked questions pertaining to where they moved from, why they chose Elmadağ and so on. Furthermore, we asked about the nature of the respondents' relationship with the other members of the neighborhood, how they define other residents of Elmadağ, whether they are satisfied with the neighborhood and neighborly relations. Indeed, we hoped to discover whether social diversity and differentiation of Elmadağ has created any social tension.

We asked people who have moved out of Elmadağ about the reasons for their departure as well as their experiences and memories about the neighborhood. In order to make some estimations about the future of Elmadağ, we questioned the existing inhabitants whether they planned to stay there permanently, whether they felt they belonged to the neighborhood and how they defined and perceived different periods of Elmadağ. In addition, we asked about how they interpreted the process of functional

transformation from a residential to an office area in Elmadağ. Lastly, we asked about the impact of the existing workplaces on the social relations of the neighborhood.

With the exception of two or three interviews, all the interviews were conducted by both of us in the languages of Turkish and English. During the interviews with the Iraqi people, we preferred to communicate in Turkish if it was possible. In the cases of difficulty in communicating, we made use of an Chaldean-speaking translator who is an Iraqi immigrant teenager. The interviews lasted approximately one or two hours depending on the potential and willingness of our interviewees. We believe that the majority of interviewees were receptive in terms of revealing many of their experiences and thoughts. We preferred to take notes rather than to record the interviews since we realized that the interviewees were less reserved and tense when their words were not recorded.

Chapter II : The emergence of a neighborhood: historical background

A better understanding of the current social panorama in a locality such as Elmadağ necessitates a historical analysis of the macro transformations and associated restructuring of the urban form. In this chapter, the overall changes occurring in the urban society and space in the 19th century Istanbul and in the surrounding neighborhoods of Elmadağ are examined in order to provide a ground of comparison among different patterns of development. Besides, we analyze social and spatial atmosphere of Elmadağ in its emergence period by investigating certain institutions located there. Thus, we aim to provide clues for the residential patterns and socio-spatial fragmentation in Istanbul in the 19th century.

Transformation of the urban form in Istanbul in the 19th century

During the 19th century, the penetration of capitalism and the modernization attempts of governing elites were the two major events that affected the Ottoman Empire economically,

Photo 4   Row houses built as charity houses by the Saint-Esprit Church on the Harbiye Çayırı Street and then transferred to Foundation Directory (Vakıflar Müdürlüğü).

Photo 5   Surp Agop Row houses on the Elmadağ Street built in the mid-19th century.

politically and socially. Indeed, these two factors were also influential in shaping the urban sphere and social relations in the Ottoman land. The emergence of new international commercial relations (in particular after the Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Treaty of 1838), the reorganization of the bureaucracy, the transformation of communication and transportation systems and the adoption of Western lifestyle brought along new urban patterns (Keyder and Oncu, 1993, 9). During this period, there also appeared new urban policies, a new type of urban administration, new institutions and the spread of new building types. However, due to weakening economic and political power of the Ottoman administration, this process could only produce a partial regularization of the urban fabric (Çelik, 1986, xvi).

The expansion of capitalism, the modernizing reforms and the population growth led to the evolution of new residential patterns too. In the traditional residential pattern of the Ottoman Empire, ethnicity and religion (compliant with the *millet* system) were influential in the urban segregation (Tekeli, 1992, 6). So, the classical Ottoman settlement model was characterized by a differentiation of '*mahalle's* according to ethnic and religious criteria rather than social class[4] (Duben and Behar, 1991, 29). Notwithstanding this traditional ethnicity-based settlement pattern, there emerged new residential models as a new social differentiation pattern

arose in Istanbul by the 19th century. Two of the residential representations of the new social segmentation were the construction of wooden villas (*köşk*) and luxurious apartment buildings. Villas of the Ottoman Pashas on the seashores and the European-style apartment houses of the Levantine and non-Muslim bourgeoisie were the symbols of bureaucrats' and bourgeoisie's social and cultural influence on the socio-spatial fabric of the city.

Row houses and apartment dwellings, some of which could still be witnessed in Elmadağ, were mostly built during the late 19th century. The completion of the avenue between Taksim and Pangaltı in 1869 facilitated the construction of stone houses in Nişantaşı and Teşvikiye for the affluent social groups eager to assume the European lifestyle. As Mübeccel Kıray points out, these new apartments symbolized the birth of the modern middle class, which involved

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4   Nonetheless, despite this generalization, there were also instances of districts where non-Muslims lived with Muslims.

non-Muslim professionals and merchants (1998, 138-141). Indeed, these western style apartment houses first appeared in non-Muslim neighborhoods such as Tünel, Beyoğlu, Şişli, Nişantaşı, Cihangir, Elmadağ and so on. Row houses, targeting lower-income groups of non-Muslim communities, such as small merchants, craftsmen, artisans and low-level bureaucrats, were mostly built in relatively modest settlement areas[5].

Around the turn of the century the landscape of the city became a bifurcated one: Galata and Pera on the one hand as representations of the modern, Western façade of the city, and the historical peninsula on the other as the site of traditional and predominantly Muslim groups. The split deepened as the penetration of Western capital intensified. Likewise, symbolic distance enlarged between the traditional lifestyle pursued mostly by Muslim communities residing in neighborhoods such as Fatih, Beyazıt, Aksaray, and the Western lifestyle followed by wealthy groups composed mainly of non-Muslim merchants, Ottoman bureaucrats and foreigners who were dwelling in the new apartment houses or the wooden villas in the peripheral areas of the city (Tanyeli, 1998, 140). Within this fragmented form, there also emerged a new status hierarchy among neighborhoods. While newly developed areas like Nişantaşı, Pera, Yeşilköy and suburban settlements between Kadıköy and Bostancı became high-status districts, the historical peninsula and the shores of the Golden Horn began to lose prestige and transform into slum areas due to the construction of military barracks, industrial plants and dockyards.

By the late 19th century, there was also a demographic transformation in Istanbul, as the urban population began to expand because of the waves of migration coming from the territories where Ottomans were defeated by foreign powers. This demographic growth, along with the factors mentioned above, induced the expansion of the spatial form on three main axes. The new settlement areas were scattered from Taksim to Şişli, from Tophane to Dolmabahçe, and lastly from Dolmabahçe to Beşiktaş, Teşvikiye and Nişantaşı. As the city expanded towards the north and northwestern directions, Harbiye-Şişli axis, which was only a country road in the 1840s, became one of the main arteries with its residential settlement by the end of the century[6].

Emergence of Elmadağ as an enclave of Catholic community

Until the 1840s, outer edge of Beyoğlu was the Topçu Kışlası (Artillery Garrison) and Talimhane (training area for the soldiers) in Taksim. In the northern parts of Taksim, there were only a large Christian cemetery (Grand Champ des Morts) and a pasture (De Amicis, 1993, 62-64). After the great plague in 1560, the area lying towards the north of Taksim was granted as the cemetery to the non-Muslim communities of Istanbul for the sanitary purpose of burying the dead outside the residential areas of the city. Thus, the land between Taksim and the Divan Hotel today was conferred to the Latin Catholics, while the zone stretching out to the Military Museum was bestowed to the Armenians (Marmara, 1999, 30-33)[7].

The area that extended from Taksim to Pangaltı, that is today's Elmadağ, was almost empty in terms of settlement in the mid-19th century. Construction of large institutional buildings paved the way for the settlement process. Surp Agop Hospital (1837), Artigiana (1838), St. -Esprit Church (1846) and Notre Dame de Sion School (1856), which will be depicted below in detail, were among the significant buildings of this early era[8]. The predominance of these Catholic institutions gives clues about the social characteristics of the new settlement[9]. So,

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[5] Except the one in Akaretler, which was built to prevent a threat of fire around Dolmabahçe Palace (Çelik, ibid.137).

[6] Likewise, in 1865 Teşvikiye and Nişantaşı became connected to the Taksim-Şişli artery (Çelik, ibid, 42).

[7] After a new epidemic in 1865, it was prohibited to bury the dead here since Taksim area already became a residential district and a new burial ground around Şişli was given to the Armenian community. Similarly, the Catholic cemetery was later moved to Pangaltı. See also, Seropyan (1994, 185-186) on Armenian cemeteries.

[8] The information on these institutions is mainly based on our interviews with their representatives.

[9] In that area, there was also Mekteb-i Harbiye (today's Military Museum), which was built in 1847 and gave its name to the district of Harbiye. This complex was the one and only large Ottoman-Muslim building among these Catholic institutions. However, the fact that it was located near Nişantaşı makes us consider it beyond Elmadağ's social fabric.

Photo 6 and 7

Different views of Vatican Embassy located on the Ölçek Sokak (today Papa Roncalli Street).

it seems that this area was formerly established as a Levantine neighborhood with all the basic modern urban institutions, i.e. a church, a hospital and a school. It is highly probable that other Catholic communities of Istanbul, mainly Catholic Armenians moved there after the settlement of Levantines. Correspondingly, Rinaldo Marmara claims that the name of the Pangaltı district comes from an Italian Levantine called Giovanni Battista Pancaldi, who owned a bistro-restaurant there in the 1860s (2000, 57).

Catholics in Istanbul were the members of the Saint-Esprit Church and they were generally called the Latins. The two main groups within the Catholic community of Istanbul were the Levantines and the Ottoman Catholics[10]. The Levantines were the European migrants who worked in the embassies and top-managerial positions of foreign companies or were the owners of commercial and industrial companies in Istanbul and other big cities of the Empire. They were not recognized as a distinct community (i.e. *millet*) since they were not Ottoman subjects. They immigrated to the Ottoman land in large numbers, particularly after the Ottoman-British commercial treaty of 1838 and the Tanzimat decree of 1839, which provided them new economic opportunities, including the right to private property. The Levantine elite dwelled mostly in the European districts of Istanbul, such as Pera and Galata, until new settlement areas began to develop in Harbiye-Pangaltı in the late-19th century[11]. The residential movement of Levantines towards Harbiye-Pangaltı from Pera took place in parallel with the construction of the Saint-Esprit Church. This also symbolizes the shift of the more Westernized components of the Ottoman society towards the north of the Galata-Pera region.

In addition to the Levantines, the Latin community included also Armenian and Greek Catholics who were subjects of the Sultan (*reaya*). Among them, Catholic Armenians were more populous than the Greek ones, who originally emigrated from the islands. These two groups were the most Western-oriented segments of the Ottoman society due to their strong economic and social relationships with the Levantines.

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[10]   The population of the Catholic community in Istanbul rose from 20,000 to 26,000 from the mid-19th century to 1900, and it began to decline by the mid-20th century (Roussos-Milidonis, 1999, 88).

[11]   Personal correspondence with Rinaldo Marmara. His book presenting more historical information about the emergence of Pangaltı will soon be published by the Şişli Municipality.

Photo 8   The present-day view of Surp Agop Hospital located on the Cumhuriyet Street.

Photo 9   The Saint-Esprit Church.

Catholic Armenians who had a higher economic standing owing to their closeness to the Levantines were in a complicated position since they were socially segregated from the Orthodox Apostolic Armenian community (also called as Gregorian Armenians) who represented the sheer majority of the Armenians in the Ottoman land. The *millet* system of the Ottomans provided a social and political order where the religion served as the main social denominator for the inner organization of the communities. To prevent any challenge to their already established power, the Orthodox Armenian Church refused the idea of acknowledging Catholic Armenians as a distinct *millet* by the Sultan[12]. The conflict between Orthodox Armenian and Catholic Armenian groups[13] reached one of its peaks in 1827, when Catholic Armenians of Istanbul were expelled to Ankara, with the support of the existing Orthodox Armenian patriarchate[14]. However, just three years later, in 1830 Mahmud II recognized Catholic Armenians as a community of its own (*millet*) and later in 1878, this privilege was officially certified in the Berlin Conference, where France and Austria represented the interests of the Catholics in the Ottoman Empire in the name of Pope Leon XIII (Roussos-Milidonis, 1999, 91).

Surp Agop Hospital[15] run by the Armenian Catholic community initiated the first settlement in the area. The construction of the hospital was decided in 1831, and the construction activities took place in 1836-37. Between 1840s and 1908 the hospital was supported, along with other Greek, Armenian and Jewish hospitals by the donations of the Sultans[16]. There was also a three-floor boarding school in Köstebek Street, called Leyli Agopyan Okulu (1860). In 1884-1888 concrete row houses were built on Elmadağ Street to provide economic support for the hospital. Indeed, row houses, along with new apartment buildings were a novelty in the existing housing stock of Istanbul and they first

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[12] In the 1831-32 there were also Protestant missionary activities among Armenians, although they were not as successful as the Catholic ones. "Ermeniler", *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.

[13] *Akabi Hikayesi*, a novel written by Hosvep Vartan in 1851, represents an interesting example for the dispute of sects among Armenians. Vartan (1816-1879), as an Ottoman Armenian Catholic author wrote various articles on the conflict between Gregorian and Catholic Armenians.

[14] Information based on http://www.agos.com.tr/osmanli/3_ucuncudevir.htm

[15] According to Rinaldo Marmara, it was then known as Saint Jacques French Catholic Hospital (2000, 56-58).

[16] Based on a brochure on the history of the Surp Agop Hospital prepared by the Surp Agop Foundation.

Photo 10   The house of Monsignor Roncalli, the future John XXIII. (source: Toplumsal Tarih, Jan 2001)

appeared in the non-Muslim neighborhoods of Istanbul (Tekeli, 1992, 18). Both the row houses of the St. - Esprit Church and the Surp Agop hospital were rented cheaply to the poor and needy Catholics living in Elmadağ[17].

The construction of the **Saint-Esprit Church** in 1846 and the opening of the **Notre Dame de Sion School** in 1856 on Cumhuriyet Street (then Pangaltı Street) are other examples of the Catholic Church's activities in Istanbul[18], which influenced the northward expansion of the city. In 1840, Monsignor Hillereau constructed the building that serves today as the Vatican Embassy, in front of the old Armenian cemetery and at the mid-point of Artigiana barracks and Surp Agop hospital. At that period the area, called Icadiye, was unoccupied and far from the crowd of the city center. In 1845 Hillereau started the construction of Saint-Esprit Church as well as the priest house and a year later he moved his own residence to the vicinity of the Saint-Esprit Church. Then in 1849, he constructed a large building in Pangaltı Street (today Cumhuriyet Street) consisting of a bishopric palace and a priest school. Monsignor Hillereau moved back to Pera in 1855 due to the

Photo 11   A ceremony conducted in front of the house of Monsignor Roncalli in 1913. (source: Toplumsal Tarih, Jan 2001)

complaints of his followers about the remoteness and inaccessibility of his residence in Elmadağ. However, after the big fire in Pera (1870), the building began to be used again as the house of the monsignors[19] (Marmara, 2001, 58). Saint-Esprit Church gained the status of cathedral by a Vatican decree in 1876.

The priest school on Pangaltı Street was rented as a boarding school by the monks of the Saint Vincent de Paul (14 April 1855) who had previously managed a school in Galata. However, a year later the building was transferred to

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[17]   Surp Agop houses are still rented at very low values mainly to the community members.

[18]   In the 1870s, the power competition between Italy and France over the Catholic missionary activities and the control of Catholic educational and humanitarian institutions in the Ottoman Empire resolved with the realignment of the Vatican along with France in opposition to Italy. Thus, France and the Vatican seem to emerge as the most influential actors in this new European settlement area.

[19]   Another significant figure of the Latin Catholic community in Istanbul was Monsignor Roncalli. He was the unofficial representative of the Pope and the head of the Istanbul Latin community between the years of 1935-1944. He was known as "Friend of the Turks" and dwelled for ten years in the Vatican embassy, behind the Notre Dame de Sion High School before becoming the Pope (John XXIII) in 1958. Ölçek Street, previously called as Cedidiye (maybe because of the novelty of the settlement area) was renamed as Papa Roncalli Street on December 2000.

Photo 12   People leaving the church after the religious ceremony at Saint-Esprit Church on 8th July 1919. (source: Martinez, 1996)

Photo 13   The same street today.

the Notre Dame de Sion sisters and since then it has been used as a private secondary school except for a short suspension of education during the 1st World War years[20]. During the Ottoman era, France and the Catholic communities of Istanbul were economically supporting the school (Sezer, 1999, 94). In addition to the church and Notre Dame de Sion School, the Vatican representatives were also providing cheap education and accommodation for the needy members of the community. The Saint - Esprit School on Ölçek Street and the rental row houses located on the Harbiye Çayırı Street were managed by the church. The representative of the embassy asserted that Foundations Directory (Vakıflar Müdürlüğü) appropriated these row houses in the 1930s and 1940s. He also added that the school of the Saint Esprit Church was closed down in the mid-1940s (in accordance with the unification of education policy of the new regime).

Another significant Catholic settlement near Pangaltı is **Artigiana**, which originally emerged as a shelter for the Italian artisans and sculptors in 1838. Levantines of Belgian origins were the main sponsors for the construction of wooden barracks. In 1967, the area was rebuilt with the support of Cevdet Sunay, and converted to a modern rest home. Today, this complex serves as a house for the needy, populated mainly by non-Muslims. It is run by the Artigiana association, and financially supported by the rents

collected from its own properties and by donations of various organizations.

The settlement in the area gained pace in the 1870s and 1880s, mainly as a result of the construction of the horse-driven tramline between Taksim and Pangaltı, in 1881. This line was converted to an electrical tramline in 1913. A significant pattern in this period was the spread of new concrete apartment buildings around the Taksim area, including Cumhuriyet Street, as mentioned in the previous section. In the 1920s, Talimhane (the area that lies between Taksim and Elmadağ) became a prestigious neighborhood filled with luxurious, stylish apartment houses (Çağatay, 1998). Correspondingly, during the same period, the Muslim cemetery in Ayazpaşa was removed and the area was permeated by tall apartment buildings that exist until today.

In the early 20th century, although Elmadağ was prevalently a non-Muslim neighborhood inhabited by Armenians, Greeks and Jews, there were also a few Muslim families. They were mostly Muslim top-bureaucrats attracted by a European lifestyle. 'Arif Paşa Apartmanı' and 'Şakir Paşa Apartmanı' represent the spread of this new Western lifestyle among Muslim upper classes. Arif Paşa, who was a member of Sarıcazade family and a top bureaucrat in the Ottoman administration in the turn of the century, is a typical example of the Western-minded high-position bureaucrats of the empire: he ordered

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[20]   Notre Dame de Sion High School still operates as a private school. Though it became a secular educational institution, it was a missionary school when it was launched in the mid-19th century.

**Photo 14 The view of Pangaltı Street
(today Cumhuriyet Street),
taken around Artigiana buildings
in the late 19th century.**

a new modern apartment to Architect Pappa in 1902 (Öğrenci, 2001, 27). Arif Paşa building still exists in Elmadağ Street and inhabited by artists and intellectuals[21], whereas Şakir Paşa building is already 'reconstructed' and transformed to a tall inelegant office building.

Just before the declaration of the Republic, in 1922, Elmadağ was part of the Pangaltı administrative region, which was then one of the 32 Police Station Zone in Istanbul. At that time, Pangaltı consisted of the area between Taksim and Şişli, and it included 62,427 people (Marmara, 2000, 58).

Evolution of surrounding neighborhoods

In this section, the historical transformation of three neighborhoods that are located in the same vicinity will be briefly presented in order to provide a ground of comparison for examining different patterns of urban development in the neighboring districts. The motive behind our choice of Kurtuluş, Teşvikiye and Cihangir is primarily their geographical proximity, but also the resemblance of the macro dynamics in their emergence and evolution. We will try to

discuss in the conclusion section, the role of spatial and social characteristics in the transformation of these neighborhoods.

Kurtuluş (Tatavla)[22]

Kurtuluş, located on the northwestern part of Elmadağ, is separated from it by the Dolapdere valley (today Dolapdere Street). The area was called as Tatavla[23] until the big fire in 1929. It was one of oldest settlements developed beyond the city walls in the Ottoman Istanbul. The area was inhabited by Greek sailors who were caught and brought to Istanbul when the Ottoman navy conquered the Sakız (Sisam) Island. The Greek sailors, who began to work in the Kasımpaşa dockyard, settled down in Tatavla and thus there emerged a wholly Greek neighborhood dating from the 16th century.

The neighborhood became lively in terms of population and social life in the 19th century, when it acquired an almost autonomous status with the declaration of the Tanzimat. At that period, its population was around 20,000 people and it had a dynamic Greek town atmosphere with several Orthodox churches, schools, taverns, grape yards and gardens. Accordingly, Muslim Istanbulians called Tatavla "little Athens". In addition to its taverns, dancers and fondness for music, in the 19th century, Tatavla was known mainly for its traditional carnival, which was organized before Lent[24]. The peak of the carnival was the last day before the Lenten period, which was called *Baklahorani*. Indeed, the Tatavla carnival had its most brilliant days during the occupation years of 1918-1922 and lasted during the Second World War years.

In the first part of the 20th century, there are three significant episodes in the history of Tatavla. First, the advent of new transportation technologies transformed the socio-spatial fabric of the neighborhood. The expansion of the horse-driven tramline to Tatavla in 1911 (*Şişli Rehberi*, 1987, 34)[25] and its evolution to an electrical

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[21] Füreya, Ismet Kür, Pınar Kür and Zeynep Tunuslu can be named as examples of the residents of this building in the last fifty years.

[22] The information on Kurtuluş is mainly based on (Türker, 1998).

[23] The name of the area, Tatavla, means "barns" in Greek, since it was used as the pasture for the Sultans' horses after the Ottoman conquest of the city.

[24] Lent is forty days fasting period before the Easter in the Orthodox religion.

[25] Although the horse-driven tramline began in 1881 along the axis of Voyvoda-Tepebaşı-Taksim-Pangaltı-Şişli, it reached Tatavla in 1911.

of 1929 was an important event for the neighborhood since it ruined most of the wooden houses and marked the end of an era. In fact, the renaming of the neighborhood (as Kurtuluş) and its streets by the administrators of the new regime was in accordance with the nationalist atmosphere of the era.

After the late 1950s, Greeks lost their majority status in Kurtuluş as they began to leave the country after the Wealth Tax (1942), the September 6th and 7th events (1955) and the 1964 decree on Greek population. During the 1970s, its social composition began to transform as the number of Turks emigrating from Anatolia increased. Today, Kurtuluş is a predominantly middle-class neighborhood populated by both the remaining non-Muslims who moved there with a motive of preserving their communal bonds, and middle class wage earners.

Teşvikiye

Teşvikiye, one of the most prestigious residential areas of Istanbul since the late 19th century, represented another facet of the Westernization movement in the city. Although it later became connected with the northward expansion of the Galata-Beyoğlu axis, this area was initially developed by the move of the Sultan from the Topkapı Palace to his new residence in Dolmabahçe in 1853. The spread of residential areas to the hills of Beşiktaş increased at the turn of the century, as the ruling class followed the Sultans who moved successively to Dolmabahçe and Yıldız Palaces[27].

The name of the Teşvikiye neighborhood is related to the attempts of Sultan Abdülmecid to encourage[28] settlement in the area as he moved to Dolmabahçe Palace. The Teşvikiye mosque, built in 1854, is one of the most important signs of this encouragement. The construction of the mosque triggered the expansion of the Beşiktaş area towards the hills in the second half of the 19th century. Thus, Teşvikiye, previously a hunting and military shooting ground during the

Photo 15   Teşvikiye Mosque built during the Abdülmecid era (source: Istanbul Ansiklopedisi).

one in 1914, induced the development of luxurious tall apartment buildings on Tatavla Street, which is known today as Kurtuluş Street. The second noteworthy development was the occupation of Istanbul by the Western forces between 1918-1922 and the intensification of Greek nationalism in Tatavla. However, as the Turkish army took back Istanbul in October 1923, the upper strata of the Greek community left the country, while new families from peripheral Greek neighborhoods moved to Tatavla for safety reasons[26]. Last but not the least, the big fire

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26   Orhan Türker argues that after the declaration of the Republic, the greatest concern for the inhabitants of Tatavla and other non-Muslim neighborhoods of Istanbul such as Elmadağ was the language problem, since many of them did not speak Turkish at that time.

27   'Abdülhamid Yıldız'a yerleştikten ve has bendeganını yakınına toplamak arzusuna düştükten sonra, Nişantaşı ve havalisi bostan kulübelerinden, inek ahırlarından kurtularak vükela yatağı koskoca bir mahalle olup çıkmıştı.' (Alus, 1995, 96)

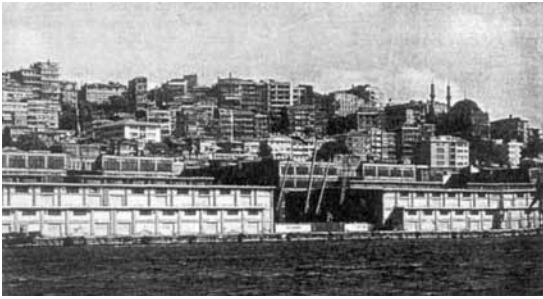28   Encouragement means "teşvik" in Turkish.

**Photo 16   Panorama of Cihangir
(source: Istanbul Ansiklopedisi).**

reign of Selim III, became an official neighborhood in 1883. It was then composed of 5,293 people, 616 households, 39 shops, 33 gardens and 1 mosque (Akbayar, 1994, 257).

The building composition of the neighborhood was distinguished by the large *kagir konaks* (mansions built of stone and brick) of the Muslim top-bureaucracy. Subsequent to the development of the Taksim-Şişli axis by the 1920s, these two- or three-story houses were transformed into tall luxurious apartment buildings designed for the urban upper strata.

Teşvikiye preserved its reputation in the early Republican era, thanks to the settlement of well-educated capital owner immigrants who had been forced out of Thessaloniki after the Balkan wars. Their settlement in the neighborhood endorsed the prestigious image of the neighborhood as a European urban settlement, although almost all districts were losing population in the first half of the century. Later on, the excessive growth of the city in the aftermath of the Second World War affected this area as well. The residential character of the neighborhood decreased, as the central business district expanded towards the north along the Taksim-Mecidiyeköy axis[29]. Today, along with the offices and shops, Teşvikiye is still inhabited by high-income and high-status groups of the city.

Cihangir

The neighborhood was named after the mosque of Cihangir, built in 1559-1560 in memory of Cihangir, son of the Kanuni Süleyman and Hürrem Sultan, who died at a very young age

(Üstdiken, 1994, 430). Despite the prevalence of this gorgeous mosque, Cihangir was a modest residential area for Christians and Jews until the 19th century. The development of the neighborhood paralleled the growing prominence of the Galata-Beyoğlu area, which became the core of the Westernized segment of the city and the loci of economic activities and foreign embassies. Accordingly, it became a predominantly non-Muslim residential neighborhood in the 19th century and attracted prosperous people more receptive to Western-lifestyle. This fostered the construction of luxurious apartment buildings and stone houses in the vicinity at the turn of the century.

In the late 19th and early 20th century, Cihangir was a highly heterogeneous neighborhood where Jews, Greeks, Armenians, Levantines and Muslims dwelled together. However, the mixed composition of the neighborhood began to diminish and became more homogenized by the mid-20th century as a consequence of the departure of well-to-do non-Muslim population (Aydın, 1996) and the subsequent settlement of new Turkish emigrants from Anatolia. Like Kurtuluş, Cihangir seemed to lose its brilliance from the 1960s to the 1990s.

However, Cihangir began to stand out from its neighboring districts with the beginning of a gentrification movement. The transformation of Beyoğlu to a vibrant commercial and entertainment center in the late 1980s affected Cihangir too. Thus, proximity to this new center of attraction and its beautiful view of the Bosphorus created a rent gap in Cihangir. As artists, intellectuals and academics moved to this picturesque neighborhood and renovated the historic buildings, Cihangir became trendy, particularly for the bohemian bourgeoisie. The scarcity of land due to its specific spatial patterns resulted in constant rising of the rent values. Consequently, today Cihangir became one of the few gentrified areas of the city (Uzun, 2001, 102-107).

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Bearing in mind the relative emptiness of the area beyond Taksim before the mid-19th century, we suggest that the concession of the Elmadağ area to the Catholic community with

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[29]   The decline of the Teşvikiye population from 15,607 to 12,281 between 1985 and 1990 (Akbayar,1994, 257) is another sign of its functional transformation from a residential to a commercial area.

the construction of a hospital reflects the political and social environment during the fall of the Ottoman Empire. The peripheral location of the land granted by the Sultan to the Surp Agop Hospital seems to be a sign of the uneasiness of the Gregorian patriarchate and the Ottoman ruling elite towards the Catholic Armenian community. The Ottoman rulers, endeavoring to preserve the status quo, were unenthusiastic about the rise of new communities on the basis of religion (as a *millet*). Yet they were pressured by the powerful European forces to officially recognize and authorize new communities, such as the Catholic Armenians. It should be noted that economic factors were also influential in this process since Catholic Armenians were among the prominent bankers of the Empire and had very close relationships with the representatives of European states. The rulers seemed to solve the issue by settling the Catholics in the outskirts of the established urban areas, i.e. on the area lying beyond Beyoğlu towards Pangaltı-Tatavla.

Within a few decades after its emergence, Elmadağ acquired a high status and until the mid-20th century it continued to be a lively prestigious neighborhood inhabited by Westernized segments of the society. Albeit this overall prestige, there was a hierarchy of status among the streets of Elmadağ: while Pangaltı Street (today called Cumhuriyet Street) was the more esteemed section, the inner streets were mostly populated either by the middle strata or the poorer members of the Catholic community who congregated around the Vatican Consulate and the Saint-Esprit Church. Likewise, some of the non-Muslim minorities who emigrated from Anatolia during the 1940s-60s settled in the downhill streets of Elmadağ and benefited from the cheap housing, religious and educational facilities provided by the Vatican representatives. Indeed, a 76-year-old Armenian Catholic interviewee stated that they moved to Elmadağ in the late 1920s, after the death of his father, and enjoyed the free schooling and the cheap housing provided by Saint-Esprit Church. He also indicated that, 'in the past poor Catholics were assisted by Vatican embassy. They had a school; they were taking us to the church. This

is why there were many Catholics here. There were Armenian, Italian, Greek and Assyrian Catholics'[30].

The Catholic community, which was once powerful, seems to disintegrate as the significant institutions of the community lose power due to the nation-state formation attempts of the new Republic. The law on the unification of education and other related regulations lead to the closure of the Saint-Esprit School for boys and the shrinking of other Armenian schools located in the neighborhood. The weakening of the Catholic institutions and the dissolution of the community went hand in hand. In the past, the co-existence of these Catholic institutions and affluent members of the community enhanced the settlement of the needy as well.

In sum, Elmadağ seems to emerge in the mid-19th century, as a non-Muslim neighborhood inhabited mainly by established Istanbulian families, in particular Levantines, but also Catholic Armenians, Jews and Greeks who had close contact with European embassies and companies in the closing era of the Ottoman Empire. The prevalence of Catholic institutions and fashionable apartment buildings styled and decorated in the European style indicated the 'Western' and 'modern' (alafranga) aspect of Elmadağ. The non-Muslim character of the neighborhood in its early period reflects the spatial segregation of Ottoman Istanbul based on the millet system. Accordingly, while Elmadağ was characterized by Catholic communities and institutions, Teşvikiye appeared as a Muslim, Cihangir a Levantine and Tatavla a Greek neighborhood in the late 19th century.

The micro cosmos of Elmadağ in the late 19th and early 20th centuries provides us some clues about the physical and social organization of the city. The influential economic and political transformations of the era denoted an array of restructurings in the urban arena as well. While historical peninsula was degrading as a residential area, Elmadağ, Teşvikiye and Cihangir became known as prestigious neighborhoods of the turn of the century. Despite this similarity, Elmadağ was differentiated from its neighboring districts, particularly due to geographical factors, i.e., its being located on the

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30 'Eskiden yoksul Katolikler Vatikandan çok yardım görürlerdi. Okulları vardı, kiliseye götürürlerdi. Bu yüzden burada Katolikler çoktu. Ermeni, İtalyan, Rum Katoliği, Süryani Katolikler vardı.'

main axis between Taksim and the newly developing areas towards Şişli. Unlike Elmadağ, the other three neighborhoods, Teşvikiye, Cihangir and Kurtuluş were relatively protected havens located on the peripheral niches of the main axis. These spatial differences would affect the evolutions of these neighborhoods during the rapid urbanization period in the aftermath of the Second World War. The luxurious apartments on the Cumhuriyet Street would transform into office buildings and thus lose their residential functions before their counterparts in other neighborhoods. Besides, the prevalence of formal Catholic institutions, which contributed to Elmadağ's attractiveness in its heydays, would have a reverse impact on the fate of the neighborhood during the Republican era.

Chapter 3 : Elmadağ as a 'home' for immigrants

The aftermath of the Second World War was a period of significant political, economic and social transformations for Turkey. A noteworthy consequence of these transformations was the demographic revitalization of Istanbul with the waves of migration flows from Anatolia. These macro changes resulted in the socio-spatial restructuring of the city and of its segments. In this section, we will try to analyze how various immigration waves influenced the socio-spatial texture of Elmadağ.

On the political sphere, the transition to a multi-party system, the international trend of political liberalism and the populist policies brought forth significant ramifications. In the economic domain, the postwar era witnessed the re-structuring and the boom of the Turkish economy in line with the new international economic order. Istanbul regained its primary status and became the main gate to the West as the national economy became more and more integrated with international markets. Correspondingly, significant transformations occurred in the rural areas of the country through the shift of the rural economy from self-subsistence

to market-oriented production, the change of traditional landownership and agricultural production patterns, the decline of the agricultural land size per family members and the rapid mechanization of agriculture.

In addition to these transformations, the worsening of employment opportunities in rural areas, and increasing economic and social attractiveness of the cities, such as better job opportunities, the presence of a wider range of goods and services, from the education to the cultural sphere, resulted in the massive immigration towards the big cities of the country by the late-1940s (Köymen, 1999; Baydar, 1994, 406-410). Consequently, Istanbul became the most attractive destination for immigration in the 1950s and 1960s, as the center of opportunities for newcomers. In contrast to the long demographic stagnation of the early Republican years, the urban population in Istanbul soared at an unprecedented rate by the 1950s, owing to this massive rural-to-urban migration (Zaim, 1987, 321)[31]. Accordingly, the population in the Istanbul metropolitan area jumped from 975,000 to 2,141,000 between 1950 and 1965, with an annual increase of 80,000 persons during these 15 years (Tekeli, 1992, 40-58).

Average annual increase of population in Istanbul between 1950-1985

1950-1965	80,000 persons
1965-1970	140,000 persons
1980-1985	225,000 persons

Source: (Tekeli, 1992, 56)

Although the annual increase would be higher for Istanbul in subsequent decades, the rate of immigration never reached that of the years between 1950 and 1965 (Işık, 1996). According to Ferhunde Özbay, even though the first wave of immigration to Istanbul in the 1950s and early 1960s was enormous compared to the later ones, the first wave 'did not really alter the main characteristics of the population in the city, simply because they comprised a lesser proportion of the total province population' (Özbay, 1997, 116). She argues that, 'the first wave migrants not only were dominated by

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[31]   According to census reports, the proportion of urban population jumped from 25.0% to 43.9% between 1950 and 1980 (Zaim, 1987, 321).

the earlier inhabitants, but tended to become 'urbanized' as well' (ibid, 117).

Rapid urbanization continued after the 1960s although its pace slowed down by the 1980s. Thus Istanbul's population rose from 3 million in 1970 to 4 million in 1975, 6 million in 1985 and 9 million in 1995 (Keyder, 2000, 174). Tekeli argues that both the international emigration in the 1970s and the populist policies (which improved the income levels in the agricultural sector through subsidies given to small producers) affected the gradual decrease of rural-urban immigration (Tekeli, 1998, 15).

The last massive internal immigration wave to Istanbul occurred after the mid-1980s. This recent flood was distinct from the earlier ones since it was predominantly Kurds emigrating from the southeastern Anatolian rural areas as a result of increasing political tension and insecurity. Lastly, in addition to these internal immigration flows, there have been international ones to Istanbul.

Elmadağ experienced a double-sided migration movement by the mid-20th century; it simultaneously witnessed the departure of its non-Muslim inhabitants and arrival of various immigrant groups. Consequently, this inner city neighborhood has acquired a heterogeneous character since the 1950s. In the following pages, we will present the journeys of these different migrant groups in Elmadağ by depicting their socio-economic characteristics and their presence in the neighborhood.

Exodus of non-Muslims

The picture depicting Elmadağ's social makeup should take into account the absence of the former inhabitants of the neighborhood, namely the non-Muslims. This section is devoted to an analysis of the departure of non-Muslims from the neighborhood, which has had a gigantic impact in shaping the social texture of the district. Below, we first scrutinize the nation-state formation policies of the new Republic and the consequent decrease in the population of the non-Muslim community in general. Subsequently, we will present our observations based on

the interviews conducted with the Armenians who are still living in Elmadağ and the ones who left the neighborhood by moving either to a foreign country or to another district in Istanbul. We also try to substantiate this section through the interviews done with writers of some of the Armenian journals.

The new Turkish Republic inherited a multi-ethnic society from the Ottoman Empire. Even though the non-Muslim communities, namely the Greeks, Armenians and Jews, were in minority in terms of demographic proportions, they were influential actors of the social and economic life. Yet, the formation of the new 'Turkish nation-state' necessitated the creation of a homogeneous population according to the Republican elites[32]. This ideology, which was supported by nationalist policies, aimed to Turkify various spheres, including the economy and demographic composition. The ensuing situation has created negative consequences for non-Muslim minorities of the country.

The economic sector was one of the domains that Turkification policies used to promote Muslim-Turks against non-Muslims. An early instance of Turkifying the capital and labor market was the Law no. 2007 that was ratified by the National Assembly on 4 June 1932. According to the law some arts and service sector jobs were allocated exclusively to Turks. This law seemed to promote low-skilled workers particularly since they included jobs that did not necessitate large amounts of capital or skill, such as street peddling, driving, door keeping, and so on (Aktar, 2000, 113-125).

In the early Republican era, there were also attempts to restructure the demographic composition of Anatolia through both official and unofficial ways. One can name either the population exchange agreement between Greece and Turkey (1923-24) or the expulsion of Jews from Çanakkale, Kırklareli and Edirne during Trakya events (1934) as examples of Turkification of Anatolia (Aktar, 2000, 71-100). The forced migration of non-Muslim minorities from Anatolia to Istanbul continued with the 'Law of Settlement' which led to the deportation of the Armenians from central Anatolian rural areas

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[32] Kemalist nationalism defines the criteria of membership to the Turkish nation on the basis of ethnic and religious identity. So, the nation-state building project led to dramatic changes in the social and demographic composition of Turkey (Aktar, 2000, 131-134).

to Istanbul in 1934. Correspondingly, 'minorities report' of the 9th bureau of the Republican People's Party (1942) was characterized by a similar attitude towards non-Muslim minorities of the country. According to the report, minorities did not integrate and were not loyal to the primary group of the country. For instance, Armenians were establishing small communities in Anatolia and were trying to increase their population. The sentiment of the political elites of that period was that Anatolia should be 'cleaned' of Armenians by deporting them to Istanbul. Their numbers would subsequently be decreased further through facilitation of their immigration to abroad or population exchange agreements (Akar, 2000, 185-186). As illustrated on the report, the official ideology was prioritizing the Turkish speaking groups over non-Muslims.

As a consequence of these Turkification efforts in Anatolia, Istanbul became a center for all minorities, namely Greeks, Armenians and Jews, during the mid-1930s. However, the spread of pro-Nazi and the anti-Semitist ideologies amongst the political elites and the mainstream media during the Second World War jeopardized the situation of minorities in Istanbul as well. New practices such as "*20 kur'a ihtiyatlar*"[33] (20 precautionary groups) intensified the discriminatory nationalist discourse, which in turn reinforced the fear of the non-Muslims.

The peak point of the nationalist atmosphere was the Wealth Tax. This new tax, imposed by the Ankara government in 1942 in the midst of the war, aimed to gather the war profits of the black market traders in the hands of the government. However, this served as a legitimizing ground to transfer the wealth of the minorities to Muslims. Indeed, non-Muslims constituted 87% of the overall tax liables (*mükellef*), whereas Muslims represented only 7% of them (Akar, 2000, 225). Likewise, the amount of the tax

paid by the non-Muslim minorities constituted 53% of all the revenue collected, whereas Muslims paid 36,5% and settled foreigners 10,5% of the total amount in Turkey. The proportion of the tax collected in Istanbul was 70% of the amount amassed in the whole country. Correspondingly, non-Muslims (i.e. Armenians, Greeks, Jews and Levantines) paid 70% of the tax collected in Istanbul (Akar, 2000, 160-161).

Ayhan Aktar argues that the aim of the Wealth Tax of 1942-43 was to transfer wealth as well as jobs from non-Muslims to Muslims and contribute to the process of creating a Muslim bourgeoisie. Aktar's analysis of title deed records of Beyoğlu-Şişli, Eminönü, Fatih, Kadıköy, and the Prince Islands districts during 1942-43 demonstrates the wealth transfer from non-Muslims to Muslims, which was realized by real estate sales of non-Muslims (houses, shops and apartments in particular) (Aktar, 2000, 228-234).

Subsequent to the Wealth Tax, the 6th-7th September events in 1955 and deportation of Greeks of Istanbul by the 1964 decree fastened the decrease of the non-Muslim population in Istanbul[34] (Aydın, 1996, 500). Besides, the foundation of the Israeli state resulted in the immigration of 30.000 Jews to Israel during 1948-49. In brief, the 'insecure' atmosphere and the magnitude of the destruction caused by these events gave rise to a massive immigration of minorities, as demonstrated in the tables below.

Demographic structure of Istanbul based on the spoken language

	1935	1950
Turkish	692.460	827.860
Greek	79.920	66.106
Armenian	39.821	42.207
Hebrew	26.435	28.114

Source: Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü (1959 and 1939) (cited by Akar, 2000, 203)

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[33] In the midst of the World War II, in 1941, 20 groups of non-Muslims (born between 1894-1913) were called for military service as a precaution. For Rıdvan Akar this obligatory service was an example illustrating the attitude of political and military elites who did not trust non-Muslims and saw them as 'collaborator of the enemy' (Akar, 2000, 174-176).

[34] With the Cyprus Conflict, the Turkish government abolished the 1930 agreement signed between two countries and afterwards approximately 30,000-40,000 Greeks left Turkey. This number was higher than that of other immigration flows, which occurred due to the Wealth Tax and 6th-7th Events. The number of Greeks leaving the country increased after 1974 Operation and the coup d'état in 1980. Accordingly, the number of Greeks in Turkey had fallen to about 10,000 in 1983 (Aydın, 1996, 501).

Photo 17   Harbiye İlköğretim Okulu, which is built on the land donated by an Armenian to the religious minority foundations (Ölçek Street).

Demographic structure of Turkey based on the spoken language

	1935	1950
Turkish	13.899.073	20.947.188
Greek	108.725	89.472
Armenian	57.599	52.776
Hebrew	42.607	35.786

Source: Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü (1959 and 1939) (cited by Akar, 2000, 203)

In spite of the considerable shrinkage of the overall non-Muslim population in Turkey, there was an exceptional increase in the number of Armenian and Jewish groups in Istanbul between 1935 and 1950. The forced migration of these communities from Anatolia to Istanbul provides an explanation for this atypical situation. Yervant Özuzun draws attention to another aspect of this population shift which resulted in the replacement of the educated bourgeoisie of Istanbul by an uneducated group coming from Anatolia: 'Armenian bourgeoisie which came into being in five hundred years and the intelligentsia class belonging to this bourgeoisie were demolished. A class whose members' native language was Armenian, whose members were well-educated and speaking a few foreign languages and interested in every branch of the fine arts, was destroyed in every sense. This intelligentsia, this generation,

Photo 18   An example of the houses whose ownership was transferred during the Wealth Tax era (Ölçek Street).

were replaced by people emigrated from Anatolia, who were deprived of educational opportunities as well as unaware of cultural values and belonging to a feudal structure'[35]. (Agos, 13.11.1998, cited by Akar, 2000, 217)

The interviews conducted in Elmadağ demonstrate a similar change in the composition of non-Muslim inhabitants of the neighborhood. As a consequence of a double-sided migration movement, while non-Muslim urbanites went abroad, Armenians of rural backgrounds came to Elmadağ. Thus, the neighborhood's urbanite non-Muslim middle strata have been replaced by a new group of Armenians with rural Anatolian origin having lower socio-economic status. As presented in the previous

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[35] 'Beş yüz yılda meydana gelen Ermeni burjuvazisi ve bu burjuvazinin bir parçası olan aydın sınıfı yok olmuştur. Ana dili Ermenice olan, iyi eğitim görmüş, birkaç yabancı dil bilen, güzel sanatların her dalıyla ilgili bir sınıf herşeyiyle yok edilmişti. Bu aydınların, bu kuşağın yerini Anadolu'dan göçen, eğitim olanağı bulamamış, kültür değerlerinden habersiz, feodal yapıdan gelen insanlarımız almıştır.'

chapter, Elmadağ was initially inhabited by Levantines and non-Muslims. The most populated groups were the Armenians and Greeks, though there were also Jewish and a very small number of Turkish households[36]. All of our elderly informants in the neighborhood confirmed that this population composition continued until the 1960s and 1970s, when the non-Muslim residents of the neighborhood left the country in large numbers[37]. Before these massive departures, there were also families who had left the neighborhood in the early Republican era. These early leavers were mainly affluent non-Muslims who were more vulnerable to the nationalist economic policies, as explained above. Indeed, we learnt that during the years the Wealth Tax was extracted, there was a transfer of real estates from non-Muslims to Muslims in Elmadağ, too[38]. When we asked about the Wealth Tax, one of our 75 years old Armenian interviewees mentioned sorrowfully 'twenty groups of military service, Wealth Tax, 6th-7th September events... Don't open these issues, don't bleed our old wounds'[39].

After their departures to abroad, a differentiation occurred among the non-Muslims who stayed. A significant part of Elmadağ's non-Muslim inhabitants preferred to move to more 'modern' districts of Istanbul, such as Kurtuluş, Pangaltı and Şişli. The motivation to move was both related to an aspiration for modernity and to the comforting preference to live in neighborhoods where the population was predominantly composed of non-Muslim groups. The movement from the old neighborhoods to the 'modern and Western' districts indicates a social mobility too[40]. One of our interviewees who lived in Çimen Street and moved to Pangaltı in the late 1970s expressed this candidly: 'the families on this street were not rich; there was a middle stratum. When [this neighborhood] began to degrade, the well off began to move. At the end of the 70s old acquaintances disappeared. [...] Those who had the possibility left, those without stayed. The well-to-do either went abroad or to a better neighborhood'[41].

As a consequence of these departures, non-Muslims who once constituted the majority of the neighborhood have become a minority. Although until the 1950s and 1960s a quite number of Armenians, Greeks and Jews were living in Elmadağ, today it seems that only lower-middle class old-aged Armenians live in the neighborhood among the minority groups. As one of our interviewees asserted: 'there are still Armenians in the neighborhood but the wealthy left, only the economically deprived stayed'[42]. Likewise a real estate agent in the neighborhood illustrated this transformation as such: 'Old minorities were goldsmiths in Kapalıçarsı, merchants and wholesalers in Sultanhamam, suppliers of auto spare parts in Perşembe Pazarı. Those who stayed have a lower income and are mostly tenants'[43]. The Armenians currently living in Elmadağ are either the economically deprived ones who are

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[36] Elmadağ was also known as 'Altınbakkal' (golden grocery) because of the grocery shop of an Armenian called Leon Altınyan. His shop was located by the Şan Tiyatrosu.

[37] During this immigration process, the destinations were mainly Greece for the Greeks; France, USA and Canada for the Armenians; and Israel for the Jews.

[38] In addition to transfers during Wealth Tax, there occurred confiscations due to '1936 statement' which handed over minority foundations' properties to the state. For instance, the land of today's Harbiye primary school which was actually a donation of a non-Muslim, was appropriated by the government because of deficiency in the documentation (see photo 17).

[39] 'Yirmi kura askerlik, varlık vergisi, 6-7 Eylül.. Hiç açma o konuları, deşmeyelim yaralarımızı'.

[40] Kastaryano presents a striking account of this event for the Jewish community of Istanbul. She points at the importance of timing of the movement to another neighborhood in attaining a higher status in the social rank: One would be denoted as 'traditional' if s/he could not move to Şişhane-Kuledibi in 1920s, to Pera-Taksim in 1940s and to Şişli-Nişantaşı in 1950s. This mobility continued with Etiler and Bosphorus shores later on (Kastaryano, 1991).

[41] 'Çok zengin aileler yoktu bu sokakta, orta kesim vardı. Burası bozulmaya başlayınca hali vakti yerinde olanlar taşınmaya başladılar. 70lerin sonunda eski tanıdıklar yok oldu. [...] İmkanları olanlar gitti, olamayanlar gidemedi. İyi olanlar ya yurtdışına ya da daha iyi bir muhite gittiler.'

[42] 'Ermeniler hala var, ama maddi durumu kötü olanlar kaldı, ileri gelenleri gitti.'

[43] 'Eski ekalliyet, Kapalıçarşı'da kuyumcu, Sultanhamam'da tüccar, toptancı, Perşembe Pazarı'nda yedek parçacıydılar. Bugün kalanlar dar gelirliler, çoğu kirada oturuyor.'

unable to move or the old inhabitants lacking the energy to move. As one of our interviewees put it very briefly: 'many died, many went away'[44]. Thus very few of them have stayed in the neighborhood.

The departure of the non-Muslim minorities resulted in the emergence of vacant buildings, which in the long term served to solve the accommodation problem of the early-comers from Anatolia. It seems that this has been one of the factors behind the economic success of these early rural immigrants. Due to the heavy tax burden and discriminatory policies, most of the non-Muslims were obliged to sell their houses below the actual value. Hence, the new Anatolian residents of Elmadağ obtained the opportunity to be house-owners for relatively lower prices. Indeed, almost all of our interviewees who emigrated from Anatolia in the early 1950s and 1960s told us that they bought their houses from non-Muslims. Consequently, as a real estate agent indicated, 'now property owners are mostly Muslims, though in the past they were non-Muslims'[45].

In addition to the non-Muslim inhabitants of Elmadağ, there were also non-Muslim artisans working in the streets of Elmadağ and Dolapdere until the 1960s-70s. One of our interviewees, a manager of a company importing technical spare parts asserted that: 'in the past, masters of crafts were usually non-Muslims. The majority of the artisans working in small handicrafts, such as hardware dealers, carpenters, auto-repairers were Armenians. There were a few Greek masters as well. They mostly lived in Kurtuluş. They were skilful, very honest masters. We had very good relations. These masters became old and then retired. They left for natural reasons, not because of external reasons.'[46] However, even though these masters left for 'natural reasons', it is obvious that their

children did not take over their father's job. The discontinuity of the father-to-son tradition among the non-Muslim artisans seems to be related to the demographic extinction of the religious minorities in Istanbul.

Between the 1940s and 1960s, there emerged a non-Muslim counter-migration wave to Istanbul. Both the policies aiming the Turkification of Anatolia and the general rural-to-urban migration resulted in a substantial flood of non-Muslims from Anatolia. A representative of an Armenian journalist informed us about the aid campaigns launched by the Armenian community that reinforced governmental policies on the emigration of Armenians from Anatolia in the 1940s and 1950s[47]. He also pointed to the consequent social structure of the existing Armenian community in Istanbul shaped by the predominance of those having rural backgrounds.

The Armenian immigrants coming from Anatolia preferred to dwell in the locations where their community was living, such as Samatya, Kumkapı, Feriköy, Şişli, Yeşilköy and Bakırköy. These residential choices were driven with a longing for living in a communal enclave where there were possibilities for schooling, going to church and neighborly relations with alike. Elmadağ has been one of these locations for the Armenian immigrants coming from Anatolia. Especially Catholic Armenians from Ankara and Sivas constitute a sizeable group among the ones who arrived to Elmadağ. Indeed, as a 54 year-old female interviewee from Sivas stated, 'in the 1970s, there were mainly Armenians of Anatolian origin in Elmadağ. Only a few families were Istanbul-born. There were families from Yozgat, Sivas, Kayseri who had been here for 20-30 years'[48]. A 76 year-old Catholic Armenian who emigrated from Ankara in the late 1920s remembered the migration

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[44] 'Ölenler çok oldu, gidenler çok oldu'.

[45] 'Mülk sahipleri artık çoğunlukla müslüman, eskiden gayri-müslimdi.'

[46] 'Eskiden ustalar çoğunlukla gayri-müslimdi. Nalbur, marangoz, oto tamirciliği gibi küçük el sanatlarındaki sanatkarlar büyük ağırlıkla ermeniydi. Çok az da Rum usta vardı. Çoğunlukla Kurtuluş'ta oturuyorlardı. İşlerini çok iyi bilen, çok dürüst ustalardı. Çok iyi ilişkilerimiz vardı. Bu ustalar yaşlandılar, emekli oldular, doğal nedenlerle gittiler, dış nedenlerle gitmediler.'

[47] One example of these campaigns is the opening of an Armenian boarding school in Üsküdar in 1948-1950. This can be seen as related to the education of newly emigrated poor children from Anatolia.

[48] '70'lerde Elmadağ'da genelde Anadolu doğumlu Ermeniler vardı. Ancak bir-iki aile İstanbul doğumluydu. Yozgat, Sivas, Kayseri'den gelme, 20-30 senelik buralı aileler vardı.'

of Armenians in the 1950s and 1960s as such: 'Anatolian Armenians poured out here. The Armenian school in Şişli opened its doors to these newcomers. The children of these arrivers were taught there'[49]. It appears that the reasons of Armenian immigration were also related to the inadequacy of opportunities in provincial areas. A female interviewee born in 1928, who immigrated to Istanbul in the 1960s explained the reasons of immigration by emphasizing the deficiencies in her hometown: 'there was neither a church, nor a school in Elazığ. We immigrated to Istanbul because we wanted the children to be educated, not to stay [ignorant] like us'[50].

Most of the Armenians who emigrated from Anatolia in the 1940s-1960s continued their path by immigrating abroad (mainly to the USA, Canada or France). One of our female interviewees, who emigrated from Sivas to Kurtuluş in 1954 in her childhood, then lived in Çimen Street in the 1970s, and finally immigrated to the USA in 1990 after the death of her husband, provides an example for this group. The support of the relatives already at abroad makes the immigration of Armenians easier. There are many similar examples of the chain migration among Armenians of Anatolian origins who first moved to Elmadağ and ended their migration route abroad. The incentive for immigrating abroad seems to be mostly economic since most of our non-Muslim interviewees affirmed that 'home is not where you are born, but where you earn your livelihood'[51].

The analysis of these multi-stranded migrations reveals the pattern of social stratification among Armenians. The main differentiation within the non-Muslim community in Elmadağ seems to be between the ones of Istanbulian and Anatolian origins. In these terms the Armenian community seems to be fragmented on the basis of social background. An old Istanbulian Armenian interviewee illustrated the circumstances of rural Armenians as 'the newcomers do not speak Armenian well, in fact their language does not resemble Armenian spoken in Istanbul. [...] Their conditions were not good; they were the peasantry in their hometown. Here they worked in places like Park Otel, Pera Palas, as waiters, dishwashers'[52]. He continued his words by emphasizing differences of educational level between these two groups: 'people here [natives of Istanbul] were mostly noble, civilized and educated persons. People who came later, after the 48'-50' period were uneducated, underdeveloped, ignorant persons. They went to Armenian schools here. Of course not all of them were the same, but most of them were like that'[53].

Social stratification of the non-Muslim groups was symbolized in the spatial segregation of the neighborhood as well. The most affluent groups lived in the luxurious apartments of the Cumhuriyet Street before they immigrated abroad or moved to higher status districts, such as Şişli, Etiler. Likewise, middle class Armenian urbanites lived in Ölçek and Babil Streets, whereas the non-Muslim immigrants from Anatolia dwelled geographically at the lower parts of the hill, such as Çimen and Küçük Bayır streets. This spatial segregation also points at a cultural differentiation among non-Muslims, since during the interviews each group narrated the history of the neighborhood from their own life-space without talking in detail about other non-Muslim groups.

A common theme expressed by Armenians of Elmadağ during the interviews was the nostalgia for old days. In Elmadağ, mourning for the 'loss of the old golden days' signifies a yearning for a period when non-Muslim households were both economically and culturally privileged over other groups, such as immigrants from Anatolia. Lamenting for past better

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[49] 'Anadolu Ermenileri buraya akın ettiler. Şişli'deki Ermeni okulu bu gelenlere kapılarını açtı, bu gelenlerin çocukları burada okudular.'

[50] 'Elazığ'da kilise, okul yoktu. Çocuklar okusun, bizim gibi kalmasın diye isteyerek İstanbul'a göç ettik.'

[51] 'Memleket, doğduğun değil, doyduğun yerdir.'

[52] 'Gelenler Ermeniceyi pek iyi bilmezler, zaten konuştukları dil de İstanbul Ermenicesine pek benzemez. [...] Gelenlerin durumları pek iyi değildi, geldikleri yerde köylülük yapıyorlardı. Burada da Park Otel, Pera Palas gibi yerlerde çalışıyorlardı, garsonluk bulaşıkçılık, işçilik yapıyorlardı.'

[53] 'Buradakilerin çoğu asil, kültürlü tahsilli insanlardı. Daha sonra 48-50'den itibaren gelen kişiler okul görmemiş, geri kalmış, cahil kişiler. Burada Ermeni okullarına gittiler. Tabii hepsi öyle değildi ama çoğunluk öyleydi.'

days indicates the efforts of a déclassé middle-class to maintain their old status and distinction from 'others'. The emphases on urban origins, the adoption of an urban lifestyle and deep-rooted Istanbulian origins were the themes that we heard repeatedly during the interviews. Surprisingly enough, the early Anatolian immigrants complained about similar issues concerning social deterioration in Elmadağ and in Istanbul. The similarity of nostalgic discourse about the degradation of the neighborhood will be discussed in more detail in the end of the fourth chapter.

As a final remark, we suggest that although Elmadağ seems to be an affluent non-Muslim neighborhood in the past, it seems that today the non-Muslims who live here are the ones who are lacking social and economic upward mobility possibilities. As some of the members of the Armenian community 'have promoted themselves to better neighborhoods' such as Şişli, Elmadağ has become 'the place of abortive Armenians' that moved down the socio-economic ladder, as an Armenian journalist asserted[54]. However, we claim that this downward movement on the social hierarchy is related more to their conditions of being an ethnic minority rather than to their individual incapability. One of our observations supporting this argument is the prevalence of their efforts being invisible in social life in Elmadağ. Both nationalist governmental policies and micro-level discriminations toward non-Muslims seem to be influential in the intensification of political fear and the spread of a submissive behavior among them. Hence, they give the impression of being less enthusiastic and ambitious for economic success, unlike their Turkish counterparts who immigrated in the 1950s and 1960s and became the 'winners of massive migration', as will be discussed in the next section.

Pioneer immigrants of 1950s-1960s : the winners of massive migration in Elmadağ

The fieldwork in Elmadağ reveals that the immigrants of the first massive wave constitute a significant group in the neighborhood. They are 'the pioneer immigrants' because they arrived in Istanbul before than their co-locals and other members of their family. We prefer to call these pioneer immigrants the 'winners of the massive migration' since today they seem to have achieved significant upward mobility after long years of fierce struggle for success in the city.

In Elmadağ, the majority of the early immigrants coming from Anatolia between the late 1940s and 1960s seem to immigrate voluntarily, compared to the ones who arrived after the 1980s. Indeed, these early-comers to Elmadağ were the young single male members of their family (they were between the ages of 15 and 19) who were attracted by the opportunities that the big city promised. During the interviews, these pioneers stated that they came to Istanbul because there were no possibilities of economic progress and education in their homeland, whereas 'Istanbul was paved with gold'. Unlike the large immigrant group from the Black Sea Region in Istanbul (Özbay, 1992), most of the pioneer immigrants in Elmadağ originated from Erzincan and Sivas.

Elmadağ was not the first destination in Istanbul for all the pioneer immigrants who arrived after the late 1940s. The first stopover was the bachelor rooms in Feridiye (the area lying between Taksim and Tarlabaşı) for the single young men who arrived in Istanbul without any assets such as education, skill or money. They moved later to Elmadağ as they accumulated some money to rent or buy a house in a better neighborhood. These early-comers came to Elmadağ after re-uniting their families in Istanbul or after getting married to 'a girl from the homeland'. For this group, the movement to Elmadağ signifies a first step in the upward mobility, both in terms of capital accumulation and status differentiation. There is a close parallel between the residential and social mobility for the members of this group since most of them would continue their journey in Istanbul by moving to higher status neighborhoods, such as Şişli and Gayrettepe, as they moved up the socio-economic ladder in the following years.

Unlike the subsequent shantytown settlement trend that became almost the sole option for rural-to-urban immigrants in later years, the

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54 'Bazıları daha iyi semtlere terfi ettiler. Elmadağ 'tutunamamış Ermeniler'in semti'.

early immigrants settled in disintegrating inner city areas, such as the neighborhoods on the historical peninsula or the ones that began to be emptied by the departure of the non-Muslims, such as Elmadağ, Tarlabaşı and Cihangir. In the 1960s, Elmadağ was still a predominantly non-Muslim neighborhood where only a few Turkish families lived. As the neighborhood headman asserted: 'when we arrived in 1964, there were very few Turks [here]. Turks were here as shopkeepers. There were Greeks and Armenians, also Jews constituting around 40-50 households. The population in 1965 was 13,000-14,000. Now the registered population is around 4,000. It can be 5,000 including ones who do not have a record. Neighborly relations were very lively. There was no exclusion, but they were not renting houses (to Turks), they were renting only to their loved ones.'[55] He also affirmed that 'people who come from Sivas or Erzincan are mostly running coffeehouses or working as doorman. They are deeply rooted wherever they start to live. In their first arrival, they lived in houses worse than shanty houses. When they became better off, they bought houses, then they called their relatives to take their places.'[56]

As mentioned above, we prefer to call these pioneer immigrants the 'winners of the massive migration'[57], since they are today the wealthiest group in Elmadağ. A significant differentiation among the pioneer immigrants lies between the ones who came with no assets (such as education or capital) and the ones who brought some economic resources from their homeland. The uneducated poor immigrants, especially the ones who arrived before the 1950s seem to experience a tough period, since they arrived in

Istanbul without any monetary and social capital. As the pioneers of their family's chain migration process, they did not have any social or communal networks to exploit. Accordingly they earned their livelihood by working as waiters, porters, watchmen, water-sellers, doormen or shop assistants, i.e. in jobs that did not necessitate any education or capital.

It should also be noted that these early comers benefited from the economic nationalism of the early Republican era. For instance, the 1932 law mentioned above allocated some low-skill jobs exclusively to Turks in order to Turkify the labor market. Thus, in consequence of this law uneducated newcomers began to substitute non-Muslims in low-skilled jobs. During these early years, the newcomers stayed either in coffee houses, bachelor rooms, or in the shops and warehouses where they were working. 'Hemşerilik', i.e. communal networks (Erder, 2000) seemed to be useful for some in finding a job, especially low-status ones, such as waiters or doormen. However, despite the role of communal networks in finding employment and housing, it seems that as a densely populated inner-city neighborhood, Elmadağ inhabitants were less depended on such relationships compared to shantytown dwellers, due to the loose and more atomistic character of social relationships in inner-city areas.

A very common profession among these early comers was 'driving'. It provided the opportunity for rapid upward mobility, especially for the early immigrants who had no assets. One of our interviewees, who came from Sivas in 1946 and became the owner of several houses in Elmadağ in a few decades, confirmed this: '(When we

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[55] '1964'te biz geldiğimizde [burada] çok az Türk vardı. Türkler de işyeri olarak vardı. Rum ve Ermeni vardı, 40-50 hane de Musevi vardı. 1965'te nüfus 13-14 bindi. Şimdi kayıtlı nüfus 4 bin, kayıtsızlarla belki 5 bine çıkar. Komşuluk çok canlıydı. Dışlama yoktu ama [Türklere] kiraya ev vermezlerdi, sadece sevdiklerine ev verirlerdi.'

[56] 'Sivas, Erzincan'dan gelenlerin çoğu kahveci, kapıcı. Onlar girdikleri yerde kök salıyor. İlk geldiklerinde gecekondudan kötü evlere yerleşiyorlar. Palazlanınca ev alıyor, yerlerine akrabalarını getiriyorlar.'

[57] We conceived of this term while contemplating the notion of 'elites of massive migration' proposed by Sema Köksal and Nihal Kara. They define 'the elites of massive migration' in terms of their familial backgrounds, economic and social position and leading roles in the massive migration coming from their hometown. They also distinguish these elites by their father's occupation, birthplace, level of education and their own occupation (Köksal S. & Kara N., 1990). Although the pioneer migrants of Elmadağ did not have a familial, educational or economic superiority during the migration, they are today the elites of the neighborhood. These early-comers are more successful in economic terms; today they are property-owners of most of the houses inhabited by the immigrants who arrived later. The economic boom era of the 1950s and early 60s was an important factor in the fast upward mobility of these provincial entrepreneurs. Correspondingly, they name Menderes along with Özal as the most important figures of Turkish history.

Photo 19   A new apartment in Elmadağ, constructed in the place of an old house through build-and-sell method.

first arrived) we worked as drivers of taxis, trucks and buses. We could not do anything else, since we were uneducated'[58]. Taxi driving seemed to be the most rewarding job for the early Anatolian immigrants in Elmadağ. In particular during the Menderes era, the transportation sector grew up as new roads were opened and automobiles were introduced to inner-city transportation. The young industrious immigrants were not too late to profit from the post-war economic boom. Most of them owned their own cars after a few years of working as drivers and continued to improve their economic standing after purchasing the first car. While some of them continued their career in the transport sector, others shifted to the business of construction of buildings.

In brief, the leading occupations for the early immigrants in Elmadağ in the 1950s and 1960s varied between jobs that did not necessitate any capital or education (e.g. waiter, water-seller, watchman) and the ones that required some money or skill (e.g. driver, butcher, restaurant-owner). Subsequently, in the 1970s, as the massive migration continued and the need for housing increased, construction of buildings became the favorite economic activity for the pioneer immigrants who had already accumulated the necessary economic capital and established the social network.

Elmadağ presented a good opportunity for local small-scale contractors until the mid-1980s. Three story buildings of 40-60 square meters designed for single families dominated the original physical landscape of Elmadağ. For that reason, contractors were obliged to buy at least two of them to build an inhabitable dwelling. The build-and-sell business, which was a common mode of house production between the 1960s and 1980s, is a system of exchange where contractors undertake the responsibility of construction in return for the urban land of property owners (Tanyeli, 1998, 111). Işık and Pınarcıoğlu argue that this is a system that is of advantage to middle-class landowners since the contractor obtains the land suitable for house construction in return of flats in the new buildings (2001, 104-110). Yet this general trend of build-and-sell activities favoring landowners, functions in reverse in Elmadağ, given that the property owners were predominantly non-Muslims. Building high-rise apartments by demolishing older, low-rises was highly profitable for small contractors in Elmadağ, as most of the property-owners were compelled to sell their properties for very low values. During the interviews we observed that Anatolian origin landlords bought the houses from non-Muslims who fled the country, or moved to community rest homes or to their relatives' places due to old age. It is possible to suggest that non-Muslims sold their properties for very low prices and thus contributed to the enrichment of new Muslim inhabitants of the neighborhood[59].

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[58]   '[İlk geldigimizde] taksicilik, kamyonculuk, otobüsçülük yaptık. Eğitim olmadığı için biz de başka iş yapamazdık.'

[59]   One should also note that these build-and-sell activities demolished the picturesque physical texture of the neighborhood and led to the spread of new unattractive buildings. This has also been one of the factors that prevents the gentrification of Elmadağ. (see photo 19)

The build-and-sell activities lost their significance by the mid-1980s for the contractors working locally in Elmadağ due to the unrealized PIYA project. During 1980s and early 1990s, all kinds of construction activities in the neighborhood were prohibited because of the PIYA project which was planned to transform Dolapdere and Piyalepaşa Boulevards into high-rise office areas. Small-scale construction became unprofitable for local contractors of Elmadağ also because of the increasing significance of the large-scale construction companies and cooperatives in the housing sector. Seeing that the building contracting was becoming less lucrative, the pioneer immigrants shifted to another sector, namely real estate agency. Today, most of the notable real estate agencies of Elmadağ are the early-immigrants of the 1950s and 60s who were involved in the construction of the buildings in the neighborhood.

In addition to the initial economic difficulties, the early-comers seem to have experienced a cultural alienation too. The prevailing cultural superiority of 'urbanites' over 'villagers' in the discursive realm (Öncü, 1999) and the predominance of non-Muslims in Elmadağ intensified the difficulties that these early comers experienced. All the pioneer immigrants stated that there were only a few Turkish families in the neighborhood when they first arrived. During the interviews, the informants explicitly expressed the uneasiness and alienation they felt in their early years in Elmadağ. They seemed to feel like they arrived in an alien world where they were total strangers: 'We were living in a mansion in Kemaliye, but when we came here we inhabited an old ruined house. (Non-Muslims) did not give us a house for rent. They did not greet us for 18 years. They did after many years.'[60]

The cultural exclusion the early-comers experienced in Elmadağ fueled their ambition for economic success. They tried to succeed economically and thus make money to compensate their cultural alienation. One of our interviewees, who has become a remarkably wealthy person at the end of tough years he experienced after his emigration from Rize at the age of 12, expressed his fervor as such: 'my goal was always to earn money and to reach somewhere: to earn money, to run my own business.'[61] This ambitious attitude gave rise to a fierce struggle and tough competition to 'conquer the city', which has always been viewed as something alien. For the rural immigrants, the city and its ('real') dwellers resisted accommodating them, so they tried to be one of them by the power of money. As one of them suggested during the interview: 'here, the money holder has the power'[62]. Remarkably enough, almost all of the early comers from Anatolia told us astonishing success stories, which can be regarded as the economic achievements of ambitious entrepreneurs.

In short, we can conclude that early arrivers to Elmadağ became the winners of the massive migration, thanks to their economic achievements, mostly as small entrepreneurs in activities such as building contracting and real estate. However, despite all these bright stories of wealth accumulation, most of them implicitly expressed their uneasiness about 'being uneducated'. The great attention paid to the education of their children seems to be an endeavor to compensate this feeling of inferiority. In fact, almost all the second-generation immigrants are either university students or graduates.

Besides the importance given to the education of children, moving to better neighborhoods is another means for a higher status attainment, as one of our interviewee suggested: 'during that period [when we lived here] middle strata families were living in this neighborhood. [Elmadağ] later became impoverished. [...] We moved to Sıracevizler in '77. If I rank there as nine out of ten, here [Elmadağ] gets a minus.'[63] This indicates a correspondence between residential and socio-economic mobility. Most of

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60 'Kemaliye'de konaktan gelip, burada eski döküntü bir eve yerleştik. [Gayrimüslümler] kiralik ev vermediler, 18 sene selamlaşmadılar. Sonradan açıldılar.'

61 'Hedefim hep para kazanıp bir yerlere varmaktı: para kazanmak, iş sahibi olmak.'

62 'Burada parası olanın sözü geçer.'

63 'O devirde [biz buradayken] bu mahallede orta halli aileler oturuyordu. Sonradan yoksullaştı. [...] 77'de Sıracevizler'e taşındık. Orası on üstünden dokuzsa, burası [Elmadağ] eksi alır.'

the pioneer immigrants left Elmadağ and bought new houses in higher status neighborhoods, such as Şişli, Mecidiyeköy, Gayrettepe, as soon as they accumulated the required capital.

During the interviews, the economically successful immigrants who arrived earlier in Elmadağ sought to differentiate themselves by expressing adamantly their cultural superiority over the latecomers. For them, 'in the past there was respect in Beyoğlu, now there is no respect. In the past they put hats when they went out. Newcomers are uneducated like us. They have 20-30 children [...] After Kurds moved in, the neighborhood was messed up. They do not even know how to walk in the street'[64].

The pioneer immigrants from Anatolia, who have already adopted urban middle class attitudes, articulate their grievance about newcomers by complaining about the abundance of Kurds, coffeehouses and unemployed youth hanging out on the streets of the neighborhood. In this context, the new means of status achievement for the Anatolian-originated immigrants have become the claims about lifestyle, i.e. cultural capital. In the field of status competition, wives of the early immigrants seem to play an important role in the acquisition of cultural capital. It is interesting to observe that most of the men stated that their wife 'is very cultured'.

In the 1980s and 1990s there occurred a new wave of massive migration to Istanbul and thus to Elmadağ, which differed in character from the one in the 1960s. While the previous one was more driven by voluntary immigration of people allured by the better economic opportunities that Istanbul promised, the recent one was typified by the semi-obligatory immigration of

Kurds. In the next section, we will elaborate on the characteristics of this wave.

Kurdish immigrants in Elmadağ

In this section of the project, we discuss the situation of Kurdish immigrants who have settled down in Elmadağ after mid-1980s. In order to shed light on this issue, first of all we evaluate the Kurdish migration flows in Turkey. Afterwards, we cite our interpretations and explanations derived from the in-depth interviews that we conducted with Kurdish immigrants in Elmadağ.

The Eastern and Southeastern regions of Turkey where most Kurds are currently living are the least developed parts of the country[65]. The high unemployment rates and prevailing economic difficulties within the region after the 1950's have led many Kurdish people to immigrate to either provincial cities or the cities in the Western region. Though Kurdish immigration to the metropolises has been a long-term process, it is important to make a distinction between two different periods of internal immigration in Turkey. The first migration flow during 1950-1960's is different in its nature in comparison to the mass flux of Kurds to other cities after mid-1980s. During this period, huge numbers of Kurds moved out of the '[S]outheast to cities like Istanbul, often resulting in a process of 'natural' assimilation into the Turkish mass' (Poulton, 1997, 208). While the reasons behind this first migration flow were mostly economic, the recent migration flows of Kurds have not only economic but also political and social characteristics[66].

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64 'Eskiden Beyoğlu'na çıktığımızda hürmet vardı, şimdikilerin hürmeti yok. Eskiden sokağa fötr şapkayla çıkılırdı. Şimdi gelenler bizim gibi tahsilsiz okul yüzü görmemiş, 20-30 tane çocuğu var. [...] Kürtler geldi, buralar bozuldu. Sokakta yürümeyi bile bilmiyorlar'.

65 A comparison between the western region and the eastern region of the country in the mid-1990's reflects the significant socio-economic inequalities between the regions. The western region's per-capita gross national product was $ 2,000, and the eastern region's was $ 700. The western region's total fertility rate was 2, the eastern region's is over 4. The western region's infant mortality rate was 43, the eastern region's was 60. The western region's illiteracy rate was 14, the eastern region's was 26. The western region's number of health personnel per 1,000 people was 3.2, the eastern region's was 2. (İçduygu, Romano and Sirkeci, 1999, 9).

66 According to a study conducted by the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB) in 1996 in Diyarbakır, economic reasons constitute the ground for their migration such as hardship of livelihood, non-possession of territory, unemployment. On the other hand, after 1990s the reasons have shifted from economic to more political reasons, such as the evacuation of villages, burning down of the villages or the incidents in the region. Indeed, 73,7 per cent of the interviewers who came to Diyarbakır after 1990 stated they immigrated due to "compulsory reasons" (TMMOB, 1999, 344-45)

The escalation of the war between the PKK (Kurdish Workers Party) and the Turkish Armed Forces since 1984 has immensely increased the magnitude of the Kurdish immigration. There is no exact number of civilian, PKK and Security forces causalities. Depending on the figures from *Yeni Yüzyıl* and *Turkish Daily News*, Kirişçi and Winrow suggest that as a result of clashes between PKK and Turkish security forces 20,181 people, including 5,014 civilians, have been killed between 1984 and the end of 1995 (1997, 126). On the other hand, Östen Wahlbeck depending on figures cited by *Cumhuriyet*, puts forward an alternative design by referring to both Kurdish and Turkish sources, which are considerably different from each other. According to official Turkish sources, 9,595 persons lost their lives in the conflict, of which 3,028 were civilians. On the other hand, Kurdish sources estimated in August 1994 that 34,000 persons died during the civil war, of which 5,000 were civilians (1999, 47).

The state of emergency (OHAL) in Eastern and Southeastern Turkey issued in July 1987 gave civilian governors the right to exercise 'certain quasi-martial law powers, including restrictions on the press and the removal from the area of persons whose activities are believed inimical to public order' (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997, 128). Under the emergency rule the government steadily increased its military presence in the provinces[67]. The Anti-Terror Law of April 1991 which defined a terrorist act in a broad and ambiguous way led to many detentions and human rights abuses with the ban on any declaration of ideas.[68] Difficulty in provision of safety, livelihood, health, education and other services for people in their village, or lands were only some of the reasons that forced villagers to abandon their settlements.

The village-guard system [*koruculuk*], which was introduced in April 1985, intended to enable villages to defend themselves from the PKK. In addition to security concerns, it was also believed that the village-guard system would provide income to areas that were economically depressed. However, over the years the village guard system has become a source of serious complaint. The situation is particularly difficult for the Kurdish villagers who find themselves in the middle of the conflict since if they do not participate in this system they will face repression from the army and their villages might be destroyed; and if they do participate they will find themselves in conflict with the PKK (Wahlbeck, 1999, 47).

Especially the villages rejecting the village-guard system have likely been evacuated and at times burned by the security forces due to an anxiety either from the difficulty of provision of security or for their possible assistance to PKK. Kirişçi and Winrow suggest that also the PKK, in accordance with its 'Decree on Village Raids' has attacked and burned 'non-revolutionary' villages that do not support 'the national struggle for liberation' (1997, 133). Consequently, several villagers have chosen to immigrate to urban centers in order to avoid coming under either the government or PKK pressure.

Today there are 20 to 30 million 'internally displaced persons' in the world (UNHCR cited in TAV, 2001, 14)[69]. According to the data provided by UNHCR, Turkey is placed the fifth on the list of countries with highest internally displaced persons population. At least 3,500 villages and cultivable fields have been partially or totally evacuated and approximately 3 million people were displaced in Turkey in the violent atmosphere created by the Kurdish problem within the last 10 years (TAV, 2001,

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[67] According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the normal level of Turkish troop deployments in the area was around 90,000. This number had risen to 160,000 by June 1994. By the end of 1994, taking into account also the number of police, Special Forces and village guards, there were 300,000 security forces deployed in eastern and southeastern Turkey. The size of the security forces in the areas remained roughly the same during 1995 (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997, 130).

[68] Terrorist actions are defined as actions involving repression, violence and force, or the threat to use force, by one or several persons belonging to an organization with the aim of changing the characteristics of the Turkish Republic including its political, legal, social, secular and economic system (Article 1).

[69] There is no consensus on the meaning of the concept Internally Displaced Person (IDP). However, people who are subjected to violence, armed conflict or pressure and are forced to leave their places and homes but have remained within the borders of their country are called IDPs (TAV, 2001, 14).

15; Oberdiek, 2001, 111; Wahlbeck, 1999, 47; İçduygu, Romano and Sirkeci, 1999, 9)[70].

As a result of the policy concerning evacuation of villages, the Kurdish population had to move to the regional centers like Van and Diyarbakır. In the 1990 census, the population of the central town of Van was calculated as 155,623 and Diyarbakır as 373,810. The populations of two cities in 2000 were found to be as 284,464 and 551,046 with an increase of 60,9 percent and 38,8 percent respectively. Along with the cities such as Diyarbakır and Van where the Kurdish population is dense, cities like Istanbul and İzmir in the West, as well as cities such as Antalya, Adana and Mersin have accommodated intensive migration flows. Some of the Kurdish immigrants have sought for asylum in European countries[71].

Resonating from the eastern hand of the case, the western counter part, especially Istanbul, exhibits peculiar complimentary features on this issue, notwithstanding that there is no reliable data on the number of Kurds who have immigrated to Istanbul since the 1980s. However, Kirişçi and Winrow identify Istanbul as the city which has the highest Kurdish population in Turkey (1997). A detailed poll of Istanbul residents was published over five days in Milliyet, in February/March 1993[72]. Poulton suggests that despite possible sampling errors, the figures given in this poll appear realistic. Given the Kurds are probably 15-20 percent of Turkey's total population, the number of Kurds is estimated as some 8 per cent of Istanbul's population. According to the poll, the Kurds are low on the social scale, since they are the most numerous among the unemployed and having the lowest educational qualifications. Those who declare themselves as Turks have the highest average wages followed by those who declare themselves as 'Muslim Turks or Muslims', then those who consider themselves as Turks but from Kurdish parents and finally those who declare themselves as Kurds. According to

a recent report (conducted in Diyarbakır, Batman, Istanbul, Van, İzmir and Mersin) by Göç-Der, 52.7 per cent of the interviewed Kurdish immigrants earn less than 100 million ($71) Turkish liras in a month while the rest has a monthly income of 100-200 million Turkish liras (*Radikal*, 13 April, 2002). 93.7 per cent of the Kurds wanted to return to their home villages due to homesickness, having adaptation problems and feeling like strangers in the cities they are living.

The governmental program called 'return to the villages' has been discussed since 1997. According to IHD, one of the most serious obstacles for a return is the state of emergency in the region (Salman, 2001, 28). A second problem arises from the fact that village guards who stay in the evacuated villages have occupied the lands of the people who have immigrated. The migrants' association Göç-Der stated that they forwarded 17,914 petitions for a return to the villages to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (Salman, 2001, 28).

Like many Kurds in the western cities of Turkey, the ones we interviewed in Elmadağ immigrated to Istanbul mostly because of political reasons. They explained that though the economic conditions in their villages were not very bad, they had to immigrate to the Western cities since they were under oppression in their villages. Two of the Kurdish interviewees expressed their discontent about being in the middle of the conflict between Turkish armed forces and PKK: 'either we would give in to the Turkish state or we would go to the mountains. Although there were many people who have chosen the latter, this is not the solution. With the emergence of Hizbullah, the slaughters started. Therefore, we were obliged to immigrate'[73]. Another interviewee explained that she was compelled to immigrate to Istanbul since she was under oppression in Muş because of her political ideas.

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[70] However, according to the report of Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1997, the number of villages and hamlets evacuated by the security forces were put as 3,428 and the number of people displaced were cited as 378,335.

[71] The number of asylum applications by Turkish nationals between 1985 and 1994 is 330,121 (Böcker, 1996, 57). Although there is no source about the percentage of the Kurdish asylum seekers, it is estimated that they account for the majority of the asylum applications in the last two decades.

[72] *Milliyet*, 27 and 28 February and 1,2, and 3 March 1993 (cited in Poulton, 1997, 247-248).

[73] 'Ya devlet tarafına geçecektik ya da dağa gidecektik. Dağa gidenler çok oldu ama dağa gitmek de çözüm değil. Hizbullah da başlayınca, katliamlar yaptılar, mecbur kaldık, geldik'.

The Kurds in Elmadağ mostly immigrated from the cities of Batman, Diyarbakır, Siirt and Tunceli to Istanbul after 1990. They usually followed a chain migration process. A relative sent as a pioneer-immigrant to the city prepared the appropriate conditions for the other members of the family, such as finding a job and a shelter[74]. After her/his position was better off, the other members of the family in the hometown joined her/him. The network among the Kurds is stronger than any other ethnic groups in Elmadağ. Throughout this network, they find jobs, housing and new friends. A Turkish interviewee who observed the solidarity among Kurds suggested that: 'the Kurds really watch over each other [...] They shop from their [Kurds'] groceries. They are very respectful and very hardworking. They help each other when the others are setting up their businesses'[75]. However, this solidarity does not mean that the Kurds in Elmadağ constitute a homogenous ethnic group in which each of them shares the same political ideas with the others. For example, the Kurds we interviewed in Elmadağ are highly politicized and very critical of others who have different political opinions or who are not actively involved in politics. They despise some other Kurds by labeling them 'assimilated' to the Turkish society. Rather than unconditionally supporting each other through an ethnic bound, they are close to other Kurds who have adopted the same political perspectives. In brief, the basic criterion for solidarity is the shared political views rather than merely an ethnic identity.

The interviewees suggested that the communication language at their homes is Kurdish. Speaking and teaching Kurdish to their children has a special importance for them in terms of preserving and perpetuating their Kurdish identity and culture: 'My mother does not know how to speak Turkish. At home we speak Kurdish. The children, even the ones who were born

in Istanbul, speak Kurdish. In fact, they speak Kurdish better than the ones in Diyarbakır'[76]. The question of speaking Kurdish plays a pivotal role in the construction of Kurdish identity by enabling them to fantasize themselves as members of an imagined Kurdish community.

When asked if they are planning to return back to their villages, nearly all of them said 'yes'. One of our interviewees expressed his homesickness as such: 'In my dreams I still see my village. I am playing football with my friends. We are running in the clouds of dust. The dreams about here are always troubled'[77]. However, keeping the dreams of returning back to their villages does not mean that it will come true. This desire of returning back to the home village seems an impossible dream, which can neither be realized nor given up. One of our interviewees said that he has never liked living in Istanbul. Though he has his own future plans about returning to his hometown, his six children from different age groups do not share their fathers' opinion. Especially the Kurdish children born in Istanbul appear more oriented to the life in Istanbul.

It is striking that in Elmadağ the Kurds are mostly running groceries, which they define as one of the most difficult jobs. According to them, only the Kurds can achieve this job because they have no social life and they are accustomed to difficult conditions. As one of the Kurdish interviewees argued: 'The ones coming from the [East] work very hard. Since they have suffered a lot there, they work hard here for the sake of their emancipation [...] They have already been familiar to every difficulty there such as starvation, torture [....] We do not expect any thing for ourselves now. But our children will see good days [...] When you believe in something you should not give up your hopes and keep on saying that I will achieve this'.[78] Their ambition, along with their

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74 Usually this pioneer-immigrant was the eldest son of the family.

75 'Kürtler birbirlerine çok sahip çıkarlar [...] Kendi bakkallarından alışveriş yapıyorlar. Hürmetkarlar, hürmet etmesini biliyorlar. Bir de çok çalışkanlar. Birbirlerine yardım ediyorlar iş açacakları zaman'.

76 'Annem Türkçe bilmiyor. Evin içinde Kürtçe konuşuluyor. Ufaklar, İstanbul'da büyüyenler bile Kürtçe biliyor, hem de Diyarbakır'dakinden daha iyi biliyor'.

77 'Hâlâ rüyamda memleketi görüyorum. Arkadaşlarla top oynuyoruz. Koşuyoruz toz toprak içinde. Burayla ilgili gördüğüm rüyalar hep sıkıntılı'.

78 'Oradan gelenler işe asılıyor. Orada çekeceğini çekmiş, burada işe asılıyor, kurtulmak istiyor [...] Adam orada herşeyi görmüş, açlık, işkence [...] Kendimize birşey beklemiyoruz. Ama çocuklarımız görecek [...] Birşeye inandığı zaman insan o umudu kaybetmemeli, hep yapacağım demeli'.

hope, is the only asset they have for establishing a good future for their children.

During our study, we came to meet Armenian people who had immigrated from the Eastern side of Turkey to Elmadağ after mid-1980s, along with the Kurds. For example, an Armenian shopkeeper suggested that his twenty relatives dwelling in Elmadağ right now immigrated to Istanbul in 1986 from a village near Siirt, which was recognized as an Armenian village in the past. With the passage of time, many Kurds started to settle in the village, whose settlement did not give rise to any conflict between different ethnic groups. After the 1980s, the rising insecurity in the region due to the acceleration of clashes and the emergence of Hizbullah made them leave their villages altogether. What is striking in this story is that some of the relatives of our interviewee, his uncle and grandfather, call themselves Kurds and at home usually speak Kurdish and thus they are known as Kurds in Elmadağ. Far from being eternally fixed in an essentialised past, identity is something constructed in cultural representations, as this example shows. Becoming, rather than being is the right verb in defining the formation of an identity which in fact is a never ending process.

Consequently, we think that defining and restricting the immigration flow from the Eastern side to the West after the mid-1980s just with the Kurdish immigration is misleading. Although the Kurdish people have been the most vulnerable group who were severely influenced by the policies of the Turkish state in the region and thus who mostly were subjected to forced immigration to the other sides of the country, the other ethnic groups had to immigrate as a consequence of restless situation or implemented policies in the region. Another significant point in this story is the young generation's endeavor for redefining and reconstructing their Armenian identity in Istanbul where the emergence and the experience of different ethnic identities are more tolerated than it was in their hometown. For example, though the members of new generation do not know

Armenian language, they think that their children should learn their language, culture and religion in order to be 'real' Armenians. In other words, the reconstruction of their 'authentic' identity seems to gain an enormous power as a means of constituting a re-imagined community for their survival in the city.

Most of the Kurds in Elmadağ get along better with these Armenians and also Iraqi people, than with the other residents. Not only being from the East but also having similar experiences becomes the basic reasons for their proximity. Being oppressed by the government and then forced to immigrate in various ways are the shared experiences uniting these communities with each other.

When we asked if they were subject to any kind of discrimination in Elmadağ, they gave us some examples of cultural discrimination, such as being labeled 'rustic/redneck'[79]. In fact, the Kurds in Elmadağ were mostly complaining about the policies of the Turkish government rather than the manners of inhabitants living in the neighborhood. For them, the Turkish state 'does not consider the Kurds as human beings. It does not treat them with respect'[80].

On the other hand, some of the inhabitants in Elmadağ, though they do not reveal their feelings directly to the Kurds, are not very glad to live side by side with them. It was interesting to see a man who had immigrated to Istanbul from Sivas in the late 1940s proposing that 'the ones who demolished the profile of Istanbul were in fact the ones coming from Siirt, Urfa, Mardin, Diyarbakır and Hakkari. When these people rushed here, they spoiled the atmosphere'[81]. The pioneer immigrants who 'first come-first win' in Istanbul think that they have the right to claim more rights over this city than the latecomer immigrants. With the presence of new comers in Istanbul, the old immigrants have reconstructed an identity for themselves as the real owners of the city/neighborhood, which is equipped with the forces of domination and superiority. Likewise, another interviewee offered that 'Kurds, vagabonds and Gypsies

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[79] In Turkish slang it is 'kıro' which is generally used to refer in a pejorative way to the immigrants coming from Eastern Turkey.

[80] 'Kürtleri insan yerine, adam yerine koymuyor. Saygı göstermiyorlar'.

[81] 'Bu İstanbul'un esas biçimini bozan Siirt, Urfa, Mardin, Diyarbakır, Hakkari'den gelenler. Oraların insanları buraya dolunca buranın tadı kaçtı'.

have emigrated here from Anatolia. Cultured people were living here, who knew how to call out to a grocer or doorman. The life was so different here!'[82]. The same man later on implied that the Kurds have many children because of political reasons. For him, having many children is a way to get into the government. On the other hand, he suggested that as long as the Turks think that 'one child is too little and two children are too many' the equilibrium between the populations of Turkish and Kurdish people would be unbalanced[83]. The perception of the increasing Kurdish population seems to increase the sensitivity to preserve the integrity of the Turkish identity and culture. In some cases this idea can provoke intensified and extremist nationalist reactions, which fortunately have not been experienced frequently in Elmadağ.

Tarlabaşı and Elmadağ are the two neighborhoods in which high numbers of Kurdish immigrants are living. It is possible to make a distinction between these two neighborhoods in regard to the economic conditions of Kurds dwelling there. The Kurds who immigrated to Istanbul and settled in Tarlabaşı are the poorest ones living in very difficult conditions. However, the Kurds dwelling in Elmadağ have better economic conditions since most of them came from their villages with a certain amount of money. When the well-being of Kurds in Tarlabaşı improved, they moved to Elmadağ: One Kurdish interviewee dwelling in Elmadağ remembered his stay in Tarlabaşı with bad memories: 'My big brothers came to Tarlabaşı in 1982. In those years, Gypsies were living there. Robbery was common. This was not a conducive environment for families. The neighborhood

was dirty and vagrants were dwelling there. However, we were obliged to live there because of our economic conditions'[84]. Likewise, with the improvement in their economic conditions, the Kurds dwelling in the lower side of Elmadağ, move into the upper side of the neighborhood. An interviewee speculated that many politicized Kurds prefer to dwell in Elmadağ, instead of the neighborhoods known as Kurdish enclaves such as Gazi. By this way, the interviewee argued that the place of the politicized Kurds could not be easily pinned down in Elmadağ, which is a more heterogeneously populated neighborhood.

In this next part of our study, we examine the situation of international immigrants in Turkey with a special focus on the legal applications of the Turkish government in the last five decades in order to gain a better understanding of the experiences of international immigrants in Elmadağ. Therefore, after highlighting the limitations of Turkish laws concerning the international immigrants, we put forward our observations that have come out of several in-depth interviews done with international immigrants living in Elmadağ who actually regard their stay in Turkey as 'temporary'.

International Immigrants in Elmadağ

Turkey, which had been recognized as a 'sending' country in terms of international immigration flows, is claimed to be a 'receiving' country since the early 1980s (IOM, 1995, 1). It is estimated that nearly 2,5 million foreign citizens have entered Turkey in the last two decades (İçduygu and Keyman, 2000, 390)[85].

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[82] 'Anadolu'dan Kürtler, serseriler, Çingeneler geldi. Buralar hep kültürlüydü. Bakkala, kapıcıya seslenmesini bilirlerdi. Bambaşkaydı hayat!'.

[83] 'Kürtler ... çok çocuk yaparlar, amaçları hükümete girmek. Bizim Türkler bir az, ikisi çok diyorlar, denge bozuluyor'.

[84] 'Önce büyük abiler 1982 de geldi Tarlabaşına. Eskiden orada Çingene olayı vardı, hırsızlık vardı, ailenin oturmasına müsait bir ortam yoktu. Pisti, berduşlar vardı. Ama mecburduk oturmaya orada, maddi durumumuz yoktu'.

[85] After the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979, about one and half million Iranians transited to a third country after a temporary stay in Turkey. In 1982, 4,000 refugees from Afghanistan living in camps in Pakistan were brought to Turkey. Between 1988 and 1995, approximately 650,000 Iraqi Kurds poured into Turkey, who were considered as 'temporary guests' rather than asylum seekers by the Turkish government. In 1989, more than 310,000 Bulgarian Turks and Pomaks settled in Turkey. From 1992 to 1995, 30,000 Bosnians sought refuge in Turkey and in 1999 nearly 20,000 Albanians from Kosovo arrived in Turkey. Since the late 1980s, an estimated 30,000 immigrants from African and Asian countries such as Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria, Sudan, Tanzania, Afghanistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka have entered into Turkey (İçduygu and Keyman, 2000, 390).

The reasons for moving into Turkey are varied; while some immigrants are fleeing war, persecution or ethnic tensions in their home countries, some others are immigrating for economic reasons and searching for a better education and future for their children. According to Sema Erder, international immigrants who come to Turkey can be categorized into three main groups due to their reasons of immigration (2000, 257). The first group is comprised of political refugees who seek asylum in a third country for reasons of armed conflict or war in their home countries. In this group, the immigrants move into Turkey in the form of mass immigration flows, such as in the case of Iraqi Kurds in 1991. Secondly, there are immigrants who use Turkey as a transit zone on their way to other Western countries. In comparison to the first group, these people are illegal transit immigrants who come to Turkey with small groups or family members with the intention of moving to a developed country with better economic opportunities, higher standards of living, and the chance for a better life. Unlike these two categories, there are suitcase traders who seek economic opportunities by coming to Turkey. They do not want to establish themselves permanently in Turkey but rather they look forward to making enough money in order to live at home comfortably and support their families. The movements of the three different immigrant groups are neither continuous, nor permanent. These irregular movements targeting temporary stay in the country indicate the fact that Turkey is a 'waiting room' rather than a real 'receiving country' (Erder, 2000, 257).

Of the millions of the international immigrants coming to Turkey, only a small number stayed in the country[86]. Immigrants are being confronted with special difficulties in Turkey, such as the lack of an unequivocal administration of laws concerning immigrants, the exclusion from democratic participation, economic destitution and violation of human rights. In addition to these, the restrictive immigrant and refugee policies of Turkey play an important role behind immigrants' decision to leave Turkey. The Turkish government ratified the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating the status of refugees. However, it accepted the Convention with a 'geographical limitation'; i.e. a restriction on its asylum commitment to applicants from European countries[87]. In other words, legal obligations would be applied only to persons who would ask asylum as a result of events in Europe, and there would be no obligation with regard to non-European refugees.

However, since the late 1970s, Turkey has become one of the most commonly used transit routes through which immigrants from Africa and Asia pass on their way to their preferred destinations, such as European countries, United States, Canada and Australia. The mass influxes of people, especially from the Middle East, pushed Turkey to implement a new regulation on asylum seekers in November 1994[88].

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[86] Around 100,000 Iranians stayed in Turkey, while a large proportion resettled in a third country. Most of the Iraqis returned back to their home; only 10,000 Iraqis settled in Turkey. Many Bosnians obtained refugee status from the Western countries and just 3,000 stayed in Turkey. More than 150,000 Bulgarians returned to Bulgaria. Nearly 1,000 Albanian refugees from Kosovo settled in Turkey (İçduygu and Keyman, 2000, 390-391).

[87] Until the adoption of the 1951 Convention on Refugees, Turkey did not have legislation in regard to asylum to foreigners. According to the Law on Settlement adopted in 1934 (Law 2510), only individuals of 'Turkish descent and culture' could obtain the refugee status. According to Article 4 of this law, 'from the prospective settlers those who are not attached to Turkish culture, anarchists, spies, nomads and gypsies may not be accepted as refugees'. Kemal Kirişçi argues that even after the adoption of the 1951 Convention, Turkey continued to grant full refugee status to foreigners who have met the provisions of Law 2510. For a detailed explanation, see Kemal Kirişçi (2000).

[88] It is entitled as 'Regulation on the Procedures and the Principles Related to Mass Influx and the Foreigners Arriving in Turkey or Requesting Residence Permits with the Intention of Seeking Asylum from a Third Country'. Implementation of this regulation meant that Turkey recognized its changing status to that of a transit country and its need to go beyond the Geneva Convention to deal effectively with the non-European asylum seekers. Until the introduction of the 1994 Asylum regulation, Turkish national law had no provisions governing the status of asylum seekers and refugees coming from outside Europe. Yet, in the 1994 Regulation, the refugee definition of 1951 Geneva Convention is repeated by adding the phrase 'As a result of events which have occurred in Europe' at the beginning of the sentence. This means that it is still not the international obligation of Turkey to confer the refugee status to people outside Europe and these people are defined as 'asylum seekers'. The power of determination of asylum status was given to the control of the Ministry of Interior (MOI) without actually lifting the geographical limitation (Kirişçi, 2001, 11). Though the Regulation identifies MOI as the body responsible for status determination, MOI officials have come to rely increasingly on the judgment of the UNHCR.

Recently, in the context of its candidacy for EU membership, the Government of Turkey issued in March 2001 a National Plan of Action for the Adoption of the European Union Acquisition (NPAAA). This document states that Turkey aims to lift the geographical limitation on refugees, provided that EU countries show necessary sensitivity in burden sharing and this situation does not encourage a mass influx of immigrants.

As a consequence of the temporary nature of the asylum available to non-European refugees, their local integration in Turkey is not feasible. Almost all these refugees must be resettled in a third country. During their stay in Turkey, refugees are largely dependent on UNHCR's assistance and services in terms of sustaining their needs of food, shelter, basic health care, schooling, as well as social and legal counseling[89].

The difficulty of processing asylum claims within a reasonably brief period, given the procedural rules, has many impacts in Turkey, such as exacerbating economic and social problems, particularly in Van and the other border cities. The stay in the transit country takes a long period of time. This became evident in research performed among 159 migrants, including refugees, passing through Turkey. Many of the respondents 'planned their move to Turkey for about one year, have been living in Turkey for almost two years, and are planning to leave for the country of destination in other year' (IOM, 1995, 2).

Considering the many instances of deportation and *refoulement* rumored amongst the asylum seekers coming to Turkey, it is not surprising that many are afraid to attempt to register an application with the authorities. Some of them manage to gain access to the asylum procedure. Upon registration, most of the non-European immigrants, mainly Iranians and Iraqis, have been assigned by the Government to one of 25 provincial cities. The ones, who are denied registration either remain in Turkey illegally, attempt to go on to Europe or pursue alternate ways to seeking asylum or immigrating to a third country. Currently it is estimated that there are approximately 1 million foreigners who are working in Turkey illegally (Kirişçi, 2001, 22). In the *UNHCR 2001 Global Appeal*, the UNHCR Turkey Office listed the number of non-European refugees and asylum-seekers of concern as 7,000.

Northern Iraqi people have the highest population among the international immigrant groups dwelling in Elmadağ. Though we do not know the exact number of Iraqi immigrants in Elmadağ, an officer working in Caritas organization[90] estimated that approximately 50 families are living in Elmadağ, which is considerably a high number.

We interviewed with four Iraqi families in Elmadağ, who are all Catholic Chaldeans. They have been living in Turkey minimum for one year and maximum for two and a half years. They explained their reasons of immigration mostly by economic factors which have been deteriorated because of warfare conditions in their country. However, neither of them have an intention of staying permanently in Turkey. Having made their legal applications to the UNHCR office in Turkey, they are all waiting for the results for their applications to immigrate to

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[89] UNHCR's main office is in Ankara, with a presence in Istanbul, Silopi and Van. A total of nine international, nine JPOs and 60 national staff manage the country programme. Of the nine international staff, three are Regional Advisors (on gender, children and legal training) based in Ankara. The UNHCR Office in Turkey, which plays a leading operational role in the refugee status determination process, collaborates with seven NGOs (Association for Solidarity with Asylum-seekers and Migrants, Caritas, Human Resource Development Foundation, International Catholic Migration Commission, Inter-Parish Migration Programme, Migrants and Anatolian Development Foundation and Turkish Red Crescent Society). UNHCR also collaborates with intergovernmental organizations including IOM (for resettlement and voluntary repatriation) and UNICEF (for refugee women and children).

[90] Caritas Internationalis is a confederation of 154 Catholic relief, development and social service organizations present in 198 countries and territories. The first Caritas organization was founded in Germany in 1896, and all the national Caritas organizations are united in a worldwide confederation, Caritas Internationalis, with its headquarters in Rome. The Caritas organization in Turkey was established in the 1950s by Domenico Caloyeras OP, the administrator of the Greek Catholic community in Istanbul. In 1985, Pierre Dubois, the Latin Apostolic Vicar in Istanbul inaugurated the present office of Caritas in Elmadağ (Booklet of *Caritas Türkiye*, 8).

a third country. The countries they want to settle are Australia, Canada and Switzerland where their relatives already live. In this regard, the Iraqi families we interviewed could be placed in the 'transit immigrants' category within the framework of Sema Erder's groups distinguished in regard to reasons of immigration. Yet, most of the people in this group claimed strongly that they made their offical applications in Turkey to seek an asylum in a third country lawfully. In brief, if our interviewees told us the truth, their situation in Elmadağ could neither be explained with Erder's first group who decide to immigrate massively to Turkey with merely political reasons nor with the second group who seek illegal ways to pass through a third country. Accepting the fact that there might be many illegal Iraqi immigrants in Elmadağ though not admitted, we should also acknowledge the presence of some type of migration that is 'transit' in its nature but neither utterly illegal nor massive.

The Iraqi immigrants demonstrate a typical chain migration process by following the path that their relatives have gone through from Iraq to Istanbul and then lastly to a third country. The majority of the Iraqis are living in the Tarlabaşı, Kurtuluş and Elmadağ with regard to their economic conditions. As the economic state of the ones dwelling in Tarlabaşı improves, they prefer to move to Elmadağ or Kurtuluş[91]. Their choice of these three neighborhoods does not seem coincidental. The presence of Caritas in Elmadağ is the essential pulling force for their settlement in these neighborhoods, which are closer to this organization.

Caritas provides assistance to Catholic Iraqi immigrants spending a shorter or longer time of transit stay in Istanbul. In many cases, Caritas serves as a link between the refugees and UNHCR and foreign embassies by following up on the cases of the refugees. During the year 2000, Caritas organization in Turkey followed up on 745 Iraqi refugee cases[92]. In addition to legal assistance, Caritas provides food, cloth and medicine aid to the needy immigrants. It also organizes basic schooling mainly English courses, for refugee children nine to fourteen years old, taught by teachers from the refugee group itself.

Caritas organization has a significant place in the daily lives of the Iraqi immigrants. As a Catholic organization, Caritas constitutes a meeting spot for many Iraqis along with the Saint-Esprit and Saint-Antoine Churches where they attend Sunday prays. In fact, religion comprises a significant component in the daily lives of the Iraqi immigrants. They regularly attend ceremonial activities, which are essential in binding the members of their group. By this way, a sense of group solidarity is affirmed and social cohesion in their groups is promoted. Iraqi immigrants constitute an isolated enclave within Elmadağ whose members just have an interaction with each other. As a result of their isolation from the neighborhood but their strong connection within their community, we can suggest that the only strong neighborly relations in Elmadağ are established among the Iraqis.

As we mentioned above, some of the Iraqis wait for a very long time in Turkey to be accepted by a third country[93]. During this period, the members of Iraqi families work illegally in the unskilled and uninsured jobs with very long working hours but earning very little money. Among our interviewees, at least one of the members of the family is working in jobs such as baby-sitting, cleaning or dishwashing in a restaurant. They told us some stories about how they are exploited and cheated by their employees but can not claim any right before the laws since they are working illegally.

The Iraqi women outnumber the Iraqi men in Elmadağ. In the apartments we were invited, we met many women living alone with their children. Mostly it is the men whose applications are first accepted and who are sent to a third county. Therefore, the women left behind in Turkey are waiting for the results of their application, while living with their children, with a very limited amount of money. Sometimes two or three families live together in the

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[91] In Elmadağ, they are mostly dwelling in the lower side of the neighborhood, such as Akkarga or Küçükbayır Streets where the rents are lower in comparison to that of upper side.

[92] Booklet of *Caritas Türkiye*, 29.

[93] According to the Caritas officer their period of staying in Turkey sometimes extends to 5 years.

same apartment in difficult conditions. When asked if they are assisted financially by their relatives in Iraq or by their husbands in another Western country, most of them answered negatively. The indefiniteness of the period to be spent in Turkey has enslaved them to a feeling of temporariness. However, with a very subjective observation, we can assert that they have learned to manage this feeling of a transitory state after several years of immigration experience. Their hopes for the future and their comparatively better conditions in Istanbul than in hometowns comprise the ways of coping with the difficulties they are facing.

Along with the Iraqi people, immigrants from different African countries are dwelling in Elmadağ. Actually it is difficult to determine the countries of the African immigrants since most of the people in Turkey totalize them under the headings such as 'Negro', 'African' or 'Black'[94]. The fact that some of them are illegal immigrants and therefore not registered by any authorities in Turkey is the reason for the lack of considerable data about their population and nationalities. Another reason put forward by the headman of İnönü Neighborhood is their constant flow to other countries as soon as it is possible: 'African immigrants do not stay long [in the neighborhood]. They stay almost one week or ten days and then another group comes'[95]. In this regard, Sema Erder's explanation of the category of 'transit immigrant' fits very well to this group who actually decide to immigrate mainly for reasons of attainment of higher standards of life in a third country and to arrive at this country through illegal ways.

However, it is possible to assert that in comparison to the population of the Iraqi immigrants, the number of Africans dwelling in Elmadağ is considerably low. All the intervie-wees are in consensus on the issue that today the number of Africans is lower than it was in the past. Most of the interviewees suggested that three or four years ago there were more Africans especially in the lower side of Elmadağ, who left the neighborhood after the continuous police raids to deport the illegal immigrants[96]. Today many Africans live in Tarlabaşı and increasingly in Kurtuluş neighborhoods.

The African immigrants in Elmadağ usually rent full-furnished apartments with a price varying between 300-350 million Turkish Liras (200-250$). Many inhabitants of Elmadağ explicitly put forward their uneasiness about the presence of African immigrants in the neighborhood and blame the landlords for renting their apartments to them in order to earn money. Moreover, the inhabitants often criticize the living conditions of these immigrants as expressed by one of the interviewees, 'twenty of them living together in the same apartment'[97]. In order to share the rents of their apartments, the African immigrants generally live together in barely survivable conditions.

Unlike the Iraqi immigrants who have neither encountered any kind of discrimination, nor been pleased about in the neighborhood, the Africans are frequently despised by the other inhabitants of Elmadağ. A high number of interviewees showed the presence of Africans in Elmadağ as a factor decreasing the value of Elmadağ without making any explanations. Having uncanny feelings toward the Africans, the inhabitants regard them as people threatening their security and comfort in the neighborhood. As one of the interviewees put forward: 'they are frequently wandering here. We do not know what they are doing. We do not know if they are involved in illicit dealings, such as drugs, hashish'[98]. While referring to Africans,

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[94] The African immigrants we interviewed in Elmadağ are from Nigeria. They suggested that they are legal immigrants who intend to settle in Canada and Italy.

[95] 'Onlar çok kalmaz. Bir hafta on gün kalırlar, sonra diğer posta gelir'.

[96] In July 2001, the police gathered up over 200 African immigrants from Nigeria, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Ghana, Sudan and Eritrea in Istanbul and sent them to the Greek border. According to the declaration of IHD (Human Rights Association), the immigrants also rejected by the Greek authorities had to stay in the impartial region without having their basic necessities met. During this period, while three immigrants were drowned in the river, two of them claimed that they were raped. Unfortunately, other than IHD announcement and a few alternative newspapers, this event did not get reported in the mass media.

[97] 'Yirmi kişi aynı evde kalıyorlar'

[98] 'Buralarda çok dolaşıyorlar. Ne iş yapıyorlar bilmiyoruz, pis işlere mi bulaşıyorlar bilmiyoruz, hap, esrar falan'.

the interviewees often blame them as the drug sellers, swindlers or thieves, although they have not witnessed the commitment of these crimes by the African immigrants.

In brief, it seems that African immigrants are one of the most ostracized people in this neighborhood. Though the inhabitants have not encountered any dreadful behavior emanating from them, their prejudice seems so strong that it cannot be altered easily.

Chapter IV : The functional transformation of Elmadağ

In this chapter we attempt to make some predictions about the future of Elmadağ, which has been going through a functional transformation process under the influences of business inclinations during the last decades. In order to shed light on the question whether Elmadağ is going to appear as a business location in the future, we first analyze the historical change in Harbiye neighborhood and then the functional transformation of Cumhuriyet Street as well as the streets of Elmadağ in terms of their specialization on different occupations.

Our second concern in this chapter is about the present and prospective residents of Elmadağ: 'Who are going to stay or leave the neighborhood and why' are the two questions that can give us some clues about the future socio-economic structure of the neighborhood. As we will discuss in the following pages, Elmadağ is gaining more and more a 'transit' character regarding the fact that many old Muslim and non-Muslim families are ready to leave the neighborhood as soon as they provide the economic means, whereas immigrants, students, bobos[99] and wage earner singles are moving in the neighborhood yet mostly for a 'temporary stay'. One of our concerns in this chapter is to explain the reasons and consequences of this constant 'moving in-moving out' circulation, or in other words, of the flux within the neighborhood.

Harbiye

In the period between 1839-1923, the historical peninsula (Kapalıçarşı, Mahmut Paşa, Mısır Çarşısı, Tahtakale) and Galata-Pera-Beyoğlu district were two basic shopping centers in Istanbul. While the traditional shops were mainly located in the historical peninsula, business firms, large stores and banks were all opened in Galata-Pera district where a modern style of specialization was developed (Berkmen Yakar, 2000, 119). On the other hand, during this period Beyoğlu was symbolizing a Western style of culture, shopping and entertainment. However, Galata-Pera-Beyoğlu district of Istanbul declined dramatically following the exodus of its non-Muslim population to foreign countries especially after the events of Wealth Tax (1942), 6th-7th September Events (1955) and Cyprus Conflict (1963-64). The departure of non-Muslim community from Galata-Pera-Beyoğlu resulted in radical transformations in the texture of these neighborhoods.

With the acceleration of internal immigration in the 1950s, there was a radical increase in the urban population, which resulted in a great demand for housing. The emergence of shantytowns in the periphery of Istanbul built by the immigrants as well as luxurious apartments constructed by the new commercial bourgeoisie in the city were the two opposite developments experienced during the Democrat Party era which signified the beginning of liberal economy and populist policies in the country. Under the leadership of Adnan Menderes, new roads were constructed or already existing ones were expanded by demolishing old houses. This road construction activity of the Menderes era was in parallel with rapidly increasing number of motor vehicles in Istanbul. However, these new construction activities lacking any concern of urban planning damaged the natural texture of the city.

During 1950s the number of Central Business Districts in Istanbul increased and they are extended towards Şişli[100] in parallel to the spread of high-income residential and business areas. Consequently, new Central Business

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99 We use bobo as an abbreviation for 'bohemian bourgeoisie' as mainly used by scholars in the field of urban studies.

100 As the city expanded demographically and spatially, there occurred a need for municipal rearrangements in terms of creating new districts and municipalities. Indeed, Şişli which had been a subdistrict of Beyoğlu was turned into a district in 1954.

Photo 20   Tourism agencies on the Cumhuriyet Street.

Districts such as Harbiye, Osmanbey and Mecidiyeköy developed along with the old ones (Tümertekin, 1997, 197-99). Harbiye appeared as a popular residential area for upper and upper-middle classes especially with the construction of huge Western style buildings on the Cumhuriyet Street starting with the late 1940s[101]. As a neighborhood, Harbiye has always been the location carrying the ideological reflections of different governments in its texture, which can be exemplified in forms of distinct architectural designs of different eras. Examples of both 'national' and 'international' styles of architecture, which were the products of two successive governments pursuing different policies, can still be observed in Harbiye today. The 'national style' in 1940s was grounded on the doctrines of rationalism and functionalism and it represented the modernist aesthetics,

which was most conspicuous in public buildings mostly awarded in the national architecture contests. Some of the examples of this style located in the vicinity are Istanbul Open Air Theatre [Istanbul Açıkhava Tiyatrosu] (1947)[102], Sports and Exhibition Center [Spor ve Sergi Sarayı] (1949)[103] and Istanbul Radio Station [Istanbul Radyoevi] (1949).

On the other hand, the 'international style' in architecture 'with its concrete slabs and glazed skin surfaces' started to be designed during the Democrat Party period by prominent Turkish architects. '[E]ven an architect like Sedad Hakkı Eldem who advocated a state-sponsored 'national' style in 1930s and 1940s later became a local collaborating architect for Hilton Hotel in Istanbul, a hallmark of 'international style'[104] (Bozdoğan, 1997, 141). The construction of Istanbul Hilton can be seen as one of the first signs of Americanization in Turkey. It not only exemplified an American concept of hotel but also signified the introduction of American policy in the country[105] (Wharton, 1999, 296).

The construction of Hilton in Istanbul in 1955 and then Divan Hotel in 1956 redefined the functional status of the neighborhood and contributed to the shift of new corporate and banking center to the north. Real estate prices soared; tourism agencies and airline offices were all clustered around these hotels; and branches of several banks were opened during those years. In brief, during 1950-60s Harbiye was a symbol of modern life with its newly constructed

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101   These apartments were constructed in the place of the Armenian and Latin cemeteries, which had been moved to other locations in Istanbul (interview with Aron Angel who was the assistant of Prost in the 1940s and then the head of the Planning Office (Nazım Bürosu) until 1952.

102   While H. Prost was studying on the public plan of Istanbul in 1930s, he designed Gümüşsuyu-Taksim-Harbiye-Nişantaşı-Maçka-Dolmabahçe area -called Kadırgalar Valley- as a cultural park on which Open Air Theatre, Sports and Exhibition Center were planned to be constructed. Therefore, this land named 'No:2 Park' was expropriated by the government. At that time, Küçükçiftlik and Belvü gazinos were on this area.

103   The name of Istanbul Sports and Exhibition Center was changed into Lütfi Kırdar Sports and Exhibiton Center [Lütfi Kırdar Sport ve Sergi Sarayı] in 1988.

104   Hilton was designed by the well-known American architects Skidmore, Owings and Merill and Sedat Hakkı Eldem was the local collaborating architect and adviser. The construction of the hotel was sponsored by Turkish Republic Pension Fund [Emekli Sandığı] and Marshall Plan Fund.

105   At the gala opening of the hotel, Conrad Hilton names the ideological significance of the hotel's location as such: 'The Istanbul Hilton stands thirty miles from the Iron curtain... Here, with the Iron Curtain veritably before our eyes, we found a people who had fought the Russians for the past three hundred years and were entirely unafraid of them... Standing before the assembled guests at the opening ceremonies, I felt this 'City of Golden Horn' was a tremendous place to plant a little bit America. 'Each of our hotels,' I said, 'is a 'little America,' not as a symbol of bristling power, but as a friendly center where men of many nations and of good will may speak the language of peace' (Wharton, 1999, 296).

Western type of apartments, cinemas, theatres, restaurants, nightclubs, hotels and public buildings.

The opening of the Boğaziçi Bridge in 1973 caused the Central Business Districts to move towards the north of the city. While the general directorates of big firms, large commercial buildings and international hotels started to move from Taksim, Harbiye and Osmanbey to Mecidiyeköy, offices of bars, doctors and lawyers shifted from Sirkeci, Cağaloğlu, Nuruosmaniye to Taksim, Osmanbey, Nişantaşı (Osmay, 1999, 144). In the end of 1970s, several Central Business Districts emerged in Istanbul specializing on different service sectors but being interdependent to each other. Tümertekin talks about nine Central Business Districts in Istanbul, namely Aksaray, Eminönü, Karaköy, İstiklal Street, Osmanbey, Mecidiyeköy, Beşiktaş, Üsküdar, Kadıköy (1997, 187).

During the late 1980s a new business center emerged on the axis of Büyükdere Street. General directorates of holdings and banks (Sabancı Center, İşbank Plaza, Medya Plaza, Yapı Kredi Plaza) and entertainment and shopping malls (Akmerkez) all moved towards Büyükdere Street axis for the aim of meeting their needs of a larger space, a better infrastructure and transportation. Consequently, Harbiye lost its valuable position relatively as a business center after the movement of general directorates of several holdings and banks to Büyükdere Street axis. However, this transformation does not mean that Harbiye has been turning out to be a pure residential area or a decaying business center since it is still an active business area in terms of accommodating the tourism, banking and entertainment sectors in Istanbul.

Cumhuriyet Street

One of the most important streets on the Harbiye-Osmanbey axis is the Cumhuriyet Street of which residential and functional transformation has directly influenced the structure of Elmadağ. As we mentioned above, tourism,

Photo 21   The land of the old Şan Theatre, which is today used as an open-air car park.

banking and entertainment sectors in Istanbul are mostly located on the Cumhuriyet Street in Harbiye. The tourism offices, which were first opened during the mid-1950s with the construction of hotels, significantly transformed the functional and social structure of the neighborhood[106]. The presence of tourism offices led to the opening of other professional domains related to tourism sector such as airline offices and transporters.

Another significant sector characterizing the street is banking. The branches of several banks on the street have been opened and closed continuously in accordance to the economic instabilities of the country. It is important to note that after the recent economic crises many of the properties on the street were vacated and left idle because of the high real estate prices and economic difficulties that business firms have been passing through.

On the Cumhuriyet Street, which has been an entertainment location for years, there are many restaurants, nightclubs, cafes and bars. The first examples of nightclubs, bars and discos in Istanbul, such as Panoroma, Kervansaray, Hydromel, Regie were all opened on this street. Besides the expensive restaurants, cafes and bars taking part within the hotels, new luxurious ones are being opened with the impact of the renovation of Cumhuriyet Street[107].

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[106]   There are approximately 150 tourism agencies operating on Elmadağ-Harbiye axis (http://www.nevarneyok. com.tr/danisma/turizm/sey1.asp)

[107]   The renovation of Cumhuriyet Street was initiated by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2001. The construction of boulevards with large walkways aiming to change the profile of the city paved the way for opening many cafes, restaurants and pastry shops on the street (such as Hai Sushi, Pronto Café and recently Mado).

Photo 22 and 23   Parking lots in the basement of apartment buildings in the inner streets of Elmadağ.

However, an opposite inclination is also being experienced by the owners of some old enterprises on the street. For example, one of our interviewees, owner of a disco on Cumhuriyet Street since the 1960s, suggested that the profile of his customers has radically changed in parallel to the declining popularity of the Cumhuriyet Street. He claimed that he had opened one of the first discos in Istanbul which was followed up by many others but the quality of these places as well as of customers have declined as time passes. While his first customers were among the elites of Istanbul, now 'shady people' are coming to his place. With the decrease in the number of his customers in consequence of economic difficulties lived in the country, he decided to shut down his disco in the short run.

The business firms located on the Cumhuriyet Street have led to the emergence and development of small-scale occupations in Elmadağ. For example, many restaurants, hairdressers and parking lots in the streets of Elmadağ are just opened to serve for the people working at banks, travel agencies and business firms on the Cumhuriyet Street. Although several parking lots are being operated in the streets of Elmadağ, they are not sufficient enough to meet the demands of people. The fact that every suitable area in the neighborhood is constantly being converted into a parking place demonstrates that running parking lots seems to be one of the most profitable occupations in Elmadağ.

Our observation that the hairdressers in Elmadağ are very crowded in the early mornings with working women as well as the restaurants located in this neighborhood are just open during working hours of the week and very crowded during lunch breaks indicates the fact that many workplaces in Elmadağ are opened to serve the people working around. One of our interviewees, owner of a restaurant, asserted that their restaurant earns money just during the lunch breaks. The restaurant owner has no connection with the local people of Elmadağ suggesting that their customers are merely among working people in the Cumhuriyet Street and their restaurant is closed on Saturdays and Sundays. The only person he knows from Elmadağ is his landlord with whom he has a commercial relationship.

In brief, the only significant connection between Cumhuriyet Street and Elmadağ seems to be a commercial one: Many people running business in Elmadağ serve for the people working on the Cumhuriyet Street. What is also striking in the neighborhood is the sharp distinction between the two locations, Cumhuriyet Street and the streets of Elmadağ, which symbolize two different worlds. While the Cumhuriyet Street with its Western style apartments and

Map II: Istanbul Şehir Rehberi, Istanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları,1989. (scale 1/10000)

The streets of Elmadağ

Since the early 1980s, many business firms have opened their offices in the streets of Elmadağ, on the parts of Ölçek, Babil, Üftade, Turna, Cebeli Topu Streets closer to Cumhuriyet Street. Relatively low prices of real estates attracted the business firms. However, with the economic crises in 2000 November and 2001 February, the economic situations of business firms on Cumhuriyet Street as well as the shop keepers in Elmadağ have sharply deteriorated. In Elmadağ the real estate prices vary in regard to the locations of streets: the values of real estates decline, as they get closer to Dolapdere or far away from the Cumhuriyet Street. Therefore, the shops and apartments on Babil, Ölçek and Üftade Streets are more valuable than those on Akkarga and Küçükbayır Streets.

Babil Street, as the heart of the neighborhood, has been the most popular and vivid street in Elmadağ. Groceries, butchers, shoe-makers, electricians, pastry-shops, real estate agents, hairdressers, hardware stores, buffets, restaurants are all located on this street. Most of the shopkeepers usually close their shops at a late time. This street signifies not only one of the most valuable streets in Elmadağ in terms of trading but also a public space where most of the men working on this street socialize with each other. During the day, it is possible to witness the groups of men clustering at every corner of the Babil Street. Although in summer nights, women go out and chat in front of their houses, this street is mainly dominated by men.

Families generally live in the **Harbiye Çayırı and Çimen Streets**, which lie down parallel to Cumhuriyet and Dolapdere Streets. The fact that there are only a few shops (such as groceries) on Çimen Street indicates that the spreading of business offices into the streets of Elmadağ stops before it arrives to Çimen Street[108]. However, it is pertinent to note that on this street there are some houses that are being used for storing. These houses are rented to business firms as depots concerning the relatively low rents and central position of Elmadağ in Istanbul.

public buildings carries the reflections of different periods, the latter with its old and small houses constitutes a home of migrants. The passage from Cumhuriyet Street to one of the streets of Elmadağ not only denotes different historical processes of the country but also marks a radical change in the lifestyles of the people who barely come together.

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[108] There is only one business firm functioning in a three-floor building on this street that was constructed last year (2001) in the place of an old house.

Photo 24   Automobile repairers on the Elmadağ Street.

There are several nightclubs [pavyons] and bars on the Nispet Street which are generally disapproved by the inhabitants of the neighborhood. One of our interviewees having a shop just across a nightclub in Elmadağ but living in Yedikule asserted that 'I do not want to live here. There are bars, nightclubs [pavyons] here. This is not a good place to bring up children or for families'[109]. According to a policeman working at Harbiye police station, the number of the bars and pavyons in Elmadağ declined recently due to economic difficulties. There was a famous brothel (Varol Brothel) near the intersection point of Nispet and Ölçek Streets, which was closed in the 1980s by Saadettin Tantan when he was the Head of Istanbul Security Department. One of the interviewees claimed that two other brothels located on Nispet and Cumhuriyet Streets were also closed along with the Varol brothel and then the prostitutes started to work privately in Elmadağ. On the other hand, the driving out of transvestites from Ülker and Pürtelaş Streets in Cihangir resulted in the settlement of some of them in Elmadağ.

Cumhuriyet Street is one of the most popular locations in Istanbul for transvestites. While some of the transvestites find their customers just by waiting on the corners of the streets, the wealthier ones choose to drive on the street. Some of these transvestites live in Elmadağ concerning the facts that their 'work place' is nearby and the rents are relatively low in this neighborhood. As we learned from their neighbors, transvestites in Elmadağ generally do not work at their homes. Therefore, while some of the inhabitants are indulgent to them, many others want them leave the neighborhood.

Both **Elmadağ and Yeni Nalbant Streets** can be characterized with the automobile repairers[110]. Especially after 1945, the sharp increase in the population of Istanbul resulted in the rise of the number of automobiles along with that of automobile repairing stores. Elmadağ and Yeni Nalbant Streets were one of the first locations in Istanbul specialized on automobile repairing[111]. However, with the law issued in 1982 which encouraged the automobile repairers in the inner city to set up their business in the periphery of Istanbul, many automobile repairers in Elmadağ moved their stores to the places shown by the government. One of the automobile spare part sellers argued that there is no future of automobile repairing in Elmadağ and informed us that about 15 stores were closed on Elmadağ Street after the recent economic crises. Moreover, car owners' preference of big automobile services is another obstacle for the viability of small-scale automobile repairing stores which seem to disappear in the long run in Elmadağ.

Another characteristic of Elmadağ is the presence of pickups selling vegetables in the streets of Elmadağ. This way of selling goods which is very typical of small places still continues in Elmadağ because of the fact that there are very few fruit and vegetable stores and supermarkets in the neighborhood. Although there is a food marketplace in Dolapdere on Sundays, people

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[109]   'Ben burada oturmam, barlar, pavyonlar var. Aile için, çocuk yetiştirmek için iyi değil'.

[110]   As we mentioned in the previous chapter, drivers and transporters are very common in Elmadağ concerning the fact that the people who had come to this neighborhood with the first internal immigration flow of the 1950s, had no choice but work as drivers since this job does not necessitate any social capital. We learned from an Armenian automobile repairer that all the old automobile repairers in Elmadağ were generally non-Muslims. Indeed, during our study we realized that non-Muslims are mostly craftsmen such as carpenters, shoemakers and repairers. Our interviewee added that non-Muslims later on trained Muslim immigrants as their apprentices.

[111]   We think that there was a spatial division of labor in the automobile sector in Istanbul. While Elmadağ was the place for automobile repairing, Talimhane was accommodating most of the automobile spare part selling stores. On the other hand, unlike Talimhane, in Sirkeci spare parts were being sold only for big vehicles.

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Photo 25 Dolapdere Street located on the eastern border of Elmadağ.

in Elmadağ do not usually shop there indicating that Dolapdere is a long way to go and 'there are Gypsies living in Dolapdere'. A non-verbal tension is apparent between the vegetable sellers with pickups and groceries selling basic vegetables in their shops. One of our interviewees, owner of a grocery, suggested that the vegetable sellers do not pay taxes to the government and hence they have the opportunity to sell their foods at a lower price. At the same time, he complained about the supermarket opened on the Cumhuriyet Street a few months ago claiming that his grocery cannot compete with the prices of this market which is being operated by a big holding.

Akkarga and Küçükbayır Streets locating in the lower side of Elmadağ are the least valuable places in terms of real estates. Gypsies, Kurds and international immigrants dwelling here are economically and culturally marginalized people in the eyes of the other inhabitants. People living in the upper side of Elmadağ frequently emphasize their difference from the ones living here such as naming them as dwellers of Dolapdere -rather than Elmadağ- and express their discontent of sharing the same neighborhood with them. On the other hand, the ones living in the lower side even next to the Dolapdere Street consider themselves as the dwellers of Elmadağ.

Some inhabitants consider the Çimen Street as the symbolic boundary splitting the neighborhood into two parts concerning the economic conditions and cultural patterns of people living in the upper and lower sides of this street[112]. The poor 'new comers' from Dolapdere and Tarlabaşı are assumed to live in the lower streets of Elmadağ, whereas the 'old inhabitants' of Elmadağ are presupposed to dwell in the upper side. However, the 'old inhabitant' and 'new comer' categories can only relatively be defined in a neighborhood like Elmadağ, which has been subject to incessant immigration flows for years. Every one who immigrates here before the others considers her/himself as the old inhabitant. However, the Gypsies who have been living in the lower side of Elmadağ for years are still not considered as the members of this neighborhood[113]. Therefore, the categories of 'new and old inhabitants' are distinguished according to the cultural and economic characteristics of inhabitants rather than their chronological settlements in the neighborhood. For example, the Gypsies, having no access to any upward mobility in both cultural and economic terms would always remain as the permanent 'new comers' in the eyes of some other inhabitants. Their presence in Elmadağ would always be a trouble for the reasons of decreasing the rents of real estates, their 'life quality' and the condition of safety in the neighborhood. Yet, as we explained in the previous chapter, their presence in the neighborhood enables some others to construct the nostalgia of 'Elmadağ in its good days' and a feeling of 'we, as the old and real inhabitants of Elmadağ'.

Today Elmadağ seems to show both residential and business inclinations simultaneously. Although many shops and offices have been opened in the upper side of Elmadağ since the 1980s, we cannot conclude that they would spread the lower side of Elmadağ and convert the neighborhood an entire business location, as one of the interviewees asserted: 'On the upper side the business offices and shops can disperse but I do not think that the lower side

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[112] Interestingly, when interviewees were asked to define the boundaries of Elmadağ, most of them distinguished the Çimen Street as the lower limit of this neighborhood.

[113] As we mentioned in the methodology chapter we were unable to conduct interviews with the Gypsies living in the lower side of Elmadağ. All our explanations about Gypsies are based on our observations as well as on other inhabitants' perception of them.

towards Dolapdere will change a lot'[114]. The radical change might happen if the PIYA project on Dolapdere can be realized but it does not seem to be launched in the near future[115].

The economic crises recently experienced in the country have enormous impacts on Elmadağ ending up with the shutting down of many shops and offices. Yet, while many of them are being closed, many enterprises are being put into service. On the other hand, a shopkeeper suggested that the newly opened shops in Elmadağ and on Cumhuriyet Street would economically fail in the short run and he supported his argument with the shutting down of a famous and historical buffet on the Cumhuriyet Street recently. According to him, in one year about 1,500 working people left Elmadağ, either because their business were shut down or they were fired from their jobs.

Furthermore, the presence of old-small houses of the neighborhood is an obstacle for the construction of buildings for business firms. The headman of İnönü neighborhood asserted that 'Elmadağ is not and in fact cannot be very popular. Because the contractors must buy five houses in order to construct one since the areas of houses are about 40-60 square meters'[116]. The fact that only a reasonable number of apartments can be employed as offices especially in the upper side of Elmadağ illustrates that many apartments would be left for residential purposes. Consequently this provides evidence for the future of Elmadağ as a neighborhood that cannot be converted into an entire business location. On the other hand, the gentrification of the neighborhood seem not possible from now on, since the original architectural tissue of the old houses have already been demolished by the activities of small contractors since the 1970s. Therefore, although Elmadağ has an appealing character for several upper-middle class people having cultural capital, it would not be popularized like Cihangir given the fact that today the scene of Elmadağ is more of a patchwork pattern, where the old three-story buildings coexist side by side with the new five-story unpleasant apartments.

What is more interesting about Elmadağ is its peculiar transformation from an ordinary residential area to a 'transit' location in the center of the city. Therefore, focusing merely on the questions of residential and business inclinations in the neighborhood is not adequate to comprehend the interesting transition that is just peculiar to this neighborhood. In the next part of this chapter we discuss the profile of current residents in Elmadağ with a focus on the questions of 'who are going to stay or leave this neighborhood and why' to shed light on the reasons and consequences of population circulation within Elmadağ which would make this neighborhood simply a 'transit' area.

Bobos, students and wage earner singles: Elmadağ as a 'transit' location

The central location of Elmadağ, its closeness to Taksim-Beyoğlu, is the most important reason behind some of the inhabitants' motive to live in this neighborhood. Nearly all of the bobos (bohemian bourgeoisie), students and wage earner singles dwelling in this neighborhood asserted that they chose to settle in Elmadağ because of its closeness to other central locations.

All the bobos we interviewed live in Arif Paşa Manor, which seems to be an isolated enclave within the neighborhood. Having no connection with the other inhabitants of Elmadağ, the residents of this historical building know very little about the neighborhood. One of our interviewees claimed that he came here to live specifically in Arif Paşa Manor. He also asserted that he attaches so much importance to his private life and thus does not like any 'unexpectedly visiting neighbors to his flat'[117] that could disturb his comfort.

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[114] 'Üst kısımlarda işyerleri yayılabilir ancak alt kısımların Dolapdere'ye doğru değişeceğini çok sanmıyorum'.

[115] PIYA project was designed during the mayorship of Bedrettin Dalan in the mid-1980s with an intention of transforming Piyalepaşa and Dolapdere boulevards into high-rise building areas. However, the project was not initiated yet, although construction permits in the neighborhood had been halted for several years.

[116] 'Elmadağ şu anda popüler durumda değil. Olması da mümkün degil. Arsaların çoğu 40-60 metrekare. Ancak beşini müteahhit alacak ki birşey yapabilsin'.

[117] 'Komşuluk, çatkapı gelen istemiyorum'.

Photo 26 and 27   Arif Paşa Manor.

On the other hand, both low and high-income wage earner singles living in Elmadağ settled in this neighborhood because of its location and they, like bobos have no close relation with the other inhabitants in Elmadağ. While one of them described his situation just as the 'spectator of neighborhood'[118] since his working prevents him to be involved in the neighborhood relations, another wage earner explained his experience as having no close relation with the neighborhood since he is always 'either at home or out of this neighborhood'[119].

Along with Elmadağ's central location, the reasonable rents and, for some of interviewees, the ethnic, cultural and religious diversity of the neighborhood are the other incentives behind

their preference to live in Elmadağ, as one interviewee argued: 'The rents are reasonable. The people living here is not interested in others' lives very much. Here in each person's life there is a lot of nonsense, therefore, nobody wants to involve in others' lives'.[120]

Another interesting point specific to Elmadağ is the presence of pensions especially serving for single workingmen. One pension located on Ölçek Street was closed but two others are still operating on Turna and Çimen Streets. The owner of the pension on Çimen Street claimed that they opened their pension in 1994 since nobody was renting their apartments to single men in Elmadağ in those years. Not only the Turkish men but also the foreign employees

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[118] 'Çalıştığımız için mahallenin içine giremiyoruz. Biz seyirci kısmındayız'.

[119] 'Ya hep evdeyim, ya da buranın tamamen dışında'.

[120] 'Kiralar burada makul. İnsanlar birbirine fazla karışmıyor. Herkesin kendi hayatının içinde abukluk var, o yüzden kimse kimseye karışmıyor'.

and tourists (especially Japanese, Italian and English) stay in their pension from 6 months up to 4 years. They charge varied rents to foreigners and Turkish citizens, in a range of $150 to $300, including all the facilities. One of the residents of this pension earning good money but preferring to stay in this pension explains his situation as such: 'Since I did not want to be bothered with the furniture problem and apartment details, I preferred to live in this pension'[121]. While he was telling us his future plans, it became apparent that he considers his stay in this pension and in Elmadağ as a 'temporary stay'.

Elmadağ is also preferred by university students, thanks to its physical proximity to some university campuses, such as İTÜ-Taşkışla, İTÜ-Makine, İTÜ-Maden, Marmara Univ.-Dişçilik. In spite of the fact that all of these groups are pleased to live in this neighborhood, they do not intend to live here in the future. For example, two university students claimed that they own the apartment they are living now but if they get marry, they are not going to live here. Another one explained his concern explicitly: 'If I get married, my wife will not want to stay here since the houses are ruined and the neighborhood is very old [...] Also if I have a child, I do not want to stay here again. There is no place to play for the children'[122]. All these indicate that they regard Elmadağ a 'stopover' in their lives and consider their settlement here 'temporary'. In brief, they are the 'transit inhabitants' of Elmadağ. Yet, what about the other inhabitants of Elmadağ? Do they also consider their stay in Elmadağ temporary or they estimate a life long stay here? Who wants to leave/stay and why?

Leave or stay and why? The future inhabitants of Elmadağ

As it is salient in our project now, we cannot talk about a homogenous inhabitant population in Elmadağ. The motives for leaving or staying in this neighborhood change in accordance to political, cultural, economic and historical factors which have influenced different groups of residents in various ways.

For the non-Muslim inhabitants of Elmadağ, we can absolutely talk about a decrease in their number in the long-run. Many of them left the country because of the historical events, such as Wealth Tax in 1942, 6-7 Events in 1955 and Cyprus Conflict in 1964. The non-Muslims dwelling in Elmadağ today are mostly low income families having no economic means either to move to other neighborhoods (mostly, Kurtuluş, Pangaltı, or Yeşilköy) or flee to a foreign country (mostly Canada and France). Yet, many non-Muslim families' children still immigrate to foreign countries in search for a better education, job or life standard as soon as they have the opportunity.

Many non-Muslims, like many other old inhabitants in Elmadağ, complain about the déclassé status of the neighborhood, which they explain by means of a decline from a middle class to lower-middle class neighborhood and a cultural collapse as a result of never-ending immigrations to Elmadağ. An Armenian woman who left Elmadağ 30 years ago and is currently living in the United States stated that 'there is no respect in the neighborhood now [...] The civilized people had disappeared and the ignorant people came instead'[123] and she continued to her words, 'in the past, the neighborhood was a pleasant place. Non-Muslims were living here. They were speaking the same language with you. The atmosphere was warm and sincere. The income of people was high'.[124] Implying the Kurds living in a house just at the corner, she asserted that 'they have converted this neighborhood to a village'[125]. Similarly a Muslim ex-inhabitant of Elmadağ expressed his feelings as such: 'Armenians were living here. We had very good neighborly relations with them. Our relations were polite, enjoyable and pleasant. After the immigration of Kurds here,

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[121] 'Eşya sorunu ve ev teferruatıyla uğraşmamak için pansiyonu tercih ettim'.

[122] 'Evlenirsem karım istemez burayı, evler harap, semt eski bir yer olduğu için [...] Çocuğum olursa, burada oturmayı istemem. En azından çocukların oynayacağı yer yok'.

[123] 'Şimdi saygısızlık çok[...] Medeni insanlar yok olmuş, yobazlar gelmiş'.

[124] 'O zamanlar çok nezihti. Gayri-müslimler vardı. Senin dilini konuşan insanlar vardı. Daha sıcak, samimi bir atmosfer vardı. Belli gelir düzeyi vardı. Eskiden varlıklılar vardı'.

[125] 'Tam köye çevirmişler burayı'.

nobody wanted to walk in the streets with the fear of robbery.... When many people flowed into here from Anatolia, they [Armenians] ran away from here'[126]. Another woman whose husband is a lawyer explained her desire to sell her apartment in Elmadağ since 'people from all nationalities have come to Istanbul'[127].

One of the interviewees explained that the Gypsies who had been living in the periphery of Elmadağ settled in the lower streets of neighborhood after 1980s[128]. The interviewee making fun of the Gypsies continued his words as such: 'After being 'civilized', they settled in the lower streets of Elmadağ as Mr. Ahmet, Mrs. Ayşe'[129]. On the other hand, the international immigrants, especially the ones from Africa, are often regarded as swindlers and conceived to produce an insecure atmosphere in the neighborhood. However, the policeman working at the Harbiye police station informed us that the crimes committed in Elmadağ are generally ordinary ones whose rates are not higher than usual and even lower than the ones in Tarlabaşı and Kurtuluş.

Considering the Kurds, Gypsies and Africans as the main responsible people of the relative degradation of Elmadağ is a common complaint among not only non-Muslim but also Muslim population of the neighborhood. They are always and continuously conceived as a threat to the security and integrity of those who share a common home. 'We the people' is defined against them who have different origins. The struggle for unity and coherence results in the prejudice against those who are defined as different.

Along with the insecurity concerns raised with the presence of the other ethnic groups, many inhabitants also mentioned that they would like to leave since the neighborly relations in Elmadağ is very weak. One woman asserted that she would like to move to Okmeydanı where her relatives are living all together. She suggested that there are no neighborly relations in Elmadağ where she has been dwelling for two years. Moreover, an Armenian woman argued that 'there was neighborly relations in the past. Our neighbors left Elmadağ and their house was destroyed. In place of it, a building belonging to a business firm was constructed. [...] If I have the opportunity, I will leave too'[130]. However, behind these complaints, it seems that these people do not want to live in Elmadağ any more as they consider here a culturally corrupted neighborhood where different kinds of people from lower-middle class are dwelling. They imply that it is not possible to constitute neighborly relations with such people.

Nevertheless, at the last instance residents' decision of leaving the neighborhood depends on their economic capabilities as well as their cultural patterns. Not only the material wealth but their life style, their education level and even their consumption patterns are the leading factors in their decision of movement. Interestingly, some of the Kurds having good income do not prefer to settle down in another neighborhood. Their possession of shops and the apartments in Elmadağ, whereas most of the inhabitants are just tenants in this neighborhood, can be a proof of their intentions of staying here. A Kurdish interviewee whose economic position is better than many other inhabitants in Elmadağ proposed that 'First of all we want to pursue a modest and simple life. If we push ourselves, we can even dwell in Etiler. However, Elmadağ is more convenient for our life style. We can lose a lot in Etiler. This will not

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126 'Ermeniler vardı. Komşuluğu çok iyiydi. Zevkli, sefalı, kibar komşuluk vardı. Sonra bu Kürtler gelince hırsızlık korkusuyla kimse sokağa çıkamaz oldu ... Anadolu akın edince buraya, onlar da [Ermeniler] abbas yolcu kaçtılar'.

127 'Şimdi her türlü milletten geldiler İstanbul'a'.

128 It is interesting to see that everybody gave different dates about the 'coming' of the Gypsies to the neighborhood. While one of the old inhabitants talked about the presence of Gypsies in the lower side of Elmadağ in the 1940s, another one suggested that Gypsies in Talimhane moved to Elmadağ between the years of 1950 and 1960 after their barracks were destroyed. As we mentioned before, although the Gypsies are among the oldest inhabitants of this neighborhood, they are always conceived as the outsiders.

129 'Bunlar medenileşip, Elmadağ'ın aşağı sokaklarına Bay Ahmet Bayan Ayşe olarak yerleştiler'.

130 'Eskiden komşuluk ilişkisi vardı. Onlar gitti, evleri de yıkıldı. yanımız işyeri oldu. [...] Fırsatım olsa ben de giderim'.

be healthy for us. Therefore, we are glad to live here'[131].

Along with the Kurds, some of the Muslims who emigrated from Anatolia during the 1950s consider themselves as having the economic means to settle in a 'better neighborhood'. Yet, they mentioned that they are glad to live in Elmadağ with the people like them. They think that they would not be as comfortable in another neighborhood as they are in Elmadağ. Most of the interviewees from this group are local small-scale entrepreneurs who are involved in business in Elmadağ such as real estate agents or contractors. They believe that they are respected people in Elmadağ, which cannot be acquired in another neighborhood easily. What is striking for this group is their mostly well-educated children's desire to dwell in another neighborhood. Like bobos, university students and wage earner singles, the children of Anatolian immigrants regard their stay in Elmadağ as temporary. Correspondingly, the Iraqi people who do not have any intention of staying in Turkey in the long run consider their settlement in Elmadağ as temporary. The longest duration of their stay in Elmadağ until now is about five years.

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People, who have the chance of moving to another neighborhood, would not pass over this chance when they have the economic means. The transformation of Elmadağ from a middle class to a lower-middle class neighborhood and its rising cultural heterogeneity due to the indefinite immigration flows are some reasons behind the aspiration to move out of the neighborhood. The headman of the İnönü neighborhood informed us that while 7,500 people were dwelling in Elmadağ 15 year ago, today its population is around 4,000-5,000 which illustrates a radical decrease in the nighttime population. The spread of workplaces after 1980s in the neighborhood is a significant aspect causing the decline of population. The increasing density of business offices in the streets of Elmadağ has certainly weakened the ties among the inhabitants and led to the disappearance of 'old neigh-

borhood atmosphere' where close neighborly relations took place. On the other hand, as we mentioned in the previous pages, many people consider Elmadağ as a transit area and their stay here as temporary. All these factors -the general discontentment about Elmadağ, the existence of workplaces and the presence of transit inhabitants- have impeded the development of the 'feeling of belongingness' to this neighborhood. Even some of the old inhabitants seem to break off their ties with Elmadağ especially after their close friends or relatives left the neighborhood.

Nevertheless, inhabitants' widespread discontentment about Elmadağ and thus their aspiration to move to a 'better neighborhood' should not bring us to the idea that Elmadağ would be thoroughly left by its inhabitants and turned into an entire business location. Elmadağ seems to be a permanent home for some of the people: for example, low-income non-Muslim families having no economic means, some of the Muslim immigrants of the 1950s making use of their relations in Elmadağ to earn their livelihood and some Kurdish immigrants believing to protect their cultural identities in Elmadağ better than elsewhere would be the willing and unwilling inhabitants of Elmadağ. For the transit inhabitants, we can suggest that their temporary stay does not mean that this neighborhood would not be inhabited by the members of this group after they move to another neighborhood, rather it signifies their 'constant circulation' in Elmadağ. In other words, even if they leave the neighborhood, new people from their groups would settle in Elmadağ. For example, although the university students and wage earner singles leave Elmadağ for living in a 'better neighborhood', new university students and wage earner singles would move into Elmadağ who find this neighborhood an attractive place in regard to its location and relatively low rents. Though the feeling of belongingness to Elmadağ is very weak among the inhabitants today, different groups of people would continue to dwell here concerning their interests. Thus, Elmadağ will continue to be 'a neighborhood in flux' in the future as well.

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[131] 'Biz her şeyden önce sade yaşamak, orta halli yaşamak istiyoruz. Biz kendimizi zorlasak Etiler'de de oturabiliriz ama Elmadağ bizim yaşantımıza uygun. Etiler'de birçok şeyi kaybedebiliriz. Bizim için sağlıklı olmaz. O yüzden memnunuz burdan'.

Conclusion

In this research, we aimed to analyze the social and functional transformations of a neighborhood. Our starting point was a spatially bounded area, Elmadağ, which is enclosed among Cumhuriyet Street on the east, Dolapdere Street on the west and Yedikuyular Street on the south. We tried to discover the sociological characteristics of this topographically defined area by figuring out the consequences of various social and spatial transformations.

In our project, among several observations and inferences on Elmadağ, we singled out three main arguments, which we have discussed in detail. First, we made observations about the functional and residential transformation of the neighborhood in the past and present. Secondly, we paid specific attention to the incessant migration flows that Elmadağ has been subjected for years. And lastly, we tried to figure out the interactions as well as feeling of belongingness of inhabitants in the neighborhood especially under the issue of their movements in and out of the neighborhood. In the following pages, we want to conclude our study under these three headings that could be summarized as analyses on the location, migration flows and feeling of belongingness.

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What appears to the outsider as a homogeneous and perhaps static district can in fact be quite heterogeneous in terms of social and cultural traits. Elmadağ, as an example for such highly mixed settlement areas has constantly been in a state of change. Initially, it became known as a non-Muslim location on the periphery of the built-up area more than a century ago. The early era of neighborhood was characterized with the existence of formal institutions targeting mainly the Catholic community. Indeed, towards the turn of the century, the empty land lying in the opposite direction of the large Armenian cemetery came out as a new neighborhood with several Catholic institutions: a hospital (Surp Agop Hospital, 1837), a church (St. Esprit Church, 1846), and two schools (Notre Dame de Sion School, 1856 and St. Esprit primary school attached to the Church).

The development of the neighborhood went hand in hand with the Westernization movement of the 19th century, which manifested itself in the restructuring of the urban space. Elmadağ, along with new neighborhoods such as Teşvikiye, Cihangir and Nişantaşı, became popularized as the historical peninsula lost its allure for the Ottoman elite who yearned for living closely to the new palaces in Dolmabahçe and Yıldız. During the same period, Pera-Beyoğlu turned out to be more and more attractive as the loci of 'European taste' by the Western embassies, shops and entertainment activities. The development of Elmadağ district is thus related both to the residential movement of Ottoman bureaucracy as well as to the expansion of Beyoğlu towards new locations that carried similar aspirations of life style.

In the past, the majority of the inhabitants of Elmadağ were non-Muslims with different economic status. The affluent non-Muslims as the descendants of the urban bourgeoisie settled in the western style apartments of the prestigious Cumhuriyet Street, whereas the low income non-Muslims were living in the inner streets of Elmadağ. The Catholic institutions settled in Elmadağ have provided the educational, religious and social services for lower income and needy people of the community. In the past, these formal organizations have played a leading role in fostering social relations among the residents of the neighborhood and in creation of a socially integrated fabric within the city based on religious social networks. Yet, during the Republican era, the weakening of these Catholic institutions as well as the immigration of the non-Muslims to other neighborhoods and countries became the two mutually influential factors that paved the way for Elmadağ's transformation from mainly a non-Muslim neighborhood to an ethnically and religiously heterogeneous location.

Cumhuriyet Street has always been an underlying factor in determining the socio-spatial texture of the neighborhood. In the 1950s the construction of several international hotels and concurrently the opening of tourism agencies as well as the branches of several banks on the Cumhuriyet Street redefined the functional status of the neighborhood and contributed to the shift of new corporate and banking center to the north. The heydays of Cumhuriyet Street continued till the mid-1970s with its newly constructed Western style apartments, cinemas,

theatres, restaurants, nightclubs, hotels and public buildings. Yet, as city center has moved further to north, the attractiveness of Cumhuriyet Street and thus Elmadağ have begun to fade away.

Far from claiming that Elmadağ has turned out to be a purely business location in the center of the city, we should note that Elmadağ has started to be an attractive location for several small entrepreneurs opening workplaces here to serve the people working on the Cumhuriyet Street. The newly opened workplaces, such as restaurants, parking lots, coiffeurs in the streets of Elmadağ, which are profoundly dependent on the customers working mostly on the Cumhuriyet Street, actually have nothing to do with the locals of Elmadağ who are mostly low income earners. This relative economic dependency of these workplaces on people working at the offices of the Cumhuriyet Street remains as a remarkable feature in shaping the neighborhood's business inclinations.

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Elmadağ which has always been a home for immigrants turns out to be a neighborhood that is constantly in flux, transition and transformation. The formation of the neighborhood never ceases owing to the endless population circulations within the location. The current heterogeneous inhabitant profile of the neighborhood is indebted to the incessant migration flows occurred in different periods. As we mentioned in the third chapter, Elmadağ has been subjected to three main migration flows: Anatolian immigration of 1950's, Kurdish immigration starting with mid-1980s and lastly, international immigration after the 1990s which all had different consequences on the social transformation of the neighborhood.

The first influential immigration wave to Elmadağ, the rural-to-urban immigration of the 1950s and 1960s, occurred almost simultaneously with the departure of non-Muslim inhabitants of the neighborhood. The switch of non-Muslims by Muslims in Elmadağ had various consequences, including economic ones since it gave rise to a transfer of wealth and jobs from the former to the latter group in the years of Wealth Tax and 6th-7th September events. Even though we have not official verifications confirmed by the data of the Deed Office (Tapu Müdürlüğü) the interviews conducted with the inhabitants clearly illustrated that Elmadağ was one of neighborhoods where a significant wealth transfer occurred. One should also note that, most of these transactions were compliant with the laws, yet the buildings were sold below their actual value due to the heavy tax burden imposed on non-Muslims and their immediate emigration from Turkey. Consecutively this contributed to the ability of the new Anatolian residents to be house-owners for relatively lower prices.

Under the light of the interviews, we singled out the Anatolian immigrants into two categories, such as the early and latecomers. We call the people who came to Elmadağ with some sort of capital in early 1950s 'the winners of the massive migration'. The winners generally worked as drivers when they first came to the city and after they accumulated the required capital, they became small-scale retailers of Elmadağ, such as butchers and grocers. Then they continued their ways as building contractors and real estate agents as their economic capital has increased. The reasons behind the rapid economic upward mobility of this group can be explained by the macro dynamics, such as the departure of the non-Muslim community and the liberal policies followed by the governments of the era. Not only did the Anatolian immigrants buy the properties of non-Muslims at a lower value but they also benefited from opportunities put forward by governmental policies such as the incentives for constructing buildings and roads. In this respect, the 1950s and early 1960s, also the 1980s later on, are often declared as 'the golden era' in terms of their economic advancement. Likewise, Menderes and Özal represent the two 'holy' figures for the successful pioneer immigrants who were able to utilize the rapid upward mobility opportunities of the postwar economic boom era. The correspondence between macro transformations that the country has passed through and the stories of the first immigrants is very illuminating in the sense of comprehending the micro repercussions of the liberal politics followed by several Turkish governments.

On the other hand, the latecomers were unable to be as successful as their predecessors. The reasons of their being losers is related to their immigration to the city without any capital or the lack of new opportunities which had

already been exploited by the early comers. Interestingly, 10 years of time lag of their immigration and lack of even a small amount of money seem a lot in fulfilling a success story in the city. The latecomers, or losers of the immigration, are still working in low-income jobs (such as doormen) in Elmadağ without showing any clue of an upward mobility. The economic differentiation between these two groups also reflects to their spatial segregation regarding to the fact that the latecomers mostly live in the lower side of Elmadağ in very old houses.

A relatively invisible social component of Elmadağ is the Armenians who came from Anatolia with the massive rural-to-urban migration wave in the 1960s and 1970s. Unlike the other non-Muslim inhabitants who have already 'promoted' themselves by moving to better neighborhoods and unlike 'the winners of massive migration' who arrived to Elmadağ almost in the same years, the Armenian emigrants from Anatolia could not move up the socio-economic ladder and get stuck in Elmadağ. Their lack of ambition for economic success and their efforts to be invisible in public sphere seem to be related to the somber memory of Wealth Tax or 6th-7th September Events.

Kurdish immigrants who came to Elmadağ after the mid 1980s illustrate different characteristics from the Anatolian immigrants of 1950s in the sense that most of them left their hometowns because of political reasons, not of seeking for an economic prosperity. Given the fact that the Kurdish immigrants in Elmadağ immigrated to the city with a certain amount of money and afterwards turned this money into a certain form of property, mostly owning a grocery, their economic accomplishment in the city has more or less been achieved. In this sense, they are generally in better condition in comparison to the other Kurds dwelling in Tarlabaşı who mostly pursue a life under the conditions of survival. Although most of the interviewed ones in Elmadağ expressed their yearning for returning back to their hometowns as soon as possible, their possession of real estates in the neighborhood shows that they would be the ones who stay in Elmadağ in the long run.

Most of the international immigrants in Elmadağ are from North Iraq and nearly all of them are Catholic Chaldeans who actually left their countries because of political and economic reasons. The presence of the Caritas organization in the location is the underlying factor in their selection of Elmadağ in Istanbul for their temporary stay. Nearly all of the international immigrants claimed that they have been waiting for the results for their official applications. This shows their definite decision of leaving Turkey if their application is accepted by a third country. Yet, their long waiting periods in Turkey have all forced them to work illegally under the conditions of survival and exploitation.

This highly mixed social environment in Elmadağ corresponds with a spatial differentiation in the neighborhood. As in the past, in parallel to the topography of the neighborhood, the social and economic status of inhabitants decrease from upper to lower streets of the neighborhood. The streets closer to the Cumhuriyet Street (like Ölçek and Babil Streets) are mostly inhabited by better-off groups in comparison to ones living in the streets closer to Dolapdere (such as Küçükbayır and Harbiye Çayırı Streets). The socioeconomic distinction between the inhabitants of Elmadağ represents itself in the spatial segregation of the neighborhood given the fact that nearly all of the marginalized groups such as Gypsies, Kurds and transit immigrants are living in the lower streets next to Dolapdere.

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It is clear that the very heterogeneous character of Elmadağ arising out of the incessant immigration flows of people seems one of the most important obstacles for the constitution of Elmadağ as a community based neighborhood. Yet we claim that not only the heterogeneous character of the ethnic groups living together in Elmadağ but more importantly the diversity and differentiation within the ethnic groups is fundamental in strengthening the non-community tendencies of Elmadağ. In other words, the existence of different social and economic fractures within the supposedly same ethnic groups in Elmadağ have always intersected with each other preventing a strong establishment of a community feeling. In this respect, even the establishment of several ethnic enclaves within the neighborhood seems impossible since the massive departure of non-Muslim communities in the 1960s. Therefore the feeling

of belongingness to a neighborhood arising out of some kind of a human association among different groups of people does not exist in Elmadağ. Two different examples clearly illustrate this argument. Unlike the firm social networks of the previous non-Muslim community in Elmadağ, the Muslim immigrants have not established their own local organizations, which generally function as the meeting places for social interaction and solidarity[132]. The second example is from the Kurdish immigrants who do not necessarily form social ties with other Kurds but people sharing the similar political thoughts. On the contrary, many of the politicized Kurds have disapproving ideas about some other Kurds whom they define as 'apolitical' or 'assimilated' in Turkish society.

As we mentioned above also the ethnic and religious differences among the groups create a barrier for the integration of the neighborhood as a community. Kurds, Gypsies, international immigrants (especially the ones coming from the African countries) are the ones blamed for the decadence of the neighborhood by most of the old inhabitants. Many times in several conversations, we came across these complaints about the presence of these groups dwelling in Elmadağ. Sometimes this restless feeling on the side of both Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants latently showed itself in the nostalgia of the past good days of the neighborhood and sometimes it manifested itself explicitly by directly accusing the Kurds/Gypsies/Africans in messing up the peaceful atmosphere of the neighborhood. Yet, the cultural discrimination against these marginalized groups though reflecting itself plainly in the spatial segregation, do not turn into an explicit hatred or tension among the groups. Ironically, the weak ties among the inhabitants of the neighborhood turns into an advantage preventing any kind of tension between these groups.

The only neighborly relations among the groups of inhabitants in Elmadağ seem to be occurring among the Iraqi immigrants. With a few exceptions among the old inhabitants of the neighborhood, we can generalize the idea that the single tie connecting the inhabitants each other has been gaining more and more a commercial character. In the neighborhood, human association is tied up with commercial bonds (or money economy as Simmel puts it) among the dwellers who have ran shops, real estates or involved in construction business. They all have been dependent on each other economically, which in a way make them control and hide their 'real' feelings about other inhabitants. In brief, commercial ties prevent any kind of tangible tension among the inhabitants.

On the other hand, transit dwellers, such as bobos, single wage earners and university students as well as the international immigrants lack any kind of feeling of belongingness to the neighborhood. Their temporary stay makes Elmadağ a neighborhood that is neither taken care of nor supported as a community-neighborhood, which has been realized in the cases of Cihangir, Arnavutköy and Kuzguncuk. These groups really care about the neighborhood as long as their interests are at stake[133].

As we mentioned before, Elmadağ has been getting more and more a neighborhood of departure. Moving out of this location has become a major motive for several inhabitants. After accumulating the necessary economic capital and ensuring the cultural assets, most inhabitants prefer to move to other neighborhoods. Among the people who have immigrated or moved to Elmadağ since the 1980s, or let's say new residents, only the Kurds plan to live in Elmadağ in the long run. All the other new residents intend to leave the neighborhood as soon as they supply the necessary requirements. On the other

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[132] There is one single mosque in Elmadağ which is 'created' in an apartment on Babil Street by putting an aluminum minaret on the roof of the building. Although most of the Muslim inhabitants define themselves as 'religious' persons, they lack the willingness to get organized to build a 'real' mosque in Elmadağ.

[133] This is the case when the dwellers of Arif Paşa Manor have decided to initiate a civil society undertaking against a project proposing to construct a commercial center just the opposite side of their building, which would definitely spoil the view of Arif Paşa dwellers. Yet, during our interviews we realized that the interest of Arif Paşa dwellers in the neighborhood is very much restricted to the Arif Paşa Manor and they are not even aware of some basic facts about the neighborhood.

hand, among the old inhabitants, only the Anatolian immigrants seem to stay in Elmadağ since they still earn their livings through running business in Elmadağ. In particular almost all non-Muslims who have stayed in Elmadağ because of financial difficulties desperately want to move to other neighborhoods as soon as they supply the money needed for their departure. In brief, Kurdish immigrants and Anatolian immigrants of 1950s seem to be the 'real' inhabitants of Elmadağ in the long run.

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In order to make projections about the future of Elmadağ, it is necessary to take into account the historical luggage of the neighborhood. Although Cihangir, Kurtuluş, Teşvikiye, Tarlabaşı, and Elmadağ have more or less similar founding stories, today they are quite different from each other. While Cihangir and in a lesser degree Teşvikiye-Nişantaşı are now two of the few gentrified neighborhoods of Istanbul, Tarlabaşı has become a slum inhabited by the new urban poor of Istanbul. Kurtuluş is still keeping its non-Muslim residential area character, though it is not anymore exclusively reserved for Greeks. What is the explanation of these differing outcomes in these adjacent neighborhoods? We believe that the explanation is grounded on the interaction of social and spatial factors. For instance, the settlement of well-educated, westernized middle class immigrants from Thessaloniki during the turn of the century to Teşvikiye-Nişantaşı endorsed the preservation of its prestigious status. Cihangir, which was ruined and destitute for long years, has been gentrified in the 1990s thanks to its closeness to Taksim-Beyoğlu area, and the re-discovery of its undamaged historical buildings and scenery by the artists, intellectuals and academics. Meanwhile Tarlabaşı has become more and more desolate since its connection with Taksim was cut off after the widening of the Tarlabaşı Boulevard during Dalan's term.

Elmadağ neither preserved nor improved its high social standing and historical architectural value, since it has become a magnet mainly for low-educated and low-income immigrant groups. Besides, unlike Cihangir or Teşvikiye, which are both located on relatively secluded niches, Elmadağ (being situated on the main axis between Taksim and Mecidiyeköy) has always been affected from the transformations of Cumhuriyet Street. This has also been influential in increasing the business tendencies in the neighborhood and the squeezing of the already tight housing supply as the amount of land devoted for offices augmented. All these factors have led to decrease the appeal of Elmadağ as a residential area and the fleeing away of middle class families with children.

One of the possible alternatives for the future of Elmadağ seems to be gentrification. However, once more the history of the neighborhood seems to be decisive in shaping its future. One of the obstacles against gentrification in Elmadağ is its land property structure. Except the large land owned by the Surp Agop Foundation on the southern edge of the neighborhood and the one where the Vatican embassy is located, all the rest of the neighborhood is based on very small parcels of land. The effect of this land pattern showed itself in the build-and-sell activities of the 1970s and 1980s: contractors were obliged to buy the property of at least a few houses to build a new one. This building contracting activities resulted in the actual patchwork pattern where a five-story inelegant new apartment stands just next to an old, picturesque, three-story stone house built on 40-50 square meter ground surface. The destruction of the original architectural style of the neighborhood due to the build-and-sell activities is an impediment for a potential gentrification movement in Elmadağ. A renovation can now only be realized in the large parcel of land owned by Surp Agop Foundation, which includes the row houses on the Elmadağ Street and the terrain where Şan Theatre once located. Indeed, the recent changes in the law about the minority foundations can open the way for the Surp Agop Foundation to sell its land to the big construction companies which have already been eagerly waiting for building a large shopping and entertainment center there.

In this study, we tried to shed light on the social and spatial transformations of a particular fragment of urban space in Istanbul. In conjunction with some common social patterns, such as the massive rural-to-urban migration, that apply to every neighborhood, we also tried to identify the processes giving different shapes to Elmadağ. We hope that this study can contribute for a future multifaceted comparative analysis of Istanbul.

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